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MACGREGOR'S INVASION OF FLORIDA, 1817.

By T. FREDERICK DAVIS

Gregor MacGregor was the grandson of Gregor MacGregor, the Scotchman, who enlisted in the Black Watch, then Semphill's Highlanders, and was called in Gaelic "Gregor, the Beautiful." When the regiment was first ordered to England, in 1743, "Gregor, the Beautiful" and two others were sent on in advance to London, so that the king of England, who was on the point of starting for the continent, might see some soldiers of the regiment before leaving. One of the men died en route, but MacGregor and the other were paraded before the king at St. James's and gave an exhibition of their dexterity with the broadsword and Lochabar axe. Both afterwards rose to commissions. MacGregor subsequently joined another regiment. He finally left the army and became Laird of Inverardine.¹

Gregor MacGregor, the grandson, was born in 1786. At one time he was in the British army.² According to his own accounts,³ he went out to Caracas, Venezuela, in 1811, to settle and aid in the struggle for South American independence from Spain. There he married Senora Josefa Lovera, a South American lady, who accompanied him in his subsequent adventures. He lost most of his property in the terrible earthquake that destroyed Caracas in 1812. Soon afterward he became colonel and adjutant-general to General Miranda, and then commandant-general of the cavalry and general of brigade in the Venezuelan army. In the renewed struggle for independence under General Simon Bolivar, MacGregor repeatedly distin-

¹ All numbered notes appear on pp. 70-71.

guished himself, particularly in the severe battles of 1816, when he was promoted to the rank of general of division in the Venezuelan army and received the special thanks of Bolivar and the insignia of the order of Liberadores.³ About this time there arose among the South Americans a prejudice in favor of their own people, and MacGregor, observing this and anticipating the ruin of the patriotic cause, quitted South America for the United States with the intention of organizing an expedition for a descent upon Spanish Florida, an undertaking which he assumed would not be opposed by this government.⁴

The first record of MacGregor in the United States was in March, 1817, the date of his commission ; which, no doubt, he procured immediately upon his arrival as a necessary preliminary to his contemplated conquest. This is a copy of his commission:⁵

The deputies of free America, resident in the United States of the North, to their compatriot Gregor MacGregor, general of brigade in the service of the united provinces of New Granada and Venezuela, greeting:

Whereas it is highly important to the interest of the people whom we have the honor to represent, that possession should be taken, without loss of time, of East and West Florida, and the blessings of free institutions and the security of their natural rights imparted to their inhabitants, in pursuance of our instructions, and in conformity to the desires of our respective governments, we have commissioned Brigadier General Gregor MacGregor, for the purpose of carrying into execution, either wholly or in part, an enterprise so interesting to the glorious cause in which we are engaged:

Therefore, taking into consideration your zeal and devotion to the republic, we request you, in the name of our constituents, to proceed on your own responsibility and that of the above-named provinces, to adopt such measures as in your judgment may most effectually tend to procure for our brethren of both the Floridas, East and West, the speedy enjoyment of those benefits to which they are invited by the importance of their geographical situation; and for that purpose we authorize you, without departing from the usages and customs of

civilized nations in like cases, and the due observance of the laws of the United States, and particularly those *regulating* their neutrality with foreign powers, to cause vessels to be armed without the limits of their jurisdiction, and provisionally to grant rank to naval and military officers, until the government to be established by the free will of said people can provide in the most suitable mode for the arrangements of their several departments; in the execution of all which, the instructions issued to you of this date will serve as your guide.

Signed, sealed, and delivered in the city of Philadelphia, the 31st of March, 1817.

LINO DE CLEMENTE,
Deputy for Venezuela.

PEDRO GAUL,
Deputy for New Granada, and as
Proxy for F. Zarate, Deputy from
Mexico.

MARTIN THOMPSON,
Deputy from Rio de la Plata.

With his commission in his pocket, MacGregor solicited aid in Philadelphia. He was impenetrably reserved and circumspect as to his plans, without disclosing his specific object or the point against which he proposed to make his attack. Consequently his effort to collect funds for his enterprise failed in Philadelphia. The United States government was apprised of his presence, and warned that he might be in the service of the British government. MacGregor then went to Baltimore and sought an interview with the postmaster, J. Skinner, whom he supposed had influence with the United States government. For two months he visited Skinner almost daily, and little by little unfolded his plans to him in confidence. MacGregor's plans and intentions as disclosed to Skinner and afterward reported by him to the government, in compliance with the request of MacGregor to do so in case events should make it necessary, were substantially as follows: ⁶

MacGregor declared his object to be, in the first

place, to take possession of Amelia Island ; thence to wrest the Floridas from Spain, when he should immediately call on the inhabitants by proclamation to designate some of their most respectable fellow citizens to form a constitution on the model of some of the adjoining states. So far as it might depend on him, he would encourage the existing disposition of the people in that section to confederate with the United States, leaving it to the will and policy of the government and to political circumstances as they might arise, to indicate the most favorable time for their admission into the Union. In the meantime, he would endeavor to hold them as the most eligible depot to collect and organize the supplies necessary for the completion of South American independence. In connection with that object he was inclined to view the temporary possession of the Floridas under a provisional government as of the highest importance and utility.

MacGregor was of the opinion that it would be compatible with the best policy of the United States to connive at the occupation of the Floridas by a patriot force, because in that way the patriots might have access to the resources, and profit by the enterprise, without necessarily involving a positive violation of neutral laws. To any complaint from Spain, he thought the United States might sufficiently answer, that they were not responsible for any operations conducted beyond their jurisdiction in a territory claimed by Spain. Thus he was of the opinion that the United States might be relieved from any embarrassment that might result, and enjoy the satisfaction of seeing that assistance rendered to the patriots indirectly, which is forbidden to be directly offered by their actual relations with Spain. Besides, he believed that nature had so decreed the Floridas to the United

States, that any attempt to hold them by any other power was manifest folly, unless as a pretext to engage in war. He thought that the United States would coincide with him in his views, at least to the extent of not interposing any obstacles.

Such were the plans and ideas of MacGregor as related to the postmaster at Baltimore.

In the North, MacGregor was successful mainly in procuring backers for his enterprise, who were to furnish funds and reinforcements on condition of themselves having a share in the profits of the undertaking. With the few who had joined the standard there, MacGregor proceeded to Charleston, S. C., about the first of June. Here he enlisted quite a number, some of them very respectable citizens, including young men who had been in the army during the late war with Great Britain. ⁷

At Charleston, MacGregor purchased under a borrowed name a schooner of considerable size and cleared her for New Orleans presumably, but in fact for the mouth of the Altamaha River, where he planned to concentrate for the descent upon Amelia Island. He then went to Savannah, where he recruited the balance of his force. The Savannah recruits were of a lower class than those secured at Charleston, being any and everybody that would enlist at a pay of ten dollars a month with an advance of twelve dollars. They were composed mostly of sailors and stevedores hanging loose upon the society of that port.

In Savannah, MacGregor succeeded in interesting a large mercantile establishment in his cause, which, relying upon the successful conquest of Florida, consented to purchase thirty thousand acres of Florida land at the price of one dollar an acre. This firm also induced a number of its friends and patrons to contribute to the enterprise. ⁴

With the means thus provided for, MacGregor and his associates, in all about one hundred and fifty, concentrated at the mouth of the Altamaha, near Darien, Georgia, for final instruction. Here there were many defections on account of the imperative system of discipline that MacGregor demanded, which was little to the liking of many of his recruits. ⁴

When the expedition at length was in a sufficient state of forwardness, a partner in the mercantile establishment at Savannah preceded it to Amelia Island for the purpose of preparing the minds of the inhabitants against resistance, by representing to them a magnified and fabulous account of MacGregor's forces, which he described as one thousand strong and fully equipped in every way to accomplish their object. ⁴

THE NORTHERN DIVISION OF EAST FLORIDA

MacGregor firmly believed that if he conquered Amelia Island there would be nothing more to do but display his standard, fill up his ranks, and march to the possession of St. Augustine and the whole province ; and under this impression he enlisted in advance several sets of officers. ⁸ Let us leave MacGregor a moment and examine the prevailing conditions in East Florida as they existed at the time, and upon which he based his hopes.

East Florida, was left in a deplorable state by the failure of the "patriot" invasion organized by General George Mathews, of Georgia, in March, 1812. When the United States troops co-operating in that attack against Spanish Florida were withdrawn from Fernandina on May 6, 1813, there was a complete breakdown of law and order everywhere outside of the fortified town of St. Augustine. The country was occupied by adventurers who possessed no property except a horse and a rifle and perhaps a few hogs,

and whose main occupation was taking Indian cattle to be sold on the other side of the St. Marys River, in Georgia, without regard to the revenue law, or any other law of either country; each man was a "law unto himself," and a menace to his neighbor. Altogether they were a collection of roving frontiersmen who deemed it advisable to make it as uncomfortable for the Dons and the Indians, and everybody else, as possible. As a consequence, there was little attempt to occupy the country for legitimate and peaceable pursuits. The main stamping-ground of this class of people was the territory between the St. Johns and St. Marys rivers, eastward of the King's highway, which led from the cow-ford (now Jacksonville) to the St. Marys River at Colerain, Georgia.*

In the summer of 1816, several influential gentlemen in Florida undertook to work out a plan of rehabilitation for this, the most turbulent part of the province. George I. F. Clarke, surveyor-general of the province, Henry Yonge, and Zephaniah Kingsley, representing the Spanish governor, Coppinger, met the inhabitants of northeast Florida at Waterman's Bluff, on the Spanish side of the St. Marys River, not far from the town of St. Marys, Georgia. At that conference the territory outlined, except Amelia Island, was divided into three districts called Upper and Lower St. Marys and Nassau. A constitution based on that of Georgia, with some changes necessary to fit the situation, was submitted to the mass of the people assembled and agreed to. A magistrate court and a company of militia were provided for each district. Three magistrates and nine officers of militia were elected on the spot by popular vote and immediately commis-

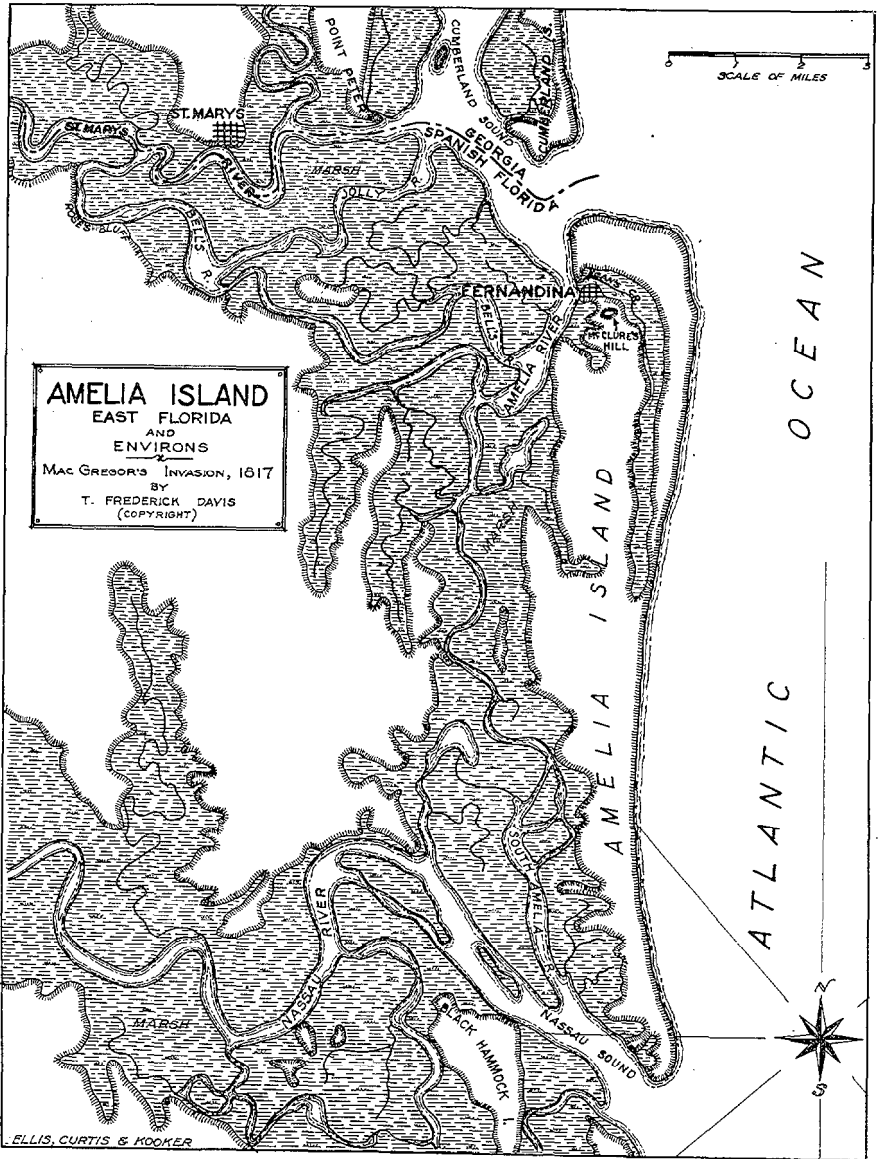
*The present highway from Jacksonville, through Callahan, to the St. Marys River (State road No. 4), follows practically the same route as the old King's highway.

sioned, instructed, and provided with copies of the laws.⁹

Thus on that day a republic was born within Spanish territory and with the consent of and holding allegiance to the Spanish government—a unique chapter in the varied history of Spanish Florida. The official designation of this republic was, The Northern Division of East Florida, usually referred to as the “Northern Division.”

The officers of the republic took up their duties in good faith under the general supervision of George I. F. Clarke, an Englishman born at St. Augustine. Governor Coppinger, glad to wash his hands of the turbulent element in those parts and save his own Dons the mischief of their misdeeds, approved the entire proceedings. The people of the republic paid no taxes and were subservient to no regulations except as made for their own defense and self-preservation. No military commander or any other officer had the power to arrest an inhabitant beyond the jurisdiction of his own district and all trials were to be held in the district where the arrest was made. Each district had its judge or justice of the peace, who tried all cases by a jury of twelve men of that district, and imposed penalties, except that of capital punishment, which cases were to be referred to St. Augustine for approval.⁹ Occasionally Lynch’s law, then popular in Georgia, was resorted to with efficacious results. Gradually the people become comparatively quiet. It must be said, however, that their laws did not contemplate the business of smuggling, and the old system of taking cattle from the Indians still continued.

The inhabitants of the republic were principally domiciliated Americans, with a small mixture of British and German. All spoke English entirely, with the exception of two, and these had American wives



and families. About two hundred families were settled in this territory in 1817.¹⁰ These were the people that MacGregor expected to flock to his standard as soon as he put foot on Amelia Island.

AMELIA ISLAND

Amelia Island was not included in the Northern Division, because the Spaniards maintained a garrison there to look after their affairs, and the republic wanted no dual government locally.⁹

Amelia, a long, narrow, seacoast island, lying south of Cumberland Island, Georgia, was separated from the Northern Division by the Amelia and Nassau rivers, the former forming most of the boundary. The St. Marys River empties into the Atlantic Ocean at the northern end of the island, and the Nassau River likewise at the southern end; the Amelia River connects the two. At the confluence of the St. Marys and Amelia rivers, near the northern end of the island, nature provided one of the best natural harbors along the south Atlantic coast. Here sprang up a settlement about 1808, afterward named Fernandina, now called Old Fernandina or Old Town.

Under date of May 10, 1811, the Spanish governor of East Florida directed G. I. F. Clarke to make a survey of the town of Fernandina. The accompanying map of the town is an Anglicized copy of that survey.* The town in 1817 was composed of about forty houses, some two-story, and all built of wood. The streets had been set out with Pride of India trees.¹¹ The town was located on rather high, rolling ground with an imposing bluff on the Amelia River side.

* See the foregoing map. Many of the town lots on this map are in color, hence the mottled appearance of the blocks in the reproduction. The map is the property of Arthur T. Williams, President of The Florida Historical Society, and is here reproduced through his courtesy.

Egan's Creek and marsh on the north and east and a marsh south of the town made the location a peninsula with a narrow neck at the southeast. The road entered the town at that point. From marsh to marsh across the neck there was a strong picket, and the entrance was protected by a small block-house mounting two 4-pounders. Another block-house, recently built, flanked the town ; it mounted one 4-pounder. On the bluff facing Amelia River Fort San Carlos commanded the anchorage as far as the middle waters of the St. Marys River. The fort mounted four long Spanish 16-pounders, five 4-pounders, and one 6-pound carronade.¹²

The Spanish garrison at Fernandina comprised fifty-four men in all, including officers; they were mostly men worn out in the service, as many of them had been in the Spanish armies thirty years. The resident population was less than two hundred, not more than fifty of whom were able to bear arms. There was also a shifting population consisting principally of slave traders, smugglers, and other undesirables, many of whom were Americans.¹³ Considerable deviltry was already being carried on at Fernandina when MacGregor appeared.

MACGREGOR CAPTURES AMELIA

MacGregor embarked his force from an island at the mouth of the Altamaha River, near Darien, Georgia, and proceeded down the inside passage along Cumberland Island. He had two schooners and a few rowboats or galleys. Crossing the channel of the St. Marys, they anchored in the Spanish waters of Amelia near the northern end of the island. Here a force of fifty-five musketeers was landed.⁴ They marched to the heavy woods bordering Egan's Creek across from Fernandina, where final plans were made for the assault. It was Sunday, June 29, 1817.

Led by Col. Thornton Posey, late of the U. S. Army* and MacGregor's second in command, the column broke from the woods and began to cross Egan's Creek and marsh. On they came in open order, in twos and threes— a strategy designed to deceive the Spaniards into believing that the string of men crossing the marsh was only the advance guard of a large force concealed in the woods, whereas in reality they comprised MacGregor's entire force. They were directly exposed to the guns of Fort San Carlos. A handful of brave men on the Fernandina side could easily have exterminated them as they floundered across the marsh above their knees in mud and water. ²⁷

The propaganda of the emissary from Savannah, however, had succeeded. The Spanish commander of Amelia had issued orders not to fire a gun, but MacGregor did not know it. His strategy was hazardous and foolhardy and the cowardice of the Spanish commander alone saved the force from complete annihilation. During the whole proceedings one gun only was fired— from one of the blockhouses, and that against orders. ⁴

MacGregor and his troops all reached the Fernandina side in safety. Wet and muddy, they marched up to the fort and demanded its surrender. Without the slightest pretense at resistance, the Spanish commandant, Francisco Morales, struck his flag.

These were the articles of capitulation. ¹⁴

Brigadier General MacGregor, commander-in-chief of all the forces, both naval and military, destined to effect the independence of the Floridas, duly authorized by the consti-

* Lt.-Col. Thornton Posey resigned from the U. S. Army in 1815. He was the son of Gen. Thomas Posey, of Virginia, who distinguished himself in the American Revolution, and who afterwards removed from Virginia, and finally became territorial governor of Indiana.

tuted authorities of the Republics of Mexico, Buenos Ayres, New Granada and Venezuela, offers to Don Francisco Morales, *captain del regimiento de Cuba*, and commandant, civil and military, of the island of Amelia, the following terms:—

1st, The commandant, civil and military, Don Francisco de Morales, shall forthwith surrender the garrison of the Island with all the arms and munitions of war belonging to the King of Spain.

2dly, All the officers and troops of the garrison shall surrender as prisoners of war, to be sent to St. Augustine or to the Havana, with their private baggage, which shall be respected.

3dly, The lives and property of all private persons, whether friends or foes to the system of independence, shall be sacred and inviolate; and to those who do not choose to join the standard of independence, six months shall be allowed to sell or otherwise dispose of their property.

4thly, The General also offers to the inhabitants of Amelia, whether friends or foes, who have absented themselves on account of the present circumstances, the privilege of returning to their homes and enjoying the benefits of the third article of capitulation, and passports will be freely granted to all who wish to depart.

The preceding were agreed to between the Commandant Don Morales and the Secretary of General MacGregor.

Fernandina, 29th June, 1817.

FRANCISCO MORALES
JOSEPH DE YRIBARREN

Attest, Bernado Segin

Approved, GREGOR MACGREGOR.

Then the “Green Cross of Florida,” MacGregor’s flag, was run up over the fort and the farce of the surrender was ended.

The “Green Cross of Florida” was a white flag, with one vertical and one horizontal green stripe across the field, intersecting in the center and forming a St. George cross.¹⁵

MacGregor immediately sent the Spanish prisoners to the mainland, whence they embarked for St. Augustine. Governor Coppinger received their report with astonishment and mortification. He put Morales in

irons, and directed a court-martial to try him for cowardice along with his second in command. Morales was condemned to death and the other to imprisonment. It was, however, necessary to submit the decision through the captain-general of Cuba for the approbation of the king of Spain. A year afterward the sentence had not been imposed, and it is probable that it never was.⁴

Nearly all the respectable inhabitants of Amelia Island had departed with their movable property in anticipation of the attack. In his proclamation to the people, MacGregor asked them to return, and also invited the inhabitants to join his standard, with a hint that, if successful, America would then be placed in a high rank among the nations—a statement that apparently greatly offended the United States government. MacGregor's proclamation to the inhabitants follows:¹⁴

PROCLAMATION
Of the Liberating Army

Gregor MacGregor, Brigadier General of the armies of the United Provinces of New Granada and Venezuela, and General-in-Chief of the Armies for the Two Floridas, commissioned by the Supreme Director of Mexico, South America, &c.

To the Inhabitants of the Island of Amelia:

Your brethren of Mexico, Buenos Ayres; New Granada and Venezuela, who are so gloriously engaged in fighting for that inestimable gift which nature has bestowed upon her children, and which all civilized nations have endeavored to secure by social compacts—desirous that all the sons of Columbia should participate in that imprescriptible right—have confided to me the command of the land and naval forces.

Peaceable inhabitants of Amelia! Do not entertain any danger of oppression from the troops which are now in possession of your Island, either for your persons, property or religion; however various the climes in which they may have received their birth, they are nevertheless your brethren and friends. Their first object will be to protect your rights; your

property will be held sacred and inviolable; and everything done to promote your real interests by co-operation with you in carrying into effect the virtuous desires of our constituents, thereby becoming the instruments for the commencement of a national emancipation. Unite your forces with ours, until America shall be placed by her high destinies to that rank among nations that the Most High has appointed—a country, by its extent and fertility, offering the greatest sources of wealth and happiness.

The moment is important. Let it not escape without having commenced the great work of delivering Columbia from that tyranny which has been exercised in all parts, and which, to continue its power, has kept the people in the most degrading ignorance, depriving them of the advantages resulting from a free intercourse with other nations, and of that prosperity which the arts and sciences produce when under the protection of wholesome laws, which you will be enabled properly to appreciate only when you will have become a free people.

You who, ill-advised, have abandoned your homes, whatever may be the place of your birth, your political or religious opinions, return without delay, and resume your wonted occupations. Deprecate the evil counsels your enemies may disseminate among you. Listen to the voice of honor, to the promises of a sincere and disinterested friend, and return to the fulfillment of those duties which nature has imposed upon you. He who will not swear to maintain that independence which has been declared will be allowed six months to settle his affairs, to sell or remove his property without molestation, and enjoy all the advantages which the laws grant in such cases.

Friends or enemies of our present system of emancipation, whoever you be, what I say unto you is the language of Truth; it is the only language becoming a man of honor, and as such I swear to adhere religiously to the tenor of this proclamation.

Dated at Head Quarters, Amelia Island, June 30th, 1817.

GREGOR MACGREGOR

Joseph De Yribarren, secretary.

Following the proclamation to the people, MacGregor issued one to his soldiers and sailors, offering to lead them to glory in South America, after the Florida business should be completed. His grandiloquent appeal was designed to sink deep into the hearts of his followers and create there, forever, the spirit

of human liberty and justice. We have already examined the class and character of the people who joined MacGregor in the United States, and those in Florida from whom he expected to draw his reinforcement; therefore it is scarcely speculative as to what they thought about having their names made a by-word in South America. MacGregor said: ¹⁴

Soldiers and Sailors!

The 29th of June will be forever memorable in the annals of the independence of South America. On that day, a body of brave men, animated by a noble zeal for the happiness of mankind, advanced within musket shot of the guns at Fernandina, and awed the enemy into immediate capitulation, notwithstanding his very favorable position. This will be an everlasting proof of what the sons of freedom can achieve when fighting in a great and glorious cause against a Government, which has trampled on all the natural and essential rights which descend from God to man. In the name of the independent governments of South America, which I have the honor to represent, I thank you for this first proof of your ardor and devotion to her cause; and I trust that, impelled by the same noble principles, you will soon be able to free the whole of the Floridas from tyranny and oppression.

Then shall I hope to lead you to the continent of South America to gather fresh laurels in freedom's cause. Your names will be transmitted to the latest posterity, as the first who formed a solid basis for the emancipation of those delightful and fruitful regions, now in a great part groaning under the oppressive hand of Spanish despotism. The children of South America will re-echo your names in their songs; your heroic deeds will be handed down to succeeding generations, and will cover yourselves and your latest posterity with a never-fading wreath of glory. The path of honor is now open before you. Let those who distinguish themselves look forward with confidence to promotion and preferment.

To perpetuate the memory of your valor I have decreed, and do decree, a shield of honor to be worn on the left arm of every individual who has assisted or co-operated in the reduction of the Island of Amelia. This shield will be round, of the diameter of four inches. made of red cloth, with this

device, "Vencedores de Amelia, 29th of June, de 1817, 7 y. I.,"* surrounded by a wreath of Laurel and Oak leaves, embroidered in gold for the officers, in yellow silk for the men. The colors of the corps of national artillery, the first squadron of cavalry, and the regiment of Columbia, will have the same device embroidered on the right angle of the colors.

Long live the Conquerors of Amelia!

Dated at Head-Quarters, San Fernandino, 1st July, 1817, 7 & 1.

GREGOR MACGREGOR

Jos. De Yribarren, secretary.

Feeling himself firmly seated in his conquest, MacGregor began to arrange his system of government at Fernandina. He established a post-office department and ordered a printing press for the publication of a newspaper. The acquisition of a port on the Atlantic so near the United States was of great importance to the swarms of buccaneers that at that time infested the ocean and the islands of the West Indies and who sailed under the various flags of the "republics" of Mexico, Buenos Ayres, Venezuela and Granada. They were invited to make Amelia Island the depot of their prizes and the vent of their cargoes. A court of admiralty was established, with John D. Heath, formerly a lawyer at the bar of Charleston, as' judge. Upon the cargoes of such prizes the government of Amelia was to levy an impost of sixteen and a half per cent of the gross amount of sales, together with the charges of the admiralty court, etc., to meet the current expenses of the establishment and the replenishment of the military chest.⁴ All of this was in the first week of the occupation.

In the meantime foraging parties had been despatched to the St. Johns country, one of which crossed the St. Johns River and established itself near the

* Meaning the 7th year of the independence of Venezuela dating from the first declaration, and the 1st of Florida.

site of Fort San Nicholas. San Nicholas was a Spanish block-house on the south side of the St. Johns. near the ford (South Jacksonville, the exact site being in what is now known as Locarno). Fearing an advance by MacGregor, the Spanish garrison at San Nicholas, on July 4th, burned the block-house, spiked the guns, and destroyed a few small arms and military stores that they could not conveniently carry with them, then embarked in two small gunboats, known as the "boats of the Royal Domain," and proceeded to St. Augustine.¹⁶

ANTAGONISM OF THE FLORIDIANS

The whole province of East Florida outside of the fortress of St. Augustine was undefended now and at the mercy of the invaders. MacGregor's out-parties were sent into the country to procure horses and supplies for the government. They soon began excesses upon the planters and inhabitants, which nullified any sympathy for the cause that might otherwise have been created by a different course. It does not appear that MacGregor authorized or was in sympathy with these depredations upon the inhabitants, but he and his cause, nevertheless, got the blame. His first blunder was in not pushing on to St. Augustine at once, for it is probable that in the enthusiasm of an unopposed advance the Spanish-Americans would have joined his standard in sufficient number to make his force respectable. But he tarried at Fernandina, issuing proclamations, organizing his government as though the conquest were complete, and incidentally entertaining in lavish style.

He made another mistake when, immediately upon his arrival at Amelia, he seized thirty-one slaves found at the island and sold them for the benefit of the government.²² This greatly alarmed the planters, in whose

memory the excesses of the Georgia patriots in 1812-13, were still fresh. Says the *Charleston Courier*, of July 19, 1817:

We have several letters from St. Marys and Amelia Island received by yesterday's mail, dated July 12th., which confirm the verbal accounts received here a few days since, from the same quarter, that the prospects of the patriots were by no means so flattering as at first represented. Had MacGregor pushed for St. Augustine immediately on his landing at Amelia, while the Spaniards were panic-struck and flying before him, he might perhaps have gained possession of that fortress, but he has lost that opportunity by delay; his followers are becoming dissatisfied, while the inhabitants of Florida are taking the alarm from the misconduct of his outposts. The planters are petitioning the officers of the American government on that frontier for permission to take their negroes into our territory for safety.

The out-parties degenerated into roving bands, plundering on their own account. We have a vivid narrative of one of these which, authorized by MacGregor to capture small Spanish vessels along the coast turned pirates and met their fate. The affair was described by a respectable citizen of St. Augustine: ¹⁷

The Challenge, an open boat, thirteen men, one swivel, eight muskets, fifteen pairs of pistols, sabres, and the necessary ammunition, was fitted out at Amelia under MacGregor's commission, with license to rob and plunder the inoffensive inhabitants of Mosquito. His excellency, the governor of this province, [Coppinger] having had early information, dispatched a force from this place [St. Augustine] and on the 28th inst., [July] between 12 and 1 o'clock p. m., engaged the banditti in an open field, killed ten of them; took three, who begged for quarters; the boat armament; MacGregor's flag and papers. These desperadoes succeeded to land at Mr.'s plantation, nor had they more than entered the house when they commenced to break open doors, a chest of drawers, one trunk, and had every part of the house in complete search-when in about fifteen minutes of their being allowed to land, the King's troops came up. These fellows, thinking they were but a few plantation negroes, left the house to give battle, in hopes

of catching some of them, their object being negroes, but they soon discovered their mistake, and after firing one musket shot, attempted to regain their boat, which was already cut off from them. The following are the names of the killed: Capt. Morrisson, Sandford, Robert Wilson, Wm. Wilson, Ledlow, Thomas Williamson, Wellibey, Thomas Osman, Alexandro, and a Frenchman. All were Irishmen, Scotchmen, and citizens of the United States, except the Frenchman. From the language of one of the prisoners the most of them were deceived by the captain and Sandford, who led them to believe that their object was rather more discreet than eventually proved. It is really surprising that the Americans will continue to molest this country, that has never caused them the least offense. It is most degrading to rob the quiet planters of Mosquito, who have saved many and many of your countrymen who have had the misfortune to get cast away on this coast. Such is the gratitude and good return. The inhabitants of this country are Spaniards, whose homes are not to be plundered with impunity. A line of signals will henceforth communicate from the Mantanzas to Mosquito, and assure that the next attempt will meet the same well deserved, but unfortunate fate.

The King's troops mentioned were a company of a recent reinforcement of black troops from Cuba.

In another quarter, MacGregor had sent a boat up the St. Marys River to enlist such recruits as were willing to join the standard. As the boat approached the shore it was fired on and one of the crew killed.¹⁸ There were a number of brushes of this kind, enough to indicate plainly that the assistance of the Spanish-Americans, so heavily counted on in the beginning, had been lost to the cause of South American liberty.

AFFAIRS AT AMELIA

With the additions of the garrison from Fernandina and the seventy men from San Nicholas on the St. Johns, together with the arming of private citizens, Governor Coppinger could muster in the neighborhood of four hundred loyalists at St. Augustine, with provisions ample for a siege of six months.

The force at Amelia under MacGregor averaged about one hundred. At times it was less, from frequent desertions for one reason or another. Then a few recruits would arrive and the process would be repeated. Notwithstanding the fact that the Spanish force at St. Augustine and the open antagonism of the Floridians virtually confined his jurisdiction to the small island of Amelia, MacGregor continued his preparations for an advance as soon as the reinforcements that had been promised should arrive from the North. A local government for Fernandina had been established, for on July 25, 1817, an ordinance was passed, entitled "For the Better Regulation of Slaves," which was signed by Farquhar Bethune, as Mayor, and Wm. P. Yonge, as Secretary; this was a curfew ordinance, which also provided for fine or imprisonment for enticing slaves away from their owners.¹⁹

Several privateers were commissioned by MacGregor, but they had positive orders not to interfere with any neutral vessel,²⁹ which meant no vessel except Spanish. About the middle of July a French prize was brought to Fernandina. Judge John D. Heath, of the admiralty court, and General MacGregor had different opinions as to the right to claim her as a prize; a heated discussion followed and Judge Heath resigned. A commission of five was then appointed to fill the office and Jared Irwin* was made president. The Commission insisted that a part of the vessel's cargo was Spanish and could be condemned, and a third of her cargo was condemned as Spanish property contrary to the protest of General MacGregor, Colonel Posey, and other high officers of the command.²⁰

* Jared Irwin was formerly an officer in the American militia, and U. S. congressman from the state of Pennsylvania, 1813-15. (*Charleston Courier*, Oct. 13, 1817.)

July went and August came, and still no reinforcement from the North and none of the promised funds. The company at Savannah, seeing no prospect of gain, and doubtful of the capacity of those at Amelia to obtain any serious or valuable results, withheld further payments upon their promised assistance. The people of Georgia, who had supplied MacGregor with provisions, grew impatient at the uncertain mode of payment, and at length positively refused to furnish rations unless paid for in specie. Private loans were then resorted to, and every expedient, however destructive, seized upon to support the vanishing credit. In the midst of this desolation, Jared Irwin was appointed chief of the Amelian treasury, and in this capacity issued notes negotiable upon the faith of the government; but this experiment, as may be imagined, had little effect in reviving credit.⁴

With scarcely enough money in the treasury to procure rations and none to keep up the payroll, MacGregor's force gradually melted away. A Spanish officer from St. Augustine had secretly found his way into Fernandina and ascertaining the number of MacGregor's followers and the amount of his resources, departed before his mission was discovered. Not long afterward, authentic information was received that the Spaniards, aided by the Florida militia, were planning an attack upon Fernandina. MacGregor then assembled his men, laid before them in a candid manner the hopes of victory and the disaster attending defeat, and left it to their decisions to follow his fortunes or depart. Many of them departed.²¹

Seeing his hazardous situation, having but twenty-five men left, MacGregor had his baggage and that of his remaining officers put aboard a brig, for in ease reinforcements did not arrive in time to repel the expected attack, he intended to abandon his conquest of

Florida. ²¹ A day or so afterward, Commodore Taylor arrived from the Chesapeake in the privateer *Patriota* bringing a small reinforcement for MacGregor. About this time news reached Amelia that a large reinforcement was leaving New York, headed by Ruggles Hubbard, high-sheriff of New York City. New life was thereby infused into the affairs of Amelia, and MacGregor set about strengthening the defenses of Fernandina. ²³ On August 21st, he ordered a blockade of the entire Florida coast from the southern end of Amelia Island around to the Perdido River, effective September 15th. The enforcement of the blockade was placed in the hands of Commodore Taylor, chief of the Amelian navy. The proclamation was printed in Spanish by R. Findley, printer to the government; ²⁴ the printing press had been received and set up, but the newspaper does not seem to have appeared. ²⁵ The blockade never became effective.

MACGREGOR ABANDONS AMELIA

The resources of Amelia, both in men and money, were still unequal to any enterprise, whether offensive or defensive, but MacGregor held on in expectation of the arrival at any time of the expedition from New York. He believed that at last his backers were about to fulfill their obligations. Indeed so firmly had he relied on the faith of his engagements with the people at the North that he declined the acceptance of an adequate force from Georgia for the reduction of the Floridas, because it was offered on terms incompatible with his original compact. ²⁶ Reinforcements, under one pretense or another, had been delayed from time to time, but now he thought they were not only on the way, but would arrive at almost any hour.

Ruggles Hubbard, high-sheriff of New York, sail-

ed into the St. Marys River about August 28th, in the privateer brig *Morgiana*, owned by himself and flying the Buenos Ayrean flag. Hubbard brought no men, no money, nor munitions of war for MacGregor. And this was the expedition upon which he had based all his hopes of late! The only thing that it brought to MacGregor was an understanding that his supposed supporters in the North contemplated nothing further than the retention of Amelia Island as a rendezvous for their privateers.²⁸

Indignant at the deception, MacGregor called a council of his remaining officers-Colonels Posey and Parker, Captains Lynch, Beverly, Rouse, and others.²⁹ They discussed what was best to do. The Spanish-American army, said to number five hundred men, was already assembling on the main for an attack upon Amelia. We have no record of the "inside" proceedings of this council; no doubt it was pathetic in a way. The decision was to abandon the cause. Colonel Posey, together with most of the other high officers resigned on September 3d.* Wishing to be the last to resign General MacGregor waited until the next day, September 4th, to give up his command, turning it over to Irwin. The general, with his wife, went aboard a brig lying in the harbor.³⁰ Henceforth his movements were shrouded in mystery at the time, but it afterward developed that in abandoning Amelia he did not disappear from Florida's history, as we shall later see.

On the 16th of July, the United States government ordered the armed brig *Saranac*, Captain John H. Elton, to the St. Marys, because:³¹

The recent occupation of Amelia Island by an officer in the service of the Spanish revolutionists occasions just appre-

*Colonel Thornton Posey died two weeks later at Wilmington, N. C., on September 17, 1817, age 29 years. (*Charleston Courier*, Sept. 26, 1817.)

hension that, from the vicinity to the coast of Georgia, attempts will be made to introduce slaves into the United States contrary to existing laws, and further attempts at illicit trade in smuggling goods in violation of our revenue laws.

Owing to an accident at Charleston, the *Saranac* did not arrive at the St. Marys until September 4th, the day that General MacGregor abandoned Amelia, but in time to witness subsequent events of much interest to a naval vessel.³²

General MacGregor, as we have seen, turned affairs at Amelia over to Jared Irwin. Irwin called a council of soldiers to decide upon the question of risking a battle with the Spaniards or abandoning the island peaceably. A check-list showed eighty men and fourteen officers still at Fernandina; and in the harbor Hubbard's privateer *Morgiana* of eighteen guns, the Amelian privateer St. *Joseph* of ten, and the armed schooner *Jupiter*, with their crews. The decision of the council was to fight it out with the "Damn Spaniards of the Main," as they were called.³³

When this decision became known the greatest confusion prevailed among the remaining inhabitants of Fernandina. They, together with all the women of the town, went over to St. Marys, Georgia, many of them with their movable property. Amidst this confusion, Irwin and his men, with feverish activity, prepared for the Spanish attack. Irwin's force had neither talents, resources, nor popularity, being composed principally of sailors out of a job.⁴ All of the officers and best men of the original force had left the cause with MacGregor.

BATTLE OF AMELIA

Governor Coppinger, the son of an Irishman, inheriting the native gallantry of his paternal ancestry and already seasoned by his participation in the Peninsula campaign in Europe, chafed at the characteristic

Spanish delay in furnishing reinforcements from Cuba. Toward the end of July he received a small reinforcement of black troops from Havana, but the naval cooperation promised to assist in expelling MacGregor had not arrived. Feeling ashamed that the trifling force at Amelia should so long profane the province under his command, and tired of waiting, Coppinger issued a call for volunteers from the white militia of East Florida, to be supported by the black troops in garrison at St. Augustine.⁴ In answer to this call there was a spontaneous response. The militia of the Northern Division turned out, well equipped at their own expense, almost to a man, including the superannuated.⁹

The militia rendezvoused at Cedar Point on the mainland, about eighteen miles south of Fernandina ; afterward they moved over to the Harrison plantation in the southern part of Amelia Island, and there awaited the arrival of the force from St. Augustine.³⁴

In the night of September 9th, an advance party of twenty-seven volunteer militia from the Northern Division landed about a mile south of the town of Fernandina. On the morning of the 10th, at a near-by plantation they met a force three times their number, commanded by Irwin in person. This small body of Florida militia drove Irwin's force back into the town with a loss of seven killed and fourteen wounded, themselves sustaining no loss whatever. Irwin's dead were left upon the field and were buried by the Florida militia.⁹

On the 11th, Irwin sent the *St. Joseph* a mile up the Amelia River to burn the houses on the plantation where the fight had occurred. After plundering all they could carry off, the crew set fire to the two-story dwelling house of an old and inoffensive man, together with all the other buildings on the plantation. As

they were finishing the desolation, the Florida militia appeared and drove them off, without loss to either side in the skirmish.³⁶

The main body of Florida militia, about one hundred in number, was at Harrison's plantation, awaiting the arrival of the force from St. Augustine. Here on the 12th they were joined by that force, numbering about one hundred and fifty, mostly trained black troops.

To co-operate with the land force, Governor Copinger sent two small "boats of the Royal Domain," manned with light artillery. These came by the inside passage and arrived on the 13th, when the mutual advance against Fernandina began. The troops moved up, apparently unobserved, to within range of the guns of the fort, but were screened from them by McClure's hill,⁴ a commanding elevation about a quarter of a mile southeast of the town. A Spanish battery of four brass pieces took up a position on top of the hill. The Spanish gunboats advanced to within a mile of the town and opened the battle at 3 p. m., when the battery on McClure's Hill likewise came into action. The privateer *St. Joseph* and Fort San Carlos and the two block-houses, replied. The Spanish gunboats had the range perfectly and dropped their shot around the *St. Joseph* and at the fort, while the battery on McClure's Hill got a number of shot into the town.³⁸

It seems that the *St. Joseph* confined her attention mostly to the Spanish gunboats, but her gunners overshot their mark, their shot falling far beyond. Only two of the big guns of San Carlos could be brought to bear on McClure's Hill, and these likewise overshot their mark, but with a strange result. The *Morgiana* lay off Fernandina in a position to bombard the town in case the Spaniards captured it, but she did not fire a gun during the action.³⁹

The firing was described as incessant, and continued until dark. Irwin reported no loss as a result of the bombardment, but toward dusk the *St. Joseph* hoisted sail and headed for the St. Marys, which would indicate that it was getting too hot for her.

The shot from the two guns at San Carlos went over McClure's Hill and accidentally fell among the troops concentrated below, two of whom were killed and a number wounded. The commander of the troops, who held the rank of major in the Royal Regiment of Cuba, became panic-struck at this unexpected situation. Instead of shifting his position to the obscurity of the woods in the rear of the town where no preparation for resistance had been made, thence advancing under cover of the night, the Spanish commander ordered a retreat, in spite of the entreaties and remonstrances of the officers of the militia. The militia of Florida was a brave and active race, and its officers and men were maddened by the cowardice of the Spanish commander; but there was nothing else to do, as the orders to retreat were imperative.⁴

The Spanish gunboats, which covered themselves with glory, held their positions until ordered to retreat. The troops retreated to Harrison's, whence the volunteers in disgust returned to their homes and the Spaniards to St. Augustine.

The expedition comprised about three hundred men in all and its success had never been doubted by Governor Coppinger. He received the report of the failure with the utmost indignation and immediately placed the commander under arrest. A court martial acquitted the officer of the charge of cowardice, but declared him incompetent and relieved him of his command. The laws of Spain unfortunately did not permit the governor of the province to command in person a mil-

itary operation beyond the immediate confines of his garrison ; had it been otherwise, this expedition without doubt would have closed the career of Irwin and his followers at Amelia Island. ⁴

RUGGLES HUBBARD AND JARED IRWIN

The High-Sheriff of New York and the former Congressman of the United States appear to have had some understanding with respect to the destiny of Amelia before the battle took place, although Hubbard was at St. Marys while the fighting was going on. The "understanding" between Hubbard and Irwin is hinted at in an account of the correspondent of the *Charleston Courier*, September 29, 1817:

One of the principal leaders at Fernandina comes out with the following declaration: That his friends want only Fernandina and Pensacola, as ports to fit out privateers and bring in prizes, and that they are very indifferent as to the fate of the rest of the Floridas; that if the inhabitants will keep themselves at home, or will not act with hostility toward them, they may retain or promise their allegiance to whom they please. ⁶³

The first notice of Hubbard as actively engaged in the affairs of Amelia was after the battle. He was then at the head of the civil department and Irwin was chief of the military.

The reconstruction of Amelia under Hubbard and Irwin had been in progress two days, when there arrived in port two privateers with a valuable prize. The mere fact of the arrival of a privateer or two at Fernandina, in itself, was not an unusual occurrence ; but this was the arrival of Luis Aury, the famous pirate, and it had a most important effect upon the affairs of Amelia, as well as upon those of the neighboring Northern Division.

LUIS AURY

Luis Aury was a Frenchman, ⁶⁵ a graduate of the French revolutionary school. ⁴ Little is known of him until he made his appearance on the Spanish Main, where he seems to have gone to cast his lot with the South American revolutionists. There he no doubt became acquainted with MacGregor, who was then enlisted in the same cause.

Aury had concentrated his ships in the harbor of Cartagena, (Colombia) where he was surprised by a Spanish squadron. Rather than surrender and perish by the sword, he ran the blockade with a part of his fleet and sailed for the island of Santo Domingo. It was probably here that he decided to lay aside his patriotism for the South Americans to become an outright pirate for himself. From Santo Domingo he set sail for Galveston Island, then known as Snake Island, on the coast of Texas, arriving there some time in July, 1816, with a prize or two that he had captured in the meantime. On this uninhabited island, Aury soon collected a gang of desperate vagabonds, including Frenchmen, some of whom had been with Napoleon in Europe; Barratarian refugees, remnant of Lafitte's pirate band ; freebooters and smugglers ; and in short outcasts of every country, together with a considerable body of vicious mulattoes from Santo Domingo Island. ⁴⁰

With the consent of one Manuel de Herrera, so-called minister plenipotentiary of the Republic of Mexico to the United States, Aury set up a government on Galveston Island. Herrera appointed him civil and military governor; with power to issue letters of marque and institute a court of admiralty, all of which Herrera had no real authority to do. Nevertheless, a first-class piratical rendezvous was soon established on Galveston Island. ⁴⁰

Aury's privateers sailed under the Mexican flag, when it was deemed expedient to display one, and claimed to be in the service of the "Republic of Mexico" in its struggle for independence ; but no vessel containing booty, whether merchandise or slaves, was safe along the Spanish Main or in the Gulf of Mexico, unless convoyed by a warship. There are several instances of record where Aury's privateers captured both the merchantman and the convoy. Slave ships were eagerly sought for as an especially valuable prize. At Galveston the captured cargoes were appraised by the "court of admiralty" and sent usually to the vicinity of New Orleans, where they were disposed of, often with little attempt at concealment. Slaves were sold to speculators along the Texas coast, who in turn sold them to planters in the outlying districts of Louisiana.

The bar and harbor at Galveston proved unsatisfactory and dangerous, and Aury with his "government" abandoned the island on April 5, 1817, and moved farther west to Matagorda. The new headquarters, likewise, was unsatisfactory. Receiving intelligence that MacGregor was planning a descent upon Florida, Aury decided to go there and if MacGregor was not in possession at the time, to take Fernandina with the force under his own command. Aury had no idea of conquering Florida ; all he wished for was to establish a "government" on the order of that of Galveston, and Fernandina offered many inducements. He left Matagorda, touched at Galveston to collect his fleet, and sailed for Amelia Island in July, 1817.⁴⁰

Where Aury went or what he did in the next month or so we do not know. On the 11th of September he was reported off Charleston,⁴¹ and on the 17th he arrived at Amelia Island with two privateers and a prize valued at \$60,000.⁴² Sailing into the harbor of Fernandina

on board his flagship, the Mexican Congress, a formidable brig mounting twelve long 18-pounders, Aury proposed a salute with Captain Elton of the U. S. S. *Saranac*; but Captain Elton took no notice of the offer. He met a warmer reception, however, from Governor Hubbard. There had been a rumor for many days that Aury was on his way to Amelia, and his arrival was not unexpected, though his purposes were unknown. Hubbard at once appealed to him for financial assistance.

AMELIA ANNEXED TO MEXICO

Aury sized the situation up immediately and refused his aid unless he should be made chief as at Galveston. To this arrangement Hubbard and Irwin strongly protested, and it was not until Aury threatened to leave Amelia that a compromise was effected.⁴

It was finally agreed that Hubbard should be the civil governor of Amelia, and Aury the commander-in-chief of the military and naval forces. Irwin entered the arrangement as adjutant-general under Aury. The flag of the Republic of Mexico should fly, Aury claiming the authority to hoist it as a chief of the Mexican republic. In the arrangement, Aury was to pay the arrearages to MacGregor's men who would consent to remain in the "cause."

The stage thus set, the following proclamation was issued :⁴³

PROCLAMATION

Fernandina, East Florida, September 20th - The inhabitants of the Island of Amelia are informed, that tomorrow the Mexican flag will be hoisted on the fort with the usual formalities. They are invited to return as soon as possible to their homes, or send persons in their confidence to take possession of the property existing in the houses, which is held sacred. All persons desirous of recovering their property are invited to send written orders, without which nothing will be allowed to be embarked.

Proclamations for the organization of the place will immediately be issued.

AURY, Commander-in-Chief
R. HUBBARD, Governor, &c.

So, amidst the boom of cannon, and with the buccaneer nobility of the high-seas and the land forces of iniquity lined up at attention, Amelia Island on September 21, 1817, was annexed to the "Republic of Mexico."⁴³

As we have seen, the last of the respectable inhabitants of Amelia, who had the courage to remain after MacGregor captured the island, left in anticipation of the Spanish attack. None of them returned permanently by virtue of the proclamation, to mix with the heterogeneous assemblage then occupying Fernandina, comprising many nationalities and languages, but no Spanish Americans. The population at that time was wholly composed of those who had come ostensibly to aid the cause of the South American patriots, but with the real motive of subsisting by plundering and privateering. Among them were found American, English, Irish, and French adventurers and derelicts, together with Aury's trained desperadoes, the cream of the Galveston establishment,⁶⁴ including one hundred and thirty mulattoes, known as Aury's "blacks" and described as a "set of desperate, bloodthirsty dogs."⁶⁵ A conglomerate mass of this kind, thrown together in anticipation of spoil, under a compromise agreement between leaders who sought exclusive power for themselves, could hardly be expected to remain quiet, and it is not surprising that factions arose to fight among themselves.

CIVIL COMMOTION

In the very beginning there was trouble between Hubbard and the Americans and Aury and his blacks over the question of the latter being in garrison at

Fernandina - it was a color-line question and it resolved itself into two parties, one headed by Hubbard, known as the "American party," and the other by Aury, as the "French party." On October 8th, a proclamation bearing upon the matter of runaway slaves and imposing a fine of \$100 upon anyone enticing a slave away from its owner, was issued by the "Supreme Junta or Council of State," the advisory body that had been created, composed of eight members including Hubbard and Aury. It was hardly more than a curfew law, but it was inspired by Hubbard and gave Aury an opportunity to bring up the question of authority at Amelia. The affairs at Amelia were at once thrown into a whirlpool of confusion, the party lines becoming clearly drawn between the English-speaking people, who gravitated to Hubbard, and the others to Aury.⁴⁴

The bitterness became intense and the situation at times amounted to almost open warfare between the parties. Such was the instability of the government that one day Hubbard's party would prevail to the exclusion of the military under Aury, only to be overturned the next day by the military to the exclusion of the civil authority. So it went-no business of any kind, no sales of prize goods, and everything else in confusion.⁴⁴

DEATH OF RUGGLES HUBBARD

Hubbard, already in poor health after a month of strain and worry, finally contracted the prevailing fever, which had all of the ear-marks of yellow fever. Seizing the opportunity, Aury, with a body of armed mulattoes, marched to Hubbard's quarters and forced him to make concessions. Hubbard survived this mortification only a short time-he died October 19th.⁴⁵ Had he lived a week longer he would have witnessed an unexpected and strange reinforcement.

In August, 1817, one hundred British ex-officers sailed from England for South America to enlist in the cause of South American independence. On their arrival at St. Thomas, West Indies, they learned that MacGregor had captured Amelia Island, and thirty of them at the suggestion of the American consul at St. Thomas, decided to change their plans and join their countryman, MacGregor. Hiring a schooner to take them to Fernandina, they arrived there October 25th. The pirate Liers, captain of Hubbard's privateer *Morgiana*, presented them to Aury, who entertained them at a banquet that night. In his speech Aury informed them that he was sorry they had not brought privates to his standard, as he already had more officers than he could use, many of whom had to do duty in the ranks of the garrison. ^{4 46}

In the meantime, following the death of Hubbard, the American party was merely a mob of men without a head. The ring-leaders approached Irwin on the subject of becoming their chief; but the adjutant-general of Aury, though now without influence, held the offer in abeyance, suggesting that subsequent developments should decide the matter. ⁴ This was the situation at Amelia when the British officers arrived. Disappointed at finding that MacGregor had departed, and not being favorably impressed with the idea of doing duty in the ranks, as intimated by Aury, most of them left the island immediately. One, a Colonel McDonald, with a few fellow officers, remained and attempted to organize a party of their own to oust the other parties of Amelia. There were some defections from the American party to McDonald, which weakened that party and strengthened Aury's. While this was going on, Aury seized the opportunity and combined the civil authority with his military supremacy. ⁴

AURY IN SUPREME COMMAND

Lining his privateers along the waterfront, with their guns trained upon Fernandina, Aury declared martial law. His proclamation was a good example of his diplomatic chicanery : ⁴⁷

INHABITANTS OF FERNANDINA

For days past you have witnessed the scandalous transactions of a faction, composed of men, who existing and tolerated on this island by our generosity, have solely been engaged in subverting social order. They are mercenaries, traitors or cowards, who abandoned the cause of republicanism in the hour of danger, and who either hired by our enemies or misled by the intrigues of a few aspiring individuals, have attempted to involve us in all the complicated horrors of civil war.

Citizens, we are republicans from principle; our fortunes have been spent and our lives are oft exposed for the most glorious, cause. We have come here to plant the tree of liberty; to foster free institutions; and to wage war against the tyrant of Spain, the oppressor of America and the enemy to the rights of man. We are ever ready to pay obedience to the principle of republicanism, but firmly determined never to adhere to the dictates of a faction.

When the heat of passion shall be no more; when public peace and tranquility shall be restored, we shall see with a lively pleasure the establishment of a provisional government most suitable to our common interest, and to the advancement of our glorious cause.

Americans, Englishmen, Irishmen, and Frenchmen, men of all nations, we are freemen; let us forever be united by the love of liberty and hatred to tyranny.

Soldiers and sailors, martial law is declared to be in force for ten days. Let us give to our brethren of the state of the Floridas proofs of our military discipline, and of our respect for the properties of the inhabitants.

LUIS AURY

Headquarters of Fernandina,
November 5th, 1817.
8th and 1st of the independence.

Now firmly seated upon the throne, Aury proceeded to remove any possibility of further disturbance to "our common interest and the advancement of our glorious cause." He banished some of the ring-leaders of the American party, designating in special cases that they should not settle south of the dividing line between South and North Carolina. He arrested the British officers of McDonald's party and brought them to trial before a court martial. Aury's court, selected by himself, was composed of buccaneers who had been faithful to him in the recent trouble. They listened to the evidence without interest, as their verdict was predetermined and that was death. The counsel for the defense was one of the British officers who had left Amelia, but being at St. Marys at the time, he returned to Fernandina to represent his countrymen at the trial. He had been a lawyer of some note in England. Realizing that evidence and pleading meant nothing in this case, he delivered a master-stroke in a final statement, that if the verdict was for conviction England would leave no stone unturned for their extermination. This aroused the court; those swarthy pirates sat up, put their heads together and began to whisper among themselves. They returned a verdict of banishment from the island. The lawyer in the case published a book in 1819, in which he described this trial.⁴

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT TAKES ACTION

The United States government was fully aware of the situation at Amelia, as the public press of the country carried news items in almost every issue. The *National Intelligencer* and *Niles' Weekly Register*, both considered semi-official organs of the government, devoted considerable space to the subject. Captain Elton, of the U. S. brig *Saranac*, the watchful eye of the government at St. Marys, reported regularly and often

to the Navy Department. The *Charleston Courier* and the *Savannah Republican*, newspapers, the former a daily paper, likewise kept the public informed. Private citizens also furnished the government with information. One in particular is worthy of note—John H. McIntosh, famous in Florida's history as a leader in the Patriot invasion of 1812. General McIntosh wrote a lengthy account under date of July 30, 1817, and sent it to William H. Crawford, secretary of the treasury. In this account he said: "Aury's blacks make their neighborhood extremely dangerous to a population like ours [in Georgia] and I fear if they are not expelled from that place [Fernandina] some unhappy consequence might fall on our country. It is said they have declared that if they are in danger of being overpowered [by the American party] they will call to their aid every negro within reach. Indeed, I am told that the language of the slaves in Florida is already such as to be extremely alarming."⁴⁸

Seeing at last that the establishment at Amelia was in no way calculated to result in a conquest of Florida from Spain, the President directed that it be broken up. In January, 1811, congress had passed a secret act giving the President power to expel by force any foreign power that might occupy Spanish Florida—aimed mainly at the British as a preliminary to the war of 1812. The act remained unpublished until now when President Monroe invoked the law as his authority for expelling Aury from Amelia Island. The War and Navy departments issued their orders as follows:⁴⁹

War Department, November 12, 1817

Sir :

I am instructed by the President to direct you to repair immediately to Point Peter with the effective force under your command, leaving only an officer and a few men as a guard at Forts Moultrie and Johnson. Captain Wilson has been ordered

to repair with his company now at Fort Johnson, N. C., to Point Peter; and a detachment of new recruits under the command of Captain Hook, who was on his route to join the 4th infantry, has also been ordered to that place. The troops enumerated above and those now stationed at Point Peter, will constitute a force of more than 200 men, of which you will take command, until the arrival of General Gaines. A remittance of five thousand dollars has been made to your battalion quartermaster, whom you will take with you, and you will make requisitions for the necessary supply of provisions on the contractor's agents. It will be advisable to take from Charleston a supply of salted meat, and a sufficient quantity of flour and hard bread to serve 250 men for thirty days at least.

It appearing to the satisfaction of the President that the persons who have lately taken possession of Amelia Island have done it without the sanction of any of the Spanish colonies, or of any organized government whatever, and for purposes unfriendly to and incompatible with the interests of the United States, he has decided to break up that establishment and take temporary possession of Amelia Island. For this purpose the troops ordered to assemble at Point Peter will cooperate with the naval force which has been ordered to St. Mary's under the command of Captain Henley.

It is the anxious wish of the President that this should be accomplished without the effusion of blood; and he confidently hopes that the force destined for the purpose will be of such an imposing character as to induce those persons who now have the military occupation of the island to abandon it without the exercise of force; but if it should be found indispensably necessary, force must be used. You will therefore immediately on the arrival of Captain Henley at St. Mary's, and in conjunction with him, despatch an officer to demand the abandonment of the island by those who now exercise authority there, and to take such other measures as may be deemed proper to obtain the peaceable possession of it; also for the preservation of the property of those persons who were residents of the island when it was first captured by General MacGregor. Should your demand for the evacuation of Amelia be complied with, you will then occupy with a part of your force the position of Fernandina, and take care that the cannon and other implements of war which belonged to the port when it was captured by General MacGregor are not taken off.

If peaceable possession of the island, however, cannot be obtained, and it should be the opinion of Captain Henley and

yourself that your joint forces are not competent to the prompt and certain reduction of the naval and military forces which may then occupy the harbor and post of Fernandina, you will, in that event, make a requisition on General Floyd, or such other officer as may command that division of the militia of Georgia in which Point Peter is situated for a force not exceeding five hundred men, to be held in readiness to march at a moment's warning, and await the arrival of General Gaines, who has been ordered to Point Peter for ulterior measures.

You will take with you from Charleston the necessary military stores and such heavy cannon as may be required for the reduction of the fort on Amelia Island, in the event of resistance.

As no answer has been received to the communication addressed to you from this department on the 17th of July last, it becomes necessary to request that the receipt of this may be acknowledged, and that you also advise this department regularly of your movements.

I have the honor to be &c,

GEORGE GRAHAM

Major James Bankhead,
Commanding at Charleston, S. C.

Navy Department, November 14, 1817.

Sir:

Having been appointed to the command of the U. S. ship John Adams, you are hereby ordered, in conformity to the wishes of the President of the United States, to proceed forthwith to the port of St. Mary's in Georgia, taking with you the U. S. brigs Enterprize and Prometheus, and the schooner, Lynx, if the two latter have arrived in New York, and are in a state of readiness to accompany you; but you will not procrastinate the departure of the ship John Adams on account of these vessels, as any of them not fully prepared to proceed with you shall be ordered to join you *as soon* as practicable at St. Mary's, at which place you will find the U. S. brig Saranac, Captain John H. Elton, and gunboat No. 168, Lieutenant Commandant R. McCall, both of which vessels will act under your orders.

The object of the President of the United States in ordering this naval force to the St. Mary's is to remove from Amelia island the persons who have lately taken possession thereof, and, it is understood and believed, without authority

from the colonies or any organized government whatever, and to the great annoyance of the United States. It has therefore been determined that these persons shall be removed from that island, and that possession shall be taken for the present, by the land and naval forces of the United States.

On your arrival at St. Mary's, you will consult with the officer commanding the military force, who is instructed to co-operate with you in the performance of this service.

It is hoped that these persons will withdraw without bloodshed; and you will, for this purpose, should your relative rank be superior to that of the commanding officer of the land forces, make known to the chief commanding in Amelia the determination of the government of the United States to take possession of the island; and if the said chief, and the armed forces under his command, will peaceably quit the island, you will permit them to do so, taking special care that no depredations be committed on the inhabitants, whom it will be your duty to protect from violation or injury, either in their persons or property.

Should the force, however, now in command of the island, contrary to all expectations, resist and refuse absolutely to give up and abandon the same, you are, in co-operation with the military force of the United States, to proceed and take possession of the island in the name and by the authority of the United States.

Should you fall in with, on your way to St. Mary's, or find in Amelia any vessels from the United States, armed and equipped by American citizens, acting as privateers, contrary to the laws of the United States, you will capture such and send them to Savannah in Georgia, to be dealt with according to law.

You will detain all prizes, or other vessels having slaves on board, as the presumption is strong that they are intended to be smuggled into the United States. You will report from time to time to this department the operations of the force under your command.

I am respectfully, &c.,

B. W. CROWNSHIELD

Commodore J. D. Henley.

P. S. These orders are not to be delivered to any person.

Presently we shall see how Major Bankhead and Captain Henley carried out their orders.

Aury, down on Amelia Island, of course knew nothing of these orders. He had seen the United States gunboat No. 168. come in and join the *Saranac* off St. Marys on November 6th, but he attached no significance to that fact, for he had no idea that the United States government would intervene in the affairs of Amelia. Had not the United States hitherto backed up morally, or actually aided with its armed forces, other attempts against Spanish Florida? Did not President Monroe, when secretary of state, show an active interest in the invasion of East Florida by the Georgia patriots in 1812; and had not the United States attempted to plant its own "tree of liberty" here at that time? Could President Monroe doubt for an instant the high ideals expressed in the proclamation issued at Fernandina on November 5th? Had not MacGregor been suffered to organize in and depart from the United States on the same mission of liberty for the oppressed? Then what further right did the United States have to interfere now? So thought Aury, and firm in this belief he proceeded to duplicate the Galveston establishment on Amelia Island and hide it behind a paper government sailing under the name "republic."

DISPOSITION OF PRIZE CARGOES

For a month, while the English and French parties were at loggerheads, privateers continued to arrive with their prizes. Finding everything in turmoil most of them hoisted sail again and left for ports unknown, though probably for Baltimore or New York. The Spanish minister repeatedly reported to the United States government that privateers were illegally disposing of their cargoes in those ports, but there seems to have been little or no attention paid to his protests.⁵⁰

Upon gaining full control of the affairs of Amelia, Aury soon whipped the establishment into comparative quietude with respect to civil strife, and simultaneously the activity of the port of Fernandina increased. At one time there were eight large prizes in port, with full cargoes of sugar, coffee, etc., some with silks and cloth goods, others with miscellaneous merchandise, and all taken upon the high-seas in piratical manner. A Spanish prize in the harbor included in her cargo one thousand boxes of cigars made expressly for the king of Spain. But the most sought after prize of all was a shipload of Africans.

The clatter of anchor chains being drawn aboard and the rushing about of crews now spoke plainly of some new depredation upon the high-seas, or the departure of a prize ship to dispose of cargo in some Atlantic port of the United States. Alongside of others could be seen little boats of less than five tons burthen, loading goods. The revenue laws of the United States at that time were applicable to vessels of greater than five tons, therefore a boat of less tonnage needed no clearance. This loophole in the law was known to Aury and he took advantage of it in a local way. He used large rowboats, with Africans at the oars, and sent them to nearby points, where the goods were disposed of and the Africans sold to slave traders. Captain Elton of the U.S.S. *Saranac* saw them go and return, but he could not legally stop them; he had already made a test case of one, and the collector at Savannah had turned her loose for the reasons stated.⁶⁴ This, though, was not the principal manner in which Africans were disposed of by Aury.

The residents of the Northern Division, however, amenable to their own laws, had no conscientious scruples about making money through the medium of slave traffic. To them it was all wrong to steal a neighbor's

cow, and the punishment therefor was severe; but it was all right to take an Indian's cow, smuggle it across the St. Marys and sell it in Georgia. To them the only difference between a cow and a negro was physical-both were property. When Aury met them and offered to sell them boatloads of Africans, the arrangements were perfected on the spot. So the people that had been antagonistic to MacGregor quickly turned to Aury to their great pecuniary advantage.⁵¹

It was estimated by a careful observer⁵² that Aury disposed of more than a thousand Africans in this way in less than two months. They were taken up on the Spanish side of the St. Marys River fifty or sixty miles, to avoid the vigilance of the revenue officers, and finally sold at a great advance in the back parts of Georgia and the adjoining states.⁵¹

In all of this we easily recognize the general system pursued at Galveston. Aury had come into his own. We can safely picture him standing on the ramparts of Fort San Carlos, smoking a cigar intended for the king of Spain, his keen eyes sweeping the harbor of Fernandina and its activities. Off to the left he notes a boat going up Bells River, loaded with its human freight to be delivered to the slave traders of the Northern Division. Along the waterfront he views the bales and cases of goods waiting appraisal. A privateer and a prize ship, square-rigged, are hoisting sail to leave the harbor-the former to sweep the Atlantic for such as she could capture; the latter for a port to dispose of cargo. In the distance, off Point Peter, he observes the *Saranac* and the little gunboat No. 168, riding at anchor ; but what of that, when the whole Atlantic coast remains unguarded as to smuggling? Feeling like the king he wishes to be, he puffs at his cigar and looks upon the situation with contentment, little dreaming that a United States squad-

ron is preparing to sail down the coast with orders to run him out.

THE "REPUBLICANISM" OF AMELIA

Aury realized that to perpetuate the establishment at Amelia, something must be done to convey the impression that a legitimate government existed there. In all of his proclamations-and like MacGregor, he was fond of issuing them, but with the difference that Aury's were camouflage, while MacGregor's were sincere-the words "patriotic cause," "republicanism," and "independence" were shrewdly played-up for the benefit of the outside world.

Aury called a meeting of his officers for the purpose of holding an election of members to constitute a legislature. From the minutes of that meeting we have :⁵³

ELECTION

A Meeting of the Officers of the Republic of the Floridas, convened by General Order of 16th November, 1817, at the house of the Commander-in-chief, having assembled, the session was opened by the General as follows:

Gentlemen:-When the dangers that threatened the existence of our infant Republic required that effectual measures should be taken to establish order and tranquillity, I was the first to recommend them, though contrary to the sacred rights of the Citizen. The Martial Law which was proclaimed for ten days has expired, and the tranquillity that now exists allows the citizens peaceably to elect their representatives. In my humble opinion it would be dangerous to extend any longer the empire of this law, as it can merely tend at the present moment to check the progress of our operations.

I therefore suggest that an Assembly of Representatives be called to frame and constitute a Provisional Government, adapted to the present situation of the State, well understood that while they are exercising so precious a right, the present military establishment must be supported in order not to suffer our existence to be impaired by the intrigues and treacherous machinations of our common enemy.

The members of the meeting having taken the subject into serious consideration, unanimously, agreed on the following resolutions :

1. That on Wednesday, the 19th inst., the inhabitants of the Island of Amelia be summoned for the purpose of electing Representatives, whose duty it will be to frame and constitute a provisional government, to continue in force until a constitution for the state be framed by a convention legally called and composed of delegates of the people of the Floridas, free and independent from the King of Spain, his heirs and successors.

2. Every free inhabitant who shall have resided fifteen days previous to this on the Island shall be entitled to vote, but previous to giving his vote he shall take and subscribe the following oath :

"I swear that I will truly and faithfully and as far as it is in my power support the cause of the Republic of the Floridas against its enemies. I renounce all allegiance to any State not actually struggling for the emancipation of Spanish America: So help me God."

3. No military officer, non-commissioned officer, or private on actual service, shall be entitled to vote, but may be elected as a representative..

4. There shall be nine Representatives. Every voter shall give in writing the names of the nine he votes for, to the officers to be appointed for the purpose.

5. Every free person intending to vote, shall call before the election at the Treasury Office in Washington Square, for the purpose of subscribing and taking the above-mentioned oath. Major M. Walsh and V. Pazos are appointed to administer the same.

6. The polls shall be open from twelve o'clock noon to sunset, and the next day, the 20th, from sunrise to sunset.

Fernandina, November 16th, 1817 - 1 of the Independence of the Floridas.

LOUIS COMPTE

Secretary of the Meeting.

This proclamation is a specimen of the sort of liberty advocated by Aury and his followers. The oath of allegiance amounted to an absolute exclusion of Americans.

Heralded by a discharge of artillery, the Assembly of Representatives met on December 1st, and Irwin was elected president.⁵⁴ Here we have a former congressman of the United States renouncing his allegiance to his country, which he unquestionably had to do, to become president of this august body of thieves. At that first meeting a committee was appointed to draft a constitution for the "Republic of the Floridas." This committee was composed of Pedro Gaul, whom we recognize as the deputy from New Granada signing MacGregor's commission and who had become persona *non grata* to the United States; V. Pazos, likewise banned by the United States; and one M. Minder, whose record is unknown, but doubtless of the same character as his associates.⁶⁴

The first issue of *El Telegrafo de las Floridas*, off the press early in December,⁵⁵ carried an account of the proceedings on December 1st. There is no record or inference that a newspaper was published at Fernandina while MacGregor was there, though he used his printing press to run off his proclamations.

El Telegrafo de las Floridas was probably the first newspaper ever published in East Florida outside of St. Augustine. It was published in Spanish.

The committee may have framed some kind of constitution for the "Republic of the Floridas," but it never became operative, for just at that time the intentions of the United States became known at Amelia. Aury, on learning that the United States had determined to break up his buccaneering establishment and occupy the island, was greatly perturbed. His first impulse was to offer resistance. This impulse, however, was only momentary. He then considered abandoning the island.³⁷ On December 12th, he issued a long harangue to his "Assembly of Representatives of the Re-

public of the Floridas," dealing mostly with the legitimacy of his activities and the history of his adventures.⁵⁶ But because of the condition of his vessels, all that Aury could do was to quietly remain and surrender to the United States forces.

AURY SURRENDERS AMELIA

The troops ordered concentrated at Point Peter were all there soon after the first of December, awaiting the arrival of Captain Henley's squadron. Captain Henley, in the corvette *John Adams*, accompanied by the gun brigs *Enterprize* and *Prometheus* and the schooner *Lynx*, came to anchor off Point Peter on December 20th. The *Saranac* and gunboat No. 168 dropped down the St. Marys and joined the squadron. Captain Henley and Major Bankhead met in conference and soon had their plans perfected. The following chain of correspondence between the United States officers and Aury tells the story:⁵⁷

U. S. Ship John Adams, off Amelia,
December 22, 1817.

Sir :

We have received orders from our government to take possession of Amelia Island, and to occupy the port of Fernandina with a part of our force, which will be moved over as soon as it will be convenient for your troops to evacuate it.

To avoid unnecessary delay, we think proper at this time to inform you, in the event of your acquiescence in this demand, that you will be at liberty to depart with the forces under your command, and such property as belongs unquestionably to them will be held sacred.

You are to leave the public property found by General MacGregor at Fernandina in the same condition as it was when taken, and the property of the inhabitants of Amelia Island must be restored to them, where they have been forcibly dispossessed of it; and no depredations on private property from this period will be permitted with impunity.

Should you, contrary to the expectations of the President of the United States, refuse to give us peaceable possession of the island, the consequence of resistance must rest with you.

We have the honor to be, &c.,
J. D. HENLEY, Captain in the navy, and
commander-in-chief of the naval
forces of the United States off Amelia.
JAMES BANKHEAD, Major 1st Battalion
artillery, United States army, and
commanding military forces.

General Aury,
Commander-in-chief of the forces at Fernandina.

Headquarters, Fernandina, Island of Amelia
December 22, 1817
(8th of the Independence)

Gentlemen :

I have had the honor to receive your official letter of this date. The nature of its contents requiring mature deliberation, I have submitted the same to the representatives of the republic, and as soon as I shall have obtained their opinion, it shall be immediately sent to you.

I can, however, state to you, gentlemen, that no opposition will be made to surrender the island of Amelia on the part of this government.

I have the honor to remain &c.,
AURY, Commander-in-chief.

Commodore J. D. Henley, Major Bankhead,
On board the U. S. ship John Adams.

Aury at once convoked his "legislature." The imagination easily places them in the same room, seated at the same table where a short time before the court martial sat. The conditions were, however, reversed. Here Aury and his pirates drew up the most remarkable paper perhaps ever drafted in any such surroundings. President Monroe got a copy of it by special messenger from Aury, and we may wonder what he thought of the argument advanced. Here is Aury's reply to the summons to surrender Amelia Island:⁷¹

Headquarters, Fernandina, Island of Amelia
December 22, 1817, (8th of the Independence.)

Gentlemen :

I have received your official letter of this day, by which, in the name of the Government of the United States, you summon us to evacuate this place with the troops under my command, as possession thereof is to be taken by the forces under your commands, under certain conditions therein specified.

This republic, that of Mexico, nor any other of South America. being at war with the United States, obliges me to state to you that the contents of your letter have greatly surprised this Government and the people of this state. You have, nevertheless, intimated that, in case of our acquiescence to your demand, we shall be permitted to evacuate this island, which never was nor ever has been a part of the United States. Allow me, gentlemen, to observe to you, that, from the moment we took Fernandina by the force of our arms, we entered into the full possession of all the rights appertaining to our enemy, and that to this day we have supported these rights at the risk of our lives and fortunes. The boundaries of the Floridas and the United States having been fairly settled by the treaty of friendship, limits, and navigation, on the 27th of October, 1795, leaves us at a loss to ascertain your authority to interfere in our internal concerns.

Our surprise increases when we reflect that your communication comes as authorized by the government of a people who glory in their respect for the rights of nations, whether great or small, and who, no doubt, sympathize and wish success to their southern brethren in the struggle for liberty and independence in which they are engaged, as were the United States forty years ago.

On the other side, you promise to hold sacred such of our property as *unquestionably* belongs to our citizens. Who is to be the judge in this case? The United States, who can by no means claim any kind of jurisdiction from the source of the river St. Mary's down to the ocean, on this side of the center of the channel? We entertain too much veneration for your constitution to believe for a moment that you, supposed already in possession of this island, which has never been ceded by the King of Spain, or by its inhabitants, to the United States, can bring with you a competent tribunal to decide upon this question. The only law you can adduce in your favor is that of force, which is always repugnant to Republican Governments and to the principles of a just and impartial nation. The

same observation may be applied to your interference with the property of the inhabitants, which we have always respected and considered sacred.

You order us, also, as if we were subjects of your Government, to leave behind, when Fernandina is evacuated, all the public property that was found at its surrender. This demand is directly contrary to the public rights by which all public property captured by the enemy is avowedly that of the captors, when not otherwise stipulated. Are you acting in the name of the King of Spain or his allies? As we consider the people of the United States as unquestionably the only free people on the surface of the globe, we cannot admit that you have now become the adherents of a tyrant; otherwise, your demand is inadmissible and unjustifiable in the eyes of the world; and if we must yield to it, all the blame rests with you.

Permit me, therefore, gentlemen, to request of you to lay before the President of the United States these remarks, in order that a matter of so serious a tendency may be reconsidered. We have read his excellency's message at the opening of Congress with the utmost concern, and I have concluded that the political situation of this republic has been greatly misrepresented in the United States, through the intrigues of our enemies. We have certainly a right to be heard, for which purpose I shall have the honor of forwarding to your Government the necessary documents. If you are not disposed to let things remain in *statu quo* until the President's further determination be known, I am authorized to assure you that we respect and esteem too highly the people of the United States to carry matters to extremities.

I have the honor to remain, &c.,

AURY, *Commodore-in-Chief.*

S. L. Holmes, Secretary.

J. D. Henley, Esq., Captain in the United States Navy, &c.,
James Bankhead, Esq., Major of the 1st battalion of artillery, &c.

To the foregoing letter, the American officers replied tersely :

U. S. Ship John Adams, off Amelia Island,
December 23, 1817.

Sir:

We have had the honor to receive your communication of the 22nd instant, and will briefly remark, that, as officers in

the service of the United States, we are bound, to obey the orders emanating from the authorities of our government, without any discussion or animadversion on our part as to the correctness of them. We have been ordered by the President of the United States to take possession of Amelia Island; and as the President has expressed his solicitude that the effusion of blood may be avoided, if possible, it must be gratifying to us to be informed by you that no resistance will be made to us. We will again remark that private property will be sacred, and that our orders extend only to the public property captured by General MacGregor at Fernandina.

We propose to land a force today and to hoist the American flag; under that flag no oppression or unjust measure will ever be witnessed. And we feel assured that there will be no difficulty in the arrangement made by us. The squadron will immediately sail into the harbor, when the commanding officer of the land forces will wait on the commander-in-chief to make the necessary arrangements for the landing of the troops.

We have the honor to be, &c.,

J. D. HENLEY, Captain in the navy, &c.

J. BANKHEAD, Major, 1st battalion artillery.

General Aury,

Commander-in-chief of forces at Fernandina.

Headquarters, Fernandina, Island of Amelia,

December 23, 1817, and 8th of the Independence.

I have had the honor to receive your letter of this date. I am ready to surrender this place to the forces under your command, whenever you may judge proper to come and take possession thereof.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

AURY

J. D. Henley, Esq., Captain in the United States Navy, &c.,
James Bankhead, Esq., Major of the 1st battalion of artillery, & c.

Early in the afternoon of December 23d, the American squadron sailed across the channel of the St. Mary's River into the Spanish waters of Amelia, and in conjunction with this movement Major Bankhead landed at Fernandina with about two hundred troops. As the American troops landed on the beach, Aury ordered a gun loaded with a blank cartridge to

be fired, and immediately hauled down the Mexican colors. The Americans marched up to the tunes of "Hail Columbia" and "Yankee Doodle" and took possession of the fort without the slightest resistance.⁵⁸ The United States flag was instantly hoisted over the fort and again * Amelia Island became the ward of the United States-

IN TRUST FOR THE KING OF SPAIN

Upon assuming command of Amelia Island, Major Bankhead immediately embarked all of the black troops on board one of Aury's ships lying in the harbor. The white troops were placed under strict surveillance, and Aury and his officers were permitted at large upon parole.⁶⁷

Many novel cases presented themselves to the American officers with respect to claims against Aury, who did not seem disposed to comply with his engagements. A more serious question arose as to the manner of disposing of cargoes in the port under the new authority of United States revenue laws.⁶⁷ General Gaines and his attorney arrived at Fernandina on December 26th, and remained several days engaged with this question. The American officers were permitted to proceed as circumstances presented themselves, and with good judgment they soon had the operation of the port in order. The former residents began to return, shops were opened and trade resumed under the impression that had gained credence that the United States had occupied Fernandina permanently.

The condition of Aury's ships prevented his immediate departure. The black troops were the first to leave ; they were sent probably to Santo Domingo.

*United States troops held possession of Amelia Island from March 18, 1812, to May 6, 1813, in co-operation with the Georgia patriot invasion of Spanish East Florida.

The white troops were on the island for almost a month after their surrender. The lawyer who defended the Englishmen at the court martial returned to Fernandina about the middle of January ; at that time, he said, "Aury's people were entirely crestfallen ; they had lost those daring characteristics of the corsair evident on my former visit, and appeared mortified at their fallen consequence. Irwin appeared the most dispirited of the gang." ⁴

Most of Aury's followers departed about January 24th, 1818, and Aury himself a few days later; he having been detained to answer a process for civil debt. ⁶⁸

After leaving Amelia, the next we hear of Aury was from the twin islands of Old Providence and St. Catalina, about one hundred and fifty miles off the coast of Nicaragua in the Caribbean Sea, where on July 10, 1818, he issued a proclamation as "Commander-in-chief of the forces that have opened their campaign against New Granada in the name of the Confederated Republics of Buenos Ayres and Chile." ⁶⁹ As usual, his proclamation was deceptive, as he held no commission from either Buenos Ayres or Chile. Old Providence and St. Catalina were celebrated in the annals of buccaneering in the Gulf of Mexico ; at intervals for many years they had been headquarters for piratical depredations upon commerce in those waters. At the time of Aury's arrival they seem to have been unoccupied. Aury built a town there and called it Isabella. ⁶¹ Aury's subsequent history is unknown. It is not known what became of Irwin.

As soon as news of the surrender of Amelia Island to the United States forces reached St. Augustine, Governor Coppinger sent an officer there to ascertain whether the Americans came as friends or foes. The

political phases of this occupancy by the United States are discussed hereafter.

POLITICAL PHASES

When we unfold and untangle the mass and maze of diplomatic expressions upon the subject of the occupation of Amelia Island by MacGregor and his successors, we find that the event had an important bearing on the subsequent acquisition of Florida by the United States ; while the focusing of the side-lights throw a beam upon our diplomatic procedure that reveals some interesting facts. In this drama we shall use largely the very words of the principal actors, namely, James Monroe, president, and John Quincy Adams, secretary of state, of the United States, and Luis de Onis, Spanish representative in the United States. Unless otherwise stated, the extracts and summaries are from *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, Vol. IV, with the page numbers, in parentheses, indicated.

James Monroe was secretary of state until March 4, 1817, when he became president. Richard Rush was acting secretary of state until the arrival of John Quincy Adams from London in the fall of 1817.

(184) *Onis to Monroe, January 2, 1817:*

Complains of injury to Spain occasioned by illegal armaments within the United States, specifying some of the vessels and persons engaged in them and suggesting preventive measures.

(186) *Onis to Monroe, January 15 & 16, 1817:*

Adverts to piratical depredations upon the commerce of Spain by persons assuming a belligerent flag, and the readiness with which their prizes are received in the ports of the United States.

(187) *Onis to Monroe, February 10, 1817:*

Refers to instances of illegal armaments within the United States.

(187) *Onis to Monroe, February 11, 1817:*

Alleges that officers of the United States are not sufficiently faithful in the detection and punishment of parties concerned in piratical armaments.

(188) *Onis to Monroe, February 12 & 22, 1817:*

States specific instances as conclusive proof that American citizens are actually engaged in depredations on the commerce of Spain, now carried on under a belligerent flag.

(188) *Onis to Rush, March 11, 1817:*

States that while his notes remain unanswered, the depredations by armed privateers upon the commerce of Spain continue without interruption ; that indemnities will be claimed from the United States for damages thus sustained, and that he wishes to be informed of the measures of the United States government to repress these robberies.

(189) *Rush to Onis, March 13, 1817:*

Encloses, by order of the President, a copy of the act passed by Congress on March 3, 1817, entitled, "An act more effectually to preserve the neutral relations of the United States," with the remark that the President trusts that the Spanish government will perceive in it a new proof on the part of the United States of a desire to cultivate just and friendly dispositions towards Spain.

(189-90) *Onis to Rush, March 26, 1817.* Three letters of this date:

1. Acknowledging receipt of copy of recent act of Congress.

2. Reports that two piratical vessels have entered the port of Norfolk, and asks legal proceedings against them under the late act of Congress.

3. States that a piratical vessel has entered Baltimore.

(190) *Rush to Onis, March 28, 1817:*

Acknowledges notes relating to the infractions by armed vessels of the laws of the United States, and gives assurances of the readiness of the American government to provide every proper means of redress.

(193) *Onis to Rush, April 18, 1817:*

States that the court at Baltimore has declared its incompetency to take cognizance over an illegal armament, and that notwithstanding the recent act of Congress, a pirate is at full liberty and his vessel has been released.

(193) *Onis to Rush, April 19, 1817:*

Incloses further proof of violation of United States laws on piracy at Norfolk.

And so on and on for months, Onis protesting and the United States government ignoring or side-stepping.

We have seen that the United States had notice of MacGregor's presence and activities by a warning from Philadelphia in March, 1817. The act of Congress bearing upon such cases had already become a law. Onis was bombarding the government with protests because of the illegal armaments being organized within the United States for operations against Spanish possessions and commerce in general. The first specific official notice by Onis of MacGregor's activities was :

(442) *Onis to Secretary of State, July 9, 1817:*

It is my duty, also, to call your attention, and that of the President, to the conduct of the adventurer, Sir Gregor MacGregor, who since he was in arms with bands of insurgents in the province of Venezuela, has come to these States, and been constantly engaged in enterprises to invade or disturb the tranquillity of His Catholic Majesty's possessions in that part of

the world. He lately recruited at Charleston a great number of adventurers, and among them several persons of note, His subsequent proceedings and hostile preparations in the bosom of this Union against the possessions of the Spanish monarchy, are notorious and announced with scandalous publicity in many papers of these States.

(184) Remarking upon this letter Secretary Adams said:

The tardiness of Mr. Onis's remonstrance is of itself a decisive vindication of the magistrates of the United States against any imputation of neglect to enforce the laws; for if the Spanish minister himself had no evidence of the project of MacGregor, sufficient to warrant him in addressing a note upon the subject to this Department, until ten days after it had been accomplished, it cannot be supposed that officers whose authority to act commenced only at the moment of the actual violation of the laws, and who could be justified only by clear and explicit evidence of the facts in proof of such violation, should have been apprised of the necessity of their interposition, in time to make it effectual, before the person accused had departed from this country.

Secretary Adams's explanation seems rather far-fetched in view of the publicity given MacGregor's contemplated descent upon Florida prior to the actual occupation.

About the middle of November, the United States government decided to break up the establishment on Amelia Island and issued orders to the War and Navy departments to that effect. President Monroe explained the reasons for this action in his message to Congress.

(130) *Monroe to Congress, December 2, 1817:*

In the summer of the present year, an expedition was set on foot against East Florida, by persons claiming to act under the authority of some of the colonies,* who took possession of Amelia Island, at the mouth of the St. Marys river, near the boundary of the State of Georgia. As this province lies eastward of the Mississippi, and is bounded by the United States

and the ocean on every side, and has been a subject of negotiation with the government of Spain as an indemnity for losses by spoliation, or in exchange for territory of equal value westward of the Mississippi, (a fact well known to the world,) it excited surprise that any countenance should be given to the measure by any of the colonies. As it would be difficult to reconcile it with the friendly relations existing between the United States and the colonies,* a doubt was entertained whether it had been authorized by them, or any of them. This doubt has gained strength, by the circumstances which have unfolded themselves in the prosecution of the enterprise, which have marked it as a mere private, unauthorized adventure. Projected and commenced with an incompetent force, reliance seems to have been placed on what might be drawn, in defiance of our laws, from within our limits; and of late, as their resources have failed, it has assumed a more marked character of unfriendliness to us; the island being made a channel for the illicit introduction of slaves from Africa into the United States, an asylum for fugitive slaves from the neighboring states, and a port for smuggling of every kind. A just regard for the rights and interests of the United States required that they* should be suppressed, and orders have been accordingly issued to that effect.

Not a word had been said to Onis or the Spanish government in regard to the contemplated action of the United States,. Upon reading the President's message, Onis wrote Adams:

(450) Onis to Adams, December 6, 1817:

It is my duty to remind you, sir, that the expedition which took possession of Amelia island was formed and armed at Charleston and Savannah, under the command of the adventurer, Sir Gregor MacGregor, and wholly composed of citizens of this republic, in violation of the laws of the United States, the law of nations, and the existing treaty between Spain and the said States. I denounced this expedition to you at the time, and invoked the efficacious authority of the Federal Government to prevent it, and punish the offenders. The expedition proceeded, notwithstanding, from the limits and ports of the

*The colonies of South America, then in revolt against Spain.

*The piratical establishments at Amelia and Galveston.

Union, to invade that island, and there committed the excesses on which the President touches [in his message to Congress of December 2.]

After MacGregor had left Amelia island, the district court of South Carolina issued a bench writ to apprehend him wherever he might be found within the American territories. This writ could not certainly be issued without a legal evidence of the offense, nor could the offense be more enormous or more notorious in the face of the whole Union.

Adams never replied to this letter directly. Spain thus "perceived a new proof on *the part of the United States of a desire to cultivate just and friendly dispositions*" with her.

Amelia Island was taken possession of by the United States on December 23, 1817. Onis's first notice of it was:

(463) Onis to Adams, January 8, 1818:

In the National Intelligencer of the 6th of this month, I have seen published the official notice of the occupation of Amelia Island by the troops of the United States. I had already anticipated this unpleasant event, by the note which I had the honor to address you on the 6th of last month, in which I remonstrated, in the name of His Catholic Majesty, against the measures announced in that part of the President's message to both Houses of Congress which manifested an intention to invade and forcibly seize on places and territories belonging to the crown of Spain. Having received no answer to that note, I now feel myself obliged to repeat its contents to you, and to protest, as I now do strongly protest, in the name of the King, my master, against the occupation of Amelia Island, effected by the naval and military forces of this republic, destined to operate against that island, forming a part of East Florida, one of the possessions of the Spanish monarchy on this continent. Whatever may have been the motives on which the government of the United States have founded their adoption of this measure, it cannot but be considered by all nations as a violent invasion of the dominions of Spain at the time of profound peace, when His Catholic Majesty omits nothing to give the most generous proofs of his perfect friendship and high consideration for the United States.

The Congressional Committee on Foreign Relations, to which that portion of the President's message of December 2, 1817, relating to Amelia, had been referred, reported :

(133) *Committee on Foreign Relations, January 10, 1818.*

It is matter of public notoriety; that two of the persons who have successively held the command at Amelia Island, whether authorized themselves by any government or not, have issued commissions for privateers, as in the name of the Venezuelan and Mexican governments, to vessels fitted out in the ports of the United States, and chiefly manned and officered by our own countrymen, for the purpose of capturing the property of nations with which the United States are at peace. One of the objects of the occupation of Amelia Island, it appears, was to possess a convenient resort for privateers of this description, equally reprobated by the laws of nations, which recognize them only under the denomination of pirates, and by several of the treaties of the United States with different European Powers, which expressly denominate them as such. It was against the subjects of Spain, one of the Powers with which the United States have entered into stipulations prohibiting their citizens from taking any commission from any Power with which she may be at war, for arming any ships to act as privateers, that these vessels have been commissioned to cruise; though as the committee have observed, no flag, not even that of our own country, has proved a protection from them.

Note this from the same report and compare it with the complaints of Onis made long before, and with the satisfaction he got at the time:

The immediate tendency of suffering such armaments, in defiance of our laws, would have been to embroil the United States with all the nations whose commerce with our country was suffering under these depredations, and, if not checked by all the means in the power of the government would have authorized claims from the subjects of foreign governments for indemnities at the expense of this nation, for captures by our people in vessels fitted out in our ports, and, as could not fail of

being alleged, countenanced by the very neglect of the necessary means of suppressing them.

President Monroe sent a special message to Congress, from which the following extracts are taken :

(139) *Monroe to Congress, January 13, 1818.*

I have the satisfaction to inform Congress that the establishment at Amelia Island has been suppressed.

The path of duty was plain from the commencement, but it was painful to enter upon it while the obligation could be resisted. The law of 1811,* lately published, and which it is therefore proper now to mention, was considered applicable to the case, from the moment that the proclamation of the chief of the enterprise was seen; and its obligation was daily increased by other considerations of high importance already mentioned, which were deemed sufficiently strong in themselves to dictate the course which has been pursued.

In expelling these adventurers, . . . it was not intended to make any conquest from Spain, or to injure in any degree the cause of the colonies.

The "cause of the colonies" was independence of Spain, and they were in open revolt at that time. But President Monroe did not wish to hurt anybody's feelings, so he specified them both. As a matter of fact, the United States government was beginning to realize that serious complications might result from its action, as indicated later in President Monroe's special message to Congress.⁷²

Secretary Adams now condescended to answer some of the letters of Onis; answering them in one long letter covering several subjects, adroitly and carefully worded, and principally indicating that Spain ought to cede East Florida to the United States, to be rid of all the troubles which that colony was causing the mother country. In this letter, he took occasion to include a reply to Onis's letter of January 8th, stating :

*That no foreign power shall occupy Florida.

(464) *Adams to Onis, January 16, 1818.*

The measures which this Government found itself under the necessity of adopting in relation to that island [Amelia] were taken not with a view to conquest from Spain. You will know that if Spain could have kept, or recovered the possession of it from the trifling force by which it was occupied, the American government would have been spared the necessity of the measure which was taken, and which was dictated by the duty of protecting the interests as well of this country as of those with whom we are in friendly commercial relations, including Spain herself. But Spain cannot expect that the United States should employ their forces for the defense of her territories, or to rescue them for her exclusive advantage, from the adventurers who are projecting and in the act of executing expeditions against them from territories without the jurisdiction of the United States. Neither can the United States permit that the adjoining territories of Spain shall be misused by others for purposes of annoyance to them.

Under these circumstances, the President is persuaded that you will perceive the necessity either of accepting the *proposals herein contained as the basis of an adjustment of the long-standing differences between the United States and Spain*,* or of offering such as can, by any possibility, be acceptable to this government, without reverting to a course of proceeding the only result of which must be further procrastination.

Accompanying this threat was a direct proposal from Adams for the cession of Florida to the United States, the articles of the proposed cession being specifically stated. Onis replied with a long recital, proclaiming the impossibility of any such thing as a cession on any such terms as suggested by Adams. However, there followed an exchange of notes between the two, each parrying like a fencing antagonist, until finally an agreement was in sight, when Andrew Jackson appeared in West Florida in the spring of 1818, and the negotiations were all off for awhile. Afterward they were resumed, and *the basic proposals of Adams developed into the treaty whereby the United*

*Italics by the author.

*States acquired Florida east of the Perdido River on practically their own term.*⁷⁰

Meanwhile, since December 23, 1817, United States troops continued to occupy the Spanish island of Amelia. In June, 1818, Major Bankhead suggested the withdrawal of the force on account of the prevailing sickness, but he was instructed by the secretary of war on June 27, 1818, that the "President does not contemplate removing the troops from Amelia Island this summer," and was ordered to make them as comfortable as possible. The ill health of the troops was again reported by the commanding officer at Fernandina on March 23, 1819, yet the island continued to be held and our troops were there certainly as late as November 30, 1819, at which time Fernandina was garrisoned by forty-four men of the First Battalion of Artillery, under the command of Captain Payne.⁶⁶

MACGREGOR'S SECOND ATTEMPT

After MacGregor abandoned Amelia on September 4th, 1817, we lose track of him for ten days. It seems certain that he remained in seclusion on board his brig in the neighborhood of Fernandina, and was a spectator of the battle of Amelia. From the Newport, R. I., *Mercury* of October 4, 1817, we have this account :⁵⁹

The armed brig General MacGregor, Captain French, arrived off Block Island on the 26th ult., in ten days from Amelia. From several seamen who were landed from her, we learn that a few days previous to their sailing from Amelia, General MacGregor and lady came on board, for the purpose of leaving the island, he having resigned the command. The brig sailed from Amelia on the morning of the 16th September, with General MacGregor and lady and Mr. Ferguson, the harbor-master, on board. The British schooner Venus, on board of which was the famous Colonel Woodbine, who was the owner of the schooner, sailed from Amelia in company with the brig. The second day out, Colonel Woodbine sent his boat to the brig, with an invitation to General MacGregor and lady, and Mr. Ferguson, to take

passage on board his schooner, which they readily complied with.

This was the notorious Captain George Woodbine, famous in West Florida history during the late war between the United States and Great Britain (1812-15). Woodbine had come up from Nassau to offer assistance to MacGregor. After the transfer was made out at sea, Woodbine's schooner was headed for New Providence, Bahamas.

Woodbine persuaded MacGregor that he could find friends and funds at New Providence, and that a conquest of Florida was yet possible. He stated that a British regiment of colonials had lately been disbanded there; that from these and the negroes and others who would join them they could gather quite a large force; and that then they could sail for Tampa Bay, where they would be joined by fifteen hundred Indians already engaged to Woodbine. With the force thus assembled they could invade Florida from that point and march across and attack St. Augustine with a good prospect of success.⁶⁰

At New Providence, MacGregor met with considerable encouragement in enlisting a force. Before sailing for England on December 27, 1817, to arrange his private affairs, he issued instructions for making a settlement at Tampa Bay, stating that he expected to be there the last of April or the first of May, 1818.

He prepared a proclamation to the inhabitants of Florida, to be displayed by the person selected to make the settlement at Tampa, announcing in advance his, MacGregor's, approach and stating that his purpose was to liberate them from the despotism of Spain.⁶⁰

The person charged with making the settlement at Tampa was Robert Christie Ambrister, who arrived there sometime in March, 1818. This is the same Am-

brister, who upon arrival at Tampa ransacked Arbuthnot's storehouse, stole his schooner and sailed to the Suwannee River, to collect Woodbine's Indians. The student of Florida history is already familiar with the famous trials and execution of both Ambrister and Arbuthnot by General Andrew Jackson near St. Marks in April, 1818. Ambrister was the subaltern of Woodbine and held a commission in the proposed army of MacGregor. The activities of General Jackson in Florida at the time caused the abandonment of the MacGregor-Woodbine plans for the invasion of the province.

MACGREGOR'S SUBSEQUENT CAREER

We next hear of MacGregor at the small island of St. Andrews, in the Caribbean Sea off the coast of Nicaragua, where on April 4, 1819, he established his headquarters for a proposed attack on Porto Bello, Province of Panama, he being at that time in the service of New Granada (now Colombia). In the attack on Porto Bello, Woodbine led the advance and captured the place. For this service MacGregor promoted him to brigadier-general and decorated him with the "military order of the Green Cross." A Spanish fleet soon ran MacGregor out of Porto Bello, and he returned to St. Andrews Island, where he established a government with Woodbine as governor.⁶¹

In 1820, MacGregor abandoned St. Andrews for the Mosquito Shore in the eastern part of Honduras, where he pre-empted a large tract of fertile country and adopted the title "His Highness, Gregor, Cazique of Poyais." Woodbine was "Vice-Cazique." The country was inhabited by the Poyais Indians.⁶²

In April, 1821, MacGregor issued a proclamation to the effect that he was leaving for Europe to procure religious and moral instructors for his subjects, implements of husbandry, and persons to assist and

guide in the cultivation of the soil. He declared that no person but the honest and industrious should find an asylum in the Poyais territory. ¹

MacGregor made some attempt to establish a colony in the Poyais territory. He sent out several vessels, but he himself remained in England. The colony proved a complete failure, and he became unpopular in England. He then went to France, with a like result, there spending seven months in jail. ⁶²

Woodbine abandoned the cause of MacGregor as soon as he suspected its failure. ⁶² Woodbine and his family were murdered by negroes in 1837, in Campeche, Mexico. ⁷³

About 1839, MacGregor applied to the Venezuelan government for naturalization -in the republic and restoration to his former military rank, referring in his memorial to the misfortunes that had befallen him. The Venezuelan government granted his requests, and directed that, in view of the very eminent services he had rendered to South American independence, he be restored to the rank of general of division with his former seniority, and that a sum of money be granted him. He died in Caracas in 1845. ⁶²

The life of this Scotchman was one of exciting romance, but filled with disappointments. His Florida adventure was intended as a diversion in the general cause of South American independence. If Florida were conquered, his idea was to encourage the inhabitants to form a free government and then voluntarily annex themselves to the United States, when he would lead his victorious army to South America to complete the independence of those colonies. ¹³ That he was deceived by his financial backers in the Florida enterprise is certain; that he made many mistakes of policy is also certain-and from these resulted his failure here.

SOURCES

In this history of MacGregor and his successors, Irwin, Hubbard, and Aury, on Amelia Island, East Florida, in 1817, the record has been taken almost wholly from accounts and documents written or printed within the period covered, first-hand, 'eye-witness accounts-contemporaneous source material ranking highest in the scale of value for historical writing. Research having revealed matter of importance, it was thought proper to cover this episode in Florida's history in detail, and for that purpose the author has drawn from these primary sources:

American State Papers, Foreign Relations, Vol. IV, containing numerous official documents and letters; the work, *Narrative of a Voyage to the Spanish Main in the Ship Two Friends*, published in London in 1819, by an English lawyer who spent some time on Amelia Island during the Aury regime; *Niles Weekly Register*, a Baltimore periodical generally considered the semi-official organ of the United States government; the contemporaneous newspapers, *Charleston (S. C.) Courier*, and *Savannah (Ga.) Republican*, both of which had correspondents at St. Marys, Georgia, to cover the Amelian field, these papers being now in the Library of Congress at Washington; and finally, semi-official and private letters written by reliable people, the originals being, some in the Bureau of Index & Archives, others in the War, State, and Navy departments at Washington, and some in the files of The Florida Historical Society.

The author is indebted to Dr. James A. Robertson, of Takoma Park, Maryland, for helpfulness in the research work, and to T. Hurd Kooker, of Jacksonville, for the excellent drawing of Amelia Island and environs.

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- ⁸ Onis to Adams.
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- ¹⁴ *Savannah Republican*, July 10, 1817.
- ¹⁵ Design shown in engraving of MacGregor, frontispiece.
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- ¹⁷ *Charleston Courier*, Aug. 4, 1817.
- ¹⁸ *Charleston Courier*, Aug. 6, 1817.
- ¹⁹ *Savannah Republican*, Aug. 28, 1817.
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- ²⁴ *Charleston Courier*, Aug. 30, 1817.
- ²⁵ *Savannah Republican*, July 24, 1817; *Charleston Courier*, Aug. 14, 1817.
- ²⁶ *Savannah Republican*, Sept. 18, 1817.
- ²⁷ *Savannah Republican*, July 26, 1817.
- ²⁸ *Charleston Courier*, Sept. 5, 1817; *Savannah Republican*, Sept. 11, 1817.
- ²⁹ *Savannah Republican*, Sept. 18, 1817.
- ³⁰ *Savannah Republican*, Sept. 11, 1817; Sept. 18, 1817; *Charleston Courier*, Sept. 13, 1817.
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- ³⁶ *Savannah Republican*, Sept. 18, 1817.
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- ⁴⁰ *Niles' Weekly Register*, Baltimore, Jan. 24, 1818; *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, Vol. IV, pp. 134-137.
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- ⁵¹ Belton A. Copp to Secretary of State, April 1, 1818-No. 1112, Bureau of Index and Archives, Washington.
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- ⁶² Alfred Hasbrouck in November, 1927, *Hispanic-American Historical Review*.
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- ⁶⁸ *Niles' Weekly Register*, Baltimore, Feb. 21, 1818.
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- ⁷⁰ All of the correspondence between Onis and his successor and Adams on this subject will be found in *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, Vol. IV.
- ⁷¹ Published in *American State Papers, Foreign Relations; Niles' Weekly Register*; Charleston and Savannah papers, all varying slightly in wording, but exactly alike in meaning; this is a composite copy.
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