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GOVERNOR JOHNSTONE IN WEST FLORIDA By C. N. HOWARD

The first letters and reports of Major Farmar upon the new province, West Florida, and the conduct of the military administration were received in the early spring by the secretary at war and, in due course, were forwarded to the new governor, George Johnstone, at his London house in Half-Moon street. The papers came from the secretary at war to the office of the secretary of state for the southern department. After inspection, they were returned to the secretary at war.

There was little in these despatches, or Farmar's letter, to surprise the governor. The occupation had proceeded along the general lines laid down of the type. Transfers had been made, inventories taken, manifestoes published, natives conciliated and new subjects sworn in. The governor notified the board of trade of the things which needed consideration, but, all in all, the procedure, both in the military occupation of the colony and in the government preparations in England for his own departure for the colony as the royal governor had been of the general well known and established mode of colonization procedure.

By the late summer, 1764, the governor's ship was ready to sail for the colony. The transport *Grampus* was loaded with the stores and Indian presents and the personal belongings of the governor's party had been embarked. Good fortune attended the expedition across the Atlantic, according to word received from the governor by Lord Halifax, when the *Grampus* put into Saint Christopher's for water, on August 4. The expedition was to sail the next day

Note-This is the second of a series of articles on British West Florida by Dr. Howard, the first of which, *The Military Occupation of British West Florida 1763*, appeared in the last issue of the *Quarterly*.

for Jamacia. The new governor arrived in Pensacola on October 21. A prompt letter to Lord Halifax gave his first impressions of his province:

My Lord

I arrived here the 21st of this month after a long passage from Jamaica. . . .

Inclosed I have the honor to transmit a Return from the 35th Regiment in Garrison here by which You will see the debilitated State of that Regt & tho' I have no return from Mobile, I am told by Lord Adam Gordon they are in a worse plight.

Nothing but compleat Corps can effectually relieve such shatter'd Regiments with neither Officers or men. The disposition of the Indians arises from this distrest Situation & in Case they should take advantage & push this ill humor further I fear we could not resist.

No doubt the Cession of New Orleans to the Spaniards will have a wonderful Effect on those Nations.

Nevertheless we want force to give the most favorable Circumstance any weight.

Unless regts are sent out and the Spanish Trade opened as formerly I see little prospect of Prosperity to this Colony which might otherwise become one of the most useful and opulent in the King's possessions as I have endeavored to explain more at large to the Bd of Trade.

The short time I have been in the Province prevents me from entering more at large into the State of it. I hope in my next to be able to satisfy your Lordship's utmost Curiosity concerning every particular.

I have the Honor to be &c.

GEORGE JOHNSTONE

The new governor took up his residence in the fort at Pensacola. His arrival closed the period of approximately one year, in which the military authorities had been the sole authority in the province. Therein lay the setting for the first dispute of the many which marred Governor Johnstone's administration.¹

The first trace we have of any difficulty in West Florida between the authorities, is in a letter written by Johnstone on the third of November to Captain Mackinnen, commandant of the fort at Pensacola. The letter, one of many such, proves that if Johnstone was an expert swordsman, he was also by no means lacking in ability to express himself in writing.

He writes: "It is a known Military maxim, that, whoever is Governor, must give the Parole of the Garrison, and whoever gives the Parole, has a Right to the Report of the Guard.

"Imperium in Imperio cannot exist in a Common wealth, much less within the Fortifications of a Garrison; either You must have Command of the Fort or I; this is indubitable."

On the seventh of November Johnstone wrote in response to Mackinnen's reply: "I this Moment re-

1. Virtually all of this material, unless otherwise indicated, is drawn from P. R. O., C. O., 5:574, 575 and 632. Copies and some additional information are to be found in volumes 582, 583, and 584. Some of the documents from these volumes are to be found published in the various documentary collections, for example, *Mississippi Provincial Archives, 1763-66, English Dominion*, Ed. Dunbar Rowland, Volume I. Nashville, Tenn., Mississippi Department of Archives and History, 1911; *Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library*, Ed. Clarence Walmorth Alvord and Clarence Edwin Carter, Volumes X and XI, Illinois State Historical Library, Springfield, Illinois, 1915 and 1916; *Correspondence of General Thomas Gage with the Secretaries of State, 1763-1775*, Ed. Clarence Edwin Carter, Volume I, Yale Univ. Press, 1931.

ceived your Letter dated the 6th in answer to that which I had the honour of writing you on the 3d.

“I am extremely sorry that I should have hurried you so much after waiting three days for the Decision of a Point which ought to have been settled in three hours, or to occasion an Answer. which leaves one of the material Questions in Dispute as much in the Dark as ever.

“I am therefore obliged to ask once more, Who is Now Governor in this Garrison?

“Who is now answerable for the Defense of this Fort? and in consequence who has the Distribution of the Guards and Posting of Centries as may be thought most essential for the Trust committed to him?

“Who has now the Direction of the King’s Houses within the Fort?

“Who has Now the Ultimate Direction of the Artillery and Stores, and distributing them through the Province, and seeing they are properly Lodged and that the Officers appointed to take Charge of them do their Duty?

“Am I or is any one in West Florida entitled to the General Monthly Return of the State of the Troops, Stores, Ammunition, Provisions, and public Works?

“I do apprehend those several Powers belong to me without infringing on the Powers of General Gage, or even clashing with his Orders, as you have stated them ; since he has given no directions concerning those points; and from these it may be infer’d he has left them to be determined by the Governor.”

Captain Mackinnen closed the controversy temporarily by replying : “I most Sincerely wish a Line had been pointed out by which I Might have Acted,

as it is with Great Concern, I find myself involved in a dispute of this kind with your Excellency ; but I hope you will consider me as not Acting from myself, but a Superior, to whom I am answerable, and must beg leave to refer this Affair to his Decision.”

During the winter Johnstone spent considerable time at Mobile where he was preparing for the series of Indian congresses which were held by Superintendent Stuart in collaboration with the civil and military officials of the province throughout the spring of 1765. The Governor wrote to John Pownall of the Board of Trade, “It has been my particular good fortune to meet here Mr. Stewart, the Agent for Indian Affairs. I really regard him as one of the most Judicious and Intelligent Men I ever Conversed with.”²

Apparently it was during these months that the quarrels between Governor Johnstone and Major Farmar flared to proportions dangerous to the efficient administration of the province. The differences between the two men seem to have been a source of conflict from the day of the governor's arrival. General Gage in a letter to the secretary of state for the southern department declares that a great deal of powder has been going to the savages of the Illinois and that most of it came from West Florida in spite of efforts to prevent it. Whether this is in any way connected with the general accusations which Johnstone made against Farmar is uncertain. At length Johnstone wrote to General Gage in complaint. General Gage tells the story in a letter of February 23, 1765 to Lord Halifax.

“It gives me concern that I am obliged to trouble your Lordship with the rest of the Intelligence contained in my letters from West Florida. Governor

2. Pensacola, October 31, 1764, *P. R. O., C. O.*, 5:574.

Johnstone has complained, of the Behaviour of Major Loftus ; and exhibited many very heavy Charges, against Major Farmar. And many of these last, are of so scandalous a Nature, that I am unwilling to report the Particulars, till they are proved upon Tryal.³ I propose to bring Major Farmar to a publick Tryal to answer for his Conduct, as soon as Affairs will admit of it. It is probable that He will have left the Mobile, before any letters could get there, tho' I have wrote to Him, to prepare Him for such an Event. . . . Governor Johnstone has likewise sent me a Copy of a Letter which he had received from Pensacola, complaining of the Behaviour of some Officers at that Place; I have ordered Enquirys to be made into the Affair. . . . With the Accusations sent me by Governor Johnstone, I received Complaints from the Officers in garrison at Mobile against the Governor, for his cruel Treatment of them, and for his violent and Tyrannical Behaviour towards them."

In this case Farmar was not by any means without his defense. On the eleventh of March Major Farmar had written his version of the situation to General Gage. He cites many instances in support of his general summary: "but every Method that the Governor and His Council (sic) cou'd Suggest. . . . Ruin my Credit with the French at Orlean's and Intirely prevent the Expedition going up to the Illinois has been endeavor'd at"

Farmar had left for the Illinois before Gage's letters arrived. Governor Johnstone had charged Major Farmar with gross embezzlement. Lieutenant Philip Pittman, a young engineer, had at-

3. Peter Joseph Hamilton prints the charges in *Colonial Mobile*, N. Y., 1910, 256; *Correspondence of General Gage*, I, 50-52; Gage to Conway, *P. R. O., C. O.*, 5:583.

tempted to ascend the Mississippi disguised as a Frenchman, a few months after Loftus' withdrawal, but had returned because of the risk of detection by the Indians who frequently stopped parties to search for Englishmen. Pittman's attempt was the southern counterpart of Croghan's successful northern feat in reaching Fort Chartres as a scout and advance guide. Pittman had more recently been working upon the Iberville project. He aligned himself with the governor's party in the province.

Meanwhile Johnstone received a letter of February 9 from Lord Halifax which laid down the crown's decision for all America on the question of disputed commands.

"That, according to His Majesty's Commissions granted for that purpose, the Orders of His Commander in Chief, and, under Him, of the Brigadiers General commanding in the Northern and Southern Departments, in all Military Matters, shall be supreme, and must be obey'd by the Troops, as such in all the Civil Governments of America.

"That in Cases, where no Specific Orders have been given by the Commander in Chief, or by the Brigadiers General commanding in the District, the Civil Governor in Council, and where no Council shall subsist, the Civil Governor may, for the Benefit of his Government, give Orders for the Marching of Troops, the Disposition of them, for making and marching Detachments, Escorts . . . such purely Military Services, within his Government, to the Commanding Officer of the Troops who is to give the proper Orders for carrying the same into execution; provided they are not contradictory to, or incompatible with, any Orders he may have received from the Commander in Chief, or the Brigadier General of the District; And the Commanding

Officer is, from Time to Time, duly to report, with all convenient Expedition, to the Commander in Chief, or to the Brigadier General, such Orders, which he shall have received from the Civil Governor.

“That the Civil Governor of the Province shall give the Word in all Places, when he shall be within his Province, except when the Commander in Chief or Brigadier General shall be in the same Place.

“That the Return of the State . . . Condition of the Troops, Magazines and Fortifications shall be made to the Governor, as well as to the Commander in Chief and the Brigadier General.

“That the Civil Governor is not to interfere with the detail of the Military Regimental Duty and Discipline, the Reports concerning which are to be made to the Commanding Officer, who *is* to make his General Report to the Civil Governor.”

The minutes of the council relate the next quarrel.

May 23, 1765. “That the Governor acquainted the Council, that he proposed to order the House possessed by Lieutenant Crutchfield to be cleared to accomodate His Majesty’s Superintendent for Indian Affairs, while he remains in this place, and that Lieutenant Crutchfield should remove to the same House with Lieutenant Massey.”

On the twenty-third of May, the governor wrote to Captain Simpson, two letters. In the first he said: “I beg you will be pleased to transmit to me such Specific Orders as you may have received from General Gage, concerning the carrying on of any Service within the Province of West Florida, the knowledge of which may be necessary for the discharging of the Powers vested in me, Also whatever standing Orders you may have issued relative to this Garrison. I observe in the Return of the

State of the Regiment that one Surgeon is marked present; I beg to know if that is really the Case." In the second letter he ordered the arrangement of the Houses as presented to the council meeting.

The following day Captain Simpson replied that having perused the letter from the Earl of Halifax, a copy of which the governor had been good enough to transmit to him, he observed "There being nothing in that Letter relative to the Quartering the Troops; and the Regiments Quarters being settled before I commanded it shall not take upon me to make any alterations. As it does not appear to me, that there is anything in the Earl of Halifax's letter, that vests your Excellency with the entire Command of the Troops here, I therefore hope you will excuse my not sending the specific Orders you were pleased to mention." He explains that the surgeon was absent in Mobile by his permission.

To make shorter a long story, the governor ordered the captain into arrest. But that officer refused to consider himself as under arrest. Apparently the military party had closed its ranks against the claim of the governor to the command of their forces. The council minutes show this.

"That during these Transactions the Governor had sent for Lieut Downman of the Artillery, and shown him the original Letter, from the Earl of Halifax . . . and further asked him if he had brought any Orders, for putting himself under the Command of any person in this Province, to which he replied that he had brought none, but a Letter to the Governor from Colonel James. He then desired that he might send an Orderly Gunner and transmit to him a Return of the Men and Artillery Stores . . . That this Morning the Orderly Gunner not attending . . . the Governor sent for Lieut Downman to know the

Reason, who told him, that he waited for Orders from Captain Simpson, under whose Command alone he apprehended he was. The Governor told him he was sorry to differ in Opinion from him, but as the Governor conceived Lieut Downman was under his Command, he hoped Mr. Downman would excuse him for demanding his Sword. To which he made answer shortly, that he had no Sword on. The Governor acquainted him that he should have learnt as an Officer, when he came to wait of his Superiors, on His Majesty's Service, that he ought to wear his Sword, however it was his Orders that he should go under Arrest and keep his Room. The Governor further says, that he has since seen him walking abroad, and that he is informed Mr. Downman does not think, that the Governor has any power to put him in Arrest."

From this time on the case of the Governor against the military forces and vica versa appears to have crystallized into stubborn assault and defense on both sides.

The council minutes for May 24 declare it was the unanimous opinion of the Council "That His Excellency the Governor should forthwith issue his Orders to Lieut Colonel Wedderbourne to order a Party of His Majesty's 22d Regiment to march from Mobile to Pensacola; and that upon their Arrival, the Colonel, as senior Officer, might (on the very doctrine of Captain Simpson) take Command of all the Troops in this Garrison." Colonel Wedderbourne seems, temporarily at least, to have been of the Governor's party and while in Pensacola on a visit he was present at the Council meeting at which this Resolution was passed.

The situation was serious, the more so because the Indians were gathering around Pensacola for

the Indian congress which was held in June and open quarreling among the British officials was not advisable.

Both sides in the dispute appealed their ease to General Gage who laid down a fairly evenhanded justice in his return letters. In a letter to Colonel Wedderbourne, in which he administered a severe rebuke to that officer, he continued : "His Majesty has thought proper to limit and circumscribe the Powers of the respective Governors over his Troops, wisely foreseeing that, if they extended beyond those limits, his military service in America must be thrown into the greatest Confusion; and I am to add that His Majesty's Intentions and Orders are so well understood that they have not occasioned the least Doubt or Dispute in any one Province of America, West Florida alone excepted. I could wish that you had kept your Command at Mobile and not left it to go to take a Command of the 22d Regiment at Pensacola. . . ."

On June 12 Governor Johnstone and Superintendent Stuart drew up their report of the Indian congress which had been held at Pensacola. In part they said: "When we arrived here, in the month of October, 1764, there was the greatest Reason to apprehend a General Insurrection of the Indians on the Continent against His Majesty's Arms. Three very superior Characters, in their way, had conspired to bring about this Event. . . . The Persons to whom we allude, are Pondiac, to the North; the Mortar or Chief of the Creeks; and old Alabama Mingo, who has long led the Choctaw Nation. There is no doubt, the French were the Center of this Union . . . The Mortar has really all the Talents which Fame reports of him, and his Friendship ought to be cultivated . . . The French have accus-

tomed both the Upper Creeks and the Choctaws to such large Presents, that it will be difficult to break that Custom. . . .”

Generally speaking, however, the Indian congress seems to have been at least a temporary success in winning the friendship of the Indian nations and in obtaining from them certain grants of land for settlement? So far Shelburne's policy had been carried to success.

On September 14 Johnstone wrote to Halifax to inform him of the unexpected death of Colonel Bouquet thirteen days after his arrival and assumption of the command in West Florida. General Gage had counted upon Bouquet to quell the disturbances in the province. The health conditions in West Florida were very bad under the English, and, although Johnstone does not say so, Bouquet probably died of yellow fever. He was buried on the shore of Pensacola harbor but the waves have long ago washed away his brick tomb.⁵ The man who replaced him was the celebrated General Haldimand, a compatriot and life-long friend of Bouquet. The two men were extraordinarily capable and their appointment to West Florida's command bespeaks how serious General Gage thought the condition of that unhappy province. But Haldimand did not arrive until 1767 and Johnstone in his letter to Halifax declares: “By His Death, the Command of the Troops within the Province falls again upon me.”

This assumption of the right to command when thus newly and vigorously reasserted by Governor Johnstone gave rise to a heated renewal of the old quarrel which had first begun between Johnstone and Mackinnen and Farmar. The contest for power

4. Cf., Shelburne to Stuart, *Ill. Hist. Coll.*, X, 451-454.

5. Hamilton, *Colonial Mobile*, 258.

which was so important in the infant province began as usual over a trivial affair.

On September 29 Johnstone wrote to Lieutenant Colonel Walsh, commandant at Pensacola :

“The inclosed letters were sent to me from Mobile. On the outer Cover directed, ‘On His Majesty’s Service. To Brigadier General Bouquet, commanding His Majesty’s Forces in the Southern District at Pensacola or Mobile-Or in Case He should not be-yet arrived in West Florida, To the Officer commanding at Pensacola.’ Thos Gage. And on the inner Cover, ‘To Brigadier General Bouquet, or in his Absence, To the Officer commanding His Majesty’s Forces in West Florida.’

“It appears that the Officer at Mobile did not conceive himself as comprehended under that Description ; and you have several times told me You did not conceive yourself as comprehended under that Description ; And all I contend for is, that Somebody is and ought to be comprehended under such Description.”

On the thirtieth he wrote again to Walsh ordering him to send a detachment of troops to Manchac to protect the work in progress there, and the same day he received a reply from Walsh in which the latter agreed to send the troops, clearly intimating that he did so because it was for the benefit of the province and not because of the governor’s orders, though he did not say so. In the same letter he continues : “I desire to be excused from answering Your Excellency’s Questions, as they are to be determined by my Superiors.”

The Governor, however, tired as he declared he was of disputes, seems to have found additional strength to maintain what he considered the dignities of his position. The quarrel with Colonel Walsh,

which had begun so innocently over a packet of letters, shifted to the question of control over the King's huts and from there to the old question of the military command. The pitch of the party and factional tempers increased throughout the winter of 1765-66 in Pensacola until such lunatic trivialities were seriously employed in the fort as giving paroles and countersigns such as *Love* and *Harmony*, *Bedlam* and *Lunacy*. The governor wrote to General Gage on January 27, 1766, applying for a court-martial to try Colonel Walsh. In spite of Gage's previous declaration that he had no such right Johnstone had ordered Colonel Walsh into arrest. He charged that Colonel Walsh had taken over the complete command of the fort in utter disregard of him, that he was receiving the visiting Indian chiefs, that he had withdrawn the sentries from the governor's door, and that he had ordered the guards to show him no further respects.

Gage wrote to Halifax on March 28, 1766, giving a sketch of the entire quarrel and stating that he was ordering an investigation of affairs and that he relied upon the new Brigadier General, Haldimand, and Colonel Taylor to quell the trouble.

Colonel Walsh refused to consider himself under arrest. As a matter of fact, the governor was in an exceedingly inconvenient, not to say dangerous, position. His house was within the walls of a fort over which he had lost any control. In the state of war then existing between himself and the military, his comings and goings and all of his visitors must necessarily be with the commandant's consent.

Accordingly, with the advice of his council, on January 20, 1766 Johnstone ordered Colonel Maxwell, in command at Mobile, to proceed with a detachment of troops to Pensacola and take command there as "Eldest Officer."

Colonel Maxwell arrived before the walls of the fort on January 31. There then took place a very ridiculous scene. John Hannay, a member of the council was dispossessed of his house by the soldiery and he applied to the governor for protection-so runs the deposition of the governor. The latter went immediately to the scene and handed over the sergeant to the custody of the provost marshal of the province, his nephew, James Johnstone. The governor then attempted to lay the matter before the Chief Justice, Clifton, who lived without the fort, but his messengers found the gates closed and the governor and his party effectually imprisoned within the walls. The situation was complicated by the presence of an increasing number of Indians who were arriving for the congress, and who, according to Johnstone's deposition were denied access to the fort and to him. Characteristically, Johnstone proceeded at once to Walsh's presence where he arrested that officer for high treason and handed him over to the custody of the provost marshal in the presence of the troops and an assemblage of people. Walsh submitted for the moment.

The governor made his way out of the fort by the water gate, accompanied by his secretary, Primrose Thompson. Failing to persuade Colonel Maxwell to force an entrance into the fort, the governor set out to return to his house, but the gates of the fort were closed against him and Colonel Walsh was declared by the sentry to be in command of the fort. Nothing daunted, Johnstone desired his secretary to defend him with his sword while he climbed over the stockade. The governor, in his deposition, declared that the soldiers attacked both himself and his secretary with bayonets and that as he "came

down from the Parapet, one . . . did actually enter the Knee of his Breeches and tore the same. . . .⁶ When he was within the fort the governor immediately ordered Major Bromley, whom he had appointed to command in lieu of Colonel Walsh, to open the gates of the fort, which, accordingly was done. The detachment of Colonel Maxwell entered and the storm blew over. During the succeeding days the governor, consulting with his council, endeavored to persuade Colonel Maxwell to take over the command. That officer managed to maintain his firm refusal without coming to an open break and at length secured permission to return to Mobile with his troops.

The storm did not blow over, however, without brewing another. During this week Colonel Walsh was examined before the governor and council and then handed over to Chief Justice Clifton. The latter dismissed him in terms which practically exonerated him.

The feeling between the governor and the chief justice had never been good, but they had never before come to an open break. It is not, then, a surprise to find that on the first of April Johnstone sent a complaint of the conduct of the chief justice, accompanied by formal charges, to the Home Government.

Previous to this the governor claimed that Clifton had resigned his seat on the Council, declaring that the governor had no right to examine into his conduct. The governor declared: "By this means I cannot make a Quorum, and the business of the Council is thereby at a Stand, and the rest of the members being all of the opinion, that Mr. Clifton cannot by His Majesty's Instructions Art. 2nd re-

6. Johnstone's deposition, April 1, 1766, *P. R. O., C. O.*, 5:583.

sign seat in Council while he retains his Commission as Chief Justice, I am really at loss how to proceed; and the truth, is, that supposing I was drove to the necessity of suspending him, I do not know a Man in Society qualified to fill his place.”

On the twenty-eighth of January he wrote to Secretary Conway that he had suspended Edmund Rush Wegg, His Majesty's attorney general for the province, for alleged incompetence and negligence. On the seventh of August he wrote to John Pownall that he had suspended the chief justice.⁷ “Mr. Clifton and Mr. Brown refusing to attend the Council and Mr. Randall the Surveyor-General being occupied about his own Affairs, I could neither form a Quorum of members appointed, nor call in others, agreably to His Majesty's Instructions, and Mr. Bruce the Collector of Customs, having an Appeal of a very difficult Tendency, upon which he could not sit, the Business of the Province must have stood still. . . .”

The group of officials who stood with the governor in the province were being thinned and faction lines were narrowed. At this same time a deposition of one Robert Collins records his testimony as to the plotting of a revolt in the colony against the governor, more or less involving the leading officials in opposition to Johnstone. The governor told Collins that all the colonists were too well satisfied to join in a revolt, and that to proceed against the leaders upon the deposition would be to throw the colony into confusion. He concluded with telling Collins to acquaint anyone who mentioned such a plot that “His Excellency was sowing Beans in his Garden.” On April first the governor sent in the complaint to the home government of the conduct

7. *P. R. O., C. O.*, 5:583.

of the chief justice, he complained also of the conduct of the lieutenant governor, Montfort Browne.⁸ The governor's complaint counterbalanced a complaint by Lieutenant Governor Browne of Governor Johnstone's conduct, which the former had sent home on the twenty-seventh of March. Browne said :

. . . From my entire Ignorance of any Disputes [he had just arrived in the province] then subsisting between Governor Johnstone and Col. Walsh; I was induced to consent to Govr Johnstone's proposition. A few Days fully convinced me, that I had been deceived into a Consent . . ." He continues, to accuse the governor of being partial ". . . arbitrary . . . by most of the Councillors, who, thro' sympathy of Dispositions and Principles, or thro' Fear, or thro' an implicit Obedience to his Dictates; dare not oppose him in anything. . . ." He declares that he has but a few days since ". . . received a Letter from Mr. Clifton, the Chief Justice, advising me that he has been obliged from Govr Johnstone's insolent Treatment of him, upon all Occasions in the Council to resign his Seat, because he dared to differ from him in Opinion, and speak his Sentiments; this with his having since endeavored to suspend him from the execution of his office as Chief Justice, and offering that important employment to a Mr. Clarke, a Merchant of this Town, who for prudent reasons refused it ; and with his having suspended Mr. Wegg, the late Attorney General; has added greatly to the Surprize, and Fears of every Inhabitant, who think their Persons, their Liberties, and their Properties are affected; as these two Gentlemen have in their respective employments, given the greatest Satisfac-

8. *Vide, Miss. Prov. Arch.*, I, 460-468, 960-961; the Memorial against Johnstone, dated in April, 1766 is in **P. R. O., C. O.**, 5:583.

tion, and are universally esteemed . . . I cannot conclude without informing your Excellency, of the Treatment I met myself with from Governor Johnstone, he, notwithstanding my Commission and Mandamus under His Majesty's Sign manual, has refused to receive me as Govr of this Province, my Commission as Lt Governor (as he was pleased to term it) being a dormant one . . . probably forgot to be communicated to either by the Ministry or Board of Trade. On another Occasion, in a Conversation concerning some guns, which I was to spare the French refugees, out of my own stock, he told me that I wanted to impose upon the Lords of Trade . . . I appeared much displeas'd at the Liberty of his Speech ; He told me, in case I did not like his Conversation, he would meet me when and where I pleas'd. . . .”

Throughout the spring and summer months of 1766 Colonel Walsh remained in command of the fort at Pensacola. His relations with the Governor may be described as a state of armed truce. A reply of the commandant to an order from the governor is witness to this state of affairs: “I am desired by Lieutenant Colonel Walsh to acquaint your Excellency that he received a Letter from you this morning, in which he imagines there must be a Mistake either on your side or your Secretary's; as you well know the Colonel cannot obey any Order of yours; but as the Application is for the good of the Colony, and the Colonel is determin'd to do everything in his Power for the benefit of it, he will therefore order. . . .” etc., etc. This letter was included among the evidence of the charges against Colonel Walsh which Johnstone sent to Colonel William Taylor. The Governor also charged that Walsh had caused a salute to be fired by the garrison of the fort at

Pensacola in honor of St. Patrick's Day, 1766. This was contrary, Johnstone wrote, to his orders to the Colonel. It had been done, however, despite the fact that an Ordinance of the King-in-Council of the eighteenth of April, 1764 had given the regular expenditure of the ordnance stores to the governor.⁹

The arrival in New Orleans in April of the Spanish governor, Don Ulloa, added fuel to Johnstone's temper, for, presumably by mistake, Don Ulloa wrote to Colonel Walsh to announce his arrival. Such was the temporary triumph for the colonel and it was likely to produce a factional war on borderlands of an empire. Johnstone wrote to Pownall, "The vanity of the Colonel is extreme on this Occasion. He is going about shewing this Letter to every Shop keeper, and saying, You see now, Gentlemen, the Spanish Governor looks on me as the Supreme Commander, and your Commerce with New Orleans depends on me, with many other Absurdities."¹⁰ But a second letter of regret from Don Ulloa to Johnstone quelled Walsh's triumph.

The conduct of the Creek Indians, too, was worrying the governor. On June 23, 1766, he wrote to the secretary of state: "In short, their Contempt for the English Nation is such, that the common Name they now give them is that of 'Fowl,' Saying, 'that they can equally knock off the Head of the one Animal as of the other with Impunity' . . . It plainly appears to me, upon the whole, that the Creeks must be chastised. . . ." On June 9 the governor had addressed Otis Mico: "The Governour concludes his Speech to Otis Mico as Emistecigo did his concerning the Chactaws, 'If you are for Peace, say so, we

9. Johnstone to Tayler, April 27, 1766. *P. R. O., C. O.*, 5:584.

10. Pownall, Pensacola, April 1, 1766. *Miss. Prov. Arch.*, I, 457; same to same, July 19, 1765, *P. R. O., C. O.*, 5 :575 in App. G.

wish to continue, if for War, say so, . . . we are prepared.' But to receive our Presents, eat our Provisions, use our Powder. . . Ball. . . cutt our Throats, It is neither fitt that you should do so, nor that we should permit it." ¹¹

The crux of the situation lay in the fact that the Creeks and Choctaws had become involved in a cut-throat war with each other. Testimony from East Florida, Georgia and Carolina indicates that there was little disturbance of the whites and that the general attitude of the Creeks to the British was one of friendliness. General Gage, therefore, in writing to Lord Shelburne in December of 1766 urged a policy of moderation and declared that he was relying upon General Haldimand and Superintendent Stuart to prevent matters being brought to extremities . . . "we may become Mediators, and by proper Management, have it in our Power, to turn the Balance on the Side of those, whom it is Most our Interest to favor, without engaging in their Quarrels . . . I have the honor to transmit Your Lordship a Copy of a Letter from Governor Johnstone to Colonel Tayler, which contains the Opinions of the Council of West-Florida concerning the Measures Necessary to be pursued in this Matter, and the Making Preparations to attack the Creeks." ¹² Governor Johnstone planned to attack the Creeks in alliance with the Choctaws, the Chickasaws and the Cherokees. The situation appeared to him as an unrivalled opportunity to wipe out the power of the Creeks. General Gage, who had just concluded one Indian war of threatening proportions was anxious to maintain quiet if it was possible and compatible with British prestige. The governor's dispute with

11. *P. R. O., C. O.*, 5:583; copied by David Doig.

12. *Correspondence of General Thomas Gage*, I, 115-118.

Colonel Tayler arose over the question of the policy toward the Creeks.

The colony of West Florida had reached an exceedingly precarious state of affairs in the spring of 1766. Indeed the condition of the whole lower Mississippi valley seems to have been unsettled. The Spanish were hesitating in their acceptance of the new responsibility in Louisiana. The English were complaining of Spanish tamperings with their Indians. Gage wrote to Shelburne: "An Indian Officer from Appalachi has given Intelligence, that the Spaniards are tampering with our Indians, and that they had Sent Messages to all the lower Creeks ; that a Chief of those Nations was gone to the Bay of Tempe, from whence he was to proceed to the Havana. The Purport of the Spanish Message was not known, but an Account of it soon expected, from the Indian Commissary in the Creek Nation."¹³

Gage also writes to Shelburne of other grievous conditions. Pensacola, he says, is no more than a place surrounded by pickets and defensible only against Indians. Fort Tombeche has been abandoned, and, in fact, if any definite stand is to be made against possible Spanish aggressions, which were to be expected sooner or later, the entire military organization of the province must be reorganized at considerable expense. Its muniments must be overhauled and more troops must be sent to the province. The question was complicated by the natural attraction of New Orleans as a trading depot for the whole of the gulf coast and even for the Illinois. The Iberville had not proved navigable its entire length and various plans for portage or the digging of a canal were advanced in an effort to provide an English outlet to the gulf and to increase

13. *Ibid.*, 138.

the usefulness of Mobile and Pensacola harbors.

But General Gage was not enthusiastic about distant posts. He wished to cut down the length of the defended frontier, a movement which finds its parallel in the Spanish officialdom of the day. Long defended frontiers incurred deficits to the home treasury. The continual quarrels in West Florida doubtless added to General Gage's determination which led to his action of two years later when he withdrew all but two companies of the three regiments in West Florida to Saint Augustine.

Brigadier General Haldimand arrived in the spring of 1767. Colonel William Tayler was transferred to Saint Augustine. Fort Tombecbe was abandoned in January, 1768. The outlook was discouraging. Haldimand, who had no more use for Johnstone than did the other military men, wrote to Gage that he thought the governor and his friends wanted the posts maintained for their own benefit. The land grants, too, were extraordinary, he said.¹⁴ Here is an echo of the very charge which the governor made against his enemies.

On the nineteenth of February 1767 Lord Shelburne wrote to Sir William Johnson informing him that Governor Johnstone had been dismissed for commencing hostilities against the Creek Indians.¹⁵

14. Hamilton, *op. cit.*, 259.

15. Historical Manuscripts Commission, Report on the Manuscripts of T. S. Raffles, 6th Report, Pt. I, 474.