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**TAMPA BAY IN 1757:
FRANCISCO MARIA CELI'S JOURNAL
AND LOGBOOK, PART II**

Edited by JOHN D. WARE*

SUNDAY, THE 24TH of April dawned with horizons and sky clear and wind favorable from the NE. At 6:00 A.M. after hearing the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, we departed the vessel with the longboat and canoe, both armed, in which the following men went: Frigate Lieutenant Don José Jiménez; Don Francisco Maria Celi; Don Juan Franco, a draftsman from the navy yard by the stream;⁵⁵ the carpenter and the caulker of the xebec; and fifteen seamen. All this was in expectation of drawing a chart, and of surveying the forests and pines for masts, their quality, length, and thickness. At 8 we approached the shore which extended north of us, and on a point which I gave the name of *Montalbo* (Catfish Point) we stopped so that the crew

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55. The word used by Celi in the Spanish text was *Mastranza*, believed by the translator to have been incorrectly spelled or to have been a variant of *mastrunza*. Because of the lack of uniformity in capitalizing words it is not known whether the word was used as a proper or a common noun. *Mastranza* in Spanish naval and artillery parlance means "navy yard" and "arsenal," respectively. Inasmuch as Celi's survey was ordered by the highest Spanish naval authority in Cuba at the time and was consistent with naval needs, it is considered to have been used in this context and therefore to have meant "navy yard." See *Encyclopedia Britannica*, XI, 168; the *Mastranza* was formerly the navy yard and headquarters of the artillery, and was part of old Havana. Hugh Bradley, *Havana, Cinderella's City* (Garden City, 1941), 176. The first navy yard was built in Havana in 1723 and was first located close by *La Fuerza*. Its space was restricted; and it was moved a few years later to more commodious quarters, thereafter stretching for almost one mile along the waterfront at the extreme southern part of the city. U. S. Hydrographic *Chart 307* (1957), *Habana Harbor* indicates several navy and army installations, all situated on or near the waterfront. Hereinafter referred to as *Chart 307*. It is probable that the *Mastranza* [sic] or "navy yard by the stream," was the early yard built along the shoreline of what is now *Ensenada de Atarés*, and occupied that section of the waterfront now identified in part as *Muelle del Arsenal*.

might prepare their meal. At this time four pines were tapped for bleeding pitch. (This point is at the entrance of the haven of *Aguirre* cove, and is turned away by its coast seven miles east and west.)⁵⁶

At 9:00 we depart for the river, proceeding along shore a distance of a musket shot away. This shore runs NNW and SSE, and in this distance I found a depth of two fathoms. Having sailed about one league, I saw in the distance to the NE three sand bars which appeared above water. I turned away from the shore about one mile and continued on said course of NNW for about one-half league, later steering more to the north for about four miles. Near the mouth of the river three keys are seen, about one mile or a little more in length and set apart from the mouth of the river one mile.⁵⁷ The one more to the westward discloses and frees for view the mouth of this river, and on this key it appears to me that a fort can be built to defend the entrances and channels to the open water beyond.⁵⁸ To this key I gave the name of *San Francisco y Cajigal* (probably former Depot Key); to the one adjacent, *San Antonio y Monserate* (probably former Little Grassy Key) which, like

56. Celi had confused *Punta Montalbo* (Catish Point) with *Punta Morillo* (Gadsden Point) and had given misleading directions and distances regarding both.

57. Although positive identification is difficult if not impossible, a reference to United States Coast and Geodetic Survey *Chart 177, Tampa Bay, Florida, 1879*. Hereinafter referred to as *Chart 177*. It provides an accurate configuration of the shoreline of upper Hillsborough Bay before Davis and Seddon Islands were created by dredging. This chart shows Depot Key and a smaller unnamed key in the mouth of the Hillsborough River. Hookers Point was then a long neck of land, higher at its extremity than near its juncture with the mainland. Its low part might therefore have been awash or nearly so at high tide and thus regarded as an island by Celi. See also Karl H. Grismer, *Tampa* (St. Petersburg, 1950), 233 for a 1913 photograph which identifies the smaller of the two keys as "Little Grassy Island" and the larger as "Depot Key" (Big Grassy Island, Big Island and Rabbit Island). Seddon Island had by then been created from dredging fill.

58. Celi, of course, could not have known how prophetic his statement was. Cantonment Brooke (later known as Fort Brooke), the forerunner of modern Tampa, was established sixty-seven years later, in 1824. This military post was situated, not on this key, but nearby on the mainland on the east side of the mouth of river. See George A. McCall, *Letters from the Frontiers* (Philadelphia, 1868), 133; Clarence Edwin Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers of the United States: Florida Territory, 1821-1845*, 26 vols. (Washington, 1956-62), XXII, 841-43; James A. Covington, "The Establishment of Fort Brooke," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXXI (April 1953), 273-78, *passim*; Grismer, *Tampa*, 58-59 and map, 63.

*De la Havana al
 Pto
 L. de Tampa
 Año de 1757.*

Diario de Reconocimientos.

*Cleaus Atlanticis septentrionalis
 in Tomo II. documento 5. (1757)
 & 1758*

Portada or title-page of Francisco Maria Celi's survey journal
 and logbook:
*From Havana to the port of Tampa
 Year of 1757
 A Journal of Surveys*

the former, is probably one mile in length and a little less in width. To the other key situated between *Monserrate* and a point of the south shore, I gave the name of *Celi* (probably the end of former Hookers Point), and to the point just mentioned, *La Carrascon* (The Large Pin Oak). Farther to the SE is the mouth of a river which I called *Rio de Franco* (Palm River—Six-Mile Creek). Between *Cayo Cajigal* and the coast, even up to the mouth of the river, there are keys, all formed by large oysters. These keys have small channels between them where smaller craft can pass.

At 2:15 P.M. we entered the mouth of the river, which I called *San Julian y Arriaga* (Hillsborough). This river has a mouth opening N by E and S by W, a width of 110 fathoms. [After proceeding the short distance of the first two reaches Celi and his party unstepped the mast of their longboat and put it ashore for safety. Besides, the narrow confines of the heavily-wooded river precluded the use of the sail as a means of motive power. The fifty reaches of varying widths and depths were traversed by the party in the longboat and canoe, both armed. As they proceeded upriver with the crew at the oars the river narrowed and shoaled, requiring that the grapnel, hawser, and two barrels (probably drinking water) be put ashore for additional buoyancy. Celi noted that along the banks there was an abundance of pine of indifferent quality, suitable only for booms, topgallant yards, and "mere trifles for large ships and smaller craft." Laurel, walnut (probably hickory), and live oak of similar quality were also in abundance. The forward progress of the longboat was finally halted near mid-day by the shoals and a well-known natural barrier which Celi describes.]

In this position we found the channel of the river obstructed by stones, which they call *El Salto* (The Waterfall). Although the water does not come from a greater height, yet it is constrained by being as I have stated.⁵⁹ Here we sojourn to examine the terrain of this position to which we arrived at exactly noon. The order was given to prepare to eat, and having eaten, we began at 1:00 P. M. to perform our mission. The following four men: Don José Jiménez, Don Francisco Maria Celi, Don Juan Franco, and the carpenter of the xebec, Francisco Diaz, accompanied by two seamen, went toward the western edge of the river bottom. Penetrating this swamp about one-half league, they saw thirty-three trees of twenty to twenty-six inches in diameter, and thirty-five to thirty-six cubits in length. At 3 o'clock the aforementioned men crossed over to the eastern edge, going into the interior a little more than one mile. Upon walking along the river about one and one-half league, there was found in this distance thirty-one trees from twenty-one to

59. Celi was referring to the so-called "waterfall" in the present Hillsborough State Park. His statement, of course, carries with it the connotation of a physical impossibility, since the water would not run at all under the condition he describes. He no doubt meant that the water came from a not-much-greater height.

twenty-eight inches in diameter, and thirty-four to thirty-eight cubits in length, suitable for main topmast yards of two pieces, and many for makeshift mainmasts. And thus it is for all the rest which are needed for smaller masts in abundance. At 5:00 we departed from this position and went downstream. At 6:00 we arrived at the place where we left the grapnel and cable; here we made camp for the night.

Tuesday, the 26th, dawn came completely overcast with cloud-laden skies in the NW. At 5:15 A. M. we went to examine this terrain where we cut a small pine from those of the smaller variety to be used for the mizzenmast of the xebec. Turning away from the bank of the river some sixteen to twenty yards, we saw eight trees suitable for the bodies and heads of the masts, their length about four cubits.⁶⁰ Because of the heavy rain squalls from the NW and the thunder, we did not continue any farther, although at first glance countless others were found. At 9:00 we again explored this terrain, where we cut a piece of one cubit or a little longer and a diameter of twenty-six inches outside of the bark. This tree had a trunk of thirty-three cubits, and thus these trees are seen distinct in this nature: seemingly of greater magnitude in length and thickness and of good quality. I will state that the aforementioned piece, which serves as a specimen of something taken back from this land, is from pines of a type which are without cones, and proves to be a quality useful for masts. We erected a cross in this landing place and gave it the name of *El Pinal de la Cruz de Santa Teresa* (The Pine Forest of the Cross of Santa Teresa).⁶¹ At 3:00 P. M. we left this position to proceed farther downstream. We proceeded about two leagues and stopped for two hours to examine the countryside in which we had seen, in even greater abundance, trees of a magnitude as reported earlier, at a distance from the river of about one mile. At sunset we departed this position to repair to the place we had left the mast of the longboat ashore. We arrived at 10:00 P. M. and stayed the remainder of the night to rest.

Wednesday, the 27th, dawn came clear and serene with a fair wind from the land. We raised the mast of the longboat

60. This is obviously an error of Celi or the scribe who copied the original. The translator believes that trees for masts herein mentioned would be about forty cubits in length.

61. An area to the north and east of present Temple Terrace.

and at sunrise we departed for the mouth of the river, where we arrived at 7:00 A. M. I report that the tide enters this river of *San Julian y Arriaga* with a rise and fall inside for about a league and one-half to two leagues, and in this distance the water remains brackish because it is mixed with that of the bay. Farther upstream, however, the water is fresh and very fine in taste. The crew reveled in it and all drank of it, for it was good as well as clear. The order was given for the canoe to load with oysters to take aboard; whereupon we proceeded out the river in the longboat. At 8:00 A. M. we put ashore and stopped to prepare our meal in a position about one mile or a little more from the mouth of the river. At 8:30 the canoe arrived where we were, and at 10:00 we left this position to go aboard our xebec. We arrived at 1:00 P. M. with all happiness.

Of the events which came to pass on those days I was absent from the xebec, I make no mention, for I had not been a participant. I have learned only that the Indians had been aboard once; that they had tried to get rum; that Don Lino Morillo received and treated them kindly, giving them food but no rum. One of those from their canoe, seeing that the spirits would not be given to them had the audacity to take a small axe which they had in the canoe and struck the side of the xebec with it. Having thus reproved Don Lino Morillo, he left the vessel.

Thursday, the 28th. At 4:00 A. M. I left the xebec with the longboat to continue my assignment. This day came with clear horizons and sky and with a fair wind from the NE. At 8:00 I arrived at the position from which I had departed to proceed with the survey of the river of *San Julian y Arriaga*, which position is *Punta de Santa Cruz*. From here I observed a point to the eastward of said point at an angle of 33° 45', 1st quadrant, a distance of four miles. Thus at the same time I saw a very large inlet along which the coast runs north until it is lost from sight. At its western edge I did not sketch on the chart all the keys of this inlet because of its scant depth. Accordingly, I showed it to all appearances as *Estero Grande de Girior*.

[Crossing the mouth of this "inlet," now known as Old Tampa Bay, Celi continued in a northeasterly direction, taking bearings of the islands which lay in its entrance. Neither the text of his *Diario* nor his chart indicates that he proceeded into

this large body of water, yet surprisingly, the configuration of its shorelines is fairly close to its actual shape. He reached the shoreline of the Interbay Peninsula near present Picnic Island.]

I anchored in this position at 10:00 A. M. so that the crew might eat, and they, having gone along a little farther south by land, found where the Indians had had their lodgings. Here they saw a clay pot and *barbacoes* which they had prepared.⁶² From this position the coast runs SE a distance of one-half mile.

[At 10:45 Celi departed this position, skirting the shoreline "a little more than a musket shot" away, until he approached a point of land which he called *Morillo*, now Gadsden Point.]

From this point the coast runs north for three quarters of a mile, and passing along it, I presently came upon the two canoes of the Indians drawn ashore. They were there with three piles of deer skins laid out, and another two piles of meat, including bear of said earlier discovery. The Indians, who in all were ten in number (eight men and two boys), were drawn up around a camp fire. At this point I approached land to load firewood which our crew had already cut; my captain had ordered me to pass by here on my return. I asked the Indians by signs if they knew where our crew had cut the wood. It seemed impossible to resolve this matter without all submitting themselves to questioning, and realizing this, I continued traveling along the shore on the course and distance I have stated.

At this point I unexpectedly found the firewood along the shore of the bay near some juniper trees. I pulled up to load the longboat and went ashore to complete for the chart the distance at which I saw *Punta Montalbo*. I thereupon observed it at an angle of 11° 15', 4th quadrant, a distance of one-half mile. This bearing served to consolidate the chart of the bay of *Aguirre*. At 4:00 P. M. I departed this shore for our vessel with the loaded longboat, arriving at 4:30.

Night fell with the sky filled with light, swift-moving clouds, and by midnight it was all closed in. At 2:00 A. M. a violent squall struck with the wind from the WNW, followed at 3:30

62. Velasquez, *Spanish and English Dictionary*, 97 defines *Barbacoa*: (1) barbecue, meat roasted in a pit in the earth; (2) a framework suspended from forked sticks. Thus, two choices of meaning are open to the translator. The first carries with it the inference that the Indians departed in such haste that they left their prepared food behind; the second does not necessarily infer this.

by a heavy rain squall and the same wind. Presently this wind moderated, the rain only, continuing.

Friday, the 29th. Dawn came with complete overcast and rain; I therefore delayed setting forth on my mission. At 11:30 A. M. the sky began to clear and the rain to forsake us. At noon the wind from the NW increased and created rough seas. At this time a canoe arrived alongside with the Indians, who carried their necessary equipment for deer hunting. This consisted of their guns, ammunition, and four hollow deer skulls so prepared that they retained their antlers and had some small cords inside which made the ears move about. They say that they serve as a lure for attracting the deer within gun shot. There were in all seven men and one boy about eight to nine years of age. They said that they had left one man and one boy guarding a supply of food with which they were going to relieve the hardship of the Uchises Indians⁶³ of this coast on the other side and south of the bay. (All of this was confirmed on the Sunday past when we were on the survey of the *Rio San Julian y Arriaga* and we saw camp-fires on this coast.) As before, my captain received and treated the Indians kindly. That night they slept aboard our vessel, and he provided a sail from the xebec so that they might be sheltered.

Saturday, the 30th. Dawn came with the horizons and sky clear and the sea rough, although the wind was somewhat less, being favorable from the WNW. At sunrise the captain ordered that gunpowder, bread, corn, and rum be given to those Indians who were going on the hunt. One of them remained in order to go to the place where they had their provisions, and where he also had his damaged canoe. He asked the captain if he would give the order for his crew to repair it.

[At sunrise Celi and his party departed the xebec in the long boat to continue their assignment. Sounding frequently, they charted the depths and configuration of the shoreline, noting *Punta Montalbo* (Catfish Point), *Punta Gonzalez* (probably Mangrove Point), and *Punta Gago* (probably an unnamed key just north of Camp Key) in his *Diario* and on his chart.

63. See Frederick W. Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*, 2 vols. (Washington, 1910), II, 1003-07, *passim*, under the heading of Yuchi; see also Simpson, *Florida Place Names of Indian Derivation*, 7-8. Celi's spelling as *Uchises* is not significant; the name of this tribe was spelled many ways.

Parenthetically, he further noted: "All of this coast is made up of inlets and keys which I have outlined on the chart."⁶⁴ In the course of this examination Celi discovered the edge of a shoal which subsequent bearings and soundings established as the vast middleground of Tampa Bay which he called *Plazer (Placer) de San Thelmo*.⁶⁵ Each of the aforementioned points, along with earlier established landmarks, figured in the delineation of the shoreline and the location of the soundings shown on the chart. They returned to the xebec at nightfall.]

[After Holy Mass Sunday Celi and his crew again set forth in the longboat to continue his soundings on the east side of the bay and south of Interbay Peninsula. Some three days were required to complete the soundings and configuration of the shoreline to a position about one league southwestward of *Punta Gago*, where Celi placed a stake as a reference marker. The xebec had meanwhile proceeded outbound to a position some five miles to the eastward of Point Pinellas.]

[Tuesday, the 3rd— day of Santa Cruz— dawned with clear horizons and sky, a calm sea, and a favorable wind from the SE. Again observing Mass on this Holy day at 6:15 A. M. the xebec set sail and proceeded with the longboat in the lead to a position a scant three miles southeastward from Point Pinellas and there anchored. At 8:30 the longboat was ordered ashore with an assortment of pipes and casks to a nearby watering place— presumably the one previously discovered by the carpenter and the two seamen— to which Celi gave the name: *Aguada de San Francisco*. Celi described it: "This is a lake which has a mouth closed to the beach, and it appears that during high water it would probably run like the mouth of a river."⁶⁶]

Inasmuch as the moon was in opposition this day, I tested the amount of rise and fall of the tide. At 1:30 P. M. it was

64. The latter part of his statement is true only in a limited sense, as Celi noted the mouth of the Little Manatee and Manatee Rivers, and the entrance to Sarasota Pass as virtually unrecognizable indentations on his chart. He neither documented these bodies in his text, nor did he sketch them on his chart. See Celi's chart and *Chart 1257*.

65. *Ibid.*

66. *Ibid.* These two charts and this passage of the text suggest that Celi was referring to present Lake Maggiore which then may have had another outlet— one to the southwestward— perhaps present Frenchman's Creek, then in its original state. No doubt they named this "watering place" after their vessel.

high tide; whereupon I experienced an increase of (two-thirds of a yard).⁶⁷ At 3:00 the longboat arrived with nine casks of water, and at 3:45 it returned for more. Evening came on us with the same weather, and at 11:30 at night the longboat returned a second time with seven more casks and the small barrels.

Wednesday, the 4th. Dawn came with clear horizons and sky, the sea smooth and wind favorable from the SSE, at which time I departed the vessel with the longboat to proceed with my mission. I went toward the position where I left the stake marker on the coast. I steered ENE and E by N, arriving at 6:00 A. M. From here I observed a point at an angle of 23°, 3rd quadrant, a distance of three miles. At 8:30 I stopped on the shore to prepare to eat and to cut a small spar about five yards in length for the arms of a cross, which spar is seen to be suitable for use with the old mizzenmast. This cross is to be erected on the south point of the island of *San Blas*.

At 11:00 A. M. I departed this position and observed another point at the angle of 33°, 3rd quadrant. The wind shifted to WSW as a seabreeze, and presently to SW. The wind was so strong that no headway could be made using oars and sail. This was occasioned by meeting this wind and tide together; the crew (therefore took to the water near the land and among the shoals of this coast, leading the boat along. At 3:00 P. M. deeper water was found, and the crew re-embarked and took to the oars. At 4:45 I arrived somewhat beyond this point, which I called *Punta de Trabajos* (Piney Point),⁶⁸ and from here the coast runs at an angle of 27°, 3rd quadrant, a distance of one mile. I arrived here at 6:00 P. M. and noted the very bad appearance of a squall in the fourth quadrant and the strong wind from the SW; on this passage the squall caught me. Endangered by it, I stopped in said position, which was verified at 7:30 at

67. Celi stated that the moon was in opposition, therefore the spring range of the tide would have prevailed. See Bowditch, *American Practical Navigator*, 377, 948. U. S. Coast & Geodetic Survey *Tide Tables, East Coast of North and South America* (1967), 237 gives a spring range of two feet for Point Pinellas (No. 3085), hard by the former "Watering Place of San Francisco." Celi's measurement of two-thirds of a yard (vara), or twenty-two inches, is therefore very close to the present-day spring range of two feet. Certain man-made impediments— the Sunshine skyway causeway, for example— might well account for this minor discrepancy.

68. Celi chart and *Chart 1257. Punta de Trabajos*: a good free translation is "Hardship Point."

night. A heavy squall came on us with wind and rain from NNW, veering to NW. At 10:00 the rain stopped and the wind moderated; I then hastened to bear away from among the shoals, but was unable to succeed until high tide. At 10:30 the rain returned, which lasted until 2:00 A. M., at which time I was able to go forth from among the shoals. I was detained until daylight in this position, which I called *Noche Triste*.⁶⁹

[Dawn came Thursday, the 5th, with cloudy horizons and sky. The weather soon improved, however, as the wind shifted to SE and the skies cleared. With this, Celi and his crew continued to survey the southeastern shore of Tampa Bay. He described a cove at the extremity of which was a large inlet;⁷⁰ he stated that the coast was formed by keys and inlets. He completed the configuration of the coast of the bay by naming a point *El Quemado* (Mead Point), locating the nearby mouth of another large inlet,⁷¹ and finally, by locating and naming *Punta Arboleda* (Bean Point). His arrival here at 7:30 A. M. virtually completed his survey. One hour later he boarded the xebec which, meanwhile, had proceeded by various tacks to an anchorage about one-half mile eastward of Egmont Key. Celi and his crew remained aboard the rest of the day.]

Friday, the 6th. Dawn came with the same clear horizons and sky, smooth sea, and fair wind from the WNW. At 5:00 A. M. the following men went in the longboat to the island of *San Blas* (Egmont Key): Don Lino Morillo, Chaplain Don Agustín Fogasa, the accountant, and I, to erect on the south point of this island the Most Holy Cross, which was consecrated and set upright in this position. (Which was where I began to sketch and to measure for the chart of this great Bay of Tampa, newly called *San Fernando*.) The xebec saluted it with five salvos and dipped the flag at the stern.

At 7:00 we returned alongside and the captain ordered me to proceed with the longboat to again examine and sketch the channel between *San Blas* and Key *Velasco*. After leaving the vessel, the contrary winds and opposing current would not allow

69. *Ibid. Noche Triste*: "Sorrowful night;" probably the shoals of Harbor or Mariposa Keys or those near Two Brothers or Joe Island.

70. *Ibid.* This was probably the mouth of the present Manatee River or Terra Ceia Bay which apparently was not examined to any extent by Celi, if at all.

71. *Ibid.* Probably the north end of Sarasota Pass.

me to proceed; I therefore returned to the vessel. The remainder of the day the wind continued as a seabreeze from the WSW.

Night came on us with this same weather, and at 7:00 in the evening the captain resolved a matter of consequence on which the following unanimously agreed: my captain, Don José Jiménez; Don Lino Morillo; Don Francisco Maria Celi; Don José Gonzalez; and the accountant, Don Rafael Jiménez. This decision, that it be henceforth of record, was twofold: inasmuch as the pilot⁷² stated that by way of the channel which runs between *San Blas* and *Velasco* there was a shoal to seaward outside to the west on which he had seen the sea break on other trips he had made. All of which he reported to us, realizing the dangers of being caught to leeward with the xebec and of being stranded on the shoal by the failing winds and current. In such a case there would be no recourse. So therefore, we are taking into consideration that I and Don Lino Morillo went outside with the longboat until almost out of sight of *San Blas* and on this day found a scant two fathoms. I thus discovered farther offshore that the channel continued its shoaling appearance.⁷³ For that reason, therefore, all of us of the said council came to the decision to depart from this Great Bay (having weather suitable for the purpose) by the same channel through which we entered, and to consider the channel between *San Blas* and Key *Velasco* as not useful because of the aforesaid obstacles. With this determination, I formed on the chart what appears as a deep hole or bay, to which I gave the name of *San Tiburcio*.⁷⁴

72. Celi, the principal pilot on this survey, once again refers to himself in the third person.

73. Celi used the word *blanquisar* [blanquizar], meaning "clay white appearance" in describing what he considered continuing shoal water. This characterization is appropriate as the gulf becomes "milky" in the area in question to this day during and after heavy seas caused by strong onshore winds. This appearance, however, is not *per se* an indication of excessively shoal water, which fact might well have led Celi to an erroneous conclusion. This statement is based on the personal experiences of the translator as a former seafarer and present pilot in the area.

74. This, in effect, demonstrated on Celi's chart that this channel was closed to the deep water of the Gulf of Mexico. This was based on two unsuccessful attempts to completely and thoroughly sound and survey this passage and perhaps the misleading appearance of the boisterous waters farther offshore. Thus, the conclusions of the officers of this expedition might have been in error. See Ware, "A View of Celi's Journal of Surveys and Chart of 1757," 19-21 and Celi's chart opposite p. 14.

Saturday, the 7th. Dawn came this day with cloudy horizons in the second quadrant, the others clear, and a favorable wind from NE. At 5:00 A. M. we set sail from this Bay of Tampa, newly named *San Fernando*, its entrance situated in latitude $27^{\circ} 40'$ and longitude 290° , based on the meridian of Tenerife, bound for the port of *San Cristobal de la Havana*⁷⁵ in latitude $23^{\circ} 10'$ and longitude $291^{\circ} 10'$,⁷⁶ We steered S by E for a distance of one mile with depths of [nine to six] fathoms. We bore away to the leeward, steering SW by S, considering that we had now sailed past the shoal inside of *San Blas*. Thus, *Punta de la Cruz* (south end of Egmont Key) bears WSW, a distance of one-half mile, the north point of the isle of León south, a distance of one mile; and there are depths of [two and one-half and three] fathoms. Being now NNW and SSE with *Punta de la Cruz*, the xebec steered SW 2° W, giving a wide berth to the shoal of the island of *León*, a distance of two and one-half miles, and also to *Punta de la Cruz*. We tried to keep ourselves in the middle of the channel, wherein was sounded [four and one-half and three and one-half] fathoms, until we were east and west from the island of *León* at a distance of two and one-half miles and from the aforesaid point three miles. We steered SW by S in depths of [five to six] fathoms for one and one-half miles from a position where we considered we were already beyond the channel. I then observed *Punta de la Cruz* at NE, a distance of five miles, and the south point of *León* E 5° NE, a distance of four and one-half miles.

At 7:00 A. M. we set our course, steering SSE; at 11 the wind shifted to WSW as a seabreeze. At noon I observed *Boca de Zarrazote* (Sarasota Pass) ENE, a distance of eight miles, from which bearing our course was set. Until noon the day's

75. See Bradley, *Havana: Cinderella's City*, 21-23, *passim*. The name, *San Cristóbal de la Havana*, was intended variously to honor the saint, the discoverer, and the Indian tribe known as the Habanas. It is thought to have been founded on or about July 25, 1515, on the south coast of Cuba near what has since become Batabane, being moved to a location on the north shore of Cuba near the mouth of the Almendares River before its final move to its present location in about 1519.

76. The difference of longitude as indicated by Celi's coordinates for Tampa and Havana is $1^{\circ} 10'$ or $70'$ of arc. Bowditch, *American Practical Navigator*, 1066, 1070, gives the longitude of Egmont Key lighthouse (entrance of Tampa Bay) as $82^{\circ}46'$ west and that of Havana as $82^{\circ}21'$ west. The actual difference of longitude then is $25'$, which varies considerably from Celi's figure of $70'$. This is further evidence that Celi was unable to determine his longitude.

run has been according to the adjoining table,⁷⁷ wherein are the soundings of the bottom and its character for each hour.

Middy of the 7th to the 8th day, Sunday noon. The horizons are cloudy, sea calm, and the wind favorable from W by S, as we steer SE. At 3:00 P. M. the wind shifted to NW and at 5:00 we steered SSE 5° E, in order to stay in the same depth. Night came with this same weather except that the horizons are now clear. At 9:30 P. M. we steered SE, as the wind had veered to NNW. At 12:30 we steered SSE, wind NNE. This night we have had rather rough seas from midday until day-break.

Dawn came Sunday with cloudy horizons and the aforementioned wind. At sunrise a widespread mist arose, clearing at 7:00, and at 10:00 the wind became somewhat more favorable. This day has come with a difference by dead reckoning to that by observation of thirty minutes to the south,⁷⁸ which I have considered as current to the SSW. I am also taking into consideration that they issued forth from the entrances of the cove or bay of Carlos, through which position the shoal of Marquesa Key was bearing SW by S, a distance of fifteen and two-thirds leagues.

Middy of the 8th to the 9th day, Monday noon. I proceeded on a course of S by E with the same weather, but with choppy northwesterly seas from the fresh northerly wind. At 2:00 P. M. the vessel steered S by W, until at 3:00 she steered SSW, keeping in the depths expressed in the adjoining tables. Night came with the same clear weather, fresh wind from NNW, and rough seas. At this time sail was shortened in order to be able to sound occasionally. At 7:45 P. M. ten fathoms with mud bottom was sounded. Noting that the depth had been shoaling, and believing that we were now in the vicinity of Key *Marquéz* bank, we moved toward it until our heading was W by S.⁷⁹ We maintained this until we encountered depths of

77. These tables have been omitted, but are part of the complete Celi manuscript in the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville, and in the Florida Historical Society Library, University of South Florida Library, Tampa.

78. Thirty minutes of latitude or 30 miles— a significant difference.

79. The text of the *Diario* shows W by N. This does not agree with the log sheet tabulation, which gives W by S. In addition to which, a course of W by N would be away from Marquesa Bank, rather than toward it from the relative position of the xebec at the time in question. W by S is therefore presumed to be the correct heading.

thirteen and fifteen fathoms; whereupon the xebec was steered the courses as shown in the table. At this time we accordingly bore away from hour to hour and suitably maintained the depth until 2:00 A. M., when twenty-six fathoms with coarse sand bottom was found. At this time we considered that we were out of the mouth of the channel between *Marquéz* Key and the *Tortugas*. From the southern edge of this sounding we steered south, altering course to S by E 2° E at 3:00 A. M., heading toward the coast of Havana.

I have corrected the courses and distances expressed in the table up to 2:00 A. M., being on the southern edge of the bank, with the following results: I have made good a course of 32°, 3rd quadrant for a distance of sixty-one miles; have made thirty miles of leeway, a difference of latitude of fifty-three miles, and a difference of longitude of zero degrees, thirty-two minutes. From the foregoing, I find the latitude of arrival⁸⁰ by dead reckoning to be 24° 30' and longitude 290° 10½', from which position I also find that we have not had any current. This is verified by the aforesaid work, and the customary practice of depending on the aforementioned bank.⁸¹ From 2:00 A. M. until midday the table indicates that no observations could be made because the sky was covered by fast moving clouds. From the dead reckoning position I find that I am situated more to the westward of the entrance of *Mariel*, which is SSE, thirteen and two-thirds leagues away. In this regard, and not having taken into consideration the current, even though I have made many trips on this passage, I have found that it has dropped off, or flows from east to southeast.

Midday of the 9th to the 10th day, Tuesday noon. The sky and horizons are heavy with scud and the sea boisterous from the northeast breeze. Our course is S by E 3° E, proceeding toward the coast. At 1:00 P. M. land was sighted, which was recognized as the mountains of *Jaruco*, bearing S by E, a distance of six leagues. We later sighted the peaks of *Managuas* to the south; we then bore away toward the port, and at 5:30 P.M. we entered between Morro Castle and the Point. At 6:00 we

80. That is, arrival at this known position.

81. This practice would apply to any bank or shoal, the depth and position of which are known and have been identified on the chart. Depth curves and gradients are frequently used today in such a manner, along with other factors to determine a vessel's position.

passed alongside the flagship, to which we gave cheers. We anchored in the Port of Havana in five and one-half fathoms opposite the Quay of Light,⁸² and with the grace of God and the Most Holy Virgin arrived with all happiness.

82. *Chart 307* shows to this day, Quay of Light or *Espigón No. 1 & 2*, thought to be in the same general area as the one referred to by Celi.