

*As recd.*

The  
QUARTERLY

*Periodical of*

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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WILBUR H. SIEBERT

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# THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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GEORGE FAIRBANKS.

*Saint Augustine, April.*

THE CREEK NATION, DEBTOR TO JOHN FORBES  
& CO., SUCCESSORS TO PANTON, LESLIE & CO.  
A JOURNAL OF JOHN INNERARITY, 1812

[This journal is a record of a journey made by John Innerarity, a partner in the firm of John Forbes & Co., into the Creek Nation and of a talk with the chiefs of that nation assembled to make a settlement with him for debts of the nation to the company. The original manuscript is in the possession of Mrs. John W. Greenslade, of Washington, D. C., a great-granddaughter of the journalist, to whom grateful acknowledgment is made.]

1812

October 14- 10 p . m . I started from Town [Pensacola] & rode at an easy gait as the pack was heavy until at about two miles beyond Manuel's Cowpen when we lightened the pack by putting the weightiest part on my horse. Notwithstanding this arrangement the luggage gave us incessant trouble in adjusting & we only arrived abreast of the Saw Mill (upper road) at about  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 4 & then pushed on possibly till 7 o'clock having the benefit of moonlight when we camped about 8 miles beyond the Saw Mill on a bottom where we found good running water.

The pine barren between this and the Saw Mill is handsome in consequence of its being broken by bottoms which is the only relief to that perpetual sameness which reigns throughout.

Distance from Town.....25 miles.

15th

12 noon. Pompey has only just returned with the horses having run off towards Town in the night altho' hobbled and had to walk upwards of 10 miles before he overtook them. Mr. F's horses feet much jaded with the hobbles which he loosened by constant friction. Spent an hour in packing & then continued our journey

until 4 p.m. when we arrived at the fork where the path to Tarvin's old place strikes off from the Tensa Waggon Road—& at ½ past 5 arrived at Pine Barren Creek which was very full and rapid & Pompey expressed great fear less he should not be able to cross the baggage as the log was not safe. By dint, however of great caution he succeeded in crossing the whole by dark. We had to wade up to our knees before we arrived at the log & felt cold while repacking by moonlight, as we were obliged to proceed further there being no food for the horses at the Creek.

Travelled about a quarter of an hour when we came to a fine reedy branch with excellent water where we camped for the night and prepared some chocolate. In the day's journey the Pine Barren is somewhat diversified with bottoms and reedy branches.

Travelled 10 miles. Distance from Town 35 miles.

16 October

After taking coffee & packing started at 1/2 past 7 but proceeded extremely slowly as Mr. Forbes' horse walked lame in consequence of being hurt by the hobbles & the pack gave us frequent trouble. A 9 arrived at a reedy branch in a deep hollowlike channel where the water runs is so boggy that we were obliged to unpack everything in order that the horses may cross unencumbered.

At 10 having finished packing continued our route until 12 o'clock when we arrived at Scambia River at Tarvin's old place where we fired three guns for Mr. Miller's boat which came at 1/2 past one. Landed at Miller's at 2 & remained there all that afternoon and night.

The Pine Barren this day truly barren & very much broken with hollows and reedy branches. The Scambia at Tarvin's place is about 40 yds. wide—& the view very confined and the water muddy.

Mr. Miller has been ailing several days & is still very poorly-

17th

Mr. Miller passed very bad night with flux but nevertheless said that as it was important that he should accompany me, he would do so even if we should have to bury him on the path.

He requested me, however, to have Chas. Brown to go along wt. us in case of accident to him as he would serve as an Interpreter & assist Pompey on the Path which was the more necessary as I was obliged to hire an additional pack horse as our luggage was too heavy. Started from his house at 8 o'clock & continued our route without interruption until we arrived at within 2 miles of Rooty Creek (at dark) where we camped for the night.

Distance from Miller's.....40 miles.

The road today was pretty level & very good—The woods however were a tiresome sameness at some of the [illegible] excepting at the branches which are seen from the road which fall into the Scambia. Some of these are very handsome and all of them afford good water.

They are in general of considerable descent & abound in cane and reeds. The land over which we travelled is very barren owing to its being so elevated being a kind of dividing ridge between the branches of the Scambia, Yellow and Cold Water Rivers. Mr. Miller has been much incommoded and suffered very much during this days march.

18th

Left camp at 7½ A.M. At Rooty Creek my horse bogged & threw me & passed over me without touching me owing to Mr. Miller's promptness in alighting and holding the bridle. This accident detained us only

about 10 minutes when we pursued our journey steadily at a trot until we arrived opposite the Big Factor's at 2 P.M.

Distance from where we camped 25 miles.

During the day's ride the country was very hilly and broken especially as we advanced near the Scambia from the fork which leads to the Big Factor's. The distance to the landing place is about a mile & a half & the land appears very good, scarce a pine tree to be seen, the growth being principally Red Oak & Hickory. The Big Factor's is very pleasantly situated on a high bluff (of about 50 which overlooks the River which is here very steep and occasioned us some apprehension in swimming across our horses. The Big Factor had gone up to the meeting but we were very hospitably entertained by his son in law whose wife immediately set before us a Dish of Susskie, boiled potatoes & some very fine Turkey soup & venison to which our hungry appetites gave an additional zest. These poor people seem to live extremely happy—their situation might be rendered much more comfortable could they change their nature & become a little more Industrious. They had scarcely any corn & it was wt. difficulty that we prevailed on them to spare two baskets, as it was really taking the bread out of their mouths. They sent to their fields for some pumpkins for our horses about two miles distant and told us to turn them into their field where they fared pretty well for the night, & next morning the 19th we took leave at 8 A.M. & rode at a journey gait until 12 M. when we nooned at a branch having rode about 13 miles.

At 1½ Remounted our horses & pushed on briskly through a very hilly country perpetually intersected with branches—At 4 arrived at Pigeon River which we forded. It is about 50 yds wide & a handsome stream. Rode on about 12 miles further through a

neat pine barren until sunset when we pitched our tents on a branch at which my Brother and Mr. Miller once camped & which is the only place which affords water after leaving Pigeon River.

Distance today by eve 38 miles.

Mr. Miller has been gradually getting well since he left home.

20th

Left camp at 7 A.M. & continued our route which lay through some Oak and Hickory land and along the top of a ridge of hills of considerable height none of which commanded an extensive view owing to the intervening trees and hills.

Nooned at twelve until 2 when we resumed our march along the hills which are now very barren until near sundown when one of our pack horses tired. Camped on a hill near a branch where we got water but which is not very good & which is extremely difficult to be found after leaving Pigeon River as no running water crosses the path. Distce. 40 miles.

This afternoon met some Indians driving [illegible] to Pensa. & shortly after camping another Indian arrived & camped close to us. He told us he was going to The Meeting, for which he started at daylight next morning the 21st & after getting breakfast we followed him at 7½ A.M. still keeping along the hills which became higher as we advanced — until we arrived at Stony Hill which I ascended on foot. This hill commands an extensive Prospect to the West, but the scene is all pine barren and not diversified with the appearance of water. It is the highest on the whole ridge & as we have been continually ascending since we left Mr. Miller's its elevation from the level of the Sea must be considerable.

Next to it is Mossy Hill which is beautifully wooded wt. large oaks covered with Moss which gives it a ven-

erable appearance. Nooned at 12 1/2 & waited for the pack horses, one of which was nigh tiring which retarded the other until 2. At 3 started & rode thro' some beautiful Oak & Hickory lands & rich swamps until 5 o'clock when we camped (in order to give the pack horses time to come up) on a creek one of the head branches of Pigeon River. This afternoon saw a huge Pine tree which Mr. Miller said Mr. Forbes measured & found it 3 fathoms in circumference. Distce. this day 30 miles.

22nd.

The dew dript very heavy in the swamp all night and appeared to me as if it was raining. Left camp at 7 A.M. & pursued my route through Oak & Hickory lands until 10 when we arrived at the prairies which are truly handsome. They are skirted with Oak and Hickory which form natural divisions as if into fields of all shapes, square, oblong, & irregular, & are said to extend in a westerly direction from the place where they take their rise as far as the Oppalousas & even Mexico. The sky was of a pure cerulean blue mixed wt. a few white unsullied clouds on the horizon & the day delightfully temperate which contributed to increase the beauty of the scene which lasted for about 8 miles when we again descended into the region of swamps—of these we passed through the Ockfuskie & Kissiy [?] Hachie which abound with Beech & White Oak of immense dimension especially the latter which also were of great height & straight as an arrow. At 5 1/2 we arrived at the site of Col. Hawkins' old home which was situated on a commanding elevation—from whence is seen an extensive prospect & at dark we aughted at an Indian Factor's within a mile of the Tulapoosie (?) River where we passed the night and were informed that few or none of the Chiefs had yet begun to assemble. Distce. today 40 miles.



23rd.

Although our horses were well fed last night they made an ungrateful return by running away to the Tulassie Town (excepting Miller's which tired & got into a Potato field in the night where he did much damage which we were obliged to make good) from whence they were brought back at 12 when we crossed the River at the ford & went through the Tuckabatche Town to the Big Warrior's. He received us very kindly and told me he had provided a house for me in Town which after an hours stay with him we went to visit. On our return to the Town and the Square we met the Little Prince and several of the Lower Town Chiefs who now began to assemble. We returned to our former quarters where we spent the night, & next morning the 24th at 10 we settled our bill & recrossed the River with our luggage in order to take possession of our Lodging from whence we went to the Square. Here we found the Big Warrior & a great many other Chiefs in conclave. A seat was assigned to me next the Big Warrior & the Black Drink was handed to me by the Cup Bearer. This beverage of which they seemed uncommonly fond resembles somewhat strong tea in its taste and odour, tho' considerably darker & is of a deleterious quality. It is prepared by the Young King who acts as a kind of Master of the Ceremony, & is handed to each Chief by the Cup Bearer in a long Calabash. The drinker after retaining it a few minutes vomits it up in successive reachings-when they have all partaken of this ambrosial nectar, the Cup Bearer passes around the same Calabash wt. water of which each fills his mouth & afterwards spits or pours it on his hands to wash them & this ceremony is successively repeated until their dinner is prepared. This is of the most solid and substantial kind, pots., [potatoes?] beef roasted in large pieces stuck upon sticks, Corn Soup & Peas of which they eat to the fill.

The Square which looks about 90 feet is composed of four [ chief ?] Houses or Sheds, these are subdivided into a kind of lodges with matted canes so arranged that those who sit behind have a full [view] of what is passing. The audience or rather the members of the Council—Here description fails, for the pencil could not do justice to such an antique group, painted dressed & cut in all figures forms shapes & colours. No business had been transacted today as one half of the Chiefs had not yet arrived. 5 P.M. Alec Cornell & his suite arrived & paid me a visit of about an hour. The Big Warrior promised to call on me this evening, but has been prevented by one of his children having fallen from a horse & broke his arm.

25th

One Indian died during the night & the family in a [illegible] in our vicinity made a long & loud lamentation during the night. At nine went to the Square where we found a more numerous assemblage of Chiefs than yesterday. The Big Warrior told us the Talk would not take place until tomorrow as he awaited the arrival of several other Chiefs who were on the Paths.

In the mean time he said they would have some unimportant conferences among themselves.

Alec Cornell introduced me formally to the Chiefs & desired them to come & shake hands with me, as I did not come of my own accord but by their invitation & that I was one of their great friends who had supported them through all their distresses. Spent hour in the Square talking with A. Cornell & Timothy Barnard who I found very loquacious & friendly & returned to our residence-

I got Mr. Miller to whisper to the Big Warrior that I wished much to see him by himself when he said he would endeavour so to do, but we both perceive he is

afraid of being observed. 11 went back to the Square & remained 1/2 an hour—afterwards took a short walk wt. Miller conversing wt. him about the object of my business. A Mr. Limbo, Col. Hawkins clerk or deputy agent arrived last night in lieu of the Col. who has been for some time past severely indisposed & totally incapable of attending the meeting. Mr. S. [illegible] went to visit A. Cornell & Tim Barnard at the house where we found Mr. Limbaugh the deputy & some other Americans—On my return the Big Warrior came to see us but not alone—of course I could not have any conversation with him. On his going out, however, I had previously directed Miller to have some private conversation which he with difficulty effected, as the B. W. said that the eyes of everyone were fixed on him & he must be very circumspect.

26th

The Talk commenced this morning—Mr. Limbaugh read Col. Hawkins' Talk which was a strong and bitter one. Charging them with various thefts & depredations & stating that there still remains a balance of one life against them, before this account of blood could be adjusted. When this Talk was delivered they conferred among themselves & we retired with A. Cornell & Tim Barnard who came & dined with us & seemed very friendly & frank.

27th It rained very heavy this night & has been succeeded by a strong cold northerly wind—At 11 went to the Square. Mr. Limbaugh read over the account of Blood and gave out another strong Talk from Col. Hawkins in which he complained against the two wild Towns of the Seminoles the Lochoway for the murders they had committed. He however did not expect that the Chiefs of the Upper Town could interfere but that he had heard that a 1000 men were on their march

from Georgia to chasten them & would take their land from them. Limbaugh again talked over the thefts & desired action & surcharges for ferryages. [?] McIntosh replied in behalf of the Lower Towns, that many things were laid to their charge which had no existence in truth or probability, but provided that they should have the sanction of strong evidence the Nation would pay the strong claims out of their stipend. We will do says he whatever is just & we expect the U. S. will do the same. We have a heavy claim for cedar cut within our land by the Georgians who have made it very scarce & the Treaty provides that any lumber cut in our lands shall be paid for. We expect of the justice of the U. S. the fulfillment of this article of the Treaty. The Big Warrior then began his Talk. He told the Chiefs that they now saw and felt the consequences of allowing a Mail Road to be cut thro' their Nation. For his part he clearly foresaw them. It had given rise to endless complaint, to unfounded claims & would continue so to do.

When he had finished his Talk Limbaugh Barnard & A. Cornell came & dined with me. The house was full of visitors & has been so since my arrival. Limbaugh was very friendly & showed me that part of Col. H's instructions which related to me. "Mr. Innerarity will present the long outstanding claim of his House against the Nation & let him settle entirely his own business." He said that Col. H. Wished very much to see these claims settled & asked me the amount which he said he had forgot. I told him it was about \$40,000—After staying 'till dark he went home & A. Cornell remained. The latter spoke feelingly of the critical situation of the Nation & of the perpetual encroachments of the U. S. He said he was sick at constantly hearing the boastings of the Americans & of their bitter enmity to the English—For his part he was their

true friend—that he would live & die so & that his last breath would be for their welfare & success—that he was obliged to continue acting as Interpreter but that he would renounce the Nation & his friends to live in peace & tranquility & be out of the way of the Americans.

He told me that my business would be discussed in the Square so soon as they had gone through their other small business as it was a matter of great importance. He told me that he would do everything which lay in his power for me & would tell me how to act.

I endeavoured to touch his feelings as much as possible & it seemed to have the desired effect.

He went from my house to the Sweating House & returned next morning the 28th & had breakfast with me. He told me he had been talking with the Chiefs last night till he was hoarse, but that the Big Warrior was not present & he could not introduce our business. He said he feared I would not be sent for till tomorrow. He left us to go to the Square where he remained all day & in the interim Mr. M. & I took a ride to see the Falls, but having no guide we could not find them nor did we spend much time in looking for them as I was fearful that A. Cornell would call during my absence. We returned at 4, the Chiefs were still in conclave but my business was not mentioned during the day—as they were so much occupied in discussing their own business about murders & depredations etc.

A. Cornell has repeatedly told me that I must wait patiently, that my business was weighty & would be reserved to the last in order that they might give their whole attention to it & not be interrupted by any other Talk.

I have had a severe cold & headache all this day & did not rest well during the night as we were continually incommoded by drunken Indians.

29th-My patience being exhausted at the repeated delay wt. which I have met I went to the Square at 11 o'clock to see A. Cornell in order to urge him to exert his influence to bring my business into consideration, but I could scarce speak to him as he was so much engaged interpreting another Talk to Col. Hawkins respecting the blood spilt by the Lotchoway Indians. The Big Warrior said they were all one family, but they hold far off in a corner & would never attend their House of Talks nor would they listen to the advice or counsel of the old Chiefs, but turned their backs upon them with disdain & would not at all be governed by them. He was sorry for the blood that was spilt, as all the Chiefs present wished to live in Peace & tranquility—they had enough to do to govern their own young men among whom there were many wild & headstrong. They had also spilt blood. But the Chiefs had caused them to be put to death & would continue to punish the guilty & put a stop to all disorders as far as they could.

In this stage of the Talks as the sun was shining in my face I left the Square. At 1 the Big Warrior with the Cherokee King & others came to see me. Limbaugh dined wt. us & the house full of visitors as usual. At 4 the Big Warrior sent for me to the Square & asked me what I had to say, that they were ready to hear me. On this a question arose between Miller & Cornell who should interpret, as the former was too diffident the latter agreed. I told them that they would not have much to interpret as too much had already been said & too little done—that I did not undertake such a long fatiguing expensive & inconvenient journey for the purpose of receiving payment of our claims & that it was only their confident persuasion that had driven me from home—induced me to remain patiently so long among them to the great detriment of our business which suffered much in consequence of my

absence. I then read to them the Governor's letter & told them that notwithstanding what I had said to them I would give them a Talk from my Brother which Miller told me Alec interpreted with much effect. I then told them the amount of their debt & read to them the several names & sums to three of which they objected as noted at foot. The Big Warrior when I had finished told me they would this night consult among themselves as to what was to be done & give me an answer tomorrow.

On this I retired & the Big Warrior began to give out his Talk to the Chiefs. He came late in the evening to visit with me along with Cornell & remained about an hour, but I had no opportunity of talking with him on my business as there were several Indians at the door. A. Cornell, however remained & supped with us. After supper when we were alone I sounded him as to the intentions & dispositions of the Chiefs. He told me they would throw every obstacle in my way but perhaps I might possibly succeed.

He said they would recur to the subject of the Appalache Lands which had not been regularly sold in the House of Talks but that we had got a few drunken Chiefs to give it away—that if we were disposed to act fairly wt. them they would act justly with us but we must not think of charging them with interest although it was the custom of the whites, for the Nation would pay none, nor would they pay the principal unless we would bind ourselves to trade with them as formerly & allow them a better Price for their skins & lower the prices of our goods—that we must also consent not to cut off any more the heads & shanks of the skins about which they grumbled very much as well as on the reduced prices we gave for Otter skins, Cowhides, Beeswax etc. I answered all their objections to his satisfaction & he promised to assist me all he could in convincing the Chiefs also.

30th. I was sent for at 1 o'clock to the Square where the Big Warrior began an endless Talk about all that had been told at the Hickory Ground to Mr. Forbes. They had offered him land which he had refused as also their next proposition of giving up to him their salary of \$1500 per annum & their offer of allowing him to cut cedar white oak & other timber on their land or making wax or erecting saw mills to pay the debt, to all which I replied that Mr. Forbes had then stated his answers & reasons. That all the offers they made to him were inadmissible & not made with the spirit or intention of paying—now that it was more like mockery than fair proposals. He said that they heard me last night read the account of claims & the names & sums due by the several Traders, that several of them were dead that some had property, negroes etc. that some were not regular Traders had no rights but merely settled among them for a short time—that Mr. Panton had furnished them with goods which they had squandered among the women or had gone off with—that some of the Indians told him they did not owe us more than one half of what we claimed—that we charged the other half for interest which they said they were determined at all events not to pay—that they never thought we would have attempted to charge the old men, that they did not know what it meant that they could not understand it—as to the principal they would consult among themselves—that they would see what was really due those who were traders & those who were not, those who were dead and those who were living those who had property & those who had none that they would see if they could do anything, but they told me they would not hear of interest—that if Mr. F. had accepted their offer at the Hickory Ground that there would have been no interest due. There they had offered him everything they had & that he would not accept their



offer—that since then the Chiefs had not seriously considered our claim until now that I was among them. Thus they had sent for me & would do what they could, but they were very poor, yet if we would promise to give them good trade, good Prices for their skins & sell our goods as formerly they would try to settle with us in the way they had mentioned. I replied to them that in the list which I had read to them last night there was not a single name but what had been three times admitted & acknowledged in the Square excepting three which I had rubbed out—that I had a separate list of the claims which they had formerly rejected & that I would read over their names to them which I did in order to show them that we did not now bring them forward. We did not wish to act hardly wt. them, we always had been & would remain their friends if they paid their debts—we therefore kept this account separate & would endeavour to recover the sums in the best way we could—as to what they said about interest they could not pretend ignorance ; Mr. Forbes had told them in the Hickory Ground that unless they then paid him their debts they would always grow bigger. They had not paid them but had kept us out of the money which if we had got we could have trebled—that the people from whom we had bought the goods which we had furnished to their Traders would not wait for their money, that when they were not punctually Paid they charged interest, that if they had consented to wait for ten or fifteen years until such time as they paid us we would not then charge interest, but this they would not do,—we had to pay silver money down. Mr. Bernard who was present & who was their friend could tell them it was the custom everywhere, that when any sum was not paid when due interest was always charged, that money could not be had without interest—it was always considered as sacred as the principal—that

their debts were contracted in Pensa., the goods were furnished there that it was the law among the whites, the law everywhere, Mr. Cornell knew it and so did the Big Warrior & many others among them— All this and much more reasoning on the subject seemed to have been lost on them, but I remained firm & inflexible as to what they said about the distinction which they wanted to make of those Traders who were dead & those who were living & those who had & those who had not property—I told them that we held the Nation alone responsible, that almost all the Traders were either dead or reduced to beggary by the goods which they had lent out among them & for which they had not been paid & therefore could not Pay us. After a great deal of further discussion which it is needless here to relate, they at last proposed to take upon themselves the payment of the whole provided I would require no interest. I replied that I could not renounce the interest as it was as sacred as the principal, that I required of them nothing but what was fair & just & they would not have to pay interest if they had settled with Mr. Forbes at the Hickory Ground.

They again remonstrated & said that if they did not now come to a settlement wt. me I must not blame them, that I spoilt the Talks by insisting upon Interest, that this was & could be an insurmountable obstacle, that the Chiefs had set their face against it & that altho' they were now willing to do what they could for me, altho' they were poor, very poor indeed, I would not act like their friend as they had always thought me. Finding them so firmly averse to pay interest—I told them that I would show them that I was their friend-altho it would be a great loss to us. I told them when friends had any dispute, the only way of coming to a reconciliation was by the one giving up one point & the other giving up another. I told them I would do this, I would meet them half way, I would

give up one half the interest, I would make them a present of it, & they ought to think it a great present for it was a great sum which we lost for their sake, and they could now certainly have no more objections to make when I acted so generously wt. them, so much like their friend.

This gave rise to a great deal of murmuring, they said they did not think like me, they did not think I acted like their friend—I wanted to tear the very flesh off their backs, they had told me they were poor, that they knew nothing about interest, about what it meant, it might be a custom, a law among us white people, but poor Indians did not understand it, there was no word for it in their language, we were the first who ever talked of such a thing to them.

I answered I had already explained it to them. Mr. F. had cautioned them & told them of it. I justified it to them on every ground of equity & right. I endeavoured to make them sensible of it by the most patient explanation calculated for their understanding but all to no purpose—their murmuring became general & loud & the young men some at a distance & some who had the effrontery to come forward called out that they would Pay no interest—to pay the principal.

The Big Warrior & A. Cornell seemed to get vexed & the former was almost on the point of rising. He added he had done his best, he believed it was of no use to talk any more about our debt, for I would not let it be settled. I kept entangling the Talks & he had a great mind to talk no more about it. I told them they might do as they pleased, but they did not act fairly with us. I had done a great deal for them & they would do nothing for me. Big Warrior then said we had been talking all day until it was dark. I told them that I should leave them to consider upon it, for I could do no more for them & accordingly went to my quarters

which I found as usual full of visitors which I had to maintain.

31st At parting from the Big Warrior & A. Cornell last night in the Square they promised to come & see me but remained the whole night in conclave wt. the other Chiefs in the Sweating House debating about our claims. At 10 they sent for me & told me they had now been sitting three days exclusively on my business & had yet done nothing nor would do anything if I mentioned any more about interest—for they had now made up their minds as to what they would do & they would do nothing more.

I told them that I had also been considering the matter all night upon my pillow & provided they would let me know in what manner they would settle with me I would let them know what I would do. They said they were tired talking about it & would not let me know anything of their intentions until I gave up all claims to interest for they never would pay any. I tried in a variety of ways to ascertain the arrangement they were about to propose, but could not succeed. They would give me no insight whatever until I first satisfied them as to the interest. Finding myself so pressed I determined to recede by inches. I told them I thought I had done a great deal for them in offering to give up half the interest, they were never satisfied, they had told me they would do me justice if I did justice to them. It was not true, I saw they were not disposed to do me justice otherwise they would gladly agree to settle with me on my presenting to them one half the interest. I would however give them a still greater proof of our friendship—I would even give them up \$10,000 of interest, & if they had a spark of gratitude or feeling in them they would now change their complaints into thanks.

To all this the Big Warrior said that the Chiefs of

the Nation did not think like me, they thought as he had said, that I wanted to tear the very skins off their backs, it would take them a long time to pay me even the principal. The wives, children & poor People would be left for three or four years naked, then how could they pay me interest. He then said if I talked any more about interest they would not settle with me, for the Chiefs had all made up their minds & were very angry. He paused for a moment, when the murmuring became quite general & the cry of pay no such thing as interest, Pay only the debt was reechoed from every quarter. The Big Warrior said that he had a great mind to break off, for he had been talking for nearly four whole days about me & with me & found he could do nothing & put on an air of apparent vexation. I told them I was almost sorry I had taken the trouble to come up, our different journeys cost a great deal of money & was of great injury & loss to our business. They had said it seemed as if I wished to rob them when I asked interest but this was changing words, it seemed rather that it was they who wished to rob me after all the sacrifices I had offered to make them. But I was quite tired & sick of the business & wished to finish it, which in order to do it was indispensibly necessary that they should inform me in what way & in how short a time they could pay me, in case I gave up the interest as a great deal would depend on that.

They at length told me it would take them between 2 & 3 years. At this I expressed the greatest disappointment & told them that if I relinquished the interest they must pay me in a year at furthest—that they could easily do this. There was today 1 years salary due them, that they could give me an order for the whole amount immediately (that this would be \$17,000 less some deductions) & next year when they drew their salary they could pay me the balance or

give me an order for the balance when it became due. At this the Warrior looked astonished & asked me how I came to know all this, and how I could make it out.

I told them they received \$17,000 per annum

\* \* \* \* \*

*(The manuscript ends thus near the center of a page, hence it was never completed; but the agreement which was signed the following day indicates that the discussion recorded in the journal was nearly or quite*

*The journal hand, and comprises 21½ pages of a leather-bound notebook, 3½ 4 1/2 inches. words are illegible and a few entirely so. It was transcribed by its owner, Mrs. John W. Green-slade; in whose possession also are a certified copy of the agreement mentioned and a list of the debts under discussion, both of which follow herein.)*

LIST OF DEBTS DUE BY THE TRADERS & FACTORS OF THE UPPER CREEK TOWNS TO THE FIRM OF MESSRS. PANTON, LESLIE & CO., AND JOHN FORBES & CO. OF PENSACOLA, ADJUSTED TO 1ST NOVEMR. 1812

John Shirley	s	316—4¼	Brot. Forwd	\$11041—2¼
Joseph Stiggins		218—1¼	Alexander Grierson	133—2¼
Robert Grierson		109—6¼	Tinghyab (McPherson's son)	508—2
James Leslie		922—5¼	Christopher Hickles	261—2¾
James Qualls		631—7¼	Henry Wilson	697—2
Daniel McGillivray		1927—3	David Cornell	48—3¾
John Clark		2253—6½	Charles Weatherford	1110—6
Nicholas White		556—6	Francis Zuzant	1059—3¾
George Smith		461—1¾	James Simmons	
Cottolia		537—3¾	Charles Beakes	22—2
Josiah Francis		905—21½	Simega	28—1¼
Maad		208—7¾	Opuilopaya (Singer's brother)	72—½
James Russel		100—	John McLeod	301—1¾
John O'Kelly		172—3½	Christopher Hickles & Obadiah Lowe	270—61/4
John Moniac		494—3½	William Powell	68—2
Henry Durkin		151—3	Sehoy Weatherford	1863—1¼
Thomas Wilson		95—2¾	Isaac Kaines	547—7½
Mucklesa Opay (or Singer)		274—3	Cussitaw Tuskinia	638—2
Owhyeege (Latgeeege's son)		24—2	Francis Leslie	120—6¼
White Lieutenant		551—½	George Cornell	699—2¾
John Townsend		635—7	Peter McQueen	734—1½
Daniel Leslie		261—7½	Tulassie, Burfords brother-in-law	28—
Card. Forwd		\$11041—2¼	Timothy Lane	708—2
			James Keith	465—4¾
			Richard Burford	87—
			Richard Coleman	171—5½
			Talbeahola (Tom Blacks brother)	89—6
				\$21916—1½

OBLIGATION OF THE CHIEFS AND HEAD-MEN OF THE  
UPPER TOWNS OF THE CREEK NATION TO  
JOHN FORBES & CO., NOVEMBER 1, 1812

We the undersigned Chiefs and Headmen of the Upper Towns of the Creek Nation do hereby solemnly promise to pay to Messrs John Forbes & Co or their order the sum of Twenty one thousand nine hundred and sixteen Dollars, one and a half rials out of the annual stipend which we receive from the United States of America, in the manner and form following: -

*Whereas one years Salary* has become due to us this day we have given a Draft at sight of this date on the Agent of the U. S. Indian affairs, Colonel Benjamin Hawkins in favor of the said John Forbes & Co, or their order for the sum of Five thousand Dollars ; and whereas another years stipend will fall due to us on the first day of November next ensuing (1813) we promise to carry the full net amount of the said stipend to the aforesaid House of John Forbes & Co in hard silver Dollars immediately after receiving the said Salary, and with the least possible delay :—and whereas a third years Salary from the United States will become due to us on the 1st of November 1814, we promise in like manner to carry or cause to be carried to the aforementioned House of John Forbes & Co, in hard Silver Dollars the full net amount of the said third years stipend immediately on our receiving the same and with all possible haste and expedition until the full complete, and entire payment of the aforesaid sum of Twenty-one thousand nine hundred and sixteen Dollars, one and a half rials (the salary of our Upper Towns being about \$8500 per annum from which there are to be made some small deductions for holding meetings & which we can not here specify with precision and whereas per annexed list of debts which compose the aforesaid sum of Twenty one thousand nine hundred and sixteen Dollars, one and a half rials, for

which we are responsible, and which we have promised to pay, there are some individuals who have sufficient property to pay their respective debts, and from whom we intend to compel payment to us, we further engage that any sums which we may so collect of them (together with the interest thereon wherever it may be possible to recover interest either by suits at law, or otherwise) we shall carry or cause to be carried in hard silver to the aforesaid House of John Forbes & Co in Pensacola with all possible haste:—*And* finally we solemnly promise to accelerate by every means in our power the full and true payment of the aforesaid sum of Twenty-one Thousand nine hundred and sixteen Dollars, one and a half Rials, and faithfully and honourably to perform everything within the spirit and meaning of this obligation—In faith and Testimony whereof we have hereunto affixed our marks respectively in the Square, or Council House of the Town of Tuckabatchees at a Grand Meeting of the Chiefs, Headmen & Warriors of the Upper and Lower Towns of the Creek Nation, of which the Big Warrior is Speaker or President, and at which were also present the Representatives of the Cherokee Nation ; M r Christian Limbaugh, Deputy Agent in the room of the Agent Colonel Benjamin Hawkins, absent from indisposition, and Mr Timothy Barnard & Mr Alexander Cornells, Interpreter for the United States, and Mr Thomas Miller, acting Interpreter for John Forbes & Co., this first day of November, one thousand eight hundred and twelve

In presence of	Big B. W . Warrior
Timothy Barnard	speaker of the National Council
Asst & Inter	William McIntosh
Alexr A C Cornells	His
Asst & Interpreter	Tustennuggie + Hopoie
Christian Limbaugh	Mark
Asst Agent for Indn affairs	
Thos Miller	



Province of West Florida  
Town of Pensacola

I hereby certify that I  
have carefully compared &  
examined t aforegoing  
obligation with the original  
thereof and find the same  
to be a true & exact copy.

Given under my hand &  
seal this 29th Day of Octr  
1818

(SEAL)

M McKinsey  
Justice of the Peace  
in & for the Town of Pen-  
sacola, Province of West  
Florida

### JOHN INNERARITY, 1783-1854

Instead of a commonplace biography it is hoped to make this sketch a human document illustrative of a beloved man who lived a most useful life and died in honor among his fellow citizens leaving a revered memory to his family and a large circle of relatives.

John Innerarity was born at Aberdeen, Scotland, November 11th, 1783, the son of John Innerarity and his wife Henrietta Panton (sister of William Panton), who at that time were independant in circumstances and highly respectable in character and connexions. He displayed in youth the marks of considerable talent and was given every opportunity to advance in learning. At fourteen we find him pursuing his education at Banff as a stepping stone to the great University of Edinburg to which he looked forward with grateful appreciation and eagerness. Our records show no mention of him again until 1800 when John Leslie, of London, writes to William Panton at Pensacola:

. . . Mr. Innerarity through necessity of business is about leaving Catharine Court, having disposed of the remainder of the lease he had on his house there, and taken a small dwelling with garden & at an easy rent between three and 4 miles out of town, which besides other Conveniency's he hopes may prove

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Note.-This biographical sketch has been prepared mainly from letters and other documents now in the possession of the author and Mrs. Heloise H. Cruzat, of New Orleans, both descendants of John Innerarity. Those papers are survivals of the records of Panton, Leslie & Co. and its successor, John Forbes & Co., which have been preserved by John Innerarity and his family. Selections from them will appear continuously in many issues of the *QUARTERLY*. As William Panton and his partners and successors were the foremost merchants and Indian traders of the entire Southern country, these records are of great value. Historical students of the whole region will be grateful to Mrs. Greenslade and Mrs. Cruzat for allowing, and assisting with, their publication.-Ed.



**JOHN INNERARITY**  
1783-1854



favorable to your Sister's health, which as well as his own have been but indifferent this last winter.

He means also to rent a small Counting house near the Exchange to which he will daily resort to attend to his business.

His son John, who you will find a very smart intelligent youth is intended for you very shortly, and I think you will find him useful as he Already is not unacquainted with the business of the Counting house.

It was my intention to have employed him here, if I had had any use for an Assistant; and indeed I did get him to make copy's for me of some long letters to T. F. & you, not long ago.

This would have been highly gratifying to his Mother, who has the greatest reluctance to part with him, tho' she sees and Acknowledges the propriety of it- Talking of it the other day with Mr. Innerarity and her, she could not help shedding tears plentifully at the thought of a separation-The lad himself betrays no repugnance to the voyage, but rather on the contrary.

It is not however until January, 1802, that John Innerarity arrives in America. He was then nineteen years of age, six feet tall, of large frame, auburn hair with very soft brown eyes, and a most pleasing countenance full of intelligence. He was not to see the kind uncle who had sent for him, as William Pantton died at sea March 26th, 1801, en route from Pensacola to Havana. It was his brother James Innerarity, who had preceded him by several years to America, who welcomed him to Florida.

John had been accustomed to a civilization of harmony and completeness—here he was thrown on his own resources in a strange new world of traders, pack-horses, and curious-looking people in semi-civilized garb from the wilderness, who were always to be found in and about the "Big House", as the firm of Pantton, Leslie & Co. was called by the Indians and traders. Fortunately, he was courageous and strong, and set about his duties as a clerk with small ceremony in the firm whose name was later to be John Forbes & Company.

He applied himself with the same industry in the counting house as he had shown at the University, but his inclinations would rather seem to have led him to the study of literature and more intimate knowledge of the great masters of antiquity. He became well versed in law, was a great linguist, spoke nine living languages, and learned several Indian dialects. He was distinguished for his elegant manners, was dignified and reserved to strangers, and cordial and remarkably sincere to his friends. In his family life he might have been likened to the patriarchs of old, so benevolent and protective was his interest in each member of a large circle of relatives.

Romance was to come to John Innerarity in the new world. In 1806 he married Mlle. Marie Victoria Coulon de Villiers, the daughter of Jean Marcus Coulon de Villiers, Captain of the Region of Louisiana. Their courtship was conducted entirely in the French language as Mlle. Coulon de Villiers spoke no English. A letter refers to an expected residence in Mobile in 1807; but later Panton's mansion at Pensacola became their home. This historic dwelling was built by William Panton in 1785. It was a massive brick house, three stories and a cellar, built in the English style with adaptations for a Southern climate. The bricks, which had originally been brought from England, were put together with a shell mortar known for its durability. It was in this house that Alexander McGillivray died, February 17, 1793.

John Innerarity was a clerk from 1802 to 1811, managing clerk at Pensacola, which was the chief establishment, in 1807; and admitted as a partner in 1812 in the firm of John Forbes & Co.

The original establishment of Panton, Leslie & Co., in Pensacola, dates back to 1774 when Panton built his wharf under authority of General Gage, Governor of Massachusetts and Commander in Chief of all the

British forces in the Colonies. Panton, Leslie & Co., were engaged in trade long before the American Revolution in Charleston and Savannah, carried on by means of small hardy ponies which penetrated into the heart of the Creek Nation. They had an establishment in London with branches in the West Indies, St. Augustine, Pensacola, Mobile, Appalache and Havana. There was an establishment at New Orleans also, first under the title of Wm. Simpson as agent, then as partner. In 1788 fire destroyed the store and goods. At Pensacola the stock required for the trade was valued at \$50,000, requiring a staff of fifteen or more clerks ; in addition there were the skin house and tan yards. There were agencies at St. Johns, St. Marks, Prospect Bluff, and a trading post at Chickasaw Bluff on the Mississippi. Shipping at one period was conducted in their own vessels ; at a later period chartering of American vessels was discussed, as well as the advisability of establishing a branch house at Liverpool.

John Innerarity did not find fair and easy sailing in the trade ; poor types of vessels had to be sold on account of salt-water damage to cargoes ; worms were destructive in the valuable furs, and even the cow-hides ; delayed cargoes were frequent and cargoes were sometimes seized. International law problems were ever present, with disputes and intrigues of all kinds. There were arduous trips on horse-back on the path to the Indian country by first one member of the firm and then another, all with the object of trying to collect the large debt owed to the House by the Creek Nation. There was the trying episode of Bowles culminating with the plunder of St. Marks ; General Wilkinson's taking of Mobile in 1813 ; the invasion of General Jackson, 1814 ; the episode of Nicholls and Woodbine ; and devastating fires at New Orleans and Mobile. Thus the trade that had begun with the pony

packs was kept in continual ferment from one cause or another—all of which are matters of history touched on but briefly here to show that John Innerarity's burdens were ever on the increase and the repose he sought was denied him for many years.

In 1817 John Forbes withdrew from the firm leaving the Innerarity brothers the surviving members; James living at Mobile, John continuing at Pensacola. Though there are large gaps in the correspondence the records show they speculated in land, grew and shipped cotton, sugar, and flour and furnished plantation supplies. James died at Mobile 1847; and John, the surviving partner, began the tedious task of winding up the affairs of the old firm.

John Innerarity was at one time British Vice Consul at Pensacola. He became Vice Consul of France and was decorated by that government in 1846 with the Cross of the Legion of Honor. The old mansion that had been noted for its hospitality in Panton's time was no less so as John Innerarity's residence. It was here at breakfast that Lieutenant Wilson, by order of General Jackson, arrested Marcos de Villiers, a Spanish officer; and John Innerarity with all who were present marched to jail with the guest. Wilson, some years later, became the son-in-law of John Innerarity, marrying his daughter Henriette. From this home another daughter, Melanie, was married to Isaac Hulse, a surgeon in the United States Navy, a man much loved in Pensacola and particularly noted for his success in treating the dreaded yellow fever. A third daughter, Victoire, married William, the son of James Innerarity. Henry, the only son, died unmarried.

The historic old house was destroyed by fire in 1849. It might have been saved, but Mr. Innerarity was Vice Consul of France and the sails of the French fleet being stored in his cellar, his energies were directed in saving them to the detriment of his own



property. The warehouse in the rear of the property, now sole reminder of so many events in the history of West Florida, was converted into a residence under the supervision of Doctor Hulse who wrote: "The walls are of brick, three feet thick at the base, and three stories high. The new dwelling will have as many conveniences almost as he enjoyed in the spacious dwelling that was destroyed. His actual loss by fire he estimates at over \$50,000." During the War for Southern Independence the converted warehouse was partially damaged. When sold to Doctor James Herron in 1874 it was repaired and served as a marine hospital. This old building, for parts of three centuries an interesting and imposing land-mark on the water-front, was largely destroyed by fire and storm about 1915, but the walls are still standing today.

John Innerarity continued to live there until his death July 28th, 1854.

MARIE TAYLOR GREENSLADE

UNITED STATES TROOPS  
IN SPANISH EAST FLORIDA, 1812-13

II

[Author's note.-The publication of this series of papers, comprising the correspondence of Lieut. Col. Thomas A. Smith, commander of the detachment of United States regulars that invaded Spanish East Florida in March, 1812, began in the July, 1930, issue of the QUARTERLY. This should be consulted for an explanation as to why the American troops invaded the Spanish province, and also for the details concerning the discovery of these important Florida records. - T. FREDERICK DAVIS.]

***Gov. Kindelan to Lt. Col. Smith (original).***

St. Augustine, East Florida

Translation

11th of June, 1812

I have just arrived at this place and have taken command as Governor Proprietary, Politic and Military, appointed by the Most Serene Regency of the Kingdom, and find it very strange to see encamped in this vicinity regular troops of the United States, altho my Nation is in friendship and good understanding with said States conformable to the Treaties of Amity and Commerce existing between both Nations, when there has preceded no declaration of war. I have determined to give you this notice, when you find it convenient you will be pleased to come to this place, or else to commission one of your confidential officers, for the purpose of having a conference with me, assuring you on my word of honor as a Gentleman, that he will be seen and treated with the greatest respect.

May God preserve you many years.

[signed] Sebn. Kindelan

To the Commander of the American troops  
encamped in the vicinity of this place.

P.S. This will be delivered by the Sergeant Major  
of this place, Don Francisco Rivera.

*Lt. Col. Smith to Gov. Kindelan (copy).*

U. S. Encampment  
12th June, 1812.

To his Excellency

Sebn. Kindelan, Governor,

Proprietary, Politic & Military &c., &c.

Sir:

I had the honor receive your Excellency's communication of yesterday by the Sergeant-Major Dn. Francisco Rivera & in conformity with your request have directed Capt. Joseph Woodruff, of the 3d United States regiment of Infantry, & Lt. George Haig, of the United States Dragoons, to wait upon your Excellency, assuring your Excellency that they possess my full confidence & that they are entitled to entire faith and credit. I avail myself of this occasion to inform your Excellency that the negotiating powers with your Excellency are now vested by the United States government in his Excellency David B. Mitchell, Governor & Commander-in-chief of the State of Georgia & that as United States Commissioner they are plenary; & further that his Excellency is now in St. Mary's in the State of Georgia, where I will with great pleasure send by express any communication your Excellency may wish to make. I take the liberty to add that the late Commandant of St. Augustine would have heard again from his Excellency had not his troops fired upon my command before the expiration of the time allotted for the return of Col. Cuthbert. I reciprocate your good wishes,

And am with the highest Consideration,

Most respectfully your Excellency's

Obt. Servt.

**Gov. Kindelan to Lt. Col. Smith (original).**

St. Augustine, East Florida

Translation

12th June, 1812

In consequence of your not being authorized to confer with me respecting the disagreeable occurrences which the Troops under your command have occasioned in this Province, as you state in your letter of this day, I have nothing to say to the two officers you have sent to this place: and to the effect I shall apply to His Excellency David B. Mitchell, Governor of the State of Georgia & Commissioner of the United States, but at the same time I request you to retire with the Troops under your command to the other side of the River St. John's without giving any active or passive protection to the Revolters of this said Province, which under the protection of the U. S. Arms are daring to commit vexations of all descriptions upon her Loyal Inhabitants.

May God preserve you many years.

[signed] Sebn. Kindelan

T. A. Smith, Lt. Col.

U. S. Regt. Riflemen.

**Lt. Col. Smith to Gov. Kindelan (copy).**

United States Encampment

13th June, 1812

To his Excellency Sebn. Kindelan, Governor

Proprietary, Politic & Military, &c., &c.

Sir:

In reply to your Excellency's communication of yesterday, I have to observe that my instructions command me to maintain my present position. To prevent the effusion of blood pending the negotiation with his Excellency, Governor Mitchell, I must request that no parties may be sent from the Town [of St. Augustine],

or I shall feel myself obliged to repel any force which may appear without the reach of your cannon.

I am with the highest Consideration,

Most respectfully your Excellency's

Obt. Servant.,

***Gov. Kindelan to Lt. Col. Smith (original).***

St. Augustine in East Florida

Translation

13th June, 1812.

I have received the paper that by your order and with this date just delivered to me by an officer of the Troops under your command, and in answer I have to say, that I do not admit, and never will, that any laws shall be imposed on me that my Troops in whatever place or situation, if insulted, will sustain their character; consequently in any case I shall act with the energy that characterizes the Glorious Spanish Nation, well convinced that the results will be to the charge of the first aggressors; declaring to you that in future you abstain from sending any new communication to this Place for it will be discharged without hearing. The existing differences would not take that aspect which corresponds to two Nations happily in peace and the best harmony, &c.

Sebn. Kindelan

[Rubric]

Lt. Col. T. A. Smith

Regt. U. S. Riflemen

***Lt. Col. Smith to Gov. Mitchell (copy)***

Camp before St. Augustine

17th June, 1812.

Sir:

Herewith I have the honor to transmit you Governor Kindelan's reply to my communication of the 13th Inst., a copy of which was forwarded by Colo.

Isaacs. From its tenor we may soon expect active operations. It was not intended that Capt. Massias, who was the bearer of my letter, should have entered the Town. While there, however, he heard a conversation relative to the situation of the St. John's, what force we had in it & what time it would take to go round from St. Augustine. These inquiries were made by the Naval Officer who brought the Governor from the Havanna. Several vessels were reported off the bar on the 15th. Boats have been seen plying between them & the Town, but whether with men or provisions we cannot say.

From my communication of the 13th Inst., to Governor Kindelan, your Excellency will perceive that I stand pledged to attack any party which may be sent from the Town. Should they cross a Detachment at Solana's ferry I would be under the necessity of dividing my force, small as it is, to prevent them from attacking me in the rear. I can expect no assistance from the Patriots, for since the affair with the negroes, trifling as it was, I cannot prevail upon them to send out any parties. From their long state of inactivity dissensions have arisen in their Camp which must tend greatly to injure the Cause. Continued applications for leave of absence has reduced their numbers considerably. Without the presence of the Chiefs of the Revolution nothing can be expected from them. Indeed their present disposition almost indicates the abandonment of the enterprise. Though I cannot calculate upon any effective support from the Patriots in the event of an assault, yet their force (if at all respectable) might give a good countenance to the affair & by occupying the country curtail the supplies of the Spaniards.

I have the honor to be sir,  
 With high respect,  
 Your Obt. Servt.

**Lt. Col. Smith to Gov. Mitchell (copy)**

Camp before St. Augustine

20th June, 1812

Sir:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's communication by Colo. Isaacs. While the approval of my correspondence gives me pleasure, I regret that the instructions contained in a subsequent part prevented me from sending out a Detachment to intercept a party of about one hundred reported to have crossed at Solana's Ferry and taken the road to Picolata, either for the capture of that place or again on an expedition after cattle. Your orders on that head were so preemptory that I did not feel myself at liberty to use any discretion. However, it may be fortunate, as by a Deserter today we learn that from the vessels off the bar a hundred Black Troops have actually been landed, which are only a part of the force brought from the Havanna, & that on the twenty-third or fourth we shall have an attack. From these circumstances it may be prudent to keep my small Detachment as compact as possible, though from my reply to Governor Kindelan of the 13th Inst., I should have considered myself in honor bound to pursue this party had it not been for that clause in your letter which forbid my provoking an attack. It was further reported by the Deserter that two schooners mounting each twelve Six-pounders & a Sixteen were preparing for an attack upon our gunboats in the St. John's. What reliance is to be placed in the statement of this man is uncertain. It may have the good effect however, of rousing the Patriots from their lethargy. There is no doubt but correct information has been received in St. Augustine of all our expected reinforcements & if they intend an attack it will be hastened by the knowledge of our near support.

The arrival of Maj. Long, with whom have en-

gaged for the supply of any number of Troops which may be ordered into this Province, has relieved me of a very great weight. From his zeal & ability to furnish I apprehend no further difficulty on the subject of provisions.

I have the honor to be, Sir,  
 With high respect,  
 Your Obt. Servt.

***Lt. Col. Smith to Capt. John Tate (copy).***

Camp before St. Augustine  
 25th June, 1812.

Sir:

Your favor by Rendon has this moment reached me. The party that left St. Augustine have not yet returned & I think never will without getting a severe drubbing, as 160 men are in pursuit of them. Three Gun Boats & one of our Revenue Cutters arrived at the Cowford yesterday at 12 o'clock with 175 men.<sup>13</sup> Colo. Newnan is on his march with two troops of Dragoons & 250 Infantry; two Companies are on their march from Augusta, & by private letters we learn that 6 large Barges with from 40 to 50 men each are ordered [by] the inland passage from N. Carolina. From present appearances I expect to be authorized to reduce the Town by force in a short time. Some 24 mortars, &c, &c, are either in the Gun Boats or at St. Mary's for me. I will send a physician to administer to the sick at Picolata as soon as he returns, he being with the party pursuing the Dons.

The officers join me in tendering our best wishes to Mrs. Tate & yourself.

I am sir respectfully  
 Your Obt. Servt

<sup>13</sup> Under the command of Col. Alfred Cuthbert.



**Gov. Mitchell to Lt. Col Smith (original)**

St. Mary's, 1st July, 1812.

Sir:

Since writing you on the 24th of last month, I have received by express from General Pinckney the important information that war was declared against Great Britain on the 18th [June]. I am in great hopes that this change in our political situation will produce something decisive in regard to East Florida. I confess my patience is nearly exhausted by the dilatory manner in which we have been proceeding for some time past. I hope the Savannah Volunteers have reached you in safety. They are generally fine-spirited young men.

I have reason to expect a Detachment of not less than 180 men from the Oconee in a very few days. The moment they arrive they will be forwarded to you immediately. The recruits from Savannah which I mentioned to you I would order to Amelia, are there now, & with the Marines from the Gun Boats make Capt. Ridgeway's command at least ninety men.

Col. Isaacs has been so much indisposed since his arrival that he has been and still is unable to return to you. You will therefore receive this by a Mr. Gibson, belonging to the Patriots.

I am Sir

With much regard &amp; esteem,

Your very Obt. Servt.,

[signed] D. B. Mitchell.

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<sup>14</sup> Maj. Gen. Thomas Pinckney, commanding the Southeast Department.

<sup>15</sup> Capt. Fielder Ridgeway, commanding at Amelia Island.

**Lt. Col. Smith to Gov. Mitchell (copy).**

Camp before St. Augustine,  
6th July, 1812.

Sir:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's communication of the 1st Inst. As the Nation has taken an honourable stand & appealed to Arms for the vindication of its rights, I hope the Government will not long remain inactive as it respects East Florida. To meet with promptness the views of the Administration (if they are such as I think they will be) & strike a decisive blow it would be necessary, independent of the other reinforcements, that I should have Capt. Williams and the Marines under his command. You are acquainted with the difference between Regulars and Militia.

A few Gun Boats in the mouth of the Harbor [of St. Augustine] with the reinforcements expected will ensure the fall of the Town. The Boats can enter the Harbor & get into the North River without sustaining any damage from the Fort. The resistance from their armed vessels is not to be apprehended.

I have ordered Capt. Massias to the command of Amelia ; his health required a removal, but I could not spare him without another supplying his place.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

With high respect,

Your Obt. Servt.,

**Lt. Col. Smith to Gov. Mitchell (copy).**

Camp before St. Augustine,  
10th July, 1812.

Sir:

The Patriots have determined to encourage the Volunteers in their service to enter that of the United

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<sup>16</sup> Capt. A. A. Massias.

States. If your Excellency will authorize me to accept of their services, they may be made useful, as none but the most active, hardy, and those disposed to submit to discipline will offer. They are badly armed & we have no cartridge boxes to spare.

I have been informed that one hundred & thirty stand of Arms & Accoutrements have been taken by Capt. Ridgeway on Amelia Island. Should the information be correct & your Excellency determines to accept the Volunteers it will be well to have them forwarded when Capt. Ridgeway comes on. I suggested in my communication of the 6th Inst., the propriety of ordering Capt. Williams' detachment to join me if you think they can be spared from Amelia & the Government should have authorized the reduction of the place.<sup>17</sup> I have determined to attempt to effect it by storm the first favourable night without waiting for a larger force. My plan is to attack the lines citidel at the same time, the former in two & the latter in three places. I am preparing ladders, &c, &c.

I have the honor to be sir

With high respect

Your Obt. Servt.

***Lt. Col. Smith to U. S. Adjutant & Inspector (copy)***

Point Petre, 30th July, 1812.

Sir:

Your favors of 19 & 26 June & 11 July have been received. Two of the Officers (Lieut. Patterson & Laval) reported absent with leave are somewhere in North & South Carolina, but at what particular places I am unable to ascertain. I have ordered the men belonging to the Companies composing this Detachment at Fort Hawkins to join me, those in South Carolina being ordered to their present stations by the Officer

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<sup>17</sup> St. Augustine.

commanding the district. I have considered that an order from me would be irregular & perhaps not respected.

An English half-pay Lieut. has been sent by the Civil Authority to the officer in command in this neighborhood. I have until I receive some instructions in the case allowed him the privilege of remaining at his plantation & attending to his business as heretofore, taking his word of honor not to leave the State until authorized to do so.

The Indians have commenced hostilities in my rear. On Saturday, 26, they killed a white man & five negroes & made thirty-two prisoners on the north side of the St. John's. On the following morning they killed two men in four miles of my camp. The Governor of Georgia having ordered upwards of two hundred Volunteers to join me & authorized me to chastise the Indians, I am making arrangements for that purpose & expect by the end of August to have destroyed all their towns in East Florida.

I have the honor to be, sir,  
 With high respect,  
 Your obt Servt.

*Lt. Col. Smith to Maj. Gen. Pinckney (copy)*

Point Petre, 30 July, 1812.

Sir:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your favor of the 24th ult. My orders from his Excellency, Govr. Mitchell, are positive to maintain my present position unless compelled to retire by a superior force. The Indians have commenced hostilities in my rear. They have within the last week killed 8 or 9 persons & carried off 70 or 80 slaves. My orders warrant my attacking them in their Towns or elsewhere, for which events I am preparing. The moment that Arms are

received I will dispatch Maj. Newnan with 250 Volunteers with orders to destroy all their settlements within 100 miles of the St. John's. The safety of our frontier I conceive requires this course. They have, I am informed, several hundred fugative slaves from the Carolinas & Georgia at present in their Towns & unless they are checked soon they will be so strengthened by desertions from Georgia & Florida that it will be found troublesome to reduce them.

I have the honor to be sir,  
 With high respect,  
 Your Obt. servt.,

*Lt. Col. Smith to Lieut. Stallings*<sup>19</sup> (copy).

Camp before St. Augustine,  
 9th August, 1812.

Sir

As the Indians continue to commit depredations in your neighborhood you will use every possible exertion to complete your block house.<sup>20</sup> Should the inhabitants wish to build cabins near you they must be placed as per the enclosed rough sketch, with port holes, & at the distance of from 50 to 80 yards. The old shed must be removed within 40 yards, the ends open that you can fire through it at an enemy. When you have completed the work you will have the side of the swamp next to you well examined & the creek opened. The inhabitants must assist in performing this duty. Should the Indians throw themselves in the swamp to cut off the communications by water I wish to know every

<sup>18</sup> Col. Daniel Newnan, Adjutant-General of Georgia.

<sup>19</sup> Lieut. Elias Stallings.

<sup>20</sup> The block house was situated near the old St. Augustine road where it crossed Davis's Creek in the vicinity of the present village of Bayard. Up to this time the main supply depot was about six miles up Six Mile Creek, but now the Davis Creek post became the supply depot for the troops before St. Augustine.

place that a party can approach to drive them out. From the improper conduct of the Ox drivers I expect they will be unable to perform many more trips. They left here at 10 o'clock & Hubbard informed me they were within five miles of the Block House when he met them.

I am respectfully sir,  
Your obt. servt.,

*Lt. Col. Smith to Lieut. Stallings (copy).*

Camp before St. Augustine,  
10th August, 1812.

Sir:

The Patriots having abandoned this camp, I wish you to get their Mule team to be employed in the Contractor's service unless I have other use for it. Obtain it mildly if possible, but if necessary you must use force. Be cautious that the Mules are not stolen. They must be furnished with as much corn as they can eat. The few Patriots here must be furnished with provisions by the Contractor on account of beef furnished him until they leave this place. Try & employ Smith to take charge of the team. On reflection it will be well to remove the shed within thirty paces of the block house that the men in the cabins can fire on a party attempting to approach it in the rear. Our provisions can be kept in it, which will afford sufficient room for your Detachment to sleep in the lower story of the block house. See that no fire is taken in lest a spark might get to the powder. Have one box of the rifles opened & kept in good order & loaded, as well as all the spare muskets you have. You will keep a bright lookout as the Dons have an inclination to destroy that establishment. You are positively commanded to defend the place to the last extremity.

I am respectfully sir,  
Your obt. servt.,

*Lt. Col. Smith to Capt. Fort* <sup>21</sup> (copy).

Camp before St. Augustine,  
11th August, 1812.

Sir:

I have this moment received information of your arrival with 125 men in the neighborhood of Mr. Kingsley's. I wish you on the receipt of this to proceed to Picolata, where I wish all the Volunteers from Georgia to rendezvous unless circumstances should make it necessary for them to join me. On your arrival at that place I wish you to send a party to arrest Wanton, who lives within a mile or two, & have him closely confined. I wish you then to dispatch a party of thirty or forty active men with proper guides to Bona Vista with the view of taking the boat used for conveying the hostile Indians and negroes across the St. John's. The Dons are preparing to attack me & they calculate on being aided by 2 or 300 Indians & negroes from the west of the St. John's. If you find that any parties have crossed the river I wish you to take post at the block house on Davis's creek and send a strong escort say 20 or 30 men with the provision wagons & I will relieve them by regulars. You will apprise me of any discoveries your party of observation may make up the river that I may govern myself accordingly. Mr. Tait will furnish you a messenger. I begin to think that we shall have the gratification of attacking the Dons in their stronghold.

If you should not have brought powder sufficient with you a supply can be had by application to Mr. Stallings, who commands at the block house.

I am respectfully

Your obt. servt.,

<sup>21</sup> Capt. Tomlinson Fort of the Milledgeville, Ga., Volunteers

<sup>22</sup> Zephaniah Kingsley's plantation "Laurel Grove" situated on the west side of the St. Johns River, where Orange Park, Clay County, is now.

**Lt. Col. Smith to Gov. Mitchell (copy).**

Camp before St. Augustine,  
21st August, 1812.

Dear Sir :

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 5th August by Mr. Gray. The information which he has detailed may prove useful, but I flatter myself the Volunteers will render abortive the schemes of the Spaniards. The Indians will scarcely venture between the two bodies more especially as their retreat can be effectually cut off by the party not attacked. I apprehend but little injury from them in my present position if my communication with the block house at Julianton (Davis's) creek can be kept open. Capt. Fort with the first division of Volunteers arrived at Mr. Kingsley's some days ago. I have ordered him to Picolata whence he will commence his operations against the Indians. Colo. Newnan with his Detachment is reported to have arrived in the St. John's.

We had the misfortune on the 12th Inst. to lose a man in the most shocking manner. Lieut. Stallings commanding at the block house had dispatched him as an express to me. He had not proceeded more than three miles before he was taken by a party of negroes & Indians (as we believe from the best information) & most cruelly murdered. From the appearance of the body, which was left lying in the road, he had been flogged, his nose, one ear, & ..... off." He had three shot wounds in his body & his scalp was taken. This man was a regular soldier & the bearer of a letter from Capt. Fort, which no doubt fell into the hands of this party as the body was found naked. The atrocity of the act has roused the feelings of the soldiers to such a degree that I cannot be answerable for

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<sup>22</sup>Unquestionably the work of the negroes.



their conduct should any of the enemy fall into their possession. The blacks assisted by the Indians have become very daring from the want of a proper knowledge of the country the parties which I have sent out have always been unsuccessful. We cannot obtain sufficient guides or those which we have will not do their duty. It appears that this party, which we think did not exceed ten in number were laying in wait for our wagons. It was fortunate that the difficulty of getting up the Oxen prevented them setting out at the time appointed, otherwise they certainly would have fallen an easy prey, as the escort was but small. This daring boldness of the enemy has obliged me to send a strong guard with the wagons, as it is all important to have a regular supply of provisions. The Patriots have evacuated their encampment immediately in my rear & retired to the St. Johns. Their only fears now seem to be about the Indians. In providing means for their present security they appear to have lost sight of the first grand object, the conquest of the Province, & from the rapid decrease of their numbers, having dwindled away to nothing, it is doubtful whether the "Patriotic Army" will ever revive again.

My Detachment has been very sickly, nearly one third on the report at a time, to remedy which I have erected temporary palmetto huts which will protect them against sun & rains.

I wish Colo. Newnan the moment transport can be procured to commence his march against the Indian Towns. I think 2 or 250 men will be sufficient to lay them in ashes. It will be well however to take steps to prevent the Creeks within our limits taking any part in the war. Mr. Gray informed me he saw six barges with 30 or 40 men mounting each a Nine-

pounder on their way to St. Marys ; two or three of them would be very serviceable in the St. John's.

I have the honor to be, sir,  
 With high respect,  
 Your obt. servt.

*Lt. Col. Smith to Thomas Bourke*<sup>24</sup> (Copy)

Camp before St. Augustine,  
 21st August, 1812.

Dear Sir :

After the long delay which was experienced on the passage between Savannah & St. Mary's, I understand the Arms &c have arrived. Though considerable inconvenience was felt, yet I hope the tardiness of the Captain's movements will not be productive of any serious consequences.

We are still hanging on in the old-style before St. Augustine, the Indians in our rear committing depredations almost every day, & if they have an inclination can make us retire whenever they please, as our Contractor never furnishes provisions for more than four or five days in advance. In truth I am truly tired of the Damned Province and would not remain (if it rested with me) one month longer in my present situation for a fee simple to the whole of it. The Patriots have deserted their camp near me & the few that remain of that body are somewhere on the St. Johns.<sup>25</sup> I have not the smallest expectation that they will ever embody again. I will endeavor to send a party against the Indian Towns, but I am not certain that I shall be able to effect it, as the Volunteers are the only Troops that can be spared for that service & the term for which they engaged to serve is nearly half out. I have ordered Lt. James Barton to Point Petre to receive and

<sup>24</sup> United States Agent at Savannah.

<sup>25</sup> Probably encamped on a commanding bluff on the north side of the St. Johns River at the Cowford, now the foot of Washington and Liberty Streets in Jacksonville.

receipt for any public stores that may be ordered for the use of the Detachment under my command.

The Officers with me of your acquaintance tender you their best wishes.

Believe me with sincerity,  
Your friend & Obt. servt.,

P.S. Since writing the within I have seen Colo. Newnan, who commands the Volunteers. He informed me that by some mistake the camp kettles had not been put on board of Chevalier. His men are stout, active fellows & will fight well, but they have no shoes, canteens, or camp equipage of any kind. I have ordered them to Picolata to prepare for their march against the Indians, but I am fearful their term of service will have expired before they can procure the necessary equipments. Of the small Detachment of regular Troops under my command between fifty & sixty are sick. Only two have yet died.

***Lt. Col. Smith to Col. Newnan (Copy).***

Camp before St. Augustine,  
26th August, 1812.

Dear Sir :

A letter without signature which from the substance I take to be yours is before me. The only thing that can be done with those unprincipled men who attempted to desert at a crisis like the present is to have them drummed out of the Army with a Rope around their neck. This must be done by sentence of C. M. The Officer must be tried by a Genl. Court Martial & I am not authorized to order one. If you cannot effect the objects that brought you in the Province in consequence of desertion it will have to be given over entirely. What a disgraceful story it will be to go abroad. My Detachment is already so weak, if I had taken the advice of many I would have fallen back ; but I know a few men determined to do their duty can effect a

great deal. I have not the smallest doubt but two parties of seventy-five each with guides well acquainted with the country could surprise & destroy two or three of their Towns & effect a junction in opposition to all that can be done by the Towns in this Province. They can then march to the nearest part of the St. John's where their boats can be in readiness for them. You will however in everything that relates to the expedition exercise your own judgment.

I send you the law authorizing the acceptance of Volunteers which I wish you by no means to neglect sending back.

Cone with forty men will accompany you to the nation.<sup>26</sup>

I am respectfully sir

Your obt. servt.

***Lt. Col. Smith to Col. Newnan (copy)***

Camp before St. Augustine,  
30th August, 1812.

Dear Sir:

There being at this time between eighty and ninety of my Detachment on the sick report, I expect in a short time to be compelled to retire to some healthy position on the St. John's until I am sufficiently reinforced to maintain such position near St. Augustine as may be deemed judicious, & if necessary, to act offensively against the Town. I regret very much that it is not in my power to afford you any reinforcement, as I can scarcely furnish the necessary camp guards & an escort to the provision wagons. Capt Cone with near forty select men [Patriots] will join you if you will notify him of the time you expect to commence your movement. My health continues bad. If I am able to march I will pay you a visit in a few days. The Contractor has been furnished with money to procure such transport as the country will afford for your baggage.

<sup>26</sup> The Indian nation.

I will thank you to tender my best wishes to the officers of your command & accept for yourself assurance of my high respect.

I am sir,  
Your obt. servt.

*Col. Newnan to Lt. Col. Smith (original).*

New Switzerland<sup>27</sup>  
31st August, 1812

Dear Sir :

Yours of the 26th & 30th I have just received, & am sorry to find that you have so many sick men in your detachment. Within a few days past several of the men under my command have been taken sick and the number now amounts to thirty-seven. I have been very unwell myself for several days past, with the fever, but at present I feel like getting better. The Contractor and his miserable agents have so managed their business that there is no dependence to be put in them for a regular supply of rations, even for three days, and had it not been for our own endeavors, we would have been left without anything to eat—in fact, ever since we left the block house the Contractor has been useless to us. I would have been at Picolata before this, but understood that all the cattle was driven from the neighborhood by Captain Cone's men and have only stopped at this place on account of its furnishing beef. I returned this day from Kingsley's and Hollingsworth's, where I had been to make inquiries respecting horses, guides, and cattle. Kingsley has promised to procure me a few horses ; guides I expect I will have to press, & Tait (who is now at Kingsley's) has promised to drive his cattle back to Picolata. What a hopeful set of villains we are benefitting. If I thought the scoundrels I command would not desert,

<sup>27</sup> On the east side of the St. Johns, now known as Switzerland.

& would extend their term of service I would prefer joining your detachment, but almost all of them will go home the moment their time expires, which will be in about four weeks. I am apprehensive that the Spaniards will attack you in a few days, unless you remove, and I think from the sickly state of your detachment it is highly advisable. I would be glad to have a personal interview with you, when perhaps measures may be adopted to rouse the spirit of this detachment and a number may be induced to join you for three or four months. My present conviction however, is that any officer who trusts his honor and reputation to the three months militia alone, will be in danger of losing both.<sup>28</sup> Under all these discouraging circumstances I am still determined to march to the nation, unless otherwise ordered, and am of the opinion that with one hundred brave men the whole of the Indians may be driven. One half of Cone's men are sick, and I do not expect more than ten of them to go with me. With pack horses it appears I am not to be supplied, & I hear of no cavalry coming to join me from St. Mary's, but I shall proceed in a very few days.

I am, dear sir,  
 Very respectfully,  
 Yrs. most obt.  
 [signed] Daniel Newnan

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<sup>28</sup> This evidently refers to the paid Militia as Col. Smith just ten days previously had highly complimented the Volunteers as follows:

Detachment Orders

The term for which the Republican Blues from Savannah tendered their services to the Governor having expired on the 16th Inst & they having made a voluntary offer of further services until a reinforcement should arrive, the commanding officer cannot in justice to his feelings forbear tendering to the officers and men his thanks for the patience and fortitude with which they have submitted to the hardships and privations incident to the profession of Arms.

***(This series will be continued in the following issue of the QUARTERLY.)***

## SOME CHURCH HISTORY OF ST. AUGUSTINE DURING THE SPANISH REGIME

When the Spaniards evacuated St. Augustine in 1763 and 1764 they took with them to Havana all the altars, images, vestments, canopies, cushions, bells, and even the wax tapers of their churches, religious brotherhoods, and the Franciscan convent. All this sacred paraphernalia was in charge of the warden of the parish church, Simon de Hita, and was transported to its destination in the schooner *Our Lady of Light*, which cast anchor in the harbor of Havana about February 1, 1764.

The royal officials of Florida, the senior sacristan of the parish church, and the wardens of the brotherhoods were already at the Cuban capital, and were soon requested to give testimony concerning the acquisition and ownership of the sacred objects listed in the comprehensive inventory which was made by order of the bishop of Cuba. Some of this testimony was given by Juan Chrisostomo de Acosta, the notary public of the ecclesiastical court and steward of the rental fund of the parish of St. Augustine, who had charge of the archives and had inspected the record books of the brotherhoods. The information he gave concerning church history under the Spanish regime in Florida is rather full and fairly accurate. Other witnesses had been at St. Augustine for long periods, and corroborated various items of the notary public's testimony. Among these were Bachelor Juan Bernardo de Paredes, priest and senior sacristan of the parochial church and sub-agent of the holy crusade, who had been in charge of the sacristy since January, 1728 ; Juan Joseph Solana, parish priest and ecclesiastical

judge, who had entered upon his duties as assistant priest in 1737 ; Juan Joseph Eligio de la Puente, the accountant of the royal customs, who had been assigned to the office of the royal auditor at St. Augustine in 1739 and to that of senior official two years later; and Juan Esteban de Pena, who had served as royal treasurer in the Florida capital from 1742 to the evacuation.

A part of the testimony of Juan Chrisostomo de Acosta relates to the founding of the religious brotherhoods. He gives us the order of their establishment, and in several instances the specific years or approximations thereto. With the establishment of the Franciscan convent at St. Augustine, which may not have been until about 1578, the first brotherhoods were there organized, namely, that of the Most Holy Christ of the Holy True Cross by soldiers of the garrison and that of Our Lady of the Conception by citizens and soldiers in cooperation. Another early foundation was that of Our Lady of the Milk at the primitive hermitage of that name (in Spanish, Nuestra Senora de la Leche), without the walls of the presidio and a mile north of St. Augustine. This brotherhood was founded by native Indians and some of the men of the garrison "at the very beginning", according to Acosta. About the year 1615 the children of the soldiers formed their confraternity at the hermitage that served as the parish church. It bore the name of Our Lady of the Solitude. About a year later the brotherhood of Souls was organized by soldiers and inhabitants. These two groups also established that of Our Lady of the Rosary about 1628, and one named after the Most Holy Sacrament in 1655. The last of the confraternities mentioned by Acosta was that of Our Lady of Guadalupe, which was founded by inhabitants and soldiers in 1722.



Six of these organizations were canonically instituted, and were approved by the royal decree of August 31, 1688. They were those of Our Lady of the Rosary, the Most Holy Sacrament, Our Lady of the Milk, Our Lady of the Solitude, Our Lady of the Conception, and the Most Holy Christ of the Holy True Cross. All the brotherhoods, whether canonically instituted or not, were maintained by their members and by the alms contributed by devotees. The images, ornaments, and other articles which they used in their religious ceremonies, were their own property, as shown by the inventories and accounts of their wardens. The brotherhood of the Most Holy Sacrament had some of its paraphernalia sent from Spain in 1732 at a cost of nine hundred and fifty-seven pesos, according to the certification of the royal officials of Florida under date of July 19, 1733. It also had a baldouquin made in Havana about the year 1779 from part of the silver of a number of candlesticks no longer used on account of their old style. Its large parasol of crimson damask with a gold lining was given by Don Lucas de Palacio, knight commander of Castile of the order of Alcantara, a former governor and captain-general of Florida.

In 1662, when Antonio Lorenzo de Padilla was curate and Antonio Menendez Marquez, the accountant of the royal treasury, administered the rentals of the parish, a large number of valuable objects was added to its sacred paraphernalia. During the years 1664-1666 the brotherhoods and hermitage had suffered greatly when the English had sacked the town and carried away most of their valuables and a small bell, as shown by the inventories taken by the vicars at that time; but various devotees had contributed to replace many of the lost articles. The priest and judge of the ecclesiastical court during that period was Christobal Bonifaz de Rivera. He and Bachelor Francisco Sato-

longo were in charge of the rental properties of the parish. During the interval from 1674 to 1688, when Antonio Ponce de Leon and Joseph Peres de la Mota were the priests and Antonio Menendez Marquez was the steward, many important additions were made to the ceremonial accessories of the church; and in 1692, during the curacy of Bachelor Alonso de Leturiondo, who was also the ecclesiastical judge, and during the stewardship of Sebastian Grosso, a gold-plated reliquary for carrying the viaticum to the sick was procured, other articles being given by devotees.

In a royal decree of February 10, 1696, it is stated that from the beginning the church and chapel of the fort at St. Augustine received ornaments requested by the curate, which were paid for from the royal exchequer and from the allowance from Mexico. These ornaments and the vases, reliquary, missals, and the rest were in charge of the senior sacristan, and constituted the chapel's "greatest service and adornment."

In the inventory of the valuables belonging to the parochial church at St. Augustine an organ is mentioned. Nothing was found in the written records concerning its acquisition, but it was common knowledge in that town that it had been paid by contributed by the garrison and the inhabitants. This was confirmed by a royal decree of August 1, 1698, evoked by a letter from Bachelor Alonso de Leturiondo informing the king of Spain that his church had an organ and begging stipend sufficient for the ordination of a priest skilled in playing such an instrument, which the king granted.

In 1701, two of our witnesses state, the parish church was burnt by the enemy. They are here referring to the siege laid to the town and fort by Governor Moore and Colonel Daniel with troops and vessels from South Carolina in the latter part of October, 1702. The governor, Joseph de Zuniga, refused to sur-

render, and the siege was raised ; but before taking his departure Governor Moore burned the town, including the parish church, the Franciscan convent with its church and valuable library, and other shrines. He also carried off the church plate. Our witnesses tell us that the king many times ordered the rebuilding of the parish church and gave various amounts for the purpose, but that only the four walls were completed. For that reason and on account of their deterioration during the years 1730 to 1737, Brother Francisco de San Buenaventura Tejada, bishop of Tricali and auxiliar to the bishop of Cuba, had it rebuilt at the expense of the alms contributed by the inhabitants and the garrison as a part of the fourth ecclesiastical tribute belonging to Brother Juan Lazo de la Vega y Cansigno, who donated the excess beyond the amount justified by the royal order of October 29, 1737. Juan Joseph Solana, who entered upon his duties as assistant parish priest in 1737, testified that when Bishop Tejada arrived at the presidio of St. Augustine, ruin threatening the church, he ordered it rebuilt and Solana carried out the order at a cost of one thousand pesos, including a stone belfrey, the amount being paid from the rental fund. Another witness mentions the rebuilding of the parish church by Father Solana with its roof and bell-tower, and adds that he had the building painted. The bishop also found the church without vestments and ornaments for celebrating pontifical high mass, and importuned the governor and other royal officials of Florida to issue a warrant for one thousand pesos to supply the needed equipment, which they did. The bishop accordingly had Martin de Arostegui of Havana make the chasubles, dalmatics, and other things, which were used during the visit of Don Pedro Ponce Carrasco, bishop of Adramite and auxiliar to the bishop of Cuba. The valuables belonging to the brotherhoods were bought from their own contribu-

tions and the alms given for that purpose. While the church was being completed the hermitage of Our Lady of Araselis was assigned for use as the parish edifice.

Sacred utensils needed by the parish had been ordered in 1706 by the governor and the officials of the royal treasury in Florida, Jeronimo de Leon being the steward of the rentals of church property at that time. In 1735 Bachelor Juan de Paredes was the senior sacristan of the parish church and administrator of the rentals. The field-marshal of the royal armies, Don Antonio de Benabides Basan y Molina, sent gifts to it soon after he went to Vera Cruz. Other gifts were made by the bishop of Trincali, including images of St. Anthony, St. Augustine, St. Joseph, St. Peter, and St. Sebastian. Utensils were added at the expense of the rental fund by the priest Francisco Xavier Arturo, who supplied at his own cost a gilt altar, where was placed an image of St. Francis Xavier. In 1753, or 1754, new ornaments were obtained from Havana, as also steps for the great altar by order of the bishop and under the direction of Father Solana. The steward of the rental fund, Joseph y Izquierdo, remitted the payment for the ornaments by the hand of Dr. Pedro de Estrade, a resident of St. Augustine.

During the stewardship of Juan Chrisostomo de Acosta, the cost of the cupboards, silver-plated candlesticks, boxes for ornaments, torch-stands, baptistry, carpets, canopies, cushions, and rebuilding of the church were paid from the same income. An entry in the records showed that the two large bells had been destined for Florida by the king. The smaller one bore the name of St. Joseph, but was recast and consecrated. Of two small bells, one belonged to the hermitage of St. Sebastian, and the other was given by the captain of a vessel.

The testimony relating to all the sacred objects listed in the inventory at Havana was submitted to Joseph Antonio Galabert, the secretary to the king and senior auditor of accounts. He certified that according to the accounts, of which he had been custodian since 1751, he found no evidence that any of the objects had been delivered to the parish church at St. Augustine at the expense of the royal treasury, except a ciborium which the viceroy of Mexico had sent out of the allowance of that year. He also certified that he had heard in Florida that the vases, ornaments, and other things used in divine worship in the parish and in the chapel of the royal forces had been requested from the viceroy, and had been sent by him at the expense of the allowance.<sup>1</sup>

WILBUR H. SIEBERT

Ohio State University,  
Columbus

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<sup>1</sup> Papers from Cuba-Bundle 372, General Archives of the Indies, Seville, Section XI. The typed copy of these papers is in the Library of the St. Augustine Historical Society, which kindly lent them to the author for translation.

