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MISSION SITES IN FLORIDA

An attempt to approximately identify the sites of Spanish mission settlements of the seventeenth century in northern Florida

By MARK F. BOYD

The story of the mission settlements established by the Franciscan fathers in northern Florida subsequent to 1633 still awaits telling. It cannot be adequately told until the Spanish archives are carefully searched.

Random documents recently available from these sources confirm the meager accounts left by hostile Carolinians, indicating that this region was occupied by numerous thriving settlements of Christianized Indians who practiced a successful agriculture. When the expanding radius of the border struggles between the English and Spanish colonies finally reached Apalache, this golden period was brought to an abrupt close in 1704. Information available to subsequent British and American colonists and settlers was largely derived from Indian tradition, and the missions had already assumed a legendary character among the ultimate Anglo-Saxon occupants of the region before the earliest available of the Spanish accounts were brought to attention. Shea¹ was perhaps the first American student to consider the subject. He touched on the Florida missions incidentally and derived most if not all of his information from a limited number of secondary sources.

The first penetration of Apalache by Franciscan missionaries occurred in 1633,² nearly one hundred years after De Soto over-wintered in this region.

NOTE:- This paper was read before the Tallahassee Historical Society on November 10, last.

- 1.) John Gilmary Shea, *History of the Catholic Missions among the Indian Tribes of the United States, 1529-1854*. (New York, 1855).
- 2.) Gov. Horruytinez to the King, Nov. 15, 1633, A.G.I., 94-9-18 Lowery (MSS.) Apalache, 1621-57. Vol. VII.

The time appeared propitious for their proselyting efforts, as a list by Diaz de la Calle³ written in 1655 enumerates seven missions lying between St. Augustine and Apalache (Timucua), and nine in Apalache. This list is also found in the Lowery manuscripts. The distance between each mission and St. Augustine is given in leagues, although they are only partially listed in consecutive longitudinal order.

The next available list is found in a letter written by Gabriel Diaz Vara Calderon, Bishop of Cuba, to Mariana, Queen of Spain, describing a pastoral visit made to the Florida missions in 1674-75. This was recently translated by Lucy L. Wenhold.⁴ It is important not only by reason of the fact that the account is the most circumstantial of those available, but the missions are enumerated in the order in which they were apparently visited, and their distance in leagues from St. Augustine is given. Eleven missions are listed between St. Augustine and Apalache, of which four do not appear in the 1655 list, and one on the former list is omitted. In Apalache thirteen missions are listed, four of which do not appear on the 1655 list. The paragraphs describing Timuqua (Timucua) and Apalache in Miss Wenhold's translation are quoted below :

-
- 3) Diaz de la Calle. **Nota de las Misiones de la provincia de la Florida, etc.** In Serreno y Saenz, **Documentos Historicas de La Florida y la Louisiana**, Siglos XVI al XVIII (Madrid 1912) p. 132.
- 4) A 17th century letter of Gabriel Diaz Vara Calderon, Bishop of Cuba, describing the Indians and Indian missions of Florida. Transcribed and translated by Lucy L. Wenhold, with an introduction by John R. Swanton. Smithsonian miscellaneous collections Vol. 95, No. 16, Pub. 3398 (Washington, 1936).

The Province of Timuqua

Ten leagues from the city of St. Augustine, on the bank of the river Corrientes [the St. Johns], is the village and mission of San Diego de Salamototo. It [the river] is very turbulent and almost a league and a half in width. From there to the village and mission of Santa Fe there are some 20 uninhabited leagues. Santa Fe is the principal mission of this province. Off to the side toward the southern border, at a distance of 3 leagues, is the deserted mission and village of San Francisco. Twelve leagues from Santa Fe is the mission of Santa Catalina, with Ajohica 3 leagues away and Santa Cruz de Tarihica 2. Seven leagues away, on the bank of the large river Guacara, is the mission of San Juan of the same name. Ten [further on] is that of San Pedro de Potohiriba, 2, that of Santa Helena de Machaba, 4, that of San Matheo, 2, that of San Miguel de Asyle, last in this Timuquan, or Ustacanian province.

The Province of Apalache

Two leagues from the said village of Asyle is the mission of San Lorenzo de Hibitachuco, first village of this province. From this mission to that of La Concepcion de Ayubali it is one league, and another to that of San Francisco de Oconi, another to that of San Juan de Aspalaga, 2 to that of San Joseph de Ocuya, 4 to that of San Pedro de Patali, 2 to that of San Antonio de Bacqua, 2 to that of San Damian de Cupahica, called also Escambi, one to that of San Luis de Talimali which is the largest of all, another to that of La Purificacion de Tama, called Yamases, another to that of San Martin de Tomoli, 2 to that of Santa Cruz de Capoli, called also Chuntafu, and 4 from Tomoli to Assumpcion del

Puerto. Of these 13 missions, 2, La Purificacion de Tama and Assumpcion de Puerto, both of which were heathen [villages], I founded on the 27th of January and the 2d of February, of this present year, 1675, gathering in Assumpcion the three heathen nations, Chines, Pacaras and Amacanos, who are gradually being instructed and baptised. In the mission of San Luis, which is the principal one of the province, resides a military officer in a country house defended by pieces of ordnance and a garrison of infantry.

Another list of these missions prepared five years later in 1680, is also found in the Lowery manuscripts.⁵ This is a simple enumeration. It lists eleven missions between St. Augustine and Apalache, omitting one from and adding one to the previous list. Fourteen are given for Apalache three of which do not appear on the 1675 list, while one on the former is omitted.

The foregoing is the latest of the seventeenth century lists known to us, although in the Library of Congress there is found a photostat⁶ of a Spanish map, evidently prepared about 1683, on which the missions are shown. The map is crudely drawn and the scale is unreliable. Probably its greatest utility is the probable representation of the relative position of any mission to the others. With one exception it represents all of the missions given on the 1680 list between St. Augustine and Apalache, and in Apalache omits one given on the last list and adds two.

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- 5) Florida, Relacion de las Religios existentes en las conversiones de la Florida y pueblós donde estan las Doctrinas. A.G. I., 54-5-11 Lowery Manuscripts, Apalache, Vol. IX, 1677-80.
- 6) Anon., Mapa De la Isla de la Florida. Madrid, Ministry of War. (Circa 1683). Map Division, Library of Congress.

For convenience of reference and comparison the various mission lists are brought together in the accompanying table, following the order given by Calderon. All available pertinent data are included. A portion of the Spanish map mentioned is reproduced as Figure 1.

Recognizing that in part at least the old Spanish routes from St. Augustine can be traced with considerable exactitude, it appears of interest to attempt to fit the Calderon data to the known routes. It will be recalled that the act of the first session of the 18th Congress, authorizing the construction of a road from Pensacola to St. Augustine, directed that from the site of Fort St. Lewis (San Luis) to St. Augustine, it should follow as nearly as practicable the old Spanish road, while it would appear that Captain Daniel Burch,⁷ who located the road, complied, at least in general, with these instructions, although it must be recognized that he may have relocated some stretches. It would seem likely that through central Jefferson county the Spanish route lay to the south of that chosen by Burch. He says he spent two days (in 1823) in the vicinity of San Luis endeavoring to trace out this road, but found it impossible. However, when furnished with a guide from the Miccosukee town who was perfectly acquainted with it, it was obvious. "The Indians, it appeared, had kept up a trail on this road until within a few years, otherwise it would have been impracticable to follow it, as but few traces of it remain, and then only in the vicinity of the old Spanish stations or posts, a number of which are yet plainly to be found."

7) Boyd, Mark F., *The First American Road in Florida : Pensacola- St. Augustine Highway, 1824.* (Reports of Captain Burch to General Jesup). The Quarterly of the Florida Historical Society, XIV (1935-36) p. 74, p. 75, p. 93.

Distance in leagues from St. Augustine or preceding site. (Calderon)	Diaz de la Calle, T. 1, F. 69, 1655 (From Serreno and Saenz, p. 132)	From Calderon letter 1675	From Lowery MSS. 1680	Map of 1683	Benavides 1732	NOTES
.....	Nombre de Dios.....	.....	Nombre de Dios de amacarisse.....	.....	.....	S1.N.W. Sn. Aug.
10	.....	San DiegodeSalamototo.....	Senor San Diego de Ecalamototo.	Salamatoto . . . . .	.....	E. bank St. Johns near Picolata
11/2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	W. bank St. Johns
20	Santa Fe de Toloco.....	Santa Fe.....	Senor Santo Thomas de Santa Fe	P. de Santa Fe.....	Santa Fe .....	.....
.....	San Francisco de Patano.....	San Francisco.....	Senor San Francisco de Potano...	P. de S. Francisco.	San Francisco....	3 L. south of Santa Fe, deserted
12	.....	Santa Catalina.....	Senora Santa Catholina de ahoica	P.deSta.Cathalina	Sta. Catalina....	.....
3	.....	Ajohica.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
2	Santa Cruz de Tariica.....	Santa Cruz de Tarihica.. ..	Senor Santa Cruz de Tharihica.....	P. de Taryica .....	.....	.....
7	.....	San Juan de Guacara.....	Senor San Juan de Guacara	P. de Guacara....	San Juan del Rio	On E. bank Suwannee
10	San Pedro y San Pablo de Poturiba.	San Pedro de Potohiriba.....	Senor San Pedro de Pothohiriva.	P. de S. Pedro....	San Pedro.....	.....
2	Santa Elena de Machaba.....	Santa Helena de Machaba.....	Senora Santa Helena de Machava	P. de Machava....	Machaba .....	.....
4	.....	San Matheo.....	Senor San Matheo de Tolapatafi.	P. de San Matheo	.....	.....
2	San Miguel de Asile.....	San Miguel de Asyle.....	Senor San Miguel de asile.	P. de Asile	Asile	Most westerly in Timuqua
2	San Lorenzo de Apalache.....	San Lorenzo de Hibitachuco.....	Senor San Lorenzo de Ybithachuco	P. de Ivitachuco..	Bitachuco	Most easterly in Apalache
1	La Concepcion de Apalache.....	La Concepcion de Ayubali.	Nuestra Senora de la Purissima Concepcion de Ajubali	P. de Ainbale	Ayubale	Ainbale = Aiubale

1	San Francisco de Apalache.....	San Francisco de Oconi.....	Senor San Francisco de Oconi	P. de Oconi.....	O Cone.....	
1	San Juan de Apalache.....	San Juan de Aspalaga.....	Senor San Juan de Ospalaga	P. de Aspalaga.....	Espalaga.....	
2	San Josef de Apalache.....	San Joseph de Ocuya.....	Senor San Joseph de Octuia	P. de Ocuya.....	O Cuya.....	
4	San Pedro y San Pablo de Kpal*.....	San Pedro de Patali.....	Senores San Pedro y San Pablo de Patali	P. de Patale.....	Patale	*Kpal = Apal (Swanton)
2		San Antonio de Bacuqua.....	Senor San Antonio de Bacuqua...	Bacuco	Bagugua	
2	San Cosme y San Damian.....	San Damian de Cupahica (Escambi)	Senores San Cosme y San Damian de Yecambi	P. de Escambe		
			Senor San Carlos de chacatos.....	P. de San Carlos...	Chatos	
1	San Luis de Apalache.....	San Luis de Talimali.....	Senor San Luis de Talimali *	P. de San Luis.....	San Luis.....	*Largest of all (Calderon)
			Nuestra Senora de la Candelaria de la Tama	P. de Nuestra Senora de la Candelaria	La Tama	Conversion by Calderon
1		La Purificacion de Tama (Yamases).....			Chines.....	
			Senor San Pedro de los Chines.....			
1	San Martin de Apalache.....	San Martin de Tomoli.....	Senor San Martin de Tomoli..	P. de Tomale	Tomale	
2		Santa Cruz de Capoli (Chuntafu).....	Santa Cruz y San Pedro de Alcantara de Ychutafun	P. de Sta Cruz...	Capole.....	
				P. de Medellin...		
				Puerto y Villa de San Marcos	San Marcos	Founded by Calderon. In this gathered Chines, Pacaras and Amacanos.
4 (from Tomoli)		Assumpcion del Puerto.....				

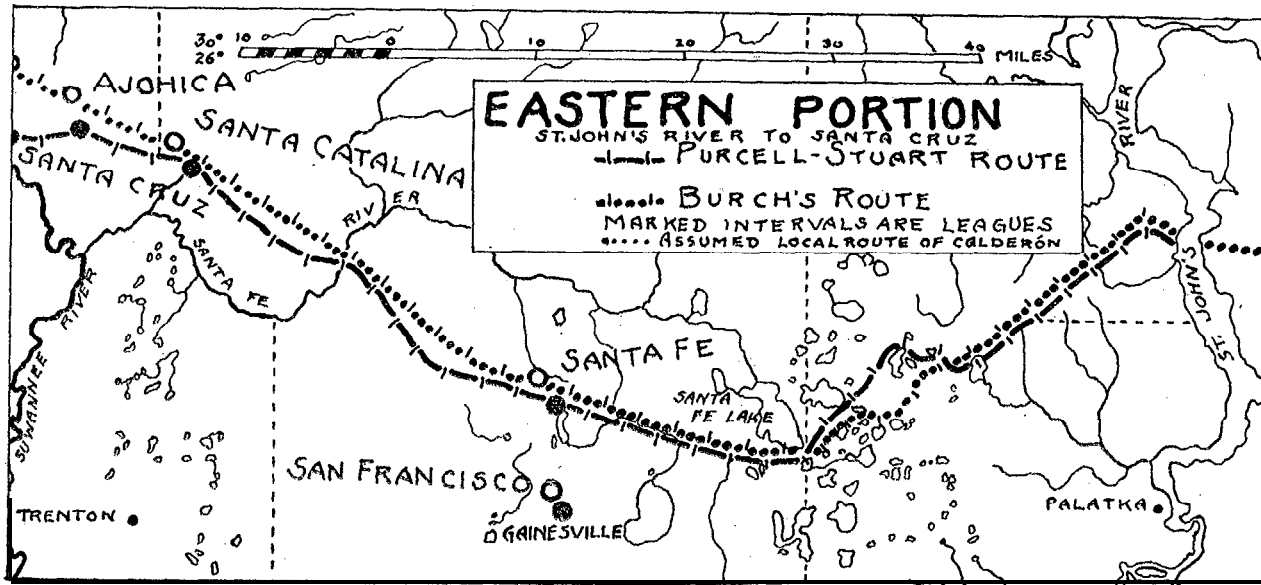


FIGURE 2-A

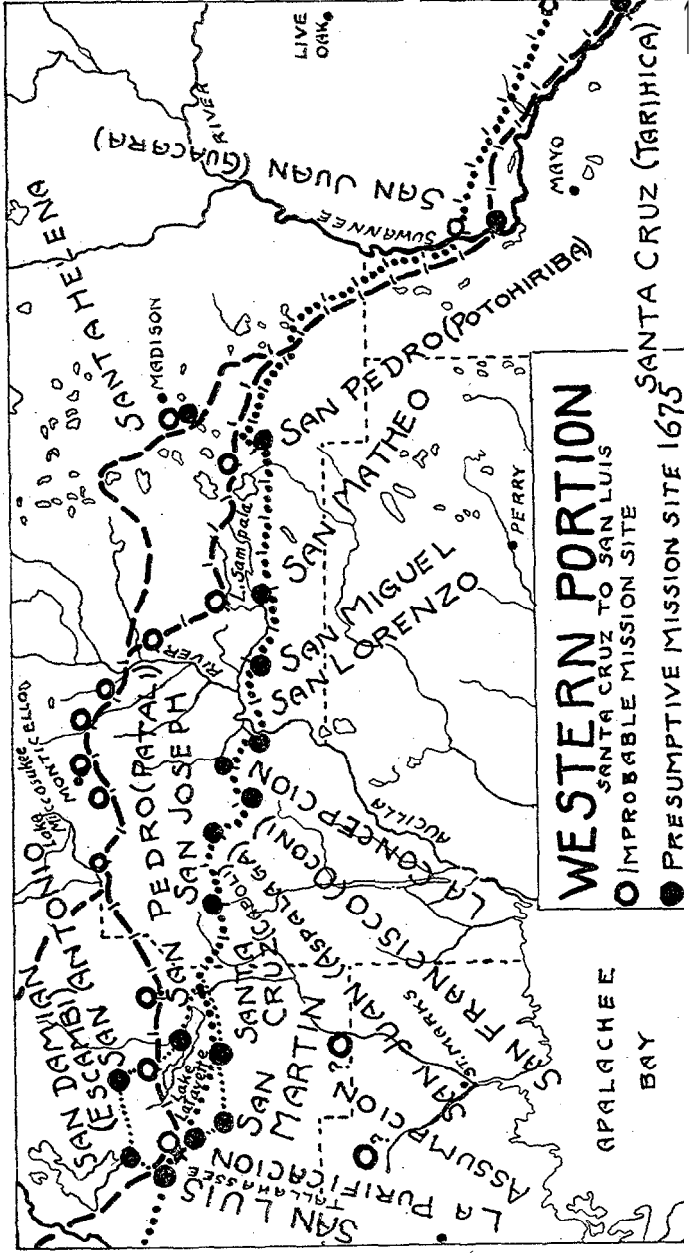


FIGURE 2-B

Furthermore, attention has been called to the acquirement by the Library of Congress of a photostat of the Purcell-Stuart map of the road from Pensacola to St. Augustine.⁸ This map gives every indication of being based on a careful reconnaissance and traverse. It is probable that in part at least, the trails shown thereon between St. Augustine and Apalache, represent old Spanish routes.

In Figure 2 (parts a and b) we have attempted to fit the route shown on the Purcell-Stuart map to the current topographical knowledge of the region, as shown on the 1933 edition of the 1:500,000 map of the state issued by the U. S. Geological Survey, and the route of the road surveyed by Burch as well. It will be noted that from the eastern portion of Madison county to the St. Johns river, the two routes apparently closely coincide. Westward they diverge, but may, nevertheless, represent paths regularly trod by the Spaniards. It will be noted that through Madison county, the traveller on the Purcell-Stuart trail had the choice of two routes westward. These came together before crossing the Aucilla river. Across Jefferson county there was but a single route. At Miccosukee the trail again divided, the southern branch passing southwest through Tallahassee Talofa (site of the present Tallahassee) thence proceeding northwestwardly. About 3 miles westwardly from Tallahassee lay San Luis.

We may next consider the available data identifying Spanish sites. Of these, that of San Luis (A, Fig. 3) appears best established, although nothing objective remains at present to positively iden-

8) *A Map of the Road from Pensacola in W. Florida to St. Augustine in East Florida from a survey made by order of the late Hon. Col. John Stuart * * in 1778 by Joseph Purcell.* Map Division, Library of Congress. (See Fla. Hist. Quarterly, XVII p. 15, July, 1938).

tify it. J. L. Williams in his journal of the joint mission with Dr. Simmons to select the site for the seat of government, relates that on October 31, 1823, he hired an Indian to guide him to the site of an old Spanish fort which had been mentioned to him as being in the neighborhood? He describes it as follows: "It is situated on a commanding eminence at the north point of a high narrow neck of highlands nearly surrounded by a deep ravine and swamp. The moat, parapet and bastions are strongly marked. The south part is 70 paces in length, the north 55 paces. Near a spring in the east ravine two old six pounders were discovered, etc." On the following day he wrote as follows to R. K. Call:¹⁰ "Among the curiosities of the country we discovered an old Spanish fort on a commanding hill about half way from Oclockney to Tallahassee. The south line of it measured 71 paces, the north 55, the east and west ends about 46. It had bastions near the angles and in a spring about 50 feet down the ravine east of the works we discovered the breach of a six-pound field piece." Four years later, in his "View of West Florida"¹¹ he says: "Fort St. Lewis was situate 2 miles west of Tallahassee. Its form was an irregular parallelogram; the eastern and longest side was 52 paces [sic]. Within the moat, 2 brick edifices had been erected, one 60 by 40 and the other 30 by 20 feet. There were bastions at each corner. The outward defences were extensive. A covered way led

9) *Journal of John Lee Williams*. Fla. Hist. Soc. Quarterly, I (1908) p. 22.

10) Caroline M. Brevard, *A History of Florida from the Treaty of 1763 to our own Times*. Vol. I., p. 263, (Fla. State Hist. Soc., DeLand, Florida, 1924).

11) Williams, John Lee. *A View of West Florida*, etc. (Philadelphia, 1827) p. 33.

to a spring, in a deep ravine, under the northeast wing of the fort." Slight and immaterial discrepancies are to be noted between his different accounts. An anonymous writer ¹² says: "At Fort St. Louis, about 2 miles west of Tallahassee, have been found remnants of iron cannon, spikes, hinges, locks, etc., which are evidently of Spanish manufacture, and which have not been much injured by the rust."

"Within the principal fort, for the outworks seem to have been numerous and extensive, are the ruins of two brick edifices, one was about 60 feet by 40, the other was about 30 by 20. These are in total ruins, and nothing but a mound appears where the walls stood, composed wholly of broken bricks, which have been composed of a coarse sandy clay and burned in the modern fashion. Yet on the very walls of these buildings are oaks 18 inches in diameter. On the same hill, and in fact within the outworks of this fort, are to be seen grape arbors in parallel lines, which still maintain their pristine regularity."

An interview attributed to Captain Burch ¹³ reports the following: "The first is Fort St. Louis, at least its ruins, situated about 6 miles east of the Ocklockney and N. by W. 25 miles from Ft. Marks. This place has more the appearance of having been a fortified town, than a mere fortification."

"Fort St. Louis was built on an elevated spot of ground around a hollow, from the bottom of which issue two springs that furnish an abundant supply of water, but which after running but a few yards, again sink into the ground. One of these on being

12) Anonymous. Quoted from the *Florida Intelligencer, Pensacola Gazette*, April 2, 1825.

13) Quoted from the *National Intelligencer. Pensacola Gazette*, October 9, 1824.

opened by Capt. Burch, displayed the wooden box or trunk in which it had been enclosed ; they were over shadowed by a beautiful live oak tree." On the Purcell-Stuart map the location of the ruins of San Luis fort and town are shown at approximately this location. An explanation for, the disappearance of the ruins described by Williams and by Burch is afforded by the following account: ¹⁴ "About two miles west of the city of Tallahassee, lie the ruins of what tradition says was once the Spanish fort of St. Louis. Out attention has been recently directed to these ruins, from the circumstances that a very intelligent gentleman, formerly of Georgia, now of Alabama, has at this time many laborers engaged in excavating the site of this old fort, on a search after hidden treasures. Whether or no he may succeed in bringing to light any considerable deposit of precious metals, it is not for us to say. But he has already thrown up from beneath the soil, where they had long been entombed, many articles which will possess great interest with the antiquarian." This explains the deterioration and disappearance of this and many other of our antiquities.

The location of this site, according to local tradition, which is confirmed by the correspondence of the topography with the description quoted, is on the west half of the s.e. 1/4 of sect. 27, T.1.N., R.1.W., about one mile west of the present limits of Tallahassee.

Williams also states that "About half a mile south of Tallahassee, (B. Fig. 3), and near the dwelling of his excellency Governor Duval, are the ruins of several small fortifications, which appear to have been hastily thrown up; near one of these a large

14) Anonymous. *Commercial Advertiser*. Apalachicola, June 7, 1843.

wooden building appears to have been destroyed by fire; some large timbers of the frame, completely charred, have been preserved ; very large spikes, locks, keys and hinges, have been discovered here; among other things, a porcelain lion, in a good state of preservation; it appears to have been an ornament for a chimney piece. At some distance under the surface, a floor was discovered, formed of a composition of lime, and other materials, very hard and smooth. On a part of the floor, was piled a quantity of charred corn and filberts, perfect in form, but very tender." The same anonymous contributor to the *Florida Intelligencer* relates about this same site: "Bricks seem to have been in general use for they have been discovered in several places by digging a little below the surface of the earth. Within the town of Tallahassee some were dug up, having a substance adhering to them resembling lime mortar. But on the hill about a half mile southeast of the capital are to be seen the greatest proof of a denser population. On this hill are to be seen streets or roads, running nearly at right angles, at such distances as to demonstrate the former existence of a pretty large town. The shade trees of the former inhabitants still remain, and are generally of live oak, and near which may be discovered grape arbors of more or less regularity." These observations, at least that part referring to the vicinity of Governor Duval's residence, relate to what is now the n.w. 1/4 of sect. 6, T.1.S., R.1.E., included within the present limits of the city of Tallahassee, probably in Myer's Park and the Country Club grounds.

Williams (*ibid.*) further describes that "Three miles east of Tallahassee, on a hill (C), at the base of which is a small but deep pond, is a fort, about a hundred and fifty paces long, and sixty broad, with

regular bastions, ditches, etc., both without and within. In this fort are to be seen the ruins of brick buildings ; within the fortifications, twenty or more gun-barrels were found, but little injured by the rust; on one of them, was discovered the tower stamp. * * Mr. John M'Iver has erected a dwelling house within the walls of this fort; and it is expected, when he removes the rubbish of the old brick edifices, that valuable discoveries will be made. He has lately discovered a large well, which has not yet been cleared out. On a higher hill, about half a mile north-east of this, are the outlines of a larger, and apparently more regular fortress; but the Indians have, for a number of years, cultivated the spot, and obliterated the most distinguished features of the work." Search of the land purchase records in the State Land Office, reveals that John McIvor purchased in 1825 the W. 1/2 of S.W. 1/4 of Sect. 8, T.1.S., R.1.E. A visit to the site confirms the general topographical description as given by Williams. Fragments of aboriginal pottery are yet found on the hill top.

Burch is further quoted (*ibid.*) as stating in 1824 that "north of this (i.e., San Luis), about 12 miles on Lake Hiamony, there was another fort ; northeast of this, about the same distance, there was a fort in the direction of the Mikosuky towns; besides, there were between St. Louis and the Suwaney (this fort included) five other fortifications, the most considerable of which were at Auscilla (probably Aspalaga) and Sanbala (probably Ayavala), about 26 miles west of the Suwaney. The Indians informed Capt. Burch that there was another a few miles from Mikosucky, where some brick walls were still visible." Another anonymous contributor ¹⁵ says

15) Anonymous. From the *National Intelligencer. Pensacola Gazette*, April 24, 1824.

that "at Fort San Pedro is a large bell belonging to the monastery formerly established there, in a good state of preservation, and several brass 9-pounders, with their trunnions broken off. Williams (*ibid.*) says that on the west side of Suwannee river, and near San Pedro lake, there are ruins, nearly as extensive as those described in the vicinity of Tallahassee ; but the country is yet unsettled, and the objects of antiquity have not been much examined. A ruined monastery is particularly spoken of, the broken bell of which has long been an object of wonder to the Indians." He elsewhere¹⁶ states : "Sampala Lake, the San Pedro of the Spaniards, is situate in Madison county, on the north side of the eastern military road. * * It has an outlet into Foenahalloway, or Chattahatchee River." He was in error in stating the lake discharges into the Fenholloway. The outlet actually discharges into the Econfena river. The name Sampala is more likely a corruption of San Pablo rather than of San Pedro. On the Purcell-Stuart map the southern trail is shown to pass to the northward of a small lake with an outlet into the Aucilla via the bridge (Econfena) river. The latter was formerly thought to be a tributary of the Aucilla. About one-half mile to the northwest of the lake, the "ruins of San Pedro fort" are noted. It does not appear likely that the San Pedro pond of this map is identical with the lake at present called Sampala. The site of the first county courthouse (1828-38), of Madison county, known as San Pedro, is located about two miles east of Sampala lake, and is likely a significant site. This was in the n.w. 1/4 of Sect. 30 of T.1.S., R.9.E. (D. Fig. 3).

Since it is not unreasonable to assume that mission pueblos may have been located on or in the vi-

16) John Lee Williams. *The Territory of Florida*. (New York 1837) p. 59.

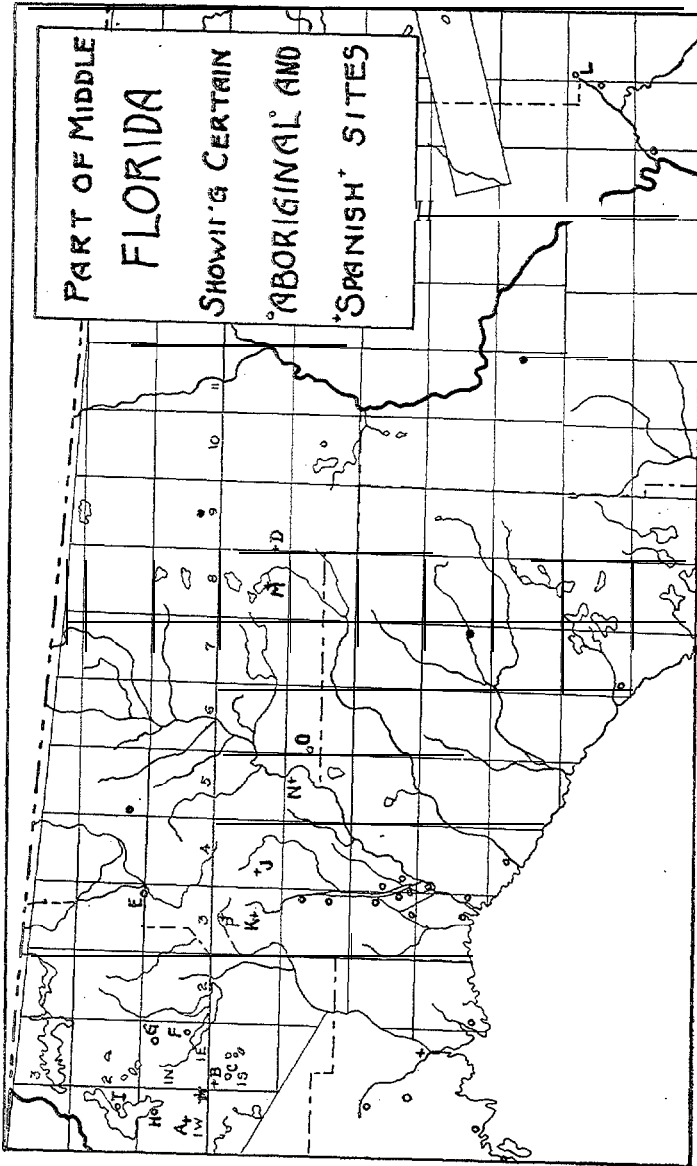


FIGURE 3

cinity of sites occupied by Indians in pre-Columbian time or later, it is desirable to note village sites preserved by the existence of mounds. Mounds of a size to be significant are known in the following positions in Leon county:

1) Miccosukee mound: About 1/2 mile west of the west shore of the lake, and the same distance south of U. S. Highway No. 90. It is somewhere near the intersection of the boundaries of Sects. 1 and 2 of T.1.N., R.3.E., with the complementary lines of Sect. 35 and 36 of T.2.N., R.3.E. It is about 30 feet in height and appears to have been originally pyramidal in form. (E. Fig. 3) This may actually lie in Jefferson county.

2) A large, low, flat-topped mound, lying north of Lake Lafayette in Sect. 26, T.1.N., R.1.E. (F. Fig. 3).

3) A large mound is found in the n.e. 1/4 of sect. 10 of the same township. (G.)

4) A group of large mounds is found on the west shore of the south arm of Lake Jackson in the east 1/2 of Sect. 10, T.1.N., R.1.W. (H.)

5) A large mound on the edge of the bluff overlooking the north shore of Lake Jackson, probably in the S.W. 1/4 of Sect. 23, T.2.N., R.1.W. (I.)

6) A large mound in the southwestern portion of Madison county, probably in Section 18, T.2.S., R.6.E. (O.)

It is further desirable to note sites where significant relics have been encountered in recent years. The most important was the discovery, while plowing, of several jars of characteristic Spanish style in a field in Sect. 20, T.1 S., R.4 W. (J). All except one of the specimens encountered were broken by the plow. The perfect specimen is now in the possession of Mr. Clarence Simpson of High Springs.

A second significant situation exists in Sec. 22, T.1 S., R.3.E., where irregular clumps of fire-hardened clay are encountered over an area of about an acre which bear the imprint of split sticks. The imprints suggest they were the mud daubed on the wall of stick and mud houses, (wattle and daub) rather than the daubing of an old stick and mud chimney. (K) A great deal of charred wood is present as well as numerous fragments of Spanish and aboriginal pottery, fused glass and some pieces of glazed modern earthenware. A third significant location is in Sect. 4, T.1 S., R.3 E, on the south side of Burnt Mill creek. In this situation there have been found fragments of Spanish pottery, and pieces of iron work. (P) The last two are traditionally regarded as Spanish sites in the neighborhood, the former known as the "fort," the latter as the "mission." Furthermore, mention should be made of a cache of about 40 spherical bronze bells varying from 1 1/4 to 3 inches in diameter, unearthed a few years ago about 2 miles south of Lamont (N). All of these locations are in Jefferson county. Numerous fragments of Spanish pottery, including the rounded necks of jars, have been found in the Itchetucknee river about one mile below the Spring (Columbia county). (L).

The localities mentioned are shown in Fig. 3, indicated by capital letters referring to the place in the text where they are discussed.

With this statement of meager fact and vague tradition, let us proceed to analyze the Calderon data in relation to the two routes discussed. We may attempt to ascertain the mile equivalent for the leagues Calderon employs, first considering the distance between two well-identified points, namely San Luis and the west bank of the St. Johns river.

According to Burch this distance is 179 miles, according to the itinerary on the Purcell-Stuart map (southern route) it is 196 miles. Calderon gives the distance between the same points as 78 leagues. Thus over the entire Purcell-Stuart route the league would have a value of 2.5 miles, over Burch's route 2.3 miles, a considerable discrepancy. If we consider the distance from the St. Johns to the Suwannee, which Calderon gives as 44 leagues, we find it to be 114 miles by Purcell-Stuart and 113 miles by Burch, or league values of 2.6 and 2.56 miles respectively, a very satisfactory agreement. Since the latter values coincide with the general conception of a league, it would appear that Calderon's statements of distance are to be taken seriously. Obviously then the discrepancies noted lie in the territory to the west of the Suwannee. Thus the distance from San Luis to the Suwannee crossing would; according to Purcell-Stuart, be 82 miles, according to Burch 66 miles. Calderon gives this distance as 34 leagues, which would give this unit values of 2.4 and 1.94 respectively. In view of their close previous correspondence it is obvious that some point has escaped attention. Turning to the map reproduced in Fig. 1, it is to be noted that from the text one gets the impression that the bishop travelled directly from San Pedro de Potohiriba to Santa Helena de Machaba and thence to San Matheo, but on the map the second is to the north and the third to the west of the first. It is therefore likely that the bishop meant the four leagues distance to San Matheo to be counted from San Pedro rather than Santa Helena. Assuming this to be the case, we shall deduct 2 leagues from the 34, leaving 32. Dividing the 82 miles of the Purcell-Stuart route by 32 gives 2.6 miles to the league, which closely corresponds with

its value east of the Suwannee, which, we believe, confirms the assumption. Examining the Burch mileage of 66 in this manner, we get a league value of a trifle over two miles. Apparently then, the Burch route over this distance was shorter than the route followed by Calderon.

Assuming then that Calderon's leagues are the equivalent of 2.6 miles, let us start out from the west bank of the St. Johns and mark off his leagues with dividers on the Purcell-Stuart route (Fig. 2a and b). The twenty lonesome leagues to Santa Fe would place this mission about 8 miles north of Gainesville, while the then abandoned San Francisco would have been approximately on the site of Gainesville. Twelve leagues from Santa Fe to Santa Catalina, would place this mission at about the head of Itchetucknee river, where the broken pots were found (L). Ajohica, 3 leagues distant was likely a village of unconverted Indians. Passing by Santa Cruz at 2 leagues, and going seven leagues further, we strike the east shore of the Suwannee river at the mission of San Juan. This point, where the road crossed, appears to have been from 2-3 miles below Charles Ferry where Burch's road crossed. Fitting these sites to Burch's route it not as satisfactory, despite the proximity of the two routes, since it throws Santa Catalina 2 miles west of Itchetucknee Spring. It thus would appear that the former route, for the distance between the St. Johns' and the Suwannee rivers, is probably identical with that travelled by Calderon.

Proceeding to lay off the leagues on the southern Purcell-Stuart route (Fig. 2) it will be seen that 10 leagues further takes us to the vicinity of Sampala Lake (San Pedro) (D) and that, putting Santa Helena off to the north, 6 leagues further places San

Miguel close to the Aucilla river, the boundary between Timuqua and Apalache since time immemorial. Continuing to mark off the distances, we note that San Joseph would fall east of the Miccosuckee mound (E), San Antonio north of the Lake Lafayette mound (F) and San Damian (Escambi) on the site of Tallahassee. However on Fig. 1, it will be noted that Escambi is shown to be north of San Luis instead of east. A passage¹⁷ in Delgado's papers suggests that the vicinity of Escambi may have been adapted to cattle raising. If we accept the northern rather than an eastern bearing from San Luis as marking the direction of Escambi, a league's distance will bring us to the vicinity of the group of mounds on Lake Jackson. At low water stages, the grassy meadows of the lake are still greatly prized for pasturage, as they may have been by Marcos Delgado.

Of the possible sites occupying intermediate positions along this route, that of the Miccosuckee mound (E) and that north of Lake Lafayette (F) are the only others tending to fall in approximately significant locations, while the identification of Escambi with the Tallahassee site appears for reasons given to be unsatisfactory. Let us then turn to the route of Burch. Proceeding westward from the Suwannee at the Purcell-Stuart crossing instead of Charles Ferry, and then passing to Burch's route, a ten leagues journey places San Pedro at about the site of the old county seat of Madison county (D) known by that name. Leaving Santa Helena off to the north as before, and marking off four and two leagues from San Pedro, then San Miguel falls to the eastward of the Aucilla. This might be in the

17) Boyd, Mark F., *Expedition of Marcos Delgado, 1686*. Fla. Hist. Quarterly XVI (1937-38) 12.

vicinity of Mound (0) in Madison county. Continuing westward through Jefferson county along the general line of Burch's route, it will be noted that the cache of bronze bells have come from San Lorenzo de Hibitachuco (N), San Francisco (Oconi) would fall near the site where the Spanish jars (J) were found, San Juan de Aspalaga near site (K) and San Joseph near site. (P). From San Joseph westward the bishop's described route is longer than it would have been had he travelled on Burch's road, obliging us to seek another solution for this area. Assuming that mission pueblos may have been in the vicinity of mound sites 2 (F), 3 (G) and 4 (H) we find that four leagues along a hypothetical route from the last assumed position of San Joseph, which passes along the north shore of Lake Lafayette, and crosses the swampy north arm, takes us to a point in the general vicinity of mound site 2 (F) (Fig. 2b). Hence this neighborhood may be the site of San Pedro de Patale rather than San Antonio. From this point to mound 3 (G) is roughly 2 leagues, the requisite distance to San Antonio; from site 3 to site 4 (H) is again two leagues, the distance from San Antonio to San Damian (Escambi) on Lake Jackson, bringing us to a position north of San Luis, one league distant. This assumption gives the best fit of the two considered.

One league distant from San Luis, according to Calderon, lies La Purificacion de Tama, which may have occupied the site within the city of Tallahassee (B). One league further would carry us to San Martin de Tomali, perhaps the site Williams describes on the McIvor place (C). Assumpcion del Puerto, lying four leagues from San Martin, was likely in the vicinity of the rises of either the Wakulla or St. Marks rivers.

Thus it is shown that of the seventeen missions described by Calderon as lying west of the Suwannee it is possible, by making certain reasonable assumptions relating to the position of Santa Helena and San Damian from the mission map, to assign a location along a modified Burch route west of the Suwannee river to all which Calderon enumerates as lying in Apalache, in positions consistent with the distances he gives, of which hypothetical sites, thirteen have some definite objective reason for being considered in this connection.

It has been noted that the 1680 list and the map of 1683 give two places not on Calderon's list. It should be noted that La Purificacion de Tama appears only on Calderon's list, although on the 1680 list there is introduced Nuestra Senora de la Candelaria de la Tama, which we suspect may be the same. Medellin on the 1683 map does not appear to have a counterpart on the previous lists.

It should further be noted that the interpretation here favored as most consistent, does not attempt to name sites in the vicinity of Lakes Iamonia or Miccosukee, although American authorities herein quoted refer to the existence at one time of ruins in those vicinities. This is however consistent for the period studied, and may perhaps hold good up to the period of Moore's raid. The impression has been general, that following this assault, the missions were extinguished. There is no positive reason to believe this, and from the Spanish side there are encountered fragmentary data which lead to the suspicion that the effect of Moore's raid may not have been as permanently devastating as he boasted. It would appear that in the course of time the frailes gathered together considerable numbers of their scattered charges, and reorganized the doctrinas or

mission villages, perhaps on different sites. This view is confirmed by a letter ¹⁸ from Governor Don Antonio de Benavides to the King, written from San Marcos de Apalache on the 8th of February, 1732, in which are listed eight settlements of Timuquan Indians bearing the XVIIth century names, and thirteen villages of Apalachee Indians which perpetuate the names of the villages of the previous century. This letter discusses plans for colonization in Apalache, with the establishment of a *villa* or *ciudad* at La Tama, and the construction of fortifications at La Tama and San Marcos. Certainly the bell ¹⁹ recovered from a lake in Madison county (said to be Sampala) which bears the date of 1758 (M), cannot be assigned to the XVIIth century period here considered.

In view of the deductions we have made from the relative positions of San Pedro and Machaba, and San Luis and Escambi on the map (Ref. 6), Fig. 1, attention should be called to the fact that on this same map Bacuca and Pueblo Patale are shown to lie to the northwest of San Luis, beyond Escambi, in positions that are absolutely irreconcilable with the distances and intervals given by Calderon. Of course both might be correct if the location of these villages had been changed in the interval elapsing between Calderon's visit and the drafting of the map.

No claim is made to have positively located, with the exception of San Luis, the site of any of the missions which Calderon describes. It is believed

18) Benavides, Don Antonio de. to the King, San Marcos de Apalache, Feb. 8, 1732. Buckingham Smith (MSS.) Library New York State Historical Society. Robertson, No. 1945.

19) Williams, Emma Rochelle, *The Bell of a Florida Spanish Mission*. Fla. Hist. Soc. Quart. V (1926-27) 159.

however, that the goodness of fit of his distances to the routes considered is more than a coincidence, and that the missions existed in the neighborhood of, or within a reasonable radius of, the localities mentioned. Further study may assign a provisional location to La Concepcion. In any event, however, all from San Lorenzo to San Joseph very evidently lay in the present Jefferson county.

GOVERNOR JOHNSTONE IN WEST FLORIDA By C. N. HOWARD

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

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

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

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

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

My Lord

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

I have the Honor to be &c.

GEORGE JOHNSTONE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The minutes of the council relate the next quarrel.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

5. Hamilton, *Colonial Mobile*, 258.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

13. *Ibid.*, 138.

the usefulness of Mobile and Pensacola harbors.

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

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

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

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

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

THE PARENTAGE AND BIRTHPLACE
OF OSCEOLA

By CHARLES H. COE ¹

It is commonly believed that the famous Seminole ² Indian chief, Osceola, ³ hero of the long and costly Seminole War, was the son of an Englishman named Powell, a trader among the Creek Indians of Georgia, by a Creek Indian woman.

One of the earliest writers on the subject, however, claims that "Osceola's grandfather was a Scotchman, his grandmother and mother were full-blood Indians. His father was, of course, a half-breed, and Osceola was therefore a quarter-blood, or one-fourth white."⁴

The same author says: "Osceola's mother, after the death of his father, married a paleface of the name of 'Powell,' after whom the step-son was called."⁵

While this book "has been put to the press in less than thirty days from its being undertaken," says the author in his preface, it contains many facts about the Seminoles and the operations of the

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1. Author of ***Red Patriots: the Story of the Seminoles.***
 2. Benj. Hawkins, ***Sketches of the Creek Country in 1798-99.*** (The Georgia Historical Society 1848). pp. 10, 25-26. "Meaning *wild men*, emigrants; Creek Indians who left the parent tribe - the first group about the year 1776-and settled along the Gulf Coast of Florida north of Tampa Bay, on account of the milder climate, abundance of game, and richness of the soil. Thereafter they were called Istesemoles or Seminoles."
 3. Lieut. of the Left Wing, ***Sketches of the Seminole War.*** (Charleston, 1836), p. 5 and footnote.
 4. M. M. Cohen, ***Notices of Florida and the Campaigns.*** (New York, 1836), pp. 233-34.
 5. *Ibid.* p. 235.

War, as well as much of a gossipy and unreliable character.

Other early writers adhere to the popular belief that Osceola's father was an Englishman named Powell. The first mention of this opinion, I believe, was by the anonymous author (Lieutenant of the Left Wing) of a book also published at Charleston in 1836, who says: "Osceola is a half-breed (his father an Englishman) of the Red Stick tribe of Creeks. . . ."⁶

Notwithstanding the multiplicity of claims⁷ as to Osceola's parentage and that white blood flowed in his veins, all evidently originated with the author of this book. Which claim probably starting from nothing more than a rumor and which the present writer gives reasonable proof was an error.

Among others who took up the story that Osceola was of mixed parentage and made much of it, was General Thomas W. Woodward, of Alabama, Arkansas, and Louisiana. In private letters⁸ written by him during the years 1857-58 to some of his friends, he says that "Osceola was the great grandson of James McQueen, and the son of an Englishman named Powell."

6. See reference 3 above.

7. Cohen, pp. 233-34.

Lieut. of the Left Wing, p. 5.

Samuel G. Drake, *Biography and History of the Indians of North America*, (1836), pp. 80-81.

J. R. Giddings, *Exiles of Florida*, (Columbus, 1858), p. 58.

McKinney and Hall, *Indian Tribes of North America*, (N. Y. 1844), Vol. 2, p. 36.

John T. Sprague, *Origin, Progress and Conclusion of the Florida War*, (N. P. 1847), pp. 100-101.

W. Brewer, Alabama: *Her History, Resources, Etc.*, (1872), p. 337.

8. Gen. Thos. W. Woodward, *Reminiscences of the Greek or Mucscogee Indians*, (1859. The Georgia Historical Society).

General Woodward further says: "Billy Powell or Osceola went with his uncle, McQueen, to Florida. I knew him well after that, and have seen him frequently. Capt. Isaac Brown and myself, with a party of friendly Creeks and Uchees, made him a prisoner in 1818, and he was then but a lad."

Strange to say, the General is silent as to the boy's offense.

Among those who doubted General Woodward was W. Brewer, author of a popular history of Alabama.⁹ Referring to the General, he says: "He wrote a small volume of reminiscences about the Indians, which attempts to confute many of the statements made by Pickett, Meek, Coxe, and others."

Samuel G. Drake, author of one of the early histories of the Indian tribes (1836) says, referring to Osceola: "His father is said to have been an Englishman, and his mother a Creek Indian. He belongs to the Red Stick tribe. . . ."¹⁰

Captain John T. Sprague, who was in Florida and the army throughout the war, and who is the author of the best and most reliable history of that costly mistake, says of Osceola and his parentage: "His father's name was William Powell, an Englishman, who for forty years had been a trader in the (Creek) nation, and whose wife was an Indian woman. In the year 1808, when a feud occurred among the Creeks, they separated by mutual consent. . . . The mother and the boy, then four years old, settled in the vicinity of the Okeefeenoke Swamp. Soon after she was again married, when, with her child and

9. W. Brewer, *Alabama: Her History and Resources*, (1872), p. 337.

10. Samuel G. Drake, *Biography and History of the North American Indians*, (1836, 1st ed.), pp. 80-81.

husband, she removed to a hammock near Fort King, Fla." ¹¹

It is strange that Sprague, who seems to have been careful in the preparation of his great work, should have perpetuated the early error in regard to Osceola's parentage.

We shall now consider the, evidence, both the doubtful and the conclusive, that the famous chief was a thoroughbred native American.

A prominent newspaper in the territory at this period intimates that Osceola was an Indian, saying: "It is proper to observe that he ought not to be called 'Powell' as that is only a nickname. His Indian name is Osceola, and by that he should be distinguished." ¹²

The author of a carefully prepared book, ¹³ published at Baltimore, in 1836 (which is the equal of Sprague's as a reliable history of the Seminole War), says that "Assiola" is the correct orthography of the chief's name; that he is a Red Stick Creek Indian, and that "Assiola or Powell" does not speak the English language.

The fact that Osceola could not speak English is, in itself, evidence that he was a pure-blood Indian.

The author of this book is the only one of the earliest writers on the subject of the Seminole War or on Osceola, that does not claim the chief to be of mixed parentage.

The testimony of Dr. Andrew Welch, an Englishman, who resided at Jacksonville and Mayport during the Seminole War, is of interest and value.

11. Capt. John T. Sprague, *Origin, Progress and Conclusion of the Florida War*, (New York, 1847), pp. 100-101.

12. *The Herald*, St. Augustine, Fla., Jan. 13, 1836.

13. Late Staff Officer. *The War in Florida*, 1836, pp. 10-11, 158.

Among the Indian captives brought to Jacksonville in the fore part of the war was a boy about six years of age. After learning that he was a nephew of Osceola and bore his name, the doctor was allowed to take the boy into his own family to civilize and educate, with the intention of adopting him.

Doctor Welch went to England with his protege in 1840, and in the following year published a book relating to the boy and his famous uncle. In this interesting work the author says of Osceola's parentage:¹⁴ "Judging from all I have been enabled to learn from other Indians and from respectable white men who knew him from childhood, he was undoubtedly a thorough-bred Seminole." (That is, a full-blooded Indian.) "I am borne out in this opinion by Mr. Catlin, who is probably better acquainted with the physical as well as the moral structures of these people than any other white man living."

The most reliable and convincing testimony, however, is that of George Catlin, the famous painter of Indian portraits. No one then living was more competent to express an opinion on the subject. He had spent a lifetime among the Indians of North America, had painted the portraits of the most prominent chiefs, their home life and their hunting excursions. On learning of the capture of Osceola and his followers, and their confinement in Fort Moultrie, Charleston harbor, Catlin immediately journeyed to that place to meet them. He was well known to all Indians as their friend, and this group was especially glad to see him. Undoubtedly they hoped that he might do something to effect their release.

Every night, Catlin tells us, the chiefs visited with him in his room at the fort, telling him of their

14. [Dr. Andrew Welch], *Osceola Nikkanochee*, Prince of Econchatti, (London, 1841), p. 23.

troubles and their treacherous capture by General Jesup under a flag of truce. During his visit he painted the portraits of the chiefs-two of Osceola. The painter thus had extended opportunity to closely study Osceola's features and actions.

A full account of his visits with the chiefs and his opinion of the parentage of their leader, is given in one of his priceless works, of which the following is an extract: ¹⁵ "I am fully convinced from all that I have seen and have learned from the lips of Osceola and from the chiefs who are around him, that he is a most extraordinary man, and one who is entitled to a better fate . . . in his manner and all his movements in company he is polite and gentlemanly, though all his conversation is entirely in his own tongue, and his general appearance and actions those of a full-blooded and wild Indian."

On one occasion, Osceola himself said: "I am an Indian-a Seminole." ¹⁶

At another time, in the presence of an army officer, he repudiated with great scorn the rumor that he was part white, saying: "No foreign blood runs in my veins; I am a pure-blood Muscogee." ¹⁷

If the reader has a remaining doubt that Osceola was a full-blooded Indian, he should examine a death-mask of the chief's head and shoulders made immediately after his death, now in the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C. The high cheek bones and other marks of the Indian are plainly in evidence.

15. George Catlin, *Letters and Notes, etc.*, 1844, Vol. 2, p. 220.

16. Sprague, p. 86.

17. Chas. H. Coe, *Red Patriots: the Story of the Seminoles*, (1898), p. 28.

Thomas W. Storrow, *Osceola, The Seminole War Chief*. Knickerbocker, XXIV, 428.

There is considerable doubt about the meaning of his name. Most writers interpret it as "*Black Drink*,"¹⁸ a purifying decoction taken freely before any great event. But the earliest and it seems to me the most reasonable and reliable definition is that *Hasse Ola* (Assiola), his Indian name, means "Rising Sun,"¹⁹ Hasse being the early Seminole term for sun.

In my Seminole vocabulary, obtained many years since during my long residence in Florida "ha-shay" or has-say" is the Seminole's term for sun.

Regarding the birthplace of Osceola, there is less diversity of opinion but more uncertainty. Some claim that he was born in Alabama, others that he was a native of Georgia. A writer in the former State says,²⁰ "Macon [county] feels a pride in him." But the author evidently was a Woodward disciple.

General Woodward is just as positive of the exact birthplace of the chief as he is of his parentage. Thus, he says in one of his private letters before mentioned:²¹ "The railroad from Montgomery, Ala., to West Point runs within five feet, if not over the place, where the cabin stood in which Billy Powell or Ussa Yoholo was born. It was in an old field, between the Nufauba and a little creek that the Indians called Catsa Bogah."

The authenticity of General Woodward's statements are questionable. It seems highly improbable that he could have given any reliable information regarding Osceola's birthplace, much less that he

18. Sprague, page 100 and footnote. (See reference 11).

19. Lieut. of the Left Wing, p. 5 and footnote.

20. See note 9.

21. See note 8.

could have designated the exact spot. It was more than twenty years after the boy and his mother are supposed to have moved to Florida that the General claimed to know so much about him.

It probably never will be known, beyond a doubt, which of the two States, Georgia or Alabama, is entitled to the honor of having produced this famous chief. But the present writer believes, after carefully considering the claims of the various authors and their reputations for accuracy, that Osceola was born east of the Chattahoochee River, in Georgia, about the beginning of the nineteenth century.

THE PANTON, LESLIE PAPERS
Letters of EDMUND DOYLE, Trader

Prospect Bluff 28th Jan. 1817

John Innerarity Esqr

Dear Sir

I have for many days past deferred doing myself this pleasure in hopes of the return of my indian carrier of the 10th ulto who has not to my great surprise as yet made his appearance

Since my last advices have done but very little business and I clearly perceive, unless some alteration takes place nothing will be done here until fall: The few skins that will now be soon coming in cannot be purchased for want of necessary articles required by the Indians; the only saleable goods I carried with me are the Romals and binding, salt, Taffia, as the two latter articles are disposed of, you see the necessity of sending a supply as soon as possible; The indians are not pleased in not seeing the store furnished with the articles they want and indeed it is principally for want of an assortment that we are so destitute of trade, there are three handsome stores on this River, and without a small & general assortment is kept constantly up you will do no more business here

Mr. Hambly who I have supplied with some goods at *our prices here* has purchased about 150 bushels of corn and about thirty head cattle, I have received here about sixty bushels of corn and about fifty or sixty deer skins, this corn I could send you with many articles I carried with me that are unsaleable at present.

I had the pleasure of receiving your favor of the 21st ulto pr *Tellifaukie* I am extremely sorry to

hear of all your heavy losses and disappointments, I see no safety whatever in venturing anything out of doors at present in the country. Since the evacuation of the Camp on Flint River we have had very trying times here, I never suffered more uneasiness from various sources, I think now everything is safe and we shall have quiet times in the Nation: On the 23rd Inst four negroes came here from the Mikasukkys and demanded of me protection which of course was offered; they returned same day to bring the rest of their party there, they belong to a Mr. Kingsley of St. John's River

I have only one old white man here and the two negroes from Pensacola one of them sick, of course I am greatly exposed and out of reach of assistance provided it was necessary-Mr. Butler owes the House about sixty dollars; what shall I do if he wants more goods: I understand he has settled at the next camp on this River, you must let me know **flatly** what is to be done should he want goods as I think he will require them at the usual credit given these people "viz when the troops are paid off" you will also please to send some person to take charge of this place, I have fulfilled every obligation I am under to the House, the Land is taken possession of, this place is in good repair, & I shall remain here for a few weeks with whoever you send out until I see perfect safety restored: I shall be here generally this summer, if the House is pleased to give me a little outfit, on a short credit

The negro family which the indians wanted to purchase is worth at least \$2,000 he-went to Pensacola without my knowledge thinking to play you a trick, I hear he is gone to see you again, we have had so much confusion here since I last wrote, that I thought it advisable to send Dolly and her children,

with Tom to Mr Hambly's residence, I have Cynthia here, none of our negroes at the Seminoles has come to see me, but I hope from the message sent them and from the exertions of the indians on this River they will be obliged either to give themselves or abandon the Seminolie shortly-

There has been a meeting of the chiefs on this River for this purpose who are now at the Mickasukky to endeavor to prevail on those indians to join them to force them home if necessary-

I have promised the chiefs the reward offered by the House and have also promised that the people of Pensacola & other parts of the Spanish country would do the same we shall in the course of next month know the result of all these measures;

I hope, My Dear Sir, you will *not neglect* sending some person here to relieve me, I feel my spirits seriously affected by this solitary mode of living, beside, I think I shall be of more service to the House by the change I propose. Should you continue the store you will require a general assortment for the indians-I am greatly thankful to Mr. Hambly for his care and attention to our affairs-In hopes having the pleasure hearing from you soon I remain Dr Sir

Most Gratefully
Your obt servt
Edmd Doyle

PS; Woodbine went from this place to Suwannie, sent for Kenhozee who went to see him there, he told the indians Col Nicols would be out here in three months, from that time (about two months ago) Woodbine quit the vessel & remained for some days there from thence he went to Tampa Bay to get a passage to the Havana, from thence he said he

would sail for Providence-the Commandant at St. Marks statement to the Governor is *incorrect*.

P.S. The negroes does not wish to go to Pensacola, & if they got the least hint of it might run away; I have them at work preparing to plant a corn field on the Island opposite the Spanish Bluff where Mr Hambly lives, they can be employed advantageously this year, there is no fear whatever of their being lost to the House, should the rest of the negroes be got & should you **Positively** order them sent on we can have them secured and sent in at once, altho' I should not recommend it, at this moment I have desired the indian to remain three days in Pensacola to refresh himself for his return

Rec'd 13 Feby

Ans 18 “

* * *

Prospect Bluff 3rd June 1817

John Innererity Esqr

Dear Sir

You will have seen by my letter of the 24th ulto pr the Trial our situation here, I then expected the arrival of the U. S. troops at the forks, I regret they still keep back, & I greatly fear a rupture before that important Port for our safety is occupied by them, since I last wrote several gangs of cattle have been stolen from the frontiers, & the indians in the service of the U. S. at Fort Gaines on active duty, scouring the country of those robbers as far as this force can venture, which is seldom lower than old Perryman's former dwelling about forty or fifty miles below Fort Gaines-

When I dispatched my last Currier, it was with a mind overwhelmed with sorrow and apprehension at being doomed to live in this awful solitude where

nothing but danger for years past presented itself, besides the stake I had in view is of no great importance for such risks-moreover having no person whatever to solace me under all these calamities, and at the same time to feel neglected, as I *then supposed*, would have drawn sympathy, when all was well with you.

Consider my forlorn situation forty miles from an indian hut that would shelter me, wearied out by restlessness for months pregnant with danger, & every day presenting something more dismal, in short it is a state not well to be described, it can only be felt by a person on the spot.

You had to contend with a civilized general at least, you were surrounded by your friends every day to comfort and assist you. What was & is my situation, surrounded with outlaws & murderers, runaway negroes, all of whom would put (and expect to do still) me to a cruel death if they dared, the eyes of all of these villains are directed to Hambly and I. I am indeed weary of the life it shall soon cease.

Under all these reflections and the delay of my messenger, induced me to *suppose* I was neglected I did in some measure give way to my feelings, and I am sincerely sorry my distresses should have extorted from me any expressions to give you offense, for I always found you kind and gentle to me in a high degree.

Some time before I dispatched this currier Mr. Hambly wrote the Big Warrior his intentions of withdrawing from his present residence, he has since received an answer, requesting him to maintain his post for a few days longer & that he should have ample assistance, this letter & expecting McCulloch & the Troops, induced me to risk all & stand it out

as I knew your want of cash: McCulloch would have been down here before this but on account of the trouble that took place about the time he wrote me, and since then it would be certain death for a small party of Americans or American indians to pass the Forks: I am now in a complete trap & those rascals look on the plunder of this place as certain, they daily expect the arrival of a British agent to see them Rited, the Americans and us drove off the land. This circumstance has been officially reported to the Commanding officer at Fort Gaines & to Mr. Hambly by Mr. Arbuthnot who keeps the store at the Ocaloughney Bay. This is my happy state. I have been here for weeks, I never slept an hour at night lest the house should be burnt over my head, & my general way of living is to walk my little gallery, until such time as I am wearied out fall down on my pallet & snatch a reluctant and uneasy sleep, such are the rural pleasures of Appalache for six months past.

I am now in hopes to have some peace and tranquility instead of adopting measures too desperate to live under much longer-our only safety now is to keep alive a party to oppose these fellows, it was our wish to strike a stroke at once & drive them over the Okalaughney but our party would not dare do so. it has this good effect it keeps the villians in check for the moment.

I return Captn Butlers letter & your reply thereto, I shall of course be governed by your observations therein. the moment I touch the cash I shall send it or bring it on. I am in hopes some amends will soon be made for the heavy expense incurred at this place. I have the best opinion of Captn Butler he is known to be honest & punctual and I know his loss was great at this place-

Concerning my having the, store on my own a/c I must forego your kind offer. Under much more favorable circumstances it has failed & be assured I cannot manage better for myself than I have for you-

As I now wish to settle my old a/c with the House and knowing I shall fall in your debt, I will offer you a fine wench and her two boys ; Mr. Forstall in his letter to me valued them at \$1200. but you shall have them for \$1000. one half I would wish placed to my credit & the other to Forstalls and should you approve of this-keep it to yourself or I can purchase Cyrus on easy terms, as he says he came on to me for this purpose-this family united would be equal to any of the kind in Louisiana, you will please to let me know your sentiments on this head, as I send this indian at my own expense for this purpose, if you approve I shall send you in the family at once-

Your brother was good enough to write me twice and personally told me had given you directions to pass the deeds of my land in the office, you told me yourself you would do so. I spoke to Mr Arroyo on the. occasion who promised me to put you in mind of it, if you wish to do so please to do it at once, & I shall pay the expense attending it-Hambly is for some time ill of a fever & I am not well myself

I remain Dr Sir, very truly

Your obt servt

Edmund Doyle

you will please forward the
inclosed to Mr Millar
sealing it

I want no more carpenters, Charles may now go back when Bunker has done with him. I am giving all the old Houses a thorough repair, which will do for three or four years longer when more leisure can be had for better buildings

THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

MINUTES

The thirty-seventh annual meeting of The Florida Historical Society was held in the ball room of the Clarendon Hotel at Daytona Beach, Florida, at three-thirty o'clock P.M. on Tuesday, January 24th, 1939.

The meeting was called to order by President Joshua Coffin Chase.

There were over seventy-five members present.

By unanimous consent the roll call was dispensed with. The president declared a quorum was present and the meeting proceeded.

President Chase read his annual report, which was received and ordered filed.

REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT

Members of The Florida Historical Society,

Ladies and Gentlemen:

1. During the year that has past since our St. Petersburg annual meeting some of our plans have been carried out and some are in process. One of the most encouraging happenings is an evident wider-spread interest in the work of the Society, as indicated by an increase in membership from all sections of the State. The force to bring this about has been steady persistent work on the part of the Membership Committee. The number still falls short of our goal, set for one thousand. We can visualize this accomplished under the plan for closer affiliation of the Florida Historical Society with local historical societies, functioning and to be formed.

2. Contributions have been made by these members of the Society in the field of historical study: Mr. W. T. Cash, "Story of Florida"; Professor A. J. Hanna, "Flight Into Oblivion"; Mrs. Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings, "The Yearling"; Dr. Rhea Marsh Smith, "The Day of the Liberals in Spain"; Professor Van Woodward, of the University of Florida, "Life of Tom Watson of Georgia", and a history of Florida, now in press by Dr. Kathryn T. Abbey, Head of the History Department of the Florida State College for Women.

3. The year has brought increases to the Library of the Society, with the addition of many books, manuscripts (miscellaneous), pictures and other items of Floridiana.

4. The only regional meeting of the Society was held in Tallahassee May 21, 1938, at St. John's Episcopal Church jointly with the Tallahassee Historical Society, in honor of the Centennial of the Episcopal Diocese of Florida. Director at Large C. Horace Curry was chairman of arrangements. Vice President Kathryn T. Abbey presided, and papers were contributed by the following members: Hugh M. Taylor "Economic Conditions in Florida 1840-1860", Watt Marchman "The Florida Historical Society, Its History, Plans, Purposes", Herbert Lamson "History of the Episcopal Church in Florida", Sue A. Mahorner "A Church Inventory Under the Supervision of the Historical Records Survey".

5. Regional meetings of the Society for 1939 are planned in Jacksonville, Fernandina, Bradenton, Sarasota, Lakeland, Mountain Lake, Palm Beach, Miami and Pensacola.

6. A Committee has been appointed to study the

modern aids to historical research. The principal aid is microfilm and microfilm projector.

A Committee was appointed consisting of C. Horace Curry, S. L. Holland, and our Corresponding Secretary, to introduce a bill at the coming session of the Florida Legislature, seeking a small appropriation to publish and distribute volumes of official and semi-official records of historical value.

7. This meeting celebrates the 37th anniversary of the Society under its present name, succeeding the Historical Society of Florida, formed in 1856. What was the vision of these founders? Did they foresee the multitude of changes that would take place and revolutionize living and economic conditions that then prevailed? Fortunately it is not given to human kind to see far into the future. They realized, as we do, the necessity for a building of our own to house and properly care for our books, manuscripts, paintings, maps, etc., already acquired and promised if suitable quarters were provided. This subject has been discussed but no action taken. We have lived in hope of some good angel appearing and making a substantial donation. The flock of good angels has been either crippled or killed off by Washington politicians. My suggestion is to authorize the directors to establish a "Patron Membership", with a fee of \$100, the funds created to be safeguarded from shrinkage and permitted to accumulate for a building fund.

In conclusion let me say that today the Florida Historical Society is held together by the same interests that brought its forefathers together eighty-three years ago. We are better equipped than they were, and with equal courage we can go forward to solve the problems ahead and render valuable service to the historical interests of the Florida we all love.

JOSHUA C. CHASE, *President*

The treasurer's report was submitted by Dr. Dorothy Dodd, treasurer of the Society, who reported the Society's membership to be 653 at the present time. Her report was received and ordered filed.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

To the President and Members of the Florida Historical Society :

The following statements constitute the Treasurer's report on the financial condition of the Society as of January 23, 1939.

Library Fund

Balance January 25, 1938	\$ 213.49	
Receipts :		
From contributing memberships ...\$	136.00	
Gifts	22.00	
Sale of publications	39.25	197.25
		\$ 410.74
Expenditures :		
Purchase of manuscripts	51.50	
Printing and supplies	47.97	
Secretarial assistance	65.06	
P o s t a g e	37.41	
Membership in Florida Library Association	2.00	
Expenses of Librarian at Florida Library Association	4.00	207.88
Transfer to General Fund		59.00
Balance, January 23, 1939		143.86
		410.74

General Fund

Balance, January 25, 1938	\$ 319.98	
Receipts :		
Dues	\$1223.00	
Gifts.....	32.23	
Sale of publications	27.05	\$1,282.28
Transfer from Library Fund		59.00
Expenditures :		
Quarterly (4 issues)	975.76	
Printing and supplies	192.25	
Postage	89.65	
Exchange on checks	2.77	
Miscellaneous expenses, 1938 Annual Meeting	22.18	1,282.58
Balance, January 23, 1939		378.68
		1,661.26

Consolidated Statement

Balance, January 25, 1938	\$ 533.47	
Receipts :		
Dues	\$1,359.60	
Gifts	54.23	
Sale of publications	66.30	1,479.53
		\$2,013.00
Expenditures :		
Quarterly (4 issues)	975.76	
Purchase of manuscripts	51.50	
General operating expenses	463.20	1,490.46
Balance, January 23, 1939		522.54
		2,013.00

It will be noted that sales of publications are credited to both the General and the Library Funds. The Board of Directors, at its meeting in December, 1937, authorized receipts from this source to be credited to the Library Fund. This action was rescinded by the Board at its meeting in December, 1938, and such receipts were ordered to be credited to the General Fund, from which are paid expenses incidental to the publication of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*.

The transfer of \$59.60 from the Library Fund to the General Fund was made in compliance with a decision of the Board of Directors to credit \$2.00 of each \$10.00 contributing membership dues to the General Fund. Previously, all contributing membership dues had been paid into the Library Fund.

As shown in the consolidated statement, the Society's expenditures for the year exceeded its receipts by \$10.93. While the deficit is small, it indicates the need of prompt payment of dues by members and the securing of additional members. Of the 649 members by whom annual dues are paid, 74 are one month or more in arrears. The excellent work of the Membership Committee resulted in the addition of 165 members during the year, but the loss of 152 members, for various causes, reduced the net gain to only 13.

A comparative report on membership for 1938 and 1939 is attached.

Respectfully submitted,
Dorothy Dodd, Treasurer.

Report on Members

	1938	1939
Total membership	640	653
Life	3	3
Honorary	1	1
Contributing	29	25
Annual	559	569
Institutional	48	55
Exchanges	33	38
New Members	156	165
Members Lost	96	152
Nonpayment of dues	70	113
Resigned	14	30
Deceased	12	9

Mr. Watt Marchman presented his report orally, as corresponding secretary and librarian. In the course of his report he referred to a letter he had received from Mrs. T. C. Maguire, reading as follows:

To members of the Florida Historical Society, I send you greetings.

It is with regret I am unable to be present at your meeting, other duties calling me out of the state at this time.

It is with great pleasure that I report on the historical marker commemorating the site of the Battle of Lake Okeechobee, and the heroes who lost their lives in that battle.

The Daughters of the American Revolution of the State of Florida hope to have this historical marker erected and unveiled sometime during the early autumn, and will at this time expect the Florida Historical Society to be well represented.

The Daughters consider it an honor to cooperate in all historical work with the Florida Historical Society, and if at any time we can be of service, please call on us.

Sincerely yours,

MRS. MAGUIRE.

Miss Katherine B. Mazyck of Charleston, South Carolina, presented to The Florida Historical Society a section of cedar from the stockade of Charlesfort built by Jean Ribault in Port Royal Harbor in 1562, from the Huguenot Society of South Carolina, which was accepted by Mr. Chase with an expression of the Society's thanks and appreciation to the Huguenot Society.

Presentation Speech of Miss Katherine B. Mazyck, Representative of the Huguenot Society of South Carolina, Charleston:

President Chase, Members of the Florida Historical Society:

I do not feel that I am a stranger among you as your president, Professor Hanna, is a member of the Huguenot Society of South Carolina, and General C. P. Summerall, who is claimed both by Florida and South Carolina, is a member of your Society and an officer of ours. May I say that the General sent his good wishes to all of you here today, and his regrets at not being able to be with you. He begged me to congratulate you on the January issue of the *Quarterly*, especially the excellent review by Mr. Davis of Professor Hanna's able book, "Flight into Oblivion."

I bring to you a gift from the Huguenot Society of South Carolina that will link the three places associated with Jean Ribault: Dieppe, his birth-place; Florida, where he erected a stone marker at the mouth of the St. Johns River, claiming the land for France; and Carolina, where he built Charles-fort in Port Royal harbor.

Shortly after the World War when Major George H. Osterhout, then serving under Gen. Eli K. Cole at the Marine Post on Parris Island, explored the site of Ribault's fort a number of the cedar butts of the old stockade were taken up, and sawed into sections, two or three of which were given to the Huguenot Society of South Carolina.

When, in 1935, a monument to Jean Ribault was unveiled in Dieppe, our representative at the ceremonies presented one of these sections with a brass plate bearing the inscription: "A

Section of Cedar from the Stockade of Charlesfort, built by Jean Ribault in Port Royal Harbor in 1562." One, of course, we have in the library of our Society, and this I have brought to you, and I wish to say that we are assured that it is from the site of Charlesfort and not from the Spanish fort, San Marco, despite the claims of other historians. We believe that San Marco and San Filipe were on the site now occupied by the town of Port Royal.

But as there is not time to enter into that discussion now, I have brought to you two numbers of the Transactions of the Huguenot Society of South Carolina-No. 31, published in 1926, with an account of the unveiling of the monument on Parris Island and General Cole's address, and No. 41, 1936, with Major Osterhout's reply to the criticisms of the location of the fort.

This little badge is one of those used by the Huguenot Society of South Carolina at the 400th anniversary celebration of the birth of Admiral Coligny, 1519-1919. It is appropriate here because the expeditions to Florida and Carolina were sent out by Coligny, not solely as a refuge for Huguenots, but as a part of his colonial policy as an Admiral of France.

This card pictures the very beautiful monument erected on the site of Charlesfort by the government of the United States.

We have many members of the Huguenot Society of South Carolina in Florida, and I trust they will feel that they have a part in this gift to the Florida Historical Society.

Mr. Herbert E. Kahler, Jr., of St. Augustine moved the adoption of the following resolution:

Whereas the Florida Historical Society has as one of its objectives the collection of sources of Florida History and,

Whereas, the use of filmcopy has been found to be an expensive but effective means of reproducing manuscripts:

Therefore, be it resolved: That the budget committee be authorized to set aside not less than \$50.00 of the library fund to purchase negative films, and that the library be the depository for the distribution of the film in the state.

Mr. Kahler's motion being duly seconded was unanimously carried and the resolution unanimously adopted.

Mr. W. K. Mitchell made an interesting address on the subject "Proposed Cooperation of The Florida Historical Society with the Short Course Section of The Extension Division of the University of Florida."

Dr. Kathryn T. Abbey moved the adoption of the following resolution:

RESOLVED: 1, That Section 3 of Article VI of the Constitution of The Florida Historical Society be, and the same is hereby, amended so as to read as follows:-

Section 3. Such officers and directors are to be elected at the annual meeting of the corporation which shall be held on the fourth Tuesday in January of each year, or on such other date between the first day of January and the thirty-first day of March of each year, as may be designated by joint action of the officers and directors, such designation to be made not later than November first preceding each annual meeting. The place of such annual meeting shall be designated by joint action of the officers and directors at the time of the designation of the date of the annual meeting, and in any event at least thirty days in advance of the annual meeting.

2. That Mr. Herbert Lamson and the officers and directors of this corporation be, and they are hereby, authorized and requested to take the necessary legal action to complete the accomplishment of this amendment.

Dr. Abbey's motion was duly seconded and unani-
mously carried.

Mr. Watt Marchman suggested the advisability of continuing the committee heretofore appointed for the purpose of seeking appropriation of the Legislature for money to be used in publication from time to time of official and semi-official original state records, saying that the committee has been active but further work remains to be done. On motion of Mr. Marchman, duly seconded and carried it was unanimously,

RESOLVED, That the committee heretofore appointed for the purpose of seeking appropriation of the Legislature for money to be used in publication from time to time of official and semi-official original state records, be continued, and that the president be authorized and requested to appoint the present members of the committee to continue to serve until the next annual meeting, such members being Mr. C. H. Curry, Senator Spessard L. Holland and Mr. Watt Marchman.

President Chase thereupon appointed, as members of the foregoing committee, the gentlemen named in the foregoing resolution.

Dr. Abbey called attention to the resolutions adopted at the annual meeting held at Palm Beach, Florida, on January 26th, 1937, which resolutions appear on pages 268 and 269 of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* of April, 1937, and said that she felt

that the need set forth in the resolutions was even more urgent at this time and that the Society should go on record in favor of the spirit of the resolutions which she thereupon read.

Some doubt arising as to whether the resolutions continued to be in effect, Mr. Lamson stated that in order to resolve such doubt he moved that the resolutions be adopted by this meeting. This motion was duly seconded and unanimously carried and the resolutions reading as follows, were unanimously adopted:-

Whereas, It is well known to many members of the Florida Historical Society that W. T. Cash, State Librarian, has succeeded in collecting many valuable maps, manuscripts, letters and documents of interest to those who are studying the history of Florida, in addition to building up a collection of rare books relating to such history, and

Whereas, It is believed a much larger collection of material, now likely to be destroyed or disposed of outside of the State, could be secured if Florida had a State Library building of sufficient size, equipment and accommodations; and,

Whereas, It is of particular interest to the members of our Society that all historical materials pertaining to Florida possible to obtain be secured, properly classified and catalogued; therefore

Be it Resolved first-That this Society go on record as approving an appropriation for a substantial State Library building, large enough to house - in addition to its regular line of books and other printed or written material - all classes of publications, documents, letters, maps, manuscripts, etc., relating to the history of our State, with sufficient fireproof vault space to make the preservation of irreplaceable materials absolutely sure.

Be it Resolved second-That the secretary of this Society be instructed to furnish copies of this resolution to a sufficient number of newspapers to get it well circulated, and also to mail copies to each member of the next session of the Legislature.

Be it Resolved, further-That we agree personally to write our congressman and United States Senators in order to secure their cooperation in getting a PWA grant, if possible to secure one, to add to such an appropriation as can be secured from our State Legislature."

Mr. John G. McKay made the following report on behalf of the Nominations Committee:

To the members of the Florida Historical Society, in annual meeting, January 24, 1939 :-

Your Nominations Committee, elected at the last annual meeting, in complying with the By-Laws, nominates the following

members for election to serve their respective terms beginning today:

for President, Professor Alfred J. Hanna, of Winter Park
for 1st. Vice-President, Mr. C. Horace Curry, of Quincy
for 2nd. Vice-President, Mrs. Henry Kohl, of Palm Beach
for Recording Secretary, Mr. Herbert E. Kahler, St. Augustine
for Corresponding Secretary and Librarian, Mr. Watt March-
man, of Winter Park

for Treasurer, Dr. Dorothy Dodd, of Jacksonville
for Directors:

2nd. Congressional District, Dr. C. L. Crow, of Gainesville
4th. Congressional District, Mr. Edward C. Romfh, of Miami
At Large, Dr. Kathryn T. Abbey, of Tallahassee
At Large, Hon. Spessard L. Holland, of Bartow

for the Nominations Committee:

Dr. Kathryn T. Abbey, of Tallahassee, Chairman
Mr. Thomas P. Caldwell, of Miami
Mrs. Roy V. Ott, of Ocala
Mr. Herbert Lamson, of Jacksonville
Mr. T. T. Wentworth, of Pensacola

Respectfully submitted,

Julien C. Yonge, Chairman,
John G. McKay,
Rodman Lehman,
Albert H. Roberts.

On motion of Mr. McKay, duly seconded and carried it was, thereupon, resolved that,

The report of the Nominations Committee be adopted and that the secretary cast a ballot for each and all of the nominees therein mentioned, including those recommended for the Nominations Committee for the election in 1940.

The secretary thereupon cast the ballot for the several nominees, including those recommended for the Nominations Committee for the election in 1940, who were declared duly elected.

Mr. Wentworth extended to the meeting greetings from Mr. Julien C. Yonge of Pensacola; and President Chase expressed the regret of the meeting that Mr. Yonge was unable to be present; and the society's appreciation of Mr. Yonge's splendid work on behalf of the Society.

Mr. Marchman moved the adoption of the following resolution :-

Be it Resolved by The Florida Historical Society in annual meeting assembled, this 24th day of January, 1939, that the thanks of the Society be, and the same are hereby, extended to the management of the Clarendon Hotel for their splendid cooperation and many courtesies extended by them to the Society, which have added greatly to the pleasure and success of the meeting.

Mr. Marchman's motion was duly seconded and unanimously carried, and said resolution was unanimously adopted.

Mrs. Roy V. Ott moved a rising vote of thanks and appreciation to the officers for their work for the Society during the past year. This motion was duly seconded and unanimously carried.

On motion duly made, seconded and carried the Minutes of this meeting were thereupon approved.

Thereupon, upon motion duly made, seconded and carried the meeting adjourned.

Respectfully submitted,
Herbert Lamson,

Approved : Secretary.
Joshua C. Chase,
President.

THE PROGRAM

DAYTONA BEACH, January 23, 8:30 P. M.

Round table discussion : *Cooperation of Historical and Patriotic Societies with the Program of the Florida Historical Society.*
Meeting of the Board of Directors. *

DAYTONA BEACH, January 24, Clarendon Hotel.

9:30 A. M., to 5:00 P. M., *Exhibit of Floridiana*. Chairman: Miss Henri May Eddy, Acting Librarian, University of Florida, and President, Florida Library Association.

10:00 A. M., *Opening Session*, President Joshua C. Chase presiding. *Invocation*, Rev. James G. Glass, Ormond Beach.

Welcome, Professor A. F. Wilson, Ormond Beach.

Historical Highlights of Volusia County, Mr. T. E. Fitzgerald. *One of the Most Fit and Discreet Men in the Territory*, Mr. Philip S. May, Jacksonville.

Florida Plantations, Dr. James D. Glunt, University of Florida. *The Exhibit of Floridiana*, Miss Henri May Eddy.

The Union Catalogue of Floridiana, Miss Della Frances Northey.

AFTERNOON SESSION

Presiding: Mrs. F. B. Crowninshield, Director, Florida Historical Society.

A Brief Account of Randolph Caldecott, Dr. Howard A. Kelly.
The Oldest Community Site in America, Mr. William B. Goodwin.
Annual Business Meeting, Presiding: President Joshua C. Chase.
 Tea, Bath and Tennis Club.

* * *

ANNUAL DINNER. Toastmaster: Dean Charles D. Smith, John B. Stetson University.

Why Two Connecticut Yankees Went South. Colonel Samuel H. Fisher, former Chairman, Connecticut Tercentenary Commission.

Poems, Mrs. Agnes Kendrick Gray, Daytona Beach.

NEW SMYRNA BEACH, January 25.

10:00 A. M. Visit to the Sams collection of Indian relics and site of old mission ruins.

The Old Spanish Mission at New Smyrna Beach. Rev. Joseph T. Daley, -C.S.S.R.

Informal luncheon, Yacht Club. Host: Chamber of Commerce, Mr. J. S. Duss; Jr., President and chairman of arrangements. Complimentary to members of the Society and their families.

ST. AUGUSTINE, January 25.

4:00 P. M. Assembly and exhibit, Webb Memorial Building. Host: St. Augustine Historical Society and Institute of Science. Motorcade to historic sites.

6:30 P. M. Dinner. Ponce de Leon Hotel. Toastmaster: Mr. Herbert E. Kahler, National Park Service.

My Use of Florida History Materials, Mrs. Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings.

Preservation of State Papers, Hon. R. A. Gray.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMEN

General, Mr. Watt Marchman, Rollins College.

Program, Mr. Watt Marchman, Rollins College.

Exhibit, Miss Henri May Eddy, University of Florida.

Local Arrangements, Daytona Beach, Mrs. C. M. Wilder; New Smyrna Beach, Mr. J. S. Duss, Jr.; St. Augustine, Judge D. R. Dunham.

* * *

Of the many annual meetings of early or recent years none have exceeded this one in the interest aroused throughout the State, in the attendance of members of the Society and guests, in the extent and excellence of the exhibit of Floridiana, in the quality of the addresses and papers presented, nor in the careful planning and carrying out of all arrangements. Our gratitude for the success of the meeting has been won by our librarian and corresponding secretary Mr. Watt Marchman. We have

put Watt in a niche of our recollections already holding Mrs. Porter, who was the reason for the success of more than one annual meeting in Jacksonville, Mrs. Ott who showed us Ocala hospitality and who again, with the help of University members, gave us an outstanding meeting there, President Hanna who welcomed us to Rollins and who led us to a high point in the two-fold meeting of last year at St. Petersburg and Tampa, and Bishop Thomas who made us all feel at home in Palm Beach. When it is recalled that the St. Augustine Historical Society, Southern College, and our members in Tallahassee have also given us notable annual meetings, it is realized that we are in fact as well as in name the Florida Historical Society.

In another niche are those who have given these meetings their most interesting and most important feature, the exhibit of Floridiana. Whether by chance or design all three ornaments in this niche are of one sex. If that were fortune, it is good fortune; if design-good judgment. The exhibit was inaugurated by Miss Miltimore at the University library, expanded and improved by Mrs. Ten Eick at Palm Beach and again at the meeting in St. Petersburg last year, and now has been notably successful through the skill and hard work of Miss Henri May Eddy.

Without the interest and aid of the local committees, the annual meeting could not have been successful. The chairmen of these committees, to whom the Society is grateful, were: Daytona Beach, Mrs. C. M. Wilder; New Smyrna, Mr. J. S. Duss, Jr.; St. Augustine, Judge David R. Dunham. Transportation at Daytona Beach was furnished by the Chamber of Commerce, and Dr. and Mrs. A. F. Wil-

son of Ormond Beach contributed towards the expenses.

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The following members of the Society attended one or more of the sessions: Kathryn T. Abbey, Tallahassee; Mrs. Alice H. Alvord, Mountain Lake; Carl G. Alvord, Mountain Lake; Serena C. Bailey, Lakeland; Esther S. Bates, Daytona Beach; Anderson Bouchelle, New Smyrna Beach; Clara Burton, Orlando; W. T. Cash, Tallahassee; Joshua C. Chase, Winter Park; Mrs. H. M. Corse, Jacksonville; Robert C. Cotner, Stetson University; C. L. Crow, University of Florida; Mr. and Mrs. Francis B. Crowninshield, Boca Grande; Mrs. Frederick Cubberly, Gainesville; C. H. Curry, Quincy; Rev. Joseph T. Daley, New Smyrna Beach; Mary Alice Dalton, Daytona Beach; Mr. and Mrs. T. Frederick Davis, Jacksonville; Mrs. T. P. Denham, Jacksonville; Dorothy Dodd, Jacksonville; B. G. Eells, Daytona Beach; Mrs. H. L. Ezell, Leesburg; William I. Fee, Fort Pierce; Samuel H. Fisher, Connecticut; T. E. Fitzgerald, Daytona Beach; Mrs. Edwin S. Fownes, Winter Park; Rev. James G. Glass, Ormond Beach; James D. Glunt, University of Florida; William B. Goodwin, Connecticut; Alfred J. Hanna, Winter Park; Alfred Hasbrouck, Winter Park; Mrs. Samuel Hawkes, Daytona Beach; Mrs. George A. Heyward, Daytona Beach; Spessard L. Holland, Bartow; Emily K. Herron, Winter Park; Winifred A. Herron, Winter Park; Alice G. Hurd, Winter Park; Herbert E. Kahler, St. Augustine; W. E. Kay, Jacksonville; Mrs. F. W. Kirtland, St. Augustine; Mrs. Henry Kohl, Palm Beach; Herbert Lamson, Jacksonville; Mrs. Sue A. Mahorner, Jacksonville; Watt Marchman, Winter Park; Philip S. May, Jacksonville; Katherine S. Mazyck, Charleston, S. C.; John G. McKay, Miami Beach; Pearle Mitchell, Daytona

Beach; C. W. Newhall, Daytona Beach; Alfred K. Nippert, Daytona Beach; Mrs. Roy V. Ott, Ocala; W. D. Puleston, Mountain Lake; Margaret Rhodes, Daytona Beach; Mrs. J. A. Rogers, Allandale; R. W. Severance, Stetson University; Charles G. Smith, Stetson University; Mrs. Murray L. Stanley, Daytona Beach; Mrs. S. J. Sweett, New Smyrna Beach; T. T. Wentworth, Pensacola; Mrs. C. M. Wilder, Daytona Beach; Mr. and Mrs. A. F. Wilson, Ormond Beach; Emily L. Wilson, St. Augustine; Fred R. Wilson, Sanford; Gaines R. Wilson, Miami; Mrs. T. O. Wilson, Miami; Harry S. Winters, Stetson University; Kenelm Winslow, Winter Park.

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Mrs. Cubberly of Gainesville, widow of our former president Frederick C. Cubberly, was an honored guest at the annual meeting where she presented our library with a photograph of Judge Cubberly.

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EXHIBIT OF FLORIDIANA

MISS HENRI MAY EDDY, CHAIRMAN

Anderson Bouchelle, New Smyrna:

Broadside: Hopkins, Brown and Hopkins War, Fernandina 1862.

Mrs. Mary S. Chase, *Ormond Beach.*: Maps - New Britain 1875, Ormond (3) 1885. Pictures-Notables, Ormond; views (10) Ormond.

Dr. Carita Doggett Corse, *Federal Writers' Project*: Guide to St. Augustine, Jacksonville 1881. Maps: Blaise. English invasions. 1730 (copy). DeBrahms, St. Johns 1768 (copy). Florida 1562, Drake, world, 16th. cent. Pictures: Luis Aury, Edmund Kirby Smith, Bartram Travels. Ch. Davillier's Spain (2). Manuscripts: A concise natural history of East and West Florida; Diary of A. M. Reed, Mulberry Grove; Mission archives of Spain and Cuba; Official documents relating to Turnbull colony.

Mrs. Fred Cubberly, *Gainesville*: Ley, Fifty-two Years in Florida. Map, Bernard Romans, Florida, 1774. Manuscripts: Florida material in Library of Congress; May E. McClellan, Indian Fights 1807-1823; Piracy in West Indies 1818-1830. Periodicals: Florida Life Magazine, October, 1892; Florida Magazine, Vol. 1, No. 1, April 1922. Portrait, Fred Cubberly, former president Florida Historical Society.

- W. W. Ehrmann, University of Florida:* MS. Timucua Indians.
- T. E. Fitzgerald, Daytona Beach:* Am. State Papers, Public Lands, Vols. 1-5, 1809-1829. Newspapers: Halifax Journal, Vol. 1, No. 1 (1882); Ormond Gazette, Vol. 1, No. 1.
- James D. Glass, Ormond Beach:* Republic of Florida. Constitution. Fernandina, 1817. Searcy, Map of Florida, Baltimore, 1829. Newspapers: Argus, Ocala, Dec. 13, 1849, Oct. 19, 1850. Conservator, Ocala, July 21, 1852; Herald, St. Augustine, Aug. 24, 1847. View of St. Augustine, Horton.
- A. J. Hanna, Rollins College:* Pugsley, Life of Florida White. MS.
- Mrs. Vera Kerr Kessler:* "Doorknobs from fort at Dry Tortugas.
- H. D. Lohman, Fernandina:* Fernandina newspapers, (12 copies) 1870-1933. Express, News, Observer, Mirror, Island City, Nassau County Star.
- Mrs. Meade Love, Quincy:* Phosphate mining in Florida, 1899-1910, 13 views. Other phosphate material. Bank notes, Tallahassee Railroad Co. (1860, 1862, 1870).
- Phil May, Jacksonville:* Exhibit on Zephaniah Kingsley: Treatise on the Patriarchial or Cooperative System of Society, 1829.
Rural Code of Haiti. New Jersey, 1837.
Documents: Letter of Kingsley to J. M. Hernandez 1843; draft, K. B. Gibbs for Kingsley, 1841; draft, J. S. Sanimis to Palmer & Ferris, Duval County, 1847. Death certificate, Kingsley, Sept. 13, 1843 (photostat copy).
Senate Doe. 33rd Cong. 82 Case of Kingsley B. Gibbs.
MS. Phil May, Zephaniah Kingsley, Bibliography, 1939.
- Mrs. Roy V. Ott, Ocala:* U. S. Continental Congress, Journal Vol. 2, 1777 (Affairs in East Florida).
- Mrs. Frank Pope, Daytona Beach:* Pictures: First train into Daytona. Other early Daytona views (9), and manuscripts and programs.
- W. F. Ronald, Port Orange:* Prehistoric tooth and arrowhead.
- Mrs. S. T. Sistrunk, Ocala:* Indian beads, crucifixion fish, Confederate bills. (24).
- T. T. Wentworth, Pensacola:*
Maps: Pensacola, De Arriola, 1698; Bradford, Florida, 1835; Carey, E. & W. Florida, 1822; E. & W. Florida, 1765; Arrowsmith, southern states, 1795-1811; Carey, 1801; Forbes c.1800; W. Indies & N. America, 1755; Pensacola, 1773; Pensacola bay, 1719.
Pictures: Pensacola, 1768, Dade massacre site, Seminole Indians, 1852, Ft. Pickens, 1861, Battle of Santa Rosa Island, 1861(2), Pensacola Navy Yard, 1861, Andrew J. Pickens portrait, destruction of Ft. George Pensacola, 1763.
Letters: S. R. Mallory; Civil War letter from Warrington, Fla.
Bank bills: Pensacola, 1838, \$1, 1838, \$2, 1840, \$3; State of Florida, 1863, 10 cents, 25 cents, 50 cents, \$10.
Stock certificate Ala. & Fla. Railroad, 1858; Juror's certificate, Escambia Co., 1861; Army pass Ft. Barrancas to Pensacola, 1861, etc.
- Mrs. C. M. Wilder, Daytona Beach:* Connor, Colonial Records of Spanish Florida, 1925; Maps: Bulowville, Tomoka block-

- house. Pictures: Bulowville (3) Tomoka blockhouse (3). Iron from Tomoka blockhouse.
- Mrs. A. F. Wilson, *Daytona Beach*: Woolson, East Angels, Jupiter Lights, Rodman the Keeper; DeLand, Florida Days; Stowe, Palmetto Leaves.
- Kenelm Winslow, *Winter Park*: Forbes, Sketches of the Floridas, N. Y. 1821; Roberts, Account of Florida, London, 1763; De Soto, Leyden, 1706.
- Julien C. Yonge, *Pensacola*: Garcilasso de la Vega . . . De Soto, Lisboa, 1605.
 Maps: Hieron, La Florida, 1598; St. Augustine. Pictures: Apalachicola, 1838; Key West, 1838 (2).
 Bond: Union Bank \$1,600; Note, Lake Wimico & St. Joseph Canal and Railroad Co. \$5.00, 1837.
 Newspapers: Gazette, St. Augustine, 1783 (3 issues photostat); Floridian, Pensacola, 1823; Dispatch, Quincy, 1865; Gazette, Pensacola, 1837; News, St. Augustine, 1845.
- Florida Historical Society*:
 Bartram, Travels . . . in East and West Florida, London, 1792; Darby, Memoir of Florida, Philadelphia, 1821; Forbes, Sketches of Florida, N. Y. 1821; President Adams, Message, Florida boundary, 1797.; Roberts, Account of Florida, London, 1763; White, Land Claims, Ex. Doc. 121 20th Cong. 1828.
 Maps: Boynton, Florida, 1838; Greenleaf, Florida, 1848, Jefferys, Florida, 176-; Morse, Florida, 1856; Palatka, 1835 ; Sanson, La Floride; Paris, 1657; Silver, St. Augustine and English camp, 1740.
 Manuscripts: El Destino plantation journal, 1862-1865; Journal of Hester Perrine Walker (daughter of Henry Perrine); Dennis Rolle, copies of various-documents relating to; Letters of G. R. Fairbanks, H. M. Flagler and Henry Perrine. John Milton, Governor of Florida, index to letter-book in the library of the Society.
 Portraits: Harrison Reed, Micanopy, 1836.
 Bank notes: Fernandina, St. Johns, State of Florida, Tallahassee Railroad.
- Florida State College for Women Library*: (Barcia) Ensayo Cronologico. . . de la Florida, Madrid, 1723; Herrera, Description des Indes Occidentales, Amsterdam, 1622; Roberts, Account of Florida, London, 1763; Stork, Description of East Florida with Journal of John Bartram, London, 1769.
- Florida State Library*: Coxe, Description of Carolana, London, 1741; Morse, American Gazeteer, Boston, 1808.
 Maps: Bradford, Atlas, 1838; Florida, 1842.
 Manuscripts: Papers of Achille Murat: Bills, Murat vs. Union Bank, Gadsden and Union Bank and Murat, Gadsden vs. Murat. Lallande vs. Murat (6 papers 1844-45).
 Letters: Murat to Davellier, 1839; Hutchins to Florida Legislature, 1854; Blake, Civil War.
 Documents: Discharge from Army, 1865; Columbia Co., petition to Legislature for plank road, 1851; Columbia Co., petition for division, 1854; Leon County delinquent tax list, 1827; List of voters or citizens sworn as citizens of U. S., 1865.

- Pictures: Naval exploit, Pensacola, 1861; Battle Santa Rosa Island, 1861; Florida crackers 1875; Fort Jefferson, Tortugas, 1861; Fort Tyler, Key West, 1861; General Grant in Florida; 1880; Jackson's route through Florida (photostats); Pensacola Bay and Fort Pickens, 1861; Slave sale, 1842; Ft. Clinch, Fernandina, 1862.
- Historical Records Survey (Mrs. Sue A. Mahorner)*: Charlotte County Inventory; Flagler County Inventory; St. Leo Abbey Library catalog; Julien C. Yonge Library catalog.
- John B. Stetson, University Library*: Alachua Baptist Association Minutes, 1848, 1856; Asplund, Baptist Denomination in N. America, Norfolk, 1791; Florida Baptist Association proceedings, 1860, 1861; Convention proceedings, 1860, 1870; McMakin, Henry S. Sanford (Stetson Univ. thesis); Mier, John Gorrie (Stetson Univ. thesis); Reeves, History of Florida Baptists (Stetson Univ. thesis).
- Lakeland Public Library*: Blackburn, Caldecott, London, 1886; books illustrated by Caldecott (6); pictures relating to Caldecott; Caldecott's grave in St. Augustine; letter, Lakeland Public Library to Florida teachers with copies of Caldecott's drawings.
- Rollins College Library*: De Bry, Brevis Narratio, Franckfort, 1591; De Bry, Der Ander Theyl, Franckfort, 1591; Le Moyne, Laudionniere, Boston, 1875. Map: Silver, St. Augustine and English camp., 1740.
- University of Florida Library*: Clubbs, S. R. Mallory (U. of Fla. thesis); James, Edmund Kirby Smith (U. of Fla. thesis); Ware, History of New River Church, 1833-1912 (manuscript).
- Union Catalog of Floridiana*: map showing important collections of Floridiana; books, with catalog cards for each; cards from cooperating libraries; author list; collections arranged by locality and title; films; file of maps; file of manuscripts; index to East Florida papers.

The rarest item of Floridiana which has come to light recently was included in the exhibit. This is a copy of ***The Report of the Committee Appointed to frame the plan of the Provisional Government for the Republic of Floridas, printed at Fernandina, December 9th of 1817, first of the Independence of Floridas.*** It was printed on the second Florida press, the first being temporarily in St. Augustine during the British occupation. This, the only known copy, is in the possession of Dr. and Mrs. James G. Glass, long members of the Society. It was preserved by the father of Mrs. Glass, Major George R. Fairbanks, Florida historian and founder of the Florida Historical Society.

OUR NEW OFFICERS

Some of our new members may not know that President Hanna has long been active in the Society, having served several terms both as director and as vice president. His ancestors have lived in Florida for a century and he is a native of Tampa. A graduate of Rollins College, he has remained there except for service in the World War and graduate work at the University of Madrid. Upon graduation from Rollins he became registrar and instructor in history, assistant treasurer, Alumni secretary and editor of the Alumni Record, and is now professor of history. His interest in the Spanish period of Florida's history and in the Spanish atmosphere of a part of his native city led to a deep interest in Spanish culture, which in turn led him to Madrid. After his return he organized the Spanish Institute of Florida, of which he is president. He is a director of the Florida Audubon Society and Officer d'Academie, Palmes Universitaires (France). His recent historical work, *Flight Into Oblivion*, was reviewed in the last issue of the *Quarterly*.

Mrs. Henry Kohl of Palm Beach, our new vice president, is treasurer of the (Florida) Daughters of the American Revolution, and past regent of Seminole Chapter of West Palm Beach.

Mr. Albert C. Manucy of St. Augustine has been elected recording secretary by the directors upon the resignation of Mr. Herbert Kahler who is leaving the State. The ancestors of few if any Floridians antedate those of Mr. Manucy in Florida, his having come with Dr. Turnbull in 1767. He is a graduate of the University of Florida, has been staff historian of the St. Augustine Historical Program and is now Junior Research Technician, National Park Service at Fort Marion and Fort Matanzas National Monuments.

Professor C. L. Crow (Ph.D. Gottingen, 1892; College Colonial, Paris, 1901; Centro de Estudios Historicas, Madrid, 1933) has been professor of modern languages, University of Florida, since 1905 and now is professor emeritus. He has been elected a director to represent the second district and to serve until 1941.

Mr. Edward C. Romfh has been elected a director to represent the fourth district. He is a native of Arkansas but has been a banker of Miami since 1898. In 1902 he organized the First National Bank, of which he has been president since 1912. He is Chairman of the Board of the First Trust and Savings Bank, was a member of the City Council of Miami, 1921-1923 and mayor, 1923-1927.

REGIONAL MEETINGS

To broaden interest in Florida's history throughout the State and to further the work of the Society, President Hanna plans to attend regional meetings of the Society and address other local meetings during the coming months. In the first of these latter he spoke before the annual meeting of the Madison County Historical Association on February third.

BRADENTON - SARASOTA MEETING

A regional meeting of the Society in our First District (coextensive with the Congressional) was held at Bradenton and Sarasota on March 10-11 with President Hanna presiding. Members and guests met at the historic Gamble mansion near Bradenton on the afternoon of the tenth where an exhibit of memorabilia had been arranged under the chairmanship of Colonel J. Ben Fuqua. Tea was served to members and guests by the Judah P. Benjamin chapter, United Daughters of the Confederacy.

Miss Eva M. Gates, chairman of the Memorial Commission, extended the welcome, and the response was by Mrs. M. F. McKay of Tampa. A dinner followed at the John Ringling hotel, Sarasota, with Mr. E. A. Smith as toastmaster. Mrs. Nina Oliver Dean told of Florida historical exhibits at the New York World's Fair. A meeting of the board of directors of the Society with a discussion of our program and activities was then held.

On the next morning sessions opened at ten o'clock in the John Ringling hotel with an exhibit of Floridiana under the chairmanship of Mr. George L. Thacker. Mrs. F. B. Crowninshield, director of the Society in that district, presided. Welcome was given by Mr. Verman Kimbrough, mayor of Sarasota, and the response was by Mrs. Henry Kohl, vice president of the Society. Miss Marian Hobson spoke on the settlement of Sarasota, and Mr. Albert C. Manucy, our new recording secretary, told of historic sites in Florida and the National Park Service. At luncheon Mr. Gordon B. Knowles of Bradenton was toastmaster.

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JACKSONVILLE - FERNANDINA MEETING

A joint meeting of the Jacksonville Historical Society and the Florida Historical Society will be held at Jacksonville and Fernandina on May 2-3. This will begin with a luncheon meeting of our board of directors on Tuesday, followed by a visit to Fort George Island. In the afternoon and evening a collection of Floridiana will be exhibited in the Florida room of the Jacksonville Public Library. A dinner with addresses will follow at the Roosevelt hotel. The evening session with addresses will begin at the Roosevelt hotel at 8:15.

The Fernandina meeting on Wednesday morning will include an exhibit of Floridiana, the program session beginning at ten o'clock, with a luncheon at one o'clock.

Members, their friends, and any one interested in Florida's history are welcome at all sessions at both places, the exhibits, the visit to Fort George Island, the dinner, and the luncheon at Fernandina.

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The two-hundredth anniversary of the birth of William Bartram, botanist, whose *Travels . . . in East and West Florida . . .* (1791) has become a classic, was commemorated on February 9 at Rollins College with a program of addresses, papers, and an exhibit of materials relating to the scientist.

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In the Irving Bacheller Essay Contest in Florida history, told of in the last issue of the *Quarterly*, the winners were: Shirley Anne Bowstead of Pinecastle, who wrote on General Edmund Kirby Smith, and Sara Norman of Orlando, who wrote on Andrew Jackson.

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Satisfactory progress continues in building the Union Catalog of Floridiana established more than a year ago at Rollins College, the plans for which were described in the *Quarterly*, the issue of October 1937. These plans have been broadened in order to make the Catalog of greater service; and these, with an account of the progress made, will be told of in an early number. Listing has progressed so steadily that parts of the Catalog are already in use.

The Council has announced that the Federal Writers' Project, in cooperation, has supplied 9,000 titles and 22,000 locations of books on Florida in public libraries of the State.

JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON

Dr. Robertson, known to most of us so well, died on March twenty-first. State archivist of Maryland and managing editor of *Hispanic-American Historical Review*, we Floridians knew him as a former director of the Florida Historical Society and as editor of the exceedingly valuable series of volumes relating to Florida's history published (1922-1933) by the Florida State Historical Society through the interest of Mr. John B. Stetson, Jr. Though the greater part of his work in Florida history was done in Washington, he spent much time in research in Florida and endeared himself to our officers and directors and many of our members. An account of and a tribute to his unsurpassed contribution to the writing of our State's history will be included in an early issue of the *Quarterly*.

ACCESSIONS TO THE LIBRARY OF THE F. H. S.

Gift of C. H. Cory, Jr., St. Petersburg: **The American Genealogist** (quarterly), 1932-1938. **The Genealogical Magazine of New Jersey** (quarterly), 1925-1937. **National Society, Sons of the American Revolution**, Quarterly Bulletin, 1922-1938. **The New England Historical and Genealogical Register** (quarterly) 1899, 1922, 1931-1938. **The New York Genealogical and Biographical Record** (quarterly) 1922-1938. **Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society** (quarterly) 1918, 1920, 1922, 1925-1938.

Forty letters and documents relating to the Bulow plantation estate, presented by T. E. Fitzgerald, Daytona Beach.

Year's subscription to **The Observer**, a weekly newspaper of historical and political nature, published by T. E. Fitzgerald. Daytona Beach. Presented by the publisher.

Abstract of the Bulow Grant, presented by W. H. Cook.

Scott's Land and Road Map of Volusia County, 1935-1936, presented by I. Walter Hawkins.

Message of the President of the U. S., Fortifying of Thompson's Island, usually called Key West, January 20, 1823.

Autograph letter signed, John Hall, February 6, 1862, headquarters, McClellan Chasseurs, 90th Regiment, Camp Morgan at Key West, Fla., to a Mr. Walker.

TO THE MEMBERS

It goes without the saying that all of you feel an interest in the history of our State, but do you - you - feel an interest in the Society and its work? This is a word to you who do, and it's about sustaining memberships. Through these memberships only is it practicable at this time to carry out the program planned by the directors. The dues of members is the only income of the Society. The regular dues of two dollars barely pay for the printing and mailing of the Quarterly and the few running expenses of the Society. Will you not become a sustaining member for this year with dues of ten dollars? The additional eight dollars will help to equip our library with facilities for the use of microfilm, through which only can the vast store of Florida records in Washington and elsewhere be brought to us. Your contribution of eight dollars will also increase the size of the **Quarterly** which has exceeded its budget for the last three issues.

Will it not be a satisfaction to you to have a part in this work of bringing Florida's history to light? As a sustaining member for this year you will have that satisfaction now and in the future.

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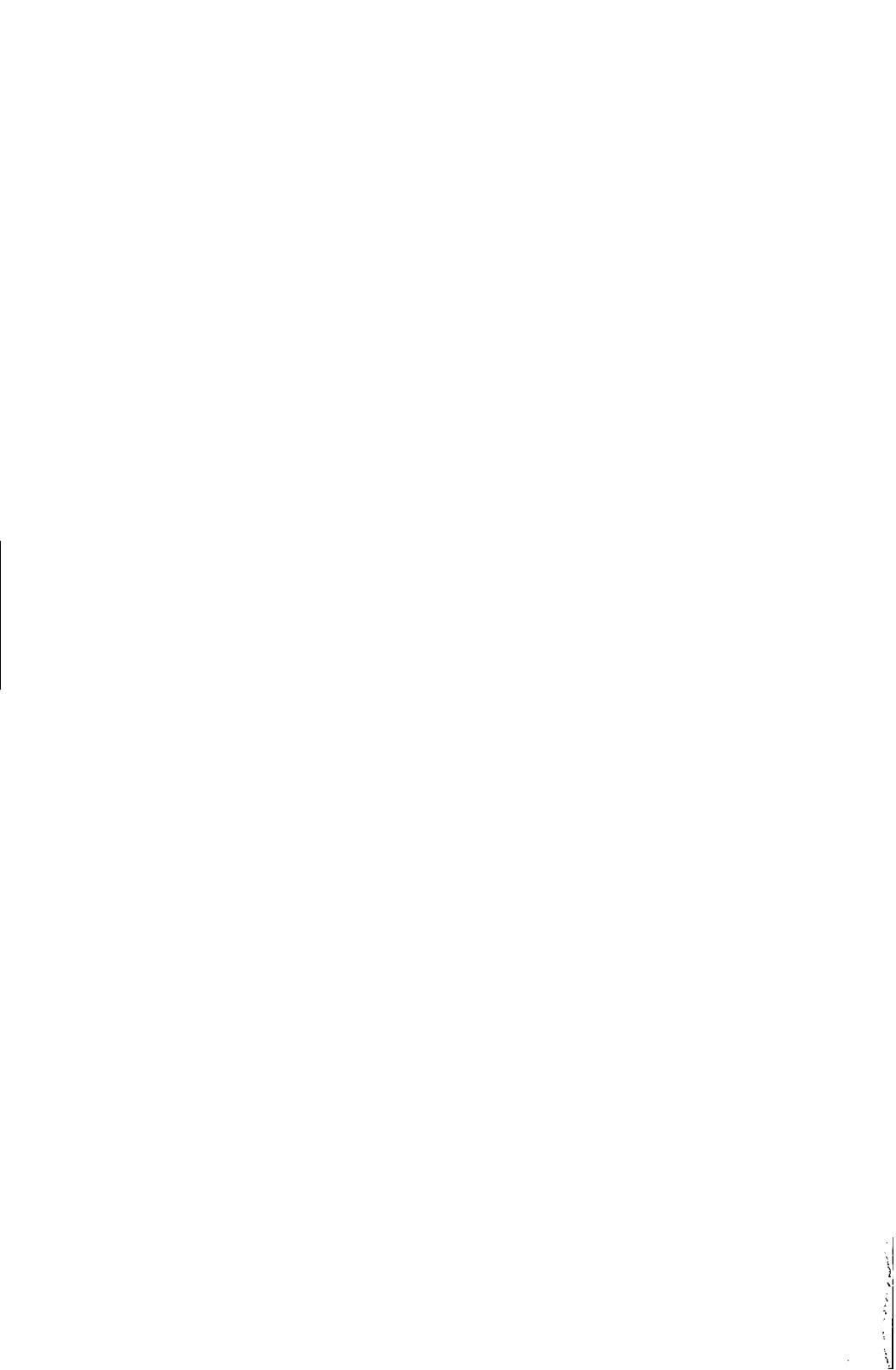
TO THE READER WHO IS NOT A MEMBER:

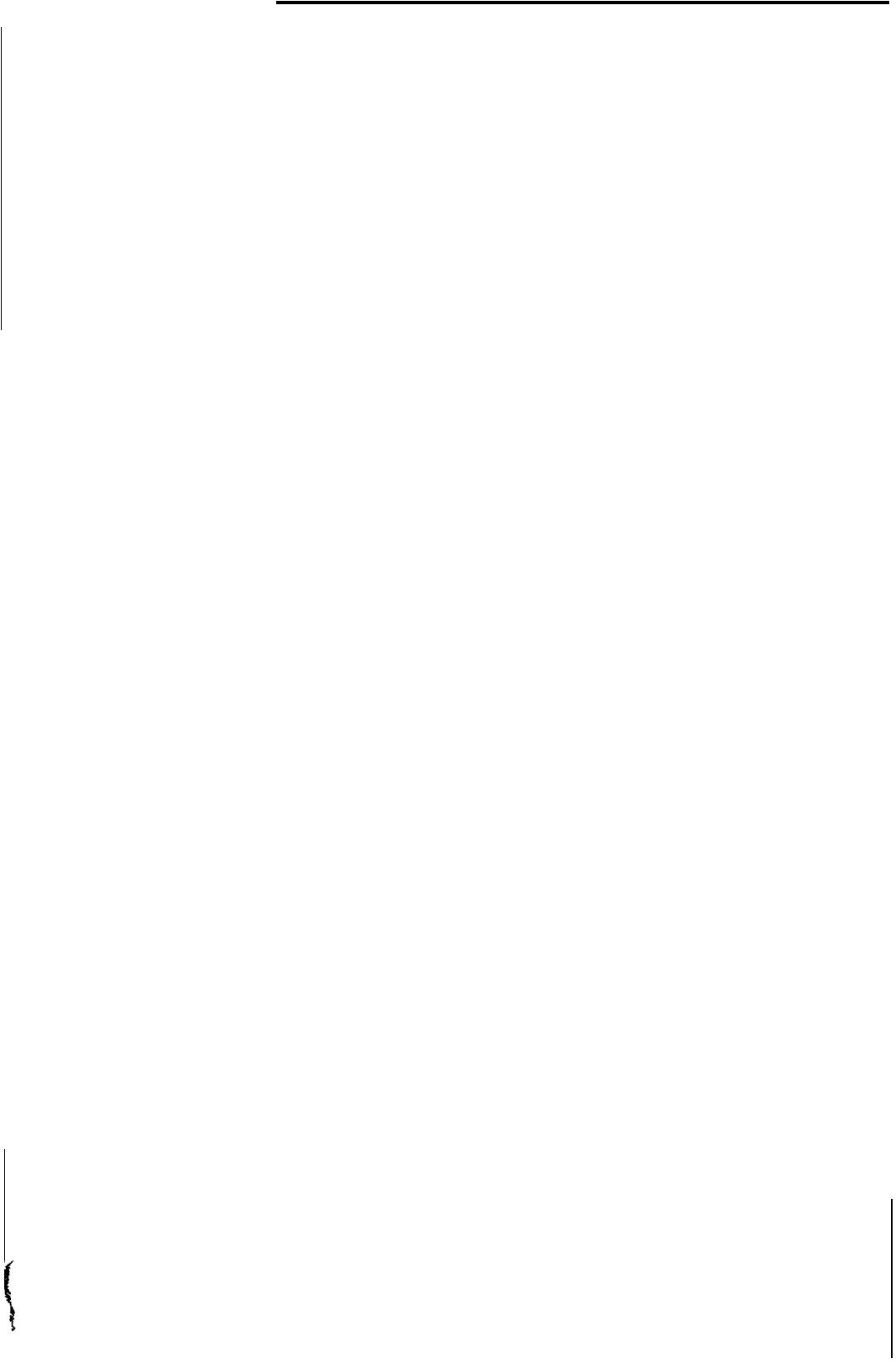
If you feel an interest in Florida's history, whether you are a Floridian or not, the Florida Historical Society gives you a cordial invitation to come with us. There are no obligations except the annual dues of two dollars (sustaining members, ten dollars) and this includes the *Quarterly* which will come to you regularly.

Miss Dorothy Dodd, Treasurer,
Florida Historical Society,
P. O. Box 323, Jacksonville.

I hereby make application for membership in the Florida Historical Society and enclose a check for two dollars (ten dollars) in payment of dues for the ensuing year. My dues include subscription to the *Florida Historical Quarterly*.







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