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JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON
By A. CURTIS WILGUS

Few scholars have had such an extensive general understanding of, or such an intensive interest in certain fields of history as had Dr. Robertson. The Philippines, Latin America, Florida, and Maryland all attracted his earnest, enthusiastic, and scholarly attention; and in each of those fields the results of his labors are outstanding. Though honors came to him from four continents, those who knew him best remember the man before the scholar.

James Alexander Robertson was born on August 19, 1873 in Corry, Pennsylvania, of Canadian and Scotch parents. When he was ten the family moved to Cleveland, Ohio, where he remained until he was twenty-eight years old. At Western Reserve University he majored in Old French and other Romance languages, and in 1896 received the Ph. B. degree.

Upon leaving college he was employed to read proof on the notable *The Jesuit Relations* then being compiled and edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites, with the assistance of Emma Helen Blair. When this task was completed Dr. Robertson prepared the index for the work as volumes seventy-two and seventy-three (Cleveland, 1901).

From Cleveland he went to Madison, Wisconsin, where he collaborated with Miss Blair, who had been engaged in historical work for many years, in compiling and editing *The Philippine Islands* (55 vols., Cleveland, 1903-1909). As this work grew, its scope was considerably widened and Dr. Robertson found it necessary to visit the archives of Spain, Portugal, Italy, France, and England to collect copies of original documents. He was occupied with this research from 1902-1907.

Meanwhile in 1906 Western Reserve University had honored the young scholar, then thirty-three years of age, with the L.H.D. degree in recognition of his outstanding work in the field of letters. Such early recognition seldom comes to any one.

During these busy years Dr. Robertson found time to edit *Magellan's Voyage around the world by Antonio Pigafetta* (2 vols. Cleveland 1906) and Morga's account of the Philippine Islands (2 vols. Cleveland, 1907); and he prepared a *Bibliography of the Philippine Islands* (Cleveland, 1908).

In 1909, with work completed on the *Philippine Islands*, he went to Washington to join the Historical Research Department of the Carnegie Institution. The first product of this activity was the *List of documents in the Spanish Archives relating to the history of the United States, which have been printed or of which transcripts have been preserved in American libraries* (Washington, 1910). This was followed by his *Louisiana under the rule of Spain, France and the United States, 1785-1807. . .* (2 vols. Cleveland, 1911).

His fame had by now spread widely, and in 1910 he was invited to Manila to become the first librarian of the Philippine Library. He remained there five years building up the collections and spending some of his time in writing, compiling, and editing.

Two years after going to Manila, on March 4, 1912, Dr. Robertson married Miss Cora Moore Halsey, of Oshkosh, Wisconsin. The wedding took place in Hongkong, China, with little ceremony and with no music save his own humming of the wedding march from Lohengrin. Returning to Manila he was soon sent to Spain to purchase a collection of documents of the General Philippine Tobacco

Company, which he succeeded in doing in 1913 for the sum of \$100,000.

On all occasions when in Spain he engaged in his favorite occupation of collecting Philippine publications for his personal library, and at the time of his death this material constituted doubtless the most valuable private collection of such items in existence.

In 1916 Dr. and Mrs. Robertson and their young daughter returned to Washington, where he resumed his work with the Carnegie Institution. But the next year he was appointed Chief of the Research Division (and later of the Near Eastern Division) of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce. This position he held until 1923.

Meanwhile, in 1918, he had become managing editor of the *Hispanic American Historical Review*, which position he held until his death. This task, which he loved so well, necessitated his making contacts with people everywhere interested in Latin American civilization; and through these relationships Dr. Robertson exercised an unmeasured influence on the studying and teaching of Latin American affairs in colleges and universities in this country, and on the research for and the writing of scholarly monographs in that field.

It was in 1923 that Dr. Robertson began work on his unsurpassed contribution to the writing of Florida's history. Mr. John B. Stetson Jr. had established the Florida State Historical Society for the purpose of assisting in the writing of, and the publishing and distributing of a series of volumes relating to the state. This organization had no connection with the Florida Historical Society, but Dr. Robertson was a director of the latter, their membership was largely common, and there was always

full cooperation between them. Only two volumes had appeared when Mr. Stetson brought Dr. Robertson into association with the project and he became executive secretary of that Society and editor of all of its publications. These were:

Pedro Menendez de Aviles . . . from the Spanish of Gonzalo Solis de Meras, Translated and edited by Jennette Thurber Connor (1923).

A History of Florida . . . by Caroline Mays Brevard, edited by James Alexander Robertson (2 vols. 1924, 1925).

Colonial Records of Spanish Florida, translated and edited by Jennette Thurber Connor (2 vols. 1925, 1930).

Territorial Florida Journalism by James Owen Knauss (1926).

Jean Ribaut . . . by Jennette Thurber Connor (1927).

The Luna Papers, translated and edited by Herbert Ingram Priestley (2 vols. 1928).

Loyalists in East Florida, 1777-1785, by Wilbur Henry Siebert (2 vols. 1929).

Commercial Policy of Spain in the Floridas. Translated and edited by Arthur Preston Whitaker (1931).

True Relation . . . by a Gentleman of Elvas, translated and edited by James Alexander Robertson (2 vols. 1932, 1933).

During the ten years in which he was supervising and editing this series of volumes on Florida Dr. Robertson was collecting material for a bibliography of Florida for the period 1526 to 1821, and for a check-list of Florida books and pamphlets issued since 1821. He also prepared for the press a history of the flags of Florida with colored illu-

strations and historical accounts (unpublished); Letters, reports and other manuscript materials relating to Juan Ponce de Leon (unpublished) ; Letters, reports and other manuscript materials relating to Pedro Menendez de Aviles to be issued in three volumes (unpublished) ; a twenty volume series on the legislative and other records of British West Florida (unpublished) ; and a facsimile of a book of watercolors of early Florida by the artist Jacques le Moyne (in press).

During the late depression the Florida State Historical Society suffered financially and much of the work which Dr. Robertson had prepared and planned could no longer be supported by Mr. John B. Stetson Jr., so Dr. Robertson found it necessary to turn to other work. It was at this time that he began to prepare for the Council of Learned Societies a treatise to be in two or three volumes on Philippine Customary Law.

But in 1935 he was offered the position of Archivist of the State of Maryland, and moving to Annapolis, with his customary vigor he organized the state archives and began the collection and preservation of invaluable local material. He was happy in this task, and his new interests led to his election in 1938 as vice-president of the Society of American Archivists.

Dr. Robertson's manifold interests led him into many organizations and brought him many honors. In 1931 he was instrumental in organizing the Inter-American Bibliographical Association (now the Inter-American Bibliographical and Library Association), and he became its first president. In recognition of his bibliographical interest he was made a member of the Bibliographical Advisory Committee of the Governing Board of the Pan

American Union. His interest in Philippine affairs led to his being appointed Chancellor Emeritus of the Philippine Academy, and to his election as member of the Spanish Academy of History. His Latin American interests led to his appointment to the Executive Committee of the Instituto Panamericana de Geografia e Historia, and to his election as corresponding member of the Hispanic Society of America. He was elected also a member of historical societies in Asia, Europe, and Latin America, a list of which fills many lines in *Who's Who in America*.

As a result of his enthusiastic interests in Florida's history and for his invaluable contributions in that field, Dr. Robertson was awarded, on April 26, 1936, the Cervantes medal by the Florida branch of the Instituto de las Espanas. At the time of the award the committee stated that "Dr. Robertson has done more to promote the ideals of Spanish civilization in Florida than any other person. His eminent services have been so varied and of such a high quality that we believe the award of this medal to him . . . will set the highest possible standard for subsequent awards, and not only stimulate new interest in our work but connect more closely the interests of Spain in Florida with the National Instituto de las Espanas and organizations of similar purpose and achievement."

In 1927 Dr. Robertson became general editor of a series of translations of national history texts used in Latin American Universities which is now being published by the University of North Carolina Press and which is known as the "Inter-American Historical Series." At the time of his death two volumes had been printed and two were in press.

Besides receiving the Cervantes medal Dr. Robertson was awarded a gold medal by the United States

government at the St. Louis Exposition in 1904, and a medal by the Exposition Committee at the Philippine Exposition in 1915.

To know Dr. Robertson was to love him. Probably no man in the scholarly world of his time had more or firmer friends, and certainly no friend had a more understanding acquaintance than Dr. Robertson. Although he was never long connected as a teacher with any university, hundreds of students throughout this country, setting out on their paths to scholarly attainment, consulted with him directly or by correspondence; while scholars everywhere sought his advice and inspiration. To many individuals he was a father confessor, ready with impartial advice, praising without flattering, criticizing without hurting; and pursuing the even tenor of his way infected everyone by his unbounded enthusiasm. The scores of scholars who visited his home or his office were made to feel that his chief interest at the moment was in their work. He met strangers so easily and put them at ease so simply that visitors looked forward to meeting him. In conversation he often told anecdotes and illustrated his point from his vast fund of knowledge, ranging especially through art and literature. His enthusiasm for his own work was contagious. No one, whether layman or specialist, came into his presence without in some degree sharing his interest in the many fields of his learning.

Dr. Robertson considered his work the greatest fun in the world, and he played at his innumerable tasks with zest, devotion, and seemingly little fatigue. Until the very last, he did the work of several men. Yet he was troubled throughout his life with myopia which prevented his driving a car, from rec-

ognizing people across a room, and necessitated the placing of reading matter within a few inches of his eyes. But even with this handicap he was able to read almost everything in his field and to scan thousands of books, many of a popular nature.

At home he had many interests, especially his grounds and his garden, and these contributed to the robust health which was his until a heart ailment suddenly overcame him.

Dr. Robertson died on the twentieth of last March, almost in the midst of his labors-in harness, as he had wished to die. His knowledge and his presence are equally missed. He was a true scholar, a sincere gentleman, and a loyal friend.

THE ST. AUGUSTINE CENSUS OF 1786

TRANSLATED FROM THE SPANISH WITH AN

INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

By JOSEPH B. LOCKEY

St. Augustine was the chief center of population in colonial Florida. It was not however at any time a town of considerable size. Indeed, the whole white population of East and West Florida in the first Spanish period never exceeded a few thousand at most. The explanation is simple. There were greater attractions elsewhere. Unlike Mexico and the other mainland regions to the south, Florida had no mines to be exploited, no extensive fields already prepared for cultivation, and no Indian serfs to do the white man's bidding. Nor did it possess the conditions of soil and climate which made the production of plantation crops by means of slave labor so profitable in the neighboring islands.

It is not strange therefore that Florida remained a barren frontier. When it was ceded to Great Britain, nearly two hundred years after the founding of St. Augustine, its wilderness stretches were broken only here and there by small garrisons in the shadows of which were to be found an absurdly small number of civilian inhabitants. Even these few, along with the government officials and the military, quit the scene when the British took possession.¹

1. The number of inhabitants in East Florida on the eve of the transfer was estimated by Lieutenant-Colonel James Robertson at more than three thousand, including the garrison were preparing to remove to Cuba. Robertson to Amherst, Sept. 26, 1763, copy in William L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Mich. I am under obligations to Mr. Charles Mowat for calling my attention to this interesting document.

The first years of the British occupation gave promise of a new era in Florida history. Immigrants began to pour in from various European sources, and for a while it seemed that the neglected territory was to have a permanent population sufficient to occupy and develop its vacant spaces. But the American Revolution changed the course of things. It stopped at once the flow of prospective home makers from across the Atlantic, and though later it set in motion what seemed to be a compensating stream of Loyalist refugees from the Carolinas and Georgia, it ended in blighting all the hopes of an earlier day. Neither the refugees nor the settlers who had preceded them were to remain. Under the terms of the peace of 1783, Florida reverted to its former sovereign, and now as before, change of possession prefigured a change of population. The British departed, leaving only a straggling remnant behind ² - a remnant however which was to prove, in the sequel, of great importance.

The withdrawal of the British was not complete till the very end of 1785. In the meantime the Spanish had fully re-established themselves in the old habitat. This transition is of great importance in the history of Florida. It was unlike the earlier change from Spanish to British possession. Then the exclusiveness and uniformity which marked the Spanish system of colonization gave way to the freedom and diversity which characterized the British. Now that the roles were reversed, with the British

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2. This "remnant" is not intended to include the Minorcans, Italians and Greeks, who, for the most part, remained. They are treated as a group apart. Of the British subjects who departed 9,938 went to the British Isles, to British colonies and to other foreign parts, while 4,000 to 5,000, according to different estimates, returned to the United States. Thus the total number of emigrants was between 14,000 and 15,000. W. H. Siebert, *Loyalists in East Florida*, I, p. 208.

departing and the Spanish returning, the cleavage was less distinct. Freedom did not wholly vanish with the British nor did exclusiveness in all its fullness reappear with the Spanish. There was more of diversity and less of uniformity than under the earlier Spanish regime. The British remnant formed a nucleus which grew by the addition of elements from the outside, and as time passed other immigrants different from the Spanish in religion, language, and culture gave the population a complexity of composition such as had never been tolerated before in a colony of Spain.

The full effect was not seen until the moment of final transfer to the United States. On that occasion no general emigration took place. In the first instance of change of sovereignty, Spanish subjects were unwilling to live under British rule; and in the second, British subjects scorned to submit to Spanish rule. When the third change took place the situation was different. Loyalties were divided; Interests were diverse. The Spanish settlers themselves were torn between sentimental and material considerations. Spain had lost its hold in America. Independent states had risen where viceroyalties and captaincies-general were before. Cuba alone of the more important areas remained subservient to the Crown ; but it was not now, as it had formerly been, a place of secure retreat. Nor was a more promising haven to be found anywhere else under the dominion of Spain. The loyal Spanish subject had to choose therefore between uncertainty under the old flag and security under the new, between despair under the one and the hope of better things under the other.

Not all the settlers of Spanish speech, to be sure, found the choice so difficult. Many had been born

in Florida. Attached to the soil rather than to the sovereign, they were not averse to the change. Of the non-Spanish elements, few looked upon the severing of the old ties with regret. Many indeed rejoiced at annexation. Among these were the former British subjects and their descendants, and among them also were the considerable numbers who had migrated more recently into the province from the United States. In the circumstances it is not to be wondered at that Florida's last change of sovereignty was unaccompanied by any great change of population.

No adequate study has ever been made of these old inhabitants of Florida. In the rapid process of development they have been forgotten. Hardly had the American flag been raised when a multitude of settlers began to pour into the newly acquired territory from the neighboring states and from more distant sources as well. Others crowded upon their heels. Little by little the old were lost in the throng of the new. The human landscape took on a changed appearance. Few of its old features meet the eye today, and from these but a faint notion of the original shape of things can be derived. The details that lie hidden from view must be revealed before the early scene can be made to appear in its true perspective and full significance. To do this is the work of the historian.

His task will not be easy. He may be able to recover, without too great difficulty, the more or less tangible facts regarding the numbers, composition, and character of the pre-annexation inhabitants ; but he will find more elusive the problem of determining to what extent and in what manner those inhabitants influenced the life of the state. It is not sufficient to note simply that they were lost in the

crowd of newcomers. It is essential to know how they were lost, to what extent by mere submergence and to what extent by fusion. In either case, it is important to know whether they affected in any considerable degree the social, economic, and political conditions of the state, whether they bore their full share of the responsibilities in the life that surrounded them, whether they made intellectual and moral contributions in proportion to their numbers—whether, in short, they became an active, or an inert, element in the body politic.

Obviously, there is matter here for historical inquiry. Obviously, also, investigation ought to begin with the earliest data obtainable. Neglected as the subject has been, much of the material necessary for its complete elucidation has been lost beyond recall. Fortunately, however, not a little of the highest value survives. To this category belongs the document reproduced in part below. It is the draft of a census of St. Augustine and its environs made in 1786 under the direction of the parish priest, Thomas Hassett,³ and completed by him late in that year. The time seemed appropriate for taking stock of the population. The British had departed and the old town, after a period of captivity, was again facing the future under the auspices of Spain. But it was a strange town, and the authorities at Havana and at Madrid must have been curious to see its human chart. Could they have been beset thus early by misgivings? If so, they could hardly have been reassured by the facts the census revealed.

Whether it was suspected or not, a population of declining loyalty to Spain was being formed. Many

3. The name is variously spelled. In the census of 1786 it appears as above. For biographical information regarding Hassett, see J. B. Lockey, "Public Education in Spanish St. Augustine," this *Quarterly*, XV (Jan. 1937), pp. 148-157.

of the persons enumerated in 1786 as Spanish subjects lived to become, in 1821, citizens of the United States. Their children and grand-children in greater number were among those who renounced the old allegiance and acclaimed the new. If the census of 1786 stood alone, it would still form the point of departure for fruitful investigation. Fortunately it does not stand alone. Among the East Florida Papers in the Library of Congress there are other documents of equal value, such as fragmentary lists for 1784, a census of St. Augustine for 1793, and a general census, more or less complete, of East Florida for 1814. Similar records for West Florida exist in the archives of Spain. There, also, it may be possible to obtain additional data relating to East Florida. When all the official documents have been searched out and made available for study, along with such private records as may survive, our knowledge of the pre-annexation population of Florida can begin to take more definite form.

The census with which we are now concerned is incomplete. It expressly omits from enumeration the troops and the employees of the royal treasury. It professes to include the rest of the inhabitants in the town and in the immediate vicinity to a distance of five leagues. But not all these seem to have been counted. In the town, "employees of the royal treasury" (*dependientes de la Real Hacienda*) seemed to embrace all officials, from the governor down. In the country, none of the inhabitants appear to have been enumerated, or, if they were, the lists are not now found with the census returns. It must be remembered that the document with which we are now dealing is merely the draft of Hassett's report. A clean copy must have been sent to the Captain-General. When it comes to light it may be found to

contain the missing data respecting the settlers in the outlying area, and perhaps, also, the solution of numerous minor problems that arise from the imperfections of the draft.

Meanwhile the gaps must be filled by estimates. Information in contemporary documents would seem to warrant setting down 450 as the number of officers and men comprising the garrison.⁴ For the government officials and their families and dependents no comparable data is at hand. They were few, undoubtedly. More numerous were the residents in the vicinity of the town. In 1793, before any great change had taken place, the number on the Matanzas River by actual count was 110, on the North River 126, and on the Camino de la Feria, 10, making a total of 246. Whether all these were within the range of five leagues or, whether it was the intention to include the nearer settlers on the St. Johns are questions which cannot now be answered. Making due allowance for these uncertainties, an estimate of 300 for the unenumerated civilians and their dependents, in town and country combined, would not seem excessive. Adding this number to Hassett's aggregate (943),⁵ gives a total of 1243 civilians, and if to this sum be added the number allowed for the garrison, the grand total becomes 1693 souls.

A few additional words of comment must bring this introduction to a close. The inhabitants, it will

4. The garrison sent to St. Augustine in June, 1784 comprised 500 officers and men. (*Estado que manifiesta*. . . in AGI :PC, Leg. 1395, p. 3189). The Census of 1793, found in the East Florida Papers, shows a total of 438.

5. This total does not exactly correspond with the one given in the article cited above (Note 3). What the correct figure may be is difficult to determine, for Hassett's summary is missing and in places the census is mutilated. Moreover there are evident errors in Hassett's computations. The finished document, as it was forwarded to the Captain General, may have been free from error; if so, it would doubtless show a total of slightly more than 943, rather than less.

be observed, were listed by groups in the following order : (1) Foreigners ; (2) Minorcans, Italians, and Greeks ; (3) *Floridanos*; and (4) Spaniards. The Minorcans, Italians, and Greeks were by far the most numerous. Space unfortunately does not permit the inclusion of their names.⁶ Next in number came the foreigners. They were composed principally of the element described on a preceding page as the remnant of the British occupation. Next in order were the *Floridanos*. To them attaches a peculiar interest. Born in the province under the former Spanish regime and suffering exile rather than bow to a foreign flag, they had shortly before returned with their families to the old surroundings. The Spanish comprised the smallest group. Enumeration of the government officials and officers of the garrison would have swelled their total. Some of the enlisted men also, doubtless, were Spanish, though it is likely that most of them were of Cuban birth. Few of these ever came to form a part of the permanent population. Accordingly they are of little concern to the present study. Our interest here centers in the real settlers whose names, with the exceptions already indicated, appear in the census reproduced below.

HASSETT'S CENSUS⁷ [Draft]

A list of the foreigners, Minorcans, Italians, Greeks, old Floridans, and Spaniards (except the troops and employees of the Royal Treasury) who reside, this, the nineteenth day of December, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-six, in the city of St. Augustine, East Florida, and in its vicinity to a distance of five leagues, with indication of the names, nationality, religion,

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6. It is not to be inferred that these people were regarded as unworthy of consideration. Quite the contrary. Nothing would be more interesting than an intensive study of them from their earliest days in Florida to the present time.
 7. East Florida Papers, box marked "Census Returns 1784-1814."

trade or occupation, age, number of children, and white or colored dependents, based on the register of the current year and on measures that I, Thomas Hassett, Parish Priest, Vicar and Ecclesiastical Judge of the said city, have taken for the purpose, this, the day, month, and year stated above.

To wit:

FOREIGNERS OF DIFFERENT RELIGIONS AND NATIONALITIES

Family No. 1

Ana Hester. ⁸ Widow, native of Georgia, Lutheran, laundress, 32 years of age.

Geremias Hester. Unmarried, native of Georgia, Lutheran, farmer, 23 years of age.

Guillermo Optan. Son of the widow Hester, native of San Juan in this province, Lutheran, unmarried, 13 years of age.

Whites, male 2, female 1; Total 3

Family No. 2

Don ⁹ *Thomas Tuneo.* ¹⁰ Native of Scotland, Calvinist, merchant, unmarried, 24 years of age.

White, male 1; Negro slaves, female 2; Total 3

Family No. 3

Don Juan Hudson. Native of Ireland, planter, ¹¹ Catholic, 28 years of age.

Dona Maria Evens. Native of America, ¹² Catholic, 56 years of age.

Juan Teals. Apprentice, white, native of England, catechumen, 16 years of age.

Jorge Stefanopoly. Overseer, white, native of Corsica, married (his wife absent), Catholic, 40 years of age.

Duncan Noble. Native of Scotland, tailor, Catholic, 25 years of age. *Agregado.* ¹³

Whites, male 4, female 1; Negro slaves, male 29, female 17, none baptized; Total 51

8. The names are reproduced throughout as they appear in the original.

9. The use of Don and Dona by the maker of this census is of uncertain significance. If it was intended to mark off a social class, some of the omissions are difficult to explain.

10. Tonno or Tunno in other contemporary documents.

11. *Hacendado*, in the Spanish.

12. In the Spanish, *natural de America*.

13. This term is retained untranslated because of the difficulty of finding an English equivalent. In some cases, as in this one perhaps, the *agregado* was a mere lodger; in others he may have been a domestic, an employee, or associate in business; in others an orphan; in others, a virtual member of the family.

Family No. 4

*Don Francisco Felipe Fatio.*¹⁴ Native of the Swiss canton of Bern, Catholic, planter, 63 years of age.

*Dona Maria Magdalena Crespel.*¹⁵ His wife, native of Italy, Catholic, 58 years of age.

Dona Sophia Filipina. Their daughter, native of London, unmarried, Catholic, 19 years of age.

Dona Juana Cross. Native of New York, orphan, catechumen, 12 years of age. *Agregada.*

*Don Jorge Flemming.*¹⁶ Native of Ireland, Catholic, merchant, unmarried, 25 years of age. *Agregado.*

Whites, male 2, female 3; Negro slaves, male 5, female 6, none baptized: Total

16

Family No. 5

Don Juan Leslie. Native of Scotland, Protestant, merchant, unmarried, 35 years of age.

Don Juan Foraster. Native of America, Protestant, unmarried, 20 years of age. *Agregado.*

Don Jorge Clark. Apprentice, native of this city, Catholic, 13 years of age.

Whites, male 3; Negro slaves, male 3, female 7, none baptized ; Total

13

14. The information regarding Francis Philip Fatio, the founder of the Fatio family in Florida, is not altogether accurate. He was not a native of the Canton of Bern but of Vaud, his birthplace being near Vevey on Lake Geneva. It is a question whether he was a Catholic. His family, it appears, had been Protestant for generations. In an earlier list (1784) in the East Florida Papers he is represented as desiring to become a Catholic. Whether he became one in fact I do not know. In any event he died a Protestant. The information regarding Fatio's birthplace and religion was obtained from an unpublished "Tableau Genealogique de la Famille Fatio" and from Susan L'Engle's *Notes of My Family and Recollections of My Early Life*, an extract from which and a copy of the Tableau were kindly furnished me by Mr. Francis P. Fleming. Fatio's property in slaves is only partially indicated in this census. Apparently only those in town were listed. Two years earlier he owned three houses in St. Augustine (one of which was a store), a total of eighty-two slaves, about a hundred head of cattle, twenty-odd horses, and two vessels, one a schooner and the other a sloop.

15. Should be Crispel.

16. How interesting to see the name of George Fleming in juxtaposition with that of Sophia Philipa Fatio! Here in a census, of all places, is a budding romance. Four or five years later they were married and from that union stems one of Florida's most distinguished families. From the census of 1793 we learn that George Fleming was the son of Thomas Fleming and Maria Welsh. From an earlier list (1784) in the East Florida Papers we learn that Thomas Fleming was Scotch, apparently a widower, and a farmer with four slaves. Like Fatio he must have been Protestant, for he is represented as being undecided whether to embrace the Catholic faith.

Family No. 6

Dona Richeld Blent. Native of America, married (her husband, Don Ricardo Story, absent), Lutheran, 24 years of age.

Juana Laurey. Her niece, native of America, 6 years of age. Whites, female 2; Negro slaves, male 1, female 1, neither baptized ; Total

4

Family No. 7

Dona Honoria Clark. Widow, native of Ireland, Catholic, planter, 40 years of age.

Dona Margarita. Her daughter, native of this province, Catholic, unmarried, 16 years of age.

Gualtero Witter. Her son, native of this province, Catholic, unmarried, 14 years of age.

Don Daniel Griffin. Native of Ireland, Catholic, unmarried, lodger in this home, 26 years of age.

Thimoteo Howard y Claveria. Spanish orphan sheltered by Senora Clark, 11 years of age. Whites, male 3, female 2; Negro slaves, male 8, female 7; Total

20

Family No. 8

Eduardo Ashton. Native of Ireland, Catholic, tailor, 38 years of age.

*Maria Hinsman.*¹⁷ His wife, native of America, 33 years of age.

Juan Parish. Stepson of Ashton, native of America, unmarried, catechumen, farmer, 17 years of age.

Samuel. Son of Ashton and his first wife, catechumen, 13 years of age.

Felipe. Son of Ashton and his first wife, catechumen, 12 years of age.

Juliana. Daughter of Ashton and his first wife, catechumen, 11 years of age.

Eduardo. Son of Ashton and his first wife, catechumen, 9 years of age.

Ysabela Mott. Daughter of Maria Hinsman, native of this province, Catholic, 11 years of age.

Ynes Mott. Like Ysabela, daughter of Maria Hinsman and her first husband, native of this province, Catholic, 9 years of age.

Whites, male 5, female 4; Total

9

Family No. 9

Maria Hazard. Native of America, widow, Protestant, 45 years of age.

Ysabela Perry. Daughter of the above, native of America, Protestant. married (her husband absent), 25 years of age.

Maria Perry. Daughter of Maria Hazard, native of this province, Catholic, unmarried, 13 years of age.

Enrique Mayro. Son of Ysabela Perry, native of this province, 4 years of age.

17. Hindsman and Heinsman in other contemporary documents.

- Regina Margarita White.* Widow, native of Prussia, Protestant, 65 years of age. **Agregada.**
Whites, male 1, female 4; Total 5
- Family No. 10
- Maria Collen.* Married (her husband absent), native of America, Protestant, 35 years of age.
Ana. Her daughter, native of America, 8 years of age.
Whites, female 2; Total 2
- Maria Luisa Rodrigues.* Native of America, Catholic, widow, 27 years of age.
Joseph Maria de Jesus Gero Villar. Her son, native of Mobile, Catholic, 11 years of age.
Whites, male 1, female 1; Total 2
- Family No. 11
- Jorge Bachos.* Native of Bengal, Protestant, unmarried, tailor, 37 years of age.
Maria Harris. Mulatto slave of the above, Protestant, 40 years of age.
Hindu, male 1; Mulatto, female 1; Total 2
- Family No. 12
- Thomas Cordery.* Native of America, butcher, Protestant, 64 years of age.
Maria Leasewell. His wife, native of America, of the same religion, 59 years of age.
Estevan. Their son, native of this province, of the same religion, unmarried, 16 years of age.
Sara Morphy. Grand-daughter of the Corderys, native of America, 5 years of age.
Catalina Morin. Native of America, Protestant, unmarried, 24 years of age. **Agregada.**
Whites, male 2, female 3; Total 5
- Family No. 13
- Barbara Strasburg.* Widow, native of Germany, Catholic, farmer, 60 years of age.
Margarita Hinsmant. Her daughter, native of America, unmarried, Catholic, 27 years of age.
Ynes Hinsmant. Her daughter, native of America, unmarried, Catholic, 24 years of age.
Whites, female 3; Total 3
- Family No. 14
- Santiago Clark.* Native of Scotland, innkeeper, Protestant, 31 years of age.
Margarita Crerich. His wife, of the same religion. 48 years of age.
Jayne Teats. Apprentice, white, unmarried, Protestant, 14 years of age.
Whites, male 2, female 1; Negro servants, male 3, none baptized; Negro slave, female 1, not baptized; Total 7
- Family No. 15
- Juan Hopquins.* Native of England, Protestant, shoemaker, 35 years of age.

- Ysabel McMullen* His wife, native of Scotland, Protestant, 42 years of age.
Groves Doran. Native of Ireland, Catholic, shoemaker, 40 years of age. *Agregado.*
Whites, male 2, female 1; Total 3
- Family No. 16
- Barbara Jaysmen Simpson.* Widow. native of Pennsylvania, Catholic, 33 years of age.
Anna. Her daughter, native of this province, 11 years of age.
Felipe. Her son, native of this province, 4 years of age.
Whites, male 1, female 2; Total 3
- Family No. 17
- Antonio Hinsman.* Native of America, Catholic, farmer, 36 years of age.
Leonora Genopley. His wife, native of America, Catholic, 19 years of age.
Maria Barbara. Their daughter, native of this province, 5 months of age.
Ynes Ana Antonia. Child of unknown parents, taken in by *Leonora Hinsman*, one month of age.
Juan Ly. Native of America, Protestant, farmer, unmarried, 20 years of age. *Agregado.*
Whites, male 2, female 3; Total 5
- Family No. 18
- Jorge Hinsman.* Native of America, farmer, Catholic, 33 years of age.
Maria Ysabela. His wife, native of America, Catholic, 18 years of age.
Whites, male 1, female 1; Total 2
- Family No. 19
- Jayme McGirt.* Native of Carolina, farmer, Lutheran, 50 years of age.
Ysabela Sanders. His wife, native of the same, of the same religion, 43 years of age.
Jayme. Their son, native of the same, unmarried, farmer, 20 years of age.
Juan. Their son, native of the same, unmarried, farmer, 18 years of age.
Esacarias. Their son, native of the same, unmarried, farmer, 16 years of age.
Daniel. Their son, native of the same, unmarried, farmer, 14 years of age.
Roverto. Their son, native of the same, unmarried. 12 years of age.
Maria. Their daughter, native of the same, 10 years of age. All are of the same religion as their parents.
Whites, male 6, female 2; Negro slaves, male 4, female 2 none baptized; Total 14
- Family No. 20
- Joseph Hues.* Native of London, farmer, Lutheran, widower, 56 years of age.

Joseph. His son, native of the same, unmarried, farmer, of the same religion, 15 years of age.		
Geremias Hester. ¹⁸ Native of Georgia, farmer, unmarried, Protestant, 21 years of age. Agregado.		
Luis. Native of America, farmer, Protestant, 13 years of age. Agregado.		
Whites, male 4; Total		4
Family No. 21		
Randoulph MacDonell. Native of Scotland, Catholic, farmer, unmarried, 45 years of age.		
Alexandro MagDonel. Native of the same, unmarried, farmer, Catholic, 26 years of age.		
Whites, male 2 ; Negro slaves, male 4, female 2, none baptized ; Total		8
Family No. 22		
Deophus Hill. Native of America, Protestant, farmer, 43 years of age.		
Theresa Thomosa. His wife, native of the same, of the same religion, 41 years of age.		
Sara. Their daughter, native of the same, unmarried, of the same religion, 15 years of age.		
Chrischeany. Their daughter, native of the same, unmarried, of the same religion, 12 years of age.		
Maria. Their daughter, native of the same, of the same religion, 8 years of age.		
Ysabela. Their daughter, native of the same, of the same religion, 5 years of age.		
Whites, male 1, female 5; Negro slaves, male 7, female 4, none baptized; Total		17
Family No. 23		
Don Geremias Fis. ¹⁹ Native of New York, planter, Protestant, married (his wife absent), 54 years of age.		
Geremias. His son, native of this province, of the same religion, at present absent, 7 years of age.		
Whites, male 2; Negro slaves, male 7, female, none baptized; a free Negro called Diego, Catholic, Agregado , 1; Total		17
Married couples in this group	13	
Whites, male		47
Whites, female		38
Total number of whites		85
Negroes, male		72
Negroes, female		54
Total number of Negroes		126
Total number of souls as seen in the preceding list, as made evident in the marginal totals. To wit:		
White persons		85
Negroes		126
Total		211
Note: To this total must be added a Hindu and a mulatto woman, making in all		213

18. Probably the same as the Geremias Hester in Family No. 1
19. Fish?

MINORCANS, ITALIANS, GREEKS, AND OTHERS CONSIDERED AS SUCH ²⁰

Number of married couples in this group	97		
Whites, male		241	
Whites, female		228	
Total number of whites			469
Negroes, male			33
Negroes, female			37
Total number of Negroes			70
Total			539

FLORIDANS

Family No. 1

Sebastian Espinosa. Unmarried, sailor, native of this province, 40 years of age.

Josepha Espinosa. Native of this province, widow, 40 years of age.

Nicolas Sanchez. Their nephew, unmarried, farmer, 26 years of age.

Bernardino Sanchez. Their nephew, unmarried, shopkeeper, 24 years of age.

Joseph Sanchez. Their nephew, native of this province, farmer, 22 years of age.

Ramon Sanchez. Native of Havana, their nephew, sailor, 18 years of age.

Maria de la O. Sanchez. Their niece, native of Havana, unmarried, 20 years of age.

Maria Andrea Sanchez. Their niece, native of Havana, unmarried, 16 years of age.

Whites, male 5, female 3; Negro slaves, male 5, female 1; baptized; Total

14

Family No. 2

Alfonso Rivero. Native of this province, unmarried, tobaccoist, 30 years of age.

White, male 1; Total

1

Family No. 3

Miguel Chapus. Native of this province, sailor, 44 years of age.

Getrudis Carrillo. His wife, native of this province, 33 years of age.

Joseph Julian. Their son, native of Havana, 13 years of age.

Francisco Navarro. Sailor, native of this province, 35 years of age. *Agregado*.

Juana Peres. Free Negress, native of this province, Catholic, 54 years of age.

Whites, male 3, female 1; Free Negro, female, Catholic 1; Total

5

20. Summary only.

Family No. 4

Antonio Montes de Oca. Shoemaker, native of this province, 47 years of age.

Paula de Torres. His wife, native of Minorca, 39 years of age.

Mateo Lorenzo. Son of Paula and her first husband, native of Mosquitos, unmarried, crippled, 16 years of age.

Juana Lorenz. Daughter of Paula and her first husband, native of Mosquitos, 11 years of age.

Whites, male 2, female 2; Total 4

Family No. 5

Catarina Aguilar. Free Negress, married (her husband absent), Catholic, native of this province, 48 years of age.

Joseph de Rivas. Free mulatto, native of Havana, shoemaker, 19 years of age, married.

Free mulatto, male 1; Free Negro, female 1; Total 2

Family No. 6

Lorenzo Llanes. Sailor, unmarried, native of this province, 38 years of age.

White, male 1; Free mulatto, male, native of this province, 1; Negro slave, male 1, not baptized; Total 3

Family No. 7

Antonio Puella. Sailor, widower, native of this province, 56 years of age.

Maria Manuela. His daughter, unmarried, native of this province, 14 years of age.

Antonio. His son, native of Havana, 12 years of age.

Whites, male [2],²¹ female 1; Negro slave, female [1], Catholic ; Total [4]

Family No. 8

Don Francisco Joseph Huet. Native of this province, merchant, 30 years of age.

Dona Rosalia Faustina. His wife, native of Havana, 33 years of age.

Rosalia. Their daughter, native of Havana, 10 years of age.

Maria Nicolasa. Their daughter, native of Havana, 7 years of age.

Joseph Ramon. Their son, native of Havana, 3 years of age.

Maria de la Concepcion. Their daughter, native of Havana, 2 years of age.

Francisco Joseph. Their son, native of Havana, 1 year of age.

Don Francisco Huet. Father of Don Francisco native of Spain, brother of the third order of St. Francis, 78 years of age.

Luis Contreras. Unmarried, native of this province, trader, 21 years of age. *Agregado.*

21. Numbers in brackets have been inserted by the translator, the manuscripts being torn at these points. The missing numbers in some cases, as in this one, are obvious. Elsewhere they were arrived at by calculation.

Maria Rita Brava. Unmarried, native of Havana, 17 years of age. *Agregada*.
Whites, male 2, female 5; Total 10

Family No. 9

Lorenzo Rodrigues. Native of this province, sailor, 55 years of age.

Ysabela Piuma. His wife, native of Germany, Catholic, 40 years of age.

Maria del Carmen. Their daughter, native of Havana, unmarried, 22 years of age.

Nicolas. Their son, sailor, unmarried, native of this province, 25 years of age.

Theresa de Jesus Rodrigues. Their daughter, native of Havana, 10 years of age.

Joseph Gonzales. Native of Havana, unmarried, 14 years of age. *Agregado*.

Ricardo Bustan. Native of America, unmarried. 13 years of age. *Agregado*.

Whites, male 4, female 3 ; Free mulatto, male 1; Negro slave, female 1, not baptized; Total 9

Family No. 10

Don Thomas Cordero. Native of this province, merchant, 63 years of age.

Dona Leonor Gonzales. His wife, native of this province, 61 years of age.

Don Ypolito Gonzales. Notary Public, native of this province, widower, 45 years of age.

Juan Joseph. Son of Don Ypolito, native of Havana, 14 years of age.

Juana de Dios. Daughter of Don Ypolito, native of Havana, 12 years of age.

Whites, male 3, female 2; Total [5]

Family No. 11

Juana Montes de Oca. Widow, native of this province, 44 years of age.

Juan Eugenio Gonzales. Her son, unmarried, native of Havana, 17 years of age.

Joseph. Her son, native of Havana, 10 years of age.

Antonio Joseph. Her son, native of Havana, 5 years of age.

Leonarda Josefa. Her daughter, native of Havana, 2 years of age.

Whites, male 3, female 2; Total 5

Family No. 12

Lucia Escalona. Widow, native of this province, 60 years of age.

White, female 1; Negro slaves, male 1, female 1, both Christians ; Total 3

Family No. 13

Nicolasa Gomes. Widow, native of this province, 57 years of age.

White, female 1; Negro slaves, male 2, female 2, all Christians ; Total 5

Family No. 14

Francisco Sanchez. Planter, unmarried, native of this province, 40 years of age.

White, male 1; Free mulattos, male 3, female 6, all Catholics; Negro slaves, male 27, one baptized, female 12, none baptized; Slave children, 14, not baptized; Total 63

Married couples among the group of Floridans 6

Whites, male	29	
Whites, female	21	
Total number of whites		50
Negroes, male, free and slave	42	
Negroes, female, free and slave	40	
Total number of Negroes		82
Total		132

SPANIARDS

Family No. 1

Pedro de Cala. Native of Spain, sailor, unmarried, 36 years of age.

White, male 1; Negro slaves, male 1, baptized, female 1; *Agregada* 1; Total 4

Family No. 2

Antonio Rospain. Native of Catalonia, keeper of a wine shop, unmarried, 32 years of age.

White, male 1; Negro slave, male 1, Christian: Total 2

Family No. 3

Manuel de Ben. ²² Native of Spain, keeper of a wine shop, unmarried, 40 years of age.

White, male 1; Total [1]

Family No. 4

Juan Juares. Native of the Canary Islands, farmer, 40 years of age.

Juana Martin. His wife, native of the Canary Islands. 40 years of age.

Bartolomeo. Their son, native of the Canary Islands, unmarried, 14 years of age.

Gregorio Juares. Their son, native of the Canary Islands, unmarried, 13 years of age.

Joseph Juares. Their son, native of the Canary Islands, 8 years of age.

Whites, male [4], female 1; Total 5

Family No. 5

Joseph Antonio Coruna. Native of the Canary Islands, farmer, 35 years of age.

Manuela Sanchez. His wife, native of the Canary Islands, 36 years of age.

Antonio. Their son, unmarried, farmer, native of the same, 16 years of age.

22. Deven in a list of 1784.

Lucia Antonia. Their daughter, native of the same, 9 years of age.
Maria Regla. Their daughter, native of the same, 6 years of age.
 Whites, male 2, female 3; Total 5

Family No. 6

Miguel Rodrigues. Native of Spain, farmer, 30 years of age.
Catarina Juares. His wife, native of the Canary Islands, 32 years of age.
Antonia Vega. Daughter of Catarina Juares and her first husband, native of the Canary Islands, 10 years of age.
Juaquin. Son of Catarina Juares and her first husband, native of the Canary Islands, 6 years of age.
 Whites, male 2, female 2; Total 4

Family No. 7

Pedro de Acosta. Native of the Canary Islands, farmer, 35 years of age.
Cicilia de Artilles. His wife, native of the Canary Islands, 35 years of age.
Josepha Maria. Their daughter, native of the same, 5 years of age.
Maria del Carmen. Their daughter, native of the Canary Islands, 4 years of age.
Lucia. Their daughter, native of the same, 2 years of age.
 Whites, male 1, female 4; Total 5

Family No. 8

Don Miguel Ysnardi. Native of Spain, married (his wife absent), merchant, 32 years of age.
*Edward Wantos.*²³ Native of this province, Protestant, unmarried, dependent of Don Miguel, 19 years of age.
 Whites, male 2; Negro slaves, male [2], not baptized, female [3], including two catechumens; Total [7]

Family No. 9

Juan Luay. Native of Catalonia, keeper of a wine shop, unmarried, 21 years of age.
 White, male 1; Total [1]

Family No. 10

*Antonio Riveras.*²⁴ Native of Catalonia, sailor and keeper of a wine shop, unmarried, 32 years of age.
 White, male 1; Total 1

Family No. 11

Pedro Garcia. Native of Spain, keeper of a wine shop, unmarried, 29 years of age.
 White, male 1; Total [1]

23. Walton, in a list of 1784.

24. May have been the same as Antonio Oliveras referred to in a list of 1784.

Family No. 12

Francisco Blas. Native of Spain, carpenter, 29 years of age.
Margarita Redondo. His wife, native of Havana, 21 years of age.

Juan Miguel. Their son, native of this province, 6 months of age.

Whites, male 2, female 1; Total 3

Family No. 13

Francisco Roch. Native of Spain, tailor, 28 years of age.
Ana Barnet. His wife, native of the Island of Providence, 20 years of age.

Francisca. Their daughter, native of the Island of Providence, 2 years of age.

Whites, male 1, female 2; Indian, male 1, Christian, *Agregado* ; Total 4

Family No. 14

Antonio de Palma. Native of Spain, Merchant, 27 years of age.

Margarita MacFail. His wife, native of this province, 19 years of age.

Juana. Their daughter, native of this province, 1 year of age.

Ygnacio Ortegas. Native of Minorca, widower, shopclerk, 50 years of age. *Agregado*.

Whites, male 2, female 2; Total 4

Family No. 15

Juan Aguilar. Native of the Canary Islands, farmer, 50 years of age.

Melchora Ramos. His wife, native of the same, 50 years of age.

Juan. Their son, unmarried, farmer, native of the same, 20 years of age.

Tomas. Their son, native of the same. 13 years of age.

Catalina. Their daughter, native of the same, 16 years of age.

Manuel Juares. Native of Catalonia, farmer, unmarried, 21 years of age. *Agregado*.

Whites, male 4, female [2] ; Total [6]

Family No. 16

Pablo Cortina. Native of Ceuta, merchant, 28 years of age.

Juana Escalona. His wife, native of Havana, 19 years of age.

Francisco. Their son, native of Havana, [] years of age.

Maria Dolores. Their daughter, native of this province, 10 months of age.

Whites, male [2], female [2] ; Negro slaves, male [1], female [1], neither baptized; Total [6]

Married couples in this group of Spaniards 10

Whites, male 27

Whites, female 19

Total number of whites 46

Negro slaves, male 8

Negro slaves, female	4		
Total number of negroes		12	
Indian, male		1	
Total			59

SUMMARY 25

Foreigners			
Whites, male	48		
Whites, female	38		
Negroes, male	72		
Negroes, female	55		
Total		213	
Minorcans			
Italians			
Greeks			
Whites, male	241		
Whites, female	228		
Negroes, male 33			
Negroes, female	37		
Total		539	
Floridanos			
Whites, male	29		
Whites, female	21		
Negroes, male	42		
Negroes, female	40		
Total		132	
Spaniards			
Whites, male	27		
Whites, female	19		
Negroes, male	8		
Negroes, female	4		
Total		59	
Suburban Population			
Whites (estimated)	130		
Negroes (estimated)	170		
Total		300	
Garrison			
Officers and men (estimated)		450	
Grand Total			1693

25. By the translator.

WHY TWO CONNECTICUT YANKEES WENT SOUTH

By SAMUEL H. FISHER

General Edmund Kirby Smith was an outstanding figure in the War between the States, particularly in its closing years when he was in command of the Trans-Mississippi Department. He was Florida-born and his native State was proud to place his statue in the Capitol at Washington.

But his antecedents were of Connecticut. His father, Joseph Lee Smith, and his grandfather, Ephraim Kirby, were men of mark in the town of Litchfield in that State. The reasons for their leaving their northern homes form a story which may be of interest.

The town of Litchfield is small but, at one time, it was the fourth town in population in Connecticut. Its golden age-its halcyon days-were during the closing years of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth, when it played an important part in state and even in national affairs. There lived Oliver Wolcott, senior, a Signer of the Declaration of Independence and the governor of the State, and his brilliant son, Oliver Wolcott, junior, who succeeded Alexander Hamilton as Secretary of the Treasury in Washington's cabinet; also Andrew Adams, Chief Justice of the State Supreme Court, and Uriah Tracy, one of the first United States Senators.

But it was not so much for its political influence that Litchfield was known, as for its famous Law

NOTE-This paper was read at the annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society on January 24, 1939.

School, which was conducted for embryonic lawyers by a Princeton graduate of the unique name of Tapping Reeve.¹ His students came from all parts of the then United States, from South as well as North. At least seventy young men took the long journey from Georgia, and forty-five more from South Carolina, to be under the instruction of Judge Tapping Reeve and his associate, James Gould. Altogether, in the fifty-odd years during which the School flourished, more than one thousand students attended its lectures.

Perhaps it was only a coincidence that there existed here also one of the first institutions in the country for the education of women. The Litchfield Female Academy outlasted the Law School, and it is estimated that nearly three thousand young women received their education in this pioneer school.² The juxtaposition of these two schools in the same town was a happy circumstance, and many romances and marriages resulted between amorous young law students and the pretty young ladies of the Academy.

While politics, education, and even literature were being stressed, shrewd merchants of the town were doing a thriving business in exchange, in land speculation, and even in foreign trade, for the good ship, *Trident*, of the Litchfield-China Trading Company sailed to and from the Orient, to bring back desirable imports in exchange for Yankee notions and pillar dollars.³

At the close of the Revolutionary War, a young man of simple antecedents and a rough training, came home to settle in this community. The son of

1. S. H. Fisher, *The Litchfield Law School*, 1933.

2. E. N. Vanderpoel, *Chronicles of a Pioneer School*, 1903.

3. A. C. White, *History of the Town of Litchfield*, 1920, p. 137.

a farmer, Ephraim Kirby, when a boy of nineteen, on the news of the Battle of Lexington, had hastened to Boston to do his part in the impending struggle. He participated in the Battle of Bunker Hill, and, from that time to the end of the War in 1783, was in the thick of the fighting.⁴ In New Jersey and Pennsylvania, he marched and starved and fought, and it was said that he carried on his person the scars of thirteen wounds.⁵

The country at peace, he returned to Litchfield to study law. The legal profession had become a popular one, with the new problems of self-government and the many adjustments that had to be made from the English common law. Kirby's mentor was Reynold Marvin, the last King's Attorney for the County. The Marvin home was an inspiration to Kirby, not only in his law studies, but in other ways, for he fell in love with the daughter of the house, Ruth Marvin, and married her in 1784.

A man of force and persistence, Kirby at once became a marked figure at the bar. Yale recognized his ability by conferring on him the honorary degree of Master of Arts in 1787. He prepared and published, in 1789, the first collection of law reports printed in this country,⁶ and a volume of Kirby's Reports will still be found on the shelves of most Connecticut practitioners. He was one of the organizers of the Connecticut Society of the Cincinnati, and an active member of St. Paul's Masonic Lodge.

Those were the days of land speculation, and Kirby embarked in land ventures in New York and Ohio,⁷ and in Wyandot County of the latter is a little town called Kirby.

4. *Dictionary of American Biography*, Vol. X, p. 423.

5. Kilbourn, p. 170.

6. E. Kirby, *Reports of Cases*, 1789

7. *D. of A. B.*, Vol. X, p. 423.

But these land transactions did not always prove profitable, and, on October 15, 1800, there appeared in the *Litchfield Monitor*, this rather significant notice :

TO THE PUBLIC:

Being tired with the practice of the Law, I retired from it a few years past, when my business had acquired an extension which afforded a handsome emolument, and a permanency which defied the assaults of insidious rivals. I retired with a determination never to return again to a profession always unpleasant to me, and which, from a natural competition, frequently provoked bitter animosities and violent foes. Some recent occurrences in the County, and the solicitations of many of my friends, have induced me to go back to my professional occupation.

This was signed by Ephraim Kirby.

Later, in 1802, he is said to have lost his entire fortune in a Virginia land venture, which, according to one account, was due to a dishonest agent.

In the meantime, Kirby had become involved in politics. In 1791 he was elected to the lower house of the General Assembly and served in fourteen semi-annual sessions of that body. As the years went on, he was a leader among the local followers of Thomas Jefferson, and became a power in the Democratic or Republican party. These terms—Democrat and Republican—were, at that time, interchangeable, however antagonistic they may be to-day. Party spirit ran high. The French Revolution was vividly before the minds of the people of this new republic. The more conservative element, or Federalists, looked with horror on its excesses and decried the tendencies toward universal suffrage. On the other hand, the Jeffersonians adopted many of the tenets of the French Jacobins, and favored States' rights against the theory of centralized power advocated by Alexander Hamilton.

This divergence in views was particularly intense in Connecticut, for the people of that State were still living under the old Charter of Charles the Second.

The Congregational Church was still the established Church, and tithes were collected for its ministers. The suffrage was limited and the control of the affairs of the State was in the hands of a few-aristocratic families. Thus, Ursula Wolcott of Litchfield could boast that her father, brother, husband, son and nephew were all Governors of the State,⁸ and the two Jonathan Trumbulls, father and son, held the office of chief executive for nearly twenty-seven years.

The Democrats or Republicans clamored for a state constitution which would contain many liberalizing provisions, including the separation of Church and State, and the broadening of the suffrage. The controversy almost assumed the proportions of religious warfare, for the Congregational pulpits thundered their denunciations against the attempt to disenfranchise the Church, and those of other denominations, who did not attend the Congregational meeting houses, resented this mixing of religion and politics.⁹ Into this maelstrom of intense partisan feeling, Kirby plunged with his usual vigor and directness.

It happened that the leading citizens of Litchfield were ardent Federalists, and bitterly resented the growing popularity of Thomas Jefferson and his followers. If any proof of this attitude is necessary, let me cite two significant instances. Judge Tapping Reeve, the head of the Law School, prophesied that if Jefferson were elected, within a couple of years the streets of our cities would be running with blood, and the aged Congregational minister, Judah Champion, prayed for a double portion of grace for

8. P. K. Kilbourne, *Sketches & Chronicles of the Town of Litchfield*, 1859, p. 144.

9. M. Louise Greene, *The Development of Religious Liberty in Connecticut*, p. 415 et seq.

Jefferson, and then added unctuously: "For, Lord, thou knowest he needs it!"¹⁰

It was but natural that those entertaining such intense hostility to Jeffersonianism should resent men like Kirby who adhered to such nefarious views, yet stood high in the estimation of the people. Senator Uriah Tracy, a leader of the Federalists in the upper house of the Congress, regarded Kirby's election to the Legislature as a disgrace to the town. "All the solid respectable part of the town, without preconcert or intrigue, voted against him," he wrote, but he was elected "by the aid of every tag-rag who could be mustered."¹¹

In the summer of 1799, an opportunity arose for the Federalist group to put Kirby in his place. He was the first major of the 17th regiment of militia-Litchfield's own regiment-but Uriah Tracy was brigadier general of the sixth brigade of which the 17th regiment was a part.

The military was to play a prominent part in the festivities of Independence Day, as the Fourth of July was then called. There was to be a procession preceding the flights of oratory which featured such occasions. This military service was voluntary, and the officers of the regiment who attended a meeting on arrangements asked Major Kirby to act as commanding officer of the parade, but the committee in charge of the celebration, of which Tracy and another intense Federalist, John Allen, the representatives in Congress, were members, objected to his having any share in commanding a voluntary parade intended to commemorate and honor our national independence. They even went so far as to

10. E. D. Mansfield, *Personal Memories*, 1879, p. 115; also White, p. 163.

11. R. J. Purcell, *Connecticut in Transition*, 1918, p. 231.

vote that if Kirby adhered to the plan of acting as officer of the day, the military part of the parade should be abandoned, because they claimed that Major Kirby was hostile to the government of the United States.¹²

A compromise was finally effected so that the parade could take place, but naturally Kirby was greatly incensed and he was not one to take an insult meekly. In the next issue of the *Monitor*,¹³ he poured forth his wrath-called the action an insult to him and every officer of the regiment. He insisted that he was in no wise hostile to the government, but only to "some rascals who had crept into office under its protection." While the town, he wrote, was delightfully situated by nature, and possessed in an eminent degree the means of happiness, it had always been distracted by parties. It had drawn together adventurers in pursuit of fortune who elbowed, crowded and jostled against each other. They were a club which he denominated the Jockey Club or Junto. "The greatest falsehoods," he added, "acquire the stamp of truth after having passed the lips of this august body."¹⁴

In particular, a certain clergyman, the Reverend Amos Chase, came under Kirby's wrath. This minister was exceedingly well liked by the women for, when he lost his young wife, he preached a very beautiful sermon "On Female Excellence" which became immensely popular.

But Chase was a strong partisan who apparently used his pulpit as a forum for setting forth his political tenets. Of him, Kirby wrote: "I have spoken lightly of this clerical gentleman. I confess I have

12. *Monitor*, July 17, 1799.

13. *Do.*, July 24, 1799.

14. *Do.*, Aug. 14, 1799.

always been of the opinion that any clergyman who will so far forget the holy function of his office as to profane the sacred desk by political harangues, and will spend days and weeks with the people of his charge in electioneering visits, instead of administering to them spiritual comfort and advice, cannot be very respectable !“¹⁵

Such statements could not pass unchallenged by the Federalists. John Allen characterized Kirby's attack on the politically-minded Amos Chase as planting “thorns under his dying pillow,” thus dampening “down his gray hair with sorrow to the grave.”¹⁶

Kirby returned to the attack, and the war of words went on with vigor until the editor of the local news-sheet cried a halt. The paper was overwhelmed with vituperative letters, the editor lamented, and then announced : “Should any after communications be presented, a supplement will be issued and this must be paid for. Justice to our customers requires this, and the printer's scanty profits will reconcile his claim to compensation.”¹⁷

Instead of injuring Kirby's standing, the row apparently added luster to his reputation. In the town meeting in September, larger numbers of voters attended, and Kirby was again re-elected to the General Assembly. In the following years, he was nominated for the lieutenant governorship on the Democratic ticket, but failed of election. He twice ran for governor and once for senator.¹⁸

On the election of Jefferson to the Presidency, he was appointed supervisor of the national revenue

15. *Monitor*, August 14, 1799.

16. Do., September 11, 1799.

17. Do., September 25, 1799.

18. Purcell, pp. 238 and 247-8.

for the State. This recognition of his worth was irritating to his political opponents and, on several occasions, as in the one just described, he was rather humiliated by his Federalist antagonists. He became discouraged also over his financial troubles, so he was glad to accept an appointment in July 1803 from President Jefferson as commissioner of the Spanish boundary along the southeastern line of the newly-acquired Louisiana Territory. He left for the south and had hardly begun his hearings at Fort Stoddart in the Mississippi Territory when he was taken ill and died at the age of forty-seven.¹⁹ His former neighbors were eager to do him honor now that he no longer menaced their political ambitions. His memory is still cherished in the town of his birth, and his legal accomplishments are spoken of with pride. His former home is pointed out to visitors, and the notes for his volume of reported cases are a treasured relic in the vault of the Historical Society.

* * * *

About the begininng of the nineteenth century, there stepped upon the stage a new actor. Joseph Lee Smith came to Litchfield in 1800 to study at the Law School, and decided to settle there.²⁰ Perhaps one of the inducements which drew him to the town was the presence there of Frances, the eldest daughter of Ephraim Kirby, whom he later married. His political views coincided with those of his father-in-law, and he threw himself into the heated conflict with vigor and ability.

In the national election of 1804, Connecticut was one of the two States which cast their electoral votes

19. *D. of A. B.*, Vol. X, p. 423.

20. Kilbourn, p. 290 - Catalogue of the Litchfield Law School, 1828.

against Jefferson, and the President's followers in the State felt that active measures must be taken to bring this commonwealth into the Democratic-Republican column. To succeed in any such endeavor, the strong Federalist junto in Litchfield had to be broken up. Hence, a brilliant young editor, named Selleck Osborn, was induced to set up a Democratic newspaper establishment to combat the Federalist propaganda of the *Monitor*, the only paper then in this field. Osborn went about his task by sharpening his quill and exercising his keen, vituperative wit. He at once dubbed the staid leaders of the community with uncomplimentary nicknames, and, in his paper, *The Witness*, printed rather seamy stories and innuendoes about a number of them. A single illustration will suffice to show how trying to the peaceful and aristocratic atmosphere of the town his methods must have been. Colonel Benjamin Tallmadge, a Revolutionary officer with a distinguished record, who had become an important factor in the political, as well as the business, world, was one of the pillars of the local Church. Osborn printed a reference to him which was far from complimentary, and defended his charge on the ground that it had been confessed in a moment of heart-rending contrition.²¹

Such "blows below the belt"- to use a hackneyed phrase-irked the Federalists and they at once took vigorous measures to stop them. Osborn was attacked physically by Tallmadge's son and, a little later, was brought before the local court on a rather flimsy charge of libelling another Litchfield worthy, Squire Julius Deming. The Justice and jury were all Federalists, and although Osborn was ably defended by young Joseph Smith, it was without suc-

21. *The Witness*, November 6 and 13, 1805.

cess, and the editor was required to furnish a bond to observe the peace or, as he expressed it, to edit his paper in accordance with the wishes of the Federalist junta. This he refused to do and consequently was lodged in the local gaol until such time as he should prove less recalcitrant.²²

The Democrats immediately seized upon Osborn's incarceration as a party issue. The young editor was held up as a political martyr, and the story of his tribulations was broadcast in the newspapers as far south as Charleston.²³ A committee, of which Smith was a leading spirit, demanded the right to visit him in his cell and issued weekly bulletins, telling of his unhappy surroundings and reporting on the state of his health under his confinement.²⁴ Protests and indignation meetings were held in a number of places, in and out of the State,²⁵ and finally it was decided to stage a monster demonstration, when a long procession of sympathizers was to pass before the gaol and all the marchers were to raise their hats in salute to the unfortunate prisoner within.²⁶ This was to be followed by a gathering in the meeting house, where speeches were to be delivered, and finally a banquet was to be spread on the green, at which would occur the interminable list of toasts customary to that day.

The affair went off as scheduled, except that two episodes slightly marred the success of the occasion. An itinerant showman, with an eye to profit, brought an elephant to town for exhibition, described as a "rare, exotic beast," and some of the Federalists, led by Senator Tracy, took advantage of its pres-

22. *Witness*, April 16, and September 17, 1806.

23. *Courier*, Charleston, S. C., September 15, 1806.

24. *Witness*, July 16, 1806.

25. Do., August 6, 1806.

26. Do., August 13, 1806.

ence to set up a counter-attraction, and thus disturb the solemnity of the occasion. This was probably the first time an elephant was used to confound Democratic aspirations!

The second episode was more serious. Shortly before the exercises in the meeting house were due to commence, the former minister, Judah Champion, whose prayer I have quoted, and his successor, Dan Huntington, started to enter the Church. Both were ardent Federalists, and their presence was not welcomed. Young Joseph Smith, who was to be one of the orators, accosted the two clergymen and suggested the impropriety of their entering, and they withdrew. Later, two very different versions of the occurrence were spread throughout the town. The two ministers claimed that Smith seized the elder clergyman in a rough and discourteous manner, and forced him from the church.²⁷ Smith and his friends denied this and insisted that the entire interview was conducted in a most courteous manner, and that the only difficulty was that the clergymen attempted to enter the church too early. The local papers printed accusations and counter-accusations.²⁸ The Champion version in the Federalist paper stated that the aged minister wept with shame at the affront, while Osborn's Democratic paper printed a scathing denunciation of the old minister, who, it suggested, in his few declining years, should have been seeking his peace with Heaven rather than aiding a base attempt to destroy the character of one who never did him injury.²⁹ Osborn claimed that the

27. *Monitor*, August 13, 1806.

28. Stories of the Festival of August sixth, from the Federalist and Democratic points of view, are found in the *Monitor* and *Witness* of August 13, 20, 27, and so forth, as well as in other papers published in Connecticut.

29. *Witness*, September 10, 1806.

whole episode was manufactured by the Federalists as the "cardinal lie for September, 1806."

In perusing the old files of these papers, and reading the affidavits and counter-affidavits printed on the subject, it is hard to determine just what were the actual facts, but it seems surprising that any such picayune happenings could have stirred up such a pothor. However, in those days feeling ran high, and the pros and cons of Joseph Smith's alleged attack on old Judah Champion were mooted throughout the State.

Shortly afterwards the young lawyer was arraigned before the Superior Court for certain words and sentiments said to have been uttered by him in his address at the meeting. These "false, malicious, scandalous and defamatory words," to use the legal verbiage of the formal information, consisted of an attack on the courts of the State, presided over by Federalist judges. "The courts of justice have regarded the face of man in judgment," the young lawyer had exclaimed, and then added that "Osborn is imprisoned for publishing that of a Federal justice which is true of every Federal justice in the State."

The result of the trial was never in doubt, for the stage had been well set, and Smith was fined two hundred and fifty dollars, with costs of one hundred and twenty-three dollars added. The clerk adds to the record this significant sentence: "The delinquent was delivered to the custody of the Sheriff of the County."³⁰ Three hundred and seventy-three dollars was a large sum in those days, particularly for a struggling young attorney and, if not paid, Smith had the chance of joining his client Osborn

30. Kilbourn, p. 147.

in the crude old gaol that the town boasted, and which had done its duty, years before, in confining British prisoners during the Revolution.

Smith tried in vain to regain his practice. Unfortunately, he found the feeling engendered by the political controversy too great to combat, so he secured a commission in the Army, ultimately rising to the rank of major. In 1818, he resigned and went south and finally settled in Florida. Here he served the courts as a distinguished judge for many years, but this part of his story belongs to others by whom it can be much better told.

Thus Litchfield proved its air unhealthy for the two Democratic or Republican propagandists, and hence two Connecticut Yankees went South! Hence, one of their descendants, Edmund Kirby Smith, happened to be born in Florida, and the Confederacy secured a brilliant officer in the War between the States.

* * * *

When one reads of the intense partisanship of that earlier generation, and thinks how its prejudices seem strangely bitter and unwarranted to our eyes to-day, it is apt to make one wonder how our descendants will view some of the controversies of our day. Will they also smile at our intensities-who knows!

MATERIAL RELATING TO BRITISH
EAST FLORIDA
IN THE GAGE PAPERS AND OTHER MANUSCRIPT
COLLECTIONS IN THE WILLIAM L. CLEMENTS LIBRARY.
By CHARLES L. MOWAT

For the history of the short-lived British province of East Florida the main source is undoubtedly the papers in the Public Record Office in London, of which almost all of first importance are available in the form of transcripts or photostats in the Library of Congress. Aside from this, perhaps the best single collection of manuscript material is that in the William L. Clements Library at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor.¹ The nucleus of the library is its collection of rare books dealing with America, mainly in the colonial and revolutionary periods,² but it possesses also an important map division, and a collection of manuscripts which no student of America history, in the period of the War of Independence, can possibly afford to overlook. This manuscript collection is in part made up of manuscripts of American authorship but it is the British manuscripts, including the Shelburne, Gage, Clinton, Germain, Knox and Sydney papers, which for many are the more valuable.

Of these, the papers most fertile in material for British East Florida are those of General Thomas Gage,³ and the closely associated Amherst papers.

1. cf. James A. Robertson, "The Archival Distribution of Florida Manuscripts," *Florida Historical Society Quarterly*, X, 41-45, 46-7 (July 1931).
2. See William L. Clements, *The William L. Clements Library of Americana at the University of Michigan* (Ann Arbor, 1923).
3. Clarence E. Carter, "Notes on the Lord Gage Collection of Manuscripts," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XV, 511-19 (March 1929).

As commander-in-chief of the British forces in North America from 1763 to 1775, Gage was not merely in touch with all the military authorities and with the Indian Superintendents on the continent, but also with the various colonial governors; and his correspondence with the different government departments in London was far from exclusively military. He was in fact the sole person on the continent with authority ranging over all the different officials in the British possessions, and it was to him first that the British government turned for advice as the crisis of the Revolution approached.⁴ His papers in the Clements Library are therefore of extraordinary value, consisting as they do of the office copies of the letters Gage wrote, and the originals of those he received. In fact they constitute the British Headquarters papers between 1763 and 1775; and the possession of the papers of General Sir Henry Clinton, commander-in-chief in North America from 1778 to 1781 gives the Clements Library the British Headquarters papers for the greater part of the time from the Treaty of Paris until the closing year of the War of Independence.

The Gage papers have been divided into an English and an American series. The former, letters between Gage and the Secretaries of State, Secretaries at War, Treasury, Board of Ordnance and other departments in London, has been bound into a number of volumes in strictly chronological order; the correspondence between the Secretaries of State and Gage, and his letters to the Secretary at War, the Treasury, Board of Ordnance, etc., are included in C. E. Carter's edition of Gage's Correspondence⁵

4. Clarence E. Carter, "The Significance of the Military Office in America, 1763-75." *American Historical Review*, XXVIII, 475-488 (April, 1923).

5. *The Correspondence of General Thomas Gage. . 1763-1775*, compiled and edited by Clarence E. Carter (2 volumes: New Haven, 1931, 1933).

and contain many references to affairs in East Florida. The more bulky American series remains unpublished ; it includes the letters between Gage and the various officers on the headquarters staff-the Barrack Master General, Quarter Master General and Commissary of Stores and Provisions, for example, whose correspondence is likely to contain East Florida items; the letters between Gage and the Indian Superintendents (the correspondence with John Stuart is equally a source for East Florida) ; between Gage and the Brigadiers of the Northern and Southern districts, the officers at the many posts throughout North America, and the various colonial Governors. There are also letters to naval officers, and to certain private persons, mainly provision and money contractors. These letters are divided into two main categories, those from Gage and those to Gage, and in each category the letters are grouped according to the individual recipients and authors respectively upon a geographical basis. Each series of letters to or from a different individual has a number assigned to it, and a reference to the inventory kept with the papers makes the finding of any desired series an easy matter. The intention, however, is to break down the American series from its present individual and geographical classification, and to bind the different items into a straight chronological series; when that is completed, a reference to the inventory, where for instance the letters from the various officers at St. Augustine are mainly grouped together, will be indispensable in order to trace the letters dealing with any particular region. The Library of Congress has photostats of the letters from Gage; his letters to the Governors and officers in East Florida can therefore be seen in Washington, and their letters to Gage must be sought in the Clements Library.

An interesting series of letters throws some light upon the occupation of East Florida by the British troops and the months of military rule before the arrival of Governor Grant on 29 August 1764. The occupation was effected by troops from Havana, acting under orders of General William Keppel, but authority over the ceded territory of Florida and Louisiana was given to Sir Jeffery Amherst, commander-in-chief in North America. He continued in local command the respective officers in the two Floridas; at St. Augustine after August 1763 the commanding officer was Major Francis Ogilvie of the 9th Regiment; but Amherst also appointed Lieutenant-colonel James Robertson, then Deputy Quarter Master General and later Barrack Master General for North America, to make a tour of inspection of the ceded areas, and to take temporary command of the places he visited. Amherst in the autumn of 1763 received permission to return home, and therefore devolved his command upon Gage, explaining to him, in a letter of 17 November 1763,⁶ the military situation on the continent, and particularly in "Florida and Lousianne." With this letter he left various papers giving further information, and copies of letters he had written and received; and these, together with certain letters addressed to Amherst, but received by Gage after his departure, are really a part of the Gage collection, but are bound in a separate series under the title of the Amherst papers. Here are to be found Amherst's orders to Robertson and to the commanding officers in the Floridas, particulars of reinforcements and supplies sent along with Robertson, and a lengthy letter from Robertson to Amherst, written from St. Augustine on 26 September 1763, describ-

6. Carter, *Gage Correspondence*, II, 211.

ing the dangers of the bar of St. Augustine, the climate, the state of the fort and of the outposts at Picolata, Mosa and Matanzas, the establishment which the Spaniards had maintained. The Spanish governor and half the garrison were still in the town, and the Spaniards were claiming to dispose of most of the houses as private property. Ogilvie's letters to Gage, to be found among the Gage papers proper, also contain information about this period. He complains of high prices and of the difficulty of finding quarters, especially as so many houses were claimed as private property and sold. He was virtually the governor of the province until Grant's arrival, and Gage wrote that he regarded him as having judicial powers as "Chief Magistrate."

After the civil government had been established in the province, the letters concerning it in the Gage papers become of a more normal character. They consist first of those between Gage and the Governors of the province. There are twenty-one letters from Gage to Governor Grant, nineteen from Grant to Gage, two letters each between Gage and Lieutenant Governor Moultrie, two from Gage to Governor Tonym and three from Tonym to Gage. The Gage-Grant correspondence was friendly in tone : they exchanged news, Grant commiserating with Gage on his troubles with his neighbors to the east (namely in Boston), and flattering himself on the tranquillity of East Florida in contrast with the turbulence of West Florida ; he sent presents-oranges and on one occasion a turtle. Their letters touched on a variety of matters: the troops to be stationed in East Florida, especially at the time of the proposed new disposition of the North American forces in 1768 ; the value of the post at Apalache ; the embezzlements of young Shirdley, Deputy Com-

missary of Stores and Provisions at St. Augustine in 1765 ; and Indian affairs. Grant, though appointed, as was usual with colonial governors, Captain General and Governor-in-Chief, had no military authority over the troops stationed in the province, a constant irritation to him, the more so as he was, as he frequently reminded Gage, a military man himself. Grant first persuaded Ogilvie that he had been given the command, but he withdrew from this position on Gage's sharp remonstrance. Later, in 1767-68, Grant and Colonel William Tayler of the 9th Regiment had a sharp quarrel, which Gage smoothed over by finding a pretext to recall Tayler. Grant on this occasion applied through the Secretary of State for command over the troops in East Florida, but with no success. This left the Governor merely with the power of making representations to Gage concerning the military affairs in the province. Gage respected Grant's suggestions and information, and in turn kept him informed as to proposed military changes. The letters between Gage and Tonyn concerned a detachment ordered from St. Augustine to Virginia in July 1775, and Tonyn's transmission to Gage of a letter of 4 July 1775 from the Charlestown revolutionary, William Henry Drayton, which Tonyn obtained from William Drayton, the Chief Justice of East Florida.

Of some importance for East Florida are the letters between Gage and the Brigadiers of the Southern district. The first appointed was Henry Bouquet, but he died at Pensacola almost immediately after assuming his command, and Gage in November 1765 appointed as acting Brigadier Colonel Tayler, who had been commanding officer at St. Augustine since the summer of 1765. Tayler thereupon went to Pensacola, and was there until after

the arrival of Brigadier-General Frederick Haldimand in March 1767: Haldimand was Brigadier of the Southern District till 1773. The letters between Gage and Tayler, while the latter was acting Brigadier, have scarcely any reference to affairs in East Florida; in fact, as long as the headquarters of the Southern district were at Pensacola, East Florida, though belonging to the district, was left mainly to itself, and the officers there transacted most matters directly with Gage at New York.

The Gage-Haldimand correspondence, indeed, gives the impression that as long as Haldimand was in West Florida-until early in 1769-East Florida matters but little concerned him. What few references there are include disparaging remarks on the two Floridas in general, doubts of the utility of the post at Apalache, comments on the Grant-Tayler quarrel, and arguments against the plan to make St. Augustine the place of concentration for the bulk of the troops in the Southern district. Gage's letters to Haldimand are nearly as barren of East Florida references: of all the 108 letters he wrote to the Brigadier, between 1766 and 1773, only 22 contain important references to the province. The impression that its military affairs were outside the interest of the Brigadier is shown, however, to be inaccurate by a reference to Haldimand's own papers, where letters between Haldimand and Governor Grant, John Stuart, and various commanding officers at St. Augustine and Apalache, are to be found.⁷ Moreover even the correspondence

7. Haldimand's voluminous papers are in the British Museum, but the Public Archives of Canada at Ottawa have transcripts of the originals. These include, of course, the letters between Haldimand and Gage, which can thus be seen both in Ann Arbor and in Ottawa. The Ottawa transcripts are calendared in the *Reports on Canadian Archives* by Douglas Brymner, Archivist, 1884-89 (Ottawa, 1885-90). The Haldimand papers which include Florida material are calendared in the volumes in this series for 1884, 1885 and 1886.

in the Gage papers shows, naturally enough, much greater attention to East Florida during 1769 and 1770 ; for as part of the new disposition of the troops in North America in which St. Augustine was to be the main station in the Southern district, with the greater part of three regiments quartered there, Haldimand was ordered, in June 1768, to go to St. Augustine. He did not arrive there until April 1769, and left for West Florida in April 1770, when the plan had been changed, and the forces in West Florida increased at the expense of St. Augustine. His letters written during his stay in St. Augustine are full of East Florida affairs: the building of the barracks, for example.

The core of the Gage papers, as far as concerns East Florida, consists of the letters between Gage and the various commanding officers at St. Augustine. These are shown in the accompanying table.

Many of these letters deal purely with matters of military routine : troop movements and recruits, leaves, exchanges and purchases, quarters and lodging allowances, provisions and stoppages, clothing, fuel and the buying of boats for bringing firewood to the barracks, regimental contingent accounts, ordnance stores and the hospital, desertions and problems of discipline. References to the two companies detached from the St. Augustine garrison for New Providence and Bermuda are frequent; there are occasional allusions to the post at Apalache, and the damage it sustained by floods in the fall of 1766 is described in one of Jenkins' letters. The rivalry between the civil and military authorities is told from the military side in the letters of Ogilvie and Tayler and Gage's replies; Mackenzie later questioned the military powers of Lieutenant Governor Moultrie. The need for barracks was

<i>Commanding Officer</i>	<i>Dates of first and last letter of each officer in East Florida</i>	<i>Number of letters from each officer</i>	<i>Number from Gage to each officer</i>
Major Francis Ogilvie 9th Regt. (See also O. to G., 19 May 1767, London: G. to O., 24 Aug. 1767)	11 Nov. 1763, 21 June 1765	19	19
Colonel William Tayler 9th Regt.	1 Aug. 1765, 30 Apr. 1768*	46*	17*
Captain William Jenkins 9th Regt.	20 June 1766, 16 May 1767	11	14
Major Thomas Whitmore 9th Regt. (See also G. to W., 7 January 1770: W. to G., 5 Feb. 1770, Cork: W. to G., 23 June 1772, Southampton.)	28 June 1768, 30 Apr. 1769	9	10
Major Alexander McKensie 31st Regt.	Aug. 1770, Aug. 1772	13	14
Colonel Edward Maxwell 21st Regt.	24 May 1770, 12 March 1771	12	17
Lt.-Col. Maurice Carr 29th Regt.	Dec. 1771, 1 March 1773	13	15
Major Jonathan Fanning 14th Regt.	Apr. 1772, July 1775	3	6

8. Tayler's first letter from West Florida was 28 April 1766, his first from St. Augustine after his return from West Florida, 11 August 1767.

9. Number of letters between Gagan and Jew as in East Florida.

obvious from the first arrival of the British, and it is this which more than anything else dominates this correspondence. Tayler, however, was insistent on the need for barracks, promised that the Church and Convent of St. Francis, which Grant had offered for the purpose, could be fitted up as barracks at small expense, and finally won from Gage approval that work should begin before the permission was received from home. Work on these barracks, begun in the summer of 1766, dragged on, with the additional work, sanctioned later, of fitting up part of the Franciscan buildings for officers' quarters, until July 1771 when it was finally reported complete. Tayler found himself in hot water over the expense he had incurred and in something of a panic wrote Gage three letters on the same day (10 March 1768) in defence of his action. Gage later often lamented the "scrape" which Tayler had got him into, and was greatly relieved at the completion. Progress of the barracks, the need of materials from New York or England, difficulties of transport and labor, modifications of the plans-such things fill many of the letters of Tayler, Jenkins, Whitmore, Haldimand, Maxwell and Mackenzie, and Gage's replies. After it had been decided to make St. Augustine the station for three regiments, in 1768, and later under a modified plan of 1770 which provided for the quartering of two regiments entire at St. Augustine, it was necessary to provide another barracks. This time the decision was for a wooden structure, the frame to be made at New York. The work was done under contract between September 1770 and August 1771, but reports of the flimsiness of the building came almost as soon as it was completed.

In addition to the letters of the commanding officers; there are a number of others from some of

the lesser officers in East Florida. In most cases each correspondent is represented by a single letter, or two or three letters, to most of which Gage replied. This series consists of letters from nineteen officers ¹⁰ and deals mostly with routine matters—leaves, accounts and allowances. Single letters from four civilians complete the series: Witter Cuming, the provision contractor, Spencer Man and William Alexander, agents for the provision contractors, Caleb J. Garbrand, Wooldridge's deputy as Barrack Master at St. Augustine.

Last comes the correspondence between Gage and the officers in command of the fort of St. Mark's, Apalache. This post was taken over from the Spaniards, after considerable delay, by Captain John Harries of the 9th Regiment in February 1764 : there are six letters of his between 11 December 1763 (the first three from Pensacola) and 29 September 1764, describing his difficulties in reaching Apalache, and the desolate condition of the post. Gage's letters to him are five in number. Harries was replaced by Lieutenant James Pampellonne of the 9th, who sent Gage six letters from Apalache between 29 September 1764 and 11 October 1765. Gage wrote him four letters. Pampellonne evidently did a good deal to put the post in a satisfactory condition, but he got into trouble through hiring a boat which had touched at Apalache at the end of August 1765, to go to Pensacola for provisions for the post. As the post was supplied from St. Augustine, and the East Florida schooner was on the way with provisions,

10. Captain Eyre, Lieutenant Ross, Captain Lieutenant Skynner, Captain Peyton, Captain Rainsford, Lieutenant Fraser, Ensign Smith, Captain Hodgson, Lieutenant Mulcaster, Lieutenant Delacherois, Ensign Stapleton, Lieutenant Evans, Major Chissolm, Lieutenant Sampson, Captain Innis, Captain Gostling, Lieutenant Wooldridge, Captain Carleton and Captain Kathrens.

(though so late that the garrison's supplies were down almost to nothing) Governor Johnstone of West Florida forbade the vessel to take any supplies from Pensacola and advised Pampellonne to refuse payment. Governor Grant was also incensed, and in the following year Pampellonne was all but arrested in St. Augustine for non-payment of the ship-captain's bill: only Captain Jenkins' intervention, and Gage's later settlement of the account, saved him. This, with certain other of Pampellonne's accounts at Apalache was the subject of seven later letters from Pampellonne to Gage from St. Augustine. Pampellonne's successor at Apalache was Lieutenant George Swettenham of the 9th, with whom Gage exchanged a single letter; a single letter from Swettenham's successor, Ensign James Wright, demanded a special allowance for his time in command at Apalache. The post was abandoned in 1769.

The gleanings of East Florida material from the other manuscript collections in the Clements Library are not likely to be so large. Almost anything in the Shelburne papers may have a bearing on the province, for Shelburne was not merely, as President of the Board of Trade, Secretary of State and Prime Minister, at different times in close touch with colonial affairs, he was also at all times a keen student of America and the West Indies. His correspondence, therefore, between 1782 and 1783 should illuminate the retrocession of East Florida to Spain at the peace negotiations. In 1763, when the Board of Trade was considering plans for the territories ceded to England by France and Spain, he received many papers with schemes for colonial settlement and regulation. Drafts of various of Governor Grant's letters, and Shelburne's replies,

during 1766 and 1767, are in the collection, a letter from William Gerrard De Brahm, the surveyor, in 1780,¹¹ and several valuable letters from Dr. Andrew Turnbull to Shelburne, mainly between 1780 and 1782, the earlier ones from St. Augustine, the latter from his refuge in Charlestown.¹² These give details of Tonym's proceedings in the East Florida Court of Chancery against Turnbull, but even more show fully the enmity of Governor Tonym against the Drayton-Turnbull revolutionary faction in St. Augustine after 1775.

The Clinton Papers, bulky though they are, yield relatively little on East Florida, as the province, out of the main stress of the War of Independence, naturally had but slight place in the commander-in-chief's correspondence. There are various letters from Tonym to Clinton and to Tait, an Indian agent, others from Lieutenant-Colonel Fuser and Brigadier General Prevost to Clinton. These fall mainly in the year 1776, with a scattering in 1778, 1779 and 1780. The Germain papers¹³ seem to offer even less on East Florida: none of the correspondents listed in the catalogue of these papers had East Florida connections. The same is true of the papers of Alexander Wedderburn, successively solicitor-general and attorney-general in 1771-80, and later lord chancellor. The papers of Thomas Townshend, Viscount Sydney, who held various government offices in 1766-8 and 1782-3, are in the same category, but his correspondence for the years 1782-3 might

11. Reproduced in Randolph G. Adams, *Sir Henry Clinton Maps* (Ann Arbor, 1928), 109, 110.

12. These were extensively used by the author of the excellent study of the New Smyrna settlement: v. Carita Doggett, *Dr. Andrew Turnbull and the New Smyrna Colony of Florida* (Florida, The Drew Press, 1919).

13. See Randolph G. Adams, *The Papers of Lord George Germain: a Brief description of the Stopford-Sackville papers now in the William L. Clements Library* (Ann Arbor, 1928).

throw light on the role of East Florida in the peace negotiations. The last collection, the papers of William Knox, is more fertile, as Knox was not merely the author of writings on the colonial controversies of the time, and the under-secretary of state for America from 1770 to 1782; he was also crown agent for East Florida between 1763 and 1770. Knox took up a grant of land in East Florida and his early interest in the province is shown by two papers, one in his own hand entitled "Hints respecting the Settlement & Culture of East Florida," the other "Hints respecting the Settlement of Florida." Both probably date from 1763, and the first goes quite fully into the products that might be raised in East Florida and the best methods for its settlement.¹⁴

A little should be said about the maps of East Florida in the Clements Library map collection. While not a rival to the colonial map collection in the Public Record Office, nor that in the Maps Division of the Library of Congress, that of the Clements Library is of importance since it contains the many maps gathered from the Gage and Clinton papers. Those from the latter have been described by R. G. Adams,¹⁵ and include two sections of the map of Florida by Bernard Romans,¹⁶ various plans

14. These are the papers briefly calendared in Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Reports on Manuscripts in Various Collections*, VI (Papers of Captain H. V. Knox), 292 (Dublin, 1909).

15. Adams, *Sir Henry Clinton Maps*, cited above.

16. One section shows the mouth of the Mississippi, the other the northern part of the Florida peninsula, including St. Augustine and Apalache. The latter has pen-and-ink sketches of the mouth of St. Mary's River and the fort at Apalache. This sheet is similar to two sheets (which include the above-mentioned sketches) included in *Bernard Romans' Map of Florida 1774* published by the Florida State Historical Society and accompanied by P. Lee Phillips, *Notes on Life and Works of Bernard Romans* (Florida State Historical Society Publications No. 2. DeLand 1924).

of St. Augustine and its environs, and Jefferys' map of West Florida, 1775, which contains much detail of East Florida. The maps from the Gage papers, though fewer, are no less important. There is a wall map of West Florida and the northern parts of East Florida, done at Stuart's orders in 1773 and containing Notes by Romans and David Tait, two plans of St. Augustine seemingly dating from around 1770, Gauld and Pittman's sketch plan of the fort at Apalache and its surroundings, done for Haldimand, a plan showing the sites offered by Governor Grant in 1768 for the New Barracks at St. Augustine, and a plan entitled "Plan of the Soldiers Barracks as at Present. The Part A B C D E F Humbly Proposed to be Raised another Story." This, though not otherwise identified, looks suspiciously like a plan of the converted Franciscan buildings at St. Augustine which as barracks the economical Gage so greatly regretted.

THE PANTON, LESLIE PAPERS

Continuing the letters of Edmund Doyle, Trader
(Prophet Francis, Arbuthnot)

Spanish Bluff 17th June 1817

John Innerarity Esqr

Dear sir

Your favor of the 5th Inst reached me on the 15th. I lost no time in coming up here to see John Guerra who proceeds on to Pensacola tomorrow morning agreeable to your desire.

In a very short time the negroes at Sawannee will be routed and from every appearance many of the indians will have to follow them: reports from that place states the negroes are ready to decamp as soon as the American forces enter the Country, where they intend to make a third retreat at Tampa & the Spanish fisheries not far distant from thence,

In order to break up this banditti effectually, the people of Pensacola must make one effort more for this desirable object-We have the promise of Forty or fifty warriors, if they are found provisions and a vessel to secure the negroes taken in, to proceed on board her at the mouth of this River, & go on to Tampa, and take several negroes belonging to the House & others in Pensacola now there ; as soon as they are down from the Sawannee this party will proceed homewards along the beach the vessel to meet them at certain places that may be appointed from time to time during this service-A stout vessel will be necessary with sixty days rations for fifty men and a certain proportion for the negroes that may be taken-If this can be accomplished it must be done without the least delay-and proceed

to the mouth of this river untill the indians goes on board; 100 troops are already at the Forks, it puts the disaffected in motion, there is a meeting this day at the Tallahassies called by the notorious Francis just from England with a talk from the Prince Regent in person, I fear this talk will ruin them: he already dashes at Mr. Hambly and I, but I hope the prompt arrival of the rest of the troops will overawe the whole of those scoundrels-God send a few days may send them on-our state is really doubly hazardous and indeed I may say almost desperate-I wrote you on the 3rd Inst which met with delay, on account of the two first messengers having fell sick on the passage-untill the whole of the troops arrive, and the country assumes a more peaceable aspect we shall do no business at the Bluff, and unless we have there the necessary articles and cheap we shall do no business whatever-the indians at the next town to our store go up to Fort Gaines with their skins in preference to us; this will I know seem strange to you but it is no less the fact-

Cyrus and his party took a boat belonging to our indian here who will make us pay for it unless it is returned. Mr Limbaugh I hear has the boat in possession, besides there is another indian still unpaid of that party who is out hunting-Mrs Byrd will have to make this good to these people; & she may thank God it was not worse-

If the vessel here proposed comes on send on handcuffs for securing these people and if the Government sent on twenty troops, with orders for the people at the Fisheries to assist the indians in this service it is but what the inhabitants has a just right to expect-as soon as this bustle is over I shall send you on the cattle I told you Mr Hambly

bought for us this Spring, with yellow hairs if possible, indeed I shall force him as soon as we have means; the moment I touch the cash I shall go on to Pensacola-Mr. Hambly presents his best respects and I am Dear Sir

Very respectfully
your obt Servt
Edmd Doyle

Arbuthnot, the storekeeper at
Okeloughney, has already built
a storehouse at *Wakulla at the old scite*,
where he intends depositing a handsome
cargo just arrived from Nassau-
Can the Commandant at St Marks tolerate
this smuggler?
Mr John Innerarity
Merchant
Pensacola
Pr John Guerra

NOTES AND COMMENT

DE SOTO QUADRICENTENNIAL MARKER

On May 30, 1539 Hernando De Soto landed in Florida to begin an exploration which for the first time carried white men through a large part of our country and across the Mississippi river. There is no doubt that the expedition disembarked in Tampa harbor, but no proof has come down to us to show where it landed and the site will probably never be known.

Four hundred years afterwards to the day the National Society of Colonial Dames of America in the State of Florida, of which Mrs. Richard Daniel is president and Mrs. W. S. Manning honorary president, dedicated a granite marker on the shore of Tampa bay in commemoration of that important event in Florida's and our nation's history. It was placed on Shaw's Point, designated by the United States De Soto Expedition Commission as the most likely site of the landing. An address was made by Mr. Herbert Lamson, former secretary of the Florida Historical Society and past president of the Jacksonville Historical Society. Dr. John R. Swanton of the Bureau of Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution, and chairman of the Commission, was an honored guest and spoke also. Mr. G. B. Knowles accepted the marker on behalf of the city of Bradenton.

* * * *

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA PHI BETA KAPPA ORATION

President Hanna was invited to make the Phi Beta Kappa public oration at the University on May 8. He spoke upon the efforts of numerous

agents sent to Havana by the State Department in a fruitless endeavor to secure the Spanish land records of her Florida colonies, to be given the United States under the treaty of cession-a narrative of years of Spanish procrastination, subterfuge, continuous prevarication or just plain lying, intrigue, and bribery ; of which our own representatives, with some justification, were not wholly free. The address will appear in a volume of similar historical papers published as a memorial to Dr. James Alexander Robertson.

* * * *

THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The growth of the many state and local historical societies throughout the country interests us, and it is a satisfaction to feel that we too are going forward steadily.

On March 31 last, the enlarged and improved home of the New York Historical Society was dedicated, and the Florida Historical Society was, on invitation, represented by Mr. Edwin Pugsley, one of our members. Taking for granted your interest in the history of our country and hence in that of its chief city, it is suggested that those who are in New York this summer will find a visit to this building, Central Park West, as pleasing and worthwhile as anything at the Fair. Two wings have been added at an expenditure of \$4600,000, and the larger part of the entire building is given over to the museum and the library, both of which are of extraordinary interest and contain relics and historical material relating to the early history of the United States as well as of New York. In fact, there is much Floridiana there which we do not possess in our own library!

* * * *

THE SAN JACINTO MEMORIAL

The battle-ground of San Jacinto, a sacred spot to all Texans, has been marked with a shaft of impressive beauty which reaches a height of 567 feet above the Museum of History at its base. This was erected by the Texas Centennial Commission in commemoration of what has been called the "sixteenth decisive battle." It was dedicated on April 20, 21, last, by the San Jacinto Museum Association and other Texas patriotic and official bodies. A pleasing incident was the passing of U. S. S. Wichita, dipping its colors, with officers and men at attention, in silent tribute to the heroes of Texas.

Among representatives from other states and foreign countries, The Florida Historical Society was, on invitation, represented by Miss Elizabeth Howard West, librarian of Texas Technological College, long a member of our Society.

* * * *

THE YEARLING

Some years ago it was said here that the writing of history is changing. Once history was a narrative of the doings of kings and would-be kings, then of emperors and would-be emperors. Historians now look with a greater interest at the mass doings of the commoner-the average man. The successful historian creates a clear picture for the reader. As there is no average man nor any average doings, there must be many different figures in the picture doing different things-each figure typical of his many fellows and their many doings.

Is it a coincidence that Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings is an active member of the Florida Historical Society and has discussed phases of history and writing at our last two annual meetings? Is not this

genuine portrait of a type which will ere long be gone a bit of high value in the picture of Florida's history.

* * * *

Joseph E. Brown and the Confederacy, by Dr. Louise B. Hill, of the faculty of St. Petersburg Junior College, has appeared (University of North Carolina Press, \$3.50). The work will be read by Floridians with interest because of its merit (it was awarded the Baruch prize for outstanding research) because the author is now a Floridian, and because of its importance to the history of our neighboring state.

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OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Joseph B. Lockey is professor of history in the University of California, Los Angeles. Among his various historical writings is *Pan-Americanism, Its Beginnings*.

A. Curtis Wilgus is professor of history in George Washington University. He is president of Inter-American Bibliographical and Library Association.

Samuel H. Fisher served as chairman of the Connecticut Tercentenary Commission.

Charles L. Mowat is professor of history in the University of California, Los Angeles.

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

JOINT MEETING AT JACKSONVILLE AND FERNANDINA

The joint meeting of the Jacksonville Historical Society and the Florida Historical Society, announced in the last issue of the *Quarterly*, was notably successful.

On May 2 our officers met at luncheon in Jacksonville with other leading members of the second district to consider Society matters and policy:

It was decided to establish a memorial to Dr. Robertson.

Mr. H. E. Kahler's resignation as recording secretary was accepted, and the appointment of Mr. Albert C. Manucy to that office was approved by the Board.

The resignation of Dr. C. L. Crow, director from the second district, was accepted with regret.

Dr. W. J. Winter, chairman of the Committee on Archeology, submitted a policy and program. (See note on following page.)

The budget of Mr. Marchman, librarian, was approved.

In the afternoon there was a tour of Fort George Island, and Mrs. Millar Wilson told of the establishment of the John F. Rollins Bird and Plant Sanctuary there. Dr. Corse gave a resume of the Island's historic events, and Dr. Winter talked of the region's archeology.

During the afternoon and evening a collection of Floridiana was exhibited in the Florida room of the Jacksonville Public Library under the direction of Mr. Joseph F. Marron and Mrs. Emma Rochelle Porter.

Past President Joshua C. Chase was toastmaster at the dinner at the Roosevelt Hotel attended by several score members of both societies and their guests. Mr. C. E. Bennett spoke on Fort Caroline.

At the evening session Judge J. Ollie Edmunds, vice president of the Jacksonville Historical Society presided. Mr. William Barfield discussed James Ormond; and Dr. Luther J. Evans, National Director of Historical Records Survey, spoke on Inventories of Archives as Tools for the Historian.

The program at Fernandina next day began with an exhibit of Floridiana at the Keystone hotel.

Judge Burton K. Barrs, past president of the Jacksonville Historical Society, presided at the morning session. Mr. William J. Deegan Jr. gave the welcome, and Mr. George E. Wolff spoke on Fernandina history. Mr. Robert Edwards read a paper on Captain J. J. Dickson, Miss Joella Hughes one on Ribaut, Mrs. Linwood Jeffreys discussed Fort Clinch, and a paper was read on Cumberland Island written by Mr. Thomas M. Carnegie Jr.

Later at Fort Clinch, Mr. and Mrs. W. N. Galphin presented the flags of Florida to Fort Clinch State Park and Mrs. Jeffreys accepted them.

Mr. George W. Gibbs was toastmaster at luncheon.

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THE ARCHEOLOGY COMMITTEE AND DR. SWANTON

Dr. John R. Swanton, who came to Florida to make an address at the De Soto commemoration, told of below, was invited to address a group of members of the Florida Historical Society also, at Winter Park on May 27, and assist with advice and inspiration in the inauguration of a movement by the Society towards a wider knowledge of and an

effort for the preservation of our State's aboriginal remains. A luncheon was held in his honor at the University Club, where past President Joshua C. Chase spoke on the general aims of the Society, and President Hanna announced the appointment of the Society's archeology committee under the chairmanship and direction of Dr. W. J. Winter of St. Augustine.

Dr. Swanton spoke on the aborigines of Florida with the authority of a scholar who has devoted many years to their study, and whose monograph, *The Early History of the Creek Indian and their Neighbors* brought together and interpreted present knowledge of the principal tribe we know as the Indians of Florida.

Later, at his home, President Holt of Rollins College introduced Dr. Swanton to members of the Society and guests, who heard him describe the work of the De Soto Expedition Commission of which he is chairman, telling of the route followed by the explorer and how it was determined.

Committee on Archeology. Dr. Winter, chairman, a trained and experienced archeologist, has been in St. Augustine for more than two years directing archeological research of the St. Augustine Historical Program of the Carnegie Institution of Washington. He has outlined a program which has been adopted by the Society's board of directors:

- (1) To arouse interest in the preservation of our archeological remains and develop studies of them.
- (2) To encourage the establishment of a department of anthropology in some Florida institution of learning.
- (3) To build an archeological library as a part of the Society's library, and encourage other such libraries and museums.

The importance of this part of the Society's work is because : Florida, which has unsurpassed archeo-

logical treasures, has destroyed a large part-has no State archeologist-nor a department of anthropology in any of its universities or colleges.

* * * *

THE SOCIETY'S PLANS

The special work of the officers and directors this summer is in preparing for an expansion of the activities of the Society in the fall. Plainly, they have got to raise the money to carry on highly desirable work. The list of contributors below shows much has been done, but the total listed allows no expansion ; i.e., unless the Society can secure a larger income this year, we can carry out none of the plans. Will you not become a Contributing Member for this year? (There is no implied obligation to continue such membership). Two dollars of the dues of Contributing Members (\$10) goes into the General Fund, for the printing of the Quarterly and other necessary running expenses. The remainder, your contribution of eight dollars, will support the library and other historical work. The immediate needs of the library are: a manuscript cabinet (\$100), binding a great number of periodicals (\$250), and modern equipment for securing copies of Florida historical material in Washington and elsewhere (\$500).

Or, of equal help, will you not bring in one new member (with dues of \$2) and thus assist in broadening the work the Society is doing.

SPECIAL CONTRIBUTIONS

Mrs. F. B. Crowninshield	\$100.00
Mr. Joshua C. Chase	10.00
Mr. T. A. Mellon	10.00
Mr. C. Horace Curry	10.00
Waverly Growers Cooperative By Mr. W. C. Pedersen	30.00
Mr. Carl G. Alvord, source materials for Library	25.00
Mr. W. M. Buchanan, Tampa	20.00

CONTRIBUTING MEMBERSHIP

Babson, Mrs. Roger W., Babson Park.
Barstow, Mrs. W. S., Hobe Sound.
Barry, The Rt. Rev. Patrick, St. Augustine.
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Crowninshield, Mr. F. B., Boca Grande.
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Stone, Mrs. Doris Z., New Orleans, La.
Van Beuren, Mr. Michael, New Port, R. I.
Wilson, Mrs. Millar, Jacksonville.
Zabriskie, Mr. George A., Ormond Beach.

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*.