### The

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#### **CONTENTS**

Castle St. Mark and the Patriots of the Revolution Albert Manucy and Alberta Johnson

Spanish Colonial Contacts with the Ais (Indian River) Country Charles D. Higgs

Philip Freneau on the Cession of Florida Lewis Leary

From a Remote Frontier Mark F. Boyd

The Florida Historical Society
The annual meeting:

Program
Minutes
Report of the president
Report of the treasurer
Members in attendance
The library

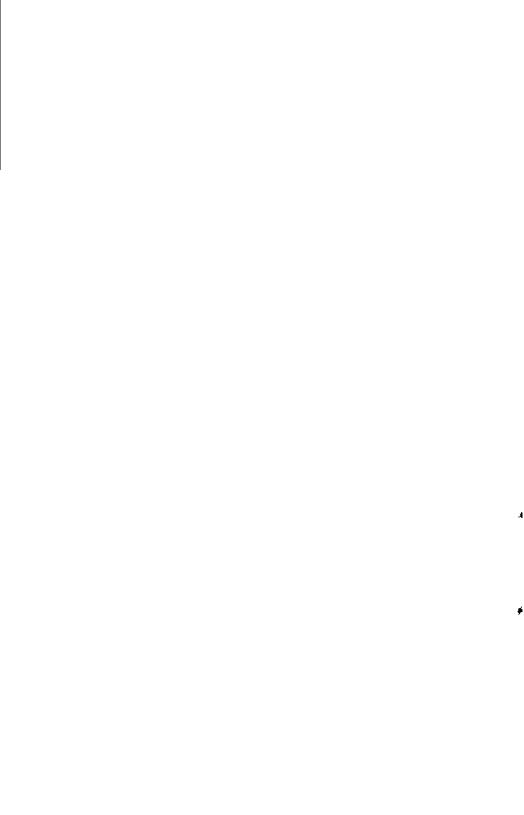
Local historical societies

**Notes and Comment** 

Index to Vols. XV-XX

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# CASTLE ST. MARK AND THE PATRIOTS OF THE REVOLUTION

by ALBERT MAUNCY and ALBERTA JOHNSON

Castillo de San Marcos is a token of Spain's determination to protect her vast New World riches in the face of seemingly inexorable English rivalry, encroachment, and actual piracy.

This aged citadel, renamed Fort Marion by the Americans, is now Castillo de San Marcos National Monument at St. Augustine. Engineer Ignacio Daza laid the first stone for the foundations in 1672, and the fort became a focal point of colonial culture - Spain's last impregnable outpost on the shores of the North Atlantic. Now, with the passage of two and a half centuries, it represents to us something of the Spanish contribution to life in the western hemisphere.

There is a long, dramatic story of the fort as a link in the chain of Spanish colonial defenses - a barrier against British advances; that story is widely known. Not so well known is the connection of the venerable fortification WITH the English nation, which held it during the turbulent years of the American Revolution.

When, in 1762, the city of Havana fell to England's Lord Albemarle, it was a catastrophe for Spain. La Habana was a key port in the Spanish colonial life line, and to regain this Cuban city Spanish diplomats gave Florida to England along with mighty Castillo de San Marcos that had withstood four separate English attempts to take it.

It was irony that Britain should occupy the *castillo* less than a decade after boastful Fernandez inscribed the bold Roman capitals over the sally port: THIS FORT WAS COMPLETED THE

YEAR 1756. 1 Castle St. Marks, or Fort St. Mark, the Englishmen called it. And it was one of the prettiest forts in His Britannic Majesty's dominions: walls shining white, red sentry towers overlooking the blue water of Matanzas bay on one side and the cushioned green turf and the waving marshes on the other. What matter if the old drawbridge had not stirred in a dozen years? And if the round-arched rooms were cold in winter and wet in summer, if a northeaster made the sentries shiver for the warmth of the big guardroom fireplaces, if the very boots a man was wearing turned blue with mold and sabers rusted in the scabbards -why, a soldier's life was hard, and the fort was still a mighty defense, good reason for making the city of St. Augustine the "Capital Settlement" of East Florida. This was an honor resting but lightly upon the quaint little town that had been the Governor's City for two centuries.

A surprising number of Britons came to St. Augustine and to the nearby plantations that one after another were carved from the forests. Aside from the planters there were the King's officials, the carpenters, masons, innkeepers, the merchants, slaves and many others. 2

There were also the soldiers. The military were a necessary adjunct to any pioneer province, especially where Indian trade was involved, and it was likewise true that the strategic harbors and surf-pounded beaches still lay next to the "tract" of the treasure-laden Spanish galleons. Nor had

<sup>1.</sup> CONCLUIO ESTE CASTILLO EL ANO D 1756 is part of the CONCLUIO ESTE CASTILLO EL ANO D 1756 is part of the lengthy inscription, which was more politic than factual. Though the main work was done, construction was still incomplete; opportunist Governor Fernandez however, seized time by the forelock and raised the inscription on the name day of the King, who was pleased to approve this action.
 Census in William G. De Brahm, "History of the Three Provinces" (MS., 1765).

Spain lost her love for Florida. More imminent, however, were the storm clouds gathering to the north.

The War of Independence began in 1775. While the thirteen colonies banded together against the tyrant George III, Florida stoutly proclaimed loyalty to the king. In Philadelphia the patriots signed a Declaration of Independence, but in St. Augustine His Majesty's subjects burnt the effigies of Sam Adams and John Hancock; so hundreds of Loyalists left the embattled colonies to find refuge in Florida. Wartime influxes of soldiers, refugees, guns and supplies changed what had been a steady, normal and healthy development of Florida's latent resources into a boom of landoffice proportions. The inadequate East Florida ports hummed with activity: "many industrious Persons," wrote Patrick Tonyn, governor of East Florida, "have by planting considerably increased their fortunes, and the inspection of the Custom house Books evinces that notwithstanding the difficult navigation [i. e., the want of good ports], if we can raise produce, it will find its way to the Markett. . ."

The records bear out the statement with long lists of exports that show the substantial character of British exploitation of the new province. While Washington's troops were starving at Valley Forge, the plantations around St. Augustine were producing over 1,000 barrels of rice, 148 hogsheads of molasses and 13 puncheons of bellywarming rum, in addition to sugar and experimental coffee and cocoa. Naval stores-tar and

<sup>3.</sup> Governor Patrick Tonyn to George Germain, July 3, 1779, British Public Record Office, Colonial Office 5, v. 559, pp. 433-456. These records, the Library of Congress transcripts of which were used for this study, are hereafter cited as C. O. 5

turpentine-brought in profits for the settlers; lumbering was a growing business with shipments of over 500,000 feet of pine lumber, 52,000 feet of mahogany, 419,000 oak staves, 124,500 cypress shingles, 4,000 hoops and even 120 handspikes being loaded aboard British freighters. shells and rawhides were commercial items, while 7,000 tons of deerskins were shipped during 1777. Indigo was a staple, for about 15,000 pounds of it were packed for export. The next year, Madeira and claret wines appear on the lists, along with 5,000 oranges and 16 hogsheads of orange juice, 5 barrels of vinegar, and such other articles as pimiento, ginger and sarsaparilla. Prosaic tallow, aromatic cedar and red bay lumber found markets. A few spars were cut from surrounding pine barrens that could have outfitted the entire British fleet. 4

St. Augustine became a British base of operations against the southern colonies and military activity was focussed at the fort. In the magazines of St. Marks were stored provisions, arms and ammunition for troops and vessels. The garrison was strengthened, which necessitated second floors being built in some of the rooms to accommodate more men as well as more supplies. The harbor was a rendezvous for patrol boats and privateers. The East Florida Rangers were organized. Indian allies were supplied from the King's stores. Troops marched from here against Savannah and Charleston, the Rangers made destructive raids in the Georgia country, and Deveaux's spectacular capture of New Providence in the Bahamas was the climax of another move from the St. Augustine base.

<sup>4.</sup> Account of the exports from the Province of East Florida, C. O. 5, v. 559, pp. 465-472.

Governor Patrick Tonyn, once an army officer, was, to quote his own words, "still animated with military ardour". <sup>5</sup> Rather wistfully he longed for military power along with his civil authority, but on that score he was consistently snubbed and found himself obliged to look elsewhere for outlets to his military ambitions. The results were considerable, as he reported to the Colonial Secretary:

"The Spirit of Privateering, my Lord, which I endeavoured by every means in my power to excite, and keep up, while it answered the publick purpose of annoying, and distressing the Rebels, has accumulated wealth to the adventurers, and I will venture to assert that the depredations by the Loyal Inhabitants of this Province by Sea, and Land, have contributed to sicken the Rebels of their Revolt, and forced them to keep those Troops in the Southern Provinces for internal defence, which would otherwise have strengthened Washington's Army . . . "6"

In fact, Florida's role as a loyal colony encouraged Governor Tonyn to hint that King George might be pleased to "confer upon this Province some distinguishing mark of royal favour for its adherence to its allegiance during a general revolt of the Colonies, and I beg leave," Tonyn smugly persuaded, "to suggest the propriety of altering the Northern Boundary by extending it from the St. Marys River to the River Altamaha, the Lands lying between these Rivers were annexed to the Province of Georgia only in 1763, and this Province may claim them upon a kind of title of conquest, they being during the Rebellion generally occupied by the Florida Rangers, and the Rebel Forts on

<sup>5.</sup> Tonyn to the Earl of Shelburne, Nov. 14, 1782, C. O. 5, v. 560, pp. 469-474.

<sup>6.</sup> Tonyn to Germain, July 3, 1779, C. O. 5, v. 559, pp. 443-456.

the North side of the Altamaha have been repeatedly demolished . . . '

During the war Spanish spies in St. Augustine furnished complete data on the condition of the defenses there, and, when the conflict broadened after Saratoga with the entry of France and Spain in the fight against England, Spanish strategists drew minutely detailed plans for the capture of the formidable castillo. True, the Spanish attack did not materialize, but the English were not blind to its possibility.8 More guns peered from the embrasures of the castle, repairs were made, huge barracks were built, outworks were strengthened, and the old palisades and earthworks surrounding the town were either reconditioned or replaced by other works more strategically located. Three-quarters of a century before, the castillo had received its baptism of fire from British cannon; now it was ready to defend the very nation which had attacked it.

Yet, except as a threatful deterrent to invasion, Castle St. Mark did not prove important to Britain as a fortification. Instead, it became a prison for patriots. The dark, damp bombproofs held the

<sup>7.</sup> Id.

8. Pensacola, West Florida capital, was captured by the Spanish under Galvez in 1781. For details of the proposed Spanish attack on St. Augustine see "Ataque de San Agustin de la Florida," Mar. 13, 1779 (no. 52); "Estado en que se hallava la Plaza de san Agustin de la Florida . . ." Oct. 29, 1780 (no. 50); and "Por haver variado los datos sobre los quales se fundo el Plan de ataque . . ." Jan. 12, 1781 (no. 49), all in bundle 76, Public Buildings, Fortifications and Defenses, East Florida Spanish Papers (Library of Congress); and transcripts of the Papeles Procedentes de Cuba, Legajos 1290, 1291 (Library of Congress). See also such letters as that of Tonyn to Germain, Mar. 5, 1781, C. O. 5, v. 560, pp. 191-194, enclosing copies of Tonyn's letters to British commanders Cornwallis, Clinton, Gayton, Clark and others. Of considerable interest in this connection is Kathryn T. Abbey's "Spanish Projects for the Reoccupation of the Floridas during the American Revolution" (The Hispanic American Historical Review, v. IX, no. 3).

rebels who could not be trusted to the town gaol or the more comfortable State House or the prison ship *Otter*, anchored in the harbor.

Some of the first American prisoners came in September 1776. They were men taken in the Virginia campaign by the Earl of Dunmore, who explained to Governor Tonyn:

"I have sent you a number of prisoners on board the Otter, that have fallen into my hands from time to time which I find absolutely impossible to keep any longer here. I have therefore to request you will put them in some place of *security*, 'till an exchange shall be made, which I frequently offered, but the Rebels have ever evaded it . . . " 9

The best "place of *security*" was judged by Tonyn to be the castle, so on September 22 the patriots tramped over the bridge and into the sally port to their gloomy prison cells.

Soon afterwards, His Majesty's Sloop Otter was appointed a station ship for the province and the men were marched out of the castle and again boarded the floating prison. It turned out that Captain Squire, master of the *Otter*, had his own sympathies. Twelve of the rebels he sent back to the castle, with the word that their behavior showed them "too dangerous" to keep on board; then, voyaging northward, he released the rest of his charges near the St. Marys river.

Meanwhile, those in the castle were within reach of sympathetic Chief Justice William Drayton and habeas corpus proceedings, so Governor Tonyn made the best of a bad bargain. He paroled the ranking officer, Lt. Col. Anthony Lawson, and sent him to Virginia for exchange. Prisoner Will West-

<sup>9.</sup> The Earl of Dunmore to Patrick Tonyn, July 31, 1776, C. O. 5, v. 557, p. 135. Dunmore's letter enclosed a list of prisoners (*ib.* p. 136), which is reproduced in Appendix I of this article.

cott threatened Lord Dunmore with a lawsuit for illegal imprisonment, so Tonyn let him go after coaxing him to sign an agreement to forego legal action. With the rest, matters took their due course and on December 21, 1776, they applied for writs of *habeas corpus*. <sup>10</sup>

The number of the prisoners was augmented from time to time; and not the least of these were the seamen-French, Spanish and American -whose ill fortune brought them to the Florida port. For two centuries the *guarda de costas* had brought maritime prizes into the harbor, but now the tables were turned and Spanish vessels were among those sailed by prize crews into the erst-while Spanish stronghold. <sup>11</sup> The *Nuestra Senora del Carmer*, captured off Charleston by the *Carysfort*, was brought with its Spanish master and crew and several shipwrecked French sailors to St. Augus-

Drayton's action did not necessarily free the Virginians. They were required to furnish bail and appear at the next session of the court six months later. Many St. Augustine prisoners, said Drayton in his letter to Germain (C. O. 5, v. 557, pp. 123-126), "have now been in Confinement near two years, & . . . only one of them has been able to profit himself of the Judgment of the Court in their Favour; for being in a Province remote from any of their Friends, or Connexions, no more could find Bail . . ."

a Province remote from any of their Friends, or Connexions, no more could find Bail . . ."
11. See the general accounts for expenses incurred for refugees and prisoners, 1777-1783, C. O. 5, v. 559, pp. 125-132; v. 560, pp. 137-140, 551-554. See also W. H. Siebert, *Loyalists in East Florida* (Florida State Historical Society, Deland, 1929) v. I, p. 56.

<sup>10.</sup> Wrote Drayton: "It is only by Inference, or Conjecture, that it can be concluded . . . that these Men were taken up for having been in Rebellion.-Ld. Dunmore says, that they are Prisoners, whom he wish'd to have exchang'd with the Rebels for others--But it does not appear even generaly [sic], that these Men had committed Treason, or been in Rebellion: much less is it particularly specified, what Kind of Treason ..." (Exhibit A, Drayton's opinion, Jan. 6, 1777, C. O. 5, v. 557, pp. 127-134, which see.) Also see the letter enclosing this opinion, Drayton to Germain, Jan. 30, 1777. ib., pp. 123-126; letter, Tonyn to Germain, Oct. 18, 1776, ib., pp. 1-4; letter, Tonyn to the Earl of Dunmore, Dec. 24, 1776, ib., pp. 73-76; and its enclosure, copy of "Parole Honour, Anthony Lawson", Nov. 23, 1776, ib., pp. 77-80.

Drayton's action did not necessarily free the Virginians. They were required to furnish bail and appear at the next

tine. There, just inside the harbor, the tide grounded her on a sand bar. Hoping to lighten ship, Pilot Smith jettisoned the cargo of salt, while much of the more palatable merchandise-rum, sugar and molasses-was confiscated by certain local residents before the sloop broke up in a northeaster. It was no wonder that the Spanish ambassador protested. <sup>12</sup>

Rumors about the evils of prison life at St. Augustine spread rapidly but they were perhaps due mainly to an association of ideas, for to the Anglo-Saxon mind a Spanish-built *castillo* must be fully equipped with the dungeons and apparatus of the inquisition, <sup>13</sup> According to official reports, prisoners in St. Augustine were generally treated "with great tenderness", most of them being either paroled to their own homes or given the liberty of St. Augustine's narrow streets.

Nevertheless, the rumors seem to have been rather widely believed. In the summer of 1777 the American ship *Franklyn* had been taken off Charleston by Lt. Ellis of the *Hinchinbrook*. <sup>15</sup> Late in August Governor John Rutledge of South Carolina dispatched an accusatory letter to Tonyn, asking for the truth of the report that Captain Engs and his crew of the *Franklyn* were lying in a dungeon, and threatening retaliation on British captives at Charleston. <sup>16</sup>

<sup>12.</sup> Tonyn to Germain, Oct. 13, 1779, with enclosures listing prisoners, cargo, and giving pertinent depositions, C. O. 5, v. 559, pp. 381-434; and Germain to Tonyn, Feb. 10, 1779, v. 559, pp. 53-60.

pp. 53-60.

13. Torture had practically disappeared by 1700. As for the dungeons at which Rutledge (see post) professed horrorthe inky powder magazines of U. S.-owned Fort Jefferson made excellent dungeons during the 1860's, almost a century after the Revolution.

<sup>14.</sup> Tonyn to John Rutledge, Aug. 21, 1777, C. O. 5, v. 557, pp. 717-724.

<sup>15.</sup> *Id.* 

<sup>16.</sup> Jöhn Rutledge to Tonyn, Aug. 5, 1777, C. O. 5, v. 557, pp. 711-716.

"The well established Character of the English Nation for humanity and generosity," wrote Tonyn in reply, "I doubt not will remain unsullied in this unhappy Contest . . . " 17

Engs and his fellows were not in a dungeon, but in a "healthy and airy situation", getting fat (Tonyn intimated) on provisions from the King's

But as the war progressed and expenses mounted it apparently became more and more difficult to find the means for keeping the prisoners alive. Until the general exchange at the conclusion of hostilities, there were an estimated 300 or so prisoners who had to be housed and fed, and the Florida governor was hard put to find the 2,000 per year required to pay the commissioner of prisoners, buy the rice, flour, beef, pork and medicine, and repair the gaols for these unwilling inhabitants of St. Augustine, especially when loyal British refugees also had to be fed. Still, nobody starved and the little town had been known from earliest times as an exceptionally healthful post. If a prisoner did die (there were eight deaths in 1780), His Majesty's Government paid a carpenter to make a simple coffin and the gravediggers and the rector to handle interment.

Of course, prisoners were exchanged from time to time as opportunity presented. Yet, unless the fortunes of war at the moment favored the cause of King George, the Florida governor was reluc-

<sup>17.</sup> Tonyn to Rutledge, Aug. 21, 1777, C. O. 5, v. 557, pp. 717-724.

Id.

<sup>18.</sup> Id.
19. General Accounts of Sundry Contingent Expences, 1778-1779, C. O. 5, v. 559, pp. 125-128, 539-542; for 1779-1780, v. 560, pp. 63-66, 137-140; also Tonyn to the "Commissioners for Sick and hurt", Apr. 14, 1783, with enclosures, v. 560, pp. 543-554; and especially "Memorial of His Excellency Governor Tonyn to the . . . Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury", Dec. 10, 1779, v. 559, pp. 573-576.

tant to negotiate direct exchanges, for, as he said, the rebel prisoners "were too well acquainted with our weak situation. . . " <sup>20</sup> In one notable instance, a French cartel from Charleston anchored in the St. Augustine roadstead and proposed a reciprocal exchange of prisoners. Tonyn refused. He had news that the French fleet was busy in the West Indies, and he evidently believed-since the prison ship had no English prisoners aboard-that the Frenchmen intended to carry his prisoners off to the scenes of action without bringing any Britishers back from Charleston. Consequently, the French were not even allowed to come into the harbor, much less set foot ashore. Then, in order to have a bona fide excuse for refusing exchanges in the near future, Tonyn cannily delivered his informed prisoners to the privateer Hero for a voyage to England. There they would doubtless be out of action for some time to come.

The gaols at St. Augustine caught only a few of the patriots operating in southern waters. Many adventurous privateers were consistently employed throughout the war at their chosen profession of twisting the British lion's tail for their own benefit.

One of the first successes came on a calm summer morning in 1775. The English brig *Betsey* was hove to in the roadstead outside the harbor in plain view of the watch in the castle tower. She was heavily loaded with badly needed gunpowder. Before tide was high enough for her to cross the bar a South Carolina privateer, manned by a crew of 26 armed rebels, stole alongside. The rebels overpowered the soldier-laborers aboard, and took away 111 barrels of His Majesty's powder. As a final piece of insolence, the sloop's captain, one Clement

<sup>20.</sup> Tonyn to Germain, Nov. 29, 1779, C. O. 5, v. 559, pp. 547-550. 21.  $\emph{Id}$ .

Lempriere, left payment for the powder in the form of a 1,000 draught on a Charleston merchant. Tonyn's men gave chase, but the rebel sloop slipped into the Savannah river and sailed the tortuous inland passage to Beaufort. The Betsey's captain "protested against these violent proceedings" and Tonyn issued a proclamation against the "pirates". 22 But the powder was gone.

The best known prisoners to arrive in St. Augustine were the South Carolinians. In the century past the founding of the nearby Carolina settlement had been a weighty factor in the decision by the Spaniards to build Castillo de San Marcos. And in the following years Carolina troops marched more than once against the impregnable castle. Now that St. Augustine was at last a British possession, the Carolinians were again on the wrong side, and this time they might have wished that the walls of the castle were even harder to achieve.

On May 12, 1780, Charleston surrendered to British forces, among whom were troops from St. Augustine. Many of the most influential and active South Carolina patriots were captured and then released on parole. About a month later General Clinton issued a proclamation which the affected citizens considered an affront to their honor and a violation of the articles of capitulation. <sup>23</sup> One result was that Lord Cornwallis loaded sixty-three of the rebel prisoners and some of their servants aboard two ships and sent them to the Florida capital as

<sup>22.</sup> Tonyn to Earl of Dartmouth, Aug. 24, 1775, C. O. 5, v. 555,

pp. 323-326. B. J. Lossing, *Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution* (New York, 1852), v. II, p. 768, especially footnote 1.

hostages of war. The first ship came into port on September 15, and the other on November 24, 1780. <sup>24</sup>

Here the patriots were turned out on parade and a British officer stepped forward,

"Expediency, and a series of political occurrences," he told them, "have rendered it necessary to remove you from Charleston to this place; but, gentlemen, we have no wish to increase your sufferings; to all, therefore, who are willing to give their paroles, not to go beyond the limits prescribed to them, the liberty of the town will be allowed; a dungeon will be the destiny of such as refuse to accept the indulgence." <sup>25</sup> Most of the Carolinians gave their paroles, but some preferred the castle.

The majority of the paroled men were lodged either in the gaol or the more pleasant State House, where they had the privilege of a nearby orange grove. Several of them even set about planting and cultivating small garden plots, probably as much for exercise as for the produce. In the Parish Church, the prisoners were provided with seats, but they refused to attend services where prayers were said for the success of the British forces. They had their own minister, John Lewis, the rector of St. Paul's Parish, until he addressed them upon the text, "The Lord forbid it me that I should give the inheritance of my fathers unto thee" (Kings, xxi, v. 3). This ambiguous dissertation took him to quarters in the

 <sup>&</sup>quot;Alphabetical Return of the names and titles of the Rebel prisoners landed from Charles Town at Saint Augustine, September 15th and November 24th 1780", C. O. 5, v. 560, pp. 115-118. See Joseph Johnson, Traditions and Reminiscences Chiefly of the American Revolution in the South (Charleston, 1851), pp. 317-319, who lists 68 prisoners; and compare also Alexander Garden, Anecdotes of the Revolutionary War (Charleston, 1822), p. 165. Prisoners were also sent to Havana from time to time; see Tonyn to Don Juan Manuel de Cagigal, Governor of Cuba, Nov. 30, 1781, C. O. 5, v. 560, pp. 317-320.
 Garden, op. cit., pp. 169-170.

Tonyn accused him of leading his comcastle. patriots in "very improperly held private meetings for the purpose of performing divine Service agreeable to their rebellious principles, and . . . such proceedings are thought injurious to His Majesty's Government, and of seditious tendency, and an infringement on their pledge of honour. . . "26

The roster of prisoners from Charleston reads like a contemporary Who's Who. A third of them were members of the South Carolina Assembly. And there was David Ramsay, noted historian, the surgeon of the Ancient Battalion of Artillery, who saw service at both Savannah and Charleston; two other surgeons, John Beed and Noble Wimberley of Georgia; Lt. Hugh Rutledge, Judge of Admiralty; Attorney General Alexander Moultrie, Major of Militia; schoolmasters James Thomson and Benjamin Waller; attorney Jacob Read; General Griffith Rutherford and Colonel Elijah Isaacs, both of whom had been taken previously at Gates' defeat at Camden; and the aging General Christopher Gadsden. 27 Gadsden, Rutherford, Isaacs and Read were among those sent to the dungeons at Castle St. Marks. <sup>28</sup>

Perhaps the most famous of the Carolina prisoners were three men who had signed the Declaration of Independence-Arthur Middleton, Edward Rutledge, and Thomas Heyward, Jr.-and fiery old Chris Gadsden.

Arthur Middleton, gentleman planter, traveler, congressman and soldier, had the peculiar honor of having been elected South Carolina's governor

28. G. R. Fairbanks, *History and Antiquities of the City of St. Augustine, Florida* (N. Y., 1858), p. 172.

Tonyn to William Brown, Nov. 18, 1780, C. 0. 5, v. 560, pp. 111-114. Also see *Traditions and Reminiscences*, pp. 319-321, especially footnote, p. 321; *cf.* Garden, p. 200. "Alphabetical Return", cited in note 24, which see. The roll of honor, paraphrased from the Return, is printed in Appendix II 26.

pendix II.

(1778) and then declining the office. Like Heyward, he was one of the thirteen members of Carolina's defense committee, the Council of Safety, under whose authority Captain Lempriere sailed to loot the *Betsey* off St. Augustine bar in 1775.

Edward Rutledge, captain in the Charleston Battalion of Artillery, lawyer, congressman and statesman, was the youngest (31) of this trio of signers.

Captain Thomas Heyward, youthful plantationborn jurist, agriculturalist and statesman, wounded in action against the British at Port Royal Island, was again in active service at the fall of Charleston. <sup>29</sup>

It was Thomas Heyward, who on July 4, 1781, wrote words that are yet remembered. By special permission this day the patriots all ate together. An English plum pudding was brought in, and surreptitiously on its top waved a tiny flag with thirteen stars and stripes. Then, at this Fourth of July patriot dinner in British St. Augustine, was heard for the first time the hymn afterwards sung from Georgia to New Hampshire:

"God save the thirteen States, Thirteen United States, God save them all."

Heyward's verses were set to the tune of God Save the King, and the guard, peeping in at the windows and deceived by the familiar air, wondered at what they took to be the sudden return of loyalty to King George.  $^{30}$ 

Brigadier-General Christopher Gadsden, described by Governor Tonyn as "titular Lieutenant Governor [of South Carolina] an old Man of a distinguished inflamatory disposition" and one of the

A. S. Salley, Jr., Delegates to the Continental Congress from South Carolina (Charleston, 1927).
 Traditions and Reminiscences, p. 320.

"Rebellious Prisoners . . . who were troublesome in keeping alive the flame of Rebellious Principles amongst the Inhabitants in Charlestown" <sup>31</sup>, refused to give a second parole after the one in Charleston had been violated. This refusal, said Gadsden, was a "Standing protest against such outrageous tyranical Conduct . . . "<sup>32</sup> His imprisonment is best described by himself:

"forty two Weeks . . . I was confin'd in the Castle, & none of my Friends permitted to see me . . . Their Treatment of me when taken up the 27th of August last, was much more severe & pointed than against any of my friends, which appears to me more owing to the Station I was In, than as Mr. Gadsden, (tho I beleive [sic] no Favourite as such,) & my lot not being mention'd in the Capitulation gave them an opportunity to affect treating me with Rigour & Contempt . . . When in the Castle the Officers were order'd frequently not to converse with me, however many of them often did, & all of them behaved with Decency. I never had the least Insult offer'd me there. Once indeed there was an Order against my lighting a Candle in Consequence of which I went without for two or three nights, but the pitifulness of this they were soon asham'd of themselves . . . "  $^{33}$ 

It was at this time that Benedict Arnold betrayed the American cause and was found out through the capture of the British spy, Major John Andre. The execution of Andre was ordered. <sup>34</sup> General Washington was informed that the British would retaliate

Tonyn to Germain, Dec. 9, 1780, C. 0. 5, v. 560, p. 102.
 Christopher Gadsden to (George Washington), Aug. 10, 1781.

 <sup>33.</sup> Id.
 34. Arnold proposed to betray the American fortress at West Point. Andre was captured behind the American lines, courtmartialed, and finally executed as a spy on October 2, 1780.

if Andre died, and Colonel Glazier, Commandant of the Castle, sent word to Gadsden that Gadsden himself would probably be the one selected to pay for Andre's death. Even this threat did not break the old Patriot's indomitable spirit. He simply told the Commandant that he was always ready to die for his country. <sup>35</sup>

Nor was this the only threat to the lives of the patriot prisoners. Another came in June 1781 after the siege of Augusta, Georgia. Lt. Colonel Thomas Brown, commander of the East Florida Rangers, was captured and threatened with death. Colonel Glazier at once announced his intention to hang six of the patriots if Brown were executed. <sup>36</sup> was a general exchange of prisoners which came in time to relieve the tension.

Early in August 1781 two small vessels transported the Carolina prisoners to Philadelphia where "in good Health & Spirits" the gentlemen made arrangements to return to their homes. 37 A few

<sup>35.</sup> Garden (pp. 172-173) furnishes an indirect quotation of Gadsden's words: "he was always prepared to die for his country; and though he knew it was impossible for Washington to yield to the right of an Independent State by the Law of War, to fear or affection, yet he would not shrink from the sacrifice, and would rather ascend the scaffold than purchase with his life the dishonour of his country."

36. Ramsay, History of North Carolina (Charleston, 1809) p. 372. Ramsay was one of the Charleston prisoners sent to St. Augustine. See also Siebert, v. I, p. 86. Brown, a stormy petrel only recently from England, had been forced by circumstance into his Florida career. Tonyn referred to him as "Mr. Brown, a most respectable Gentleman of very considerable Fortune in the back Countries of Carolina and Georgia. He was most inhumanly treated, he was tar'd and feathered, about eighteen months ago, was scorched with hot Irons, and some of his toes were burned off . . ." Tonyn to Germain, Jan. 7, 1777, C. O. 5, v. 557, pp. 89-92; cf. the "Georgia Gazette", 1775, cited in C. B. Reynolds, Old St. Augustine (St. Augustine, 1885), pp. 92-93, footnote.) It was this event that caused him to seek the more salubrious Florida climate. He led his Rangers on several forays into Georgia Territory. Georgia Territory. 37. Gadsden to (Washington), Aug. 10, 1781.

weeks later, Cornwallis surrendered to Washington at Yorktown and the conflict was virtually ended. Most of the prisoners left at St. Augustine were sailors, and at the close of the war they were either released or sent on exchange to Havana, the British West Indies, or New York. 38

Then, one day under the guns of the fort, there sailed a ship with portentous news. By the 1783 Treaty of Paris, Spain had ceded Jamaica to Great Britain and Florida was relinquished to Spain. So for a little while the proud banner of Spain waved again over the province, and the fort once more took its Spanish name of *Castillo de San Marcos*.

The iron-leaved Book of Fate was not yet turned to the American destiny of this weathered old castle.

#### APPENDIX I

Patriots from Virginia who were imprisoned at Castle St. Mark in September 1776:

Col. Anthony Lawson
Lt. William Hunter
Ensign William Harewood
Charles Decay
William Westcoat
Zebidiah Sheperson
John Mc[C]lenachan
Isaac Wickershand
John Freeman
Samuel Cardeale
David James
William Johnston
James Sharwood
Antony Boyle

Jack Morro
Finlay Irwin
John Feever
Thomas Watkins
William Hill
Matthew Stubbs
John Mason
William Kimblen
George Wishurt
George Demy
David Parsons
Charles Lee
David Cranley
James Murphy

<sup>33. &</sup>quot;General Account of Extraordinary Expences incurred . . . for the Maintenance and support of Marine Prisoners of War . . ." Aug. 27, 1782, to Mar. 2, 1783, C. O. 5, v. 560, pp. 551-554.

#### APPENDIX II

Patriot prisoners sent to St. Augustine after the fall of Charleston in 1780:

Beresford, Richard, planter.

Berwicks, John, planter, Member of Assembly.

Bee, Joseph, planter. Beed, John, Surgeon.

Blake, Edward, merchant, 1st Commissioner of Navy, Member of Assembly.

Bourdeaux, Daniel, merchant. Cochran, Robt., powder receiver.

Cudworth, Benjamin, vendue master.

Cripps, John Splatt, merchant, formerly Lieut. Militia. Crouch, Henry, planter, Member of Assembly. Darrell, Edward, merchant, Commissioner of Navy. DeSausseur, Daniel, merchant, formerly Paymaster General, Southern district, Member of Assembly.

Edwards, John, merchant, Commissioner of Navy, Member of Assembly.

Ferguson, Thomas, planter, member of Privy Council.

Flagg, George, painter.

Grimball, Thomas, attorney, sheriff, Major of Militia, Artillery. Gadsden, Christopher, temporary Lieut. Governor, formerly Colonel of a Continental Regiment, Brigadier General, Dele-

gate to Congress. Gibbs, William Hasell, attorney, Lieut. Militia, Member of Assembly.

Hall, George Abbot, merchant, Collector of Customs, Charles Town and Captain of Volunteers.

Hutson, Richard, planter, member of Privy Council, formerly delegate to Congress.

Holmes, Isaac, planter, Lt. of Militia, Member of Assembly. Hall, William, formerly captain of the Notre Dame. Hal, Thomas, formerly Captain of Continentals.

Heyward, Thomas, attorney, assistant Judge, Captain of Artillery, Militia, Member of Assembly, and formerly delegate to Congress.

Isaacs, Elijah, Lt. Cot. Militia, taken at Gates' defeat. Jones, Noble Wimberly, surgeon.

Johnson, William, blacksmith, Member of Assembly. Lushington, Richard, merchant, Captain of Militia. Johnson, William, blacksmith,

Loveday, John, gardener, messenger of Privy Council. Logan, William, merchant. Lewis, Rev'd John, Rector of St. Pauls Parish.

Lee, William, watch maker, Captain of Militia. Livingston, William, factor, Captain of Militia.

Moultrie, Alexander, Attorney-general, Major of Militia, Member of Assembly.

Massey, William, formerly Deputy Muster-Master general Southern district with Lieut. Col. rank Continentals.

Middleton, Arthur, planter, Member of Assembly, formerly Dele-

gate to Congress.
McCrady, Arthur, tavern keeper.
Mowat, John, formerly Captain of Continentals.
North, Edward, merchant.

Neufville, John, merchant.

Parker, Joseph, formerly Major of Continentals. Poyat, John Ernest, planter, Member of Assembly.

Prioleau, Samuel, Vendue Master.

Portell, Benjamin, planter, formerly Lieut. Continentals. Peters, Christopher, planter. Read, Jacob, attorney, Captain of Militia.

Rutledge, Hugh, Judge of Admiralty, Member of Assembly, Lieut. of Volunteers.

Ramsay, David, surgeon, Member of Privy Council.

Rutledge, Edward, attorney, Member of Assembly, Captain of Militia, formerly delegate to Congress and one of the Commissioners deputed to treat with the British Commissioners. Rutherford, Griffith, planter, Brigadier of Militia taken at Gates'

Smith, Josiah, merchant, Commissioner of Navy, Member of As-

sembly.

Sansom, John, crier of the Court of Admiralty.

Singleton, Thomas, Tavern keeper.

Savage, Thomas, planter. Smith, Phillip, planter.

Timothy, Peter, printer, Clerk of Assembly.

Todd, John, Tavern keeper.

Thomson, James, School Master.

Toomer, Anthony, brick layer, Captain of Militia Artillery and

Member of Assembly. Wilkinson, Morton, planter. Wakefield, James, merchant.

Waller, Benjamin, school master. Weyman, Edward, Cabinet maker, Marshal of Court of Admiralty, member of Assembly, and Lieut. Artillery Militia.

#### **BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Primary Sources:

This monograph is based mainly upon data found in the Library of Congress transcripts of the British Public Record Library of Congress transcripts of the British Public Record Office papers, Colonial Office 5, and especially upon v. 555, 557, 559-560. Class 5, the Colonial Office series, v. 540-573, is the largest body of British archival material in this country relating specifically to the East Florida province. (Castillo de San Marcos study collection contains microfilms of v. 540-560, 563, 571-572, 577-582.) The mass of the Colonial Office transcripts relates to civil administration of the province with the attendant economic and judicial problems but, as is natural, considerable military data are also included. The Library of Congress has other reproductions also of official British papers pertinent to the field pertinent to the field.

The William L. Clements Library at the University of Michigan is the repository for the Gage Papers, indispensable original source, many of which have been used in developing the background of the narrative. (The Castillo collection has a reference microfilm of bundles 540-568, 1000, 1020-1032, from the correspondence of this British General.) Obviously military documents, the Gage Papers are by no means limited

For the purpose in hand, the essential to the military alone. section of these papers comprises correspondence between Gage, Commander of the British forces in North America, and the commanding officers at St. Augustine, which is an indication of their significance for the history of the Fort. In the same repository are valuable but less productive collections such as the Shelburne, Clinton, and Amherst Papers, among others. Charles Mowat, "Material Relating to British East Florida" (The Florida Historical Quarterly, v. XVIII, no. 1), evaluates the pertinent material.

An important manuscript by William Gerard De Brahm, "History of the Three Provinces" (1765), is in the Harvard College Library. (A microfilm of the St. Augustine section is in the Fort Marion study collection.) It contains a contemporary description of Florida at the beginning of the English occupation, a description which is supplemented with statistics and numerous

beautifully drafted maps.

Christopher Gadsden's signed autograph letter to General George Washington bears the dateline of Philadelphia, August 10, 1781, and summarizes Gadsden's St. Augustine experience. The original is in the Library of Congress, and the text has been published in Spark's *Correspondence of the Revolution* (v. III, p. 376). (A photostat copy of the manuscript is in the museum at Castillo de San Marcos.)

#### II. Memoirs:

Of the personal anecdotes which are too often lacking in official correspondence, there is an unusually large supply in the memoirs of men who either were here at the time or had the stories directly from friends or relatives who were at the scene. Undoubtedly the most reliable of such works, at least for the present purpose, is David Ramsay, *History of South Carolina* (Charleston, 1809). Dr. Ramsay was one of the Charleston prisoners brought to St. Augustine; and his narrative, though distinctly partisan, is first hand so far as the St. Augustine episode is concerned and is the earliest publication of the memoir

Alexander Garden, Anecdotes of the Revolutionary War in America (Charleston, 1822) has brought together a collection of stories, printed articles, and letters. Garden, one-time aide to General Greene, was a contemporary of the characters in his book, and a check against primary sources indicates that his material is reasonably dependable.

For intimate details of the life of the Charleston patriots during their St. Augustine stay, Joseph Johnson, *Traditions and Reminiscences Chiefly of the American Revolution in the South* (Walker and James, Charleston, 1851, is the most comprehensive of extant publications.

## III. Secondary Works:

A study adequately covering the history of Florida during the period of British ownership has not yet been published.

Perhaps the most easily available of books giving an overview of the period is Kathryn T. Abbey's Florida, Land of Change (University of N. C. Press, Chapel Hill, 1941), ch. V,

"The British Interlude". Dr. Abbey, however, devotes most of her space to events in West Florida.

Of the earlier writers, James G. Forbes, Sketches, Historical and Topographical, of the Floridas (C. S. Van Winkle, N. Y., 1821), publishes as part of his narrative several official letters, proclamations, and other documents relating to the British period, as well as material from contemporary publications which have since acquired the status of rare books. Forbes's section on British Florida is by far the most detailed account published prior to the appearance of Siebert's work in 1929, and virtually all 19th century historians apparently regarded the work as the authority in the field, drawing heavily from it. Forbes, however, lacked the historian's approach, and in addition the Spanish material he presented is extremely sketchy and flagrantly in-

A more accessible book is George R. Fairbanks, The History and Antiquities of the City of St. Augustine, Florida (C. B. Norton, N. Y., 1858), which has chapters on the British occupation based on Forbes. A history similar to Fairbanks's work, but written in more facile style, is Charles B. Reynolds, Old St. Augustine (E. H. Reynolds, St. Augustine, 1885). The two chapters on British Florida are developed from Forbes, published reminiscences, and other printed works which are now rare.

Several modern authors have devoted considerable space to important aspects of the period. An exposition of the administrative, social, economic and judicial systems is definitively treated in the unpublished dissertation by Charles L. Mowat, "East Florida as a British Province, 1763-1784" (583 pp., University of Minnesota, 1939). Wilbur H. Siebert has written numerous short articles for various historical magazines, but his major publication on the period is Loyalists in East Florida, 1774-1785 (2v., Florida State Historical Society, DeLand, 1929). Volume I comprises the narrative, most of which was gleaned from a survey of British archival material in connection with editing the transcripts which appear in the second volume and deal mainly with Loyalist claims for losses in the province.

Burton Barrs, East Florida in the American Revolution (Guild Press, Jacksonville, Fla., 1932), has contributed many details to the picture, and in an article of similar title. "East Florida in the American Revolution, 1775-1778" (Florida Historical Quarterly, v. IX, no. 1), Edgar L. Pennington has liberally transcribed certain of the Stevens and Brown, Library of Congress, transcripts (from the British Public Record Office, Colonial Office class 5) for a rather thin chronicle of military

events in the province.

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Augustine in 1780,

For a detailed and profusely illustrated history of the War of Independence, Benson J. Lossing, *Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution* (Harper Bros., N. Y., 1852), has been used. It is written from the United States viewpoint.

# SPANISH CONTACTS WITH THE AIS (INDIAN RIVER) COUNTRY\*

by Charles D. Higgs

The narratives of the early explorers and the Spanish archives of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are replete with references concerning shipwrecks in the Bahama channel. This passage which gave to Florida its strategic importance, offered a course with more favoring winds and a safer route for the homeward-bound treasure fleets from Mexico, but was in itself distinctly hazardous. Ships and even whole fleets were too often wrecked all along the "Banda del Sur", or South Coast, from St. Augustine to the lower keys. The majority of these disasters occurred along that bight of the shore. south of Cape Canaveral, where, (as Bishop Calderon wrote in 1675) the reefs extend six leagues out to sea

In the chronicles of the period this region was referred to as the Ays Coast, or as the Land or Province of Ays, so called from the name of the Indian tribe inhabiting it, hence the name of the estuary running its entire length which we know as the Indian River. 1

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Indebtedness is gratefully acknowledged to Mr. Albert Manucy and the National Park Service for the use of the microfilm copies of the Spanish records of the North Carolina Historical Commission, to Mr. Watt Marchman and the Florida Historical Society, Mrs. E. W. Lawson and the St. Augustine Historical Society, Miss Emily L. Wilson, and others

others.
"The Province of Ays, as designated by the Spanish, embraced the entire Indian River Country, from Canaveral south to the St. Lucie Inlet. The capital town of the district. south to the St. Lucie Inlet. The capital town of the district, near the Indian River Inlet, was sometimes called St. Augustin de Ais, from the abortive missionary attempt made there." (Swanton: Early History of the Creek Indians and their Neighbors" B.A.E. 73, p. 333).

Romans gives the meaning of the word Ais as Deer, nearly that of the Chacta issi, for the Spaniards also spelt the [Continued on page 26]

Although the abundance of the precious metals which the first Spanish and French colonists found among the Indians of the coast was to lure the avaricious Spaniard on across a continent in a vain quest for their source, yet the early contemporaneous writers tell us that these shipwrecks were responsible for the gold and silver in the Indians' possession. Says Laudonniere:

... the greatest part of these riches, washed, as they sayd, out of Spanish shippes, which were comonly cast away in this [the Bahama] strait" <sup>2</sup>

#### and Fontanedo:

"The king of Ais and the King of Jeaga are poor Indians as regards the earth, for there are no lands of silver or of gold where they are, and to say it at once, they are rich only by the sea from the vessels which have been lost well laden with those metals", and again, "I desire to speak of the riches found by the Indians of Ais, which perhaps were to be as much as a million of dollars, or over, in bars of silver, in gold and in jewelry made at the hands of Mexican Indians which the passengers were carrying with them."

name IS. Hence, la is: "I ais". (Memoir Fontanedo, ed. Buckingham Smith, translator's note 32). Buckingham Smith's linguistics have been questioned of late, and this Chacta ascription for the name of the river and tribe seems to be somewhat far-fetched. A closer connection might be found in the Timuquan root word for mother, which is issa, (Fr. Pareja's catechism terminology, which may be found in Swanton, p. 363). Hence, if adapted from the Timuquan. with which the Spaniards were conversant, the great Indian River estuary may have been considered by its people as the "Mother River, a connotation similar to that of the Mississippi - Father of Waters idea.

<sup>2.</sup> Traffiques & Discoveries of Laudonniere, in Hakluyt: "Voyages . . . ed. 1600, iii, p. 338.

<sup>3.</sup> Memoir of Fontanedo, ed. Buckingham Smith pp. 21-24.

John Sparks, the chronicler of Hawkins's voyage tells that:

"Golde and siluer they want not, for the Frenchmens first coming thither they had the same offered to them for little or nothing \* \* \* and how they came of this golde and siluer the Frenchmen knew not as yet, but by gesse, who having travelled to the Southwest of the cape [Canaveral] having found the same dangerous by means of sundry banks, as we also have the same, and there finding masts which were the wrecks of Spaniards coming from Mexico, judged they had gotten treasure by them." 4

The murderous wrecking and salvaging operations of this tribe (who also were reputed to have been cannibalistic) became such a major racket that, as sorely needed supply ships repeatedly failed to arrive at the Presidio, punitive steps had to be taken. Then, too, the enemies of Spain-at first the French, and later privateering Dutch and English - were wont to deal with these Indians and use their inlets as bases from which to harrass her fleets. Thus a very serious problem was presented to the colonial administration, and initiating with Menendez himself, there were various attempts to cajole, pacify and convert the recalcitrant Ais Indians. The adelantado established a fortified mission among them which languished for some seven

Mendez de Canco: "Cartas del Gob. Canco a su Magd.", A.G.I. 54-5-9, 54-5-14, (In Lowery Ms. Coll.)

Pedro de Ybarra: "Tanto de las diligencias que hicier (on) para atraer a la ouedencia de su Magd. las Prouys de Sorruque y Aiz de la banda del Sur destas provincias. Ano de 1605" A.G.I. 54-5-9 No. 61 (In Lowery MS. Coll. and F.S.H.S. photostat).

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years. Down through the ensuing two centuries there were many endeavors to secure the reducion of the Ais by methods ranging from a friendly neighbor policy to capital punishment. As late as 1737 we find that Arredondo, the royal engineer, reporting on a survey of Florida's defense problems, recommended to his King the expediency of establishing a colony of 200 at Ais, to act as a control in maintaining Spain's precarious position in the Channel. <sup>6</sup> Nevertheless the subsequent record bears little evidence of any actual achievement from any of these ventures. So, though the name of Ais is frequently encountered in the archives of the Indies in various connections, ranging from the priestly to the piratical, I have as yet been unable to find the detailed account of accomplishment there. The fact that Gov. Ybarra, in 1605, mentions the need of padres from Castile for the Conversion there, and again in letters in 1693-95, mentions are made of the new "missions and conversions at Ais and Carlos", 8 would certainly indicate that proselyting had been going on there. Also the prominence of Ais. Rio de Ais. and Barra de Ais as place names given on virtually every map of both the Spanish and English colonial periods would denote a place of considerable significance.

Except that the Province of Ais played this relatively prominent part in the history of Spanish Florida - chiefly because it was a perennial headache-its history and ethnics have been almost

Arredondo to the Crown: Brooks MSS.

<sup>7.</sup> Ybarra to King: "Tanto de las Diligencias, etc", A.G.I. 54-5-9 No. 61, (in Lowery MS. Coll.)

<sup>8.</sup> King to Franciscan Provincial at Sta. Elena: A.G.I. 58-1-22 No. 274, (N.C. MF.) Council of Indies to ?: A.G.I. 54-5-12 No. 70, 58-1-2 No. 365, (N.C. MF.)

wholly lost. <sup>9</sup> Even the location of its principal town and the seat of the Spanish endeavors there have been unknown to this day. True, from our presentday point of view, the role played by Ais in our historical concept is of so little import that none has bothered to give it location. However, should our late findings prove to be what we surmise, even if they should not indicate a greater significance for it than history has been aware, they should be of some archeological interest.

It is hoped that, in the light of the material recently uncovered and briefly outlined herein further research into archives hitherto unavailable may disclose, as these findings would seem to indicate, that more was accomplished and more happened at Ais than the archival coverage to the present has revealed.

Down in the Indian River country, several miles below Cape Canaveral there lies, half buried in the shifting sands a sizable portion of a wrecked ship. This for some years has been ballyhooed as that of a Spanish galleon, although its construction would render such belief very dubious. 10 It is my conviction that this particular hulk has no connection whatsoever with the findings detailed in this report. It may, however, be quite pertinent to these findings that in placid weather other wrecks may

<sup>9.</sup> For the most comprehensive description and ethnology of

For the most comprehensive description and ethnology of these coastal tribes see Swanton: Early History of the Creek Indians and their Neighbors, B.A.E. 73. This contains a compendium from original source material such as Fontanedo Sparks, Jonathan Dickinson, and LeMoyne's drawings.
 The obvious seasonal growth rings evident in both ribs and planking of this wreck would suggest our own northern woods rather than those of continuous growth as would be used in the Spanish and Spanish-Indies ship construction. Dr. John C. Gifford, the eminent tropical forestry expert of Miami, who examined specimens from this wreck, expressed a similar opinion, This notwithstanding, local legend has even ascribed this wreck to the fleet of the Adelantado himself, with all the customary association of treasure. with all the customary association of treasure.

be discerned among the adjacent reefs and shallows. Several cannon have been retrieved along the beach, and under favorable conditions of weather and tides beach-combers and treasure-hunters have picked up various articles of naval equipment and other relics undoubtedly of the Spanish colonial period. While the writer has been informed that brass culverins, which from the description, might be Spanish, have been removed, all the cannon which he has personally seen are of a later period, though the fact that the trunnions are below the mid-line would roughly place them as pre-1800.

With curiosity aroused by the knowledge of these findings, the writer was led to investigate the bluff behind and along the beach and the immediate surroundings for some clue to the historical background. At a distance of 0.4 miles south from the wreck mentioned quantities of bones-animal and some human, were observed in the escarpment of the wind and tidal-eroded bluff backing the beach. which at this point reaches a height of twelve to fourteen feet. A little poking around revealed iron spikes, clay-pipes, and a peculiar assortment of pottery sherds. A closer scrutiny of this escarpment showed an unbelievable abundance of such remains for a distance of over 500 feet. Later these findings have proven equally prolific through to the Indian River, a distance of some 800 feet at this point. A correlation of their distribution with the rate of erosion and sea-encroachment would clearly indicate that the site was formerly centered more conspicuously on the river than on the oceanbeach.

In general all this material lies at a depth of from two and one-half to three and one-half feet, in a more or less perceptible stratum of charcoal impregnated beach sand. Owing to the aeolian quality of this sand any attempt at definite stratification proved rather disappointing. A few test holes were sunk at a little distance back from the bluff and were found to be increasingly fertile in European artifacts. A point which seemed to be the center of the station (both geometrically and for concentration of material) was designated as zero, the whole was plotted in a grid, and the items as far as possible inscribed with the locations of their finding. This procedure has proven rather purposeless as there is every evidence that the site has been disturbed and scattered by storms prior to its burial in the drifting sands. It does tend to show, however. that there is a definite classification grouping of the material.

Always working with the hope that a competent archeological survey might ascertain the historical value of these findings, it has been the aim to disturb the site as little as possible, and our endeavors mainly have been confined to sifting out the detritus left by treasure and souvenir hunters. Since the finding of relics here has now become common knowledge perhaps much of the station's archeological value has been and is being destroyed, and, inevitably, key findings dispersed.

Along with the usual run of items found at Spanish colonial sites, the prevalence here of several varieties of Chinese porcelain fragments from the same period has proven most enigmatical. These, have not shown up, we believe, in the workings of the St. Augustine Restoration.

At Drake Bay, in California, porcelains of this same period have recently been found by the University of California in Indian mounds whose builders had contacted the Spanish

explorers in 1595.

<sup>11.</sup> In attempting a rationalization for the presence of the Chinese wares we might suggest that the period involved was concurrent with the China mania in Europe, following the introduction of tea and the exotic porcelains for its service. China was of great value, and doubtless many treasure ships from the Philippines carried it in cargo. This was packed overland from Acapulco and transhipped at Vera Cruz into home bound fleets, vessels from which might later be wrecked in the Bahama Channel.

Bearing in mind the before outlined historical background of this immediate coast, we should naturally ascribe much of this material to wreckage, and at first it seemed that Indian accumulated salvage would entirely account for the group assort-The elevation above sea level (10 to 12 feet) would preclude the idea of mere flotsam and jetsam. However, when the evidences of some sort of construction and the many bones of European domestic animals were encountered, the notion that there must have been some sort of established settlement there becomes more insistent. The building materials found are bricks of red clay, shell mortar and plaster, (some of the latter with seeming, mural painting) decorative and roofing tile, and wooden stakes

At the center of the station there is a considerable area of tabby floor at a depth of three and one-half feet. Beneath this floor is found an occasional sherd of incised or stamped Indian pottery. The choicest of the Spanish remains lie above and scattered around at a higher level; while still higher, about a foot below the surface, there is an abundance of the cruder, undecorated, recent Indian pottery. Scattered over a distance of 320 feet along the bluff there are four other deposits rich in brick and mortar fragments. It is only in the vicinity of the floor in the center of the station that the largest assortment of European articles are found, particularly the finer Spanish pottery and Chinese porcelain fragments. Throughout the whole area in places where the china occurs most abundantly and in general where the brick and mortar are concentrated. Indian pottery and midden refuse does not appear to any noticeable extent. On the other hand, adjoining and fringing this concentration of European

material one finds quantities of Indian remains with which there is an occasional admixture of the European, notably iron, glass, trade pipes and the coarser Spanish cooking pottery.

This would, of course, suggest that were there a European settlement at this station the aborigines were clustered about it, as was the usual case in such establishments. To those who have suggested that this site probably could be more easily accounted for on the basis of a later than Spanish occupation, as in the British or even American periods. it is pointed out that excepting the trade pipes of English manufacture and the Chinese porcelains. all the items of European culture are definitely Spanish.

As there are extensive shell heaps and middens throughout the vicinity from ocean to river, and found in several strata from two feet below low tide level to twelve feet above, comprising evidences of occupancy dating from the archaic down to the present, the requisites for sustaining life must have been peculiarly favorable at this point. There is also a large conical tumulus one mile north and an extended and very old kitchen midden 0.35 miles south

The possibility of this being the site of the old Ais capital and "its abortive mission establishwas subject for speculation. El Pueblo Grande (the big town) of Ais, however, is rather universally described as being near Indian River Inlet. While there is considerable evidence that there have been inlets adjacent to this site in the past, and from time to time these various inlets along the Indian River have been opening and

<sup>12.</sup> See appended list for variety of these findings. 13. Swanton, p. 333.

closing, and the nearby Sebastian Inlet, though now in an artificial channel, perhaps has always been more or less open, yet it is difficult to reconcile this locality with the distances given in the various accounts. <sup>14</sup> The Indian River Inlet, as designated in colonial times was presumably that old multiple channeled opening <sup>15</sup> opposite St. Lucie, now closed since the dredging of the United States government cut at Ft. Pierce. Although there are wide discrepancies in accounts and general vagueness in map locations, this inlet seems to best approximate that of Ais and its adjacent town. Utilizing Mexia's Derrotero-both narrative <sup>16</sup> and chart, <sup>17</sup> as doubtless the most accurate, it is found that Ais lay 22.5 leagues south of Sorruque (or about 85 miles). <sup>18</sup>

14. Pedro Menendez (1573) in A.G.I. 2-5-4/12, 3-20-1 (Connor):

Canaveral to Ais
Sta. Lucia to Ais
Bart. de Arguelles (1599) A.G.I. 54-5-14 (Lowery):
St. Augustine to Ais
Mexia's Derrotero (1605) A.G.I. 1-1-1/19 (Lowers):
Sorruque to Ais
Ais Inlet to Ais
Sorruque to Ais
Sorruque to Ais
Clauses

Ybarra (1605) in "Tanto de las Diligencias, etc" A.G.I. 54-5-9 (Lowery):
Sorruque to Ais
Sorruque to A

<sup>15.</sup> *"Las bocas* de Miguel Mora" A.G.I. 54-5-9, 54-5-14, (in Lowery)

Alvaro Mexia: "Derrotero from St. Augustine to Ais, etc." A.G.I. 1-1-1/19 (in Lowery).

<sup>17.</sup> No. 98 in Lowery collection of maps, Library of Congress.

<sup>18.</sup> The league of Las Casas (Columbus's narrator) is used here which is 4 Italian nautical miles, or the equivalent of 3.78 of our statute miles. The land league much utilized throughout the peninsula was considerably shorter. The unknown distances as in this case, may be interpolated from the known given distances. The above valuation checks well with the established distances in the "Derrotero".

It was two leagues or around seven and one-half miles north of the inlet. <sup>19</sup>

Now, at the place meeting these requirements, as measured today in road mileages and on hydrographic charts, there is a vast area of low mounds and middens, with one conspicuously large tumulus. I have traced over a hundred acres of this through the jungle growth. The very extent and depth of the remains show it to have been a place of considerable habitation, not only in ancient times but also rather recently. This then could have been that seat of a chief, who as Gov. Canco said, "had more Indians than any other along the coast", and a tribe to whom the other coastal Indians were tributary. This site might well be, and in all probability is that of the "Big Town of Ais".

Although there is a questionable vestige of coquina ruins at one place in this area, no European articles have been found here. A cursory examination of the tumulus and middens, which have been greatly despoiled by bone-hunters and for material for road construction, reveals only items of Indian manufacture. It would appear, then, that while this may have been the Ais capital (at least to the discovery period) the archeologically more fruitful and more strategically located station first

19. Mexia's place names and traverses from Sorruque on South total up as follows:

ai up as ionows.		
Sorruque to Urribia	1.5	leagues
Urribia to Suvagueche	2	O
Suyagueche to Potopotaya Potopotaya Haulover to Ulumay 1	3	
Potopotaya Haulover to Ulumay 1		
Ulumay to Banana River	2	
Banana River to Saboboche	5	
Through "Callejon" to Pentoaya Traverse of the Grand Bay of Ais	.5	
Traverse of the Grand Bay of Ais	5	
Thence to small Fresh-water river	1	
Thence to Ais	1.5	

<sup>22.5</sup> leagues or 85.05 miles.

described was the seat of the native wrecking operations, and hence, the locus for the colonial administration's castigatory outpost. The former (being 14 miles to the north), encompassed by dangerous shoals and with a rocky coast-line and located in the Canaveral bight with its in-sweeping down currents is the more logical place for wrecks to come ashore. The accumulated debris of the beaches to-day bears this out.

While, as we have mentioned, the records are all too meagre to offer any satisfactory explanation for the finding of so much material at the station, we might account for some of the Spanish colonial remains by venturing the opinion that this was the location of the Menendez garrison of some 200 men which he left on the Indian River in November 1565, while he with the remainder of his troop and his French prisoners went on to Cuba. Granting that Ais was two leagues north of Indian River Inlet, the following citations from the records would so indicate:

"The Spaniards remained four days at Ays, and Aviles went down the lagoon to look for a suitable place to settle, but failed to find one . . . Before his departure he encamped 200 of his party under Juan Velez de Medrano at a place on the lagoon and three leagues distant from Ays. . ."

According to the first statement he first went down, *i. e.* south, so the latter location, where he left his men, must have been north, as is our site from Ais. And again,

"Later when the men got into trouble with the Indians, they moved 20 leagues farther down the lagoon to the neighborhood of Gilbert's Bar

<sup>21.</sup> Woodbury Lowery, Spanish Settlements Within the Present Limits of the United States.

and the St. Lucie River . . . and they named the place Sta. Lucia".  $^{21}$ 

This distance would further indicate that he was above Ais Inlet. The given distances approximate the true distances between the hypothetical sites. And in the Barrientos account:

... and seeing that those Indians were warlike and fearless he removed his men to a site three leagues from there which the Indians showed him, and which was very favorable, and where were coco-plums, . . . palmettos, prickly-pears and fish. It was on the river and two days sufficed to remove the men there by sea". <sup>22</sup>

And, again, Garcilaso de la Vega:

... he went by boat to reconnoiter a site which the chief told him was a good one for settlement, but it did not suit the Adelantado. Then he sailed as far as a small harbor 3 leagues from there . . . He carried his men by boat to a place which the Indians said was very favorable for fishing, palmettos, and coco-plums . . ." <sup>23</sup>

It might be pointed out that even today the conditions mentioned regarding the availability of a food supply at this site still hold good, and adjacent is a small harbor which fulfills the description. This Menendez on his return named "Puerto del Socorro" <sup>24</sup> and to this day the fishermen along this coast call this "old Spanish Harbor", although it has been impossible to unearth any legendary source for the persistence of this association.

It is also quite possible that this too may be the site of Ponce de Leon's second landing, for according to surviving extracts from his log <sup>24</sup> he sailed

<sup>22.</sup> Barrientos, in Garcia's "Dos Antiguas Relaciones" xxvii, p. 76.

<sup>23.</sup> Garcilaso de la Vega, in Barcia: Ensayo Cronologico, iv.

p. 91. 24. T. F. Davis: "History of Juan Ponce de Leon's Voyages to Florida", Fla. Hist. Quarterly, xvi. 1.

north a little way from his first anchorage in 30° 8', just missing the mouth of the St. Johns and thence turned south along the coast. He saw no Indians, or signs of habitation. He worked his way southward around Cape Canaveral, where the Gulf Stream was encountered. Somewhere below Canaveral he saw Indians, and made his second recorded landing, taking possession and erecting a cross. It was here then that he saw the first evidence of Now I have covered the Florida's inhabitants. coast-line and beaches from Cape Canaveral to Ft. Pierce Inlet, and our site is the only one, (so far as I have been able to discover) wherein there is any vestige of Indian or other occupation which might be visible from the sea. <sup>25</sup> All the others along this stretch of the coast are situated on wider strips of island, and located on the Indian River side, or at some distance from the ocean.

## LIST OF TYPICAL ITEMS FOUND, IN THE ORDER OF THEIR FREQUENCY.\*

Iron - Occurs everywhere in quantities, but with the exception of spikes and drift pins is oxidized past identification.

Glass - Mostly bottle: many with lead screw-top. Sheet or pane glass, art glass, and many pieces of unidentifiable usage.

Indian Pottery-

Spanish Crockery - Consisting of coarse cooking ware, grain,

oil and water jars.

Spanish Pottery - Mostly glazed in bluish, green and brown wares.

Moorish or Moorish Influenced Spanish Pottery - Inside glazed; top part outside glazed and decorated with blue or green splotches

Spanish-Mexican Pottery - Glazed inside and out, with polychrome conventionalized decoration.

Clay Trade Pipes - Many of which bear the trade mark "R. Tippet" in cartouche or lettering "R.T", or "E.R." The former was, according to Mr. Glen R. Black of the Indiana Historical Society, an English pipe-maker of presumably early 18th. century.

years ago.

\* These may be seen in the Library of the Florida Historical

Society.

<sup>25.</sup> As previously remarked, it must continually be borne in mind when viewing this site, that extensive as the remains seem to be, the picture will not be complete without a constant realization that the area was much larger and presented a far different and less bleak aspect two or three hundred

Brick, Tabby, & Plaster - In large batches, as apparently the debris of fallen walls or fireplace of brick set in shell mortar.

A tabby floor.

Lucky Stones - From the head of the cat-fish. While primarily they are perhaps midden refuse, persisting by their hardness, they seem to have been cherished with fetish value down through all cultures. Similarly with drum's teeth, and,

"Bird Stones" & Phalanges - Mostly deer and human are found everywhere in such quantities as to suggest either of a fetish value or preservation owing to lesser friability than the large

(These last three are included in this compilation only on account of their above order of frequency. Any reason for their association with the European remains, except as midden refuse is

Chinese Porcelain\* - Blue and white, Ming period type (late 16th and early 17th, centuries.) Blue and white, K'ang Hsi period types (1662-1772) Multi-colored ware, probably K'ang Hsi. Powder-blue and black wares characterized by underglaze in fish (looks Japanese)

Chinese Pottery - Ming period, green and blue-green glaze.

Lead - Is found in all shapes and artifications. There is much of it in foil or thin sheets resembling that in which tea was

formerly packed for export.

Pistol Balls - Of varying calibres; many with the risers still on. Copper - Found in ferrules, fragments and sheets. Some of the latter are quite large and, with dove-tailed and beaten joints, have been fashioned from smaller sheets.

Bones - Human, cow, horse, deer and hog. All the native small animals. Boar's tusks. The entire human skeleton has not been found except in the beach sands, where its association with the

other material is probably accidental.

Spanish-Mexican items of the 1543-1723 period.

Wood - Is rather scarce except for the ever present charcoal. The unburnt wood is mostly pine and spruce. A few driven stakes *BELOW* the artifact-bearing stratum. *Beads* - Green and blue glass, very small. One metal filigree.

Plaster Murals - Very fragmentary and conjectural.

Tile - A few roofing and glazed ornamental fragments.

Onyx & Alabaster Fragments-

Among some of the interesting items found either singly or in scarcity are

Figurines - These are identical. Although the hair and head-dress is Amerind, the features are delicately Caucasian. They are hand-molded as the finger prints of the maker are evident.

Brass - Scissors, chest-corner, stanchion-flange, belt-buckle hinge

fragment, evidently from a navigation instrument.

Gilded Finial - of ecclesiastical design; may have been from a missal frame, or small shrine.

Doll's Legs - of glazed Spanish pottery. Gold Ear-Ring - with empty jewel socket.

<sup>\*</sup> I am indebted to the Milwaukee Public Museum for their first positive identification and confirmation of the Chinese porcelains, Spanish pottery, etc.

# PHILIP FRENEAU ON THE CESSION OF FLORIDA

## by LEWIS LEARY

Among American men of letters who have paid tribute to Florida-and perhaps, with the exception of William Bartram, the earliest of them-we may now number Philip Freneau, the "Poet of the American Revolution". Unlike many others, Freneau apparently never saw Florida, though for a period of years between 1785 and 1790 he was master of a coastal vessel which occasionally called as far south as Savannah. His poem on Florida was written when he was an old man, almost seventy. Living in retirement on his farm in New Jersey, he nevertheless still watched with interest the development and expansion of the new country for which he had fought with sword and pen as a younger man. On September 28, 1821, the Trenton True American announced the "Surrender of Florida" with this dispatch:

Charleston, July 17. By the arrival last evening of the sloop Wasp, Capt. Chester, from St. Augustine, we learn that the American flag was hoisted at that place on the 10th inst.-At 5 o'clock in the morning, a salute was fired from the fort by the Spanish troops and the Spanish flag displayed-At 3 P. M. the American colors were hoisted with the Spanish, and the American troops landed at the South Battery, and marched directly to the fort-At 4, the Spanish troops marched out, and the Spanish flag was lowered under a salute of 21 guns from the fort, which was answered by the United States schooners Tartar and Revenge, at anchor in the harbor.

NOTE-Professor Leary, late of Miami University, whom our readers will recall as the founding editor of *Tequesta*, the publication of the Historical Association of Southern Florida, is an authority on early United States literature and has made an intensive study of the work of Freneau. He has now gone to Duke University to continue these studies, but we shall not forget that he did more than his bit for Florida's history with that first issue of *Tequesta*. Ed.

On the same day in the same newspaper a poem by Philip Freneau <sup>1</sup> appeared, perhaps the first literary celebration of the occasion by an established American man of letters.

#### ON THE CESSION OF EAST AND WEST FLORIDA, FROM SPAIN TO THE UNITED STATES

At length, we see by prudence gained What jealous Spaniards long retained; And Florida's secluded waste Is in one lengthening chain embraced.

Monarchs would force their slaves to war For that our Congress bargained for, Would fight, like dogs, to win the soil, And nations in their feuds embroil.

Honor to those who first designed This chain of States, to bless mankind: Our Franklin, with a patriot band, And him, who near Potomac's strand, Now sleeps, unconscious, in the grave, Of what we gain, or what he gave.

He bade a new creation rise, Nor seized the *Sceptre* from the skies; <sup>2</sup> His wisdom, and his sword acquired What few could hope and all desired.

Immortal be his growing fame, The just reward he now may claim-When *Britain* fixed *Columbia's* doom He raised our hopes, and cheered our gloom, Dispelled the clouds that dimmed the day, And saw the *Event* his toils repay.

This great Event, among the rest, Should swell with joy each patriot breast, A region won from selfish *Spain*, A golden link in freedom's chain; The Spanish guards no longer seen To rear their flag at Augustine.

2. Alluding ot the pretended divine right, or legitimacy, of kings

(Freneau's note).

<sup>1.</sup> In *That Rascal Freneau* (Rutgers, 1941), p. 405, I made a tentative identification of the poem as by Philip Freneau. Since then I have been strongly convinced, through a comparison of its phraseology with that of other works by Freneau at this period, that it is without question his

They, slothful, leave that verdant shore, And other soils and coasts explore, In royal climes select a place To act their drama of disgrace.

Long since arrived-full many a year-De Soto's and de Leon's here; <sup>3</sup> And, 'midst these solitudes profound, Paused, and admired the flowery ground.

And here they sought, but did not find, (The whimsy of some crazy mind)
They searched for what they took for truth,
The fountain of perpetual youth. 4

Stern Winter here asserts no sway, And frosts and snows are far away; The Northern Tropic bounding near, Unfading verdure clothes the year.

Thou, Florida! who once has strayed Along thy shores or through thy shade, Will own at least, with skies so fair, A modern *Eden* planted there.

Her charming landscapes yield to none, Her Capes approach the torrid zone; In Cancer's Sign from heaven displayed, Meridian suns project no shade.

What prospects, here, kind Nature drew !-Lo! *Cuba's* heights almost in view; <sup>5</sup> *Bahama's* isles approaching nigh, As 'cross the *Gulph* they meet the eye;-*Amelia* near the coast is seen, With *Anastasia*, dress'd in green.

Presiding here, a *chief* we see All hearts commanding, bold and free, A chief of chiefs, almost adored,-At *Orleans* gleamed his conquering sword, His lightning flashed o'er *Pontchartraine*, And sent proud *Britain* home again.

<sup>3.</sup> Ponce De Leon and Ferdinand De Soto; the one, a military adventurer, the other, one of the first Spanish explorers of this part of the North American coast (Freneau's note).

<sup>4.</sup> An infatuation once prevalent in Europe, that such a fountain existed in Florida (*Freneau's note*).

<sup>5.</sup> From Cape Florida, on a meridian line to Cuba, the distance is 150 geometrical miles (Freneau's note).

<sup>6.</sup> A Lake of considerable extent, to the south-east of New Orleans (Freneau's note).

He called his thunders from afar-The thunders answered, *Here we are*! *Prepared to act what you require With tempest, sulphur, lightning fire*!

No wonder that the foe retired When Jove's artillery on them fired, When every blast in crowds dismiss'd Who dared remain, or dared resist.

Thus fell the brave, and failed the wise, Who marched to seize the *golden prize;* Disabled by his deadly shot, *Booty* and *Beauty* met them not, But made their vanquished thousands groan Who sought in war for *these* alone.

With such a *Chief* to such a *State*, It must be powerful, must be great: And long may such a Chief preside Whose valor tops a nation's pride, Ennobles man, wherever found, On Christian, or on savage ground.

#### FROM A REMOTE FRONTIER

LETTERS AND REPORTS PASSING BETWEEN THE COM-MANDERS AT APALACHE (ST. MARKS,) GOVERNOR GRANT AT ST. AUGUSTINE, GENERAL HALDIMAN AT PENSACOLA, AND GENERAL GAGE, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF AT NEW YORK, 1767-1769.

(Grant to Gage)

St. Augustine 30th July 1767

Sir:

Your Letter of the 30th April, I had the honor to receive a few days ago by Captain Philips of the Royal Americans who arrived here in his way to Pensacola, to sit upon a General Court Martial, a disagreeable business, which likewise carries Captains Jenkins and Sutherland from this place. 'tis to be hoped those Gentlemen to the Westward, will in future contrive to agree together, and allow our East Floridian Officers to live in peace and quiet at Home. I am almost afraid of an Infection from the Pensacola air.

Mr. Moncrief the Engineer made such Repairs as he found necessary for the immediate security of the Garrison at St. Marks, the whole Expence 37, 12/6, which I paid by Warrant upon the Money Contractors, and I transmitted the account to the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury, as the work was done by my direction upon an Emergency. I did not think it right to trouble you about the Payment of the account.

NOTE-This series of documents has been edited with an introduction by Mark F. Boyd (see this *Quarterly*, the issue of January, 1941). This is the seventh instalment, and includes documents from the W. L. Clements Library of the University of Michigan and from the Public Archives of Canada, to whom grateful acknowledgment is made. Letters from or to St. Marks are reproduced in full, but only pertinent paragraphs are extracted from those which refer only incidentally to that post. *Ed.* 

In consequence of your orders Brigadier Haldimand has sent Mr. Pittman to examine into the state of the Barracks, and of such other Repairs as may be wanted-the Barracks will be found to be the most pressing article.

The Expence attending the Fort of St. Marks is not considerable, as the supplies for the Garrison are send by Water on Board the Provincial Schooner, it is of great use in keeping up a Friendly intercourse with the Indians, in case of Accidents it is a safe retreat for Traders, and from its situation I flatter myself in time to be able to draw a great part of the Trade of the Lower Creeks to that place, besides the demand for Land is so great in this Province, by the Grantees or their Agents from England-that some of the Settlements must soon extend towards Appalache, the entrance into the Harbor or Bay is discouraging otherwise I should not despair of seeing a Town rise there in a few Years, but at any rate it will always be a post of importance to this Province in time of Peace or War; if we should unfortunately have a difference with Indians, which I shall take every step in my power to prevent, St. Marks would be a proper place to form an attack from, and we shall now be able to keep a Correspondence with West Florida by means of that Post-Brigadier Haldimand desires to know my opinion upon it, and I have told him there is nothing more easy, by a Boats going to and from Pensacola to St. Marks, and by expresses to and from this place to St. Marks, the Expence will be trifling to keep up an intercourse of once a Month, I have proposed to the Brigadier to pay for the Boat and I have offered to pay the Expresses on this side - I think such an arrangement will be of great use to the King's Service in these Infant Colonies-

As I have said so much about the Fort of St. Marks, I must take the Liberty to mention to you that Lieut. Swettenham's conduct the time he Commanded here was very satisfactory, and since he was called away Ensign Wright has acted with great prudence and propriety, during all the disturbances to the Westward I have never had a Complaint of or from the Indians, the two Gentlemen I have mentioned have great Merit from their Management of them, they are both loved and respected by the Indians. I have applyed to Brigadier Haldimand to continue Ensign Wright in that Command if the Service will admit of it - I understood before I left England that an allowance would be made to Officers Commanding at distant Posts, if such a Regulation has taken place, it would be very obliging if your Excellency was pleased to put St. Marks upon that footing, in which case I beg leave to recommend Lieutenant Swettenham and Ensign Wright as being both very deserving of that Bounty-

I have the honor to be with the greatest Respect, Sir-Your Excellency's Most obedient and most humble servant

James Grant

His Excellency the Honble General Gage (W. L. Clements Library)

(Haldimand to Gage, Transl. from the French)
Pensacola, August 5, 1767

Sir:

\* \* \* The Lieut. Pittman who has been for some time back from the Apalachees, handed over to me the plan of the Fort of St. Marks with the map of the surroundings and the observations which he has made.\* I have the honor of sending them to you with a plan to change the casemates into bar-

racks which might be done at very little expense; the old barracks are very bad and are not worth extra repairs.

I believe. Sir, that it would be necessary to continue an officer and twenty men at that post because of the ease that it gives us to have communications with St. Augustine. One may get there from here in 15 days (and perhaps in less time when one knows the roads better) whereas the opportunities to send by sea are always rare and very uncertain, and it would be advantageous, whether in time of war, or when something extraordinary might happen in this part of the continent, to have some kind of communication . . . and people always ready to take express. Besides, Sir, that post is not at all exposed, and one may abandon it without risk as soon as one judges it fitting. It has a very good quarry from which the Spaniards removed a great deal of stone.

The fort is not finished, but what there is of it completed is of good masonry work the same as the casemates, and may be put in a state of defense against the Indians with 5 or 600 palisades which it is easy to procure. It is even necessary if one preserves the post to plant a row of piles to prevent the effect of inundations. The points in yellow on the plan of the fort show how the stockade may be placed. \* \* \*

W. L. Clements Library

\* Vide Florida Historical Society Quarterly XII-1934-114.

(Wright to Haldimand)

Fort St. Marks, Apalacha. Aug. 14th 1767

Sir,

I was favoured with yours Aug. 11th by Mr. Summers with the two saddles which shall be taken all possible care of. Our Gardens this year have

been in bad order owing to the greatest part of our seeds having been spoiled in the flood but what was planted came to perfection with very little trouble we have since got seeds of most kinds.

The weather now is so excessive hott that the men can't go a fishing in the heat of the day, but in the winter we catch plenty of fish. The Indians also bring in plenty of venison and Turkeys but the latter do not save our provisions the least as they always expect our Provision for it, otherwise they would not bring it in.

The inclosed came to hand August 7th by the Augustine express.

The covering of the Barracks and Guard house is in such bad condition that I must sett the men to work as soon as the cool weather comes on to gett it done by fatigue.

Mr. Barrow as he did not dispose of his cargoe had not room for any stones, particularly care shall be taken that they are not medled with.

I have lately fallen upon a method of punishing the men that "are guilty of small crimes by sending them to work at a road I am making across the marsh which was very bad crossing.

I have the honour to inclose you the returns of the State of the garrison & Barracks with that of the cloathing sent by Mr. Barrow for the party at Pensacola.

Should esteem it as a great favour if you could put me on the same footing with the officers commanding outposts in North America who I am informed have an allowance.

I have the pleasure to inform you his Majesty's Troops at this place are much more healthy than they were last year at this time.

I am Sir, Your Most humble & obedient servant, Jas. Wright (Endorsed:) Lt. Wright, 1767, to Haldimand 15th August, Recd 22nd. (Public Archives of Canada)

(Haldimand to Gage. Transl. from the French)
Pensacola, Aug. 1, 1767

Sir:

\* \* \* I shall leave in the Apalachee only one officer and twenty men and I shall send the rest, as well as the detachment of the 9th Regiment which is here, to St. Augustine as soon as the season will permit it. \* \* \*

(Public Archives of Canada)

(Gage to Haldimand)

New York, September 4th, 1767 (*Postscript:*) Upon Recollection, tho Colonel Taylor does not mention it, he meant possibly that you should use the Vessel to Transport the Garrison of the 9th Regiment from Appalachie to join their Corps at St. Augustine, relieving them at Appalachie by a Detachment of 31st Regiment at Pensacola, which was Ordered sometime since, and if not done; I am to beg you would do it as soon as it is possible.

(Haldimand to Taylor Transl. from the French)

Pensacola, Oct. 5, 1767

Sir:

I am making use of the return of the sloop from St. Augustine to send there the detachment of the 9th Regiment which was here, keeping only 4 men who will form part of the detachment of St. Mark, where I shall send them as soon as possible. The detachment of that post where Lieut. Wright will

continue to command will be reduced to twenty men. I am sending you, Sir, the orders which I am giving him in that respect, and I beg you to send them to him by the sloop of the province when it goes to the Apalachees with provisions. It will be suitable also, Sir, that you should take the necessary steps with Governor Grant, so that he may give the orders that the detachment that Lieut. Wright is to send away should be received on hoard \* \* \*

(Public Archives of Canada)

(Haldimand to Gage Transl. from the French)

Pensacola, November 30, 1767

Sir:

\* \* \* As soon as I obtain the sloop of the province, (or rather if . . . . presents itself) I shall send an officer and twenty men of the 21st Regiment to replace the detachment of the 9th Regiment which is at Fort St. Mark which I shall send to St. Augustine; I have believed, Sir, that it would be proper to keep the . . . . battalion (?) entire here, so that you may have it at your disposal, persuading myself that the government will make in a short time some change in the distribution of the troops, in this district. \* \* \*

(W. L. Clements Library)

(Haldimand to Gage Transl. from the French)

Pensacola, December 6, 1767

Sir:

\* \* \* These ideas which up to the present appear to me sound, make me believe, Sir, that one could, without any risk, abandon the posts of Natchez, Iberville and Fort St. Mark. \* \* \* I shall make no change in the quarters, nor shall I take away the post of Apalache until I receive your orders  $\ast$   $\ast$ 

(W. L. Clements Library)

(Wright to Haldimand)

Fort St. Marks Apalache, March 14th, 1768 Sir:

In consequence of your last letter dated July 29th I put it in orders Aug. 18th for two men to work eight hours in a day to inclose a piece of ground behind the Fort for a garrison garden, they went on pretty well till Sept. 11th when they refused in a body to work any more. I represented the use of it to them & insisted on their going on with it. W. Kernathan who was the leading man & spoke for the rest said in an unbecoming manner that he would sooner go to the Black hole than work. I confin'd nine & ordered two men as usual to work. The morning after the Corp <sup>1</sup> reported two men he had confined for refusing to work and asked if he should order any more-but Ensign St. John & I considering the circumstances thought it most prudent to drop it at the present & by way of punishing their disobedience I exercised them twice a day. After the above I did not think it proper to order the Barracks to be bark'd by fatigue. I recd by Mr. Frazer a letter from colonel Taylor with instructions how to proceed. I this morning read that part of the letter to the men & I am happy to acquaint you Sir that refractory spirit seem to be broke & every man have agreed to go on with the greatest diligence. The two men who were confin'd by the Corp. 1 I released on their asking Pardon & promising never to offend again-but Kernathan who was the occasion of it all, I think deserve some more punishment besides imprisonment.

I have the honour Sir, to enclose you the Returns of the artillery garrison Barracks and Provisions. There is some things noted at the bottom of the artillery return that are very much wanted here. You will see Sir, by the Provision Return we have only flower in the garrison which we have lived on for some time past. This place have always been badly supplied with Provisions it might be attended with fatal consequences and at best it expose us to the insults of the Indians who never fail taking the advantage of our necessity by asking extravagant prices for their meat.

The beginning of last Jany. I held a survey on the Provisions in Store when one tierce of calavances twelve Rations of another with three Barrels of Beef was condemn'd & buried.

March 2nd Mr. Sinnott received a Letter from a Trader acquainting him that Thlehulgee & another Indian that went to the Havannah in novr. 1766 returned to the nation last Sunday well drest &c. but he had no account when or where landed. though Indians that were lately in say there is a Spanish vessel lying at the mouth of the Appalachicola-but Mr. Frazer will be able to inform you Sir of the truth of that report.

I have the honour to be with the greatest respect Sir, Your most obedient & humble Servt.

Jas. Wright.

P. S. I forgot to mention Sir, that four of the men doing duty here are order'd for St. Augustine by the first opportunity.

Addressed: On His Majesty's Service To Brigadier General Haldimand Commanding all His Majesty's Forces in the Southern District of North America at Pensacola. West Florida

(Public Archives of Canada)

(This series will be concluded in the next number)

### THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

#### THE ANNUAL MEETING

The Society met in annual meeting at St. Augustine on March 5, 6 and 7, while the last number of of the Quarterly was in press. Sixty members, most of them from a distance, besides many visitors, were present, a number which has seldom been equalled; and seldom indeed have the papers read been so carefully prepared and so interesting, or the entertainment provided so much enjoyed.

Planning and preparations were by our corresponding secretary and librarian Watt Marchman, the motor-force of the Society; Mr. X. L. Pellicer, one of our St. Augustine members, and vice president of the St. Augustine Historical Society, who was general chairman of arrangements; and Judge David R. Dunham, president of that Society, which was our host at a reception and on a picnic luncheon and boat excursion to Fort Matanzas and Marineland. In addition, the St. Augustine Society provided complimentary favors for the annual dinner and displayed a remarkable collection of Florida historical material for the occasion in their library; and the Florida chapter of the Colonial Dames of America opened their Fatio house for us. In our own rooms was an exhibit of unique maps of Florida.

This is the program carried out in detail:

#### MARCH 5, MORNING SESSION

Presiding: G. Leighton LaFuze, John B. Stetson University.
Greetings: The City of St. Augustine, Walter B. Frazer, mayor.
The National Anthem was sung by the assemblage.
The National Park Service, C. R. Vinten, Superintendent of
Southeastern National Monuments.
The St. Augustine Historical Society, David R. Dunham, president.
Response: John G. McKay, president, Florida Historical Society.

#### Papers:

Stephen Russell Mallory, Confederate Secretary and Naval Path-finder, Rembert W. Patrick, University of Florida.

The Catholic Cathedral of St. Augustine, Thomas E. Downey, Jr., Historian of the Diocese of St. Augustine.

Material in the National Archives Relating to the History of Florida, Elizabeth B. Drewry, The National Archives, Washington, D. C.

JAMES A. ROBERTSON MEMORIAL BIBLIOGRAPHY LUNCHEON Presiding: Alfred J. Hanna, Rollins College.

Bibliographical Foundations for a Study of the Language and Literature of the South, with Special Reference to Florida, Herman E. Spivey, University of Florida. The Technique of Florida o

Editor, Union Catalog of Floridiana.

Discussion.

#### AFTERNOON SESSION

Presiding: Philip S. May, director, Florida Historical Society.

#### GEORGIA-FLORIDA

Letters of John McQueen from Spanish East Florida, Walter C. Hartridge, Savannah, Ga.

Richard Keith Call, Territorial Florida Leader, Walter Martin,

University of Georgia.

#### YOUTH'S APPROACH TO FLORIDA HISTORY

The author speaks: Writing a Florida Book for Youth, Ruby Leach Carson, author of Fabulous Florida.

The teacher speaks: Creating a School Museum of Florida History, Dena Snodgrass, Orlando.

The student speaks: Parade of Ghosts of Senors and Senoras of Old San Agustin, Patricia Raulerson, St. Augustine.

> ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING Presiding: John G. McKay, president

#### MARCH 6

FLORIDA ARCHEOLOGY SESSION

Presiding: Mark F. Boyd, director, Florida Historical Society The Historical Approach in Archeology and its Application in Florida, John W. Griffin, University of Chicago

An Investigation into the Spanish Colonial Contacts with the Ais (Indian River) Country, Charles D. Higgs

A Discussion of Methods as Applied to Florida Archeology, Robert F. Greenlee

#### FLORIDA AUTHORS LUNCHEON

St. Augustine Branch, National League of Pen Women, cosponsor Presiding: Kathryn T. Abbey, author of *Florida, Land of Change* Guest: Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings Baskin Greetings: Nina S. Hawkins, president, St. Augustine Branch of the National League of American Pen Women *The Author's Florida*, Nina Oliver Dean

Joint Meeting of the Florida Committee on Conservation of Cultural Resources with the Florida Historical Society Presiding: John J. Tigert, president, University of Florida, and Chairman of the Committee

#### MUSEUM SESSION

Presiding: Walter B. Hill, librarian, University of Florida Speaker: Stanley B. Arthur, Louisiana State Museum Discussion

#### ANNUAL DINNER

Presiding: Herbert Lamson, vice president, Florida Historical Society

Invocation: Reverend Joseph Devaney, The Cathedral, St. Augustine

Cross Creek, Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings Baskin Conservation of Historic Sites in Florida, Ronald F. Lee, The National Park Service, Washington, D. C.

#### March 7

FLORIDA AGRICULTURAL AND BOTANICAL SESSION Presiding: Arthur G. Peterson, Agricultural History Society,
Washington, D. C.

A History of Florida Agriculture, Ida Keeling Cresap, librarian,
Florida Agricultural Experiment Station

Botanical Exploration in the Southeast, H. Harold Hume, dean,
College of Agriculture, University of Florida

#### MINUTES

President John G. McKay called the meeting to order at 8:30 p. m. Attendance was not large, but a quorum was present. The president called for the reports of officers as the first order of business.

President McKay read his report, summarizing the progress of the Society during the past year, calling particular attention to the successful efforts made to secure desirable temporary quarters for the library after it had become necessary to vacate the space in the Alcazar Hotel building. Mr. Mc-Kay also took notice of the war emergency and its effect upon the activities of the Society.

Dr. Kathryn T. Abbey (Mrs. A. J. Hanna), of Winter Park, moved that the report of the president

be approved and filed with the secretary. The motion carried and it was so ordered.

The corresponding secretary and librarian, Mr. Watt Marchman, St. Augustine, prefaced his report with the remark that interest of the members was manifest through their increasing correspondence. In regard to the library, Mr. Marchman reported that adapting the new quarters for library and exhibit uses (which involved a small amount of renovation) had necessitated a temporary closure of the library to the public, but it was now, however, open to all. Use of the library is steadily growing. From the standpoint of preservation of materials in the collection, the present second story location on Cathedral Place is better than the Alcazar rooms, which were on the ground floor and more subject to dampness and insects. And the new location, facing the town plaza, is more central.

Dr. Mark F. Boyd, director from Tallahassee, took this occasion to stress the gravity of the library situation that had been brought about by the need to find new quarters, and by way of showing the Society's appreciation of the conscientious efforts of the location committee, offered a resolution of appreciation.

This was unanimously given by a rising vote to accept Mr. Marchman's report.

In the absence of Dr. Dorothy Dodd, Tallahassee, the treasurer, Mr. Marchman submitted her report. Mr. Marchman moved that the report be accepted and filed with the secretary. The motion carried and it was so ordered.

Dr. Boyd asked whether an audit of the books by a committee from the board of directors was required before an annual meeting. The president replied that audits were not required by the constitution, but had been made in the past when requested. The librarian added that the finance committee has the responsibility for audits. The president recommended for the record that the matter of auditing be referred to the incoming officers.

There being no committee reports to be given, the president called for discussion of unfinished business.

The corresponding secretary made reference to the letter from the editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Mr. Julien C. Yonge, Pensacola, calling attention to the increased costs of printing, which directly affects the publication of the *Quarterly*. A discussion of a previous suggestion for obtaining additional funds followed.

Mr. Marchman moved that, subject to Mr. Yonge's approval, separate slips of paper, having a printed appeal for financial aid, be inserted in the next issue of the *Quarterly*. Mr. John Hobart Cross, Pensacola, presented a substitute motion: that Mr. Yonge be authorized to handle the appeal in whatever fashion seemed suitable, after discussion of the matter with the finance committee. Mr. Marchman accepted the substitute motion, and it was carried.

Dr. Boyd asked for a discussion of the Society's agreement with the State Library Board, by which the Society was to receive \$1,800 per year for two years. Dr. Abbey explained the background of the agreement, mentioning the various persons who cooperated in helping to procure the agreement. A contract between the State Library Board and the Society was necessary in order to show the specific purposes for which the money was to be used, and the contract was agreed upon. Accumulated payments from July to December, inclusive, were paid to the Society in January, 1942. Mr. Marchman summarized the terms of the agreement, stressing the fact that it was very flexible and designed to

insure cooperation between the State Library and the Florida Historical Society. Dr. Boyd pointed out the potentiality of the agreement and suggested that its operations be observed very closely to discover ways of improvements from time to time toward the end of its becoming of statutory significance. Dr. Abbey agreed emphatically that the informal agreement should be stabilized by legislative recognition of the Society by name. Dr. Boyd urged that the functions of the two organizations be defined and that emphasis be placed upon their non-competitive character: the State archival agency preserves primarily public archives while the Society preserves private records and disseminates historical information. For the record. the president recommended that the new board of directors consider ways to obtain legislative recognition of the Society as an official organization of the State of Florida in historical matters.

Dr. Boyd moved that the new president appoint a committee of three to negotiate with the State Library Board and others and to report back to the board of directors on ways to make the agreement with the State Board permanent and official. The motion carried.

Mr. Marchman pointed out the need for a resolution to authorize the finance committee to augment publication funds for the *Quarterly*, in view of the increased costs of printing.

Dr. Boyd moved that the finance committee arrange a 50 per cent increase in *Quarterly* funds and that the editor of the *Quarterly*, in his discretion, be authorized to change the format of the *Quarterly*, to conserve paper and insure continued publication of the *Quarterly*.

Dr. C. W. Tebeau, University of Miami, moved an amendment to the motion: that the word "maximum" be inserted before "50 per cent". He pointed out that an increase of full 50 per cent might not be necessary at present. The amendment was accepted and the motion carried as amended.

The president called for new business.

Mr. Marchman moved that the president be empowered to appoint Professor A. J. Hanna of Rollins College as chairman of a committee to be selected by himself for the purpose of cooperation with the St. Augustine Historical Preservation and Restoration Association, thus formally indicating the interest of the Society in the St. Augustine program. The motion was carried.

Mr. Marchman then presented the "War Savings Bonds for a Permanent Building" plan. He stressed the need for a permanent headquarters building for the Society. Under the proposed plan, members could purchase or contribute toward the purchase of war savings bonds for the building fund of the Society.

Mr. Cross moved that the matter be referred to the finance committee with the tacit approval of the meeting. Dr. Boyd moved that the motion be amended by the addition of "and that the finance committee be empowered to open a specific account for the building fund only." The amendment was accepted and the amended motion passed.

The recording secretary read the following resolution submitted by Mr. Yonge:

WHEREAS, the Division of Research and Publications of the Department of State of the United States is now publishing a series of volumes of selected documents from governmental archives relating to each of the former territories in turn, as described in the Florida. Historical *Quarterly*, the issue of October last: and

WHEREAS, the forthcoming volumes relating to Florida territory are of especial importance to us-in fact, because our own territorial records are so meager and those in Washington are so extensive, this publication is necessary for any full knowledge of Florida's territorial history; and

WHEREAS, the historical part of the celebration of the centennial of Florida's admission into the Union is dependent on that knowledge; and because, further, the appearance of the Florida volumes would be the most important historical feature of that celebration:

BE IT RESOLVED, by the Florida Historical Society, assembled in its annual meeting, that the Society bring these facts to the knowledge of the Secretary of State of the United States, with the plea that there be no delay in the selection, the editing, and the publication of the volumes relating to Florida in *The Territorial Papers of the United States*.

Mr. Cross moved the adoption of the resolution. The motion carried.

Professor Hanna moved that the president appoint a committee on resolutions thanking the local committees on arrangements and expressing appreciation to Dr. Dorothy Dodd for her long and faithful services as treasurer. The motion carried. The president named Mr. Albert C. Manucy as chairman, with power to select the other members of the committee.

The resolutions were adopted as follows:

BE IT RESOLVED, by the members of the Florida Historical Society, that the thanks and appreciation of the Society be, and the same are hereby, extended to the Local Committee on Arrangements, for their unstinted efforts to make the 40th annual meeting of the Society a great success.

BE IT RESOLVED by the members of the Florida Historical Society, that the thanks and appreciation of the Society be, and the same are hereby, extended to the St. Augustine Historical Society and Institute of Science, for their cooperation and participation in making the 40th annual meeting of the Society an enjoyable and memorable occasion.

BE IT RESOLVED, by the members of the Florida Historical Society, that the thanks and appreciation of the Society be, and the same are hereby, extended to Dr. Dorothy Dodd, for her excellent and faithful service in the office of Treasurer of this Society;

AND BE IT ALSO RESOLVED, that the members of the Florida Historical Society regret that other duties of Dr. Dorothy Dodd do make it necessary for her to resign as Treasurer of the Society.

Respectfully submitted, A. C. Manucy, *Chairman*. Watt Marchman X. L. Pellicer

Mr. Marchman opened discussion relating to possible suspension of program meetings during the war emergency.

Mr. Marchman moved that the Society recommend to the board of directors that annual program meetings be suspended during the war. Discussion followed. Mr. Marchman withdrew his motion in favor of the following motion:

Dr. Abbey moved that the directors be informed of the sense of the meeting, which is, that if conditions warrant, the directors are urged to modify the annual meetings as necessary for the duration of the war. The motion carried.

In the absence of C. H. Curry, Quincy, chairman of the nominations committee, Professor Hanna read the report of the committee:

#### **DIRECTORS AND OFFICERS NOMINATED FOR 1942 ELECTION**

Herbert Lamson, Jacksonville, president John B. Stetson, Jr., DeLand, first vice-president

Gaines R. Wilson, Miami, second vice-president Albert C. Manucy, St. Augustine, recording secretary and

treasurer Watt Marchman, St. Augustine, corresponding secretary and librarian

Mrs. Millar Wilson, Jacksonville, director-at-large Mrs. Roger W. Babson, director, 1st Congressional district Miss Daisy Parker, Tallahassee, director, 3rd Congressional district

Randall Chase, Sanford, director, 5th Congressional district

Nominations committee for 1943 election : Randall Chase, Sanford, chairman Mrs. Millar Wilson, Jacksonville

Miss Dena Snodgrass, Orlando Dr. Edmund LeRoy Dow, Palm Beach Miss Mary Lamar Davis, Tallahassee

Submitted by:

C. H. Curry, Quincy, chairman Mrs. William Q. Bowers, Cooperstown, N. Y. Thomas P. Caldwell, Miami

A. J. Hanna, Winter Park Albert C. Manucy, St. Augustine

The president called for further nominations.

Professor Hanna moved the acceptance of the report and that the secretary cast the ballot.

motion carried, the ballot was cast, and the president declared the officers duly elected.

Professor Hanna moved a resolution of appreciation to the outgoing president for his recognized efforts on behalf of the Society. The motion carried.

There being no further business, the president declared the meeting adjourned.

Respectfully submitted,

ALBERT C. MANUCY

Recording Secretary

Approved :

JOHN G. MCKAY President.

#### PRESIDENT'S REPORT, 1941

Members, Friends and Guests of the Florida Historical Society:

Since we assembled in annual session a year ago this month at the Miami-Biltmore Hotel in Coral Gables, there have been momentous events which, in many instances have redirected the course of our lives. The foremost event of the year is the war.

When we gathered on the lower East Coast in March 1941, the Society's library and office had just been opened in spacious quarters, rent free, in the Alcazar Hotel building in St. Augustine. This accomplishment had been made possible by the City of St. Augustine and the members of the Society in St. Augustine. The City's published plan was to purchase the Alcazar building for historical and cultural purposes, and a three-year lease was held by the City toward that end. However, with the uncertainties arising from a world at war, the City was forced to abandon its plan for the purchase of the building, and the property was soon returned to its original owners, the Florida East Coast Hotel

Company, who desired the building vacated before accepting possession.

For the purpose of considering the urgent problem arising from the decision of the City of St. Augustine to return the Hotel building to the Florida East Coast Hotel Company, a meeting of the board of directors was called and held in St. Augustine the latter part of September. After a lengthy examination of the problem, the board decided to place the relocation of the library in St. Augustine in the hands of a committee consisting of Judge David R. Dunham, Mr. X. L. Pellicer and Mr. Watt Marchman, all members from St. Augustine.

The relocation committee, after a careful inspection of all available buildings in St. Augustine, was at last successful in securing a renewable lease on quarters constituting the second floor of the building adjacent to the Cathedral, facing the Plaza de la Constitucion, the ground floor of which is now used by the St. Augustine Gas Company. In addition to adequate rooms (for the immediate present, at least), there is also an excellent vault in the building-the use of the vault being especially desired by the Society. There were, however, a few minor improvements which were necessary to be made in order to bring out the most effective and attractive appearance of the quarters. This work has been accomplished with very small expense to the Society.

There is a small rental on the new location, and the rent for the first year has been more than provided for by generous donations made by the St. Augustine Historical Society and Institute of Science (\$300.00), and by members of the Society. Therefore, we can report that the library and offices of the Society seem now to be in a good and sound location for the duration of the war.

I am also happy to report that a considerable number of gifts, consisting of donations of money, books, pamphlets, manuscripts, pictures of Florida, too numerous to mention individually in detail here, have been received during the past year. All gifts will be published in the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. In fact, the library and the Society continue to grow rapidly, both in possessions and in service to the general public.

A few weeks ago, a contract-agreement, covering the period from July 1, 1941 through July 1, 1943, was drawn up and signed between the Florida State Library Board and the Florida Historical Society, providing for close cooperation along certain lines in a spirit of mutual helpfulness. The terms of the agreement include our making available to the State Library an index of the contents of our library, and our informational and advisory services as desired. As one benefit to the Society of this collaboration, we receive funds which enable the Society to carry out effectively and efficiently the requirements of the agreement, and which at the same time enable us to promote the historical interests of the State of Florida.

At the last annual meeting, the members voted to have our equipment and other possessions (other than the irreplaceable books, manuscripts, museum objects, etc.) insured; and I am glad to say that an insurance policy was taken out many months ago, which is now in effect, and which will continue in effect for three years. The premium on the policy was about \$120.00.

In regard to membership the Society has grown steadily, with many new members added during the year. However, as a result of the war, several members have dropped out, and death has also removed several more. A short while ago, your president made an appeal to about two hundred people in the Miami area who are members of the

South Florida Historical Association, but not members of this Society, and to date there have been about a dozen or so who have sent in their applications. We are hopeful that many others will do likewise.

The publication of the Florida Historical Quarterly, which is one of the most important functions of the Society, will be seriously affected by the war-and very soon. The cost of printing and cost of paper have already risen over 15 per cent and are steadily rising. Therefore, in order to assure the continued publication of the *Quarterly* during the emergency, each member should continue his support of the *Quarterly* insofar as possible by remaining a member in good standing, and by contributing a dollar or so in addition to annual dues should this be possible. And every member is invited to secure, if possible, at least one new member.

In bringing this report to a close, I should like to recommend to the membership that the following be stressed:

- a. That each officer and director and member of the Society assume a personal responsibility for securing new members, in order to make possible the continued publication of the *Quarterly* during the war and in the critical period of adjustment thereafter;
- b. That donations of all sorts-monetary contributions, gifts of real estate, gifts of items of Floridiana and Americana, including books of all kinds, manuscripts, picture, maps, etc., be particularly encouraged during the war. We now have a suitable, convenient and safe place, with vault, to house and protect all gifts or permanent loans of books, magazines, manuscripts, maps, pictures, etc.
- c. That the Society start now with plans toward the realization of a permanent building for the Society after the war.

#### TREASURER'S REPORT, 1942

To the President and Members of the Florida Historical Society:
The following statements constitute the Treasurer's report on the financial condition of the Society as of March 5, 1942. It will be noted that the Library Fund has been consolidated with the General Fund. The ever-increasing deficit in the former fund made this advisable.

General (and Library) Fur Balance, March 17, 1941	nd \$ 313.88	
Receipts           Library balance, March 17, 1941\$ 25.86           Dues         1,270.38           State of Florida         900.00           Gifts         230.29           Sale of publications, etc.         64.35	2,490.88	\$2,804.76
Expenditures Florida Historical Quarterly (3 numbers)	1,719.84	
Balance, March 5, 1942Robertson Memorial Fund	1,084.92	2,804.76
Balance, March 17, 1941	24.00 5.00	29.00
Expenditures	$\frac{25.00}{4.00}$	29.00
Balance, March 17, 1941Receipts	49.50	
Dues	131.00	180.50
Expenditures	147.00 33.50	180.50
Librarian's Salary Fund (Special Balance, March 17, 1941	Gifts) 750.00 925.00	1,675.00
Expenditures	1,775.00 100.00	1,675.00
Life Membership Fund Balance, March 17, 1941	200.00	200.00
Expenditures	200.00	200.00
Consolidated Statement Balance, March 17, 1941 Receipts	1,363.24 3,526.02	\$4,899.26

3.666.84 Expenditures ..... Balance, March 5, 1942 ..... 1.222.42 4.899.26

> Respectfully submitted, DOROTHY DODD, Treasurer

Members of the Society attending the annual meeting were: Lesley, Theodore, III, Tampa McKay, John G., Miami Pellicer, X. L., St. Augustine Sack, Mrs. Francis M., Tampa Miller, Albert C., Tampa Porter, Emily, Apalachicola Bowers, Mrs. W. C., Winter Park Grimes, H. H., Lakeland Higgs, Chas. D., Vero Beach Dunham, D. R., St. Augustine Lamme, Vernon, Marineland LaFuze, G., DeLand Ehlbardt, G. B., DeLand Tebeau, C. W., Miami Downey, T. E., St. Augustine Hasbrouck, Alfred. Winter Park Greenlee, R. F., Ormond Beach Wilson, Émily L., St. Augustine Carson, Ruby Leach, Coral Gables Cross, John H., Pensacola May, Philip S., Jacksonville Vaill, Mrs. F. S., St. Augustine Morris, A. C., Gainesville Thomas, Emma L. G., Winter Park Hill, W. B., Gainesville Cubberly, Mrs. Fred, Gaines-Akin, Sally, St. Augustine Cash, W. T., Tallahassee Hanna, Mrs. A. J., Winter Park Hanna, A. J., Winter Park Snodgrass, Dena, Orlando Northey, Della F., Winter Park Davis, Mary Lamar, Tallahassee

Boyd, Mark F., Tallahassee Baskin, Marjorie K. Rawlings, St. Augustine Patrick, R. W., Gainesville Marchman, Watt, St. Augustine Hawkins, Nina S., St. Augus-Towers, Mrs. C. D., Jacksonville Cabell, James Branch, Richmond, Va. Martin, Walter, Athens, Ga. Manucy, Albert C., St. Augus-Eells, Burr, Daytona Beach Denham, Mrs. T. P., Jacksonville Davis, T. F., Jacksonville Davis, Mrs. T. F., Jacksonville Freeman, Ethel C., New York Kirtland, Mrs. F. H., St. Augus-Fairlie, Margaret C., Jacksonville Hawkes, Mrs. Samuel, Daytona Beach Lawson, Mrs. E. W., St. Augus-Penington, Robert, Winter Park Hill, Louise B., Jacksonville Potts, George, Ormond Beach Collins, Mrs. Vivian, St. Augus-Mickler, M. P., Tampa Tigert, J. J., Gainesville Wilson, Gaines R., Miami Gibbs, George Couper, Jackson-Lamson, Herbert, Jacksonville

#### THE LIBRARY

Accessions During the Past Quarter

Mrs. Nelson R. Perry, a member of the Society from Sanibel Island, Florida, author of Marine Shells of the Southwest Coast of Florida, has placed in our library her own library of rare Florida books. These have a value of several hundred dollars and make a notable addition to our rare book collection. Among these are:

Ashley, John, Memoirs and considerations concerning the trade and revenues of the British Colonies in America . . . (London, 1740)

Bonnycastle, R. H., *Spanish America* (Philadelphia, 1819) Brinton, Daniel G., *Notes on the Floridian peninsula* (Philadel-

phia, 1819)

Coe, Charles H., Red Patriots, the story of the Seminoles (Cincinnati, 1898) Cohen, M. M., Notices of Florida and the Campaigns (Charleston,

Conen, M. M., Notices of Florida and the Campaigns (Charleston, S. C., 1836)
Darby, William, Memoirs on the geography and natural and civil history of Florida (Philadelphia, 1821)
Fairbanks, George R., History and antiquities of St. Augustine, Florida (New York, 1858)
Fairbanks, George R., History of Florida (Philadelphia, 1871)
Fairbanks, George R., The Spaniards in Florida (Jacksonville, Fla., Columbus Drew, 1868)
French, B. F., Historical Collections of Louisiana and Florida (New York, 1869)
Land Claim in Fast Florida (House Document No. 115, 19th Cong.

Land Claim in East Florida (House Document No. 115, 19th Cong., 1st sess., Washington, D. C., 1826)

Lanier, Sidney, Florida, its scenery, climate and history (Phila-

delphia, 1876)
Latour, A. LaCarriere, Historical memoir of the War in West Florida and Louisiana in 1814-1815. With an atlas (Philadelphia, John Conrad and company, 1816)

A Narrative of the early days and remembrances of Osceola Nikkanochee, Prince of Econchatti (London, 1841)

Roberts, William, An Account of the first discovery and natural

history of Florida (London, 1763)

Sketch of the Seminole War, and sketches during a campaign by a Lieutenant of the Left Wing (Charleston, S. C., 1836)

Smith, Caleb, ed., A Geographical description of the coasts, harbours and sea ports of the Spanish West-Indies; particularly of Porto Bello, Cartagena, and the Island of Cuba (London, Printed for the Editor Caleb Smith, 1740)

Sprague, John T., The Origin, progress and conclusion of the Florida War (New York, 1848)

Vignoles, Charles, Observations on the Floridas (New York, 1823) Williams, John Lee, The Territory of Florida (New York, A. T. Goodrich, 1837). (Lacks map.)

A collection of attractively framed maps of Florida, from the office of the late Edward Jaquelin L'Engle (former president of the Society, and member, 1905-1941), has been presented to the Library of the Society by Richard P. Daniel and Joseph W. Shands, trustees of the estate. The maps are:

Geographical, statistical and historical map of Florida (cir. 1827),

drawn by J. Drayton. Color, text surrounds map.

Map of Florida. Photostat copy, cir. 1823. Florida with two counties.

The "Tourist Map" of Florida in 1880. H. H. Richardson, Jack-

sonville, Fla.

Map of Florida, by Asher & Adams, 1872. Color.

Map of Florida, by H. S. Tanner. 1823. Color.

Map of Florida, by Thomas, Cowperthwait & co., 1850. Color.

Plan exhibiting the state of surveys in the State of Florida . . .

October 31, 1854. John Westcott, surveyor general.

Map of Florida, by Bradford. cir. 1835. Counties outlined in color.

Map of Florida, published by A. Finley. 1831. Color .

Map of the State of Florida, prepared by the order of Jeff. Davis.

1856. Large.

Other items included in the gift: Florida Rail Road Company bond, no. 189, for \$1,000, signed by David L. Yulee, president and George W. Call, secretary. Dated March 1, 1856. Framed.

Copy of The Florida Times Union, Jacksonville, October 4, 1888.

Paul A. Hardaway of Pawtucket, R. I., has enriched the Library by adding to his previous generous contributions the gift of a file of 45 volumes of the *Manual of Railroads*, by Henry V. Poor. The yearly editions of the *Manual* presented by Mr. Hardaway include the years 1877-1884, 1886-1898, 1900-1905, 1908-1911, 1915, 1919-1920, 1922-1932. The *Manual* is invaluable as a refer-

ence source for Florida railroad history.

Dr. Thomas Barbour, Director of the Museum of Comparative Zoology at Harvard College, a member of the Society, has placed in our library a very rare Spanish vase, unbroken, which was found in a hammock near Deep Lake, Collier county, Florida. Dr. Barbour writes: "It was directly under the trunk of an old live oak tree which fell during the hurricane of 1934. The jar is obviously an old Spanish oil jar. It was found by an Indian who brought it to the town of Everglades and goars it to December. who brought it to the town of Everglades and gave it to Deaconess Harriet Bedell, who is in charge of the Glade Cross Mission to the Seminoles." Deaconess Bedell presented the vase to Dr. Barbour.

In arriving at the probable age of the jar, Dr. Barbour said: "It must have been left behind by a very early Spanish exploring

party in southwest Florida, probably about 1550, to judge by the age of the tree which grew over it."

Mr. Tom L. Overby, Jacksonville, a veteran of the First World War, has presented to the Library, items about Jackson-18 pictures of buildings destroyed by the fire of 1901, Showing the ruins; 6 scrapbooks of newspaper clippings from Jacksonville papers for the period between 1919 and 1927.

The following catalogues of John B. Stetson University, DeLand, have been presented by the Library of that institution.

Miss Charlotte Smith, librarian: 1895-1896; 1896-1897; 1897-1898; 1901-1902; 1903-1904; 1907-1908; 1908-1909; 1913-1914; 1914-1915; 1915-1916; College of Law, 1913-1914.

Mr. George E. Burr, Jr., executive director of the State Defense Council of Florida, has placed in our library, for permanent record, a file of the "Florida Civilian Defense News" from the first issue in May, 1941, and lacking only one number.

Mr. A. B. Love, assistant editor of the Atlantic Coast Line News, has presented to the Library, on behalf of the Atlantic Coast Line Company, a file nearly complete of the Atlantic Coast Line News. Nearly every issue of the News contains references to various sections of Florida. The file lacks only volume 1, number 1, May, 1920, and consists of over 260 numbers of the News, in 23 volumes.

Mrs. Ida Keeling Cresap, librarian of the Agricultural Exper-

Mrs. Ida Keeling Cresap, librarian of the Agricultural Experiment Stations of the University of Florida, has placed in the Library on behalf of the Agricultural Experiment Stations, over 120 back issues of the Bulletin, and about 30 annual reports of the Agricultural Experiment Stations, from 1903 to date. Press

releases were also included in the gift.

The Veterans' Graves Registration Project of the Works Projects Administration has placed in our Library a complete compiled set of the "Register of Deceased Veterans"- for each of the Florida counties. In these registers, the names of the veterans are given, date of birth and death, place of burial, and grave number. A list of cemetaries is also included with a brief description and location of each.

Other accessions to May 15 include:

Gift of Mary Lamar Davis. Tallahassee: "Florida centennial celebration-official souvenir program," Tallahassee, Fla., Nov. 9-15, 1924; McConnell, "The Prince and Princess Achille Murat in Florida," in *The Century*, August, 1893; Confederate medal, finished in gold, struck off in 1862 at the time of the erection of a statute to General Robert E. Lee. Framed.

Gift of Robert A. French, Panama City: Autobiography of General Samuel G. French (Nashville, 1901). Written in Florida. Gift of Herbert Lamson, Jacksonville: "Florida Sports,

Gift of Herbert Lamson, Jacksonville: "Florida Sports, Recreation and Points of Interest"; "Howdy Neighbor, Welcome to Florida, the Land of Sunshine": "Scenic Florida"; "Florida as the Nation's Editors see it."

Gift of Professor A. J. Hanna, Winter Park, Social Index of Winter Residents and visitors to Palm Beach, Miami Beach, . 1941; *Herbertia*, The American Amaryllis Society, Orlando, Fla., v. 8, 1941. Gift of Emily L. Wilson, St. Augustine: A translation of a

portion of La Florida del Inca.

Gift of Mrs. Trusten P. Drake, Sr., Ocala: William Adam Hocker, 1844-1918, Justice of the Supreme Court of Florida.

Presented by the Jacksonville Public Library, from duplicates in the Library's Floridiana collection:

George M. Chapin, Florida, 1513-1913, Past, Present and

Future, (Chicago, 1914)

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#### THE JACKSONVILLE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The fourth meeting of the Jacksonville Historical Society for the 1942 season was held in the Floridan Room of the Roosevelt Hotel at 8 P. M., May 11th. In his opening address President D. J. Carrison told the society that he had greatly enjoyed his two years' term as president and pledged continued support to its work as a member of its advisory board. He then introduced Miss Mattie Burtchaell, granddaughter of John Lee Williams, one of the two commissioners appointed by Governor Duval to select the site of Florida's capital, Tallahassee. Miss Burtchaell's father, he said, had also served Florida, as one of the Flagler system's engineers in building railroads.

Miss Burtchaell gave a sketch of John Lee Williams, the man, at Picolata while his children were still young and living there with him. She based her information on the memories of her aunt, a child who had been born in the Army barracks there when her family had sought refuge from the Indians. In conclusion she presented the society with a photostat of Governor Duval's commission to Williams, appointing him to select the site of Florida's capital, "because of his knowledge and discretion." She also presented the society with a copy of her aunt's memoirs.

Miss Mary Graff spoke on another St. Johns river community, Mandarin, selecting amusing excerpts from Mandarin's early newspapers; she gave a description of the simple, highly personal viewpoint of the Mandarin community.

The meeting ended in an informal discussion. The members asked questions of Miss Burtchaell, who invariably replied with some valuable information about her grandfather. John Lee Williams's books and maps, lent by the Jacksonville Public Library, were examined with much interest.

THE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHERN FLORIDA

The sixth meeting of this association was held at the Miami Workshop of the University of Miami on the evening of March 31 with an attendance of one hundred. A memorial service first paid tribute to the memory of the founder president of the Association, George E. Merrick, who contributed so much to the building and advancement of that part of Florida. Several pioneers, members of the Association, gave their memories of him, among whom were Mrs. W. L. Freeland, Mrs. Ruby Leach Carson, F. M. Hudson, William Mark Brown, and Claude Matlack.

Dr. Robert E. Nicholl gave a scholarly talk on "Spanish Government in Florida, 1781-1821" from a paper by Professor D. C. Corbett of Candler College, Havana. He told of the research being done

in the archives at Havana from which he had just returned, but stated that much work is still to be done on the period of the second Spanish occupation of Florida.

Mrs. Carson gave a summary of her new book *Fabulous Florida*, showing the difficulty encountered in adapting a book of this kind to both child and adult, and how she overcame this through the criticism of her own children.

Dr. C. W. Tebeau concluded the program with a talk on "Some Southern Characteristics and their Origin" in which he exploded some legends and fallacies of the South.

#### THE FLORIDA LIBRARY ASSOCIATION

The library fights for freedom was the theme of the 22nd. annual meeting of the Florida Library Association held at Vero Beach, April 30, May 1-2. Our librarian, Watt Marchman, was speaker for the afternoon program of May 1. He spoke on "History is in the Making." At the business session he was elected treasurer of the Association for the next term. Wesley Summers of the Jacksonville Public Library is the new president.

### NOTES AND COMMENTS

PREHISTORIC CULTURES OF THE SOUTHEAST

This is the title of a new issue (History No. 4) of the National Park Service Popular Study Series. Its thirty-one pages contain a map of the region with the locations of some important archeological sites; The Coordination of Southeastern Archeological Studies; Ocmulgee's Trading Post Riddle, with illustrations, notes, and a bibliography and map of the trails of colonial Georgia and South Carolina; and Indoor Archeology. The publication is avail-

able from the Superintendent of Documents, Washington, at ten cents.

# THE ARKANSAS HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

There appeared in March last the first issue of *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly*, a publication of the recently revived Arkansas Historical Association. It is well edited and well printed, of approximately one hundred pages, and will exchange with our *Quarterly*, and so a file will be preserved in our library.

Of especial interest to us is the fact that its editorin-chief is Dr. David Y. Thomas, who was professor of history in the University of Florida thirtyfive years ago.

T. E. Fitzgerald, historian of his home county, has condensed much of his book *Volusia County Past and Present* into a twenty page, folio size, pamphlet entitled *Historical Highlights of Volusia County*, with a map and several illustrations.

## ROBERT E. LEE ARCHIVES

This has recently been established as a division of the library of Washington and Lee University. Already it contains a large collection of printed material, pictures, and more than four thousand manuscripts, all relating to the life of General Lee. It would seem that this is the most suitable place for any other such material not yet in its final resting place.

### **OUR CONTRIBUTORS**

Albert Manucy, secretary-treasurer of the Florida Historical Society, is historical technician for the Southern National Monuments of the National Park Service.

*Mrs. Alberta Johnson*, of St. Augustine, has done much historical research for the National Park Service.

*Lewis Leary,* formerly of the faculty of the University of Miami, is now a member of the English department, Duke University.

Before he became interested in archeology *Charles D. Higgs* was an astronomer and has published much on that subject.

Mark F. Boyd of Tallahassee is well known to readers of the Quarterly through his numerous contributions. He is a member of the staff of the International Health Division, Rockefeller Foundation.

### FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY INDEX

#### VOLUMES XV-XX

(Titles of articles which have appeared in the *Quarterly* are in *ITALIC CAPITALS*. Titles of books and other material relating wholly or in part to Florida are in *Italic.*)

(An index to vols. I - VI appeared in the *Quarterly*, the issue of January, 1929, and one to vols. VII - XIV in the issue of April, 1936. This index was prepared by F. W. Hoskins.)

Abbey, Kathryn T.: XV. 182, 184, 187, 199; THE UNION BANK OF TALLAHAS-SEE XV. 208, 267, 274; XVI. 265; XVIII. 237; vice-president XV. 272; XIX. 40; Peter Chester's Defense of the Mississippi After the Willing Raid XIX. 391n

Adair, Jas., The History of the American Indians: XVIII. 283n.; XX. 41

Adair, Alex, U. S. marshal: XX. 380 Adams, Chas. Sullivan, biographical sketch : XIX. 56

Adams-Onis Treaty of 1819, Diplomacy and the Borderlands, Philip C. Brooks: XIX. 297

Admission of Florida Into the Union: XX.

Agnese, Battista, atlas: XX. 8

Agriculture in Florida, History of: XX.

Agricultural Education in Florida: XX. 369

Air Transportation in Florida, Thomas P. Caldwell: XX. 100

Aird, William, member of Assembly British West Florida: XIX. 247, 248

Alabama, Annexation of a Part of Florida: XVIII. 150

Alachua County, History of. F. W. Buchholz: XIX. 323n.

Alachua grant: XV. 5; XIX. 325, 330 Alba, Peter: XVI. 63

Alcazar Hotel Building: XIX. 46 Allen, Geo. D., U. S. Marshal: XX. 380 Allen, Richard C.: St. Joseph convention.

XVII. 97

Alvarez, Antonio: first membership roll (1856): XIX. 7; XX. 229
Alvord, Carl G.: XV. 271: XVII. 153: XVIII. 71, 236; xx. 229
Alvord, Clarence W. Mississippi Valley in British Politics: XX. 38

Amarillas, Marques de las, moves Pensacola to present site: XX. 163. Ambrister, Robert : XVI. 86; XVII. 238 Amelia: XIX. 158

American Association for State and Local

History. Bulletin: XX. 316 American State Papers, Indian Affairs:

XVI. 94; Public Lands, XVI. 94; Foreign Relations, XVI. 94.

eign Relations, XVI. 94.

Amherst, Sir Jeffery, letters to: XIX. 402

Anasco, Juan de: XVI. 151

Anderson, Walker: XV. 221, 223; St. Joseph
conv. XVI. 245; XVII. 99

Andrews, Evangeline W., The Journal of
Jonathan Dickenson: XVIII. 302

Andrews, Mrs. Charles M.: XVIII. 237

Anthropology of Florida, The, A. Hrdlika:
XVIII. 190; Anthropology in Florida:
R. M. Smith: XVIII. 191

Apalache, fort at (1758) (St. Mark) map:
XV. 12; APALACHE DURING THE
BRITISH OCCUPATION Pittman:

BRITISH OCCUPATION. Pittman; FROM A REMOTE FRONTIER, XIX. 179 etc.

Apalachicola Gazette: XV. 216; XVI. 40; Journal: XV. 228n.

Apalachicola Land Co.: XVII. 86

Apodaca, Juan Ruiz de: XV. 113, 115, 116,

Arbuthnot, A.: XVI. 83, 85; XVIII. 63 Archeological notes: XX. 226, 227; Committee XIX. 45, 309; initial project of, XIX. 46; report of committee, XIX. 166; The Relationship of Florida Archeology to That of Middle America, Doris Stone, XVII. 211

Archeology in the Ten Thousand Islands: XX. 367

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY FORFLORIDA, SOME NOTES ON: H. Dunscombe Colt, XIX. 293

Archer, James T., Eulogy: XX. 226

Archives, Public, in Florida (1906) David Y. Thomas: XX. 124

Archives, County, of Florida: XX. 213; Federal: XIX, 88; XX. 212

Archives, Duval County: XVI. 290

Archives; Spanish, of Florida, Diplomatic Mission to Secure: XX. 369 Archivo General de Indias: XVI. 131

Archivo Historico Nacional, Madrid : XVI. 131

Archivo Nacional, Cuba: XVI. 131 Arguelles, Martin de: XX. 218

Armed Occupation Act: XV. 51, 53
Arredondo, Don Fernando de la Maza:
XIX. 323, 329; Antonio, XV. 10; Grant,
XIX. 325, XVIII. 221; Jose de la
Maza, XX. 55

Arriaga, Julian de, letter to: XIX. 190 Atlantic Neptune: XX. 329 Atlantic Pilot, De Brahm: XX. 42, 330

Ayer Collection, Newberry Library: XVI.

131

Ayeta, Francisco de: XX. 24 Aubril, Rev. E.: a founder of Florida Historical Society. XIX. 6; sketch, 51

Audubon, John James, The Life of, Maria R. Audubon: XVII. 35; The Florida Audubon Society 1900-1935, Lucy W. Blackman XVII. 250
Audubon Society, The Florida, Lucy W. Blackman: XVIII. 242

Auld, Rev, D. J.: on first membership roll, (1856) XIX. 7

Autobiography of Thomas Douglas: XV. 235n.

Ays: XIX. 314 Ažilia, colony: XX. 33

Babson, Mrs. Roger W.: XV. 137, contributing member, XVIII. 72

Bacheller, Irving essay contest: XV. 252: XVI. 289; XVIII: 247! XVIII. 241; XIX. 421

Bailey, James B., papers of: XX. 210 Baker, James M.: on first membership roll

(1856) XIX. 7

Baldwin, A. S.: on first membership roll (1856) XIX. 7 Baltzell, Thos. : on first membership roll. (1856) XIX. 7; St. Joseph convention,

XVIII. 99 Banking in Florida, History of, D. Y. Thomas: XV. 210

Bank of Pensacola: XV. 208-Bank of Florida: XV. 208 Bannerman, Chas.: XVIII. 120 Baptists, A History of Florida: XX. 375

Baptists, History of Florida, Reeves: XVII.

Baptist Bodies, Inventory of Church Archives, of Florida: XIX. 423

Barbour, Geo. M., Florida For Tourists, Invalids and Settlers: XV. 56

Barcia, Ensayo Cronologico para la Historia General de la Florida: XV. 33, XX. 18

Barings of London: XV. 216 Barnes, W. D.: XV. 110; XVII. 267

Barnett, Wm. B.: XVII. 208

Fort (1818) XV. 242; XX. Barrancas,

277-Barr, Ruth B., VOLUNTARY EXILE OF FREE NEGROES OF PENSACOLA:

XVII. 3 Barrs, Burton K.: XVIII. 69

Barstow, Mrs. W. S.: contributing member,

XVIII. 72 Bartlett, Cosam Emir : St. Joseph conven-

tion, editor Apalachicola Gazette, XVII. 99; XVI. 40, 43 Barry, Rt. Rev. Patrick: contributing mem-

ber: XVIII. 72

Bartram, Wm. Travels in East and West Florida: XVII. 335; John and William Bartram, Ernest Earnest, a review by A. J. Hanna, XX. 314; Travels of Wm. Bartram, J. L. Lowes, XIX. 311; eight editions of XX, 42

Basanier, L'Histoire Notable de la Florida, E. G. Bourne: XVIII. 190; other editions, XX. 17 Bates, William, (1852): XVIII. 120

Bay, Elihu Hall, Pensacola 1778: XIX 392

Bean. Mabel C., Spanish-American War, Tampa: XVIII. 218 Beard, John: U. S. Marshal. XX. 380;

on first membership roll, (1856), XIX.

Beeson, Eleanor, THE ST. AUGUSTINE HISTORICAL RESTORATION : XVI. 110

Beecher, Rev. Charles: XV. 110 Bell, Emily Lagow, My Pioneer Days in Florida: XX. 124 Bell, Rev. W. W.. Methodist: XVI. 104

Bellamy, Samuel C.: XVI. 97; John, XVII.

BEMBROSE MANUSCRIPT ON THE SEMINOLE WAR, THE, Robt. Charles Stafford: XVIII. 285

Benavides, Antonio de: XV. 9 Ben De Ford, transport: XV. 81 Benjamin, Judah P.: Confederate Secretary of State. XVII. 163, 227; Escape of Judah P. Benjamin, H. A. McLeod

XVIII. 218, 220 Benthuysen, J. D.: XVII. 165; Van: XVII. 164

BERNARD, JESSE TALBOT, DIARY OF: XVIII. 115

Bertucat, Luis de: XV. 19 Bethune, F., Plantation Journal: XIX. 39; Captain de Partido, XX. 55

BIOGRAPHY OF FLORIDA : XVIII. 132 Biddle, Nicholas: XV. 216 Big Warrior, Indian Chief: XVII. 316 -:

XVIII. 252n. Bill, Ledyard, A Winter in Florida: XIX.

Binney, Horace: XV. 210

Biographical Dictionary of the Franciscans in Spanish Florida and Cuba, 1528-1841. Maynard Geiger, reviewed by A Curtis Wilgus: XX. 72 Bird, Lt. Edmund: XIX. 131 Bisbee, W. A.: XIX. 283

Biscayne Bay, a Complete Manual of Information (1876): XVIII. 150

Blackburn, E. E., St. Joseph convention: XV. 221; U. S. Marshal, XX. 380 Blair, Samuel, U. S. Marshal: XX. 380

Blockade, running: XX. 173

Blondeau, Carlos: XV. 9

Blount, Gov. Willie of Tenn.: XV. 169 Blount, Wm. A., biographical sketch : XIX. 55

Bloxham, Gov. W. D.: XV. 110; director Florida Historical Society, XIX. 21

Blythewood, E. L., Fla. University: XV.

Bohnenberger, Carl, in memoriam, XV. 183, 186: cor. sec. and librarian. XIX. 37, 40; death, XIX. 41; biographical sketch, XIX. 64 Bolton, H. E. and Marshall, T. M. *The* 

Colonization of North America: XIX 189

Bolton, H. E. and Ross, Mary, The Debatable Land: XVII. 182n.

Bonapartes in America, Dorrence and Macartney, a review by A. J. Hanna

XVIII. 231
Bonds and Guarantees Issued by the Territory of Florida, Henry D. Gilpin: XV. 211

Books, enemies of: XVIII. 94; preservation of: 100; protective coverings of: 102

Books, English, written by Floridians XX. 373

BOOKS AND RECORDS, THE CARE AND PRESERVATION OF, Louise Richard son: XVIII. 94

Boston, transport: XV. 81, 85 Boston, William K.: XVIII. 120

Bourne, E. G. ed. Narratives of the Career of Hernando de Soto: XVI. 219; Spain in America: XIX. 214n.

Bours, Rev. W. W., on first membership roll, (1856): XIX. 7 Bonquet, Col. Henry, death of: XIX. 182

Bowlegs, Billie, (Indian): XVI. 71 ers, Mrs. William C., contributing member: XVIII. 72 Bowers,

Bowles, Wm. Augustus, Public Characters of 1801-1802; XIX. 84; xv. 16; XVI.

59--; Authentic Memoirs of William Augustus Bowles . . . XX. 46 Boyd, Mark F.: MISSION SITES IN FLORIDA: XVII. 255; contributing member, XVIII. 72; director, XIX. 47;

sketch, XIX. 85; THE EXPEDITION OF MARCOS DELGADO FROM APALACHE TO THE UPPER CREEK COUNTRY IN 1686, XVI. 3 EVENTS AT PROSPECT BLUFF ON THE APALACHICOLA RIVER: XVI. 55; ARRIVAL OF DE SOTO'S EXPEDITION IN FLORIDA, XVI. 188; MAP OF THE ROAD FROM PENSA-COLA TO ST. MARKS, 1778, XVII. 15; The First American Road in Flor-

ida, XVII. 31; catalogue of library, XVIII. 223; FROM A REMOTE FRONTIER, M. F. Boyd (editor), XIX. 179, 402; XX. 82, 203, 293, 382 Braden, Dr. Joseph: XV. 252

BRADEN CASTLE, by Thelma Gray: XV. 252

Bradenton, Meeting of Florida Historical Society: XVII. 338

Bradford, Sam: XVIII. 120 Bradford, Ed: XVIII. 120

Brannan, Brig. Gen. J. M.: XV. 82, 83, 87

Breckinridge, John C., Confederate Secretary of War: XVII. 163, 227, 235
Brevard, Caroline M., A History of Florida

From the Treaty of 1763 to Our Own Times: XVII. 27 Brevard, Maj. T. W.: XV. 78

Brinton, D. G. The Floridian Peninsula: XVII. 251

BRITISH AND EAST FLORIDA MATE-RIAL RELATING TO IN THE GAGE PAPERS AND OTHER MANU-SCRIPT COLLECTIONS IN THE WILLIAM L. CLEMENTS LIBRARY,

Charles L. Mowat: XVIII. 46
BRITISH AND SPANISH FORTIFICA-

BRITISH AND SPANISH FURTHCA-TIONS OF PENSACOLA, 1781-1821, Stanley Faye: XX. 277 BRITISH WEST FLORIDA, THE MILI-TARY OCCUPATION, C. N. HOWATCH XX. 11, 180; Foundations of British West Florida, C. N. Howard, XX. 368 Bronson, D. H., Florida Railroad: XX.

Brooks, A. M. The Unwritten History of St. Augustine: XIX. 22n. Brooks, Philip C. Diplomacy and the Bor-

der Lands, a review by H. A. Bierch: XIX. 297

Broome, Gov. James E., on first membership roll (1856): XIX. 7
Broward, Napoleon B.: XIX. 270, 283-292; XVIII. 150

Broward, Hortense: XIX. 288 Browne, J. B. : XVIII. 268; U. S. Marshal, XX. 380

Browne, Jefferson B. (II): XVI. 268: Key West, the Old and the New, XVII. 37n.

Browne, P. W., Salamanca and the Beginning of the Church in Florida: XV. 148

Browne, Lt. Gov. Montford : XIX. 246 ; sketch. XIX. 399

Brown, Joseph E. and the Confederacy, by Louise B. Hill: XVIII. 67

BROWN LIBRARY, JOHN CARTER, MATERIALS FOR FLORIDA HIS-TORY IN, Lawrence C. Wroth: XX.

Brown, Gov. Thomas: XVI. 98; St. Joseph convention, XVII. 98; on first mem-bership roll, XIX. 7 Bruce, James: XIX. 118 Buchanan, W. M.: contributor, XV. 137; XVIII. 71

Buckhorn, Creek: XV. 82

Buckman, Mrs. -collection: XIX. 38 cataloguing Society's

Buford, Rivers: XVIII. 237, 295 Buckman, Lt. T. E.: XV. 79

Bullard, Bern K.: life member, XIX. 424

Bulow, John: XV. 255; Charles, XV. 255 Bulow plantation: XV. 255, 256-7 Burnham, Capt. -: XVIII. 213 Burnt Corn Creek, Battle of: XVIII. 248

Burt, George: a founder of Florida Historical Society, XIX. 6; biographical

sketch, XIX. 50 Burt, James: on first membership roll, (1856), XIX. 7; biographical sketch,

Bush, Robert W., filibuster: XIX. 290

Bushnell, D. I., Native Cemeteries and Burials East of the Mississippi: XVIII.

Bussey, A. S., secretary pro tem.: XV.

Byrd, W. P.: XV. 110

Cabell, Branch, First Gentleman of America: XX. 398 Cabeza de Vaca, Journal of Alvar Nunez,

Cabeza de Vaca, Journal of Alvar Nunez,
A. E. Bandelier: XVIII. 190; Bishop,
The Odyssey of Cabeza de Vaca. XVIII.
190; many editions, XX. 12
Cabell, E. C.: on first membership roll
(1856), XIX. 7; St. Joseph convention, XVII. 99
Cabrera, Gov. Juan Marquez de: XV. 5;
XVI. 4
Caldectt. Pandalph A Briof Account of

Caldecott, Randolph, A Brief Account of, H. A. Kelly: XVII. 330

Calderon, Gabrier, A 17th Century Letter of: XVIII. 284
Caldwell, Thomas Palmer, director: XX. 122; The History of Air Transportation in Florida, XX. 100; sketch, XX. 122

Calhoun, J. C., Secretary of War: XVI.

Calistoble, Indian Village: XVI. 7

Call, Geo. W.: XVIII. 153; first membership roll (1856), XIX. 7; Florida railroad, XX. 171

Call, Rhydon M., president Florida His-orical Society: XIX. 25; sketch, XIX.

Call, Gov. Richard K.: Letters and papers of, purchased by the Florida Historical Society: XV. 25, 71, 137; XIX. 41; on first membership roll (1856), XIX. 7; as governor, XV. 225; XVI. 131; will, XVIII, 221; at Withlacoochee, XIX. 132

Call, Wilkinson: XV. 79: XVIII. 153, 268: XIX. 270, 272, 274-Callava, Gov. West Florida: XV. 25

Calle, Juan Diez de la, memorial: XX. 22 Caloosa Indians : XX. 95

Caminado, Francois, councillor: XIX. 118
Campbell, John, Br. W. Fla.: XIX. 263
Campbell, R. L.: XVIII. 268; Historical
Sketches of Colonial Florida: XV. 34
Camp, John G., U. S. Marshal: XX. 380
Cambelltown, survey of: XIX. 123; assemblymen, 125; deserted, 377
Canadis: XVII. 41
Canadian Archives, Haldimand sprios: XV. 33

Canadian Archives, Haldimand series: XV. 33

Cancer, Fray Luis: XX 15 Canerio chart (1504): XX. 4-Canova A. P. Life and Adventures in South Florida: XIX. 4n

Cantino chart (1502): XX. 4-Carr, Charles H.: XVIII. 120

Cannon, Lieut. -: X V . 8 1 Capital, cornerstone of: XX. 220

Capron, Louis: XV. 279

Carnegie Institution of Washington: XVI. 110

Carson, Ruby Leach, Florida, Promoter of Cuban Liberty: XIX. 270; Fabulous Florida, XX. 398; XVIII. 295 Caron, warship: XVI. 70

Carter, Clarence E.: Notes On the Lord Gage Collection of Manuscripts: XVIII. 46n;. Territorial Papers of the United

States, XX. 216
Carter. Rev. W. H., Florida University:
XV. 97, 103
Cash, W. T.: XV. 199, 200; History of
the Democratic Party in Florida, XVI.

227; The Story of Florida, Historical and Biographical, XIX. 4n.

and Biographical, A1A. 4ft.
Caso y Luengo, Francisco, com. at St.
Marks: XV. 21
Castelnau, Conte de, Note on the Source
of Wakulla River in Florida; Note
on Two Itineraries From Charleston
to Tallahassee: XX. 226
Castillo, Bernal Diaz del, Conquista de la
Nueva Espana (1632): XX. 10
Castro y Pardo, Fray Damian de Vega:

Castro y Pardo, Fray Damian de Vega : XV. 3

Catesby, Mark, Natural History of Carolina, Florida and the Bahama Is-

lands: XX. 42 Catholic church: XV. 86, 87

Catholic Education, The Early History of, in the Diocese of St. Augustine, Knights of Columbus- Essay Contest: XVIII. 143

Catilla, Juan de: XV. II Celestial railroad: XX. 94 Census, Hassett's, of St. Augustine: XV. 152

Ante-Bellum Enumerations in Florida, R. M. Harper: XIX. 3n Centennial of the St. Joseph Convention:

XVII. 152

Cespedes, Mr. -, mayor of Key West: XV. 43-Chaffer, H. J.: contributing member: XVIII. 72

Challeux, see Basanier

Chalmers, George, manuscripts: XX. 44 Chamberlain, Fred S.: XV. 84, 85 Chamberlain. Capt. V.: XV. 84: A LETTER

OF: XV. 85 Chapin, Geo. M.: Florida 1513-1913, Past, Present and Future: XIX. 25; bio-

graphical sketch, 58 Chapman, Alvin Wentworth, John G. Ruge: XX. 124

Charleston convention, 1860: XX. 354 Charlevoix, P. F. X., Journal of a Voyage

to North America: XV. 9, 33 Chase, Joshua C.: contribution, XV. 137,

XVIII. 71; resolution of thanks, 186, 187, 188; annual report Florida Historical Society, 176, 199, 258, 272; contributing member, 72, 295; elected president, XV. 273; XVI. 271; sketch, 64; address, 48

Chase, S. O. contributes, XV. 137; contributing member, XVIII, 72; in memoriam, XX. 229

Chata, Chatot, etc., Indian village: XVI. 29

Verne E.: XVI. 111, 113; SH <u>CONTRIBUTIONS</u> Chatelain, SPANISH CONTRIBUTIONS FLORIDA TO AMERICAN CULTURE, XIX. 213; The Defences of Spanish Florida, a review by Albert Manucy, XX. 314

Chester, Peter, Governor of British West Florida: XIX. 246-, 368-; defence, in N. Y. Pub. Library: XIX. 396n.

Chuskatalofa, Indian : XVI. 62 Chipola: XVII. 33

Choate, Chas. A. From the W. Johns to the Apalachicola: XV. 33

Christian Church in Florida, The, E. C. Nance: XX. 399

Cienfuegas, Gen. Jose: XV. 114, 117 Cigar Industry in Florida: XX. 369

Cimarron, gunboat: XV. 80, 81.

Citrus Industry in Florida: XX. 371 Citrus Industry and Dade County: XX. 371 Civil War Letters, Wm. M. Blackford: XVIII. 220; Rev. Edmund Lee, XVIII.

Claiborne, Gen. F. L.: XVIII. 262 Claiborne, J. F. H., Mississippi as a Province, Territory and State: XVII. 181n. Clapp, James C., U. S. Marshal: XX. 380 Clark, Capt. Henry E. W.: XX. 253

Clark, Capt. Micajah H. acting treasurer of Confederacy: XVII. 160, 228 Clark, Capt. L. R.: XVII. 171 Clarke, George J. F.: XIX. 158

Clifton, Wm., chief justice British West Florida and councillor: XIX. 119

Clements Library: Gage papers, XVIII. 46-57; Shelburne papers, 57-58; Clinton papers, 58; Gage-Haldimand Gage-Haldimand papers, 52; Clements, Wm. L., The Wm. L. Clements Library of Americana at the University of Michigan: XVIII. 46n.

Clinch, Gen. Duncan L.: XVI. 76, 77; XIX. 129-

Clinton, Gen. Sir Henry: papers XVIII. 47; Sir Henry Clinton Maps, R. G. Adams, XVIII. 58n

Clubbs, Occie: XVIII. 237, 295; director, XVI. 271: XIX. 43
Cobb, Samuel E.: XVIII. 236; THE FLORIDA MILITIA AND THE AFFAIR

AT WITHLACOOCHEE, XIX. 128 Cochran, E. T., History of Public School Education in Florida. XV. 102

Cockrell, Alstvica: president Florida Historical Society, XIX. 37: president, 40; sketch, 64

Coconut Grove, Old, John C. Gifford: XX.

Coe, Chas. H.: OSCEOLA, THE PARENTAGE AND BIRTHPLACE OF, XVII. 304; Red Patriots, the Story of the Seminoles, XVII. 304n; Debunking the So-called Spanish Mission Near New Smyrna Beach, XX. 124

Cohen, M. M. Notices of Florida and the Campaigns: XVII. 304n Cold (1835): XV. 232-Cole, Archibald H., Florida Railroad: XX.

Colinton: XVI. 93

Collins, Mrs. LeRoy, catalogue of library: XVIII. 223 Colonial Florida, Historical Skecthes of,

R. L. Campbell: XV. 34
Colonial Land Claims in East and West Florida: XVII. 243
Colonial Records of Spanish Florida, Jeannette Thurber Connor: XVIII. 6
COLONIAL PENSACOLA, THE BRITISH PERIOD: Clinton N. Howard, XIX. 246, 368; administration of Gov. Chester, 368
Colt, H. Dunscombe, SOME NOTES ON AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY

FOR FLORIDA, XIX. 293

mercial Education in Schools in Florida: XX. 371 Commercial Secondary

Compendio Historico de la Florida, C. A. Vannoy: XX. 399

Conch Town, Riviera, Florida: XX. 376 Conchs, on East Coast: XX. 94 CONFEDERATE BAGGAGE AND TREAS-

URE TRAIN ENDS ITS FLIGHT IN FLORIDA, A. J. Hanna: XVII. 159 CONNECTICUT YANKEES, WHY TWO

WENT SOUTH. Samuel H. Fisher: XVIII. 32

Connor, Jeannette Thurber, Colonial Records of Spanish Florida: XV. 232n; Pedro Menendez de Aviles, XVIII. 6; Jean Ribaut, XVIII. 6; sketch, XIX. 56; The Nine Old Wooden Forts of 56; The Tylic XX. 154n
St. Augustine, XX. 154n
STITITION, FLORIDA'S

CONSTITUTION. FIRST, James B. Whitfield: XVII. 73

Constitution, Reception of the St. Joseph: XVII. 103

Constitution of 1885: XX. 375

CONCESSION MADE BY THE KING OF SPAIN TO FERNANDO DE SOTO: XVI. 179

Connecticut Light Battery, 1st: XV. 81, 85 Connecticut Vol. 7th Reg.: XV. 81 Conover, S. B.: XV. 99 CONTENTION OVER THE SUPERIN-TENDENCIES OF THE FLORIDAS

D. C. Corbett: XV. 113

Cooper, C. M., reorganization of Florida Historical Society: XIX. 16 Cooper, John, sketch: XIX. 57, 23 Cooper, Gen. -: XV. 254 Copeland, Robert, secretary to Gov. DuVal:

XV. 214

Coppinger, Gov. Jose, of East Florida: XX. 61

Corbett, D. C., THE CONTENTION OVER THE SUPERINTENDENCIA OF

THE FLORIDAS: XV. 113; THE RETURN OF SPANISH RULE TO THE ST. MARYS AND THE ST. JOHNS

1813-1821, XX 47 Corley, Hugh A.: XX. 179 Corse, Carita Doggett : XV. 188, 199, 258, 273, 298; donation, XIX 38; DE BRAHM'S REPORT ON EAST FLOR-IDA, 1773, XVII. 219, 293 Corse, H. M., The Continent of Florida: XIX. 423

Cosmopolitan, steamer: XV. 84 Cotner. Robert C.: XVIII. 147; director, XVI. 271; XIX. 43 Cotton, F. R., of Leon County: XVIII. 268

Cotton Kingdom in Alabama. Chas. S. Davis: XVIII. 233

Cotton, Rev. Nathaniel, death in Pensacola 1771: XIX. 379

Cottonwood, Senator Yulee's plantation marked by U. D. C.: XVIII. 240

County Archives of Florida, Inventory of: XX 213

COURTS OF TERRITORIAL FLORIDA, Chas. D. Farris: XIX. 346

Cox, Isaac, address at annual meeting, XV. 259; The West Florida Controversy 1798-1813, XVII. 228, 287

Crane, V. W., The Southern Frontier: XVII. 182n.: XX. 22

Crane, L. G., gunboat *Uncas*: XX. 78 CREEK WAR OF 1813-1814, A PRELUDE TO THE: A letter of John Innerarity Elizabeth H. West (ed.) : XVIII 247

Creek Indians, the Early History of, and Their Neighbors, John R. Swanton: XVIII. 69, 70; Creek Indians, XVI. 56: Creek War of 1813 and 1814, Hulbert and Ball, XVI. 94; XIX. 376

Crooke, Robert, British councillor West Florida: XIX. 119

Crosby, O. M., Florida Facts: XIX. 84 Cruzat, Joseph Y.: XV. 25

Crow, C. L.: XV. 188, 199; director, XVII. 338; FLORIDA UNIVERSITY (1883); sketch of, XVII. 338

Crowninshield, Francis B.: XV. 139; con-

tributing member, XVIII. 72 Crowninshield, Mrs. F. B.: XV. 139; special contributions, XVIII. 71; contributing member, XVIII. 72: director, XVI. 271

Crozer, John, British West Florida: XIX.

Cruzat, Mrs. Heloise Hulse: XVIII. 247 Mrs. Marie Cruzat de verges, gift of Panton, Leslie papers: XIX. 38

Cuba, Florida supported by: XV. 113, 114 Cuban War of Independence: Florida, Promoter of Cuban Liberty, Ruby Leach Carson, XIX. 270

Cubberly, Frederick C.: president, XIX. 35; ďeath of, 37; sketch, 63

Culasa Qulasa, Indian village: XVI. 30 Curry, Calvin Horace: XV. 139; contribution, XVIII. 71; contributing member,

72, 237, 296; director, XVI. 271. 43;

vice president, 44; president, 47; sketch, 65

Cutler, H. G., History of Florida, Past and, Present: XIX. 4n

Dacy, G. H., Four Centuries of Florida Ranching: XIX. 301 Dade massacre: XVI. 131 Daley, Rev. J. T., The Old Spanish Mission at New Smyrna Beach: XVII. 330 Darby, Wm.. A Memoir of Florida: XVII. 335

Darlington, steamer. XV 92
Dauntless, filibuster: XIX. 283
Davidson, J. W., Florida Today: XIX. 83,
Davis. Chas.: XVIII. 268

Davis; George, Confederate attorney general: XVII. 161, 227 Davis, Mary Lamar: donations, XIX. 309 Davis, Jefferson: XVII. 228-XX. 358

Davis, Mai y
Davis, Jefferson: XVII. 228-AA. GC
Davis, T. Frederick: EARLY ORANGE
CULTURE IN FLORIDA AND THE
EPOCHAL COLD OF 1835, XV. 232;
U. S. S. PEACOCK, IN THE WAR OF
1812, A FIGHT OFF THE FLORIDA
EAST COAST, XVI. 231; sketch,
XIX. 62; ENGAGEMENTS AT ST. XIX. 62; ENGAGEMENTS AT ST. JOHNS BLUFF, 1862, XV. 77, 199 273; DISSTON LAND PURCHASE, XVII. 200 : PROTESTANT SERVICE, THE FIRST IN AMERICA, XVIII. 192; FLORIDA HISTORICAL MAT-ERIAL IN NILES' REGISTER, XVIII. 227; XIX. 155; History of Jacksonville, Florida, and Vicinity, XIX. 34; treasurer Florida Historical Society, XIX 35; donation, XIX. 39; MacGREGOR'S INVASION OF FLORIDA IN 1817, XVI. 95; FLORIDA'S PART IN THE WAR WITH MEYICA XY 225. WAR WITH MEXICO, XX. 235; Narrative History of the Orange in the Floridian Peninsula, XIX. 423

Davis, W. Watson: contributing member, XVIII. 72; Civil War, and Reconstruc-tion in Florida, XVII. 202n.; XVIII. 297; review of Hanna, Flight Into Oblivion, XVII. 227

Davis, Virginia: XIX. 165 Dean, Nina Oliver, History of Citrus in Florida: XVI. 279

De Brahm, W. G., surveyor general: XVIII. 58; XX, 133, 138, 141: DE BRAHM'S REPORT ON EAST FLORIDA, Carita Doggett Corse, XVII. 219; Atlantic Pilot, XX. 42; Recherches . . . Canal de Bahama, XX, 42: THAT ODD BE-ING DE BRAHM, Charles L. Mowat, XX. 323

Debtor's prison in British West Florida: XIX. 268

De Bry, Brevis Narratio 1564 : XVI. 286; XX. 17

DEFENSES OF THE FLORIDAS, James Gadsden: XV. 242

Defenses of Spanish Florida 1565 to 1763,

Verne E. Chatelain, a review by Albert Manucy: XX. 311

GARDO, MARCOS EXPEDITION OF, FROM APALACHE TO THE UP-DELGARDO, PER CREEK COUNTRY IN 1686, Mark F. Boyd: XVI. 3

DELGADO PAPERS, COMMENTS ON THE, John R. Swanton: XVI. 127

Delius, Frederick, Composer, Gerard Tetley: XX. 104

Florida: XVIII. 120 ; Joseph P.: XVIII. 120; Henrietta, XVIII. 120: Dell, Florida:

William, XVIII. 120:
William, XVIII. 120:
Dell, Philip, Florida Railroad: XX. 171.
Democratic Party, History of, in Florida,
W. T. Cash: XVI. 227
DeLuna, Tristan, manuscript: XX, 14;
Luna Papers, H. I. Priestley, XX. 14

Des Barres, Joseph F. W., Atlantic Nep-tune: XX. 325n

DE SOTO, THE LANDING PLACE OF, John R. Swanton: XVI. 148; THE HERNANDO DESOTO NUMBER, XVII. 64; DeSoto in Florida by John Westcott, XIV. 219; XVII. 64; DE-SOTO'S EXPEDITION, THE AR-RIVAL OF, IN FLORIDA, Mark F. Boyd, XVI. 188; Bourne, E. G. Narrative of the Career of Hernando De-Soto, XVIII. 190; DESOTO, HERNAN-DO, LETTER WRITTEN BY: XVI. 174 ; CONCESSION MADE TO HERN-ANDO DESOTO : XIV. 179: DeSoto Quadricentennial marker, XVIII. 64: editions of the DeSoto narratives, XX.

Dewhurst, W. W., History of St. Augustine, Florida: XX. 150

Dick, Mrs. A. E., Henry B. Plant, XVI. 281 Diaz, Bentura, commander at San Marcos: XIX. 184; letter to Provost, XIX. 201, 209; letter to Governor at Pensacola, XIX. 190; letter to Count Ricla, 192, 200, 206, 209

Dickenson, J., God's Protecting Providence . . . .: XVIII. 190, 302; many editions, XX. 25; Narrative of a Shipwreck in the Gulph of Florida, XVIII. 283

Dickerman, W. F., Fla. University: XV. 97

Dickerson, E. N., buys Florida railroad: XX. 171, 178

Diocese of St. Augustine, Brief History of the Churches of, part ten: XIX. 91 Dispatch, newspaper, Newnansville : XVIII. 117

Disston, Hamilton: XVII. 204-DISSTON LAND PURCHASE, THE, T. Disston, Frederick Davis: Drainage contract, XVII. 200; 204; Disston Sale and the State Finances, W. D. Bloxham, XVII.

206n; XX. 191
Dodd, Dorothy: XV. 200, 272, 279; treasurer, XVI. 271: XIX. 44: XX. 220: LETTERS FROM EAST FLORIDA, XV. 51; Railroad Projects in Terri-

torial Florida, XVII. 36n; The New City of Pensacola, XVII. 48: landing of DeSoto, XVII. 64; Relation of the Florida Historical Society to Local and Patriotic Societies, XVIII. 299; Guide to Material in the National Archives: XIX. 299

Doggett, Carita, Dr. Andrew Turnbull and the New Smyrna Colony of Florida:

Dorman, O. M., sketch: XIX. 52 Dotterer, H. E., Florida Railroad : XX.

Doyle, Edmund, Trader, letters of: XVI. 251, 56, 63, 65, 67, 68, 74, 88, 93 Douglas, Thomas, Autobiography of: XV.

Douglass, A. E., Ceremonial Weapons in a Florida Mound: XVIII. 190 Dow, Edmund LeRoy, exhibit of Floridiana:

XVIII. 299 Downing, Charles, delegate in Congress:

XVII. 94; XX. 263 Drake, S. G., Biography and History of the Indians of North America: XVII.

Drayton, Wm., chief justice: XX. 138, 140, 148, 149; XVIII. 51; Gov. Tonyn,

Drew, Geo. F. Gov.: XVII. 202; sketch, XIX. 60

Drew, Frank, president Florida Historial-Society: XIX. 27; sketch, XIX. 60 Dunham, Capt. Joseph L.: XV. 78, 79

Durham, David R., president St. Augustine Historical Society: XX. 318

Dunn, W. E. Spanish and French Rivalry in the Gulf Region of the United States 1678-1720, The Beginning of Texas and Pensacola: XV. 34; XVI. 9; The Occupation of Pensacola Bay 1689-1700. XX. 152

DuPont, Hon. Mr. on first membership roll, (1856) : XIX. 7 DuPont, Admiral: XV. 80, 81

DuPont, Mrs. Alfred I.: XV. 137; contributing member, XVIII. 72

Durnford, Elias, surveyor general West Florida. XIX. 110: councillor, 118: Lt. Gov., 246, 248, 254, 255-; losses; XIX. 398, 400

Duval, John P. Compilation of the Public Acts of the Legislative Council of the Territory of Florida Passed Prior to 1840: XVII. 3

Duval, Gov. William P.: opinion on banks, XV. 208; nominated for president of convention, XVI. 41, 98; at St. Joseph Convention, XVII. 97-; XVII. 117 Duval County, History of, P. D. Gold:

XIX. 84 Duval, Samuel H., U. S. Marshal: XX. 380

Duval County Archives, WPA: XIV. 290; Historical Sites and Markers in Duval County, XVIII. 224

Dyke, C. E., editor Floridian: XVIII, 268 EAST COAST, THE IN 1870, Florida Ga-

zetteer: XVIII. 106 : Pre-Flagler Influences on the Lower Florida East Coast, George E. Merrick, XX. 93

EAST FLORIDA, LETTERS FROM. Dorothy Dodd: XV. 51: population of British, XX. 133; British Occupation of East Florida, XX. 368 EAST FLORIDA, A REVIEW OF, IN

1817: XIX. 155; geography, population, etc., of, 157; town of Fernandina, 160; Indians, 161, 162; The Land Policy in British East Florida. C. L.

Mowat, XX, 132n. East Florida Seminary 1853. Commencement program: XVI. 286

East Florida. Material Relating To. In the Gage Papers. Chas. L. Mowat: XVIII.

Eastin, Thomas, U. S. Marshal: XX, 380 Econchatte, Murat plantation: XVIII, 79 Eddy, Henri May: XV. 199; In appreciation of, XVIII. 142; exhibit of Floridiana, XVII. 329 Education in Walton County: XX. 372;

in Seminole County, 372: Volusia County, 372; Marion County, 372; Winter Park, 372; Key West, 372; Sumter County, 372; Orange County, 372; St. Augustine and St. Johns Counties, 372; Alachua County, 372

Ehrmann, W. W., TIMUCUA INDIANS OF SIXTEENTH CENTURY FLOR-IDA: XVIII. 168

Eisenschiml, Otto: contributing member, XVIII. 72

El Destino papers: XIX. 38

Eldridge, G. E., Phosphate of Florida: XIX. 22n.

Elias Beckwith, blockade runner: XX. 174 Eliot, Gov. John, of British West Florida: XIX. 246; death, 399

Ellicott, Andrew, Journal of: XV. 20, 34

Elvas, Gentlemen of: XVI. 149, 150, 153 EMERSON, RALPH WALDO, IN FLOR-

IDA, Mrs. Henry L. Richmond, LIT-TLE JOURNAL AT ST. AUGUSTINE JANUARY-MARCH 1827: XVIII. 75 English, R. B.: XV. 276, 278

Ensayo Cronologico para la Historia General de la Florida, Barcia: XV. 33, XX. 23; Crisis del Ensayo . . . XX. 24

Enterprise, town (1843), letter from : XV.

Epervier, British brig: XVI. 232 Episcopal Church: XV. 94; The Episcopal Church in South Florida 1764-1892, E. L. Pennington: XX. 98

Eppes, Francis: XV. 39

Evacuation of Florida by the British in 1783: XV. 150

Evans, Chas., U. S. Marshal: XX. 380

Evans, Luther H., The Historical Records Survey: XVI. 281 Everglades, Dash Through the, A. Church: XVIII: 218; Pioneering in the Ever-glades, R. H. Little, XVIII. 220; Drainage of the Everglades (1884), XX. 225; The Everglades of Florida, XX.

Exiles of Florida, J. R. Giddings: XVII. 305n.

Exum, James W., U. S. Marshal: XX. 380

Ezell, B. F., The Development of Secondary Education in Florida: XIX. 83

Fabulous Florida, Ruby Leach Carson: XX. 398

Fagin, N. B., William Bartram, Interpreter of the American Landscape: XX. 315 Fairbanks, Geo. R.: XIX. 7. 342; MOSES ELIAS LEVY YULEE, XVIII. 165;

a founder of Florida Historical Society, XIX. 7; St. Augustine, Fla., History and Antiquities of, Founded A. D. 1565. XIX. 11; annual meeting of society, (1859), 48; sketch, XIX. 49; The Early History of Florida, an Introductory Lecture, Geo. R. Fairbanks, XIX. 8n.; Florida Railroad, XX. 171

Fairchild, David, Plant Introduction in Southern Florida: XX. 104

Fairlie, Margaret C., YELLOW FEVER EPIDEMIC OF 1888 IN JACKSON-VILLE: XIX. 95; Stories of the Seminoles, XIX. 311 Fanning, Major -ΧV

Farmer, Major Robert : XVII. 116 ; 281-: XIX. 116, 378-Farris, Chas. D., THE COURTS OF TER-RITORIAL FLORIDA: XIX. 346

Fatio, Francisco, Captain de Partido: XX.

Fauna, Flora and, of Florida, Prehistoric, Chas. R. Knight: XX. 104 Faye, Stanley, SPANISH FORTIFICA-TIONS OF PENSACOLA 1698-1763: XX. 151: BRITISH AND SPANISH FORTIFICATIONS OF PENSACOLA 1781-1821, XX. 212

Federal Archives in Florida: XIX. 88; XX. 212

Fee, W. L.: XV. 271; XVIII. 239

Felin, Don Melchor, provisional governor: XIX. 148

Felkel. H. N.: XV. 110

Ferdinand and Isabella, a letter of: XVIII. 152, 238

Fernandina, (1817): XIX. 158; census (1814), XX. 67; development, XX. 195; Seeing Fernandina, XX. 402

Fiction, Florida in: XX. 373

Finegan & Co., builders of Florida Railroad: XX. 170

Finegan, Gen.: XV. 77, 79, 80, 81; XX.

Fisher, S. H., Why Two Connecticut Yankees Went South: XVII. 330 Fisher, Capt. Wm., Mexican War: XX.

First Florida Special Battalion: XV. 78

Fish, Jesse, orange grove: XV. 234
Fisher, Samuel H., WHY TWO CONNECTICUT YANKEES WENT SOUTH:
XVIII. 32
Fitzgerald, T. E., Volusia County, Past and
Present: XVII. 250; Historical High-

lights of Volusia County, XVII. 329 Fitzpatrick, Richard: XVI. 37

Flagler, Henry M.: XVIII. 147; XIX. 20 Fleming, Gov. F. P., vice-president Florida Historical Society: XIX. 18; president, 20; contributor, XV. 137; resolution on death of, XVI. 268; XIX. 21, 23, 27; sketch, 53

27; sketch, 53
Fleming, C. Seton, secretary Florida Historical Society: XIX. 26; sketch, 60; death, XVI. 137
Fletcher, Duncan U.: XIX. 28; sketch, XV. 73; memoriam, XV. 186; XX. 368.
FLIGHT INTO OBLIVION, A. J. HANNA, a review by W. W. Davis: XVII. 227
Flora and Fauna of Florida, Prehistoric, Knight, C. R.: XX. 104; XX. 314
Florencia, Capt. Juan de: XV. 4
Flores, Bartolome de: XX. 19
"Florida Audubon Society. 1900-1935" ed.

"Florida Audubon Society, 1900-1935" ed. by Lucy W. Blackman: XVIII. 242 Florida, blockade runner: XX. 176 Florida Breezes, Ellen Call Long: XV. 217n, 218

Florida Christians, Disciples of Christ, Ellwood C. Nance: XX. 399 Florida del Inca 1605: XVI. 287 FLORIDAS, DEFENSES OF THE, Capt.

James Gadsden: XV. 242

Florida, division into East and West Florida: XIX. 181

EAST FLORIDA, BRITISH, MATERIAL RELATING TO, IN THE CLEMENTS LIBRARY, Chas. L. Mowat : XVIII. 46 Florida in Federal Politics, 1845-1861: XX. 375

FLORIDA EAST, LETTERS FROM, Dorothy Dodd: XV. 51

Florida, English Occupation of: XX. 368; Florida Under the English Flag, 368

Florida for Tourists, Invalids and Settlers. Geo. M. Barbour: XV. 56

Florida, first appearance of name: XX. 7 FLORIDA'S FIRST CONSTITUTION, James B. Whitfield: XVII. 73

Florida, Herald, St. Augustine: XV. 209 Florida, Guide to the Southernmost State, Carita Doggett Corse (ed): XVIII. 293

Florida Historical Society: Annual meetings with reports, minutes, etc.: XV. 175, 258; XVI. 224, 265; XVII. 319; XVIII. 298; XIX. 42, 66, 306; XX. 102; charter, XV. 177, 187; XIX. 40; members (1937), XVI. 139; district

societies, XV. 270; St. Augustine restoration, XVI. 136; publications committee, XVI. 250; loan exhibits, XVI. 284; XVII. 333; by-laws, XV. 259; removal from Alcazar, XX. 318; Irving Bacheller essay contest, XVI. 289; meeting at Jacksonville and Fernandina, XVIII. 68; Archaeology Committee and Dr. Swanton, XVIII. 69; meeting at Palm Beach, XVIII. 145; meeting at West Palm Beach, XVIII, 298; meeting at Lake Wales, XVIII. 301; history of, by Watt Marchman, XIX. 3; members in 1857, XIX. 9; incorporated, XIX. 18; removes to Alcazar, XIX. 77, 163; contributors to cost of removal, XIX. 163, 302; budget (1942), XX. 120; accessions, donations, XVI. 227, 288; XVII. 70, 251, 342; XVIII. 149; XIX. 38, 81, 309, 422; XX. 124, 401; meeting at Tallahassee 1938, XVII. 68; history of Florida Historical Society, XIX. 4; publication of T. F. Davis, History of Jacksonville, XIX. 34
FLORIDA, HISTORY, SOURCE MATERIALS OF, IN THE JOHN CARTER BROWN LIBRARY OF BROWN UNIVERSITY, Lawrence C. Wroth: XX. 3 18; removes to Alcazar, XIX. 77, 163

FLORIDA HISTORICAL MATERIAL, THE USE OF BY A JOURNALIST. E. V. W. Jones: XVIII. 127 Floridas, The, and the Disputation Pro-vincial of Havana: XX. 373

FLORIDA HISTORICAL MATERIAL IN NILES REGISTER, T. Frederick Davis: XIX. 155

Florida Immigrant: XVIII. 150 Florida Land and Immigration Co.: XX.

FLORIDA, LAND OF CHANGE, Kathryn Trimmer Abbey, reviewed by James O. Knauss and Florence Glass Palmer: XIX. 9, 412

Florida Magazine of Verse: XIX. 312 Florida, Manual for Intending Settlers in: XVIII. 150

Florida Manuscripts, notes: XVI. 131 FLORIDA MATERIAL, A DIGEST OF, IN NILES' REGISTER, (1811-1849): XVIII. 227

FLORIDA MILITIA AND THE AFFAIR AT WITHLACOOCHEE. Samuel E. Cobb: XIX. 128

Florida, Natural Resources of, A. E. Meyer: XVIII. 225; Administrative Institu-

tions in Florida 1781-1821, XX 375 Florida. Notes and Observations (1848): J. C. Richard

Florida, poem on (17th century): XV. 68 Florida Railroad (1855): XX. 170-Florida, The Truth About, C. D. Fox: XVIII. 150

Florida Manuscript, The Archival Distri-bution of, James A. Robertson: XVIII, 46n.

Florida newspapers (1885-1898): XVIII. 224

FLORIDA'S PART IN THE WAR WITH MEXICO. T. Frederick Davis: XX.

FLORIDA, PROMOTER OF CUBAN LIB-ERTY, Ruby Leach Carson: XIX. 270 FLORIDA STATE ARCHIVES: XX. 220 Florida State Gazeteer and Business Directory, 1886-7, John R. Richards (comp.): XV. 56

Florida State Historical Society: sketch, XIX. 28, 86

Florida Railroad Co.: XX. 170 Florida Sentinel, Tallahassee: XV. 219 FLORIDA UNIVERSITY (1883), C. L. Crow: XV. 96

Florida, West, first assembly of the Province of: XIX. 124

Floridian and Journal of Tallahassee: XV. 220; XVII. 6 Floridanos, in St. Augustine: XV. 153 Flournoy, Brig. Gen. Thomas: XVI. 68 Folch, Vincente, Gov.: XV. 21; XVI. 62;

XX. 285-Foley, J. S.: contributing member, XVIII.

Fonqueres, Marquis de, plantation of: XV. 255

Fontanedo, Hernando: XX. 367

Forbes, John & Co.: XVI. 68, 69, 74, 92; XVII, 247

Forbes Purchase: XV. 28; map of, XVII.

53; Forbes Island. XVI. 64 Forbes, Ralph Bennet: XX. 142 Forbes, Rev. John: XX. 139, 141; Wm. Panton to John Forbes, (II), XV. 65; family, XX. 141
Forbes, John Murray, (1771-1831) : XX.

Forbes, James Grant: XX. 142; Sketches Historical and Topographical of the Floridas, XVI. 94; U.S. Marshal, XX

Forbes, Thomas: XV. 15, 129

Forman, Dr. Jacob, of St. Augustine: XV. 240n.

Fort Gadsden (negro fort): XV. 243; XVI. 71; plan, 73, 75, 76; destruction of, 77-81, 92, 93.
Fort King: XV. 62
Fort Lauderdale, old, Mrs. Frank Stranahan: XX. 44, 103
Fort Maithand, Its Origin and History. A

Fort Maitland, Its Origin and History, A. J. Hanna: XV. 135
Fort Mellon: XV. 280-3
Fort Mims: XVI. 67

Fort Pierce (1870): XVIII. 107 Fort Scott: XVI. 77, 93

Fort Scott: XVI. 77, 93 Fort St. Marks, capture by Gen. Jackson: XVI. 89, 92

Foster's Hammock: XVIII. 206

Forward, Wm A., a founder of Florida Historical Society: XIX 6: vice-pres-ident Florida Historical Society, 7; sketch, 51

Fountain of Youth Myth, Leonardo Olschki: XX. 316 Francis, the Prophet: XV. 22; XVI. 67,

85, 89; XVIII. 61-136 Franciscans in Florida and Cuba: Bio-graphical Dictionary of the Franciscans in Spanish Florida and Cuba, Maynard Geiger: XX. 72; organizations, XIX.

Franciscans in Florida and Their Relation to Spain's Colonial Effort, Maynard Geiger, reviewed by A. Curtis Wilgns: XX.

Fraser, Alex, British West Florida: XIX.

Free Schools, British St. Augustine: XX.

FREEZE, THE EPOCAL, OF 1835: XV.

Fries, Kena, Orlando in the Long, Long Ago: XVII. 250 FRONTIER, FROM A REMOTE, LET-

TERS AND DOCUMENTS PERTAIN-ING TO SAN MARCOS DE APALA-CHE 1763-1769, DURING THE BRIT-ISH OCCUPATION OF FLORIDA, Introduction by Mark F. Boyd: XIX. 179; XIX. 492; XX. 82, 203, 293, 282 Fuentes, Capt. Francisco: XV. 7

Gadsden, Fort: XV, 243; plan, XVI. 73; destroyed, XVI. 83

Gadsden, Capt. James, REPORT ON THE DEFENCES OF THE FLORIDAS: XV. 242; Fort Carlos de Barrancas, 242; Fort Gadsden, 243; Fort St. Marks, 244; Capt. James Gadsden, Florida Historical Quarterly, XVI. 94

Gaffarel, Paul, Histoire de la Floride Francaise: XIX. 311

Gage, Gen. Thomas: Notes On the Lord Gage Collection of Manuscripts, C. E. Carter, XVIII. 46n.; The Correspondence of Gen. Thomas Gage, C. E. Carter, XVIII. 47n.; Gage, Gen. Thomas, Correspondence With the Secretaries of State, 1763-1775, C. E. Carter (ed.); XVII. 283n.; letters and reports to, XX. 382; (1764), XIX. 406; XX. 293;

XX. 382; (1764), XIX. 406; XX. 293; Lord Gage Collection of Manuscripts, XVIII. 46n
Gagnet, Athalic: XVII. 11
Gaines, Gen.: XVI. 76, 77; XVIII. 139
Gale, Samuel, Essay II. On the Nature and Principles of Public Credit, XX 45; The Case of the Inhabitants of East Florida. XX. 45.
Gale, Rev. S. F., editor of Quarterly: XIX. 23; sketch, 57
Gallegos, Baltasar de, Chief Castellan: XVI: 152, 157
Galvez, Bernardo de: XX. 43; XV. 113; XIX. 246; letters of, XVI. 131; Diario de las Operationes Contra la Plaza

de las Operationes Contra la Plaza de Panzacola, XX. 44; Poema Epico. La Rendicion de Pansacola . . . Fran

cisco de Rojas, XX. 44; capture Pensacola, XX. 282 Gamble, John G.: XV. 208-Gamble, Robt.: XV. 212-Gamble, Capt. R. H.: XV. 77
Game and Fish, Florida: XIX. 311

Garay, Francisco de: XVIII. 169

Gatschet, A. S., Timucua Language: XVIII.

Gauld, George, An Account of the Surveys of Florida: XX. 42
Gautier, Peter W. Jr., publisher of St. Joseph Times: XVI. 37: XVII. 92: U. S. Marshal, XX. 380
Gautier, P. W., Sr.: XVI. 103; Chaplain, St. Joseph Convention, XVII, 129;

XVII, 92

Gayoso de Lemos, Manuel, Gov. of La., letter of: XV. 249; XVI. 61
Geiger. Maynard. THE FRANCISCANS IN FLORIDA: XX. 72; The Francescan Conquest of Florida, XVI. 227

Gentry, Richard, and His Volunteers in Seminole War: XVII. 66; XVIII. 242 George, Fort, Pensacola: XX. 278-; plan of, XX 281

Germain, Lord George, The Papers of, R. G. Adams: XVIII. 58n. Gibbs, Geo. Cooper, director: XV. 272, 273, 279, 280

Gibbs, Geo. C., on first membership roll, (1856): XIX. 7

Gibbs, Kingsley, sketch: XIX. 51; a found-er Florida Historical Society. XIX. 6 Giddings, J, R., Exiles of Florida: XVII. 305n.

Gifford, J. C.: XIX. 173

Gilmer, J. F., papers of: XX. 210 Gilpin, H. D., Statement of the Case of the Bonds and Guarantees Issued by the Territory of Florida: XV. 211

Girava, Geronimo, Dos Libros de Cosmographia: XX. 10 Glass, James G.: XVIII. 242; Constitution

Glass, James G.: XVIII. 242; Constitution of the Floridas, XVIII. 243
Gleason, W. H.: XVIII. 106
Glunt, James D.: XVIII. 240; Florida Plantations, XVII. 329
Goodwin, W. B., The Oldest Community Site in America: XVII. 330
Gomez, Eusebio: XV. 156
Gomez, Juan: XV. 156
Gomara, Lopez de, Historia General: XX. 10

Gonzalez, Manuel: XVI 261 Gordon, Adam, U. S. Marshal: XX. 380 Goggin, John M., TEKESTA INDIANS OF SOUTHERN FLORIDA, THE: XVIII.

Good, Col. T. H.: XV. 81

Gordon, Arthur, British West Florida: XIX. 248

Gordon, Lord Adam: XIX. 112 Gordon, Mr. John, The Case of, With Respect to Certain Lands in East Florida, 1772: XX. 43

Gorrie, John: XX. 368, 399

Gould, George, Pensacola, 1778: XIX. 392 Goulding, R. L.: XV. 273, 279 Gourgues: XX. 17

GOVERNOR JOHNSTONE IN WEST FLORIDA, C. N. Howard: XVII. 281 Gov. Milton, steamer: XV. 78, 93

Gracia Real de Mose, Village near St. Augustine: XIX. 145
Grant, Gov. James: XVIII. 50-; hospitality, XX. 139, 144; Mason, 144, 224, 332-: letters to, XX. 382

Gray, Frank S...
XVIII. 72
Gray, R. A.: XVIII. 238
Greeks of Tarpon Springs: XX. 376
Greenslade, Admiral John W., U. S. N.:
XVIII. 247
Grapslade, Mrs. J. W., memoriam: XV.
248: Wm. Panton. XV.

Green, E. L., School History of Florida: IX. 22n.

Gulf Coast and Florida Peninsular Canal Co. (1875): XVIII. 150

Haldimand, Brig. Gen.: XX. 136; papers of, XVIII. 52n.; at Pensacola, XIX. 182, 268; at St. Augustine, XX. 136; letters to, XX. 382
Hakluyt, Richard, Virginia Richly Valued:
XVI. 188; The Navigations, Voyages

...of the English Nation, XVIII. 191;

maps, XX. 9; many editions, XX. 17 Hale, gunboat: XV. 80 Hallock, *Camp Life in Florida:* XIX. 83 Hambly, William, trader: XVI. 63, 67, 68, 251-256; 257-158, 264; XVII, 238

Hamer, Philip M.: XV. 200

Hamilton, Mrs. Frank P.: XIX. 25; memoriam, XX. 230

Hamilton & Co., Madison County, papers of: XX. 211

Hamilton, Frank P., review of Spanish Land Grants in Florida: XX. 77

Hamilton, P. J., Colonial Mobile: XVII. 187n; XIX. 110, 122 HAMMON, HIRAM F., PIONEER HOME-STEADER OF PALM BEACH, Marian R. Trumbull: XIX. 140

Hampton, W. W., vice-president Historical Society: XIX. 27 Hanahchela, Indian: XVI. 63

Hanna, A. J., resolution of thanks: XV. 185, 273 ; THE CONFEDERATE BAGGAGE AND TREASURE TRAIN ENDS ITS FLIGHT IN FLORIDA, XVII. 159; 337: XVIII. 241: vice-president, XIX. 40; president, 44; regional meetings, 45; sketch, 63; Fort Maitland, Its Origin and History: IX; Flight Into Oblivion, review of, XVII. 227; Phi Beta Kappa oration, XVIII. 64; John and William Bartram, Ernest Earnest, a review by A. J. Hanna

Hanson, John M., U. S. Marshal: XX. 380 Hapley, Catherine C. (Miss Jones), Life in the South: XX. 351n. Harcourt, Helen, Home Life in Florida:

XIX. 83 Hardee County, Inventory of County Archives of XVIII. 149

Harley, James: XVIII. 120 Hardy, Iza Duffas, *Oranges and Alligators:* XIX. 83

Harper, Francis, Bartram's travels : XX. 315

Harper, Roland, Natural Resources of

Southern Florida: XVIII. 284 Harries, Capt. John, letters, Apalachee, 1763: XIX. 402-

Harris, Frank, vice-president Florida Historical Society: XIX. 26

Harrison, B., Early Indians of Florida: XVIII. 191 Harrisse, Henry, Discovery of North Amer-

ica: XX. 7

Hart, Wm. L.: XVIII. 120

Harville, Jesse S.: XVIII. 120

Hasbrouck, Alford, A UNION CATALOG OF FLORIDIANA: XVI. 119; XV. 199

HASKEW, REV. PETER, DIARY OF: XVII. 132; XVIII. 216

XVII. 132; XVIII. 216 set, Thomas, public school in St. Augustine (1783): XV. 148, 152; Has-sets' census of St. Augustine, 152, 154; Hasset, XVIII. 15, 18

Hastings, James, land sale (1880): XX. 189

Hawkins, Benj., Sketches of the Creek Country in 1798-99: XVII. 304n.; XVI. 62-

Hawes, Geo. E., on first membership roll, (1856): XIX. 7 Hawksworth, Enoch, schoolmaster, British, St. Augustine: XX. 147

Hawley, Col. J. R.: XV. 81, 90 Hay, Walter, on first membership roll, (1856): XIX. 7 Hayward, Wyndham: XV. 139; XVIII.

242 : Check-List of Florida Archeology : XIX. 167

Health Notes, Florida State Board of Health: XVIII. 149

Heldring, Henry, engineer at Pensacola, 1781: XX. 281 Henshall, James A.: Camping and Cruis-

ing in Florida: XIX. 84 Hentz, Caroline Lee, letters: XVIII. 220;

diary, XX. 211

Hereda, Gov. Alonso Fernandez de: XIX.

Hermes, war vessel: XVI. 70

Hernandez, Jose, of St. Augustine: XX.

Description des Indes Occidentals Herrera, (1622): XVII. 335; Historia General, XX. 10

Hessian, Waldeck, troops at Pensacola: XX. 279Hewling, A.: XVIII. 268 Highway Finance in Florida: XX. 370

Higgs, Chas. D.: XIX 314

Higher Education, History of Institutions of, in Florida: XX. 372

Hill, Louise B., Joseph E. Brown and the Confederacy: XVIII. 67

Hill, R. R., Catalogue of the Documents Relating to the History of the United States in Papeles Procedentes de Cuba : XV. 156

Hillis Hadjo. see Francis the Prophet Hillsborough County record book (1828-1846) : XVIII. 222

Hilton, Wm., Relation of a Discovery Lately Made On the Coast of Florida: XX.

Hilton Head, S. C.: XV. 81, 84, 85, 86, 90, 95

Hispanic American Historical Review, James A. Robertson, editor: XVIII. 5 Historia general de Florida - Pulgar: XVI. 131

Historical Association of Southern Florida:

XIX. 90, 174, 420
HISTORICAL RECORD SURVEY AND
STATE ARCHIVES SURVEY OF
FLORIDA: XVII. 59; Spanish Land
Grants in Florida, XX. 77

Historic Florida; Reports of Historic Sites Survey, W.P.A. : XV. 136

Historical societies, conference of: XVIII. 307

Hodges, F. W. (ed.) Handbook of the Indians North of Mexico: XVIII. 191
Holland, Spessard L.: toastmaster, XV. 200; charter amendments, 176, 177, 188, 199, 272; XVIII. 237, 296; director, XIX. 40; vice-president, XV. 272; XVI. 271; presides at Lake Wales meeting, XV. 68
HOLMEN'S, JAMES, ELORIDA, BLANTA

HOLMEN'S, JAMES, FLORIDA PLANTA-TION, 1804, Lewis Leary: XX. 69 Holmes, Thos. O., Florida Railroad: XX. 171

Holmes, W. H., Earthenware of Florida: XVIII. 191: Handbook of the American Indians. XVIII

Holt, Hamilton: XVI. 121

Homathlemico, Indian: XV. 22; hung, XVI. 87, 89

Homesteads: XV. 52

Hopkins, Lt. Col. Chas: F., C. S. A.: XV. 81, 83, 95 Hopkins, Edward, election of 1860: XX.

354

Hooker, Kenneth Ward. A STOWE ME-MORIAL: XVIII. 198

Horse Shoe Bend, Battle of: XVI. 67 Hoskins, F. W., THE ST. JOSEPH CON-VENTION: XVI. 33, 97, 242; XVIII 124: catalog of library, XVIII. 223 XVIII.

Howard, Clinton N., COLONIAL PENSA-COLA, THE BRITISH PERIOD: XIX. 109, 246, 368; THE MILITARY OC-CUPATION OF BRITISH WEST

FLORIDA, XVII. 181; GOVERNOR JOHNSTONE IN WEST FLORIDA, XVII, 281

Howard, John C.: XVII. 153; contributing member, XVIII. 72 Howe, Charles, A LETTER FROM IN-DIAN KEY, 1840: XX. 197 Howt Fred W. director and treasurer

Hoyt, Fred W., director and treasurer Florida Historical Society: XIX, 21 Hrdlicka, A.: The Anthropology of Florida: XVIII. 190

Huan, Jose, Cuban in Florida: XIX. 283 Huguenot Colonies in Florida, T. E. Downey: XX. 369

Huhner, Leon, MOSES ELIAS LEVY:

XIX. 319 Hume, H. H.: XV. 241n. Hunter, C. Maxwell, History of St. Petersburg and Pinellas County: XVI. 279

Hutchins, Thomas, Historical, Narrative and Topographical Description of Louisiana and West Florida: XIX.

Hyatt, Mildred: XIX. 165

Illinois State Historical Library, Collections of, Alvord and Carter, editors: XVII. 283n.

Immigration to British West Florida: XIX. 385

Indian Canoes, in Florida State Museum: XVIII. 179n.

INDIAN KEY, A LETTER FROM, 1840,

Charles Howe: XX. 197 Indians, A 17th Century Letter of Cabrial Diaz Vera Calderon, Bishop of Cuba, Describing the Indians and Indian Missions of Florida, Lucy L. Marshall:

XV. 283-4
Indian letters: XVIII. 229; talks, XX. 207; Indian Congress, XX. 293; 295
Inglis, J. N., vice-president Florida His-

torical Society: XIX. 25 Innerarity, James: XVI. 60, 62, 63, 82 Innerarity, John: XVI. 60, 75; XVII. 237; letter of, XVIII. 247; XIX. 175

Inter-American Bibliographical and Library Association : XIX. 421

Internal Improvement Fund, historical sketch by J. B. Whitfield: XVII. 203n.;

XX. 179
Irving T., The Conquest of Florida by
Hernando de Soto: XIX. 83
Italians in Early Florida, Bruno Roselli:
XX. 128

Jackson, Gen. Andrew: XVI. 67, 76, 77; campaign against the Seminoles, 89, XIX. 323; TWO UNCOLLECTED LET-TERS OF ANDREW JACKSON from Weekly Messenger in possession of F. W. Hoskins; Life of Andrew Jackson, James Parton, XVI. 95-; Life of Andrew Jackson, Marquis James, XIX. 311; at Pensacola, XX. 290

Jacksonville, occupation of, XV. 84; descrip-

tion, XV. 93; Historical Society, XIX. 419: taverns. XVII. 33: Courier (1835). XVII. 39; Jacksonville Public Library, home of Florida Historical Society: XIX. 26, 36; THE YELLOW FEVER EPIDEMIC OF 1888 IN JACKSON-VILLE, XIX. 95; Auxiliary Sanitary Association Report, XIX. 95; History of 1850-1902, XX. 374 Jackson, Lena E., SIDNEY LANIER IN FLORIDA: XV. 118

Jay, Peter, Opinion on Florida banks; XV.

Jenkins, Capt. Wm. at St. Augustine 1768: XIX. 183; at St. Marks, XX. 390
Jennings, Mrs. Frank E.: XV. 137, 201; director, XIX. 40

JESSE TALBOT BERNARD, A DIARY OF, (1850), Newnansville and Tallahassee: XVIII. 115

Jesuits in Florida, The, 1889-1939: XIX.

92; Jesuits in 16th century, XIX. 229; XX. 23: The First Jesuit Missions in Florida, XX. 96

Johnson, Capt. Allen G., Mexican War:

Johnson, Bradish, Master Wrecker, Vincent Gilpin: XX. 96 Johnson, James G., The Colonial Southeast, 1732-1783: XIX. 189

JOHNSTONE, GOVERNOR, IN WEST FLORIDA, C. N. Howard: XVII. 281; XIX, 181, 246, 247; sketch, 399; An AIA, 101, 240, 247; SKETCH, 399; An Appeal . . . in Behalf of George Johnstone . . XX. 39; letters to Lt. Pampellone, XX. 308

Jones, Evan, duelist: XIX. 266

Jones, E. V. W., USE OF HISTORICAL MATERIALS BY A JOURNALIST: XVI. 279; XVIII. 127

Jones Geo Mable El Destine and Champaig

Jones, Geo. Noble, El Destino and Chemonie Plantation records, donated to Florida Historcial Society: XIX. 38

Jones, M. S., reorganization of Florida Historical Society: XIX. 16

Jones, Monnie N., catalogue library: XIX.

Josselyn, L. W., secretary Florida Historical Society: XIX. 26

Journalism, Territórial Florida, James O. Knauss: XIX. 30

Jupiter: XVIII. 107

Kahler, Herbert E.: XV. 199; XVII. 325; XVIII. 68

Kelly, Capt. W. W. J., Mexican War: XX. 242

Kendall, Messmore, An Adventure in His-

torical Research: XVIII. 300 Kennaird, John: XVI. 62: William, XVI.

Kennedy, Rev. John, British St. Augustine:

Kenny, Michael, Romance of the Floridas: XVI. 228

Kent, Chancellor, Opinion on Florida banks: XV. 210

Key West in Relation to Cuban War of Independence: XIX. 271; in 1869, XV. 38--; Key West, the Old and the New, Browne, XVII. 37n. : manufactories and imports, XVII. 39; mails, XVII.

Kimber, Edward, Relation, or Journal of a Late Expedition to the Gates of St. Augustine: XX. 36

Kim's Guide to Florida: XVI. 288 Kincaid, W. W., contributing member: XVIII. 72

Kindelan, Gov. Sebastian, of East Florida:

King's Road: XVII, 31; XVIII. 204 King, Edward, The Southern States of North America: XX. 401 Kingsley, Zephaniah, One of the Most Fit and Discreet Men in the Terri-

tory, Philip S. May: XVII. 329; Treatise on the Patriachal or Cooperative System of Society (1829), XVII 334; XIX. 158

Kirby Smithdom: XVII. 159

Kirkland. J. L., on first membership roll, (1856). XIX. 7

Kirkpatrick, T. W., diary of: XVIII. 216 Knauss, James Owen, ST. JOSEPH, AN EPISODE OF THE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL HISTORY OF FLORIDA: XVII. 84; XX. 123; Territorial Florida Journalism, XVIII. 6

Knight, Peter O., director Florida Historical Society: XIX. 21; XV. 137; contributing member. XVIII. 72

Knights of Columbus Historical Essay Contest: XVI. 132; XVII. 67

Knox, D. W., A Forgotten Fight in Florida (negro fort): XVI. 95 Knox, Wm., papers of: XVIII. 59 Knowles, Joshua: XVI. 101; on St. Joseph Convention, XVII, 99, 129

Kohl, Mrs. Henry, vice-president: XVII. 337; contributing member, XVIII. 72, 236; vice-president, XIX. 44; director,

Kost, John, Florida University: XV. 96-

Labor In the Citrus Industry: XX. 376 Lake Wales meeting of Florida Historical Society: XV. 68; XVIII. 236, 301

Lake county semi-centennial: XV. 283 Lake Worth: XVIII. 108

Lamb, M. A., (1767): XIX. 249, 250 Lamson, Herbert, chairman of committee on revision of charter: XV. 176; resolution of thanks, 184, 187, 188, 190, 199, 292; secretary, XV. 272; XVI. 271; XVIII. 237, 296; vice-president, XX. 122; History of the Episcopal Church in Florida. XVII. 68; sketch, XX. 122

Lancaster, Jas., on first membership roll, (1856): XIX. 7

Land grants by Council: XIX. 121, 123

Lainhart, George, Palm Beach: XIX. 141

Land Grants, Spanish, in Florida, Louise
B. Hill: XX. 104

Lanning, J. T., The Spanish Missions of
Georgia: XIX. 230n.

Lauderdale: XVIII. 111

Leadbeater, Rev. John, British St. Augustine: XX. 147

Legal Status of the Negro in Florida: XX. 376

LeMoyne, Jacobo, see DeBry
LANIER, SIDNEY, IN FLORIDA. Lena
E. Jackson: XV. 118; Florida, Its Scenery, Climate and History, XV. 120;
in Tampa, XV. 69, 121; the Nickel Club, 123

La Ronciere, C. G., La Floride Francaise: XVIII. 191 Lascarbot, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France:* 

XX. 18

La Tama, town in Apalache: XV. 9 Latour, A. LaC., Historical Memoir of the War in West Florida and Louisiana in 1814-15, with an Atlas: XVI 94

Latrobe, Chas. J., The Rambler in North America: XV. 34 Lawson, Katherine S., Human Landscaping

of Old St. Augustine: XVIII. 299 Laudonniere, bibliography: XX. 17

Laughton, Mrs. J. P., contributing member: XVIII. 72

Lea, Kitty M., Reminiscences of: XVIII. 218

Leake, James M.: XV. 182, 187, 199; director. 272: XIX. 42

Leary, Lewis: XX. 93; JAMES HOLMES' FLORIDA PLANTATION, 1804, XX. 69

Leigh, Townes R.: XV 175, 183, 189 L'Engle, E. J., director Florida Historical Society: XIX. 26; president, XIX. 27; sketch, XIX. 60, 231; death, XX 231

L'Engle, E. M., papers of: XX. 211 Leonard, Irving A., Spanish Approach to Pensacola, 1689- 1693, a review by Mark F. Boyd: XVIII. 229; XX. 32; Don Carlos de Siguenza y Gongora, XX.

Leslie, John: XV. 15 Lesley, Theodore, Florida Confederate Cattle Battalion: XVIII. 301

Lester, Robert: XVIII. 120 LETTER WRITTEN TO THE SECULAR CABILDO OF SANTIAGO DE CUBA BY HERNANDO DE SOTO, ESPIRI-TU SANTO. FLORIDA. JULY 9, 1539:

XVI. 174, 190 LETTER OF CAPT. V. CHAMBERLAIN, 2ND CONNECTICUT VOLUNTEERS

(1862) : XV. 85 LETTER TO THE KING OF SPAIN FROM OFFICERS AT HAVANA IN THE ARMY OF DE SOTO: XVI. 221 LaVega, Garcilaso de: XVI 149

LEVY, MOSES ELIAS, Leon Huhner: XIX. 319; The Alachua grant, 325;

Arredondo grant, 325; his citizenship, 326, 328, 339; Geo. R. Faribanks, 342; MOSES ELIAS LEVY YULEE, Geo.

R. Fairbanks, XVIII. 165 Levy, David, delegate: XVII. 122 Lewis, T. Hayes, Spanish Explorers in the Southern United States: 1528-1543: XVI. 219

Ley, (Methodist minister), Fifty-two Years in Florida: XVII. 333

Library and Library Committees, Watt Mărchman Librărian: XVIII. 147

Libraries, Public, of Florida: XVIII. 151; Buchanan, W. M., 152, 239 Little Prince, Indian Chief: XVI. 76 Little, Wm., land sale 1881: XX. 192 Livingston, Capt. R. G., Mexican War: XX. 247

Livingston, Philip: XIX. 381

Livingston, Philip: AIX. 381
Lobillo's expedition: XVI. 157
Lockey, Joseph B., ST. AUGUSTINE CENSUS OF 1786: XVIII. 11: PUBLIC EDUCATION IN SPANISH ST. AUGUSTINE, XV. 147; XVIII. 67.
Locomotives in Florida: XVII. 90

Longyear, J. M., contributing member: XIX. 424 Loomis, J.: XVI. 77, 78; XIX. 247

Lopez, Fray Baltazar: XVIII. 171 Lopez, John, (seaman), massacre: XVI. 78

Lopez, Capt. Jose: XX. 48 Lorimer, John: XIX. 265-Kingston, *In the Wilds of Florida:* XX.

Lott, Andrey: XV. 139, 199, 200 Louisiana Historical Quarterly: XX. 402

Love, E. C.: XVIII. 268
Lowrie, A. H.: XV. 97

Lowery, Woodbury: The Spanish Settle-ments Within the Present Limits of the United States, 1513-1561: XVI 219; (same) Florida 1562-1574, XVI. 220; Lowery MSS. in Library of Congress, XVII. 255--; Lowery Collection, Maps of the Spanish Possessions Within the Present Limits of the United States, XIX. 110; XX. 101

Loyalists in East Florida, 1774-1785, W. H. Siebert: XIX. 30

Luffborough, midshipman, massacre : XVI. 78-9

Luna Papers, The, Herbert I. Priestley: XVIII. 6: XIX. 30

Lures of Manatee, Mrs. T. M. McDuffee: XV. 202

Mackinnen, Robert, British, Pensacola: XIX. 118

McNicoll, Robert E., The Caloosa Village Tequesta: XX. 95

Macpherson, James, secretary of the province. West Florida councillor: XIX. 118

McDuffee, Mrs. T. M.: XV. 138, 187, 188; director, 272; XIX. 42; Writing and Publishing a County History,. XVI. 281 McFarlan, Roby Hull, Tampa, diary of : XVIII. 217

McGehee, John : St. Joseph convention : XVII. 99

McGillivray, Alexander : XV. 15 ; XVI. 56, 59, 60; XX. 46

McGillivray, Daniel: XV. 174; grant to, XIX 388

McGillivray, John, British West Florida : XIX. 248

McIntosh, Maj. -: XVI. 76, 78 McIntosh, McQueen : XIX. 7 ; vice-presi-dent Florida Historical Society, XIX. 7; sketch, 51; Florida Railroad, XX. 171

McKay, D. B.: XV. 188, 199; director, 272, 273, 279, 280; XVI, 51; History of Tampa and Hillsborough County, XVI. 280

McKay, James, Tampa: XVIII. 268 McKay, John G., president Florida His-torical Society; sketch: XX. 122; di-rector, XV. 272, 280; vice-president, XIX. 47

McKeever, Capt. -: XVI. 89
McKinney and Hall, Indian Tribes of North
America: XVII. 305n.
McLatchey, Charles: XV. 16
McLean, J. C., Walton County: XVIII. 268
McPherson, C. R., contributing member:
XIX. 424
McQueep Peter: XVI. 67: John XV. 120

McQueen, Peter: XVI. 67; John, XV. 129 McRory, Capt. J. H.: XV. 79

Madeore, Father Benedict, a founder of Florida Historical Society: XIX. 6 Madison County Historical Society: XX.

Madison, President, of U. S.: XVI. 68 Madison, steamboat: XVIII. 219 Maddox, H.: XVIII. 240

Magruder, Alex, U. S. Marshal: XX. 380 Magruder, S. I., Young Pioneers in Florida: XVI. 227

Mahan, Capt. Alford Thayer, the Life and Works of, Wm. D. Puleston: XVIII. 144

Mahorner, Sue Alderman: XV. 199; XVI. 122

Mails, transportation: XVII. 48

Maitland, Lake: XV. 40

Malcolm, vice admiral: XVI. 71 Mallory, Stephen R., secretary of Confederate Navy: XVII. 163, 227; on first membership roll, (1856), XIX. 7; letters of, XVI. 50; XX. 201, 368

Malone, E. R., contributing member: XVIII. 92

Mandarin, village: XVIII. 198-Manley, Hiram: XVII. 95 Manning, Mrs. W. S.: XVI. 270

Manrique, Gonzales, Gov. of West Florida:

XX. 288 Manucy, Albert C., secretary, XVII, 337;

XIX. 44, 47; sketch, XVII. 337; XVIII. 68

Manufacturing in Florida: XX. 369 MANUSCRIPTS OF FLORIDA INTER-EST AT THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA: XX. 210.

Manrique, Gov. Mateo Gonzales : XVIII.

Marchman, Watt, sketch: XIX. 66n.; annual report, XV. 182; resolution of thanks, 184, 272, 274, 279; union catalog, 121; organization of Florida History (1875) torical Society, (1855), XIX. 6; corresponding secretary and librarian, XVI. 271; History of Florida Historical Society, XIX. 3; in charge of Florida Historical Society library, XIX. 305 pas . . . de Mexico y Floridas en el Archivo de Indias, Pedro Torres Langas: VIV. 83

Mapas

zas: XIX. 83

Maps, Florida, An Annotated Check List, John M. Baxter: XX. 101; Maps of America in the Library of Congress, Phillips, XX. 101; Maps of the Span-ish Possessions Within the Present Limits of the United States, 1502-1820, Woodbury Lowery, XX. 101 Margry, Pierre, (ed.) Decouvertes et Estab-

lissements des Francois . . . de l'Amer-

ique . . .XX. 29, 155n. Maria, blockade runner: XX. 175

Maria, Chieftainess Dona: XVIII. 72 Marianna, road to, 1830, etc.: XVII. 31 Marron, Jos. F.: XIX. 36; director Florida Historical Society, XIX. 37 MARSHALS OF THE UNITED STATES

FOR DISTRICTS OF FLORIDA, 1821-1865, listed by J. B. Whitfield: XX.

Martyr, Peter: XX. 6Marvin, Gov. Wm.: XVII. 98, 200
Massachusetts Cavalry 1st.: XV. 82, 85
Marti, Jose: XIX. 276, 277-281
Martin, Alonso: XVI. 151
Martin, Walter, THE PROPOSED DIVISION OF THE TERRITORY OF FLORIDA: XX 260

Martinez, S. J., Pedro, of Florida, Michael Kenny, S. J.: XIX. 91 Martyrs of Florida, 1513-1616, Luis Geroni-

mo de Ore, edited by Maynard Geiger, reviewed by A. Curtis Wilgus: XX. 72 Marvin, Wm., Governor, on first member-

ship roll, (1856) : XIX. 7 Masons in East Florida: XX. 144

Matheos, Teniente (1686): XVI. 5, 11, 16-Mauran, P. H., on first membership roll, (1856): XIX. 7 Maxwell, A. R., on first membership roll, (1856): XIX. 7

May, Philip, director: XX 122; sketch, XX, 122

Mayport Mills: XV. 77, 78, 79, 86

Maynard, Theodore, De Soto and the Conquistadores: XIX. 84

Mazyck, Katherine B., address; XVII. 324 Mellon, Capt. Charles, story of: XV. 280-Mellon, T. A., director: XV. 272; contributor, XX. 137, 138, 272, 279; contributing membership, XVIII. 72

Mellonville: XV. 280-3

Membership, Florida Historical Society: XVIII. 155, 162 Memoirs of Florida, Roland Rerick: XV.

207

Memorial Historical Society of St. Petersburg: XX. 222 Mendez, Marquez, Don Tomas: XV. 5 Menendez, Pedro de Aviles: XIX. 214, 225-

229; Pedro Menendez de Aviles. . from the Spanish of Gonzalo Solis de Meras, Jeannette Thurber Connor: XVIII. 6: XVIII. 275-: XIX. 226-; XX. 19-

Mereness, N. D. (ed.) Travels in the American Colonies: XIX. 111n.

Merriam, John C.: XVI. 114 Merrick, Geo. E., Pre-Flagler Influences on the Lower East Coast: XX. 93; XVIII. 300

Messages and Papers of the Presidents,

Richardson : XV. 221n. XICO, WAR WITH, MEXICO, FLORIDA'S MEXICO, WAR WITH, FLORIDAS PART, T. Frederick Davis: XX. 235 MEXICAN RESEMBLANCES IN THE SOUTHEASTERN AREA OF THE UNITED STATES, Doris Stone: XIX.

Meyer, A. E., Natural Resources of Florida: XVIII. 225

Miami, Florida Historical Society meeting : XVI. 49 ; Miami, 1870, XVIII. 112, 204 : Miami and Southeastern Florida, M. T. Bingham; To Miami in 1890 Style: Bingham; XX, 99

Middleburg: XVII. 176

Mier, Antonio Fernandez: XIX. 330

Miltimore, Cora, inaugurates loan exhibit: XIX. 42

Military dispatches, 1865: XVIII. 222 MILTON, JOHN, GOVERNOR OF FLOR-IDA. Daisy Parker: XX. 346; letter books of, XVI. 50

Miller, A. A., sketch: XIX. 53

Milton, Artillery: XV. 78
MILITARY OCCUPATION OF BRITISH
WEST FLORIDA, 1763, THE, C. N. Howard: XVII. 181

Minnehaha, Cruise of the, S. H. Bullock: XVIII. 218

Miranda, Archivo del General Vicente Davila: XX. 227n.

Mission, Spanish, Debunking the So-Called, Near New Smyrna Beach, Chas. H. Coe: XX 124

MISSION SITES IN FLORIDA, Mark F. O. Boyd: XVII, 255; Province of Timuqua, 257; Province of Apalache, 257; routes, 259; Fort San Luis, 265; forts, 265; mounds, 272

Mississippi Provincial Archives, 1763-66, Dunbar Rowland (ed.) : XVII. 283n. Mitchell, A. J., director: XIX. 40; donates

plantation diary of Judge F. B. Bath-une, 1829-1833, XIX. 39 Mitchell, Colin: XV. 25; XVI. 92; Record in the Case of Colin Mitchell et al vs. the United States, XV. 34

Moncrief, James, engineer: XX. 132 Montgomery, Sir Robert, settlement: XX.

Mococo, town and river: XVI. 157, 159 Montiano, Governor: XV. 10

Moody, David: XVIII. 120

Mooney, J., The Ethnography of Florida: XVIII. 191

Moore, Alex., British West Florida, member of Assembly, XIX. 247; provincial secretary, XIX. 266 Moore, John Bassett, *International Arbi-*

trations, Florida Bond Cases: XV. 230n

Moore, Clarence B., Certain Antiquities of the Florida West Coast: XVI. 220; Certain Sand Mounds of the St. Johns River, XVIII. 191

Moore, Gov. James, expedition: XX. 32 Moore, T. W., Orange Culture in Florida: XIX. 83

Morton, Jackson, on first membership roll, (1856): XIX. 7; St. Joseph Conven-

tion, XVII. 99 Moreno, Fernando J., U. S. Marshal: XX.

Moscoso, Luis de: XVI. 154 MOSES, ELIAS LEVY YULEE, George R. Fairbanks: XVIII. 165

Moses, R. J.: XVII. 93

Moseley, Gov. W. D., on first membership roll, (1856) : XIX. 7 Moultrie, John: XX. 140 Movila, Mobila, Indian tribe: XVI. 29

Mowat, Charles L., XVIII. 67: XX. 403; MATERIAL RELATING TO BRITISH EAST FLORIDA, IN THE GAGE PAPERS AND OTHER MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS IN THE WILLIAM CLEMENTS LIBRARY: XVIII. 46; ST. AUGUSTINE UNDER THE BRIT-ISH FLAG, 1763-1775, XX. 131; The Land Policy in British East Florida, XX. 132: THAT ODD BEING DE BRAHM, XX. 323

Mozier, Francois, councillor: XIX. 118 Mucklesaopay, The Singer (Indian Chief) to William Panton: XV. 173

XVI. 86 Muchlenburg, Maj. -:

Muchlenburg, Maj. -: XVI. 86 Mulberry growing: XV. 240 Mulcaster, Lt. F. G.: XX. 141, 334-Murat, Prince Achille, description of tav-

erns: XVII. 33; Moral and Political Sketch of the United States of North America: XVII. 33; Emerson and Murat, XVIII. 79; will of, XVIII. 222

Murray, Amelia M., Letters From the United States, Cuba and Canada: XIX.

Murray, Chas. Augustus, Travels in North America (1839) : XVII. 36

ber: XVIII. 72

Museum, The Dorothy Walton, Pensacola: XX. 221 Murray, Mrs. Jane P., contributing mem-

Musick, St. Augustine, The Age of Conflict: XIX. 423

Myers, Robert, U. S. Marshal: XX. 380 Myers, Rev. J. H.: vice-president organi-zation of Florida Historical Society: XIX. 7

Myrick, John T., U. S. Marshal: XX, 380

Nance, Ellwood C., Florida Christians, Disciples of Christ: XX. 399

Narvaez, Panfilo: XVI. 180

Nash, Roy, Survey of the Seminole Indians of Florida: XX. 218

Nash, Ruth Cutting, Florida Pre-History and Anthropology: XVI. 280 National Archives, Guide to Material In, a review by Dorothy Dodd: XIX. 300

Natural Resources of Florida: XX. 367 Negro, Bahaman: XX. 94; Legal Status of the Negro in Florida, XX. 376

Negro Fort, Fort Gadsden, destroyed:

XVI. 80 Nelson, N. C., Chronology of Florida:

XVIII. 191
Newberry Library (Chicago), Florida Historical material: XVI. 131
Newnansville, school at: XVIII. 115.

New Smyrna, the Masonry Ruins Near: XX. 127; in 1870 XVIII. 211

Newspapers, Florida, Literary Elements: XX. 373

New York Historical Society: XVIII. 65,

Nicholls, Col. -: XVI. 70, 71, 72, 74, 83; XIX. 162 NILES' REGISTER, A DIGEST OF FLOR-IDA MATERIAL IN (1811-1849), T. F. Davis: XVIII. 227

Ningler L., Voyages en Virginie et en Florida: XVIII. 191

Noble, James, British West Florida: XIX. 248

Nombre\_de Dios: XVIII. 172

North Carolina Historical Commission, Spanish records of: XX. 311

Northey, Della F.: XVIII. 148; XIX. 45,

Notices of Florida and the Campaigns, M. M. Cohen: XVII. 304n.

Nuestra Senora del Rosario, vessel wreck-

ed: XIX. 149 Nuttall, Zelia, papers on archeology: XVII. 214; XIX. 174

Ocala, letter from (1849): XV. 62; Ocala Prior to 1868, Mrs. Roy V. Ott; XV. 62nd.

Ocale: XVIII. 172

Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies in the War of the Rebellion: XV. 34

Official Records of the Union and Confed-

erate Navies in the War of the Rebellion: XV. 34
Ogilvie, Maj. Francis: XVIII. 49-; XIX. 152-, 180; XX. 292

Oglethorpe, Gov., expeditions of: XX. 36; monument, XVII. 65 Ohmstead, Frances: XVII. 120

Okeechobee, Battle of Lake: XVI. 269: marker, XVIII. 239
Oldenburg, site: XV. 19
Orange carly chimments: XV. 262. 265

Oldenburg, site: XV. 19
Oranges, early shipments: XV. 233, 235;
Jesse Fish grove, XV. 234; ORANGE
CULTURE IN FLORIDA AND THE
EPOCAL COLD OF 1835, T. Frederick
Davis: XV. 232: Narrative History of
the Orange in the Floridian Peninsular, T. Frederick Davis, XIX. 423
Ordinances in Council, Pensacola: XIX.
248; Indian trade, 248
Ordinary (tavern): XVII. 32
Ore, Luis Geronimo, The Martyrs of Florida (1573-1618): XVI. 227
O'Reilly, Alexandro: XIX. 263
O'Reilly, Michael: XV. 157
Orejon, Gov. Francisco de Avila: XV. 4
Orlando: in 1873, XV. 39; Orlando in the

Orlando: in 1873, XV. 39; Orlando in the Long, Long Ago, Kena Fries: XVII. 250

Ormond, James: XVIII. 69 Orpheus, frigate: XVI. 68 Ortiz, Juan: XVI. 157, 197, 198

Osceola Nikkanochee, Andrew Welch: XVII, 208n.

EOLA, THE PARENTAGE AND BIRTHPLACE OF, Chas. H. Coe: XVII. 364; statue of, XVII. 224; XX. OSCEOLA. 224; Osceola the Seminole War Chief, Thomas W. Storrow, XVII. 309n.

Ott, Mrs. Roy V.: resolution of thanks, XV. 184, 187, 273; Report from com., XVI. 271; director, XIX. 35, 40; OCALA, PRIOR TO 1868, Mrs. Roy V. Ott, XV. 62n.

Oviedo, Historia General y Natural de las Indias: XV. 232n.; XVI. 149; XX.

Owens, James M., Jr., History of Palm Beach County: XX. 104

Owens, S. H.: XVIII. 268

Pablo Creek: XV. 87

Padilla, Davila, Historia de la Fundacion: XX. 15; Varia Historia de la Nueva Espana y Florida, XX. 15.

Pagna, Pakana, Indian village: XVI. 30 Palatka, History of St. Mark's Parish: XIX. 423

Palmer, Sarah R. W., original journal of Hester Perrine Walker, donated by: XIX. 39

Palm Beach: Meeting at, XVIII. 145; XVIII. 298: Hist. Assn., XVI. 49; XVIII. 364; XX, 400; History of Palm Beach County, James M. Owens, Jr., XX. 104

Pampellonne, Lt. James, at St. Marks: XX. 293-388

Pan-Americanism, Essays in, Joseph Byrne Lockey: XVIII. 234

Pan-Americanishi, Essays In, Joseph Bythe Lockey: XVIII. 234
Panton, Wm.: letters to from Gov. Gayoso: XV. 249; XV. 15; Wm. Panton by M. T. Greenslade, XV. 34; letters of, XV. 65: will of, XVIII. 222
PANTON, LESLIE PAPERS: XV. 65, 125, 173, 248; XVI. 44, 130, 251; XVII. 54, 237, 312: XVIII. 61, 135
Panton, Leslie & Co.: XVI. 56; claims, 61; land grant, 62, 92; XV: 15; XVI. 56; XVIII. 247Pareja, Fray Franciso de: XVIII. 171; works. XX. 25
Parilla, Gov. Diego Ortiz at Pensacola: XVII. 185; XIX. 180
Parker, Daisy, JOHN MILTON, GOVERNOR OF FLORIDA: XX. 346
Parkhill, Samuel: XVI. 98
Parkman, Francis, Pioneers of France in the New World: XIX. 215; The Fleur de lis in Florida, XX. 225
Parsons, John, Florida Railroad: XX. 171

Parsons, John, Florida Railroad: XX. 171 Parton, James, *Life of Andrew Jackson*: XVI. 95

Partisan Rangers: XV. 78

Partisan Rangers: XV. 78

Patmoon, Federal gunboat: XV. 78

Patriot War: XVIII. 222

Paul Jones, filibuster: XIX. 283

Patterson, Giles J.: contributing member, XVIII. 72

Patterson, Co.: XVI. 77, 82

Paul Jones, gunboat: XV. 80

Peabody, E. W., reorganization of Florida Historical Society: XIX. 16

Peabody George bonds for education in

Peabody, George, bonds for education in Florida: XV. 231
Peacock Inn: XX. 95
PEACOCK, U. S. S., IN THE WAR OF 1812, T. Frederick Davis: XVI. 231

Peck, John E., on first membership roll, (1856): XVX. 7

Poixotto, Daniel: L. Maduro: XIX, 334 Pellicer, X. L.: XX. 110, 318 Penman, James (St. Augustine 1775): XX.

Pennington, Edward L.: XV. 274, 276, 278: Soldier and Servant: John Freeman Young, Second Bishop of Florida; SOME EXPERIENCES OF BISHOP YOUNG, XV. 35; History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Florida, XVII. 64; XVIII. 233; The Episcopal Church in South Florida, XX. 98
PENSACOLA: COLONIAL, THE BRITISH PERIOD, Clinton N. Howard: XIX. 109, 246; Pensacola and the Filibusters, 1816-1817 H. S. Warren, XVII. 152:

1816-1817, H. S. Warren, XVII. 152; Pensacola: evacuation of, (1761), XVII. 184; Pensacola Indians, XVI, Society, Pensacola Historical XVIII. 305; bank of, XV. 208; XVII. 48; Gazette, XV. 226; XVII. 12, 49; Pageant, XVII. 152; PENSACOLA,

PUBLIC BUILDINGS OF 1818: XVI. 45; road to, 1830, XVII. 31; batteries at, 1771, XIX. 374; government house, 1773, XIX. 383; hurricane, XIX. 393; SPANISH FORTIFICATIONS OF PENSACOLA, Stanley Faye, XX. 151; destruction by hurricane, XX. 162; moved to present site by Marques de las Amarillas, XX. 163; plan of Pensacola Bay, 1761, XX. 165; Indian alarm 1760, XX. 167

Pennsylvania Volunteers, 47th Regiment:

XV. 81, 85, 88
Perry, Gov. M. S.: on first membership roll, (1856). XIX. 7
Perryman, Tom: XVI. 62, 63, 88, 252, 256-258, 261-263

Petals Picked From Sunny Climes, Sylvia Sunshine: XIX. 83

Phelps, Rev. Lyman: XV. 40
Phillips, P. L., Notes On the Life and
Works of Bernard Romans, XV. 33:
Maps of America in the Library of Congress, XX. 101

Phillips, Rebecca, A DIARY OF JESSE TALBOT BERNARD: XVIII. 115

Pickell, C. Russell; Journals of Lt. John Pickell, (1831), donated by, XIX. 38 Pinellas County, History of, Straub: XVI.

Pinellas Peninsula, History of, Bethell: XVI. 285

Pioneer Days in Florida, My, Evelyn Legow Bell: XX, 124 Pittman, Philip, The Present State of the European Settlements on the Missis-sippi: XIX. 111; Apalache During the

British Occupation, XIX. 190
Plant, Henry B., by Mrs. A. E. Dick: XVI. 281; XX. 402

Plant Introductions in Southern Florida, David Fairchild: XX. 104

Plantations, Florida, James D. Glunt: XVII. 329

Plantation Life in Middle Florida: XX.

Plantation Slavery in Middle Florida: XX. 376

Politics, The Journal of: XVIII. 142 Ponce, Juan de Leon, History of, Voyages to Florida, T. F. Davis: XVIII. 283n.;

XX. 7

Pope, John, Tour Through the Southern . . . United States . . . and the Floridas:

Porcallo, Vasco, Lieut. Gov.: XVI. 152 Port Leon: XV. 29

Port Orange: XVIII, 108; mill, XVIII. 204, 210

Portell, Tomas, com. at St. Marks: XV. 20 Porter, Emily M., The St. Joseph Convention: XVI. 280; RECEPTION OF THE ST. JOSEPH CONSTITUTION, XVII.

Porter, Mrs. Emma Williams, asst. sec.: XIX. 36; director, XIX. 37

Porter, Dr. J. Y.: XIX. 99-Potts, Geo. E.: XVIII. 241; director, XX.

Pre-Columbian Man in Southern Florida,

Karl Squires: XX. 98
Prevost, Lt. Col.: XVII. 183-; XVIII. 58;
XIX. 112-; XIX. 180Priestley, H. I., The Luna Papers: XVIII.
6; XX. 14

Proctor, John: XV. 173
Prophet Francis: See Francis the Prophet
PROPOSED DIVISION OF THE TERRITORY OF FLORIDA, Walter Martin:

PROSPECT BLUFF, EVENTS AT, ON THE APALACHICOLA RIVER, 1808-1818, Mark F. Boyd: XVI. 55
Protestant Episcopal Church in Florida. A History of, Edgar L. Pennington: XVII. 64
PROTESTANT SERVICE, THE FIRST IN AMERICA. T. Frederick Davis: XVIII.

192

Ptolemy Atlas (1508-): XX. 5-PUBLIC EDUCATION IN SPANISH ST. AUGUSTINE, Joseph B. Lockey:

XV. 147 Public Land Policies in Florida: XX. 375 Putnam, Maj. B. A.: XV. 255; first president of Florida Historical Society, XIX. 6; sketch, XIX. 50

Public School Education in Florida, History of, T. E. Cochran: XV. 102 Pulgar, Historia general de Florida: XVI.

131

Purchase of Florida: XIX. 298 Parnam, W. J.: XVIII. 211

Quarterman, Rev. J. M.: on first membership roll, (1856), XIX. 7 Quilate, Indian Chief: XV. 11 QUINCY CONSERVATIVE CONVENTION

(1868): XVIII. 267

Quincy Historical Society : XVIII. 304 Quincy Sentinel : XV. 220n.

Railroads, Florida, legislative regulation:

XX. 375 Railroad Projects in Territorial Florida, Dorothy Dodd: XVII. 36n; railroads, XVII. 42, 90-Rambler in North America, Chas. J. Lat-

robe: XV. 34 Ramsay, Henry G., U. S. Marshal: XX. 380

Ramirez, Alejandro: XV. 114, 116

Ramusio map: XX. 8

Ramusio map: XX. 8
Ranching, Four Centuries of Florida. Geo.
H. Dacy: XIX. 301
Randall. Hon. Thos., on first membership roll; (1856): XIX. 7; XVIII. 268
Randolph, T. E., U. S. Marshal: XX. 380
Raney, Geo. P.: XV. 187, 188; director, XIX. 40; reorganization of Florida Historical Society, XIX. 16; Geo. P. Raney, II, director, XIX. 35

Ranjel, Rodrigo, Diary of: XVI. 149, 150,

Rawlings, Marjorie Kinnan: director, XX. 123; Use of Florida History Materials by Creative Writers, XVI. 280; My Use of Florida History Materials, XVII, 330; The Yearling, XVIII. 66; XX. 123

Read, Leigh: XVI. 99; U. S Marshal, XX. 380

Reagan, John H.: XVII. 163, 227 RECORDS OF THE TERRITORIES NOW IN WASHINGTON: XX. 216

Red Patriots, The Story of the Seminoles, C. H. Coe: XVII. 304n.
Red Sticks: XVI. 66
Reed, A. M., diary of, (1848-1899): XVIII. 217; first membership roll, XIX. 7
Reed, Gov. Harrison, portrait: XVII. 154
Reed, Edward J. Disston land sale: XVII.

Refuge, houses of: XX. 94

lations and Instructions for the School of St. Augustine, Gov. Zespedes: Regulations for the

Reid, Robt. Raymond: XV. 221; diary of, XVIII, 217; delegate St. Joseph Convention, XVI. 41; nominated president of convention. XVI. 99; sketch,

248, 249; XVII. 105
RELATIONSHIP OF FLORIDA ARCHAEOLOGY TO THAT OF MIDDLE
AMERICA, Doris Stone: XVII. 211

The state of th

Remington, Joseph, U. S. Marshal: XX. 380

Ramsen, Mrs. P. C., donation: XX. 225 Republic of Florida: XX. 47-Republic of Floridas, The Report of the Committee . . . Provisional Govern-

ment for the, (1817) : XVII. 336 Rerick, R., Memoirs of Florida.: XV. 207 RESEARCH PROJECTS ON FLORIDA SUJBECTS: XX. 222

Research Projects in Florida History: XVII. 245

Reynolds, Chas. B.: contributing member, XVIII. 72; Old St. Augustine, XVIII. 132: death, XIX. 313: XIX. 28

Rezio, August de: XIX. 146

Ribas, Andres Perez de, *Historia:* XX. 22 Ribault, Jean : XVIII. 192-; XVIII. 192; *Jean Ribault*, Jeannette Thurber Con-nor, XVIII. 190; many editions of Ribault narrative, XX. 17

Ribera, Capt. Don Joseph Primo: XV. 8 Ribero map: XX. 8

Richards, Capt. John C.: XV. 78, 79 Richardson, Messages and Papers of the Presidents: XV. 21n.

Richards, John R. (Comp.) Florida State Gazeteer and Business Directory, 1886-7; XV. 56

Richardson, Louise, THE CARE AND PRESERVATION OF BOOKS AND RECORDS: XVIII. 94: librarian, F. S. C. W., XIX. 47

Richmond convention (1860): XX. 354 Richmond, Mrs. Henry L., RALPH WALDO EMERSON IN FLORIDA: XVIII. 75; contributing member, XVIII. 72; XIX.

Ricla to Arriaga, letter of: XIX. 190 Ricla, Count of, a letter to Col. James Robertson: XIX. 211

Rinehart, C. D., director, Florida Historical Society: XIX. 25 Rivers, Maj. E. R., Florida University: XX. 97; 103 ROAD FROM PENSACOLA TO ST.

AUGUSTINE, A MAP OF THE, 1778,

Mark F. Boyd: XVII. 15 d, Public. Between Pensacola and Mobile: XIX. 120; The First American Road, Road in Florida, Boyd, XVII. 31

Robb, Seymour; Library of Congress; Un-

ion Catalog: XVI. 119, 122 Robbins, Mrs. S. S., Happy Winter in Florida: XIX. 84

Roberts, Account of Florida, (1763): XVI. 286: XX. 38 Roberts, A. H., director Florida Historical

Society: XIX. 35; treasurer, XV. 176, 187, 200, 259

Robertson, Benjamin, U. S. Marshal: XX.

Robertson, Lt. Col. James: XVIII. 49; XIX. 181; acknowledgement by M. F. Boyd, XIX. 188

Robertson, James A.: XVI. 121; in memoriam, XVII. 341; bibliography, XVIII. 132; in appreciation of, memorial committee. 151; director, XIX. 37; JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON, by A. Curtis Wilgus, XVIII. 3; memorial to, XIX. 87, 175, 422; speaks to Florida Historical Society, XV., 70; True Relation of . . . Hernando de Soto, XVIII. 6; The Archival Distribution of Florida Manuscripts, XVIII. 46; 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, XVIII. 4; bibliography of Florida, XVIII. 132; XIX. 175

Robins, Mrs. Raymond, contributing member: XVIII. 72

Robinson, A. G., Cuba Old and New: XIX. 284n.

Robinson, E. L., director: XIX. 47, 85 Robinson, Henry, treasurer Florida Historical Society: XIX. 25: sketch, XIX.

Robinson, Jeremy: XIX. 300

Robinson, W. H.: XVIII. 268

Rochefort, Charles de, Histoire: XX. 26 Rockwood, C. W. In Biscayne Bay: XIX.

Rodenbough, T. F., From Everglades to Canyon: XIX. 84

Rogers, St. George, on first membership roll, (1856), XIX. 7 Rolfes, George: XX. 334 Rolle, Denys: XX. 139, 144; XX. 43; An

Extract . . . with observations of Denys Rolle, XX. 43; Humble Petition of Denys Rolle, XX. 43 Rollins, John F., bird and plant sanctuary : XVIII. 68; XX. 116

Rollins College, History of: XX. 371 Romance of the Floridas, Michael Kenny:

Romans, Bernard, Notes on the Life and Works of, P. L. Phillips: XV. 33; map, XVIII, 59n.; XX. 40, 41; Concise Nat-ural History of East and West Florida, XX. 40

Romantic and Historic Florida. Verrill: XX. 402

Romph. Edward C., director: XVII, 338: contributing member, XVIII. 72; director, XIX. 45

Roselli, Bruno, *Italians in Early Florida:* XX. 128

Row, S. W., deputy surveyor: XX. 332 Rowland, Davy: XVI. 251-Rowland, Dunbar (Ed.) Mississippi Provincial Archives, 1763-66 : XVII. 283n. Rubens, H. S., Liberty, The Story of Cuba:

XIX. 291n. Ruidiaz, *La Florida* . . . (1894) : XX. 95

Russel, Lockhart, British West Florida : XIX. 248

Rutledge, Rt. Rev. F. H.: XV. 35; on first membership roll, (1856), XIX. 7

Rye, Wm. B., Discovery and Conquest of Tierra Florida: XVI. 220

Sabacala, San Carlos de, Indian pueblo: XVI. 30

Sadlier, Rt. Rev. Francis, O. S. B., Benedictine Pioneering in Florida: XVIII. 302

St. Augustine: merchants, laborers, XX. 143; masonic lodge, 144; schools, 147; The Priority of St. Augustine, XX. 127; political and social systems, XIX. 234; ST. AUGUSTINE UNDER THE BRITISH FLAG, 1763-1775. Charles L. Mowat: XX. 131; St. Augustine Historical Society, XVIII. 306; XIX. 54, 419; first Spaniard born in XX. 54, 419: first Spaniard born in, XX. 218; ST. AUGUSTINE CENSUS OF 218; SI. AUGUSTINE CENSUS OF 1786, Joseph B. Lockey, XVIII. 11; History and Antiquities of St. Augustine, Geo. R. Fairbanks, XIX. 11; Timucuan period, XVI. 113; The Restoration of, XVI. 136; XVII. 65; St. Augustine News, XV. 221n.; in 1788-1790; XVIII. 223; Human Landscaping of Old St. Augustine, XVIII. 200; gar. of Old St. Augustine, XVIII. 299; gar-rison, 1821, XIX. 311; Boazio plan (1588), XX. 9; expeditions of Ogle-thorpe, bibliography, XX. 36; Kimber Relation . . . XX. 36; ST. AUGUSTINE HISTORICAL RESTORATION, Eleanor Beeson, XVI. 110; XVII. 65; documents 1753, XX. 37; History of the Churches of the Diocese of St. Augustine. XIX. 91: British street names. XX. 134; St. Augustine Historical program, XIX. 215; XX. 311; St. Augustine is the Oldest Permanent European Settlement . . . XX. 124; priority of St. Augustine, XX. 127; social British period, XX. 144-; The Nine Old Wooden Forts of St. Augustine, J. T. Connor, XX. 154n.

St. Francis convent: XVIII. 55

St. James Church, Ormond Beach: XX. 375

St. Johns to the Apalachicola, From the, Taylor, F. H., and Choate, C. A.: XV.

ST. JOHNS BLUFF, ST. JOHNS RIVER, FLA., ENGAGEMENTS AT, SEPT., OCT, 1862, T. Frederick Davis: XV.

St. John's Bluff 1843, letter from: XV. 61.

St. Johns River transportation : XVII. 40; St. Johns River: XX. 373

St. Marks, abandonment: XIX. 189; Fort

St. Marks, abandonment: XIX. 189; Fort (1818), XV. 3, 244; Map of, XV. 6

St. Jo, G. M. West: XVII. 87n.

ST. JOSEPH CONSTITUTION, RECEPTION OF, Emily Porter: XVII. 103

ST. JOSEPH, AN EPISODE OF THE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL HISTORY OF FLORIDA, James O. Knauss: XVII. 84; Monument, XVII. 130: Telegraph, XVII. 92: Times, XVI. 38, 40; XVII. 48; ST. JOSEPH CONVENTION, THE, F. W. Hoskins: XVI. 33, 97, 242; XVII. 124; ST. JOSEPH, A DIARY OF (1839), XVII. 132; St. Joseph Convention Number, XVII. No. II II

St. Joseph, Sisters of, Sheaves Gathered From the Missionary Fields: XIX. 91 St. Leo Abbey, Catalog of library: XVIII. 223

St. Lucie (1870) : XVIII. 107

St. Mary's River and district, inhabitants: XX. 61

St. Petersburg, History of, 1924, Grismer: XVI. 285

Salamanca and the Beginning of the Church in Florida, P. W. Browne: XV. 148

Salaza, Gov. Pablo de Hita: XV. 34n. San Agustin de la Nueva Florida: XX. 374

San Carlos de Austria, Pensacola Bay : XX. 152

Sanchez, Joseph S., U. S. Marshal: XX. 380

Sanford, Henry S.: XX. 368 Sanford. Some Account of Belair, also of the City of.: XVII. 250 San Ognacio, The Mission of, J. M. Phil-

lips: XVIII. 299

San Jacinto Memorial: XVIII. 66 San Luis de Apalache: XVI. 6SAN MARCOS DE APALACHE. FORTI-FICATIONS AT. Mark F. Boyd: XV. 3 San Marcos, the garrison of : XIX, 154: Lieut. Pampellonne, 186; Lieut. Swettenham, 187; Plan, XV. 19; San Marcos, Castillo de: XIX, 218; XX. 374

San Martin, frigate: XV. 4

San Miguel, fort, site of present Pensacola: XX. 162, 288

Santa Rosa Island, penal settlement: XIX. 111

Sarasota, meeting of Florida Historical Society: XVII. 338 Sanderson, J. P.: XVIII. 268

Santa Maria de Galve (Pensacola): XX.

Santa Maria Filipina, Pensacola: XX. 151 Santa Rosa Island, Fortifications: XX.

Savage and Haile, foreign trade 1865: XX.

Saw mills, (1875): XX. 185

Scheeps Togt. Johan de Verrazzano: XVIII.

Schoepf, J. D., Travels in the Confederation: XX. 150

School Bulletin, Florida: XIX 311 School Census, County, in Florida: XX.

Schwegmann, Geo. A., Library of Congress: XVI. 122

Scott, Geo. W., candidate for governor: XVIII. 268, 269 Sea Shells, Florida, Aldrich and Snyder:

XX. 402 Sebree, Wm., U. S. Marshal: XX. 380

Seminole Indians, Bibliography of: XIX. 423; The Seminole Indians in Florida, AZS, The Sellinote Indians III Florida, XX. 217; Survey of the Seminole In-dians of Florida, Roy Nash, XX. 218; Big Cypress Swamp, XX. 374; Re-moval from Florida, XX. 374; In Mod-ern Times, XX. 374; Social Organi-zation, XX. 374

Secession Movement in Florida: XX. 375
Seminole War, its beginning: XVI. 88;
Sketches of the Seminole War, by a
Lieut. of the Left Wing, XVII. 304n.;
present day Seminole, XX. 217; Bemrose Manuscript on, XVIII. 285; The
Seminole War, XX. 375
Semi Tropical Magazine, Jacksonville: XV

Semi-Tropical Magazine, Jacksonville: XV. 240n.

Semmes, Albert G., St. Joseph Convention: XVII. 99

Senior, John L., XVIII. 72 Serreno y Saenz, contributing member:

Documents Historicas de la Florida y la Louisiana: XVII.

Sewell, R. K., Sketches of St. Augustine: XV. 235n.

Sharp, H. R., contributing member : XVIII.

Sharp, Helen: XVIII. 237, 296; SAMUEL A. SWANN AND THE DEVELOP-

MENT OF FLORIDA 1855-1900 XX

Shaw, Wm., British West Florida: XIX. 248

Shea, J. G., Ancient Florida in Winsor, Narrative and Critical History of America XV. 232n.: History of the Catholic Missions Among the Indian Tribes of the United States, XVII. 255n.

Sherrill, J. H., contributing member: XVIII. 72

Shields, Rev. V. W., reorganization of Florida Historical Society: XIX. 16 SIDNEY LANIER IN FLORIDA. Lena E. Jackson: XV. 118

Siebert, Wilbur H., THE DEPARTURE OF TEE SPANIARDS AND OTHER GROUPS FROM EAST FLORIDA, 1763-1764: XIX. 145; Loyalists in East Florida. XV. 223n.; How the Spanish Evacuated Pensacola in 1763: XVII. 183n.

Siedenburg. Mrs. Paula D., contributing member: XVIII. 72

Siguenza y Gongora, Carlos, Descripcion, que de la Vaia de Santa Maria de Galves XX. 31; to Pensacola, XX. 151; Reconocimiento del Puerto y Baia de Pansacola (1693), XVI. 131; Don Carlos de Siguenza y Gongora, Irving A. Leonard. XX. 226; Point of Siguenza, XX. 286

Silas Henry, blockade runner: XX. 174

Simms, Francis: XVIII. 120

Simmons, W. H., Journal of, XVII. 28 Simmons. W. H., on first membership roll, (1856) : XIX. 7

Sister's Creek: XV. 81

Slavery and Secession in Florida: XX. 376

Slavery in Florida: XX. 376 Slaves, British West Florida: XIX. 373 Small, John K., From Eden to Sahara: XVIII. 284

Smallpox in British West Florida: XIX. 268

Smith, Judge Joseph L.: XIX. 332-3 Smith, Buckingham, on first membership roll, (1856); XIX. 7; sketch, XIX. 52; a tablet to, XX. 127; manuscript, XV. 33; translation of CONCESSION MADE TO HERNANDO DE SOTO, XIV. 179; Colleccion de Varios Documentos para la Historia de la Florida, XVI. 219; Letter of Hernando De Soto and Memoir of Escalente Fonteneda, XVI. 220; Manuscripts in New York Historical Society, XVII. 278; XVIII. 191; in Union Catalog of Floridiana, XVIII. 226; Buckingham Smith, by A. J Wall, XVIII. 301; lecture on Nuno de Guzman and Nunez Cabeca de Vaca, XIX. 12; Rudo Ensayo . . . Provincia de Sonora, XIX. 53, 82 Smith, Waters, U. S., Marshal: XX. 380 Smith, C. H.: XVIII. 268

Smith, Gen. Edmund Kirby: XVIII. 32: papers of, XX. 211, 368

Smith, R. M., Anthropology in Florida: XVIII. 191; XV. 138, 187, 200

Smith, Col. T. A., correspondence of: XIX.

Snuff, use by Jacksonville women: XV. 94 Solano, Matteo, on first membership roll, (1856) : XÍX. 7

Soldier and Servant: John Freeman Young, Second Bishop of Florida, Edgar Legare Pennington: XVIII. 233

Soldiers of Florida, (1903) : XIX. 82

South Florida Historical Society: XVIII. 304

Southern Rights, Jacksonville newspaper : XV. 92

Spanish and French Rivalry in the Gulf Region of the United States, 1678-1702. The Beginning of Texas and Pensacola, W. E. Dunn: XV. 34: XVI. 9n. SPANIARDS, THE DEPARTURE OF,

AND OTHER GROUPS FROM EAST FLORIDA, 1763-1764, Wilbur H. Siebert: XIX. 145

Spanish Approach to Pensacola, 1689-1693, Irving A. Leonard; a review by Mark

F. Boyd Spanish Characteristics in the St. Augus-

tine colony: XIX. 241-245 SPANISH CONTRIBUTIONS IN FLOR-IDA TO AMERICAN CULTURE, Verne E. Chatelain: XIX. 213

Spanish claims of 1765: XVIII. 308

Spanish Explorers in the Southern United States, 1528-1543, T. Hayes Lewis: XVI. 219

SPANISH FORTIFICATIONS OF PEN-SACOLA, 1698-1763, Stanley Faye: XX.

SPANISH LAND GRANTS IN FLORIDA, Historical Record Survey, W. P. A reviewed by Frank P. Hamilton: XX. 77. 215

SPANISH RULE, THE RETURN OF, TO THE ST. MARYS AND THE JOHNS, 1813-1821, D. C. CORBITT: XX. 47

Spanish Settlements Within the Present Limit of the United States, Woodbury Lowery: XVI. 219

Spaulding, D. A., on first membership roll, (1856): XIX. 7

Southern Life Insurance and Trust Co.: XV. 208

Spencer, Capt. R. C., Royal Navy: XVII.

Sprague, John T., The Origin, Progress and Conclusion of the Florida War: XVII. 26

Stafford. Charles, **BEMROSE** Robert MÄNUSCRIPT OF THE SEMINOLE WAR, THE: XVIII. 285

Starke, Aubrey Harrison, Sidney Lanier: XV 119

Stanley, Mrs. Murry L.: XV. 182, 138, 200)

Steamboating on the St. Johns River, Francis P. Fleming: XIX 22n.

Steedman, Commander Charles, U. S. N.:

XV. 80, 81, 82 Steele, Rev. J. L.: Key West, XV. 45 Stephens, Capt. Winston: XV. 78 Stephenson, John, British West Florida:

XIX. 248

Stetson, John B., Jr.: XVIII. 146; XIX. 28, 29, 45; vice-president, XIX. 47; sketch,. XIX. 61

Stock raising (1875) : XX. 185

Stoddard, Amos, Sketches, Historical and

Descriptive, of Louisiana: XX. 283n. Stokes, John P.: XV. 187, 188; director, XIX. 40

Stone, Doris, RELATIONSHIP OF FLOR-IDA ARCHAEOLOGY TO THAT OF MIDDLE AMERICA: XVII. 211: contributing member, XVIII. 72, 236; member Committee on Archaeology, XIX. 45; Mexican Resemblances in the Southeastern Area of the United States, XIX, 168; General Problems of Florida Archaeology, XX. 97 Stone, Lackland M., U. S. Marshal: XX.

380

Stonewall, schooner: XV. 254

Stork, Description of East Florida with a Journal of John Bartram (1769) : XVII. 335: XX. 42: XX. 142 STORM, THE GREAT, (Tallahassee, Aug.

23-24, (1851) : XVIII. 270 STOWE MEMORIAL, A, Kenneth Ward Hooker: XVIII. 198

Stovall, Bates M., secretary: XIX. 40 Stratford, Robert E. Lee Memorial Foun-

dation: XIX. 90 Struthers, Wm., merchant in the Indian

trade of West Florida: XIX. 118, 389 Stuart, Henry, British West Florida: XIX. 248

Stuart, Chas., Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs: XIX. 263

Stuart, John, Superintendent of Indian West Florida councillor: relations, XIX. 118, 262; XX. 203--; XX. 293

Surveys, Towns of Mobile and Pensacola: XIX. 123

SWANN, SAMUEL A., AND THE DE-VELOPMENT OF FLORIDA, 1855-1900. Helen R. Sharp: XX 169: Activities of S. A. Swann in the Development of Florida, XX. 369

Swanton, John R., THE LANDING PLACE OF DE SOTO: XVI. 150; XVIII. 69; Early History of the Creek Indians and Their Neighbors, XVIII. 191; Terms of Relationship in Timucua, XVIII. 191; Comments on the Delgado Papers, XVI. 127

Swettenham, Lt. George, at St. Marks,

(1776): XX. 382

Tait, Robert, Pensacola, 1778: XIX. 392 Taliaferro, James P., sketch: XIX. 56 Tallahassee Girls, a Century of, Hayden:

XIX. 423

Tallahassee Historical Society : XVIII. 304 ; XX. 221; Annual 1931, XVI. 288; XIX.

Tallahassee Medical College: XV. 97; diary, XVIII. 115

Tampa Bay, map of De Soto's landing: XVI. 148, 163

Tampa, meeting of Florida Historical Society: XV. 69; Sidney Lanier at, XV. 69.; History of Tampa and Hillsborough County, D. B. McKay, XVI. 280 Tavasa, Tabasa, Tawasa, Indian village : XVI, 29

Taverns: XVII. 30

Taxation in Colonial West Florida: XIX.

Taylor, Col. Wm.: XVIII. 51-; XIX. 182 Taylor, A. M.: XV. 187, 188: director, XIX. 40

Taylor, F. H., From the St. Johns to the Apalachicola: XV. 33

Taylor, Hugh M., Economic Conditions in Florida 1840-1860: XVII. 68

Taylor, Wm. A., Scottish Contributions to the Making of Florida: XVI. 281 Tebeau, C. W., The Function of Historical Societies: XVIII. 299

Tecumseh, Indian Chief: XVI. 63; XVIII. 248

TEKESTA INDIANS OF SOUTHERN FLORIDA, THE, John M. Goggin: XVIII. 274

Ten Eick, Mrs. C. W.: XV. 275, 278; XIX. 42, 43; director, XVI. 271

Tequesta, Indian village: XX. 95 TEQUESTA, THE JOURNAL OF THE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHERN FLORIDA: XX. 93; XIX. 421

Ternaux-Compans, H., Recueil de Pieces sur la Floride: XVIII. 191 TERRITORY OF FLORIDA, PROPOSED DIVISION OF, Walter Martin; De-velopment of Florida Territory, O. C. Wilson, XX. 368

Territorial Florida Journalism, James O.

Knauss: XVIII. 6 TERRITORIAL FLORIDA, THE COURTS OF, Charles D. Farris: XIX. 346

Territorial Papers of the United States, C. E. Carter: XIV. 288: XX. 216 Thomas, David Y., History of Banking in Florida: XV. 210; Report on the Pub-, History of Banking in

lic Archives of Florida. XX. 124
Thomas, Rt. Rev. Nathaniel S.: XIV. 48;
XV. 188, 258, 272, 274, 278; XVI. 265, 267; Resolution on death of, XVI. 268; director. XIX. 40: memorial to, 87

Thompson, Leslie A.: St. Joseph Convention: XVII. 99

Thompson, Maurice, A Tallahassee Girl: XIX. 83

Three Friends, filibuster: XIX. 283-

Tigert, John J.: XV. 182; XVIII. 146; director, XIX. 45

TILGHMAN, TENCH FRANCIS, DIARY OF: VII. 159 TIMUCUA INDIANS OF SIXTEENTH CENTURY FLORIDA, W. W. Ehr-mann: XVIII. 168

Tocoboga: XVIII. 172

Tonyn, Gov., disagreements with Drayton and Turnbull: XX. 148, 337

Topographical Memoir on East and West Florida, with Itineraries, Capt. Hugh Young: XV. 34

Torrey, Bradford, A Florida Sketch Book: XIX. 83

Traffic of the Florida East Coast Railroad: XX. 371

Travers Family, narrative, Mary Martha Reid: XVIII. 219 TRANSPORTATION IN TERRITORIAL

FLORIDA, Alice Whitman: XVII. 25

Transportation: XVII. 25; Cedar Keys, Tampa, Key West, XV. 37-50; Mari-anna, Quincy, XV. 37

Trenholm, Geo. A., secretary of the Confederate treasury: XVII. 162, 227

Trist, N. P.: XIX. 300
Troconis, Father: XV. 158
Trumbull, Marian R., HIRAM F. HAMMON, PIONEER HOMESTEADER OF

PALM BEACH: XIX. 140 Turnbull, Robt. James: XX. 141, 148 Turnbull, Dr. Andrew, and the New Smyrna. Colony of Florida, Carita Doggett: XVII. 224n.; XVIII. 58; family, XX. 40, 141; disagreement with Gov. Tonyn,

XX. 149

Twiggs, Maj. -: XVI. 84
Tucker, Philip C.: XX. 224
TYPOSCRIPTS OF MANUSCRIPTS
MADE BY FLORIDA HISTORICAL SURVEY: XVIII. 216; diaries, 216; narratives and memoirs, 218; letters, 220; public records, 21; Spanish translations; abstract, 223; library catalogues, 223

Ucita, Indian village: XVI. 152, 156 Ugarte, Ruben Vargas, S. J., Los Martires de la Florida: XX. 22, 96 Uncas, gunboat: XV. 78 UNION BANK OF TALLAHASSEE, THE, Kathryn T. Abbey: XV. 208-

Union Bank of Florida 1838, bond: XVI. 287; Reply of Directors, XV. 213

UNION CATALOG OF FLORIDIANA, Alfred Hasbrouck: XVI. 119; XVIII, 225; XVIII. 225; XX. 218, 219

University of Florida, home of Florida Historical Society: XIX. 32; XVIII. 64; XV. 96; annual meeting at, XIX. 42; loan exhibit inaugurated, XIX. 42

Urann, W. D., master gunboat *Uncas:* XV.

U. S. S. PEACOCK IN THE WAR OF 1812, A FIGHT OFF THE FLORIDA EAST COAST, T. Frederick Davis: XVI. 231

Van Benthuysen, Watson: XVII. 162 Van Bensen, Richard: XVIII. 72

Vance, Z. B.: XX. 361-

Van den Eynde, calendar of West Florida Spanish colonial documents 1692-1740:

XX. 30-Hvning, T., Florida State Museum: Van Hyning, T., Florida State M XVIII. 179n. Van Ness, Maj. W. W.: XVIII. 268

Vega, Garcilaso de la, La Florida del Inca: XVI. 188

Velasco, Juan Lopez de, Geografia y Description Universal de las Indias: XVI. 219; XX. 95

Verrill, A. H., Romantic and Historic Florida: XX. 226

Viaud, Pierre, The Surprising . . . tures of: XV. 13, 33; XIX. 189 Vignoles, Chas. B., Observations . Adven-

Observations on the Floridas: XVIII, 284

Villanova, Manuel: XV. 113

Villafane, Angel de: XX. 14-Villipigne, Lieut. F. L.: XV. 77, 79

VOLUNTARY EXILE OF FREE NE-GROES OF PENSACOLA. THE. Ruth B. Barr and Modeste Hargis: XVII.

Volusia County, Past and Present, T. E. Fitzgerald : XVII. 250

Vose, Francis, Florida Railroad: XX. 186

Waldseemuller map (1507): XX. 4-Walker, Gov. David S.: XVII. 206; on first membership roll, (1856): XIX. 7; XV.

Walker, L. S. Jr.: XV. 99, 110

Walker, Jonathan, Trial and Imprisonment of at Pensacola, Florida: XIX. 423

Walker, S. T. Preliminary Explorations Among the Indian Mounds in Southern Florida: XVI. 219; Reports on Shell Heaps of Tampa Bay, XVI. 219 Walker, Capt. S. V.: XIX. 131 Walker, Minor, U. S. Marshal: XX. 380

Walker, Wm., last filibustering expedition, H. C. Lee: XVIII. 219

Wall. A. .: XVIII. 236; Buckingham Smith, XVIII. 301

Wallace, John, Carpet-Bag Rule in Florida XVI. 285

Walton. Dorothy, Museum: XVII. 246 War of 1812: XVI. 68

Warburg, Frederic S.: XIX. 322, 329, 331 Ward, Benj. British West Florida: XIX 247

Ward. Daniel, British West Florida: XIX 247

Ward, Geo. T.: St. Joseph Convention: XVII. 99; XVIII. 153

Ware, E. A., editor Florida Journal (1843): XV 56

Warren, H. G., Pensacola and the Filibus-ters: XVII. 152

Warrington, Capt. Lewis, U. S. S. Peacock: XVI. 231-

Water transportation: XVII. 34 Water Witch, gunboat: XV. 82

of Tallahassee : Watchman, newspaper, XVI. 37

Waverley Growers: XVIII. 71

Webbville: XVII. 33

Webster, Daniel, Opinion on Florida Banks : XV. 210

Wedderbrum, Alex, papers of: XVIII. 58 Weed, Rt. Rev. Edwin G., president of Florida Historical Society: XIX. 23-24; sketch, XIX. 57

Wegg, Edmund R., attorney general British West Florida: XIX. 378

Weir, John, British West Florida: XIX.

247 Welborne, J. F., vice-president Florida His-

torical Society: XIX. 16 Wells, Wm... and John, East Florida Ga-

zette: XX. 45 Wenhold, Lucy C., A 17th Century Letter of Gabriel Diaz Vara Calderon: XVIII. 284

Wentworth, T. T., Jr. : XV. 188, 200; XVII. 246; XVIII. 223

West, Elizabeth H. (ed.) A PRELUDE TO THE CREEK WAR OF 1813-1814: XVIII. 248

West, G. M., Old St. Jo: XVII. 87n.

Westcott, R. D.: XVII. 86-

Westcott, Jas. D.: XV. 214; XVI. 99; XVII. 99

Westcott, John: XV. 78; De Soto in Florida, XVI. 219

West Florida, Minutes of the Council of the Province of: XVII. 196n.

West Florida Controversy, Isaac J. Cox: XVI. 228; British West Florida, C. N. Howard. XVII. 181: British West Florida, Cecil Johnson, XX. 368

WEST FLÓRIDA, THE MILITARY OC-CUPATION OF BRITISH, C. N. Howard: XVII. 181; GOVERNOR JOHN-STONE IN WEST FLORIDA, C. N. Howard, XVII. 281

West Florida documents, Spanish\_calendar of, 1692-1740, in John Carter Brown Library: XX. 30

West Florida Seminary: XV. 97

West Point, (Apalachicola): XVI. 93 Wespy, F., Florida University: XV. 97

Whitaker, Arthur Preston, Documents Relating to the Commercial Policy of Spain in the Floridas: XV. 34, 234n; The Mississippi Question 1795-1803, XVI. 94

White, Rev. D. L.: XVI. 104
White, Jas. M., first territorial delegate:
XV. 172; XVII. 94
White, P. W., papers of, donated to society:

XX. 401

White, Thos. M.: XVIII. 268

White, W. L., diary of, (1835-1842): XVIII. 218

Whitfield, J. B.: FLORIDA'S FIRST CON-STITUTION, XVII. 73; U. S. MAR-SHALS FOR FLORIDA: XX. 380 Whitman, Alice, TRANSPORTATION IN

TERRITORIAL FLORIDA: XVII. 25 Whitman, Mrs. Alton B.: XV, 138; director,

XIX. 47, 85 Whitmore, Maj. Thomas, at St. Augustine 1769: XIX. 183

Wilgus, A. Curtis, JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON: XVIII. 3, 133; XIX. 421

Wilkinson, Gen.: XVI. 68; XVIII. 262 Williams, Arthur T.: president Florida Historical Society, XIX. 27, 35; death of, XIX. 36; sketch, XIX. 60; XVIII. 147

Williams, Francis M.: XIX. 35, 37; sketch, XIX. 62

Williams, Emma Rochelle (Mrs. Garrett Porter): sketch, XIX. 62; The Bell of a Spanish Mission, XVII. 279n.

Williams, J. J.: XVIII. 268
Williams, John Lee, on first membership
roll, (1856): XIX. 7; The Territory
of Florida, XV. 236n.; A View of West
Florida, XV. 34; Journal of, XVII. 27
Williams, M. A.: XX. 179, 194

Restoration

Williamsburg Historical Restorati Studies: XIX. 314 Willis, George, U. S. Marshal: XX. 380

Willow Branch Library: XIX. 37 Wilson, Gaines R.: director, XIX. 47: sketch. XIX. 85

Wilson, Geo. West: sketch, XIX. 55; re-organization of Florida Historical Society. XIX. 15

Wilson, Henry, U. S. Marshal: XX. 380 Wilson, Lt. Henry: THE PUBLIC BUILD-INGS OF PENSACOLA: XVI. 45

Wilson, Jasper: XVIII. 120
Wilson, Louise: XVIII. 120
Wilson, Mrs. Millar: contributing member, XVIII. 72, 68; member committee on archaeology, XIX. 45
Wilson, Robt. P.: XVI. 49
Wilson, Thomas: XVI. 258
Winter in the West Indias and Florida, by

Winter in the West Indies and Florida, by

winter in the west mares and Fioleda, of an Invalid: XV. 239n.
Winter, N. O., Florida the Land of Enchantment: XVII. 46n.
Winter, W. J.: XVIII. 237; archeologist, XIX. 45; XVIII. 68; chairman archeology committee, XIX. 45

THE WITHLACOOCHEE, FLORIDA MILITIA, AND THE AFFAIRS AT, Samuel E. Cobb: XIX. 128

Wood, E. J., St. Joseph: XVI. 41; XVII. 93 Woodall, W. C., World's First Ice Factory: XVIII. 224

Woodbine, Capt. George: XVI. 70, 72, 74, 260, 263; XVII. 54, 238, 314

Woodford, U. S. A., death of: XV. 94

Woodmason, account of British St. Augustine: XX. 145

Woodward's Reminiscences of the Creek and Muscogee Indians, by Thomas S. Woodward: XVIII. 230

Woolridge, Thomas, provost marshal: XX.

Woolson, Constance Fenimore: XVII. 66 Worthington, Wm. G. D., U. S. Marshal: XX. 380 Wrecker, Bradish Johnson, Master, Vincent

Gilpin: XX. 96

Wright, Benj. D.: St. Joseph convention, XVII. 99; on banks, XV. 226; on first membership roll, (1856), XIX. 7

Wright, H.: XVIII. 268
Wroth, Laurence C.. SOURCE MATERIALS OF FLORIDA HISTORY IN
THE JOHN CARTER BROWN LI-BRARY OF BROWN UNIVERSITY:

XX. 3 Wyatt, Col. William : XVI. 38

Yaimamu, Aymamu, Indian village : XVI. 30

Ybor, R. V. M. The Hispanic Colony of Florida: XVI. 281 Yearling, The, Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings:

XVIII. 66

Yeates, David. British East Florida: XX. 143, 332

Yellow fever: XV. 28, 37; XX. 210 YELLOW FEVER, EPIDEMIC OF, 1888, IN JACKSONVILLE, THE, Margaret C. Fairlie: XIX. 95

Yonge, Henry: XX. 324n.; Henry Yonge

(II), XIX. 158 Yonge, Julien C.: director, XV. 272: XVI. 271; editor of Quarterly, XIX. 34; vicepresident, 40; catalog of collection of Floridiana, XVIII. 223

Yonge, P. K.: elected vice-president. XIX. 25, 27, 35, 36; president, 37; death of, XIX. 39; sketch, XIX. 59

Yonge, Philip, of Fernandina (1813) : XX. 50 ; captain de Partido : XX. 55-56, 324n.

Young, Some Experiences of Bishop: XV. 35; Soldier and Servant: John Free-man Young, by Edgar L. Pennington, XVIII. 233; papers of John Freeman Young, XX. 211

Young, Wm. B., autobiography, Jackson-ville: XVIII. 219

Young, Capt. Hugh, A Topographical Memoir on East and West Florida, with Itineraries: XV. 34

Youngblood, Rebecca : XVIII. 19

Yscambi, Indian town: XVI. 29

Yulee, Sen. D. L.: on banks, XV. 218; sketch, XIX. 52: XVII, 169, 172; Cottonwood plantation, XVIII. 240; vicepresident Florida Historical Society, XIX. 7; Harbor of Fernandina, XVIII.

150; DAVID L. YULEE, Leon Huhner XVIII. 146; XVIII. 166; Florida Railroad, XX. 171; YULEE, MOSES ELIAS LEVY, Geo. R. Fairbanks: XVIII. 165; XIX. 320-; XX. 368

Zabriskie, George A., contributing member, XVIII. 72, 152, 238 Zespedes, Vicente Manuel de: XV. 148 Zuniga, Gov. Luis de: XX. 33 Zuniga, Gov. Mauricio de: XVI. 71, 76



350 ZEMA