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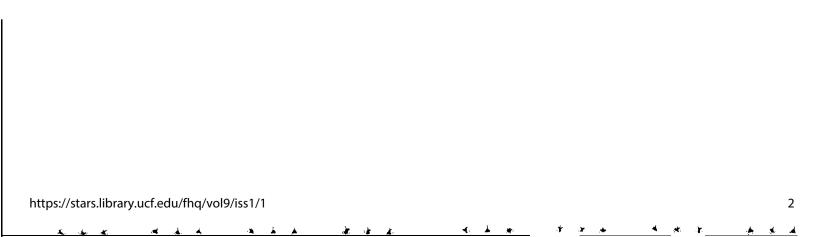
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The

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THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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Pensacola

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KATHRYN T. ABBEY

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1930

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To explore the field of Florida history, to seek and gather up the ancient chronicles in which its annals are contained, to retain the legendary lore which may yet throw light upon the past, to trace its monuments and remains, to elucidate what has been written, to disprove the false and supelucidate what has been written, to disprove the false and support the true, to do justice to the men who have figured in the olden time, to keep and preserve all that is known in trust for those who are to come after us, to increase and extend the knowledge of our history, and to teach our children that first essential knowledge, the history of our State, are objects well worthy of our best efforts. To accomplish these ends we have organized the Historical Society of Florida.

GEORGE R. FAIRBANKS.

Saint Augustine, April, 1857

UNITED STATES TROOPS IN SPANISH EAST FLORIDA, 1812-13

[Author's Note. In November, 1927, Dr. Thomas B. Hall of Miami Beach, Florida, wrote me that the State Historical Society of Missouri was in possession of his great-grandfather's papers written while in Florida. His great-grandfather was Lieut. Col. (afterward General) Thomas Adam Smith, who commanded the United States regulars in Florida in 1812-13. Through the courtesy of Arthur T. Williams, President of the Florida Historical Society, and Floyd C. Shoemaker, Secretary of the State Historical Society of Missouri, I obtained copies of the papers alluded to. They comprise the retained copies of letters written by Col. Smith, which were kept in blank record books and are well preserved, together with a number of original letters addressed to him. These letters, arranged chronologically, tell the story of the American troops in Spanish East Florida-a story that has been locked up so far as details are concerned until now. These papers will be published as a serial. Connecting text and footnotes have been added where necessary to complete the narrative.-T. FREDERICK DAVIS.]

The causes that led to the occupation of Spanish East Florida in 1812 need no elaborate discussion here. as that phase of the affair has been covered in many publications. The immediate excuse for the occupation of the province by the United States was the impending war with Great Britain. At that time Spain and Great Britain had treaty relations, revealed in a letter written by the British representative in December, 1810, to the American Secretary of State, complaining about certain events that had occurred in West Florida concerning the United States and Spain. This entry of the British into the affair was considered of sufficient importance by the President to bring it to the attention of Congress, Congress immediately passed a secret act permitting the occupancy of the Floridas under certain contingencies, namely, in case of their occupation by a foreign power, which of course referred to Great Britain, or should the local authorities, presumably meaning but not specifying the Span-

ish governors, cede the same. In January, 1811, two American commissioners, John McKee and George Mathews, were appointed by our government to visit the Spanish governors of Florida and secretly attempt to secure the country by cession. They were clothed with authority to call upon the military for needed assistance and orders were issued by the Secretary of War to that effect. It is not surprising that the Spanish governors refused, although Governor Folch of West Florida had some time before intimated that a cession to the United States might be advisable.

Failing to secure the cession, Secretary of State Monroe discharged Commissioner McKee, but wrote General Mathews to follow his own judgment with respect to East Florida. General Mathews proceeded to create a local authority that would cede the province, by fomenting a revolution in East Florida, but which really contemplated an armed invasion by Georgians in co-operation with the troops of the United States. He spent the last of the year 1811 and the forepart of 1812 in perfecting the plans for the intended invasion, of which he kept the American government advised. The day finally arrived to start the procedure that "would make Florida ours". About 180 Georgians, calling themselves "Patriots", crossed the St. Marys River into Spanish East Florida and occupied Rose's Bluff, opposite the town of St. Marys, Georgia, and in sight of Amelia Island, Florida. Thence on March 17, 1812, the Patriots proceeded to Amelia and forced the small Spanish garrison to surrender the island. The Patriots now had become the "local authority" and the following day, March 18, their, leader, John H. McIntosh, after a handsome oration, offered to cede Amelia Island to the United States. General Mathews, the accredited commissioner, likewise with a handsome oration, accepted the island for the United States. At this stage Lieut. Col. Thomas A. Smith, U.S.A., took com-

mand of the troops, and henceforth his reports give the record of what happened to the United States regulars during their occupancy of Spanish East Florida in 1812-1813.

Lieut. Col. Smith to the Secretary of War (copy).

Point Petre, ¹ 18th March, 1812.

Sir:

In obedience to my instructions of the 26th January, 1811, I have sent a detachment consisting of fifty men ² to receive and defend in the name of the United States. the Town of Sn. Ferdinandina & the Island of Amelia. I have been informed by General Mathews, that he has good reason to believe that a detachment of English troops (blacks) are on the eve of being sent to occupy the military posts within East Florida. Should that be the case, the detachment under my command, disorganized & badly furnished with Arms & the means of transportation, will make but a feeble opposition against a well-disciplined force, provided with all the implements of War. I have only three officers for duty, and one of those, Major Laval, informs me he is under marching orders, the others being absent & in arrest. I shall be compelled should it be necessary to oppose force to force, to release the officers now under sentence, though contrary to military rule, & make the best defence in my power.

On comparing instructions with Genl. Mathews, I find he is authorized to call on the Military force to preoccupy East Florida, if. in his judgment it should be necessary; but having doubts about the propriety of exceeding my instructions, I will not attack any Post until further ordered; as I consider the order im-

Under the command of Lieut. Daniel Appling.

¹ Point Petre was a U. S. military post on the St. Marys River about two miles east of the town of St. Marys, Ga., and five miles from Amelia Island.

perative as to occupying & defending places peaceably surrendered, I shall do it to the last extremity. I beg leave to call your attention to the situation of the two field pieces at this place, without harness or ammunition & the limbers unfit for service. I find no person to perform the duty of Quarter Master, and not a Cent to meet the contingent expenses of the Detachment. Authority to draw on the War Department will not obviate this difficulty as Money cannot be obtained without allowing a premium that might be considered extravagant, & be deducted from the drawer. The present Contractor will furnish provisions at any Point that may be required until the last of May, the United States making a reasonable allowance for transportation &c. If Amelia Island or the Town of Sn. Ferdinandina is not defended by suitable works provided with necessary artillery, it may be destroyed at any time a Naval Force superior to the Gun Boats at present on this station ³ may think proper to attack it.

I must request, Sir, that the Infantry & Dragoons may be consolidated, there being three little Detachments, the largest of which does not exceed a Sergeant's Command, & that Two hundred Muskets and bayonets, with an additional supply of lead and flints may be ordered to this place as soon as possible. The Rifles in their present situation will not do for active service as they cannot be fired to any certainty & having no bayonets to come to close quarters. The Troops are shabby beyond anything I have witnessed, not having received any clothing for the present year. I must also state that we are without a Surgeon.

I am respectfully, Sir, Your Obt. Servt.

³ A fleet of nine gunboats under the command of Commodore Hugh Campbell was in the St. Marys River near Amelia at the time.

Gen. Mathews to Lt. Col. Smith (original).

U. States Station, Picolata.

April 8, 1812.

Dear Sir:

By virtue of the powers vested in me as U. States Commissioner, with which you are furnished a copy, I have to request you to march tomorrow, or as soon thereafter as possible, to Moosa Old Fort, a military station in the vicinity of St. Augustine, with the troops under your command to hold & defend the same & the country adjacent it being ceded to the U. States by the local constituted authorities ⁴ of E. Florida, & accepted by me as U. States Commissioner. You will please to have such Detachment at this station as you deem adequate to hold and defend for the U. States.

I am very respectfully your friend & obt. servt. (signed) Geo. Mathews

Lt. Col. Thos. A. Smith Picolata Station.

Lt. Col. Smith to Secretary of War (copy).

Moosa Old Fort, 14th April, 1812.

Sir:

I was unable to procure transports for the Detachment under my Command until the 1st Inst., on which day I embarked for Picolata, ⁵ but owing to the violence of the wind & the boats being bad, I was unable to reach it until the 7th. On the 8th, I dropped down the river in compliance with the inclosed requisition of Genl. Mathews to Six Mile Creek, which I ascended

⁴ The Patriots had occupied Ft. Moosa about two and a half miles north of St. Augustine. Gen. Mathews had marched with them and the same procedure of "local authority" and "transfer of government" bad been carried out as at Amelia Island.

⁵ Picolata is on the east bank of the St. Johns River, directly west from St. Augustine.

about six miles. I deposited our little stores under a Sergeant's Guard and proceeded to this place, which was occupied by the Patriot forces; they delivered me peaceable possession on the 12th at 4 o'clock at which time I hoisted the American flag. On the following morning soon after the troops were dismissed at reveille a Gunboat at the distance of about three quarters of a mile fired four shot immediately over the Detachment, two of which passed within a few feet of some of the men. The moment our flag was hoisted & the Troops prepared for action, they ceased firing and sheered off. 6 This Post is within two and one half miles of St. Augustine & in full view; I think the situation a bad one for defence & will take a new position in a day or two. Genl. Mathews sent a flag to their lines today, which was preemptorily ordered back. From present appearances I have little doubt but ere this reaches you we shall have had an action. The Governor ⁷ has sent to Havannah & Nassau for reinforcements, which it appears are daily expected. Should they arrive I shall be compelled to fall back, but will oppose them at every defile until the Georgia Volunteers can come to my, aid. Wagons and Carts to remove our stores cannot be procured. I shall consequently have to destroy them if I have to give ground. As the contract I made for the supply of rations in East Florida will be a losing one for the Contractor, I have no expectation of being able to get him to furnish longer than the time contracted for (31st May). The officers with me are active & attentive, but the number (four) is so small that I experience great inconvenience & wish the Public Service may not suffer on that account, as it is impossible for them for any length of time to pay proper attention to the many duties that at present devolve upon them.

 $^{^{\}rm 6}$ This was a Spanish gunboat sent from St. Augustine. $^{\rm 7}$ Spanish governor.

I beg leave to recommend Mr. John Findley of Washington, Georgia, for appointment in the Regiment of Riflemen.

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

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

Moosa Old Fort, 26 April, 1812.

Sir:

From the great exertions making by the Spaniards to put the works around St. Augustine in the best possible state of defence, it becomes my duty to apprise the Honorable, the Secretary of War, that if it is his intention that I should attack the Town, 8 that no time ought to be lost in forwarding four Eighteen or Twenty-four Pounders, Ammunition, &c., &c., with the necessary tools for throwing up redoubts, which would enable me to attack it with a certainty of success. The field pieces at Point Petre are entirely useless, not having any ammunition or harness. I flatter myself that when the will of the Executive is known that this little Detachment will not be found wanting in duty or exertions to fulfill it. My present effective force, Non-Commissioned officers & Privates is one hundred & nine, having left small Detachments at Point Petre, Picolata, & Six Mile Creek. The Troops suffer considerably for the want of Clothing, that furnished last fall being so much damaged as to be unfit for issue. I have been without Provisions for several days, the vessel containing the Contractor's supplies having been detained in consequence of the Embargo in Savannah. I will trouble you to inform me whether it is necessary to forward Inspection Returns oftener than the troops are mustered.

⁸ St. Augustine.

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

P. S. Since writing the above two British armed sloops have appeared off the bar & from the movements of the small craft about St. Augustine I should not be surprised if they attack me. I have just been informed by Genl. McIntosh that the Patriot force near me does not exceed 93 for duty. From the best information I can obtain the Spanish force is about 400-180 Regular Troops, 50 free Men of Colour, the residue Militia of the Town & vicinity.

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

Moosa Old Fort, 5th May, 1812.

Sir:

I transmit herewith monthly & inspection returns of the Detachment under my command. The Governor of St. Augustine having received through the British minister information that the Government of the United States disavows the acts of Genl. Mathews their Commissioner, & that the United States Troops will be withdrawn, I have no expectation that they will make any movements that will lead to serious consequences. The Patriots increase in numbers daily & I believe will attempt to hold the country in opposition to any reinforcements they may receive, if the Government of the United States does not interfere.

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

Much has been written on the subject of the U. S. Government disavowing the acts of its Commissioner, General George Mathews, who was discharged under date of April 4, 1812. Governor David B. Mitchell, of Georgia, was appointed in place of General Mathews.

Governor Mitchell to Lt. Col. Smith (original). St. Mary's, 4th May, 1812.

Sir:

I have received a dispatch from the Secretary of State of the United States in which is enclosed the duplicate of an order from the Secretary of War addressed to yourself, revoking the order which required you to obey the orders or requisitions of General Mathews, and, transferring that authority to myself as Governor of Georgia.

I have to request to be informed whether you have not received the order alluded to, a copy of which is enclosed; & if you have not, you will consider this as notice of the existence of such order & govern yourself accordingly. Under the authority of that order you will consider this as one to yourself to remain where you are until further orders, unless compelled to retire by superior force.

It is my intention to open a communication with the Governor of St. Augustine, & to establish a safe and expeditious communication between your camp & my quarters at this place, & for these purposes & others have sent on my Aids, Cols. Houstoun & Cuthbert, whom I have instructed to consult you as to the best means of accomplishing these objects.

I am, Sir, with much respect & regard,

Your very obedt. Servt. (signed) D. B. Mitchell

Lieut. Col. Thomas A. Smith.

Lt. Col. Smith to Governor Mitchell (copy).

Moosa Old Fort. 9th May, 1812.

Sir:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your favor of the 4th Inst. by Colo. Cuthbert. The original order, of which you inclose me a copy, had been received a few days previous. Colonels Cuthbert & Houston will inform you of the situation of my encampment & that of the Patriots. Not being clear as to the propriety of permitting any armed party to remain in my rear, I am induced to request that you will give me as early as possible such directions on that subject as you conceive proper. It has been represented to me that a faction on Amelia Island are doing everything in their power to injure the Patriotic cause. 9 The officer in command there conceives the Patriots have no jurisdiction & I fancy would interpose should they make any attempts to arrest them. I have declined giving him any orders on the subject, as I conceived it belonged properly to the civil authority. I have informed Capt. Williams of the unlimited authority you have to command the United States Troops in this quarter & directed him to call on you for instructions for his government [guidance]. I refer you for particulars to Colonels Cuthbert & Houston.

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

Lt. Col. Smith to Governor Mitchell (copy).

Moosa Old Fort, 14th May, 1812.

Sir:

Having received from Capt. Williams the inclosed order, I conceive it of sufficient importance to forward to you by express. There is no doubt in my mind of arms having been forwarded from St. Augustine to the disaffected on Amelia Island with a view perhaps of arming the negroes & the crews of British vessels in port to attack the Patriots in their rear &

⁹ This refers to the British traders in the town of Fernandina.

perhaps to cut off my supplies. My present effective force does not exceed 110, which I conceive sufficient to oppose with success, should it become necessary, any disposable force there may be in Augustine. If their expected reinforcements arrive the safety of my Detachment will depend on the possession of Amelia Island & the entrance into the St. Johns, where I beg leave to suggest the propriety of ordering a Detachment of 40 or 50 men with a gun boat to co-operate with them.

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

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

Camp near St. Augustine,
21st May, 1812.

Sir:

In my letter of the 5th Inst., I informed you that in consequence of the Governor of St. Augustine having received intelligence of the disavowal on the part of the United States of any participation in the revolution of East Florida, I did not expect the Spaniards would make an attack on the Troops under my Command. This opinion was strengthened on the 9th, by the assurances which the Governor of St. Augustine made to Colo. Cuthbert, aid to Governor Mitchell, that the American flag should be respected. In violation of this assurance, in violation of every usage pending negotiation, an attack was made on my advance guard on Saturday, the 16th. ¹⁰ I had removed my encampment a few hundred yards in the rear of Old Fort Moosa; it was necessary however, that the Fort should

 $^{^{10}}$ According to the agreement the truce ended on the 14th-see $\it Niles$ $\it Register,$ Jan. 16, 1813, Garzia to Mitchell.

be occupied. The Picket was accordingly stationed there.

In the morning of the 16th an armed schooner & four launches filled with men & mounting each a Six pounder were seen going up the North River. On arriving at the Creek upon which Fort Moosa is situated the schooner was moored & every preparation made for an attack. A reinforcement was immediately sent to the Picket under the impression that a landing would be attempted. They had orders, however, to retreat in the event of the enemy's balls penetrating the walls of Moosa, with the exception of fifteen men who were to be left in ambuscade. Under protection of a heavy fire from the schooner the boats advanced. The twenty-second shot, a Twenty-four, passed through both walls of Moosa & the grape was distinctly heard rattling against its sides. That part of the Detachment which was ordered now retreated. The stratagem took effect. The shouts of the Spaniards proclaimed their rapid approach & I expected in a few minutes that a deadly fire would have been poured in upon them, but by the disobedience of a Sergeant an opportunity of giving a character to this Detachment was lost which can never again occur. Positive orders were given to the Sergeant left in command of the party in ambuscade not to fire until the first boat arrived within sixty yards of the landing; however from some strange infatuation he commenced firing at the distance of four hundred yards. The surprise of the Spaniards was great. They immediately halted & renewed their cannonade. The Sergeant now, in opposition to the entreaties of his men, disgracefully abandoned his post & the enemy taking possession of it we soon discovered Moosa in flames.

Their attention was now directed to our encampment. Finding that we were in reach of their fire I removed the men to a more secure position, ready how-

ever to make an attack if an opportunity should offer. The flag seemed to be the point upon which their fire was directed. Discovering that they evinced no disposition to effect a landing in any force & judging it prudent to retire beyond the reach of their armed vessels, I have fallen back to my present position, which is about a mile in the rear of the former encampment. In this affair we received no further injury than the damaging of a few tents by their twenty-fours. The cannonade commenced at eleven and continued until four o'clock. We did not leave the ground until the Spaniards had retreated & the schooner under weigh for the harbor of St. Augustine.

I have so frequently laid before the Department the situation of this Detachment that they cannot require further information respecting it. I would wish however that information seriously considered. I have already informed the Honorable the Secretary that the contract which I have made will expire on the 31st May, & that there is no probability of the Troops being supplied with rations unless some arrangement is made to that effect by the Department of War. However critical my situation may be in other respects, I shall not flinch from the arduous task imposed upon me; but in this case, without the means of supply, I cannot overcome the difficulties which present themselves on every side.

Lieut. Haig joined me on the 12th Inst.
I have the honor to be, sir,
With high respect,
Your Obt. Servt.,

Gov. Mitchell to Lieut. Col. Smith (original).

St. Mary's, 25th May, 1812

Sir:

So long ago as last Wednesday I procured a Gun Boat from Commodore Campbell, with one hundred rounds of ammunition for Six-pounders & had the two brass pieces at Point Petre with their carriages put on board, for the purpose of being conveyed to you, but such has been the delay occasioned by negligence & head winds, that the boat has not yet left Amelia for St. John's. My object in sending you these Guns, is, to enable you to maintain your ground, in order to watch the Spaniards, as well as to convince them that they do not possess the power to drive you in case they should be disposed to make another tryal.

The letters I have received by last mail assure me of the determination of the Government not to relinquish the Province without ample security for the protection of the Patriots, & in case of War, ¹¹ which is more than probable, that they may feel themselves authorized in proceeding to reduce it by force. Under these circumstances your removal may be viewed as at a distance, and in case of need you must be reinforced. I have written for such reinforcements of Regulars, but in the meantime, if you deem it necessary, I shall, until the Regulars can be sent on, endeavor to procure a Volunteer force from Georgia & send to your aid.

I will also thank you to state to me, what is the state of the Military stores in Savannah, & under whose control they are held, & what description & quantity of them will be necessary for your use. In bringing on Volunteers it is also necessary I should be informed how & by whom they can be supplied with provisions, for as they will be in the service of the

¹¹ With Great Britain.

U. States, it is proper that they should bear the expense. I have to request an answer as speedily as possible, & am, Sir, with great regard & esteem,
Your very obt. servt.,
(signed) D. B. Mitchell

Lieut. Col. Smith to Gov. Mitchell (copy).

Camp near St. Augustine,
27th May, 1812.

Sir:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication by Colo. Newnan. On the 23d Inst we took up our position, three quarters of a mile in advance of that to which we had fallen back on the 16th. The Town is in full view & we have an opportunity of seeing all vessels which enter the harbor. Determined to maintain our ground I have judged it expedient to throw up a small entrenchment around the camp. It will afford protection against their cannon. We anxiously wait the final determination of Government as it respects our operations in this Province. Should a favorable opportunity offer for carrying the Town by assault, I should be at a loss how to act. I would wish to be informed as far as is consistent with propriety to what lengths I might go. I could then be enabled to take such steps as might eventually be of service to the Detachment under my command.

I have the honor to be sir

With high respect,

Your Obt. Servt..

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

Camp before St. Augustine
30th May, 1812

Sir:

The receipt of your letter of the 25th Inst I have the honor to acknowledge. My last by Colo. Newnan will inform you that the position which the troops now occupy commands the view of the Town & harbor of St. Augustine. The Spaniards have remained quiet & permitted us without molestation to prosecute our works of defence. The Gun Boat with the Six-pounders has passed the Cowford on her way to Six Mile Creek. The Pieces will at least insure us respect from the launches. I must observe that reinforcements are not necessary (as experience has proved) for the maintaining of my present position. Should the Spaniards however receive a supply of men, the probability of which you are as well acquainted as myself, there is no doubt my force would be inadequate to maintain the ground against a force so far superior as they then would have. For the object of a reinforcement would not be to remain in garrison, but to drive us without the limits of the Province, as there are already more than a sufficient number of men in it to defend the works. You will permit me at the same time to observe that should the United States contemplate. active offensive operations against the Spaniards a reinforcement of whatever description it may be could not be too speedily ordered. For I am convinced if the Governor saw the determination of the United States to subdue the Province by force of arms & every necessary preparation made for' that purpose previous to their receiving succor from the British that he would immediately capitulate.

In the event of hostilities the utmost vigilence will be required at Amelia; Augustine is now furnished

with provisions from that place. Could not means be taken to prevent this? On the subject of supplies I must inform you that the Secy of War has been notified that the contract with Mr. McDougall expires tomorrow & that the troops are without provisions excepting those which I purchase for their use. Should a Volunteer force arrive I will pursue the same steps for their supply. From the list which I have seen of the Military stores in Savannah, there is camp equippage for one thousand men & nine hundred & fifty stand of arms, with medicines & hospital stores under the control of the Military agent subject to my order. Herewith you will receive an order for the whole or any part thereof which you may think necessary for the service. For this Detachment no requisition will be made at present. I have received intelligence of depredations having been committed on the north side of the St. John's by a party of Indians, who threaten destruction to the whole settlement. The fears of the inhabitants of that part of the Province have been very much excited. It is not known by whom these marauders were instigated. With the expectation of hearing from you intelligence satisfactory to the anxious wishes of the Officers under my Command,

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

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

Camp before St. Augustine
4th June, 1812

Sir:

Herewith you will receive the Monthly Return for May of the Troops under my command. I have so frequently represented to the Honbl. the Secy. of War the situation of this Detachment that I feel reluctant

in again bringing it before his view. However the necessity of the case demands it. I must request that with this letter you will submit the Return for his Inspection. The very face of it must point out my wants. The greatest deficiency of Subalterns, where they are absolutely necessary-commands are obliged to be intrusted to Non-commissioned Officers, which require the direction of an Officer. With a weak Detachment, but badly provided, laying before one of the strongest fortified places on the Continent, containing a garrison five times our numbers, what can be expected from me? I shall endeavor to do my duty, but the consequences I am apprehensive will reflect dishonor on the Arms of the United States. We cannot always calculate upon the present disposition of the Spaniards. Our own tardiness must inspirit them. For the want of Cavalry we remain ignorant of their movements & are unable to cut off their parties. Upon any alarm the Infantry are obliged to perform forced marches for the protection of the depot near the St. Johns ¹², my force not permitting me to leave the guard necessary for its protection. Thirty Cavalry well mounted will obviate these difficulties. Indeed they are absolutely indispensable. Horses calculated for the purpose may readily be procured from the interior of Georgia, where men can easily be enlisted for that service. I must solicit the early determination of the Secy. on this point, & that no time may be lost in forwarding the necessary equipments. For this command I recommend Lt. Haig of the Dragoons, at present with me, who is one of the most active, enterprising & intelligent officers in the service & would do honor to himself & Country at the head of the Detachment. I received information from Capt. Ross Bird of the 3d Infty. of his having been ordered to join me. My

¹² At Six Mile Creek.

returns must have miscarried, otherwise the order could not have been issued. There is no command for him. The few men here reported as his, I have requested to be transferred to Capt. Woodruff, that the trouble of making separate papers might be done away. with. Capt. Bird at the head of a Company would be very acceptable in our present situation; alone he can render no service.

It is with regret I again advert to the difficulty which I experience in procuring supplies for this Detachment. The Dept. of War is already apprised of the expiration of the contract which I had made. For the means of procuring supplies I endeavored to negotiate a draft at St. Mary's on the Secy of War, but failed in the attempt. I then offered the Contractor twenty-five cents, but even this was refused. The only resource left was my private credit upon which I have purchased for the present month. Unless arrangements are speedily made for the supply of the Troops by the proper authority I will be under the necessity of withdrawing from the Province. Twelve hundred Dollars a month at least will be requisite for provisions & contingent expenses for the present number of Troops under my command. The difficulty also of transportation is very great & we have not the means of getting our supplies from the St. Johns. Shall I be authorized to purchase a wagon and team?

The situation in which I am here placed as a Military man is such as tends to cast the greatest reflection upon the Army. Having entered the Province & taken possession of the Country in the name of the United States, where no opposition was offered, but as soon as we came before the enemy all power ceased, the flag allowed to be insulted without orders to retaliate. Nothing but the knowledge which I possess of the President having disavowed the acts of the late Commissioner prevented my laying the Town in ashes

after the affair of Moosa. Smarting under the stigma which attaches itself to this Detachment from that unfortunate encounter, I applied to Govr. Mitchell for instructions to act, but he answered only that I should maintain my ground. Is it intended that I shall remain here and permit myself to be insulted with impunity? If so, I must insist upon being relieved in the command. The Government expects the Patriots to effect all that is necessary. The Patriots look to the troops for protection & through their aid alone see the accomplishment of all their wishes.

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

Col. Ralph Isaacs to Lieut. Col. Smith (original).

June lOth. 1812.

Dear Sir:

I left St. Mary's on the morning of the 7th Inst., when his Excellency, Govr. Mitchell directed me to inform you officially that it was the determination of the U. States Government to protect the persons & property of the patriots in East, Florida-and that as U. States agent he should for their protection continue the troops already in the Province, & that you might very soon expect to be reinforced by Colo. Cuthbert with a detachment of Volunteers from Savannah.

His Excellency also ordered me to communicate to you officially that should you be again attacked or fired upon by the Spaniards, you are to commence a system of annoyance by doing them all the harm you can, & to dislodge & dispossess them either by storm or in any way that your judgment may dictate of the

Town of St. Augustine or any post in their possession. I have the honor to be most respectfully,

Yr. Obt. Servt.

(signed) Ralph Isaacs

Aid De Camp to his Excellency,

D. B. Mitchell, Governor & Commander in Chief of the State of Georgia & U.

States Commissioner for E. Florida.

Lieut Colo Thomas A. Smith U. States Rifle Regiment.

(This series of documents will be continued in the following issues of the QUARTERLY.)

EAST FLORIDA IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, 1775-1778

The loyalty of East Florida to the British cause during the War of the American Revolution subjected her to occasional raids, and caused her governor not only to take measures for her defence but also to plan retaliatory expeditions. The best information on the subject may be derived from the letters and reports of the period.

On the 18th July, 1776, Governor Patrick Tonyn reported to the Right Honourable Lord George Germain, Secretary of State, that "a Detachment of His Majestys Troops composed of a Captain and Seventy private were sent to Saint Marys River to protect the Loyal Inhabitants in those parts with some Circumstances, which then happened." Governor Tonyn continues:

It is hardly possible to make your Lordship conceive the difficulty there is in making people remain in their Plantations upon this Occasion; I should scarcely have believed it, if I had not had the experience of pretty near the same Conduct at my Arrival here when some disturbances had happened with the Indians, and a War with them was expected. Several Planters in those parts notwithstanding all I could do have quitted their Plantations, and some few whose Principles were before Suspected, have gone into Georgia, and joined the Rebels.

Governor Tonyn was alarmed at his inadequate resources. He described the garrison at St. Augustine as "composed chiefly of foreign recruits refractory, and mutinous inclined, which is not uncommon with

new Levies, untill they settle to the Corps, exclusive of them not many above two hundred Veterans fit for Duty, who are fully employed in Necessary Works, and with the new Levys: Your Lordship will evidently perceive the impossibility of forming a Chain of Posts to guard effectually especially from horsemen the Frontiers of a Province extending three hundred miles when you have no Cavalry."

On the 1st of July, there had been an invasion:

On the first instant a Rebel Lieutenant and twelve men having crossed near the Source of Saint Marys River came to Mr John Wilkinson's Plantation a Merchant in London, situated West of St. John's River, they kept concealed in the Woods, and were not observed untill they arrived at the Plantation whence they took upwards of thirty Negroes, and a Family from an adjoining Plantation.

I dispatched an Express immediately to the Cowkeeper, and a party of Indians, that were between here, and St Marys, and to His Majestys Troops there in Order to cut off these Rebels in their retreat to St Marys. From hence a party of Rifle Men were sent instantly for the Plantation with directions to follow the Track of the Robbers. If these directions had been followed it is probable they would have been intercepted, but the Agent for the Plantations turned the Indians from their direction and placed them on black Creek to guard the Plantations remaining on the West of St. Johns River, and sent the Rifle Men to join the Kings Troops.-The Rebels escaped with their Booty. ¹

The following month there was another invasion.

¹ Public Record Office: Colonial Office 5/557, pp. 161-172. Stevens and Brown Library of Congress Transcripts.

Governor Tonyn reported to the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations:

Whereas this His Maiestys Province in the Month of August last past was invaded by a number of Rebels from the Neighbouring Province of Georgia, whereupon it was thought expedient to exploy some Armed Vessel either to defend the Frontiers, or to carry dispatches from time to time to such of His Majestys Commanders of His Ships of War upon the American Station as occasion might require These are therefore to Certify. That on the Sixth day of August last past, I did order and direct Captain George Osborne of the Governor Tonyn Private Sloop of War, mounting ten Carriage Guns, and forty men then lying in the port of Saint Augustine to proceed with all dispatch to the River Saint Mary in this Province to join His Majesty's Troops under the command of Captain Graham, or wherever else the said Troops should then be posted, or to follow such directions, and obev such Orders, as might be given him by Thomas Bishop Esquire Commander of His Majesty's Ship Lively (then off this Port) That the said George Osborne did accordingly proceed to Sea, and joined His Majesty's said Ship Lively, and was then Ordered to proceed with dispatches for the Commander of His Maiestys Ships in the River Savannah in the Province of Georgia, which he accordingly executed.

While Governor Tonyn's sloop lay at Cockspur in the Savannah River, some rebels were dislodged at a place called Bloody Point, opposite Cockspur and in South Carolina. Captain Osborne led the attack; there was a stubborn resistance, in which several of the

² P. R. 0.: C. 0. 5/557, **pp.** 63-64. Stevens and Brown L. C. Trans.

Americans were killed, their camp burned, and their guard houses destroyed. Osborne was shot through both thighs. 3

In a letter written 2nd April, 1777, Governor Tonyn speaks to Lord Germain of depredations committed by the patriots within the East Florida borders as early as the spring of 1776:

Although, my Lord, my zeal for His Majesty's Service and Government is great, and I ardently wish for an active part, in distressing, and bringing our deluded Neighbours to return to their Allegiance, I have ever paid particular attention to preserving the Plantations of this Province, and maintained peace on the borders, untill the Rebels entered the Province last Spring and drove off all the Cattle on this side St Mary River, and in June a large Rebel Party carried off, Mr Jollie, Mr Bethune, Mr Kennedy and other Planters, and a Party advanced to Nassau River, and took of Negroes and Horses.

The campaign by sea had extended as far down as St. Augustine. In the same letter, we read:

In August 1775, a Rebel Privateer took our Ordnance Stores. off this Bar. No invasion was made on our parts, untill after these hostilities were committed, when it became necessary to retaliate. ⁴

For purposes of defence and retaliation, Governor Tonyn busied himself outfitting his Rangers and the neighbouring Indians; he also engaged a sloop called the Rebecca, to secure the inland water passage between Georgia and the St. John's River. In his own words:

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I have the honour to acquaint your Lordship that, at the Critical time, when an expedition was planned and commenced against this province, and when depredations were made by the Rebels as far as Saint John River, to secure that Barrier, and the Plantations and Provisions on that River, as there was not at that time any of the Kings Vessels of force in the province, I was, my Lord, under the absolutely necessity, of commissioning and employing the Sloop Rebeca Captain Mowbray for three months certain to secure the inland water passage to Saint John River from Georgia.

The regular Troops, my Lord, without scouting Parties of Rangers and Indians, who I imployed in repelling the incursions of the Rebels, and supplying this Town with Cattle and the Garrison, were not sufficient for these purposes, nor fit for such services.

Considerable expence, my Lord, is already incurred from maintaining these parties, the want of a sufficient fund, has prevented me from throwing it, into last Years accounts.

There are numbers of fugitives from the Neighbouring Provinces, many of whom without a little assistance, have not where withal to support themselves, there are a number of Runaway Negros from Georgia, whom I relieved the Captains of the Navy of, to whom they fled for protection, and twenty eight Prisoners taken by Lord Dunmore, and sent here to be kept in custody, I have committed them to the Fort untill these unhappy differences terminate.

In all circumstances, my Lord, the most salutary remedies, have been adopted, for the security

of the Plantations and Inhabitants, and for the good of His Majestys Service. 5

The above letter was dated, St. Augustine, 18th October, 1776. On the 30th of the same month, Governor Tonyn acquainted Lord Germain with his measures for frustrating invasion:

My Lord,

I have the honour to acquaint your Lordship, that the intended expedition of the Rebels against this Province and their investing this Garrison has proved abortive, and I am credibly informed is laid aside. General Lee had collected about two thousand five hundred men in the southern Colonies in rebellion, and had advanced as far as Sunbury on his way to this Province. Lee was suddenly called to the North: the Troops then under the rebel Generals Armstrong and How were sickly, ill provided within military stores, and were backward in advancing.

What chiefly contributed to frustrate this scheme was information that the Cherokees had declared in favour of Government, and that two thousand had actually commenced hostilities on the back Settlements and that I had a considerable Body of Indians not only to cooperate in repelling them, from this Province, but to let loose and lay waste the frontiers of Georgia.

I have the honour of enclosing to your Lordship, a Plan of the Fortifications and. Lines of this Town, which are finished and may at a small expence be kept in repair, they will be a security in case of war or insurrection, and will in time of Peace render this Capital respected by Savages, and the more than Savages, Woodsmen.

 $^{^{5}}$ P. R. 0.: C. 0. 5/557, pp. 2-3. Stevens and Brown L. C. Trans.

I have, my Lord, established and armed the Companies of malitia, who may be employed in ease of invasion, and will be at all times useful in keeping in awe the Negros who multiply amazingly.

I have the satisfaction of acquainting your Lordship, that I have been able to secure the affections of the Creek Indians, who are well disposed when called upon, to assist His Majesty in attacking and suppressing the rebels. I had a considerable body of them in readiness to cooperate with the regular Troops had the intended invasion taken place, and I might have sent them to lay waste the Province of Georgia, but knew not how far such a step might interfere with the measures of the Commander in Chief.

I have my Lord employed them with a Company of Rangers to repel the small plundering Parties of Rebel Bandity from Georgia, and to drive cattle from that Province to this. This my Lord is not a very honourable method of making war, but my Lord it is the only one left for supplying this town and Garrison with fresh provisions, as the Georgians would not allow the Cattle belonging to the Butchers who supply this Market to be drove hence. Besides, my Lord, the love of Plunder, engages many daring Fellows, instead of joining with, to oppose the rebels, and by their means, and a small naval force, I was obliged to engage, I have been able to secure the Settlements on the south of St John River: for my Lord the regular Troops are not well calculated for such moroding services.

By means of the Sloop Rebecca whom I commissioned and stationed at St John River, the inland water passage from Georgia is secured: the Plantations on that River who were greatly alarmed, do now unmolested, and free from the apprehensions of danger employ their Negros in pro-

viding lumber and naval stores for the West Indies, having raised sufficient provisions for the ensuing Year, a proof of which is, their purchasing new Negros. The state of provisions to the southward is not less favourable: and this town my Lord has it's coast at last well defended, Lord Howe having sent the Lively twenty Gun Ship to order a disposition of Ships so as to protect this Province, and by their means my Lord and by employing transports to be got in this Province, I expect to be able under the orders of General Howe, to make an advantageous diversion of Indians, and Regular Troops into Georgia, should an attack upon the Southern Colonies, in the Course of the Winter be projected.

This might be effected now, but the force that could be sent from this Garrison would not be sufficient to, preserve, what might be acquired. ⁶

Slowness of communication with Great Britain was a handicap, and Governor Tonyn was compelled to act on his own judgment. As he informed William Knox, 1st November, 1776, "The State of this Province in this Unnatural time of rebellion, necessarily incurred many extraordinary Services, consequently extraordinary Expences. From these Causes I found myself in perplexed difficulties to relieve the necessitous demands for the publick Safety, and unless the proper means were applied, the Country must be over-run, and the Plantations destroyed by the Scouting Rebel Parties." As we have seen, he secured a sloop - of fourteen guns, by the way-and some armed boats; since "without this Salutary Measure the Rebels with small Boats might have effected the destruction of all our Plantations." A great deal of work was done on the fort at St. Augustine. "The Earl of Dunmore sent

⁶ P. R. 0.: C. 0. 5/557, pp. 21-24. Stevens and Brown L. C. Trans.

from Virginia a Number of His Majestys distressed Loyal Subjects some Prisoners of War, and some Negroes, all of them destitute, they also incur a heavy Expence for Provisions. A great number have also arrived in equal distress from Georgia, and others from the Back Country of Carolina." The task of securing the loyalty of the Indians was difficult and expensive. They were not only provided with ammunition but supplied with presents.

Without a Body of Rangers it would have been impossible to protect the Province from the Rebels, they were as necessary to watch their Motions, as the Armed Vessels to guard the Rivers, and have succeeded in driving Cattle to the South of St John's River, they have also attended the Indian Scouting Parties. ⁷

Governor Tonyn's contract with Captain Mowbray for the sloop "Rebecca" was renewed monthly, in the hopes of the arrival of protection from the Naval Department. In April, 1777, when it was learned that the patriots had actually assembled at Sunbury with the object of invading Florida by the inland waterway and attacking the province by sea, in addition to the armed land-forces, the contract for the "Rebecca" was renewed for four months. On the 19th July, 1777, Governor Tonyn memorialised the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury to give an order for 3461 / 15s. / 1 1/4d., for the hire of the sloop and the smaller vessels as well as for the damages sustained by attacks. ⁸

The problems which Governor Tonyn had to face were evidently underestimated. When the Governor

 $^{^{7}}$ P. R. 0.: C. 0. 5/557,. pp. 189-196. Stevens and Brown L. C. Trans.

 $^{^{8}}$ P. R. 0.: C. 0. 5/557, pp. 521-524 Stevens and Brown L. C. Trans.

ordered the Rangers and Indians to push within the American posts, he applied to Colonel Prevost, stationed at St. Augustine, for a detachment of troops to assist in bringing cattle from Georgia for the supply of the town and garrison. In a letter to Colonel Prevost, 13th January, 1777, he outlined his plan:

Sir.

As you desire a description of the Operations I proposed for procuring a provision of live Cattle for this Garrison, which at this time is become a very essential Object, the Rangers and Indians having drove into this Province all the Cattle that were to be found without the Rebel Out posts.

Upon a general view of the Province of Georgia, the whole force consists at this time from the best intelligence of 274 Men of their Battalion at Savannah 100 Carolina Rangers at Barrington on the Altamaha to which it is said there are joined 50 Rangers Georgians. Of these Rangers a detachment of 50 are posted on the Banks South of Saintilla River 30 Miles distant from Altamaha River, and relieved once a fortnight by the like number from the Altamaha.

To answer your questions in the first Instance, These Posts I am informed have no Artillery. At Saintilla the Situation is on a rising Ground, there is no Fort, but each Man has thrown up a Covering, and drove a pecket to rest his rifle upon to fire.

It may not be requisite to Attack the Post. Their Horses graze round the Post - the first step should be to endeavour to secure by surprise all their Horses - A few of the Rangers and Indians can effect this while the Troops may dress an Ambuscade for the Rebels should they come out to save their Horses - I am assured 2000 heads of Cattle may be collected in a couple of days at Saintilla and drove off, should the detachment

fail in the Attempt to seize the Horses, they must take a proper post, and employ the Rangers and Indians to collect the Cattle--If the Rebels attempt to save the Cattle, they must guit their Station, when the Cattle are collected they are to be drove to the South side of St John's River by a few Rangers the Troops and remainder of Rangers and Indians serving as covering Parties.-There will be from forty to fifty Rangers - There are now with the Rangers about 25 Indians. But I expect the Indians of two Townships to arrive every day to relieve those of the two Towns just returned. What Ammunition you require shall be delivered from the Magazine-The Rangers and Indians find their own Provisions, they have no scarcity of fresh Meat-When they enter Georgia it is a plentifull Country for all kinds of Provisions, but rice may be necessary for the Troops on their March from St John's to St Mary's River of which there is plenty in this Province.-The Rangers, shall have directions to give all Assistance in killing wild Cattle and Deer for the supply of the Troops.

In order to execute this plan, the Governor desired a detachment of troops "of such Numbers as to defy the whole rebel force in Georgia"-not less than 125 private sentries and a proportionate number of officers.

If difficulties arise as to the Provisions to be found this Corps on their March, I can only say, it is full as proper for them to famish in a laudable attempt to supply his Majesty's Garrison with a Competency of fresh Beef as to remain in Garrison, and the whole to famish without any trial of Relief.

You know Sir the state of Provisions in the

Garrison. I have been indefatigable in my endeavours to procure plenty, although frustrated in them by various unforeseen means, yet we have hitherto been well supplyed.-It will give my pleasure to concert with You, and the Officers which may have the Command of this Corps, should you deem it necessary. ⁹

Colonel Prevost, in his reply (16th January, 1777), stated that his men were unfit to undertake an expedition of a hundred miles' distance with the danger of being cut off, "little dependance being to be put for their Subsistence on People who have no discipline." He said it would be time to go in search of provisions into hostile territory when actual want was felt. Governor Tonyn's proposed detachment he considered "either a too large party to surprise the Enemy or a too small one to perform the proposed Expedition." He promised to have a party ready to meet the opposition of the enemy, however, as soon as possible. ¹⁰

In answer, Governor Tonyn (17th January, 1777)) reminded Colonel Prevost that he had suggested 125 men for the Georgia expedition as a minimum number, but that the garrison would be sufficiently strong if as many as three or four hundred men were sent. As to the Indians and the Rangers, he considered them thoroughly dependable:

I have been obliged to Check the Spirit of the Indians who were desirous of making incursions into the Province of Georgia lest they should in their Savage manner Butcher all indiscriminately,

 $^{^{9}\,\}text{P. R. 0.:}\,$ C. O. 5/557, pp. 269-272. Stevens and Brown L. C. Trans.

 $^{^{10}}$ P. R. O.: C. O. 5/557, pp. 273-275. Stevens and Brown L. C. Trans.

and they not being of sufficient Strength and unsupported might be cut off. ¹¹

Much correspondence passed between Colonel Prevost and the Governor; the military man alleged the lack of equipment and supplies and his distrust of the savage allies, the Governor avowed his confidence in the Indians and his belief in the importance of the expedition. Tonyn's comments on the Indians in his letter of 27th January, 1777 are of particular interest, as they introduce the Cowford into the narrative:

I must Sir in justice to the Indians observe that they have in general ever expressed a desire of going into Georgia to Attack the Rebels, and have on several Occasions fought bravely, as early as the time to which you refer in your letter, when Captain Graham commanded the detachment of the King's Troops on St Mary's River, a Party of Indians were in Georgia and preserved the Rangers from a total defeat. And a large body of them from the Nation, were on their way to our Assistance in case Lee and How's Expedition had taken place, and from this paragraph of a Talk they sent to Savannah upon my informing them of the threatned Expedition against this Province you may judge how hearty they were in their professions, That they declared if the people in Georgia attempted to go against St Augustine they would make the Grass grow in the Streets of Savannah as now in their old trading paths to Augusta, which are grown up no more to be seen.

The Indians by themselves forced back the Rebels when they had advanced as far as the Cowford, and had they not discovered men dressed in red at their fires in the night time, they would have

 $^{^{11}}$ P. R. 0.: C. 0. 5/557, pp. 277-280. Stevens and Brown L. C. Trans.

surprised them, these were those Cloathed in the Regimentals of the Soldiers taken at the Cowford, the Indians however pursued them until they passed St Marys River, and I must acknowledge that they are very intelligent, and usefull Spies in observing the movements of the Rebels. ¹²

The Georgia patriots were eager to enlist the support of the inhabitants of East Florida; and in April or May, 1777, Button Gwinnett, president of Georgia and a signer of the Declaration of Independence, issued the following proclamation to the inhabitants of East Florida: ¹³

Georgia By the Honourable Button Gwinnett
A Equire President and Commander in
Chief of the said state.

Whereas the Southern Frontiers of this State have been frequently alarmed by the Inroads and Depredations of sundry Persons, Inhabitants of the Province of East Florida, and acting under the Commission, and Authority of Patrick Tonyn Esquire Governor of the said Province. And Whereas it has pleased divine Providence to bless the American Arms in an unexampled Manner, so that there is every reason to expect we shall be enabled to repel those Enemies of Liberty and Mankind and intirely to drive them off from this vast united Continent. Taking these Premises into consideration and being unwilling to destroy or distress any that are disposed to accept of the Protection of the United States: I therefore by virtue of the Power vested in me, Do issue this my Proclamation, signifying my intentions to all the Inhabitants of the

 $^{^{\}rm 12}$ P. R. 0.: C. 0. 5/557, pp. 315. Stevens and Brown L. C. Trans.

¹³ P. R. 0.: C. 0. 5/558, **pp.** 570-572. Stevens and Brown L. C. Trans.

Province of East Florida, and acquainting them with the motives of my appearing among them, with an Army sufficient for the reduction of the said Province.

Be it therefore known to all the Inhabitants of East Florida, that the American Standard is now erected among them, to the Intent, that all who will repair to the same, and take an Oath of Allegiance to the Free and Independent States of North America, shall receive the Protection and Assistance of the said States, and shall be secured in their Persons and Property. And least any Person or Persons should be deceived by the insinuations of our Enemies, and induced to disbelieve the Proposals now offered unto them. I therefore by the Authority of the State of Georgia, Do assure them, that I do not come to destroy, but to protect, and receive them as our Friends, and Brothers, and as Men engaged in the most glorious Cause of asserting our Rights, and Privileges in opposition to the oppressive Schemes of Tyranny. All therefore, that will on this occasion faithfully join, and adhere unto us, agreeable to the Terms abovementioned shall receive every indulgence, and Encouragement, and be intitled to all the rights and Priviledges of the rest of our fellow Citizens. And further I would request every person who may have an opportunity of perusing the Contents of this Proclamation, seriously to consider, and reflect, what they can propose to themselves in standing out in opposition to the United States of America; since the God of Armies has so remarkably appeared in our Favour, and the Period cannot be far off, when the Enemies of America will be cloathed with everlasting Shame, and Dishonour.

Given under my hand, and Seal the day of One thousand Seven hundred and Seventy Seven.

(Signed) Button Gwinnett.

By His Honours Command (Signed) Edward Langworthy Secretary.

In May, 1777, there was another invasion of East Florida. Governor Tonyn notified Lord Germain that

"an advanced Body of Rebel Horsemen, under the command of a Colonel Baker crossed Saint Mary River, on the 10th May proceeding towards Saint John River. The 15th-a skirmish happened, several Rebels were wounded, two of them left on an Island on Nassau dangerously, on our part an Indian killed, who the Rebels Scalped, cuting off all his Features, and mangled his Body, which greatly exasperated the Savages. The 16th, at one in the morning, a Detachment of the Kings Troops passed Saint John River with the Rangers and Indians, intentionally to cut off this rebel Corps, that had marched into a neck of Land, between trout Creek. and a branch of Nassau River. The 17th after great fatigue and a very long march, they came up with attacked and totally defeated the Rebels, those who were saved by the most precipitate flight were pursued, and drove over Saint Mary River, and were seen by some of our Scouts, who had concealed themselves in a thicket on the other side of Saintilla River who counted them and they informed me there were only forty two Rebels of this Corps returned." 14

It should be noted that Governor Tonyn pays a high

 $^{^{14}}$ P. R. 0.: C. 0. 5/557, pp. 481-482, Stevens and Brown L. C. Trans.

tribute to Prevost in this encounter. He said that "the success of this Expedition is, in a great measure to be ascribed to the Judgement and good conduct of that experienced Officer, and to his humane and polite behaviour in preserving the greatest harmony through every department of this Corps of Troops, and his gaining the affections of the Rangers and Indians." He also commended the skill of Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Browne, who had charge of the Rangers and Indians. ¹⁵

Lieutenant Colonel Browne's account of the attack is valuable source information. In a letter dated "St. Johns May 18th 1777," addressed to Governor Tonyn, he says:

I am happy to inform your Excellency that the intention of the Rebels to ravage this Province is in a great measure, if not entirely frustrated.

On the 16th the Regulars, Rangers, and Indians passed the River St Johns, and marched to Ralph's place, where we received intelligence from our Scouts, that the Rebels had passed Thomas's in a direction through the Woods towards Saint Marys road from which we concluded that they were retreating in consequence of the repulse they met with on the 15th from the Indians.

After a Conference with the Major a few Rangers were ordered to reconnoitre and the Rangers and Indians under my Command set off with the utmost Expedition to harrass the Rebels, and retard their March.

At nine in the night our Scouts brought us intelligence, that the Rebels had not passed the Road from whence we concluded they were encamped a short distance from us in our rear-at four in the morning we received intelligence that the Rebels

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 484.

were encamped on the South West branch of Nassau, the Major received the same information:-We proposed a Meeting to fix the plan of Operation.

Having met, and fixed the Mode of Attack, I advanced with the Rangers and Indians to Annoy the Rebels, and keep them engaged untill the arrival of the regulars in order to surround them.

At nine oClock we perceived the Rebel horse on their March, upon which I ordered the Rangers and Indians to take post in their front, leaving a small party in a branch of a Swamp, that commanded their flank, and would of necessity compel the Rebels to retreat towards the regulars, whose arrival we expected every minute.

When the Rebels had advanced within fifty Yards a general firing commenced on the side of the Rangers and Indians-a part of the rebels retreated in disorders, others demounted to attack the Rangers, and were warmly received; the rangers on their flank charged them with extraordinary resolution, and obliged them to take to their horses, and alter their route in a direct line to the regulars, who were advancing with great Spirit under the direction of the Major in three Columns-the Rebels struck with the utmost consternation at the appearance of the regulars fled with the greatest precipitation, the three Columns keeping up a hot fire during their retreat-the horses of the Rebels preserved them from total destruction.

Many of the Rebels were wounded in the beginning of the Engagement-some killed by the Indians-others made Prisoners by the Rangers, and some who fled to the regulars for Protection.

Captains Few and Williams fell into our hands, I have got possession of the Colonels Baggage, Commission and Papers, which I have enclosed containing a plan of the proposed Invasion of the Province agreeable to the, information Your Excellency has from time to time received and communicated to me, and which I flatter myself will be protracted at least by the defeat they have a second time sustained-I have no doubt, but their Troop of horse, which consisted of One hundred and fifty men are reduced to less than One hundred.* *

We have Seven Prisoners in Custody-the Major will send a party by Water to secure Bryan, and two Rebels at a Doctors house on an Island in Nassau, one of which was wounded in the Skirmish between Sherards, and big Creek-Ten deserted with an intention of proceeding-two rangers were conducting them-the Indians fell on with them, killed three, and drove the remainder into the Swamp. ¹⁶

Simultaneously there was activity on the water. In the same letter in which are described the incursions of May, 1777, Governor Tonyn says:

The rebel main Body under the command my Lord, of Colonels Elbert, Stirk, and White, with the Galley's and other Vessels, commanded by Commodore Oliver Bowen, were arrived at Saint Mary River, and had passed up to Amelia Narrows which they could not get through, expecting to be joined by the Corps of Horsement.

My Intentions were that Captain Mowbray with the Rebecca and all the armed Ships and Vessels should sail into Saint Marys, while the Troops marched by the main scouring the Islands in their march, and by a well concerted attack, I was certain of giving the Rebels a total overthrow. Towards this object the Rebecca and Hawke armed

¹⁶ P. R. 0.: C. 0. 5/557, pp. 493-496. Stevens and Brown L. C. Trans.

Ships were ordered to fall down Saint John River. and to anchor without the Bar: the Meredith, and the smaller armed Vessels to be ready to go out to join them on the first notice. A storm of Wind, my Lord, forced the Rebecca and the Hawke to Sea, the former fell in with an engaged a rebel Brigantine of sixteen Guns, and crouded with men, and after a brisk running Fight maintained by the Rebels, the Rebecca silenced their fire for eight minutes and was bearing down upon the Brigantine to Board, when they renew'd their fire, an unlucky shot carried away the Sloop Topmast and rent the mainsail, which gave the Brigantine the advantage in sailing and an opportunity of flight. The Sloop engaged to leward and the Brigantines Decks were much exposed to the fire from the sloop, two men were seen to fall killed from the Sloop, two men were seen to fall killed from the Tops into the Sea. and many must have been killed on the Decks. The Rebecca had a Man killed and nine wounded. In this Affair Captain Mowbray's spirited conduct deserves uncommon applause, indeed, my Lord, his zeal, activity, and unwearied industry, on all the different parts of service, in choking up Creeks, assisting in erecting Batteries, and cooperating on all occasions of service with the greatest assiduity for the good of the Kings service, cannot be too much commended. Lieutenant Findley of the 60th Regiment, and a detachment of this Garrison on Board the Rebecca, behaved with great resolution and courage, and it is to their behaviour Captain Mowbray ascribes his superiority over the Brigantine. The Rebecca returned in a too shattered condition to proceed to Saint Mary's and before she could be repaired to pursue the intended operations, the

rebels had time to retire, after they had attempted to cut a passage through Amelia Narrows. ¹⁷

On the 3rd of July, 1778, Governor Tonyn wrote a letter to the Honourable John Stuart, describing "a formidable Invasion by the Rebels by Sea and land:"

They have advanced with their Army to this Side of St Mary's River with a Train of Artillery drawn by Oxen. Lieu. Col. Brown was compelled to retreat and arrived within a short Distance of Major Prevost's Post at Allegator Bridge on the 30th June when a Body of Rebels near 900 Men attacked them, a few of the King's Troops near a Spot in an Entrenchment assisted the Rangers, and the Rebels were drove off - nine men were left dead, but the Rebels had time to carry off all their wounded on Horseback and several others that were supposed to be killed, as the Rangers had been marching for several days and Nights successively, they were too much fatigued to reap further Advantage of the Enemy, and the Corps under Major Prevost were all at work and their Horses all grazing and could not be collected in time-It is apprehended the Rebels have suffered in this more than is in general Imagined, a Man has come in from them since, that reports Col. Scriven is wounded in the Belly-They have five Gally's, three armed Vessels and several Store Ships in St Marys Sound. It would have been a happy thing for his Majesty's Service if the Body of Indians that were ready to come here with Perryman had been allowed to come down, the Invasion would probably have been prevented by a proper diversion into Georgia, they could not have assembled their Army on the Altamaha.

¹⁷ P. R. 0.: C. 0. 5/557, pp. 482-484. Stevens and Brown L. C. Trans.

I trust however some of the Indians will arrive in time to be of Service-A part of the Seminolies have just joined Col. Brown and I have sent to the Cowkeeper and Ocony King to rouse all the Rest and to come to our Assistance forthwith. ¹⁸

Further facts are revealed in Tonyn's letter of 18th July. There we discover that

"the check given to the Rebels at Allegator Bridge the floating Batteries and naval Armament in St John's River, the dispositions in posting his Majesty's Forces and the Difficulties thrown in their way have made the Rebels from all present appearances relinquish their Design against this Province.

* * * * *

The Enemy advanced three formidable Corps under the Command of General Howe, Govr Houston and Andw Williamson each governing a Division seperately to the South of St Mary's River; from the Obstacles they had to surmount, and the Danger in consequence of a Defeat they have judged it not prudent to advance, and on the 15th Inst. Genl Howe with the Carolinian Continental Troops repassed that River on their Return and the Divisions of Houston and Williamson were preparing to follow their Example-The Gallies were fallen back to Cumberland Sound-His Majesty's Ship Perseus and the Otter, with the Germain, Dreadnought and Thunderer Provincial Armament were taking Measures of Pursuit in cooperation with the King's land forces-I had fortunately succeeded in well guarding St. John's River by a Naval Force from the Mouth of it to Panton's Store -The Seminoly Indians guarded the West of St.

¹⁸ P. R. 0.: C. 0. 5/558, pp. 447-449. Stevens and Brown L. C. Trans.

John's from Doctor's Lake, to the Store and to Latchaway and the Cowkeeper by this time is I hope in conjunction with the Troops at the Heels of the Rebels.

The fate of the "Otter", as well as Governor Tonyn's further preparations for defence and offence, may be found in His Excellency's letter to Lord Germain, the 20th of August, 1778:

I am sorry to inform your Lordship, that the Otter Sloop of War, and the George armed Schooner armed for the service of this Province were lately lost off cape Carnaverel, in a violent Storm the Crews only are saved. They sailed from this Port in pursuit of a rebel Privateer which carried off thirty Negroes from the Smyrnea Settlement. A party of Troops is stationed there for the protection of that port of the Country in future, and captain Moncrief is engaged to fortify the Post.

I have applied to Lord Viscount Howe for some Cannon of heavy metal for our Gallies and for other Posts for our defence.

Your Lordships approbation of my increasing the Corps of Rangers gives me great satisfaction and I am happy that the event of the several Expeditions of the rebels against this Province have evinced their utility.

It may be proper still to increase them as I am convinced they are useful in protecting this Province and with the Indians in infesting the rebellious Colonies. However as the command of them has been a Subject of dispute and altercation between me and Brigadier Prevost, I have intirely given up the command to him, untill I have the honour of your Lordships answer to my letter of the 1st of May No 56.

EDGAR LEGARE PENNINGTON

19 P. R. O.: C. O. 5/558, pp. 436-437. Stevens and Brown
L. C. Trans.

BERNARD ROMANS'S MAP OF FLORIDA EN-GRAVED BY PAUL REVERE, AND OTHER EARLY MAPS IN THE LIBRARY OF THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

When we consider the materials, devices, tools, and instruments our forefathers used in their discoveries on the American continent and in mapping the newlyfound lands, we are left wondering how it all could have been accomplished. When Christopher Columbus sailed from near Palos in Spain on August 3, 1492, he had with him the mariner's compass, which was then in use, but he had yet to learn of the variation of its magnetic needle, which caused him considerable anxiety during his first voyage. He had an infinitely better knowledge of the stars than our graduates from high school, but nothing to compare with that of the two astronomers Sir William and Sir John Herschel (1780-1850). His schooling had been the astronomy and geography of Claudius Ptolemaeus, born in 139 A. D.. (whom we know as Ptolemy) whose work in geography revised, rewritten, and re-edited a number of times, contained a Catalogue of all the principal cities and ports in the Mediterranean with their latitude (Mekos) and longitude (Platos) worked out to the twelfth part of a degree. The latest issue of this work prior to Columbus's departure was published in Latin, in Rome, in 1490.

Columbus could not have taken with him the very clumsy instrument called the cross-staff, as this was first used for ascertaining the angle between the moon and a fixed star in 1514; but he did have some device whereby he could ascertain the speed of his ships and the distance travelled each hour of the day and night.

The floating piece of wood called the log to which is attached a long line with knots tied to it, spaced in the ratio of one-half minute to the hour, was not used until 1570. We will presume he took with him an hour glass, a minute glass, and a sun dial to be used if perchance the ship should touch land; but the clock with a long chain and weight, without a pendulum (which was not perfected until 1680) would not have kept Palos time correctly very many days on his voyage to the west.

It might be questioned whether those who followed Columbus after his other voyages in 1493, 1498, and 1502 had any greater knowledge of navigation than he. The Cabots in 1497-1498, Da Gama 1497, Vespucci 1497-1500, Cortereals 1500-1501, and De Campo 1508 might each have been guided by the loadstone of untold wealth. Tables of declination and ascension however became common: Nunez in 1537 invented various methods of computing the rhumb line and sailing the great circle; two treatises were written on systematic nagivation in 1545; Mercator's chart dates from 1569; tables of meridional parts came into use in 1597; and the quadrant about 1600 - but what of these did De Leon 1513-1520, Narvaez 1528, or DeSoto 1539 know when they sailed on unknown seas or traversed unknown wildernesses? Laudonniere in 1564 surprises us in his casual reference to latitude and longitude, for the measure of a degree on the meridian was not ascertained until 1631, nor the first sextant made until 1666. Hawkins followed in 1565, Drake 1577 to 1579, many others came, and we approach the time when this account of certain old maps of Florida now in the library of The Florida Historical Society can be begun.

The earliest of these, while only a sketch 5×6 inches, fairly well represents the north coast of the Gulf of Mexico, Florida, and Georgia. It is referred

to as a section of Hernando Colon's map of America, 1527; and appears in Lowery, *Spanish Settlements in the United States, 1513-1561*, page 146.

The next map, dated 1570, gives the latitude of St. Augustine fairly correctly, although silent as to longitude, This a photograph of a manuscript map in the Department of Marine in Paris, France; and measures 10×14 inches.

A map of 1582, 1584 or 1595 entitled La Florida, is a print from an engraving published in Antwerp, and hung in the library of the King of France for two hundred years. W. Burnian mentions this map in his manuscript. It measures 8 x 81/2 inches, and is fairly correct in both latitude, 25 degrees to 40 degrees, and longitude, 79 degrees to 81 degrees west.

A map of Florida, dated 1594, is a print from a very beautifully embellished copper-plate engraving, picturing two ships on the high seas, and a large whale with its tail very much above the water. This map was drawn by Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues who accompanied Laudonniere and was, after the death of Le Moyne, engraved in Paris by Theodore de Bry, who was privileged to add the embellishments above mentioned. On this map the island of Cuba is more accurately shown than is the peninsula of Florida, or the coast of Georgia, which are both decidedly erroneous. In latitude it is fairly correct; but longitude is shown by lines perpendicular to the equator in the Mercator chart method, first introduced in 1569. The engraving measures 14 x 18 inches.

Another map of Florida, dated 1594, evidently by the same geographer and executed by the same engraver, on copper plate as the preceding map, has no less than ten ships under full sail, but shows Florida with the peninsula considerably shortened (as in the previous map) together with the islands of Cuba, Haiti, and others, extending to the north coast of South

America, and as far west as Yucatan, New Spain, (now Mexico), Nicaragua, and Panama. In longitude it is supposed to cover from the 290th degree to the 330th progressing of course, entirely round the world east from Greenwich or Paris. This engraving measures $131/2 \times 17$ inches.

Next is a map of the Western Hemisphere, engraved in Paris, 1596, evidently by Theodore de Bry. Its title is given in full: America sive novis orbis respecty evropaeorum inferior globi terrestris pars. 1596. This map, showing a fair representation of both North and South America, was evidently drawn from Drake's quest along the Pacific coast for galleys overloaded with precious cargo. Globular in projection, this map might readily pass for a page in a modern atlas, were it not for the engraver's weakness for embellishment. In the four otherwise vacant corner spaces of the circular hemisphere, on a square sheet of paper 13 x 141/2 inches, are the four figures of Columbus 1492, Magellanius (whom we have since learned to call Magellan) 1519, Vesputius (which should have been written Vespucci) 1497, and Francisco Pisard 1526 (evidently intended for Pizarro 1528). There is no doubt of the originality of this print, but one might have wondered why Theodore de Bry had not given one of the vacant corner spaces to Drake, whose remarkable voyage had supplied much of the coast line shown on the map. The map is remarkably well drawn and shows the tropics of Cancer and Capricorn and the Equator, but the degrees of longitude run from 180 to 360 degrees, and the island of Haiti is still called Hispaniola, which was the name Columbus gave it. It is only fair to say that no engravings of Florida have ever been struck before or since more artistically engraved than those published by Theodore de Bry, although a great many are of equal merit.

1606 is the probable date of our next map. This map, is almost as well engraved as the above and is embellished with three ships, two cherubs, and two wind-roses. Lowery is of the opinion that the engraving was made from one of LeMoyne's drawings by (originally) Michael Mercator, in 1606, but is one of those maps that have been copied, enlarged, or reduced by atlas printers and publishers a number of times, some of whom would use the others' copperplate engravings after making a few additions and The engraving entitled: Viralterations thereto. giniae partis australis et Floridae partis orientalis interjacentium regionum, is doubtless the work of Jan Jansson in 1642, as the size of his print 38.5 x 50 cm. is identical with the size of this engraving.

The reader perhaps knows the various processes used in the reproduction of paintings, and it may only be necessary to give the date engraving was introduced, 1461, and perfected to such an extent that even the artist himself, who had mixed his own colours for his canvas, excelled in and contented himself with the light and dark effect to be had in cutting lightly or deeply and widely into a copper plate, and by etching through a waxed surface of the plate with needle points and, using acid, to do the work of the dry point in the hands of the engraver.

Lithography, or the art of printing from stone, was introduced about 1780, and reversed the incision of the engraver to a raised surface, by the action of acid, on that part of the stone, from which it was not desired. to obtain an impression. The process being finally simplified by placing an inked drawing face down on the warmed surface of the stone to which the ink adhered, and the paper afterwards removed by moistening. While lithography has been greatly improved upon, and now very creditably reproduces maps of every description, it cannot be compared with the

clear-cut lines of the almost lost art of engraving. And here again the writer will digress long enough to say that the United States Geological Survey has adopted as the method of publication of their maps of topography the dual process of engraving and lithographing; the former to supply lettering and lines in black ink, and the latter to supply the various colors, one at a time, to the paper.

From 1606 to 1714 is a long jump, but 1714 is the date of our next map, which happens to be a photograph 7 x 9 inches taken from an engraving which was printed by Pieter Vander, Aa, at Leyden, in Holland, 1714.

A 1729 map of Florida is a print from an engraving of the title "Florida, called by ye French Louisiana" and is by H. Moll, Geographer. It is fairly correct in latitude north of the equator, and in longitude west from London or Paris. A degree is given as 60 miles, The map extends to the coast of Mexico and shows the northern coast of the Gulf, and part of Carolina, which appears to join Florida. The coast line of Florida is far from what it is in reality. St. Augustine is shown, and the old Spanish trail stretches across Florida in a westerly direction. Evidently it was prepared to "show the limit Charles II granted to the present proprietors of Carolina in 1663." Also are shown all forts and defenses together with the date of their erection. It also indicates Pensacola as the best harbor on the coast. It measures 8 x 101/2 inches

The writer has made reference to London and Paris as the point from which longitude was calculated. For later maps Washington, and even Ferro, one of the Canary Islands in the north Atlantic, have been used, Germany and the United States early accepted Greenwich with its large observatory, now a suburb of London, as the place of first or principal

meridian; but it was not until an international conference had been held in Washington in 1884 that the other nations accepted Greenwich also.

Here is a map of the Florida peninsula about the year 1740 by Guillaume de la Haye, an engraver engaged in printing maps, which shows Indian villages and Spanish missions. The copy is a photograph of an engraving.

From 1763 to 1783 Florida was a British possession, so we go to London for the next map: "A Map of Florida from the Latest Authorities" (131/2 x 141/2 inches); printed by T. Jefferys, Geographer to His Majesty, 1763. This was so hurriedly prepared as to admit much topography not existing. It appears in Roberts, *Account of Florida*, London, 1763.

This inaccurate map was immediately followed by the appointment of William Gerard De Brahm as Surveyor General for the Southern Division of North America which position he held until 1783. By birth De Brahm was a Dutchman, and in St. Augustine met and employed one of his countrymen by the name of Bernard Romans, whom he appointed a Deputy Surveyor for Georgia in 1766 to take soundings off the shore. In a manuscript written by De Brahm, and now to be seen in Harvard University Library, an entry appears of the employment of Bernard Romans as draughtsman, mathematician and navigator.

Maps made under De Brahm's direction by his subordinates George Gould, Surveyor of the Florida coast, Captain Bishop, Captain Collet, Captain Monzon, Captain Hester, Captain Dalzel, Bernard Romans, and others, were not engraved and printed in London until 1788, 1794 and 1818 when acts of Parliament authorized their publication.

Romans severed his employment with De Brahm early in 1774, and in 1782 was, alas, a prisoner in the hands of the British. We hear of him again from an

entry taken from Paul Revere's account books ¹ dated May 4th, 1774, charging Captain Bernard Romans, "To Engraving a Plate for a Map of East Floridaten pounds, and another entry on July 9th, 1774, charges Captain Bernard Romans, "To Engraving on Copper-plate Part of a Map of Florida seven pounds."

Maps from the above two copper-plate engravings were to accompany a much advertised book bearing the title "A Concise Natural History of East and West Florida, with two whole sheet maps," by Bernard Romans, for which subscribers were urged to make payment in advance of publication, due to "the vast Expense and bodily Fatigue of the advertiser", coupled with the fact that "for eight years past he has done it at his own cost" and "now throws himself on a generous public." ²

Elsewhere we read that he considered himself "the most skilful draughtsman in all America", and was "enabled to take more exact survey of places with paper and pencil, than 99 can besides me, take with all the circumstantial apparatus generally used."

The lettering on the large map engraved by Paul Revere is extremely well done, but the cartouches, while elaborate, are rather crudely executed, and of course are not comparable with the European engravers' art of 1594 to 1734.

There is no doubt of the genuineness of the large rolled map which The Florida Historical Society has in its possession. It was struck from the largest of the two copper plates engraved by Paul Revere. The map has shrunk but slightly in the intervening one hundred and fifty-six years, to fifty-five by sixty-four inches, and the paper is now falling away from its mounting.

¹ See P. Lee Phillips, *Notes on the Life and Works of Bernard Romans*. DeLand, Florida, The Florida State Historical Society, 1924. p. 25.

² Idem. p. 26.

The title and description as given in *Notes on the Life* and *Works of Bernard Romans* by P. Lee Phillips, Custodian of Maps in the Library of Congress, published by the Florida State Historical Society, supplies the means of ready identification, to wit:

"Part of the Province of East Florida." Scale English & French leagues 20 to a degree. British statute miles 69 1/2 to a degree. Dutch miles 15 to a degree. 1 map on two sheets. 24 1/2 x 87 and 57 3/4 x 66 1/2. The dedication on the first sheet reads: "To the Marine Society of the City of New York, in the province of New York, in North America, this chart is Humbly inscribed, by their most Obedt. Servant. B. Romans."

The second sheet has two dedications in cartouches, one reading: "To all Commanders of Vessels round the Globe, this Chart is respectfully dedicated; by their very humble Servant B. Romans," and "To the Honble. the Planters of Jamaica, and all Merchants Concerned in the trade of that Island, being the two Societies chiefly interested in the navigation herein explained this Chart is most respectfully dedicated, by their very hble Servt. B. Romans".

It is the second sheet of which The Florida Historical Society is fortunate enough to have a copy. This consists of two sheets of equal length mounted together, measuring over all 55×64 inches. 4

It is interesting to read, by way of learning the progress made in map making, that John Lorrimer, Esquire, M. D. made observations of the eclipses of Jupiter's satellites to obtain the longitude of the entrance of Pensacola harbor in 1766. In drawing his map Romans used these observations for reckoning points along the west coast of Florida and westward. ⁵

Chronologically, the next map is: "A map of the States of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and

³ Lowery, Descriptive List of Maps of the Spanish Possessions Within the Present Limits of the United States, 1502-1820; Washington, 1912, p. 370: "3 sheets, 53.3 x 233, 73.7 x 161.5, 66×161.5 centimeters."

⁴ The copy of the complete map in the Library of Congress is believed to be the only one which has survived.

⁵ Phillips, op. cit. p. 128.

Georgia, comprehending the Spanish Provinces of East and West Florida, as exhibiting the boundaries as fixed by the Treaty between United States and Spain in 1783". This print is taken from an engraving, 12 1/2 x 14 1/2 inches, published in Boston, by Thomas and Andrews, from a drawing of surveys and observations by Joseph Purcell, and engraved by Amos Doolittle, New Haven, 1788. This accords with Lowery's mention. In latitude the map is fairly accurate. Its longitude has the first or principal meridian through Washington, but also gives the longitude west from London.

Another, of the date 1784 or 1789, is a print from an engraving 6 x 10 inches-"Map of the Coast of East Florida from the River St. Johns, southward to or near Cape Canaveral". T. Conder, Sculpt. This map appears in Bartram's *Travels...*, London, 1791.

1821. This "Map of Florida" is evidently struck from a copper-plate engraving and is the work of a real artist. East and West Florida are shown divided by the Appalachicola (!) River; Detailed drawings appear of Mobile, Pensacola, and Tampa harbors. The measurements are 17 x 19 inches. Only two towns, Pensacola and St. Augustine appear.

1822.. A "Map of Florida" from a copper-plate engraving depicting the coast line of Florida and the boundaries between Florida and Georgia very much as they are today. Only two counties are shown, Escambia and St. Johns, which fact furnishes the date, 1822. It is 11×13 inches, and is well engraved. The information is given that a degree is equal to $69 \ 1/2$ miles, but it is not said whether the degree is of latitude or longitude. The first or principal meridian is through Washington.

In 1824 Colonel Robert Butler, of Tennessee, *was* appointed Surveyor General of the Territory of Florida, with his office in Tallahassee. The township maps

drawn by each deputy surveyor under Colonel Butler's direction and that of his successors in office are very crude, but nevertheless are the best the State of Florida has today.

A. F. HARLEY

Jacksonville, Florida

BOOK REVIEW

Loyalists in East Florida, 1774 to 1785, By Wilbur Henry Siebert. (DeLand, Florida; The Florida State Historical Society, 1929. Two volumes, 263 p., 431 p.)

Although many and varied have been the studies of the events of the American Revolution, there has been one aspect to which the historian has been seemingly indifferent;-one series of situations which has escaped the glare of the historical searchlight. This is the role played by the Floridas in the actual struggle for independence and in the policies and plans of England, Spain and the Colonies. Of late, however, new interest has been displayed in this topic and no one had achieved any more notable result than Wilbur Henry Siebert in his *Loyalists in East Florida*. The study is the most recent addition to the publications on Florida history brought out by the Florida State Historical Society and consists of two quarto volumes.

Volume one is a connected narrative of the events of the American Revolution participated in by the British loyalists who were either permanent residents of East Florida or who migrated there from the colonies in rebellion. As a background for the loyalist movement, the author has sketched the administration of Patrick Tonyn who arrived in Saint Augustine as governor on March 1, 1774 and who became at once involved in the misunderstandings and animosities of the two factions of the province. These feuds formed the undercurrent of events in the colony throughout most of the years examined. At the outbreak of war East Florida, which was fiercely loyal, suggested itself to the British ministry as a likely refuge for persons too devoted to the mother country to join in the rebel-

lion against her; accordingly in 1775, Tonyn issued a proclamation of invitation to such groups which was published in Savannah and Charleston. Settlers had begun migrating to East Florida prior to this and their number increased rapidly in the next three years.

But the problem of East Florida was much more than the assimilation of new inhabitants. Until the British invasion of the southern colonies, there was constant danger of raids and invasions by the Americans. Tonyn made as effective a defense as possible, but East Florida was saved from conquest less by her own strength than by the inefficiency of her opponents. To the support of the campaign in Georgia and the Carolinas, the colony contributed generously; in fact, the settlements were left in a rather dangerous and unprotected condition and there were times when Tonyn was fearful of the results of a possible attack by Spain. The surrender of Cornwallis brought new difficulties when thousands of people flocked south as the British army evacuated the lands to the north. The white population of East Florida was more than doubled by the newcomers from Georgia alone and the whole country was filled with activity. Lands were being cleared, dwellings erected, even new towns were appearing, and the colony was experiencing a development never known before when news was brought that the territory had been ceded to Spain. The volume ends with a detailed study of the removal of the British to the Bahamas, Jamaica, Dominica, Nova Scotia, England and, in some instances, back to the now independent states.

Documentary material concerning the investigation of claims and compensation for losses of East Florida residents make up the second volume of the study. Most of the records were transcribed from the "Loyalist Series" (Volume LX) in the New York Public

Library which are in turn transcripts from the *Audit* Office, Loyalist Series, volume III, "Memorial Book, 3. 1786." The author has supplemented these reports by other records transcribed from the Examinations of East Florida Claimants in the Bahamas, and other memorials and petitions of a like nature. The documents are much more than mere statements of losses sustained and compensation sought. They are veritable cross-sections of Florida life during that turbulent and somewhat chaotic period. In them may be unearthed items concerning the establishment of plantations, arrival of settlers, production of crops, methods of labor, development of the industry of naval stores, prices charged, and wages earned. Many sidelights on East Florida persons may also be glimpsed. In addition to the transcribed records, Professor Siebert has added short biographical sketches of the important property owners and other worthies of the colony. These are valuable for the information which is often not found elsewhere and also for the bibliographies appended to each account.

One cannot examine either the narrative or the volume of documents without being deeply impressed by the wealth of material consulted and the scholarship which has been exercised in assembling and editing that material. The study can in no way be classed as popular history, it is obviously intended for a historically minded public already possessing a fairly ample knowledge of the revolutionary period; to these it is both interesting and illuminating. As a piece of scholarly research, its position is assured and the author is to be congratulated on having made a real contribution to American history.

KATHRYN T. ABBEY

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DONATIONS

R. Wright, *A Memoir of General Oglethorpe* Presented by Francis M. Williams

Miss Elizabeth Venable, Jacksonville

The Climate of Florida. Bulletin 200, U. S. Dept. of Agriculture, Weather Bureau.

Presented by A. J. Mitchell

Tom Yon, Tallahassee

- Year Book of the Dept. of Agriculture, 1930 Presented by D. U. Fletcher
- **Oglethorpe's Siege of St. Augustine,** Georgia Historical Society Quarterly, VII, I.

Presented by R. D. Meader.

- Bulletin 93, Bureau of American Ethnology Map of the Seat of War in Florida, McClellan and Humphreys, 1843
 Presented by H. J. Drane
- Photograph of Governor John Milton. Presented by W. H. Milton
- Photograph of Governor Cary A. Hardee. Presented by self. Photograph of Governor John W. Martin. Presented by self. *Apalachicola Facts*, by H. L. Grady. Presented by author.

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The Battle of Olustee, by Ruth H. Cole. Presented by author.
Autograph letter of Brig. Gen. John T. Sprague, Aug. 8, 1862
Tampa Daily Times, June 9, 1926; containing Seminole Massacre by Captain Hooker. (June 19, 1856)
History of Hardee County, by Jean Plowden
Seminole Treaty of May 9, 1832. (Payne's Landing)
Seminole Treaty of September 18, 1823 (Moultrie Creek)
Seminole Treaty of March 28, 1833 (Fort Gibson)
(Photostat copies from Department of State, Washington.)
Presented by Arthur T. Williams.