

# STARS

Florida Historical Quarterly

---

Volume 26  
Issue 4 *Florida Historical Quarterly, Vol 26,*  
*Issue 4*

Article 1

---

1947

## Florida Historical Quarterly, Vol. 26, Issue 4

Florida Historical Society  
membership@myfloridahistory.org

Find similar works at: <https://stars.library.ucf.edu/fhq>  
University of Central Florida Libraries <http://library.ucf.edu>

This Full Issue is brought to you for free and open access by STARS. It has been accepted for inclusion in Florida Historical Quarterly by an authorized editor of STARS. For more information, please contact [STARS@ucf.edu](mailto:STARS@ucf.edu).

---

### Recommended Citation

Society, Florida Historical (1947) "Florida Historical Quarterly, Vol. 26, Issue 4," *Florida Historical Quarterly*. Vol. 26 : Iss. 4 , Article 1.

Available at: <https://stars.library.ucf.edu/fhq/vol26/iss4/1>

The  
FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

CONTENTS

- Secession in Florida-Pensacola on its Own  
Documents, letters, and other papers
- Comte de Castelnau in Middle Florida, 1837-1838  
Translated by *Arthur R. Seymour*
- Governor Céspedes and the Religious Problem  
in East Florida, 1786-1787  
*Richard K. Murdoch*
- The Siege of St. Augustine in 1702  
A report to the King of Spain  
by the governor of East Florida  
Translated by *Mark F. Boyd*
- A New Collier County Map  
*John M. Goggin*
- Currency and Banking in Florida
- The Florida Historical Society  
The annual meeting  
Minutes  
Report of the treasurer  
Membership report  
Accessions to the Library

**SUBSCRIPTION FOUR DOLLARS.**

**SINGLE COPIES ONE DOLLAR**

(Copyright, 1948, by the Florida Historical Society. Entered as second class matter November 13, 1933 at the post office at Tallahassee, Florida, under the Act of August 24, 1912.)

Office of publication Tallahassee, Florida  
Published quarterly by  
THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
St. Augustine, Florida

1947

SECESSION IN FLORIDA  
PENSACOLA ON ITS OWN

The undersigned hereby agree to pay the sums opposite our respective names for the purpose of equipping - and supporting the families of - two companies of twelve month volunteers to be raised in the county of Escambia for the Confederate Army. \*

Samuel Y. Gonzalez pr. C.C.Y.

	(\$100 pd. to R.L.C.)	\$ 200
C. C. Yonge (paid \$75) one soldier or (\$150)		150
Richard L. Campbell (150) (RLC)		300
Wm. W. J. Kelly (paid to CCY) in full		20
G. W. E. Bedell		200
Gam Bell Paid in full to J.E.S.		30
Joseph Mitchell (Paid \$10) (CCY)		25
M. Quigles paid in full		20
Isa Smith in full (paid) (R.L.C.)		10
B. J. Moreno (p'd R.L. Campbell) in full		25
M. Pierson in full		10
James S. Jones		10
Aaron Hendrix paid in full		25
A. Marzoni (paid to C.C.Y) in full		10
Thomas Gorman (paid C.C.Y) in full		25
Spotswood & Moreno Paid in full		20.00
Dillon Jordan pd. (C.C.Y.) in full		10.00
Willis Milner paid on a/c \$30.00		200.00

\*This is the original subscription list, and in nearly all cases these are the signatures of the subscribers, residents of Pensacola and vicinity in 1861. Here is one who later was a member of the Confederate Provisional Congress, also members of the United States and the Confederate States Senates, members of the Florida Senate and House, and a chief justice of the Florida Supreme court. The originals of this and all of the documents, letters and other papers following are in the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida.

They tell their story better than any narrative could. Doubtless other Florida communities rose to the occasion at the outbreak of the war and met the need in the same way, as did innumerable ones throughout the South.

Mrs. Caldwell	paid in full	100.00
D. de Rochblave	Paid J.E.S. in full	10.00
F. Moreno	(pd 10 per month 5 mo.)	50.00
John Kingsbury		25.00
H. F. Ingraham		50.00
H. Holmes	Amt his bill (RLC) \$20.25	25.00
B. D. Wright	(\$10 to C.C.Y.) pd in full	25.00
J. O. Smith	paid in full	20.00
A. R. Baker	paid C.C.Y. in full	10.00
Sebastian Barrios	paid to C.C.P in full	5.00
James Knowles	Paid J.E.S. in full	10.00
C. P. Knapp	(RLC) paid in full	25.00
L. M. Merritt	(Paid Rec'd by R. L. C.)	25.00
Charles K. Barkley	paid in full	25.00
John Pinney	paid \$65	75.00
Jas. N. Moreno	(paid CCY)	25.00
W. F. Lee [?]	E & O E	50.00
John Salter		25.00
Abercrombie & Co.	in full	
	(\$100 per month for 3 months)	300.00
Peter Knowles	in full paid	25.00
A. C. Blount		50.00
E. E. Simpson	(Paid to R.L.C.)	50.00
Henry Hyer	(\$5 per month for 12 months)	60.00
Jackson Morton	(\$5000 feet Lumber equal)	50.00
J. C. Whiting & Co.	in full	25.00
Judah & LeBaron	Paid \$150 R.L.C.	300.00
Theodore Moreno		40.00
Geo. W. Hutton	in full paid	25.00
O. M. Avery	in full paid to J.E.S.	25.00
C. N. Jordan	\$5 per month for 12 months	
A. L. Avery	ten dollars pr month for 12 mon. Recd \$10 CCY	120.00
C. Cullen		2.50
Jacob Weiss	(paid CCY)	20.00
G. A. W. Ritze	(paid CCY)	10.00
S. C. Gonzalez		5.00
S. McClelland	(paid CCY)	25.00
Jas H. Nicholson	paid in full	5.00

## SECESSION IN FLORIDA

285

F. Bobe & Co.	paid		50.00
A. Charbonnier	in full	paid J.E.S.	10.00
Wm. H. Baker	in full	(paid CCY)	25.00
Wm. Webb	in full	paid	25.00
John G. Honucker		paid	5.00
P. Gorman	(paid C.C.Y.)	in full	15.00
Geo. Pfeiffer	in full		10.00
Capt. Pete	Recd \$10.00	pr. CCY	17.50
C. H. Gingles	paid		25.00
P. F. Cayle	paid CCY	in full	10.00
T. Bement	Paid JES	in full	10.00
P. A. Caro	five dollars	in full	5.00
J. M. Henderson	in full	paid	10.00
cash	(toCCY)		1.00
Henry Johnson	paid (CCY)		10.00
James Gonzalez	in full	paid	50.00
Joseph Sierra			50.00
W. L. Cozzens			25.00
Joseph C. Crosby	in full	Cash (RLC)	20.00
A. E. Maxwell			100.00
W. H. Wisdom			10.00
Jas. W. Hall	in full	paid	5.00

(There is no date on this subscription list, but the first charge against the fund, January 19, 1861, indicates a date before that time.)

---

Pensacola May 30th 1861

To Messrs Campbell, Yonge & Abercrombie  
Gentlemen

It appears from what I can learn from Gen. Bragg that the Confederate States have neither accoutrement nor equipments for our Company at this time & as the General says we will be mustered into service today \* & remain here until such time as we may be enabled to get equipped we therefore would respectfully ask You as the Committee of Relief to procure us the following

---

\*This company was not mustered in until June 11, 1861. It became Company K, 1st Florida Infantry.

286 THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

articles. 75 cartridge boxes, 75 Knapsacks & Canteens and Lints for Our Company that we may be enabled to march to any point that we may be ordered.

Hoping your early consideration to the above I remain

Your Most Obt. Servt  
 Alex H. Bright  
 [captain, Pensacola Guards]

---

Mobile June 20th 1861

Mr. C. C. Yonge, Pensacola

*Bought of JULIUS GRETZNER  
 Manufacturer and Dealer in Trunks, Carpet Bags,  
 Bonnet Boxes &c.*

70 Knapsacks, Belts, Cartridge boxes. . . [illegible]. . .	each \$5.00	\$350.00
3 boxes each \$1.75		5.25
		<hr/>
		\$355.25
	Express charges	16.40
	Drayage	.25
		<hr/>
		\$371.90

[endorsed on back:] Voucher No. 5  
 Pay the within bill to Messrs Judah & LeBaron for Pensacola Guards. [sgd.] C. C. Yonge. To J. E. Sierra Esq., Treasurer June 27, '61

Received Three hundred and seventy one 90/100 Dollars  
 [sgd.] Judah & LeBaron

---

Received for the use of the Pensacola Guards Seventy Knapsacks Cartridge Boxes Belts & Scabbards which is stated to cost the sum of Three Hundred & Sixty [sic] one 81/100 dollars paid out of Escambia soldier fund

## SECESSION IN FLORIDA

287

which I will endeavour to get allowed by the ordenance  
[sic] officer of this C.S.A. Camp Magnolia.

July 2, 1861  
[sgd.] Alex H. Bright  
Capt. P.G.

---

Mr. B. F. Overman, For Pensacola Guards  
Bt of Z Swift

3 prs. Blankets @ 5 \$15.00

Milton June 4, 1861

Recd pamt Z. Swift  
from B. F. Overman

---

Milton June 4th 1861

B. F. Overman for Pensacola Guards  
Bot of Harrison Keyser & Co

2	pr Blankets @	4.50	\$9.00
5	"	5.00	25.00
4	" "	4.00	16.00

---

\$50.00

Recd Pmt Harrison Keyser & Co.  
per B. F. Overman

---

Milton, June 4, 1861

The P. G. per Mr. Overman

*Bought of J. GUNDERSHEIMER & CO*

5 pair Blankets 5.00 25.00

Recd pamt J. Gundersheimer & Co  
pr B. F. Overman

---

Milton, Fla June 3, 1861

The Pensacola Guards

*Bought of A & G Forcheimer*

Pr Mr. F. Overman

1 pr Blue Blankets 3.00

Recd Pamt A & G Forcheimer  
By B. F. Overman



288 THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

Voucher 25 Pensacola Sept. 8th 1861  
 Military Fund To  
 P. H. Gallagher  
 To Cutting 11 Suits Uniforms for Rifle  
 Ranners [Rangers] \* \$16.50  
 " Measuring Company 5.00  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \$21.50  
 Recd Payment in Full P. H. Gallagher

---

Voucher 24 J. E. Sierra  
 1861 Bought of C. P. Knapp  
 Sept. 3 1 Bbl Bread 76 @ 8 \$6.08  
 Recd Payt C. P. Knapp per J. Smith

---

voucher 30  
 Mr. J. Sierra bt. of J. B. Gormly  
 61 # Shoul [shoulder meat?] @ 17 1/2 10.67  
 Rec Pam't Jno. B. Gormly  
 Pensacola Sept. 3rd 1861

---

Voucher 44 The Pensacola Guards to L. Starling & Co. Dr.  
 1861  
 Jan. 23, Flax Seed Meal for Jim Gonzalez .25  
 1 Box Comp Cathartic Pills Do .25  
 1 oz Norwoods Tr. Verat Viride Do 1.00  
 25 1 Pt Bot Select Nit Potassa & Rose Water 1.00  
 27 1 Box Co Cathartic Pills .25  
 29 4 oz Linament Sapo Camphorated "Emr" 0.00  
 " 1 Box Pills Camphor Opii & Co .40  
 30 Ungent Kreosote Ol Teve. . . & Adeps .40  
 31 Pulv Flax Seed Jim Gonzalez .25  
 " 2 oz Brown Mixture Peter ONeal .50  
 " 1 Bot Cough Medicine for Jno. Smith .25  
 Feb. 1 Pulv Flax Seed for Jim Gonzalez .25  
 " 1 Box Pills Blue Mass et Ipecac Do .25  
 " 4 oz Tr Arnica ¢ 50 Do .50

---

\*The Rifle Rangers, mustered into Confederate service May 25, 1861, as Co. A, Second Fla. Inf., Capt. Edward A. Perry. Capt. Perry was a native of and grew to manhood in Massachusetts. He became brigadier general in the Confederate Army and governor of Florida.

## SECESSION IN FLORIDA

289

	"	1	Bot	Munns	Elixir	of	Opium		.25
	"	1	oz	Arnica	Flowers	10	Epsom	Salts	10
	2	Flax	seed	&	Flowers	Arnica	Gonzalez		.20
	5	Unguent	Stramonium	et	Zinc	Do			.40
	"	4	oz	Browns	Mixture	A. W. Horton			.50
	6	Pulv	Flax	Seed	&	Arnica	Flowers	Gonzalez	.20
	"	1	Box	Moffatt's	Pills	Do			.25
	9	Arnica	Flowers	&	Pulv	Flax	Seed	Do	.20
	13	1	Bot	Speers	Opodeldoc	Do			.15
	21	Unguentun	Zinci	Carbonas	et	Shamomum	Do		.40
	28	3	Powder	Sul	Quinine	Do			.30
	"	6	Do	Do	Do	Do			.60
Mch	1	3	Do	Do	Do	Do			.30
	4	3	Do	Do	Do	Do			.30

E.&amp;O.E. [errors &amp; omissions excepted] \$9.80

Received Payment of J. E. Sierra, Lewis Starling & Co.  
Pensacola Nov 13th 1861

## Voucher 45

The Rifle Rangers

Bot of L. Starling &amp; Co.

1861									
Jany	19	To	1	Box	Simple	Cerate	"Perry's order"		.50
	"	1	Bot	Madera	Wine				1.50
	"	1	Box	Quinine	Pills	"for	Jn	Amos	.88
	24	8	oz	Solution	Zinc	Sulphate	"Jones"		.50
	"	1	Box	Co	Cathartic	Pills	Do		.25
	"	8	oz	Mixture	Sol	Acet	Plumbi	&	Rosewater
							"Perry"		.50
	26	4	oz	Brown	Mixture	"for	John	B.	Griffin"
									.50
	29	4oz	Hopes	Mixture	"Capt.	Perry's	order"		.50
	"	4	oz	Sapo	Linament	Camphorated	"Bonifay"		.50
	31	4	oz	Hopes	Mixture	for	"S. F.	Ferguson"	.50
Febry	2	4	oz	Browns	Mixture	"Do"			.50
	4	8	oz	Chapmans	Mixture	Jno	B.	Griffin	1.00
	5	4	oz	Brown's	Mixture	for	"J. H.	Robinson	.50
	7	1	Box	Quinine	Pills	"Capt.	Perry's	order"	.50
	"	1	Box	Pills	for	Knight	Do	"Do"	.25
	"	"	"	"	"	John	B.	Griffin	.25
	8	1	Box	Brown	Mixture	for	"Manna	Hernandez"	.50
	13	4	oz	Do	Do	"Do"			.50
	20	1	Bot	Do	Do	"Christin"			.50
	21	4	oz	Ext.	Belladonna	Mixt	"Irwin"		.50
	"	1	Blister	Plaster		Do			.25
	23	Dressing	for	Blister	25	Do			.25

E&amp; O.E.

Received Payment of J. E. Sierra

\$11.63 [sic]

Lewis Starling &amp; Co.

Pensacola, Nov 13 1861

290 THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

THE HUMAN SIDE

Camp Magnolia Pensacola  
July 7, 1861

C. C. Yonge Esqr.  
Pensacola

Dear Sir,

I send herewith a letter & call your attention to it - Will you have the goodness to let me know whether you have sent, any of the families of our men, their portion of the fund. The men are anxious to know.

Yrs &c

Louis Hyer for  
Alexander H. Bright  
Captain Pensacola Guards

---

[ enclosed : ]

Camp Magnolia  
July 4, 1861

C. C. Yonge Esq.  
Dear Sir

Enclosed Please find a note to me from my wife you See her Situation, And I wish you to make Suitable Provisions to meet the emergency and as early as you Possibly Can, with Respects I am yours

Very Respectfully

Michael Ward

Private Pensacola Guards

To C. C. Yonge Esq.  
Pensacola  
Fla.

---

[enclosed : ]

Dear husband I take the opertunity of Wrighting to you Aagane wee are All well at this time, but I have got no meal nor no Corn nor dont no where the next is to come from Mr Goodwin sayes that mee & him eats 5 bushels in 2 weeks & he onoly eats 2 I have sent to Mr Colar but I do not know whether I will git enny or not & I

want you to come as soon as you git this if you dont I  
will have to leave here this June the 17 1861

Elizabeth Ward

Jackson Ward the Scribe

---

June the 2d 1861

Dear Frend \* I Seat my Self with the plesure of writing  
you A few lines to inform you that we are all well and  
I hope that these lines may fined you injying the Same  
like blesing I have nothing for impotence to write to you  
at this time but I have got no Corn nor no meel nor no  
way of giting of hit ann is staying with mee & Mr  
Goodwin is mad & Aboute hit & I waant you to sende sum  
Corn Soon or fetch hit let it Stop at the Bason with  
Jackson Ward I am going over sea Mr. redic & William  
Croborn but I do not no wether I will git enny or not I  
went over to Father & Some body robed my house & I  
want you to Come & try to get them Jackson Ward &  
M. C. Godwin sayes that tha will go with you if you will  
go to your Captin he will let you off git Some body  
else to write J. W. coud not reed it.

Elizabeth Ward to Michel Ward

[endorsed on back :]

let your Captin reed this

---

Pensacola, July 14, 1861

layer [lawyer] Cambel

Please to send me My money i am confind to  
my bead

Elizabeth Jones X her mark

voucher 6-

Mr. Joseph E. Sierra will pay Mrs. Elizabeth  
Jones her months allowance of \$15 up to 4th August 1861  
July 16, 1861

Richard L. Campbell

---

\*The *Frend* was her husband.

Received from C. C. Yonge fifteen dollars for month  
of January 1862 - Wife of Wm. Andrews in Capt.  
Bright's Company

Jan'y 14th 1862

Elizabeth Andrews X her mark

---

Mr. Sierra

Put M.B. Stephens name on the Soldiers List  
as a member of the P. Guards - wife & 1 child, and pay  
him ten dollars.

June 26 [1861]

---

There are seventy-six vouchers similar to the three  
above. They record payments covering a period from  
June 26, 1861 to March 29, 1862. These are signed mostly  
with a mark by the payee. Payees are:

Mrs. J. A. Smith

Davis family

Mrs. [D.C.] Elizabeth Givins

Mrs. Elizabeth Jones

Mrs. Ann Nettles

Mrs. Wm. Andrews

Mrs. Squires

Milberry Stephens

son of Meddick Curry

child of Alex Curry

Ellen Delmar

Dorkis [?] Merritt

M. A. Keyser

wife of A. W. Keyser

Annis Odom

wife of W. H. Odom of the Rifle Rangers

family of Wm. Norris

family of Wm. Kirtland

family of M. Ward

---

Also among these documents are :

(1) A balance sheet, itemized, of the account of

Joseph E. Sierra with Military Aid Fund, June 4 to July 4, 1861. Shows balance on hand \$187.88

(2) The same for Dec., 1861 to Jan. 1862. Shows balance on hand \$192.50

(3) An itemized statement of amount collected June 4, 1861 to November 23, 1861 which totals \$1331.50

(4) Itemized statement "Amount paid out" which totals \$1245.80 [no date]

\* \* \*

Pensacola July [1861]

To Chairman  
of Committee  
for Relief fund of Volunteers  
families of Escambia Co Fla

Dear Sir

I have been informed that the wife of W. J. Norris (a member of Capt. Bright's Co.) has made communication to your hon. Committee that she is in destitute circumstances.

There are members of your Committee that know that I am the one that Mrs. Norris intends to complain of and it is due to me that I should be placed right before the Committee.

The facts are these-When Capt. Bright was about to complete his Comp. there was wanted 12 men to make out the requisite number. W. J. Norris was then a resident of Bluff Springs he wished to join the Guards but could leave no support for his family. I told him that if the relief Committee did not provide for his family I would see that they were cared for until other and sufficient provisions were made. Accordingly I gave her credit at the provision store at Bluff Springs-and she has got all that she called for, and that *promptly* -and much more than was really needful for her support. I herewith enclose you a statement of F. W. Sadler who has delivered to her the provisions-

I cannot imagine her motive for so mean and false a rep-

resentation, - unless she expected to obtain money from the Committee under *false pretenses*.

I am not willing to stand before the Committee, or my neighbors a mock patriot. I am poor, but no one shall tell the truth-when they put me behind any of my fellow citizens in the defense of my country or in the support of the Confederate States - I will give twenty-five - 25\$ dollars to the Relief fund.

Very Respectfully &c

J. W. CREARY

[The writer was a native of, and grew to manhood in, Ohio.]

[enclosure :]

Bluff Springs, July 15th 1861

I hereby Certify that the Wife of W. J. Norris has ben Well Supplied with Provisions out of Store By Mr. J. W. Crarys order ever since Norris left to Join Capt. Brights Company.

Yours Truly,

F. W. Sadler,

amount of Bill had by Mrs. Noris out of Store \$33.05

F. W. Sadler

\* \* \*

COMMITTEE OF SAFETY\*

The following is the oath to support the Constitution of the Confederate States, and the list of our citizens who have taken it according to a resolution adopted at a general meeting of the citizens of Pensacola, held on the 26th ult. [June 1861]

I do most sincerely and solemnly swear before Almighty God, without mental reservation of any kind, that I will support and defend the Constitution of the Confederate States of America, and that I will in all things demean myself as a true and faithful citizen of the said Confederate States; and I do promise that I will endeavor to discover and will report any and every unfaithful person of whom I may obtain reliable intelligence. So help me God.

J. S. Gonzalez

C. C. Yonge

G. A. Rebb

Ph Schalhof

W. McBeth

G. A. Quina

P. A. Caro

H. Watts

G. A. Oldmixon

C. G. Cline

Z. P. Scott

W. H. Knight

C. Gonzalez

J. A. Brosnaham

R. H. Bonifay

J. Wallman

T. Howell

H. Pfeiffer

\*(From *Pensacola Gazette* [?] July 6, 1861)

## SECESSION IN FLORIDA

295

F. Roach	K. L. Berry
J. C. Lowell	J. M. Henderson
G. Broff	J. B. Gormly
M. Scarritt	F. Bonifay
S. L. Clifford	T. P. Donaldson
J. N. B. Clarke	L. Bonifay
R. D. Green	F. Maura
W. Commyns	F. Christin
A. Marzoni	C. H. Gingles
W. A. Jones	I. Allen
J. Garner	W. H. Bedell
D. B. Coleman	H. W. Bicker
H. Moore	P. M. Hatch
J. Suares Jr.	R. H. Turner
O. Goofflo	S. Hodge
W. J. Clark	J. McClaskey
S. A. Leonard	J. Richards
V. Bonifay	L. P. O'Brien
A. V. Caro	J. Paull
P. Knowles	A. H. Coleman
M. Quigles	P. [A.?] C. Blount
H. F. Ingraham	W. H. Irwin
S. A. Williams	N. F. Jones
W. A. Fields	H. Miller
J. MaGinn	G. A. McIntyre
A. J. Mathews	G. W. Bedell
R. D. Mesa	J. C. Shuttleworth
J. H. Edmondson	J. G. Honacker
E. Poncet	A. Jones
P. Poncet	C. Wallman
W. Doubs	J. Knowles
M. C. Gonzalez	T. Robinson
C. F. Quina	L. Gavounite
O. A. Jenkins	H. L. Elliott
A. Yucorich [Vocuvich?]	H. Rugen
J. W. Gingles	J. P. deRioboo
J. Ditmars Jr.	R. B. S. Hargis
L. Casis	A. E. Maxwell
M. Beulanerd	R. B. Pratt
F. G. Marrero [Moreno]	T. B. Houseman
V. Burnes	A. Dallman
J. Cohran	W. C. Yonge
E. Willson	T. Bement
J. C. Whiting	M. O. Brin
W. S. [F.] Lee	J. Brosnaham
R. Bishop	J. Krets
G. W. Turner	O. Caro
H. Holmes	I. Smith
J. Lee	J. Sierra
J. de Soto	J. Campbell
A. Joseph	C. Boysen
G. W. E. Bedell	H. C. Bedell
J. H. Smith	J. R. Trimble
J. Dunn	G. O. Brosnaham
C. P. Knapp	S. M. McClelland
J. J. Moore	J. W. Hall



- |                       |                     |
|-----------------------|---------------------|
| C. Heider             | F. Bonifay          |
| H. Berks              | O. Roulston         |
| C. D. Owen            | M. Bonifay          |
| F. Byrnes             | G. Montgomery       |
| B. D. Williams        | W. Holmes           |
| G. W. Hutton          | G. Bell             |
| F. B. Bobe            | J. Marques          |
| A. P. Peete           | J. Gray             |
| J. B. Vaughn          | S. Barrios          |
| W. T. Bell            | B. Simo             |
| J. Rosique            | John Callahan       |
| N. D. Spotswood       | John de la Rua      |
| N. A. Folkmann        | Stephen Foot        |
| W. J. Ledkins         | Francis Key         |
| C. B. Thompson        | Edward Reilly       |
| T. W. Bell            | Jacob Weiss         |
| O. M. Avery           | Jas. N. Moreno      |
| J. A. Morrison        | R. C. Caldwell      |
| J. Feist              | Achille Musson      |
| M. P. deRiobo [o]     | Joseph Mitchell     |
| C. Peterson           | James Burroraz      |
| A. R. Baker           | Jaog Farinas        |
| J. Wilkins            | Dr. J. W. S. Herron |
| J. Villar             | C. R. Herron        |
| A. Allred             | John Gilmore        |
| S. Merritt            | John Blimm          |
| E. McK. Jordan        | Bartoloner Borrás   |
| P. Suchet             | T. B. Pifferle      |
| I. G. Hutton          | J. Taylor           |
| J. Walsh              | E. Blonk            |
| J. Neal               | D. Williams         |
| P. Nelson             | J. Burdrew          |
| J. H. Knight          | J. P. Broag         |
| J. Farmes             | Wm. McLain          |
| W. B. Amos            | M. Amos             |
| E. B. Arms            | M. Stahleton        |
| J. Fenbeck            | M. P. Hernandez     |
| J. W. Heary [Creary?] | S. H. Gates         |
| J. S. Hawley          | I. M. Blake         |
| S. F. Berry           | A. Hendrix          |
| C. P. Clarke          | A. Riera            |
| H. McHatton           | G. Vinsens          |
| R. Cozzeas            | J. Toward           |
| J. Bernard            | L. Taprola          |
| C. C. Clark           | C. Brown            |
| J. Moore              | O. Kittleson        |
| R. Rouse              | J. D. Penny         |
| T. R. McCullough      | F. Tueard           |
| L. R. Christin        | T. Marmion          |
| F. M. Connell         | J. B. Matamoros     |
| G. Kenne              | A. Crooke           |
| C. Yong               | H. B. Church        |
| F. E. de la Rua       | F. C. Ditmars       |
| G. Pfeiffer           | K. Hermemuth        |
| H. Jessop             | T. R. Wright        |
| J. Hernandez          | J. Lyous [Lyons?]   |

G. King	W. Stallworth
D. Pearson	D. Havervoa
Martin Bonifay	A. Collins
P. Vive	A. H. Runyan
M. Cassidy	J. S. Roberts
C. Brinckmana	P. Faust
A. Monroe	T. O. Smith
W. F. M. Cullagha	W. J. Mitchell
T. M. Roberts	F. Watson
R. Shur	M. Hernandez
L. Mills	C. Daniels
P. D. Richardson	I. Smith
J. Sheppard	C. W. Jones
Wm. O'Brien	A. P. Hulse
R. Blount	J. E. Woolsey
G. W. Lammasts	H. A. Giles
J. Roche	M. V. B. Jordan
W. H. Phillips	J. H. Nicholson
Wm. Mariboe	W. L. Cozzens
D. Ramona	L. M. Merritt
H. Immensily	W. E. Anderson
F. Veretzner	R. L. Campbell
K. Schlicher	M. Palmes
E. Delmar	T. E. Jordan
G. C. Hernandez	W. H. James
Wm. Birkett	Z. Suchet
J. W. Bishop	O'LePease
W. Danfort	A. Gerard
E. Surry	J. G. Thornton
J. Berisso	J. Sherman
M. Conway	B. Stearns
J. L. Beck	D. Reed
W. J. Bickel	R. Simpson
B. Lamb	C. V. Ditmars
J. Terine	M. H. Hernandez
J. B. S. Mitchell	C. Daniels
W. Gormes	L. H. Mathews
W. Prass	M. Lyons
J. P. L. Billip	J. Sewell
B. Levy	H. F. Howland
F. Sherman	F. B. Bonifay
W. S. Strong	E. J. Judah
W. Wallon	T. Gorman
P. H. Gallagher	H. Johnson
J. Kelly	C. McGee
M. Sturdevan	J. Gonzalez
H. Roberts	H. Johnson
W. Robe	J. O. Smith
C. N. Fennett	R. Smith
P. Gonsale [Gonzalez?]	G. W. Debotts
M. Jones	J. Riera
A. Ferguson	W. A. Fell
Wm. Webb	D. C. Knowles
O. H. P. Cambell	T. M. Hughes
S. Zimm	D. de Rocheblave
P. M. Auley	C. H. Smith

- ..... HUSDRYOKE [?]  
 H. Stearns  
 G. Crause  
 J. E. Creen  
 ..... DOMINQUETUJA [?]  
 W. J. Baker  
 A. F. Gresham  
 R. R. Smith  
 G. Hyeesham  
 S. H. Sloclumb [Slocum?]  
 C. N. Jordan  
 A. Joseph  
 R. Levins  
 D. C. Trull  
 P. Johnson  
 S. M. Davidson  
 J. B. Cooper  
 J. V. H. Ditmars  
 G. H. O'Neal  
 Wm. Morrill  
 C. Corves  
 M. D. Hernandez  
 Juan Borrás  
 Georcy W. Conray  
 N. Riera  
 John McClasky  
 Henry Hyer  
 J. E. Sierra  
 Chas. A. Vallett  
 Manuel Lay  
 Wm. Concklin  
 Emanuel Wilkins  
 John B. Ber  
 George Wilson  
 Antonio Simo  
 J. Fararo  
 C. Wells  
 I. White  
 A. Verdero  
 L. D. Cartillo  
 J. Ruig  
 Wm. H. Baker  
 B. Flores  
 M. Videl  
 A. Salom  
**J. Bosque**  
**R. Roca**  
**M. Ydiaste**  
 A. Canet  
 M. Domingo  
 F. Garasco  
 H. P. Smith  
 T. Bobi [Bobe?]  
 A. Gonzalez  
 J. N. Daflnroge  
 W. Bencon  
 S. Brommon  
 J. H. Jotman  
 John Waters  
 P. Biner  
 J. de Carrance jr.  
 T. Gills [Gillis?]  
 G. Geney  
 L. Starling  
 A. J. Hernandez  
 J. Ronque  
 O. Bronmure  
 C. E. Hansen  
 Wm. McKenzie Oerting  
 F. Frata [Frater?]  
 O. L. Bonifay  
 S. L. Brickhouse  
 M. Anoter  
 A. Boso [Bosso?]  
 A. Fernandez  
 F. Coster  
 P. Hanafy  
 W. Philips  
 T. Forts  
 T. Albarez  
 J. Saragoza  
 J. Lagos  
 F. Bobe  
 A. F. Gananidia  
 E. Berner  
 W. Merritt  
 Willa M. Mo  
 M. Warvis  
 D. Jordan  
 G. Sloan  
 J. T. Crona  
 G. C. Williams  
 W. Carr  
 H. Ahrens  
 S. Hulle  
 M. G. Hernandez  
 J. Kingsberry  
 G. W. Paine  
 James Waters  
 M. Rollins  
 J. A. Knight  
 E. Ganland  
 P. McGrim  
 T. MaGrim  
 S. Sallage  
 J. C. Heidelberg  
 W. M. Hayes  
 J. Wonacher  
 A. Peschkee  
 N. A. Hendrix  
 J. Fulgiver  
 H. Collins

## SECESSION IN FLORIDA

299

A. D. Stoute  
 J. S. Carter  
 T. Powell  
 J. McLaughlin  
 O. P. Sellers  
 W. Carr  
 J. L. Pinney  
 C. E. Drake  
 J. Gagnet  
 F. E. Owling  
 J. M. Donald  
 F. Sievers  
 F. Gunnons  
 G. Clay  
 T. Henry  
 M. Saloshin  
 J. J. Magee  
 A. H. Parker  
 J. Tuperula  
 W. A. Harris  
 R. W. Fell  
 C. Powers  
 Wm. H. Moore  
 C. Cullen  
 J. B. Hassett  
 E. Bulyet  
 J. J. Hulse  
 F. Rohe [Roche?]  
 J. McFadon

C. H. Snell  
 J. Gonzalez  
 A. Madrena  
 W. Burke  
 G. Sawrinna  
 L. Lawrence  
 E. Lawrence  
 L. Boug  
 S. R. Bennett  
 J. A. Romondo  
 B. J. Hugar  
 F. Aroreno  
 J. D. Wright  
 A. L. Avery  
 B. Overman  
 J. Parigini  
 J. W. N. C. Tilmer  
 P. Gorman  
 J. McKinley  
 A. Moore  
 E. W. Kullen  
 E. D. Scott  
 T. McMan  
 J. Mauray [Maura?]  
 J. S. Notts  
 H. W. Stoudenmier  
 J. H. Gaitley  
 H. S. Cupap

COMTE DE CASTELNAU IN MIDDLE FLORIDA,  
1837-1838

*Translated by* ARTHUR R. SEYMOUR

(Included in the last issue of this QUARTERLY was Comte de Castelnau's account of his visit to the Tallahassee region more than a century ago; *Essai sur la Floride du Milieu*. In addition, the Count published *Vues et Souvenirs de l'Amerique du Nord* (Paris, 1842), and *Note de deux Itineraires de Charleston a Tallahassee*, the latter of which appeared in *Bulletin de la Societe de Geographie*. These are reprinted here, both being translated by Dr. Seymour.)

NOTES CONCERNING TWO ITINERARIES FROM CHARLESTON  
TO TALLAHASSEE

by COUNT FRANCIS DE CASTELNAU

Two roads exist to travel by land from Charleston to Florida; having traveled both of them and not finding any description of them in any work, I think that the Society will permit me to submit to it a few observations in this respect.

On the 7th of November 1837, at six o'clock in the morning, I left Charleston on the Augusta railroad, which, in spite of its imperfections, may be considered a magnificent piece of work; it is 120 miles long and crosses marshes and flooded lands almost continually on pile-work. It is, moreover, very tiresome for travelers for they must anticipate feeling a long succession of bumps and starts. However, that state of affairs has been, I believe, much modified since that time, for everywhere that it was supported on piles they have been obliged to make embankments; and besides, without dwelling on the defects of such a work, ought one not to admire the genius and the enterprising spirit that carried it out through flooded savannas, especially when the great advantages are considered that it has bestowed upon human beings and commerce?

The country that it passes through when it is under water is very poor and covered with pines, bay-trees and magnolias. In the swamps are to be seen the cypresses so remarkable because of their excessively swollen lower

---

NOTE-This appeared in *Bulletin de la Societe de Geographie*, vol. xviii, ser. 2 (1842).

parts and, at this season of the year, by their orange colored foliage.

Toward noon we ran along the river Edisto which is very winding, and near which we saw quite fine cotton, and an hour afterward we crossed the village of Midway, at four thirty we reached Eakin [Aiken] which has about one thousand inhabitants and is daily increasing in size. This village is sixteen miles from Hamburg. Upon leaving it we go down a very steep hill for half a mile. The cars are held back by an endless cable a mile long which was made in England and cost about 6,000 francs. If it should happen to break, the cars would be hurled down irresistibly and broken into a thousand pieces, as they found out by experimenting with a car not in service. A little farther along to the left of the traveler a pretty river flows through the woods. At six o'clock in the evening we were in Hamburg, an unimportant village. There, a kind of omnibus awaited us to take us to Augusta, on the opposite side of a fine bridge over the Savannah river. This bridge is straight, has sixteen arches, and separates the states of South Carolina and Georgia. The river is very wide; its Indian name is Isondiga.

Augusta is a charming little town of about 8,000 inhabitants, it has many nice houses, its streets are straight and very wide with trees on either side. In regard to business, it is a place of great importance but its climate is unhealthy.

Here I made my arrangements for the trip that I was going to take to Tallahassee. I was to go through a region sparsely inhabited, a part of which had been some time before laid waste during the wars against the Creeks or Muscogis, which had only then just ended. As there was not yet any regular stagecoach, I made this trip sometimes in a carriage and sometimes on horseback. I left the town on the tenth at eight o'clock in the evening in a terrible storm; we traveled all night on a very narrow and detestable road, in a very sandy coun-

try covered with pines. At seven o'clock in the morning we arrived at Louisville, a very unhealthy town, situated forty-five miles from Augusta, a third of a league from the Ogochee (Ogeechee) river, and containing 250 to 300 inhabitants. On leaving we had to descend quite a steep hill, then we crossed on a wooden bridge the river which is very narrow. The soil is generally reddish brown; the vegetation consists of pines. In the evening we arrived at Faisbridge, which is on the same river. There are only a few houses, all inhabited by members of the same family; a few plantations are to be found near by.

In the afternoon we reached the little settlement of Sanderville. The next day we forded the rivers Oconee and Ocmulgee, and toward evening we reached the village of Hawkinsville, situated on the last mentioned river. It is of considerable size and made up of long wooden houses painted yellow with green blinds and having only a ground floor; for the most part they are roofed with tiles. The Ocmulgee is a branch of the Alatomaha [Altamaha] which empties into the Atlantic; it is the last stream found running in this direction, the others flow into the Gulf of Mexico. On the twelfth we started at daybreak and crossed on a wooden bridge Big-Indian-Creek [Big Creek] whose banks are charming, well shaded and covered with little palm trees. Several black serpents crossed the road almost under the feet of our horses. Having lost our way, we were obliged to camp that night. On striving toward evening to find our way again, I witnessed an event which seemed to me worthy of interest.

I had just entered a very dense wood when the chattering of a great many birds attracted my attention; I soon distinguished a large flock of different kinds surrounding a squirrel perched then on a branch about twenty feet from the ground. The latter seemed motionless with its tail raised over its head; soon I saw it jump or rather fall on a lower branch and it was followed by

its feathered escort that continued to follow it with their various cries. Another jump brought it still nearer the ground. Astonished at this strange maneuver, I approached noiselessly and soon saw a big black serpent (coluber constrictor) coiled in a circle and keeping its head raised in the direction of its poor victim, that soon, by its last leap fell on the ground at about a foot from the reptile at which, moved by a feeling of pity, I fired my gun loaded with shot. The birds flew away and I picked up the squirrel that motionless and stiff seemed to me dead but that soon recovered itself and I gladly saw it run along the branches. I know that facts of this sort have often been observed, but as many people doubt them and as I myself was one of that number, I thought that it was best to mention here what I witnessed. I shall not try to explain by what strange power the victim is drawn toward the serpent, whether it is, as has often been repeated, that chilled by fear it does not have the strength to flee! but why in such a case does it not stay motionless? Why does it come itself toward its destruction?

What may be therefore the effect produced on the birds whose agitation was extreme? Did they understand the danger that the animal was running, and were they astonished that it did not try to escape? I merely submit these questions to naturalists, and I recommend this matter for future investigations of travelers.

But let us come back to our story. At daybreak, having found our way again, we soon reached a group of deserted houses all of whose inhabitants had been a short time before, during the war with the Creeks, massacred by the Indians.

I have often spoken of the roads and perhaps this term needs some explanations. These roads are ordinarily from six to eight feet wide and always are made through pine woods. The trees are simply cut down at about a foot from the ground. The choice of these trees is motivated by the great ease which these regions offer for this purpose compared with the clusters of other trees



that are almost impenetrable and which are called *hammocks*. To avoid these hammocks they often make considerable detours in their roads. Many of these roads have been made by the Indians and have been merely widened by the whites so that a wagon might go along there.

A traveler stops at all the houses he is fortunate enough to find which generally occurs only at great distances. There he is given corn bread, sweet potatoes, and ordinarily pork and cabbage. In Georgia and Florida the owner of a house usually expects pay in money while in South Carolina a mere offer of this sort would be considered as an insult. The ordinary price of a dinner of this sort is 75 cents, and the price of a breakfast or a supper or tea is 50 cents.

One of the most remarkable features of the part of the country that we were crossing then is the complete absence of bushes, which almost always occurs in places where the great southern pine is predominant, for we were commencing here to find the type of plant life that stretches over all Florida; I mean immense sandy stretches covered only by green trees and in the midst of which are found the hammocks that we have already mentioned, which by the fertility of their soil, the beauty and variety of their plant life are real oases in the wilderness. These fertile tracts vary greatly in extent since they cover from a fraction of an acre up to several square leagues. The very banks of the streams are also usually covered with a like vegetation. Although the day was very warm, we suffered at night from the cold, and this is besides a peculiar characteristic of all the North American continent as far as the Florida Cape, and especially of the eastern part of the continent, for on the other side of the Mississippi such changes are felt much less. I think that the neighborhood of Hudson Bay and especially of the Great Lakes of Canada is the principal cause of this phenomenon. It is to be noted that the eastern part of great continents is generally colder than the opposite side. On the 14th we reached the Flint River which we

paralleled as far as the village of Bainbridge ; the pine woods stretch up to the banks of the river, but at a few miles in the interior the land is fertile and fit for the cultivation of cotton. The village consists of only ten or twelve houses, only one of which is of brick; there are about 200 inhabitants mostly negroes. Here I was able to form an idea of the character of the people of this region, by noticing the ramshackle condition of the ordinary houses, all the windows of which were broken and the doors broken down. I asked the cause of it and I learned that a few days before all of the inhabitants having got drunk had committed this havoc. The river is narrow, very winding and with high steep banks.

While I was in the village about one hundred Chattahoutchi Indians, who are allies of the whites, arrived bringing with them about sixty hostile Creeks or Muscogis that they had captured in the woods and that they had been pursuing for a long time. These unfortunates were tied to trees and their captors seemed disposed to submit them to all the severity of Indian law, when some influential inhabitants obtained their pardon by interceding for them.

The Chattahoutchis passed the entire night dancing, drinking and shouting, and at daybreak they left with their prisoners for their village on the Appalachicola River. I learned later that the act of kindness that I have just mentioned was ill repaid, for soon after the Creek prisoners succeeded in escaping, took refuge in the woods and the inaccessible swamps that cover a part of this region, and have not ceased until this day to come out of their places of refuge to carry fire and death into the midst of the unfortunate white inhabitants who are scattered a great distance from one another. The two tribes of Indians that I have just mentioned, although fighting against each other, belong however to the same nation, or rather to the same confederation, that of the Muscogis, of which the Seminoles are merely a branch. They generally have the back part of their heads shaved

with very long hair in front; some keep only the simple scalp lock on top of their heads. Their dress consists of red kerchief tied around their heads like a turban, a sort of hunting shirt of buckskin ordinarily embroidered and with lace work somewhat in the Spanish style and with long leather leggings. They go without trousers but with a kerchief rolled between the legs and fastened by the two ends to a belt. On their feet they have, like all Indians, moccasins or skin shoes more or less covered with pearls and ornaments. They use guns quite skillfully but still much less so than the frontier white men, with whom to hit a squirrel elsewhere than between its two eyes, is considered as a shameful proof of an awkward shot. These latter use a rifle or long carbine.

On the 15th I left that little settlement to follow a road to Tallahassee, the capital of the Floridas. At first we had to cross pine forests in which we saw many big squirrels (*Sc. capistratus*) and several flocks of wild turkeys. The latter are remarkable for the beauty of their feathers which are very bright bronze green; they ordinarily keep in little families of four to seven individuals allowing one to approach them quite near, then they fly away again to perch a short distance away.

I noticed also in going southward that the young pines seemed to take the form of palm trees, which is especially remarkable in the very young plants of *pinus australis*. We saw then fine cotton plantations and in the afternoon we reached Quincy, which is quite a wretched little village with houses quite separated from one another. Having left the next morning, I soon arrived at a place in the road from which I had a delightful view. From the top of a hill I saw suddenly that I had reached the limit of green trees, and that forests of tropical appearance spread everywhere before my eyes their majestic foliage; the huge magnolia seemed to spread out its leaves proudly like huge spatulas. The *quercus vivens* or live oaks were noticeable in the vicinity, and several species of the palm family contributed not a little to the

brilliancy of the vegetation. We passed over the Oclock-one [Ochlockonee] River and the Little River whose banks are delightful, then finding again pine woods we reached in the evening Tallahassee, the end of our trip.

[TALLAHASSEE]

The tavern to which I went and which was considered the better of the only two existing in the town, was not however in any way remarkable in regard to its luxury, for the breakfast consisted of coffee without milk, venison and corn bread, the dinner of pork, cabbage and sweet potatoes, and the supper of tea without milk and the eternal corn bread. The price of these comforts is three dollars and a half per day (a little more than 18 francs), and the other expenses are all of the same character. Sometimes for a change we had boiled or roasted corn, but I admit that that added very little to my pleasure.

Tallahassee, the capital of the Floridas, is a little town of about 1,500 inhabitants situated on hills, but in a very unhealthy region. Two newspapers are published in it; there are a bank and several churches. Near the town is a little waterfall in the woods of a very pretty effect. To the east of this town extend the lands offered by the government of the United States to General Lafayette in which is a pretty lake that bears his name.

The word Tallahassee means old field in the Indian language. This town was established in 1825 by Governor Duval, who, wishing to turn the immigration of the whites toward this region, left St. Augustine, the former capital, and came to live in the midst of savages.

Saint Marks, a little town on the Gulf of Mexico, serves as seaport for Tallahassee; a very poor railroad extends from one town to the other. I made numerous trips in the neighborhood, one of them took me to Monticello near lake Mikasouki, [Miccosukee] famous for the quarrelsome character of its inhabitants and the great number of murders that occur there every year.

On the 25th of February I left Tallahassee toward evening. All of the rivers were overflowing their banks and several offered us quite serious difficulties. The next day at six o'clock in the morning we reached Quincy. I hastened to go to see Mr. Chapman, a young physician who is busy studying natural sciences; his welcome was most fraternal. He had just discovered in the neighboring woods a fine forest tree not yet described, and he had sent the details about it to Dr. Torrey. At eight o'clock I left in a detestable stagecoach for Mount Vernon [present Chattahoochee]. As usual we went through immense pine forests with occasional hammocks. We saw several groups of children on horseback going to school; the plantations are often in these regions situated at great distances from one another, and the schools being located in the midst of the woods, the children sometimes have to go several leagues in order to get there. Before arriving at Mount Vernon we saw the arsenal. I visited then the towns of Apalachicola and St. Joseph, but having already described all this region in my work on Florida, I shall merely say here that on my return to Mount Vernon on the 15th of March, I left it the next day by steamer to return to New York by going up the Apalachicola River. We soon reached the place where the Flint River flows into the latter, and then it takes the name of Chattahoutchie River. Twenty-two miles further along we passed the boundary of Florida, and we then had on our left the state of Alabama and on our right Georgia. In the afternoon there was much fog and the boat hit twice those huge tree stumps which make so dangerous the navigation of large American rivers. On the 17th in the morning I observed that the banks on both sides were very high, and at about nine o'clock we reached Fort Gaines, built during the Indian war and today changed into a village of considerable size; it is situated on the Georgia bank. Near by is a pretty waterfall, at which a mill has been built; farther along is another waterfall, then the town store ; everything is built on a bluff 180

feet above the river, and in front is seen a very white sandbank; facing it on the Alabama side is Franklin, a little village with one hundred inhabitants. Farther upstream the river flows between very high limestone banks covered with good soil that supports fine vegetation; everywhere it is winding but very deep, and the steamers keep going safely at eight or ten feet from the bank.

The farther north we went the less moss (*tillandsia*) we saw on the branches of the trees, which according to the inhabitants of this region is a certain indication that we were reaching less unhealthy regions. Several times we passed in front of pretty waterfalls, one of which in particular, although it fell only a dozen feet, was remarkably wide. On the Alabama side the bank is nearly 150 feet high and is so steep that one can come down it only by means of ladders. In some places they have made woodpiles for the steamers and they throw the sticks of wood onto them from the hills. The vegetation gradually lost its tropical appearance and in general it seemed to me less beautiful than that of Florida.

At the foot of a steep slope we saw the body of a deer that had been killed by falling from the top of the cliff and numerous buzzards were sharing its remains. We stayed an hour at Irwington, a village situated on a hill about 200 feet high. They land some distance above it on a sandbank; the number of inhabitants is about 1200. We passed then through immense stretches of canes that are here called canebrakes; on the Alabama side we saw the falls of Cowadgee [Cowickee] Creek. Toward evening we stopped at Roanoke in Georgia; it is an abandoned village today, but it was of considerable size a few years ago. During the war with the Creeks the Indians seized it, massacred all the inhabitants they could capture, and set fire to it. On board was a man who was there during that terrible night; around him he had seen fall his father, wife and ten children; finally weakened by several wounds, he determined to end his life as quickly as possible and he rushed into the midst

of the savages. Despair gave him superhuman strength, for in less than three minutes he found himself safe in the woods after having crossed alone through a band of 800 Indians. Two miles further upstream is Florence, a pretty village built recently and inhabited mostly by men who escaped from the Roanoke massacre. If one thought of the quantity of blood shed to start new settlements, perhaps it would be found that in spite of the richness of the soil and other advantages that they may offer they always cost humanity too dearly.

It had rained all day and in the evening the fog was so dense that we were obliged to stop all night long.

On the 18th in the morning we went over shallow water. On the Georgia side woods entirely of green trees penetrate even into the water; farther on we saw a wooden blockhouse abandoned today but built during the Indian war; then we came close to the Georgia bank as the Alabama bank was dangerous with many ledges of rocks. On this side is Fort Michael [Mitchell] made of wood and at a mile from the river. At about fifteen miles from Columbus I saw two bluffs that seemed to me to be huge tumuli ; they are situated near a fine plantation.

At three o'clock we arrived in front of the town that we have just mentioned which is large and very nice; it may have 5000 inhabitants, and it greatly resembles Augusta. A large steamer had grounded on the sand after the last flood, and all the inhabitants of the town were gathered together on the bank watching anxiously the efforts that two other steamers made trying to set it afloat: the work lasted a long time, but finally the big body started to move and soon success was certain. The white people showed their satisfaction by a hurrah, and the negroes by their habitual jumping about. A huge number of cotton bales were piled up on the wharfs. A very fine covered bridge connects the two banks, one of which is in the state of Alabama and the other in Georgia. The financial crisis was then at its worst, and at one end of the bridge the paper money of

the first mentioned state was discounted ten percent and at the other end Georgia's money had a similar discount of six percent. I took a walk in the village of Gerard on the Alabama side facing the river on a very high hill; another trip took me to the Chattahoutchie falls located above the town. The river, which is very wide and shallow at this place rushes violently along among many partly submerged rocks. Nature is remarkably beautiful and wild, and the scene reminded me of the falls of the James River near Richmond. On the 20th I left at three o'clock in the afternoon, alone in a wretched stagecoach going toward Charleston.

In the midst of the pine woods we found a few fine homes. The soil is bright red-ocher colored, in some places we saw many limestone rocks likewise of the same shade. After having passed over a little river we crossed through a very rough country, and due to the bad condition of the road and the vehicle we were jolted in a most terrible way all night long while it did not cease raining, and it was so cold that the driver stopped the stagecoach at about two o'clock in the morning, and told me that it was impossible to go on. As I was myself suffering severely, I got down from the vehicle; we built a big fire and in spite of a driving rain we passed the rest of the night in the open air.

I did not have any thermometer at my disposal, but although it is probable that it was not freezing, I have never suffered so much from the cold; the great heat of the daytime and the extreme variation that the temperature undergoes in these regions in the space of a few hours caused the impression that I felt the effects of so keenly.

I woke up at daybreak and I was very surprised to see near me two negroes with knives in their hands; I drew my dagger and rushed at them; they ran away seeming more frightened than I had been myself. The driver had gone to see his horses, and during this time two negroes probably runaways had come up to the fire



to warm themselves, and had drawn their knives either to cut some wood or to assassinate me.

We started again at five o'clock in the morning, and we crossed in succession Sandy Creek, North White-water Creek, and Patscliga [Patsiliga] which are all branches of the Flint, then finally we crossed this latter itself by fording, and at ten o'clock we reached Knoxville, which is a poor little village. Afterwards we passed through large forests of green trees where the soil was of yellow clay ; then we crossed the Echconna [Echeconnee] and Tobaxantkee [Tobesofkee], which are branches of the Ocmulgee, and at five o'clock we reached Macon, a fine town of three to four thousand souls which does considerable business as one may judge from its big stores; it is on the Ocmulgee that is crossed on a covered bridge. At eleven in the evening we reached Milledgeville, which is thirty miles from Macon.

I felt terribly tired and I stayed there two days.

There are about 1500 people in the town. The State House is quite a fine building imitating the Gothic style. The houses are in general nice. The soil is of red clay. The town is a mile from the Oconee, which is one of the arms of the Alatomaha River. At that time typhus was ravaging the place, and the climate is considered quite unhealthy. The surrounding country is very stony and huge rocks are seen even in the midst of the town. The rain fell continually all the time that I was there.

On the twenty-third I left at one o'clock in the morning in a kind of stagecoach in which were two other persons. The road was frightful, and although Sparta was only eighteen miles distant we reached it only on the following day at one o'clock in the morning; it is a wretched village of 800 people. I had a cup of coffee there for which I was charged a dollar (5 francs 30 c.) The country is very hilly and the soil colored red; the trees are short-leaved pines. We passed by huge abnormal logs that must have been brought from the north, then we forded the river Ogeechee ; we saw many white quartz pebbles, which are so numerous in some places

that considerable tracts of land are entirely uncultivable. At noon we reached Warrenton, a rather poor little town, and the next day, the 24th, I took the Augusta railroad and left at half an hour after noon. We went through a nice very rough and hilly country : sometimes we passed along valleys, sometimes on embankments higher than the tops of the pines. The soil is everywhere clayey and red. Below one may see stratified layers of quartz of various colors. We made 25 miles an hour, and we reached Augusta at three o'clock. Busses were waiting at the depot to take travelers to the hotels.

On the 24th I took a walk along the Savannah River and made a sketch of the magnificent bridge that joins Augusta to Hamburg, or rather joins Georgia to South Carolina, and the next day I set off again for Charleston. That unfortunate town had been visited by a terrible disaster; a fire had just destroyed a great part of it, and the people were all horrified.

I returned to New York by sea, and I had an opportunity to make some observations about the important phenomenon called *gulf stream* or current from the gulf which is formed toward the south, goes around the Gulf of Mexico, comes out of it around the Florida Cape, flows toward the north along the American coast near to Cape Hatteras, goes to the south of Newfoundland, then according to the opinion generally accepted turns toward the African coast. However I believe that a portion of this water must escape toward the north, for a life boat of the steamer Ville de Lyon which was carried away by a wave while crossing to America was found again on the coast of Ireland.

This current is remarkable because of the high temperature of its water and the almost continual tempests that disturb it. When it leaves the Gulf of Mexico it flows at a speed of nearly three miles an hour, at Cape Hatteras one and three quarters miles an hour, and at one mile south of the Newfoundland banks.

We reached New York after a very quick trip of three days and a half.

VUES ET SOUVENIRS DE L'AMERIQUE DU NORD  
EXPLANATION OF PLATES

TALLAHASSEE \*

Under the Spanish government St. Augustine was the capital of the Floridas, but when this territory came into the hands of the Americans the latter saw the need of placing the seat of government in a more central place. Consequently Governor Duval went among the Indians who then were the only inhabitants of the interior of this region, and at the end of 1824 he chose the point where the new capital was to be built and which was formerly occupied by an Indian village bearing the name of Tallahassee which means old fields.

The location of this little city is very pleasing ; it is situated in a somewhat hilly region and its surroundings are remarkable for the fertility of the soil and the beauty of the vegetation. There are found there dense forests of oaks and magnolias with intertwining creepers and vines ; here you see fine cotton or corn fields, farther along the landscape is again varied by the fine effect of sugar cane plantations, or by charming lakes that spread out quietly in the midst of the solitude of the woods. The soil is generally of dark red clay which in this region is a certain evidence of good land ; it rests directly on limestone; numerous springs exist in the neighborhood and from one of them comes a pretty stream of water that after having wound around the eastern part of the city runs into the forest and forms a charming waterfall about sixteen feet high ; it runs then into a ravine hollowed out of limestone and disappears underground a quarter of a mile farther along. This scene is in fact one of the wildest. It must be added also that the location of this little capital is about central between the two limits of the territory; to the east stretch the fine lands offered by the United States to General Lafayette from which the township derives its name.

---

\*This plate was included in the last issue of the QUARTERLY.

But unfortunately the greatest scourge that can afflict a new settlement is opposed to these numerous advantages, namely, an unhealthy climate; each year bilious fevers of the most dangerous sort spread consternation in all the region. Then all the shops are closed, the fear of the epidemic together with the stifling heat drives from the city the planters of the neighborhood, and all the inhabitants who can bear an expense of that sort go to the northern part of the United States in search of a more healthy climate; the merchants take advantage of this season to go to make their purchases in New York or Philadelphia, and the planter goes to Niagara or Saratoga Springs to live luxuriously and spend in three months his yearly income.

However, although the climate is at all times dangerous for strangers, the most unhealthy months are August, September, October and November; then no one can be certain of escaping the plague, not even the planter who settled in the country long years before, nor the negro born in the malarial regions of Carolina or under the burning sun of Georgia. The comparatively large size of the cemeteries is a sad warning for one who, attracted by the beauty of the site, would like to settle in those places.

The houses, about three hundred of them, are almost all built of wood and of Italian style. They are rarely more than one story high; only two or three are of brick painted bright red with green shutters. There are several churches, presbyterian, episcopal and methodist, two banks today combined in one, two taverns, etc. Two newspapers are published there each appearing twice a week.

Everything is exorbitantly costly, the market is poorly provided, and it is difficult even by means of money to obtain more than the bare necessities. For example it is often impossible to find a drop of milk in a country where there are abundant herds of cows, and a cow is sold for no more than 25 francs.

There are about fifteen hundred inhabitants; they are Americans and most of them come from South Carolina and from Georgia ; no Spaniards are to be seen there ; at the time of my stay there there were two Frenchmen. Almost all are business men and sell merchandise to the planters of the surrounding region in exchange for their produce. This kind of business continues on credit during the whole year and is settled only on January first. The great bulk of the inhabitants is made up of negro slaves whose principal amusement is dancing ; the instrument with which they most often accompany themselves is a horse's jawbone that they scrape with a hollow reed and from which they get quite varied sounds; their dancing is a succession of ridiculous leaps and contortions.

The governor lives on a plantation near the city, which as well as being the capital of the territory is also the county seat of Leon county.

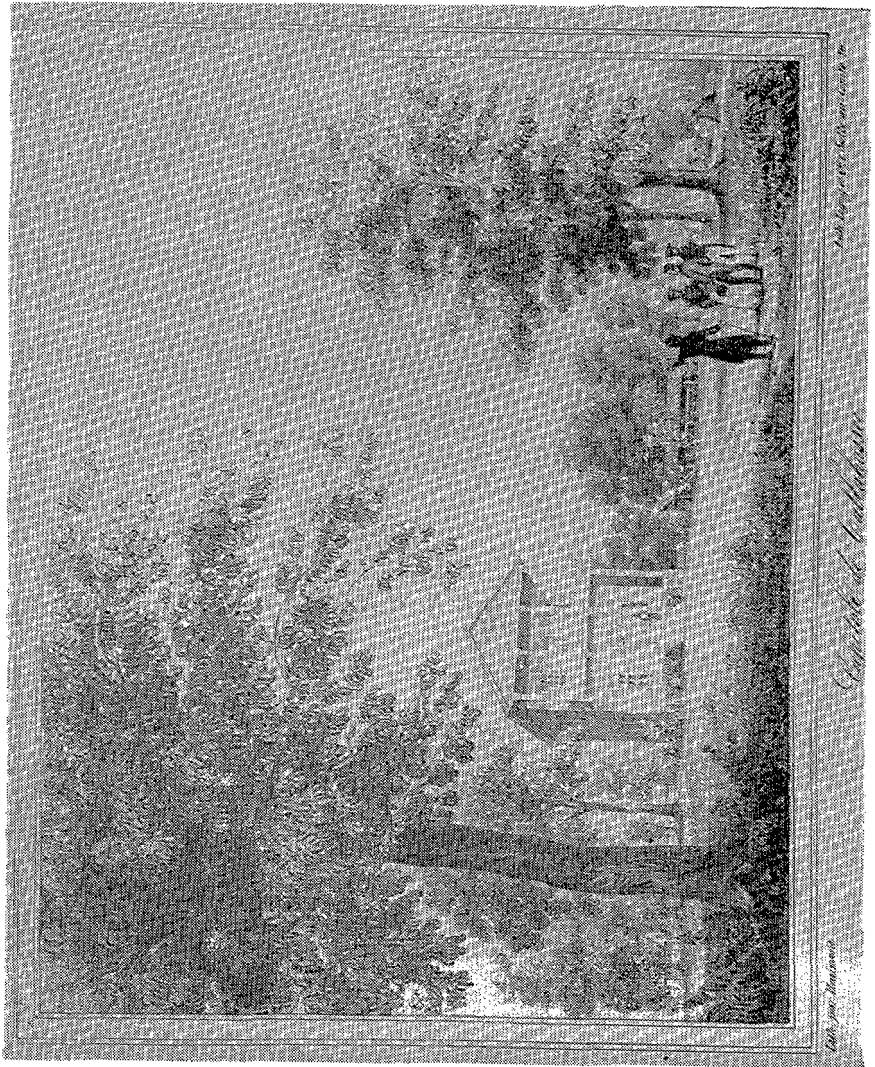
---

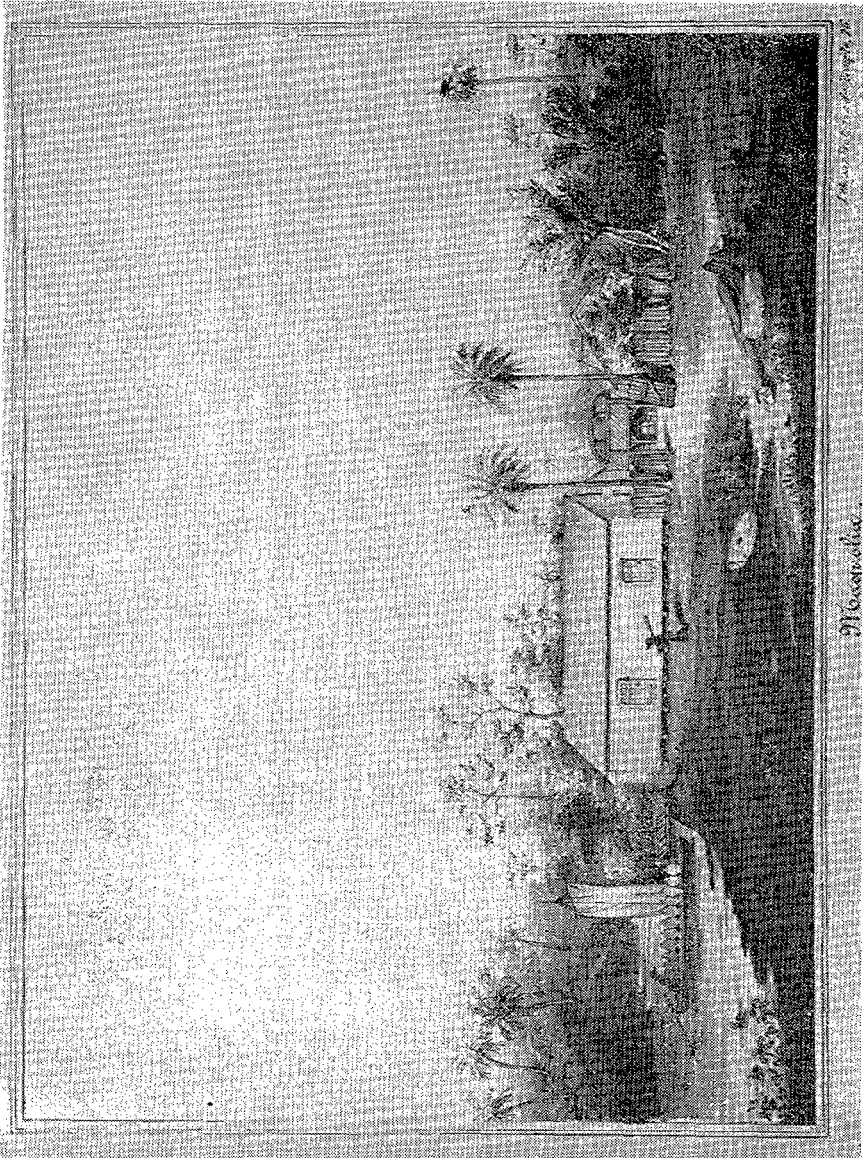
#### CAPITOL OF TALLAHASSEE

Tallahassee, in its position as capital, is the seat of the government of Florida; this region being still only a territory is administered by a governor named by the president and he was for a long time assisted by only one Assembly; today two of them exist, which forms a microscopic representative government.

Its meetings [1838] are held in the building which we have sketched and which bears the name of capitol. It is built of wood in the midst of a sort of very pretty little grove forming a park with a charming effect near the middle of the city.

These Assemblies are composed of representatives of different parts of the territory; most of them are planters and farmers, but as elsewhere, lawyers also exert their influence in them. There the laws and the administrative regulations are discussed, all that concerns divorces, etc., etc. The decisions rendered on this last point are very numerous, but on several occasions





they have been annuled by the higher authorities in Washington.

#### MAGNOLIA

Magnolia is a little village, if this name may be given to two or three houses, situated seventeen miles from the Gulf of Mexico on the St. Marks river; it was built in 1827. It is almost abandoned today because of fear of the Seminole Indians who several times have committed massacres in the vicinity. The soil is fertile and the banks of the river are charming. This river rises in Georgia, crosses lake Mikasouky, sinks underground and soon comes forth as a pond at Brookhaven. At the village of St. Marks it joins the Waukulla river, and forms then the Apalache river which flows into the Gulf of Mexico. Little ships with a draft of seven feet may go up the river to Magnolia.

---

#### LAKE JACKSON \*

Lake Jackson is situated at about a league and a half north of Tallahassee; it may be three and half leagues long and a little more than a league and a half wide. The point from which the view was taken is near the dwelling of Colonel Williams. It is chosen especially to give a view of a cotton plantation; the virgin forests have been cut down in the manner of this country, that is to say that after having cut down the little trees they set fire to the brush; as for the big trees they are satisfied to girdle them widely in the bark by means of an ax; in this way the sap cannot circulate the next season, the tree dies and after some years it falls into the field. Nothing can give an idea of the wretched appearance that these big trees offer stretched out everywhere with no leaves on their branches. Accordingly to a great extent the epidemic diseases that always ravage the new settlements are due to this great amount of vegetable matter in a constant state of decomposition.

The fields are surrounded by a high fence formed of logs placed one on another and arranged zig-zag.

---

\*This plate is not shown.



## ST. MARKS \*

Figure 1 of this plate represents the Spanish fort of St. Marks on the Gulf of Mexico or rather on the Apalache river that empties into the latter. Today it is abandoned, but before falling into the hands of the Americans it was well kept up and always in a condition to resist the attacks of the savages who several times tried to overpower it and they even succeeded once, it is said, in doing so. It is built entirely of white limestone, and back of it extends the village of the same name situated in a low marshy place like all the surrounding country.

Figure 2 shows the rampart on which are still a few old cannons; in front stretches the Apalache river, to the west [sic] is St. Marks river and to the east [sic] is the Waukulla river and all of them meet at this place.

In 1838 they built a little village on the Apalache river below the village of St. Marks. It bears the name of Port Leon in memory of the Spanish adventurer Ponce de Leon, who in 1512 discovered Florida or rather landed there first, for fifteen years before Sebastian Cabot had sailed along its shores.

In figure three is seen the lighthouse of St. Marks near the Gulf of Mexico; an Oyster bed sticks out far into the gulf; the whole coast is exceedingly arid consisting entirely of white sand on which are seen only a few yuccas and dwarf palm trees.

Finally, figure 4 represents the little waterfall near Tallahassee in Florida which we have described in speaking of Plate 1.

---

\* This plate was included in the last issue of the QUARTERLY.

## PLANTATION ON LAKE LAFAYETTE \*

This lake, located on the land given by the United States to General Lafayette, had previously the name of Tallahassee lake ; it extends from east to west a short league from the city of this name ; it is about three and

---

\*This plate is not reproduced here.

a half miles long and one mile wide. Nothing can give an idea of the beauty of these sheets of water which are scattered in great numbers in the midst of virgin forests in Middle Florida ; they are filled with fish of many sorts and their surface is everywhere enlivened by clouds of aquatic birds, above which flies constantly the bald eagle. Among the denizens of these lakes we must also mention the soft shelled turtles, as well as the alligators that are abundant there; these last reach ordinarily a length of twelve feet, and although little to be feared, by their repulsive aspect they inspire terror in persons not accustomed to seeing them.

The plantation pictured here is Mr. Croom's, a learned botanist as remarkable by the fine qualities of his heart as by those of his mind. When I saw him in New York in 1837 together with a numerous family among whom was a remarkably beautiful daughter of eighteen years, I was far from foreseeing that all would shortly after be called to appear before their creator. The entire family composed of eleven persons having embarked on the steamship Home perished with this ship off Cape Hatteras, in North Carolina; it was learned afterwards that the girl, urged by an excellent swimmer to trust herself under his protection to the raging waves, refused to leave her family and perished a victim of her filial love.

---

LIVE OAK (*Quercus virvens*) \*

Sketched on the shores of the Apalachicola river which was then overflowing, it is covered with long parasites of the species *tillandsia*, and its branches serve as a shelter for big squirrels (sc. *capistratus*) and numerous parroquets (ps. *carolina*).

This tree, remarkable for its foliage always green at all seasons, grows in the most southern parts of the United States, and particularly in Florida. It is highly esteemed for ship building and numerous bands of ad-

---

\*This plate is not included herein.

venturers penetrate continually the forests in search of it; after having cut it they bring it to the Gulf of Mexico floating the logs down the streams. The government of the United States maintains a regular plantation of these trees near Pensacola; it is eight leagues long and contains, they say, thirty thousand feet of lumber.

---

MOUNT VERNON, TALLAHASSEE RAILWAY, ETC. \*

Figure number 1 represents an Indian village on the Appalachicola river (Florida) ; it is inhabited by the Chattahoutchis, who are, like the Seminoles, a branch of the great nation of Muscogis. Most of the houses are covered with palm leaves.

Figure 2. Appalachicola river at the village of Mount Vernon. The view is taken from the terrace of a tavern built on the river; the latter is formed a mile above by the junction of the Flint and the Chattahoutchie.

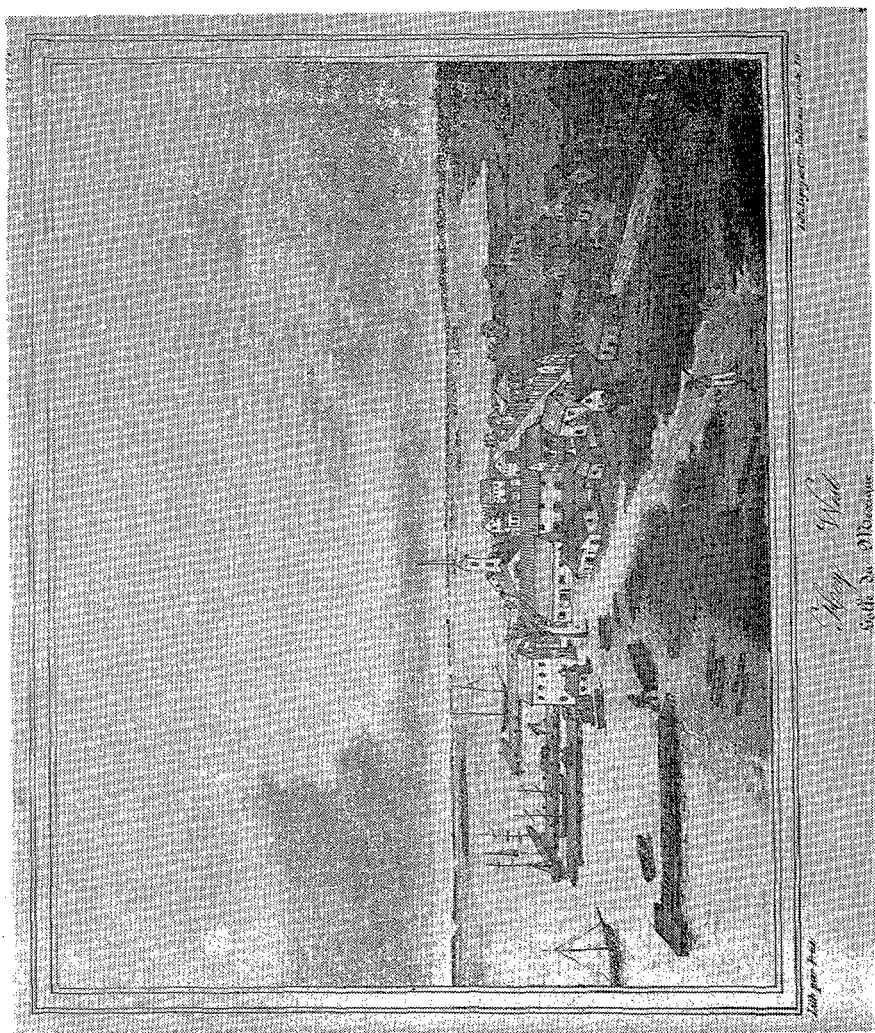
The banks of this river are covered with beautiful vegetation, and they are most fertile, but the climate is far from corresponding to these advantages, and it may be considered one of the most unhealthy in the universe. There are already fine plantations in this region and many steamships are seen always loaded with cotton that they are carrying to Appalachicola ; they go upstream as far as Columbus, Georgia where they are stopped by the falls of which we shall soon speak.

Figure 3 represents the arsenal of Mount Vernon on the Appalachicola river (Florida). It is a rather nice building made of lilac colored brick. It has been built because of the war against the Seminoles who, as is known, still ravage this unhappy country.

Figure 4. Railroad depot at Tallahassee. Florida already has a railroad, that though short is very serviceable. It goes from the capital to St. Marks on the Gulf of Mexico seven leagues away. It crosses a region so deep in sand that before its construction it was scarcely possible to cross it on horseback; it is used

---

\*This plate was included in the last issue of the QUARTERLY.





L.H. Smith del.

August 11, 1851

Wm. H. Smith sculp.

principally to carry to the gulf the cotton from the interior. Its construction leaves much to be desired, and in spite of many trials it has been impossible to keep locomotives on it for they were always running off the rails. At present they are using open carts drawn by mules ; all the employees are negro slaves.

---

#### STORE IN KEY WEST

Key West is an islet situated in the Gulf of Mexico and it may be considered as one of the West Indies, although it belongs to the United States; its position at the entrance of the Gulf of Mexico makes it really important. It is one of a little group of islands scattered along the coast and called the Florida Keys. This little archipelago is ended on the west by the Tortugas reefs. The island that concerns us is seven miles long and two miles wide ; its eastern end is divided by a channel into which the sea comes and produces a salt marsh that covers one third of the island; the western part is quite well wooded but stony; the soil is very sterile; the orange trees do not bear any fruit but some cocoanut trees are found there.

The village which is situated at the northwest corner of the island was not incorporated until 1829. It has a town hall, a prison, two stores, one of which is quite large and we have it pictured in plate XI. There are a hundred wooden houses there. There are seven to eight hundred inhabitants among whom are found merchants, doctors, and a great number of lawyers, but the island owes its prosperity to a peculiar circumstance which will show that it is rare that the good done to one is not the result of another's misfortune, this little island owes its wealth to the shipwrecks so frequent in these regions. Numerous boats are always leaving its port without any other purpose than to hunt for ships in danger. Only a few years ago the *wrecker*, for so these boats were called, approached the shipwrecked ship and proposed a bargain ; if the captain refused the burdensome conditions

by the one who offered help, the wrecker drew away and tacked about calculating coolly the force of each wave, the fear of the passengers, etc. ; each board swept away was good fortune for him, for finally when he was called back his claims increased in proportion to the distress of the unfortunates whom, in his cruelty, he snatched from death only after having obtained the abandonment of all they possessed. Today to remedy this evil they have established in Key West a court specially charged with salvage business, and any private arrangement made in advance is considered null and void by this court; but this remedy is only illusive, as all affairs are judged by the jury, and all the inhabitants being interested in one way or another in questions of this kind, the ruin of the person shipwrecked is the inevitable result of the lawsuit.

It is wrong to believe that according to the number of disasters these seas are frequently stormy and tempestuous, on the contrary they are commonly remarkably quiet and it is in the greatest calm that most of the disasters happen. Extraordinarily powerful currents flow constantly toward the Florida coast and the navigator deceived by the beauty of the sky is too often careless, feeling safe, and is aroused only by the grounding of his ship on the sandy shoals, in short one can not keep too far away from this coast on which ten times more ships are wrecked than in the stormiest places of the globe.

The climate of this island is considered very unhealthy, and on several occasions yellow fever has caused terrible ravages there.

A regular mail boat has been established between Key West and St. Marks; it runs every two weeks.

Fish are abundant in the neighboring waters and also many fine turtles are found there. The way of catching the latter is the following: a small boat leaves the port during the warmest part of the day and soon finds the turtles asleep on the surface of the water, they approach them carefully and if one has been caught

it is turned over on its back and they go on with the hunt. When they have obtained a sufficient number, they retrace their way, and tow in by means of a rope the turtles left motionless on their backs. They talk a great deal also about a conger eel whose bite is poisonous, but I believe that one need pay little attention to those fisherman's stories.

There are very few animals on the island, and generally fresh meat is not obtainable; vegetables also are brought there from the Havana market and so everything is high priced.

The bad climate can be imagined when one realizes that the village is located scarcely five feet above sea level and that there is a rather large pond in the middle of it with a temperature the average of which is higher than that of Havana. One must also add the boredom or real suffering produced by the mosquitos and the irritating fleas to realize the pleasure of a stay there. Moreover the sky is almost always clear and nights are often very cool. New arrivals have another rather painful sensation to feel which is a considerable irritability of the skin.

I have given a full description of this little point because I believe that no traveler has yet published it, and also for the great importance that it has in a business way because of ships being obliged to put into port there only too often. I shall say also for the same reason a few words about Indian Key, another islet of the same group which is also inhabited. It is mentioned on the old maps under the name of Matanzas, and a long time ago the crew of a French ship lost there was massacred by the Caloosas Indians who then lived there. It is seventy-five miles west [sic] of Key West. Besides, it is no more than a rock about twelve acres in size. When the whites settled there, there was not a bit of fertile soil, it was brought in from neighboring islands and they drew up mud from the bottom of the sea: today cocoanut trees, banana trees and orange trees are found there but not a bush nor a wild animal unless it is the



bears that sometimes swim from the neighboring coast. There are only thirty whites and twenty slaves there.; there are twelve houses. The people live only on the result of shipwrecks so common on all this coast.

In spite of its little numerical importance these people send a representative to the Florida Assembly and this settlement is a county seat, has a court and five or six lawyers. It is forbidden to sell brandy to sailors there. This islet is only a third of a mile from the little island of Matabombe, and as the arm of the sea that separates them is only a foot deep at low tide, they hope to join them by means of a causeway. The climate is very fine and healthy. They say that the heat is constantly modified by the winds (trade winds) that blow there always, and an informed inhabitant told me that the thermometer had never gone above eighty degrees Fahrenheit and almost never gone below fifty; he quoted only one exception to this last fact that had happened a few years before when that instrument had indicated only forty-eight.

But, since then this island has suffered a disaster only too common for some years in those unhappy regions. The Seminole Indians attacked it in 1839 during the night and almost all the inhabitants fell under the bloody tomahawk; some succeeded in taking refuge on neighboring islands, but for three days the savages continued to hunt for them and very few escaped a death so much the more terrible which their cruel enemies did everything possible to prolong with tortures.

## GOVERNOR CESPEDES AND THE RELIGIOUS PROBLEM IN EAST FLORIDA, 1786-1787

by RICHARD K. MURDOCH

Hardly a year had elapsed after the retrocession of East Florida to Spanish control in 1783, when one disturbing fact became evident to the authorities in St. Augustine and Havana. The desired increase in the Spanish population of the province was not materializing, and there were no indications of an imminent influx of settlers. This condition was due largely to the absence of any Spanish colonists in Cuba willing to move across the Bahama channel to the mainland. Already voices were being raised against the offering of inducements to obtain settlers for the less desirable portions of the Spanish colonial empire. Writing a few years later, a high colonial official attacked the whole policy of sending groups of colonists from Spain to the American colonies, claiming that this constituted a disastrous drain on the finances of the nation.<sup>1</sup>

Due to the inability to find suitable Spanish settlers, the major portion of the population of the province in 1786 consisted of the sizeable occupation force and their families together with the Minorcan colonists remaining from the English period.<sup>2</sup> In an effort to increase the number of inhabitants, a small band of poverty-stricken farmers originally from the Canary Islands were transferred to St. Augustine from Pensacola. This action had been requested during the previous year and royal approval was finally given in an order dated February 4, 1786.<sup>3</sup> These people were transported to St. Augustine

1. Discourse by Jose Salcedo relative to the cession of East Florida to the English, August 20, 1788, in Arthur P. Whitaker (ed. and trans.), *Documents Relating to the Commercial Policy of Spain in the Floridas . . .*, p. 83.
2. According to one authority, the total military force in St. Augustine in 1786 numbered approximately 450. Joseph B. Lockey, "The St. Augustine Census of 1786," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XVIII (1939), p. 17. The number of Minorcans, Italians, and Greeks listed in the 1786 census was 469. East Florida Papers, Census Returns, 1784-1814.
3. Jose de Espeleta to Vicente Manuel de Cespedes, August 19, 1786, East Florida Papers, b1A.

in small groups as vessels became available. It was expected that they would assume the burden of raising sufficient agricultural products to satisfy the needs of the entire province. A single year of half-hearted and probably misguided effort on the part of the Canary islanders was sufficient to convince Governor Cespedes<sup>4</sup> that this scheme was far from successful. Writing to Spain concerning these farmers, he declared: "Their sloth compels me to inform Your Excellency that they are nothing but a source of useless expense to the royal treasury."<sup>5</sup> In short, there was no indication that the province was on the road to much desired self-sufficiency. The governor was still convinced that this could be achieved for he had information that under the English administration the province had boasted an exportable surplus of cereal products.<sup>6</sup> On every side were to be seen fertile acres lying idle because of the shortage of colonists capable of, tilling the soil. The only remaining solution to the problem appeared to be the admission of a selected group of dependable foreign farmers.

The governor's problem, however, was not simply one of finding settlers willing to come to the province. Once such a group had been located, there still remained the difficult task of convincing the Spanish authorities in Havana of the desirability of requesting Madrid to sanction the issuance of licenses to permit these foreigners to settle on Spanish soil. Although the admission of such persons as permanent settlers ran counter to three hundred years of restrictive Spanish colonial policy, the closing decades of the eighteenth century were witnessing a gradual relaxation in enforcement of certain regulations in the Laws of the Indies.<sup>7</sup> Cespedes

4. Vicente Manuel de Cespedes (or Zespedes) was governor of East Florida from 1784 to 1790.

5. Cespedes to Marquis de Sonora, May 12, 1787, as printed in Whitaker, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

6. The truth of the matter was that under the English, East Florida seldom had been able to supply its own food requirements. Wilbur H. Siebert, *Loyalists in East Florida*, I, 119.

7. For laws regulating the entry of foreigners into the Spanish colonial empire, see *Recopilacion de Leyes de los Reynes de las Indias*. . . , libro IX (1791 ed.), III, 326ff.

delayed writing to Madrid on the matter of foreign settlers apparently preferring to formulate a feasible plan before broaching the subject officially. His frequent dispatches did lay the groundwork for future action, however, stressing the extreme poverty of the settlers already in the province, the lack of food, the need for clothing, and the shortage of money to pay the soldiers.<sup>8</sup>

There had been rumors current for some time in St. Augustine that a number of recent European arrivals in the United States were not finding their new life as easy as they had been assured it would be. Céspedes was informed that some of these Europeans were willing to cross to the south bank of the St. Marys river in order to settle on the farms abandoned by the departing English colonists. He wrote concerning these people: "It is probable that not a few Europeans who have emigrated to North America during the last five years in search of settlements and illusory riches, and who are already disillusioned, will think themselves fortunate if they are received as subjects of his Majesty."<sup>9</sup> Here was an obvious solution to the problem of populating and feeding the province. Céspedes wrote to Madrid suggesting that these people be admitted to East Florida under regulations similar to those applied a year earlier to those English settlers who had expressed a desire to remain in the province as Spanish subjects.<sup>10</sup> As he pointed out, the Europeans in the United States were poor and utterly destitute, and therefor would undoubtedly become dependable citizens. He warned his gov-

8. For an example of a letter of this sort, see Céspedes to Bernardo de Galvez, February 20, 1786, East Florida Papers, b41 B4.

9. Céspedes to Marquis de Sonora, May 12, 1787, Whitaker, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

10. The royal order of March 8, 1786 granted permission to the English settlers to remain in East Florida if they swore an oath of allegiance to Spain, and if they accepted the Catholic faith. The order of April 5 was in much the same vein. The governor acknowledged the receipt of these orders on August 12, 1786. Céspedes to Galvez, August 12, 1786, East Florida Papers, b41 B4. See also, Céspedes to Galvez, December 24, 1786, East Florida Papers, b43, D1.

ernment, however: "It would by no means be advisable to admit natives of the said America [ *i.e.*, the United States] into the province because one might say that they would then be as it were at the door of their original home."<sup>11</sup> Although this attitude of mistrust of native Americans continued to be evident in the dispatches of Céspedes and his successor, no serious effort was made by either of them to prevent the unlicensed entry of these people into East Florida.

The two major objections to the governor's suggestion to admit recent arrivals to the United States from Europe, aside from their being foreigners, were their association, albeit short, with the liberal form of government of the new republic, and their usual non-observance of Catholicism. Céspedes asserted that compliance with the royal order of March 8 requiring an oath of allegiance to Spain and conversion to the Catholic faith would resolve both these difficulties. He could find no other argument against the admission of these people as settlers, nor could he foresee difficulties developing once they had been received in the province.

The governor reported to Madrid that he had issued an order to all heads of families requiring observance of that portion of the royal order dealing with the oath of allegiance.<sup>12</sup> Apparently the handful of foreign settlers remaining from the English period offered no objection to complying with his order. One of the first to take the required oath was John Leslie, the partner of William Panton. He appeared in court on August 28 and took the prescribed oath with his hand "on the Holy Bible and the Four Gospels."<sup>13</sup>

Although the governor expressed some concern at the appearance of scattered American settlers along the

11. Céspedes to Marquis de Sonora, May 12, 1787, Whitaker, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

12. Céspedes to Galvez, August 12, 1786, *op. cit.*

13. Céspedes to Marquis de Sonora, August 30, 1786, Archivo Historico Nacional, Estado: Legajo 3901. The king expressed his approval of Leslie's action and granted him permission to continue his business in St. Augustine. Jose de Galvez to Céspedes, January 19, 1787, *ibid.*

frontier, he seemed willing to extend the terms of the royal orders of 1786 to embrace all people desirous of remaining permanently in East Florida. Available information does not give an exact date for the arrival of the first of these citizens of the new republic. A few crossed the St. Marys river during 1785, and it is possible that some may have come in the previous year. The governor's first allusion to the presence of a few American families in the vicinity of both the St. Marys and St. Johns rivers came during the late summer of 1786.<sup>14</sup> These people were followed by larger numbers in the next few years, culminating in a "migration" in 1790. Like the former English colonists still remaining in East Florida, the new settlers from the United States expressed willingness to take the required oath of allegiance to Spain, but balked at the demand that they make an immediate change in their religion. The governor expressed mild pleasure at the arrival of these people and at the rapidity with which they settled on the abandoned plantations, but he insisted that he was firm in his decision to enforce the religious clauses of the royal orders. The years 1786 and 1787 witnessed few voluntary conversions among the Anglo-Saxon settlers, and it became evident that the governor could not enforce his will without a show of force. In the face of this opposition, he apparently abandoned all efforts to force conversion on that portion of the population not professing to be Catholic. A compromise acceptable to all was reached when Céspedes agreed to relieve the adult population of the necessity of changing religions provided they made no attempt to hold public Protestant services.<sup>15</sup> This *sub rosa* agreement seemed to resolve

14. Céspedes to Galvez, August 12, 1786, *op. cit.*

15. The holding of Protestant services of any sort within the Spanish colonial empire was strictly forbidden in the Laws of the Indies. This prohibition was repeated in a royal order of 1790 permitting all foreigners to settle in East Florida. The order declared: "He, the settler, will not be molested in the matter of religion, though there will be no public cult other than the Catholic." Las Casas to Quesada, October 19, 1790, as quoted in *Spanish Land Grants in Florida*. Historical Records Survey, 5 vols. (Tallahassee, 1940), IV. 19D.

one problem arising from the admission of foreign settlers into East Florida.

In spite of the failure of his earlier attempts, the governor still clung to the hope of obtaining in some way partial observance of the religious terms of the orders of 1786. His next attempt was to try to convince the Anglo-Saxon settlers of the advantages that might accrue to those of them who permitted their younger children to receive religious instruction as the first step to conversion to the Catholic faith. Compliance with such a measure would require that the children of the settlers in the northern part of the province either be brought to St. Augustine or be visited by someone capable of giving the necessary instruction. The utter impossibility of the first course was evident as the roads to St. Augustine were much too dangerous. In addition, few of the settlers could afford the expense of such a journey. It was thus evident that the success of Cespedes' plan depended on the dispatching of a priest to visit the rural areas.

But here again the governor ran into a difficult situation. There were four Catholic priests resident in East Florida in 1786, but only two were able to conduct services in the church in St. Augustine. Fathers Thomas Hassett and Michael O'Reilly, the two priests serving the parish at St. Augustine,<sup>16</sup> had reached East Florida late in 1784, the former in the capacity of vicar and parish priest, and the latter both as the vicar's assistant and as chaplain to administer to the needs of the garrison.<sup>17</sup> These duties, both civilian and military, kept the two men constantly occupied within the bounds of the town. In addition to these two priests, a third, Father Pedro Camps, had long been associated with the Minorcan col-

16. The parish of St. Augustine embraced the entire province of East Florida.

17. The two priests had received their religious instruction in the Irish College at the University of Salamanca. For additional information on the two men, see Joseph B. Lockey, "Public Education in Spanish St. Augustine," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XV (1937), pp. 148-157; and Patrick W. Browne, "Salamanca and the Church in Florida," *Ecclesiastical Review*, LXXXIV (1931), pp. 581-587.

any at New Smyrna, and was then in retirement in St. Augustine. He was occasionally called upon to assist in services involving Minorcans who were unable to speak Spanish. His health was such as to prevent any extensive travel.<sup>18</sup> The fourth priest was Father Francisco Troconis, the official chaplain both of the Hibernian Regiment and of the Royal Hospital. The official church records give no indication that Father Troconis ever assisted Fathers Hassett and O'Reilly in any civilian services. Thus if religious instruction was to be given and baptisms solemnized in the rural area, frequent arduous journeys would be forced upon the already overworked priests. If such a scheme was adopted, the obvious course was to celebrate as many baptisms as possible during each visitation.

Once the governor decided to follow this plan, he wrote to Spain suggesting the sending of three additional priests to assist in ministering to the spiritual needs of the settlers in the outlying areas.<sup>19</sup> In spite of the urgency of this matter, Fathers Hassett and O'Reilly were forced to carry on all the religious services in East Florida for nearly eleven years before the arrival of any permanent assistants. But overwork was not the only complaint of the two priests for they were hampered in the performance of their religious duties by a shortage of canonicals and vital pieces of church equipment. When the province was evacuated in 1763, the church in St. Augustine was stripped of these articles in order to transport them to Havana. By a royal order of February 5, 1786, the Archbishop of Cuba was requested to return these items to St. Augustine, but this had not been done as late as July.<sup>20</sup> Hampered as they were, the two priests were unable to

18. Father Camps remained in retirement in St. Augustine until his death in May, 1790.

19. Cespedes requested also that the province be divided into three Parishes, one embracing St. Augustine, one the St. Marys area, and One the plantations along the St. Johns River. Cespedes to Galvez, August 12, 1786, *op. cit.*

20. Royal Order of February 5, 1786, enclosed in Espeleta to Cespedes, July 17, 1786, East Florida Papers, b1A.



find time to make the journey to the northern areas except on very rare occasions. As a matter of fact, the records of St. Augustine parish indicate that except for a visitation by Father O'Reilly in 1787, and one by Father Hassett in 1790, the religious needs of the outlying plantation areas were left unsatisfied, unless the settlers made the difficult journey to St. Augustine. As a result, few if any children from the northern portion of the province received religious instruction, and none were baptized except during the aforementioned visits.

The first of these visitations took place early in 1787 in conjunction with an extensive survey trip made by the governor to acquaint himself with conditions in the northern portion of East Florida. Father O'Reilly was asked to accompany Governor Céspedes and his secretary, Captain Carlos Howard.<sup>21</sup> The governor hoped to ascertain the reaction of the Anglo-Saxon settlers to Spanish rule and to permit the priest to make a survey of the religious needs of the area.<sup>22</sup> During this month-long trip, the governor's itinerary took him to many plantations along the North, St. Johns, Nassau, and St. Marys rivers, where he held long conversations with both the English colonists and the new settlers from the United States. He discovered that although many of these people were opposed to changing their religion, they were willing to permit the baptism of their younger children.<sup>23</sup>

Father O'Reilly was prepared to perform the necessary sacraments for he had a small portable altar among his belongings. He had brought this with him in order to celebrate mass for the governor's party and the local

21. Captain Carlos Howard had been sent to East Florida to prepare the way for the retrocession to Spain. He was a member of the Hibernia Regiment and acted as the governor's secretary for more than ten years.
22. Father O'Reilly departed from St. Augustine some time after January 10, for on that date, he performed a baptism in the town church. *Roman Catholic Records, St. Augustine Parish, White Baptisms, 1784-1792*, Historical Records Survey, Tallahassee, 1941, p. 52.
23. For the governor's own account of his twenty-eight day journey, see Céspedes to Marquis de Sonora, May 12, 1787, Whitaker, *op. cit.*

inhabitants. According to Cespedes' subsequent report forwarded to Spain, mass was celebrated at Amelia Island, at the plantation of Francisco Felipe Fatio,<sup>24</sup> and at the trading post of Panton, Leslie & Co. on the St. Johns river.<sup>25</sup> In addition to mass, Father O'Reilly was called upon to perform the sacrament of baptism seven times. According to the church records, these ceremonies were all performed *non solemni*.<sup>26</sup>

While the governor's party was occupied in inspecting the defenses of Amelia Island and the estuary of the St. Marys river, the priest was ministering to the needs of the local inhabitants. He was called upon to baptize four children during this portion of the governor's trip. He first visited the plantation home of John and Mary Houston,<sup>27</sup> and there christened their eight month old daughter, Rose. As the Houston home at "Hickory Grove" was quite a distance up the St. Marys river, the priest spent considerable time in traveling.<sup>28</sup> After the ceremony, Father O'Reilly urged the parents to bring their infant daughter to the church at St. Augustine at their first opportunity in order that either he or Father Hassett might complete the baptismal ritual. According to the church records, Rose did appear in St. Augustine on February 2, 1808, at which time she was anointed with Holy Oils.<sup>29</sup>

24. The Fatio plantation was the most extensive single holding along the southern bank of the St. Johns river. For additional information about the Fatio family, see Bruno Roselli, *The Italians in Colonial Florida*, p. 30.

25. Cespedes to Marquis de Sonora, May 12, 1787, Whitaker, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

26. All baptisms not performed in the church at St. Augustine were listed as *non solemni* to indicate that the ceremony was incomplete. To be completed, the recipient must be anointed with Holy Oils, an act that could be performed only in the church. The ceremony was regarded as official, however, even without this act.

27. John and Mary Houston were both Loyalists who had fled from Georgia, probably in 1780.

28. The Houston family was later driven away from "Hickory Grove" in 1789 by an Indian attack. Apparently they returned to their plantation home after hostilities ceased. Houston was murdered by Indians four years later. *Spanish Land Grants*, IV, 201-202.

29. *Roman Catholic Records*, p. 52.

Later on the same day, Father O'Reilly visited the home of John and Mary Kean,<sup>30</sup> and there baptized three young children. The oldest of these was a girl named Elizabeth, approximately six and one-half years old.<sup>31</sup> A marginal note in the church records states that she "had been scalped by an Indian," indicating clearly that life, along the St. Marys river was not yet safe.<sup>32</sup> The other two children were William, aged two, and Mary, an infant of eight months.<sup>33</sup> As no official witness signed the baptismal records of these children, it appears safe to assume that none of the governor's party were in attendance.

After concluding the survey of Amelia Island and the St. Marys region, the governor and his official party turned southward, finally arriving at the middle reaches of the St. Johns river. Here were situated some of the largest and most prosperous plantations in the entire province, and here were congregated many of the Anglo-Saxon settlers. This region had been known as the "agricultural heart" of East Florida during the period of English rule. Toward the end of the governor's visit to these river plantations, Father O'Reilly was requested to perform three additional baptisms. The first of these ceremonies was performed on February 23, at the home of John and Roana Hegar, formerly residents of Georgia.<sup>34</sup> Their three months old son was given the name John Baptist, probably out of respect to Juan Baptista Payeres, a neighbor, who was present at the ceremony in

---

30. There appears to be little definite information available on Joseph Kean, other than that he was a Loyalist refugee from Georgia. It is possible that the name Kean should be spelled Kane or Cain, as several families by these names do appear in the land grant records.

31. Elizabeth Kean was born on June 9, 1780, apparently in East Florida, indicating that her parents had left Georgia during the Revolution. *Roman Catholic Records*.

32. *Ibid.*

33. Mary Kean appears as the wife of both John Houston and John Kean. This may indicate confusion and duplication in the official records.

34. Available information makes no mention of a Hegar family.

the capacity of official witness, and who may have served as god-father.<sup>35</sup>

A visit was made on the next day to the home of John and Mary Hambly,<sup>36</sup> also former residents of Georgia, who asked Father O'Reilly to baptize their eight months old son. The infant was given the name John.<sup>37</sup> The elder Hambly apparently stood high in the esteem of the provincial authorities for the governor himself was present at the ceremony and signed the church register as official witness and sponsor.<sup>38</sup> This was the only occasion during the tour of inspection that the governor took an active part in the baptismal ceremonies of Father O'Reilly. The priest performed a second baptismal ceremony on the same day, possibly in conjunction with the one celebrated in the Hambly home. At the second service, the month old natural son of Jacob Leslie and Anna Kinsly was given the name Thomas.<sup>39</sup> The governor's assistant secretary, Manuel Rengil,<sup>40</sup> acted as official witness, possibly indicating that the father of the child may have been a person of some consequence.<sup>41</sup> On the other hand, it may have been that Rengil was anxious both to see that the mother and child received proper consideration, and to offer the protection of the government.

This baptismal ceremony was the last performed during the governor's survey expedition. Father O'Reilly may have tarried for a short time after the governor's departure as no mention is made of his presence in St. Augustine until April 12, when he was called upon to offi-

35. *Catholic Church Records*, p. 56.

36. There appears to be little information concerning the activities of the Hambly family prior to this time.

37. The young child was later brought to St. Augustine where he was anointed with Holy Oils and received into the Church on April 29, 1789. *Catholic Church Records*, p. 56.

38. Hambly was later employed by Governor Quesada as Indian agent, interpreter, and confidential courier.

39. It is possible that Jacob Leslie was the son of John Leslie, the merchant. The name Kinsley appears variously as Kinsley or Kingsley.

40. Manuel Rengil later became the secretary of Governor Quesada.

41. *Catholic Church Records*, p. 57.

ciate at the baptism of Theodore Mariano Savi.<sup>42</sup> If he did linger in the outlying plantation area, the church records make it clear that he performed no additional baptisms. He may have celebrated mass, however, for the garrisons of the various posts along the St. Johns river, at San Nicolas, San Vicente Ferrer, and Talbot Island. These isolated groups of soldiers did not receive frequent visits from the military chaplain.

As was mentioned previously, the lengthy visitation of Father O'Reilly to the northern reaches of the province was the only one of its kind undertaken between 1784 and 1790, when Father Hassett embarked upon his important baptismal mission to the Anglo-Saxon settlers. The three years following the visit of Father O'Reilly were to witness a steady increase in the number of colonists arriving from the southern portion of the United States, thus making Father Hassett's visit in 1790 a matter of necessity.

The baptisms performed by Father O'Reilly in January and February, 1787, during his visit to the plantation region, were but a portion of all the Anglo-Saxon baptisms celebrated in East Florida in the years 1786 and 1787. During these two years, more than a score of persons of Anglo-Saxon extraction were christened and anointed with Holy Oils in the church at St. Augustine.<sup>43</sup> The two groups of baptizees, those in the rural areas and those in the town, differed both as to age and as to motives actuating their acceptance of the Catholic religion. The parents of the children baptized during the visitation of Father O'Reilly were Protestants and were desirous both to maintain good relations with the Spanish authorities and also to provide for the future welfare of their offspring as citizens of East Florida. As a result of their extreme youth, these children were christened and admitted to the Catholic faith without religious in-

42. *Ibid.*, p. 61.

43. Only non-Catholic adults and their children will be considered in this part of the paper.

struction.<sup>44</sup> Many of the baptizees in St. Augustine were adults or adolescents, and were therefore required to undergo instruction. Actually, this group fell into three main classes ; adults of both sexes, adolescent girls, and young children.

The first of the two adult males to receive the sacrament of baptism during these two years was Edward Ashton.<sup>45</sup> He was a successful planter who had come to East Florida from Ireland during the period of English occupation. He had made quite a name for himself before the retrocession of the province to Spain, and when that event took place, he was one of the few who decided to remain behind. The presence of Governor Céspedes at the baptismal ceremony on February 1, 1786 as official witness and sponsor testified to the position of Ashton in the eyes of the local authorities.<sup>46</sup> Ashton's wife, Maria, already was a Catholic, and their two oldest sons were listed in the contemporary records as catechumens.

About three months later the second of the adult males to be baptized in St. Augustine in 1786 appeared before Father Hassett. He was Jacob Clarke,<sup>47</sup> a youth of twenty. This young man was a native of East Florida and already was the possessor of an extensive farm of his own.

The third of the adult Anglo-Saxons to be baptized during the period under consideration was Maria Evans Peavett,<sup>48</sup> the widow of Joseph Peavett, a wealthy plant-

44. It was customary to baptize children under six without requiring them to undergo religious instruction. They were considered to be under the "age of reason."

45. According to the census of 1786, Edward Ashton was 38 years old in that year. He was listed as the husband of Maria Hinsman, a native of Germany. East Florida Papers, Census Returns, 1786-1814.

46. This date was some months prior to the issuance of the two royal orders dealing with the problem of the conversion of English colonists remaining in the province.

47. Jacob Clarke was the eldest child of Thomas and Honoria (Cummings) Clarke who had come to East Florida from England soon after the treaty of 1763.

48. Maria Evans was born in Charleston, South Carolina, where for a short time, she was the wife of a man named Fenwick. Later, she came to East Florida where she married Peavett who had arrived in the province late in 1763, shortly after the arrival of the English occupation troops.

er who had been granted extensive properties during the period of English occupation both in St. Augustine and at New Waterford on the North river.<sup>49</sup> When he had announced his intention of remaining in East Florida after the retrocession, several of the departing English colonists left their property in his care. There were certain indications that some of Peavett's affluence could be traced directly to misuse of his powers as trustee of these properties.<sup>50</sup> He died shortly after the arrival of the new Spanish governor, possibly in 1785. His widow soon accepted the attentions of a young Irish planter, John Hudson,<sup>51</sup> who had been a friend of her late husband. As her prospective husband was of the Catholic faith, it behooved her to renounce her Lutheranism and accept his religion. The baptismal ceremony was performed by Father Hassett on November 23, 1786.<sup>52</sup> The couple were married shortly afterward, probably early in the next year. Their names appear linked together during the next few years as witnesses and sponsors at many baptismal and marriage ceremonies. When Mrs. Hudson died in 1792, the terms of her will indicated that she had been widowed once again, probably prior to 1790. In spite of her frequent marriages, Mrs. Hudson was survived by no blood relatives, and her entire estate was bequeathed to a ward, John E. Tate.<sup>53</sup>

The fourth and last adult baptism was likewise performed as a matter of convenience, but for a very different reason. The request was made that Father Hassett attend Judith Arbert,<sup>54</sup> an unwed expectant mother, who desired to join the Catholic faith so that her child could be born of a Catholic parent. The priest at first refused to sanction such a ceremony on the ground that the woman

49. *Spanish Land Grants*, III, 127.

50. Siebert, *op. cit.*, II, 61-62.

51. He was at least thirty years her junior.

52. *Catholic Church Records*, p. 45.

53. *Spanish Land Grants*, III, 127.

54. Judith Arbert was the daughter of John and Sarah Arbert of South Carolina. She was listed as being 28 at the time of her baptism. *Catholic Church Records*, p. 83.

had previously been baptized in the United States by a Lutheran clergyman. After considerable delay, Father Hassett relented and permitted a partial ceremony on December 3, at which time the young woman was given the name Francisca Maria Rosa.<sup>55</sup> There is nothing in the available information to indicate whether or not the parents of the child which was born six days after the baptism of its mother, were later married. As a matter of fact, the father, John Grene<sup>56</sup> of France, does not appear again in any available records of St. Augustine.

As has been pointed out, the baptisms of Maria Evans Peavett and Judith Arbert were performed as matters of convenience. The same was true of the baptisms of six adolescent girls celebrated during the period under consideration. All six belonged to Protestant families, and all were desirous of marrying youths of the Catholic faith. The marriage ceremony could not be performed with the full church service, however, if either of the parties involved was not of the Catholic faith. The obvious solution to the problem was the conversion of the young girls to the religion of their prospective husbands. The first of these girls to request baptism was Margarita McFail,<sup>57</sup> a young woman of 20, who was christened by Father Hassett on February 3, 1786. Her case was similar in some ways with that of Judith Arbert, for on the very day that she was baptized, her six weeks old natural child was also baptized and given the name Joana Elvira. According to a notation in the church records, this child was legitimated on December 4 after the marriage of its

55. *Ibid.*

56. The name Grene does not appear to be of French origin. The official sponsor at the baptisms of both mother and infant was Maria Rosa Generini of St. Augustine. It might be pointed out that there is a slight similarity between the names Grene and Generini, and it may be that some error in transcription may have occurred.

57. Margarita McFail was a native of East Florida and the daughter of Paul and Margarita (Win) McFail, both Anglicans from the British Isles.



mother to Antonio de Palma,<sup>58</sup> the father.<sup>59</sup> The couple remained in St. Augustine where their second child was born on August 27, 1787.<sup>60</sup>

Early in November, the second prospective bride, Sarah Mangrin,<sup>61</sup> was christened by Father Hassett receiving the name Mary Elizabeth. Conversion to the Catholic faith was a prerequisite for her marriage to John George Hinsman of Baltimore, a member of a noted colonial family already well established in East Florida.<sup>62</sup> Their marriage must have taken place shortly thereafter as they are listed as husband and wife in the census completed during December of 1786.<sup>63</sup> Their first child, John Manuel Florentine, was born on October 16, 1787.<sup>64</sup>

Thirteen year old Mary Perry,<sup>65</sup> the daughter of Mary Perry Hazard, a widow of some social standing in the community, was the next prospective bride to request the assistance of Father Hassett. She was christened Maria Dolores Concepcion in a ceremony held on December 12. Early the next year, she was married to Ramon de Fuentes, who had accompanied Governor Céspedes to the province from Havana in 1784 in the capacity of "Chief Apothecary for the National and Military Hospital of St. Augustine, Florida."<sup>66</sup> They were blessed with a son, Antonio Gervasius, born on June 1, 1788.<sup>67</sup>

Four young girls were baptized in the church at St.

58. Antonio de Palma was a native of Spain who had settled in St. Augustine after the retrocession. He was the owner of a small trading company.

59. *Catholic Church Records*, p. 23.

60. The infant was finally given the name John Joseph. *Ibid.*, p. 76.

61. Sarah Mangrin was the daughter of William and Elizabeth (Letgo) Mangrin of Virginia. There is no indication that her widowed mother was present in East Florida at the time of her baptism.

62. The Hinsman family was a very large one, apparently having settled in East Florida prior to the close of the Revolution. The church records list both Pennsylvania and Maryland as the family's original home.

63. East Florida Papers, Census Returns, 1786-1816.

64. *Catholic Church Records*, p. 82.

65. Mary Perry was born in East Florida in 1773. Her father, Marcus Perry, apparently died some years prior to 1786.

66. *Spanish Land Grants*, III, 145-6.

67. *Catholic Church Records*, p. 113.

Augustine during the next year as part of the preparations to marriage. The first of these was Mary Scott,<sup>68</sup> who was christened Maria Raphaela del Carmen in a ceremony held on February 26. This took place a short time before her marriage to Nicholas Rodriguez,<sup>69</sup> a native of East Florida and a merchant seaman by profession. The name of Maria Rodriguez was to be found frequently during the next few years on a large number of baptismal certificates indicating that she was often requested to act as official witness or sponsor. She appears to have been a person of some importance in the social world.

One of the most interesting episodes in the story of the conversion of the Anglo-Saxon settlers occurred in the summer of 1787, when six children of Theophilus and Theresa Hill were christened in two ceremonies.<sup>70</sup> The oldest of the children was Sarah, a young woman of 17, who was given the name Maria del Carmen in a ceremony held on June 18. Shortly thereafter, her marriage to Francisco Xavier Sanchez<sup>71</sup> was celebrated in the church at St. Augustine. The couple settled on a large plantation at *San Jose* in 1791 and lived there for a great many years. According to local records, they reared a large family of children.<sup>72</sup> The first child was christened Raphaela Teresa Basilia by Father Hassett in a ceremony celebrated on May 8, 1788.<sup>73</sup>

The other five Hill children were brought to the church on July 8, 1787, in order that Father Hassett might perform a mass baptism. The oldest of these was

68. Mary Scott, a Quaker, was the daughter of John and Sarah (Briton) Scott of Philadelphia. Neither of her parents resided in East Florida at the time of her wedding.

69. Nicholas Rodriguez was the son of Lorenzo Rodriguez, a member of an old East Florida family. Father and son had returned to the province from Cuba in 1784.

70. The Hills were Baptists who had come to East Florida at an earlier date from their former home in South Carolina. Most of the children had been born north of the St. Marys River.

71. Francisco Xavier Sanchez was a native of East Florida, and was usually listed as being a planter.

72. *Spanish Land Grants*, V, 25.

73. *Catholic Church Records*, p. 104.

Christina, a child of thirteen, but already promised in marriage to Jose Sanchez,<sup>74</sup> a youth of twenty-three. He apparently was not related in any way to his future sister-in-law's husband, Francisco Xavier Sanchez. The other children baptized at the same time ranged in age from eight years to one month. The baptism of the Hill children was a welcome occurrence for Governor Cespedes as he hoped that it would set a wholesome example for other large Anglo-Saxon families.

The last of the adolescent girls to be baptized during the period under consideration was Anna Sigle.<sup>75</sup> She was given the name Anna Maria de los Dolores in a ceremony held on July 24. Her prospective husband was Pedro Rodriguez de Cala,<sup>76</sup> a native of Spain and a sailor by profession. The wedding was celebrated a few months after her baptism, and the couple's first child, Jose Manuel, was born on March 25, 1789.<sup>77</sup>

Mention has already been made of a majority of the infant baptisms celebrated in the church at St. Augustine during the period under discussion. There were eight of these baptisms, including the four young Hill children, the infant daughter of Margarita [McFail] de Palma, and the son of Judith Arbert, born a few days after her baptism.<sup>78</sup> The other two children, sons of Edward Ash-ton, have been alluded to indirectly. They were listed as catechumens in the Census of 1786, and were finally christened by Father Hassett on September 17, 1787.<sup>79</sup>

74. Jose Sanchez was a nephew of Sebastian Espinosa, and was the owner of a small farm near St. Augustine.

75. No mention has been found of the Sigle family in the material available. The church record of her baptism listed her parents as being John and Mary Sigle, the latter a widow.

76. Mention is made of Pedro Rodriguez de Cala in the Census of 1786.

77. *Catholic Church Records*, p. 144.

78. The infant was baptized on December 9, 1787, and received the name John Peter Grene. *Ibid.*, p. 85.

79. *Ibid.*, pp. 76-77.

## SUMMARY

Several fairly definite conclusions can be reached from the foregoing consideration of the Anglo-Saxon baptisms performed during 1786 and 1787, both in St. Augustine and in the northern plantation region of East Florida. In the first place, it is evident that the governor's efforts to substitute Catholicism for Protestantism among these people as demanded by the Spanish government, were not totally unsuccessful. As has been pointed out, a change of religion on the part of any large number of people has seldom been accomplished without a display of force on the part of the authorities involved. Governor Cespedes had no desire to follow such a stringent policy lest it might result in the immediate departure of all foreign settlers not of the Catholic faith. Such an occurrence would immediately undo several years' efforts to populate East Florida. Thus any change of religion was truly voluntary and marked a victory for the governor's diplomatic handling of a difficult problem.

In the second place, the conversion of persons of such wealth and prominence as Edward Ashton, the widow Peavett, and the Hill family, indicate that these people must have been conscious of some concrete economic or social advantage that might accrue to them in complying with the religious requirements of the royal orders of 1786. It was quite evident that the governor treated these people with great kindness whenever they presented him with their problems. He may have had an inkling of what the next few decades were to bring to the Spaniards in East Florida.

In the third place, the very fact that the governor not only did not make a more strenuous effort to enforce the religious terms of the royal orders of 1786, but also appeared willing to strike a bargain with the Anglo-Saxon settlers of Protestant faiths, accentuated the peculiar administrative freedom enjoyed in East Florida.

Finally, the baptism of several young girls of Anglo-Saxon ancestry and their subsequent marriage to hus-

bands of Spanish, French or German descent indicated the trend toward a more cosmopolitan population in East Florida. The church records indicate that large numbers of children resulted from these mixed marriages. The intermarriage of Anglo-Saxon and Spanish elements continued during the next two generations, and by the time of the transfer of the province to the United States, the small population was definitely homogeneous in every way. There were few settlers of pure Spanish descent remaining in 1821, and few of these departed with the change of flags. Thus one result of Governor Céspedes' efforts to attract colonists of non-Spanish origin to East Florida did much to extinguish the pure Spanish element in the civilian population.

THE SIEGE OF SAINT AUGUSTINE BY GOVERNOR MOORE OF SOUTH CAROLINA IN 1702 AS REPORTED TO THE KING OF SPAIN BY DON JOSEPH DE ZUNIGA Y ZERDA, GOVERNOR OF FLORIDA

*Translated by* MARK F. BOYD

[Endorsed:] *Report to His Majesty giving account of the siege sustained*

Sir: On the twenty second of October of the past year [1702] Your Majesty was advised of the news that the enemy in Carolina was preparing to attack this place in the spring with numerous vessels by sea, and troops by land, and that for the safeguarding of this city and the protection of the inhabitants of these provinces, I called attention to the insufficient forces in this place, as will be rather evident to Your Majesty from that, and other reports that were sent at that time of that which happened after the departure of Captain Don Francisco Romo from Apalache and of the skirmish which he had with the enemy who came to destroy that province\*. But now I only relate to Your Majesty how the Governor of Carolina named Diego Mor [James Moore] descended upon this place with numerous ves-

NOTE - The QUARTERLY is under obligation to the Florida Park Service for this contribution. Mr. Lewis G. Scoggin, Park Director, writes: "This translation is the work of Dr. Mark F. Boyd, Historian of the Florida Park Service, and is offered as a contribution by the Park Service to the Florida Historical Society, for publication in the *Florida Historical Quarterly*." Dr. Boyd wishes to acknowledge his obligation to Dr. Irving A. Leonard, Head of the Department of Romance Languages, the University of Michigan, for his criticism of the translation and suggestions in relation thereto.

This report, Zuniga to the King, January 6, 1703, AI 58-2-8:B3, is translated from photostats in the North Carolina Department of Archives and History, file 9-90, endorsed: "Notebook wherein on 63 sheets are the Royal Cédulas, letters . . . presented . . . by the attorney for His Excellency Camp Master Don Joseph de Cuniga and Cerda" pp. 22-29. Thanks are due Mr. Henry Howard Eddy, State Records Officer, for arranging for the photostats.

\*This is an allusion to the disaster which befell Capt. Francisco Romo de Orisa (Urisa) and a party of 900 Spaniards and Apalache Indians in the previous year, who set out to attack the Lower Creek towns (Apalachicolos) somewhere on the banks of the Flint river, where they were ignominiously defeated as the result of a stratagem.

sels including brigantines, sloops and one ship of 16 guns, as well as by land with another division of five hundred men, English and Indians, lead by a Colonel, one of the Jamaica pirates. Their design was to capture this royal fortress, for this purpose they brought on the vessels assault cannons serving balls of ten and twelve pounds, and a quantity of tools for attacking and trench building, with fifteen 25 foot ladders, as well as 400 Englishmen to be landed, and eighty sailors as a protective force. Of the eight vessels which entered this port on the 11th of November, three were brigantines and five were sloops, since the others, less one which was lost at the entrance of the bar, dispersed to other ports, one of which went to Jamaica to procure shells. This information in greater detail was related by the English prisoners captured during the siege. The depositions which were taken of the events of the siege have not, for lack of time, as yet been transcribed, nor for lack of opportunity could they be sent. On viewing the number of vessels lying to in blockade before this port, I sent off a second dispatch to Havana by the Licenciado Sebastian Grosó, the chief sexton, who left in a launch by Matanzas inlet on the 9th, but previously on the 7th I had transmitted to my lieutenant in Apalache a dispatch to be forwarded to Havana in a sloop commanded by Captain Jacinto Roque within 6 hours after arrival there, under penalty of death, and to Pensacola was sent Ensign Fernandez Diego de Florencia, with my letters, orders and plans, to procure men, arms and ammunition. Having sent off these dispatches I collected in this fortress all of the supply of corn from the harvests of the neighboring settlers, which by proclamation and orders they were obliged to bring in, and a large drove of cattle on the hoof was brought in and lodged in the moat, to extend the supplies of salt meat, together with some flour and biscuits. I had to find places in this royal fortress for 154 paid soldiers, 42 militia, some Negroes and Mulattos, as well as Indians of several nations, but with all of these together, I had only from sixty to seventy

men fit to serve in the field, as many were too aged, crippled, sick, or otherwise incapable of undertaking any enterprise. I decided to gather together and to protect all of the priests and friars and all of the women and children of the Spanish and Indian families, which kept increasing until there were in excess of 1500 persons who entered without adequate supplies, since many of the settlers left behind some of their corn. With the entrance of the enemy's land force into the city it was necessary for me to gather all in so that none would be exposed to the cruelty of the enemy, as they would be massacred by the pagan Indians of other provinces subject to this government, if they fled alone into the woods. With faith that through God I would be aided, which his Divine Majesty justified, I resolved to support and feed all those who entered with or without supplies, although with some frugality and regulation. Although the enemy was active in making attacks and the building of entrenchments directed by the governor and his second in command, a renowned and experienced pirate, one of those who sacked Vera Cruz, and had carried a trench to within a pistol shot of the moat, which was the last they threw up to the north, to prevent the Spanish Indians from securing the sea food which was their sustenance, as well as the cutting of forage for the horses and cattle which were in the moat, but fortunately neither their strength or boldness was sufficient to prevent my people from leaving by night or day from the mediolunes and environs of this fort to cut forage or carry wood and water, aided by some moderate parapets which I arranged. I kept ready as well thirty two good swift horses with good horsemen as couriers of mail, as I kept constantly in touch with my lieutenants at Timuqua and Apalache and received their letters. Captain Don Francisco de Fuentes, who was lieutenant in Guale, finally fled to the forest with his family, some friars and Indians, but they were captured and carried to Saint George [Charleston] with two other families pertaining to the gunner of this fortress and another soldier. With



these horses there were made several sorties, and in one ambushade which I arranged, it pleased God that they should bring back to me on the croups, two English prisoners, one of whom had two lance wounds which had been bandaged, and I learned from them of the sending to Jamaica for shells as well as other news. Finally I sent the before mentioned calvary in the midst of the siege to escort the assistance expected from my lieutenant in Apalache, who immediately on the arrival of Ensign Diego de Florencia on the 19th day of the past month [December] [from Pensacola] with 100 guns, some ammunition and ten men, had set out on the 24th day [December] with 600 men, of whom 100 were Spaniards, and had already reached Santa Fe when I ordered their return, as the awaited aid from Havana had already arrived. There have been killed four or five soldiers, and another twenty wounded in the sorties and attacks made on the trenches. The greatest calamity was the bursting of a 16 pound iron piece on Thursday, the 20th of November, while firing on the land forces attempting to enter, said cannon killing 2 soldiers and 2 artillerymen, and wounding six others, all gravely. All this occurred because nearly all of the artillery is of too light metal, and already I have advised and requested Your Majesty in the six reports carried by Captain Juan de Ayala, for 12 medium cannons and 6 light cannons and an additional 6 culverins of sufficient range for the bar, all to be of bronze since it is the better as I have just experienced. Some few pieces of bronze and some of iron have been discharged in the attacks and entrenchments, and although more than 400 shots were fired at the sloops, because the latter were well separated and the range of the cannon was short, little damage was inflicted, except that one cannon shot smashed one of the enemies guns used in the attack, killing some of their men. And so, because of this, and the ineffectiveness of their shots, God acted with such compassion that not a single man of mine was hit, neither from these guns or by hand grenades, nor did a grenade fall on our

parade ground; The enemy ceased cannonading, and I as well did not continue with the previous frequency; since the gun-carriages were already weakening and some of our cannon fell, but having them repaired with some ironwork and new wheels, I continued firing infrequently since I could not know how long the siege might last or if the enemy might receive reinforcements, since two vessels entered on Christmas day, the 25th of December. It pleased our Lord, to whom I give infinite thanks which I will repeat all my life, for on the 26th, at 2 in the afternoon, there were discovered 4 sails which the governor of Havana had sent me as a result of those letters, supplemented and by means of Divine mercy, and my duplicate dispatches. Since they were unwilling to send a landing party, for fear of the enemy during the two days in which they had been before the port, I decided at whatever risk to send out a launch by the *entrecasco* [*sic*] on the departure of which the enemy was blockaded at the mouth of the port, and which reported the situation within this fortress. At this time the enemy arranged to raise the siege by setting fire to the city, the houses of which for the most part were of thatch and boards. In a short while some were burned and the fire spread to others, but with the discharge of the artillery the fire diminished and some escaped. This was done by the land forces of the enemy before departure, as the naval forces were already aboard their vessels, but seeing by the 30th that their situation was hopeless, they set fire early in the evening to the vessels near shore, and left along the beach to embark in the vessels and launches which they had at the San Juan bar, where all were united. And the same day there were landed at this royal fortress 210 men including 70 untrained Gallican recruits, and General Verreo, who it was came to my relief, retained the better men aboard, who were actually those destined for disembarcation. I wrote him to pursue the enemy and intercept his path to the bar of San Juan, and he evasively replied on other topics including departure, and ignored mention of the

pursuit. Of the before mentioned vessels there were three which did not burn, two sloops and a small brigantine, of which the royal treasury has availed itself, and some supplies, artillery and munitions for the sloops, and three cannon of large caliber of those used in the attack, although the exploded one is useless, some barrels of powder, and a great quantity of iron tools, shovels, picks, and spades with which they labored on the entrenchments. Of the remaining plunder little could be utilized because the sailors of the fleet from Havana visited the said sloops and carried off some things to their vessels, as did some of the mariners and soldiers of this garrison, who went and got off one of the vessels which was grounded, but this is a matter of small concern. My main concern at present is the large number of persons ill with a disease said to be contagious which has broken out, and one sees Spaniards as well as Indians dying rapidly. With this misfortune, as well as the wounded and aged, I am almost without any force in spite of the Gallician recruits. Though the number Your Majesty sent were 100, there arrived but 70, most of whom are boys and the others so useless that even after many years they would not be of any service whatsoever. These are the reasons I had for not risking men in pursuit of the enemy, since my soldiers are excessively fatigued from the long and heavy siege, and it is possible that the frustrated but desperate enemy, encouraged by their Governor to avoid death or imprisonment, and with those of sea and land united, might at all costs defend themselves to the last breath. If General Verreo had done his duty he should have pursued the enemy as I ordered, since there was no lack of guides and the bar of San Juan is not more than 12 leagues distant. When I heard that he would not make an immediate landing with the impressed troops he brought, I was obliged to make other plans. I only succeeded in getting the said general and captains to agree to leave with me some 30 infantry and a sloop of Your Majesty, with a crew to guard the entrance to the bar in case that the vessel

which went for shells might be accompanied by a squadron from Jamaica, because of the great desire of the Governor of Carolina to capture this fortress according to what the prisoners have said, who related that a state of war had been proclaimed in Carolina two months before their departure. The damage which would follow if these arrive, which God forbid, and they should succeed in their designs, have been expressed to Your Majesty in my letters of September 30th, October 22nd and of the 1st and 5th of November, which were sent in the launch to Havana with the Licenciado Sebastian Grosó. Since my responsibility is so great and we have the present situation which I have described which merits timely repetition which I will duplicate on another occasion. I do not doubt Sir, that some persons, disaffected and offended by the present hostilities, the damage inflicted by the enemy, with such great destruction and uncertainty, would lodge some charges against me for their losses and that this you will not permit. In this connection, due to the early departure of the fleet, every one wishes to leave, which would dismantle this place at once and leave me without people, but permission is only being granted to some of the clergy and to unprotected widows with numerous children. I beg Your Majesty to please send me immediately supplies of artillery, men, small arms, matches and ammunition from your realms. Unless, in accordance with the petition sent by the Sergeant Major and the Captain of the Guard, Saint George and the settlement be dislodged, neither Pensacola, Mobile, nor this city or these provinces will have any security. May Your Majesty direct that certain extraordinary allowances be made in Mexico in order that there may be constructed a parish church, a convent, a church for the Franciscian friars, royal houses for the governor and royal officials, and beyond this, Sir, it would be very acceptable in the sight of God to grant considerable alms to aid these poor vassals who valiantly have defended this fortress and executed all orders exposing their lives with great bravery and zeal, but all

are now in the street, and in much misery from the burning of the houses by the enemy, as well as the other forty that I ordered burned after we took shelter in the fortress as they could command it, and even after the city was in the power of the enemy, ordering as well that the expense of the aid brought from Havana, and those incurred here by the settlers who supplied cattle which were kept in the moat, which lasted until the arrival of relief, be paid by certificates on Mexico without deduction from the subsidy. Toward all of which, Sir, nothing is initiated or completed, furthermore, I have complied with my obligation to defend this royal fortress at the risk of my life as I have sworn, and as I owe as a good vassel and to my commission and heritage. Finally I request your Majesty to please approve and grant the first vacancy to Captain Don Joseph Primo de Ribera who arrived with an appointment from the Governor of Havana as captain of the 70 recruits, who from desire, selected the royal service of Your Majesty, and retain him in service with the said company, although neither he or his officers are with any salary other than that received by an ordinary soldier, and the allocation of 355 effectives be increased by 100 more, and that there be sent sufficient replacements to recruit the four companies and permit the discharge of the incapacitated, whose continuation only serves to increase the consumption of supplies. On another occasion I will relate everything to Your Majesty in greater detail and anything further which has arisen, for the moment finds me with much which requires attention and all arrangements for the royal service of Your Majesty, whose Catholic and Royal Person may God protect for many years, as Christendom requires. At this Royal Fortress of Saint Mark, January 6th, 1703.

[Endorsed:] Copied from Letterbook

## A NEW COLLIER COUNTY MAP

by JOHN M. GOGGIN

Maps are not generally reviewed, but one currently published is of such interest that it should be noted. This is the *Map of Collier County, Florida*, computed and mapped under the direction of D. Graham Copeland, and published in April 1947 as an official county map for general use.

Most maps are of interest only as a geographical guide. However, this map can also be profitably used as a research tool by historians, archeologists, physiographers, and many others. Like the usual county map, this one presents communities, airfields, and other political features, but in addition it indicates Indian camps, ranches, Civil Aeronautics beacons, navigation lights, oil wells, dip vats, and much other data. Roads of all kinds, county, state, and private, are shown, as well as trails in the swamps, once used alike on foot or in canoe depending on the season but now beaten down by Glades buggies and airboats. Not only are railroads included but also all abandoned grades of public as well as private logging railroads, together with pertinent identification. These last are of such a temporary nature that they are usually not recorded and the traveler in the woods who finds the old embankments is often curious as to when they were used. The date of use and abandonment of these is given.

The usual county map is a neat network of grids indicating section and township. However, much of Collier County is still rough undeveloped country which has not yet been visited by the surveyor. Original government Land Office surveys made here in the latter part of the last century covered only a limited area and modern traverses have not covered, much more. It is probable that half of the county has not been sectioned. On this map government and later surveys are clearly indicated by different symbols. The exact survey line is precisely shown and permanent monuments are indicated. In all cases the exact lines are given and not the

closed section unless it was actually closed by a survey. Miscellaneous lines such as the old Collier City Rail Road survey are also indicated.

Historians will be interested in numerous spots marked on the map. These include modern places, such as the site of Governor Sholtz's "Pow Wow" with the Seminoles in 1936, and locales abandoned for many years, among them many old Seminole War forts such as Fort Harrell on New River, Camp Keais and Fort Simon Drum in the Big Cypress. Elusive Fort Shackelford and Sam Jones Old Town are definitely located. Crossings on Okaloacoochee Slough used in the Seminole Wars as well as modern ones are also marked.

Prehistorians, too, will find much of interest. For no other county in Florida is such a detail of archeological data available on a map. A good proportion of the known sites in the county are shown, sometimes with the size indicated. Certain of the coastal sites had previously been depicted on Coast and Geodetic charts, but others are indicated here for the first time. The locating of interior sites is a particularly important contribution, for this is a wild country, difficult to penetrate, and it will be many years before archeological interest will be sufficient to make a detailed survey worth the expense.

But the map has still more detail. The basic vegetation complexes are indicated by symbols : cypress, pine, mangroves, palms, palmettoes, willows, marsh, salt marsh, prairie, and saw grass. Not only are the details of value, but the whole mass impression, with the contrast ranging from cypress to prairie, is such that the drainage pattern stands out clearly.

In years to come, when folklorists and others interested in the "names on the land" lament the passing of the colorful vocabulary of the pioneer, his traces will remain on the map. The history of the successive occupants of the county may be traced here in its names. The original Indians left little, although they are responsible for the terms Caloosahatchee River and Big and Little Carlos Passes in adjacent Lee County. The

centuries of Spanish occupation are indicated by names on the coast, including Caxambas, Marco, and Cape Romano, and the Seminole has left his strong imprint with Chokoloskee, Fakahatchee, Okaloacoochee, and Im-mokolee, among others. The white fishing pioneer on the coast was more restrained for his names are simple and short, e. g., Tarpon Bay, Shell, Hog, Fire, and Panther Keys; John and Blind Passes. However, the cracker pioneer of the interior had less inhibition and his country is full of colorful names like Corkscrew March, Twelve Mile Prairie, Lard Can Slough, Gator Hook Strand, and Sadie Cypress. The more "sophisticated" approach to naming so common in other parts of the state is perhaps represented by Sunniland and Belle Meade.

It is the writer's opinion that no single Florida map of any period can approach this one in either interest or factual value. Both Mr. Copeland and the other officials of Collier County are to be commended for this excellent work. It is a worthy goal towards which other counties can aim.



## BANKING AND CURRENCY IN FLORIDA

No full research and writing has been done on this subject. Many years ago Professor David Y. Thomas, from the scant materials available to him, completed a study of nearly two hundred pages which was never published. Manuscript copies are available in certain Florida historical libraries.

Fred R. Marckhoff has now published an article, "The Development of Banking and Currency in Florida" (*The Coin Collector's Journal*, Sept.-Oct. and Nov.-Dec., 1943) which, though it does not go into as much detail, contains a great deal of information not known to Dr. Thomas; hence, this is an important contribution to Florida banking history.

Florida banking began in the 18th century with the Indian trading firm of Panton, Leslie and Company. Of this firm the author says "It offered banking facilities to all Floridians [from its houses in Pensacola and St. Augustine] and became the financial agents of the Spanish government in Florida. [It and its successors] continued to be the only banking company in Florida until several years after American ownership."

After numerous efforts, and several vetoes by Governor DuVal, Florida's first bank opened in 1829 as the Bank of Florida at Tallahassee, which later became the Central Bank of Florida. Mr. Marckhoff notes that it began operations with \$60,000 of an authorized capital of \$1,000,000.

The well-known "Big 3" in the order of their establishment were: the Bank of Pensacola, the Union Bank of Tallahassee, and the Southern Life Insurance and Trust Company of St. Augustine. The author gives numerous little-known facts about each, and notes a contemporaneous description of them as "Three creatures of domestic ingenuity and foreign cupidity." All three had gone under by 1843, and through an Act of the Council of 1845 their charters were null and void.

The operations of each of the other territorial banks are mentioned, but none "amounted to much." The seventeen chartered banks of the Territory are listed.

Banks and banking firms from statehood to the War for Southern Independence are treated, and there is a section on the war period, with some note of the financing of the greatly increased expenditures of the State government, and the various issues of Florida State Treasury notes. There is a section on Reconstruction currency and banking, and one on early national banks in Florida, to 1882.

Bank notes of seven Florida banks prior to 1860, and two Florida State Treasury notes are reproduced in facsimile.

---

(For Florida banking, 1900-1940, see : *The Banking Facilities of Florida* by H. B. Dolbeare, Economic Leaflets, I, No. 7, Bureau of Economic and Business Research, University of Florida. See also : *Annual Report(s) State Comptroller of Florida, Banking Department.*)

## THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

### THE ANNUAL MEETING

The Annual Meeting of our Society in Jacksonville on February 6 and 7 was one of the most successful we have ever held. The Jacksonville Historical Society were perfect hosts; all arrangements were thoughtfully made and carefully carried out as planned, and the numerous members and others who came from many parts of the State heard a number of interesting papers and discussions at the three program sessions, the luncheon, and the annual dinner.

An account of the annual business meeting and election of officers is recorded in the Minutes which follow.

#### THE PROGRAM

February 6, morning session

*General Lee in Florida*

Karl A. Bickel of Sarasota

*The Catesby Prints*

William Blois of Jacksonville

*Results of an Archeological Investigation of a Spanish Mission Site in Jefferson County*

Hale Smith, Assistant Florida State Archeologist

#### Luncheon

Round table discussion of problems and activities of local societies including the possibility of confederating the State and local societies

#### Afternoon session

*Cow Cavalry of the Okeechobee Country During the War Between the States*

Kathryn Abbey Hanna, Rollins College

*Jacksonville During the Yellow Fever Epidemic of 1886*

Webster Merritt of Jacksonville

*John McQueen and his Jacksonville Background*

Walter Hartridge of Savannah

Annual Dinner

Presentation of engraved copper plates on behalf of the  
Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, by J. C.  
Thomson, M.V.O., O.B.E., H. M. Consul at Miami

February 7, morning session

*Henry M. Flagler's First Interests in Florida*

S. Walter Martin, University of Georgia

*Florida Origin of the Pocahontas Legend*

Marjory Stoneman Douglas of Miami

*The Inca Collection at Florida State University*

Raymond F. Bellamy, Florida State University

Exhibit of Floridiana

The Annual Meeting of the Society

---

MINUTES OF THE BUSINESS MEETING OF THE FLORIDA HIS-  
TORICAL SOCIETY, GEORGE WASHINGTON HOTEL,  
JACKSONVILLE, FEBRUARY 7, 1948

Following the close of the program on the morning of the 7th, Mr. Richard Daniel, presiding, ordered a ten minutes intermission for the retirement of visitors, after which the society was called to order in a business session by the president, Dr. Mark F. Boyd. Dr. Boyd declared a quorum to be present.

The president referred to the minutes of the 1947 Tampa meeting as published in the July 1947 *QUARTERLY*, and asked if there were any corrections or omissions. None being presented they were approved as published.

Dr. Rembert W. Patrick, as chairman of the auditing committee of the Board of Directors, submitted the report of the corresponding secretary on membership, and the report of the treasurer on finances, which were read. There being no discussion, the reports were accepted as read. [These reports follow]

MEMBERSHIP REPORT

March 1, 1947 to February 1, 1948

Total paid membership, March 1, 1947 723

New members, March 1, 1947 to Feb. 1, 1948 51

774

360 THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

Deaths during 11 months period	16	
Resigned	14	
Dropped	24	
Moved, no forwarding address	5	59
Total paid membership February 1, 1948		715
Decrease		8
Total includes :		
Life membership	4	
Contributing	24	
Exchange list, 73 publications, formerly included in membership is not included.		

REPORT OF THE TREASURER  
FEBRUARY 1, 1948

GENERAL FUND :			
Balance, March 1, 1947		303.10	
Receipts :			
Dues from members	1668.30		
Quarterlies sold & reprints	74.95		
Books sold, accommodation	85.00	1828.25	\$ 2131.35
EXPENDITURES :			
Salary	1550.00		
Books	24.55		
Audit of records	78.00		
Expenses	443.35		
Balance, February 1, 1948	2095.90	35.45	\$ 2131.35
STATE OF FLORIDA FUND:			
Balance, March 1, 1947	1592.28		
Receipts	1800.00		\$ 3392.28
EXPENDITURES :			
Florida Historical Quarterlies (3 issues)	1276.92		
Rent	300.00		
Balance, February 1, 1948	1576.92	1815.36	\$ 3392.28
OTHER FUNDS :			
Robertson Memorial Fund			4.00
Life Membership			400.00
Archaeology			57.78
Building Fund			25.00

CONSOLIDATED STATEMENT

Balance, March 1, 1947	2382.16	
Total receipts	3630.25	
Total expenditures	6012.41	3674.82
Balance, February 1, 1948		\$ 2337.59

Dr. Patrick, on behalf of the Directors, then presented a budget for 1948-49 operations, and discussed the difficulty of estimating receipts from the irregular manner in which members are assessed their dues, from the circumstance that the society does not have any set fiscal year.

Mr. Richard P. Daniel moved the adoption of the proposed budget, which was seconded by Mr. Philip S. May, which when put to vote was carried. [The budget follows.]

PROPOSED BUDGET OF THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
MARCH 1, 1948 TO FEBRUARY 28, 1949

	1947-8		1948-9	
Cash balance March 1		\$ 2382.16a		\$ 1997.16c
General Fund				
Membership dues	2128.30b		2800.00d	
Quarterlies sold	74.95		75.00	
		2203.25		2875.00
State of Florida Fund	1800.00	1800.00	1800.00	1800.00
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>4003.25</b>	<b>6385.41</b>	<b>4675.00</b>	<b>6672.16</b>

EXPENDITURES

	1947-8		1948-9	
Administration				
Salary of Secretary		\$1800.00	1800.00	
Purchase & repair of books		24.55	84.50	
Audit		78.00	...	
Insurance		33.00	33.00	
Rent		300.00	300.00	
Purchase of equipment		...	...	
Other expenses (travel. of sec'y)	50.00	341.78	358.50	50.00
supplies	91.45			100.00
postage	96.42			100.00
lights	16.74			17.00
phone	80.00			84.00
taxes	2.17			2.50
Am. Assn. for State, & Local History	5.00			5.00
Contingent		74.00	99.00	
<b>Total</b>		<b>2651.33</b>		<b>2675.00</b>

Notes:

- Includes balance from four special funds (\$486.78).
- Includes estimate of dues from 115 members in February 1948.
- Based on February 1948 statement, but includes estimate of February 1948 expenses.
- Estimate based on 700 members ; present paid membership (Feb. '48) is 714.

Publications			
Printing of QUARTERLY	1736.92e	2000.00	2000.00
	<hr/>		
Total	4388.25		4675.00
			<hr/>
	SUMMARY		
	1947-8		1948-9
Total income .....	\$6385.41	\$6672.16	
Total expenditure	4388.25	4675.00	
	<hr/>	<hr/>	
Balance	1997.16	\$1997.16	

e) Estimate based on cost of three issues (\$1276.92) paid for in 1947.

Dr. Boyd discussed the advantage to the society in its operations of a set fiscal year. After some discussion, Dr. Webster Merritt, offered the following resolution, which amended the by-laws :

BE IT RESOLVED that Section 6 of Article 2 of the By-laws as amended at the 1947 Tampa meeting be hereby repealed, and the following substituted therefor : Article 2, Section 6. The dues of all classes of membership shall become due and payable on July 1st of each year, in order to coincide with the volumes of the QUARTERLY. On July 1st of the present year of 1948, all members shall be assessed the dues corresponding to their class of membership, providing that if heretofore they have made their annual payments prior to that date, they shall be charged a further amount necessary to prorate the intervening quarters, or fractions thereof, as a whole quarter, from such date to July 1st, or if previously made subsequent thereto, credited with such amount by quarters, or fractions thereof as a whole quarter, as may be necessary to place all subsequent payments of all members on a July 1st basis.

The motion was duly seconded and carried.

The President reported on the status of the membership drive which has been initiated, and stressed the extreme importance of a substantial increase in the number of members to the Society, particularly of younger persons. The opinion was expressed that a fourfold increase in members, which would mean a total of 2500 to 3000, or roughly one tenth of one per cent of the

state's population, was not an unreasonable goal. Such however cannot be attained unless each and every member accepts the challenge and appreciates that he or she has an individual responsibility in bringing it about, hence the present drive is organized with a committee composed of all members of the society, in county units, each under a county chairman.

Dr. Carita Corse introduced a discussion of the sale of issues of the *QUARTERLY*. Dr. Boyd reported that Mr. Yonge had written two companies supplying news stands throughout the state, to see whether they would be interested in placing the *QUARTERLY* on sale at news stands, but to date he has not received a reply from either. Mention was made of the directors' action in placing a price of one dollar on back issues of the *QUARTERLY* of which at least ten copies remain in stock, and that when the number diminishes below this figure, that the price be set in consultation with the editor.

Dr. Boyd reported that a monthly newsletter to the press of the state had been instituted, and a subscription to a press clipping service would be taken to ascertain the extent to which the newsletter is being used. If it appears to be reasonably well received, it will be continued indefinitely.

Complying with instructions received at the luncheon meeting, Mr. Philip S. May introduced the following resolution:

BE IT RESOLVED, that in order to devise an acceptable plan for the integration of local historical societies with the Florida Historical Society, the president of each local society in the state be invited to appoint one member of such local society who is also a member of the Florida Historical Society, to membership in a state-wide committee, which may be convened on call of the President of the Florida Historical Society, to organize, study, devise and recommend, either by meeting or correspondence, a method whereby local societies may be integrated with the state society, to report at the next annual meeting.



The resolution was seconded by Dr. Webster Meritt and was adopted.

Mr. Herbert Lamson proposed the adoption of a suitable resolution expressing the regret of the Society on the passing of Mr. Joshua C. Chase, a past president of the Society. The resolution was seconded and adopted. The President appointed Mr. Lamson a committee to draft an appropriate expression to be tendered to the family of Mr. Chase on behalf of the society. [This follows]

---

### JOSHUA C. CHASE

The Florida Historical Society, in annual meeting assembled at Jacksonville, Florida, this February 7, 1948, records with sincere sorrow the death of Joshua C. Chase, which occurred on the 7th day of January, 1948. For many years an active leader in the business life of Florida, Mr. Chase was particularly identified with the growing and distribution of citrus fruits and Florida produce. His many and varied interests centered in Florida, its past, present and future. He took an active part in the affairs of The Florida Historical Society, serving as its president from his election to that office on November 19, 1935, until his voluntary retirement from it in April, 1939. Those who served as officers and directors of the Society during Mr. Chase's several administrations will always remember him and his noteworthy qualities of leadership. Particularly will they recall the all-day Board meetings held as his guests in his beautiful home at Winter Park, and the gracious and generous hospitality extended by Mr. and Mrs. Chase on those occasions. Under his direction the Society expanded its activities, increased its membership and did much to promote the objects for which it was created. To Mr. Chase, in no small degree, is due such progress of the Society during the years of his tenure. In honor to his memory and in recognition of his interest in and work for the Society, and for the State of Florida in general, it is ordered that this tribute be recorded in the

Minutes of this meeting, and that a copy be sent to his family.

---

Judge Shields, on behalf of the Nominations Committee, presented the following slate of officers as a committee report:

For president, Dr. Mark F. Boyd, Tallahassee  
1st vice president, Mr. Richard P. Daniel,  
Jacksonville  
2nd vice president, Dr. Webster Merritt, Jacksonville  
Honorary vice president, Col. John B. Stetson Jr.,  
Philadelphia

For directors :

District 1, Mr. Walter P. Fuller, St. Petersburg  
District 3, Mr. Hunter Brown, Pensacola  
District 4, Mrs. Ruby Leach Carson, Miami  
District 5, Albert C. Manucy, St. Augustine  
At large, Dr. Donald E. Worcester, University of  
Florida

For corresponding secretary,  
Mrs. Alberta Johnson, St. Augustine

Recording secretary and treasurer,  
Mr. E. J. McCallum, St. Augustine

For nominations committee for 1949:  
Mr. Theodore Leslie, chairman, Tampa  
Mrs. E. B. Henry, Pensacola  
Mr. William D. Barfield, Jacksonville  
Miss Cornelia Leffler, Miami  
Mr. W. S. Branch Jr., Orlando  
Mr. Wiley Reynolds, Palm Beach

The President called for nominations from the floor ; there being none, a motion was introduced, seconded and carried, directing the Secretary to east the unanimous ballot of the Society for the nominees proposed for the various offices.

President Boyd commented upon the extremely entertaining and successful meeting which was about to

close. He mentioned the exceedingly thorough, painstaking and flawless preparations made by the local committees of the Jacksonville Historical Society, our hosts, under the general chairmanship of Mr. Richard P. Daniel, of the program committee under Mr. Herbert Lamson, the arrangements effected by Miss Dena Snodgrass, and their associates, as well as the services of Mr. Philip S. May as toastmaster at the dinner, all of which have contributed to the outstanding character of the present meeting. A motion was introduced, seconded and unanimously carried, requesting the secretary to write to these persons extending the expressions of the society's appreciation and thanks.

A further motion calling for a standing vote of thanks to Miss Snodgrass was introduced, seconded, and on being put, was unanimously executed.

President Boyd stated that the directors would be very glad to consider proposals from any local society to serve as host to the next annual meeting.

There being no further new business, the president declared the meeting adjourned *sine die*.

ALBERT C. MANUCY  
Recording Secretary

Approved :  
MARK F. BOYD  
President

---

AT THE BANQUET SESSION OF THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, on the evening of February 6th, 1948, during the course of the annual meeting of the Society, the Hon. Philip S. May, Toastmaster, presiding, the Society was presented with a series of engraved copper plates (from which certain naval charts of Florida harbors and coasts, now cancelled, were printed) by H. M. Consul at Miami, Mr. J. C. Thomson, M.V.O., O.B.E., acting on behalf of the Lords Commissioners, of the Admiralty, which were accepted for the Society by Dr. Mark F. Boyd, President of the Society. Dr. Boyd proposed a motion, which was seconded, that the members express their appreciation and thanks to the Lords Commissioners of the Admi-

rally, by a standing vote of thanks, and upon calling of the vote, all those present without exception, arose in affirmation.

Mrs. Alberta Johnson,  
Secretary

Mark F. Boyd,  
President

---

OUR NEW DIRECTORS

All of the officials elected at the late annual meeting of the Society have served at one time or another, but three of the new directors have not, and may not be known to all of the members.

Mr. Walter P. Fuller, realtor of St. Petersburg, has long been interested in Florida's history, especially of the Pinellas peninsula. He has been a member of the Society for many years. He has served two terms in the Legislature of Florida and been a member and official of several local boards.

Mr. Hunter Brown of Pensacola, president of Fisher-Brown, insurance, has been president of the National Association of Insurance Agents, is vice president of the Florida State Chamber of Commerce, the Associated Industries of Florida, and president of numerous Pensacola corporations and public associations. He has been a member of the Florida Historical Society for many years.

Professor Donald E. Worcester is assistant professor of History and Political Science in the University of Florida, and has the Ph.D. degree from the University of California, Berkeley. He is interested in Florida's colonial history as well as that of Latin America.

---

ACCESSIONS TO THE SOCIETY'S LIBRARY

Mrs. Frederick C. Cubberly, of Gainesville, has collected and copied for our Library numerous writings and compilations of former President Cubberly of the Florida Historical Society. Mr. Cubberly was interested in our State's history for many years, and these articles and notes of his are a valuable addition to our Library.

They include :

Story of Hernando de Soto  
 Adventures of Two Naturalists in Florida, 1776-1867  
 How the Capital came to Tallahassee  
 Daniel Boone and David Crockett  
 The Acquisition of Florida by the United States  
 Andrew Jackson, Judge at Pensacola  
 The Treaty of Fort Dade, 1837  
 The Seminole War  
 The Lost and Dead Towns of Florida  
 Invasion of Lochaway Towns or the Battle of Newnan's Lake, 1812  
 Boundary Lines  
 The Smuggling Alien Case  
 A Pioneer School  
 Story of the Arrendondo Grant  
 Florida Indian Poetry  
 John Quincy Adams and Florida  
 The Siege of Camp Izard; Fort King  
 Malee, Daughter of the Prophet or the Florida Pocahontas  
 The Florida Snow Storm  
 Archer, Florida, 1880 to 1900  
 Cedar Keys, Florida

OTHER ACCESSIONS

*A Preliminary Definition of Archeological Areas and Periods in Florida*  
 by John M. Goggin. Donated by the author.  
*Robert E. Lee in Florida*, by Karl A. Bickel. Typescript, with accompanying maps and photostats. All donated by former President Karl A. Bickel:  
 Pay-Hay-O-Kee or Grass Water, known as the Everglades, includes Monroe and Dade counties, keys and islands & Dry Tortugas  
 Map of the Territory of Florida, 1829, to connect the Atlantic with the Gulf of Mexico. Other maps 1823. Pensacola bay, eastern entrance to St. Rosa sound.  
 Entrance to St. Augustine, coast from Matanzas inlet to south of Cape Canaveral, St. George's sound, Ocklokony bay, Bay of Espirito Santo, Bay of Tampa.  
 Entrance to St. Mary's harbor, St. John's river, St. Augustine, Gulf coast, Vacassah bay to Aucilla river  
 Mosquito bar to Ft. Lauderdale ; Corkscrew river to St. Wanees bay  
 Fernandina to Cape Canaveral, Weekaiwoochee or Spring creek to St. Mark's river  
 The State of Florida, 1846  
 Report of the Board of Engineers West and East coasts of Florida, from Pensacola harbor to Amelia Island, 1849  
 Photostat copies of original reports made by Robert E. Lee  
 Freducci map, 1541, (photostat)

Virginia Imprints : *Preliminary Checklist for Fredericksburg, 1778-1876.*  
 Virginia State Library 1947  
*La Leche Shrine*, St. Augustine. History of the Cathedral Parish. 1947  
*The Everglades, River of Grass*, by Marjory Stoneman Douglas, 1947  
*The Golden Isles*, by Frank G. Slaughter, 1947  
 Catalogues: *Seeds, Bulbs and Rare Plants*, Pike and Ellsworth, Jessamine, Florida, 1896

Same for 1897, *Rare Fruits and Flowers of Florida*, Gift of Chester County Historical Society, West Chester, Penna.

*The Coin Collector's Journal*, 1947, *The Development of Currency and Banking in Florida*, by Fred R. Marckhoff. Gift of Mr. Marckhoff.

A Bibliography of Louisiana Books and Pamphlets, by Donald E. Thompson, University of Alabama Studies, No. 2. University of Alabama Press, 1947

Cub Reporter, by Boyce House. Hightower Press

\* \* \*

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER OF  
THE QUARTERLY

Arthur R. Seymour is Professor of Modern Languages, Emeritus, Florida State University.

Richard K. Murdoch is Assistant Professor of History, Carnegie Institute of Technology, Pittsburgh.

Mark F. Boyd is President of the Florida Historical Society, and has contributed numerous articles to the QUARTERLY.

John M. Goggin is a member of the staff of Peabody Museum of Natural History, Yale University.



TO THE READER. This is an invitation to any one interested in Florida's history to join with us in the Florida Historical Society. The annual dues are four dollars, and this includes the QUARTERLY which is sent to all members as issued. Application may be made to Mrs. M. A. Johnson, Secretary, P. O. box 1149, St. Augustine.

11  
12

13  
14

15  
16  
17  
18  
19  
20  
21  
22  
23  
24  
25  
26  
27  
28  
29  
30  
31  
32  
33  
34  
35  
36  
37  
38  
39  
40  
41  
42  
43  
44  
45  
46  
47  
48  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60  
61  
62  
63  
64  
65  
66  
67  
68  
69  
70  
71  
72  
73  
74  
75  
76  
77  
78  
79  
80  
81  
82  
83  
84  
85  
86  
87  
88  
89  
90  
91  
92  
93

56  
**28503-7**





