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SETTLERS FROM CONNECTICUT IN SPANISH FLORIDA LETTERS OF AMBROSE HULL AND STELLA HALL 1804-1806 * Edited by Robert E. Rutherford

Introduction

Florida was the northern bastion of Spain's New World empire from an early period; and, except for brief British possession (1763-1783), the land was hers for almost three hundred years. The era following 1783, when Great Britain returned Florida to Spain, until 1821, when Florida became United States territory, is known as the second Spanish period of Florida history.

Spain met the threats to her Caribbean empire in Florida with two general programs. The first attempts by the other colonizing nations to found settlements were discouraged by the system of missions and presidios she established in the frontier areas. This program, however, ended with the Seven Years War, 1756-1763, when Florida became a British province. When Spain regained control of Florida after the American Revolution, she adopted new measures to stem the new threat to her position in the Caribbean - a threat born of the westward development of the young and ambitious United States.

One of these defensive measures which Spain adopted to maintain her hold on Florida during this period was an attempt to attract settlers into her territories. This measure, it was hoped, would make loyal Spanish subjects of the settlers, thus forming a living buffer against any territorial expansion of the

^{*}The following letters are in the possession of Miss Edith L. Hubbard of Poughkeepsie, New York. The editor of the letters, the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, and Professor R. W. Patrick to whom they were lent, express grateful acknowledgment to Miss Hubbard of the family of the writers, for allowing their transcription and publication; and also for many other letters and diaries of the same family, all relating to Florida during the Reconstruction period, a selection of which will appear in future issues of the *Quarterly*. Transcriptions of all are in the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida.

United States across the boundaries of the Spanish provinces of Florida and Louisiana.

The call for immigrants passed through two phases. The first phase opened Florida and the Mississippi Valley to settlement indirectly. The instrument for this policy was a royal order issued in 1782 which liberalized the commercial privileges enjoyed by the Spanish subjects living in these areas. Non-Spanish Catholics were allowed to immigrate to Florida and Louisiana on condition that they take an oath of loyalty to the Spanish crown. The commercial privileges notwithstanding, the program was not effective. French, Germans, as well as Spaniards, were encouraged, but the immigrants proved unsatisfactory in quantity as well as in quality. At the same time, Anglo-Americans were settling the western lands along the Ohio River and some were spilling into the Spanish provinces without invitation.

To meet this threat Spain issued two royal orders, the first on December 1, 1788, and the second on October 29, 1790. The order of 1788 opened the Florida and Louisiana provinces to non-Catholic immigrants. Even though American Protestants could settle in these regions, they had to take an oath of allegiance to the Spanish crown. The settler could retain his own faith, but only the Catholic religion could be practiced openly and publicly. 3 The royal order of 1790 established the stipulations and qualifications under which the Spanish officials would issue land to the new settlers. 4 The assumptions under which the Spanish government issued these cedulas were not without some foundation. Many of the western settlers were dissatisfied with their own government, and several groups en-

^{1.} A. P. Whitaker, Documents Relating to the Commercial Policy of

Spain in the Floridas. DeLand, Florida, 1931, pp. 30-39.

2. Bernardo del Campo to Conde de Floridablanca. London, November 16, 1783. AHN: Est. Leg. Ap. 1.

3. Louis de las Casas to [Juan Nepomuceno del Quesada, October 29,

^{1790.} East Florida Papers, Library of Congress. box 410, vol. 1. 4. 18th Cong. 1st. sess. H.Rep. 158. May 18, 1824. p. 23.

tertained the possibility of establishing independent states under Spain's protection and with commercial agreements with the Spanish government. 5

Ambrose Hull and His Letters

Ambrose Hull was one of the settlers who came to Florida during the second Spanish period. He arrived in St. Augustine from Wallingford, Connecticut, early in 1801; 6 and after he had been granted the right to settle two thousand, six hundred acres of land in the territory called "Mosquitos" in the New Smyrna area, ⁷ he returned to Connecticut for his wife, Abigail. ⁸ Stella Hall, youngest sister of Abigail, returned to Florida with the Hulls. They soon settled on their land with many laborers, as well as artisans equipped with all the necessary supplies. Unfortunately their work was interrupted by an Indian attack in which Hull suffered a loss amounting to \$3,000. When he began preparing for a new start, a number of settlers from the Bahama Islands asked permission to join him in settling his land for their mutual protection against the Indians. Hull agreed and they began the new combined settlement in September 1803, and continued until the Bahama settlers left in 1809.

The following letters tell the story of Ambrose and Abigail Hull and Stella Hall from the time they began building their settlement to the latter part of 1806. They were written to the Reverend Seth Hart, rector of St. George's Church in Hempstead, Long Island, New York, 10 and Ruth, his wife and another sister of Abigail and Stella. The rectory became the headquar-

^{5.} The separatist feeling in Kentucky at this time is a striking example of this spirit.

^{6.} Letter, Edith L. Hubbard, a member of the Hall-Hart family, to Julien C. Yonge, March 5, 1948.

^{7.} The original royal title granted to Ambrose Hull on January 15, 1801

is in the St. Johns County Court House, St. Augustine, Florida.

8. Petition by Ambrose Hull September 11, 1811, for final title to the land granted January 15, 1801, ibid.

^{10.} Hubbard to Yonge, ante.

ters of relatives and friends awaiting ships and exchanging news. Late in 1806 Ambrose took his wife north to Hempstead where she died shortly after their arrival, but before the year 1806 ended Ambrose and Stella were married in the rectory in Hempstead and had departed for their home in Florida. 11

The second part of these letters, to be included in the next issue of this Quarterly, begins after the Hulls return to Florida in 1806 and continues until the settlement of the Hull estate after the death of both Ambrose and Stella

Stella Hall to Ruth Hart.

New Smyrna 6th June . . 1804

My Dear Sister

I hasten to acknowledge the rect of yours by Mr. Fairburn ¹², their is a Countryman of ours going immediately to Charleston, and from thence to N. York-I am sorry the letter you receiv'd by the above mention'd Gentleman has caused you so many apprehensions - I wrote it soon after we landed at Smyrna and confess that from the fatigues of a long Journey, the fear of the Indians, and the uncultivated state of the country I was somewhat in the melancholly mood - and actually began to listen to the suggestions of that green eved monster Ennui --

I am now happy to tell you that its peaceble times in Petunxes [?] Wigwam, - the murmers of the Indians have been silenced by the late distribution of their annual presents - which having been too long withheld had created much uneasiness among them - and the tribe of Siminoles who under the conduct of the notorious Bowles 13 formerly committed so many depredations on this settlement have since gone over to the

^{11.} *Ibid.* 12. Mr. Fairburn, a sea captain, often carried letters for the Hulls to and from Hempstead and New Smyrna.

^{13.} William Augustus Bowles was a notorious adventurer who attempted to organize an Indian republic from the Lower Creeks. He, of course, would be the chief.

Creek Nation who are very numerous and apparently very friendly - Their leader Bowles has been apprehended and is now confined in the Moro Castle at Havanna - so that we have not an Indian within a hundred mile of us - and the Snakes their counterparts have either follow'd them, or have been routed and burnt together with the brush and rubbish - for they never interrupt my frequent rambles in the woods - which at this season abound with a variety of the most beautiful flowers, and flow'ring trees, with aromatic srubs, that fill the air with a delicious fragrance --

As for the sand flies and mosquitos they still mantain their ground, in despite of Catholicks, Jews or Protestants -and are indeed the most formidable Enemies we have to contend with - They begin the war song (generally) about sunset, when if there's no wind (which luckily for us is not often the case) we may be pretty sure of a warm engagement - but in such desperate cases we have recourse to fumigation - and altho' smoke is not altogether agreeable to our optic nerves - yet it tends to check the still more offensive apperation of the Enimy - thus every bane has in some shape or other its antidote -

Our place is call'd Mount Olive - which from its height and the number of trees of that name describes the title - here we can make our own oil, wine, sugar and cotton - raise our own Coffe, corn, rice, ginger &, - with every kind of Vegetable - and all tropical fruits -

The country is in general very flat - which is not on that account so pleasant to me who am fond of Hills & Dales -

My favorite spot is a little arbour compos'd of a number of young orange trees, intersected with myrtle and thickly interwoven with luxuriant grape vines - the resort of a great number of beautiful Birds who entertain us with their wild enchanting melody - This rural spot is pleasantly situated on a bank of

the little river Hillsborough ¹⁴ - which winds with many a crook among a cluster of Mangrove Islands - and not only affords us plenty of excellent fish, but is also a very charming addition to our prospect - Here I spend many solitary hours in reading or "chewing the quid of sweet and bitter fancy" - Here reverted memory brings to my view the ocean of the past - and with it a torrent of melancholly reflections - here I listen by moonlight to the hoarse and distant murmers of the vast Atlantic - and it reminds me of the Friends that are far from Smyrna - without even the hope or posibility of seing them shortly-But this is only moistening ones eye lids to no purpose - and I quit the subject - -

Sister Hannah it seems wont send us the scrape of a pen - I should write her notwithstanding would time permit - This now must answer for both - for goodman Read 15 is waiting - and I reluctently bid you Adieu - Libby 16 is well and sends her love to the Brother and Sisterhood --

I am as usual

Your affectionate Sister

STELLA HALL

The letters I wrote previous to leaving Augustine you tell me have not yet come to hand -- I am not much surprised for (N.B.) I sent them to Charleston by a spaniard, who had too many names to carry - to wit. Don Manuel, Antonio, Fernando, Dominic, de Martinella -- of Castile of Old Spain. - subject to his most Catholick Majesty - Adios, or God be with you ---

^{14.} The Hillsborough River referred to in these letters is now the Halifax River.

^{15.} Mr. Read also carried letters north for the Hulls.

^{16. &}quot;Libby" refers to Abigail Hull.

Ambrose Hull to Rev. Seth Hart

New Smyrna April [22, 1805]

Brother Hart

I have not received a line nor heard a word from you nor any of our northern friends since October last - tho' I have repeatedly written you & them - The reason of this long silence - I do not know - but this I know - that we are really desirous to hear from you - at least that you are in comfortable health - We have nothing particularly now to communicate - I write to remind you, that I still feel an interest in your Wellfare - and to induce you to give us the pleasure of hearing from you - My employment in itself, is to me a pleasant one - and would be altogether so were the seasons more favorable - they have been unusually hot & dry thus far for this Climate - tho' the temperature of the air is perfectly healthy and agreeable - not a cloud to be seen for weeks - Abby has enjoyed better health for several Months past than I ever knew her to enjoy - and was never so well pleased and contented in any situation that we have been placed since we were married - She says there are only two things wanting to satisfy her mind as to this worlds good that is more favorable seasons for crops to ensure the common comforts of life - and the near neighbourhood society of her Sister Ruthy, yourself & family and she even goes further and says, that in case this Province should be ceded to U. State's as seems yet to be pretty strongly expected - and we should establish our claim to the property we now possess, under that government and make one good crop - that she shall offer her sister Ruthy one half of her possessions in fee simple on condition of her immediately becoming an actual resident, of course her nearest neighbour - And I have the pleasure to add - that it would be one of the highest felicites of my life, to have the opportunity to place my signature to a beguest of the description aforementioned.

I have the solid satisfaction however, of informing you that this dear blessed child, after strugling so many years with sickness & general debility - together with a consequent habitual complaint - which seemed of itself must induce her ruin - has long since recovered from it and I believe is perfectly established in her wanted energy of body & mind - Joining with her in fervent orisons for the health & happiness of yourself & family -

I am your sincere friend & brother
A. Hull.

St. Marys April 22, [I805] Reverend Seth Hart Hempstead Long Island State New York

Ambrose Hull to Rev. Seth Hart

New Smyrna June 12th 1805

Brother Hart

I had the happiness of receiving your very facetious letter of the 9th April a few days since; as I am at all times happy to hear from my brother Hart - and my Soul was highly refreshed, *in the multitude of my sorrows*, with the unusual flashings of wit & humour, with which it abounded - And I am still more happy to find, that you still retain your wanted brotherly concern for us, from the number of letters, you mention to have written me, tho I have not had the pleassure of receiving but a small portion of them. . . . We had just arived safe at this place - which it seems our amiable Sister has anounced to you, in her usual stile of Bombast & Hyperbole - Our situation, as formed not only by nature, but no inconsiderable portion of art & expanse, is esteemed by genteel

travellers one of the handsomest in America - and instead of being surrounded by an uncultivated wilderness, filled with savage monsters, venemous serpents, and unnumerable swarms of blood-thirsty mosquitos and sand flies - as affecting the Fine strung nerves of your amiable and truly veritable informant - We are encompassed on three sides, with cultivated fields, and on the fourth, fronting a beautifull arm of the sea eastward, interspersed with Small Islands for about two miles, which we overlook and our prospect is bounded by a broad horizon closing on the great Atlantic - And the population of mostly genteel families, including their slaves, within the compass of four miles of us - is between five & Six hundred beside a continuation of Settlements from this place to St. Augustine, - and about twenty miles to the Southward, - which are almost daily increasing - As to Savage Monsters, I know not the meaning of it - not even an Indian has step'd into our door since we came here - No new settlements in America, unless infested with **venomous serpents** - and as for **swarms** of blood-thirsty Mosquitos. I have neither seen, nor heard the sound of this Season - a few still Morning and Evenings, the Sand flies or Nats - have been a little troublesome - but very likey our Mosquitoes may be as trouble here as they are on Long Island, when the Showery Season commences - but as yet, they are an evil in the immagination only - As to our accommodations here, they are as yet, but indifference, - -I have however, a number of Masons now employed, - in building a small airy stone house of two stories, with necessary out houses of the same material, which will probably be compleated in the course of next Month - My Crop of Cotton &c; promises tollerably - tho' the Season has been rather unfavorable thro want of rain - and my land is so situated, that I was under the necessity of Commencing on the poorest - and my gang of hands for this Season is rather small, having

but ten in the field - tho I have a prospect of shortly adding to their number - Abby joins my love and goodwill for her Sisters yourself and your little brood - while I am as usual your friends & brother - - A. Hull

Rev. Seth Hart Hempstead Long Island State of New York

A. W. Hull to Ruth Hart

New Smyrna June 27t 1805

My Dear Sister

I might muster up a variety of apollogies for my long silence - but shall make but one - and that is my ever insurmountable aversions to letter writing - I am sorry to say it - but no poor dog ever entered his neck in a halter with more reluctance than I take a pen in hand to write - nor did ever a poor dog receive his liberty and a piece of meat with more pleasure than I a letter from a friend - and especialy from voll - that pleasure has long been denied me - for what reason I am unable to divine - unless you consider me out of the world - (which it seems Stella has intimated) and have no more concern for my temporal welfare - but you might like a good Catholic put up a prayer now & then for my poor soul in purgatory - I am however better pleased with my situation and far more happy than I ever was in any other - the Climate is charming - there can be none finer in the world except Italy which I am told is perfectly similar -What few families there are at present in this settlement are well bred genteel people - North of us is a Mr Kerr & lady - Mr Ormand & lady - Mr Munro & lady - Mr McHardy & lady - all from Nasau N- Providence 17 - they have handsome

^{17.} These are the settlers from the Bahamas mentioned in the Introduction.

Plantations with near a 100 negros each - South a few roods is a Capt Ladd & lady from Portmuth N- Hampshire, further southward tho' but a short walk is a Mr Dumant Capt Martin - Mr Bretts Madison &c Our House is situated upon a delightful hill surrounded with Olives - (from which I have named the place Olive Mount) - and lined with Groves & avenues of Sour Oranges trees on which wave the golden fruit throughout the year - a few paces in front of the house which is East runs a river calld Hillsborough intersected with a number of Mangrove Islands & filld with a variety of excelent fish, the shores are lined with Oysters & the creeks with clams of the best quality, the soft & hard shell'd Crab the latter as large as Lobsters are delicious - the oysters are larger & better than blue points - green turtle - deer & wild fowl are very plenty - so much for eatables - we have four the best wells of water I ever tasted - Our house is built with hewn stone two stories - In the main body of the house are two large rooms one above the other - three double doors & six windows in each - at each end there is a wing - turret or tower - in each two handsome bed rooms with three windows The roofs are flat & terrass'd on which I spend some hours every fair day in walking & reading - and from which we have a charming prospect of the bar & Ocean - North & south of the Island rivers & plantations - the latter are all in sight & join except a margin of wood divides the fields - Back we have a most enchanting view of the long extended forrests of Pines Palms Live Oaks Hicories and an inumerable variety of flowering trees and shrubs - among which are the odoriferous flowering trees by botanists call'd Magnolia Grandeflora - in other words the Laurel - whose high heads towering above the rest seem to be looking into future times - The walks thro' the woods from one plantation to another are absolutely facinating - they are lined with hedges of sweet Myrtle with the

greatest variety of the most beautiful flowers - from which the air is constantly perfumed - the hyacinth the Indian creeper the morning glory with a variety of others which you nurse in your gardens grow wild here & cover the trees - But I have taken a [illegible] from the top of the house into the woods - to which I'll return and finish my long letter for I am heartily tired of it & sure you must be - I cannot however stop yet - for when I begin a letter I never know where to end - I think I have said enough of the place & house but I must tell you the Scotch here call it a Castle - when it is painted & the Piaza round it up I think it may be calld elegant for this country --

I have not been to St Augustine since we removed here which was a year last March but hear they are in high spirits in consequence of a Privateer from there bringing in three rich English Prizes a ship of 400 tons a Brig & Sloop laden with rum wine Peruvian barks flowers rice corn pork beef &c &c I shall make them a visit this week - & as this is the season for dancing there - expect to be honored with some warm balls - Stella is well & receivd a letter yesterday from Nancy dated Jan 3 by which she seems in good spirits - & very pressing for her to go to St Martins in consequence of which she has concluded to go on to Charlstown - from thence take passage for the West Indies - I shall not seal my letter untill I arive in Augustine - I might frequently send you oranges if there were any vessls going to the northward in the season of them --

St Augustine July 9th

Mr Hull, Stella & myself have been here more than a week - we are now waiting for a wind - She to sail for Charlstown on her way to St. Martins We to return to our place of bannishment among devouring insects & poisonous reptiles which Nancy mentions in her letter with so much horror &

which I have not yet found - I beg you to write & tell me all & every thing that concerns you your family & other connections I am extremly anxious to hear from my dear sister Hannah & child - my love to them - Mr Hart & your dear little boys who I suppose by this time are men - tell them to write me & I will promise at least to answer their letters - I have had some dependence upon Stellas writing for me as she has had nothing else to do but shall now take it upon myself - & hope you will not have so much reason to complain of the silence of your affectionate sister

AW-HULL

Reverend Seth Hart -Hempstead Long Island State New York

Elihu Atwater to Rev. Seth Hart

St Marys June 13th 1806

Dear Sir -

Yours of 3d May last came to hand by this days Mail, and I am very happy it is in my power to afford you some satisfaction in respect to Miss Hall - I can in some degree remoove your anxiety or uneasiness by informing you that Miss Stella did according to the best of my recollection, go from Smyrna to St Augustine from whenc she intended going on to Charleston or some other port in the States in order to get to her sisters but she afterwards alterd her mind and returned to Smyrna at which place she remained when I last heard from her, and I can furthur say that I think Mr Hull gave me the information when he was here sometime in Febry or March last, and that he had left her and Mrs Hull in good health, - Mr Hull had then just returned from Charleston & had been absent for sometime and very anxious to return home. . . . Since writing the above I have seen Capt Ladd, who is a

near Neighbour of Mr Hull's, and tells me he left Smyrna about 4 weeks since, that Mss S. was there then and she and the family all well and that they had good prospects of a crop the reasons why Miss Stella did not pursue the voyage as contemplated was there Capt Ladd had expected to go, with his wife to Charleston but when the vessel was ready Mr Ladd was taken ill and could not go, & there being no other female on board Miss S. gave it out, and he thinks she will not go at all.

I have no news in mind at present to communicate and as it is now almost dark and our mail goes out this Evening - I will close with only observing that I have not the Honor of being post master -

I am Sir with much Esteem

Your friend & Humble Sevt - ELIHU ATWATER

Revd S. Hart

PS. My Best respects to Mrs Hart and other friends

Ambrose Hull to Rev. Seth Hart

New Smyrna August 6th 1806

Brother Hart

I received last week your letter of the 3d May and Abby received one from Ruthy at same time, fraught with horrors on acct of Stella - and I must acknowledge, not without reason - She is still here - as you have undoubtedly been informed by E. Atwater of St. Marys - When I wrote you from Charleston last Winter - Whether I mentioned her name or not - I supposed she had frequently written Ruthy after she concluded to return here from Augustine last August and after her return as she had frequent opportunity - Indeed I understood her that she had written Ruthy before she returned here from Augustine in August last - but to my utter aston-

ishment - When I returned from Charleston in March, I was told she had not written her at all - her motives for this neglect, are to me - inscrutable - I leave her to assign them - An opportunity offered a few weeks ago - by which I informed you that she was still here - and also mentioned that within the year past - She had had two offers of marriage both very advantageous - and far beyond anything she had any right to expect - both of which she had seen fit to trifle with & reject - to the utter astonishment of every body that felt any interest in her welfare - Both the gentlemen were planters from N. Providence and are now established in this neighbourhood One of them is a man about five & thirty a very decent man and an excellent planter - he has several plantations on the Bahama Islands and a very excellent one here pleasantly situated and has rising of 100 Negroes beside other personals - his property at a moderate calculation is worth at least \$50000 - The other is a young gentleman of a genteel education - received in England - and a most amiable character - with a property worth at least \$20000 -What emotions were experienced by Abby & myself - by such levity in a Sister in her circumstances - I shall not aim at describing - Still she discovers no inclination to leave this Province - nor ever has - It is true - there are very few young ladies in the Province except Spaniards & Minorcans - but she has let slip the most favorable opportunities - and instead of a competent or genteel indeed an elegant establishment she has seemed the enviable character of an accomplished Coquet - and further this deponent saith not. We were very very glad to hear from you & yours - that you were in health &c; but sorry to read your expressions of despondency We have experienced little else but misfortunes & disappointments since we came this way - Still we do not give up the idea of yet enjoying many of the good things of this life - in the

Society of some of our old friends, & in this - neighbourhood - especially, should there be a change of government in any good time. . . . by directing your letters to St. Marys to the care of E. Atwater - they will most generally come to hand in the course of a few months - Abby joins me in love to Ruthy & the little folks - while I remain as usual your Sincere friend & brother - - -

A. Hull

Reverend Seth Hart Hempstead Long Island State of New York

Stella Hall to Ruth Hart

New Smyrna 8 Augt 1806

Dear Sister Ruthy

Your letter to Abby we rec'd a few days ago, inclos'd in one from Br Hart - the subject of which was my intended journey to S Martins and the distress and anxiety which my suppos'd misfortunes or Death had occasion'd you all - I was indeed very much astonish'd to find you had not heard from, nor of me in such a length of time - and truly grev'd that I had caus'd you so much uneasiness - I shou'd not have attempted going to St M[artins] had it not been for a letter which I recd from Nancy a few days previous to my departure for St Augustine dated Jany 1805 in which I determin'd to embark, I was however disappointed in obtaining a passage, the Capt for reasons best known to himself alterd his course and want on to the Havannah - no other opportunity offerd I wrote you in Sept that I had given up the idea of going to St M and concluded to return back to New Smyrna - I found there was so little communication between the Port of Charleston and that Island it wou'd be extremly difficult to

procure a passage from thence - it was moreover runing a very great risque to venture out at a time when all American Vessels were liable to capture or insult from not only French and English but even Spaniards, ¹⁸ the idea of falling into the hands of some infernal pirate was of all others the most horrid - I therefore determin'd as the only prudent step I cou'd take to seek once more the quiet retreat from which I had first started, whenc I have remaind in Status-quo ever since --you have undoubtedly been apprized (before this) of my safety and place of abode as I understand by a letter from Elihu Atwater that he had given you information to that effect -

I have no means of forwarding a letter to St M. I therefore request you will remember me in yours, and assure our dear Brother and Sister of my unalterable affection. . . . Abby sends her love to you and has promised to write the next opportunity --

Your affectionate Sister,
STELLA HALL

PS. the general expectation here is that this Provinces of east and west Florida will be shortly given up to the United States it is an event ardently wish'd by more than two thirds of the inhabitants -

I'm afraid you'll not be able to read this dreadful scrawl - I hope in future to be furnish'd with better materials

(This series of letters from Spanish East Florida will be continued in the next issue of this QUARTERLY.)

^{18.} During this time, 1806, American ships were subject to seizure by the British who were impressing American seamen. The French privateers and their allies, the Spanish, also sailed the Florida coast at this time preying upon American ships.