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

GEORGE R. FAIRBANKS.

Saint Augustine, April, 1857

SLAVERY AND WHITE SERVITUDE IN EAST FLORIDA, 1726 to 1776

For a limited period and to a limited extent negro slavery existed in the Florida peninsula under the early Spanish regime. From at least as early as 1726 the Spaniards welcomed fugitive slaves from Georgia and South Carolina. So also did the lower Creek Indians, who treated them well, admitted them to their free life, and intermarried with them. For the next dozen years the fugitives were sold in St. Augustine, although their liberation was ordered by a royal decree of October 29, 1733. When claimants or their agents came from the neighboring colonies to recover their slaves, they got only the money for which they had been sold. But in March, 1738, some of these bondmen appealed to Governor Montiano for their liberty and obtained it, despite the protests of their Spanish owners.

The liberated negroes had no place to live and no means of a livelihood. The Governor therefore established them in a locality two and a half miles north of St. Augustine, where they built their huts and tilled their plots of ground. The Spaniards called this place the Pueblo da Gracia Real de Santa Terese de Mose. When the British took possession of the province in 1763 they abbreviated the name by dropping all but the last word, which they pronounced "Moosa." Late in November, 1738, twenty-three fugitives arrived and were added to the settlement, and Montiano issued an order in consonance with the royal decree that any others who might come would be given their freedom. He also arranged with the Bishop to send the Rev. Josef de Leon to instruct the colony, then consisting of thirty-eight families, in Catholic doctrine and good

customs. The Governor undertook to supply the settlement with provisions until its crops should be harvested. These measures were duly approved by the Council of the Indies and sanctioned by the King.

Under date of May 18, 1739, the Rev. Lewis Jones, a missionary to St. Helena's Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina, wrote to the secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel that twenty-three negroes had recently fled from his neighborhood to St. Augustine on the publication of a proclamation at the latter place promising freedom to all slaves who should come from any of the English plantations. Mr. Jones was finding it difficult to obtain the cooperation of the masters in giving religious instruction to their negroes, and remarked that this flight would "Considerably Encrease the Prejudice of planters agst the Negroes, And Occasion a Strict hand, to be kept over them by their Several Owners; those that Deserted having been much Indulg'd." ¹

In the autumn of 1740 Montiano withdrew the blacks from their village to St. Augustine on account of danger from the English. He thought they should be in a safer place and have a settled priest, but after the danger was past they were allowed to go back to their settlement. A royal decree issued at the time of their withdrawal approved the Governor's action in liberating those fugitives held in bondage in St. Augustine and repeated the order freeing such as should arrive thereafter. The money paid by the purchasers of negroes so freed was to be returned. However, the purchase money for some of the fugitives was paid to the agents of their English owners. Hence the subterfuge was adopted of distributing fugitives

¹ Society for the Propagation of the Gospel: B-Series, Vol. 7, Pt. I, p. 233, Transcript by Stevens and Brown, Library of Congress. Item kindly supplied by the Rev. E. L. Pennington of Ocala, Fla.

among white families on the pretense of giving them religious instruction. This was a common practice in Cuba, and came into vogue at St. Augustine early in 1752.

Four years later the negroes at the Pueblo . . . de Mose were organized into a military company with its own officers by order of Governor Don Alonso Fernandez de Hereda for the purpose of garrisoning a fort erected there for a battery of four guns. That was the origin of Fort Moosa, or the "Negro Fort," which is shown on early maps of East Florida. It served as the northern outpost of St. Augustine and the defense of the village of fugitive slaves.

When the treaty was signed between the British and the Spaniards in 1763 by which Havana and its outposts were exchanged for the Floridas, Governor Feliu of East Florida began the evacuation of the province before the arrival of the British regiments at St. Augustine by transporting to Cuba the colony from the Pueblo . . . de Mose, thus preventing the restoration of the fugitive slaves to their former owners in Georgia and South Carolina. The deportees were established in a settlement in Cuba that survived for a number of years.^{1a}

Of the three thousand Spaniards residing in St. Augustine more than two-thirds had sailed for Havana by November 12, 1763, leaving their Governor and about nine hundred other people, who were then getting ready to embark. The Governor and last contingent left on January 21, 1764. The only Spaniards left in East Florida were three men, who were out searching for their horses in the woods.²

^{1a} For a much longer account of fugitive slaves in East Florida under the Spanish regime see *Journal of Negro History*, IX, 144-195; Public Record Office, Colonial Office 5/83, 3rd. sheet.²

² C. O. 5/540, p. 135.

Slavery in a much more pronounced form than had existed among the Spaniards entered East Florida shortly after the English took possession. Foreign indentured servants were also introduced into the province in considerable numbers. Among the reports of Lieutenant-Colonel James A. Robertson, who was making a tour of inspection of the new acquisitions and was at St. Augustine in October, 1763, is one giving his estimate of the expense of settling a tract of twenty thousand acres with fifty Protestant servants from Holland and fifty negro slaves, besides cattle, horses, hogs, sheep, and poultry. The necessary buildings were to be erected and boats, canoes, and implements provided. The cost of all this for the first year he estimated at 3,450. One-half of the servants and slaves were to be employed in clearing land during this year and the other half in raising produce, and were expected to make a profit of 800. This sum was to be spent in the purchase of twenty-five more slaves. During the second year only twenty-five hands were to clear land, while one hundred were to till the soil, thereby earning a net profit of 1,750, for the purchase of fifty-five more negroes. Again only twenty-five were to cut down brush and timber, thus leaving one hundred and fifty-five to raise produce and make a profit of 2,795 with which to buy more slaves. It is evident from this computation that Colonel Robertson was not an experienced planter, whatever else he may have been. He added that observations in Carolina had shown that the labor of one hand for a year would cultivate six acres of Indian corn, each acre producing on an average fifty bushels. The corn would sell at 1s. 10d. a bushel, or a total of 27 10s. In the case of rice one hand could cultivate four acres, yielding sixty bushels per acre. The two hundred and forty bushels would bring 28. The same labor could cultivate two acres of indigo and produce one hundred and

sixty pounds weight. Each pound would sell for 3s. 6d. or the total quantity for 28. Finally one hand could tend two acres of cotton, that is, sixteen hundred plants, and produce eight hundred pounds weight. As cotton sold at 1s. a pound the yield in money would be 40.³

Governor James Grant also believed in the profitability of slave labor, though he had no such scheme of rapid development of the system as Colonel Robertson had worked out for the cultivation of a township tract in Florida. However, Grant had done some fighting against the Cherokees, and while organizing his force had lived at Charleston and been intimate with some of the planters who dwelt in town in the summer. Before leaving England to assume the governorship, he wrote to the Board of Trade setting forth what he considered to be "the most reasonable and frugal methods" of settling the new colonies in North America. In his letter, dated July 30, 1763, he advocated the purchase by the provincial government of one hundred negroes on the score that they would be "extremely useful" in constructing public works, making roads, cutting firewood for the troops, and helping to build houses for the new inhabitants. The only expense involved would be their first cost and subsistence for two years. The government could easily reimburse itself by selling the slaves to the colonists.⁴

After the departure of the Spaniards a small residue of other inhabitants still remained in Florida, but Major Francis Ogilvie thought very few of them of sufficient consequence to be worthy of appointment to office. Before leaving England Grant had nominated several gentlemen he had known at Charleston for membership in the provincial Council, including James Moultrie who was chosen for the chief justiceship.

³ Shelburne Papers, pp. 393-397.

⁴ C. O. 5/540, p. 3.

Soon after the Governor's arrival at St. Augustine on August 29, 1764, he published a proclamation in the other provinces relating to the granting of land in Florida, in which he announced that every settler who was the master or mistress of a family would receive one hundred acres for himself or herself and fifty acres for every white or black man, woman, and child of which the family consisted at the time the grant was made. Thus a considerable inducement was held out to settlers to bring their slaves with them. He also wrote to some of the men of property and consideration in South Carolina and probably Georgia inviting them to settle in Florida.⁵

New people soon began to enter the province, and although the provincial surveyor, William Gerard De Brahm, did not arrive until late in January, 1765, Grant gave the newcomers permission to settle where they chose, assuring them that they should retain their locations if consistent with the royal instructions. The petitions of such as made personal petitions with the intention of bringing other settlers and their own slaves were numbered in order of presentation so that warrants of survey might be issued to them in the same order.⁶

The first applicant at St. Augustine was Denys Rolle, member of Parliament for Barnstaple, who arrived on September 13, 1764, with about a score of indentured servants from the streets of London. He had received a grant of twenty thousand acres from the King-in-Council, which he located on St. Johns River. During the next two months his servants left him. While complaining that his people were enticed away from him, Rolle continued to import or bring himself more of the same shiftless class: about July

⁵ C. O. 5/540, pp. 135, 230, 285, 159; C. O. 5/563, p. 178.

⁶ C. O. 5/540, p. 230.

1, 1765, twenty-one; in 1767 forty-nine; in November, 1768, twenty-six, more than half of whom seem to have stayed in Charleston ; in September, 1769, another group of unknown number; and in 1779 eighty-nine. Rolle claims to have imported more than two hundred white persons, and there is no reason to doubt his word. In December, 1768, fifty whites were living on his place in idleness, but he had recently bought twenty-two slaves in Georgia. Only nine of these were working negroes, the others being children. For his four years of labor and an expenditure of probably 6,000 Governor Grant declared that Rolle had less to show than a planter with twelve slaves should have in six months. As Rolle's white servants continued to run away from hard labor and bad treatment and their master continued to buy adjoining tracts of land until he had an aggregate of more than eighty thousand acres, he increased his slave gang to one hundred and thirty-eight, the number he had in September, 1783, when he removed them to the Bahama Islands, thereby losing forty-two of them by sickness and death. Ninety-six of his gang were working negroes, thirty-two were small children, and of the remaining ten a few were domestic servants and the others past labor. With this force Rolle had cleared four hundred and forty-nine acres of corn land and two hundred and twenty-five for rice; had built an extensive settlement with its church, office building, etc., known as Rolle's Town ; had tended more than one thousand head of cattle ; boxed some two thousand pine trees and produced eight hundred and forty barrels of turpentine ; made some tar and lumber ; and had grown Indian and Guinea corn, rice, and rye on seven hundred acres. Of his slaves seventeen made turpentine, one was a tar burner, eight were sawyers, four were coopers, two were carpenters, one was a squarer, one

a gardener, one a driver, two were carters, seventeen were field women, and one a midwife.⁷

Another of the earliest settlers was James Moultrie, the first chief justice under Governor Grant, who began to clear a tract on Woodcutters Creek about five miles from St. Augustine. He evidently brought some slaves with him from South Carolina, where he had been the acting attorney general. After his death in 1765 his brother John continued settling the place for the benefit of the children. During the last few years before the recession of Florida to Spain the slaves were only employed in cutting lumber and firewood and in distilling naval stores—that is, turpentine, resin, pitch, and tar. They had cleared one hundred acres for corn and rice. On two other tracts of land belonging to James Moultrie's heirs, which were situated on the Timoka River, some twenty-five negroes were employed, having been removed from the plantation on Woodcutters Creek. They cleared one hundred and fifty acres, planted provisions and indigo, and erected necessary buildings.⁸

In January, 1765, it was reported in London that it was intended to transport English female convicts to the two Floridas instead of sending them as heretofore to Maryland and Virginia. At the end of the following February an item appeared in the London papers that forty-seven young women had been engaged to embark for St. Augustine and Pensacola on condition that they were to have a free passage back at the expiration of their term of service in case they did not choose to remain longer. However, no mention is made in the official correspondence or in the

⁷ C. O. 5/563, p. 155; 5/540, pp. 119, 234; 5/541, p. 234; 5/549, p. 269; 5/550, pp. 23, 27; South Carolina Gazette, Aug. 25-Oct. 1, 1764, Nov. 7, 14, 1768, Sept. 14, 1769; Georgia Gazette, June 20, 1765; Siebert, *Loyalists in East Florida, 1774-1785*, II, 292, 295. Florida Historical Society QUARTERLY VII, 115.

⁸ Siebert, *Loyalists in East Florida, 1774-1785*, II, 98, 99.

minutes of the Council of East Florida of either of these groups.⁹

The need of slaves for the prosecution of public works was emphasized in Governor Grant's mind by the high cost of labor and his eagerness to build a road from Fort Barrington through the ceded lands of Georgia to St. Augustine. As he had no money for this purpose he raised 400 by subscription in Florida, Georgia, and South Carolina. On March 1, 1765, he wrote to the Board of Trade that the road could be constructed in a year's time by fifty slaves. By July he had received a bid to build the highway for 1,000 sterling, but wrote that unless he could get a much lower offer he would order slaves purchased with the money. After completing the work, they would belong to the province and would be servicable for other purposes. He even suggested to the Lords of Trade the expenditure of most of the contingent money to be granted by Parliament for the ensuing year for slaves to be employed on public works, such as erecting buildings, cutting lumber, and constructing roads. He argued that after the first cost they would be of little expense, as they would raise their own food which was principally Indian corn. The Lords of Trade did not regard this suggestion with favor, believing that slaves could not be so economically managed in public enterprises as in private undertakings.¹⁰ However that may have been, it became necessary in Revolutionary times to requisition them for work on the fortifications at St. Augustine, as we shall see later.

Early in May, 1765, Francis Kinloch of Charleston, one of the leading planters in America according to Grant, visited St. Augustine, petitioned for a tract of five thousand acres on St. Johns River, engaged to

⁹ *South Carolina Gazette*, Apr. 13-20, 1765; *Georgia Gazette*, June 6, 1765.
¹⁰ C. O. 5/540, pp. 353, 416-417.

form a settlement in the autumn, and place eighty slaves on it. Mr. Kinloch had come with directions from a few other principal Carolinians to choose sites for them which they would apply for in person in the autumn. Grant considered Mr. Kinloch "a great acquisition" and gave him a seat in the provincial Council.¹¹

In order to make St. Augustine accessible to people living west and southwest of it Grant entered into a contract with Colonel James Moncrief, the military engineer, to build a road seven hundred yards long and eight yards wide through the marsh of St. Sebastians Creek and a wooden bridge sixty-five yards long and four yards wide across the stream itself and maintain both the bridge and the road in good repair for two years for the sum of 300. The agreement was that the money was to be paid in advance to enable the engineer to buy slaves for performing the manual labor.^{11a}

Despite the efforts of the Governor to attract settlers and the issuance of orders-in-Council to members of Parliament, noblemen, and speculators, people were not settling and developing lands in Florida as rapidly as their numerous applications would suggest. During the period of two years following June 20, 1765, the number of grants of land passed in East Florida was only sixty ; the number of acres granted, one hundred and twenty thousand, two hundred and seventy-five ; and of the number of people in the recipients' families one hundred and twenty were white and two hundred and sixty black.¹² However, late in December, 1767, Grant wrote to Lord Shelburne that leading planters were intending to plant rice, indigo, cotton,

¹¹ C. O. 5/540, p. 415.

^{11a} C. O. 5/548, p. 270.

¹² These figures are found in a letter of Grant to the Earl of Shelburne, July 16, 1767: King's MSS., Vol. 206, p. 216.

grapevines, and produce silk, and that he could count about six hundred working slaves in the province. He therefore complained of the omission from the provincial budget for the year 1767-'68 of 500 to provide bounties for the encouragement of such beneficial products, adding that the planters would look to the government for such encouragement.^{12a}

In November, 1766, Richard Oswald obtained a grant of twenty thousand acres, which was located in the angle between the Halifax and Timoka rivers, about midway between Mosquito and Matanza inlets. In a year or more he put about one hundred and ten slaves on his tract. By 1779 they had more than doubled in number by birth. The abduction of about eighteen slaves from Dr. Andrew Turnbull's colony of New Smyrna in that year by a Spanish privateer led Mr. Oswald or his agent to remove his slaves to Georgia, where they were kept until July, 1782. Then, at the evacuation of Savannah by the British and loyalists about one hundred and seventy of them were brought back. At first they had been employed in cultivating sugarcane. On the failure of this enterprise they were set at raising indigo, and after their return they were employed in growing rice.¹³

We have already seen that larger or smaller gangs of slaves were brought into Florida from Georgia and South Carolina, usually by planters who were removing from those provinces. Probably Mr. Oswald imported his in his own vessel direct from the coast of Africa. Early in 1770 Grant wrote to the Earl of Hillsborough that Oswald's vessel had arrived at St. Augustine lately from that coast with a cargo of very fine slaves, who had been sold at cheaper prices than such property sold for in the neighboring provinces. The planters were pleased with receiving their negroes

^{12a} C. O. 5/549, p. 45.

¹³ Siebert, *Loyalists in East Florida, 1774-1785*, II, 55-56, 58; C. O. 5/548, p. 262; 5/549, p. 77.

without risk and on the spot. Grant added that this was the third cargo that Oswald had sent to St. Augustine. At the end of January, 1771, the snow Charlotte of London landed about one hundred and twenty slaves at the Florida capital, and while the captain was on shore with them the vessel was blown off the bar, having lost all its anchors. It was navigated into Charleston harbor by the mate. These slaves were brought from Banca Island.¹⁴

Early in August, 1766, it had been reported in London that the King had ordered grants to be made out by the Governor of East Florida of several millions of acres to various noblemen, and that ships had been engaged to go to Hamburg to carry Germans thither to fulfill the terms of the grants requiring Protestant settlers. A baronet was said to have gone to Scotland to send over five hundred Highlanders, clansmen of his, to settle on the land he had received, and it was further stated that he proposed to supply them with three thousand slaves. This announcement was promptly followed by another, namely, that Sir Alexander Grant, a member of Parliament and eminent West Indian merchant, had obtained a large grant of excellent land in Florida and that two transports were to sail for Hamburg to take on board Palatines for that province. Early in January, 1767, word was received from Hamburg that the two vessels were then lying in the Elbe getting their quotas of passengers. Four months later one of these vessels with ninety Palatines on board touched at Portsmouth on its way to St. Augustine. During the early months of 1767 items of similar import about the projects of grantees to ship emigrants from the Isle of Man and Normandy appeared occasionally in the London press.¹⁵

¹⁴ C. O. 5/551, p. 29; *South Carolina Gazette*, Feb. 7, 1771.

¹⁵ *South Carolina Gazette*, Oct. 13-20, 1766; Mch. 16-23, Apr. 27, July 6-13, 1767.

Some, of these projects were never realized, and probably were never intended to be. They were what would be called today good "sales talk," issued by speculators who had secured large grants of land which they were anxious to sell at a good profit. Occasionally we find a grantee, however, who actually sent out a body of settlers. Among these gentlemen were William Crowle and Lord Moira. The former entrusted his emigrants to Thomas Wooldridge, who was made provost marshal of East Florida by royal mandamus. Wooldridge had also been commissioned to locate Crowle's land. Early in November, 1767, Dr. William Stork wrote to Crowle that although Wooldridge had been in Florida about six months he had neglected to attend to the land, and that Governor Grant had reserved a tract of twenty thousand acres for him near Mosquito Inlet. Dr. Stork added that he had inquired into the number of servants and settlers Wooldridge had brought over for his patron and had found none left. Some had been sold and the others had run away. Lord Moira sent over his settlers with Stanhope Shannon to be placed on two tracts of land, one on the east side of Lake George and the other on the west side of St. Johns River below James Spalding's store. In June, 1768, Charles Bernard, a prospector for lands in East Florida, wrote to the Earl in a vague and disquieting way about his settlers, clearly intimating that his plans had not been carried into effect.¹⁶

In 1767 Dr. John Moultrie, who had served as a major under Governor Grant in his campaign against the Cherokee Indians and assisted him in organizing his government, decided to remove from Charleston to East Florida. He came with his family and about one hundred slaves and took up a tract of one thousand acres four miles south of St. Augustine, which he

¹⁶ C. O. 5/563, p. 221.

named *Bella Vista*. There he built a large stone mansion and some thirty other buildings, laid out parks and gardens, planted thousands of fruit trees, and lived in imposing style. On Grant's recommendation he was appointed lieutenant governor and succeeded to the administration on Grant's departure for England in 1771. He then dismantled and disposed of his plantations in South Carolina, and brought the rest of his negroes back with him. In 1777 he took up fifteen hundred acres on Woodcutters Creek, which he considered an "appendage" to *Bella Vista* and cultivated with the slaves from that estate. On the new place his hands cut lumber, made tar, and boxed twenty-five thousand pine trees for turpentine. Opposite Oswald's estate on Timoka River Dr. Moultrie secured a tract of two thousand acres, which he named the Rosetta place. He began to settle this tract as early as 1767, put seventy slaves on it, one-half being working negroes, built a small dwelling house, a rice barn, set up a machine for cleaning rice, and erected other buildings. He also constructed two reserve dams to flood two hundred acres, which were ditched and drained. He cleared one hundred and fifty acres more for indigo. He also owned other tracts which he did not cultivate.¹⁷

Another gentleman who began extensive operations as a planter in 1767, was Captain Robert Bisset. He did not open his principal settlement, Mount Plenty or Palmerina, until ten years later. This was a tract of three hundred acres on the South Mosquito or Hillsborough River, about fifteen miles from the Inlet. Here he erected buildings, including good houses for seventy slaves, excavated three sets of indigo vats, and cleared about one hundred and forty acres. He seems to have first settled and cultivated a tract of one thousand acres two miles back from Mount Plenty, on which he built

¹⁷ Siebert, *Loyalists in East Florida, 1774-1785*, II, 237-242.

a large corn and indigo house, twenty huts for his thirty slaves, and put in two sets of vats for the manufacture of indigo, namely, two steepers, two beaters, and one lime vat. Here he ditched, cleared, and drained about one hundred and thirty-five acres. The slaves from this place he occasionally worked at Mount Plenty. An adjoining tract of one thousand acres had also its buildings and vats and seventy acres, ditched and fenced.

In 1779 the abduction of some eighteen or more slaves from New Smyrna by a Spanish privateer and of a negro wench belonging to Captain Bisset so frightened him that he removed his hands to his plantation, the Caledonia settlement, on Pobolo Creek. There he erected buildings, cleared one hundred and fifteen acres, made six hundred barrels of turpentine, and planted a crop. When Captain Bisset left Florida in the spring of 1784 he and his son, Alexander Bisset, together owned one hundred and sixteen slaves, eighty-one being the property of the Captain.¹⁸

The gentleman who did the most to colonize East Florida in a single project was Dr. Andrew Turnbull. He first arrived at St. Augustine from England in November, 1766, bringing his family with him. In the following January Governor Grant wrote to the Earl of Shelburne that Turnbull had presented orders from the King-in-Council for two tracts of twenty thousand acres each, one for himself and the other for Sir William Duncan. The locations chosen were on the Hillsborough River south of Mosquito (now Ponce de Leon) Inlet. Dr. Turnbull lost no time in buying slaves to cultivate a cotton plantation under the management of a skilful planter. He also ordered cattle driven down to his place from Georgia and Carolina, and set his negroes to work clearing ground and artificers to build houses for the reception of settlers.

¹⁸ Siebert, *Loyalists in East Florida, 1774-1785*, II, 250-259.

Soon thereafter he embarked for England on his way to the Mediterranean to procure his colonists.¹⁹

Early in April, 1767, Dr. Turnbull obtained an order from the King-in-Council for five thousand acres for each of his four children, Nichol, Mary, Jane, and Margaret. Perhaps it was at this time that Lord George Grenville and Sir Richard Temple decided to join in the enterprise. At any rate, they became partners by obtaining grants for twenty thousand acres each. This brought the total holdings of land up to one hundred and one thousand, four hundred acres. On the Grenville land forty dwelling houses were erected and on the Duncan land eighty.²⁰

In the summer of 1768 Dr. Turnbull and his fleet arrived, not with five hundred indentured servants as at first intended, but with fourteen hundred, part of them Greeks from the Pelopennesus, part of them south Italians, and part of them Minorcans. They were to serve for a term of years, to have half of the produce they raised, and ultimately plots of land. The voyage had been a long and trying one. Some of the old people had died on the way, and after the settlers had landed scurvy and gangrene broke out among them, and many more died. Those able to work found grubbing out scrub palmettoes an arduous task, and in Turnbull's absence on August 19, 1768, Carlo Forni, one of the overseers, proclaimed himself leader of the Greeks and Italians, took possession of the storehouses and firearms, distributed liquor among his followers, loaded a vessel with supplies, induced about one hundred people to go on board, and waited for the tide to carry them out of the Inlet on their way to Cuba.

Fortunately a messenger found Dr. Turnbull at

¹⁹ *South Carolina Gazette*, Nov. 3-10, 1766; C. O. 5/548, p. 285.

²⁰ C. O. 5/542 & 543, p. 547; Siebert, *Loyalists in East Florida, 1774-1785*, II, 303, 304, 325.

Mount Oswald, who forwarded another to Governor Grant. The latter received the alarming news at eight o'clock in the evening of August 20, and by five the next morning had the East Florida packet and another vessel under sail with troops, provisions, cannon, and ammunition. Another detachment was sent overland. The vessels reached Mosquito Inlet on August 22 just as the mutineers' vessel was warping out. As soon as they saw they were blockaded a score of their principal men jumped into a boat, cut its rope, and rowed away. The approaching vessels fired, and the other mutineers, seventy-five in number, surrendered, and were taken ashore. The detachment arrived on August 25 and two days later marched for St. Augustine, leaving a sergeant and twenty men to guard the prisoners. Forty of them were severely punished at New Smyrna. A few of the others were sent to St. Augustine for trial, as were also those who had escaped in the boat after their capture on one of the Florida Keys. Only two were executed.²¹

By 1773 about nine hundred of the colonists had been carried off by the ravages of the scurvy and other diseases. Another misfortune befel the settlement through the enmity that had developed between Dr. Turnbull and the new Governor, Patrick Tonyn. While the former was in England in 1776 and 1777 preferring charges against the latter and clearing himself of the charges made against him, Tonyn had drafted a company of militia from New Smyrna, and his agents had told the colonists that at the expiration of their term of service they would not get title deeds to their lands because they were Catholics, Protestant settlers being specified in the grants. Some of them went up to St. Augustine in May, 1777, and entered

²¹ *Georgia Gazette*, June 29, July 6, Aug. 10, Sept. 28, Oct. 19, 1768; *South Carolina Gazette*, July 11, Sept. 5, 12, 1768; C. O. 5/549, pp. 253, 281-282.

charges against their absent patron. The court of sessions imprisoned them until they consented to return and fulfil their contracts. The Governor secured their release, and encouraged them in breaking their indentures. In their depositions they had alleged that Turnbull had continued to hold some of them after the expiration of their service, and that he had committed certain crimes of violence. During the summer of 1777 the rest of the colonists deserted New Smyrna for St. Augustine, where several score of them died of exposure. Thus when Turnbull returned from England in the autumn he found his indentured servants had escaped from their bonds and his great enterprise had been completely wrecked.²²

From time to time slaves ran away from their masters, and in some cases found refuge among the lower Creek Indians. For a long time it had been troublesome and difficult to get them back from the Creek towns. The Indians admitted that they fed the negroes, and suggested that their masters or other white men might come, tie them, and take them away. The difficulty was that the fugitives were sometimes concealed or rescued when efforts were made to recover them. To facilitate their being returned Governor Grant promised 2 a head for fugitives brought from the Indian settlements, and Lieutenant Governor Moultrie followed the same practice. The latter wrote in the spring of 1771 that the Indians had shown their friendliness within a few days to such an extent as to aid white persons in seizing and bringing seven run-aways from their towns, as they had done in several instances a little while back. When Indians returned the slaves or helped other people to do so Moultrie not only gave them money rewards, but also made presents to them from the Indian store.²³

²² Siebert, *Loyalists in East Florida, 1774-1785*, II, 326.

²³ C. O. 5/552, pp. 111-112.

The flights seem not always to have been to the Indian towns. In the spring of 1770 four male slaves had fled from the plantation of John Tucker, and had retired to some place down the east coast. There they were accidentally caught by the deputies of Surveyor William Gerard De Brahm, and brought back in the government vessel. De Brahm made an exorbitant charge for their passage and subsistence, which had cost him nothing.²⁴ There can be no doubt that flights were much more numerous at the close of the Revolution, when the inhabitants of East Florida were all in a state of turmoil and were preparing to leave the province. This matter will come up for later consideration.

The planters were devoting a good deal of attention to the production of indigo. The plant from which it was obtained grew wild in East Florida, and the British government encouraged the manufacture by paying a bounty to those producing the coloring matter. In 1767 Governor Grant made a trip up the St. Johns River as far as Lake George, and was so favorably impressed with the region there that he decided to send thirty or forty slaves at once to open an indigo plantation on the lake. Men experienced in the cultivation and manufacture of indigo seem to have been in demand. In September, 1771, William Carrs advertised in Charleston for a man qualified to superintend an indigo plantation in Florida with thirty working hands on it. If the applicant could bring with him ten or twelve slaves of his own he would be admitted to shares.²⁵

Among the planters and tradesmen who removed from South Carolina and Georgia into Florida at the close of Grant's administration and during Moultrie's and many of whom brought from three to forty slaves

²⁴ C. O. 5/551, p. 66.

²⁵ *South Carolina Gazette*, Sept. 12, 1771.

with them, several of the planters are worthy of special mention. In 1769 Francis Levett came from Georgia with a large body of negroes, and opened a plantation on St. Johns River. He also acquired considerable property in St. Augustine, and in March, 1771, was made assistant judge of the court of general sessions and of the court of common pleas. A month later he was appointed a member of the Council, and in June, 1774, provost marshal general. When he departed from the province at the evacuation he owned one hundred negroes.²⁶

In 1771 Jermyn Wright of Georgia bought four hundred acres on St. Marys River, about eight miles from its mouth, and put twenty-five slaves on it within two or three months after making the purchase. They cleared one hundred and eighty acres, built dams, ditches, and buildings, and raised rice and provisions. He also obtained a neighboring tract of five hundred acres by grant, which he cultivated with nine or ten hands. On this place forty acres were cleared, provisions raised, and lumber sawed. Altogether he brought one hundred and seventy slaves into Florida. However, his plantations were broken up at the end of 1775 by a party of revolutionists from Georgia, and he removed his negroes back to that province.²⁷

Mr. Wright was not the only sufferer from depre-dations on St. Marys River. In 1773 William Chapman and his sons of New-castle-on-Tyne procured orders-in-council for forty thousand acres and in the following year bought twelve thousand acres on St. Marys from William Knox. They sent out agents and shipped implements, cattle, provisions, and other supplies to their proposed settlement, on which they placed thirty-five slaves. On the night of May 22, 1776, the

²⁶ Siebert, *Loyalists in East Florida, 1774-1785*, II, 229-233, 328.

²⁷ Siebert, *Loyalists in East Florida, 1774-1785*, II, 168-172.

agents with such negroes and effects as they could remove in the plantation boats were forced to retire to Amelia Island to escape from a party of rebels. The negroes who had been left in charge of the place, were abducted or dispersed a little later by the raiders, who burnt the buildings and the crop of rice, and took away the cattle. Incursions continued, and the Chapmans' agents and slaves on the island were soon obliged to remove to St. Johns River, where they settled on a small tract of land, cut lumber, and produced naval stores.²⁸

When Governor Patrick Tonyn assumed the administration of East Florida in March, 1774, the white inhabitants numbered about one thousand and the slaves three thousand. The Revolution was impending in Georgia and the Carolinas, and when it became violent the population of Florida gained notable accessions through the influx of refugee loyalists, often with their slaves. These movements and other effects of the Revolution on slavery in the province will be discussed in a later paper.

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²⁸ *Ibid.*, 215-217.

UNITED STATES TROOPS
IN SPANISH EAST FLORIDA, 1812-13

V

In the preceding issues of the **QUARTERLY**, starting with July, 1930, we followed the career of a detachment of United States regulars during their occupancy of Spanish East Florida beginning March 18, 1812, as told by their commander, Col. Thomas A. Smith, in his official and semi-official correspondence, much of which has never appeared in print before. The last issue brought the story to the time when Col. Smith turned the command over to Maj. Lawrence Manning, of the 8th U.S. Infantry, and bade adieu to the little detachment that he had led into the Spanish province more than a year before.⁵¹ In the meantime, Gen. Pinckney, commanding the Southeastern Department, had despatched the following letter to the Spanish governor at St. Augustine :

*Gen. Pinckney to Gov. Kindelan*⁵²

Headquarters, Charleston,
26th [20th?] March, 1813.

The President of the United States having appointed me to command the troops in the southern

⁵¹ Thomas Adam Smith was born in Essex County, Va., in 1781, the family later removing to Wilkes County, Ga. He was appointed from Georgia; promoted to second lieutenant in 1803; advanced through the grades to lieutenant-colonel in 1810, and promoted to colonel while on duty in Florida. After leaving Florida, he joined the army of Gen. Harrison and served in the armies at the North, attaining the rank of brigadier-general in January, 1814. Gen. Harrison mentioned him as a most valuable and accomplished officer.

At the close of the war, Gen. Smith was assigned to the command of the Ninth Military District, at St. Louis. He resigned from the army in 1818, to become Receiver of Public Moneys at New Franklin, Mo. About 1825, he entered a large

States, and committed to me the management of their concerns with the province of East Florida, I have the honor of making known to your excellency the trust which has been reposed in me, and to assure you of the pleasure it will afford me to concur with you in placing On the most amicable footing these important interests ; and in furtherance of this intention I have to inform you that Mr. Onis ⁵³ has communicated to the Secretary of State an act of amnesty for the insurgents of Florida who have been induced to revolt by an agent of the United States, whose proceedings in this respect, were unauthorized ; and I have to request your excellency to inform me whether you are prepared to proceed in conformity to the above mentioned act?

My aid-de-camp, Mr. Morris, will have the honor of delivering this letter to you, and, if you please, of conveying your answer to me. He has it in charge to assure you of the high consideration with which I have the honor to be,

Your excellency's most obedient servant,
 Thomas Pinckney,
 Major-General United States Army
 His Excellency, Governor Kindelan.

Gov. Kindelan to Gen. Pinckney ⁵⁴

St. Augustine, Florida
 March 31, 1813

In answer to your letter of the 20th instant, which I have just received through your aid-de-camp, Mr.

tract of land in Saline County, Mo., where he died on his plantation "Experiment" in 1844, and was buried in the family burying ground there. (This information was derived from the army registers and from a descendant of Gen. Smith, Dr. Thomas B. Hall, of Miami Beach, Fla.)

⁵² U.S. vs. F. P. Ferreira, Admr.&c., Misc. Senate Doc. No. 55, 36th Cong. 1st Sess.

⁵³ Luis de Onis, unaccredited Spanish envoy to the United States.

⁵⁴ Misc. Sen. Doc. No. 55, p. 91.

Morris, I say that by the annexed certified copy of the edict, published in this city under my command on the 15th of the same month you will perceive that the general pardon of which you make mention has been duly complied with; consequently it would give me much pleasure to concur with you in the important measures suggested to me by you, so far as they come within the circle of my authority ; but beyond the execution of that favor, which has been, and will be, carried into effect in all its parts, I must observe to you, that to enter upon the other incidents that may thereto relate, it is not proper I should do so while the United States troops are in the Spanish territory which has been confided to me.

With this motive I have the honor, sir, of offering myself, with the highest considerations, at your service.

God preserve you many years.

S.K. [Sebn. Kindelan]

Thomas Pinckney,

General of the United States troops.

*Amnesty Edict*⁵⁵

St. Augustine, March 18, 1813

PROCLAMATION

Don Sebastian Kindelan y Oregon, knight of the order of St. James, brigadier-general of the national armies, civil and military governor of the city of St. Augustine, East Florida, and of said province for his majesty, &c.

I make known to the inhabitants of the province, that his excellency, the captain-general of it and the

⁵⁵ This is the edict referred to by Gov. Kindelan in his letter of March 31st. *Niles' Weekly Reg. Apr. 24, 1813, p. 127.*

island of Cuba, under date of 11th Feb. last, writes me as follows.

His excellency, the secretary of state for the affairs of grace and justice, under date of 16th Dec. last, writes me as follows.

On the 15th inst. the regency of the kingdom has been pleased to address me the annexed decree.

DECREE-Don Fernando VII, by the grace of God, and by the constitution of the Spanish monarchy, king of Spain, and during his absence and captivity the regency of the kingdom specially authorized by the general and extraordinary cortes, to grant an amnesty to the insurgents, who have co-operated in the invasion of the Spanish territory in East and West Florida, acting in conformity with the beneficent and conciliatory principles of the said cortes, and wishing to give a new proof of their clemency in favor of the Spanish subjects, who, unfortunately forgetful of their duties, have added to the distress of the mother country, during a most critical epoch, has determined to grant them a general pardon with oblivion of the past, on condition that, in future and after the proclamation of this amnesty, they shall demean themselves as good and faithful Spaniards, yielding due obedience to the legitimately constituted authorities of the national government of Spain, established in the peninsula.

“Wherefore you will take notice thereof and cause the same to be fulfilled in conformity.”

By order of their highness I transmit the same to your excellency for your information and its fulfilment on your part. And I transmit the same to your excellency, that it may be put in execution in the district of your command. And that the same may come to the knowledge of all persons whatsoever, I order the publication thereof, by proclamation, and that the notarial copies be exhibited in the usual places of this

city, assigning the term of four months, calculated from the date of these presents for all persons interested to make their appearance to avail themselves of this royal amnesty.

St. Augustine, East Florida.

15 March, 1813

Sebastian Kindelan

By order of his excellency, as actuating witnesses for want of a notary.

John De Entralgo

Bernard Joseph Seoui [Segui]

*Gen. Pinckney to Gov. Kindelan*⁵⁶

Savannah, 7th April, 1813.

Sir :

I received this day your excellency's letter of the 31st March, and in answer thereto I have the honor to inform you that the troops of the United States will be speedily withdrawn from the province of East Florida, for which the preparatory order has been already issued ; and that I shall set out this day to proceed on my route to St. Mary's, where I can have the satisfaction of a more expeditious communication with your excellency.

I beg leave to offer to your excellency the assurance of the great respect with which I have the honor to be,

Your most obedient servant,

Thomas Pinckney

His Excellency, Governor Kindelan.

⁵⁶ Misc. Sen. Doc. No. 55, p. 91.

Gov. Kindelan to Gen. Pinckney⁵⁷

St. Augustine, Florida
April 16th, 1813.

I have this moment received your letter of the 7th instant, in consequence of which I pray you to do me the honor to communicate to me, previously, the day you may determine upon to withdraw from the river St. John's and Amelia island, the troops under your command, that I may order those of mine to occupy, on the same day, those points, with the view of preventing any excess that might be attempted by any one or more of the rioters upon the properties and persons of the inhabitants of this province, which, I think may be prevented. If you think proper, those that are upon the said river should evacuate first, that from thence I may provide for sending the garrison destined to Amelia island, and that neither one nor the other point should be for one moment without a garrison, to cause the good order, to which you and myself aspire to be kept.

As I have no doubt of the interest you take in the most speedy tranquillity on the borders, I dare supplicate you will interpose your authority to prevent that persons of no character, or vagabonds from the state of Georgia, should assemble those discontented persons who there yet may be, owing to this new order of things, remaining in this territory still ; because the excess to which such a class of people might ordinarily proceed might compromit that peace which ought to make both countries (happy), and consequently, disturb the good harmony existing so happily between the two powers.

⁵⁷ *Secret Acts, Resolutions & Instructions &c.* . . . Washington, 1860, p. 65.

*Gen. Pinckney to Gov. Kindelan*⁵⁸

St. Mary's, 16th April, 1813.

Sir :

I had the honor of addressing your excellency from Savannah, on the 7th of this month, to inform you that in consequence of your communication of the 31st March, the troops of the United States would be speedily removed from East Florida, and having arrived at this place, with the intention of carrying this measure into effect, I again dispatch my aid-de-camp, Mr. Morris, to be the bearer of my respects to your excellency, and to inform you of the arrangements made for the above purpose.

You may with confidence rely on what he shall say to you concerning it in my behalf.

I have the honor to be with great respect,

Your excellency's obedient servant,

Thomas Pinckney.

His Excellency, the Governor of East Florida.

*Gen. Pinckney to Maj. Manning*⁵⁹

[Addressed to Major Manning, 8th Infantry, Commanding United States troops, Camp New Hope, East Florida.]

St. Mary's, 16th April, 1813.

Sir :

You are hereby directed to withdraw the troops of the United States under your command from Camp New Hope, on the 29th of this month, and convoy them by water, to Point Petre, on the St. Mary's river.

You will bring with you all the ordnance, ammunition and stores belonging to the United States, and

⁵⁸ Miscel. Sen. Doc. No. 55, pp. 92-93.

⁵⁹ *Secret Acts, Resolutions & Instructions, &c.*, p. 68.

afford, if required, a guard for the protection of the stores of the contractor, which he will have to remove.

I have given Maj. Massias instructions for the evacuation of Fernandina, which will not be executed until the troops under your immediate command have reached Point Petre.

The removal of the troops from East Florida is not to be considered in the light of the evacuation of an enemy's territory, but as restoring to a state of neutrality a territory which our Executive deemed expedient to occupy, until the government of that territory should comply with a reasonable requisition made to them. This requisition having been complied with, the territory must be considered as restored to its neutral character ; therefore in withdrawing the troops, you will prevent the removal or destruction of anything appertaining thereto ; and, in general, conduct the movement in that liberal mode which will do honor to the discipline and correct principles of the army.

You are neither to give assistance to the agents of the Spanish government, in any attempts against the revolutionists, nor are you to assist the latter in any operations against the Spaniards ; but you may afford to such of them as wish to withdraw their property from Florida, such assistance as may be in your power.

On your arrival at Point Petre, you will report yourself to headquarters at St. Mary's.

By command of the General.

Frederick Kinloch

Aid-de-camp.

(Note : The orders to Capt. Massias at Fernandina were similar to the above, with the necessary changes.)

*Gen. Pinckney to Gov. Kindelan*⁶⁰

St. Mary's, April 18, 1813.

Sir :

At the moment in which my aid-de-camp, Mr. Morris, is about to embark for the purpose of making known to your excellency, the mode and time in which I propose to withdraw the troops of the United States from the posts they have occupied in East Florida, I am honored with your dispatch of the 16th of this month ; and I am flattered by observing that the measures I had directed him to propose coincide so nearly with the desire expressed by your excellency.

I am here vested with the military, but have no control over the civil authority ; but you may be assured that my best endeavors shall not be spared to maintain the harmony which is so much the interest of our respective nations to cultivate.

I have the honor to be, with high considerations and respect,

Your excellency's most obedient servant,
Thomas Pinckney.

His Excellency,
The Governor of East Florida.

*Gov. Kindelan to Gen. Pinckney*⁶¹

St. Augustine, Florida
April 26, 1813.

I have received by your aid-de-camp, Mr. Morris, your two letters, of the 16th and 18th of the present month, in which you have been pleased to do me the honor of communicating to me your orders relative to the evacuation of the troops of your command, and in consequence whereof Mr. Morris, authorized by you,

⁶⁰ Miscl. Sen. Doc. No. 55, p. 93.

⁶¹ Miscl. Sen. Doc. No. 55, p. 95.

and myself have agreed that those stationed on the river St. John's should retire in all on the 29th day of the same month, and those upon Amelia Island the 6th of next coming May.

I am also flattered that my anticipated arrangement should coincide with those of your own ; a casualty [sic] which I believe attributable to the uniformity of principles animating us both, and for which I offer you my most sincere thanks.

I have the honor of offering, with the highest consideration, my respect for you, praying God will preserve your life many years.

SK.

[Sebn. Kindelan]

General Thomas Pinckney.

*Gov. Kindelan to Gen Pinckney*⁶²

St. Augustine, Florida

April 28th, 1813.

I enclose to you the within letter, which was delivered to me on the evening of the 25th by your aide-de-camp, to be forwarded to the commander of the United States troops stationed upon the river St. John's, and which was returned to me by the dragoon whom I sent it by, as when he arrived there at seven in the morning of the 27th, they had already embarked, leaving the place of their encampment in flames, a circumstance which you and myself were desirous of preventing, with the view that it would facilitate for the present convenient lodgings for the garrison under my command, who were to occupy it on the 30th. This, sir, is of little consequence, and I therefore should not have troubled you by mentioning it were it not for the circumstances of their having consigned also to the

⁶² *Ibid*, p. 96.

flames the machinery and houses of the inhabitants, Hollingsworth and Creagh, which compels me to call your attention to favor the persons injured. All countries abound with inconsiderate persons, the unwarrantable proceedings of which class of people very often disconcert the best concerted plans and measures. But I am persuaded that this disagreeable accident will in no manner change the just course which you and myself have pursued.

I remain, as always, with the highest considerations, at your service.

God preserve your life many years.

S.K.

[Sebastian Kindelan]

Gen. Thomas Pinckney

Camp New Hope was evacuated by Major Manning on April 26, 1813. Ten days later, May 6th, Captain A. A. Massias lowered the American flag at Fort San Carlos, Fernandina, and with the remaining troops crossed the channel of the St. Marys River and joined Major Manning at Point Petre, thus bringing to a close a remarkable episode in the history of the United States Army.

T. FREDERICK DAVIS

THE ARCHIVAL DISTRIBUTION OF FLORIDA MANUSCRIPTS

It is, perhaps, no inaccuracy to assert that few regions of continental United States, if any, are more widely represented, with respect to manuscript materials, than is Florida. Such materials are found in the national archives of at least three European countries and in those of four American countries-and it is quite possible that fuller information will extend the area of distribution. Manuscripts on Florida exist also in State archival institutions within the United States, as well as in a number of public, semi-public, and private institutions, both within and without the United States. It is purposed in the present paper to review very hastily and summarily the archival distribution of manuscript materials relating to Florida. Of the manuscripts themselves very little will be said and of their character mere indications must here suffice, for obviously time will not permit of more, and besides it is not the cardinal intent of this brief talk to do more.

At the outset, let me testify to the great debt students of the history of Florida owe to the various Guides that have been published by the Department of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution of Washington under the direction and guidance of Dr. J. F. Jameson. These Guides have lessened our labors immensely by directing us immediately toward the de-

Note-This paper, read before the Conference of Historical Societies at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association, 1929, is the result of a search for archival material relating to Florida which extended over a number of years. That painstaking research has given Dr. Robertson a knowledge of the subject possessed by no one else and is assurance that this product of it is of great and unique value to all who may dig into the sources of early Florida history.-Ed.

sired goal in the various archival depositories. A few other guides also furnish useful information.

The extent of territory denoted by the name "Florida" changed with the lapse of time and the entrance of other European nations into the colonizing game and their aggressions from a vague area to one with fairly definite bounds. At first the term had a very loose meaning, but after the English had delimited the province of Georgia, Florida was confined pretty much within its present limits. Now, the mere fact that Florida has been under Spanish, English, and United States flags, that the French projected and attempted settlements there in the sixteenth century and later, and that the northern border of Florida was from 1784 to 1821 the southern boundary of the United States, presupposes large bodies of papers relating to the history of the Florida region. Also, quite naturally, given the past history of Florida and the jealous care with which Spain guards its papers, one would expect to find great bodies of manuscript material in Spain itself. The student of Spanish Florida will, accordingly, if he go to Europe, first direct his steps, as a matter of course, to the Archivo General de Indias, at Seville. There, whether or not he has been prepared for what he must do, he will inevitably be astounded at the enormous amount of the resources thrown open to him -and this, whether he is studying both periods of Spanish occupation or one period only. He will find in those archives many manuscripts on Florida dating from as early as 1518 and running to 1763, when that region became British. For the British occupation there are comparatively few Spanish documents, but for the second Spanish occupation (1784-1821) the supply becomes bewildering.

Of the twelve or thirteen grand divisions into which the papers of the Archivo General de Indias are arranged, at least eight yield Florida materials, namely:

Patronato (in general material relating to the discovery and early exploration) ; Contaduria General (in general, accounts, the subsidy, and other economic materials reflecting the business side of administration) ; Casa de Contratacion (also largely reflecting the business side of administration-the supplying of the colony with settlers, soldiers, ammunition, artillery, and other military necessities, provisions, missionaries and other ecclesiastical persons and providing for their maintenance, etc.) ; Simancas, Consejo de Indias y Ministerio de Hacienda (a great mass of almost 19,000 legajos, many of which supply Florida materials and treat of almost every conceivable subject connected with the colony, both secular and ecclesiastical) ; Escribania de Camara del Consejo de Indias (concerned largely with lawsuits and residencias of officials and having many large expedientes) ; Papeles de Estado (1686-1760) ; Ministerio de Ultramar (Florida material consisting of the documents of legajos 506-513) ; Papeles procedentes de la Isla de Cuba (consisting in all of almost 2400 legajos and containing many thousands of Florida manuscripts, mostly of the second Spanish occupation ; these are the manuscripts so well described by Roscoe R. Hill in his *Guide* published by Carnegie Institution of Washington.)

These papers taken together comprise the greatest single source for the history of Spanish Florida. They treat of every phase of that history-administrative, economic, social, ecclesiastical. From them the daily life of the colony can be visualized. From these documents it will be seen that Florida became important in proportion as other European nations threatened Spanish ownership, either of that region itself or of other more lucrative colonies. They reveal that Florida was, during the first Spanish occupation, at least, more of an expense than an asset, and that as

early as 1602 it was proposed to abandon that useless colony-an impossible procedure, however, because of the fears of European aggression in Cuba, Mexico, and Peru, and the necessity of keeping the Bahama Channel open. These papers exhibit, and with good reason, Spanish dread of French, British, and later Anglo-American aggression. Moreover, pirates for long years swarmed along the coasts, and Drake, it is remembered, burned St. Augustine in 1586. During the first years of Spanish occupation, the subsidy paid from Mexico and Tierra Firme (when it reached Florida) paid for the upkeep of the colony. That period beheld the English settled in Virginia and already penetrating southward, and Spain forced, in 1670, to acquiesce unwillingly in the establishment of Charleston; while the next century was to see the attempts of Moore and Oglethorpe and the final wresting away of Georgia with the confining of Florida to about its present dimensions. Here, too, among these manuscripts is the partial telling of the conquest of West Florida by the Spanish during the American Revolution, and not a few papers relate to the general subject of that revolution. The history lies in all sorts of documents-consultas of the council and the succeeding royal decrees, petitions and memorials, relations of services, applications for promotion and preference, complaints, reports of all sorts (both secular and ecclesiastical), correspondence of officials and others (including even the Indians), instructions and contracts, legal investigations, and reports of lawsuits, residencias, accounts, statements of necessities, and all the other kinds of papers deriving from Florida's status as a Spanish colony.

During the second Spanish occupation, the materials are concerned more especially with the troubles arising from the proximity and aggressions of the Anglo-Americans, the runaway slave agitation, the

revolutionary agitation of the Spanish colonies to the southward, and the actual revolutionary agitations within Florida itself, with filibustering expeditions fitted out in the United States, the vacillating and questionable diplomacy of the United States Government, the growing importance of Indian trade with all the implications denoted thereby, the entrance of the Indian as a decided factor in the diplomacy of the time, British machinations, the Jackson expeditions, the treaty and cession, and finally the question of the archives. The importance of this mass of papers can scarcely be overestimated. It is supplemented by the East Florida Papers in the Library of Congress--of which more later--as well as those in the Cuban archives--also to be mentioned later. Not the least important quality of these papers for the second Spanish occupation is the light they throw on the motives that influenced both government and people of the United States during one period of our brief national existence.

Other papers relating to Florida exist in the Archivo General de Simancas, all of which the student could more conveniently use in Seville. Some are of a diplomatic character and were for that reason retained in Simancas when the great bulk of documents treating of the American Indies were removed thence to Seville ; but others, as, for instance, a body of letters by Pedro Menendez de Aviles, belong decidedly with similar material in Seville. Some of the diplomatic material has been published in the British calendars of State Papers. A considerable number of the Florida manuscripts in these archives relate to the second Spanish occupation. Alcocer describes in his *Guia* (Valladolid, 1923) a legajo on Florida and Louisiana which consists of correspondence, the conquest of Mobile and Pensacola, and other matters. Some manu-

scripts, formerly in Simancas and presumably removed to Seville, can not now be found.

In Madrid, materials are found in the Archivo Historico Nacional, the Biblioteca Nacional (among these the rather inconsequential history by Pedro Fernandez de Pulgar), the Deposito Hidrografico (many of the papers here copied by order of Fernandez de Navarrete from originals then in Simancas), and the Academia Real de la Historia (mostly found among the Munoz transcripts also mostly made from manuscripts then in Simancas). These papers augment those of Seville, but as a rule only add detail. It is quite probable that other papers will be found in the departments of war and marine, but no assurance can be given at this time on that point. Some manuscripts are found in the Archivo del Conde de Rivillagigedo and in other private archives in Spain. In passing it might be noted that the British flag captured at Pensacola by Galvez is still in Toledo but in so dilapidated a condition that it can not be touched. Manuscript maps of importance are found in Seville and Deposito Hidrografico, and in several other places in Spain.

In France, Florida manuscripts are preserved in the Archives des Affaires Etrangeres and in the Archives Nationales, as well as in the Bibliotheque Nationale. The most important of these relate to the attempts of the Huguenots to found a colony in Florida, to the revenge of Dominique de Gourgues, to other French projects against Florida, the later French machinations in the Pensacola region, and to the diplomatic questions incited by the French and Spanish interests. Some of these documents, as for instance the diplomatic despatches of the French ambassador in Spain, Fourquevaux, some of the royal correspondence, and some of the Gourgues materials have been published. There are also in France documents-but in no great mass-treating of the Spanish domination,

which have found their way somehow or other into the French archives. When the Leland and Parker Guide of materials in French Archives relating to the history of the United States shall have been published we shall know more about Florida manuscripts in France.

The great mass of original manuscripts for the study of the British provinces of East and West Florida are preserved in class 5 of the papers of the Public Record Office in London, where bundles 540-573 pertain to East Florida and 574-635 to West Florida. These consist of the minutes and acts of the provincial legislatures, correspondence of the governor and others with the home office and with the board of trade and others, entry books, accounts, shipping, landgrants, appointments, and other documents. They treat of all the varied interests that affected the two colonies-government administration, economic interests (including trade with the Indians), presents for the Indians, religious and educational establishments, the war with the revolted colonies and with the Spaniards, the Minorcans, and so on. Among the Audit Office Records in the Public Record Office is the original of the claims of the loyalists of East Florida-which has recently been published by the Florida State Historical Society from the Stevens transcript made for the Lenox Collection of the New York Public Library. Other scattering papers are preserved in the Public Record Office, of which sufficient indication is given in Andrews's Guide.

Various documents are preserved in other archives in England, including the British Museum, the Fulham Palace Papers, the Royal Society, the Privy Council Office, the House of Lords, and the Bodleian Library. The most important, perhaps, of these is the Report of a General Survey in the Southern District, made by Gerard De Brahm, which is in the British Museum. An early copy of two volumes of this was sold to Har-

vard University in 1848 by Henry Stevens. These documents are all listed in Andrews and Davenport's Guide and can be found by consulting the index to that volume.

When the so-called "Papeles de Cuba" were sent to Spain in 1888 and 1889, as above mentioned, seven bundles were inadvertently left behind. These are now in the Cuban archives in Havana. They consist of the same sort of materials as the "Papeles de Cuba" in Seville and supplement them slightly. They are listed to the number of over 200 manuscripts in Perez's Guide, and the majority of them treat of Florida. These manuscripts, included between the years 1696 and 1821, inclusive, treat of commerce, emigration, ecclesiastical matters, financial matters, Indian affairs, military preparations, the Florida subsidy, relief for Florida, the Minorcans, the adventurer Bowles, the Spanish-English relations prior to 1763, Galvez's operations against Pensacola and his conquest of West Florida, the Amelia Island incident and the designs of the United States, Jackson's operations in Florida, the census, landgrants, the cession to the United States, and some other matters. Some materials are also found in the section of papers known as "Expedientes de Intendencia", which consist of about 1900 legajos and date in general from about 1740 down. Other materials doubtless exist in the section of ecclesiastical manuscripts relating to the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Santiago, in which Florida was included from 1567. A thorough search of the archives will probably reveal other Florida materials.

Other manuscripts exist in the archives in Mexico, and it is reasonable to expect to find others in one or more of the Caribbean countries.

The Canadian archives also furnish their grist. In the archives at Ottawa, the Haldimand, Gage, and Bagot papers have various manuscripts relating to

British East and West Florida, the operations of Bernardo de Galvez against the latter province, and some others.

Washington is by far the most important center in the United States for the study of Florida from the original sources as well as from transcripts and other reproductions. The most valuable collections of original materials are those in the Library of Congress. Of these, the most extensive are the East Florida Papers, which supplement the Papeles de Cuba of Seville. Before being removed to Washington they were kept for many years in St. Augustine. They consist of some 65,000 manuscripts which were originally in 255 bundles but have now been reclassified into twenty volumes and 831 boxes which makes them much more usable. An excellent index has quite recently been made of them, and consultation is now fairly easy. Some little calendaring has been done, and it is hoped that with the lapse of time a full calendar might be made. Like the Papeles de Cuba these materials cover every phase of the Spanish administration, but their greatest value, perhaps, arises from those papers dealing with the Spanish-Anglo-American relations. Trade, Indian affairs, fugitive slaves from Georgia, border troubles, the "patriot army" and the Amelia Island incident, the crooked diplomacy of the United States government, the cession, and a multitude of other matters makes this collection a perfect mine of information. In general, the dates covered are those of the second Spanish occupation, but there is also a good collection of Montiano and Justiz letters and reports that supplement materials of other depositories.

Other original papers relate to British West Florida. These were discovered in the Land Office some years ago by Dr. Leo F. Stock of the Carnegie Institution and their transfer to the Library of Congress arranged for by Gaillard Hunt, then head of the Manu-

script Division. They consist of a partial set of the minutes of the upper and lower houses of the provincial legislature, royal commission and instructions for Governor Johnston ; a volume entitled "Record of his Majesty's sign manual and other papers passed under the broadseal of his Majesty's province of West Florida" ; another volume of fiats, petitions, warrants, and grants of land to officers of the army and navy ; several volumes of conveyances of land ; and two volumes of the secretary's office account book. The Florida State Historical Society has made arrangements to publish the most valuable parts of this material together with other cognate manuscripts. There is also other material relating to land for both East and West Florida ; a letter book of the secretary of state for the years 1770-1774 ; other additional Chester material ; a bound volume of papers relating to the West Florida controversy ; and papers relating to Jackson's operations. The Library has recently had photostat copies made of the East and West Florida materials of the Public Record Office, the most essential parts of which have been or are being copied for the use of the Florida State Historical Society. Among transcripts of early Spanish documents are the Lowery and Buckingham Smith Papers, the latter of which contain some translations as well. The Huguenot attempt is reflected in several copies and translations of original manuscripts or books. Quite recently, Mr. Washington E. Connor, of New York, following out the desires of Mrs. Jeannette Thurber Connor, one of the founders of the Florida State Historic&l Society, who died in 1927, gave her collection of transcripts, photostats, maps, and other papers to the Library. These form a valuable addition to the early Spanish history of Florida. The Library itself has had many typed transcripts of Spanish manuscripts made in various centers, and quite recently, has received from Mr. Roscoe

R. Hill who is acting as agent for the Library in Spain a considerable body of reproductions on film, some of which relate to Florida.¹ The Stevens handwritten transcripts, too, help to swell the Floridiana resources of the Library. The Brooks transcripts of old Spanish materials (partly translated) are not recommended to students if they can obtain the same documents elsewhere, as they were apparently hastily made and do not appear to be thoroughly accurate.

Various collections, such as the papers of Jefferson, Monroe, and Jackson, contain some good material. Quite recently, some of the papers of the House of Representatives have been transferred to the Library. It is reasonable to assume the existence among them of reports and other material concerning Florida. There is considerable in the manuscript copies of the special messages of the presidents. Altogether (and I have but scratched the ground here), the papers in the Library of Congress are indispensable for the study of the history of Florida.

Next to the Library of Congress comes the Department of State. Here are the Territorial Papers which are soon to be published by the Federal Government, a goodly proportion of which treat of Florida. There is also considerable material related to the insurrectionary movements in Spanish Florida and the diplomacy of the United States therein in the following collections : Special Agents ; Notes from the Spanish Legations ; Despatches from Consuls ; Despatches to Consuls : Domestic ; and Miscellaneous. The Florida State Historical Society has had photostat copies made of this material for a series of volumes to be edited by Professor J. B. Lockey.

The War and Navy Departments, and the Indian

¹ Mr. Hill has returned to the United States. The work he started is being continued by Miss Elizabeth Howard West, librarian of Technological College, Lubbock, Texas.

and Land Offices, all furnish their quota of materials, and they must all be consulted for different periods. There is also some little material in the Surgeon General's Office.

Outside of Washington pickings are also good. The Manuscript Division of the New York Public Library has some early documents in the Rich Collection and a few in the Bancroft Collection. Here also is the transcript made by Stevens of the claims of the loyalists of East Florida which has recently been edited by Professor Siebert and published by the Florida State Historical Society. A letter book (No. 22, 1764-1765) also contains a few Florida items. And other scattered documents are found.

In the New York Historical Society are preserved most of the Buckingham Smith Papers. These have valuable materials, partly transcripts, and originals or early copies, for almost all epochs of Spanish Florida. Of special value are the manuscripts relative to the Indians and those of the two or three decades preceding the war of 1755-1763.

In the Church Mission House, in New York are the Hawks Transcripts which contain a few items on Florida. Florida Baptist church records are found in The American Baptist Historical Society of Philadelphia.

The Pennsylvania Historical Society of Philadelphia has some noteworthy items on Florida in the Gratz Collection, as well as some in the Poinsett Papers.

Harvard University, as above noted, has two volumes of the Survey made by De Brahm. In the Sparks Papers are a few references also to Florida.

In the Shelburne and Clinton Papers owned by the William L. elements Library at Ann Arbor is considerable excellent material, mostly of the British period or of the period of the War of the American Revolution. It is expected that when the Clinton Papers

are ready for investigation by students many rich finds will be made among them.²

Among the Draper Manuscripts of the Wisconsin State Historical Society are various documents relating to the Indians of the Florida region. The Ayer Collection of the Newberry Library, in Chicago, also has various items. Among these is a letter of 1534 signed by Charles V., an original letter from Zachary Taylor to Governor Richard Keith Call, of 1839, and the original despatch relative to the Dade massacre. This collection also has transcripts from Seville and Havana, all of these falling within the period 1770-1821.

Going further west, the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery in California has a respectable body of materials. Most of these manuscripts are of the British period, but a few are of the second period of Spanish occupation, and several of the period since 1821. The University of California at Berkeley also has various transcripts from Spain and other countries and it is very probable that the private collection of Professor Herbert E. Bolton contains Florida material. The Garcia Collection of the University of Texas also contains Florida material in its transcripts from Spanish archives.

The county courthouse at Baton Rouge has good materials for the period of the revolution of West Florida and related matters. There are a few Oliver Pollock papers here. In the rooms of the Louisiana Historical Society at New Orleans are some West Florida materials after 1784. A private collection in New Orleans contains much Panton and Leslie matter and other pertinent material. The Alabama Department of Archives and History at Montgomery owns a Stevens transcript of the Minutes and Acts of the legislature of British West Florida which was made for Peter

² Shortly after this paper was read it was announced that Mr. Clements had acquired the Gage Papers.

Hamilton. The same institution also has some Spanish documents of the second Spanish occupation and a number of other miscellaneous manuscripts. The Parish Registers in Mobile yield some good ecclesiastical documents. The Georgia Department of History and Archives at Atlanta has some excellent material for the Oglethorpe-Montiano period, as well as much for the Georgia-Florida border troubles, and the participation of Mathews and Mitchell in the insurrectionary movements in Spanish Florida. There are a few scattered documents in the Virginia State Library in Richmond.

One goes to Florida last for manuscript concerning its history. Florida has not been careful of the sources for its history. In 1908, Professor David Y. Thomas made a "Report on the Public Archives of Florida", which appeared in the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1906*. It is impossible now to find a great deal of the material mentioned in that report, and I have personally gone, not once, but many times, on a hunt for it in certain of the vaults of the capitol in Tallahassee and in other places. There are a few letter books of the governors, the oldest being for 1836, and some other materials, but they are all too inadequate. There are of course some administrative manuscript material that has escaped the carelessness of officials and employes who had to use them. But for the most part, officials have had a fine disregard for the history of their state. Several years ago the legislature passed a bill inaugurating a State Library Board which is now functioning and slowly making some headway in the collecting of manuscript materials. There is also some cooperation in certain quarters in Tallahassee that may result in the locating and saving of important sources. The land documents in charge of the department of Agriculture are still intact and are well housed in steel vaults. There is,

I believe, a duplicate set of all these documents in the Land Office at Washington. The trouble is that the carelessness of the past can never be rectified so far as the lost documents are concerned.

There are some excellent materials in various county court houses in Florida ; and in the federal building at Pensacola some good records around the period of the Civil War. Mr. Julien C. Yonge at Pensacola, who has probably the best private collection of printed Floridiana in existence, has also a few good manuscripts, mostly of the United States period. His collection is especially noteworthy for its Florida newspapers. I hear vaguely of certain collections of private papers in the state and am beginning to think that we shall be able to save some of these for posterity.

At the City Building in St. Augustine, there are a number of papers dating from Spanish times. These are housed in a fire proof vault and are probably safe but they do not appear to be as well cared for as they should be. The Historical Society in St. Augustine has also collected some papers.

In closing just a word on the collection of photostats and transcripts amassed by The Florida State Historical Society. Through the liberality of Dr. John B. Stetson, Jr., the Society has received in photostat form from the Archivo General de Indias almost all the material prior to 1763 and some little of the material to 1819-in all about 100,000 sheets. The Society has also many photostat copies of materials existing in depositories in the United States. It has also many typed and handwritten transcripts from the archives in Simancas and from those in Madrid, and is having copied as it may the photostat copies made for the Library of Congress of the original documents pertaining to British West Florida in the Public Record Office. The documents pertaining to British East Florida are being utilized by Professor Siebert

in works being published by the Society. Just so far as possible, it is the intention of the Society to publish the best of these varied classes of materials. At the present time, it has in press the second volume of Mrs. Jeannette Thurber Connor's *Colonial Records of Spanish Florida*³ It is true that scarce a day goes by that I do not hear of some Florida manuscript of which I had not previously known.

JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON

³ Published in 1930.

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO COLONEL EDWARD
NICHOLLS AND CAPTAIN GEORGE WOODBINE
IN PENSACOLA, 1814

His Britannic Majesty's Ship
Royal Oak off Mobile Bay
15 March, 1815

Sir,

The Honorable Captain Spencer of H.B.M. Ship Carron, who is at present on a commission to Enquire into and regulate the Claims of the Spanish Inhabitants at Pensacola & Appalachicola has transmitted to me your Excellencys letter of the 9th inst. addressed to Admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane & myself inclosing a representation from the Inhabitants of Pensacola respecting their losses, which I shall forward by Express to Sir Alexander Cochrane my Commander in Chief and I have no doubt that strict Enquiry will be made into the Conduct of Colonel Nicholls & Captain Woodbine & that the losses Sustained by the Spanish Inhabitants at Pensacola will be remunerated by the British Government if the Slaves do not return.

I have the honor to be Sir
with the greatest respect
yr most obt. hble. Servt

Percy (?) Malcolm
Rear Admiral Comnd.

His Excellency HBM Squadron off Mobile
Gonzalez Manrique
Governor of Pensacola

Note-These documents are a part of the series, survivals of the records of Panton, Leslie and Co. and its successor, John Forbes and Co., preserved by the family of John Innerarity, last surviving partner of the latter firm, the publication of which was begun in a late issue of the QUARTERLY. They are in the possession of Mrs. John W. Greenslade, of Washington, D. C., who has transcribed them. The series will be continued in the following issues.

His Britannic Majesty's Ship
Bonnant, off Mobile 10 July 1815

Most Excellent Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of your Excellency's Letter of the 25 ult. And it is with Extreme regret I learn that the Slaves at Apalachicola have not gone back to their Masters, And I also feel Sorry that it has not been in my power to bring back the Spanish Soldiers from that vicinity The Services upon which I have been Engaged have not permitted of my detaching any vessel from the fleet to bring back these troops, but in a few days I will dedicate a Sloop of War Solely to that purpose-It is necessary in relation to the Negroes that I should be clearly understood by your Excy. as having no Sort of Controul over any of those not Actually taken by the British Marines. for such as thought proper to join the Indians, your Excellency must make application to their Chiefs, Situated as I am with so few white Troops at Appalachicola it would be attended with much hazard the making use of forcible measures which accordingly I must entirely decline.

I return your Excellency my very best thanks for your offers of Services in which I beg leave most cordially to reciprocate, And to express to your Excellency that I am with much Consideration

Your Excellencys most obt. &
very humble Servt

ALEX. COCHRANE

Vice Admiral & Commander in chief
of HBM Ships & vessels upon the
North American [Station]

His Excellency
Don Gonzalez Manrique
Commndr. of West Florida

Be it Known to all whom it doth and may concern that I, John Innerarity, one of the very oldest inhabitants of this place, do hereby constitute and appoint James S. Pott Esqr, of the City of Manchester, England, official assignee therein, to be my true and lawful attorney in fact for me and in my name and stead, and as my legal representative, to claim from the British Government or from whomever may have any authority or right to claim, the fullest indemnification and remuneration for all Spoliations and losses of property sustained by me at the close of the years one thousand eight hundred and fourteen and commencement of one thousand eight hundred and fifteen, especially by the abstraction and abduction from me (in common with many inhabitants of this city) of Forty-five slaves belonging to me, of which said slaves forcible possession was taken from me by Lieutenant Colonel Edward Nichols of the British Royal Marines by his own authority and that of his own Commission and conveyed from thence by the force under his command to a Fort constructed by his order on the River Apalachicola, where he held them under his exclusive authority and command, so effectually that the said John Innerarity never regained them or has ever been able to regain or recover possession thereof as well as for the total loss by explosion of Forty six barrels of Gunpowder, which were stored by him, the said John Innerarity, in the Powder Magazine of the Fort of San Carlos de Barrancas, which said powder was blown up therein by order of Commodore Gordon, commanding the British Naval forces at this station, of which he held forcible possession at the time of the advent of the troops of the United States into this place-all which Spoliations and losses as more particularly specified in the accompanying depositions the said John Innerarity claims full indemnification and remuneration through his attorney the said James S. Potts Esqr hereby prom-

ising and engaging to ratify and confirm all whatever my said attorney may do in the premises, as fully and efficiently, and to all intents and purposes as if done by myself personally. In faith and testimony of which I here unto affix my seal and signature in the City of Pensacola this sixteenth day of May one thousand and eight hundred and fifty-four.

(copy, unsigned)