

**The  
FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY**

**CONTENTS**

God's Protecting Providence

A Journal of Jonathan Dickinson

**Charles M. Andrews**

Names of the St. Johns River

**Herbert M. Corse**

From a Remote Frontier

**Mark F. Boyd**

New books:

*Curley* : Church and State in the Spanish  
Floridas

**Haggard**: Handbook for Translators of  
Spanish Historical Documents

Guide to the Manuscript Collections of the  
North Carolina Historical Commission

*Venable* : William Adam Hocker (1844-  
1918) Justice of the Supreme Court  
of Florida

*Wilgus* (ed.) : Hispanic American Essays.  
A Memorial to James Alexander  
Robertson

**Hanna**: Diplomatic Missions of the  
United States to Cuba to Secure  
the Spanish Archives of Florida

*Wright*: The Odyssey of the Spanish  
Archives of Florida

Notes and Comment

The Florida Historical Society

The library

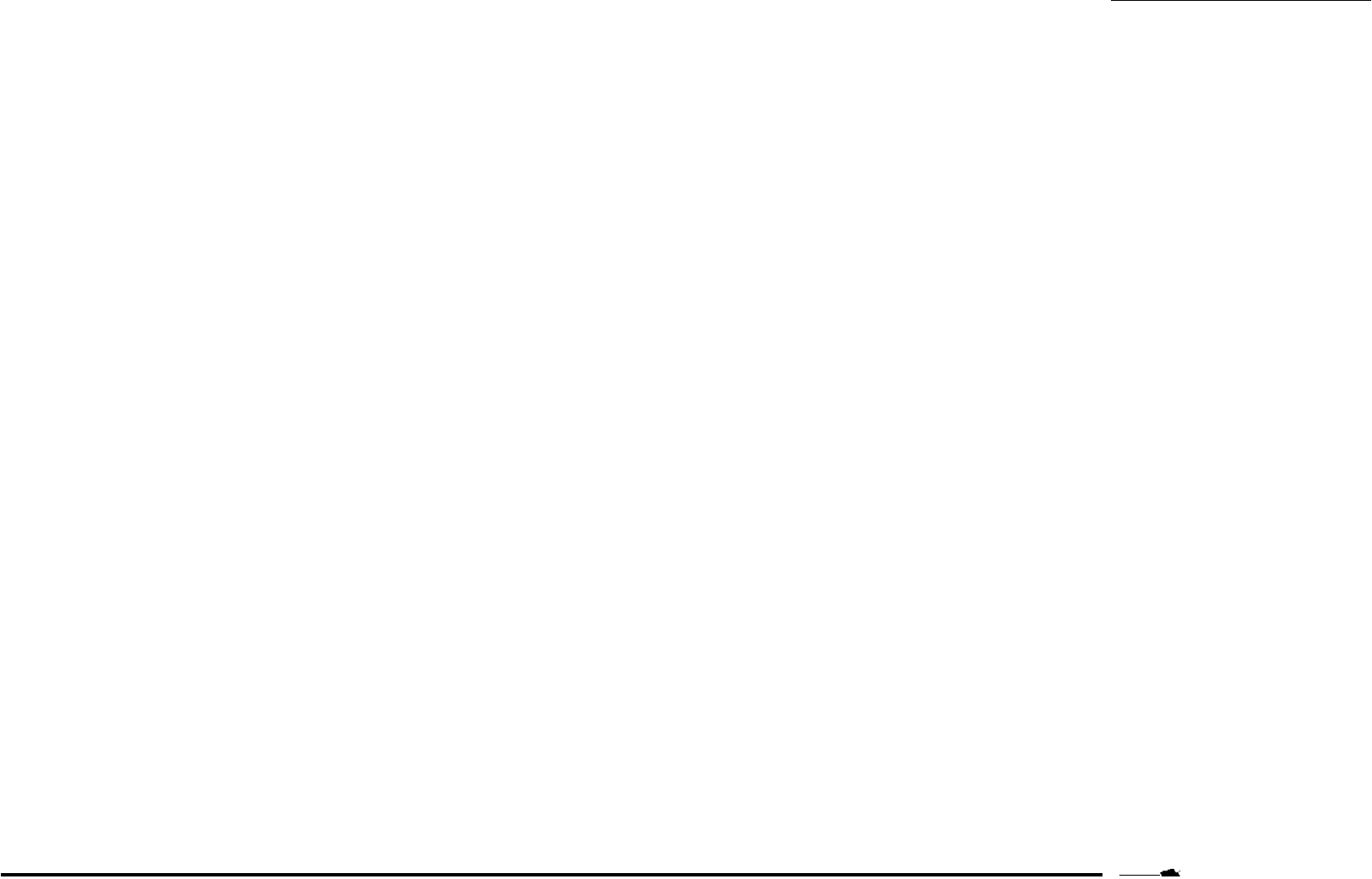
Notes

List of members

Contributors to this number

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## GOD'S PROTECTING PROVIDENCE

A JOURNAL BY JONATHAN DICKINSON

by CHARLES M. ANDREWS

Toward the end of September, 1696, a group of shipwrecked people found themselves the captives of a petty tribe of Florida Indians in an Indian town, five miles south of the place of their disaster and about eighteen miles north of the present island of Palm Beach on the south side of a body of water now known as Jupiter Inlet. Nearby was one of the many oyster-shell mounds of the eastern coast of Florida, which is still there though much reduced in size. In this Indian town the members of the ship's company remained for two days, not ill-treated but in constant fear of their lives and in great uncertainty as to what the future had in store for them.

These unfortunate people, mostly of English descent, were Jonathan Dickinson, thirty-three years old, the author' of the journal ; his wife Mary and their infant son born in Jamaica only six months and twelve days before; Robert Barrow, an old man and a Quaker missionary ; and Benjamin Allen, a relative of the Dickinsons; also five negro men, five negro women-one of whom had a child with her, a little boy named Cajoe, who died on the journey-and an Indian girl, all belonging to Dickinson. There were besides nine mariners, Joseph Kirle, master, Richard Limpeny, mate, Solomon Cresson, and six others, including the master's boy and his negro, Ben. All had set sail from Port Royal, Jamaica, on August 26, in the barkentine **Reformation**, bound for Philadelphia, along with a fleet of twelve or thirteen merchantmen, convoyed by the frigate **Hampshire**, Captain Fletcher, commander ; but separated from the others during a storm they had gone on alone, fearful of an attack by a French ship reported lurking in the vicinity,

for England and France were then at war. Going by way of Cuba, they had been buffeted by storms and harassed by calamities. The master, knocked down by a sudden shifting of the boom, had broken his leg ; the Indian girl, Venus, had died on ship-board; and three of the Dickinson group had been ill:-Robert Barrow who had not been well for the preceding five or six months; the baby, which had been at death's door since its birth and was always ailing; and Benjamin Allen, who for most of the voyage had been down with a violent fever, was frequently "nigh unto death."

On September 23, after twenty-eight days of anxiety and adventure, the members of the company found themselves aground in shallow water off the coast of Florida, with the barkentine already much damaged. The hull and longboat remained intact, but the masts and rigging were gone, and eventually a considerable part of the cargo and most of the passengers' effects were looted by the Indians. The adventures of this ill-starred group from Jupiter Inlet to St. Augustine-where they were hospitably cared for by the Spanish governor, Laureano de Torres y Ayala-and thence to Charles Town (Charleston after 1783) and Philadelphia, are the subject of the narrative, known from its chief title as *God's Protecting Providence*. For four months of exhausting journeying by land and water, from Jamaica to Charles Town, this ship's company faced the almost daily menace of death at the hands of the hostile Indians and bore uncomplainingly continued sufferings from hunger and exposure, cold, wind, storms, sandflies, and mosquitoes. It is a matter of wonderment that human beings in such poor physical condition from the beginning, more than half naked, footsore, and incredibly weary, should have survived so harrowing an ordeal. One is not surprised that Benjamin Allen

died on the way, that Robert Barrow died shortly after reaching Philadelphia, and that some of the negroes died or disappeared *en route*.

Of this company four members call for a brief word of comment. Joseph Kirle was a typical ship's master of the day, ready to take any command offered him and to go with a cargo or for a cargo wherever he was sent. He left the company at Charles Town in order to get a quicker passage to his home in Philadelphia, but remained in close touch with Dickinson, who continued to correspond with him and give him considerable business. Highly esteemed as a man of honest character among his neighbors, he was called upon later to attest the truth of Dickinson's narrative. Solomon Cresson, whose knowledge of Spanish, acquired in the West Indies, saved the company several times from being murdered by the Indians, was of Huguenot descent and not at first a Quaker. He was born in the Harlem district of Manhattan, and tradition has it that he went first to Curacao with his mother and brothers, who afterward moved to Philadelphia; that, unsuccessful in certain commercial enterprises, he arrived eventually penniless at Port Royal; and that in order to get back to America he was obliged to work his passage as a common sailor on the *Reformation*. Robert Barrow, the Quaker saint and the principal character of the story, was born in Lancashire and had spent the greater part of his life in active preaching service in the British Isles. Though warned beforehand that America was "a grave for many of the Lord's servants", he was so moved to visit the colonies that he set sail with Robert Wardell of Durham on December 20, 1694, arriving in Philadelphia early in 1695. Though both he and Wardell were well advanced in years, they entered immediately on a proselyting tour, in the course of which they suffered many privations and

hardships. Wardell died in Jamaica in 1696; Barrow, disheartened by the want of harmony among the small body of Quakers in Jamaica, affronted by the discourtesies of some of them-particularly at the Spanish Town meeting-and discouraged by the hostility of the Jamaican government and the enforcement of the laws of 1672 restraining Quaker conventicles, took passage on the **Reformation**, longing to return once more to the friendly and sympathetic atmosphere of Philadelphia. He died a few days after his arrival and was buried in the Friends burying ground, April 6, 1697.

Jonathan Dickinson, the author of the narrative, was born in Jamaica in 1663 and was the son of Francis Dickinson, an officer of the royal navy, serving under Admiral Penn at the conquest of the island, 1655-1660. After the conquest the father remained in Jamaica and, either at the time or later, was granted two plantations, "Barton" and "Pepper", on the east and west sides of the Black River in Elizabeth Parish, some forty or fifty miles from Kingston and Port Royal. At his death in 1704 these plantations passed to his sons and at "Pepper" Jonathan usually resided when in the island. His father, although at first an Anglican and a member of the Jamaican assembly in 1672, must have been converted to Quakerism soon after, probably by George Fox, who visited the island in that year, for in 1673 he was denied a writ of election for refusing to take the required oath. When twenty years old Jonathan married Mary Gale, sister of Colonel John Gale of Jamaica, and continued to reside either at "Pepper" or Port Royal, partly as a planter and partly as a merchant and storekeeper in association with his father.

Although Jonathan and his wife were members of the Spanish Town Meeting where Barrow met with opposition and disrespect, it is doubtful

whether Jonathan left Jamaica for any special reasons of religious discontent. More likely he embarked on what was strictly a commercial venture, for the wrecked *Reformation* was carrying the usual trading cargo of sugar, molasses, and rum, beef and pork, barreled and on the hoof, clothing, stuffs, linen, etc., and wine, ginger, and money in plate and pieces of eight, the loss of which to Dickinson came to 1500. It is possible that he had planned to open a store in Philadelphia in conjunction with that at Port Royal, and to carry on a regular exchange of commodities between the two. It is also possible that, at first, he did not expect to remain permanently in Philadelphia, though the fact that he took his wife, baby, and negroes with him raises some doubt as to his intentions. However that may be, we know that he continued his trips back and forth for many years, and at one time in December, 1701, importuned by his father, he decided "to transport himself and his family to Jamaica, if the Lord permit", and asked for a certificate of good conduct from the Philadelphia Meeting. Even after he finally resolved to make Philadelphia his home, partly on account of his health and partly in the interest of his wife and children (of whom eventually there were five), he continued his contacts with his father and brothers in Jamaica and sent them cargoes whenever he could find a vessel. With his later career in Philadelphia we are not concerned here.

The circumstances attending Dickinson's writing of the narrative are wholly obscure. It is not impossible that he put together the facts-which he recounts in great detail and exactness of dates and incidents-first at St. Augustine, where with the aid of the members of the company he wrote out some sort of statement for presentation to the Spanish governor. This statement, which was signed by "everyone", took two or three days to pre-

pare. It may be that extensive additions were made at Charles Town, where Dickinson remained for more than two months, and that the whole was recast by him in Philadelphia, for in the records of the Philadelphia Monthly Meeting the work is spoken of as "Jonathan Dickinson's Journals." There is no reason to think that he wrote with any expectation of printing or that he was influential in having the printing done at all, for there was neither press nor printer in the province at the time. We know that in the summer of 1699 when the book was printed Dickinson was in Jamaica, for in August of that year the Monthly Meeting ordered the printer to deliver a certain number of copies of the journal to Isaac Norris, Dickinson's former Jamaica associate, intimate friend, and constant correspondent, for transmission to Dickinson at Port Royal, and we know that the order was carried out.

The decision to print was undoubtedly made by the members of the Philadelphia Monthly Meeting, the lead being taken by Samuel Carpenter, who may have written the preface. These men saw in the journal evidence of one of those "remarkable deliverances" that occupied so important a place in Quaker experience with the earthly life. The Quakers in America, as well as those in England, made a great deal of "deliverances" as they did of "sufferings", and took advantage of every opportunity, through the medium of organization, personal exhortation, and the printed book to emphasize the ever-present watchfulness of God over the lives of those who believed in the truth. Naturally, then, at first, Quaker interest in the story would center in the experiences as related by Dickinson, especially in the extraordinary deliverance of the whole party from death, for the Philadelphia Monthly meeting found in the narrative a confirma-



tion of its own unflinching confidence in the reality of God's intervention to protect his faithful servants, especially those engaged in missionary work. Undoubtedly, Barrow's dramatic death left a deep impression upon the minds of the Quakers, and stressed the important lesson of his extraordinary fortitude in meeting with courage, patience, and prayer, under the guidance of God, the afflicting trials through which he and the others were compelled to pass, during their months of wandering among the "canibals" of Florida. In the first printed text the double capitalizing of the term "Remarkable Deliverances" and the capitalizing throughout the work of the word "God", together with the appropriate quotations from the Psalms and the sermon-like phraseology of the preface (for neither title nor preface was written by Dickinson) show the motive behind the undertaking and suggest that one of the reasons why the narrative was put into print was that it might testify to an unsympathetic and even hostile world that God was guiding and delivering those who accepted the truth.

The narrative was first printed in 1699. Of the edition then issued there are but seven copies known to exist: one each in the Birkbeck Library, York, the Friends Reference Library, London, the New York Public Library, the Harvard College Library, the Huntington Library, the Newberry Library, and the Ridgway Library of the Library Company of Philadelphia. At least three, and possibly four, other copies can be traced but cannot now be found. Various writers have spoken of a copy in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania but the librarian of the society, after a careful check, says that no copy is to be found there. Fifteen reprints (sixteen issues) have appeared: in 1700 (two states), 1701, 1720, 1751, 1759, n.d. (probably 1772), 1787,

1790, 1791, 1792, 1803, 1811, 1826, 1868, 1869 (second issue), but no single library contains anything like a complete set of all the volumes. Eight of these reprints (1700 twice, 1701, 1720, 1759, n.d., 1787, 1790) were issued in London, one (1792) in Dover, New Hampshire, one (1803) in Stanford, now Stanfordville, New York, one (1811) in Burlington, New Jersey, one (1826) in Salem, Ohio, and three (1751, 1791, 1868) in Philadelphia. There is no copy to be found anywhere of the so-called Franklin reprint of 1735, and it is possible that Franklin never issued it, despite his advertisement in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, offering it for sale as "just published." Such a conclusion, however, will always remain in doubt until a copy turns up. A Dutch edition, translated by William Sewel, appeared first in folio and was reprinted in 1707 by Pieter Van der Aa in his collection of voyages, and reissued by DeJanson Van der Aa and other booksellers in a similar collection in 1727. Pieter's issue is accompanied by a map and three engraved plates, the latter particularly interesting as showing what the Dutch draughtsman of that day thought the scenes -one at the shipwreck, one at an Indian town, and a third at the gates of St. Augustine-might have looked like. There are also two German translations, one printed in Germany and one in America. Copies of these foreign issues are to be found in a few American libraries.

The title-pages of each of the English reprints differ from the title-page of the original issue of 1699 in one noteworthy and suggestive particular. The name "Robert Barrow", which does not appear in 1699, is found uniformly in the English reprints of 1700, 1701, 1720, 1759, n.d., 1787, and 1790, in all of which it is capitalized, thus making it clear that to the English Quakers the missionary and his experiences were much more important than the

general incidents of the story. In America the reprint of 1792 has the entire title-page in capitals, beginning with "THE REMARKABLE DELIVERANCE OF ROBERT BARROW", thus bearing testimony to the same belief. The title-pages of the reprints of 1803 and 1811 are worded differently from the others, one starting with "The Shipwreck . . . Showing God's Protecting Providence" and the other with "The Shipwreck and Dreadful Sufferings of Robert Barrow", leading one to believe that these imprints, together with those of 1792 and 1826, were prepared, possibly though not certainly, as chapbooks or tales of adventure for sale by itinerant peddlers, who carried their wares about the country. Even these may have been of Quaker origin, as Salem, Stanfordville, Dover, and Burlington were in part Quaker settlements and the names of the printers and of many who owned the volumes are suggestively Quaker. The prefaces are much abbreviated in some of the reprints, and in a number of cases there are additions at the end, sometimes advertisements of Quaker and other godly books, notably in the reprints of 1759 and 1772. In the reprint of 1826 there is a long appendix entitled "Some Remarks and Observations made by a Person who renounced Deism, also the Dying Expressions of some Persons of Eminence & Learning, who had embraced the same Principles."

The materials for a textual study of *God's Protecting Providence* consist of a manuscript of the narrative, a printed book and its reprints, and sundry manuscripts and business ledgers of Dickinson and others, the latter of which are to be found in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania and in the Ridgway Library of the Library Company of Philadelphia. After a careful study of the handwriting of Dickinson's letters and other manuscripts and a line by line and word by word comparison

of the manuscript of the journal with the printed text of 1699 I have reached certain conclusions that to me are inescapable. The so-called original manuscript in the Pennsylvania Historical Society is not the work of Dickinson, for it is not in his handwriting. It is clearly a transcript by a scrivener or expert copyist, possibly, though not necessarily, some clerk or secretary of the Society of Friends, who made a copy of an original or master-text no longer in existence. Such text may even have been Dickinson's own. Not only is the extant manuscript written with the ease and regularity of a practiced hand, but it contains also some revealing evidences of a copyist's carelessness. There are words written-in above other words crossed out, words inserted between the lines with a caret beneath, words repeated where they ought not to be, and omissions in the text of which the author himself would never have been guilty. In one case an omission of considerable length is to be found at the end, and, occasionally, shorter omissions are inserted in the margins.

I believe, however, that the extant manuscript more nearly represents Dickinson's original text than does the printed book, for the evidence is overwhelming that the printer did not set up his pages from the manuscript we now have. Sufficient proof lies in the fact that this manuscript, which contains neither title-page nor preface, shows no traces of ever having been in a printer's hands, for, had it been, it would bear, as it does not, unmistakable marks of a typesetter's handling. But a more convincing proof follows. By actual count there are no fewer than five hundred differences between the two, of spelling and other peculiarities. These differences do not include variations in punctuation-everywhere erratic in the book; in capitalization-always inconsistent ; in the use of

italics-nowhere to be found in the manuscript ; or in the unvarying extension of all abbreviations and contractions-which are the rule in the manuscript but are not found anywhere in the book. It is not difficult to believe that the printer had before him a copy specially prepared by some member of the Society of Friends in Philadelphia for his use, made as legible as possible, as to both handwriting and spelling, in order to meet the deficiencies of the printer, Reinier Jansen, a man none too familiar with the English language and probably even less proficient in the art of typesetting. It is odd that the name of the author should be spelled "Dickenson" in the title of the book issued in 1699 (though not in the list of the company), when he always spelled his own name "Dickinson" in his correspondence, a misrendering that is followed in all the reprints in English and Dutch, but not in those translated into German.

Reinier Jansen had lived for a number of years in Holland and having been converted to Quakerism had been persuaded by Penn to migrate to Pennsylvania. He had come over in 1698, bringing four of his five children-two sons and two daughters, his wife having died before his departure. Having landed at Philadelphia sometime before September, 1698, he took up his residence for a time at Germantown, where he purchased twenty acres of land, and became there and in Philadelphia, to which he soon removed, an influential member of the Quaker community. A lacemaker in Holland he was also interested in farming and seems to have had some experience as a printer, though Caleb Pusey of Chester, in the preface to his *Satan's Harbinger Encountered* (printed by Jansen in 1700, a reply to Keith and others) says that Jansen had not been bred to the printer's trade. William Bradford, the elder, the first Quaker printer

in Philadelphia, had left the province in 1693, so when in 1697 the question came up in the Philadelphia Monthly Meeting of printing the Dickinson narrative no suitable person could be found. Nor were press, type or paper to be had. At first Francis Daniel Pastorius was invited and expressed his willingness, thinking that he might be capable of doing the work. At once the Monthly Meeting, with the approval of the Yearly Meeting, appointed a committee to obtain from England "a press and letters and such other things thereunto belonging that could not be obtained in the province and that were desired for the service of truth", the press to cost 30 (45 Pennsylvania currency). Finally, however, Pastorius withdrew and, attention having been called to Jansen as a substitute, inquiry was set on foot as to the latter's life and conversation while on shipboard and since his arrival, because he had brought with him no certificate from Friends in Holland. A press, type, and paper having been procured from England and Jansen's qualifications proving satisfactory, the committee was further instructed "to seek a convenient place to set it up and to provide materials in order to set it at work." Jansen was then appointed "to print for Friends" and a house was secured, belonging to David Lloyd, "to perform the said work in." Probably this house was on the corner of Second and Moravian streets, diagonally across from the Slate Roof House, which was Penn's residence during his second visit to the province. Here the press continued its service under Jansen until his death in 1706, and during this time he issued some thirty-five publications-twenty-seven Quaker pamphlets, four almanacs, and four public documents-some of them in combination with his sons, Tiberius and Josephus. Three years after his death he was succeeded by Jacob Taylor, a schoolmaster among

the Quakers, sometimes styled an "astronomer", who had previously prepared at least one of Jansen's almanacs and afterward compiled more almanacs for other printers.

That Jansen was an indifferent printer and that his "letters" were limited as to quantity, variety, and size, the text of 1699 amply shows. That the members of the Society were able to obtain but meagre fonts of type appears from the make-up of the title-page, the frequent use of italic letters for roman, the insertion of the double v for w, both in capitals and lower case, and the evident, though customary, breaking up of the earlier pages, in order to release the necessary material for later composition. The inferior character of the type and the unsatisfactory nature of composition and press-work are indicated by poor "color", by letters blurred, faint, or wanting altogether, by the presence of an occasional inverted u for n and of a y upside down, by great unevenness in spacing, by the introduction of periods, colons, semi-colons, and commas where they do not belong, and by the beginning of sentences with small letters. Impression and justification are both imperfect, due in part to the use of a wooden hand-press, poor ink-balls, and probably poor ink, so that the earlier pages in particular have a very blotchy appearance, defects, all of which can be seen in Pusey's book also. There are but few textual errors, showing that the printer had a good copy to work from. The weaknesses are largely mechanical. The paper was undoubtedly obtained from England, of Dutch make, for it does not bear the fleur-de-lis watermark and the initials of the manufacturer, characteristics of that made by Rittenhouse and others in Pennsylvania, at a paper mill erected in 1690.

The work at once attracted the attention of the Society of Friends in London, to whom it made a

special appeal, containing as it did a narrative of "sufferings", and so furnishing material that the Meeting for Sufferings could make use of. This meeting, an important part of the Quaker organization in London, the representative and executive committee of the Yearly Meeting, was originally established to deal with "sufferings" in England, but later became concerned with "sufferings" all over the world. During the years from 1662 to 1689 the Quakers faced many hardships due to malevolence and oppression and were called upon to meet not only heavy material losses but also imprisonment and even bodily injury. It was amid circumstances such as these that the Meeting for Sufferings was born. It held its first sitting in London in 1676 and met weekly from that time on every Saturday at Three Kings Court, which ran south from Lombard Street, almost across from George-Yard, in a quarter of London where the Quakers very largely predominated. In 1679 or 1680 the Yearly Meeting had put the printing of books in the charge of this meeting, later extending its powers to cover distribution also, though the Second Day's Morning Meeting of Ministering Friends, which had formerly been entrusted with such matters, still retained powers of revision.

Such was the situation in England when a copy of Jansen's issue of *God's Protecting Providence* came to the attention of the Friends there and particularly the members of the Second Day's Morning Meeting and of the Meeting for Sufferings. A decision to reprint having been reached, the task was assigned to the printing house of Andrew Sowle, which under Sowle and his successors continued to be active in various places and under various proprietors until as late as 1828. The house was founded by Andrew Sowle, probably soon after 1660, and was destined to become one of the oldest



printing houses in the history of London. Andrew, the son of Francis Sowle, yeoman, a member of the Established Church of the Parish of St. Sepulchre, Holborn, was born in 1628. In 1646 he was apprenticed to Ruth Haworth, printer, for seven years, at the expiration of which time he must have entered in some capacity upon the exercise of his craft. Later, as a master journeyman himself, he set up a shop in Shoreditch, at the Crooked Billet, Holiwell (Holloway) Lane, where he also had his residence and where he died. In 1680-1681 he opened a book-selling branch at Devonshire New Buildings in Bishopgate Street, Without, a structure built by Friends after the removal of the Yearly Meeting to Devonshire House from, the Bull and Mouth tavern which had been burned down in the Great Fire of 1666. In 1688 and 1689 Andrew transferred the selling branch of his business to Three Keys Court, Nags Head, but still retained the Crooked Billet as his place of residence and printing. His first extant imprint bears the date 1680, though his arrest and commitment to Newgate in 1664 and a catalogue issued by him in 1683 seem to indicate earlier issues. He suffered greatly under the terms of the statute against the printing of pernicious pamphlets (1662), his house being searched and his printing materials taken away not once but many times. He died in 1695, "an ancient Friend who had long served Truth and Friends and suffered very great losses and gone through many hazards and difficulties, with sore persecution for the same." Though but sixty-seven years old at the time of his death he is described as "old man" and partly blind. He was frequently involved in misunderstandings with the Meeting for Sufferings, for that meeting was not always easy to satisfy and complained at times of the dilatory habits of the printers it employed.

Andrew married Jane (last name unrecorded) who died in 1711 at the age of eighty. On her husband's death she took over the business, which since 1691 had been actually controlled by her younger daughter, Tace or Tacy (from the Latin *Taceo*), first at the Crooked Billet and then at a house in White-Hart Court, Gracious (Gracechurch) Street, next door to the Gracechurch Meeting House erected in 1668. Tacy's older sister, Elizabeth, had married William Bradford, the elder, in 1685, and in that year Bradford, who had served as Andrew's apprentice and been converted by him to Quakerism, came to Philadelphia. Tacy had been brought up as a printer and was herself an excellent typesetter. She had given up the Crooked Billet office in 1696, immediately after her father's death, and moved to White-Hart Court, and there, while retaining the White-Hart connection, had opened a selling branch at the "Bible" in Leadenhall Street near the Market, a name now appearing for the first time, but destined to be used later in George-Yard (and in Philadelphia and New York also) as the sign of a Quaker printing and bookselling house. Tacy became the leading Quaker printer of the day and at her death in 1746 was the oldest printer in London. Though a Quaker she never became a preacher, confining her activities to her own business and seemingly quite indifferent to the frequent complaints, similarly made to her father, that she was slow in getting Quaker work done. Nevertheless, for more than fifty years she continued to print Quaker books.

In 1706 Tacy married Thomas Raylton, of Bowes, Yorkshire, who was born in 1671, became a Quaker early in life, and afterward a preacher, printer, and bookseller. The old firm name was retained for many years, and the imprint, as may be seen in the reprints of the journal of 1700 and 1701, stood

as "T. Sowle" from 1691 to 1707, but was changed after Tacy's marriage in 1706 to "J. Sowle" from 1707 to 1711, when her mother died. After her mother's death it became "The Assigns of J. Sowle", as the reprint of 1720 shows, the assigns being Tacy and Raylton. The latter died in 1723 at the age of fifty-three, but Tacy survived her husband for twenty-three years. After 1739 the firm's name appears as "T. Sowle Raylton", with Luke Hinde as a partner until Tacy's death, after which Hinde became sole proprietor. About 1715 the printing and bookselling office was moved to the "Bible" at No. 2 George-Yard, where the reprint of Dickinson, dated 1759, was set up by Hinde, and there it remained after Hinde's death in 1766, when his widow, Mary, carried on the work for nine years, issuing under her name one reprint, commonly known as the fifth in England, the exact date of which is not certainly known but is believed to be 1772. George-Yard, where Benjamin Clarke also had a Quaker printing office, (from which he issued many of Penn's colonizing pamphlets and where he printed the second edition of *No Cross no Crown*) had thus become-and was to continue from this time forward for many years-the center of Quaker publication. After Mary's death a new manager succeeded to the business in George-Yard, James Phillips, a devout Quaker, son of the famous Quaker preacher and missionary Catherine Phillips (1727-1794) and father of the mineralogist, William Phillips, who at his father's death, entered into full control of the business. He was aided for two years by one Farndon (1805-1806) and then went on alone until his own death in 1828. James Phillips put out the reprints of 1787 and 1790, the last to be issued in England.

White-Hart Court and George-Yard are thus intimately associated with Quaker history and the

reprinting of *God's Protecting Providence*. White-Hart Court was a Quaker stronghold, where was one of the most important of the Quaker meeting houses; where lived many Quaker merchants and traders, among whom was Henry Gouldney, at whose house Fox died, January 13, 1691; where Tacy printed many Quaker books and for sixteen years kept house for her widowed mother; and where the reprints of 1700 and 1701 were set up. George-Yard is identified more particularly with the Pennsylvania background, with William Penn, and the founding and settlement of the province, and there it was that the reprinting was done of the issues of 1720, 1759, the undated issue of Mary Hinde, and the issues of 1787 and 1790. It was a secluded retreat in the heart of northeastern London, occupied entirely by Quakers in residence or business or both, lying between Lombard Street and Cornhill and approached from the south through a short passage, opening from a narrow archway. The passage widened into a courtyard-flanked on each side by houses and warehouses, all built after the Fire-at the upper end of which was a large building, the George and Vulture tavern, with a passage into St. Michael's Alley, leading to Cornhill. This tavern is historically connected with Penn's career as a colonist, because it was there or nearby that he transacted most of his colonial business. In the shadow of the tavern was the office of his attorneys and legal advisers, Thomas Rudyard (afterward deputy governor of East New Jersey) and Harbert Springett, cousin of Penn's first wife, and there he was accustomed to resort for consultation with his fellow Quakers, signing and sealing the hundreds of deeds of lease and release issued to the First Purchasers of land in Pennsylvania. There, too, it was that on April 25, 1682, in the presence of his lawyers and with the

attestation of eleven witnesses, of whom Andrew Sowle was one, Penn issued his first charter to the people of his newly acquired province. George Fox frequently went to George-Yard to confer with Friends there, to dine with them, and to spend the night. In his journal he mentions doing business with Daniel Wharley, a linen draper and the husband of Penn's step-sister, Mary Penington, who lived just across the yard from Penn's office, and he gives the names of many Friends who had warehouses and homes there.

Thus, briefly, we have traced the origin, history and chief characteristics of this interesting book. For us it has a fivefold significance. In the first place, on the bibliographical side, its original issue and frequent reproductions contribute to our knowledge of the history of printing, particularly among the Quakers both in this country and in England, and to the widespread appeal which it made as a story of adventure unsurpassed among the narratives of Indian captivity. Secondly, it occupies a place of exceptional importance in Quaker annals, in that it became in the hands of the Society of Friends a testimony and a witness wherewith to impress upon an inhospitable world the working of God in the hearts of men and the power of the blessed truth professed by its members, inspiring them "to bear with resignation even the worst of tribulations." Thirdly, quite apart from the Quaker connection, it stands as an extraordinary tale of calamity and suffering, of great endurance in distress, and of unflinching trust in the ever-present providence of God. Fourthly, it furnishes the only detailed information that we have of the character, customs, and modes of life of the Indians living at the end of the seventeenth century in that little known region, regarding which almost no other contemporary evidence exists, lying along the east

Florida coast from St. Augustine south to the lands about Hobe Sound and Jupiter Inlet. In this particular its value has always been recognized by writers on the Indian ethnology of Florida and by students of its literature. And, lastly, for the general reader who, it may be, is not likely to be concerned with the textual and bibliographical features of the narrative, it is worthy of consideration as a story of peril and adventure, told with unusual dramatic force and power.

## NAMES OF THE ST. JOHNS RIVER by HERBERT M. CORSE

Four centuries of history are reflected in the changing names of the St. Johns river. From earliest times the leaping surf on the bar which marked the entrance was noticed by coastal explorers. The great volume of water coming from the river was obstructed by a shallow bar which caused a turbulent appearance and earned the river its first name, Rio de Corrientes (River of Currents). This name appears on the earliest known map of the De Soto expedition.<sup>1</sup> Here the southern region and its coast from Cape Hatteras around Florida and beyond the Rio Grande is remarkably accurate in general outline.

It was the currents and surf on the bar which attracted the French explorer Jean Ribaut as he was sailing along the coast in 1562. In his account, of which there is a contemporaneous translation in manuscript in the British Museum, he says:<sup>2</sup>

Then perceving towardes the northe a leaping and breking of the water, as a streme falling owt of the lande unto the sea, forthewith we sett agayn up saile to duple the same while it was yet daye. And as we had so don, and passed byonde yt, there apeared unto us a faire enter of a great river, which caused us to cast ancre agen and tary there nere the lande, to the ende that the next mornyng we myght see what it was.

The next daye in the morninge, being the first of Maye we assaied to enter this porte with two rowe barges and a boate well trymed,

1. Map in Mississippi Historical Society, Special Bulletin, No. 1.
2. Connor, *Jean Ribaut, The Whole & True Discouerye of Terra Florida*. (The Florida State Historical Society, DeLand, 1927), p. 65.

finding littell watter at the entrye and many surges and brekinges of the water which might have astuned and caused us to retourn backe to shippbord, if God had not speedely brought us in, where fynding fourthwith 5 or 6 fadom water, entered into a goodly and great river which as we went we found to increse still in depth and lardgnes, boylling and roring through the multytute of all sortes of fishes . . . . which river we have called by the name of the river of Maye, for that we discovered the same the ffirst day of that mounthe. . . .

Two years later Laudonniere who had been with Ribaut established a fort near the mouth of the St. Johns which he named Caroline in honor of King Charles of France. In Laudonniere's company was a hydrographer, Jacques Le Moyne, who had been sent by the king to make maps of the country and sketches of the natives. He prepared a map of Florida on which the St. Johns river "is very well laid down as coming out from a southern lake," writes Woodbury Lowery.<sup>3</sup> Besides the map Le Moyne made a series of pictures showing the customs and dress of the Indians.

Though it is not known who named the river Corrientes, the name was used in Spanish documents for over a hundred years. In 1564 when a Spanish vessel commanded by Rojas was sent from Cuba to search for the first colony established by Jean Ribaut on the Atlantic coast it is recorded that on May 26 Rojas entered Rio de las Corrientes.<sup>3</sup> Here he failed to find any French and the Indians concealed the stone column which Ribaut had erected at the mouth of the river. The name Corrientes

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3. Lowery, *Spanish Settlements within the Present Limits of the United States, Florida, 1562-1574*. (New York, 1905), p. 46.



is found on Spanish maps of 1570 and 1595,<sup>4</sup> and is positively identified with the St. Johns river in the letter of Bishop Calderon of Cuba who visited Florida in 1675.<sup>5</sup> He landed at St. Augustine and went west to the St. Johns which he referred to as Corrientes. Another visiting church official, Father Ore in 1616, noted it as river Tocoy, the name of an early Indian mission town on its bank.<sup>6</sup>

When Menendez captured Fort Caroline he re-named it San Mateo, and this name in turn became identified with the river. In 1580 Menendez Marquez, his nephew, arrived at the "bar of San Mateo" with two vessels and engaged another French intruder, Captain Gil. After an all day engagement Gil was killed by a shot through the visor of his armor.<sup>7</sup>

Between 1595 and 1609 the river is mentioned in several reports of missions of Rio Dulce, (fresh water) a term used by the missionaries to distinguish the missions of the St. Johns river from those of the coast.<sup>8</sup>

Alonso Mercado, while at San Pedro (Cumberland island) in 1595 spoke to Governor Avendano of the number of Christian Indians at Agua Dulce,<sup>9</sup> and in 1602 Fray Pedro Bermejo visited churches at Antonico San Julian and Tocoy on Rio Dulce.<sup>10</sup> Chief Antonio of Rio Dulce, a Christian, ruled over

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4. **Lowery Collection, A Description of Maps of the Spanish Possessions within the Present Limits of the United States, 1502-1820.** (Washington, D. C., 1912) 80.
  5. Wenhold, **A 17th Century Letter of Gabriel Diaz Vara Calderon.** Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, vol. 95, no. 16 (Washington, D. C. 1936).
  6. Geiger, **The Franciscan Conquest of Florida (1573-1618).** (The Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C. 1937) p. 257.
  7. Connor, **Colonial Records of Spanish Florida.** (The Florida State Historical Society, DeLand, 1930) pp. 319-323.
  8. Lanning, **The Spanish Missions of Georgia.** (Chapel Hill, N. C. 1935) p. 239.
  9. Geiger, *op. cit.* p. 65.
  10. **Ibid.** p. 142-146.

seven towns on the river, including Utine, Filoche, Una, and Rio Dulce de San Mateo.

Though the Spaniards ignored Le Moyne's map, its influence extended into the 18th century, when the French map maker, Guillaume de l'Isle, drew a series of maps applying French names over a wide region. In his map of 1701, *Carte des environs du Mississippi*, he shows part of the Atlantic coast with the name R. de May. This time, however, the name is erroneously applied to a river too far north and the St. Johns bears the Spanish name San Mateo. The old French name was revived just prior to the Civil war when the name Mayport Mills was applied to the village at the mouth of the river, now known as Mayport.

The name San Mateo was applied to the river by the English. In 1630 Dudley's map of Florida shows R. S. Mateo.<sup>11</sup> French maps fell in line, and a map of 1718 by N. de Fer, *L'Amerique Septentrional*, shows E. de Matheo.

In 1755 the English map of John Mitchell, entitled *British Colonies in North America* carried two names for the St. Johns: R. de St. Matheo or St. Juan.<sup>12</sup> The latter name was derived from the fact that San Juan del Puerto, a Spanish mission had been established on Fort George island at the mouth of the river by 1587.<sup>13</sup> In 1602 the church at San Juan was described as being very ornate and having bells. At that time the mission was administered by Fray Francisco Pareja who learned the language of the Timuquan Indians and published a dictionary of it.

The mission San Juan del Puerto was visited in 1696 by Jonathan Dickinson, a Quaker castaway who was being escorted back to the English colonies

11. *Lowery Collection* (ante) 108.

12. *Ibid.* 426.

13. Geiger. *op. cit.* p. 54.

by order of the Spanish governor of Florida. In his published account he tells of crossing a body of water to the town of San Wan which was in the middle of an island.<sup>14</sup> This English version of the Spanish name San Juan appears as St. Whan's river on a map by H. Moll in 1720. St. Wan's was also mentioned in Kimber, *Relation or Journal to the Gates of St. Augustine*, the Oglethorpe expedition of 1740.

The name San Juan was used on a Spanish war office map of 1724, *Mappa de la Costa de la Florida des d'el Cabo Canaveral*. The river was also called Rio de Picolata further up the stream where stood Fort Picolata. Yemassee Indians of the Georgia coast who had at first been allies of the English in 1715 had rebelled against practices of the Carolina traders and fled to St. Augustine. Montiano, the Spanish governor, had welcomed them as allies, and from then on raids and counter raids increased between Charleston and St. Augustine. Montiano called the river Picolata in his reports.<sup>15</sup> The English too were concerned about defense and harbor entrances along the coast and in 1727 prepared a map of the English and French possessions on the continent of North America.<sup>16</sup> About this time England was drawing her southern boundary south of St. Augustine, so the "St. Juan's R." lay within their claims.

A period of overlapping names for the St. Johns began with Oglethorpe's invasion of Florida in 1740. In his correspondence he referred to the river by the Spanish names San Mateo and San Juan. He also used an early Indian name which he said was Alata or Olata.<sup>17</sup> English confidence in the

14. Dickenson, *God's Protecting Providence*.

15. *Georgia Historical Society Collection*, vol. 7, part 1, p. 180.

16. British Museum, manuscript, no. 23615, f. 74.

17. Colonial Records Correspondence, Georgia State Library, pp. 312-313.

Florida campaigns was indicated when the name Oglethorpe's lake was applied to the broad upper reaches of the river where Oglethorpe destroyed Fort Picolata and occupied Fort Pupa.<sup>18</sup> Oglethorpe's mount at the mouth of the river was another memento of his Florida ventures.

As Oglethorpe failed to capture St. Augustine, the English names for the river at this time did not survive. A Spanish map of 1765, by F. Munoz, shows "Barra de San Juan." Another 1765 map of Florida from the Karpinsky collection calls the river Rio St. Juan, alias de Salamatoto. The latter was the Indian name of a Spanish mission mentioned by Bishop Calderon in 1675 as the place where he crossed the river.

In 1766 the phenomenal surf on the St. Johns bar was described in detail by William Gerard de Brahm. He wrote that the bar has "only four feet at low water mark on which the sea rises five feet at full [tide]. The Bar of the Stream is so very shallow, and the Stream all at once seven times deeper, obliges the Sea Water at Flood Tides to precipitate itself over the Bar into the Stream, and runs on the Bottom of it, so that the Stream gradually swelling continues its Ebb as long, until the Sea Water underneath is almost half Flood when, and not sooner, the Stream reverses its natural Course to run Flood with the Sea."<sup>19</sup>

After the English acquired Florida in 1763 the name San Juan was used and the English version St. John's also began to appear. Denys Rolle in a news item in the *Charleston Gazette*, September 21, 1769, was reported as sailing for his settlement on the St. Juan's river. Again in 1778 the same

18. Kimber, *Relation, or Journal of an Expedition to the Gates of St. Augustine*. p. 13.

19. De Brahm, *History of the Three Provinces of South Carolina, Georgia and East Florida*. Manuscript in Harvard University Library. p. 259.

paper referred to Captain Mowbray's ship which lay in the St. Juan's river with a large galley and three floating batteries, to protect the river from American rebels. In 1767, however, the *South Carolina Gazette* gave an account of Governor Grant's voyage up the "St. John's River". After this St. John's was sometimes spelled with the apostrophe, sometimes without. Two of the British surveyors, De Brahm and Purcell, used the apostrophe, a third, Romans, did not. Romans said the early Indians called the river Ylacco, a word whose meaning was obscure. Many years later Daniel G. Brinton in his *Notes on the Floridian Peninsula* stated that Ylacco, or Welaka, as applied to the river meant river of many lakes, a very true description. In 1816 another Englishman, John Melish, avoided this issue on the apostrophe by calling the river St. John on his map *Southern Region of United States including Florida*.

After the American Revolution, Florida reverted to Spain and the river was again known as San Juan. Correspondence in 1795 refers to Cowford (Jacksonville's first name) as on the San Juan river.

With the acquisition of Florida by the United States the English name St. Johns was again used for the river. The apostrophe in the name was used about as often as not. The first American surveyor, Charles Vignoles, used the apostrophe in his map of 1823. John Lee Williams followed him on his map of 1837. During the Seminole war the United States topographical engineers, McKay and Blake, also spelled the name with an apostrophe on their *Map of the Seat of War in Florida*, (1839). A. D. Bache, of the U. S. Coast Survey office still used the apostrophe in 1864 on his map "*Northern Part of Florida*."

On the other hand maps prepared by authorities not closely associated with the region, used the name

St. Johns without the apostrophe. It appears without the apostrophe on H. S. Tanner's *Traveler's Guide Map of the United States*, published in 1825. This map is remembered in that it shows distances between points as well as the roads, canals, and steamboat routes of the United States, in the manner of modern road maps. John Westcott dropped the apostrophe on his Florida map of 1857 and Rand McNally followed the same policy on their map of Florida of 1881.

Finally the United States Board on Geographic Names adopted a general policy of dropping apostrophes, and the present spelling of St. Johns follows this rule.<sup>20</sup>

It is apparent from a review of these names that two are derived from physical characteristics of the river-Corrientes for its currents and Welaka for its lakes. Most of the others refer to towns which have flourished along its banks, such as San Juan, San Mateo, Tocoy, Salamatoto, Picolata. One only refers to the time of an explorer's landing-May, and one to a would-be conqueror of its shores-Oglethorpe. But regardless of names, the St. Johns maintains its individuality through the many changes in its history. A wide, slow-moving stream flowing northward for over a hundred miles between densely wooded shores, then within a short twenty miles of its mouth it swings suddenly eastward to pour its clear coffee colored waters into the sea.

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20. United States Board on Geographic Names. *Report 1890-1899*. (Washington, D. C. 1901) p. 110. : "Saint Johns: river in Florida. (Not Saint John's.)"

FROM A REMOTE FRONTIER

LETTERS AND REPORTS PASSING BETWEEN THE COMMANDERS AT APALACHE (ST. MARKS), GOVERNOR GRANT AT ST. AUGUSTINE, GENERAL HALDIMAND AT PENSACOLA, JOHN STUART, SUPERINTENDENT OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, AND GENERAL GAGE, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF, AT NEW YORK, 1768-1769

(Stuart to Gage)

Charles Town 17 May 1768

Sir :

\* \* \* I also inclose your Excellency's copy of a talk delivered by a Creek Indian in the Cherokee Nation to the Young Warrior of Estatoe, Saluy who communicated it to Ensign Keough Commanding at Fort Prince George, it is expressive of much Malevolence to the back Inhabitants of this Province & Georgia. The Creeks who frequent the Cherokee Towns are considered by their Countrymen as Renegados & outlaws, most of them were concerned in the murders of our people and other Insults so often complained of, for which it would be dangerous for them to return home, they have an interest in promoting, and would obtain safety by, a Rupture between their Nation & us; and probably the Author of the Talk is one of or nearly connected with them; it does not seem to be the sense of the Creek Nation in general, who have of late behaved inoffensively to the Traders and inhabitants of the Province. By the Two inclosed

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

abstracts of Mr. Sinnots letters it seems that the Spaniards have been tampering with them, but as there are white Traders in every Town in the Nation I think it impossible that any Persons with Supplies of ammunication can have been amongst them without my being made acquainted with such a material circumstance. Mr. Roderick Mackintosh is entirely silent upon the subject. \* \* \*

I have the Honour of being with the greatest Respect,

Sir, Your Excellency's Most Obedient and most  
humble servant

John Stuart

*(W. L. Clements Library)*

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***(Sinnott to Stuart)***

(Extract of a Letter from Mr. Pierce Acton Sinnott Dated Saint Marks Appalachie 1st March 1768)

An old Indian Fellow arrived here with his Family from the Eastward the 1st of February, he informed me that he saw on a large Bay near Clousahatchie (I suppose the Bay of Tampa) three two masted Spanish vessels, two of them were at anchor, the third under sail comming into the Bay, comming pretty near to one of them he was beckoned and in the Creek tongue desired to come on Board and smoke; that they wanted to talk, which he says he did not care to do, he observed that they did not send a boat after him, I inquired if they had any cannon, he said he saw none but heard great guns fired.

*(W. L. Clements Library)*

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St. Marks, Appallache 2nd March 1868

***(Sinnott to Stuart)***

Sir,

I had the Honor of writing to you yesterday by John Sellers who is going to Saint Augustine but



did not set out till this morning. I have just received a Letter from John Mealy at the Tomautly in which there is the following Paragraph.

I have no news to send only that the Indians who went to the Havannah are returned home & look very gay in their Spanish Cloaths. The Pack-horseman who is come down says that they arrived about a Week or Ten days ago, and are dressed in rich loud Cloaths. The Indian Fellow who follows Sellers with this hath just told me that a great part of the Nation want the Spaniards to live near them as they should then be better of [f] than now & that they have offered them Lands about the River Appallachicola, he further says that a great many Headmen are to meet next Moon to deliberate upon some great Affair, you are best Judge Sir if this Intelligence is any way Material or not, but I thought my duty to give you the Earliest Intelligence as well as His Excellency Governor Grant. I shall write tomorrow to Mr. McIntosh and to the Traders in my district & shall desire the Latter to be very attentive to what passes and to make as much Enquiry as they can with prudence.

If I can get 3 or 4 Men I propose going in a Boat to the Westward, & should I see a Spanish vessel shall push for Pensacola, as it may be of service that some of the Kings ships know of it.

I am with the greatest Respect Sir Your Most Obedient & most Hble Servant

Pierce A. Sinnott

*(W. L. Clements Library)*

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*(Haldimand to Gage.* Transl. from the French)

Pensacola, April 20, 1768

Sir :

\* \* \* This is the third time that the post of the Apalachees has been reduced to an almost entire

lack of provisions. If it is kept it will be proper to give it provisions from here, and I think it will be easy to make different contractors consent to it; I have meantime, sent provisions of wheat, they had for some time been reduced to famine. \* \* \*

I sent a few days ago a sergeant and nine men of the 21st Regiment to replace the garrison of St. Mark, which I have ordered to go by land to St. Augustine. The schooner will bring here their baggage and those who are not in a state to make this journey will be made into an independent company. \* \* \*

(*W. L. Clements Library*)

***Return of His Majesties ordnance and stores present on the Garrison of Appalachia the 7, 1768***

	<i>Serviceable</i>	<i>Unserviceable</i>
Iron Ordnance mounted on Garrison carrags, 6 prs	2	
Iron Ordnance Mounted on Garrison carrags, 4 prs	2	
Swivel Gunns 1/2 pounders	2	
Shot fixed to wooden bottom) Round 6 prs	84	15
and flannel cartridges, round case 6 prs	84	16
Shot piled for the 6 prs	397	
Shot piled for the 4 prs	96	
Empty flannell cartridges 6 prs		14
Empty paper cartridges 6 prs	370	
Tin tubes primed	300	200
port fires	71	10
port sticks 4		1
slow match pound	50	10
Lint stocks with locks	2	
Do without locks 6		
Steel spikes	6	
punches	5	
Hammers		1
Tand Hydes	3	1
Powder horns	2	1
Primming Irons	8	
Spunges with staves & Rammer heads 6 prs	2	
Spunges with staves & Rammer heads 4 prs	2	
Ladles with Staves 6 prs	1	
Ladles with Staves 4 prs		1
Aprons of Lead	6	
Spunge caps painted	4	

Sheep skins	3	6
Spunge tacks	84	
Mens Harness Setts		2
Cartouches of leather		1
Budge Barrels with coper Hoops	1	1
Corn'd powder Barrels with Hoops	8	4
Corn'd powder wooden Hoop'd 84 expd.		1
Musquet cartridges made up	5,538	
Musquet Balls	9,822	
	<i>Serviceable</i>	<i>Unserviceable</i>
Musquet Flints	1,823	
Twine Pounds	1	1
Paper for Musquet cartridges Qrs	5	
Scisers pairs		5
Tar'd marlin skains	1	
Lanthorns Muscova		2
Lanthorns Dark	1	1
Formers for musquet cartridges	10	
Seven empty powder Barrells with 24 coper Hoops on them		
Chest Laboratory	2	
Candles pounds	55	
Powder measure of tin to hold 2 lbs	1	
Entrenching tools		
Felling axes		1
pick axes	6	1
Hand bills	3	
Hand Barrows	3	
Whell Barrows		3
Hand Hatchets	4	
Spades	6	
Shovels	2	
Earth Rammers	2	
Wedges of Iron	3	
Iron Hoops for Beatills	2	
Buckets of Wood with Iron Hoops	2	
Phrows for Spliting shingles	1	
Cross cut saw	1	
Pitt saw	1	
Files for saw two each nature	4	
twenty penny nails	1,000	
ten penny nails	2,000	
Screw plate for the Smith	1	
Hand vice for Smith	1	
Barik for wadd'lbs	100	

N. B. New Stocks for the swivels wanting, and the port Holes doors and chains and locks quite unserviceable oil is greatly wanted for the tools and garrison locks the Flagg Staff and Haylards quite unserviceable.

N. B. Recd. a new flagg from the commanding officer of Artillery at St. Augustine.

John Weir Serjt. R.N.B. Fuziliers

Endorsed: Return of his Majesties

stores &c. in the Garison of Apalache, 7th June 1768

(Public Archives of Canada)

*(Gage to Grant)*

New York June 25th, 1768

Sir :

I have the honor to acquaint you that you will have a large Reinforcement of His Majesty's Troops at St. Augustine, as soon as it will be possible to Transport them thither from their present Stations. The Company's of the 9th Regiment now in Bermuda, and New Providence, it is probable, will be first with you, and I hope from the Barracks building at the Church of St. Francis, and by the help of the Old Quarters, those Company's may soon be provided with Lodgements.

Besides the above two Companys of the Ninth Regiment, Brigadier General Haldimand will embark from Pensacola for St. Augustine about Fifteen Companys of the 21st and 31st Regiments, who must encamp till Barracks are provided for them. And as it will be Necessary to Build Barracks for that Number as soon as it can be conveniently be done, I Am to beg of you to Assist us by Allotting a proper spot of Ground for the purpose.

Amongst other important objects, I have lately received His Majesty's Commands to withdraw the Garrisons from all the Forts, as well in the Interior as the Settled parts of the Colonies, not immediately necessary to facilitate Commerce, or for Public Safety. On this Account I Am to direct Brigadier General Haldimand to abandon the Fort of St. Marks, And to desire you would inform the Brigadier concerning the Disposal of said Fort when the Troops shall be, withdrawn. Whether you would have it entirely dismantled? or whether you would give it to any Settlers who may be going to Settle in those parts? or what other use you would convert it to?

The only News I have to tell you is, that Our Neighbours to the Eastward are again in tumult

and Disorder. They have very lately beat and abused the Comptroller and Collector of the Customs, broke several Windows, and drove the Commissioners of the Customs, the whole Board to Castle William, where they took Shelter, and are further protected there, by One of His Majesty's Ships.

I have the honor to be with great Regard Sir, &ca  
*(W. L. Clements Library)*

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*(Gage to Haldimand)*

New York, 27th June, 1768

Sir :

His Majesty being of Opinion for many weighty reasons, that all the Posts in the Interior, as well as the Settled Parts of North America may be abandoned, unless necessary for the facilitating of Commerce, or for publick Safety; And that His Troops may be Collected and put in a situation, so as to be kept in more perfect Order & Discipline and ready for immediate Service upon any Emergency, I am to acquaint You with the King's Sentiment on these Important Objects, and to desire that You will as soon as Possible withdraw the Troops from the Natchez and from the Post on the Ibberville. But that before the Troops are withdrawn, You will Consult with the Governor of West Florida concerning the disposal of said Forts, whether it will be best to Dismantle & Rase them Entirely? Convert them to Fortified Truckhouses, or any other Publick Use? If there are any Settlers, whether they would Choose to have the Forts for their Residence, or Protection? And You will consult with the Superintendent, or his Deputy, on the measures which it will be proper & necessary to take with the Indians, Of the reason to be given them for abandoning those Posts. Which should

be put to their account, to prevent the Jealousy they have, or may Entertain of Our having Fortified Places in their Country: That the King has given these Orders with a desire to do what is agreeable to them, or other good reasons You shall best devise or think of.

I am next to Inform You, that You will leave three Companys to Garrison Pensacola & Mobile, & Embark all the rest of the Two Regts in West Florida for St. Augustine. I have wrote to Governor Grant concerning the disposal of St Mark's at Appalachie, & desire he would acquaint You of his desires about that Fort; For it must be abandoned, if Useless, as well as the rest. I don't hear of any number of Traders going there; And at this distance, Judge that it should be Entirely destroyed: You will know best if it can be Converted to any Publick Use, when the Troops are withdrawn. \* \* \*

Nothing more occurs to me at present on these Subjects; I have only to add, that I am to beg You will put these Orders in Execution as the nature of them will Admit; For it is possible there may be use for the Troops, before they are long at St. Augustine.

I have the Honor to be, with great Regard, Sir,  
&ca.

*(W. L. Clements Library)*

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*(Grant to Gage)*

St. Augustine 25th August 1768

Sir :

\* \* \* We have no sort of communication with west Florida at present Lord Hillsborough has some thoughts of establishing a post by Land from Charles Town to Pensacola, by way of St. Marks, but in the meantime I am at a loss how to convey a letter to Brigadier Haldimand, but I flatter my-

self he will not dismantle the Fort of St. Marks till I have the pleasure of seeing him. I have spoke to Mr. Gordon about establishing a Trading house there in order to keep that Fort in some sort of Repair, it cost the Spaniards a great deal of money, and would be of great utility if we should ever have any dispute with our numerous Creek neighbors, and when that part of the Country comes to be inhabited the Fort would be a protection to settlers against privateers and the Spanish Banditti from Cuba, in case Great Britain should have a difference with the Court of Spain, I do not mean that Government should be at any expense to keep the Fort in order, but I think it rather advisable not to Demolish it and in case the Province gets on if it should be thought expedient to send a small garrison there it must be a provincial expense. \* \* \*  
*(Public Archives of Canada)*

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*(Wright to Gage)*

St. Augustine, Sept. 30th 1768

Sir,

Being ordered upon a detachment by Colonel Taylor, with Lieut. Swettenham to relieve Lt. Pampellone & Ensign Hawkins at the detach'd Post of Apalache I arrived there the 13th of Dec. 1765- On the 14th the Provision Stores &c were delivered over to me by Ensign Hawkins who informed me that Coln. Robertson had agreed to allow him one Shilling a day as acting Commissary for the Post. The time of my acting as such was from the 13th Dec. 1765 To the 21st April 1768. To the amount of forty-two Pounds eighteen shillings.

I hope your Excellency will not be displeas'd with me at my representing the case to You Sir having before spoke of it to Colonel Taylor who promised to represent it to your Excellency on his

Arrival at New York. I hope your Excellency will be pleased to take this into Your consideration & also the representation of Col. Taylor to your Excellency.

I am with the greatest Respect your Excellencys most Obedient & humble Servt.

Jas Wright Ens. 9th Regt.

*(W. L. Clements Library)*

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*(Grant to Haldimand)*

St. Augustine 3rd October 1768

Sir,

I had the Honor to receive your letter of the 27th of August by Mr. Currie, who had a tedious passage from Pensacola, Captain Roberts put into the Matanzas upon the Island of Cuba for Refreshments, and Mr. Currie and his Detachment arrived in good health.

It would be a pity to dismantle the Fort of St. Marks Appalachi, a Post there would be of use in the event of a Spanish or Creek War, Mr. Gordon undertakes to establish a creditable Indian Store House there without loss of time the Trader for his own sake, must keep the place in some repair, it will put government to no expence and as I shall not give a grant of the Fort, or of the Land contiguous to it, it will be in His Majesty's Power to order the Fort to be taken possession of again, if that should ever be found expedient, I must therefore beg of you to order two or three men to remain at the Fort, till the Trader arrives, the soldiers who are left, may either come from St. Marks on Board the vessel which is to carry the Trader round, or by Land as you are pleased to direct, I send you an Extract of my letter to General Gage upon this subject which was wrote, when I had no opportunity of forwarding a letter to you, and I thought one might offer from New York.



I was vastly happy to hear of the destination of the troops from West Florida, they will come in at a proper season of the year, our sickness which has been more considerable than ever was before in this province, will be over. The Disorders have been chiefly intermitting Fevers, without mortality. Our Phisical People impute the sickness to a remarkable rainy season. I look for the pleasure of your company in December, from all the accounts I have had of West Florida, I flatter myself that you will not dislike the change of Quarters, you will find everybody Friends and living sociably together, and as things now stand in America, a Town and a province without the shadow of Factious Party or disputes is such a Recommendation, as will get the better of a few inconveniences.

I wish you health and happiness and a good voyage to St. Augustine and I have the Honor to be with great regard Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant

James Grant

To Brigadier General Haldimand  
(*Public Archives of Canada*)

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(*Gage to Wright*)

New York January 29th 1769

Sir,

I have received your Letter of the 30th Sept, and have given Mr. Leake the Commissary General of North America, orders to pay you one shilling a day for the time You took care of, and issued the Provisions at Fort St. Marks, as soon as you send him an exact account of the Provisions You received from Mr. Hawkins, what You received from time to time Afterwards, what was Expended while under your charge and what was brought away with You ; Upon the Receipt of this Account

regularly stated, Mr. Leake will Accept your Bill, but cannot do it till then, at the same time You send Mr. Leake the account of the issues and receipts, it will be necessary that all the vouchers and Certificates You may have taken should accompany them, which will prevent any delay in Settling your account.

I am, Sir, &ca  
 Ens Wright 9th Regt. St. Augustine  
*(W. L. Clements Library)*

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*(Haldimand to Gage. Transl. from the French)*

St. Augustine, October 13, 1769

Sir :

\* \* \* The detachment which I had left at Fort St. Marks has arrived here after having delivered that post to a person whom Governor Grant has named to take possession; within a few days I shall abandon likewise the post of Matanzas, and also the post of Picolata, so that there will remain no more than the detachment which is at the Moskitoes, and which is necessary there to maintain order in that new establishment. \* \* \*

*(W. L. Clements Library)* *(Finis)*

## NEW BOOKS

*Church and State in the Spanish Floridas (1783-1822)* A dissertation. By Rev. Michael J. Curley, C.S.S.R. (Washington, D. C. The Catholic University of America Press, 1940.) 380 p. Bibliography.

Of all who know more or less of the history of Spanish Florida few fully realize the close connection between church and state throughout those eras.

Only since the cession to the United States has a studied policy of strict separation and non-interference been followed. During the British period there was of course a real connection between the two, for the ministers were often chosen and always supported, at least partly, by the crown. Yet there was little influence exerted either way—certainly none by the church as such over the policies of colonial government. True, the Reverend John Forbes, who through most of that era was minister in East Florida, took an active and highly important part in the government of the province; but this was because his ability, and doubtless his inclinations, led to his appointment as member of the King's Council and chief justice.

Throughout the Spanish periods in Florida this was quite different. The religious aspect and influence gave the early explorers and the settlements a good part of their support; for, whether strictly true or not, the conversion of the Indians was always announced to be a main purpose of the conquistadores and even of the later colonizers, and the priests taken along were not so much for the benefit of the men of the expeditions and the settlers as to enlighten the heathen.

This church-state connection is part of the general treatment in most works relating to the first

Spanish period in the Floridas, to 1763; and for the later Spanish era it is minutely and ably set forth in the present volume.

For fifty pages the author sketches Florida's history down to his own period in 1783 with emphasis on this religious-governmental relationship. He writes :

"From the earliest days Catholic missionaries had been prominent in the activities of the Florida colony. Dominicans came with Ayllon in 1526 . . . Narvaez had Franciscans with him in 1528. Twelve priests were with Soto in 1539, and Dominicans came with Luna in 1559. . . . In 1566 Menendez de Aviles brought Jesuits to St. Augustine . . . followed by the advent of the Franciscans in 1573." But after recounting the work of later missionaries he says : "The Church's growth and decline in Florida closely paralleled the political successes and reverses of the State, so that in 1763 little was left of a once populous missionary field."

On his own special subject he explains: "To understand . . . the relations of Church and State . . . one must have a clear perception of the *patronato real* . . . Church and State in the Indies were governed by a code of laws . . . containing much that was purely political and economic, but embodying the privileges of the kings of Spain in church matters and particularly the provisions growing out of the royal patronage . . . defined as a sum of privileges which, together with certain duties, are given by ecclesiastical authorities to Catholic founders of a church. . . . In effect, the royal patronage made the king of Spain a vicar apostolic over the Indies. . . ."

"The effectiveness of this system of granting wide-reaching privileges in return for pecuniary and political aid has long been a moot question among historians."

The activities of each pastor are given in some detail. Best known to us is Father Thomas Hassett, first of many Irish priests to serve the Spanish missions in Florida. Coming to St. Augustine in 1784, for eleven years he lead "the humdrum existence of a struggling pastor amid discouraging circumstances, working quietly for the souls committed to his care . . . [one] whose work was visibly retarded by the conditions of the age in which he lived. That the East Florida of his day was badly maladjusted and suffering tragically from a series of hardships is sufficiently attested by the phrases 'this miserable colony', 'this dying colony' so frequently expressed in the correspondence of the time."

But we remember Father Hassett as a school teacher and author of the twenty-six intriguing rules and regulations he planned to guide the conduct of his small charges during every hour and almost every minute of their day. The translation of these made by Dr. Joseph B. Lockey and published in this *Quarterly* (xv. 161-168) is reprinted in Dr. Curley's volume. It was Father Hassett who took the St. Augustine census of 1786 which was published here also (xviii. 11-31).

Another known and revered name is that of Father Camps, who gave the best years of his life to easing the miseries of his Minorcan countrymen in New Smyrna. "For sheer devotion to a missionary ideal his record stands unapproached in the story of the Floridas."

The end is strikingly pictured in "The Final Years":-

"The internal conditions of the Floridas made the last fifteen years of Spanish occupation a long governmental headache. There was a constant scarcity of money and food supplies, and letter

after letter of the governors pleaded for aid from the captain general of Cuba, the later requests taking on an indignant tone as the first remained unanswered . . . there were times in West Florida when food for less than a month was on hand . . . A slow but steady social and economic infiltration of Americans made an early instance of 'manifest destiny'. . . . Spain knew that her hope of retaining the Floridas was vain.

"It was not to be expected that the Church, so bound up with the welfare of the State under the *patronato real*, could escape the general decline of the provinces. If the State was without funds, the Church could not be provided with them. . . . If the badly needed garrisons could not be maintained, one could hardly expect the churches to be kept in repair. The alliance of one with the other, Church and State, made their progress or decline strikingly similar."

The author's "Summary" is interesting. "[Was] such a union of Church and State beneficial for religion in the Floridas during the four decades under review. . . . The *patronato* involved an exchange of privileges and favors. . . . There was a grant of financial support by the State. . . . The *patronato* was a guarantee of the cooperation of civil officials with church rulers . . . [and a] share of executive control enjoyed by the crown in church matters. . . . All must be taken into consideration for a just appraisal. . . . Whatever benefits came from the alliance depended on the success of the State in temporal matters, and during those years Spain failed in the Floridas."

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J. VILLASANA HAGGARD. *Handbook for Translators of Spanish Historical Documents*. (University of

Texas, 1941.) vii, 198 pp., illus., bibliography. \$1.50.

The ***Handbook for Translators*** is the result of an effort to fill a gap in the literature dealing with historical research method. Frankly an experiment, the book is circulated for critical usage by students in the field.

A praiseworthy aim of the manual is the standardization of transcription and translation to the end of increasing the value of such work to the researcher. Many non-technically trained workers who have entered the field of Spanish colonial history during the past several years will find the work invaluable. For the more widely experienced student, the ***Handbook*** deserves desk space as a technical dictionary and summary of applicable paleographical knowledge.

The transcribing of Spanish manuscripts is a task often done haphazardly. Mr. Haggard lays down rules for correct procedure. As for the art of translating historical documents, the author proves by comparison that it is distinct from other forms of translating. He prescribes certain consecutive steps, and solves sample problems.

The section on paleography, copiously illustrated with examples from the 12th to the 19th centuries, demonstrates the remarkable individuality of the Spanish scribe. Another chapter is devoted to aids (*i.e.*, lighting, glasses, rulers, etc.) for reading manuscript materials. Unfortunately, much of this type of information tends to become obsolescent due to continual technological advances. Considerable space in the ***Handbook*** is given over to lists and translations of Spanish words, abbreviations, weights and measures (including monetary), and cryptic signs.

The book is an able summary of pertinent contemporaneous knowledge—a step forward toward a

dictionary for this specialized subject. It is definitely of use to Florida historians. And conceivably, Mr. Haggard may have opened the important field of Spanish colonial history to many students who were hitherto wary of the barriers of archaic language and paleography.

ALBERT C. MANUCY

### ***The National Park Service***

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#### ***Guide to the Manuscript Collections in the Archives of the North Carolina Historical Commission.***

Prepared by the North Carolina, Historical Records Survey Project of the Work Projects Administration. (Raleigh, The North Carolina Historical Commission, 1942). vi. 216 pp., index.

To Southern historians and students, this Guide to the original source materials in the archives of the North Carolina Historical Commission is a particularly helpful source of information. Every collection listed numbering some 815 private and other collections, is described briefly but comprehensively, giving all essential features of the contents. Facilitating the use of the *Guide* is a full and painstaking index, covering sixty pages of small type.

The collections referring to Florida were noted especially and are noted here. They are: Collection 682. Spanish Records, 1566-1802, consisting of approximately 10,000 items. These records, from the Spanish archives pertaining to the history of North Carolina and Florida, comprise some 15,120 photostat pages and 1,512 pages of typewritten copies. The copies are from the records in the General Archives of the Indies at Seville, the National Historical Archives at Madrid, and the archives at Simancas. Copies were obtained in 1924-27 through the efforts of Dr. W. W. Pierson



of the University of North Carolina, who with the assistance of the Florida State Historical Society made a survey of the material and secured a copyist. The work was never completed because of a royal order of 1927 prohibiting further copying of series of records.

Considerable Florida historical material may be found in these records. In the spring of 1941 the National Park Service had a microfilm copy made of the entire collection, and this film copy was placed in the study collection of the Castillo de San Marcos National Monument, St. Augustine, (formerly Fort Marion National Monument).

Collection 90. Mrs. Lawrence O'Bryan Branch Papers, 1770-1884. There are a few letters from L. O'B. Branch, a young lawyer at Tallahassee, 1841-1848, having to do with local conditions in Florida. Collection 290. William Alexander Graham Papers, 1779-1918. Some correspondence from David L. Yulee, 1849-52, on the settlement of claims under the Florida treaty of 1819. Collection 690. John Stanly Papers, 1811. Letters from John Stanly, Congressman from North Carolina, about the annexation of West Florida. Collection 767. Charles W. Welsh Paper, 1855. Letter of inquiry regarding taxation by State of Florida of property of officers at the Pensacola Navy yard.

WATT MARCHMAN

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**William Adam Hocker** (1844-1918), *Justice of the Supreme Court of Florida: A Biography with Some Account of his Ancestry and Family Connections*, by Elizabeth Marshall Venable (Privately printed, The Miller Press, Jacksonville, 1941). xv, 107 pp, illus., front. (port.).

In this genealogical study of a man who served the people of Florida faithfully for many years as

judge of the Supreme Court, the author proposes to preserve for members of the family some of the more intimate details of Judge Hocker's life, and years were spent in collecting material, gleaned fragments from old Bibles, letters and reminiscences from relatives and data from court house records.

Judge Hocker was born on December 5, 1844, in Buckingham county, Virginia, on his father's plantation, "Oak Grove." He was educated privately and entered Hampden-Sidney College in 1862. In 1864 he joined the Confederate Army, Company H, 2nd Regiment of Virginia Cavalry. He was in several engagements and was paroled on April 26, 1865. Following the war he entered the University of Virginia to study law, and in 1868 was admitted to the Virginia bar, becoming a member of the firm of Moseley and Hocker. Later, he joined the staff of Franklin Institute, Columbus, Mississippi, as professor of Latin and Greek, a position he held until he removed to Florida in June, 1874, settling at Little Lake Harris. He was admitted to the Florida bar and in 1876 was elected to the Florida legislature, resigning on March 1, 1877 to accept the appointment of state attorney. He also served as judge of the 5th Judicial Circuit Court, 1893-1901, and on September 1, 1901, was appointed to the Supreme Court Commission, and elected in November, 1902 a justice of that court. He retired in January 1915, and died in Jacksonville July 16, 1918. He was married to Mattie Norvell Glover of Roanoke, Virginia. His children (living) are Frederick R. Hocker, judge of the 5th Judicial Circuit Court of Florida, and Mrs. Alice Hocker Drake of Ocala, a member of the Florida Historical Society.

In addition to its value as a genealogical record, the book contains Florida background material not found in other printed sources.

A MEMORIAL TO JAMES ALEXANDER  
ROBERTSON

***Hispanic American Essays***

James Alexander Robertson published little Florida history; but a large part of what has been published during the past quarter-century, and much that is still to be published and still to be written, is and will be the better because of his years of work with and for the writers. And some of that history would not have been written except for him.

So we are interested in all that is connected with Dr. Robertson, and especially in a memorial volume which has now come from the press.

***Hispanic American Essays, A Memorial to James Alexander Robertson*** (Ed. A. Curtis Wilgus, The University of North Carolina Press. 1942. 391 p. \$5) consists of eighteen historical papers, each written by a friend and colleague, together with "The Life of James Alexander Robertson" and "The Published Writings of James Alexander Robertson" written and compiled by A. Curtis Wilgus, editor of the volume. Dr. Wilgus, professor of history in George Washington University and president of the Inter-American Bibliographical and Library Association, was Dr. Robertson's close friend and long-time coworker in the Spanish American field ; so, for him, the creation of this memorial volume was truly a labor of love.

In our issue of July 1939 Professor Wilgus contributed a brief biography of Dr. Robertson together with a condensed list of his publications, and in the present articles he extends both to include a fuller appreciation of his work and the listing of numerous additional minor compositions.

Seven countries of Spanish America are represented in the memorial volume, in keeping with the

wide range of Dr. Robertson's work and his friendships; but Florida, with three of the articles, holds first place, which is as it should be.

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Isaac Joslin Cox of Northwestern University writes on "Florida, Frontier Outpost of New Spain." Those of our members who attended the annual meeting of the Society in 1937 will recall Professor Cox's interesting address on "The Development of the Florida Frontier," a theme which is extended in the present paper:-

"[Florida] . . . a frontier area set off by geographical position, by natural resources, and by force of circumstances, to serve for three centuries as a barrier to Spain's enemies, as a shield to the mineral treasures of Mexico. . . . A frontier area is the territorial stage upon which various natural and human forces play their part in establishing national claims. . . . Claims to an area are furthered . . . not by haphazard discovery or casual grants . . . [but] by a combination of forces-physiographic or demographic, racial or religious, political or diplomatic-that have contributed to the general development of that specific area and have given to it historical significance."

. . . Spaniard, Frenchman, Englishman, and American played their several parts within its [Florida's] extended limits. . . . Their acts have given to the region a series of stirring annals. But treaties alone could not make it a bulwark to Spain's declining power in the Western World. On the eve of being forced from the American continent in 1821, The Power of the Past was reluctantly constrained to hand its strategic but now useless northern outpost over to the Power of the Future."

The two other Florida papers are closely related, in that they tell of the archives of Florida of the second Spanish period 1783-1821. Alfred J. Hanna of Rollins College writes on "Diplomatic Missions of the United States to Cuba to Secure the Spanish Archives of Florida ;" and Irene A. Wright, of the Department of State, Washington, on "The Odyssey of the Spanish Archives of Florida."

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***Diplomatic Missions of the United States to Cuba to Secure the Spanish Archives of Florida***

What would seem to be a simple matter of turning over the Spanish archives of Florida to the United States, as agreed upon, and the placing of them in a proper place, gives rise instead to a narrative of decades, the multitudinous angles and aspects of which are seldom equalled in fiction.

Five months after the transfer of Florida to the United States President Monroe reported to Congress that the Spanish officials "not only omitted, in contravention to the order of their Sovereign, the performance of the express stipulation to deliver over the [Florida] archives and documents" but had defeated every effort to obtain them.

"Two years before," says Professor Hanna, "730 bundles of records relating to Louisiana, West Florida and East Florida had been removed to Havana." In April 1821 James G. Forbes, as United States commissioner, received from the governor of Cuba authorizations to the governors of East and West Florida for the cession of those provinces. Thereafter he remained in Havana for six weeks in a futile effort to secure the archives of those provinces.

At the time of the transfer of East Florida, the United States officials demanded delivery of the archives still in St. Augustine, in accordance with

the treaty of cession. Instead of complying, Governor Coppinger began sending the archives to Cuba ; on which, on October 2, the remaining records (65,000) were seized; and most of these have come down to us through many vicissitudes.

The West Florida records make quite another story.

Upon the failure of Forbes in Havana, the United States minister at Madrid asked for a renewal of the order to the governor of Cuba for their delivery. This request was not granted, and early the next year, one year after Forbes's failure, a second emissary, Captain James Biddle of the frigate *Macedonian* went to Havana-and likewise returned empty-handed.

Two years later a third agent, Thomas Randall, followed the others to Havana where he was told by the governor that there were no Florida archives there. "Randall," writes Professor Hanna, "tactfully but firmly offered as evidence . . . that documents had been brought from Havana by Florida land claimants apparently authenticated by Spanish officials." The governor was finally moved to order a search for the papers, but five months later Randall was informed that the search was fruitless.

In 1827 Secretary of State Henry Clay sent Daniel P. Cook to Havana in a fourth attempt. The only response was plausible excuses.

When Andrew Jackson became president in 1829 land claimants were still producing authenticated copies of documents presumably in the Florida archives in Havana, indicating "that collusion existed between Spanish officials in Cuba and holders of questionable land titles in Florida." So Richard K. Call was now sent with the firm message "We have an undoubted right to demand and receive . . . all original archives and documents . . . important towards a fair and legal adjustment of private land claims. . . ."

Governor Vives asserted that all papers had been delivered at the time of the cession, but Call proved the contrary, and after the "procrastination and delay common to these people" some papers relating to four of the largest claims were surrendered, most of which Call declared were fraudulent.

Call soon learned that by clandestinely employing some of those in charge of the archives in Havana he could obtain copies of documents. This he did.

President Jackson, at Call's suggestion on his return, sent another appeal to the Spanish king for the delivery of the Florida papers, and the result was a royal order of February 1832.

Jeremy Robinson was the special agent sent in accordance with the royal order, and his two and one-half years of effort in Havana mark the high point of what to us today seems more like farce than history. Governor Ricafort "professed to be disposed to carry the Royal Order into effect in good faith"; yet in reply to a note respecting the delivery of the archives he was vague and evasive. "Despite the command of the crown, it appeared that the governor used every means in his power . . . of indefinite postponement." After interminable delay Ricafort appointed two commissioners . . . [for] selecting the documents wanted . . ." But Robinson believed that one of the commissioners was secretly acting in the interests of Colin Mitchell, claimant for the Forbes Purchase, the largest of the alleged grants, that Mitchell was working against the surrender of the archives and had bribed some officials to forge and alter records to assist him in his suit for confirmation of this huge claim before the Supreme Court of the United States.

Together with the United States consul, William Shaler, Robinson, with great circumspection, paid bribes to several Spanish officials for the loan of

indexes and reports on Florida archives and made copies of them.

Robinson's reports are voluminous. He was certain he uncovered deception, intrigue and fraud, in Washington as well as in Havana. But his wearisome years in the heat of Havana and the various diseases of the tropics which attacked him and ended in his death there, as well as the disappointments of his ill-success certainly gave him a bias, and may well have seriously impaired his judgment in this particular matter; so his numerous charges, reaching into high places at Washington, should not be taken too seriously, though Professor Hanna seems to think otherwise. The Supreme Court confirmed Mitchell's claim.

Robinson believed that several influences were working against the surrender of the archives: one was an effort to conceal abuses of power by governors of Florida, another a desire of Spanish functionaries in Cuba to continue receiving emoluments from claimants of illegal titles to land in Florida, and prejudice or feeling against the United States. He reported that some of the documents were "obviously antedated-altered-distinguished by erasures of dates and [the insertion] of others to make them conform to the Treaty of Washington . . . and were written on paper made posterior to the dates of the transactions . . . yet all duly signed and authenticated . . . by the Spanish authorities."

Robinson reported also a hint from a Spanish functionary that the royal order to the governor of Cuba to surrender the archives contained a secret clause preventing its execution.

After Robinson's death, the United States consul, Nicholas Trist, continued the unending quest with no success; until, in 1835, a special messenger, Edward Wyer, was sent to Havana to secure certain documents needed in the Mitchell-Forbes Pur-



chase suit before the Supreme Court. He actually brought back a handful, though Chief Justice Marshall found these contained no worthwhile evidence.

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### ***The Odyssey of the Spanish Archives of Florida***

It might be that few of our readers know of Irene A. Wright's part in making possible much of the writing of Florida's early history. The scholarship and skill used in her years of research in the colonial archives in Spain was an indispensable part of Dr. Robertson's editorial work on our history and in the securing of the vast amount of transcripts and other copies gathered in those archives under his direction for John B. Stetson, Jr., and the Florida State Historical Society.

Miss Wright has chosen her title well, for her account of the travels and adventures and misfortunes of the Florida archives rivals Homer's narrative, in variety at least. And it was Andrew Jackson, a star in our national drama, who stole the first scene of the first act when, in characteristic wrath, he jailed the late Spanish governor in Pensacola in his own late jail, on suspicion of concealing and withholding a certain land paper in his late archives.

The treaty of cession required certain archives to be delivered along with the transfer of sovereignty, and at that time some archives were delivered at Pensacola, consisting of "unbound books from the year 1781 until the present [1821] . . . nothing more than the transfers of property, protests, wills, mortgages . . . which belong to the office of notary . . . nothing which belongs to the Department of State, not even the original grants - all which are said to be in Havana-and criminal records in huge piles." These were "the archives of West Florida.."

Meanwhile in East Florida that part of the archives relating to "the sovereignty of the province" were taken over, but "those relating to the property of individuals" which were "numerous" remained a matter of discussion; and James G. Forbes, United States marshal, wrote Secretary of State Adams that the archives in both Floridas had been left "inconceivably exposed" to all the effects of intrigue . . . and to remain in the hands of the infidels to wait the decision of the two governments."

Jackson's ire was aroused again when he learned that, regardless of Governor Coppinger's official assurance to the contrary, documents by the boxful were being shipped out of Florida by every Spanish vessel clearing for Cuba. This was attributed to the desire of Coppinger and perhaps other officers to protect themselves for having granted land titles without authority, or a wish to profit in furnishing copies for a consideration. So Jackson ordered their immediate seizure. Later, Governor Coppinger admitted in his *Manifiesto* that he had intended to carry archives with him to Cuba.

The notary who held the records having refused to deliver them over, Secretary Worthington, as acting governor, named a commission to execute what he called the "delicate and important" undertaking; and, says Miss Wright, "Quieter measures having failed, these commissioners took forcible possession of the records found in the notary's office [5 boxes] and in the residence of former Governor Coppinger [6 boxes]. Doors were broken, boxes (brought along for the purpose) were filled with papers and carted off to the government warehouse where they were stored under guard . . . [and] the Americans had possession of 'the Spanish archives of East Florida'."

All papers which "relate to the property of in-

dividual citizens . . . or of the late government" were separated from the remainder and inventories made of the two lots. These inventories are now available in the Library of Congress.

The next year Governor DuVal, learning that the records were "very negligently kept . . . by some private individuals" directed the clerk of the court in St. Augustine to take possession and make an inventory of them, to forestall possible attempts at fraud. This prompted the legislative council of the territory to create the office of keeper of the public archives-for the wording of the act suggests that wholesale abstractions from the archives was suspected.

In 1823 Secretary of State Adams instructed the keeper, William Reynolds, and Antonio Alvarez, late secretary to Governor Coppinger, to "select for preservation in the archives of the territory all . . . which relate to the property and sovereignty of the provinces of East and West Florida." The remainder were to be returned to the governor of Cuba.

Every document was read and inventoried, and 423 from the total of 64,299 were selected to be held. Copies of both inventories are now in the Library of Congress and in the National Archives.

The archives had been more or less in the public eye, but now they were dragged, as it were, into the center of the market-place.

Later in the same year the commission to pass upon claims and titles to land in the territory began its work. Soon Alexander Hamilton, one of the commissioners, recommended that its proceedings be suspended until Congress could investigate, and urged that the records be transferred at once to a different charge-alleging that abstractions and substitutions were being made. "Much smoke arose," says Miss Wright, "and the keeper himself

admitted and advertised one attempt to introduce a forged document in place of another, purloined." Upon the recommendation of Hamilton, Edward R. Gibson and William Simmons were appointed to take charge of the archives.

But keeper. Reynolds refused to hand over the papers until a complete inventory (of 65,000 documents) could be made and a receipt given him. "For months there was an affectation at least of carrying this out jointly," and as each record was inventoried it was handed over to the new keepers. But this was never completed, so each held part of the archives when Reynolds quit this interminable undertaking and went to Washington. As a result of this fracas, the next year, 1825, Congress authorized the President to appoint a keeper of the public archives in St. Augustine and in Pensacola who were to be bonded, and were to furnish translations of any document for a fixed consideration.

William Reynolds was again made a keeper of the public records of East Florida, so it was his turn to demand the papers from Gibson and Simmons and their turn to stall, and all to burden the mails to Washington, while each held firmly to his part of the records.

It was not until some months later that Gibson and Simmons, on instructions from Washington, surrendered their portion to Reynolds, who held them then for about four years. Alvarez, coming in again, succeeded him as keeper and the papers remained in his custody for a quiet twenty year interval in the odyssey.

***The West Florida Archives.*** - Joseph E. Caro, a native of Pensacola, was appointed keeper of the public archives of West Florida in 1826. Two years later he forwarded "a general abstract . . . of all the Spanish records and documents having relation to land claims duly translated and recorded

in the first volume of the Record Book containing 516 pages . . . from 1781 to 1815 . . . and the conclusion of the work in a similar abstract to August 1822." These, entitled Abstract (A) of West Florida Archives, are now, Miss Wright says, in the files of the General Land Office, Department of the Interior.

"Caro kept custody of the West Florida records to the end of his days (1860?)"

The office of keeper of the public archives was abolished in 1848, and after nearly a year of misunderstanding the East Florida records were transferred to B. A. Putnam, surveyor general of Florida, together with a schedule of them which is now in the files of the General Land Office. Alvarez was kept on as clerk, and the records were left in the same place as theretofore, which was a room in the court house in St. Augustine.

In West Florida, Caro (in 1849) was ordered to deliver the archives to the clerk of the United States district court; but he declined to deliver them to anybody, and for two years the General Land Office was at a loss to know what it could do.

At length, Caro apparently sent the surveyor general's office a portfolio of abstracts to private lands, with other documents, but he retained the archives.

By ordinance of the Florida secession convention the "Spanish Archives of East Florida" were placed in the custody of the clerk of the circuit court in St. Augustine, but in 1867 they were in the office of the United States attorney.

The archives of West Florida still had many vicissitudes and misfortunes ahead of them. Caro died, and when F. E. De la Rua was made clerk of the circuit court in 1861 his commission gave him the duties of the keeper of the archives in Pensacola, but he did not assume the office.

When Pensacola was evacuated by the Confederates in 1862 the records were in the law office of Blount and Jordan of that place, and De la Rúa packed and shipped them to Greenville, Alabama. When that town was threatened he had them sent to Montgomery. After the war they were brought back to Pensacola and turned over to a special agent of the Treasury Department who had been sent there. The agent was soon ordered away, and De la Rúa again had the custody of the papers.

But these were not all of the archives, says De la Rúa in a deposition in 1885, for at the evacuation of Pensacola a part were removed to Columbus Georgia, by James Abercrombie, who, after the war, delivered them to De la Rúa.

In 1867 the General Land Office sent H. C. De Ahua to investigate and collect "the Spanish archives in Florida."

What De la Rúa had were reported as still "in tolerable condition." Among these were five volumes containing "records of the original documents which on being presented to the board of commissioners were recorded and the original papers retained by the parties interested, thereby leaving no original documents in the custody of the keeper." There were six boxes of papers "most of which referred to transfers of property, wills, powers of attorney, etc., but very few original grants."

It appears to Miss Wright that De la Rúa, restored to his post, held these archives in custody for twenty years at least.

De Ahua went on to the register's office in Tallahassee, where he found a "mass of documents" sent there from the discontinued land offices in St. Augustine, Newnansville, and Tampa. At St. Augustine he found the East Florida papers in the care of the United States district attorney—"an indiscriminate mass of Spanish papers, [some]

eaten by worms . . . in very many hundred bundles."

By 1869 the archives there had got into the custody of the collector of customs, and in that year were moved to the office of the surveyor general in Tallahassee.

In 1895 an inspector reported to the General Land Office that "John de la Rue [!] of Pensacola and others of the same place have in their possession Spanish records which belong to this office," and it was reported that some had been burned a number of years before. This was prior to 1885 when F. E. de la Rua reported that he then had in custody only those which survived the "great fire," when "the greater part of the manuscripts were burned."

The five volumes together with "thirteen packages of what are commonly called protocols" were now delivered to the surveyor general in Tallahassee.

In 1905 these archives were secured by the Library of Congress for its Manuscript Division. At length they were classified and carded, and in 1930 Mabel M. Manning of the Library staff wrote an account of them for Dr. Robertson as a contribution to his *Hispanic American Historical Review* (X. 392-396).

The 65,000 documents are classified into 96 subdivisions; and in her article Mrs. Manning lists the most important as : correspondence of the governors with the captain general at Havana, 1784-1821; letters of Governor Montiano to the captain general 1737-1741; correspondence of the governors with the departments of the Indies, State, War, Grace and Justice, and Exchequer; correspondence with ministers and consuls in the United States; a division, Louisiana, Pensacola, Appalache and Indians; Panton, Leslie & Company; and a division of "selected papers."

She gives information also on the several inven-

tories now available; and writes: "Going through these documents which treat of the administration of the government in all of its branches, one gets an excellent picture of conditions in Florida," of the difficulties of a journey from St. Augustine to Havana, of relations with the Indians, the *mestizo* Alexander McGillivray and the important part he played in keeping the Indians in check and combatting the influence of the United States, etc., etc. She found much on "revolutions in East Florida", the intrigues of Napoleon in Spanish America, and "quite a complete story" of the fugitive slave question.

When the office of surveyor general of Florida was discontinued in 1908, what there was of the Spanish archives there was transferred to the custody of the State commissioner of agriculture, and they are now in that office.

Until recently this mass of documents, which contain more or less historical material along with the land and title records, have remained virtually unavailable for research. But the most important have now been abstracted, translated, and published in five volumes by the Florida Historical Records Survey. This series is described comprehensively in this *Quarterly* (XXI, July and October, 1941, pp. 77-81, 215).

In conclusion, Miss Wright says: "From the foregoing facts as here recited it would appear that 'the Spanish archives of East Florida' are in the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress, their original quantity little diminished by what might well be called attrition.

"At the time of their delivery to the American government 'the Spanish archives of West Florida' were neither as bulky nor as valuable as those of East Florida. Nevertheless they were not inconsiderable. . . . Neglect and fire would seem almost



entirely to have destroyed that portion . . . possessing historical interest only. . . . What may have outlasted the vicissitudes which befell them may now be found possibly-part of a mere handful-in a miscellaneous residue of documents filed in the General Land office. . . . Or they are to be found in the office of the commissioner of agriculture at Tallahassee."

## NOTES AND COMMENT

### ***Tequesta, the Journal of the Historical Association of Southern Florida***

The second issue of ***Tequesta***, dated August 1942, has appeared. The editor of this number is Dr. Robert E. McNicoll, professor of Latin-American history in the University of Miami and director of its Hispanic-American Institute. It is a well-edited and well-printed book of eighty pages, and is published as a bulletin of the University of Miami. There are six papers, as well as other features.

The leading article is a brief biography of George E. Merrick, founder and builder of Coral Gables, and one of the founders and first president of the Historical Association of Southern Florida. This is a condensed story of his whole life written by one who was his friend during the greater part of it, Mrs. Helen C. Freeland. As Mr. Merrick was one of the noteworthy figures of South Florida, this is a worthwhile contribution to the writing of the State's history.

***Ceremonial Practices of the Modern Seminoles***, by Robert F. Greenlee, was read at the annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society in Miami, March 27, 1941. Mr. Greenlee has lived among these Indians and here records much of what he has been told by them, especially by a medicine man of the Big Cypress settlements. In comparing the present-day Indians with their ancestors of the period of the Seminole wars he says : ". . . we find a people radically transformed both in material aspects of life and in their ideas and religious customs . . . [with] vestiges of a much richer life which has vanished, due to the coming of white people in ever-increasing numbers."

In ***Food Plants of the De Soto Expedition 1539-1543***, Adin Baber endeavors to determine what the

Spaniards lived on for more than three years after their original stores were exhausted. Much of their food is mentioned in the several journals and narratives of the expedition, and the author tries to identify these plants by localities and present habitat and by their more recent use as food.

**Henry Perrine, Pioneer Horticulturist of Florida**, by T. Ralph Robinson, is reprinted from **Proceedings of the Florida State Horticultural Society** 1937.

. . . **Some Plant Reminiscences of Southern Florida** is a paper read by David Fairchild under the title **Plant Introductions in Southern Florida**, at the annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society in March 1941 in Miami, at a session held at Fairchild Tropical Garden ; but, in the main, it is on neither subject, as Dr. Fairchild himself implies. Rather it is a plan - a plea

. . . that the history of horticulture in Florida be something more than . . . a book to please . . . something that will keep on display actual objects, or the best possible photographs, or life-size models . . . of new things . . . something besides those futile word-descriptions which so often merely confuse the mind. That it be an institution of education where thousands of children will come and see for themselves . . . the living *elements*, other than man-fashioned, which make the world of actualities. . . .

"In my imagination I picture a historical scene in which the origin of the citrus groves of Florida would be shown; the kinds of citrus fruits from which the orange arose in China; the palm groves of the tropics, the industries which have been built around the various species; the nut trees, the spice trees, the poison trees; the hundreds of kinds of fruit species,

with opportunities for tasting the fruits; the gorgeous vines from all over the tropics; the fiber plants; and the host of flowering trees and shrubs the use of which about our homes will transform them into abodes of beauty such as the world has never yet seen."

Shall we not all say *amen*.

The longest article is ***The Administrative System in the Floridas, 1781-1821*** by D. C. Corbitt. Professor Corbitt teaches history in Candler College, Havana, Cuba, and has carried on extensive research in the colonial archives there, some of the results of which have appeared in this *Quarterly*. The present paper is in three parts—"the Captaincy General of Louisiana and the Floridas", "The Intendancy of Louisiana and West Florida", and "The Government of West Florida, 1779-1821." The intricacies of these administrative systems, as gleaned from the records they left, are treated of in some detail.

There is an appreciative review of Mrs. Carson's ***Fabulous Florida***; and descriptive notes of ***The Mangrove Coast*** by Karl A. Bickel (N. Y. 1942), ***The Commodore's Story*** by Ralph M. Munroe and Vincent Gilpin (N. Y. 1930), ***Pioneer Reminiscences*** by Mrs. Harlan Trapp (p.p. 1940), and the Florida Writers' Project's ***A Guide to Miami and Dade County*** (1941, 250 p.).

Watt Marchman, our librarian, contributes a selected list of publications relating to Florida issued in 1941 including articles in periodicals and fiction with a Florida background.

There is, too, a letter of appreciation and good wishes from Governor Spessard L. Holland, the constitution and by-laws of the Association, and a list of its officers and directors, and its members.

### ***Florida Vital Statistics Records***

Two years ago the Florida Historical Records Survey issued a seventy-page volume ***Guide to Public Vital Statistics Records in Florida***. This is an inventory of existing records of births, deaths, marriages, and divorces in the keeping of governmental agencies.

Now the Survey has issued: ***Guide to Supplementary Vital Statistics from Church Records in Florida*** (Preliminary).

Beginning in 1936 the Survey has endeavored to list all churches in Florida and to locate the records of each. This work is 75 per cent. completed ; and includes all denominations, white and black, and both active and defunct churches, to the number of many thousands. For example, one hundred seventy-nine churches are listed in the first county (Alachua) and the records of only twenty-four of these are not located.

Due to the present urgent need for vital statistics, this incomplete inventory is now issued in three continuous volumes which total 981 pages. It has been distributed to county judges, public libraries, and other depositories accessible to the public.

It is estimated that sixty million persons in the United States cannot produce satisfactory proofs of facts of birth. These volumes will be of material assistance to many in Florida who need such proof. The publication has been carried out under the direction of Louise B. Hill, supervisor, Florida Historical Records Survey.

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#### **CASTILLO DE SAN MARCOS NATIONAL MONUMENT**

Congressional action restored the Spanish name of Castillo de San Marcos to Fort Marion Na-

tional Monument at St. Augustine when President Roosevelt signed House Bill 3937 on June 5, 1942.

Floridians interested in preserving the picturesque Spanish Florida place-names have long advocated the change, as has this *Quarterly*. For a century and a half, under both Spanish and British regimes, the old castle bore its name of St. Mark. And for one hundred years before that, St. Mark had likewise been the patron for the wooden predecessors of this formidable stone fortification.

Not until January 7, 1825, was the castle renamed Fort Marion by the War Department. The name honored General Francis Marion, the "Swamp Fox" of the Revolution, though General Marion had had no connection with the history of the fort.

The historic landmark was proclaimed a national monument by President Coolidge in 1924, and is administered by the National Park Service of the United States Department of the Interior. Proper pronunciation of the Spanish name of the fort is kah-STEEL-yoh day sahn MAHR-kohs.

A. M.

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#### THE ALABAMA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

A double number of the *Alabama Historical Quarterly* (vol. III, nos. 3 & 4) is given over to the Alabama secession convention (January 7-29, March 4-21, 1861). The full story of the convention is told by David L. Darden of the staff of the Alabama Department of Archives and History. There is also a "History of the Document", an account of the Alabama secession flag which is illustrated in color on the front cover, biographical sketches of the delegates to the convention, and the speeches of the Alabama delegation upon their withdrawal from the Congress of the United States.

**HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHERN FLORIDA**

This Association held its second annual meeting on July 21 at the University of Miami. New by-laws were adopted, and the treasurer reported a membership of 349.

Officers and directors were elected who will serve for the ensuing year. They are:

President, Dr. John C. Gifford; first vice-president, Mrs. Henry J. Egger ; second vice-president, George C. Estill; recording secretary, Justin P. Havee ; corresponding secretary, Gaines R. Wilson ; treasurer, Thomas P. Caldwell; editor of journal, Dr. Charlton W. Tebeau; librarian, George W. Rosner.

*Directors* : A. H. Andrews (Estero), Dr. Bowman F. Ashe, William Mark Brown, Mrs. James M. Carson, Mrs. Marjory Stoneman Douglas, Dr. Edmund LeRoy Dow, Mrs. Mabel B. Francis, Mrs. William L. Freeland, Mrs. Florence P. Haden, Frederick M. Hudson, Miss Cornelia Leffler, Dr. Robert E. McNicoll, Claude C. Matlack, Mrs. George E. Merrick, Leonard R. Muller, Wirth M. Munroe, J. Arthur Pancoast, William R. Porter (Key West), Edward C. Romfh, Mrs. Robert Morris Seymour, Mrs. Frank Stranahan (Ft. Lauderdale).

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In recognition of the high standing of the history department of John B. Stetson University, a chapter of Phi Alpha Theta, national honor fraternity, was installed there on May 30 by Dr. Venila Lovina Shores, official representative, who brought greetings from the National Council. Dr. Kathryn Abbey Hanna made the principal address on "What history can do."

**OLD FORT JEFFERSON**

In the *Saturday Evening Post* of April 18 last was an account of Fort Jefferson on Dry Tortugas by

our secretary, Albert Manucy. The article was featured and illustrated in color.

Secretary Manucy is writing a more scholarly article on the abandoned mighty fortress for the *Quarterly*, which will appear in an early issue.

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"We Live with the Seminoles" is a ten-page illustrated article in the April number of *Natural History* magazine, written by one of our New Jersey members, Mrs. Ethel Cutler Freeman, of the American Museum of Natural History, New York.



## THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

### THE LIBRARY

Members of the Society and other friends have been generous to the library during the past quarter, and our librarian, as usual, has been adding to our shelves everything of Florida interest he could lay his hands on. The most noteworthy accessions are :

The library of John B. Stetson University, Miss Charlotte Smith, librarian, has donated a file of the *National Geographic Magazine*, almost complete from volume 27, 1915 to and including volume 76, 1939.

Mrs. Fannie L. Gilkes of Ridgefield, Connecticut, has added to her previous benefactions two very old pictures in oval frames of the Confederate heroes, Generals Lee and Jackson.

Mrs. Verle A. Pope of St. Augustine, has placed in the library a large collection of miscellaneous Florida materials of her father, the late Senator A. M. Taylor, once a director of the Society. Included among the several hundred items is much pertaining to state and local politics; files of miscellaneous Florida newspapers ; some Flagler memorial newspapers, 1913 ; a number of Florida books including law books; the early record books of the St. Augustine Yacht Club; and much material on the Inland Waterway canal.

The Florida State Department of Agriculture, Nathan Mayo, commissioner, has donated more than 125 pamphlets and booklets and reports pertaining to agriculture of Florida published by the Department.

The Florida State Horticultural Society has presented the following issues of their *Proceedings*, which make the Society's reference file almost complete: 1905, 1906, 1907, 1908, 1909, 1910, 1911, 1914, 1915, 1917, 1918, 1920, 1921, 1922, 1923, 1925, 1926, 1930, 1931, 1932, 1933, 1939, 1940, 1941.

We are indebted to the Jacksonville Public Library for the following :

*The Encyclopedia Americana*. (30 vols. 1936)

*Summary Report of Survey of Florida Drainage Districts . . .*  
(Florida Emergency Relief Administration, 1935).

*Bibliography of Transient and Homeless*, by Lucy A. Bassett  
(Florida Emergency Relief Administration, 1934).

*Unemployment Relief in Florida, July 1832-March 1934* (Florida Emergency Relief Administration, 1935).

*Florida Transient Review*, vol. I, no. 4, April 1935.

*Industrial Directory of Florida* (St. Augustine 1935).

Thirty post cards of Florida cities of the early 1900's.

Frederick Van Roy, of Crystal River, has presented: "The Life Story of U. S. Senator David Levy Yulee", by Sara E. Sweat (MS, 7 p.) ; and "Tiger Tail", by Mildred Camery, from **Realty News**, March 12, 1926.

Paul A. Hardaway of Pawtucket, Rhode Island, has again contributed to the library, and a special alcove has been set aside for his collection. The recent additions are:

Sidney Lanier, *Florida, its scenery, climate and history* (Philadelphia, 1875).

Charles Joseph Latrobe, **Rambler's Guide to Florida** (N. Y. 1873).

B. W. Wrenn, *Scenes in Florida* (Savannah, Ga., 1898).

Sixty-six pages from the **Scientific American**, 1870-1897, containing articles on Florida subjects.

**Poor's Manual of Railroads of the United States**, 45 vols. 1877-1933.

Harrison M. Reed of South Jacksonville, son of former governor Harrison Reed, has presented the following:

*Semi-Tropical Magazine* (edited by Harrison Reed), vols. I and II (bound).

Autobiographical note in Harrison Reed's handwriting, 7p.

"Jacksonville's Opportunity", a MS. in Governor Reed's handwriting, 5 p.

Several newspaper clippings pertaining to Governor Reed and to Florida subjects.

Four years ago, Mr. Reed presented an enlarged, framed, portrait of his father.

Miss Mattie A. Burtchaell of Norcross, Ga., granddaughter of John Lee Williams, has presented a copy of her grandfather's commission as one of the commissioners appointed by Governor DuVal to locate the state capital. She has sent us also a portrait of her grandfather.

Prof. A. J. Hanna of Rollins College has presented photostat copies of seven letters and documents written by Frederick George Mulcaster, a surveyor general of East Florida and a member of the council during the English occupation, from the William L. Clements Library. These include letters from Mulcaster to General Gage and Gen. Clinton, a short description of a part of East Florida, and a memorandum of a plan concerning a secret expedition 1776.

Albert C. Manucy our Secretary, has presented "The History of Fort Jefferson, 1846-1860," by Albert C. Manucy. (Key West, June 1936), 67 p. Typewritten MS.

F. M. Traynor, Tampa, has given us a copy of Herbert E. Bolton, **The Spanish Borderlands** (New Haven, Conn., 1921).

William R. Van Fleet of Auburndale has given the library a copy of **History of Polk County, Florida**, by M. F. Hetherington. St. Augustine, 1928).

**Forty-fifth Annual Report of the Railroad Commission of the State of Florida**, for the year 1941. Gift of the commission. "The Tern Colonies of Dry Tortugas," by James O. Stevenson. *Bird-lore*, Sept. Oct., 1938, 938, pp. 304-309. Illustrated. Gift of the author.

**Ponce de Leon Land**: St. Augustine, Florida, by George M. Brown. (Jacksonville, Fla., 1892).

**Catalogue of the Wymberley Jones De Renne Georgia Library** (Wormsloe, Ga., Privately printed, 1931). 3 vols.

Colton's **Map of Florida**, 1853. In color. Gift of John Hobart Cross. Pensacola.

**The Maid, The Man and The Mystic**, by M. L. Verdiver (Chicago, 1913). Gift of the Florida State College for Women Library.

**Guide to supplementary vital statistics from church records in Florida (preliminary)**. In three volumes. (Jacksonville, 1942). Presented by the Historical Records Survey.

Jeannette Thurber Connor, ed., **Jean Ribaut, The Whole & True Discoverye of Terra Florida** (Florida State Historical Society, DeLand, 1927).

H. S. Tanner, **The American Traveller . . .** with maps, (1839).

Campbell, Richard L. **Historical Sketches of Colonial Florida** (Cleveland, O., 1892).

Fagin, N. Bryllion, **William Bartram, Interpreter of the American Landscape** (Baltimore, 1933).

Rawlings, Marjorie Kinnan, **When the Whippoorwill** (New York, 1940).

Rowland, Mrs. Dunbar, **Andrew Jackson's campaign against the British, or the Mississippi Territory in the war of 1812**. (New York, 1926).

Mr. T. Frederick Davis has added to the collection he gave us recently a bound volume (175 p.) "Florida Events of History" in manuscript, which he published in the Jacksonville *Times-Union* as "Short Talks."

A memorial collection has been begun in the library to the memory of Henry Holland Buckman (1858-1914) who will always be remembered for his part in the establishment of our state institutions of higher learning. As a beginning, Mrs. Buckman, who, the members will recall, catalogued our library some years ago, has donated several Florida histories, articles from periodicals relating to Florida, newspaper clippings of Florida interest, photographs of Florida historic sites, and reports of early Jacksonville civic organizations.

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**The State and Local History News**, the periodical of the American Association for State and Local History, comments :

"**The Florida Historical Quarterly** has published a list of Research Projects on Florida Subjects' compiled by Watt Marchman, librarian of the So-

ciety, consisting of projects now in progress or recently completed and unpublished. Two hundred seventy-eight projects were uncovered. It is an interesting list, a compilation such as other state societies might wish to make.”

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#### **THE CESSION OF EAST FLORIDA TO THE UNITED STATES**

On July 10, 1821, in St. Augustine, Colonel Robert Butler, as commissioner of the United States, took over the sovereignty of East Florida from the Spanish governor, Jose Coppinger. So on that anniversary our librarian, Mr. Watt Marchman, arranged an exhibit in the Society's library especially suited to the occasion. The center of interest was the only known copy of Governor Coppinger's printed proclamation telling the inhabitants of the coming transfer of sovereignty with directions for their guidance, and, in effect, it was his farewell to them as their governor. This broadside is one of the chief treasures of our library. It was given to us many years ago by one of our members, Mrs. Annie Averette, of St. Augustine. It was printed both in facsimile and in translation in the *Quarterly* (July 1927. vol. VI, pp. 40, 41).

Also on exhibit was Colonel Butler's sword recently presented to the Society by his grandchildren. Mrs. Ellen Dorsey and Dr. W. E. Lewis of Tallahassee. And there were numerous other items relating in one way or another to the cession or the period.

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#### **EXCHANGES**

Agricultural History Society, Washington, D. C.  
 American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.  
 American Ass'n for State and Local History, Washington, D. C.  
 American Geographical Society, New York, N. Y.  
 American Historical Review, New York, N. Y.  
 Arkansas Historical Association, Fayetteville, Ark.

Bodleian Library, Oxford, England  
 British Museum, London, England  
 Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, D. C.

The Catholic Historical Review, Washington, D. C.  
 Connecticut State Library, Hartford, Conn.

Duke University Library, Durham, N. C.

East Tennessee Historical Society, Knoxville, Tenn.

Florida State College for Women, Tallahassee

Georgia Historical Quarterly, Athens, Ga.  
 Georgia Historical Society, Savannah, Ga.

Historical Association of Southern Florida, Miami  
 Historical Outlook, Philadelphia, Pa.  
 Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa

Indiana Magazine of History, Bloomington, Ind.  
 Institute Panamericano de geografia e historia, Tacubaya, D. F.,  
 Republica Mexicana  
 Investigaciones historicas, Mexico, D. F., Republica Mexicana

Jacksonville Public Library, Jacksonville  
 Journal of Mississippi History, Jackson, Miss.  
 Journal of Southern History, Baton Rouge, La.



Louisiana Historical Society, New Orleans, La.

Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Md.  
Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Mass.  
Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minn.  
Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, Mo.

National Society of the Sons of the American Revolution,  
Washington, D. C.

New York Historical Society, New York, N. Y.  
New York Public Library, New York, N. Y.  
New York State University, Albany, N. Y.  
North Carolina Historical Review, Raleigh, N. C.

Office of Indian Affairs, Washington, D. C.  
Ohio State Historical Society, Columbus, Ohio  
Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma, Okla.

Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography; Philadelphia,  
Pa.

Recruiting News, Governors Island, N. Y.  
Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society, Frankfort, Ky.  
Revista Brasileira de geografia, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

South Carolina Historical Society Magazine, Charleston, S. C.  
Southwestern Historical Quarterly, Texas State Historical As-  
sociation, Austin, Texas  
State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.  
State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.

Texas Technological College, Lubbock, Texas

U. S. Veterans' Administration Facility Home Library, Bay  
Pines, Fla.

U. S. Veterans' Administration Facility Library, Lake City, Fla.  
University of California Library, Berkeley, Calif.  
University of London, Institute of Historical Research, London  
England

University of New Mexico Library, Albuquerque, N. M.  
University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill, N. C.

Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, Va.

William and Mary College, Williamsburg, Va.

Wyoming Historical Society, Laramie, Wyo.

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