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GEORGE J. F. CLARKE, 1774-1836

by LOUISE BILES HILL

Here is a man who was an English colonial by birth, a Spanish citizen by naturalization, and died an American citizen by virtue of the treaty through which the United States acquired the Floridas. All occurred in St. Augustine!-though some of his mature years were spent in Fernandina and in St. Marys, Georgia.

George J. F. Clarke was one of the leading men of East Florida in the second Spanish regime, an intimate friend and trusted adviser of the Spanish governors from at least 1811 to 1821, and during this period held several important offices. He served in the militia from 1800 to 1821 and valiantly defended his adopted country in the "Patriot War" of 1812 and the MacGregor and Aury episodes of 1817. By order of the governor he rezoned Fernandina and supervised the buildings subsequently erected there. He was the moving spirit in organizing the local government between the St. Marys and St. Johns rivers which gave comparative peace to that turbulent section during the last five years of Spanish rule.

He was interested in experimental agriculture, fruit growing, diet and health, archeology, and the treatment of the Indians, on all of which he published his views. Furthermore he was one of the largest landowners in Florida and in his will disposed of more than 33,000 acres in addition to several houses and lots.

In his youth he had a business training perhaps superior to that of any other boy in Spanish Florida, inasmuch as it was in the firm of Pantón, Leslie & Company. In his later life he was sufficiently ingenious to invent a sawmill "propelled by animals" on the strength of which Governor Coppinger

gave him a royal title to 16,000 acres of timbered land which the United States Supreme Court later confirmed.

His family was of such importance as to warrant the courtesy titles. of Don and Dona, and his brother in the Spanish army in Spain became Don James Clarke y Cummings. His sisters married professional men, one of whom as adjutant mayor in St. Augustine was next to the governor of the province in official standing. He knew East Florida better than any other man of his time, for every survey of land between 1811 and 1821 was made under his supervision. Presumably he spoke Spanish fluently and he wrote it understandingly if not gramatically.

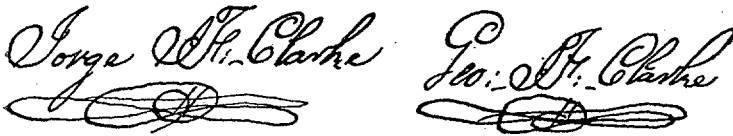
And yet, with a few notable exceptions, the only fact recorded in Florida history regarding George J. F. Clarke is that he was surveyor general during the later years of the Spanish regime. Even his initials are incorrectly given by the majority of those who have written of Florida's history, and one writer was under the impression that Clarke was an engineer for the British government when he could not have been more than nine years of age at the end of that regime.

When in 1821 the United States took over the Floridas and must in the nature of things have had need of men of Clarke's training, experience, and identification with the Spanish population, his services were not utilized other than to require him to appear as a witness before the board of commissioners who examined and passed upon land claims of former Spanish subjects. Even his death was not mentioned in the St. Augustine newspaper insofar as the writer has been able to determine.

Some of the obscurity which hangs about Clarke is without doubt due to the fact that few Spanish records of the period of his importance are readily

accessible and translated. A contributing factor was perhaps the fact of his irregularly established family which he never sought to conceal, giving to his children the given names of his father and brothers and his own surname, and openly acknowledging his paternity.

The mistake with regard to his initials is due to his writing. In his flourishing signature, beneath which he always made his rubric, he invariably made his I's and J's alike. "Jorge J. F. Clarke" was usually mistaken for "Jorge I. F. Clarke", and



particularly so after he dropped the Spanish form of his name and wrote it "Geo: J. F. Clarke." His will shows his name to have been George John Fred-eric Clarke.

There remain among other things about Clarke for the future historian to determine the questions of why the United States government refused to appoint him to office, despite his efforts in that direction, and why he was virtually ignored by the St. Augustine city government.

HIS INFORMING WILL

Because of the light Clarke's will ¹ throws on his life its provisions are noted now. A manuscript copy covers fifteen legal-size pages, several of which are devoted to a schedule of the lands and town lots he owned with their location described in thirty-one items. It is dated at St. Augustine, August 28, 1834, two years before his death, and is witnessed by

1. No. 13 of bibliography.

Aug(ustus) Poujaud, ² J. Gray, Jr., ³ and Venancio Sanchez. ⁴ In the beginning Clarke says:

I never have been married, ⁵ but I have eight natural children by a free black woman named Flora, now dead. These children, all of adult age, are, Felicia M. F. Garvin, widow of William Garvin ; James F. Clarke ; Thomas L. Clarke ; Daniel L. A. Clarke ; Joseph L. Clarke ; George P. Clarke; John D. Clarke; and William R. Clarke, all of whom I always acknowledged, freed, raised and educated as my children; and bestowed on them my surname [*sic*], Clarke. The four children by a black woman named Hannah or Anna, belonging to Mrs. Catalina Benet, being minors, and not free, I will provide for them and their mother by legacy apart. The eight others, above named, I declare to be equal, full, absolute and general heirs. And as such, and after my just debts, and the two following legacies are provided for, I bequeath, grant and transfer, to them my said eight children by Flora all my property of every description and denomination each to have one-eighth part, or equal share thereof, to their good and in their own right, forever.

Then follows a legacy of one-half of a 3000-acre tract of land to his brother James. The remaining 1500 acres of this tract he bequeaths to Hannah/Anna and her four children.

-
2. Landowner on St. Johns river in 1821.-No. 58, SLG, I, 110, see bibliography.
 3. Land office clerk in 1829. - *Ibid.*, III, 99.
 4. Son of Jose Sanchez and agent for C. M. Furman who held the Jesse Fish lands until his death in 1872. - *Ibid.*, I, 127.
 5. A report which the writer heard in St. Augustine that Clarke was married a short time before his death seems to have no foundation in fact.

Clarke instructed his executors to dispose of a part of this legacy "as early as possible, or the whole of it should it be necessary, to free the said Hannah, or Anna, and her four children (their owners, Mrs. Catalina Benet, and her son Peter Benet having promised me that they should be emancipated as soon as a reasonable price be tendered for them)." He names the children and gives their ages : Thomas Hilario, under eight years; Philip Demetrius, above five ; Eligio, about three; and the fourth not then born.

He states that this tract of land is among the most valuable in the province and adds, "Unfortunate indeed, must be the fate of the Florida lands if this tract does not free this family, give them a home in a small snug house and lot, and leave the mother in hand (who is very industrious and saving) the beginning of a moderate independency toward raising and educating these children." Anything remaining of the bequest after these conditions were fulfilled was to be invested in the purchase of "well grown and well disposed slaves," the slaves and the house and lot to be conveyed by deed to Hannah/Anna "as the joint equal, and perpetual property of herself and her said children, . . . and that her brother, Antonio, be among the first slaves purchased for them." Toward the end of the will Clarke again reverts to this family:

It being now known that the United States government will pay, and that shortly, the losses of property sustained by the old inhabitants of East Florida occasioned [sic] by the invasion of this province by their army in the years 1812 and 13; I add a further legacy of two thousand dollars to the said Hannah or Anna and her children, from the payment of any claims on said losses. And I request that

my said executors will invest the same, and as early as possible, in healthy, grown negroes, and convey them to the said Hannah or Anna and her children as aforesaid-I consider the hire of negroes in these southern countries the most lucrative sane and simple investment of property that can be found.

Clarke further recommends, "in the hope of its being more early practicable," that the aforesaid two thousand dollars "would be the first acted on for the freedom and settlement of herself and children, in order not to precipitate the sale of the land for a short time longer."

Regarding the value of the land he has bequeathed to Hannah/Anna and her children and the adjacent tract bequeathed to his brother James, Clarke passes on to his executors, "as a piece of information [they] may not possess," the fact that within the last few years lands along this same range of seaboard have been sold at four, five, six, and eight dollars per acre "though not as good in quality, situation or tropical character."

Clarke seems always to have been land-poor. He states in his will that he has no slaves, having on May 1, 1822, conveyed the few he had to his children in payment for borrowed money. He says further that his personal property "of every kind" is mortgaged to Felicia M. F. Garvin. He requests his executors to pay at reasonable valuation from his personal property, "as far as it will go," any debts that he owes to his children. His landed property he considers more than adequate to pay his debts.

There were no further bequests; and no donation to charity, religious institutions, or education during his lifetime has come to the writer's attention unless such a donation is concealed in item 19 of the schedule of lands which reads:

3500 acres situated on the north side of Dunn's Creek which communicates Dunn's Lake ⁶ with St. Johns River; and which with 500 acres I have disposed of in favor of the Episcopalian Church of this city, forms another part of the grant made to George Atkinson mentioned above.

The deed to this transaction, dated July 18, 1831, shows that Clarke transferred to the church wardens and vestrymen of Trinity Episcopal Church in St. Augustine and their successors in office a tract of 500 acres "for divers good considerations." The deed is witnessed by K. B. Gibbs and B. A. Putnam. ⁷

The executors named in Clarke's will are John M. Fontane of St. Augustine, Dr. W. H. Simmons, also of St. Augustine, and Col. James Dell, "at present of St. Johns River, Collector there of the Customs for the United States Government."

With reference to Clarke's domestic establishment it may be said that an examination of St. Johns county archives discloses the fact that a number of prominent men of the second Spanish regime, in addition to George J. F. Clarke and his brother Charles W., recognized their illegitimate mulatto offspring and provided for them in their wills. The outstanding advocate of miscegenation was Zephaniah Kingsley, who believed that because of the mixture of races in Brazil and Haiti those countries would outstrip the United States in importance. ⁸

Unlike Kingsley, who had "several lesser wives" other than Anna Madegigine Jai, Clarke seems to have been faithful to Flora during her lifetime. We do not know the date of her death, but the ages of

6. Today known as Crescent lake.

7. No. 27, Deed Book, I-J, pp. 125-6.

8. No. 24, Corse, quoting from Kingsley's *Treatise on the Patriarchal System of Society as it Exists . . . under the Name of Slavery* (1829).

the children of Hannah/Anna as disclosed in his will would indicate that his relations with the latter began not many years before his death, and, presumably, after Flora's death.

THE CLARKE FAMILY

Thomas Clarke, Sr., of Worcester, England,⁹ and Honoria Cummings of Ireland, born in 1746, the daughter of Don Montague Cummins/Cummings and his wife, Dona Margarita Maden,¹⁰ evidently came to Florida with the earliest English settlers—since James, their third child, was born in 1766 in St. Augustine.

Lands in British Florida were offered free to settlers under the so-called “family right” by which the head of a family could obtain 100 acres, and 50 acres for each member of his or her family, whether white or black. If a family could cultivate more, and if conditions imposed by the government were fulfilled, additional grants could be obtained.¹¹

Thomas Clarke seems to have become the owner by grant and purchase of four tracts of land and three houses and lots in St. Augustine. In 1770 he received from Governor James Grant 300 acres situated five miles north or northwest of Matanzas fort, on the west side of Matanzas river, about ten miles from St. Augustine.¹² In honor of his native city he named it Worcester.¹³ In 1784 it had “a good house and all corresponding workshops.”¹⁴

In 1771 he purchased for eleven pounds and eighteen shillings 500 acres in Twelve Mile swamp, seven miles northeast of St. Augustine, “situated

⁹ See baptismal record of children, f.n. 22.

10. *Ibid.*; Census of 1786; No. 19.

11. No. 2, G&S: V, 757.

12. No. 58, SLG, II, 312. The tract was confirmed to the heirs and when surveyed by the U. S. government was designated as Sec. 37, T. 9, R. 30, S&E. -*Ibid.*

13. Nearby was a fort by the same name.

14. No. 14, p. 166. 15. *Ibid.*...

on a marsh called the Marsh-of-the-Two-Crops.”¹⁵ This land was sold by George J. F. and Charles W. Clarke in 1819 to Col. Duncan L. Clinch for \$200.¹⁶ In 1775 Thomas Clarke received by grant 300 acres near Pablo creek, and by grant or purchase 700 acres on Nassau river.¹⁷

Whether or not the Clarke family lived in St. Augustine in the earlier years after coming to Florida, in 1773 Thomas Clarke purchased from Don Juan Johnson a house and lot near the barracks of that city at No. 3 Society square, “containing 2/10 parts and 1900 links of an acre,” as described by a Spanish official. He later purchased from the same person an adjacent lot with its buildings. In 1779 he acquired either by purchase or grant what was afterwards his residence, located at No. 2 Albemarle square.¹⁸

Thomas and Honoria had six children: Isabel, Thomas, James, Margarita, Charles W., and George J. F.¹⁹ Both Isabel/Ysabel and Thomas left East Florida before its retrocession to Spain in 1783.²⁰ In 1802 Isabel was living in England with her husband, “Don West Hill, professor of medicine and inspector of three hospitals,” and Thomas was “captain in the troops of the King of England.” They had received their inheritance “in much larger portion than could have been theirs” at the time their mother made her will in 1802.²¹

In the baptismal records of St. Augustine parish of the Roman Catholic Church, are those of the four youngest Clarke children with the dates of their births.²² The entries show they were previously baptized “at home by Johannes Forbes, an ecclesiastic and the then minister of the English Church”

16. No. 58, SLG, II, 331. 17. No. 14, p. 166; No. 2, G&S, VI. 115.

18. No. 14, p. 166. 19. No. 19.

20. No. 5, Census of 1787, Entry 28, p. 4. 21. No. 19.

22. No. 49, Entries 66, 40, 41, 42. 23. No. 19.

in St. Augustine. Thomas Clarke, Sr., died in 1780²³ and the widow, who was a Roman Catholic, took her children into that church after she elected to remain in Florida and become a Spanish subject following the retrocession of the province to Spain. George J. F. received his second baptism on November 5, 1785.

James/Jacobus/Jayme/Diego²⁴ was born January 13, 1766. In 1790 he petitioned for a grant of 300 acres of land at the head of Matanzas river on which he had been permitted to settle in 1788, which would seem to indicate that he was married. He probably left the province between 1790 and 1792. In 1802 he was captain in an Irish regiment in the service of the King of Spain.²⁵

Margarita Clarke was born February 26, 1771.²⁶ In 1797, Honoria Clarke in a legal document asked permission of the King for the marriage of her daughter to Don Antonio Matanza, Captain of Infantry and Senior Adjutant of the Fort.²⁷ This action was followed three weeks later by another, known as insurance of dowry, in which Honoria Clarke, in a long document insures to her daughter a dowry: "Seeing that it has been ordered that wives of officers must have a dowry sufficient to meet the expenses of Matrimony, there must be set aside Sixty thousand reales sterling to the satisfaction of the Governors of the Military Loan Office, with the condition of holding them at their services so that they may employ and assign them in favor

24. Not to be confused with Jacobus/Santiago Clarke, an innkeeper in St. Augustine, nor with Diego Clarke, who was "an old inhabitant and honorable resident" of St. Augustine in 1790. — Nos. 3, 5, 31, *Escrituras 1799-1800*, p. 79v; No. 42, Petition of Leonard Marbury.

25. No. 19; No. 2. G&S, IV, 733-4.

26. The full Spanish entry of her baptism with Eng. trans. is in No. 49, pp.135-6.

27. No. 17. 28. No. 18.

of the interested parties as shall seem proper." ²⁸

About a year later, Margarita and Matanza were married, and one of the official witnesses was "Senor Don Enrique White, Colonel of the Royal Army and Governor of the City and Province." ²⁹

AS "adjutant mayor," or "senior adjutant," Antonio Matanza was second only to the governor in power and prestige, being what would today be called lieutenant governor. He purchased a coquina house at No. 174, Block 30, Marine street, which was sufficiently elegant for his position and that of his bride. ³⁰ Later it came into the possession of Gen. William Jenkins Worth, who commanded the United States troops in the second Seminole war. Remodeled, it stands today on the corner of Marine street and Bay avenue. ³¹

The name of the third son of Thomas and Honoria Clarke went through quite an evolution before it emerged as Charles W. In 1785 he was baptized as Vitor Clarke, born December 10, 1773. ³² He is Don Carlos Gualtero, 20 years of age, single, and a member of Honoria Clarke's family in the census of 1793. ³³ In her will in 1802 he is Don Carlos, a resident of St. Augustine and lieutenant in the Urban Militia. In George J. F. Clarke's letter of March 19, 1812, to "Dear O'Reilly," ³⁴ describing the surrender of Amelia Island, he refers to his

29. Marriages in St. Augustine were performed at this time strictly in accordance with the prescription of the Council of Trent : marriage by the parish priest or his assistant, in the presence of two witnesses at Mass during which the contracting parties received the nuptial blessing and holy communion.-No. 22.

30. No. 31, pp. 153v-156. Matanza seems to have died prior to 1807, since in that year Margarita Clarke Matanza, widow, residing in Trinidad, Cuba, gave power of attorney in a business transaction.-No. 34, p. 133.

31. Information given by Miss Emily L. Wilson.

32. No. 49, Entry 41. 33. Family No. 71.

34. Dan Juan O'Reilly, nephew of Father Miguel O'Reilly.-No. 32, pp. 43v-48; No. 36, p. 95.

brother as Witter.³⁵ Charles W. Clarke was the name he used as a citizen of the United States. In the Fernandina census of 1814 he appears twice. Under "*Pardos y Morenos Libres*"³⁶ he is shown as Don Carlos Clarke, 40 years of age, with an *agregado*,³⁷ Patty Wiggins, whose age is given as 32, and four sons, 7 to 15. In a second list, in which *pardos y morenos libres* are not put into a separate category, Don Carlos Clarke appears as 32 years of age, Patty Wiggins as 32, and three boys 7 to 14.

In 1818 he testified that he was 44 years of age and unmarried.³⁸ In 1820 he sold a tract of land to Eliza (Patty) Wiggins,³⁹ and in 1836 he deeded to Thomas Clarke 250 acres of land on Indian river "in consideration of the natural love and affection I bear my son."⁴⁰

Not only were the Clarke brothers alike in their domestic establishments. They were frequently under the necessity of borrowing money, and both were on intimate terms with the Spanish governors.⁴¹ Charles W. Clarke's death occurred before April 29, 1842, when letters of administration for his estate were granted.⁴²

35. No. 12. A Jacob Witter, who may or may not have been a refugee from the American Revolution, signed with his mark the memorial of loyalty to the King which Gov. Tonyn prepared in 1777. A Witter Cummings, possibly a brother of Honoria Clarke, was provision contractor for His Majesty's troops and in 1771 became a member of the Council of East Florida. He was also owner of several houses and lots in St. Augustine.-P.R.O., Colonial Office, Vol. 545, p. 210, D 37, photostat in L.C.; No. 39, entries 35, 68, 80, 89, 90; No. 28, p. 268v.

36. Half-breeds and free blacks.

37. *Agregado* may mean a lodger, a domestic, an employe or associate in business, an orphan, or a virtual member of a family. FHQ, XVIII, p. 19.

38. No. 58, SLG, II, 329.

39. No. 27, Deed Book I-J, p. 11. 40. *Ibid.*, p. 305.

41. Charles W. Clarke testified before the U. S. commissioners that he frequently dined with the governor.-No. 58. SLG, I, 69.

42. No. 64, Vol. 1, p. 75.

A YOUTHFUL APPRENTICE

George J. F. Clarke's name varies less in the records than his brother's but his age does more widely. He was baptized in 1785 with the Latin form of his name, Georgius.⁴³ Although the Spanish form, Jorge, was often used, Clarke's signature, even before the change of flags, shifted from "Jorge J. F. Clarke" to "Geo: J. F. Clarke" or "George J. F. Clarke."

His baptismal record gives the date of his birth as October 12, 1774. On March 4, 1786, Honoria Clarke states in a legal document that he is twelve years of age,⁴⁴ the census of 1786 shows him as thirteen, that of 1793 as eighteen, and in the census of 1814 he is forty-one. Testifying sometime between 1834 and 1836, Clarke stated that he was "nearly sixty years of age."⁴⁵ In his will he says that he was born on October 25, 1776, and is in his fifty-eighth year. Since his mother must have supplied the date for his baptismal record it seems reasonable to accept it as correct.

On March 6, 1786, Honoria Clarke apprenticed her son Jorge, twelve years of age,⁴⁶ to Don Juan Leslie, Don Guillermo Pantón, and Don Tomas Forbes, "partners under the firm name of Pantón, Leslie & Company," for a term of seven years, which was "to begin to run immediately." They were to give him food, drink, and clothing, a house, bed, and clean clothes, and were to treat him well and teach him "all the rules of commerce, hiding nothing from him and making him use it with his hands." He was to be permitted the "free exercise of the Apostolic Roman Catholic religion." The mother binds herself to see "that he will keep inviolate the secrets of Pantón, Leslie & Company,

43. No. 49, entry 42. 44. No. 16. 45. No. 37, p. 10.

46. He was 11 years, 4 months, and 24 days. 47. No. 16.

work for their interests, and obey their legitimate precepts." The members of the company on their part agree to fulfill the conditions and pledge their goods and income to the government for their observance.

Witnesses were Capt. Don Carlos Howard, Secretary to the Government, Don Guillermo McJordan (?), and Miguel Bussan. The document is signed by Panton, Leslie & Company, Honoria Clarke, Carlos Howard, and William Hernandez (Alexander ?), before Domingo Rodriguez de Leon, Notary for the Government.⁴⁸

In the census of 1786, which was completed on December 19 of that year, the boy is listed as Don Jorge Clark (sic), Apprentice, native of St. Augustine, Catholic, thirteen years of age, and living in the household of Don Juan Leslie.⁴⁸ Leslie is shown as a native of Scotland, Protestant, merchant, unmarried, and thirty-five years of age. Another member of the household is Don Juan Foraster, native of America, Protestant, unmarried, *agregado*. There were also three male slaves and seven female slaves, making a total of thirteen persons in Leslie's family,⁴⁹ not perhaps a wholesome environment for a young boy.

The census of 1793 shows Don Juan Leslie as forty years of age, his wife as twenty-one, and their daughter as eight months. Don Jorge Clarke, son of Don Tomas Clarke and Dona Honoria Cummings, is an apprentice, eighteen years of age. Also in the household is Don John Ellerbee, son of Thomas Ellerbee and his wife Sarah Mulcaster, twenty-six

48. On the map of Mariano de la Rocque, 1788, No. 52, Leslie is shown as occupying a house on lot No. 96, block 13, the property of the King. It was built of coquina, and had a flat roof. It was known before it burned in 1914 as the Vedder Building. The lot is now a corner of the Monson lawn.

49. Family No. 5, p. 20.

years of age, Protestant, single. There are fourteen slaves.⁵⁰

Several questions come to mind: Did families of the high social standing of the Clarkes usually apprentice their sons? If so, was it customary for an apprentice to live apart from his family in the same town? Why was George, the youngest, apprenticed rather than Charles? Was George the bright boy of the family who was to be given his chance with the great firm of Panton, Leslie & Company? Or was he, perhaps, incorrigible and a problem to his widowed mother? No answers to these questions are suggested in the records examined.⁵¹

HIS UNUSUAL DOMESTIC LIFE

The first implication of George Clarke's unusual domestic life is in a deed dated May 5, 1794, whereby Don Juan Leslie sold to George Clarke for 60 pesos in cash a mulatto slave named Philis, age 18 months, who was born in Leslie's home of a slave named Flora. The deed is in the usual form for the sale of slaves.⁵² Three years later Leslie sold another slave to Clarke, this time a woman, Flora, twenty-six years of age, who was born in Leslie's home of another slave, and the price Clarke paid was 400 pesos in cash.⁵³

On March 16, 1797, in the usual form for the manumission of slaves, George Clarke states that he

50. Family No. 60. Since George Clarke's apprenticeship legally ended on Mar. 4, 1793, the census was evidently taken early in the year.

51. In correspondence between J. and C. Lowton/Lawton, Charleston, S. C., and Judge James T. O'Neill, Fernandina, in 1836, they discuss the difficulty of placing in business young Southern gentlemen without training, and the advisability of apprenticing them in banking houses, without salary. - No. 43b.

52. No. 29.

53. No. 30, Vol. 371 (Part I), pp. 40-41. 54. *Ibid.*, pp. 44v-46.

purchased the negress Flora from Don Juan Leslie "four years previously," and that the deed was executed on the tenth of the current month and year. He emancipates her because of the fidelity and love with which she had served him, leaving her free that she may "treat, contract, sell, buy, declare writings, testaments, codicils, appear in judgment, and do all the other acts and businesses which persons free can do, using her will."⁵⁴

Recapitulating these events : In 1786, when George was in his twelfth year, he was apprenticed to Panton, Leslie & Company, and went to live in the home of John Leslie of that company. About November 1792, and about one month before George's eighteenth birthday, Philis was born in Leslie's home of a slave named Flora. George's apprenticeship ended presumably on March 4, 1793, when he was eighteen years old. He probably purchased Flora, aged twenty-two immediately afterwards. The deed was not executed at the time, possibly because George was not able to pay the sum required. In 1794 he purchased the eighteen-months-old Philis. In all probability he emancipated her shortly afterwards,⁵⁵ or she may have died. It is more than likely, however, that Philis became the Felicia M. F. Garvin of Clarke's will. When George had accumulated 400 pesos in cash, perhaps the deed to Flora was executed, followed by her manumission six days later.

The records do not disclose where Clarke lived immediately after he left Leslie's home.⁵⁶ In 1802 he was living in St. Augustine and was an ensign

55. In his will Clarke speaks of having freed and educated his children.

56. A Jorge Clarke/Cla/Clac/Clar, who appears often in the records of the time was a native of Minorca.-No. 52, "St. Augustine, 1788," Lot No. 24, Sq. 6; "St. Augustine 1790," Lot No. 139, Sq. 16; No. 32, p. 205. 57. No. 19.

in the Urban Militia.⁵⁷ In that year he purchased from John Houlsendorf a marsh lot in the city, which he described in 1834 as measuring "80 varas"⁵⁸ in front, north and south, beginning at a crop-way [causeway?] going to Dr. Simmons' grove and extending towards the bridge said 80 varas."⁵⁹

In 1804 he purchased from the Royal Charity Society of St. Augustine a town lot and buildings "on the east side of Marine street, leading from the barracks to the Old Powder Magazine at the 'south end of the city and extending from said street to low-water-mark of Matanzas river.'"⁶⁰ Prior to 1802 George helped to manage his mother's property.

Clarke left St. Augustine in 1808⁶¹ and presumably established his home in Fernandina. In the census of that town in 1814 the following entry appears : "Don Jorge Clarke, 41 years ; su esposa, 31 years; four hijos, 7 to 15 years."⁶²

SERVICES TO THE PROVINCE AND VICE VERSA

In the records examined Clarke's first public service, outside the militia, is as acting surveyor general in the absence of Juan Purcell. Doubtless he had previously served as deputy surveyor. Pur-

58. A vara varied considerably in different parts of Spanish possessions, but in E. Fla. it was about 2.78 feet.-Information given by Mr. Frank P. Hamilton, Jacksonville.

59. No. 13, item 22. At the time he purchased the tract it was adjacent to Eusebius Bushnell's tannery which was at the back of the governor's house.-No. 51, "City Lots 1796-1821," No. 53; No. 58, SLG, V, 207. In the latter reference "Lannyard" should read "tanyard."

60. No. 13, item 21; No. 33, p. 85v ; No. 51, "City Lots 1796-1821," No. 12. The location today would be on Matanzas river south of the state arsenal and near Flagler hospital.-Information from Miss Emily L. Wilson.

61. No. 2, G&S, III, 859.

62. On June 2, 1814, Clarke signed the census for "ambas Riveras de San Juan, Cano de San Pablo, ambas Riveras Nassaw, Ysla de Talbot, Rivera de Sta. Maria, Ysla de Tigre, and Ysla de Amelia." The latter was exclusive of Fernandina.

cell's absence was prolonged, and after three years -on May 8, 1811-Acting Governor Estrada ⁶³ appointed Clarke surveyor general. ⁶⁴

Fernandina was at this time a town of mushroom growth, residences of some pretensions and huts having sprung up side by side and faced in all directions, with vegetable gardens and truck patches placed wherever the owners' fancy might dictate. The streets were winding paths. The phenomenal growth of the town and its tremendous business activity were due to conditions in the adjoining United States: the Embargo Act of 1807 and the prohibition in 1808 of the importation of slaves. In the latter year Fernandina became a free port, whereupon the business of smuggling goods and the contraband slave trade rose to unbelievable heights. Squatters erected palm-thatched huts on the King's domain or fastened together rude boards for a temporary shelter while they planned the elegant residences they would build from the enormous profits they were making.

Governor White was distressed with the unsightliness of Fernandina and its unsanitary condition, and on May 10, 1811, two days after Clarke's appointment as surveyor general, he instructed the new officer to make a plan for the town: ⁶⁵

Whereas, for the purpose of regularizing the Town of Fernandina on the Island of Amelia in this Province, which town your governor has observed to grow day by day, and providing it with greater usefulness, comfort, and beauty, I, the Governor, ordered the Surveyor General, George Clarke, to form a plan of the town and the improvements needed, which he did, and after having made some changes in it which he deemed convenient, and conforming to the report of the Chief Engineer, I, the Governor, then named the same surveyor to carry out the plans for the new town, as much to align its streets as to measure its lots according to instructions which I, the Governor, gave him at the outset, on the 10th of May, 1811.

63. Gov. White was ill at the time.-SLG, V, 51.

64. No. 21, *Land Laws*, p. 1003; G&S, III, 639.

65. Acting Governor Estrada seems to have issued White's order.

Also, with the object of encouraging those individuals who had already built houses to change them to conform to the new plan, and to reimburse them to some extent for the expense they must necessarily incur in the change, it was promised them under Article VI of the instructions that, upon proving the building of their houses, the right of moving them at will should be granted to them, and a title to the lots, permitting them to be sold to vassals of His Majesty; an individual who may have effected the change of his house should prove it with Certificate from the Surveyor, attested by the Military Commandant of said Town and Island.⁶⁶

Lots were to be granted not only to those already living in Fernandina on public lands who moved their houses to conform to the newly laid-out streets, but also to those who had not before been residents of the town. The plan required: (1) A survey by Clarke; the lots being usually seventeen *varas* in front by thirty-four *varas* in depth; (2) permit from commandant to build; (3) houses to face the street; windows, doors, fences, and gardens to be in good taste so as not to detract from the beauty of the town; and (4) certificate from the surveyor-commissioner, countersigned by the commandant, attesting that the regulations have been complied with, upon receipt of which a royal title would be issued.⁶⁷

Numerous grants followed the adoption of the new plan.⁶⁸ Among those who obtained lots in this manner were Charles W. Clarke,⁶⁹ Flora Clarke,⁷⁰ William Garvin,⁷¹ Felicia, "a free woman of color,"⁷² Elizabeth/Isabel/Esabel/Patty Wiggins, "free

66. No. 58, SLG, II, 16, 177.

67. A royal title, or grant in "absolute property," permitted alienation at the will of the owner.

68. No. 58, SLG, II, 176, 260; III, 25, 97, 174.

69. Lot 3, sq. 23.

70. George J. F. Clarke certified the survey of a lot which he described as "bounded on the west by Flora Clarke's lot." SLG, I, 225. The lot belonging to Flora was No. 5, sq. 8.-*Ibid.*, II, 128.

71. Lots 3, 6, 10, in sqs. 23, 13. 8-No. 13, item 30.

72. Lot 6, sq. 8, adjacent to lot owned by George Atkinson.-SLG, II, 128, 129; G&S, IV, 737.

In his petition of December 13, 1817, to Governor Coppinger for a service grant, Clarke did not exaggerate his services, but he misrepresented the facts with regard to his compensation. He states that since 1800 he has been in the militia,⁸² official agent to report to the customs house exports and imports of timber,⁸³ surveyor general, in charge of planning Fernandina and certifying its buildings, public interpreter and consequently witness for many years, lieutenant of militia during the revolution and in charge of the employers of the country population, captain and arbitrator (*juez pedaneo*) of the district of Fernandina, and sometimes employed in two or three different capacities at once. In proof of these statements he encloses ten documents showing commissions signed by the Marquis de Somouelos and Governors White, Estrada, Kindelan, and Coppinger.

Continuing he says that he has never enjoyed pay or reward from the government or reimbursement for the many expenses that have been necessary for the success of his obligations nor for losses in property, which were at times very great. He refers especially to the losses in property which he sustained in Fernandina in June when pirates and insurgents "under command of the gentleman MacGregor" took possession, which property he, Clarke, had abandoned through his fidelity to the King and services to the fatherland, constituting himself a watcher and spy to curb the operations of the enemy and reporting to the governor, all of which he did at the expense of his own pocket and at his own risk and with the greatest exactitude and zeal. Because of these contributions to the success of the expedition

82. No. 58, SLG, I, 111-112.

83. In the Ferreira Case, No. 37, p. 20, Clarke testified that in 1812 he was "general agent of the government on the frontier and certifier of all cargoes of lumber at the customs house."

against the marauders, "those pirates, calling themselves insurgents," put a price of \$1000 on his head and \$500 on that of each of his three children,⁸⁴ all of which he feels is well known to His Excellency and set down in the records, from which much is omitted as being so well known.

As a reward for his fidelity Clarke petitions for 26,000 acres of land in absolute property. He requests 22,000 acres in the woods called Cuscowilla and Chachala on the west side of St. Johns river where there is a warehouse of Panton, Leslie & Company and about forty-five miles from it, the remaining 4000 acres in a vacant place called Tallahase west of St. Johns river and south of the public road which goes from the place where there was a store in charge of Juan Humbly, former agent of Panton, Leslie & Company, and about twenty-five miles from it.

Saying that he is well aware of Clarke's services, Governor Coppinger makes the grant, December 17, 1817, and promises the title will follow.⁸⁵

In 1820 Clarke sold 20,000 acres of this grant for \$20,000.⁸⁶ Seventeen years later he still owned 3000 acres of the land, of which half was located "west and northwest of Little Orange Lake on the south side of the road going to Alachua from Joe Gray's, now called Picolata Ferry, at a place called Tallahassee."⁸⁷ The other half was located north of the above mentioned road and near the head of Cider (Cedar ?) creek.

It is true that Clarke as surveyor general received no salary from the government, the office being sup-

84. James F., Thomas L., and Daniel L. A. Clarke, the three oldest sons, all of whom took part in the defense of the province.

85. No. 58, SLG. I, 111-112.

86. *Ibid.*, 113. 87. No. 13, item 9. 88. *Ibid.*, item 10.

ported by fees,⁸⁹ but he had previously been favored with a number of large grants of land:

(1) 1000 acres as a cattle range, 1801, located in Big Savannah, head of Matanzas river, east of Graham's swamp, one-half of which he sold to Henry Ferna prior to the date of his will.

(2) 2000 acres for services for four years, 1811. He sold to Col. Duncan L. Clinch 1000 acres in Cedar hammock, on the south side of Mizell's, "alias Orange Lake, Alachua," and in 1834 still owned the other half of the tract which was located on the upper part of Deep creek, east of St. Johns river.

(3) 2000 acres for services, 1812, the only authority for which was Tomas Aguilar's certificate stating that the grant was for services in 1797 and 1799.⁹² This land was located in Durbin's Swamp and seems to have been an exchange on the above mentioned date rather than an outright grant. He received for it presumably a tract at Tallahase Orange Grove.

(4) 2000 acres, 1814, located in Twelve Mile swamp and in Chachala hammock, which bounds Payne's savannah on the west. In his petition Clarke states his services to the government and adds that he has "had no pay, stipend, or other pecuniary aid from the government for four years." Governor Kindelan says in his decree that he is "aware of the services of the petitioner" and that the sovereign will "require that good subjects should be rewarded."⁹⁴ This tract and the one granted, or exchanged, on January 13, 1812, were confirmed by Governor Coppinger, who on May 3, 1816, issued a title for 4000 acres as a service grant, which formed the basis of Clarke's later claim for 4000 acres before the United States Commissioners. The claim was rejected, but the Superior Court found it valid.⁹⁵ In his will Clarke accounts for 2000 acres as follows: 500 acres sold to Remi Burnet of St. Marys, Georgia; 1000 acres sold to Mr. Gary; 500 acres, located in Twelve Mile swamp, which he still owns.

(5) 1000 acres as headrights, 1815. One-half of the tract was in Durbin's swamp "north of the bridge . . . where the Royal Road going to San Nicolas crosses it ;" the other half on the east bank of Dunn's lake. In his petition for the grant Clarke states that he has fourteen slaves over eighteen years of age and nine minors. He has not fulfilled conditions as to improvements, but the testimony of witnesses before the United States commissioners established the fact that the revolution and the "invasions of MacGregor and General Jackson" kept the country "in a state of troubles" which deterred settlement of plantations to the north and west of St. Augustine. The claim was accord-

89. No. 21, *Land Laws*, p. 1004. 90. No. 58, SLG, II, 323; No. 13, item 5.

91. No. 58, SLG, II, 321; VIII, 250 ; No. 13, item 14.

92. No. 2, G&S, VI, 114; VIII, 250.

93. No. 58, SLG, II, 315. See the following grant.

94. No. 2, G&S, VI, 114; VIII, 250. When the claim was presented to the U. S. commissioners they refused confirmation, pointing out that the royal order for service grants was not received in E. Fla. until March, 1815. -*Ibid.*

95. No. 58, SLG, II, 318, 320. 96. No. 13, item 13.

ingly confirmed. Clarke sold 500 acres at Durbin's Swamp to his son George P. Clarke.⁹⁷

(6) 100 acres as headrights, December, 1815, title August 5, 1819, located at Willow pond and Egan's creek, northeast of Fernandina, which land he still owned in 1834.⁹⁸

(7) 16,000 acres, a sawmill grant, 1816, followed by a royal title three days "later, located in three different tracts: 8000 acres extending from Picolata ferry to Buckley creek, west of St. Johns river, and including White springs, which later he asked to exchange; 3000 acres "in and about" Cone's hammock, south of Mizell's or Orange lake; 5000 acres in Lang's hammock, south of Mizell's. He sold the 5000-acre tract for \$2500, 1000 acres of the 3000-acre tract to Col. Duncan L. Clinch, and 2500 acres to others, leaving him in possession of 7500 acres in 1834.⁹⁹

(8) 1000 acres for a tannery, 1816, at which time the military commandant stated that Clarke was already gathering skins for his tannery. The title was confirmed May 18, 1818. The land was located at the head of Picolata creek three miles west of St. Johns river. In 1830 Clarke sold 500 acres to Col. Clinch and owned the remaining 500 acres in 1834.¹⁰⁰

In his petition for the mill grant above mentioned Clarke stated that he has constructed a sawmill which by the use of four horses saws eight lines at one time, cutting 2000 superficial feet of timber in a day. His petition was supported by Benito de Pangua, Commandant of Fernandina, who stated that Clarke's mill was "propelled by animals" and that he had seen it function. Having sold 6000 acres of this grant to Col. Clinch, Clarke made claim in 1825 for the remaining 10,000 acres. His sawmill had been destroyed by invaders, but witnesses testified they had seen the mill in operation and that it worked several saws.¹⁰¹

The law of Congress of May 23, 1828, provided that claims not settled before that date, containing a greater amount of land than the commissioners were authorized to decide¹⁰² were to be adjudicated

97. No. 58, SLG, II, 322-23 ; No. 13, item 6.

98. No. 58, SLG, II, 324; No. 2, G&S, VIII, 261; No. 13, item 11.

99. No. 58, SLG, II, 314 *et seq.*, No. 13, item 7.

100. No. 58, SLG, II, 315, 322; No. 13, item 8; No. 2, DG, V, 376.

101. No. 2, G&S, V, 430; No. 58, SLG, II, 316.

102. In 1822 the commissioners were authorized to confirm all valid land claims up to 1000 acres ; in 1823, up to 3500 acres. On claims in excess of that amount they reported testimony and their opinion to the Secretary of the Treasury for the action of Congress.-No. 61, III *Stat. at Large*, 709; *Ibid.*, IV, 6.

by the judge of the Superior Court, with the right of appeal to the United States Supreme Court. The Superior Court of East Florida confirmed Clarke's claim in 1832, but the Supreme Court two years later rejected two of the surveys and commanded the lower court to have further proceedings.¹⁰³ A tract of 8000 acres was surveyed under court order by John L. Williams and the claim was confirmed in 1835,¹⁰⁴ a year before Clarke's death.

Richard Keith Call, assistant counsel for the United States, said of this grant that it was "the commencement of that system of extravagance and prodigality in the exercise of the granting power which characterized the administration of Governor Coppinger, and which continued to increase from that period until the surrender of the province to the United States on the 10th day of July, 1821."¹⁰⁵ A glance over the lands given to Clarke alone, to say nothing of numerous grants to others, would indicate that the system began before the date of this particular grant.

Clarke's mill and tanyard grants were the last he received, but members of his family were given generous grants. William Garvin,¹⁰⁶ Felicia's husband, was given a mill grant of 16,000 acres in October, 1817, with the promise of a royal title as soon as the mill was built. In his petition Garvin stated that his trade had been stopped and his property near Fernandina ruined during the invasion.¹⁰⁷

103. *Ibid.*, p. 284.

104. No. 58, SLG, II, 316-317.

105. No. 2, G&S, VIII, 252. This was in substance the opinion also of Charles Downing and William H. Allen, register and receiver respectively of the E. Fla. Land Office. - *Ibid.*, V, 430.

106. Evidently a white man.

107. The mill was not built and the grant was not confirmed by the U. S. commissioners.-No. 58, SLG, I, 143 *et seq.*; No. 2, G&S, V, 427; *Ibid.*, VIII, 250.

In the following month Garvin petitioned for a service grant of 3000 acres. His property near Fernandina, consisting of his home, farm, and a tanyard in which George J. F. Clarke had a half-interest, amounting to \$2500 had been wrecked by rebels and pirates while he was serving in the militia against them, he stated. The grant was made on November 26, 1817.¹⁰⁸ Less than one month later Garvin¹⁰⁹ petitioned for and was given a grant of 500 acres.¹¹⁰

Clarke's three oldest sons, James F., Thomas L., and Daniel J. A. Clarke, each received service grants of 500 acres. They had served in the militia without pay both at the time of the rebellion of 1812 and during the MacGregor-Aury invasion.¹¹¹ Their claims were not presented to the United States commissioners presumably because the only evidence of their validity was Thomas Aguilar's certified copy of the governor's missing decree and Clarke's certified plat of survey, and the commissioners had rejected similar claims. The claims were presented in 1828 to Charles Downing and William H. Allen, register and receiver respectively of the East Florida land office, who had been authorized by Congress to complete the work of the commissioners.¹¹² George J. F. Clarke testified under oath to the circumstances under which the grants were made:

On Governor Coppinger having spontaneously expressed to me his sense of the services of these men, and his desire to give

108. No. 58, SLG, III, 156; *Ibid.*, IV, 137 ; No. 2, G&S, V. 415, 416.

109. In No. 2, G&S, V, 422, the claim for this grant is attributed to the heirs of William Garvin; in SLG, I, 143, the name is David Garvin.

110. The claim was rejected by the U. S. commissioners for lack of proof. The William Garvin who received a grant of 200 acres in March, 1817, and sold it in 1831 (No. 58, SLG, IV, 118) seems not to have been Felicia's husband, since the latter presumably died in the early 1820's.

111. No. 58, SLG, II, 313, 325, 330. 112. No. 61, IV *Stat. at Large* 202.

each a tract of land, I wrote the ruff [*sic*] draft of their petitions which being copied and signed, I presented them to him. He handed them over to his secretary, Mr. Aguilar, for their decrees; and I afterwards received from Mr. Aguilar the certified copies now before the board.¹¹³

Downing and Allen add in their report:

... As these claims of ... his sons depend solely on the evidence of Mr. Clarke, we take pleasure in saying from our knowledge of his character, that notwithstanding his relationship to these parties, we place implicit reliance on his statement and confirm ... the claims.¹¹⁴

Charles W. Clarke received from Governors White, Kindelan, Estrada, and Coppinger five grants amounting to 22,981 acres.

Carlos Clarke, free mulatto of Fernandina, son of Charles W. Clarke and Patty Wiggins, received 300 acres of land as a service grant in November, 1817, he having served in the militia during the invasion.¹¹⁵ Elizabeth/Patty Wiggins was granted 300 acres in 1815, as headrights for herself, 5 children, and 5 slaves.¹¹⁶

The heyday of land grants was now drawing to a close for all Spanish subjects. The dead-line of January 24, 1818¹¹⁷ was near at hand. The Clarke-Garvin-Wiggins families had done very well for themselves.

The governor's appreciation of the military services of these men was attested in the land grants. Indeed, the province had no supporters more loyal.

In the Patriot War of 1812 George J. F. Clarke and Charles W. Clarke were among those most active in opposing the invaders. George was in command of one of the two entrenchments at Fernandina when on March 14 Charles brought word

113. No. 58, SLG, II, 313. 114. No. 2, G&S, VI, 116.

115. Revolution and invasion deterred settlement, according to testimony, but the claim was not confirmed.-No. 58, SLG, I, 48; No. 2, G&S, III, 687; V, 422, 424.

116. No. 58, SLG, I, 339; V, 209; No. 2, G&S, III, 687.

117. The date agreed upon in the treaty after which no grants made were to be considered valid.

that the rebels, "calling themselves patriots," were assembled at Row's bluff on Bell's river for descent upon the town. George was one of four men chosen by Don Justo Lopez, Commandant of Amelia Island, to call upon the officers in command of the various United States forces in the vicinity ¹¹⁸ to ascertain whether they were supporting the rebels. With George Atkinson, Archibald Clarke, and Charles W. Clarke, he witnessed the articles of capitulation on March 17. He was also the one chosen for the unpleasant task of carrying the flag of surrender to John H. McIntosh and Col. Richard H. Ashley, president and military chief respectively of the Republic of Florida. ¹¹⁹

American forces held Amelia Island "in trust for Spain" until the following spring. They closed Fernandina harbor to foreign vessels in an effort to prevent smuggling, which had been notorious there for several years. In this connection the Spanish governor ordered George J. F. Clarke as engineer *pro tempore* to establish and govern a port of entry for Florida elsewhere. Clarke chose a site seven miles from the Georgia line and established Port St. Joseph, thereby coming into conflict with the American collector of customs stationed at St. Marys, Georgia, in the case of the French ship Apollon. ¹²⁰

Clarke's chief occupation in the period following

118. Commodore Hugh Campbell, in command of U. S. gunboats in Fernandina harbor, ostensibly to prevent smuggling; Gen. George Matthews/Mathews, one of the commissioners appointed by President Madison under the authority of a joint resolution of Congress to receive E. Fla. if the local authorities were willing, or if any foreign power attempted to occupy it; Gen. John Floyd, in command of Georgia militia; and Major Jacint Laval, in command of U. S. troops stationed at Point Peter, Ga.

119. No. 12, Clarke to "Dear O'Reilley;" No. 9; No. 46, p. 16; No. 37, pp. 10-21; No. 40, pp. 190 *et seq.*

120. No. 8, p. 51. The writer did not investigate the Apollon case and Clarke's reference to it is by no means clear.

the Patriot War was buying and selling lots in Fernandina and lands in other parts of the province. He seems usually to have bought the land outright, or to have secured it by grant, and then to have sought a sale for it. Sometimes, however, he acted as agent, as he did in the sale of Fort George island in 1816 by John H. McIntosh to Zephaniah Kingsley. The tract contained twenty-one *caballerias* and twenty-one acres, or about 720 acres.¹²¹ In this instance the sale had already been made and the terms agreed upon before McIntosh, in Camden county, Georgia, gave Clarke power of attorney to execute the deed and receive from Kingsley \$3500, half the price of the property. Clarke received a fee or commission of \$250.¹²²

CLARKE AS A DEPUTY GOVERNOR

Clarke's last service to the Spanish government was perhaps his greatest contribution. The Spanish regime in Florida had been unstable from the time of the retrocession, due in part to conditions in the mother country—the wars resulting from the American and French revolutions, the Napoleonic invasion, and finally the Spanish revolution and counter revolution following the restoration of the Bourbons. Her treasury was depleted, her government demoralized. These conditions were reflected in the Floridas in the Genet disturbance, Indian troubles, the Patriot War, and finally the MacGregor invasion and Aury's alleged government.¹²³

Florida's chief trouble, however, was probably the determination of the United States government

121. In E. Fla. a *caballeria* was about 33 acres.

122. No. 58, SLG, IV, 22-25. McIntosh had purchased the island from John McQueen in 1804 for \$5000. -*Ibid.*, I, 223.

123. No. 40, pp. 60 *et passim*.

and citizens more particularly of the Mississippi Valley and the South to annex it to their country. Diplomacy, invasion, border raids, all were directed to that end. The Americans were especially incensed over Spain's permitting Great Britain the use of bases in West Florida for operations against the United States in the War of 1812.

Fortunately for East Florida some of the internal troubles and unrest of the province were allayed prior to the MacGregor invasion of June 1817, with the result that neither MacGregor nor his successor, Gen. Luis Aury, had the support of the erstwhile discontented element.¹²⁴

The withdrawal of United States troops in May 1813 and the granting by Governor Kindelan under the new Spanish constitution of 1812 of local self-government to the turbulent section of Amelia Island and the districts along the St. Johns and St. Marys rivers¹²⁵ had little effect, particularly along the St. Marys where the people were determined to maintain the "Republic of Florida." Civil war became chronic. Indeed, the rebellion begun in 1812 may be said to have continued until the latter part of 1816.¹²⁶

In the midst of these conditions in 1816 Clarke tried his hand at statescraft, of which we have his own account written in 1821 in reply to Capt. John R. Bell's¹²⁷ request for information regarding the government of the "Northern Division."¹²⁸ Clarke

124. For a full account of the invasion see No. 25.

125. See No. 23. Prof. Corbett's excellent article on the subject. Prof. Corbett is under the impression that the Kindelan plan continued to function after, Ferdinand VII abrogated the Spanish constitution in 1814, whereas Clarke several times mentions the plan as being in operation only during 1813-1814.

126. This was also Clarke's opinion.-No. 2, G&S, III, 635.

127. Capt. Bell was in command of U. S. troops in E. Fla., appointed July 1, 1821, by Gen. Jackson, until the arrival of William C. D. Worthington in August.-No. 54.

128. No. 63, pp. 20-30.

stated that in 1816 he "proposed a plan of reconciliation and reestablishment of order" which Governor Coppinger accepted. That Clarke used the Kindelan plan of local government there can be little doubt. Indeed, Clarke himself says as much in his statement that "the laws handed them were principally bottomed on the same constitutional government, which had been in force in this province in 1813 and 14." However, Clarke seems to have modified Kindelan's plan to conform in large part to local government in the near-by Southern states.

Clarke had served as *capitan de partido*, or *juez pedaneo*¹²⁹ for a time in Fernandina and was accordingly familiar with the administration of the Kindelan plan.¹³⁰ When, therefore, he proposed the modification of this plan and its adoption in the region where the greatest disorder prevailed, the governor, we may be sure, was only too glad to have it tried. At any rate he appointed Clarke, Zephaniah Kingsley, and Henry Yonge to meet with the discontented inhabitants and endeavor to arrive at a *modus vivendi* by which the civil war might be brought to an end.

At Mill's ferry, St. Marys river, the three commissioners met forty of the leaders and made arrangements for a general meeting to be held at Waterman's bluff three weeks later. Having provided "several copies of a set of laws adapted to the circumstances, blank commissions, instructions, etc.," Clarke went to the general meeting with the other two commissioners. Several hundred persons were present, including "a crowd of spectators from Georgia," and Clarke's plan was adopted. It provided for dividing the territory into three districts,

129. The two offices were the same, a combination of chief of police and justice of the peace.-No. 23, p. 58.

130. No. 58, SLG, I, 111. 131. No. 63, pp. 20-30.

to be known as Upper St. Marys, Lower St. Marys, and Nassau (Amelia Island). Each district was to have a magistrate's court and its own militia, the officers to be elected by the people. Three magistrates and nine officers of militia were elected; commissioned, instructed, and provided with laws. It was agreed that the past was to be "buried in total oblivion." The newly elected officers were carried on the shoulders of the cheering crowd after which a plentiful feast was spread as a finale of the day's work. The Republic of Florida was at an end and Spanish rule was accepted.

The governor approved the proceedings and offered Clarke a "superintending jurisdiction of the whole" which Clarke accepted on condition that it be confined to Upper and Lower St. Marys.¹³¹ He was accordingly commissioned by the governor as *Capitan del partido Septentrional de la Florida del Esta y Agrimesor General de ella*, Captain of the Northern District of East Florida and Surveyor General.¹³² In the English tongue he was, as his obituary notice says, "Lieutenant Governor of East Florida."¹³³ Clarke spoke of himself as "deputy governor of the northern and western divisions of Florida."¹³⁴

Continuing in his letter to Captain Bell, Clarke states that for five years "all complaints and appeals that should have gone before the superior court in St. Augustine have been referred to me for an opinion and those opinions have ever been voluntarily conclusive, to any amount."¹³⁵ In five

132. No. 58, SLG, V, 241; G&S, III, 844.

133. No. 1, p. 309. Joseph Sanchez testified in 1848 that in 1817 Clarke was "Lieutenant Governor and Surveyor General"-No. 43, S-16

134. No. 37, p. 17.

135. One of the grievances of the people of these districts was the fatigue, expense, and dangers of the 100-mile journey to attend courts in St. Augustine, which the lack of local government had made necessary.

years, he wrote, there has been but one appeal and one complaint to the superior authorities in St. Augustine. He admits that his government was aided by a systematized lynch law administered by the more responsible citizens. Clarke states that the devotion of the people of the "Northern Division" to the Spanish government was such that at short notice the whole force of the militia have met at an appointed place, "mounted, armed, and victualled, each at his own expense," as for instance when they answered the call of the governor for the recapture of Amelia Island from the MacGregor-Aury forces.¹³⁶

In his farewell letter "To the officers and people of the northern division of East Florida," written just after the transfer of the province to the United States, Clarke stated that a copy of the letter to Bell would be sent to the President of the United States, another to General Jackson, and that a third was to be retained in Florida.¹³⁷ Evidently General Jackson and Captain Bell thought well of the government of the "Northern Division" for, in accord with General Jackson's proclamation, Captain Bell ordered its continuance, with some slight changes, "until laws are formed by a higher authority for the government of the province."¹³⁸

Clarke lived in Fernandina from 1808 until MacGregor captured the town in 1817. He then went to St. Marys, Georgia, and took "a house of occasional residence." Shortly afterwards he was appointed Spanish vice consul for the Carolinas and Georgia, a position which he held until the change of flags. One of his accomplishments after his re-

136. No. 63, pp. 20-30.

137. Undoubtedly the third copy is the one which was published in 1823 in Charles Vignoles's book, *Observation Upon the Floridas*.

138. No. 63, p. 30.

moval to St. Marys was to establish a regular postal service from that town through East Florida.¹³⁹

As *Capitan* of the "Northern Division" and Lieutenant of the Urban Militia of East Florida Clarke was of great service to the province in the MacGregor-Aury invasion, and he was without doubt the chief factor in holding his section to its Spanish allegiance. The three companies of militia which at the governor's call went to the defense of Amelia Island, as mentioned in Clarke's letter to Captain Bell, were led by Clarke himself.¹⁴⁰ No doubt he frequently reminded the men of the blessings of the free local government which the governor of the province had bestowed upon them and the necessity to defend it from invasion, just as he assured the governor on the eve of battle that the militia was anxious to execute his lordship's commands "in order to manifest in part their sentiments of gratitude to the government."¹⁴¹ Unfortunately the Spanish officer in charge of the expedition decided to retreat, and Clarke's militia returned to their homes in disgust. Nevertheless Clarke continued to keep between the invaders "in their progression into the province" and endeavored to check to and from Fernandina the passage of negroes and other cargo "piratically acquired" and that of "dissolute characters thrown together in such scenes of iniquity."¹⁴²

Upon order of Governor Coppinger, Clarke made a reconnaissance of Fernandina in August and September, 1817, and his reports are models of thoroughness however much they may lack in grammatical Spanish. He met his brother at the end of Amelia Island, clad only in a shirt, where Charles

139. No. 8, p. 51; No. 37, p. 17; No. 58, SLG, III, 157.

140. *Ibid.*, p. 156. 141. No. 11, Clarke to Coppinger, 1817, p. 693.

142. No. 8, p. 51.

had been hiding in the underbrush two days and nights for the purpose of warning his brother that death awaited him if caught in Fernandina. George nevertheless made a thorough investigation and reported on the enemy's quarrels, desertions, illnesses, and deaths, the weakness of the fortifications, number and kind of vessels and where stationed, rumors with reference to reenforcements from New York, the MacGregor printing press, the intention of the enemy to impress slaves from the neighboring plantations to repair the fortifications and the unpopularity of the contemplated measure, and finally Clarke's assurance that the militia was ready and anxious to fight.¹⁴³

Clarke's reports, written at St. Marys, could in good weather reach Governor Coppinger in St. Augustine in three days. They were carried secretly by "Mr. Gray and Mr. Eubanks,"¹⁴⁴ and formed the basis for the plan decided upon by the Council of War on August 23.¹⁴⁵ In his report of September 1 Clarke told of the departure of MacGregor and gave the plan for the disposition of the Spanish militia in the attack on the enemy forces remaining in Fernandina.¹⁴⁶

After MacGregor's departure Gen. Luis Aury took over and Florida was declared a part of the Republic of Mexico. On December 23 the United States government, which had been keeping watch on the situation, at last moved in and Aury surrendered. The stars and stripes represented the fifth flag in five years to wave over unhappy Fernandina. United States troops remained on Amelia Island until November 30, 1819, and in the

143. No. 11, Clarke to Coppinger, 1817, pp. 693 et seq.

144. *Ibid.* The men referred to were probably Joseph Gray and William or Stephen Eubanks, Jr.--No. 58, SLG, I, 115; II, 222-4; III, 55.

145. No. 11, Clarke to Coppinger, 1817, pp. 698-702. 146. *Ibid.*, 726-9.

meantime negotiations were concluded between the United States and Spain for the treaty of cession.

Judging by the protests made to Capt. M. M. Payne, in command on Amelia Island, and the pleas sent to Luis de Onis, Spanish minister in Washington, the inhabitants of the occupied territory fared badly under United States authority. In August, 1818, Clarke, writing as a property owner in Fernandina, inquired of Captain Payne whether in acting in his civil capacity in the execution of laws pertaining to property and debts he was governed by the laws of the United States, or those of the Spanish government, or by peculiar (special) instructions; he also wanted to know the amount cognizable and executable. The commander's reply was to the effect that his decisions were governed by the law of the United States, and there was no limit with regard to the amount involved. Clarke was careful to see that copies of the correspondence reached the Spanish minister.¹⁴⁷

In September a long protest signed by fifteen property owners in Fernandina informed the Spanish minister of the "mal-administration" of the American authority in that town and on the island. It declared that the military officer and a sheriff appointed by him acted "in all cases of civil administration without rule, gauge or precedent." There is no limit to the amount on which the commanding officer might pass judgment; and he "treats with the same ease and brevity a demand for Three Thousand as one for Thirty Dollars," the protest said. At one time the officer tells them he is acting under the laws of the United States, at another under peculiar instructions from his government.

147. No. 44, Onis to Adams, 1818. 148. No. 58, SLG, I-V, *passim*.

There follows a recital of instances in which the property and personal rights of the inhabitants have been violated, one of which was the destruction of George J. F. Clarke's tanyard near the American barracks. The MacGregor and Aury invaders had stripped the tanyard of its contents, but the American soldiers had torn down and carried away the building, which was fifty-six by twenty-six feet and had cost more than \$1000 to build. United States soldiers had also stripped the timbers from Clarke's rebuilt "horse sawmill" which had cost "near three thousand dollars," and this had been done right under the very eyes of the Centinel [*sic*]; Protests to the commanding officer in neither instance produced any results.

Among the fifteen names signed to the document are those of George J. F. Clarke, Charles W. Clarke, and William Garvin.

CLARKE AS AN AMERICAN CITIZEN

With the change of flags Clarke's public service virtually came to an end. He appeared frequently as a witness before the United States commissioners for East Florida during 1823-1825 ; ¹⁴⁸ on one occasion in 1825 the city council of St. Augustine employed him with Antonio Alvarez to make an assessment and valuation of the real property of that city ; ¹⁴⁹ and in 1827 the council appointed him with Geronimo Alvarez and Daniel S. Gardner to inspect the market "and report on the goodness of the work." ¹⁵⁰

That Clarke very much wished to be appointed to public office seems evident from his cryptic letter

149. No. 55, p. 192.

150. No. 55, p. 228. Since Vols. II of both the Minutes and the Ordinances are missing from the city vault, there is no way to determine whether Clarke was in any way again connected with the city government of St. Augustine.

of May 1, 1823, written from Charleston, South Carolina, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State. He wrote that he "accidentally" met the delegate from Florida who told him that an "unfavorable impression of my character or views in Florida" was felt by the President of the United States, or by "some of the officers of that very respectable department," in consequence of two of his letters having been laid before them by Col. James G. Forbes of New York, relating to the creation of the Port of St. Joseph, under the Spanish government.¹⁵¹ The letters had to do with the appointment of Forbes as collector of the port in question and with the ship Apollon which have been mentioned above.

Clarke enters into an explanation and defense of his conduct in which he says, "I acted, Sir, as an officer of Florida; my object was my country's good . . ." He reviews his services to the Spanish government, mentions Don Luis d'Onis's offer to him during the treaty negotiations of a Spanish consulate in the United States, and says that he has since called on Don Mateo de la Serna in Washington for the vice consulate of East Florida without pay, "the better to secure my retirement there," but has had no reply. His prospects for a position in Cuba are good, but his feelings are "wedded" to Florida." He speaks of "censure and suspicion," as though directed toward himself, and adds in conclusion :

. . . I presume, Sir, it would not be too much to suppose, that he who without stipend faithfully serves his country for twenty odd years, thrice bore a part in saving it from the evils of revolution, and twice sustained a ruinous sack of his property in its service under one government, would not feel less its friend when fairly transferred to another, and himself and his all with it.¹⁵²

151. No. 8, p. 50. 152. *Ibid.*, pp. 52-53.

Rather pathetically Clarke adds a postscript in which he states that should the secretary honor him with a letter it would reach him at St. Marys, Georgia.

Clarke was living in St. Marys at the time of the transfer of the Floridas to the United States, but changed his residence to St. Augustine prior to the spring of 1823. Here he seems to have spent the remaining years of his life, devoting himself to his properties, experimenting in agriculture and fruit growing, writing for the St. Augustine newspaper, endeavoring to collect damages from the United States government for the loss of his properties, and attending to his numerous lawsuits.

It is possible that the mortgages held by his children were given by him to insure to them the inheritance of his property. He was of course familiar with the fact that the will of Zephaniah Kingsley making similar bequests,¹⁵³ had been contested and his plantation on Fort George island had ultimately gone to collateral heirs. Clarke's statement that he borrowed money from his daughter seems refuted by the testimony of George P. Clarke in a lawsuit in 1846, in which he stated that his father practically supported the Garvin family during the lifetime of William Garvin and entirely so after his death.¹⁵⁴

Clarke gave numerous promissory notes to others than members of his family and was often unable to pay them at maturity. Not all his cases in the courts were of this type, but enough to show that he was often hard pressed for ready cash. An examination of the miscellaneous file of court cases in the office of the clerk of the circuit court in St. Johns county shows that he appeared as plaintiff,

153. No. 40b.

154. No. 43, Montane, exec., et al vs. F. M. F. Garvin et al., Circuit, F-8.

defendant, or surety on bonds in 16 cases in justice, county, or superior courts between 1821 and 1834.

A letter written by Clarke on August 16, 1821, to Capt. John R. Bell appeared on March 8, 1823, in the St. Augustine *East Florida Herald*. In it Clarke contrasts Spain's and Britain's methods of dealing with the Indians and Indian lands and concludes that "however this incorporating system [Spain's] may have been abused in practice . . . it must be allowed that it ultimately combined benevolence in its leading principles." He thought there were only about eight hundred Indians remaining in Florida and expressed the hope that they might be given "aid and instruction."¹⁵⁵

That Clarke published articles in the *East Florida Herald* signed "A Native Floridian" was brought out in his testimony before the United States commissioners in 1823.¹⁵⁶ A complete file of that journal is not available, but in a number of the issues are articles signed in the manner indicated. On July 19, 1823, he replied to a critic of the Spanish Courts of Conciliation :

. . . In these courts each party chose a disinterested person who sat with the magistrate, or judge, forming three judges of the case, of any amount, to give it a fair, full, prompt, and expenceless trial according to the equity and moderation between man and man. . . . The practical utility of these courts was well exemplified at Fernandina under Judge Philip R. Yonge, while the Spanish constitutional government was in force in a part of 1813 and 14, and at a time when vast shipping and commercial business was going on at that place. In about fifty important cases . . . only eight of them appealed to a court of law.

Clarke concludes that Spanish law was less expensive and more just than English law in the Floridas.¹⁵⁷

155. No. 10, Vol. I, no. 28. Reprinted in the issue of Dec. 6, 1838, Vol. IV, no. 27.

156. No. 2, G&S, III, 858, 859.

157. No. 10, Vol. I, no. 47. See also No. 23, pp. 56-57.

In two issues in the following month Clarke surprises with a discussion on the subject, "What constitutes beauty in a female face?" He holds that there are no rules for estimating beauty and wonders why "so few of those, who, from their better portion of beauty, become Belles, make happy marriages." In his judgment they "overrate their own charms . . . and run into fastidiousity or coquetry . . . consequently becoming neglected by men of sense and solidity." In explaining "why there are so small a portion of happy marriages generally," Clarke perhaps gives a clue to his own case:

The causes are many, but principally this: sovereignty being the predominant passion of women, every wife, shortly after her marriage, makes attempts . . . towards supremacy in the household. As she succeeds in gaining a part she grasps at more, and still more, in order to become absolute; and when this is obtained the husband becomes contemptible and she is the first to despise him. Temperate women, if mildly but firmly opposed in the beginning, may make a few more weak attempts, but merely renew or press the struggle beyond that, and they become amiable wives.¹⁵⁸

In the next issue he discusses the treatment of debtors. He disapproves of imprisonment or the forced sale of their property and advocates "keeping each one more within the sphere of his own means" and "patronizing the honest poor."¹⁵⁹

Clarke evidently began his experiments in agriculture and fruit growing shortly after he returned to take up his residence in St. Augustine. On June 25, 1825, the *Pensacola Gazette* said editorially:

Many valuable plants have been introduced from the northern states by George J. F. Clarke of St. Augustine and by Col. Murat, [Prince Achille Murat] both of whom are attentively engaged in experiments that are likely to prove of great consequence to the Territory.

Two years earlier Clarke had begun a series of articles in the St. Augustine newspaper giving the

158. No. 10, Aug. 9, 16, 1823, Vol. I, nos. 50, 51.

159. *Ibid.*, Aug. 23, 1823, Vol. I, no. 52. 160. *Ibid.*, Sept. 13, 1823, Vol. II, no. 3.

results of his observations and experiments, which continued to appear more or less regularly until 1832. Only two are signed with his name. He discusses the use of fertilizers, the raising of fruits, vegetables, and tobacco, the care of bees, the utilization of wild plants, and the necessity for diversified crops. In general his advice to his fellow Floridians is fifty years or more in advance of his time.

Describing a field of worn-out soil, which seems to have been in North Carolina, he says that by the use of forty cents worth of fertilizer made of two bushels of "dead ashes" mixed with one bushel of gypsum the field produced thirty-two and one-half bushels of corn to the acre. He urges the use of shells, ashes, lime, animal matter, and fish as fertilizers. He thinks that the greatest task is to eradicate "stubborn prejudices," and says that although Florida is blessed with such a climate that something can be harvested the year round, yet "we scarcely make bread enough of the coarsest kind."¹⁶⁰

He devotes an article to the proper method of planting corn and another to the care and value of bees.¹⁶¹ He advocates self-sufficient farms and enumerates the mistakes of the farmer: too much stress on one thing at a time, as the production of turpentine when the price was high, to the neglect of everything else; using the hoe instead of the plow; buying "10 out of 12 of the articles he consumes, when 8 out of 10 of them he could make at home."¹⁶²

He is especially insistent that more sweet oranges be grown and that waste lands be utilized by planting them in fruit trees. In a letter dated August

161. *Ibid.*, Sept. 27, Dec. 27, 1823, Vol. II, nos. 4, 18.

162. *Ibid.*, Jan. 10, 1824, Vol. II, no. 20. 163. Published first in the *Florida Herald*, date unknown. Reprinted from the *Southern Agriculturist* by the *Florida Grower*, Jan., 1931.

10, 1830, to the editor of the *Southern Agriculturist*, Clarke refutes the opinion generally held that Florida sweet oranges do not keep well and lays the blame on the careless manner of their picking and packing. Describing a trip he made to New York in a large schooner to market his oranges, during which a storm protracted the voyage to 29 days, he says that upon arrival other oranges were but pulp while his own, which had been "tenderly" picked and packed, were unharmed and were sold for "\$5 per hundred by the barrel." He describes the careful manner in which Jesse Fish, Sr., owner of *El Vergel* on Anastasia island before, during, and after the British regime, picked his oranges and shipped them safely as presents to his London friends.¹⁶³

The people of Florida must grow more vegetables, he insisted. "Those nice lettuces, cabbage, carrots, beets, green pease, etc. of fall, winter, and spring; and oranges, figs, peaches, plums, olives, grapes, etc. of summer, are delicacies to which but few aspire though living in a country that might compare with any part of the world in variety."¹⁶⁴ Grapes may be made commercially profitable by making them into vinegar and spirits, and fruit trees may be easily grown by the Chinese method of propagation. Coffee, too, may be grown in Florida, especially in "the section of the country laying between the mouth of Indian river, latitude 27 degrees and 12 minutes and Cape Sable, 24 degrees and 54 minutes; a space north and south of nearly 160 statute miles."¹⁶⁵

The growing of maguy (maguey) and Spanish tobacco would be lucrative commercial undertakings, he thinks, the former to be utilized in making liquors like those formerly made in limited quantities in

164. No. 10, Sept. 27, 1823, Vol. II, no. 5.

165. *Ibid.*, Sept. 27, Oct. 18, Nov. 1, 1823, Vol. II, nos. 5, 8, 10.

New Spain and never exported. "The very novelty would add to their value, and greatly to the eclat of Florida." A long article is devoted to the growing and curing of tobacco to be made into "Spanish segars," which even now "are in a fair way to become . . . a lucrative article in the exports of this province." ¹⁶⁶ The bulbous roots of "comtee" ¹⁶⁷ which grows wild, commencing south of St. Augustine, could be utilized in making flour. ¹⁶⁸ Ginger could also be grown and made into conserves, while almonds and most of the medicinal plants would thrive in Florida. ¹⁶⁹

Turning to the medicinal and commercial value of barks and wild plants, Clarke tells the uses to which Peruvian bark ¹⁷⁰ and sumac may be put, the latter of which has "antiseptic qualities and expeditious effects in the finer processes of tanning." In an article on "Diet and Medicine" he says :

A people many years ago ranged themselves along the banks of St. Johns River, who were always sickly, while many others of different habits and ideas, living within the same extent of country were quite healthy; we of the city distinguished them by the appellation of Crackers and Christians. The latter lived like civilized beings, and kept medicine about them . . . But the former, who came into Florida from the fag ends of Georgia and the Carolinas during the revolutionary war of the U. S.,

166. *Ibid.*, Nov. 7 1823 Vol. VI no. 2.

167. Clarke seems to have used the only spelling not recognized for the plant since it is known as compte, comptie, conti, conntie, coontia, contihatcka. It is known also as white root, Indian flour, and Florida arrowroot. Bot., *zamia integrifolia* or *zamia floridana*. Flour is prepared from it by grinding or grating the root, then washing, precipitating, and drying. Clarke thus anticipated another commercial development in Florida. - Notes supplied by courtesy of the Florida Federal Writers, WPA.

168. No. 10, Nov. 15, 1823, Vol. II, no. 12.

169. *Ibid.*, Dec. 6, 1823, Vol. II, no 15.

170. Peruvian bark of the genus *cinchona*, is similar to "Georgia bark," or "calico bush," (*Pinckneys pubens*), which was widely used in the Confederate States as a substitute for quinine after the U. S. Government made medicine contraband.

planted but little corn and made up the deficiency with whortle berries, black berries, plums and starvation.¹⁷¹

Having heard that the Minorcans accelerated the ripening of figs by treating them with oil, Clarke tried the experiment. He "anointed with olive oil the bud ends or crowns of about 40, as a trial. . . . The results were . . . that there was on the second day, a visible difference of size in favour of those that had been anointed . . . and on the 7th day I had a plate of fine ripe figs at my breakfast; while on the whole tree . . . there is not [none] of what we call rare-ripes; nor any other attempting to start for maturity."¹⁷² Articles on method of planting orange trees, the fencing of groves, and the grafting and rooting of cuttings of grape vines follow.¹⁷³

Anticipating by more than a hundred years the growing of plants without soil, Clarke describes in 1823 his experiment with a small fig tree which he suspended in the air with chords (*sic*) and which grew with only "air and water" from six or eight inches to six feet in height.¹⁷⁴

On the difficulties and ill effects of the transfer of Florida to the United States, Clarke wrote:

1st - the transfer was immediately succeeded, at least in East Florida, by an iron non-descript administration, that had the effect not only to keep out agricultural settlers but drove off, from the already thinned population of this city, several hundred of its old inhabitants in sheer disgust.

Secondly, the Indian relation with the U. S. on the mere disposal of which, so much of the early prosperity of this country so essentially depended is, in point of fact but little more than nominally settled yet. Thirdly, to this day, now 5 years, not one of our many land titles has been conclusively settled (recognized by the U. S. govt.) so that we can offer them unembarrassed to purchasers-nay, no one will take them in payment of doubtful debts, however depreciated the price.¹⁷⁵

171. No. 10, Nov. 29, 1823, Vol. II, no. 14.

172. *Ibid.*, No. 10, June 30, 1830, Vol. VIII, no. 27.

173. *Ibid.*, Sept. 23, Oct. 14, 1830, Vol. VIII, nos. 39, 42.

174. *Ibid.*, Sept. 6, 1823, Vol. II, no. 2.

175. *Ibid.*, Aug. 5, 1826, Vol. IV, no. 46. Clarke was not the only one who criticized the leisurely manner in which the U. S. commissioners for E. Fla. did their work. - See No. 58, SLG, I-V, p. xlix.

About four years before he died Clarke published his observations on education. He thought religious education can be overdone. The education of the Indians, for instance, is to be administered by a proposed "machine of gigantic stature," he complained, and regretted that "the clergy will constitute nineteen twentieths of this association." He has implicit confidence in the integrity and discretion of the clergy, but, he inquires, "is confidence and discretion, or is strict limit the principle of our constitution?"¹⁷⁶

After his death the *Florida Herald* published in seven parts Clarke's letter to Rev. Jediah Morse, D. D., corresponding secretary of the American Civilization Society. The letter was written at St. Marys, July 1, 1822, and treated of the Florida Indians-their characteristics, mode of burial, personal appearance, methods used to increase the vigor of their limbs, manner of dealing with snakes, religion, superstitions, hospitality, politeness, slavery, language, ability to find their way through thick forests, treatment of enemies, and the chiefs Secoffee and Payne. In parts I to III¹⁷⁷ he describes in

176. No. 10, Sept. 8, 1832, Vol. V, no. 30.

177. Part IV, Nov. 1, is missing from the file. 178. No. 10, Oct. 6, 13, 25, Nov. 8, 15, 22, 29, 1838, Vol. IV, Nos. 19-21, 23-26; No. 40c. Vernon Lamme says that Clarke's description of the method of burial used by the Indians of the coast is correct and in agreement with that of Henry Schoolcraft who in 1846 spoke on the subject of St. Johns river mounds before the New York Historical Society. He agrees with Clarke that the Indians of the Florida coast were "not of the chase," but does not agree that they knew how to count or found it necessary. He thinks also that Clarke was in error as to their "gigantic stature," since the skeletons are in reality very small. He explains that in measuring skeletons the fact often not taken into account is the space of one-half to three-fourths of an inch between the 12 vertebrae, which mistakenly adds six to nine inches to a skeleton. Miss Emily L. Wilson is of the opinion that Penon island was near Penon inlet, now closed, which was south of Matanzas inlet, and that Marine Studios is located on the southern end of Penon island.

detail the appearance of and excavations he had made in a "mount" on Penon island, "a smaller island dividing the entrances of the larger and smaller Matanza Rivers, and which appears to have been set apart as sacred to the dead." Clarke explains that he had much of his information from Mary, an Indian woman whose tribal name meant "Salt Water Indians," and who died in 1802 at the age of 100.¹⁷⁸

The treaty with Spain ceding Florida to the United States provided in Article IX that Spanish subjects should be reimbursed by the United States for losses incurred by the invasion by United States troops and the irregulars from Georgia during 1812-13. An act of Congress of June 26, 1834, adopted just prior to the date of Clarke's will, provided that such claims should be presented before the Territorial Judge, and limited the time to one year.¹⁷⁹ On June 25, 26, 1835, the judge awarded to Charles W. Clarke \$3155.00; to George J. F. Clarke, \$13,320.00; and to Clarke & Garvin, \$9375.00. These sums did not include the interest for 22 years, 1 month, and 15 days, which amounted to \$335.22, \$983.41, and \$996.09 respectively.¹⁸⁰

None of the details in connection with the death of Clarke have come to light in this study. Indeed, the date of his death is uncertain, and the place of his burial is unknown. In the section "American Obituaries for 1836" in the *American Almanac for 1838* the following entry appears:

Oct. 20, at St. Augustine, Florida, George I. F. Clark, a native of Florida, and for many years Lieutenant-Governor and Surveyor-General of the province of East Florida, under the Spanish Government.¹⁸¹

179. 6 *Stat. at Large* 569.

180. No. 60, "Message from the President of the U. S.", p. 13;

No. 59, Letter from U. S. Treasury, May 26, 1942.

181. No. 1, p. 309.

In a bill of complaint filed in chancery, July 25, 1840, it is stated that "on or about the twenty-third day of October Anno Domini Eighteen Hundred and Thirty Six at the City of St. Augustine the said George J. F. Clarke departed this life. . . ." ¹⁸² In an opinion in chancery in 1846 Judge Douglas stated that Clarke "departed this life at St. Augustine in the year 1838." ¹⁸³ The burial records of the Cathedral archives for 1831-1844 are missing, as are the minutes of the City Council for 1828 to the middle of 1836 where Clarke's death may have been mentioned. In the minutes for the remainder of 1836 to 1839 no mention of Clarke appears. His name does not appear in the index of *Niles Weekly Register* between September 1836, and March 1837, nor in the *Florida Herald* in 1836.

The writer accepts the date October 20, 1836, as probably correct. If so, then it was only three days before his death that Clarke signed a promissory note. ¹⁸⁴

Presumably Clarke was buried in St. Augustine in the Catholic cemetery Tolomato, on what is now Cordova street, although an examination of the vaults and headstones in this long-neglected burying ground and a simliar search through the old Protestant cemetery just north of the city gates failed to discover his name. It does not seem likely that he was interred in Bosquebello in Fernandina. Certainly not outside of East Florida would Clarke have wanted to be buried:

. . . East Florida is the land of my nativity, it has been the theater of my life, and I expect it to be the depository of my bones. I promise myself, then, a shady tree in the rear ground off the stage. . . . ¹⁸⁵

182. William Prince vs. John M. Fontane, exec., *et al*, pp. 3-4, file box P-5, county clerk's office, St. Johns county.

183. No. 43, F-8. 184. File box, S-16, county clerk's office, St. Johns county,

185. No. 8, p. 50.

Clarke's estate was in litigation for a number of years. Suit was brought in 1846 by the estate of Dr. Richard Weightman for \$200 for medical services over a period of years. George P. Clarke testified that the debt was probably just, since his father had paid doctors' bills for the Garvin family for many years. With reference to the tanyard in Fernandina, operated under the name of Clarke & Garvin, he said that his father's estate had collected more than \$9000.00 for losses on it caused by the invasion of United States troops and irregulars, but that the property was owned wholly by his father who had put Garvin to work in it and allowed him to share the profits.¹⁸⁶

On January 28, 1841, George P. Clarke, three of his brothers, and Felicia M. F. Garvin gave power of attorney to Peter Smith and Arloff M. Dorman, of the firm Smith & Dorman, to associate with John M. Fontane, "the acting executor of the estate of our father, the late George J. F. Clarke, to settle the estate." Joseph Clarke's signature is indicated by his mark.¹⁸⁷ Two years later power of attorney was given to William P. Duval to participate in the settlement of the estate by Thomas S. and Daniel J. A. Clarke, "subjects of Her Catholic Majesty, . . . residing in the Island of Cuba," and Felicia M. F. Garvin, "residing in the Island of Domingo or Hayti."¹⁸⁸ On October 30 of that year Fontane paid over to the heirs, according to his own testimony, \$5805.28 and the estate was partitioned on November 10 following, but in 1846 the estate was still unsettled and Fontane asked to be relieved as executor.¹⁸⁹ His request was evidently

186. No. 43, Fontane, exec., *et al*, vs. F. M. F. Garvin *et al*, Circuit, F-8.

187. No. 27, Deed Book O, p. 243.

188. *Ibid*, Deed Book VI, pp. 595-99.

189. No. 43 (Circuit, F-S).

not granted. Letters of administration were issued to Peter Benet by Gad Humphries, Judge of Probate Court, on September 13, 1855, and again to Peter Benet on December 31, 1867, by John Lott Phillips, Judge of Probate Court.¹⁹⁰

What of George J. F. Clarke's integrity of character? Alexander Hamilton, who was a member of the first board of United States commissioners for East Florida, reported to the Secretary of the Treasury regarding what he considered as "Clarke's extravagant pretensions and inconsistent representations, with a memory on some subjects singularly tenacious, and on others peculiarly forgetful." He referred to Andres Burgevin as "contemptible" and "Clarke's pretended deputy." Hamilton made equally serious charges against his colleagues on the Board and resigned in disgust. He was anxious to testify before a congressional committee of investigation, but no such committee was appointed, and he had to content himself with writing long letters to President Monroe, Secretary of Treasury Crawford, Secretary of State Adams, and the chairman of the House Committee on Public Lands.¹⁹¹

The United States commissioners were often suspicious of Clarke's surveys and usually rejected claims which had no other evidence of validity. Six claims to lots in Fernandina were of this kind, each of which referred to Clarke's map of Fernandina in identical terms: ". . . laid of [*sic*] to -, as will be seen by reference to the map of the Town of Fernandina made by George J. F. Clarke on the 28th of June 1817." The sale of two of these lots

190. No. 27, Deed Book II, p. 286; No. 45, p. 49.

191. No. 2, No., DG, III, 725 *ct seq.*, 762 *et seq.*, 892 *et seq.*; No. 48, "Record Book, no. 8," pp. 159 160, 162, 165, 170, 173, 176, 185.

to Justo Lopez, commandant of Amelia Island, also looks suspicious.¹⁹²

In one instance the commissioners accused Clarke of changing the date of a survey for William Eubanks from December 12, 1819, to December 12, 1818. The commissioners recognized as valid any royal titles or surveys dated subsequent to January 24, 1818, for grants made prior to that date, provided there was evidence of occupation or cultivation. In this instance there was no decree from the governor—merely Clarke's certificate of survey alleging "Order of the Governor of October 20, 1817." The commissioners made note of the changed date but rejected the claim on the ground of no occupation or cultivation.¹⁹³

This was but one of several claims without the governor's decree. They were all based upon Clarke's certificate of survey in which he gave as his authority "Disposition of S. S.¹⁹⁴ of October 20, 1817," or "Superior order of S. S. of October 20, 1817," or "Order of the Governor, of October 20, 1817." In at least one certificate Clarke used the phrase, "Superior order of October 20, 1817, given in favor of the inhabitants of this part of my command,"¹⁹⁵ meaning presumably the "Northern Division." He explained to the United States commissioners that the surveys were made in accordance with Governor Coppinger's verbal orders to himself. Such claims were rejected by the commissioners, although several years later a few were confirmed by congress.¹⁹⁶

Clarke's statement seems to be substantiated by two witnesses, Francis R. Sanchez and Joseph S.

192. No. 58, SLG, I, 276-79; No. 2, G&S, VI, 113.

193. No. 58, SLG, I, 116. 194. *Su Senoria*, His Excellency.

195. No. 58, SLG, I, 344.

196. *Ibid.*, I, 25, 29, 32, 63, 65; II, 203; IV, 5, 44, 45, 210, 218, 219; V, 23-24.

Sanchez, each testifying in Superior Court several years later in suits for land which they claimed under such authority. Their explanation was that at the time of the MacGregor-Aury invasion Governor Coppinger told the assembled militia in the plaza at Fernandina that the treasury had no funds with which to pay for defense, but that every volunteer who did his duty would be given a tract of land to be measured by the surveyor general and based upon headrights "according to the system existing and to royal orders."¹⁹⁷

While the commissioners frequently rejected claims based upon Clarke's certificate of survey or on Tomas Aguilar's certified copies of missing decrees of the governors, the United States Supreme Court accepted the latter as valid evidence;¹⁹⁸ and Charles Downing and William H. Allen, whose probity in the examination of land claims was never questioned, paid tribute to Clarke's character, stating in their report that from their own knowledge of him "we place implicit reliance on his statement."¹⁹⁹

In the few available memoirs and private letters of the period no personal opinions of Clarke have been noted. His business relations were with the leading men of his time with whom he seems to have been on good terms. Probably Clarke was no better and no worse in his business dealings than they.

197. *Ibid.*, V, 24; No. 43, Circuit, S-16.

198. No. 62, U. S. vs. Wiggins, 14 Peters 325; U. S. vs. Delespine, 15 Peters 226; U. S. vs. Acosta, 17 Peters 16.

199. No. 2, G&S, VI, 116.

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CCC-Clerk of circuit court.

DG-See *American State Papers* (2).

FHRS-Florida Historical Records Survey. Jacksonville, Fla.

FHQ- *Florida Historical Quarterly*.

FND-Field Note Division, Dept. of Agriculture, Tallahassee.

FSL-Florida State Library, Tallahassee.

G&S-See *American State Papers* (2).

SLG- *Spanish Land Grants in Florida*.

WML-Webb Memorial Library, the unofficial name of the library of the St. Augustine Historical Society, located in the Webb Memorial bldg.

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Contributors-Miss Emily L. Wilson, former librarian of Webb Memorial Library, has given generously from her wide knowledge of the Spanish in Florida. Without her assistance much of the data upon which this study is based would not have been available. Assistance has been given also by Mr. Watt Marchman, secretary and librarian of the Florida Historical Society, Mr. Frank P. Hamilton of Jacksonville, Mrs. Katherine S. Lawson, acting secretary and acting librarian of the St. Augustine Historical Society and its library, and Mrs. May P. Bagwell, of St. Augustine. Others to whom the writer is indebted for assistance are mentioned in connection with the particular contribution made.

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MILLY FRANCIS AND DUNCAN McKRIMMON
AN AUTHENTIC FLORIDA POCAHONTAS

by T. FREDERICK DAVIS

Hillis Hadjo, known in English as Francis the Prophet, was a Creek chief of considerable prominence. When the famous Indian Tecumseh visited the Creek Indians during the opening phase of the War of 1812 to enlist them in the cause of the British, Francis became his convert. He was then living near the Chattahoochee river in the present state of Alabama. In the campaign of General Andrew Jackson in 1813-14 against the Creeks, Francis was driven into Spanish Florida and finally took up his abode near the Spanish Fort St. Marks. He then visited the Bahamas, embarking thence on a voyage to England, where he seems to have been given much attention, for example: In an account of a ball given on board a Russian frigate lying off Woolwich (near London) on the anniversary of the emperor's birth a London newspaper said, "The double sound of the trumpet announced the arrival of the patriot Francis, who fought so gloriously in our cause in America; he was dressed in a most splendid suit of red and gold and by his side he wore a tomahawk, mounted in gold, presented to him by the prince regent; he appeared much delighted with the appearance of the frigate." ¹

About the time of Francis's return to Florida from England in June 1817, ² friction arose between the United States and the Spaniards and Indians of Florida, fomented, it was thought, largely by British adventurers, the main features of which were Indian attacks on the border settlements of Georgia. Spain was charged with not suppressing them, the

1. *Niles' Weekly Register* (Baltimore), March 15, 1817.

2. James Parton, *Life of Andrew Jackson*, 1860, v. 2, p. 415.

British with furnishing ammunition and supplies, and Francis with having a hand in the trouble. These conditions produced a second invasion of Spanish Florida by an army under General Jackson in the spring of 1818, sometimes called the First Seminole War.

The family of Francis the Prophet at this time were his wife and two daughters. The Indian name of only the younger daughter has been preserved and was said to be Malee,³ phonetically resembling *Milly*, and this was universally adopted in English. All spoke understandable English except the mother. Francis was well-to-do, owning a number of Negro slaves, considerable stock, and other property.

Milly was the heroine of an interesting, appealing and authentic incident that occurred in Florida in March, 1818. She was about fifteen years of age and was described in contemporaneous accounts as being a beautiful Indian girl, of medium height, attractive form, very graceful, and in intelligence decidedly above the average of her race. That is what she was, and this the event that made her famous in our history, namely, her act of compassion and humanity in saving the life of a white man named Duncan McKrimmon, whom her people had captured and were preparing to put to death.

There are two sources of direct testimony covering the circumstances alluded to: an editorial in the Milledgeville (Ga.) *Journal* of November 3, 1818,⁴ undoubtedly based on the testimony of Duncan McKrimmon of Milledgeville; and the account of Milly herself given personally in 1842 to Lt. Col. E. A. Hitchcock, U. S. A. (later major-general), and preserved in his diary or journal.⁵ With these

3. James Parton, *Life of Andrew Jackson*, 1860, V. 2, p. 481.

4. This newspaper is in the files of Univ. of Ga. Library.

5. Found in *Fifty Years in Camp and Field*, Diary of Major General Ethan Allen Hitchcock, edited by W. A. Croffut. Ph. D., 1909, Chap. XXII; and *A Traveler in Indian Territory*, *The Journal of Ethan Allen Hitchcock*, late Major General of the United States Army, edited and annotated by Grant Foreman, 1930, p. 102, *et. seq.*

sources it is possible to construct an unusually complete and authentic account of Milly's rescue of Duncan McKrimmon from Indian vengeance.⁶

MILLY RESCUES MCKRIMMON

Duncan McKrimmon⁷ was a private in Capt. Joseph Watters's company, 2d. regiment, Georgia militia, attached to General Jackson's army which invaded Spanish Florida in 1818. Jackson entered Florida near the mouth of the Chattahoochee river, proceeded along the Apalachicola and arrived at the site of a former fort on the Apalachicola called Negro fort, March 16, 1818. Here a fortification was commenced and named Fort Gadsden. Thence, on March 25th, Jackson marched against the Spanish Fort St. Marks, which surrendered to him April 7th.⁸

While the army was resting at Fort Gadsden, Duncan McKrimmon went fishing one morning and in attempting to return to camp became confused, missed his way and was several days lost in the surrounding wilderness. After wandering about in various directions he was espied and captured by a party of hostile Indians and taken to the town of Francis the Prophet on the Wakulla river. Francis appeared in his elegant uniform of a British brigadier-general, with a brace of pistols buckled around his waist, and held in his hand his British commis-

6. The story by James Parton in his *Life of Andrew Jackson*, 1860, v. 2, pp. 431-32, 454-57, 480-83, should be used with caution by the careful historian, as it contains important errors of fact. A purported soldier of Jackson's army related the story to Parton, who unquestionably used it in good faith but without investigation.

7. Variouslly spelled in records-McKrimmon, McCrimmon, McReamon, &c. The form "McKrimmon" was used by his home town newspaper, the Milledgeville *Journal*, which is presumed to be correct.

8. Records of the War Department.

sion which he exultantly displayed to the prisoner. Having obtained the information they wanted regarding the strength and position of the American army, the captors began to prepare for the intended sacrifice.⁹

Milly and her sister were playing on the bank of the river when they heard a war-cry which they understood to signify that a prisoner had been taken. They immediately went in that direction and found a white man, entirely naked, tied to a tree, and two young warriors, with their rifles, yelling and dancing around him preparing to shoot him¹⁰ - as was their right, for it had been given out that if any Indian caught a white man he had the life of the captive in his power and no chief could interfere.¹¹

The prisoner was a young man and seemed very much frightened, doubling himself to screen himself from the gaze of the Indians that had assembled there, and at the same time looking anxiously around as if to ask if there was no one to help him. Milly responded and spoke to her father, telling him that it was a pity that a young man like that should be put to death, for he had no head to go to war (meaning that he was not old enough to engage in war upon his own account). Her father replied that he could not save the prisoner and advised her to speak to the captors. She did so. One of them was very much enraged, saying he had lost two sisters in the war and would put the white man to

9. Hitchcock Diary-Croffut ; Hitchcock Journal-Foreman.

10. Milly specifically pointed out to Col. Hitchcock that they were going to shoot McKrimmon and not burn him at the stake or tomahawk him as stated in early accounts. There is an illustration in Henry Trumbull's *History of the Discovery of America*, 1833, showing McKrimmon surrounded by fagots ready for lighting-an incorrect historical interpretation according to Milly's statement.

11. Hitchcock Journal-Foreman.

death. Milly told him that this would not bring his sisters back, and so talking to him for some time she finally persuaded him.¹²

Milly then went to McKrimmon and told him that his life would be spared if he would permit his hair to be cut off and then remain with them (probably meaning not try to escape). He thrust his head out, saying "Yes, yes, cut it all off if you choose." His head was shaved, all but the scalp-lock on the top, and he was loosed and dressed.¹³

McKrimmon was held by the Indians several days, during which time Milly continued to perform acts of kindness towards him. He was then taken to Fort St. Marks, where negotiations were opened for his ransom to the Spanish commander Luengo. This was accomplished for seven and a half gallons of rum.¹⁴

McKRIMMON SEEKS MILLY IN MARRIAGE

As we have already seen, Jackson's army appeared before St. Marks early in April, 1818. It had been preceded the day before by a United States squadron of two schooners sent to cooperate with the army in the attack on Fort St. Marks. The boats proceeded up the Appalache river¹⁵ and as they approached the Fort, the identity of their nationality being concealed by stratagem, Francis

12. Hitchcock Diary-Croffut ; Hitchcock Journal-Foreman.

13. Hitchcock Journal-Foreman.

14. The Milledgeville *Journal* account, *op. cit.* The ransoming of McKrimmon was also mentioned by Luengo in a letter to his superior at Pensacola, May 14, 1818; Luengo to Masot, *American State Papers, Military Affairs*, Vol. 1, p. 712.

This incident fully authenticated as it is and one of the most interesting resulting from our long contact with the Indians in Florida, should be better known, especially it might be featured in our school histories. -Ed.

15. That part of the St. Marks river below its juncture with the Wakulla was in that day called the Appalache river.

and another chief, Homathlemicco, who happened to be in the vicinity at the time, thinking the vessels British paddled out and went aboard. Both were detained. When Jackson was informed he forthwith ordered them hanged and his orders were carried out without further ado.

It is not clear from published accounts whether McKrimmon was in the Fort when it surrendered to General Jackson or had been permitted by the Spanish commander to embark in a small boat for the Apalachicola, meeting the American squadron en route; both versions have been advanced. However, it is certain that he rejoined the army and served with the Georgia regiment until it was released and sent home several weeks later.¹⁶

We have no incontestable record of the family of Francis during several months following his execution. It is said,¹⁷ and was probably so, that Milly occasionally visited the Fort and was always petted and kindly treated by the American officers, her act of saving the life of McKrimmon having become generally known to the army.

On or about August 27, 1818, a body of 188 Indians from the region of St. Marks, being in a starving condition, surrendered themselves to Lieutenant Colonel Arbuckle, commander of Fort Gadsden. The family of Francis, including Milly, was among them.¹⁸ Colonel Arbuckle did all in his power to relieve their immediate needs. When Duncan McKrimmon was informed of Milly's situation he set out for Fort Gadsden. Said the *Milledgeville Journal* of November 3, 1818 : "McKrimmon appears to have a due sense of the obligation he owes to the woman who saved his life at the hazard of her

16. Indicated in War Department records.

17. Trumbull, *History of the Discovery of America*, 1833, p. 256.

18. Col. Arbuckle to Agent Indian Affairs--See *Milledgeville Journal*, Sept. 29, and Oct. 13, 1818.

own-he left town last week to seek her and as far as may be in his power, to alleviate her misfortune. It is also his firm determination, we understand, if she will consent, to make her his wife, and reside, provided he can prevail upon her to do so, within the settled parts of Georgia."

A letter from Colonel Arbuckle to the editor of the Milledgeville *Journal*, dated Fort Gadsden, December 1, 1818, stated: ¹⁹ "Duncan McRimmon is here-Milly, the Prophet Francis's daughter, says she saved his life, or used such influence as she possessed to that effect, from feelings of humanity alone, and that she would have rendered the same service to any other white man similarly circumstanced-she is, therefore, not disposed to accept of his offer of matrimony, which has been made as an acknowledgment of gratitude. The donation presented through me by the citizens of Milledgeville to Milly, has been delivered, and she manifested a considerable degree of thankfulness for their kindness." Soon afterwards, Francis's family, together with other Indians, began their journey to Arkansas for resettlement. The story of Milly's benevolence had preceded her and she was shown much kindness and given a great many presents. ²⁰ Then the mist of oblivion came down upon her ; when it lifted it was disclosed that she had married one of her own race in the West. ²¹

Research and correspondence have failed to throw light upon the career of Duncan McKrimmon after Milly refused him in marriage. In later life he seems to have been called "Captain" McKrimmon, but whether this was a military or an honorary title is not known.

19. Published in *Milledgeville Journal*, Dec. 22, 1818.

20. Hitchcock *Journal-Foreman*..

21. See, 28th Congress. 1st Session. Report 149, H. R. Feb. 15, 1844, as to her marriage.

CONGRESS ACTS IN MILLY'S BEHALF

In January, 1842, Lt. Col. E. A. Hitchcock, U. S. A., (later a major-general), while traveling through the Indian territory of the Southwest on an official mission, learned that Milly Francis was living near the Arkansas river (in the vicinity of the present city of Muskogee, Okla.), and being nearby he sent for her to come in. She appeared, dressed somewhat on the order of white women.

Milly related to Colonel Hitchcock that she had come to this country "many years" before, that her husband was dead, as were her mother and sister. She had two sons and a daughter living of eight children, the eldest a boy of fourteen. She was living in considerable poverty, her children being too young to be of much assistance to her. Though her life had been hard she was still a good looking woman of about forty years, remarked Colonel Hitchcock in his diary, and must have been a beautiful girl. Milly talked freely about saving the white man's life in Florida and at times became quite animated. Her version of the incident has already been told above.

Upon his return to Washington, Colonel Hitchcock immediately became active in procuring aid for Milly through Congressional enactment. After considerable delay for Committee investigation, Congress passed the following act:²²

Be it enacted . . . That the Secretary of War be, and he is hereby authorized and directed to pay to Milly, an Indian woman of the Creek nation, and daughter of the prophet Francis, a pension at the rate of ninety-six dollars per annum, payable semi-annually during her natural life, as a testimonial of the gratitude and bounty of the United States, for the humanity displayed by her in the war of one thousand eight hundred and seventeen and one thousand eight hundred and eighteen in saving the life of an American citizen, who was a prisoner in the hands of her

22. United States Statutes at Large, Private Laws, vol. 6, pp. 928-9.

people and about to be put to death by them; the said pension to commence and take effect from the fourth day of September, one thousand eight hundred and forty-three.

Section 2. And it is further enacted, That the Secretary of War be, and he is hereby authorized and directed to procure, and transmit to the said Milly, a medal with appropriate devices impressed thereon, of the value of not exceeding twenty dollars, as an additional testimonial of the gratitude of the United States.

Approved June 17, 1844.

Three years elapsed before material action was taken for the fulfilling of the award of Congress. In June 1847, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs proceeded with the preliminaries necessary to carry out the provisions of the act.²³ In the course of another year a warrant for \$20 was issued by the Treasury Department for a medal for Milly,²⁴ "with devices that would probably be gratifying to her and at the same time be best adopted to commemorate the circumstances for which it was granted by Congress."²⁵ Likewise there was delay in the issuance of the pension certificate.

AID ARRIVES TOO LATE

During the years of delay in Washington Milly struggled for existence and contracted tuberculosis. When the benefit authorized by Congress reached her she was beyond the need of it, as the following correspondence will show.²⁶

Creek Agency, June 1, 1848.

Sir :

I had the honor to receive on the 7th Ultro, your communication, with enclosure, of the 7th of April last relating to the Act of Congress, granting to Milly, daughter of the Prophet Francis a pension for her generosity in saving the life of a White man. The same day I received information that she was laying dangerous ill - I immediately visited her, & found her as I was informed, in dying circumstances, and I regret to say in a most wretched condition. I immediately procured medical aid,

23. Office of Indian Affairs, 6-18-47, letter book No. 39.

24. OIA: Creek file T-85, Treasury Dept., 1848, 3-16-48.

25. OIA: 6-18-47, letter book No. 39.

26. OIA: Creek file R-223-270-271. Choctaw Agency, 1848, R-270.

& done all that was possible to alleviate her sufferings. - I read your letter to her, (she comprehending English perfectly) at which she was so highly elated, that I flattered myself she was recovering-but my hopes were fallacious, her disease was consumption, she died on the 19th Ultio, being about fifty years old.²⁷ She died a *Christian*, a devout member of the Baptist Church, has left, two sons and a daughter the Youngest of the boys, is at present at Col. Johnsons Academy in KY - She informed me, that at the time the act was rendered which saved the life of Capt McCrimmon, she never expected any pecuniary reward. her family were rich, she did not require it. she had however become very poor-& she was very grateful for the notice taken of her by the Govt, &c, &c-

I beg leave to ask for information as to how, I shall procure the Amt, of the Pension in arrearage - & how I am to dispose of it.

I am Sir
Very Respectfully,
Your Obdt, St. [Servant]
James Logan, Creek Agent

Honl, W. Medill
Commissioner Indian Affrs
Washington City

The foregoing communication was forwarded to Washington by the Superintendent of the Choctaw Agency and was replied to by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs as follows :²⁸

Office of Indian Affairs
July 17, 1848

Saml. M. Rutherford Esq
Choctaw Agency.
Sir:-

I have had the honor to receive your letter of the 19 ultimo enclosing one from Col. Logan, Creek Agent, communicating intelligence of the death of Milly, a Creek woman, for whom Congress had provided a pension ; and asking how the money shall be obtained and what disposition shall be made of it.

It will be necessary that some person shall administer on Milly's estate, who can draw the money and apply it for the benefit of the heirs at law. I should suppose that the Creek Agent would be the proper person to administer on the estate and see that the money coming to the heirs is properly applied. Indians are generally so improvident that it is running a great risk to trust money in their hands. In the present case, after the Agent has received, the money he will ascertain whether either of Milly's children is of age & if so whether he is competent to take charge of his own affairs and proper care of money. If he is, then his proportion of the pension might be paid to him, otherwise to be

27. Milly was born c1803 and was therefore around 45 years of age at her death May 19, 1848.

28. AIO: letter book No. 41.

expended for his benefit, from time to time, as it may be required. In the case of those under age the money should remain in the administrators hands to be used as they require it and if any balance shall remain at the time they become of age it should be paid over to them if they are fit persons to receive it. In either case the Agent will be expected to account for the money in a separate account to be rendered quarterly to this office.

The Delegation²⁹, now here, will take charge of the medal which was voted by Congress to Milly to be handed to you for the purpose of being placed in the hands of the proper person, whom I should suppose to be the eldest child. You will, however, before disposing of the medal, ascertain something of the character of the heirs and report to this office your opinion as to the propriety of disposing of the medal in the way proposed. When your report is received you will be instructed what to do.

W. M. [William Medill]

The record of the medal ends here; the report called for as to its final disposition is not to be found in the files of the Office of Indian Affairs—and this is not strange when it is remembered that there have been a number of removals of the archives as well as a fire in the files years ago, both of which contributed to the loss of many papers. Nor has diligent search of departmental records revealed a description or design of the medal as minted. This is unfortunate, for the award is unique, being the only instance in United States history that Congress by specific act has awarded a woman a specially minted medal with its own distinctive devices.³⁰

AT REST

Francis's town, to which McKrimmon was taken for the sacrifice, was on the bank of the Wakulla

29. A Creek delegation from Arkansas: OIA, 4-7-48, letter book no. 40.

30. The standard device Congressional Medal of Honor was not introduced by Congress until 1861, and is the earliest United States decoration now in existence. Two women have been recipients of this decoration, namely, Dr. Mary Walker for services rendered in the War Between the States, and Jane Arminda Delano (awarded posthumously) for Red Cross work in World War I—Wyllie, *Orders, Decorations and Insignia, Military and Civil*, 1921. Several Medalic Histories of the United States have been published, but none lists the Milly Francis award.

river about seven miles above the Spanish Fort St. Marks; it was possible for schooners drawing seven feet of water to ascend the Wakulla to the town.³¹ After the execution of Francis and the resettlement of his people in the West, the site quickly assumed the characteristics of abandonment. An officer of the U. S. detachment sent to occupy Fort St. Marks in July 1821, upon the transfer of Florida by Spain to the United States, remarked: "We came down on the west bank of the Waukulla to the place where was the famous prophet Francis' (or Hillis Hadjo's) town. The thistle now raises there its lonely head, the rank grass waves in the wind and 'the fox might look out at the window' but no such vestige remains of the abode of the unhappy chief."³²

Far away towards the setting sun, somewhere between the city limits of Muscogee, Oklahoma, and the Arkansas river, the body of Milly Francis was consigned to earth.³³ The precise location is now beyond identification. Maybe there, as at her Florida homesite, the "grass waves in the wind," or vines or wooded growth hides the spot. She was a child of nature; perhaps she would have wished it thus.

31. John Lee Williams, *A View of West Florida*, 1827, p. 23.

32. *Pensacola Floridian*, Jan. 7, 1822.

33. Annotation of Grant Foreman, *Hitchcock Journal*, 107 n. *Acknowledgments* : For their interest and assistance in furnishing (1931) copies of official records, the author desires to thank: J. Henry Scattergood, Asst. Commissioner, Office of Indian Affairs; C. H. Bridges, Major General, The Adjutant General, War Department; Edward C. Wynne, Acting Historical Adviser, Department of State; H. C. Cocke, Captain, U. S. N., Superintendent Naval Records and Library, Navy Department ; and Florence S. Hellman, (1939) Chief Bibliographer, Library of Congress.

ST. FRANCIS BARRACKS, ST. AUGUSTINE A LINK WITH THE BRITISH REGIME

by CHARLES L. MOWAT

Several years ago, in an article in the *Quarterly*, Abbot Charles H. Mohr, O. S. B., gave an interesting account of the work of the Franciscans in Florida during the first Spanish regime and described the strange history of their monastic buildings, which were converted into barracks during the British period and still give the name, and probably considerably more than the name, to the present-day St. Francis Barracks on Marine street in St. Augustine.¹ These barracks thus furnish a link of unusual interest between the present day and both the transitory regime of the British in East Florida and the earlier rule of the Spaniards. Since they are now celebrating the 175th anniversary of their use for military purposes some account of their reconstruction by the British for their present service, as well as of the building of the other barracks erected in St. Augustine during the British period, may perhaps be of interest.

It will be recalled that the first buildings which the Franciscans possessed in St. Augustine after their arrival in 1577 were constructed of wood and were burned down in 1599 ; and that in 1702 their buildings were again destroyed by fire, kindled on that occasion by the men of Governor Moore's expeditionary force from South Carolina. New buildings were subsequently constructed of coquina quarried from Anastasia island. Abbot Mohr stated that they were built concurrently with the construction of the great Castillo de San Marcos, and both completed during the administration of Governor

1. Abbot Charles H. Mohr, O. S. B., "St. Francis Barracks, St. Augustine ; the Franciscans in Florida," *Florida Historical Society Quarterly*, VII, 214-233 (January, 1929).

Alonso Fernandez de Heredia (1755-1758). As Dr. Chatelain has recently shown, the building of the Castillo was finished considerably earlier ; Abbot Mohr's date for the completion of the Franciscan buildings can, however, still be accepted, in the absence of any evidence to the contrary. At the time of the transfer of Florida to British rule in 1763 these buildings, so recently completed, as well as other ecclesiastical properties, were taken over by the new masters as Crown property, in spite of protests and the subterfuge of fictitious sales to British subjects friendly with the departing Spaniards.² The significance of this did not appear until the need of accommodating a considerable military force in St. Augustine led to a search for possible quarters.

In the reorganized scheme for imperial defense in North America adopted in 1763, St. Augustine was designated one of the military stations, and became the headquarters of a regiment, usually with a strength of about 200. In 1768, when a further reorganization was undertaken, the town was made the headquarters of the Southern Brigade and the station for three regiments. For various reasons this scheme was never fully put into effect, and was modified in 1770, when St. Augustine was named the station for two regiments. At intervals between March 1769 and September 1773, though not continuously, this was almost realized, and the greater part of two regiments was quartered in the town, with small detachments in the outposts. In May, 1770, the military strength in the province was returned as 641. In 1773, however, St. Augustine

2. Abbot Mohr, *loc. cit.*, 216-225; Verne E. Chatelain, *The Defenses of Spanish Florida, 1565-1763* (Carnegie Institution of Washington, Publication 511; Washington, 1941), 65 and 59-94 *passim* Governor Heredia's name and dates are given as in Chatelain, 126.

reverted to the status of headquarters of a single regiment.³

Even before the added burden of a second regiment was imposed, the problem of finding accommodation had been serious. The Spaniards had apparently provided no barracks in town, and the fort was not suitable as quarters. Moreover, the infant condition of the province made it impossible for barracks to be provided by the local population, or for the troops to be quartered in inns or elsewhere under the terms of the Quartering Act of 1765.⁴ Thus the responsibility lay with the military authorities, acting in cooperation with the civil governor.

Complaints of the lack of proper barracks were rife as early as 1763, when officers and men were quartered in dilapidated private houses and in the fort. Governor Grant, on his arrival, temporarily assigned the Bishop's House as barracks for the troops, but many remained in private homes, and the officers were left to make their own arrangements.⁵ A few artificers were sent from New York in 1764 on six-months' contracts, but in the time available they were able to do little in fitting up the troops' quarters, partly because of the loss of tools and materials in the wrecks of two Florida-bound vessels.⁶ Captain James Moncrief, of the

3. See the author's articles in the *Quarterly*, XVIII, 46-60 (July, 1939) and XX, 131-150 (October, 1941) at 136-137.

4. For quartering problems in other colonies, see Clarence E. Carter, "The Office of Commander in Chief: A Phase of Imperial Unity on the Eve of the Revolution", in Richard B. Morris (ed.), *The Era of the American Revolution: Studies Inscribed to Everts Boutell Greene* (New York, 1939), 196-202.

5. Grant to Gage, October 20 and December 8, 1764, in the Gage papers in the William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor; Grant to Hillsborough, January 14, 1769, in Great Britain, Public Record Office, Colonial Office papers, class 5, volume 550, page 57 (Library of Congress transcripts).

6. Grant to Gage, December 8, 1764; Ogilvie to Gage, December 11, 1764; Gage papers.

Engineers, was ordered to report to the Chief Engineer on works in progress and needed for the accommodation of the troops.⁷ It was apparently on the basis of this that General Gage included the fitting up of places assigned for the troops in St. Augustine in a list of works "which will not admit of Delay" sent to the Secretary at War in April 1765. The present quarters; he said, were open to wind and rain, and lacked chimneys.⁸

A little later, Moncrief drew up an estimate which subsequently caused considerable controversy. This 1765 estimate, as it may be called (actually the "Estimate of Works and Repairs, humbly proposed to be carried on at St. Augustine"), provided for a comprehensive building program, including the construction of officers' barracks, barracks for the men, and various works at Mosa and the fort, the latter including completion of the ravelin, covert-way and glacis, and the making of a guard house, drawbridge, and barracks and workshops for the ordnance artificers. The estimate totalled 3715-16-7 1/2, of which 749 was for the work at Mosa and the fort, 986-15-8 1/2 for "building and repairing barracks for 276 men," 1980-0-11 for materials and labor for the officers' barracks. A supplementary estimate of 1231-3-6 covered certain investments in workers and equipment which would lower the cost of the proposed works: hiring a master mason for a year, buying negro carpenters, masons, sawyers and common slaves, and purchasing carts, draft horses, oxen, flat-bottomed boats and

7. Gage to Grant, November 9, 1764, *ibid.*

8. Clarence E. Carter (ed.), *The Correspondence of General Thomas Gage . . . 1763-1775* (New Haven, 1931-33), II, 272, 276; Public Record Office, War Office papers, class 1, volume 6, pages 343-348.

canoes, and the cost of provisions for negroes and animals for a year.⁹

No action was taken until the arrival at St. Augustine of the hustling Colonel Tayler as local commanding officer. In January 1766 he wrote to Gage of the urgent need of barracks for the men, and suggested adapting for this purpose either the Bishop's house or the Church of St. Francis, of which Grant had offered him the choice. He recommended the church, which was well situated at the southern end of the town, near the bay, open to the sea breezes, and contiguous to the Franciscan convent, which Grant had already set aside¹⁰ for the officers' barracks, to accommodate eighteen officers; The Bishop's house, where seventy of the men were then quartered, had the disadvantage of being in the middle of town, a bad situation for discipline; the remainder of the men were still quartered in tumbledown huts and houses, and in the unhealthy rooms in the fort. The engineer, he added, had been directed to prepare an estimate of the cost of flooring the church.¹¹

In reply, Gage authorized Tayler to settle with Grant on the church, and to begin to fit it up as proposed, as the situation of the regiment seemed to require it.¹² This was an emergency measure, as the needed sanction of the Treasury had not been obtained, and Gage justified it as such to the Secretary at War.¹³ He did so under the impression that he was authorizing merely a minor ex-

9. This estimate was sent by Gage to the Secretary at War, August 10, 1765, Carter, *Gage Corr.*, II, 296-297; it is to be found in War Office 1/6, pp. 509-511, and in an account book (unnumbered and untitled) in the Gage papers.

10. Grant to Gage, October 2 and December 8, 1764, Gage papers.

11. Tayler to Gage, January 20 and 27, 1766, *ibid.*

12. Gage to Tayler, March 9, 1766, *ibid.*

13. Gage to Barrington, March 29, 1766, Carter, *Gage Corr.*, II, 344; cf. *ibid.*, I, 87.

pense, and later referred to an estimate which Tayler had sent in January 1766. This, of which Tayler denied all knowledge, appears to have been a copy of the estimate of the "Expense of Repairing the Church of St. Francis (at St. Augustine) for Soldiers Barracks" which Captain Jenkins sent to Gage after succeeding Tayler in the command. This amounted to only 510-17-0.¹⁴

Nothing was done in Tayler's absence, as Jenkins was too cautious to assume responsibility for work not fully authorized. But on Tayler's return the work was begun, and in August 1767 he wrote of advantageous contracts he had made for plank, and for stone from Anastasia island to be delivered at high water mark near the site of the barracks.¹⁵ A wharf was made for the unloading of the timber and provisions, and plans drawn for a two-story building with terrace roof and galleries, containing in all eight rooms, each accommodating a company.¹⁶

As more and more bills, drawn by Tayler on Gage for these works, poured in,¹⁷ and as Tayler reported increased difficulties in obtaining stone and timber, Gage became alarmed at the scale of operations, and reminded Tayler to keep within the estimate of 510-17-0.¹⁸ This started a covey of uneasy letters from Tayler, three written on March 10, 1768 and two, one with two postscripts, on March 11. He made it clear that he was working on the basis of the 1765 estimate, of which he sent Gage a copy,

14. Jenkins to Gage, August 28, 1766, Gage papers; the estimate is in one of Gage's account books under the heading "Abstract of the Several Estimates Transmitted to His Majesty's Secretary at War October 11, 1766": cf. Gage to Barrington, October 11, 1766, Carter, *Gage Corr.*, II, 380.

15. Tayler to Gage, August 29, 1767, Gage papers.

16. Tayler to Gage, November 4 and 9, 1767, February 14, 1768, *ibid.*

17. Tayler to Gage, November 4, December 12 and 29, 1767, January 10, February 4, 14 and 22, March 5, 1768, *ibid.*

18. Gage to Tayler, December 19, 1767, *ibid.*

and denied all knowledge of the estimate of 510. He reiterated the need of the new barracks, mentioning the present exposed and scattered quarters of the men and the resulting drunkenness and irregularities. He offered to build the barracks at his own expense and sell them when relieved of his command, or alternatively to complete only the first story and keep the surplus materials at his expense until the Treasury's orders were received. So far he had drawn bills to the amount of about 700. At the end of one letter he added "in my haste and anxiety I made several Offers, upon my word without the least impatience or soreness, other than a Concern for anything I might have mistaken." ¹⁹

Gage soothed the ruffled colonel as best he could, and permitted the work to continue, since it was so far advanced, ²⁰ even sending, when requested, certain fixtures, such as locks, hinges and bolts, which could be bought more cheaply in New York than locally. ²¹ Progress, however, proved very slow under Tayler and his successors. The old church, which formed one front of the new building, was very much out of repair, and one of the walls had to be partly taken down. Griffiths, the mason who had contracted to deliver the stone, ran away, and another mason injured himself, leaving only one at work in the summer of 1768. There was difficulty in quarrying the stone. Major Chissolm reported in November 1768 that only an ensign supervised the work, and that the engineer had never been employed on it. ²²

The arrival of General Haldimand in April 1769,

19. Tayler to Gage, March 10, 1768 (3), March 11, 1768 (2), *ibid.*

20. Gage to Tayler, April 9 and 13, 1768, *ibid.*, cf. Carter, *Gage Corr.*, I, 170-171.

21. Gage to Tayler, June 21, 1768, Gage papers.

22. Whitmore to Gage, July 20 and November 5, 1768; Chissolm to Gage, November 8, 1768, *ibid.*

when the brigade headquarters were moved to St. Augustine, failed to expedite matters greatly, but led to an expansion of the already lagging program. Haldimand wrote to Gage proposing to add a second story of wood to one wing of the convent, to provide lodging for ten or fifteen of the officers, who were still quartered in rented houses ; ²³ the complete building would then evidently include both the church and the Convent of St. Francis. Gage replied that this seemed to be the beginning of new work, which must on no account be undertaken without the King's permission ; ²⁴ but Haldimand answered that he regarded the officers' rooms as part of the work already begun, ²⁵ and proceeded with them.

All through the year 1770 the work dragged on. By January 1771 the two stories of the mens' barracks were evidently completed, for Colonel Maxwell mentioned complaints from the men in the upper rooms of the Franciscan barracks of rain beating through the roof. The officers' barracks, however, were not finished until May, partly because of the loss at sea of material sent from England the previous summer. On May 28, 1771 payment of lodging money to the officers was stopped, and all were accommodated in the barracks. ²⁶ Well might Gage write "it is full Time considering the continual Works for the Accommodation of the Troops that have been carrying on for Years at St. Augustine." ²⁷ He had already expressed his views on the business to Maxwell : "I hope St. Francis Barrack is finished. I was drawn into a Scrape in that Affair, first by Coll-Taylor, and afterwards by Genl-Haldimand, and I want to hear no more of it." ²⁸

23. Haldimand to Gage, July 6, 1769, St. Augustine, *ibid.*

24. Gage to Haldimand, September 30, 1769, *ibid.*

25. Haldimand to Gage, November 29, 1769, *ibid.*

26. Maxwell to Gage, January 20, 1771; Mackenzie to Gage, July 1, 1771; *ibid.*

27. Gage to Mackenzie, September 18, 1771, *ibid.*

28. Gage to Maxwell, October 9, 1770, *ibid.*

While St. Francis Barracks were gradually being completed, other barracks were also rising in St. Augustine. The new disposition of the troops in 1768, making St. Augustine the headquarters of the Southern Brigade and the station for three regiments, necessitated the construction of a further "Pile of Barracks" sufficient to hold two regiments. Since, however, the station was to be only temporary, Gage proposed that these barracks be constructed as cheaply as possible of wood. He asked Grant to allot a suitable spot of ground, and ordered Tayler to consult with Grant about the building and site, and to find out from the engineer whether local construction by artificers sent from New York was preferable to the erection of a frame made in New York and shipped with boards and shingles to St. Augustine.²⁹ Grant offered three sites, of which one open to the sea and a mile out of town was favored; the engineer recommended local construction with the help of one or two head-carpenters and some materials from New York, and sent an estimate and plans.³⁰

Gage approved these plans, and sent a draft of them to Haldimand in October 1768, with authority to begin work at once; some artificers and materials were sent from New York by the deputy quarter master general.³¹ In January 1769 he sent the plan and estimate home, and in the following September received authority from the secretary of state to proceed with the work.³² But meanwhile nothing seems to have been done, and the men and materials sent were presumably employed on St. Francis

29. Carter, *Gage Corr.*, I, 186-188; II, 481; Gage to Grant, June 25, 1768; Gage to Tayler, June 25, 1768; Gage papers.

30. Whitmore to Gage, August 10, 1768, *ibid.*

31. Gage to Haldimand, October 8, 1768; Gage to Whitmore, October 10 1768, *ibid.*

32. Carter, *Gage Corr.*, I, 213-214, 238; II, 91.

Barracks. In July 1769 Haldimand, now arrived in St. Augustine, recommended a new plan: the erection of a frame made in New York. This he advised because of the difficulty of obtaining good materials locally and because of the damp, shell-like character of the local stone (which Grant had hoped would be the material used).³³ He went ahead with negotiations for the site, and eventually purchased four acres in two lots, for 210, on the site previously recommended,³⁴ which was at the southern end of town, not far from St. Francis Barracks.

This change of plans was approved by Gage, and in December 1769 he instructed Haldimand to proceed with the laying of the foundation, while he would contract in New York for the timber and brick work.³⁵ In January he sent him a copy of the contract, and in March he heard that the laying of the foundation was under way.³⁶

The erection of the new barracks was, however, postponed by a change made in the disposition of the troops in February 1770, when Haldimand was ordered back to Pensacola and the troops there were strengthened at the expense of St. Augustine's position as a main station.³⁷

Gage asked Lord Hillsborough, the secretary of state, whether the frame contracted for in New York for St. Augustine should be sent to Pensacola instead, as was possible under a clause in the contract ;³⁸ Haldimand recommended this, and Hillsborough approved it.³⁹ Governor Grant, writing in

33. Haldimand to Gage, July 1, 1769; Grant to Gage, March 5, 1769, Gage papers.

34. Haldimand to Gage, November 29, 1769, March 7, 1770; Gage to Haldimand, December 23, 1769, *ibid.*

35. Gage to Haldimand, December 23, 1769, *ibid.*

36. *Id.* to *id.*, January 31, 1770; Haldimand to Gage, March 7 and 21 1770, *ibid.*

37. Gage to Haldimand, February 26, 1770, *ibid.*

38. Carter, *Gage Corr.*, I, 246-247.

39. *Ibid.*, II, 100; Haldimand to Gage, March 21, 1770, Gage papers.

March, stated that this had actually been done; that the 16th Regiment, sailing from New York for Pensacola, took with it the frame of a barrack which was ready to be put on board for St. Augustine.⁴⁰ Conversely, it was later stated that the frame was intended for Pensacola, but was detained by Governor Grant at St. Augustine.⁴¹ Actually, Gage had merely delayed action on new barracks anywhere until he received further orders; and before any change in plans had been carried out St. Augustine had been reinstated as the station for two regiments. The frame was therefore sent to St. Augustine after all, and Colonel Maxwell, then in command, was sent a copy of the original contract, made in January 1770, for the erection of the frame in St. Augustine.⁴²

The building of the new barracks was therefore only temporarily delayed by the changes in the disposition of the troops, and was resumed in September 1770. The contract made between the barrack master general and the chief engineer, on the one hand, and John Glover, John Johnston and John Gelston of New York on the other, provided for a three-story building 208 feet wide with wings at each end 82 feet long by 38 feet in width. The first story was to be of brick; the truss roof was to be shingled, and decorated with a cupola; a piazza was to surround the whole building. It was to contain 28 officers' rooms, 40 soldiers' rooms, "necessary vaults" for officers and men, five kitchens for the soldiers to cook in, and sixteen kitchens underneath the officers' rooms on the first floor. The contractors were to provide all timber, shingles, etc.,

40. Grant to Hillsborough, March 27, 1770, colonial office papers, class 5, vol. 551, p. 42.

41. James Grant Forbes, *Sketches, Historical and Topographical, of the Floridas* (New York, 1821), 87.

42. Gage to Hillsborough, August 18, 1770, Carter, *Gage Corr.*, I, 265; Gage to Maxwell, August 23, 1770 and enclosure, Gage papers.

and to employ all the artificers and laborers needed for the erection of the frame; the barrack master general and the chief engineer to provide paint, glass and fixtures, and to transport the materials and artificers to the site, where the foundations were to be ready when the bricklayers arrived. Common labor was to be provided by the troops. The price was 5725 in New York currency.⁴³ Three bills, totalling 3339-11-7 1/2 sterling, were drawn by the chief engineer on Abraham Mortier, the deputy paymaster general, in payment for the work.⁴⁴

The artificers and some of the materials reached St. Augustine in September 1770, but the laying of the foundations, which, contrary to Haldimand's assertions, had not previously been completed, was delayed by difficulties in obtaining lime, which eventually had to be brought by boat from a shallow creek twenty miles away.⁴⁵ Owing to the low-lying land, trouble was found in making drains for the necessary houses, and Moncrief had to devise a method of harnessing the tide to flush them—an arrangement which later proved unsatisfactory as the tide was not sufficiently high and a dam with flood-gates in an adjacent creek, which was to remedy this, fell into disrepair.⁴⁶ Further delays resulted from the late arrival of nails, glass and other articles.⁴⁷

By early August 1771, however, the new barracks were finished.⁴⁸ Lieutenant Colonel Carr, whose men were quartered in it after their arrival in De-

43. Contract, dated January 25, 1770, enclosed in Gage to Maxwell, August 23, 1770, *ibid.*

44. Account of Captain Thomas Sowers, in account book among Gage papers.

45. Maxwell to Haldimand, December 13, 1770, St. Augustine (Text erroneously has Pensacola), in *Report on Canadian Archives, 1886*, by Douglas Brynmer, Archivist (Ottawa, 1887), 503; Maxwell to Gage, January 20, 1771, Gage papers.

46. Carr to Gage, June 19, 1772, *ibid.*

47. Mackenzie to Gage, July 1, 1771, *ibid.*

48. Mackenzie to Gage, July 30 and August 7, 1771, *ibid.*

cember 1771, reported it a very handsome building, but the slightest he ever saw, "as a good Gale of Wind may some night blow it away."⁴⁹ Romans commented that the materials sent from New York were far inferior to local materials, and that the freight exceeded their value when landed, which led him to suspect that "parasite pockets" had been filled.⁵⁰ The building doubtless constituted, as Forbes described it, an "elegant appendage" to the town,⁵¹ with its cupola a prominent feature. The cupola was provided with a large iron weather cock, which caused local alarm that lightning would be attracted and the building endangered. An "Electrical Rod" had been recommended, but Gage had laughed at the fears of the populace and refused such an expense.⁵²

The new barracks did not last long. Governor Tonyon remarked in 1776 that the effect of sun and weather on the inferior wood made several repairs necessary, and echoed Grant's wish that local stone had been used.⁵³ In 1792 the building was burned down, though the chimney stacks remained standing for at least a generation afterwards.⁵⁴

St. Francis Barracks, on the other hand, though allowed to fall out of repair in the closing years of the British regime, continued to serve military purposes. It was used as barracks during the second Spanish period and became the property of the United States after the transfer of Florida from

49. Carr to Gage, December 11, 1771, *ibid.*; Carter, *Gage Corr.*, I, 316.

50. Bernard Romans, *A concise natural history of East and West Florida* (New York, 1775), 261.

51. Forbes, *Sketches*, 87.

52. Mackenzie to Gage, July 1, 1771; Gage to Mackenzie, September 18, 1771; Gage papers.

53. Tonyon to Germain, May 19, 1776, Colonial Office papers, class 5, vol. 556, p. 593.

54. Forbes, *Sketches*, 86; William W. Dewhurst, *The History of Saint Augustine, Florida* (New York, 1881), 134, gives the date of the burning as May 15, 1792.

Spanish to American rule. Forbes recorded that, at the time when he was writing, 1821, it was in use as a jail.⁵⁵ In 1832, however, it was returned to military uses, and in 1867 it was rebuilt by the War Department of the United States. The name "St. Francis Barracks" first appears in an official report in 1881.⁵⁶ Dewhurst, writing in the same year, declared that its walls were probably the oldest structures in St. Augustine.⁵⁷

In 1908 it was leased by the War Department to the State of Florida for one dollar a year, for use as the state arsenal and the general military headquarters of the Organized Militia of the State; the lease was renewed in 1913. On December 13, 1915 a fire broke out in the main building of the group of buildings constituting the "Federal Military Reservation of St. Francis Barracks," housing the offices of the adjutant general's department and the general headquarters of the National Guard. The upper story of the building, which was known as St. Francis Barracks building, was destroyed, and though the walls were left standing it was later reported that they could not be used in any way.⁵⁸ But this prediction was not borne out.

By act of Congress, March I, 1922, the entire property was transferred to the State of Florida for military purposes, subject to its reversion to the United States on written notice from the President to the Governor that the United States had need of it. Meanwhile the state legislature in 1921 had appropriated \$40,000 for the reconstruction of the main building. The work was begun in 1922 and com-

55. Forbes, *Sketches*, 87.

56. Abbot Mohr, *loc. cit.*, 226-227.

57. Dewhurst, *History of Saint Augustine*, 156, 168.

58. *Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Florida for the year 1915* (Tallahassee, n. d.), 32 ; *ibid.*, 1916, 35-36; *ibid.*, 1920, 8 ; cf. Abbot Mohr, *loc. cit.*, 227.

pleted in 1924.⁵⁹ Not only were the old coquina walls used in the rebuilding but some small portion of the wood framing was found usable. The appearance and condition of these walls, and especially of the foundations, indicated great age; they are apparently the remains of the original structure,⁶⁰ as was believed in the last century.

Three views in Abbot Mohr's article show the building about 1840, after the rebuilding of 1861, and after that of 1924. These reveal little or no change in the appearance of the barracks,⁶¹ presumably the building as reconstructed by the British in 1767-71 out of Spanish materials.

Thus it may be said that the St. Francis Barracks of today are evidence, in name, site, use, design and walls, of a continuity with the British and Spanish regimes of long ago which is as remarkable as it is unique.

59. *Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Florida for the year 1921*, 8; *ibid.*, 1922, 9; *ibid.*, 1924, 13; Abbot Mohr, *loc. cit.*, 229-233.

60. Statements of McIntosh & Yonge, contractors for the rebuilding, and of A. T. Long, superintendent, of Pensacola.

61. See the illustrations in Abbot Mohr, *loc. cit.*, opposite pp. 228, 229.

THE TRIANGULAR CONTEST FOR FLORIDA

Florida's colonial history is mainly that of an intermittent struggle for possession by the three great European nations-Spain, France, and Great Britain. Though efforts were made at colonization, none were really successful except the fair beginning of the English in East Florida; the beginning in the West was in those parts only nominally and temporarily Florida. The purpose of Spain's two hundred years of sovereignty was to keep the others out, and that was the reason for St. Augustine and Pensacola-two oases in a wilderness.

Three books tell of this early struggle for Pensacola and West Florida. First was William E. Dunn's *Spanish and French Rivalry in the Gulf Region of the United States, 1678-1702*, published as University of Texas Bulletin No. 1705 (Austin, 1917). This work is the source of a series of three articles in this *Quarterly* (IV. 3, 76, 140) which contain the Pensacola portion of Dr. Dunn's volume. The other two were published simultaneously : *Spanish Approach to Pensacola, 1689-1693*, by Irving A. Leonard (The Quivira Society, Albuquerque, 1939) and *The Triangular Struggle for Spanish Pensacola, 1689-1739*, by Lawrence C. Ford (The Catholic University of America Press. Washington, D. C., 1939). Dr. Leonard's work was reviewed in this *Quarterly*, in January 1940 (XVIII, 229).

The three are in large part built out of the same materials from *Archivo General de Indias* at Seville. Dunn, as Leonard says, blazed the trail. Leonard, working in the archives of Spain and Mexico City, brought to light and published pertinent documents which Dunn had not found, together with others of the transcripts of the Florida State Historical Society.

Ford used mainly the transcripts and photostats in the Library of Congress: those from Seville "the official transactions and reports of the viceroys of New Spain, of the governors of Havana and Florida, and of the commanders and other officers of the Florida presidios and sea-port towns, addressed to the King of Spain or his ministers" and from *Archivo . . . de la Nacion*, Mexico City, "principally the replies made by the Spanish court to the officials in New Spain, together with orders, instructions, and royal *cedulas*."

The Ford study, extending several decades beyond the others, emphasizes the later English threat, as his headings indicate: "French Intrusion and English Menace 1698-1702," "Spanish-French Alliance against England 1702-1713," "English Maneuvers and French Hostilities, 1713-1721," and "The New Threat: English Georgia, 1732-1739."

The volume is of especial interest because its treatment of Pensacola extends through the early decades of the eighteenth century—a period of which little is generally known, and one full of vicissitudes.

Though the author recounts most of the local history of the Pensacola region for this period which can be got from the Spanish archives, he also treats the long conflict as "a political and diplomatic contest with the Spanish documents as the chief source of information." He shows that "the diplomatic intrigues at the European courts affected [Florida] . . . considerably less than is generally believed. Thus while Spain and France were at war with each other in Europe, their colonials on the north coast of the Gulf of Mexico were fostering not only peaceful but actually friendly relations."

There was no food to be had in the Pensacola area, so when supplies failed to come from Mexico or Havana, as was continually happening, starvation

was in prospect. Time and again the French in Mobile came to the rescue generously, and when Pensacola with almost all of its supplies was virtually destroyed by a fire in 1705, French Mobile sent food, arms, ammunition, tools, and other necessities, together with a boat to send to Vera Cruz for further aid.

After the war of 1719-1721 in which Pensacola was shuttled between Spanish and French four times within a few months, it was finally given to Spain again by treaty, and thenceforth "France was no longer a serious threat. Thereafter it was England that Spain had to contend with for the retention of Pensacola, and this threat lasted until 1763 when the Gulf coast region of the Mississippi was ceded to England by the Treaty of Paris."

Of much value to any one wishing to go further into any phase of the long conflict is a list of one hundred eighty one documents in the bibliography, with their titles and descriptions, dates and locations - being those most useful to the author in his study.

NOTES

THE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHERN FLORIDA

At the Coral Gables Country Club on November 17 a joint program meeting of the Historical Association of Southern Florida and the Miami Pioneers was featured by a talk of Mr. J. K. Dorn, president of the Pioneers. As a long-time resident, Mr. Dorn was able to tell at first-hand numerous incidents and facts of early Miami days, especially occurrences of the Spanish-American war. Giving the talk additional interest were early photographs shown by the speaker and Mr. Claude Matlack.

Dr. C. W. Tebeau, professor of history in the University of Miami, read a paper on The Ingraham Everglades Exploring Expedition of 1892. This was based on and included extracts from the log of the exploring party who made the trip from Fort Myers to Miami.

This year's officers and local and regional directors, with Dr. John C. Gifford as president, were listed in the last issue of the *Quarterly*.

THE TALLAHASSEE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

This is one of the most active local societies in the State, with program meetings throughout the winter. The feature of the October meeting was a paper by Mrs. W. M. Hodgson on Florida legislation between 1846 and 1865. On November 13 Judge Rivers Buford read a paper on Napoleon B. Broward. Due to conflict with the holiday season there was no December meeting. On January 8, Dr. Dorothy Dodd will read a paper on Bishop Pearce, the colored reconstruction divine and politician.

Meetings are held in the parish house of St. John's Episcopal church. Dr. Robert H. Cotterill,

Florida State College for Women, has been re-elected president.

JUDAH P. BENJAMIN MEMORIAL

Robert Gamble, a son of John G. Gamble, president of the Union Bank of Florida, moved to the Manatee region in the 1840's where he proposed to establish a huge sugar plantation. Here he built a remarkable dwelling which is now the Judah P. Benjamin Memorial, and where at one time he had three hundred slaves. The two-story brick and tabby structure is nearly one hundred feet in length, with a colonnade of eighteen enormous pillars supporting the roof on three sides.

Here, on the fall of the Confederacy, Secretary of State Benjamin was concealed awaiting a small boat in which he escaped to Bimini. On the purchase of the building by the Judah P. Benjamin Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, the legislature of Florida made it a state memorial and it has been developed through several appropriations. It is in the custody of a state commission of which Eva M. Gates is chairman.

Miss Gates has written a booklet of fifteen pages describing the Memorial, including sketches of Secretary Benjamin and Major Gamble, with ten illustrations. This has just come from the press and copies may be obtained from the Memorial, Ellenton, and from Miss Gates, Manatee, at thirty-five cents. The proceeds will assist in its further development as a Confederate museum.

THE ST. AUGUSTINE PUBLIC LIBRARY

The reorganization and rehabilitation of the public library of St. Augustine will be of interest to

our members because of its cooperation with and influence on our own library there and on historical and general culture in St. Augustine.

The new president is Mrs. Marjorie K. Rawlings Baskin who is active in our Society ; our Mr. Watt Marchman is now secretary, and our own secretary, Mr. Albert Manucy, is one of the directors.

CONTRIBUTORS To THIS NUMBER

LOUISE BILES HILL, PH. D., was manuscripts editor and state supervisor of Florida Historical Records Survey until its recent discontinuance, and editor of its *Spanish Land Grants in Florida*. She received the Baruch Award for research in Southern history with her *Joseph E. Brown and the Confederacy*. Dr. Hill is now engaged in literary work in Jacksonville.

T. FREDERICK DAVIS is the author of *History of Jacksonville* published by the Florida Historical Society. His numerous contributions to the *Quarterly* include our special Ponce de Leon number.

CHARLES L. MOWAT, PH. D., of the history department of the University of California, Los Angeles, has contributed several papers on British East Florida to the *Quarterly*.