

RESEARCH OPPORTUNITIES IN THE SPANISH BORDERLANDS: EAST FLORIDA, 1763–1821

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IN THE GREAT STRUGGLE FOR THE MASTERY OF THE NORTH AMERICAN CONTINENT during the second half of the eighteenth century, the major European powers—Britain, France, and Spain—confronted each other on the lower Mississippi and along the Florida frontier. The fate of both East and West Florida was determined by this titanic struggle. Britain emerged from the Seven Years' War as the mightiest nation on earth. Her fleet had captured Havana, and to redeem this valuable port Spain agreed to cede the Floridas.

The Treaty of Paris, signed February 10, 1763, transferred "Florida with Fort St. Augustin, and the Bay of Pensacola, as well as all that Spain possesses on the continent of North America, to the East or to the South East of the River Mississippi." These territories were organized as the British royal colonies of East and West Florida. East Florida encompassed the peninsula and was bounded on the north by the St. Marys River and by a line extending northwest and west from the source of the river to the confluence of the Chattahoochee and Flint rivers, and on the west by the Appalachian River down to the Gulf of Mexico. St. Augustine was the capitol of the colony, and James Grant from Ballindalloch, Banffshire, a former attorney and a veteran of the Seven Years' War, was appointed governor. St. Marks, in Apalachee county some 200 miles west of St. Augustine, was occupied in 1764. It was abandoned five years later after being seriously damaged in a hurricane (Boyd 1940–1941, 1942–1943; Olds 1962).

In the years prior to 1763, Florida was a strategic outpost in Spain's New World empire. Barren and thinly populated, yet located in a position of considerable geographic importance, the colony developed political institutions peculiarly suited to her own situation. A study which throws considerable light on the area and on the years preceding the Seven Years' War is *The Governorship of Spanish Florida* (1964) by John J. TePaske. Although there was mutual fear (Chatelain 1941, Lanning 1936), trade relations between the merchants and planters of East Florida and the colonists in Georgia, South Carolina, and New York were active throughout the eighteenth century. The Spanish in St. Augustine had always welcomed and needed English trade goods, and in exchange sent not only gold and silver, but the produce of their soil. The large quantities of oranges, timber, and naval stores shipped out of St. Augustine before 1763 laid the foundations for a prosperous economy after the English arrived. *Trade and Privateering in Spanish Florida* (Harman 1969) uses shipping returns, customs records, and manifest lists to show the large amounts of commercial intercourse between Florida and the British colonies notwithstanding

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royal trade restrictions. Similar studies for the second half of the eighteenth century are needed. Some scholarly work has been done on agriculture (Gray 1933), the cattle industry (Arnade 1961a), citrus (Robinson 1945, Ziegler and Wolfe 1961), and forestry (Tyson 1956), but the history of cotton culture, indigo, naval stores, lumbering, and fisheries is still unwritten. The colonial records of Georgia and South and North Carolina (Candler 1904–1915, Ga. H. S. Collections 1909, Easterby 1951–1962, Saunders 1886–1890) and the Montiano Letters in the East Florida Papers are important sources for the economics of eighteenth century Florida. TePaske utilized this data for his analysis of the economic problems of the governors (TePaske 1958), and similar material is available for colonial Georgia (Abbott 1959), but additional surveys are vital.

When East Florida was ceded to Britain in 1763, the withdrawal of the Spanish was prompt and thorough. The inhabitants consisted largely of soldiers and government employees who by interest and inclination followed the flag. Gold's *Borderland Empire in Transit* (1969) is the most recent and discerning study dealing with the transfer of Florida and its effect on the three powers involved. Of value also are the other studies by Gold and Wilbur Siebert on the Spanish withdrawal and the re-settling of the Catholics and the East Florida Indians (Gold 1963, 1964a, b, 1966, Siebert, 1940).

East Florida as a British Province, 1763–1784 by the British historian Charles Loch Mowat (1943a) is the best interpretive study of East Florida in print. When Florida was acquired by the English very little was known about the province. Accordingly, a considerable amount of literature concerning the peninsula was commissioned by the government, and newspaper articles, pamphlets, and brochures began to appear. Few of these accounts were accurate, some described locales never seen by their authors, and others perpetuated romantic myths about eighteenth century East Florida. Yet many do contain geographical descriptions of Florida and information about the flora, fauna, wild and birdlife, rivers and streams, the Indian inhabitants, and climatic conditions that is nowhere else available (Roberts 1763, Romans 1766, Stork 1766, William Bartram 1791 and 1943, John Bartram 1942). An anonymous article, "An exhortation to gentlemen of small fortunes to settle in East Florida," appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (January 1767).

In addition to advertising Florida (Mowat 1943c), the British instituted a liberal land grant policy in an effort to encourage immigration (Mowat 1940). There were two major but unsuccessful attempts to establish colonies. One was Rollestown on the St. Johns River near present day Palatka, and the other, New Smyrna, was organized by Dr. Andrew Turnbull south of St. Augustine. Carita Doggett Corse, a direct descendant of Dr. Turnbull, wrote an account of her ancestor's activities in Florida (Corse 1919). While somewhat partisan this was the first book to emphasize the importance of the documents at the British Colonial Office as they relate to East Florida. The purpose of the book was to erase the unsavory reputation created for Turnbull by almost all authors who wrote about New Smyrna. More scholarly studies of this settlement are *New Smyrna, an Eighteenth Century Greek Odyssey*

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by E. P. Panagopoulos (1966), an unpublished thesis by Kenneth H. Beeson, Jr., (1960), and an article by Beeson in the *Florida Historical Quarterly* (1965).

Although there is adequate documentary source material available, little has been done on Denys Rolle or his Florida settlement. Two articles might be noted: Corse (1928), "Denys Rolle and Rollestown, a Pioneer for Utopia" which is based upon contemporaneous documents in the Public Records Office, London, and Mowat (1944b), "The Tribulations of Denys Rolle."

There is a paucity of published biographical material on other East Florida personalities. A privately printed biography of James Grant (Grant 1930), an article in the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, and a short entry in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, which gives only brief details on his work in Florida, is almost all there is on Grant. Henry Laurens, South Carolina planter and diplomat and another almost forgotten eighteenth-century figure, and Grant were friends, and the details of their association throws some light on Governor Grant's personality (Wallace 1915, Hamer 1968–1970).

A single article (Townsend 1940), a *Dictionary of American Biography* reference, and a few notes elsewhere (Mowat 1943b, Forbes 1821) is all there is on John Moultrie of South Carolina. He was a trained physician, a man of wealth, one of the largest planters in East Florida, and he served first as lieutenant governor under Grant and later as acting governor. His brother, James Moultrie, former attorney general of South Carolina, was chief justice of East Florida, but no published study of his life and career is available. There is one article on William Drayton who succeeded Moultrie as chief justice in 1765 (Mowat 1943b). Governor Patrick Tonyn, who turned East Florida over to the Spanish in 1784, has also been neglected. There is a short entry in Appleton's *Cyclopedia of American Biography*, but he is not listed either in the *Dictionary of National Biography* or the *Dictionary of American Biography*.

To the British, East Florida was *terra incognitae*. The Florida peninsula on the early eighteenth-century maps were erroneously depicted as a fragmented archipelago with gross distortions of her lineaments and geographic patterns. In 1756, the Spanish had authorized two surveys of the Tampa Bay. The first was but briefly recorded (Holmes-Ware 1968), but the second, carried on in 1757 by Don Francisco María Celi, was minutely documented. There was also a map or chart which was described as not only a "key document" but also "an artistic work" (Arnade 1965, 1968, Ware 1968, 1971b, 1972). The British saw the need for additional and more accurate maps, and towards that end William Gerard De Brahm was appointed surveyor general of East Florida in 1764. His comprehensive "Report of the General Survey in the Southern District of North America" has been published for the first time, and it is of immense value for an understanding of East Florida. Louis De Vorse, Jr. edited this publication and has included an important analysis of it, as well as biographical data on DeBrahm (De Vorse 1971a).

The major event of the British period in East Florida was the American Revolution, but little has been written about this period. Siebert's two-volume study,

Loyalists in East Florida, is the best analysis available. Utilizing documents from the British Public Records Office, he describes the political, diplomatic, and military activity in Florida immediately before and during the American Revolution. Burton Barrs' *East Florida in the American Revolution* and Kathryn Abbey Hanna's "The Place of the Floridas in the American Revolution" (Hanna n.d.) are also concerned with this event which had so much of an impact on East Florida. The area was too isolated to become a major theatre of military operations, but there was some skirmishing. *Southernmost Battlefields of the Revolution* by Charles E. Bennett describes military activities in 1777–1778. There are scattered references to the naval activity off the Florida east coast just prior to the outbreak of hostilities in the collected *Naval Documents of the American Revolution* (Clark and Morgan, 1964–1970), but no detailed study of this activity is available. On military problems encountered in East Florida prior to and during the Revolution there is some other published material (Mowat 1944a, Jarvis 1907, Johnson 1851, Sturgill 1971). There is need, however, for a thorough scholarly analysis of East Florida's participation in the American Revolution, and with the approaching American Revolution Bicentennial such a scholarly study is being commissioned by the American Revolution Bicentennial Commission of Florida.

At first Spain collaborated secretly with the French in giving the rebelling colonies financial assistance, but when France precipitated an open break with England and signed a treaty of commerce and alliance with the United States, Spain tried to reassess the situation as it affected her own power position. For a time she hoped to mediate the conflict (McCarthy 1916, Hanna 1928), but becoming convinced that this was futile, she aligned herself secretly with France. Spain came into the war, but she did not formally commit herself to the United States. She sought to avenge old wrongs and to recover lost possessions, including Florida (Hanna 1929). The Spanish took Mobile in 1780 and forced Pensacola's surrender the following year. In 1782 Spain took the Bahama Islands, although a party from East Florida recaptured the islands just before the cessation of hostilities. The East Florida coast was left undisturbed until the end of the war.

Spain was not consulted in the peace preliminaries between the United States and Great Britain, although she later contended with good reason that certain of the provisions vitally concerned her. In the treaty signed in Paris in 1783, East Florida was retroceded to Spain. On the assumption that the British population would leave Florida as the Spanish had done in 1763, it was agreed that the emigrants would be allowed eighteen months "to sell their estates, recover their debts, and to transport their effects, as well as their persons, without being restrained on account of their religion, or under any other pretense whatsoever, except that of debts and criminal prosecutions." Spain was not altogether happy with the agreement; Gibraltar was still her one great territorial objective. If England had been willing to yield Gibraltar, Spain likely would have relinquished her rights to East Florida, at least that part of it north and west of Cape Canaveral. England did not yield, however, and Spain began her second occupancy of East Florida.

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When terms of the peace agreement reached St. Augustine, the East Florida inhabitants were much concerned. Many had been in the province many years and had expended large sums of money improving their estates. Now suddenly to abandon their homes and businesses would indeed involve "losses, toils, and dangers." This was also true of the thousands of Loyalists who had lately arrived as refugees from the other colonies.

None looked with complacency upon the necessity of removal, yet if the territory was now Spanish, the Britishers were little disposed to question the necessity of emigration. There was the question of compensation for land and other property however, and these claims and litigations have been adequately documented in the study of Siebert (vol. two, 1929). The first evacuees left in June 1783, even before the conclusion of the definitive treaty. During the next few months the outward stream continued to flow. When the Spanish arrived the next year to take possession, most of the English inhabitants had gone. (For a full account of the emigration see Siebert, vol. one, 1929.)

Helen Hornbeck Tanner has written an account of this interregnum period in East Florida (Tanner 1949). It was indeed a time of chaos as Professor Lockey pointed out in an article in the *Florida Historical Quarterly* (Lockey 1945). Mrs. Tanner discusses the degree of continuity between the English and the Spanish rule. The generally accepted view that the first years of the second Spanish period were characterized by a sudden decline in economic and political life because of the change of sovereignty, is not supported by documentary evidence. In fact there is really some question as to just how prosperous East Florida was under the British (Yonge 1946). One contemporary writer pointed out that some inhabitants had moved to West Florida on "account of its superior soil" (Smyth 1784).

Vicente Manuel Zéspedes, the incoming governor, maintained a standard of freedom and justice which brought praise from British subjects who remained in East Florida. At the beginning of Spanish rule, Florida had a population of about 2,200, including governmental personnel. This was about the size of East Florida in 1776 before the effects of the American Revolution became noticeable. For a further understanding of this period, an examination of the documents collected and translated by Joseph Byrne Lockey is vital. Dr. Lockey had envisioned a documentary history of Florida covering the entire period of Spanish control, 1783–1821. This task was never completed, but his extensive transcripts are available in the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, and in the Library of the University of California at Los Angeles. One volume of the documents, edited by John Walton Caughy, was published under the title *East Florida, 1783–1785* (1949).

The second Spanish period is a small but well-defined gap in the later colonial history of the Spanish empire as well as the background of the American territory. No narrative history exists for Florida in the years following its return to Spain. Professor Tanner has presented the career of Vicente Manuel Zéspedes y Velasco, first governor of East Florida during the second Spanish period, who served in St. Augustine from July 1784 to July 1790. There are other scattered studies including one on Carlos

Howard who came to Florida in 1784 as secretary to Governor Zéspedes. He acted as translator, trouble-shooter, and as "second-in-command." He played an important role in the Treaty of New York between the Creek nation and the United States, and that is the focus of the thesis by Everett H. Wilcox (1968). Important biographical detail on Zéspedes and Howard is also found in an article by John Ware published in *El Escribano* (1971a). While studies are under way on Governors Quesada (Janice B. Miller 1950) and Enrique White (Rogers C. Harlan 1971), the period offers a great deal of additional opportunity for scholarly research. Nothing substantial is yet available on Governors Bartolomé Morales, Juan de Estrada, Sebastián Kindelán y Oregón, or José Coppinger.

When Spain recovered Florida, the revolutionary era in Europe and in America had begun. Economic structures, political institutions, and social and intellectual ideas were changing rapidly. As a great colonial power with major holdings on the American continent, Spain was deeply interested in the problem of readjustment within her empire. She was at the same time occupied with the problem of defense against foreign aggression. Under Charles III, Spain instituted many measures of reform adopted for the purpose of tightening the bonds between her colonies and the mother country, and many of these affected East Florida. In the volume *Documents Relating to the Commercial Policy of Spain in the Floridas*, translated and edited by Arthur P. Whitaker, Spain's rather remarkable concessions to the commerce of both East and West Florida in the period between 1778 and 1808 are revealed. The most important trading operation in Florida at this time was the firm of Panton, Leslie and Company. William Panton and his friends were actively involved in Florida and along the southern frontier in the half century before the acquisition of Florida by the United States, and the attention of many historians has been drawn to their operations. The Panton firm had a major impact on the stability and endurance of Spanish rule in Florida, and in many ways the story of Spain in Florida is also the story of Panton, Leslie. Much of William Panton's early life and career in South Carolina and Georgia remains a mystery, although it is known that he was involved in various planting and commercial activities (Greenslade 1935). On the eve of the American Revolution, his reputation for loyalty and commercial ability was of such significance that he was requested by Governor Patrick Tonyn of East Florida to come to St. Augustine to handle the Indian trade. To the governor's satisfaction, Panton proved to be the "credible trader." The mercantile ventures of Panton and his associate Thomas Forbes flourished, and by the end of the British period they controlled the most extensive and successful trading operation in Florida. After 1783 the firm used every means at its disposal to convince the Spanish authorities that it would be to her benefit to allow the company to remain in East Florida. Governor Zéspedes was convinced of Panton's usefulness, and he sought to influence his superiors. By late 1785, the Panton company had achieved a relatively secure and recognized position throughout North Florida. In subsequent years the firm extended its area of operation and expanded its financial resources. Three unpublished masters theses (Nimnicht 1968, Sherlock 1948, Stacey 1967) throw considerable light on the history and

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influence of the Panton firm, but more scholarly research needs to be done. Professor Thomas C. Kennedy, University of Wyoming, is at work on a study of the company tentatively entitled "Panton, Leslie and Company: An Agency of Commercial Diplomacy in the International Rivalries and Intrigues of the Old Southwest." Thomas D. Watson is in the process of completing his dissertation at Texas Tech on Panton: "Merchant-Adventurer: The Life and Times of William Panton." Primary source material on the firm is available in the Florida Historical Society, University of South Florida, in the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, and in the Mobile, Alabama, Public Library. Little in the way of scholarly research has been done on the Forbes operation in East Florida. Most of its activities during the second Spanish period centered around Pensacola, San Marcos, and the interior Indian country, but the firm had holdings in East Florida, in and around St. Augustine, and along the St. Johns River.

There is no satisfactory account of economic activity in East Florida after 1783. Spain tried to induce settlers to enter the area by promoting agriculture and commerce, but military and political conditions along the frontier and the failure to implement a vigorous program of development interfered. Considerable quantities of corn, sugar, and rice were grown, and cotton became the main money crop. Tobacco was cultivated, but it did not achieve major economic importance in East Florida until the American period. The importance of the rice crop in East Florida is indicated by the Royal Order of June 9, 1793, forbidding the importation of foreign rice into Spain. Corn was an important crop, and large herds of cattle were also raised. In addition there were many vegetables and fruits, including oranges, that were produced. The master's thesis by Marion F. Shambaugh (1953) throws important light on the development of agriculture during this period, but work is needed on other economic activities like naval stores and lumbering. The feasibility of developing timber stores industries in Florida was revealed by the reconnaissance made in 1787 by Lt. del Río Cosa's expeditions along the East Florida coast (Holmes 1966h). An analysis of shipping in and out of St. Augustine and Fernandina would also be helpful. The unpublished study of plantation and farm records for East and Middle Florida for these years is very helpful (Glunt 1930), but this work needs expanding.

After 1783, the presence of the United States was a constant threat to Spain's sovereignty in Florida. Its end as an American possession was inevitable. As the United States developed, her land-hungry population sought to extend her frontiers west and south. This push infringed upon territory claimed by Spain and presented that country with a severe challenge to her Caribbean and Gulf defenses. It was the American threat that occupied most of Spain's attention in Florida after 1783. Spain tried to develop a new type of defensive program. She instituted an immigration policy designed to attract into Florida settlers who, upon becoming loyal Spanish subjects, would present a barrier against the expanding American frontier. In the beginning East Florida had relatively little trouble with the Americans who crossed the Georgia-Florida border without royal permission. Spain's immigration policy as a means of defense against the expanding United States frontier failed. Of value in

understanding the complex problems facing Spain is the master's thesis by Robert E. Rutherford, "A Study of Spain's Immigration Policies in Florida" (1952).

On the northern bank of the St. Marys River, a townsite, St. Patrick, had been established in 1788 at a place called Buttermilk Bluff. Four years later the name was changed to St. Mary's (Vocelle 1914, Coulter 1947), although the Spanish insisted upon calling it New Town or Newton. It became the base for much of the intrigue that involved East Florida over the next quarter of a century. As the population in South Georgia increased the settlers began casting envious eyes toward the vacant lands in East Florida. Once the area had been dotted with prosperous plantations, but with the exodus of the British the population declined. Zéspedes suggested in 1787 that some industrious Americans should be allowed into the area to aid in growing vital crops. Eventually a royal order in 1790 invited aliens to come into East Florida at their own expense. Many took advantage, and the area between the St. Marys and the St. Johns rivers began to fill up (Vocelle 1913, Imlay 1797). The story of these immigrants and their impact on the economy of East Florida is still another vacuum that needs filling.

Zéspedes left St. Augustine in 1790 after six successful years as governor, and he was succeeded by Juan Nepomuceno Quesada. East Florida was already caught up in the controversy and turmoil generated by the European conflict, but of major concern was the ever increasing problem with Indians as American settlers more and more encroached on lands claimed by the Creeks and Cherokees (Swanton 1922). The Indian frontier had been pushed southward and westward by treaties in 1733 and 1763 and by the Treaty of Augusta in 1773. A small group of Creeks in 1785 ceded to the state of Georgia the land from the confluence of the Oconee and Ocmulgee rivers to the southernmost bend of the St. Marys River, and for the first time the frontier of Georgia abutted the northern frontier of Florida (Alden 1944, Mohr 1933).

The Spaniards claimed to be protectors of all the Creek people, and the citizens of Georgia were unwavering in their belief that most of their trouble with the Indians was as a result of the evil machinations of Spanish officials in St. Augustine. The news of the Treaty of New York in 1790 caused great consternation, and many settlers were determined to resist at any cost retrocession of the land to the Indians. The Indians applied for and received aid from the Spanish in East Florida. As American hostility rose and as the number of Indian depredations increased, the United States became ever more desirous of getting the Spanish out of East Florida. There were other problems that added fuel to the fire: landowners seeking the restoration of their runaway slaves, settlers wanting access to more free land, and commercial interests seeking new outlets for trade in the Indian lands and in East Florida.

This was the state of affairs when Citizen Genêt arrived in Charleston as the new French minister to the United States (Turner 1897b). His instructions bristled with hostile declarations against the possessions of Spain. The study of Genêt's plan as it relates to the Southeast—the rising of forces in South Carolina and Georgia to form the nucleus of an expedition against East Florida—has been written (Murdock

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1951). No one has yet examined this episode in a scholarly way from the point of the considerable body of material in the *Papeles procedentes de Cuba* and in the East Florida Papers. Some of the United States government dispatches that relate to this are also available in published form.

The study of Carlos Howard by Wilcox (1968) relates to his involvement on the Georgia-Florida border during this period. Howard was sent to the area first because of troubles with the Indians, and he patrolled the border with rural militia and regular infantry. During the war with France he defended Amelia Island, until he was ordered in 1794 to move back to the St. Johns. On July 12, 1795, Howard defeated a French-American force in North Florida and expelled the French from Amelia Island.

Except for the work by David Cochran (1967) there has been no definitive study of the Lower and Upper Creek migrations from Georgia and Alabama into peninsula Florida during the eighteenth century. Professor Mahon in his history of the Second Seminole War does touch on this in early chapters (Mahon 1967), and there is additional material in Sprague's *The Origin, Progress, and Conclusion of the Florida War* (1848), MacCauley's *The Seminole Indians of Florida* (1887), Cotterill's *The Southern Indians: The Story of the Civilized Tribes before Removal* (1954), and Foreman's *The Five Civilized Tribes* (1934).

The British attempted to work amicably with the Seminoles, as the Indians of Florida came to be known in the second half of the eighteenth century (Carter 1915, 1918, Labaree 1935, Shaw 1931). More analysis of the Florida Indians in the British period is needed, and little if any work has been done in studying the Indians of East Florida in the second Spanish period. How the Indians lived, how they made their living, their involvement in trade and commerce, and the impact of the whites on their culture are just some of the areas that call for scholarly exploration.

On the black in Florida, either as a slave or as a free man, there is almost nothing (Siebert 1931). Professor TePaske of Duke University has done research on the status of the Florida black prior to 1763, but most of his findings are still in the form of unpublished notes. As the Spaniards did not make any notable plantation development during their first occupation, it was not until the British period that any significant number of black slaves were brought into colonial Florida. British authorities encouraged settlement and offered bounties for the production of indigo and naval stores, and as a result, slaves were imported in considerable numbers to work on the plantations. In 1767, the *Brigantine Augustine* landed seventy Negroes from Africa at St. Augustine, and a year later Governor James Grant reported that Richard Oswald, a planter, had over 100 Negroes on his plantation (Donnan 1935). Denys Rolle was another large slave owner in British East Florida, working more than 150 blacks on the 76,000 acres that he owned on the St. Johns River. Slaves were brought in from Georgia and South Carolina as well as from Africa. De Brahm showed a population in the province in 1771 of about 3,000 including 900 Negroes. The influx of Loyalist refugees during the Revolution, particularly after evacuation of Charleston and Savannah in 1782, brought many planters and their slaves into East Florida.

Mowat (1943a) estimates that when the British began leaving East Florida that there were 6,090 whites and 11,285 blacks in the province. When the British population departed, they took their slaves with them. A Spanish census of 1786 shows only about 1,700 inhabitants in St. Augustine, mostly Minorcans, Italians, and Greeks; 127 Negroes were listed (Lockey 1939). The plantation system and its accompanying institution of slavery began to revive again when Americans began moving into Florida after 1790. In northeast Florida, plantations began to spread again, and by 1804 there were 4,445 inhabitants, of whom about 2,300 were slaves. East Florida, particularly Fernandina and Amelia Island, became a base of operations for slave smugglers who brought in cargoes from Africa and moved the blacks across the border into Georgia (Stafford 1967).

Of special importance in the study of the Negro in early nineteenth-century East Florida is Zephaniah Kingsley who engaged in the slave trade between Africa, the West Indies and America. He arrived in 1803 to take up a sizable land grant. Establishing his rights to this property, he brought in seventy-four Negro slaves to cultivate his land. In 1813 he moved to Ft. George Island at the mouth of the St. Johns River where he took over a large plantation that had previously belonged to Don Juan McQueen and John Houstovn McIntosh. It also became the headquarters for his slave-trading activities. Kingsley's plantations were used not only for the production of cotton and other crops, but also as training schools for blacks imported from Africa. Kingsley was himself married to Anna Jai, a black woman from Africa, and he had some pretty specific and enlightened ideas about the institution of slavery. His *Treatise on the patriarchal system of society, as it exists . . . under the name of slavery* published in 1828, is much advanced for its time (Kingsley 1834). The scale in which Kingsley carried on his business is shown by the capture of a shipload of 350 slaves which he was trying to land. Although Kingsley's impact on East Florida was a major one for more than four decades, no adequate biography of him has ever been written. There are two short and inadequate studies (May 1945, F. L. Glover 1970) and only a few other brief references (Child 1843, Watt 1968).

The role and status of the free black in early Florida has been examined in the *Florida Historical Quarterly* (Garvin 1967). Also the relationship between Florida blacks and Florida Indians has been studied (Giddings 1858, Mahon 1966, Porter 1945), but more is needed.

Except for the Minorcans who settled first at New Smyrna and later in St. Augustine, the history of other ethnic and national groups who settled in Florida has been neglected. There is a short monograph on the Italians, but it is hardly more than a listing of names with a brief identification of individuals and families where possible (Roselli 1940).

There are a number of manuscript sources on the religious history of East Florida. The St. Augustine parish registers constitute the oldest written records of American origin in the United States; the first entry is dated June 25, 1594, and the registers form a continuous record to 1763. They were taken by the Spanish that year to Cuba where they remained in the archives of the Cathedral of Havana until the

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nineteenth century; they were returned to St. Augustine in 1906. They form a valuable parochial and genealogical record since they indicate the origin of many of the Spanish, Negro, Indian, and mixed racial groups of families of colonial Florida. The "Golden Book of the Minorcans" is a one-volume register which began as the parish record of Father Pedro Camps, pastor of the Minorcan colony at New Smyrna. When the priest and his parishioners moved to St. Augustine in 1777, they brought the register with them. Although the Minorcans were absorbed into the parish of St. Augustine after 1783, they continued to record in their "Golden Book" the principal ecclesiastical events of their lives. The best examination of the Catholic church in Florida after 1783 are Curley's *Church and State in the Spanish Floridas* (1940), and Michael Gannon's *The Cross in the Sand* (1965). Both are excellent for an over-all history of the Church of Florida. Peter Guilday's *The Life and Times of John England, First Bishop of Charleston* (1927) contains material on East Florida. Other items of importance are Clavreul's *Notes on the Catholic Church in Florida* (1910) and Roth's *Brief History of the Churches of the Diocese of Saint Augustine, Florida* (1923–34). The most recent research on the early American church, with some material on Florida, is by the noted Catholic historian, John Tracy Ellis (1965).

Although the Protestants date their first contact in East Florida to Jean Ribault and the Fort Caroline settlement of 1564, the Church of England really did not take root in Florida until after 1763, and then it became established in the areas where there were English settlements and garrisons. St. Augustine was the Protestant center of the colony, and it was there that the first Anglican house of worship, St. Peter's, was built. After 1783 the church went into a state of decline, and there has been no scholarly attempt to document its history in the period between 1783 and 1821. Except for a few scattered articles appearing in church and professional journals, little on the other Protestant sects before 1821 is available (Pennington 1938, 1941, Dalton 1952). There were only a handful of Jews living in St. Augustine and in the St. Johns River area before the American period (Proctor 1956).

Research into the social history of Spanish East Florida is another virtually untouched area. During the British period the Anglican curate held classes for the children, but not much is known about the students, the courses of study, or the kinds of instructional material utilized. A free school for Minorcan children, apparently the first free school in what is now the United States, was opened in St. Augustine in 1787, by Father Thomas Hassett. Father Francisco Traconis, in addition to his duties as chaplain at the hospital, instructed the first grades and a layman taught the older children. William Lawrence, an Englishman who had served as chief surgeon of the Royal Hospital during the British period, tutored in an English-speaking school in St. Augustine which began about 1802. Almost nothing else is known about this institution, however. Father Juan Nepomuceno Gómez operated a parish school in St. Augustine in 1816. Except for brief references in the works of Gannon and Curley, a master's thesis which largely focuses on the post Spanish era (Lewis 1950), and a short chapter in another thesis (Stimmel 1954), there is no history of secular or religious education in East Florida during the period prior to 1821.

There was a printing press operating in St. Augustine during the British period. It is known that at least two books were printed, and a weekly journal, the *East-Florida Gazette*, was published from February 1, 1783, to March 22, 1784 (Wroth 1938). There is no record of publication activity after the British evacuated Florida.

There was also a theater of sorts in St. Augustine during the British period, but except for the notices of performances in March and May 1783, it is not known whether records of the theatre, its actors, or its patrons have survived. Nothing is known about libraries, recreation, or public lectures. TePaske has written about funerals and fiestas in early eighteenth-century East Florida, and Tanner describes the activity in St. Augustine during Governor Zéspedes' administration, but more of this kind of research is needed for the period after 1763 (TePaske 1965, Tanner 1960).

On the architecture and construction of the Castillo de San Marcos in St. Augustine and other public and private buildings in the city much has been written. There are two excellent accounts of the Castillo by Albert Manucy (1943, 1960b). Mr. Manucy also did a survey of colonial St. Augustine architecture for the St. Augustine Historical Society (1960a), and Charles Arnade made a similar survey for the St. Augustine Historical Restoration and Preservation Commission (1960).

Manucy's *Houses of St. Augustine* (1962), his histories of Castillo de San Marcos and Fort Matanzas National Monuments (1945) and the Cathedral (1946), and Lawson's (1957) study of the Oldest House are valuable. The Historic American Building Survey, U.S. Department of Interior, has photographed all of the extant colonial buildings of St. Augustine, and these pictures and line drawings of the properties are in the Library of Congress. There are also articles on the early architecture of St. Augustine in *El Escribano*, published by the St. Augustine Historical Society. The Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board has published a guide book to the buildings in the restored area (1971). A description of the delapidated condition of St. Augustine when the Spanish returned is the subject of an article by John Ware (1969).

Little is known about either the practice of law or medicine in East Florida prior to 1821. The British set up a judicial system almost as soon as they arrived in St. Augustine. These courts administered the laws of England and had jurisdiction over criminal cases and in all suits and actions, civil and real. A judicial system continued after 1783, but the jurisdiction of the courts was not always very concise. No legal studies of the post-1788 era are available.

The British established a hospital in an old Indian church on the outskirts of St. Augustine in 1770. What the arrangements were for medical care after 1783 is not known. Webster Merritt in his history of medicine in Duval County has a brief note on Dr. Hugh Rose who practiced at St. Johns Bluff in the 1780s and biographical data on Dr. James Hall, an American doctor who settled near present day Jacksonville in 1798 (Merritt 1949).

The presence of the United States, young, volatile, and imbued with the idea of "manifest destiny," just to the north of East Florida, boded no good so far as the Spanish were concerned. However well-intentioned the Spanish were, Florida after 1783 was not a well-governed colony. The Indians along the southern frontier remained generally anti-American and pro-British, a sentiment which Spain fostered. Florida's swamps were happy hunting grounds for runaway slaves, and they provided a haven of refuge from raiding parties. There was also the logic of geography which operated to the detriment of continued Spanish control: the streams of the South emptied through Spanish territory into the Gulf. River outlets under an alien flag were handicaps to American economic development in an era when goods moved principally by the water. The Spanish military force in Florida after 1783 was always a mere show of authority used in an effort to maintain order and prevent rebellion. The Spanish had hoped to build up a population who would be loyal although of necessity alien. Time proved the failure of this plan.

Spain, realizing the economic instability of East Florida, sought to fulfill the needs of the settlers for trade goods by negotiating a trade alliance with France. A *cedula* in 1782 permitted French commercial relations with West Florida and Louisiana, but East Florida was excluded from its provisions. No commercial policy was worked out for the area until 1793. East Florida quickly became economically dependent on the United States. Havana was the only Spanish port with which St. Augustine had any real traffic, and this activity fell off consistently with the years. Of the forty-two ships entering St. Augustine in 1806, only five came through Havana; the other thirty-seven were from ports of the United States. Flour, hams, and butter came into St. Augustine from Baltimore, and rice, corn, and lumber from Charleston and Savannah. Dry goods, wine, and brandy were also imported. East Florida produced little for export, and their scanty products—cotton, naval stores, citrus, skins, and hides—went not to Havana or to the mother country but to the United States.

Panton, Leslie and Company had a store and a warehouse in St. Augustine, but it was not as important in East Florida as United States' interests. Panton's activities in St. Augustine were also substantially less than they were for Pensacola and Mobile (Whitaker 1931). Continued investigation of the Panton, Leslie records will bring to light much needed additional data on East Florida economics after 1800. The East Florida Papers contain shipping lists and the correspondence of the governors and consular officials in Havana, Madrid, and the United States. This is the kind of source material that must be utilized by scholars who need to continue the work begun by Arthur Preston Whitaker.

East Florida was little involved in the diplomatic machinations which led eventually to the Louisiana Purchase. In fact, when Jefferson sent a delegation to Paris with instructions to negotiate the purchase of the territory east of the Mississippi, including the two Floridas, it was stipulated that East Florida was only worth half of West Florida.

Major diplomatic involvement of East Florida came as the expansionist policies

of the United States peaked in 1811. The election to Congress the previous year of a substantial number of "War Hawks" prepared the way for aggressive action (Pratt 1925). Fearful that England was planning to reestablish herself in the area south of the St. Marys River, two Americans, George Mathews, former governor of Georgia (Boots 1970), and John McKee, were sent into the area to evaluate the situation and to determine the temper of the Americans living in East Florida. The cause, the course, and the results of the plan to liberate East Florida are examined in detail in *Florida Fiasco* by Rembert W. Patrick (1954), and in a number of articles published in the *Florida Historical Quarterly* (Davis 1929, Corbitt 1941, Hill 1943, Patrick 1945, 1949, Yonge 1925). There are also articles which discuss the activities of Mathews and the course of the revolution (Cox 1925, Wyllys 1929, Porter 1945, Kruse 1952).

The Treaty of Ghent of 1815 ended hostilities between the United States and Great Britain, but the problem of East Florida was still left unsettled. If anything, the desire to acquire the Floridas was greater than ever. In the years 1816–1817 other kinds of adventurers sought to capitalize upon American desires for Florida and Spanish weakness to promote their own activities. One of these was Gregor McGregor who appeared at Fernandina in June 1817, claiming to represent the Republics of Venezuela, New Granada, Mexico, and Rio de la Plata. Before the end of that year four different flags, including that of the United States, had flown over Fernandina. Little scholarly investigation of this episode has emerged, although there are numerous documents and letters concerning it in the American State Papers. A short monograph is also available (Davis 1928), but new research would be of value.

The Spanish era in Florida really ended with the First Seminole War and Jackson's invasion of West Florida in 1818. It had long been obvious that Spanish Florida would be annexed to the United States. American claims against Spain had mounted steadily over the years, and the citizens were now ready to collect in one fashion or another. The steps leading up to the signing and ratification of the Adams-Onís Treaty have been fully documented by scholars, but there has been little effort to examine the impact that the transfer of East Florida had on its inhabitants.

Perhaps the major controversy that developed during the American-Spanish negotiations over the transfer of Florida involved the land grants that had been so generously allotted by the King. Many of these grants, of course, involved land in East Florida. The Arrendondo Grant, made in 1817 to Fernando de la Maza and his son, Havana merchants who had commercial interests in East Florida, was one of the largest, almost 290,000 acres, situated in what is now Alachua, Marion, Columbia, and adjacent counties. There was much litigation involving this grant, and eventually, after the American government acquired Florida, some of the cases went all the way to the United States Supreme Court. There are many legal documents, surveyors reports, correspondence, and depositions involving the grant, but a scholarly study of it is needed.

There are some traveller's accounts that give a view of the East Florida area and

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its people in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Such a traveller was Johann Schopf, the German who came into St. Augustine in 1784 (Morrison 1911). Fairbanks (1858, 1871), Brinton (1859), Darby (1821), Vignoles (1823), Williams (1837), Reynolds (1891), Lanier (1876), Dewhurst (1885), and Davis (1925) have written on the period covered in this survey.

The important scholarly work, both in terms of research and writing on East Florida in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century yet remains to be done. In his *Bibliographical Guide to the History of the British Empire, 1748–1776* (The British Empire Before the American Revolution, Vol. XIV), Lawrence Henry Gipson lists only sixty-four items including printed source materials, secondary works, biographical studies, and maps on Florida.

Source material on East Florida abounds, and much of it is now readily available in research libraries in Florida and elsewhere in the United States. The Library of Congress, the John Carter Brown Library of Brown University (Wroth 1941), the Clements Library at the University of Michigan (Tanner 1951), the Canadian Archives in Ottawa, the North Carolina Historical Commission Archives at Raleigh, and the Georgia Historical Society Library at Savannah are all important places for research on Spanish and British East Florida.

The P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History at the University of Florida is the vital place for Florida research. For both Spanish periods and the British period it must be consulted. There rests the large Stetson Collection whose architects were John B. Stetson, Jr., James A. Robertson, and Irene A. Wright. The 7,000 documents (about 130,000 pages) cover the period 1518–1820. The majority are from the *Archivo General de Indias, Seville*, but here are also many typescripts from other Spanish archives and the British Public Records Office. A calendar for the collection is available. The P. K. Longe Library also contains the following collections that include important research data for the period 1763–1821:

Jeanette Thurber Conner Papers (on microfilm)—documents, translations, and transcriptions from Spanish archives; an unpublished manuscript, "Chronicles of the East Coast of Florida;" nineteenth century land claims papers.

Elizabeth Howard West Papers—transcriptions from Spanish and English archives. The major focus is on Panton, Leslie and Company.

Joseph B. Lockey Papers—transcription from Spanish, British, Mexican, and American archives and libraries. Of importance in the Lockey Collection is the Fatio family genealogy, documents of civil cases involving citizens of East Florida and Panton, Leslie and Company, and Professor Lockey's letters and work sheets and notes. The Yonge Library has added a considerable number of documents (on microfilm) from the British Public Records Office to this collection. It is estimated that at least seventy-five per cent of the documents relating to East Florida in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries from the public archives of Britain are now available on zerox and/or microfilm in the P. K. Yonge Library.

Edward W. Lawson Papers—correspondence, notebooks, transcripts, translations, and written materials on St. Augustine and East Florida.

James Alexander Robertson Papers—of particular value is a year-by-year bibliography of Floridiana, 1500–1926. Boxes 12, 13, and 14 cover the period from 1763–1821.

James David Glunt Papers—letters and papers relating to East and Middle Florida plantations beginning with 1789, Panton, Leslie, and Company, and to the Arrendonda Grant.

The East Florida Papers, the archives of the Spanish government in East Florida between the years 1783 and 1821, constitute the major source of material for the period. There are approximately 65,000 documents in this collection, and they are indispensable to scholarly research. The major features of Florida policy during this era of Spanish control are revealed in such series as the correspondence between the governors of Florida and the captains general of Cuba; correspondence of the governors with the Spanish departments of the Indies, state, war, grace and justice, and the exchequer; various correspondence with ministers and consuls of the United States; relations with the trading house of Panton, Leslie and Company; and relations with the Indians. The original papers are in the Library of Congress where they fill 749 manuscript boxes plus several volumes of laminated pages. They are also available on microfilm (Manning 1930, Wright 1942).

The researcher will also want to utilize two unpublished compilations. One is a listing of Florida items in Charleston, South Carolina, newspapers for the period 1732–1804 (W.P.A., n.d.), The other is a listing and brief explanation of Florida material appearing in *Niles Register* (Davis 1939). Of vital importance to the scholar working in the period 1763–1821 are maps, and he will want to make reference to the lists compiled by Woodbury Lowery (1912), L. C. Karpenski (1927), David O. True (1954), and P. Lee Phillips (1901).

A comprehensive historical treatment of the East Florida Spanish borderlands must include a knowledge of geographical and topographic terms. Within recent years linguists have begun to take notice of the topographic element in the literature produced by America's pre-nineteenth century writers. The editors of the *Dictionary of American English on Historical Principles* (Craigie and Hulbert 1938–1944) discuss the significance of this portion of our language. A study by E. Wallace McMullen (1953) examines books written in English pertaining to Florida from 1563 to 1874, inclusive, to determine the derivation of Indian, French, or Spanish inhabitants. Other significant studies along these lines are by William A. Read (1934), J. Clarence Simpson (1956), and Bertha Bloodworth (1959), and the unpublished work, "Florida Place Names" compiled by the Florida Federal Writers' Project of the W.P.A.