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JULIEN C. YONGE, *Editor*
Pensacola

EMMA ROCHELLE PORTER
Assistant Editor, Jacksonville

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

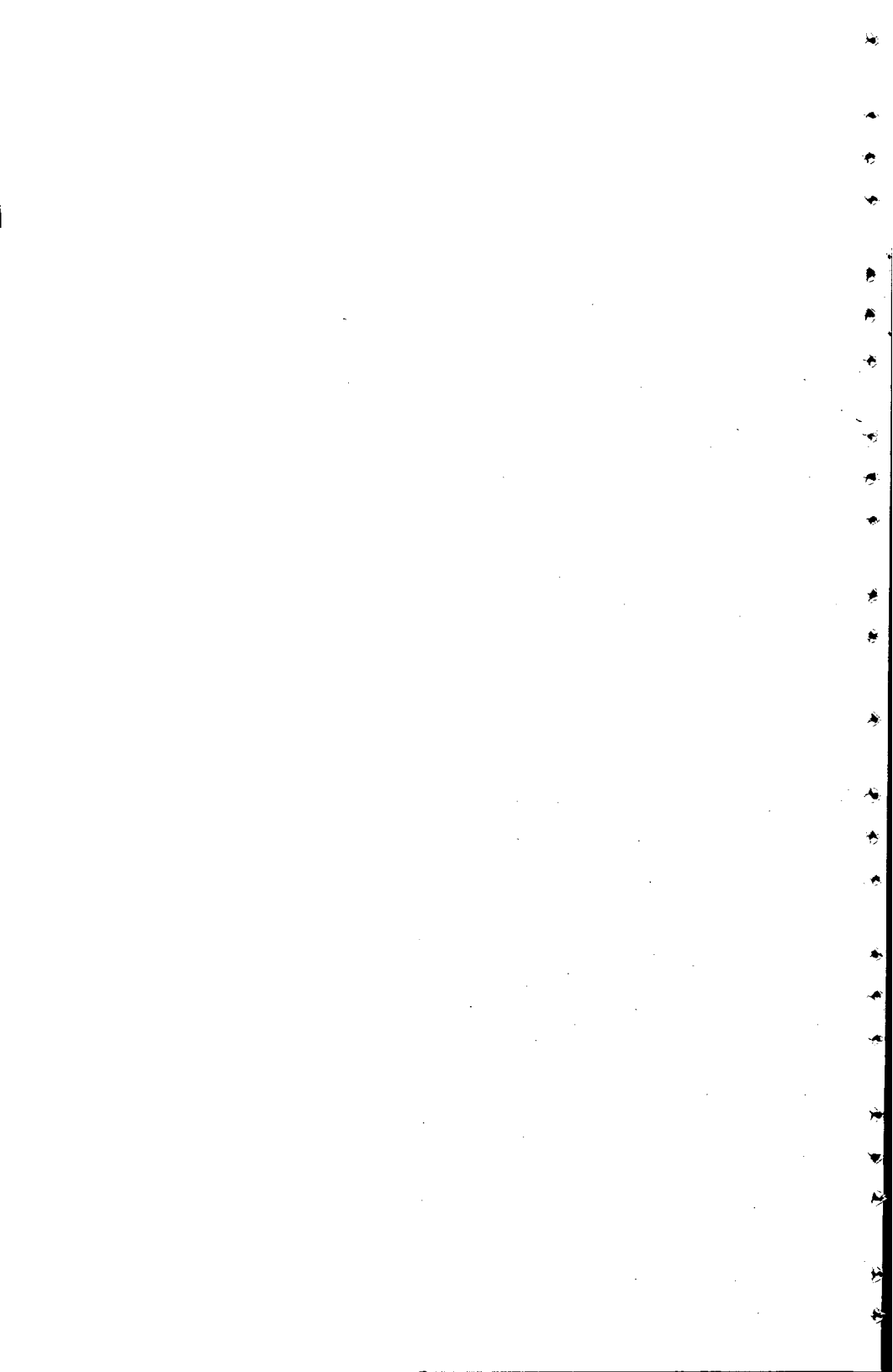
GEORGE R. FAIRBANKS.

Saint Augustine, April, 1857

This records the passing of Arthur Tilman Williams, president of our Society for the past eleven years, who died on April twenty-sixth.

Second only to his family in his thoughts and in his heart, the Florida Historical Society and he were mutually a part of each other's lives—for throughout those years he was the mainspring of its life. Becoming a member on its incorporation in 1905, he was elected a director in 1907, vice-president in 1908, and was president continuously from 1921 until he came within the shadow of his last illness.

George R. Fairbanks, Francis P. Fleming, and Arthur T. Williams are now together, there and here.



THE OF PONCE DE LEON'S
DISCOVERY OF FLORIDA, 1513

THE FOUNTAIN OF YOUTH MYTH

In the time of Columbus there was a tradition among the Indians of the West Indies that toward the north was a land called Beniny (Bimini), where all manner of delights could be found. Our knowledge of this comes solely from a letter to the Bishop of Rome, written by Peter Martyr, a contemporary of Ponce de Leon, as follows:¹

“Among the islands on the north side of Hispaniola [Haiti] there is one about three hundred and twenty-five leagues² distant, as they say which have searched the same, in which is a continual spring of running water, of such marvellous virtue, that the water thereof being drunk, perhaps with some diet, maketh olde men young again. And I here must make protestation to your holiness not to think this to be said lightly or rashly, for they have so spread this rumor for a truth throughout all the court, that not only all the people, but also many of them whom wisdom or fortune hath divided from the common sort, think it to be true; but, if you ask my opinion herein, I will answer that I will not attribute so great a power to nature, but that God hath no lesse preserved this prerogative to himself than to search the hearts of men”

Probably Ponce de Leon, who had lived some time in the West Indies, knew of this tradition, but his opinion of it we do not know. It is certain, however, that it was not the lure that induced him to embark

¹ Peter Martyr, D.2, C.10, Lok's Trans. See *Early Voyages to America*, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, 1848, p. 206.

² A Spanish sea league was about 3 miles.

upon the voyage which resulted in the discovery of Florida. All that is known of this voyage is contained in two primary or source records, namely: The patent authorizing him to go in search of the legendary island of Beniny, signed in Spain by the king on February 23, 1512,³ and the account of the voyage itself by the great Spanish historian Herrera, who is thought to have had access to the original notes or log-book (now lost) of Ponce de Leon.

THE SOURCE RECORDS

The patent authorizing Ponce de Leon to make the voyage sets down clearly the objects sought. It was to be a search for gold and other things of material value; and if these were found specific provision was made for the crown's share. The Indians were to be apprehended and apportioned as slaves among the explorers under the direction of the king. The mines were to be worked in the manner of those of Hispaniola, that is to say, by Indian slave labor. There is not a sentence in the whole patent that conveys the most remote impression of romance; it was a clear-cut direction to search for those things that occupied the attention of the world of that day. And under this patent Ponce de Leon sailed from the island of San Juan (now called Porto Rico) in March, 1513, to find the island of Beniny.

The account of the voyage is contained in Herrera's *Historia de los Hechos de los Castellanos* (1601), Decada I, Libro IX. That part relating to the discovery of Florida and the voyage down the east coast will be found in Cap. X, pp. 301-303. The following literal

³ For an English translation of this patent see *American Catholic Society Record*, December, 1912; translation by L. D. Scisco.

⁴ Antonio de Herrera (1559-1625), who is generally accepted as the primary source on Ponce de Leon's first voyage to Florida.

translation is taken from Dr. L. D. Scisco's *The Track of Ponce de Leon in 1513*, published in the *Bulletin of the American Geographical Society* for October, 1913, because the translation is carefully made and also because it is later referred to in this account:

Juan Ponce de Leon finding himself without office, through Juan Ceron and Miguel Diaz having been restored to those of the island of San Juan, and seeing himself rich, determined to do something with which to gain honor and increase estate; and as he had news that lands were found to the northward he resolved to go to explore toward that part; for which he equipped three vessels, well supplied with provisions, people and seamen, which for the purpose of exploring are most necessary.

He sailed from the island [San Juan] on Thursday, in the afternoon, on the 3d of March, setting out from the harbor of San German. He went to Aguada, in order to take from there his course. The night following he sailed to sea, to northwest a quarter by north, and the vessels proceeded eight leagues of a day's run, until the sun rose. They went on sailing until on Tuesday, the 8th of the said month, they came to anchor at the banks of Babueca, at an island that they call El Viejo, which is in twenty-two and one-half degrees [latitude]. Next day they anchored in an islet of the Lucayos called Caycos. Presently they anchored in another called La Yaguna, in twenty-four degrees. On the 11th of the same month they reached another island called Amaguayo, and there they were at stop for repairs. They passed on to the island called Manegua, which is in twenty-four and one-half degrees. On the 14th they reached Guanahani, which is in twenty-five degrees and forty minutes, where they prepared one vessel for crossing the weatherward gulf of the islands of the Lucayos. This island Guanahani was the first that the admiral Don Christoval Colon [Columbus] discovered, and where, in his first voyage, he went on land and named it San Salvador. They set out from here, running northwest, and on Sunday, the 27th, which was the day of the Festival of the Resurrection, which commonly they call 'of Flowers', they saw an island and did not examine it. And Monday, the 28th, they ran fifteen leagues by the same direction, and Wednesday they proceeded in the same way, and afterward, with bad weather, until, the 2d of April, running to west-northwest, the water lessening to nine fathoms at one league from land, which was in thirty degrees and eight

minutes, they ran along the length of coast seeking harbor and at night they anchored near the land in eight fathoms of water. And thinking that this land was an island they named it La Florida, because it had a very pretty view of many and cool woodlands, and it was level and uniform: and because, moreover, they discovered it in the time of the Flowery Festival [Pascua Florida] Juan Ponce wished to conform in the name with the two facts. He went on land to take information and possession.

On Friday, the 8th, they made sail; they ran in the same direction, and Saturday they sailed to the south a quarter by southeast; and sailing by the same rhumb up to the 20th of April they discovered some huts of Indians, where they anchored. And the day following, all three vessels proceeding along the edge of the sea, they saw a current such that, although they had a great wind, they could not proceed forward, but backward, and it seemed that they were proceeding well; and in the end it was known that it was in such wise the current which was more powerful than the wind. The two vessels that found themselves nearest land anchored, but the current was so great that the cables went tight, and the third vessel, which was a brigantine, that found itself more to sea, must have not found bottom, or did not know of the current, and it drew it away from land, and they lost it from sight, the day being clear and with fair weather. Here Juan Ponce went on land, called by the Indians, who presently tried to take the boat, the oars, and the arms. And in order not to break with them it was permitted them, in order not to cause irritation in the region. But, because they struck a seaman in the head with a staff, from which he remained unconscious, it was necessary to fight with them, who, with their arrows and armed shafts-the points of sharpened bones and fish-spines-hit two Spaniards, and the Indians received little hurt. And the night separating them, Juan Ponce regathered the Spaniards with hard work. He set out from there to a stream where he took water and firewood, and stayed awaiting the brigantine. Sixty Indians repaired there to hinder it. One of them was taken for a pilot, and so that he might learn the language. He put on this stream the name of La Crux, and he left by it one [i. e. a cross] hewn from stone, with an inscription. And they did not finish taking water, because of being brackish.

On Sunday, the 8th of May, they doubled the cape of La Florida, which they named Cabo de Corrientes, because the water ran so much there that it had more force than the wind,

and did not permit the vessels to go forward, although they put out all sails. They anchored behind a cape close to a village called Abaioa. All this coast, from Punta de Arracifes [point of reefy islands] as far as this Cabo de Corrientes extends north and south a quarter by southeast, and it is quite clear and of depth of six fathoms; and the cape is in twenty-eight degrees and fifteen minutes. They sailed on until they found two islands to the south in twenty-seven degrees. To one that had a league of extent they put the name Santa Marta. They reached water in it. On Friday, the 13th of May, they made sail, running along the coast of a sandbank and reef of islands as far as the vicinity of an island that they named Pola, which is in twenty-six and one-half degrees, and between the shoal and the reef of islands, and the mainland extends the open sea in the form of a bay [Biscayne Bay]. On Sunday, the day of the Festival of the Holy Spirit, the 15th of May, they ran along the coast of rocky islets ten leagues, as far as two white rocky islets. And to all this line of islands and rocky islets they put as a name Los Matires, because, seen from a distance, the rocks as they raised to view appeared like men that were suffering.

Ponce de Leon continued to cruise among the islands and reefs of the lower Florida peninsula. He sailed some distance up the west coast, and finally, back-tracking, again reached the Bahama Islands, where he despatched one of his ships to continue the search for Beniny, himself returning to Porto Rico in October, 1513. In due time the other vessel reached Porto Rico, after having discovered a well-wooded and watered island (probably Andros Islands); but the riches sought were not there, nor the spring that "restores old men to youths". The only reference to the Indian tradition in the whole narrative was in connection with this vessel's supplementary voyage, and it has the ear-marks of an after-thought.

REVIEW OF THE VOYAGE

Ponce de Leon's course from Porto Rico to the Florida coast was constantly northwesterly. He sailed along the islands and shoals that form the eastern

fringe of the Lucayos, now called the Bahamas. He mentions a number of islands whose names are still familiar, but he gives them latitudes different from the present. From this fact discussions have arisen as to the accuracy of Ponce's readings, and attempts have been made to apply corrections. The jackstaff had come into use by that time, and with it approximately correct observations were possible under favorable conditions. The pitching of a ship in a heavy sea would make accurate readings much more difficult. The method of calculation had likewise improved. So there is no reason to doubt the possibility of determining approximately correct position in fair weather and with the exercise of care.

We cannot say positively that the islands mentioned by Ponce were the ones so named today. Many changes in place names have taken place since that day. His supposed incorrect latitudes fit other near-by islands, and it is not impossible in some instances, being a stranger there, for him to have mistaken their identity. His reading for San Salvador,⁵ for instance, is applicable to Eleuthera, and it is not impossible that that island was Ponce's San Salvador. Every contributing circumstance, and many are necessary, must positively be known before a correction in sliding ratio could rightly be applied—further, the meaning of the accompanying text must be preserved. While interesting, such results cannot be accepted as fact. The most elaborate discussion of this kind is that of Dr. Scisco, but in applying his assumed correction, Ponce de Leon is made to sail due west from the Bahamas to the Florida coast when he says he sailed northwest,

⁵ Both Watling's Island and Cat Island have been designated as the San Salvador of Columbus, as well as two other islands. See chart in Justin Windsor's *Christopher Columbus*, 1892, p. 210.

⁶ "The track of Ponce de Leon in 1513" in *Bulletin of the American Geographical Society*, October, 1913.

with the result that many features of the text are entirely upset.

Ponce de Leon headed northwest after leaving his San Salvador. On Easter Sunday, March 27, he saw a coast which he took to be that of an island. On Wednesday, the 30th, still sailing northwest, he ran into a storm and for three days struggled against a "northeaster" as this sort of weather is called on this coast. At this time he was almost certainly in a latitude north of Cape Canaveral, which roughly marks the southern limit of influence of northeast weather resulting from an area of high pressure over the North Atlantic at this season of the year—which must have been the condition he met. The natural wind sequence following a northeaster here would be veering through southeast and south to west. As soon as it got to southeast the sea would begin to calm, and between south and west, being an off-shore wind, the surf would be quiet. The wind had probably gotten into the south by April 2d, when Ponce headed in west-northwest toward the coast. At one league from the shore he began to take soundings, where he found nine fathoms of water, exactly as it is today according to U. S. hydrographic maps. This was in latitude $30^{\circ} 8'$, which is the only observation of his whole voyage that he seems to have taken with especial care, the others being usually to the nearest half degree.

THE LANDFALL

Laid down on the modern map, a point on the beach in latitude $30^{\circ} 8'$ is about eleven miles south of Pablo Beach⁷ and eighteen miles north of St. Augustine. That locality is the nearest recorded point to Ponce de Leon's landing place, though the exact spot where he went ashore and took formal possession may

⁷ Pablo Beach is now called Jacksonville Beach.

have been a short distance north of it. From Herrera's text it is indicated that they headed in west-northwest toward the beach ; that they came within a league (3 miles) of the shore, took their latitude, made soundings, and sailed along the beach looking for a place to anchor. When night overtook them they anchored eight fathoms of water, at less than three miles off-shore. It is here Ponce went ashore and took formal possession. The place could not have been far north of the point where the observation 30° 8' was taken. Judging the average sailing distance on fair days to have been about two miles an hour, and applying this average to the six hours sailing time⁸ in the afternoon of April 2, the anchorage was somewhere off Pablo Beach. While this seems to be approximately correct and confirms the circumstances of Herrera's record as well as the hydrographic conditions of today, we must still consider the positive record of 30° 8' latitude as designating historically the locality where Ponce de Leon landed and formally claimed the "island" of Florida in the name of Ferdinand, his king.⁹

The coast that Ponce de Leon saw is well described by Pedro Menendez Marques, who, writing to the king in 1573, said:¹⁰ "All this coast [he was describing the coast between Cape Canaveral and the mouth of the St. Johns River] is composed of sandy beaches and groves of trees, and at most points from the topmast one can see inland rivers, which are arms of salt water, which appear about half a league within the

⁸ Observations for latitude were taken at noon, leaving at that season about six hours before dark.

⁹ Sometimes it is stated that possession was taken for "Ferdinand and" but this is wrong, as Isabella had been dead more than eight years when Ponce discovered Florida.

¹⁰ Jeannette Thurber Connor's *Colonial Records of Spanish Florida*, Florida State Historical Society, 1925, Vol. 1, pp. 325, 327.

country ; and one can anchor all along this coast, where there is no side [east] wind."

Ponce de Leon anchored in eight fathoms or 48 feet of water, a circumstance prohibiting the acceptance of the claim that he entered a harbor before anchoring. All of the inlets or harbors on this part of the coast were shut in by shoals and sandbars, navigable only with the greatest caution through intricate shifting channels. Had Ponce made the attempt, he most likely would have wrecked his ships; but even had he been successful in the hazardous undertaking, nowhere would he have found 48 feet of water, or anywhere near that depth. We may be certain, therefore, that he anchored off the beach, where he said he anchored.

There is nothing in the record to indicate that Ponce de Leon saw the St. Johns River. It is reasonably certain that had he seen it, the largest river he had ever seen up to that time, he would have noted it, judging from the things he did mention. Nor did he see the ancient Indian town Seloy, located on the site of the present St. Augustine, because the only inference that can be drawn from the record of Herrera is that the first habitation and the first Indians he saw was after he had turned back and sailed far down the coast, where the Indian hit his sailor on the head with a stick—and there started a war that lasted more than three hundred years.

What Ponce did during the five days he lay anchored off the place where he first went ashore is not known. He saw neither Indians nor any indications of gold or other precious metals. Consequently the main objects of his voyage were not here. He was probably occupied with mending his sails and rigging, which must have needed attention as the result of the storm through which he had just passed.

Apparently there were no priests with the expedition, and so the ceremony of taking possession was without the softening influence of religious participation. Probably it was a short and formal ceremony. The scene is not that of surpliced priests kneeling in prayer amidst the banners of the Church, but rather one of a little group of hardy explorers gathered on the beach somewhere about half way between St. Augustine and the mouth of the St. Johns River, representing the coming of the white man to the mainland of North America—an event that foretold the expansion of one race at the expense of another.

THE YEAR OF DISCOVERY WAS 1513

Early historians, excepting perhaps only the Inca Vega¹¹ and later Peschel, followed the marginal entry 1512, appearing in the Herrera record as the year of Florida's discovery by Ponce de Leon. This was done until sometime in the 1880's, when a research worker in analyzing the circumstances of the voyage saw that it was impossible for the patent signed Spain on February 23, 1512, to have reached Ponce de Leon in Porto Rico in time for him to equip his vessels and sail by March 3d, following. Then began a wide-spread discussion and investigation by historians and historical magazines. Ponce de Leon was accounted for during most of the year 1512 in and around Porto Rico. A check was made of the date Easter, March 27, and it was found that March 27, 1512, was not Sunday at all, but a week day; however, it was disclosed that March 27, 1513, was Sunday and Easter Sunday, too, and that the other dates mentioned in Herrera's narrative were proper for that

¹¹ Garcilaso de la Vega, *Conquest Florida*, Madrid, 1723.

¹² Oscar Peschel, the German historian, writing about the middle of the nineteenth century.

year. The year 1513 was at once accepted as the correct date, the assumption being that the date 1512 was originally a scribe's or a printer's error. George R. Fairbanks, the eminent Florida historian, used 1512 in his earlier works, but in the later editions he changed it to 1513. The year 1513 is now given by all historians as the year of Ponce de Leon's discovery of Florida.

Likewise, considerable confusion is occasioned by the use of Palm Sunday for Easter Sunday to designate the season of the discovery of Florida by Ponce de Leon. Washington Irving used Palm Sunday in his *Voyages of the Companions of Columbus*, and he was followed by Fairbanks to the end ; but Herrera's text states plainly "Pascua Florida", which means the Feast of the Resurrection, sometimes called the Festival of Flowers, which is Easter. Just how or when the use of Palm Sunday in this connection originated is not known.

T. FREDERICK DAVIS

RACIAL STRAINS IN FLORIDA

The United States has often been called the "melting pot" of races ; and Florida, with her history under several flags, has had more than the usual opportunity for the assimilation of different peoples. The Spanish, the French, the English, the migrations from other states and foreign nations have all contributed toward making the white race of Florida one of many strains—in a word, American.

But it is not in mere numbers that we may expect to find the composition of the white population of Florida best revealed. In the hundred years since the first census in which returns were made from Florida, the white population has increased from 18,385 in 1830 to 1,035,205 in 1930. The increase during this period has been steady, but it is, of course, not to be attributed mainly to immigrations of foreign nations. Besides the natural increase there are the continuous migrations from the other states of the Union.

In 1930, only 59,057 (5.7 per cent. of the white population or 4 per cent. of the total population) were of foreign birth. And, considering the 101,775 persons of foreign or mixed parentage, we find that only 15.5 per cent. of the white population may be classified as of foreign stock. This percentage has not been greatly decreased by the influx of people during the boom, for in 1920 only 6.7 per cent. of the white population was of foreign birth and only 7.6 per cent. in 1910. At no time has the percentage of foreign birth exceeded the 8.0 per cent. in 1890 ; and in 1850, just after the admission of Florida as a state, it was 6.4 per cent.

Note.—This paper was prepared for and read before the annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society, held at Rollins College, February 29 last.

Thus it is obvious that a study of the racial strains of Florida is, to a large extent, beyond the realm of figures ; which, however, form the chief source of information for the present study. The immigrants must be counted in the first generation, before they have fused their strains with the others in the melting pot; and, at the most, only the offspring of mixed or foreign parentage can be definitely ascertained as of foreign stock. A conclusive and final study of the problem would involve the tracing of all the families in their intermingling after their arrival, and this is obviously a hopeless task—obscured as it is by the movements of persons of foreign descent from other states, whose ancestry can only be traced by going back to their earlier homes for records. And even the figures for foreign birth can not be taken literally, for a person's birthplace does not necessarily indicate his race.

Of course, there are a few instances in which groups of families have come in from other states or foreign countries and maintained a certain racial identity. These will be noted where they have been ascertained, but those peoples who have contributed most to the present foreign population of Florida are so scattered throughout the state that no group identity now exists.

Thus, it is evident that the problem of racial strains is a very intricate one, and in this study, which is based largely on census reports, I shall not attempt to trace the racial movements after their entry into the state and the extent of their contribution in numbers to the foreign stock.

In addition, a study of this brevity is necessarily limited, in this case, to the white race. This limitation, however, is entirely logical, for the three colored races, the Indians, the orientals, and the negroes, may be

taken more or less for granted because of certain distinctions from the white population and the general prejudice against miscegenation. The Indians have practically disappeared, although the 587 enumerated in 1930 show a slight increase over the 518 in 1920 and a decided increase over the 74 in 1910. This increase after 1910 can probably be attributed to the inclusion of many Indians in the Everglades rather than to natural increase alone, and many of them may still be unenumerated ; but the Indians as a race can hardly be expected to influence the future population of Florida to any perceptible degree. The Chinese and Japanese numbered only 353 in the last census ; and, although the Japanese have increased by 200 per cent. in each of the last two decades and the Chinese have increased by nine in the same period, they have never been numerous enough to have left any influence on the population. The negroes, numbering 431,828 in 1930 (29.4 per cent. of the total population), form a distinct problem in themselves. But it may be noted in passing that although they have increased numerically the last decade by 100,000, they have decreased relatively from the 41 per cent. in 1910.

Before proceeding with the investigation of the contributions made by the various races to the population of Florida, it is best to understand something of the general distribution of the foreign element in Florida as it is revealed through an examination of the census of 1930. There has been a great increase in the number of whites in the last twenty years, from 443,634 in 1910 to 1,035,205 in 1930, from 58.9 per cent. to 70.5 per cent. of the total population. The principal reason for this may be found in the boom, with the increase for the decade from 1920 to 1930 as some 400,000 compared to the 200,000 increase from 1910 to 1920.

The foreign born white population has shown a

steady increase from 33,842 in 1910, but there has been a slight relative decrease as indicated by the percentage of the total population, from 4.5 per cent. in 1910 to 4 per cent. in 1930. On the other hand, the migrations from the other states have materially increased the number of white persons of foreign or mixed parentage. There were 35,825 in 1910, 62,850 in 1920, and 101,775 in 1930, an increase from 4.8 per cent. to 6.9 per cent. of the total population. However, it is interesting to note that the relative increase was greater between 1910 and 1920 than in the following decade, 1.7 per cent. as opposed to 0.4 per cent. Nevertheless, as the population increases the foreign stock increases, although in the last ten years there has been no relative increase, the percentages of foreign stock for 1920 and 1930 being identical, 10.9 per cent. of the total population, as opposed, however, to the 9.3 per cent. in 1910.

In studying the distribution of this foreign element we find that the foreigners have concentrated largely in the urban sections. Some 45,086 of the foreign born whites have gone to the cities as opposed to the 13,971 settled in the rural districts, of whom only 4,617 are living on farms. It is to be expected that the first generation of immigrants reside in the larger centers of population and it is not possible to trace their descendants in their movements and ascertain whether or not a larger percentage moves to the country. However, the conclusions gained from the figures for those of foreign or mixed parentage do not indicate that the second generation is scattering to the rural sections. The 1930 census shows that 77,499 are in the cities, while 24,276 are in the country. Indeed, if one compares the last census with the two preceding ones it is evident that the foreign population in the rural parts of Florida is not increasing as fast as that in the cities, owing, no doubt, to the attraction of the cities during

the boom and the urban character of the whole population. Between 1910 and 1920 there was a slight increase in the percentage of the rural foreign stock, from 29.7 per cent. to 32 per cent. of the total foreign stock, but there was a decrease of some 8 per cent. from 1920 to 1930, from 32 per cent. to 23.7 per cent., although during this time the population of both rural and urban sections showed an increase. However, the newcomers are following the general trend to the city, for the white urban population of Florida more than doubled in the last decade, increasing from 235,026 in 1920 to 549,025 in 1930, while the rural population increased only by 83,053. And it is interesting to note that only about a third of the rural foreign stock settles on farms, the rest locating in the smaller villages and towns to follow some trade.

We may conclude from the figures already quoted that most of Florida's foreigners will be found around the larger cities ; and, indeed, Hillsborough, Dade, and Duval counties lead in the number of persons of foreign birth and of foreign or mixed parentage, and are at the same time the most populous counties. Hillsborough County has 42,751 persons of foreign stock, Dade 28,255, and Duval 15,190. Polk County, which ranks fourth in population, is passed in foreign stock by several counties.

But when we consider the proportion of the foreigners with respect to the total population we find that Monroe County, with a population of 13,624, has 1,880 persons of foreign birth, 13.8 per cent. of the population, and that 45.3 per cent. of the native white population are of foreign or mixed parentage. Only 10.9 per cent. of the population of Hillsborough County and 7.6 per cent. of Dade County are of foreign birth, while the persons of foreign or mixed parentage form 24.1 per cent. and 17.0 per cent. respectively of the native white population of those counties. At the

other extreme we find Washington County with 17 foreign born, 0.1 per cent. of the total population of 12,180, while only 0.5 per cent. of the native white population are of foreign or mixed parentage. Liberty County has only 15 persons of foreign stock in its population of 4,167.

There are fourteen cities with a population of more than 10,000 in the state and in these there are 37,258 persons of foreign birth and 64,272 of foreign or mixed parentage. And in four of these cities, Tampa, Miami, Jacksonville, and St. Petersburg, is concentrated 50 per cent. of the foreign stock of Florida. Their combined returns show them to contain 48,450 persons of foreign and mixed parentage and 29,474 of foreign birth. Tampa alone has 22,296 persons of foreign parentage and 14,430 of foreign birth, 36.3 per cent. of its total population and about 23 per cent. of the total foreign stock resident in Florida.

Yet Key West with a population of only 12,831 has 5,872 persons of foreign stock, 44.9 per cent of its population, the largest percentage of foreign stock of any city in Florida. However, with the increase in the white population of the state during the last decade, the foreign born population of both Tampa and Key West has decreased relatively, in Tampa from 20.7 per cent. to 14.3 per cent. and in Key West from 17.7 per cent. to 14.3 per cent. But the population of Key West has decreased by almost 6,000, while Tampa has had a 50,000 increase.

The percentage of foreign stock in the other cities of over 10,000 varies from the 19.3 per cent. in Miami to the 3.8 per cent. in Tallahassee. Gainesville's foreign born population has increased relatively as rapidly as its native, since it was 1.5 per cent. in both 1920 and 1930. St. Petersburg and Lakeland are the only cities which show a relative increase in their foreign born population.

Among the smaller towns of a population ranging from 2,500 to 10,000 we find 20,935 persons of foreign stock, about 13 per cent. of the total. Tarpon Springs with a population of 3,414 is 40.6 per cent. foreign, while Miami Beach has 39.2 per cent. persons of foreign stock in its population of 6,494. Lake Worth is 28.1 per cent. foreign and Coral Gables 22 per cent. foreign, while Marianna with 66 persons of foreign stock in a population of 3,372 is only 1.9 per cent. foreign.

Now let us turn to the racial composition of Florida, taking the various races briefly and attempting to indicate from a survey of the censuses their contributions to the white population of the state.

The so-called Latin peoples were the first in Florida, the Spanish under the explorers and *conquistadores*, and the French settlement of the Huguenots. For two and a half centuries the Spaniards controlled Florida, but they never developed very prosperous settlements and the "civilized population was restricted to the neighborhood of three or four little towns: Pensacola and St. Marks on the Gulf, and St. Augustine and Fernandina on the Atlantic. The eastern and western settlements faced different seas and were without connection by land. Each consisted of a fringe of farms, trading posts and forts lying between the sea and that tremendous wilderness which Ponce de Leon and Hernando de Soto had penetrated in vain search for a better land."¹

Thus in 1763 there were only 600 white inhabitants in Florida. These were presumably of Spanish blood. But when Florida was ceded to England in that year nearly all of these inhabitants moved to Cuba.²

¹ William Watson Davis, *The Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida* (New York, 1913), 8.

² John Lee Williams, *The Territory of Florida* (New York, 1837), 188.

Then, in 1783, the Spaniards again resumed control and held Florida until the formal transfer to the United States in 1821. The white population at this time was about 8,000, half of whom resided in East Florida and were preponderantly Spanish. But there were some other racial strains in the population of the section, Minorcans, Italians, English, Irish, and Greeks, while in the west the population was more purely Spanish. St. Augustine had some 2,000 people, half of them white, Fernandina less than 500, while the plantations along the St. Marys and St. Johns rivers contained some 2,000 people including slaves. The West Florida population was confined to Pensacola and St. Marks and their immediate neighborhoods.

Then the Americans began to come into Florida and the difficulties attendant on tracing racial strains begin, with the Spanish settlers intermingling with the others and a decided relative increase in the influx of the Spaniards. However slight in proportion to the other foreign strains, the number of persons of Spanish birth has increased from the 70 listed in 1850 to the 4,125 listed in 1930. There were only 56 listed in 1870, just after the War for Southern Independence, and the greatest number listed was 4,199 in 1910, during the height of the immigration from southern Europe. The great increase came between 1900 and 1910, from 1,084 to 4,199, from 5.6 per cent. of the white foreign born population to 12.4 per cent.

This Spanish strain has settled largely in the cities, principally in Tampa where 3,457 persons of Hispanic birth were listed in 1930. Key West has 216 Spaniards, Miami 94, and Jacksonville 50. Of the other 308, 166 are settled in Hillsborough County and the rest scattered throughout the state by ones and twos. There are also 5,975 more of Spanish blood, 4,929 of whom are settled in Tampa, 173 in Key West, 124 in Miami, and the rest scattered.

Two other races are so closely akin to the Spanish that they should probably be considered with them, since they are of Hispanic origin and speak that tongue: the Cubans and the Mexicans, although the latter may be largely Indians or *mestizos* in blood. In 1850 there were 599 persons from the West Indies in Florida, most of whom probably came from Cuba, because of the proximity of that island to Florida. This number increased from 919 in 1860 to 2,256 in 1870. It is safe to surmise that this increase was largely due to the troubles in Cuba during this time, for in 1868-1869 many Cubans moved to Key West and the influx has continued. In 1930 there were 6,287 persons of Cuban birth in Florida, 10.6 per cent. of the persons of foreign birth, and 2,131 from the other West Indies. Of the Cubans 4,968 were settled in Tampa which has thus outstripped the early settlement of Cubans at Key West. This latter town now claims only 737 persons of Cuban birth, a decrease from the 1,704 listed in Monroe County in 1920. Miami ranks third, with 226 Cubans in 1930. However, considering the parentage of Cubans, we find that Florida contains 9,686 natives of Cuban parentage (9.5 per cent. of the total number of persons of foreign parentage) of whom 7,404 dwell in Tampa, 1,612 in Key West and 170 in Miami.

There have never been many Mexicans in Florida, but they do add a bit to the Hispanic strain. In 1850 there were only six and this has increased to only 185 in 1930. Of these, 141 are in Tampa, 14 in Pensacola, and the rest scattered throughout the state.

The Portuguese must be considered as a Latin race closely related to the Spanish, although they had no direct part in the early settlement of Florida even in the Spanish régime and have never contributed a great deal to the population of the state. In 1850, there were only seventeen, and the number never

exceeded the forty-one listed in 1880 until after 1910. There were some 228 in 1920, but in 1930 the Portuguese were not numerous enough to receive special mention in the census.

The 1500 colonists brought from Italy, Greece, Smyrna, and Minorca to New Smyrna by Dr. Andrew Turnbull in 1767 are of more interest historically. They moved to St. Augustine in 1777, and by that time their number had been reduced to 600, so that although certain racial characteristics have persisted they have had no great influence on the racial composition of Florida.

The second so-called Latin country to attempt colonization in Florida was France, but Menendez crushed the Huguenots at Fort Caroline and their efforts were effaced. During the Spanish régime there were periods of rivalry, friendship, and war between the French and Spanish, during which many French passed through the region around Pensacola, but it was not until Congress granted Lafayette a township that the French settled in Florida in any numbers. Lafayette is said to have sent out a large number of his countrymen to make a settlement near Tallahassee, although he never saw the grant himself.

However, there have never been many persons of French birth listed in the census for Florida. In 1850, there were 67 and this number had increased to some 902 in 1930, only 1.5 per cent. of the total population of foreign birth. They are scattered over the state, 50 per cent. of them being listed in cities of over 10,000 and the rest in the smaller towns or rural sections. Tampa had 106, Miami 116, and Jacksonville 63. Pensacola has only sixteen of French birth. But there were 2,195 of French parentage in 1930, 301 in Miami, 207 in Tampa, while Jacksonville, St. Petersburg, and Pensacola had each over a hundred.

Except for the efforts of those explorers of Italian

blood, the Italians had little to do with the colonial history of the New World, but they have emigrated to both the Americas in great numbers since the latter part of the nineteenth century. In 1850, there were only 40 listed in Florida and this number did not increase very much until 1890 when there were 408. The greatest increase came between 1900 and 1910, from 1,707 to 4,538; and in 1930 there were 5,262 in Florida. The early Italians probably chose the seaports because of their interest in shipping, and Tampa now has the majority of the Italians, 3,298. Miami has 282, while Jacksonville and Pensacola have each well over a hundred. The 8,053 natives of Italian parentage have also concentrated in the urban sections, some 6,566 having settled in the cities, of whom 5,179 are in Tampa.

The third flag to fly over Florida was the English, from 1763 to 1783, during which time there was "a short-lived prosperity. Trade thrived as never before with Indian and half-breed trappers. Loyalists, driven out of the southern English colonies by the Whig revolutionists, poured into Florida. Along the St. Johns and St. Marys rivers, new plantations were cleared; more negro slaves were brought into labor; fields were better tilled; new roads were cut through swamp, glade, and barren; and the English colonist, here as elsewhere, demonstrated his ability to win and transform and hold, after a certain fashion, a wild region."³

But when Spanish control was resumed in 1783 "most of the British settlers left the colony. Some went to Great Britain; some to the Bahamas; and some, probably, to the United States."⁴ Some English families remained and some returned from the Bahamas to settle near Mosquito Inlet (now Ponce de Leon), but

³ Davis, *op. cit.*, 8-9.

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the "conditions required of settlers were such that few of the English cared to accept them, and chose, rather, to remove into the states of Georgia or South Carolina. That conditions were better in West Florida was in the main due to the influence of William Panton in upholding Commerce and developing industry."

However, with the desertion of plantations and the decrease in trade Florida soon lapsed back into the condition before British occupation and "the permanent and lasting results of Anglo-Saxon control in colonial Florida were very meagre." Yet the English continued their activity in the Floridas, particularly William Panton and his traders.

And, of course, the settlers who came in from the states after the transfer in 1821 were almost wholly of English blood. The first wave, according to Davis, consisted largely of poor squatters, who drifted over the borders, even before the region passed into the hands of the United States. The second wave "was more speculative and transitory than permanent", prospectors seeking good and cheap land to be sold at a profit when the population increased the values of the cotton lands. Then came the real settlers from all parts of the Union, pushing past the old towns of entry, seeking the richer uplands of the interior.⁵

Some of the settlers moved down into Florida in groups, retaining a certain racial identity that had not been lost during the sojourn in the states. Of particular interest are the settlers in the Euchee valley in Walton County, Scots who came into North Carolina between 1808 and 1812 and then followed Neil McLendon and Colonel John McKinnon to Florida in 1820 and 1821 and the years following. The names of these pioneer families are significant : McLendon, McKin-

⁵ Caroline Mays Brevard, A (DeLand, Florida, 1924), 4.

⁶ Davis, op. cit., 12-15.

non, Campbell, McCarter, McLean, McDonald, McKenzie, McSween, McQuaig, McCallum, McLeod, McPherson, McCoy, McFarland, McGinnis, McMillan, Gillis, and Andrews—all Scotch.

After the admission of Florida as a state, there were in 1850, 300 English, 182 Scots, 11 Welsh, and 878 Irish among the foreign born population. The direct influx from England has increased to 7,084 in 1930, some 2500 more having come in the last decade during the boom than in the preceding ten years. There are 13,136 natives of English parentage, over 10 per cent. of the natives of foreign parentage. Miami has 1,111 persons of English birth and 1,843 of English parentage, while Jacksonville has 626 of English birth and 1,264 of English parentage. The English seem to be rather evenly distributed throughout the state, with over 50 per cent. residing in the larger cities.

The Scotch and Irish have not taken to Florida as readily as the English, and the Welsh have never been numerous. In 1930 there were 1,797 persons from Scotland and 1,843 from Ireland. Over 50 per cent. of these have gone to the larger cities, Miami having 375 Scots and 336 Irish, and Jacksonville, 153 and 145 respectively. But there are a good many more persons of Irish than of Scotch parentage, the census reporting 3,707 of Scotch parentage and 7,759 of Irish parentage. The difference is probably due to the influx from the other states of the Union.

Two other English peoples that have settled in Florida are the Canadians and peoples from the West Indies. They have come from the Bahamas to Key West in such numbers that Browne could say "ninety per cent of the English speaking people are of Bahama ancestry." In 1850, 97 persons are listed as having come from British America, in 1880, 446 ; and, in

⁷ Jefferson B. Browne, Key West (St. Augustine, 1912), 169.

1900, 1,202 persons are listed from Canada, 88 of them from French Canada. By 1930, Florida had 8,156 persons of Canadian birth and 9,038 of Canadian parentage, and the Canadian stock ranked second among the foreign stocks with 10.6 per cent. of the total. About 50 per cent. of the Canadian born persons have settled in the cities, 1301 in Miami, 701 in St. Petersburg, and some 500 each in Jacksonville and Tampa.

The Scandinavians have also settled in Florida ; particularly the Swedes, who have increased from 33, in 1850, to 2,145, in 1930, besides the 3,093 of Swedish parentage. This migration picked up after 1870. In that year there were 30 Swedes, 16 Norwegians, and 41 Danes, but ten years later these numbers had increased to 231, 79, and 259 respectively. There were 2,340 persons of Norwegian stock and 2,303 of Danish stock in Florida in 1930. These Scandinavians have scattered over the state. General Sanford brought in a number of Swedish families about 1871, and settled them near Sanford at New Upsala. Others settled in Volusia and Orange counties, but the Scandinavians are now principally in Dade County which boasts 2,038 persons of Scandinavian stock. The name Dania is significant of the history of that town. Miami has 576 persons of Scandinavian birth and Jacksonville, St. Petersburg, and Pensacola about 200 each.*

The Germans have come to Florida in large numbers, increasing from 378, in 1850, to 5,464, in 1930. And if we consider the 17,084 natives of German parentage we find that the Germans form 14 per cent. of the total foreign stock. Miami, Jacksonville, and Tampa have most of the Germans that have settled in the cities, and the 50 per cent. that have scattered over the state are also more numerous in Dade, Duval, and Hillsborough counties. Austrians and Swiss are

*Jacksonville, 235; St. Petersburg, 180; Pensacola, 174.

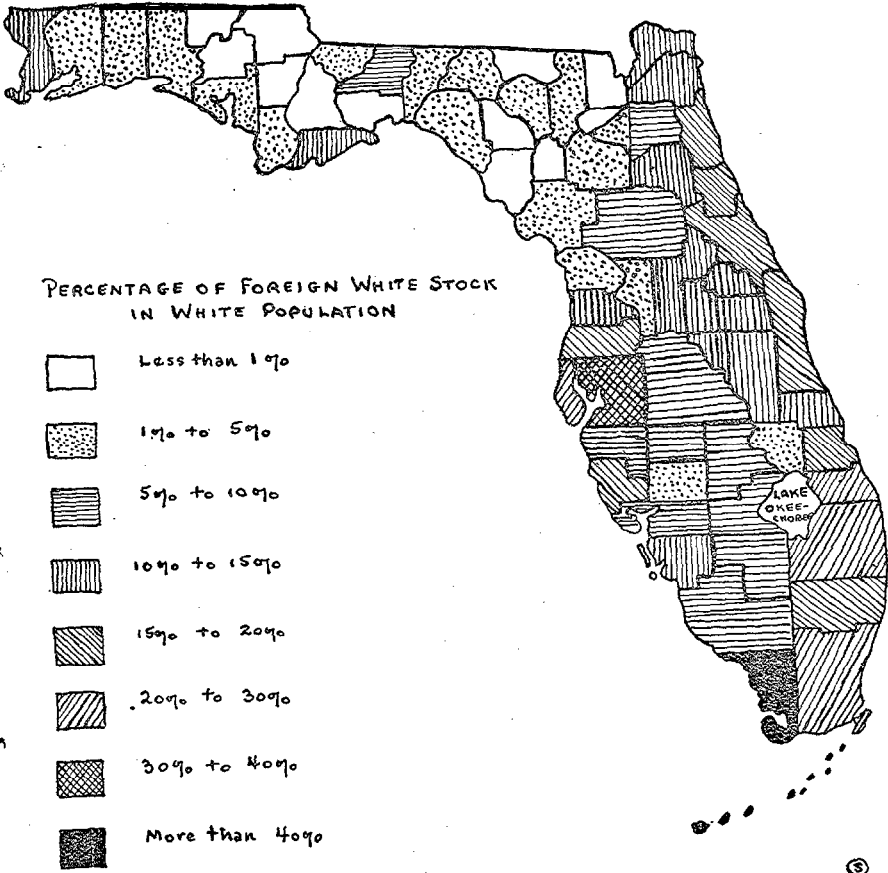
found in small numbers, but in 1930, there were only 825 Austrians and 5 0 0 Swiss, settled around the larger cities like the Germans.

From the Balkans come the Greeks, Rumanians, and Bulgars. The Greeks came in after 1900, increasing from the 98 in that year to 886, in 1910, and 1,552, in 1930. They are settled in Miami (239), Jacksonville (216), and Pensacola (131) ; but the most distinct colony of Greeks is that at Tarpon Springs in Pinellas County, where there were 282 foreign born Greeks and 255 of Greek parentage in 1930. They came from the Mediterranean to ply their vocation of diving for sponges in American waters. The Rumanians came in after 1900, increasing from 115 to 645, in 1930, besides the 760 of Rumanian parentage. But the Bulgars numbered only 16 in 1920 and were not mentioned in the census of 1930.

From Eastern Europe come the Slavic stocks. In 1850, there were only two Russians in Florida and this number increased gradually to 230, in 1900. The greatest increase came after 1910, from 547 to 2,012, in 1930. They have settled largely in Miami (587), Jacksonville (388), and Tampa (121). In fact, 73.9 per cent. of them are settled in the larger cities, a tendency that is borne out by the fact that 74.6 per cent. of the natives of Russian parentage are also settled in the cities. The Poles, numbering only 25 in 1860, increased after 1900 to the 945 in 1930, in addition to the 1,149 of Polish parentage. Following the Russians, they have also settled in the larger cities although some 50 per cent. have settled in the smaller towns and rural sections.

There were only three Bohemians in Florida in 1870, and only 20, in 1900, but there were 638 persons of Czech birth and 792 of Czech parentage in 1930. Some 70 per cent. of them have settled in the rural districts.

FOREIGN WHITE STOCK IN FLORIDA



The persons from Palestine and Syria, numbering 962 in 1930, have taken to the cities, 475 of them having settled in Jacksonville, and only 136 in the smaller towns and rural sections. Jacksonville also has 604 of the natives of Palestine or Syrian parentage.

All other foreign stocks listed in 1930, including the Dutch, Belgians, Hungarians, Slavs, Finns, Turks, and other races, numbered 4,002 persons of foreign birth and 5,034 of foreign parentage, 5.6 per cent. of the total foreign stock.

It is evident that, despite the number of races that have contributed their bits toward the composition of the population of Florida, there is no danger of Florida "going foreign" in the near future, largely because of the preponderance of the native immigration from the other states. The foreigners soon lose their racial identity in the "melting pot" and are fast becoming Americans, although the exact percentage of amalgamation can hardly be determined. Nevertheless, over 50 per cent. of the foreign born are naturalized, while over 6 per cent. more have taken out their first papers. Of the 17,666 over twenty-one years of age who are classed as aliens, 15,113 still remain in the cities, while some 75 per cent. of the rural foreign born are naturalized or have taken out first papers.

Then, the Anglo-Saxon and Teutonic strains are predominant in Florida, although the Latins have contributed a great deal to the population. Florida is, in many respects, still a frontier state and the settlement of its unoccupied lands will tend to invite the most vigorous stocks and encourage the rapid assimilation of foreign elements in the cities.

RHEA M. SMITH

Rollins College

A TALK OF THE CREEK NATION RESPECTING
WILLIAM AUGUSTUS BOWLES

Tookaubatche 25th. Novr. 1799

The chiefs of the Creek Nation being assembled in the Public Square Eufau Haigo the Speaker for the Nation delivered this talk to Benjamin Hawkins agent for Indian Affairs. —————

This day I address to you our friend and brother and the representative of our father the President the talk of the Creek Nation. Yesterday you Spoke to us on the affairs of this Nation you explained everything to us, everything about the red and White people since the last meeting, and particularly the conduct of Bowles on his coming to us, his Asking for land and obtaining a grant of some from Auhan Micco (potatoe King) and the Simenolies. Now is the time here are the Nation Assembled. If any thing about giving land is to be done this is the place for the talk. We say no we give no land. Now is the time and this is the place to Speak of such matters. If any one wants this man among us or to give him some land now is the time to speak. We say no.

Bowles may not have his pocket full of money but if he gets possession of our land he will soon fill his pockets from the land Speculators-

This man Bowles I never saw, but we all know he is not a true man, he may sell our land to the Speculators that will involve us in difficulties— If he once get their money they will never cease their efforts 'till they get our land. You are the man placed by

Note.-These documents are in continuation of the series, survivals of the records of Panton, Leslie and Company preserved by the family of John Innerarity, a partner of that firm, the publication of which has been continuous-in the **QUARTERLY**. These are in the possession of Mrs. John W. Greenslade, who has transcribed them.

the President of the United States to take care of our rights, we look on you now as the father of the red people and you must put us to rights and keep us so.—

The four Nations have their own kings & Chiefs We never had a White Chief. This man says he is a chief of our land, he is our director general, he lies. We never knew him in any other character than that of an imposter and liar; The only white man is yourself you are our beloved man, and the representative of the President. When he was in our land before, there sets two men who were appointed to put him to death, I appointed them, and if he had been a Chief, or as he says the Chief of our land I should not have done it. When you write to him you must give him a day certain to leave our land, to get into his boat and go off. If he does not go off, it will be bad with him. If Great Brittain sent a man to see us, his red friends, at St. Augustine, St. Marks, Pensacola, Mobile or New Orleans, it is well, but not a man poking about in a corner like a thief— We are not mad with Englishmen, if any such come we shall treat them kindly, but a man who comes like a vagabond, and who is known to us to be a thief and a liar, and whose whole conduct proves him to be a thief and a liar, we want him not, he only disturbs us by the attention our mischief makers and horse thieves pay to such characters. He was well known many years ago to the Simenolies, he brought them and us into trouble by his thefts and mischief-making. This is our talk respecting Bowles.

Faithfully interpreted from the Creek by
Alexander A. Cornells Asst.
and interpreter

In presence of
Robt Grierson
James J. L. Lovett
James Bird
Hinchey Pettway
Robt Walton

Lem M. McGee

The next point for this day is a short talk we give you to send to the Governor of Pensacola and our good friend Mr Panton.-

“The chiefs and masters of the Creek lands are here present, and you our beloved man are with us.

When the British left us they told us Mr Panton would supply us with goods. The Spaniards they took possession, and we expect this engagement on the part of the British to be good as long as Mr Panton is able to support this trade.

When we see a letter from Mr Panton and the Governor of Pensacola we pay attention to it. Mr Panton is a trader, he does not belong to the class of people who fight. The Path must be kept open to his house from the four Nations. The bay and river must be clear and these who fight must do it on the ocean and not disturb us in our trade. Spain and Great Britain ought not to disturb the vessels of Mr Panton. They are for the trade for the four Nations, the path should be clear, we are poor and they ought to consider us and not involve us in their quarrels or disputes. The powers at War know that we are poor people and its our wish that we may find peace at our trading posts.

The four Nations have made a talk that they will be at peace with all white neighbours. The Wars of the white people are mostly at Sea, let them fight. We wish the Governor of Pensacola to believe that we shall be always glad to see him as long as the Spaniards are our neighbours and that he has nothing to fear from us red people.

This is the end of our talk for the Governor of Pensacola and Mr Panton.

Creek Agency 3rd Decr. 1799

I do hereby certify the foregoing to be a true copy from the original in my possession, and that the original was delivered to me in the public Square of the National Council in Tookaubatche-

Ben Hawkins
O Tafor Iafopohio

A LETTER FROM DANIEL MCGILLIVRAY TO
WILLIAM PANTON RESPECTING
WILLIAM AUGUSTUS BOWLES

Hickory Ground October, 13th. 1800

Dear Sir

Three days ago I came from the Tuckabatches where I delivered a long talk from the Cowetas & Cussitaw Chiefs, Concerning Bowles & his proceedings, setting the lower town indians By the Ears with his infernal lyes ; Colol. Hawkins wrote the talks to the Upper Creeks, setting forth the danger of allowing such talks to Circulate among them, the only remedy left them was to collect themselves to assist the Lower towns to Sieze on Bowles & his associates, in order to put a Stope to his talks, otherwise they might expect nothing else but a civil war among themselves; Perryman or Cangyjie sent his talks to the Chiefs and told them that he was afraid of trouble for there was not a single village below the Uchches, but what was divided among themselves. Sugarts & another wt. man name not mentioned returned from the bay of Tampa & reported to the Indians Bowle's Ship was there, with goods & British troops to Assist them ; Kinnigie of Miccasucky told Bowles he did not want his white soldiers, but advised him to send his soldiers against St Augustine, all this is nothing else, but lying reports to corrupt the minds of these foolish

Indians that is now f Divided one against another,—the Broken days was sent to the Chiefs of the Upper Creeks to collect a few men to meet at the Tuckabaches in seven days, the talks returned by the runners that they were all scattered & gone and that the Singer & the Mad Dog might if they would, the Tame King is in the opposition & for Bowles. This is the present situation of this people at present, in spite of what is said to them they will plunge themselves in ruin, for they will not see their danger that is near approaching. I fancy the Mad Dog & the Singer will have to go without any of their Warriors, by which the talks of the lower town Chiefs will turn out to be of no consequence,-

I am now to inform you some disagreeable actions of late acted by the Wind family the Women has taken all the cattle that was, and now they are for taking the negroes, this day the white ground indians the Lame fellow was for taking wenches & small negroes for who I cannot say I suppose for Mrs Durrant have undoubtedly sent them

I am of opinion they will have them all & make away with them for there is no body to oppose them, for my part I have said what I could but to no purpose, for they will do what they please that is all I can say about them at present, because the White ground Indians was prevented from carrying off their negroes at this time by the Hickory ground Indians who sided with me against them.

in regard to myself I am pestered on every side I act as an advocet for the White people you live among, merely for your interest & the Safety of these people, not only a thankless office but I am Lyable to Entangle myself, entirely my view is for your interest altho it is not in my power to act or please you as I would wish, I must realy say that I think you injure your-

self through your goodness toward these Indians, there is no less than seven tradders Indian factors fitted out by you round me, it never was so in old times ; & more expected from the Sun Rising ; by which my Bread is entirely taken out of my mouth & I must starve, the Spaniards nor the Americans will not assist me although I am a friend to both when they do not know it, this is my present situation & I have no friend to assist me, - I formerly thought you was my real friend but of late you seem to threaten me for that I was truly innocent and you blamed me for which you ought to blame yourself for I gave you timely warning by Mr Hutton concerning the Raskel Phillips you call my black smith, I knew nothing of him when I wrote to you & soon after I acquainted you to have nothing to do with him, yet you blame me for my honest intention toward you, you receive my three Letters at one time & you ought to guard yourself against such a fellow.

Alexander Cornell was to blame more than me & he lost his gun through his partially, You are not the only loser others lost as well as you he parted with your gun on his route and I have not heard or found out yet who got your gun, it is told some of the Indians at Cahaba got it it is a bad chance. if I can find out who has the gun I will endeavor to get it, if my friend I hope the Breech is not so great between us but that it may be made up it never was my intention to hurt you but accidents will happen to create a difference between the greatest of friends,—Sometime next month you may expect to see me with what I have, I have not quite three hundred hides, but what I have shall be conveyed to you, when I get my Creatures collected & my little Crop gathered-

I have not seen the Muniac's since they came from Pensacola nor neither do I know what they'r after & Mr David Tate I have no manner of confidence

he is like the rest a grasping what he can, being in a hurry & unwell conclude with assuring you that I am as usual Dear sir your sincere Friend & humble Servt
 Danl McGillivray

P.S. This moment I am told of James McQueens being no more its said he is dead & Buried four days past, he told his son in my hearing not to pay you for you had property inough of his in your hands already, I gives you warning in order to take legal Steps in time for your own defence, yours truly

Danl McG.

Wm Panton Esqr

William Panton Esqr Mer
 chant at Pensacola sent by John
 Probus Indians

