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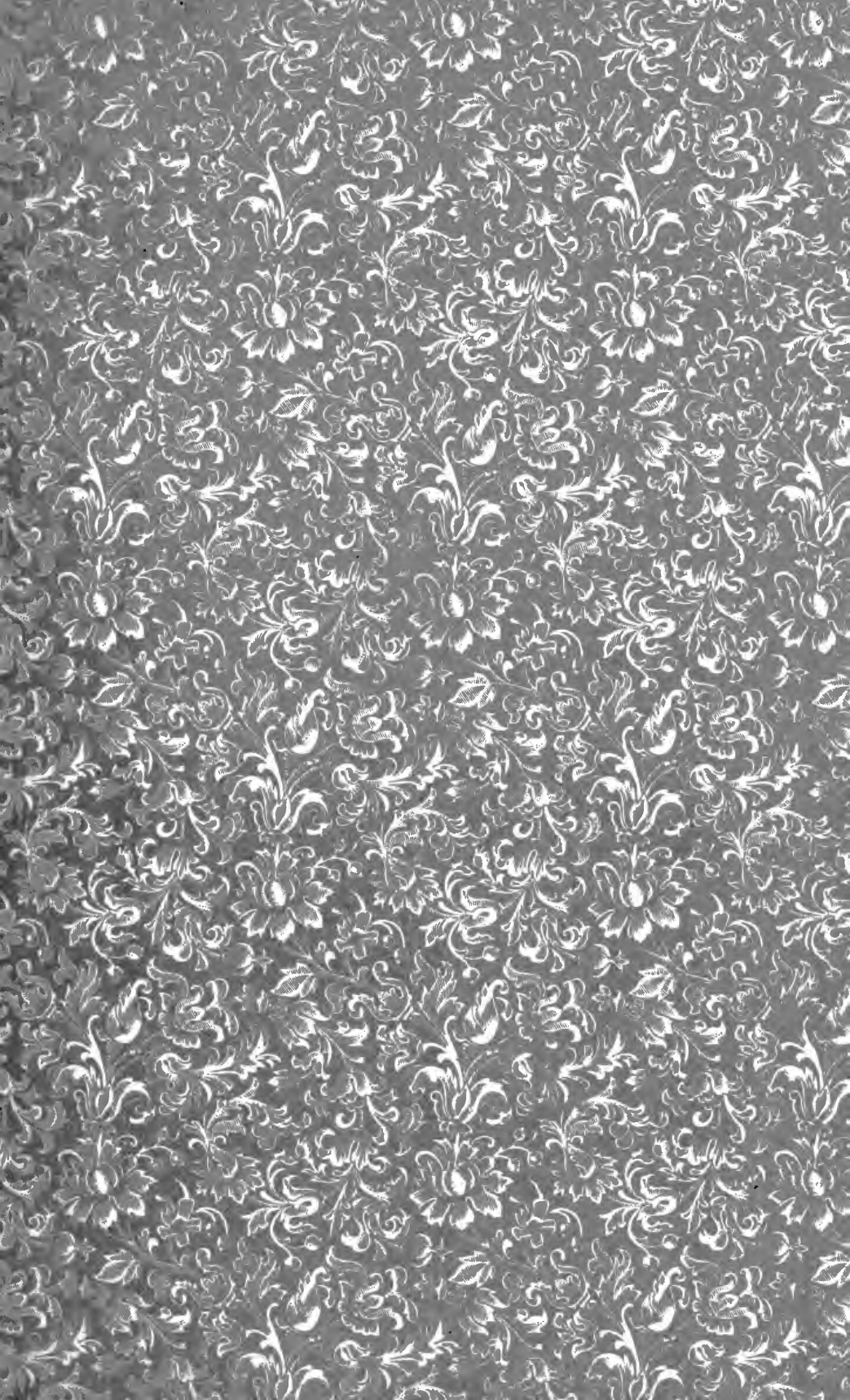
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COLLECTIONS ✓

OF THE

GEORGIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

VOL. VII.

PART I

LETTERS OF MONTIANO

SIEGE OF ST. AGUSTINE

Published by
Georgia Historical Society
Savannah, Ga.

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1909.

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NOTE BY THE TRANSLATOR

The letters, whose translation follows, are contained in a folio volume, being copies made in St. Augustine in 1844 by Antonio Alvarez, Keeper of the Public Archives, from the originals under his care. These originals must themselves have been retained copies. As the last letter is numbered 248, and there are but 36 in this collection, it is clear that either a selection has been made, or else that the other letters bore upon subjects not sufficiently important or interesting to merit copying. From internal evidence, however, furnished in one or two instances, it appears that one or two despatches have been overlooked, supposing always that the originals were still in existence. Letter No. 198, is not in Alvarez's handwriting, and seems to have been inserted or copied after all the others, as though by a person who objected to its omission. It is not certified to be a true copy, as are all the others; but a note sets forth that it was copied from the original MS. The insertion of this particular letter, coupled with the internal evidence mentioned, would seem to indicate that the collection might have been enlarged with profit. Each letter, with the exception noted, is accompanied by Alvarez's elaborate certificate in English (see first and second letters) and stamped with his seal as keeper of the Public Archives. It has not been thought worth while to reproduce this certificate with each letter in this translation. And similarly of the elaborate and formal close of each letter, in which the author begs his correspondent to accept "his assurances of faithful and affectionate obedience with prayer that our Lord may keep his Excellency many years, and kisses his hand;" inserted once or twice, the more frequent repetition of these formulas would prove tiresome, and so they are omitted. Spanish and English (Georgia and Carolina) Colonial place-names in general, are left as Don Manuel wrote them, and so of personal names. All these letters are addressed to Don Juan Francisco de Guemes y Horcasitas, Governor General of Cuba. When the word "place" occurs in the following pages, it must be understood as representing the Spanish *plaza*, that is, a fortified position with its own and dependencies.

C. De W. W.

Washington, July 29, 1908.



INTRODUCTION.

For many years the Georgia Historical Society has had among its unpublished manuscripts a bound volume of letters written in Spanish, pertaining to the siege of St. Augustine, Florida, by General James Oglethorpe in 1740. These letters were originally written by Don Manuel de Montiano, the Spanish officer then in charge of the military forces at St. Augustine, to his superior officer, Don Juan Francisco de Guemas y Horcasitas, Governor General of Cuba.

From the minutes of the Society dated September 11, 1843, it appears that attention had been called to the original letters "on hearing a letter from Mr. Brown, of St. Augustine," and it is here further stated, "and which Diary is still preserved in the archives office at St. Augustine." A recent inquiry of the St. Augustine Historical Society shows that the original letters referred to in this communication are not now in its possession, and none now connected with the Society knows anything of their whereabouts.

It was resolved, "That the corresponding secretary be directed to ascertain at what cost a verbatim copy of the original document in the Spanish language can be obtained; and that said secretary have full power to act in the matter."

On November 28, 1843, Wm. B. Hodgson, Esq., a public-spirited citizen of Savannah, and afterwards a great benefactor of the Society, addressed the following letter to Mr. I. K. Tefft, the corresponding secretary:

"It affords me pleasure to record my acknowledgments to the Rev. Dr. Hawkes, lately of New York and now of Holly Springs, Mississippi, for the advantage of possessing this Spanish manuscript.

"During the learned Doctor's visit to St. Augustine he obtained a copy of these official letters from the public archives of East Florida. The truth and correctness of the copy is attested by Don Antonio Alvarez, keeper of those archives. The copy, which I send you, is made from that of Dr. Hawkes, and whenever the wish of the Society may be expressed, I should have a sincere pleasure in furnishing a translation of these Spanish documents."

For some reason Mr. Hodgson never furnished the promised translation, and not until the year 1908 were steps taken to have these letters translated. The Society was fortunate in securing for this purpose the services of Major C. DeWitt Willcox, a native Georgian, now of the U. S. Army, whose scholarly attainments and military training fitted him specially for this work, and to him the thanks of the Society are due for this important contribution to the history of our state.

It has been thought best to include in this volume several maps and illustrations which will throw much light up the operations against St. Augustine by Oglethorpe. The plan of the old fort of San Marco is a photographic reproduction of a tracing made by the United States government in Spain in 1884, the tracing being kindly furnished by Capt. George R. Spalding, in charge of the United States Engineer's Office in Jacksonville, Fla. The other maps are copied from originals in possession of Mr. W. J. DeRenne, of Wormsloe. The thanks of the Society are specially due to this public-spirited gentleman for his generous aid in placing at its disposal the facilities of his rare and excellent collection of Georgia history.

Most of these maps are self-explanatory, but the dates of some of them are inferred from a close examination of the originals. "The Plan of the Harbour of St. Augustine in the Province of Georgia, Composed and Published from Surveys Deposited in the Office of the Right Honourable the Lords of Trade, by J. F. W. Des Barres, Esqr.," was probably made about 1777.

The map, showing "South Carolina, Florida and The Western or Atlantick Ocean," bears upon the original the following legend:

"The Original of this Map was drawn by Col. Barnevelt, who Commanded several Expeditions against the Indians in the Time of the Indian War, as also served under Col. Moore in all his Expeditions in the said War. It is highly approved of by Licutenant Governour Bull, who is allowed to be the best Judge of Carolina and the Indian Countrys round it of any Person now in the Province."

The date of this map is not given, but from data given by the map itself it could not have been made before 1719.

The future historian of this period will find in addition to the accounts in the well-known histories of Georgia the following references suggestive and helpful. All of these books are in the library of Mr. W. J. DeRenne at Wormsloe, and some of them cannot be found elsewhere.

"The Report of the Committee of Both Houses of Assembly of the Province of South Carolina, Appointed to Enquire into the Causes of the Disappointment of Success, in the late Expedition against St. Augustine, Under the Command of General Oglethorpe." 1743.

"A History of the American People," by Woodrow Wilson, Vol. 2, Page 69.

"Life and Character of Oglethorpe," an address delivered before the Literary Societies of the University of Georgia, August 2, 1860, by Rev. C. W. Howard.

"The Making of Georgia," two addresses by Hon. Walter G. Charlton, of Savannah.

"A Description of East Florida, with a Journal kept by John Bartram, of Philadelphia, Botanist to His Majesty for the Floridas," MDCCLXIX.

"An Account of the First Discovery, and Natural History of Florida," by William Roberts, London, MDCCLXIII.

"The Spanish Hireling Detected: Being a Refutation of the Several Calumnies and Falsehoods in the late Pamphlet, Entitled, 'An Impartial Account of the Late Expedition Against St. Augustine under General Oglethorpe,' by George Cadogan, Lieutenant in General Oglethorpe's Regiment." London, MDCCXLIII.

"An Impartial Account of the late Expedition against St. Augustine under General Oglethorpe, occasioned by the Suppression of the Report, made by a Committee of the General Assembly in South Carolina, transmitted, under the Great Seal of that Province, to their Agent in England, in order to be printed." 1742.

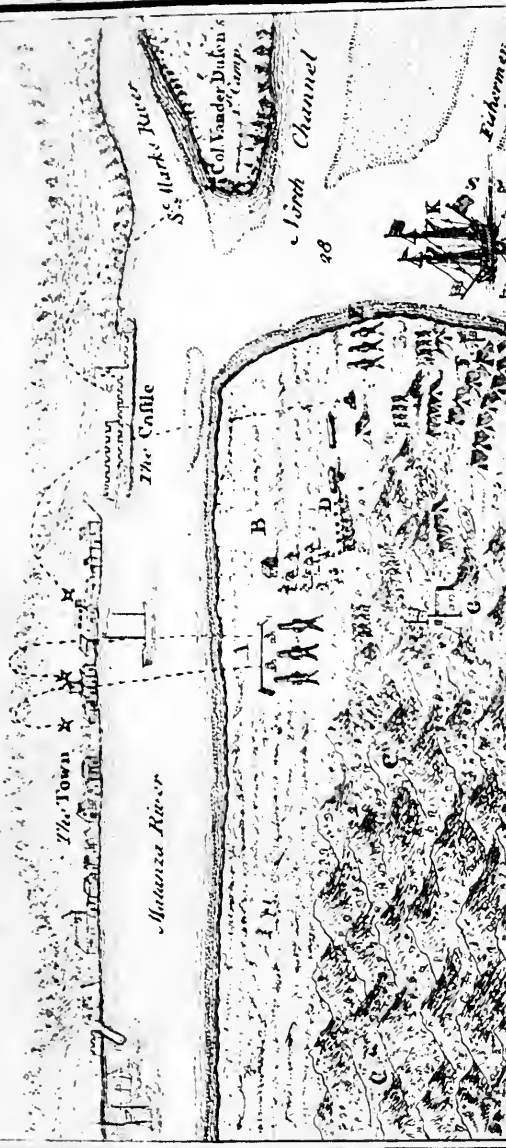
"Newest and Most Correct Report of the Scenery of Georgia in English America." 1746. (In German.)

The Georgia Historical Society presents herewith to the students of Georgia and American history the translation of these interesting letters with the hope that a clearer light may be thrown upon this heroic period of our state's history.

OTIS ASHMORE,
GEORGE J. BALDWIN,
U. H. McLAWS,

Committee on Printing and Publishing.

**VIEW of the TOWN and CASTLE of ST AUGUSTINE,
and the ENGLISH CAMP before it June 20 1740. by THO^S SILVER.**



Richmond's Expedition
by another new recreation by a dear bought land which is open
had obtained over 80 Highlanders of whom were slain, but died like
themselves killing three their number.
The 29th but Weather obliged the men of War to put to sea, out of port
because men had been killed. It was upon the 30th was raised.

slaves 10 strong of Expedition about 200 Stramen
400 Soldiers and 500 Indians
Stores of the Spaniards 1000 besides of strong
Castle and 4 Fortified Shanks and a Mallon
River building our Spaniards Shuman on them



LETTERS OF
DON MANUEL DE MONTIANO
Siege of St. Augustine

No. 1.

Sir: Diego de Espinosa (one of the most respected citizens of this presidio) has informed me that there came to this point last year, one Don Carlos Dempsis, an Englishman, second in command of the settlements of New Georgia. As he wished to return to them, Don Francisco del Moral gave him permission to go overland, directing the adjutant Don Manuel de Arze, who is now here, to accompany him. This officer allowed the Englishman to see a fort built by the said Espinosa at his own expense on his stock farm about six leagues from here, and mounting five falconets, and to sleep one night on the place. Now this Englishman is an Engineer, and is the first of his nation to see the said fort, the only defense in its territory. Moreover the same privilege was later granted by Don Manuel to two other Englishmen. I consider it my duty to report these facts to your excellency such as they are, in order that they may not be hidden from your superior penetration. I beg Your Excellency to honor me with frequent advice to the betterment of my poor abilities in your behalf.

May God keep Your Excellency many years, as I desire, and is proper.

Saint Augustine, in Florida, March 22, 1737.

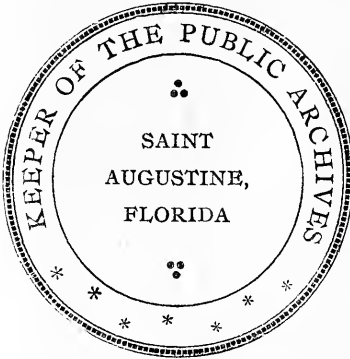
Your Excellency's grateful and obliged servant, who
kisses your hand,

Don Manuel Joseph de Justis.

To Senor Don Juan Francisco de Guemes y Horcasitas:

I, Antonio Alvarez, Keeper of the Public Archives of East Florida, do hereby certify the foregoing to be a true and correct transcript from a book in which are recorded the official letters addressed by Don Manuel Joseph de Justis Governor of East Florida, to Don Juan Francisco de Guemes y Horcasitas, Captain General of the Island of Cuba, be-

tween the 22d March, 1837 (sic) and the 14th August of the same year, which book belongs to the Archives under my charge.



Witness my hand and seal of office at the City of St. Augustine, territory of Florida, this twelfth day of February, A. D. one thousand eight hundred and forty-four.

(Signed) Antonio Alvarez,
K. P. A.

Letter No. 2.

My present news compels me to send Pedro de Alcantara in his schooner and to beg for Your Excellency's protection, so that, acquainted with the case, and with our present necessities as doubtless repored to Your Excellency by Don Manuel de Justis, you may be pleased to take the necessary steps to put this position in a state of defense against the intentions of the English to seize it with its provinces. An offer to this end has been made to the King of Great Britain in his Parliament by Milord Ogleter, a member of the same. He declared from his seat that this place, with Apalachee and its provinces would be more useful to Great Britain than all its remaining Colonies and Islands in America. For in possession of them, he would guarantee that no ship of ours could pass through the channel* and that consequently we could not enjoy the treasures produced by the Kingdoms of Peru and New Spain without his consent. This offer having been favorably received, he was made Com-mander in Chief of all the Colonies, of the Island of Jamaica and others, and lord of land and sea, receiving at the same time 125 #** [thousand] dollars for fortifications, and also 480 regular troops for the campaign against these Provinces.

* Florida Straight. Tr.

** This symbol # is taken to represent *thousand*. Tr.

And although Parliament opposed any invasion during the peace, yet on combining the news in question with that just brought me (for these matters are known also in Apalachee) by the Cacique Sacafaca of the town of Chalarliche, it is evident we should not overlook what the English have done at other times. The Cacique who comes expressly and voluntarily from these distant provinces, warns me that the Indians attached to the English were descending in small bodies to annoy those regions, and that the Caciques were ordered by the English to assemble so as to treat of various matters. We must to-day, therefore, distrust their efforts, intensified as they are by the pride of Milord Ogleter, who finds himself supported by the peers of the Kingdom for the sole purpose of acquiring glory in these conquests. It is not to be doubted that he will act with the greatest firmness by sea and land; and unfortunately for us, his slightest effort will be successful, for we have not here the means to resist a moderate force. Our case is much worse at sea; for, by holding the mouth of the inlet with one or two frigates, our communications are completely cut on this side, and our supplies stopped. They will succeed in their plan, a fact of which they are well aware, as they are also of the deplorable condition of this place, seeing it has so few troops for its defense. I hope, therefore, that Your Excellency will heed these reasons and also the fact that the preservation of this post is of the greatest importance to the security of all America, and so be pleased to take the promptest measures, which I leave to the discretion and judgment of Your Excellency. Your Excellency's knowledge of the profession, acquired by long and distinguished service, will enable you to realize what is needed here, being, without further detail, everything. For Your Excellency must know that this castle*, the only defense here, has no bombproofs for the protection of the garrison, that the counterscarp is too low, that there is no covered way, that the curtains are without demi-lunes, that there are no other exterior works to give them time for a long defense; but that we are as bare outside as we are without life inside, for there are no guns that could last 24 hours, and if there were, we have no artillerymen to serve them.

I have ordered 4,000** stakes to be cut for the construc-

* Fort San Marco. Tr.

** In the original 42 Tr.

tion of the covered way, with the full knowledge that the work will be imperfect by reason of the low height of the counterscarp; but as raising it would be a long and costly task involving much earth work, I shall apply myself to such repairs as are immediately practicable and of least cost. For I have no other funds than the small quantity of silver bullion turned over to Don Francisco del Moral, and although I might wish to run the wall from the castle to the Cubo***, and raise here a bulwark to meet the attack they might direct from this point against the castle, yet I cannot do everything, partly from lack of means and partly from lack of workmen, convicts and slaves to do the work. If Your Excellency should resolve, as is my hope, to send troops, workmen, some money, slaves or exiles, and an Engineer to direct operations, let them also bring a sufficiency of supplies, for while there is no doubt the English will cut off our bread upon noticing anything unusual, there is just as little doubt that the plans and pride of Milord Ogleter will come to naught, and that if we have time to prepare for defense, we shall rob him of all hope.

The two spies agree on the news herewith, and recommend strongly that we should not neglect our preparations for Milord Ogleter was expected at the latest all through October, and his boldness would trample on all obstacles. This is all I have to bring to the knowledge of Your Excellency whom I shall always faithfully serve, desiring that our Lord may preserve Your Excellency many happy years.

Florida, November 11, 1737.

Your Excellency's most faithful affectionate servant,

Don Manuel de Montiano.

For Don Juan Francisco de Guemes y Horcasitas.

I, Antonio Alvarez, Keeper of the Public Archives of East Florida, do hereby certify the foregoing to be a true and correct transcript from a book in which are recorded the official letters addressed by Don Manuel de Montiano Governor of East Florida, to Don Juan Francisco de Guemes y Horcasitas, Captain General of the Island of Cuba, between

*** *Cubo* is a round fortified tower on the wall of a medieval fort or castle. There must have been such a tower at Saint Augustine, known as the Cubo. Tr.

the 30th September, 1737, and the 1st of February, 1741,* which book belongs in the Archives under my charge.



Witness my hand and seal of office at the City of St. Augustine, territory of Florida, this twelfth day of February, A. D. one thousand eight hundred and forty-four.

(Signed) Antonio Alvarez,
K. P. A.

No. 17.

Sir :

In answer to Your Excellency's letter of November 24, inclosing a note, in which the transfer of the company of grenadiers is regarded as proper, and directing me to employ the news brought by the pilot as a pretext for sending (him) with it to Frederico or New Georgia, in order to make sure I have the honor to make the following statement :

On January 18 I sent the adjutant Don Juan Jacinto Rodriguez with Your Excellency's letter, under the pretext of complaining to the commanding officers of those colonies, that Indians of their allegiance had murdered the Cacique Pujoy and the people with him. I further demanded the return of the Cacique's wife and of fourteen other persons, men and women, taken prisoners, a barbarous violation of good relations, and the punishment of the authors of this infraction, etc. Having arrived at Gualquini, a plantation of Don Guillermo Horton, Esquire, Governor of Frederico, Rodriguez gave him my letter, but was refused permission to proceed in order to deliver the remaining letters to Don Thomas Huston, Esquire, Governor-in-chief of the entire province of San Jorge, and to Don Diego Gasgoine, Captain

* It will be noticed that the last letter of this collection is dated January 2, 1741.
Tr.

of the *Manual** (man-of-war). In spite of all his efforts, permission to proceed was still refused, with the statement that within 21 days answers would be sent to San Juan; and as he could not delay so long without exciting suspicion, and now felt sure that he would not be allowed to continue his journey, as on former occasions, he decided to return, having verified to the best of his ability, the fact that no new fortification had been added to those he had seen the year before. He noticed, too, that according to appearances, they were living without care, or else making a show of it.

While with Don Guillermo, he was told of the departure about five months ago from Holland of six ships of 50 or 60 guns to capture the coast guard vessel of Habana, because of the latter's seizure of a ship of great importance (*muy interesado*) and that likewise, a ship of unspecified nationality had sailed from Cadiz, with orders from the King that Your Excellency and Don Antonio de Benavides should meet to decide whether the prize was good. He also learned that three frigates had arrived with 350 laborers to work in the fields, and noticed that the *Manual* (man-of-war) was not in its usual moorings, and upon asking why was told that she was careened in Savana. He adds that he was informed that the schooner of Devis was loading at Puerto Real for a journey to this point, and as the distance is only forty leagues, Your Excellency's long delay discourages me. That is why I renew my prayer to Your Excellency to deign to send as early as possible a vessel loaded with corn to keep us from perishing. This is all that I have by way of news for Your Excellency to whom I am always obedient, ever praying, etc.

Florida, February 3, 1738.

No. 18.

Sir:

I answer Your Excellency's letter of the 24 of November, in which Your Excellency elaborately disputes the news I gave you that Don Diego Ogleto had been appointed General-in-chief. Your Excellency treats the remainder of my news in the same fashion, alleging that there may be a

* The word "man-of-war" is interpolated by the copyist. "Manuel" is evidently Don Manuel's transliteration of our "man o' war." Tr.

blunder, and that your doubts are confirmed by English explanations to the effect that Don Diego Ogleto's supporters were, not the King, but a few members of Parliament, and that any way it has never been established that the King had ever authorized the fraudulent usurpations of foreign dominions now condoned, as this would have been a notorious infraction. But with the fact before me that in spite of the expostulations of ours (i. e. our King) they hold their ground, skillfully seeking every opportunity to advance and to seize whatever they can without let from their King, who should have interfered in accordance with the treaty of peace of 1670 delimiting the boundaries of both crowns, I am compelled to believe that whenever the occasion offers, they will seize by force of arms what they have been unable to get by the craft, skill and persistence so far employed by them. It is for these reasons that I have communicated to Your Excellency the news of our spies, it being my plain duty so to do, that no one may at any time charge me with the omission. It is also my duty to strive to protect this position, as long as the King shall entrust it to me. This is my part: it is your Excellency's to interpret them (news, events) as you may see fit. I shall ever be ready to inform Your Excellency of all fresh events, and try to use all opportunities to send news as rapidly as possible.

And as I should have had (no) boat other than Ojeda's, and it could not be expected that Devis's, which I am awaiting, would go any farther and as I should give Your Excellency the news of Pujoy, I make use of Matheo Rodriguez who starts at once, begging Your Excellency to send us some boat in good time loaded with corn, in case these people should fail us, as is to be feared. My obedience is always completely yours, etc.

Florida, February 4, 1738.

No 23.

Sir:

The departure of Matheo Rodriguez's schooner from this point was followed on the 10th inst., by the arrival of a small boat from Puerto Real. An explorer who came in her reports that a ship from London to the Port of Carolina*

* Charleston. Don Manuel similarly calls St. Augustine, Florida, just as to-day Cubans never say Santiago, but Cuba, the full name of the place being Santiago de Cuba. Tr.

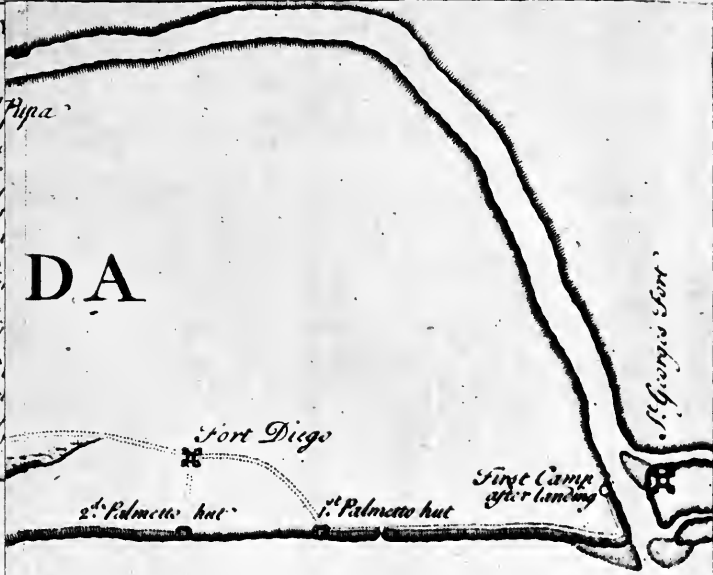
brings the news of the death of the Queen of Great Britain on November 20 of last year. Further, that the Count de Montijo, our Ambassador to that (the English) court having set forth the indubitable right of the Spanish crown to all the colonies south of latitude 33 degrees 30 minutes, our own Sovereign asked that they be released without resistance, the despatch of troops to hold them constituting an act of hostility. The answer to this was an order to prepare 60 ships of the line to take station off Cadiz, and at the same time to send Don Diego Ogleter with 800 regulars, 500 from England, and 300 from the Gibraltar garrison under the orders of a colonel, the best Engineer of the kingdom, Oglethorpe to have the supreme command of both Carolinas, and to receive all necessary assistance. He was expected this month with two frigates, one of 40 guns, and already in anticipation ordered the purchase of great supplies, now being stored in Georgia at all hazards. The Count de Montijo accordingly withdrew to Madrid, and the resolution of the English to send troops made war certain. Further, both Carolinas are acquainted with the designs of Habana against those Colonies for the month of March, having obtained the news from an English frigate that left the said port in August and transmitted the news at sea to another frigate encountered on its way to Carolina. Here, he continues, fortifications are under construction, and six thousand Chalaque Indians have been ordered to assemble to go to Georgia: the citizens of Old Carolina do not relish the command of Ogleter on account of his boldness and arrogance, and because they fear an interruption of thier business. He reports that 4,000 men are said to be coming from Spain and a few war ships to be joined by the Windward fleet; further that the English are asking the Spaniards to return the prizes taken in America, and that in Europe an English ship was captured by the Spaniards, all its crew put to death, and the ship taken to Alicante; that the Dutch have captured a ship of ours in American waters, with a few persons of distinction who were being held as hostages until the return of the captures made; that the Germans and French were bound by the closest ties of friendship, and that the former and the Russians had taken from the Turks many places and provinces, killing many people with but little loss on the part of the allies.

This is all that is reported by the spy, and it agrees with what Your Excellency has written to me. It is possible how-

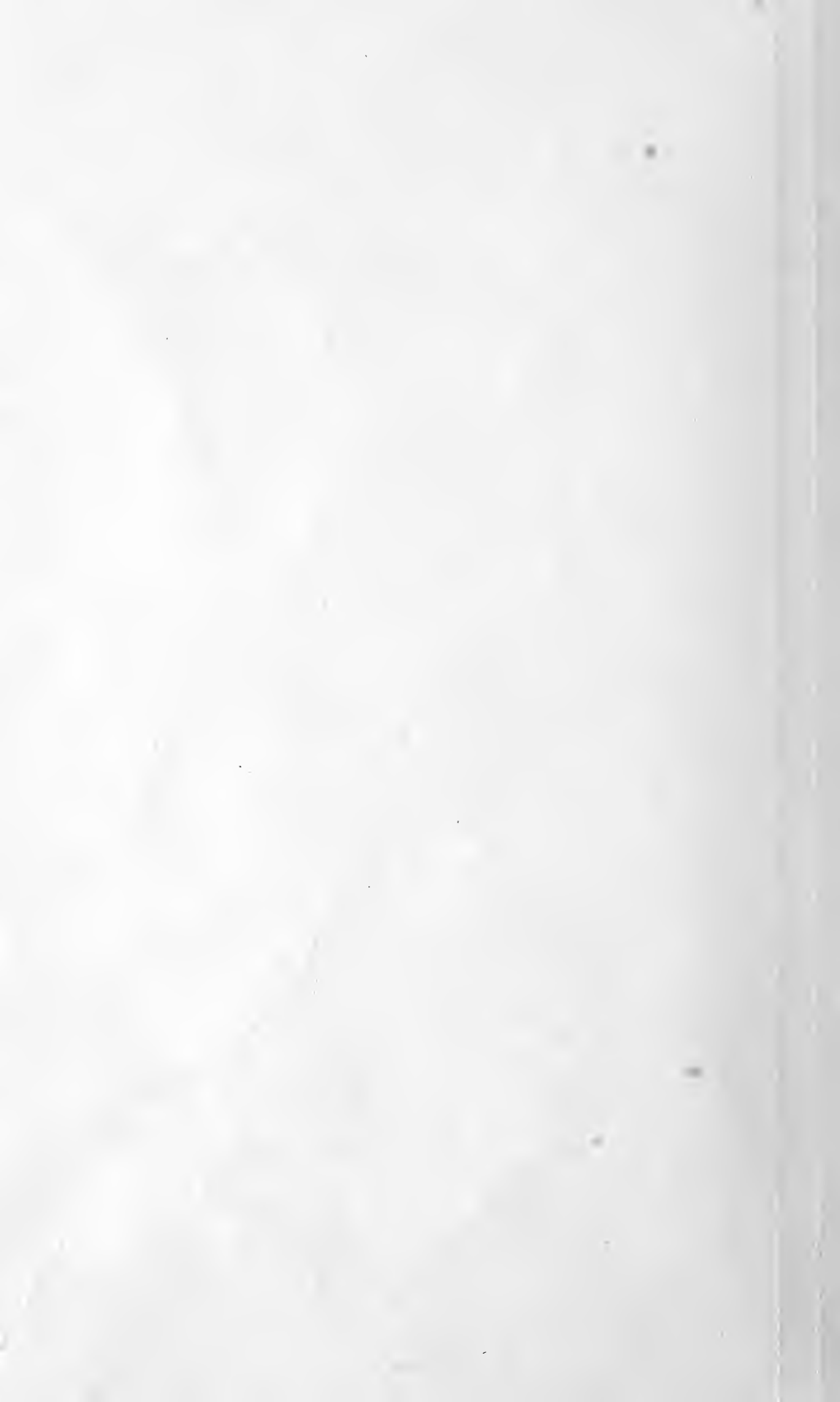
Referen

1. The Town
2. The Castle
3. A Battery
4. The Lookout
5. The Lookout
6. A small fort
7. A Battery
8. A Battery
9. A Battery
10. A Battery
11. Harbour
12. Carolina
13. Sailors
14. Carolina
15. Carolina
16. The Volcan
17. General
18. Carolina

DA



M. J. Smith





ever that a visit to this place with this information is a ruse to cause us to suspend operations, if it is certain that he has, as he says, got hold of a plan without their knowledge, and I wonder that such piece of information as the withdrawal of our Ambassador should not have been communicated to these parts, upon which subject Your Excellency will know exactly what to say.

Having no further news, and begging, etc.

Florida, February 15, 1738.

No. 25.

Sir:

Just as I was closing my despatches to send them in Ojeda's sloop, I received the answers of the commanding officers in New Georgia. They may be summed up as expressions of regret for the murder of King Pujoy and promises to capture and punish the aggressors, and to restore the prisoners if they can be found. They further express the desire to maintain good relations, as well as the treaties made by their General Oglethorpe with Don Francisco de Moral. In respect of Your Excellency's letter treating of the Pilot, which no one saw except Don Guillermo Horton, living at Gualpuini, there is not a hint in his answer. The others say that as they have not seen it, they do not understand the matter; I am persuaded they have not failed to interchange sentiments on the subject. The trooper that brought the letters says that the crew of the English canoe report Oglethorpe as arrived, and as being in Gualquini; that they asked if there were any Spanish or English ship on the coast, and on hearing there were none, returned without going any further. I have no more to report to Your Excellency, etc.

Florida, February 16, 1738.

No. 38.

Sir:

In a letter of Feb. 22, and postscript of March 22, Your Excellency gave me notice of the departure of the small expedition. This, in spite of the length of the voyage, arrived safely with the exception of a canoe, recovered however, as I am informed in that port (Habana). In the aforesaid letter, Your Excellency gave me precise directions upon the course to be followed and precautions taken, to

keep from the enemy any knowledge of our intended expedition to dislodge foreign intruders from the territory unlawfully held by them in these provinces. But as this plan has come to naught, by reason of His Majesty's latest resolution, nothing is left to me except to regret most deeply the frustration of these excellent measures and the absence of the results which I had reason to believe would accrue from so fine, strong and adequate an expedition—for there is no doubt that the small one alone would have filled them with consternation and put them to flight.

With regard to Don Antonio Diaz Villejas, subordinate of the principal agent Don Antonio de la Mora, and to Don Lorenzo Garcia, in charge of stores, I have done all in my power to secure the greatest economy in the distribution of rations, and in the care and preservation of stores, charging them especially to keep ever in mind the directions given them to the same end by Your Excellency.

In respect of your instructions to send a post to Don Alonzo del Toro telling him to suspend his departure until the middle of April, the reasons therefor having come to an end, I merely told him to observe the directions given him by the Engineer Don Antonio de Arredondo in his letters (communicated to me). These seemed to me to be most proper. With these I sent the post, which he promptly received, preparing him for any emergency that might arise. This is all I have to report to Your Excellency on these matters, etc.

Florida, 13 May, 1738.

No. 41.

Sir:

Your Excellency's two letters of the 18th of March give me the dispositions taken by you to oust the foreign intruders in these provinces, and tell me that the general command of the expedition has been given to Colonel Don Juan Bapta. de Echeverria according to orders furnished Your Excellency, among which I conjecture must be included those received by me on May 8 from the Marquis of Torrenueva. In respect of these matters, I am unable to express to Your Excellency my regret at this suspension, because I believe that the measures and rules adopted by Your Excellency would surely have led to the expulsion of the enemy. For this glorious end, and apart from the modest resources offered by this

position, I should have striven with all the zeal and love demanded by the service of the King, by my affection for Your Excellency, and by my sense of what is due my friend Don Juan Bapta. de Echeverria.

In consequence of the failure of this plan, no effect has been given to Your Excellency's orders to the agent, Don Antonio de la Mora, with respect to the ten thousand pesos entrusted to him. As for the six thousand sent me by Your Excellency to be employed solely in fortifications, I shall arrange that the Engineer in charge make a weekly account of expenditures ordered by me, so that everything may be perfectly clear and thoroughly justified. The convicts only will draw rations under the forms always followed in this garrison, a course of which I approve.

Your Excellency tells me of the dispatch of 82 convicts of those furnished by his Grace the Viceroy Archbishop; of these only one is missing, who I am told, escaped from the Morro. We have also received the four pieces of 24 and 18, and the eight of 5 and 6. I had already informed Your Excellency by letter of April 25, that the six row galley guns carried by the galliots had been left here. Being needed here I thought fit to take them out, being unwilling to expose them to any risk. I beg Your Excellency to send us their carriages, as we shall then avoid the expense of new ones, and to approve this course of mine.

I inform Your Excellency that Don Pedro Barranco is taking with him four 3-pounder stone mortars, two 2-pounder and ten breech plugs, all of bronze, so that Your Excellency approve, they may be recast into falconets, which are more readily handled. The mortars are useless because their plugs, made here, do not fit. The Royal stores here have also received through the foreman substituted for Don Francisco de Leon Galera, the clothes, shirts, hats, beads and pipes, sent under his charge. I shall take the gross amount from the Indian budget, and carry it to the account of works. in order to employ it in our labors here, which in accordance with your suggestion appears to me the best course.

Florida, May 28, 1738.

No. 43.

Sir:

In a letter of March 24, Your Excellency notified me of the day on which you must have embarked the troops and mili-

tia for our intended expedition, and that the 21st of said month, you received a post with orders from the King to suspend it while conferences between the two crowns would fix the metes and bounds of these provinces. And that at the same time Your Excellency was advised that His Majesty desires they should guard against any sudden attack, and that measures be taken to put this fortress and that of Apalachee into as good condition of defense as possible. * * *

This is all I have to remark in respect of these affairs.
Florida, June 2, 1738.

No. 45.

Sir:

In a separate letter of March 24, Your Excellency informs me that if the two courts do not agree on the delimitation or adjustment of the boundaries of this city and of St George, and that if in consequence ours should determine upon the recovery of the boundaries belonging to it, I am to discover by all means in my power the condition of the new settlements as well as of Puerto Real and Purisbur, whether they have received re-enforcements, either army or navy, the tonnage of the ships, and that I must obtain the most minute information through the most trustworthy channels available, for report to His Majesty.

I assure Your Excellency that among the many difficulties of life here, the greatest is the lack of persons of intelligence for such business; there is not a single emissary here to whom it may be intrusted. And although Don Antonio de Arrendondo and I have long conferred in these matters, and on the methods of obtaining the reliable information we need, we have encountered so many obstacles that we have not yet hit on the best way of proceeding in so important an affair. But what is positive in this whole business, is that the English of the new settlements and of San Jorge had not the slightest idea of what was forward, before the arrival in their parts of the English pilot Your Excellency found in this place. This is established by their Gazette, which Your Excellency will see with other news written by Don Antonio de Arrendondo, and by their having at once sent a 20-gun frigate and a sloop to this port, to verify the reports of said pilot. As a norther blew April 29 and 30, requiring them to beat and lie-to, it was impossible to send a launch to ask

them why they had come. To make sure of their fears, they undoubtedly sent Edward Bullard in a sloop under the pretext of recovering a debt due him by these offices, and notes made by a few private individuals. But before opening these subjects, he handed me a letter from the Governor of San Jorge, of which I send a copy, as well as my answer, for the information of Your Excellency.

In a letter written to Devis by the aforesaid English pilot, it is said that on the 15th of May after a journey of eight weeks three frigates arrived at San Jorge, one called "Fenix" of 20 guns, the other two transports, carrying 600 regulars taken on at Gibraltar and 40 bronze guns of all calibers; further that General Oglethorpe was shortly expected. But as this news comes from persons of the same nation, in whom we can not have the slightest confidence, we remain in the same state of uncertainty, because we have no one who can make the necessary investigation. This would be costly, and as we have neither means nor trustworthy persons, we have no way of discovering the truth or of receiving news through a safe channel. There can be no doubt, however, that if this news be true, our Government must know it. I have no more to say on this subject, and subscribe myself, etc.

Florida, June 3, 1738.

No. 57.

Sir:

After the departure of the transports with Don Philipe de Yturrieta and his troops, I learned that the English are fortifying Federico on the island of San Simon, where they are building a brick fort, and that they are doing the work from San Jorge, using a great number of pinnaces, and employing more than 200 men, laboring night and day.

Although this information may be feigned, and intended to alarm us, yet I deem it my duty to communicate it to Your Excellency by reason of any significance whatever it may have for the royal service. In order that Your Excellency might be fully possessed of the matter, and for the purpose also of acquiring a real certainty in respect of the operations actually in hand, I at one time thought of despatching one of my most active officers under some pretext, but I have abandoned this step, because it would be perfectly useless. For although he might be allowed to land, he would not be

allowed to enter the settlements or converse with any one. To the same end I contemplated sending by land the Indian Juan Ygnacio with companions of his own choice; after having made preparations, so many difficulties and hindrances came up, that I thought it best to suspend the matter for the present, waiting to see if time would not open a channel through which we might get the news we need. And although Don Antonio de Arredondo, while he was here, and I discussed this matter thoroughly, we have been unable so far to find such a channel. On the 9th instant, there set out for Apalachee Don Antonio de Arredondo, Don Pedro Lambert, and the foreman Portillo, preceded two days before by Don Miguel de Rivas with his detachment of 50 men, and the convicts who go with him to work on the fort at that place. They took with them thirty-two loads of provisions for the journey. One of the 20 troops of the expedition, returning sick, tells me that they find fresh meat so abundant that they leave it behind at their halts: I take it they will make a good journey.

Don Antonio de Arredondo is charged to reconnoiter the terrain best adapted for the settlement of the families destined for that province, and to execute this task with prudence so that neither the Indians nor the English shall detect our purpose, and by advancing occupy the ground before the arrival of the families. Another possibility to guard against is that the English, knowing our plans, should induce the Indians to embarrass their execution. I have no doubt that his good management will secure all proper means to this end.

Florida, June 17, 1738.

No. 63.

Sir:

In answer to Your Excellency's letter of June 16 received through Perito, I have the honor to take up the various subjects brought up. With regard to the reports received by Your Excellency from the Negros station ship, I wrote Your Excellency by Don Philippe de Yturrieta what news I had at the time, and I now send by my letter of June 17, and the note of the 1st instant what has occurred since in respect of this matter. I can only add in this letter that the same person who gave me the news contained in the aforesaid note, declared under oath taken in accordance

with his religion at the time his sloop was boarded, that eight companies of about one hundred men each, with its complement of officers, had come from England to Federico. I remark that as to this statement and that sent Devis, there is a difference of 200 men, and that whereas one says these troops went to San Jorge, the other says they went to Federico. This is all that I can now say on this subject. The two launches are under an arbor that I caused to be raised in the dockyard for their preservation. This arbor cost me toil enough, like everything else here; for example, the work upon the castle through lack of laborers, whom I am obliged to assign in accordance with the annexed schedule. In spite of all these drawbacks, however, the work is going forward as rapidly as possible. All the foundations on one side of the castle are nearly finished, but the arches have not been begun because we have no hewn stone. This part we can not carry on, as we have only two oxen trained to work. Others are being broken in; an interruption since men must be employed with them. We have thrown down the parapet of the curtain on the side whose foundation is laid, as well as the interior wall forming the barracks on that same side. I have set up a lime kiln and we are pushing on everything by all available means.

Florida, July 4, 1738.

No. 70.

Sir:

At this hour, being four of the afternoon, I have just received a post from Pupo, in which Don Pedro Lamberto reports his arrival this day at that fort with a loss of two troopers, killed by the Uchee Indians on the way.

He further tells me that although he charged upon them, he was unable to reap any advantage as they had retired to a very impenetrable wood. He contemplated awaiting the Indians whom he was bringing back with him from Apalachee, (the same he took out with him) who had fallen behind in the march, so as to join hands with them and attack the enemy. But he found this impossible, giving no reasons. He intimates that he is returning sick, which I take to be the reason why he continued his march without attempting the operation he had at one time contemplated. He also tells me that the English of the neighboring colonies have invited the Uchises to come in, and that these are pre-

pared to cross over to the said colonies. In the same post I received letters from Don Miguel de Ribas and Don Antonio de Arrendondo reporting their uneventful arrival and that of the launch and sloop of Don Pedro Barranco. On this score then I am relieved of anxiety.

The movements of those Uchee Indians, and the report of Don Pedro Lamberto that the English are having relations with the Uchises, are matter for thought. For the this reason I am not only sending Your Excellency these reports by Pedro de Alcantara but I am duplicating them by hand, dispatching Luis Gomez to the Keys to give them to the master of the first ship he may meet there, with orders to the latter to proceed at once to Habana and deliver them to Your Excellency.

I have nothing more to report at this time.
Florida, July 22, 1738.

No. 74.

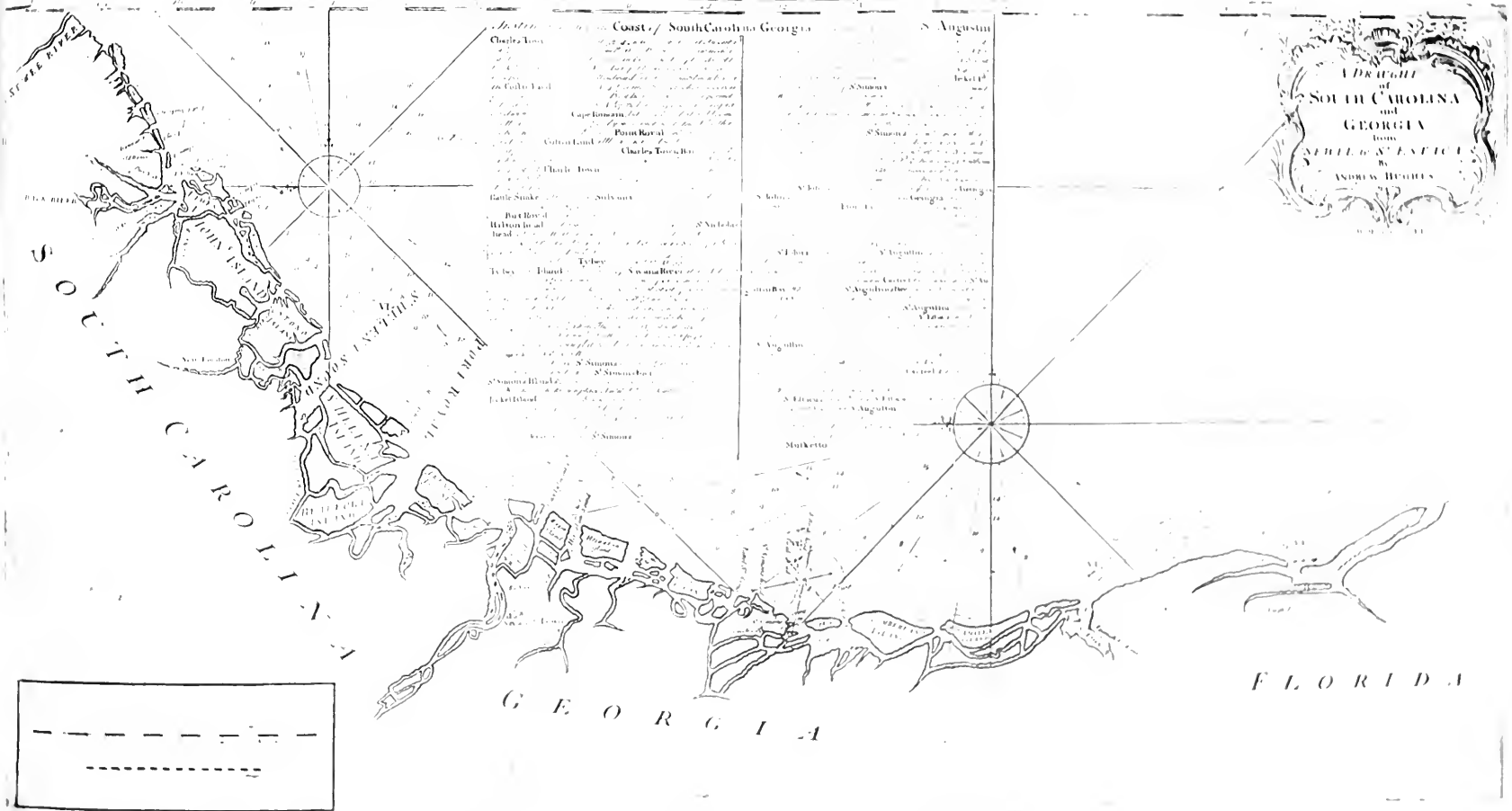
Sir:

I have received at the hands of Marcos de Torres 12 letters of Your Excellency bearing date 16, 17, 18 and 24 of July, whose contents I shall report upon through the same shipmaster.

I continue therefore the narration of events pending on the departure of Pedro de Alcantara respecting the assault made by the Uchee Indians on Fort Pupo. In order to discover the number of the Indians encamped at a league and a half from that fort near an arroyo, I sent out 29 of our Indians, of whom 7 withdrew. The 22 remaining sent me word that they were eager to make the reconnoissance on which they had sallied; after having been particularly cautioned not to expose themselves rashly, they reconnoitered from the said fort, and returned here, after, as they report, having carried out their orders. They informed me that in spite of their attempt to discover the Indians along the various roads, they had found only the trail of the four who followed the last post that I had sent to Apalachee. I am thus left in doubt whether their report be true, or whether through fear they have failed to reconnoiter thoroughly. I am equally ignorant of the numbers of the Indians that advanced to Pupo, and of their halting place.

A few backwoodsmen having arrived in this city with some live stock, were summoned before me, and informed me that



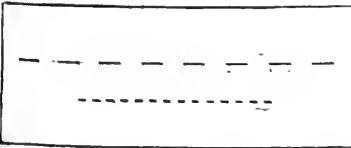
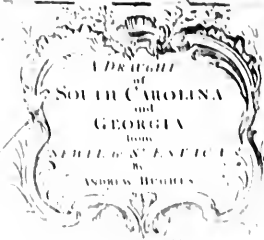


Coast of South Carolina and Georgia

Charles Town
 Beaufort
 Port Royal
 Charleston
 Cape Fear
 Tybee
 Savannah
 St. Augustine
 St. Marks
 St. Andrew's
 St. James
 St. George
 St. Philip
 St. Paul
 St. Peter
 St. John
 St. Elizabeth
 St. Nicholas
 St. Anthony
 St. Vincent
 St. Lucia
 St. Martin
 St. Kitts
 St. Nevis
 St. Eustace
 St. Vincent
 St. John
 St. Peter
 St. Paul
 St. Philip
 St. Nicholas
 St. Anthony
 St. Vincent
 St. Lucia
 St. Martin
 St. Kitts
 St. Nevis
 St. Eustace

St. Augustine

St. Augustine
 St. Marks
 St. Andrew's
 St. James
 St. George
 St. Philip
 St. Nicholas
 St. Anthony
 St. Vincent
 St. Lucia
 St. Martin
 St. Kitts
 St. Nevis
 St. Eustace



SOUTH CAROLINA
 GEORGIA

GEORGIA

FLORIDA



while out on a trip they had met a small detachment of Uchises busy looking for horses, from whom they learned that the English of New Georgia had thrown out in different directions bodies of Indians loyal to them, with orders to intercept the entire road to Apalachee, and to kill all the Spaniards possible, and that with this understanding, they were about to return when the meeting took place. Further, that although invited to return to their villages (by the Uchises), they paid no attention to the offer. The herdsmen added that having withdrawn with the cattle they had succeeded in finding, they discovered at a distance of 14 leagues from Pupo a body of 10 Indians by whom they were molested until they had the good fortune to fall in with Don Pedro Lamberto. This news, agreeing with the attack on the two rangers of this captain, with the attack on Pupo, and with the meeting of the 10 Indians who pursued the herdsmen, I communicate thus clearly to Your Excellency, for what it is worth to the royal service.

In a letter of 18th ultimo, I told Your Excellency in respect of the desertion of the 8 convicts employed in making lime for the works here, that I had sent Don Sebastian Sanchez with letters for the chiefs of these colonies,* asking for their restoration should they arrive in their territory. I profited by this occasion particularly to charge this officer to make the most particular inspection possible of the condition of the English colonies, to discover their plans, and inform himself about them in every way possible, bidding him to offer some reasonable reward if he should meet any one that could give him trustworthy news. This officer having returned and reported his investigations, I directed him to certify his account, being the same as the authentic testimony sent Your Excellency. At the same time, he told me he had not found the deserters, and that those Chiefs had offered their restoration in case they should come to their ports. I send at the same time to Your Excellency the letters they wrote in answer to mine. He also informs me that there is a great epidemic of smallpox at Saint George.

Last night there arrived the two posts that I had sent to Don Miguel de Ribas, who informs me that there is nothing new in that fort, but that with respect to the news I gave him, he will display the greatest vigilance in the matter of Indian movements. To this end he sent a post to Quilate

* English colonies are meant. Tr.

for his information, who went in person to that fort, and confirmed the purpose of the Junta, as communicated to Your Excellency in a letter of the 23 ultimo. In this Junta the English of Georgia made a great effort to convene the Talapuches, Chicazees, Uchises, Chalaques, Catapas, and other nations. Although they all besought him equally, he remained firm in his resistance to these visits, sending news of this business instead of his chieftains, and in particular to two of especial loyalty, so that he might come and report to me all that might take place there.

At the same time the aforesaid Don Miguel de Ribas reports the desertion from his fort of three soldiers and 18 convicts. As for the soldiers, he has ordered them to be sought in Pensacola, to which point nearly all fugitives go. The convicts were caught at once, and are now under safe guard. The foreman Portillo and a few soldiers and convicts remain sick, for which reason the work there is being continued with a pause. This is somewhat the case with the work on the castle here, because the mason Cantillo who remained here to take charge of it is simply ruined with a pox, so that he can do no work. Hence it has been necessary to send word to Don Pedro Ruiz Olano to fortify Pupo. To carry on here with the energy desirable, I beseech Your Excellency to send here all the convicts possible, a pair of good carts, and a few *junta maestras*, since for the lack of these things and of peons, the work goes on with great slowness, a source to me of the greatest anxiety.

I have already given Your Excellency my opinion of the summons of the Indians, and I pledge my utmost powers to discover their plans; and whether thus or through the disclosures of Quilate's trustworthy friends, I shall give Your Excellency at the earliest possible moment all the news that I may get, and should the case call for it I shall send one of the two launches here, so that no serious delay shall occur, or favorable opportunity miscarry.

The Indian Juan Ygnacio has not returned, and I am very anxious about him, as I fear lest he may have fallen into the hands of those who came to Pupo: if he has escaped them, I trust that he will bring me very sure news.

Florida, 8th of August, 1738.

No. 76.

Sir :

In my letter of Nov. 11, of last year, I gave Your Excellency the news I had got from Milord Ogleter's projects made before the English court in respect of helping the capture of this place, such as keeping ships at the mouth and along the keys of the new channel, so as to insult the fleets of merchant ships, galleons, quicksilver ships, and other vessels of Spanish commerce. Later on, I gave Your Excellency all the information that I had found it possible to collect. Lastly in letters of July 21 and August 8 I communicated to Your Excellency the assault which the Yuches, friends of the English, made on Fort Pupo the night of July 18; the death of the scouts of Don Pedro Lamberto; and the news given by the Uchises to some hunters of ours that the English had sent out a few parties of Indians with orders to kill as many Spaniards as possible. I also inclosed a statement of the embassy Quilate sent to the commanding officer at Apalachee telling him that the English of New Georgia had twice caused to be summoned all the Indians of the Provinces; as well as an account of Don Sebastian Sanchez (whom I had sent to the neighboring colonies to recover the eight convicts, deserters) of all that he had been able to see and learn. And now very recently, the Indian Juan Ygnacio has returned whom I had also sent to the same colonies to try, by using his native wit, to slip into them and discover as much as he could of the plans of the English, and of their condition. Likewise there have fled hither two Irishmen and one Scotchman. I am accordingly sending Your Excellency a careful account of their statements, and of all that the aforesaid Indian has declared he heard and saw, from the time he reached the English, until he could manage to slip away, in order that Your Excellency may be completely informed of all the news that I have been able to gather. Reflecting on certain portions of this account, I ought to point out to Your Excellency that Lieutenant Colonel Cocram, Governor of San Simon having asked our Indian if there were much money in Florida, and being answered that there was, said to him: "Soon that will all be the King of England's." With respect to this haughty statement, I may be allowed to point out that this Governor would not make such assertions, were he not informed of his sovereign's desire to possess himself of this place.

In the next sentence, Cocram asked our Indian about the condition of this place and castle, and to his answer remarked: "When you hear it said that General Ogleter has arrived, whom I am expecting with 700 men, then will you see me put a war ship at the mouth of the bar, to cut off supplies; and another on the keys, to embarrass vessels from Habana." It should be noticed and recollected here, that this plan forms part of Ogleter's dispositions. Further, Lieutenant Colonel Cocram has just come from London, and it is reasonable to believe that this officer must have been informed there that Ogleter's plans were approved, and that the latter must have strengthened them by representing the advantages accruing to his Britannic Majesty from the capture of Florida. This plan may be regarded as adopted, seeing that in another sentence he said affirmatively to our Indian that before 2 or 3 years he would be seeing them making wine and aguardiente in this province; and that for the purpose of mastering it, he had in Sabanto, San Andres and San Simon, 900 men, who with the 700 Ogleter was to bring, and the 5,000 and 6,000 Indians they would call together in less than 2 months would advance and disembark on the river St. John's near the fort of Picolata, the only point, as they say themselves, from which may be counted the 7 leagues to this position.

In this last paragraph of his account our Indian says he heard Lieutenant Colonel Cocram, and Don Guillermo Houston say that they had offered their Indians 50 dollars for the scalp of every Spaniard they might kill. The truth of this is sufficiently established by the news given our herdsmen by the Indians, by the violent death of Don Pedro Lambert's two scouts, and by the surprise they attempted against Pupo. And the enlistment of the 5,000 or 6,000 Indians spoken of in the preceding paragraph is verified by the embassy of the supreme chief Quilate. Upon which I have to remark that the aforementioned Governor Cocram would not have called the meeting for these outrages, without express orders from his Government.

At this hour, half past eleven at night, I have received the report of the chief of a detachment which I am keeping in an armed launch in the river St. John's, that 25 Indians and 2 Englishmen allowed themselves to be seen on the shores of the island of the same name.

As this point is the very one they have fortified, and the one in which they tried to found a new settlement it must

be two or three years ago,—not only is it plain that there must be more Indians and Englishmen, but also that they have come for the same purpose. But I am firmly resolved not to endure such insolence, and to make them abandon the idea if perchance they should have pitched on it.

This is all the news I have been able to acquire by the means indicated, for the information of Your Excellency; it follows that the purposes of the English are verified; that taking crafty advantage of the time selected for fixing the boundaries of the provinces on both sides, not only have they applied themselves with greatest zeal to the fortification of the ground that they have unjustly occupied, but that they are also taking the most effective measures to take this place, by starving it. I have also learned from Devis, (who vouches stoutly for it, on account of the confidence he has in his informant of the island of Barbadoes) that the number of troops Ogletoꝝ is to transport is 1,000 men, and that as many as 20 ships of war are to be sent from London for station off Jamaica. It is that Your Excellency may take the best means to guard the fleets now in these American waters, and deign to take all the measures needed for the important work of finishing this castle, as well as the others suggested by Your Excellency's great discretion and knowledge as suited to the execution of these premeditated ideas, that I transmit these reports to Your Excellency. In order to lose no time, I do not answer the letters which I promised by Marcos de Torres to answer. I assure Your Excellency that I shall fail in no point to display the utmost vigilance for the safety of this place. To this end, I have asked the purveyor at New York to send me with the utmost despatch supplies for one year, because from now on those needed by the King, and designated by you can not be obtained through other channels.

I had intended to send Juan Ygnacio the day of sailing to that city, (Habana) so as to give Your Excellency by word of mouth the account he gave me, but having declared to me that he had made a certain promise of vow, in case of a happy issue, to Our Lady of Cobre, I was unwilling to put him aboard with violence, and I let him go at his own free will to present himself to Your Excellency.

I beg that he may return at the first opportunity.
Florida, Aug. 31, 1738.

No. 113.

Sir:

In a letter of October 10, Your Excellency is good enough to tell me that the squadron on nine war-ships under the command of Don Joseph Pizarro is now in your harbor, and that although you have received letters from Spain by a despatch boat on its way to Vera Cruz, the official ones throw no light on the question of peace or war, but that the private ones say the English have corrected their schemes. Further, that it is felt our differences will be compounded by gentle and friendly methods, a feeling shared by Your Excellency for reasons soundly set forth. On this subject I feel it my duty to say to Your Excellency that I am of the same opinion, for I have had a thorough understanding with Devis, and succeeded in making him reveal the present state of these* colonies, their news and plans. He assures me there is nothing new except the arrival of Milord Ogletor, and as this officer is so captious and crossgrained, I am astonished that having come, he should remain quiet, and although I distrust this peaceful attitude as being perhaps only the deepest artifice, yet I regard it as nothing less than miraculous. And so I am diminishing in no respect my vigilance over all the measures they may take, nor my watch of the river St. John's and the forts Pupo and Picolata. I am advancing these works as much as possible, and searching into the intentions of the English, for Your Excellency's information in case they should have any significance, while they are not being put into effect, and an agreement is reached in respect of the differences set afoot by their unjust seizure of territory belonging to this Province. And, if I should have any urgent news for Your Excellency and no earlier vessel to send it by, I should despatch a launch, as I have before told Your Excellency, in order that Your Excellency may not be without it, and that such dispositions may be made for the King's service as may in your wisdom seem best.

Florida, 3 January, 1739.

Postscript.

Don Pedro Lamberto has told me that a soldier fired at Ogletor, and that he got this from Devis, who however concealed it from me, and until he left the port said nothing of it to me.

* The English. Tr.

On Nov. 21, 23 negroes of both sexes and children came here fleeing from Puerto Real, nineteen belong to Devis; eight are workmen. I am struggling with all the freemen to establish them in Moze half a league from here to the north, so that they may there form a settlement, and cultivate those lands. I have appointed Don Sebastian Sanchez to take charge, and Don Joseph de Leon to instruct them in the mysteries of our holy religion. He is a young man of parts, in the church, and serves as notary to the Lord Bishop, with whose approval he has undertaken this work. He is acting as parish priest until the King shall have made known his good pleasure. The free negroes here are 38 in all: and it is not impossible they may form a good village.

No. 126.

Sir:

A man having appeared on the edge of the other bank of the river Saint John's the guard launch crossed over to examine him, and took him aboard to bring him here. He arrived on the 16th ultimo, and we got from him the declaration herewith. From it Your Excellency can determine the condition of Georgia and of its fortifications, with all the other points that seemed to me worthy of inquiry. If what he says is true, it is possible that General Ogleter is making but little progress, since I know through another channel that over 12,000 dollars are owing in New York, and that for this reason, they are unwilling to send him supplies from any of their colonies where, on account of his daring disposition, he is in disfavor, as well as from the reputation he has acquired of being a poor paymaster. This is all I have to offer on this point, remaining, etc.

Florida, 3 March, 1739.

No. 133.

Sir:

On March 9 last, a sloop arrived in this port from San Jorge having on board a Lieutenant Colonel, a member of Parliament and an interpreter, who presented a letter of instructions and authority to act from various citizens of those Colonies, and two letters from Don Diego Ogleter, commanding General of all the colonies of Carolina and from Don Guillermo Bull, Governor of San Jorge, asking for an

audience on the subject of their mission. This was to ask for the restoration of the negro fugitives, deserters from the neighboring colonies. I received them into my own house and having heard their case through the medium of three interpreters, I answered that I deeply regretted my lack of authority to grant their wishes, inasmuch as the orders of the King contained no authority to deliberate on the matter of returning fugitive negroes who might take refuge in this Presidio, but on the contrary the express direction to set them at liberty. I could not thus make the exchange they offered of the eight convicts deserters from us for their slaves. I suggested that they apply to their own Government for a statement of the principles set forth in respect of the reciprocity they wish to establish with us, and that for my part, I should do the same, and make a report to the council of their request.

From the expression of their countenances, they were very much pleased with my decision, and with the courtesy shown them during the week they remained here without leaving my side for a single moment, and so returned well satisfied to their colonies, giving many signs of gratitude with very courteous compliments. And in order that Your Excellency may be informed of their claims and of the answers that I gave to the letters they brought, I send Your Excellency copies of their letters, and of one of mine, these being all alike on the principal subject. I shall be very glad to receive the approval of Your Excellency in this matter.

Florida, April 2, 1739.

No. 151.

Sir:

Under date of June 9, Your Excellency is good enough to tell me, that by royal order Your Excellency recommends the same course as that decided on by me in respect of the eight convicts, deserters, and that in consequence it seems indispensable that fresh negotiations should be opened in the matter. Your Excellency further directs that I should communicate their results separately with anything else that I might obtain and learn on good foundation, in order to make report to his Majesty. Having thus a royal order to bring to the notice of the commander of Carolina under some indifferent pretext, Article 2 of the convention, I took advantage of it to send a launch to San Jorge, assuming what

Your Excellency will see in the copy herewith, with the Captain of Horse Don Pedro Lamberto aboard. He was to consult the physicians of that city in regard to the serious illness of a girl who has been ailing for many years. Having executed his mission, he reports to me that he did not meet Don Diego Ogletoorp in San Jorge, to whom as commanding General, I addressed the notice inviting his attention to Article 2. They told him the General was absent on a journey of more than 300 miles, for which reason he delivered my despatches to his lieutenant, who though invited to, nevertheless declined to open them, excusing himself on the plea that he had been ordered only to receive despatches of whatsoever nature, and to send them on, which he did. Having receipted for the despatches, they gave him (Lamberto) other despatches in duplicate, being an answer to mine that I sent by the deputies from that city and their Parliament. A copy of this I am enclosing for Your Excellency's information: inviting attention to the omission of all mention of the eight convicts, deserters. As he (Lamberto) was not received as were their deputies here, nor was allowed, as on former occasions, to walk about the place, he was unable to learn anything worthy of communication, except that in the first settlements he was better treated, and thus could learn of the discord prevailing between the latest squatters and the people of San Jorge, and between the latter and Don Diego Ogletoorp, whose supreme command they refuse to recognize.

I believe that Don Pedro Lamberto's restraint, and the refusal to allow his people to walk about are due to the fears of the negroes in which they live, and also lest some of our people should make suggestions or incite them to flight, a thing against which they guard mightily, since they depend on the negroes for success or failure.

This is all I have to send to Your Excellency, etc.

Florida, August 14, 1739.

Since writing the foregoing, Don Pedro Lamberto tells me that while in San Jorge he met Juan Zevallos, one of the eight convicts that deserted from the lime kiln; that he tried to return with him, which the Governor would not allow: and that the rest go about freely in those plantations, according to the said Zevallos. I have caused Don Pedro Lamberto to certify this news, and I am sending it to the Court, with copies of letters treating of the matter.

No. 157.

Sir:

Don Diego Pablo sends me despatches from Apalachee, saying that he has learned that the English had set out with more than 100 negroes to build a fort; that the negroes rose, slew all the English, and hamstrung all the horses; that two large bodies of Indians, had gone forth, one in the direction of the road to San Marcos, and the other toward this point. That this news comes from Quilate, and that he was investigating everything particularly, and where they intended to build the fort; that the negroes had scattered, and two of them (Portillo says four) had arrived at a village of the Provinces, and afterwards disappeared; that they asked a few Indians encountered in the woods, the road to the Spaniards; that this news caused him much anxiety. It appears to me that the fort must be a means in the neighborhood of Carolina to keep the negroes from deserting, and that having rebelled, troops of Indians were sent out after them, and so the news causes no great anxiety. But nevertheless, in case they were occupying some new post in violation of the Convention, I sent out Don Jose Leonor to reconnoiter, and he has returned from reconnoitering St. Mary's, and I have scouts in other parts.

So far there is no other news; no despatches having followed from Apalachee, there is nothing to fear: Don Diego Pablo having concealed from me Quilate's presence in his fort, I have Juan Ygnacio there with three other Indians and two or three Uchises loyal to us.

The results I shall communicate promptly to Your Excellency as I now report the arrival yesterday of a sloop from New York.

Florida, Aug. 19, 1739.

No. 180.

Sir:

In letters of the 4 and 14 of October of last year, I gave Your Excellency an exact account of what had been done in these parts by the different English ships, from the second day of the said month and year, and* I have now to in-

* A considerable portion of this dispatch beginning at this point is to be found translated in the Southern Quarterly Review for April, 1844, pp. 394 et seq. This translation very considerably modified and altered, is reproduced here, with omissions supplied and errors corrected. Tr.

form Your Excellency, that on the 22d of December, there arrived at this place, a cavalry soldier, of the guard of St. John's Bar, which is about twelve leagues north of this port, who says, that he saw the tracks of 25 or 35 men, at the small creeks about half way of the road; and immediately another cavalry soldier of the same guard, came with the news, that one of our Indians had reported, that on the banks of the St. John's, he had seen the tracks of more than three hundred white men.

On the 23d, the Ensign of cavalry Don Lorenzo Joseph de Leon, and one soldier, arrived at this place with report of having seen at the same small creeks, a great number of Indians, and white people.

On the 24th council was held to decide whether it would be advisable to demolish the fort of Diego, or reinforce it, and whether our force was sufficiently strong to attack the enemy. We resolved to send a relief of eleven men, and that it would not be expedient to weaken this garrison, for the reasons set forth in the minutes of the council. The same day, we began to hasten various works looking to the security, and defence of the place.

On the 25th, a trooper came in and some of our Indians, bringing intelligence, that they had discovered the fresh tracks of 30 men, at the distance of four leagues from this place; and Father Francisco Gomez, parish priest, of the village of Ayamon, where the Indians of Pozatalaca established themselves last year to cultivate more fertile lands, reported that in the neighborhood of that place, seven or eight leagues from this, about 10 Uchises Indians had shown themselves.

On the 26th, I sent the Ensign of cavalry, Don Alonzo Joseph, to scout the country, and collect all the cattle possible, to be crossed to Santa Anastacia Island; I also sent out four Indians on the same scouting mission, charging them with the promise of twenty-five dollars to take an Englishman, or hostile Indian prisoner. In the afternoon, the Ensign returned with 93 head of cattle, and I sent the Sub-lieutenant Don Manuel Garcia, in four small boats, to cut stakes for different uses of the Royal service, and for the defence of the place.

On the 27th, I despatched the Ensign Don Antonio Solana, to bring in the horses. Don Cristobal de Torres, Bartolome Ramirez, and other residents went out on the same business. I charged Don Francisco Menendez, and other

residents, with the business of crossing the cattle over to Santa Anastacia Island already mentioned. I sent the Indian Juan Ygnacio, with five other Indians, to the river of Picotala, which is that called St. John's, to observe the movements of the enemy.

On the 28th, I sent out four other Indians by land, on the same errand; and in the night, two of the Indians who went with Juan Ygnacio, returned with the news, that on that day, the fort of Picolata was attacked by 240 English, and Indians, and that its garrison of seven men, had defended it valiantly, from ten in the morning, till 5 in the afternoon, at which hour the enemy made a shameful retreat.

On the 29th, I despatched the Cacique Chislala, with eight Indians of his choice, to scout the country, and charged to take hostile Indian, or Englishman prisoner alive. This same day, one of the soldiers in the affair of the fort of Picolata, came in and with him the Indians Juan Ygnacio, and Juan Savina, who said that those who attacked the fort, were 150 English, and 30 Indians, that the fire lasted four hours; that our casualties were the wounding of the artilleryman and, that two of the enemy were seen to fall, one of whom appeared to be an officer, for he wore a laced hat, and was taken off by four men. The soldier informed me, that the fort was attacked by two mortars firing large shell (Grenadas Reales) and gave me a few splinters of those that fell within the fort.

On the 30th, the beforementioned Father, parish priest of Ayamon, arrived with the news, that on the 29th Uchises Indians had killed Fayaquisca, in the neighborhood of that town. On this same day the four Indians sent out on the 26th, returned, and informed me, that having been at St. Mateo, which is on the St. John's, they saw the tracks of Indians who had passed back and forth, and though they made every exertion to discover whether they had made, or were constructing a fort in the vicinity of that river, they could see only boats going to this part of the Saint John's, and they debated whether the Indians and whites lately seen could be found there, because the tracks of the Indians all made for the said part of the Saint John's.

On the 4th of January, 1740, the Cacique Chislala returned with all his Indians, and assured me that they had been to the St. John's, that they had thoroughly reconnoitered those parts and had seen there only the camps (ranchos)

where the hostile Indians had been, and that according to the signs left behind there were 134 of them. They made thirty-six fires, which covered the English, who were, they thought, in number 200.

On the 7th, I despatched Juan Ygnacio, and Geronimo, with three other Indians, each to scout, and examine the landing places.

On the 8th, the artillery man, wounded in the affair of Picolata, died. The same day, I sent Don Pedro Lamberto Horrutiner with 25 horsemen of his company, 25 infantry, and 30 Indians and free negroes (of those who are fugitives from the English Colonies), to scout the country, and use diligence to capture a few Indian scouts who are supposed to be in this neighborhood, and they returned at night without any news.

On the 13th, the parish priest of the before mentioned town of Ayamon, informed me that at 9 in the morning, they were attacked by 46 Uchises Indians, who badly wounded, and scalped an Indian who was outside of the little fort they have there.

On the 18th, the Indian Juan Ygnacio returned with some of his Indians, and report having seen in the St. John's river, at a place called St. Nicholas, 12 vessels consisting of 3 schooners, 2 sloops, and 7 canoes; and that it seemed to him they must have had 700 men aboard. This day, I despatched two troopers, with two Indians, to see if the vessels landed people at Salamatoto, and the two Indians to pass to Picolata, to watch the movements of the enemy.

On the 19th, the Indian Geronimo, companion of Juan Ygnacio returned, to report that he had seen in the St. John's two boats which kept in the middle of the river, without moving; it is a question if they are posted here to discover if any armament of our enters the bar, in which case one would be detached to alarm the neighboring Colonies, and the other to alarm the 12 vessels at St. Nicholas. The Indians returned who went out yesterday, and say, they went near to Picolata and could see nothing; afterwards, it was discovered that these two Indians did not go half the way. The two troopers who went out with them reconnoitered the estuary of Nicoloa, and finding it unoccupied returned.

On the same 19th day, I sent out Laureano Solana, Sergeant of cavalry, with eight soldiers, and four Indians, to discover if the before mentioned boats were still in the Picolata River, and whether they had taken the fort of Pupo.

On the 20th, the Sergeant returned at 1 in the morning, with report of having seen a great number of men and fires at Picolata; but as he made his reconnoissance at night, he could not see the fort, nor can he say precisely how many men there were.

On the same day, I sent out Juan Ygnacio, and eleven Indians, to make proper reconnoissance, and endeavor to take an Indian, or Englishman alive.

On the 21st, the Indian Juan Ygnacio returned with his party, and assured me, that on arriving at Picolata, they found the fort in ashes, and from there, saw that the English vessels were near the Fort of Pupo. That all about it, were many people in red coats and that the said fort was in the hands of the enemy, for they saw many people go out and in, up and down.

On the 22d, I despatched Diego de Espinosa, who is a resident of this place, well acquainted with the country, with six cavalymen to reconnoiter, and mark the landings of St. John's, St. Matheo, and St. Nicholas.

On the 24th, Diego de Espinosa returned, with the six troopers that accompanied him, who reports that he saw three soldiers' tents on the St. John's, opposite St. Nicholas. He endeavored to get near to discover what they contained, but hearing the discharge of a gun, which appeared to be a signal that his party was discovered, he retired quickly, fearing lest they should cut off his retreat.

On the 27th, I sent out the Lieutenant of cavalry, Don Romualdo Ruiz del Moral, with 25 horsemen, 25 Indians and 25 free negroes, to scour the country, to reconnoiter Picolata and Pupo, and with the greatest circumspection, and precaution, to make a most serious effort to capture an Indian, or Englishman alive, by attacking those on this side if it could be done, having due regard for the prudence necessary in a vigilant march, and for an exact examination of the river, in order to estimate the number of people on this side. And according to information acquired, he was to attack them or not, or annoy them on some side, at no special risk.

On the 29th, the Lieutenant Don Romualdo Ruiz del Moral returned with his party, with report that they reached the landing of Picolata, but could not on account of rain and fog, inform themselves of the state of the fort of Pupo, but they thought they saw it, and heard the sound of a drum

from it.* In this state of affairs I am compelled to send Your Excellency shortly our launch with this intelligence so that in possession of it, and of orders from the King, Your Excellency may see fit to take all the steps suited to the victualling and fortification of this place, points in respect of which it is absolutely impossible to do anything whatever here.

As regards the said river St. John's or Picolata, it is an arm of the sea some three quarters of a league in width, measured accurately by different Engineers, entering over the bar of the same name, and emptying at the entrance of Apalachee, or the southern Coast, according to the belief of the most experienced Indians. I declare categorically that I have no naval forces to oppose to the enemy's; but having them, it were easy to introduce them over the same bar, to go out to meet the enemy and punishing him severely, to guard these dominions. Lacking such forces however, there is no remedy, and that is precisely why I have not sent out by land, a large detachment, for it would require at the same time, a strong expedition by sea. Now supposing the English should blockade this position, as they have threatened, and should for the success of this plan make a great effort to attack the forts of Picolata and Pupo, as a feint to force me to throw out a large body of troops, it is not to be doubted that, being with their Indian allies masters of the country, they would endeavor strenuously to cut their (our troops') communications with us. If unfortunately these should fail to retire in good order, the English would then with slight opposition and no hindrance force the entrance of the Port with their boats, keeping them ready for this purpose in the channels running from the aforementioned bar of Saint John into the interior which would be under their control.

They would thus take possession of this position with great ease, seeing there would be no one to defend it, if they had first routed our troops.

Moreover, even if I had without any zeal come to such a decision, one that I should myself call rash and illogical, no glory would have befallen our arms. For the English controlling the said St. John's with their heavy launches able to carry guns of medium caliber, and being thus enabled to enter this river and give support at any time by these same

* The extract in the Southern Quarterly Review ends here. Tr.

channels intersecting the land of their islands from bar to bar as far as that of Puerto Real fifty leagues distant, no effort not maritime in character was of the slightest use. In respect of the danger that I have mentioned, even if their troops in these parts had been disembarked and had allowed ours to approach within gun-shot range, they could have played us the trick of jumping aboard the small boats, and of opening fire from the larger ones, and so beat us in a piteous fashion. And then this place would have been in a worse state than it was before the reenforcement, which would have given rise to the royal displeasure, and would have been the beginning of its ultimate destruction.

These are not the only reasons inspired by the safeguarding of this position, for I have others palpably of equal importance and weight. For under the supposition that neither Your Excellency nor I have received orders from the King leading us to believe that the English would occupy the seas with their ships, my duty first of all is to economize the stores of this place so that its inhabitants may not perish. And I may remark most frankly to Your Excellency that nothing expends them so much as detachments: and for one of importance, such as would be the case with sending 400 or 500 men, through deserts, uncultivated thickets, impenetrable and dangerous woods possibly occupied by the enemy, certain special supplies would be indispensable, which could not be furnished without serious loss for the future, to say nothing of the sally being probably fruitless.

To the important end of keeping this place for His Majesty, of supplying and strengthening it as much as possible, I have had recourse to Your Excellency on various occasions: and I now with the greatest emphasis repeat my supplications, begging Your Excellency to help it with all that is needful to this end, in conformity with the orders which the King has given Your Excellency for this purpose.

I further declare to Your Excellency that to the excellent strong reasons why Your Excellency should give it attention, must be added at the same time the lamentable circumstance that this place has gone without pay since '36, as Your Excellency must know. *For the agent who went over to receive it, Don Pedro de Escobedo, since the beginning of '37 neither has arrived here nor do we know his whereabouts; there is a melancholy rumor that he has

* This passage is obscure in the original. Tr.



THE WESTERN

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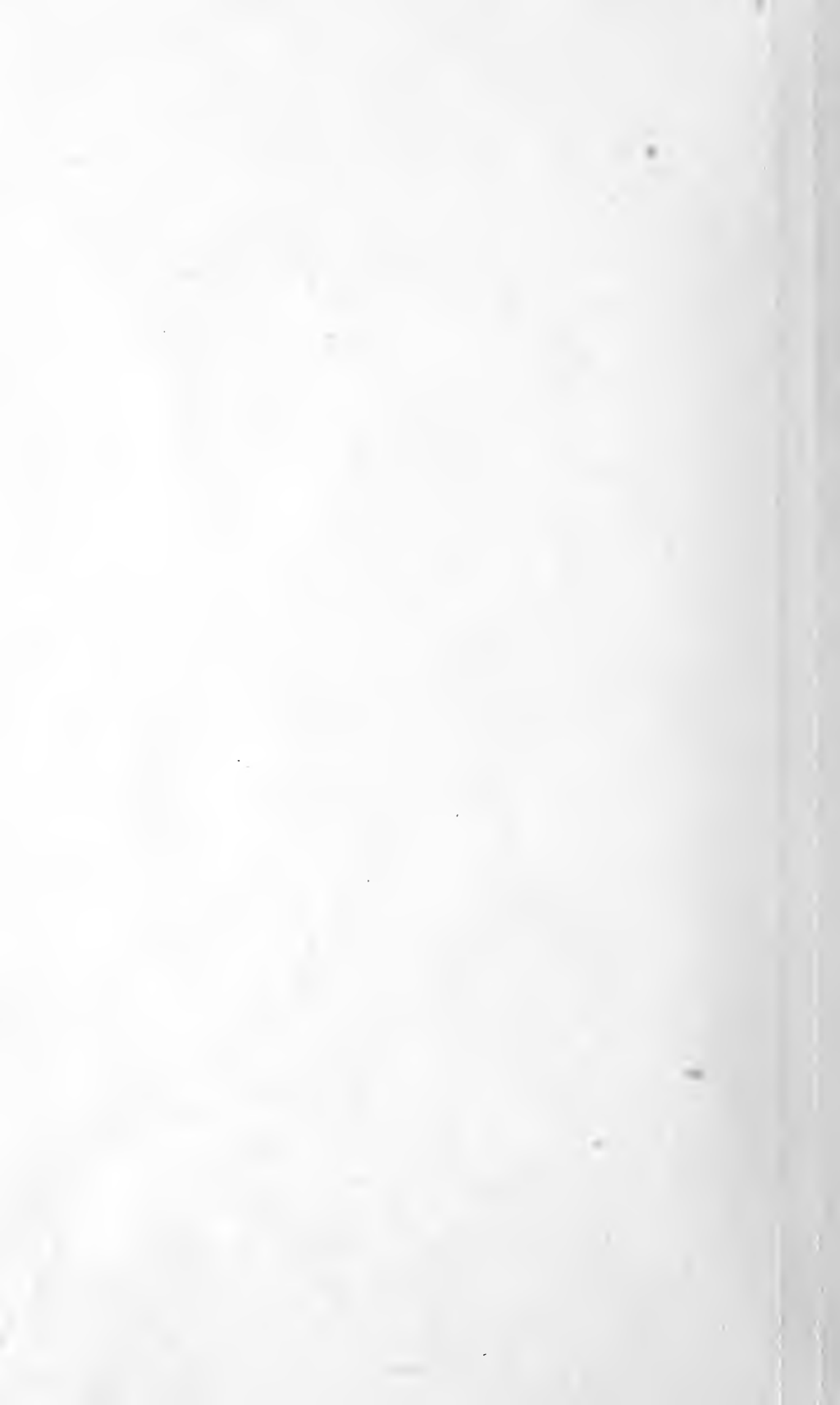
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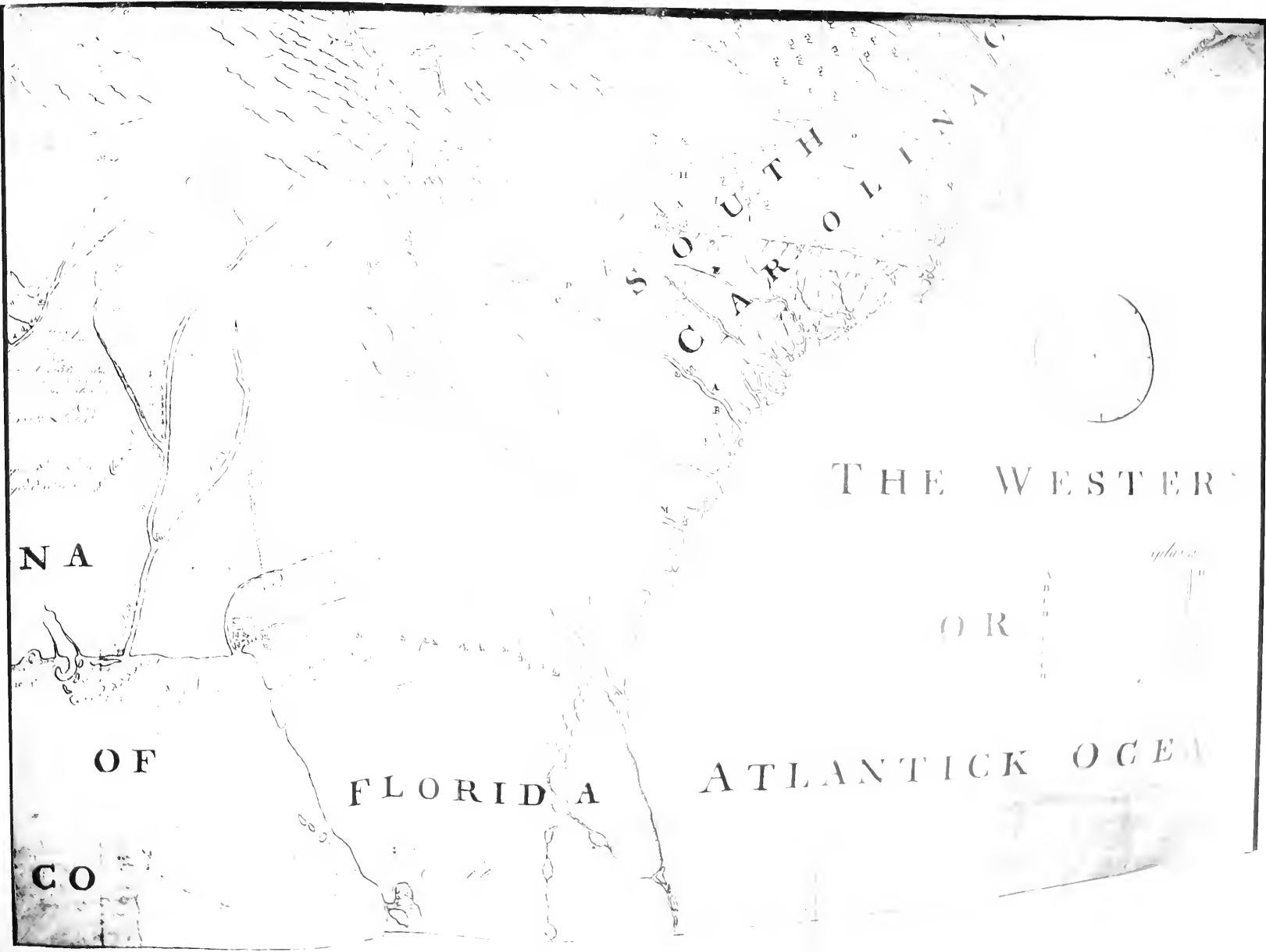
Explanation

A	Depth of Bay	U
B	Depth of Channel	V
C	Depth of Sound	W
D	Depth of River	X
E	Depth of Harbour	Y
F	Depth of Cove	Z
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H	Depth of Strait	bb

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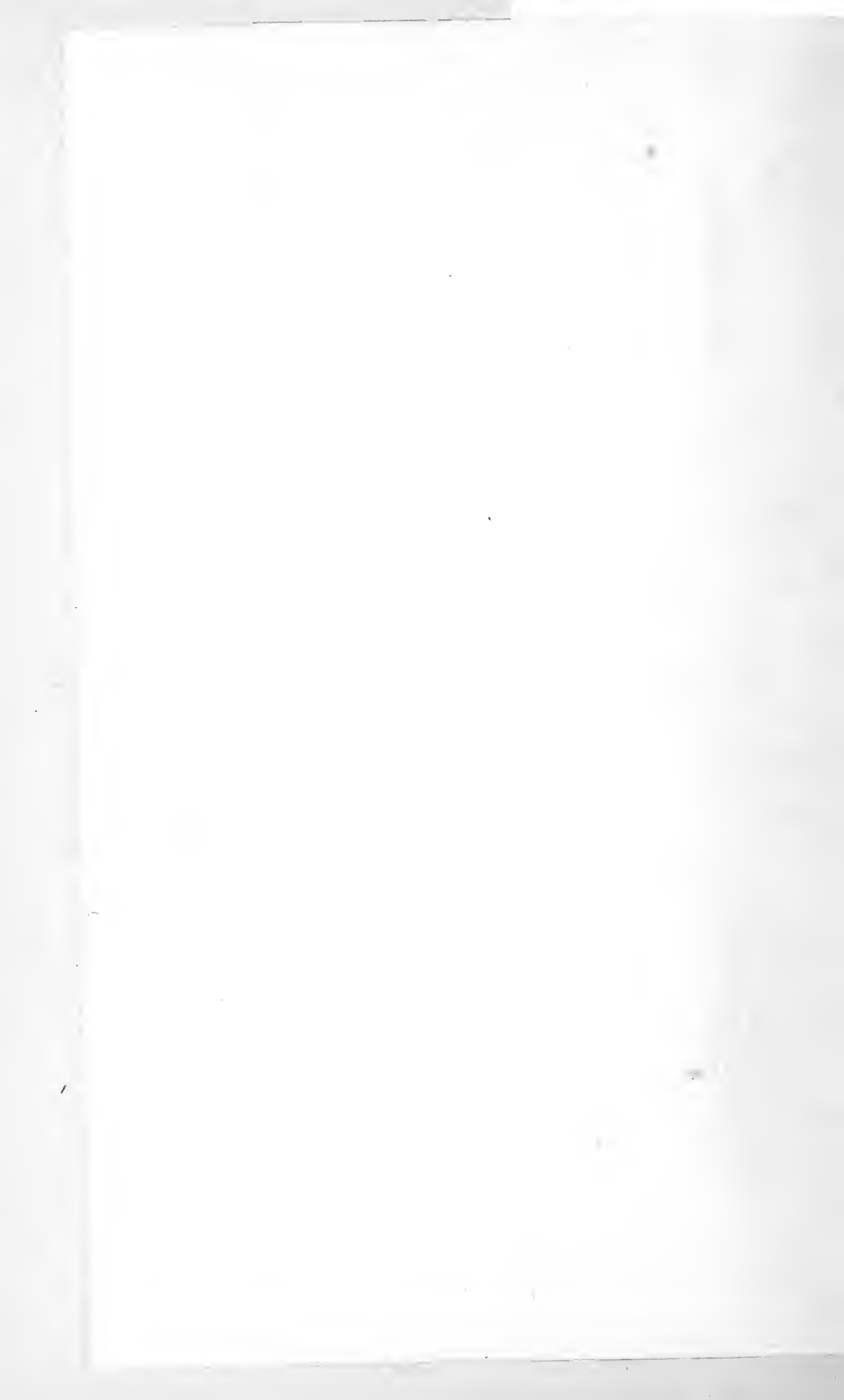
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SOUTH CAROLINA

THE WESTERN

OR

ATLANTIC OCEAN



been shipwrecked or fallen into the hands of the English. All these reasons induce me humbly to supplicate Your Excellency to take the measures so urgently needed to supply and fortify this place as the King desires: in the mean time I shall apply myself diligently to its preservaton with the greatest zeal and firmness, even to giving up my life with it, according to my oath made and sworn to His Majesty.

I likewise invite Your Excellency's attention to the fact that the two aforesaid forts of Picolata and Pupo were constructed solely for the purpose of defending and sheltering from the continual attacks of Indian allies of the English, the mails that go to and come from Apalachee, and that both were situated on the banks of the aforesaid St. John's, one to the north and the other to the south, at a distance of three-quarters of a league, the width of the river, without being able to help each other. In spite of being small and built of wood, they have defended themselves various times against the Indians that have attacked them. Even now that of Picolata resisted four or five hours in spite of being invested by more than 200 men. The garrison being compelled by the destruction of the fort through shell fire, took advantage of the retreat of the enemy, their chief so they say, having been killed, to shelter itself behind Pupo, until by my order it withdrew to this place in the same canoe that took it over, by a channel that empties (into the river) three leagues away. The said fort of Pupo defended itself valiantly nearly two days: for although at this moment I do not know where its garrison is, ten men and a sergeant with an Indian kept to report on anything unusual, yet partisans who went out there during those two days, tell me they heard much obstinate and continuous artillery fire, until on the second day, at about half-past two of the afternoon, they heard a salvo of seven guns, and that afterward the fire ceased. I am deeply grieved over the loss of those twelve men, without being able to take any satisfaction, for although I gave the commander a written order to defend himself with honor if attacked, and only in case of lack of ammunition and stores, to capitulate life and arms safe, so as to return to this place with honor, yet it would seem as though they had suffered from some perfidy, whose purpose so far I am ignorant of.

I have no more to report on these matters to Your Excellency whose obedient servant I am, etc.

Florida, January 31, 1740.

No. 181.

Sir :

From the journal herewith Your Excellency will understand the operations of the English, and how they showed themselves on December 22, near San Juan, coming no farther in than the little creeks. As I believe they might proceed to the attack of the fort of San Diego, I increased its garrison, with the understanding that if invested in regular form, it would be surrendered in short time, by reason of its faulty construction, lack of a ditch, and possession of but two ramparts opposed to the enemy, (which Espinosa had thought ample, when he built the work to shelter his slaves against Indian surprises) to say nothing of the fact that situated as it was at a league from the landing, it could not be succored save at much risk, on account of the country being open and flat: and it was perhaps not the intention of the enemy to attack it; but, in case I sent some small body equal in number to that seen in the creeks, to surprise this body in the plain, inclosing it from the woods surrounding the fort, and so destroy it. Accordingly I remained easy on this score until I got better information as to their numbers from the scouts that I kept outside; and in this condition of affairs I got news that on the 28th, 150 Englishmen and Indians had attacked Picolata, having with them two standards, chests, and two mortars for shells. Two of these (shells) fell inside the fort, and finished its ruin, shored up as it was and ready to fall: at the first fire, the gun was dismounted, and nevertheless they maintained themselves with valor from ten in the morning to five in the afternoon, when they (the enemy) retired with a few wounded, among them an officer. The defenders seeing the bad condition of the fort, abandoned it, fearing the return of the enemy in greater force, or lest it fall upon them.

On our side the artilleryman was wounded in the foot by a musket ball from which he died there.

On the 18th as a detachment of infantry, cavalry and convicts was about to set out to rebuild the fort of Picolata, I ordered it to suspend its march until the return of Juan Ygnacio, who had gone out to reconnoiter the river. The same day he returned, reporting having seen coming into the river, 3 schooners, 2 sloops and 2 canoes heavily laden and filled with people, the greater part dressed in red, in his opinion some 700 men. It appeared to me that this expedition was directed against the fort at Pupo, and as neither

my forces nor its situation were sufficient, nor admitted of sending any support, I undertook nothing from the impossibility of the case.

From the reports of the scouts there is reason to believe that 10 men and one sergeant garrisoning Pupo held out two days, because for that length of time cannon fire never ceased; and that the Indian who was within to bring news, must either have fallen into the hands of the enemy, or was unable to come out.

In this conjuncture, wishing to know if they were fortifying on this side, Espinosa told me at San Nicholas, the narrowest part of the river some 16 leagues from here, he had discovered three tents, and many people, but not a single boat: that trying to approach the bank, he heard various gunshot: and as that part of the country is shaped like a horse-shoe, he withdrew to a point of safety, asking himself if the advance guards were making signals. He assures me that no other inexperienced person would have gone forth, because of the musket fire.

As for the sight of troops in San Nicholas, I believe they were fortifying at that point, because of the care they took not to be seen, and because the place is advantageous and narrow.

The difficulty of getting information in our numerous thickets, lagoons and swamps, is so great as to make the thing almost impossible; absolutely none but Spaniards can succeed here without risk of loss or of useless effort, because it is necessary to advance through water the greater part of the day, and even the Indians are unavailable, because they are so few in number.

The harassing of the Uchises, who go down to the southern coasts looking for slaves, and returning pass through Ayamon or las Rosas, where the Yamases have established themselves, has caused a withdrawal to this point: to leave the fort is to invite death. We are thus surrounded by enemies, unable to leave the place without danger. As long as our territory is not peopled, thus driving out the English, the chief cause of these evils, these Provinces will have no rest.

Our residents cause me much annoyance, for most of them ask permission to go to that city (Habana) alleging the lack of food from which they are suffering, as well as that to which they will be subjected with the continuance of the war, and also the misfortunes and privations due to the lack of pay,

Although these reasons are sound, and might induce me to send away hence all useless mouths, yet the total absence of all information as to the state the present differences may produce, keeps me from approving them. As it is the wish of the King that these provinces be peopled, it is clear he would be displeased if any one were allowed to withdraw. Moreover, it will be very difficult to make them return once away, and the burden will be extreme if this position should be besieged on account of the small enclosure of the castle, and the scarcity of food. For all these reasons the royal officers and I after conferences have decided that for the present no one shall be allowed to move, until better information enables us to come to some settlement.

Florida, January 31, 1740.

No. 187.

Sir:

I profit by the delay in the departure of our launch, caused by the uncertainty of the times, and running from the 15th instant, to inform Your Excellency of the return last night of Juan Ygnacio. I sent him out on the 19th with ten other working Indians on the important mission of reconnoitering the country and river near Picolata, and notwithstanding my most particular instructions, and offer of a suitable reward for the capture of an Englishman or Indian ally, so that I might learn something in respect of the conditions surrounding the settlers of those colonies, and of their ideas and intentions, the said Juan Ygnacio tells me he could not so freely carry out this plan, because at the very outset he encountered a thousand difficulties. Having put out of the inlet of Tocoy, which empties into the Saint John's, in a small canoe which he kept hidden there, he went south along the banks thereabouts so as better to carry out his ideas. While carefully proceeding thus, he discovered a scow moored on the very banks he was skirting, and deciding they could be seen in spite of the thick mist, they put about, and landing a little farther back, divided into two squads. They then approached the English, who were inside an orange grove collecting the fruit thereof, and who on being fired at, hastily took flight. As they were assembling to go on board the scow, our Indians who were following at full speed, opened a continuous fire on them from the shelter of the pine tree trunks, killing at least two of them,

and possibly more. For the first to fall having been the helmsman, they carefully observed that no one took to the oars; the Indians keeping up an incessant fire on the mass of those who were rowing, and growing more and more absorbed in the struggle, heard a cannonshot fired, and discovered that it had proceeded from a schooner painted red, coming up under sail from the south on the river itself, and having many people on board, part of whom undertook to disembark. On remarking this, they (the Indians) withdrew to a place of safety, and night coming on, they returned to this Presidio with the loss of their canoe, the recovery of which was impossible by reason of the danger involved.

In respect of all this, I must tell Your Excellency that the English have occupied with their boats the entire river at Picolata, and that their navigation southward is for the purpose of embarrassing communication with Apalachee, of winning over the Uchises, and of capturing any mail coming or going. And as our suffering this state of affairs is a rebuff of His Majesty's sacred honor, a foul stain on his catholic arms, and an insult exciting the rage of our nation, I humbly supplicate Your Excellency to be good enough to send me here the galliots of the expedition well manned with good crews, under a mariner of proved valor and skill, for without this help, it is a physical impossibility for me to carry out my plans, and as a matter of fact we shall see ourselves shut up in a corner, without a single man that dares leave the place for any purpose whatever. For both reasons, there will ensue the fatal results consequent on a lack of whatever small matters a commonwealth needs for its preservation. Heeding these matters and the glory of the King in satisfaction for his insults, I renew Your Excellency the suggestions looking to the maintenance and preservation of this fortress, and to our most complete amends.

At the same time, I supplicate Your Excellency to be good enough to order the sending here of two three-fold blocks with a hundred fathoms of hawser instead of the fifty that I asked on the 15th instant.

In order that Your Excellency may remain in no doubt, respecting my plans, I have to report that on the river St. John's or Picolata there is a stretch called Mojoloa such that, according to the people who know the country, all boats trying to go south on the said river, whether to succor Pupo, or to dominate it on all sides by maritime force, would be necessarily exposed to musket fire. For although the river

is quite wide along here, the channel runs very close to the said stretch, the rest being shoal impassible even by a small boat.

Seeing that a fort here with six or seven eight-pounders, and a garrison of fifty men under a captain would shut in Pupo beyond all possibility of succor, I have resolved to carry out this idea; and to that end beg Your Excellency for the galliots which alone can execute it, transport the artillery, free the river of hostile boats, capture those already in it, and recover the fort at Pupo, since its garrison would surrender without assault. These results accomplished, I shall bring the galliots, or some of them, to this port, for the defense of its bar, and strive to induce the greatest number of Indians available to go and settle in the immediate neighborhood of the new fort of Mojoloa, and cause the settlers to go forth with their slaves to continue the cultivation of the plantations they have been developing these past two years. The approval of these ideas by Your Excellency would give me the liveliest satisfaction; and I hope Your Excellency will be good enough to send me the help I am asking for, jealous as Your Excellency is of the better service of the King, and interested in the growth of these provinces in virtue of their having been entrusted to you by His Majesty, principally, doubtless, because of the many proofs Your Excellency has given of great talents, leadership and firmness.

Florida, February 23, 1740.

Postscript.

Sir:

The English have gone in boats as far as Pirigirigua 15 leagues south of this, and there is reason to believe they are seeking an exit to the Keys, such as it is possible this unknown river may have, and to the Bay of Carlos and Tampa. This would be most hurtful to us, and even if the honor of our arms is of no concern, it is important to drive them out of the river; this calls for a sea force, under whose protection the pass would be closed to them, and introduction made impossible: without such forces nothing can be done. I trust that Your Excellency's zeal in the royal service will give the help I am begging, so that this place may be freed of the restraint from which it is suffering.

No. 191.

Sir:

In a letter of the 23d of last month I reported to Your Excellency all that had occurred up to that date, and among other matters, Your Excellency must have noticed the plan of building a new fort on the river St. John's at the part called Mojoloa, in order to attack the passage of English boats, the river being narrow here, and the boats exposed to musket fire, since the channel runs close in.

But as it seemed to me that such a determination should not be put into execution without examining the country in question, I sent the Engineer Don Pedro Ruiz de Olano, escorted by the Captain of cavalry Don Pedro Lamberto, 25 men of his company and 10 trustworthy Indians, to make a most formal reconnoissance. The party left the 9th inst., and returned the 12th; the Engineer tells me he made a careful survey of Mojoloa, and found it as reported to me, except the broad shoal running over to the other side of the river carries more water than was said; for a fall of a half yard* having been noted at the bank, still the entire shoal was covered. Having determined this, they went on to inspect the narrows of San Nicolas, and remarking that here the ground runs hard from one bank to the other at musket range and a little more, they decided that no other place would be so suitable for a fort as this, especially with the addition of a chain or estacade to close the passage. According to the turn of events, it might be decided to build a fort on the other bank, thus providing for a cross fire, and here establish communication with Apalachee.

With respect to all this, I have to say to Your Excellency that as it is absolutely impossible to execute my ideas without sea forces, I am sending in this launch of Ojeda's, Captain Don Manuel Montero de Villasante to Habana, to describe vividly to Your Excellency if no sea forces are supplied, all the difficulties of this plan, of our purpose of recapturing Pupo, of making the river safe, and relieving us of any attempt the English may make from Picolata, whence the distance to this point is least. For although most vigorous warm affairs are taking place every day, it is useless to expect any advantageous result so long as they control the river with their boats. And apart from the fact that any

* *Media Vara*: exactly which *Vara* is meant here, there is of course no means of knowing. The Cuban *Vara* is 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ 86. Tr.

other plan would be useless, and that this one itself would naturally be inefficient,* however well thought of, prudence and forethought call for the conservation of such stores as we have, for without them this garrison can not subsist. And when Your Excellency understands that it is now over a week since those that came from Habana, are with the exception of a small quantity of corn, exhausted, Your Excellency will easily realize that nothing else so much deserves our attention as the economy and good management of our stores, in order to avoid exposure to irreparable harm. In view of what I have suggested, I humbly beseech Your Excellency to condescend to be willing to send me the help I asked for in my letter of February 23, for this is the only way to bring about an honorable solution, and the other favorable results mentioned. And I especially again request that the small boats Your Excellency may send should be well manned by skilled sailors and commanded by a man of intelligence and valor, and well supplied with stores; and that all that can be sent to this garrison should come as quickly as possible, in order that the English may not again repeat the occupation of our coast with their squadrons, leaving us unprovided, without power of revictualing or of communication.

I beg leave most sincerely to assure Your Excellency that I am actuated and inspired by no other motive than the most punctilious resolution to maintain the luster of our arms, the glory of God first, and the protection of these provinces, with the welfare of the garrison next. In this point of view, and without any concern on my part for any worldly interest, Your Excellency may entrust the operations to any person whatsoever in whom Your Excellency may have confidence, and satisfaction, to conduct them independently of me, according to the conditions of the expedition projected against Georgia after the equinox of March, 1737. My co-operation will be limited solely to offering accurate advice on the state of the country, and to giving him all the benefit possible resulting from experience. I desire nothing but the best service of the King: under this assumption, Your Excellency may make any disposition suggested by your great prudence and lofty talents. I offer with all my heart the most cheerful compliance with any method and regula-

* Presumably, without the naval resources for which Don Manuel is pleading.
Tr.

tions imposed by Your Excellence on the person selected for these operations, without resistance or alteration on my part, agreeing to observe them inviolable in the spirit and harmony demanded by the King for the effective execution of the former expedition just mentioned. And I say the same of anything else Your Excellency may deem best suited to the successful issue of the present (trouble). For my soul holds no thought foreign to the service of God and the honor of the King, in the firm belief that Your Excellency's great discretion and approved character will adopt the most harmonious proper measures.

From the cautious procedure of the English it follows that until this year we have had no news from our capital: it follows also that without intending it, they have got the better of us, even when we believed that they were keeping the good faith set forth in the preliminaries of the convention of January 14 and 15 of the last year. It being the design of the King, as Your Excellency may see from the copy herewith, that we should fix our attention on the operations of the English of Carolina merely to check their plans and progress in the territory of our provinces, using force if necessary, and having applied to Your Excellency, as to the Viceroy of New Spain, for all that was needful for this purpose, I find myself under the necessity of recurring to Your Excellency, the only person that can give me the assistance I must have, with the promptness required by the present urgency. For without this assistance, it is clear I shall be able neither to offer any resistance, nor to take any satisfaction, since I lack sea forces, and therefore, stores, boats, and seamen for their organization.

Florida, March 24, 1740.

No. 192.

Sir:

I am convinced that my continued requests must be very annoying to Your Excellency; but I am also convinced that Your Excellency's prudence, lofty talents, and zeal in the royal service, will cause Your Excellency to forgive my frequent applications, on considering the necessities, the unhappy situation, and the misfortunes of this wretched garrison. If Your Excellency does not soon rescue it from its afflictions, I contemplate it as lost in the future. Under this view then, and with regard to the recent progress of the enemy, it seems proper to me that we should check it.

And to that end, I beg Your Excellency to make the greatest effort to send small boats for service in the river of St. John's, thus compelling them to abandon it. This result can be accomplished by our seizing the pass of San Nicholas, one bank or the other, (as may suit), fortifying them as a shelter for the boats, and by closing the river with an estacade or chain of heavy timbers. All this done, I feel sure they would have either to abandon Pupo, or allow themselves to be blockaded without the necessity of a siege. If left alone, however, they will become inexpugnable, especially if the Uchises declare for them, which they will, on seeing our indifference and inaction.

For this undertaking, we have here the men of the eight companies, and those of the fort, 462 in all excluding the detachment of Apalachee, 80 men; in addition, we have 60 militiamen, 40 free negroes, and 50 Indians, as appears from the return herewith. These men are sufficient, I take it, only to make the river sure. But with Your Excellency's consent, we could receive here (in order that regulars might not be wanting where of most importance) 100 militiamen, 100 mulattoes and 100 negroes, the entire disposition of this dependency remaining in Your Excellency's hands with respect to the stores that Your Excellency might send for the subsistence of all, seeing that we depend entirely for these upon your city, and that without them we can do nothing.

Our unfortunate failure to take a single prisoner deprives me of the power of saying to Your Excellency exactly in what strength they are, else we might more intelligently develop this idea accordingly; but I believe that whenever they see our armament, they are compelled to regard it as very strong, and that they must not expose themselves at one time to the chances of risking all of their forces.

Should Your Excellency think it safe to send the funds for the re-enforcements, and resolve to send them, I beseech Your Excellency on the same occasion to send some for continuing the work on the castle, for the amount in hand for this purpose is well-nigh exhausted. And if Your Excellency could find any muskets for Indians, or if it were possible to get them from Pensacola, I should be grateful to Your Excellency for the favor of sending me as many as you could, for I have none to give them, nor the courage to cause you any more annoyance.

Florida, 25 March, 1740.

Return of men who are actually available in the Plaza of Florida:

Of the eight companies..308	Of the militiamen.....	61
Of the three of the Place..080	Armed Indians	50
Of the artillerymen.....032	Free Negroes	40
Of the cavalry.....042		
		151
462		Total.....613

No. 193.

Sir:

I communicate to Your Excellency the happy arrival on the 14th instant of the six galliots under the charge of Don Juan Fandino, and Don Francisco del Castillo, for sending which I offer you my repeated thanks. At the same time, I have to say to Your Excellency, that the next day we mounted broadside guns on four of them, made a foremast for one that had sprung hers, fitted them with many small parts, and repaired all the arms.

On the 18th two English frigates came in sight from the north. On the 19th at dawn, they were both off the bar, at the same point of the compass, remaining in that neighborhood all day, and sending a boat for water to the vicinity of the point and coast of San Mateo. As the boat was resting on its oars, the flagship fired a gun, and on seeing our two launches making for it, fired another shot and withdrew.

On the 20th, only one frigate could be seen; at dawn it was at anchor on the bar. Being encouraged by the withdrawal of one of the frigates, Don Juan Fandino, Don Francisco del Castillo, and the Pilot Don Domingo de la Cruz formed the plan of surprising the one remaining in sight; and having discussed among themselves the ease with which we could bring about its surrender, they laid the matter before me with so much assurance, that I authorized the undertaking, with the stipulation that I was not to be responsible for failure. On the night of the same day, 50 soldiers and 3 officers being ready to set out in the six galliots and the two launches well armed, it happened that after nightfall the lighthouse keeper of Santa Anastacia came in with the news of having discovered, as evening fell, a sloop to the north, which induced the Captains of the galliots to put off their departure until dawn. Crossing the bar, then, at dawn, and seeing that the frigate was alone and becalmed, they ap-

proached it with intrepidity with the firm intention of boarding it in the belief that it mounted only 18 or 20 guns. But discovering that it had according to some, 32, according to others, 36 guns, they fired on it about two hours; and having failed during this time to take the poop, and not having brought on a surrender, and the wind coming on to blow out of the east, our galliots by sail and oar promptly executed the important maneuver of getting the weather gauge, and so made a lucky retreat by way of Mantanzas, and thence along the coast the two launches, with no damage other than a shot of no consequence in one of our galliots, in spite of the extreme efforts of the frigate to hug the coast so as to embarrass the entrance, firing vigorously but without result to secure this end.

I have no doubt that if the boats had gone out the same night, and no warning had been given, as was the case from dawn until half past eight, when the affair began, the frigate would have been either surrendered or sunk; but the Englishman manuevered so skilfully, that he did not allow them to approach, for by towing out his ship, he kept on getting farther away and getting time for his preparations; while our people were exhausting themselves by pulling, and when they began to fire, he boldly presented his broadside, without giving them a chance at his poop, and so in spite of their various manuevers, they never got it. And in this condition they fired at each other for more than two hours, grape-shot crossing from both sides. He dismantled his entire cabin to mount a few stern-chasers, which he could not have had, because here he used cabin doors, windows, tables, and other pieces, and a gun port carried away by a cannon shot. They say he had a large crew and regular troops in red uniforms.

In this attempt Don Juan Fandino displayed good leadership and valor having given in advance the orders for each man's duties in an honorable retreat; Don Francisco de Castillo gave proof of no less valor, being the only one who succeeded in attacking the poop, and firing a few shots into it; he received 14 shots himself, all of which missed him. All the other officers of the parties and of the garrison distinguished themselves equally, each one wishing to be the first to board, and the soldiers and sailors no less valoriously cried out in competition "Let us board!" The artillerymen of the garrison assure me they did their duty well, and made good practice. A frigate has remained constantly in view,

and seems to be the one of the affair just described; on the 24th another one was seen from Matanzas, returning probably from a cruise as far as Cape Canaveral. We do not know that it has spoken its companion: the one now present seems to be one seen from Matanzas. It was joined on the 26th by a despatch boat which probably came to report what had happened to the other, and to notify it to keep away from the coast, so as not to be becalmed. According to all appearances, they are going to keep off this port many days.

Florida, April 27, 1740.

No. 198.

Sir:

On the night of the 9th inst., the sloops of Marcos de Torres, and ours under the charge of Don Domingo de la Cruz left this port: the first on its way to that city (Habana), the second having the colony of Guarico as its destination, and carrying 6 thousand dollars in coin to be laid out in flour and other stores for the support and maintenance of this garrison. Last night at one o'clock a soldier arrived here from the watch on the bar of Matanzas, with sad news to the effect that Pedro de Echeverria, the master of the said Marco de Torres's sloop had come to that point (Matanzas), to say that our sloop, at dawn of the 10th was about 2 or 3 leagues beyond the bar of Mosquitoes, and close to a frigate carrying, it seemed to him, 40 guns. The frigate, being in shore opened fire; our sloop defended itself with valor, returning the fire: when the frigate gave chase, and drove our sloop aground a little on this side of the said bar.

On the 10th I sent Your Excellency by way of Matanzas bar, the schooner of Bartilome de Espinosa, with the sub-lieutenant Don Joseph de Rivas aboard carrying despatches, duplicates of which are inclosed, setting forth the desperate state in which we find ourselves through lack of supplies. This new unhappy occurrence compels me to lay before you the fact that we are in extreme want, without food, and besieged by sea. For as there are on this bar one frigate and a despatch boat, seen the 11th and 12th, and another frigate is stationed in the channel off Cape Canaveral on this coast, it follows infallibly that no small boats sent by Your Excellency can reach us. Under these circumstances, we have decided in a meeting just held to send Your Excellency a galliot with this news, so that knowing the unhappy ex-

tremity to which we have come, Your Excellency may see fit eagerly to succor us with the greatest possible amount of supplies in vessels strong enough to cope with the three on our coast, for in no other way do I see any help, and consequently an irreparable calamity is hanging over us.

It is my duty to tell Your Excellency that for the present this will be the last despatch on our unhappy state that I shall be able to send, because, fearing lest the English intend assaulting us by sea, I can assure Your Excellency that I have no force for the defense of this bar, and that of Matanzas, other than the galliots. And noting that against the attack of any small boat whatever they may have in the Keys, our remaining launch is insufficient, we have used one of the six galliots to cross over to that port (Habana) and carry our melancholy news.

Through authentic reports of affairs in Apalachee, Your Excellency will understand that in order to keep the Indians faithful to us, or at least prevent them from joining either side, nothing is of such great value as the maintenance of the storehouse, furnishing all necessaries in abundance. With regard to both of these points, I beseech Your Excellency out of your great zéal in the service of the King, to make the most ample provision, to the important end of terminating both emergencies, at the very earliest date, seeing that in its present state, the preservation of this place depends solely on the succor of Your Excellency, because without supplies it is not possible that we shall preserve our lives.

It is unnecessary to exaggerate to Your Excellency the agony of our situation, for in respect of the amount of supplies in hand, and of the fact that the population of this city exceeds 2,400, Your Excellency will easily perceive that we most urgently need help at the first possible moment.

Saint Augustine, in Florida, May 13, 1740.

Postscript.

I omitted to say to Your Excellency, that from a post sent to Apalachee on the 13th of April to find out the state of the Uchises, and back here after great effect on the 10th instant, by reason of the numerous Indian allies of the English distributed over the whole country, I have learned that an English sloop at Cayo de Huesos* gave chase to Pablo Rod-

* Key West.

riguez on his way with supplies to that fort (Apalachee); that the sloop going aground, and so being unable to pursue the other, sent against Pedro Rodriguez an armed launch with 12 men on board, among them several Indians, against which he defended himself with his two stone-mortars, and escopette, and succeeded in getting clear, although wounded in the breast with a musketball. I am anxious to point out to Your Excellency, that they are holding even that coast, perhaps to cut off assistance sent to Apalachee.

No 200.

Sir:

At this hour, being seven of the morning, at which the galliot was just about to sail, there arrived two men of Torres' sloop with the news that the English who took our sloop, have put a crew on board, and have posted her to the leeward of the bar of Penon so close to the shore, that in the quiet and silence of the night, conversation aboard can be heard. And so I have suspended the departure of the galliot, and have arranged to send a Spaniard and three Indians in a small canoe to the Keys, by the inside coast channel, where it will be easy for the Indians to take the little canoe across the shoals;* on arriving at Biscayne Key or at Matacumbe, they are to try to find a fishing boat, to transport them to that Port (Habana) or failing that, to ask the Cacique Don Diego to undertake this important matter, to which end I wrote him a letter of direction of the greatest affection, because they set great store by these friendly displays. I feel it my duty to say to Your Excellency that unless those two frigates, the despatch boat and the sloop withdraw from this coast, we shall be unable to send any reports, so long as strong vessels do not come from that port (Habana), because the way through the Keys is uncertain and dangerous, besides which there are but few Indians in those parts with whom these matters can be carried on. While on this subject, I give Your Excellency clearly to understand that this place now contains no other resources for its subsistence than the provisions for at least six months, that Your Excellency can send in strong vessels. I have

* *Varaderos*. None of the usual meanings of this word applies here. It may mean "postage." Tr.

no expedient left that is of any value and unless help can come by June 20 at the latest, it is the most natural thing in the world that this garrison perish.

Saint Augustine, in Florida, May 15, 1740.

In this letter were sent duplicates of the despatches taken by Don Joseph de Rivas.

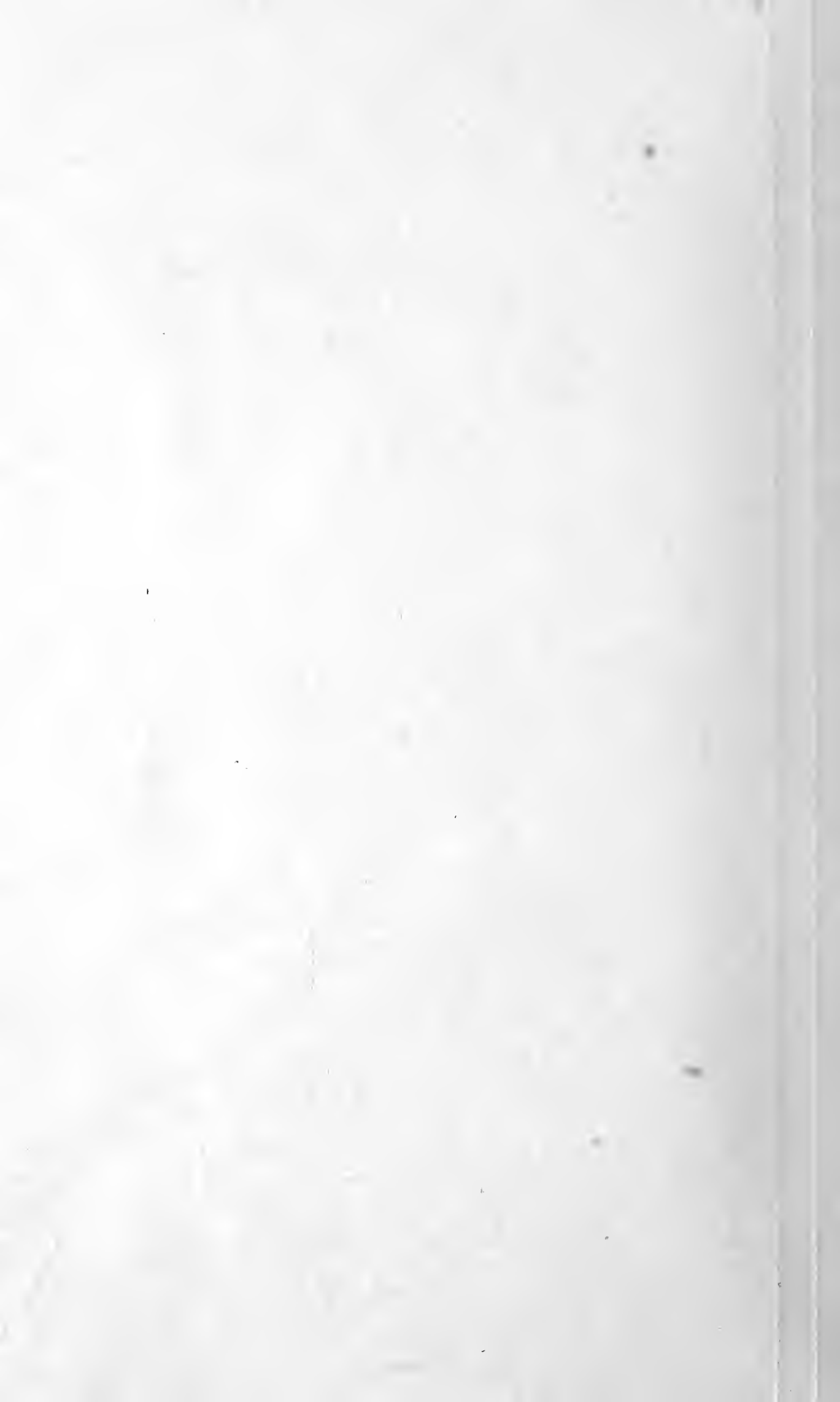
No. 201.

Sir:

On the 25th ultimate, I sent Your Excellency by a soldier of this garrison and three Indians of the coast, the news contained in the duplicate herewith. One of these Indians returned on the 4th, with three gunshot wounds, and the news that the Indians of Mayaca slew the soldier and two of his companions at Gega. Since then, I learn in addition from a foreman of Espinosa's, that while his master and some other workmen were busy at San Diego on field works, 50 Indian allies of the English suddenly surrounded them, firing a volley into them, and so killing one trooper and a negro of Espinosa's. Nevertheless the others managed to get into the fort, except a negro of the monastery of Saint Francis, who took to the woods. Him they consider dead. The Indians having failed to capture anyone withdrew. These things being so, I took the resolution of sending a sergeant and 12 men with a surgeon, to bring back the wounded, and if necessary, to leave some people as reenforcement, and then return. The sergeant not having returned in two days, I sent a corporal of cavalry with six men, to discover anything that might have occurred since in those parts. He returned the next day, saying that he was unable to reach the fort, the enemy by spreading out far and wide having given him no chance. Having then sent out other scouts, not one brought me any formal news as to whether the fort was taken, or was still holding out. The captains were then called together in a council, and it was resolved to send a detachment of 300 men from the eight companies, from three of the place, militiamen, Indians and negroes, under Captain Don Miguel de Ribas, Don Fulgencio de Alfaro, and Don Pedro Lamberto, with four galliots, one launch, and 4 pirogues, to transport the troops and carry two guns in case it was necessary to batter the fort, demolish a side of it, and recover or succor it. But the captains having learned



OLD
PHO



✕ OGLETHORPE'S BATTERY

OLD FORT AT ST. AUGUSTINE
PHOTOGRAPHED ABOUT 1890



that the enemy, drawn up waiting for us, was much superior in numbers to our detachment, withdrew to this place. I have since learned by another scout, that they were strengthening the fort. And others who frequently reiterate, say that their small parties are at a league from here; which makes me think they are present in force, and that they are establishing storehouses at San Diego for food and stores, in preparation for the siege of this place. I am persuaded of this too from their having shown to-day five vessels in addition to the two that have now been watching this bar and that of Matanzas for a long time. With this news, proof, as it were of a siege, I am compelled to report these occurrences to Your Excellency by the launch that I am keeping on the bar of Mosquitoes waiting for the succor, which by the same launch Your Excellency told me you were going to send. For informed of them, and of the desperate strait in which this garrison finds itself, Your Excellency may be good enough to succor it at the earliest moment by sending strong vessels to overcome those of the enemy. I doubt very much if help can be got in in any other way, or if we can exist much longer without supplies, shut in by the enemy on sea and land. Although the vessels so far seen are seven, I firmly believe that the *Vizarra*, the *San Juan* and the *Pingue* can resist their force, since some of their vessels appear to us to be merchant.

Saint Augustine, in Florida, June 11, 1740.

Postscript to the letter proper.

Sir :

I am so occupied with business, that I cannot answer Your Excellency's letters received in the launch, nor others, answers to which have been begun. As they are not occupying the bar of Matanzas, there yet remains a means of succor, and we shall there make all possible resistance with three galliots and land troops.

No. 202.*

Sir :

Considering that in case this arrives in time to be of any benefit, Your Excellency may, after reflection upon its contents, take the most suitable measures, I give notice that the

* Translation from Southern Quarterly Review, April, 1844, p. 406, and used here after many corrections and alterations. Tr.

enemy remains stationed on this bar, and on that of Matanzas, and is in possession of the Island of Santa Anastacia, and its watch-tower, of all the beach of San Mateo, and maintains a camp at the village of Moze. The ships blockading us are seven frigates of 23 to 30 guns, two packets of 10 or 12 guns, three sloops, six schooners, and twelve scows exclusive of boat, and launches belonging to the vessels.

At this moment, which is nine o'clock in the forenoon, they have opened with a mortar firing large shell (*granadas reales*) a few splinters of which have fallen into the fort, but most of them have passed over the lines, and beyond them.

I assure Your Excellency that it is impossible to express the confusion of this place, for we have here no protection except the fort, and all the rest is open field. The families have abandoned their houses, and come to put themselves under protection of the guns, which is pitiable, though nothing gives me anxiety but the want of provisions, and if Your Excellency for want of competent force, cannot send relief, we must all indubitably perish. With this information, I am assured Your Excellency will excuse the hyperboles in which the conflict we are in, may be portrayed, and I hope every attention will be given to measures conducing to relieve this eminent peril, as a matter of such moment, and of the first service to the King.

St. Augustine, in Florida, 24th June, 1740.

No. 203.

Sir:

On the 24th ultimate, I sent Your Excellency by way of Apalachee an accurate account of the siege by sea and land of this place by the English, a duplicate of which I enclose.

*I have now to inform Your Excellency, that at eleven o'clock on the night of Saturday the 25th of June, I sent out from this garrison, 300 men to make an attack on the fort of Moze, which was executed at day-break on Sunday morning. Our people swept over it, with such impetuosity that it fell, with a loss of 68 dead, and 34 prisoners.

I have ascertained that the garrison of this place, consisted of 140 men according to some of the prisoners, and of 170 according to others. It was composed of one militia com-

* This extract is to be found in *Southern Quarterly Review* for April, 1844, p. 406; it is used here with many corrections and alterations.

pany of Scotchmen, 70 men, including officers, of 15 infantry, 40 horsemen, and 35 Indians, Yaches and Uchices, with a white man for chief. This detachment or garrison was commanded by Colonel (Palma) who with one of his sons was evidently left dead in the action. An Indian prisoner affirms positively that he saw Colonel Palma dead, and his head cut off. He further infers that both of his sons were dead, though he did not see them dead; because he saw their hats in the hands of our people; of whom ten have died, among them the Ensign, Don Joseph de Aguilera.* The affair being terminated, I ordered the fort to be demolished, and the dead buried. From such investigation as I have been able to make among the prisoners, I have acquired the following news. Three or four prisoners agree in saying, that both by rumor and by gazette, they have learned of the preparation in England of a considerable expedition against Havana, consisting of 30 ships of the line, and of a landing party of 10,000 men—and I am sending this despatch to give you this information as possibly of great importance to the service of the King.

Of the armament besieging us, the prisoners say it is composed of 7 frigates, one of 50 guns from Bermuda, another of 40, another of 27, and the rest of 20; the number of despatch boats, bilanders, or of other small boats they do not know. They vary in their estimate of the main body of troops, some putting it at 2,000 others at 1,500, or 1,200, and still others at 900. In respect of batteries, they have brought among others, three bronze 18-pounders from Carolina. Up to to-day they have made no assault, but it would seem that by reason of the blow at Moze, they have all assembled on the Island of Santa Anastacia, where they have collected eleven small mortars, two of them for shells of half a quintal, and the other 9 for smaller ones. With these, and one other larger one formerly on the coast of San Matheo, 12 in all, they fired on us the 30 of June, from 6 in the evening, until 10 at night.

My greatest concern is for supplies, and if we get none, there is no doubt we shall die of hunger.

*From the beginning of the fire up to this day they have thrown 122 large shell and 31 small, from which, glory be to God, we have received no corporal injury. On the Is-

* This paragraph and the next may be found in *Southern Quarterly Review* of April, 1844, p. 409.

land of Santa Anastacia, they have emplaced a battery of 5 guns, three of 18 and two of 6-pounders, the first to batter the fort and town, and the others for the galliots, and with them they make incessant fire; but ours answers them, and we are informed that they receive more damage than ourselves.

On the first day of the month, after beating a call, they sent us a white flag, with three letters, making a demand the nature of which Your Excellency will perceive by their tenor. Our answer Your Excellency will learn from the enclosures; and from that day they have fired with increased vigor, but in vain, for it appears that God has given greater accuracy to our fire.

My outposts have found four more men killed in the affair of Moze, two of them white, the others Indian.

From a deserter that arrived here on the 14th ultimate, we learn that General Oglethorpe brought 900 men, 300 of his regiment of regulars, and 600 Carolina militia; that it was unknown if others would come to him from Virginia or other parts; that the Carolina militia came supplied for four months. But the prisoners of Moze say that even if necessary to remain one year before this place, General Oglethorpe will do it, until he subdues it.

Saint Augustine, in Florida, July 6, 1740.

No. 204.

Sir:

From a deserter crossing over from the island of Santa Anastacia I have just learned that the frigates of the squadron are six in number, the flagship of 40 guns, and two hundred men; and the remainder of 20 with one hundred and fifty men. The deserter declared he had not been on board of any of them, but that he had got his account from some sailors with whom he had talked. I send this to Your Excellency to weigh any significance it may have; so that, with reference to it, and to the statement of the prisoner that there was a frigate of 50 guns from Bermuda, and another of 40 or origin unknown to him, Your Excellency may draw the conclusion that seems best to you, premising that when the said prisoner made this remark, he said he had not seen the 50-gun frigate but that a frigate having anchored before the bar of St. John's, the General told them she was from Bermuda and carried 50 guns.

Saint Augustine, in Florida, July 13, 1740.

No. 205.*

Sir:

On the 6th of the present month I informed Your Excellency, by the Adjutant Don Juan Jacinto Rodriguez, of what had then occurred. On the night of the day subsequent, (the 7th of July,) Louis Gomez arrived at this place, with intelligence that he left within the bar of Mosquitoes, three sloop, one small sloop, and two schooners, with provisions sent by Your Excellency, in charge of Juan de Oxeda, and addressed to the Captain Don Manuel de Villasante. The pleasure with which I received this news, is indescribable; but the joy subsisted but a short time in my heart; for I was also informed, that when Pedro Chepuz, and the French sloop in which he came as pilot, arrived off this bar, he was seen and chased by an English ship, and packet, which did no harm, but got notice of our provisions, and of their whereabouts. At the same time came a deserter from the enemy's camp, who said that on some night, during spring tides, it was the intention of General Oglethorpe, to make an attack on this place by sea and land. On this I suspended the execution of the plan I had fixed on for bringing the provisions, little by little, and applied myself entirely to the purpose of resisting whatever attempts his pride and arrogance might undertake; but the days of opportunity, passed, without his executing his idea, and I turned my eyes upon our relief vessels, which were manifestly in danger. Using only the launches and the boat, we carried on the work of unloading and transporting to this place; for although I also sent with them a pirogue of considerable capacity for the same purpose, it so happened that on making that bar, four boats and launches, one frigate and a despatch boat crossed their path, separating them and attacking the small ones. But our people defended themselves stoutly, from four of the afternoon until nightfall, suffering only the loss of our pirogue, which splintered itself against the launches; the crew having shifted over, they continued their journey, and returned happily loaded with flour, and continued their task until it was no longer necessary, for on the 20th, the enemy having raised his camp, and taken to hasty and shameful flight, I promptly ordered our bilanders after making the most careful inspection to see if the pass was open and the

* Portions of this letter are published in the Southern Quarterly Review of April, 1844, pp. 409, 410.

coast clear, to resume their voyage and come in by Matanzas, if they had at the least a moral certainty of safety. This they accordingly did on the 25th; and to-day the sloop from Campeche and the two schooners have completely discharged their cargo. And I have consequently directed Palomarez, Captain of one of them, to prepare to take this news to Your Excellency.

I assure Your Excellency, that I cannot arrive at a comprehension of the conduct, or rules of this General; for I am informed by at least twelve deserters from him present here, that his camp was composed of 370 men of his regiment, 600 militia of Carolina, 130 Indians, and 200 sailors armed, and encamped on the Island of Santa Anastacia, and as many more sailors for the management of the sloops, schooners, and launches. My wonder is inexpressible that this gentleman should make his retreat with such precipitation, as to leave abandoned, four 6-pounders on the battery on the point of San Mateo, one schooner, two kegs of gunpowder, several muskets and escopettes, and to set fire to a quantity of provisions, such as boxes of bacon, cheese, lard, dried beef, rice and beans, to a schooner, and to an excellent mortar carriage; besides many things that have profited the Indians, and galley slaves who have had the fortune to pick up several barrels of lard and flour, and some pork.* Notwithstanding all this, I can assure Your Excellency that all the deserters, and two squaws of ours, prisoners of theirs that escaped, agree in saying that Don Diego Oglethorpe is going to reorganize his forces, and make a great effort to stir up the Indians. And although I appraise this rumor as something to placate and leave in doubt his people, moderating the fire that may be burning among them, and especially the Carolinians and Scotchmen as having been the hardest hit, yet I believe there would be no harm in taking precautions, and in Your Excellency sending me such reinforcements as may be suitable, and the munitions and stores as set forth in memorandum herewith. I shall send a post at once to the Uchises, to draw them, in view of all this news, from their allegiance to the English, and I shall offer to treat them handsomely if it will please them to come see me.

* This paragraph corrected, etc., may be found in *Southern Quarterly Review* loc. cit.

The formal seige has continued 38 days, counting from the 13th of June, to the 20th of July, and the fire of the batteries and bombardment 27 days, from the 24th of June, to the said 20th of July. The batteries were three; one in the pool on the Island of Santa Anastacia, of four 18-pounders and one 9-pounder; another on the point of the hammock on said island, of two 18-pounders, and the other on the coast of the interior part of the point San Mateo, of seven 6-pounders, five of iron, and two of brass. The mortars, and small mortars were thirty-four, two mortars throwing shell of half a quintal, and two others of about a quintal. The thirty small mortars, which the deserters call cow horns,* were, some small hand grenades, and others for those of ten or twelve pounds.

The loss we have suffered is reduced to two men killed, and wounded. Those (wounded) by gun fire who died were . . . artilleryman and the convict, son of Ordonez, whom with the other one named Contreras I received in the first launch-loads from Mosquito. Of the other two wounded by shellfire, to wit, a soldier and a negro, the negro is perfectly well, and the other has a good chance of pulling through, though with one leg fewer.

The constancy, valor and glory of the officers here are beyond all praise; the patriotism, courage and steadiness of the troops, militia, free negroes, and convicts, have been great. These last I may say to Your Excellency, have borne themselves like veteran soldiers. I especially commend their humble devotion, for without ceasing work by day, they have persevered by night with the care and vigilance of old soldiers.

Even among the slaves a particular steadiness has been noticed, and a desire not to await the enemy within the place but to go out to meet him. In short, I have been thoroughly satisfied with all during the siege, and especially with the circumstance that during the entire siege no one has deserted. And lastly, Your Excellency may believe that the galliots have been of great service to me: for if the siege had caught me without them, the English would have given me much work to do, as the launches could have been used for nothing but the guard of this port, to say nothing of the necessity of taking other indispensable measures, at great

*The name of the mortar is Coehorn, from the inventor. As pronounced it sounded to Don Manuel like *cow horn*, and he accordingly so translates into his own speech, *cuernos de vaca*. Tr.

cost. And so I renew my thanks to Your Excellency for having sent them to my relief, even against the common opinion of the entire torrent of members of the Junta held by you to decide whether or no they should be sent.

On the return of the boats under the charge of Don Juan de Ojeda I shall write at length to Your Excellency: to-day I can do no more than send this great news by the ship-master Palomares.

Saint Augustine, in Florida, July 28, 1740.

Postscript.

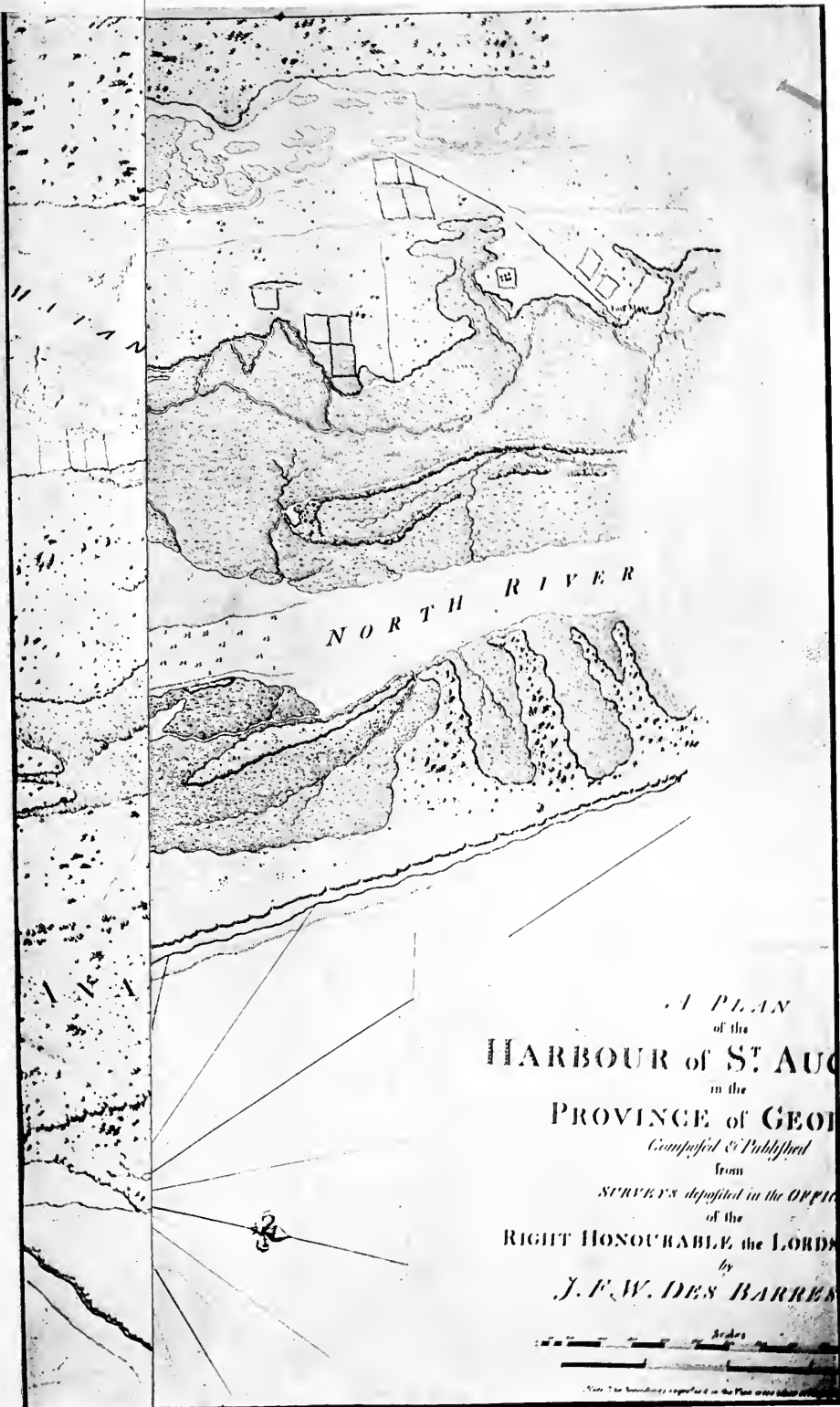
Sir:

All the 12 English deserters say in confirmation of one another that General Oglethorpe has gone for reinforcements, with the intention of returning upon this place next spring. Although I do not believe that the settlers of Carolina will give more help on account of the vexation and annoyances of this campaign, yet his authority and restless spirit may move them, as well as the numbers he is said to expect from Europe, according to some, two thousand, to others, two regiments. Relative to this, Your Excellency may consider the best measures to put this place in a new state of defense, lacking as I do more than the remaining 300 men, on account of the losses encountered at Pupo, San Diego, the sloop, the sortie of Moze, and of Indian prisoners and killed.

The enemy spread the news that on their retreat they would burn the fort of San Diego, and that of Pupo. But the latest deserter says that General Oglethorpe is going to construct a battery of 6 guns at the entrance of the Saint John's on the other side, to prevent the entrance of galliots, and in order to maintain Pupo. All the others declare that it was his intention to withdraw with his entire regiment (now of 378 men out of 600 it originally contained) to the fort of Federico, and fortify himself there, abandoning the remaining forts he has in other islands. Other deserters have said that their general was going over to London for fresh reinforcements. Should the war continue, we must take measures to oppose his plans.

The fort at San Diego was abandoned without being burned, reported. Luckily for us, no shell fell within the fort, but their guns injured our parapets.

This was the moment to exterminate General Oglethorpe with his regiment and force him out of Georgia, with forces

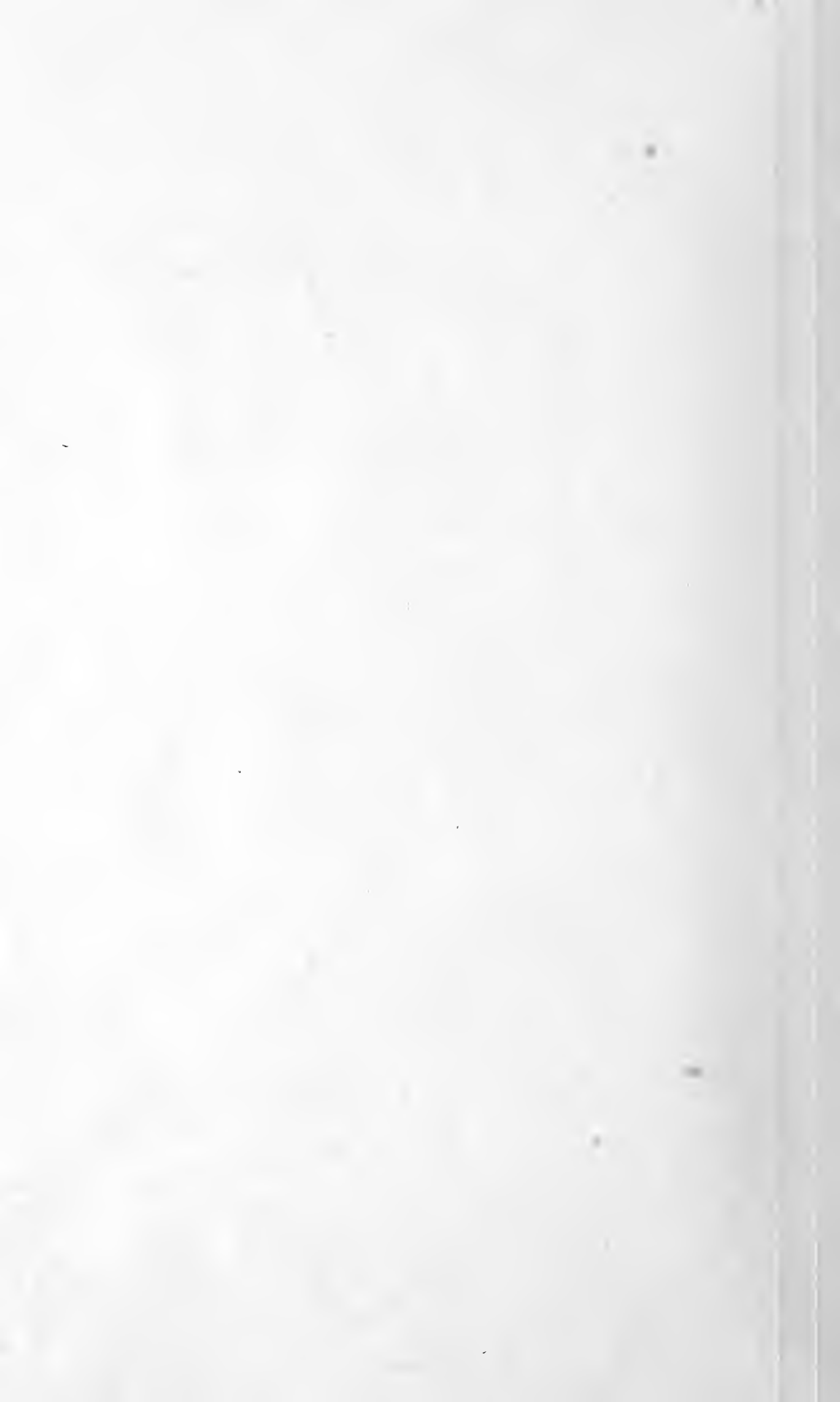


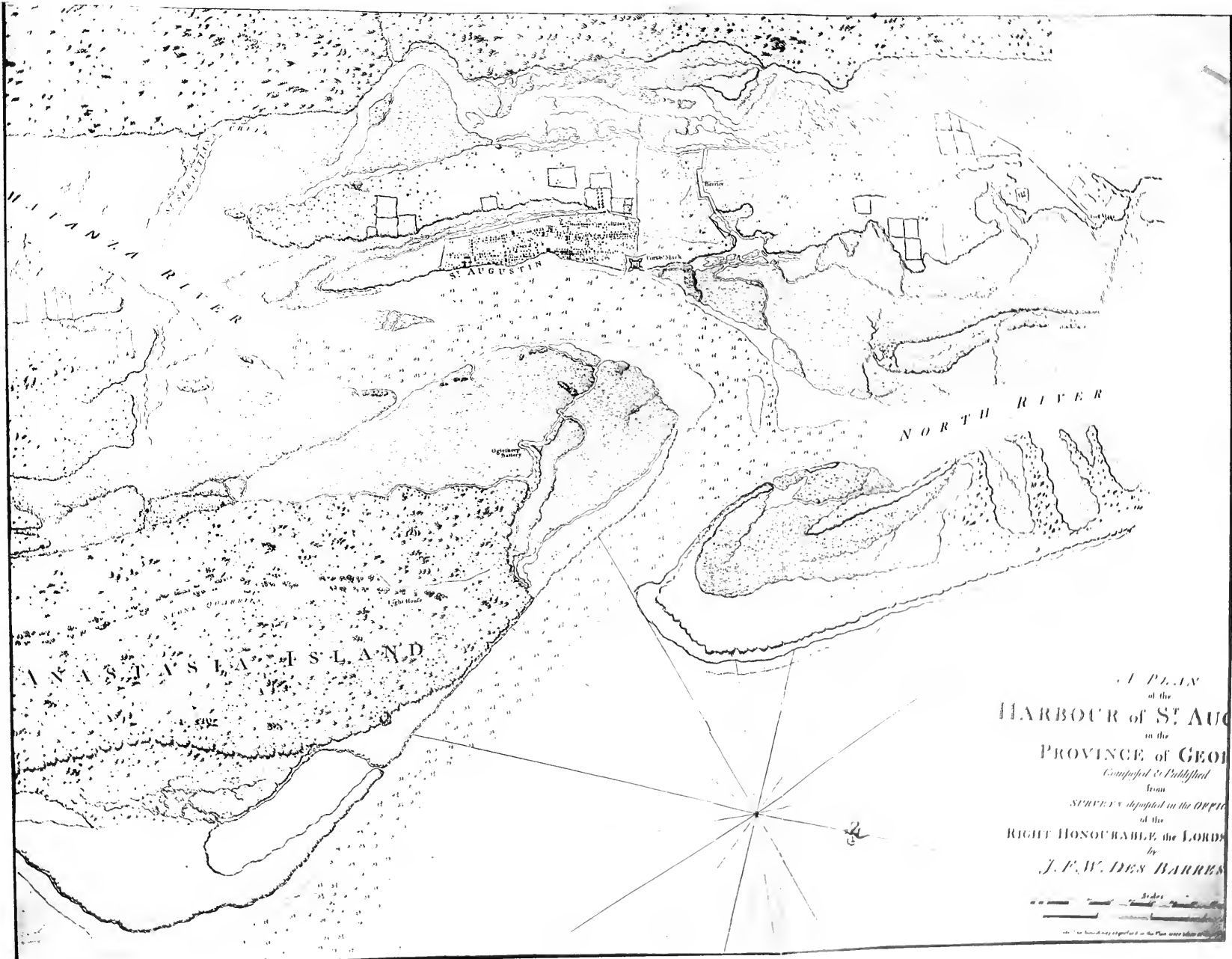
NORTH RIVER

A PLAN
of the
HARBOUR of ST. AUGUSTINE
in the
PROVINCE of GEORGIA
Compiled & Published
from
SURVEYS deposited in the OFFICE
of the
RIGHT HONOURABLE the LORDS
by
J. F. W. DES BARRES



Note: The boundaries expressed in the Plan were taken in 1763.





ST. AUGUSTINE RIVER

ST. AUGUSTINE

NORTH RIVER

ANASTASIA ISLAND

A PLAN
of the
HARBOUR of ST. AUGUSTINE
in the
PROVINCE of GEORGIA
Compiled & Published
from
SURVEYS deposited in the OFFICE
of the
RIGHT HONOURABLE the LORDS
of the TREASURY
by
J. F. W. DES BARRRES



See the Introduction to the Plan, which follows this



but little stronger than those I have here, for his troops are discontented, and he would get but little help from Carolina by reason of the same discontent, and fear of their negroes.

So far the French sloop has been unable to enter, nor have I seen anyone other than Monsieur Paran. I have appointed to-morrow for an interview with them.

In the latest orders but one from the capital, I received one forbidding the supply of stores from any foreign colony, on account of a mistake here over the admission of Benavides of a schooner in a time of scarcity. But in the latest ones, received by me with Don Juan del Canto, to whom Your Excellency entrusted them, the King directs me to supply myself in the French colonies, which authority permits without any misgiving the contract made by you, to which I fully accede, although the price of flour is high, and we shall try to cut it down as much as possible.

I have been most anxious, but it is certain that the troops (I can not set forth to Your Excellency their valor, steadiness and suffering under our continuous labor) relieved me in great part. In the midst of such great dangers, gossip ran riot.

Don Antonio Salgado, who commanded the sortie on Moze, acted like a true officer, profiting by their discharge to take them disarmed, as it were; on which he entered the work in safety, and overthrew them, although the fort is capable of much resistance.

This affair destroyed the settlement of Scotchmen and people in whom Oglethorpe had complete confidence. Although the matter is common property here, I inform Your Excellency confidentially that Fandino is not fit to command the galliots, and on the contrary all the other captains are, because he has been remiss in obeying my orders, and could with but little risk have dismounted their principal battery, and the last day have prevented the escape of some of the English vessels, and other good things, and it is well that Your Excellency should know this.

The garrison sloop only took six thousand dollars on garrison account and the eight pickets, and a few * groups of people from the underbrush but it is the habit here to augment everything.

* *Encomiendillas de particulares de poca monta*. Precisely what is meant by these words is not clear. *Encomiendilla* is a diminutive of *encomienda*, on which as an institution, see Foreman "The Philippine Islands," 3d edition, p. 211, and also De Morga "The Philippine Islands," pp. 323, 325, London, printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1868. The reference of the entire passage is obscure. Tr.

A few of our prisoners have returned hither from the camp and from the boats of the English, and speak ill of Don Domingo. I marvel at this greatly, but the signs are bad.

May God preserve our judgment, and Your Excellency's, as is my wish.

No. 207.

Sir:

On July 28, I sent or had ready the report sent to Your Excellency in a letter of that date, and reduced to the statement that on the 20th of the same, the enemy raised the siege; and that on account of the presence or station of a frigate and despatch boat to the south on this coast, the entrance of the sloops and schooners with supplies could not be made before July 27. I now have to tell Your Excellency that Palomares failed or was unable to sail, through his carelessness and neglect before Sunday the 31.

To-day, August 3, I have received Your Excellency's principal letter entrusted to Don Juan Ruiz del Canto who, as may be inferred from the foregoing letter included herewith, tells me that he had remained in his cabin: and with regard to Your Excellency's advices, in it, to the effect that Your Excellency is preparing the frigate *Sta. Catarina* under the command of Don Joseph de Herrera, two other frigates equipped for war, two transports and a sloop with stores. I have sent out the boat to-day, to take station with 11 men on the bar of Mosquitoes, in order to give the necessary notice of the state of this place to the said Captain Don Joseph de Herrera, and so that at the proper time Bartolome de Espinosa may set forth to bear to Your Excellency a duplicate of the report of the withdrawal of the Generals Oglethorpe and Pierse. I have so far not yet received positive news that the enemy has withdrawn from San Juan, although the latest deserters have assured me that they were to embark on the coming Friday, 5th instant. To the end of verifying this news, and that of their having sent a few launches to take up the guns at Pupo and demolish it, I am keeping out various patrols of cavalry and Indians, the principal purpose and most especial charge being to observe their movements in order to guard against any treacherous design, seeing that I had received a verification of the report that they were maintaining themselves at San Juan, with all the troops, militia and smaller boats.

I have not thought it proper to follow the rearguard, because of lack of troops; out of the eight companies alone more than one hundred men are lacking. The troops moreover are worn out, and I do not wish to expose this place, in a matter of doubtful issue, to late ruin, after having rescued it from the greatest danger. But I hope finally with the disposition and assistance of Your Excellency to chastise them, and give them an exterminating blow.

As this despatch must go promptly, I have no more to report to Your Excellency.

Florida, August 3, 1740.

No. 210.

Sir:

I shall now proceed to answer Your Excellency's letters necessarily laid aside on account of my pressing duties. Besides the intelligence given by the two and twenty deserters that have come here, to the effect that General Oglethorpe has circulated the rumor that he means to return to the siege of this place within four or five months, or next spring, they add that he will cause other galliots to be built, like ours, but of greater burden. And although it appears impossible to me that the said Oglethorpe should repeat the enterprise, on account of the arduous difficulties he will encounter in bringing the settlers of Carolina a second time to his way of thinking, nevertheless as the entire system of the citizens of those colonies and of their neighbors, consists and dwells in the desire to capture this place, the reef on which ordinarily they break, and the obstacle to the course of their inhuman and haughty plan of exterminating the Indians of the continent of Apalachee and its confines so as to occupy all these provinces without let or hindrance, it seems logical to me not to spurn their warnings, because it may of course happen that, thoroughly distrusting the conduct of Oglethorpe, they may in case the war continue, ask the King of Great Britian to commit the direction of affairs to some other soldier whose conciliatory character may give them better satisfaction. If this happens, as is possible, or if the same Oglethorpe should again have charge, he may succeed in bewitching them into the belief that another greater expedition is necessary against this place, for obviously we must assume that the new attempt and attack would be undertaken with double forces at least. And if his court should be inclined to grant the two regiments or

the two thousand troops, as divulged, because of the advantage to that Crown of holding this province, then will it be most necessary to send equal forces; for, seeing that this place is an open country, its defense should be guarded more than any other thing. There can infallibly be no other worse nor more deplorable condition, than our reduction to the limits of the fort; if this happens, which God forbid, it is equally infallible that we could not exist for any length of time. Without taking into consideration any other reason or principle, the sad voices and tears of the women and children, were enough to distract their fathers from the best laid, logical plans. I keep in mind Your Excellency's grave preoccupations with the defense of that island (Cuba), beautiful woman whom all nations are wooing, but I also believe that Your Excellency, zealous in the King's service, will make a special study of coming to the relief of this place with all that it needs.

In a circular of January 30 of this year, sent to all councils of the cities of these Indies, the King especially recommends the defense of all his American dominions, offering at the same time to send troops from the Kingdom for the making of a more vigorous resistance. But if it should happen that these can not be supplied, either by reason of some serious obstacle by sea or land, or for any other good reason, then, in obedience to my duty, and to the reiterated commands of the King to report to Your Excellency, I must set before Your Excellency my resources, begging for whatever may be necessary to the defense of this place; because, if the war continues, I am under the necessity of asking for 370 infantrymen, and 24 artillerymen. During the siege and before, and counting the men not fit for duty, the troops of this garrison and of the reinforcements were reduced by this number, there remaining of the former only 116 fit for duty, and of the latter only 240, making 356. As both corps should amount to 750, 350 of the old garrison, and 400 of the eight companies of the reinforcements, and as there are in this garrison no more than 356 between the two, it is plain that I need 394 men, just the number I am asking for, and having reference to the terms under which the King held this place. But as it is now threatened with the most furious anger reason of the damage inflicted upon the English in their siege of it, it is my duty at the same time to ask Your Excellency, should the war continue, for 300 armed men more, mulattoes and free negroes from the militia of Cuba. I regard it as

important to the best and most useful service of the King, that in the agreement made to this end, it be stipulated and arranged with them, that they are to do armed duty when necessary, and manual labor all the time, these being the two purposes they must understand they are coming for. But if this should appear to Your Excellency to be too heavy a task, an agreement might be reached with them to divide them into two shifts, giving to one half indulgence, in order to have them work for weeks or months, and allowing them to employ their spare time in rest or amusement, or in the pursuit of anything that might appeal to the intelligence of each one.

And if Your Excellency could send them armed, it will be and is of significance to the King's service, there being no one here to perform it, because this is now a Hospital. At the same time, I must point out to Your Excellency that it would be most profitable to send the negroes and mulattoes at the very first opportunity to put the position into the proper condition, and that the infantry and artillery should be here by December 20 of this year at the latest.

The great penetration of Your Excellency will perceive from these terms, that the King can impose no charge upon me without my recurring to Your Excellency, as he commanded, for all that is necessary to put this place in the condition His Majesty desires, and that in following this course I am discharging my obligation in obedience to the royal orders directing me to apply to Your Excellency for all that the custody of this place demands. With respect to all this, I believe that if it be possible, all measures will promptly be taken to send me the succor in question: and that if it be impossible to send the number of troops and militia, Your Excellency will fully satisfy the King on this point, and I shall have fully complied with his sovereign commands, and no one can caluminously charge me with omission, indolence or neglect.

I firmly believe that Your Excellency's lofty talents will not disavow my legitimate and just petitions in behalf of the royal principle whence they flow; and that if the King destines troops for the better defense of this place, my petitions would still remain in force; for His Majesty will naturally count upon his garrison, and upon what he had before directed to be sent, because he will think that his directions have been obeyed.

Florida, August 7, 1740.

No. 248.

Sir:

After learning of the loss of the Convoy of supplies sent by Your Excellency to this place, in the brigantine of Andres Gonzales and the sloop of the King, I managed successfully to arm the Campeche sloop as a privateer. It went out the 17th of October and having captured a Carolinian schooner sent her here under the charge of Domingo Quintana, Don Juan de Hita, two boys, and a negro. And although she came to the entrance of this port six days afterward, and our launch went out to pilot her having made no attempt to speak her, as neither did the port, since she was going to the southward, and was taken for an Englishman, she withdrew, but so far we have not the slightest news of her. We believe either that she must have been lost in some storm, or that three Englishmen she had aboard, the two boys and a woman were killed while drunk, as the first were, the rest being taken asleep. A few days later, Oglethorpe's sergeant major was captured, and through bad management I lost two men, one killed and the other wounded by the 18-pounders of the frigate and despatch boat. A pink was captured off Carolina,* on its way to Hamburg, and having on board over nine thousand *arrobas* (quarters) of rice, which has been the salvation of this city, because from the 28 of October when she came in, the troops and entire neighborhood have lived on it, baking it into *rosas* (ring-shaped biscuits or cakes). The said Joseph Sanchez having declared that he wished to leave off privateering and sell his sloop, I arranged to buy and arm it, rigging it anew with captured tackle, to the satisfaction of Fandino, who it was suggested wished to go privateering. Equipping it according to his judgment, and leaving him freedom of action, the sloop was fitted out much to the satisfaction of everybody that not even from the ways could she have gone forth better equipped. With 80 men picked out by him, the 50 of the galiots, and 30 from this place, and a sergeant and six soldiers he asked for, she hoisted sail on December 3 with a good wind, and on the 5th at dawn found herself on the bar of Carolina* itself, although it was his intention to station himself off Cape Ferro, out of sight of land; but finding himself so near to Carolina,* as well as to the pilot on the bar, he captured him. Keeping in view at the same time a priva-

* Charleston.

teering sloop which had just left the port on its way to Jamaica, the two privateers closed, and according to the report of three men succeeded in bringing the launch, went off together cannonading each other; from time to time there was musketry fire. The men say they were unable to follow their privateer and fearing lest the Englishman should capture them if he tacked, they tried to make the coast. The Englishman was seen to tack toward the land and returned to his port: our ship was lost to view standing out to sea. Before going aboard, Fandino was heard to say he would go farther north because now they were discovered in those parts.

The three men who brought in the launch (which resembles our boat here with its deck) separated from the privateer with only two ship biscuit: with what they could catch with a hook, they succeeded in arriving safely. A little negro of 10 or 12, taken in the launch says that the largest and best part of Carolina, to wit the houses of the *Marina* (waterfront) has been burned, the fire having lasted two weeks; that the powder magazine blew up, and that there were three *manuales*** in the harbor.

On the 19th a schooner much larger than that of Muga-guren anchored on our bar, captured by our privateer Fandigo, who writes me from Cape Ferro what Your Excellency may see in copy herewith. Two prisoners sent in her bring no special news other than what Your Excellency may get from the declaration they made.

On the 29th instant, our privateering sloop returned because the crew could not stand the rigors of the winter, which has been cruel. Fandino came ashore, and told me of another schooner he had captured, but without supplies, only a few useless things, such as aguardiente, honey-cakes, and flag stones; and that she must be well out to sea, as she was caught in a storm in the Bahama Channel. The captains of the two schooners, and the Carolina pilot whom Fandino took aboard the privateer, and whom I caused to be examined to-day, have no more news to give than the short paper of the said 29.

Yesterday we caught sight of an English frigate seemingly of 20 to 24 guns: to-day it has remained in view until 3 of the afternoon. Bearing in mind Fandino's performance on

** I. e. men o' war. See note, ante. Tr.

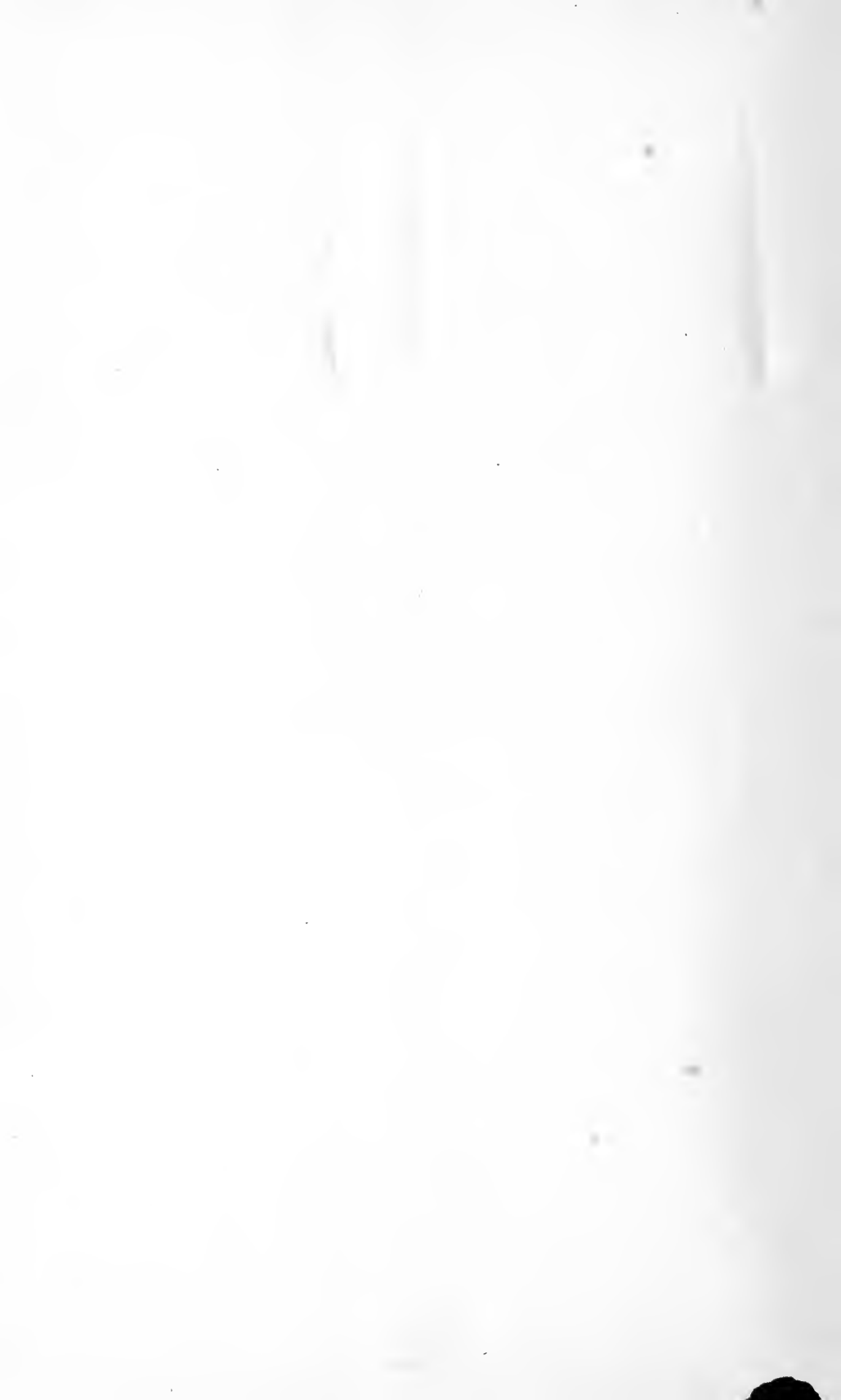
the bar of San Jorge, I infer that they must have armed one of their *manuales* to pursue the privateer, or to come and wait here, as it were to hamper the entrance of the boats sailing from this city. With reference to this, if on receipt of this, there should be some strong boat, capable of attacking this one, I beseech Your Excellency to send it, to clear the coast; because it is very possible they will be chastised, and from the fear so engendered, will not so lightly undertake to blockade us.

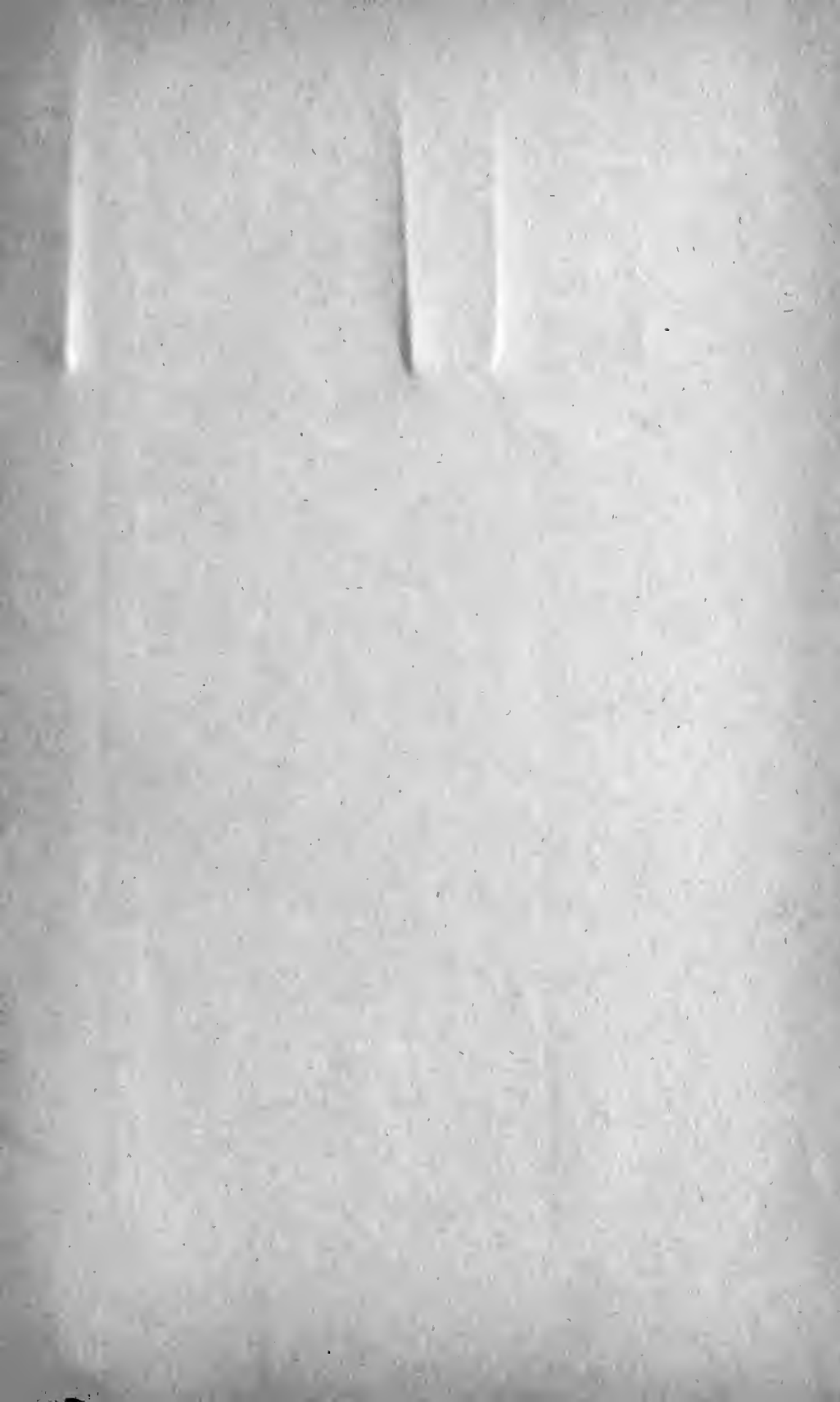
Florida, Jan. 2, 1741.

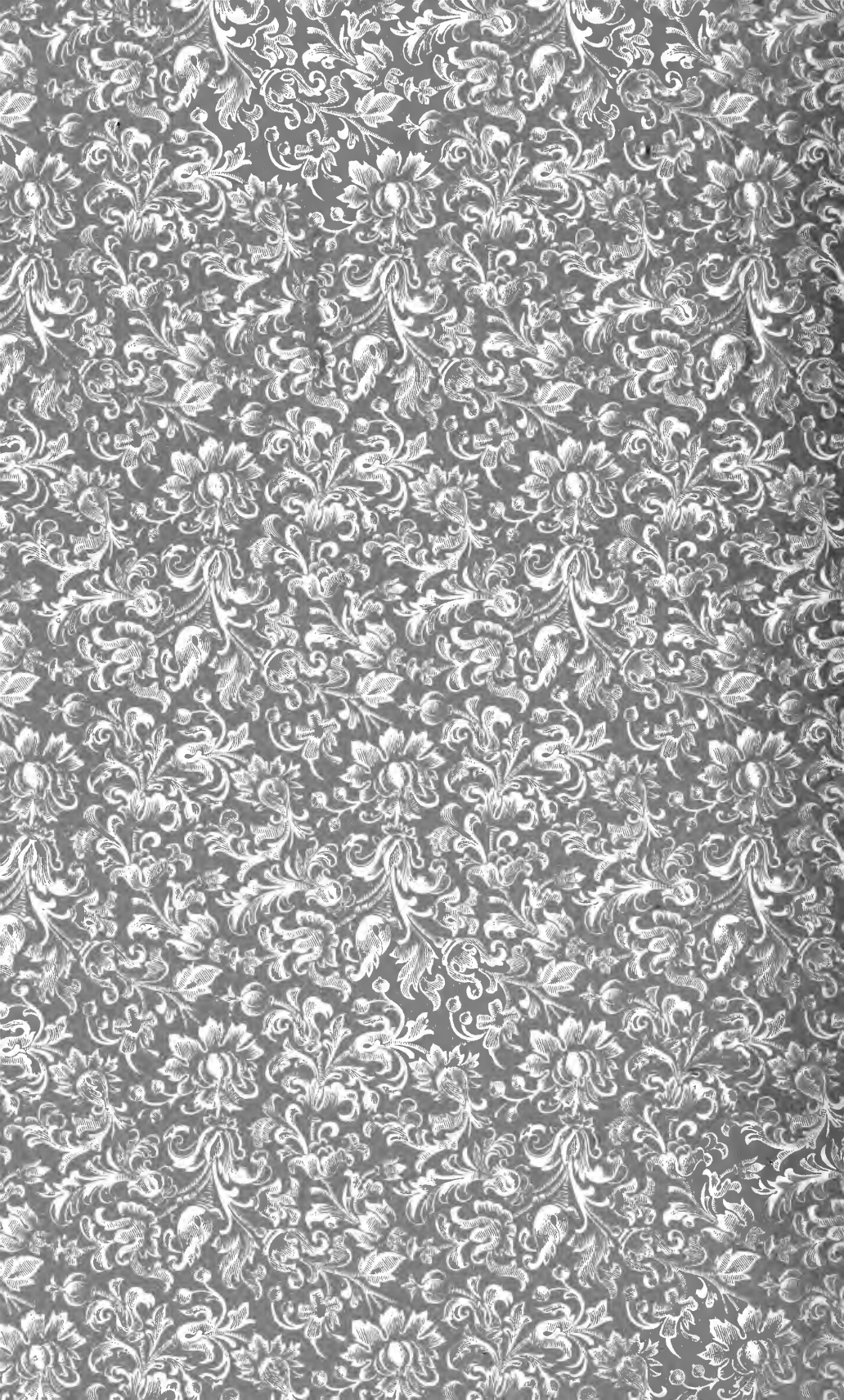
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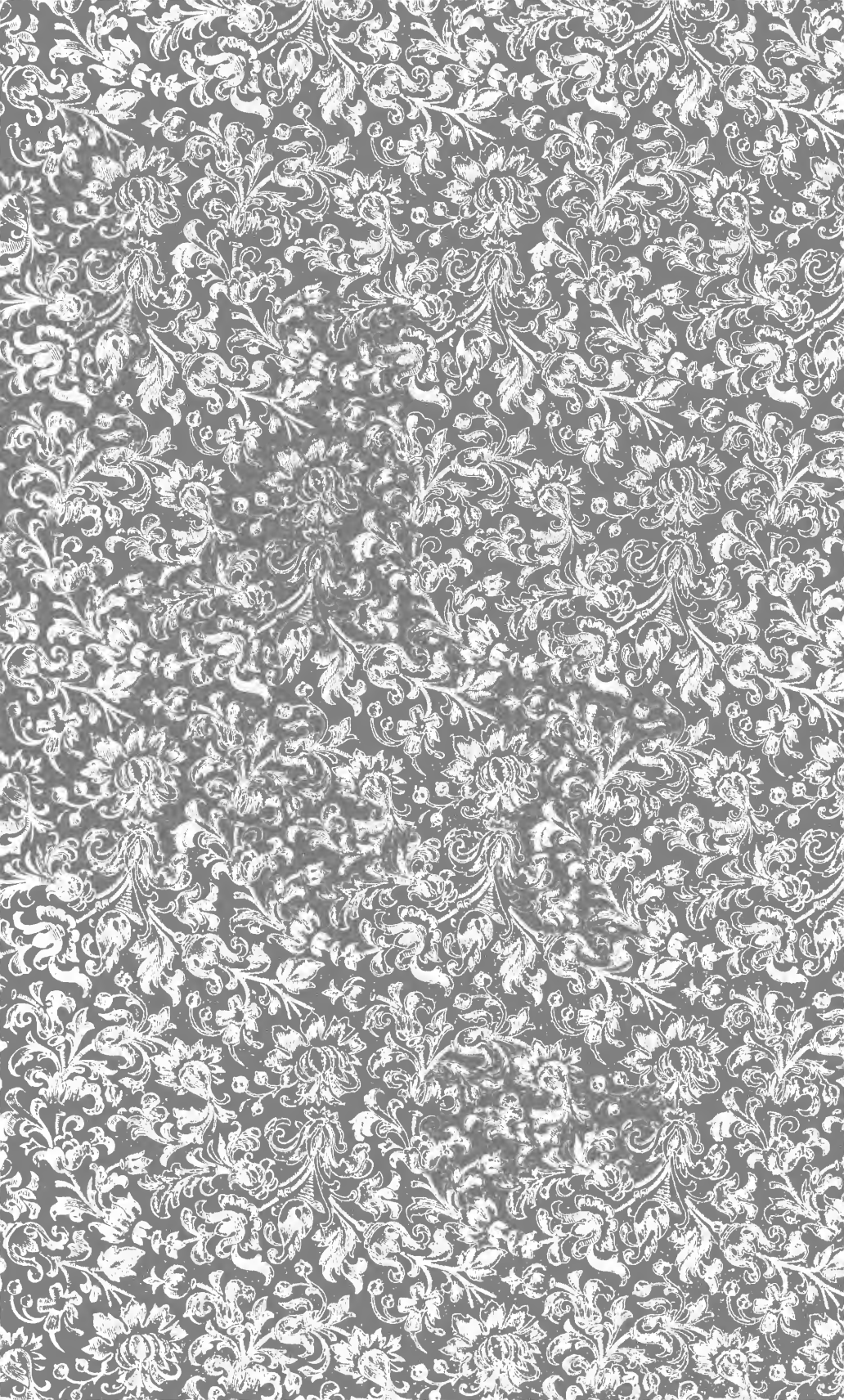
I have just heard that the Carolina pilot says this frigate was to leave for the purpose of remaining four months off this port, and that her captain had so promised the Parliament. And I fear lest the small boats missing from the last shipment, and that of Escalera may fall into its hands.











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