

Florida Keys: English or Spanish in 1763?

By CHARLES W. ARNADE

For the first time since the lands of Florida had been brought under the Spanish banner by Ponce de León in 1513, the soldiers of the great King had to bring down Spain's flag in 1763 and depart from *La Florida*. On July 20, 1763 the troops of the King of England took possession of their victorious spoils of the late war with their archenemy, Catholic Spain. Florida had become English. Captain Hedges (or Hodges) with his Royal Scots led the vanguard of the English forces to East Florida. But Hedges soon was recalled from St. Augustine and a new commander for East Florida, by the name of Francis Ogilvie, took his place. For nearly one year Major Ogilvie was the "virtual governor"¹ of East Florida. Apparently this English officer was not a too pleasant man and the retiring Spanish commander was somewhat annoyed at Ogilvie and thought that Hedges had behaved more properly.² The Spaniards who had remained at St. Augustine after the English arrival hoped that Ogilvie would soon be replaced. Yet the over-all English commander in North America, General Thomas Gage, had seemingly no real complaints about Major Ogilvie, and John Stuart, superintendent of Indian affairs, thought that his "conduct had been extremely proper and not expensive."³

The shift from Spanish to English hands, although it proved to be an amiable one, could not pass without some minor problems. The Spaniards had little love for the English, both because they were citizens of a rival sea-going nation, and because the English had scorned the sacred Catholic religion. In the peace treaty England promised to respect the free exercise of the Catholic cult by those Spaniards who wished to remain in Florida. Yet naturally the Catholic hierarchy behind the scenes did everything in its power to persuade all citizens to leave Florida because those who remained would be "exposed to the errors of the various sects which will probably be introduced there by the new owners of that country."⁴ Therefore almost all the Spaniards left St. Augustine for Havana. The great exodus began on April 12, 1763 and lasted until January 23 of the following year.⁵ On January 21 the last Spanish governor of Florida, Melchor Feliú, and his admin-

istrative staff departed from St. Augustine. England was now the complete owner of this great province.

But there remained some problems which needed further negotiations between these two powers. Most of the Spanish inhabitants had held land and property. Much had been disposed of during the evacuation, yet other property had not found buyers. When the last Spanish contingents departed in the week of January 21, 1764, its members voted that seven Spanish army officials and one woman, plus their translator, Joseph Del Olmo, should stay behind and take custody of the undisposed Spanish property until a suitable arrangement had been settled with the English.⁶

On May 7, 1764 a Spanish agent by the name of Juan Joseph Elixio de la Puente returned to St. Augustine to negotiate a definite agreement about the remaining Spanish property.⁷ Señor Elixio was a native Floridian, therefore in the Spanish sociological terms, a *criollo*. He had been a member of the complex Spanish bureaucracy at St. Augustine and held the title of *Oficial Mayor de la Real Contaduría*⁸, which could be translated as Chief Official of the Royal Accountancy. He had apparently departed for Havana with Governor Feliú on January 21. Elixio was an illustrious man and this author believes that this *criollo* from Florida was one more figure of the great period of enlightenment that extended to the whole Spanish empire by the end of the eighteenth century. If Florida, truly a poor colony compared to the other lands of Spain, shared the enlightenment, it was in the person of the little known Juan Joseph Elixio de la Puente. He was a nationalist, and according to Mark F. Boyd and José Navarro Latorre, well versed in all phases of Spanish Florida and "a prominent advocate of the recovery of the lost province."⁹ This can be confirmed by the translated memorandum of Elixio which constitutes the basis of this essay. Dr. Boyd, who is thoroughly interested in this versatile figure believes that Elixio was "the most outstanding Creole produced in Florida and it is probable that Spanish participation in the war [of Independence] against England came through the weight of his arguments."¹⁰ Elixio knew Florida thoroughly and furthermore he was well acquainted with its Indians who respected him with reverence. It was this charming, cunning and apparently highly cultured man who had to share the negotiation table with the rough English soldier, Ogilvie.

As soon as Elixio reached St. Augustine he presented his credentials to Governor Ogilvie. But to the surprise of the Spanish commissioner the English major insisted on knowing if Elixio had come from Havana via the Keys, or *Cayos* in Spanish. Elixio, well versed in diplomatic subtleties, of

which the Spaniards were especially fond, showed complete ignorance and stated that he had no knowledge of the *Cayos*. Elixio wrote to the governor of Havana later, "I answered [Ogilvie] without delay, saying that I did not know what the said Keys were, for I had never heard mention of them, nor even imagined that any existed, for being a native of this country and being well acquainted with the jurisdiction of its territory, it was necessary that I would have information concerning them."¹¹

Naturally Elixio was lying. The Spaniards knew the Keys; since this commissioner was the best Spanish authority on Florida, well known among its Indians, he probably knew the Keys better than anyone else. At one time or another he had been on these islands. But Elixio in his negotiations was only engaging in the art of crafty diplomacy. When Ogilvie heard that the Spanish commissioner professed even not to know the Keys, he became quite upset. In unpolished words, quite in contrast to the refined manner of the Spaniards, he told Elixio that the Keys lay between the island of Cuba and the southern tip of the peninsula of Florida and formed the eastern shores of the Bahama Channel. Elixio listened politely, and when the English governor had finished his explanation the Spaniard pulled out his trump card. Well, naturally he had heard of these islands, who had not? But these were not the Keys or *Cayos* for he knew them as *Martires* or *Norte de Havana* and they belonged, and had always belonged, to the captaincy-general of Cuba. Elixio said that he was sorry that the English governor was so misinformed about them and thought that they were part of Florida. And since under the peace treaty of 1763 Cuba was recognized as Spanish territory, the *Martires* belonged unquestionably to Spain.¹² An international incident was again in the making. Did these islands, known to us as the Keys, belong to Florida or Cuba? At least at the bargaining table Elixio thought he had made a shrewd move and outwitted Ogilvie.

Now two men, indeed insignificant in the hierarchy of their countries' bureaucracies had suddenly lifted these islands out of oblivion and made them part of a great international rivalry of the century. Had Ogilvie acted under instructions or on his own? This author has found no documentary evidence that the English acting governor was instructed to bring up this issue. In a letter from Ogilvie to General Gage dated May 13, six days after the arrival of Elixio in St. Augustine, Ogilvie did not mention one single word about Elixio's presence or his dispute with this Spanish commissioner.¹³ Yet it is quite possible that Ogilvie acted under instructions, and maybe a document that proves this assumption rests in some archive.

The Keys, *Cayos*, *Martires*, or *Norte de Havana* were not unknown. As a matter of fact the visit of Ponce de León to these islands is well cited, and it was he who gave them the name *Martires*, which means Martyrs.¹⁴ As the lands of southern Florida were hardly civilized by their Spanish masters, so the *Cayos* were abandoned and remained an unintegrated territory at the mercy of its wild inhabitants, pirates, buccaneers, hunters, beachcombers and survivors of the many shipwrecks of the channel. On the islands lived uncivilized Indians, either Calusas or Tequestas. Elixio called them Costas,¹⁵ which Swanton identifies as Ais.¹⁶ The *Cayanos*, or inhabitants of the Keys, are well studied, even in view of the scarcity of material available, by John M. Goggin.¹⁷ These Indians of the *Cayos* had come to the islands in order to escape the pressure of the oncoming Creeks, to whom Elixio refers as Uchizes.¹⁸ And as stated by some historians, the immigrant Indians of the Keys were again defeated by the Creeks and their remnants, a very small number, escaped to Havana.¹⁹ Little exact data is known about this last defeat and sad exodus by the surviving Costas. The commissioner Elixio, in his report of the Keys which is published in this essay, gives us somewhat more precise information when he writes, "At the end of 1761, by virtue of the Uchizes Indians having persecuted the said Costas and having destroyed their towns, so they found it necessary to live in the said Cayo Hueso, the Costas resolved to abandon that place and retire to this city [Havana], where most of them have perished because of their hunger and their misery."²⁰ Indeed these islands were rough, and rough was survival for their persecuted inhabitants. Nature's wonders of sea, land and sky, with all the potential of prodigious greatness and immense miseries were at their summit in the Martyrs islands. Men had to fight against men and against nature. The Spanish banner and the Spanish cross were hardly noticeable in the *Cayos*.

Was Ogilvie right in saying that the Keys belonged to Florida, as indeed we accept today without ever thinking that at one time this fact was in dispute, or was commissioner Elixio telling the truth when he insisted that the Keys had always been a part of Cuba? The rich records in the photostat collection of the University of Florida, which are copies from the Indian Archive in Seville, Spain, do not give any conclusive answer. There is practically nothing about the *Cayos* as they rested in oblivion and an occasion never arose that brought the exact jurisdiction of the Keys under discussion. Yet in Seville is an interesting report by some missionaries who had visited the Keys, dated in Havana, September 28, 1743. The report is written by the missionaries to the governor of Cuba, rather than to the governor of Florida,

which would indicate that these islands were strictly under the jurisdiction of Havana and would therefore justify Elixio's claim. But the memorandum is titled "Testimony . . . about the . . . Indians of the *Cayos of Florida* . . ." ²¹ whereby one could deduce that these islands were recognized as territory belonging to Florida. Therefore it is practically impossible to solve the problem, and both Elixio and Ogilvie, if they so desired, could have searched in archives and probably found material to support their cases. The Keys was one more territory in the great Spanish empire with a variable jurisdiction which unfortunately later resulted in so many Latin American nations having continual disputes with their neighbors. More than one war was fought by these nations over undetermined colonial boundaries. Fortunately the matter of the Keys was only a minor incident which soon was forgotten.

Was Elixio right when he categorically stated that the peace treaty of 1763 exempted the Keys from English occupation? This treaty was wide in scope and European problems were the main concern of the two rival nations. Florida, not even a prize colony to Spain, was a relatively unimportant land. As the English army had taken Havana and therefore, for all practical purposes, Cuba, Spain was only too happy to exchange the peninsula for the more valued island. If the Spanish commissioner's assertion was correct, then one would have to say that England really should have ceded the Keys to Spain, as article nineteen of the peace treaty reads that the "King of Great Britain shall restore to Spain . . . the island of Cuba." Article twenty says that Spain will give England Florida. ²²

But the treaty did not state the boundaries of the province of Florida or what were the shores of the island of Cuba. In the preliminary articles signed between the two contending powers on November 3, 1762 in Fontainebleau, the matter of the evacuation of Florida by Spain was stipulated in article nineteen, which simply reads that Spain "cedes to Great Britain all territories in North America east and southeast of the Mississippi." ²³ This was certainly no clear elaboration of boundaries. In the final treaty which was signed in Paris on February 10, 1763, the Florida case was spelled out in article twenty, which says that "his Catholic majesty cedes and guaranties, in full right, to his Britannick majesty, Florida with the fort of St. Augustine, and the bay of Pensacola, as well as all that Spain possesses on the continent of North America to the east, or southeast, of the river Mississippi. And in general, everything that depends on the said countries and lands." ²⁴ Even

if one gives careful consideration to this article one could hardly determine if the Keys were meant to be part of England's share.

Although Elixio had used a shrewd political technique, adequate for the negotiating table, there was nothing he could do to stop the English governor from occupying the Keys, and Elixio knew this very well. Therefore, as Ogilvie wanted to pursue the matter further, the Spanish commissioner simply informed the English governor that he had come to St. Augustine not to talk about the Keys but rather to settle the matter of Spanish property that belonged to Spain's evacuated citizens. Elixio, in his report to the governor in Havana wrote that he then "considered it proper to keep still, saying finally that I desired nothing more than to please him [Ogilvie] and that what had occurred he should consider as conversation, since these were matters that pertain only to the *cortes* for their defense and definition."²⁵ This terminated the incident of the Keys, except that Elixio became more aware that those islands were quite important. He was now determined to make a study of them, hoping to convince the Spanish authorities of their strategic position. The English authorities in St. Augustine under Ogilvie and later under Governor Grant took the necessary steps to assure safe control of the Keys. Grant, on April 26, 1766, wrote to the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations²⁶ of "the advantage which would attend the having a post or settlement at Key West."²⁷ Lord Shelbourne was well in accord with the idea.²⁸ England was ready to do as much as possible with those far, isolated islands and make them a part of Florida and her empire.

In the meanwhile commissioner Elixio had returned to Havana and one of the first things he did was to send the governor of Cuba a memorandum about the *Cayos*, stating their advantages to Spain. As the report of Elixio is an interesting document for the history of the Keys it is hereby translated and reproduced in its totality. It proves Elixio's interest, preparation and thorough nationalism. This royal official, with a minor position, was a powerful advisor behind the scenes. To him the Keys were Spanish and Spanish they had to remain. About the Keys he wrote:

[Fol. 9] Instruction of the composition and boundaries of the Martyrs Cayos, or by their other name North of Havana, to whose captaincy-general their jurisdiction and control must belong, according to the enclosed paper, no. 1. [This tells] what took place with the provisional English governor of the *presidio* of Saint Augustine de la Florida, Don Francisco Ogilvie [sic] (when I went there recently by order of His Excellency Count of Riela, to expedite the sales of the launches, *piraguas*,

timber, and other materials belonging to His Majesty [such as] churches, houses and [also other] property of the Spanish inhabitants who came from there). I also obtained information, which I will tell, from a vessel which came to this port from that of the said Florida, on February 23 of the present year. It went to the aforesaid keys by order of the proprietary governor, Colonel Diego Grant, with the commission set forth in the enclosed copy no. 2, given to the captain of the aforesaid vessel, Benjamin Barton. From this [order it appears] that the court in London is claiming or has already ordered possession of them [the Keys], which it can under no pretext or reason claim lawfully. I base myself on the following reasons:

The said Martyrs Cayos or Cayos of the North have never been included in the jurisdiction of command of the captaincy-general of Florida, for the boundaries of the latter only reached on the south the place named Voca de Ratones, which is the end of the mainland of those provinces, which I understand our court has ceded to England. This is in accordance with the transfer which Governor Don Melchor Feliú made of the aforesaid provinces [Florida] in my presence to the person commissioned to receive them on the part of England, namely Don Juan Gelles.

Two leagues away from the above mentioned Voca de Ratones is Cayo Viscayno, which is the first Key to the north of the Martyrs. Going thence south and west, one comes to that of Hueso which is the last one, among them being included Cayo Largo, Maticumbé el Viejo, el Moso, Cayo de Bacas, and Baya Honda. Besides there are many *Cayuelos* [little keys], which extend for forty leagues.

In Cayo Largo, which covers 14 leagues, no farm land is found, as the Cayo is liable to floods. But there is plenty of acana wood, mahogany, and other kinds of trees which this island produces, but no cedars.

Cayo Viscayno, Cayo Bacas and Cayo Hueso, the first being two leagues long, the second, six, and the third, four, have some land fit for cultivation, together with fresh water, and they never suffer inundations by the sea.

[Fol. 10] Cayo de Bacas runs north and south at a distance of twenty-five leagues from the port of Matanzas [Cuba], and Cayo Hueso a like number of leagues from the latter. Both have excellently sheltered anchorages with good foundations for frigates carrying forty cannons as does also Baya Honda.

All mentioned Keys were always inhabited by the Costas Indians, who were considered faithful subjects of the King our master, from the time of the [islands'] discovery. Without doubt they so proved it at all times since they admitted into their towns Spaniards and maintained their friendship. They had friendly relations with this city [Havana] whence they are provided with their necessities.

At the end of 1761, by virtue of the Uchises Indians having persecuted the said Costas and having destroyed their towns, so they found it necessary to live in the said Cayo Hueso, the Costas resolved to abandon that place and retire to this city [Havana], where most of them have perished because of the severity of their hunger and their misery. The few Costas who are left are in various districts of this island and in those keys which have none of their old-time natives, and really have been almost inhabited from that time up to the present by the English of Providence who are the ones who have profited by their timber and their turtle fishing.

During the winter various small Spanish vessels also go to catch fish and turtles, as this region abounds in them, and whence the city is provided during Lent. This has been proven this year when ten or twelve boats came laden with one or the other, and with which the inhabitants, troops, and engineers of the royal fortifications were entirely provided.

According to my information, it was the sovereign intention in former years that the aforesaid Costas should be favored by this captaincy-general [Cuba] until a garrison and missionaries were placed among them to teach them the doctrine and administer the Holy Sacraments to them. From this it came about that two fathers of the Society of Jesus went there for the aforesaid purpose. [They went] only on one occasion and I do not know why they were hastily withdrawn.

[Fol. 11] What is apparent to me, and I speak with sufficient experience, is that if firearms, powder and munitions had been supplied to them [the Costas], with which to defend themselves, I am convinced they would have immediately fought the Uchizes and would still be living in the Keys. Even if they were again settled on them they would appreciate greatly [the arms] because the Uchizes, confident that [the Costas] were coming unarmed, would decide to fight them in small canoes [with the intention of] seizing and killing them. I am convinced of this since on February 28, 1762, when making a voyage to this city

I was attacked by them [the Uchizes], in the very Cayo Hueso. Only after having talked to them and after they recognized me, they let me go with my life as well as five other Spaniards and two servants who were accompanying me. Only Don Francisco Escovedo perished. In all we numbered nine persons and the band of Uchizes [were] forty-eight.

The advantages and losses that can result to our crown, if the said Keys are inhabited by their natives or the English can well be considered from what has been said, but in order to give better information concerning the second [the English] I shall state them as follows:

First. If Cayo Bacas and Cayo Hueso were settled by the English, as they have made up their minds to do, they will station armed frigates there in case of war, sufficient enough, in their estimation, to capture all the Spanish vessels coming down through the channel. No one can pass the new channel or that of Bahama, which is the same, without being seen by them, because necessarily this is the landmark [the vessels] take in order to assure their voyage.

Second. If they succeed in attracting the Uchizes Indians to their friendship and alliance, who are now opposed to them, they will maintain themselves in said Keys, and when it seems best to them, they will transport them to this island [Cuba], where they will cause great hostilities in its estates, and will always withdraw without receiving any harm, for besides that the passage is short, as can be seen, the inhabitants here live carelessly in the open country, and the Indians are an invisible enemy.

Third. If warehouses of goods and effects are established there, which is their main concern, and for which I am certain since various traders from the north already solicited them, and even have come to investigate them, one will not be able to restrain the Spaniards from trading illicitly with the English. If they [the English], are so near, it will be easy to go in a short time from any port of the Gulf of Mexico and from this city [Havana] or from the city of Matanzas [Cuba] in one night and return the next night. This voyage can be undertaken without any danger even by the boats of the wood cutters. Also those boats [fol. 12], who legally go to engage in catching fish or turtles, will be injured by the English who will deprive them of what they catch. A serious loss will result, not only to the duties which accrue to his Majesty from such commerce and to his subjects who make a living by

this commerce, but also to the supply of so important revenue to this island.

Lastly, I add that I learned for certain from the above mentioned Benjamin Barton, captain of the aforesaid English vessel, that next summer several families or traders are to go from Bermuda to settle on the Keys. Also [I heard] that some people from the American north, who requested settlement on [the Keys] and who were first refused, have just received letters from their attorneys or agents at the court of London, advising them that they had already obtained permission, although on condition that they were to be assessed taxes in accordance with the will and order of the above mentioned governor of East Florida, Don Diego Grant.

Captain Benjamin Barton also informed me that on sounding the entrances of the ports of the Keys, he found the entrance to the port of Hueso (distant, as I already said, twenty-five leagues in a north and south direction from this port) five fathoms of water at the very least. [This is] a sufficient depth for any frigate of fifty cannons to navigate. It is to be noted that the difference in size of these boats and those which I mentioned above passing through Cayo Bacas and Baya Honda is not much. It is true that I never had any special order to study those [boats] since such investigation does not pertain to my profession. [Therefore] I have never taken the greatest care to measure the depth of the water in all those regions [of the Keys] whenever I sailed through them.

Havana, April 12, 1766.

Juan Joseph Elixio de la Puente
[rubric]²⁹

Strangely enough, this report by Elixio was worked out with aid and information provided by the sea captain, Benjamin Barton, from Providence in the Bahamas. As a matter of fact, as Elixio had stated, the people of Providence used the Keys freely to cut wood and fish for turtles. Seemingly, previous to 1763, when the Keys were nominally under Spanish tutelage, the boatsmen from the Bahamas had not to worry about interference from the Spanish authorities. When, in the spring of 1764, Elixio was on his way to see Ogilvie, he counted fourteen boats from Providence at the Keys.³⁰ During his dispute with Ogilvie about the *Cayos* in May of the same year, the Spanish commissioner told the acting governor about the English people of Providence having quite free access to the Keys. As Ogilvie had become angry about

Elixio's assumption that the Keys were Spanish, so he also became incensed with the islanders of the Bahamas for intruding upon territory of East Florida without his permission. Ogilvie told Elixio "that the people from Providence were certain unruly rascals, and that an order would soon have to be sent . . . to seize and punish them."³¹ It is hardly possible to say whether Ogilvie was more angry with the Spaniards or with the inhabitants of the Bahamas.

From now on the English authorities at St. Augustine were determined not only to prevent Spanish hegemony over the Keys but also to stop the incursions of the Bahama islanders. Yet Providence in the Bahamas was the closest English settlement to the Keys and therefore the authorities in East Florida had to ask the help of the authorities in Providence to guard the Keys from Spanish threats and request them to see to it that their own sea-going islanders would not make the Keys a free public hunting ground. It can be assumed that the inhabitants of Providence were not enthusiastic about these restrictions and the authorities not too well disposed to assume their new duties. The boatmen might have wished back the good old days when the Keys were Spanish. Governor Grant even warned the people of Providence that if anyone would hunt and cut at the Keys, they ". . . will be prosecuted to the utmost rigor of the law, for committing such trespasses against the Crown."³² Grant commissioned Captain Benjamin Barton from Providence to go with the boat *Dependence* to the Keys and enforce the laws of England. Barton was requested to return then to St. Augustine and give Grant "a very particular account and description of the Keys."³³

Going to the Keys in late February of 1766 in order to comply with Grant's order, Barton slipped to Havana for a couple of days³⁴ where he had an interview with Elixio and where apparently he gave the Spanish nationalist a description of the *Cayos*. Elixio, who had previously visited the Keys, probably more than once, used his and Barton's new information to write his memorandum. That Barton had freely given information to the Spaniards was understandable since as a citizen from Providence he was anxious to see the Spaniards return to the Keys. It was only natural that Barton saw Elixio because this *criollo* was the great propagandist and lobbyist for the return of the Spanish flag to the lands of La Florida. Did Barton give later the same report to Governor Grant?

The matter of the Keys simply faded into a *status quo*. England, by virtue of the treaty of Paris, occupied them with the forced help of the authorities from the Bahamas and maybe some settlers from Bermuda. But the

boatsmen from the Bahamas tried to circumvent the new English restrictions and kept good relations with the nearby Spaniards, hoping that the day would return when the Spanish banner would again fly over Florida and they could fish at their leisure again. The Spanish governor in Havana simply ignored the assertion of the English that article twenty of the treaty of Paris gave them the Keys, and insisted that the *Cayos* were under his jurisdiction. Governor Grant complained to the home agencies that an agent of his from Havana "assures me that the Spanish governor of the Havanah looks upon the Keys of Florida to be the property of Spain, that as such he gives passports to vessels to go to those Keys, not as formerly under the name of Florida Keys, but to the Northern Keys."²⁵ And truly Spanish boats from nearby Havana and Matanzas in Cuba continued to go fishing in the *Cayos* as if nothing had changed. Besides this the Spanish Crown did nothing drastic to materialize Spain's claim, and most likely Elixio's concise report gathered dust in some filing shelf. England, too, did nothing energetic to avoid Spanish infiltration.

The Keys, *Cayos*, *Martires*, Martyrs, *Norte de Havana*, or Northern Keys continued their isolated, leisurely life in the midst of nature's wonders. Many years had yet to pass until civilization, detrimental or beneficial, would reach their shores.

NOTES

- ¹ Charles Loch Mowat, *East Florida as a British Province, 1763-1784* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1943), 9.
- ² Melchor Feliú to Julián de Arriaga, Havana, April 16, 1764 in *Photostat Collection of Spanish Florida Manuscripts from the Archivo General de Indias* at the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida (hereafter cited as *PC-AGI*), 86-6-6, St. D. 2542, no. 43, fols. 4-5.
- ³ John Stuart to Thomas Gage, St. Augustine, July 19, 1764, in the *Gage Collection* at the William Clements Library, University of Michigan.
- ⁴ Archbishop De Lepante to Julián de Arriaga, Madrid, December 23, 1763, *PC-AGI*, 86-7-22, St. D., no. 18, fol. 6.
- ⁵ Wilbur H. Siebert, "The Departure of the Spaniards and Other Groups from East Florida, 1763-1765," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XIX (1940-41), 145-54.
- ⁶ "Razón de las familias . . . [que] se transportaron del presidio de Sn. Augustín de la Florida a esta ciudad . . ." signed by Juan Joseph Elixio de la Puente, Havana, February 20, 1764, *PC-AGI*, 86-6-6, St. D. 2542, no. 43, fol. 17.
- ⁷ Juan Joseph Elixio de la Puente to the Governor of Cuba, Havana, February 26, 1766, in *PC-AGI*, 87-1-5, St. D. 2595, no. 2, letter no. 1, fol. 1.
- ⁸ "Las personas que salieron desde la Florida con motivo de su entrega a Inglaterra," by Juan Joseph Elixio de la Puente, Havana, May 8, 1770, in *PC-AGI*, 87-1-5, St. D. 2595, no. 4, fol. 5.
- ⁹ "Spanish Interest in British Florida," *Fla. Hist. Quart.*, XXXII (1953-54), 92.
- ¹⁰ Personal communication, Tallahassee, June 6, 1955.
- ¹¹ *Supra*, n. 7, fol. 1.

- ¹² *Loc. cit.*
- ¹³ *Gage Collection*, William Clements Library, University of Michigan.
- ¹⁴ Woodbury Lowery, *The Spanish Settlements within the Present Limits of the United States, 1513-1561* (New York, London, 1901), 141; see *Memoir of Do. d'Escalente Fontaneda respecting Florida* (Miami, 1944), *passim*.
- ¹⁵ "Ynstrucción . . . de los Cayos de Martires, por otro nombre del Norte de la Havana," signed by Juan Joseph Elixio de la Puente, Havana, April 12, 1766, in *PC-AGI*, 87-1-5, St. D., no. 2, letter no. 3, *passim* (hereafter cited as Ynstrucción).
- ¹⁶ John R. Swanton, *The Indians of the Southeastern United States* (Washington, 1948), 878.
- ¹⁷ "Archaeological Investigations on the Upper Florida Keys," *Tequesta*, no. 4 (1944), 13-35; "The Indians and History of the Matecumbé Region," *Tequesta*, no. 10 (1950), 13-241; "The Tekesta Indians in South Florida," *Fla. Hist. Quart.*, XVIII (1940), 274-84; cf. Robert E. McNicoll, "The Caloosa Village Tequesta," *Tequesta*, no. 1 (1941), 11-20.
- ¹⁸ Ynstrucción, fol. 10.
- ¹⁹ See Swanton, *op. cit.*, 192; Goggin, ". . . Matecumbé," *op. cit.*, 20-21.
- ²⁰ Ynstrucción, fol. 10.
- ²¹ Havana, September 28, 1743, *PC-AGI*, 58-2-10, no. 15, 41 fols.
- ²² "The Definitive Treaty," *The London Magazine, or Gentleman's Monthly Intelligencer* (March, 1763), 152.
- ²³ *Tratado definitivo de paz . . .* (Madrid, Imprenta Real de la Gaceta, 1763), 37.
- ²⁴ *London Magazine, op. cit.*, 153.
- ²⁵ *Supra*, n. 7, fol. 2.
- ²⁶ Lords Commissioners of Trade to the Earl of Shelbourne, Whitehall, August 1, 1766, in *Transcriptions of the British Colonial Records* (mimeographed by WPA), II, 611.
- ²⁷ In *ibid.*, II, 605.
- ²⁸ Earl of Shelbourne to James Grant, Whitehall, December 11, 1766, in *ibid.*, II, 623.
- ²⁹ Ynstrucción, fols. 9-12.
- ³⁰ *Supra*, n. 7, fol. 1.
- ³¹ *Loc. cit.*
- ³² James Grant to Benjamin Barton, East Florida [St. Augustine], February 4, 1766, in *Transcriptions, op. cit.*, II, 609; also in *PC-AGI*, 87-1-5, St. D. 2595, no. 2, letter no. 2, fols. 5-6 (translation in Spanish).
- ³³ *Loc. cit.*
- ³⁴ Ynstrucción, fol. 9; cf. James Grant to Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, St. Augustine, April 26, 1766, in *Transcriptions, op. cit.*, II, 606.
- ³⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 607.

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