That the southern portion of the Florida peninsula possessed no significant commercial value in colonial days was generally conceded, but its strategic importance as guardian of the Bahama Channel was fully recognized. Governors of Florida, both English and Spanish, stressed the possible dangers if this region were permitted to fall prey to enemy occupation.

In spite of the acknowledged importance of the area as a military outpost, no program was undertaken by the Spanish authorities to erect permanent military bases south of the fort of San Marcos in St. Augustine and the battery on the shore of Matanzas Island. Only when a direct threat materialized, such as the landing of the adventurer, William Augustus Bowles, (1) on the southern shore of Florida, did the governor take active steps to employ military forces to clear the enemy from Spanish colonial soil.

The reluctance to utilize the military can be explained by the scarcity of armed forces, land and sea, both in St. Augustine and Havana. This situation rendered constant patrol activity virtually out of the question even as an obvious means of discouraging further incursions along the coast. (2) Under such circumstances it was not surprising that scattered individuals, usually of foreign origin, began to appear along the coast, either to trade with the Indians or to establish homesteads where they hoped to exploit the meager agricultural resources of the land without interference from the Spanish authorities.

A portion of these new arrivals were refugees from their former governments; some were admittedly nothing but adventurers in search of easy wealth, while others were sincere settlers drawn by the prospect of free land in a spot inaccessible to bureaucratic officialdom. But regardless of origin and purpose, all were unwanted interlopers and their continued presence on Spanish colonial soil was repugnant to the authorities in St. Augustine who found it hard to explain their failure to dislodge these strangers. Inertia, the general shortage of military resources, and the impassable terrain all worked to frustrate any effort to remove these people.

A combination of events late in 1792 made it obvious that this lack of direct action was not a permanent solution to the problem of these foreign settlers. War clouds were spreading in Europe. (3) Indian troubles were wide-spread along the Florida-Georgia frontier, and the possibility of a renewed gathering of adventurers in the southern part of the province all combined to force the incumbent governor, Juan Nepomuceno de Quesada, (4) to adopt a definite policy.

Unconfirmed but, nevertheless, disturbing reports reached St. Augustine that a number of persons residing illegally along the south-eastern shore of the province were suspected of having close association with the Bowles fiasco of 1788. There seemed to be ample grounds to suspect that their presence in Florida might mean further activities by that adventurer or some other of the same persuasion.

A report had reached Quesada during the late summer that there was a definite plan underway to raise a band of 18,000 settlers in South Carolina to descend on some portion of the Indian country, possibly in North-central Florida. (5) The governor decided that it was incumbent upon him to investigate these rumors in order to guarantee the future safety of his province. As he was then plagued with the fear of a French attack on St. Augustine, (6) there seemed to be considerable doubt as to the advisability of sending any of his meager military force to investigate the rumors.

Faced with an apparent dilemma, he decided to employ a more devious but less expensive device. He proposed to his council that a small unarmed schooner be dispatched ostensibly to carry official papers to Havana, but actually under secret orders to make a careful investigation of the situation along the southern part of the coast. In this way it might be possible to prevent a leak of information from St. Augustine prior to the completion of the investigatory expedition. The governor was aware that there were many non-Spanish settlers in and about St. Augustine who were in communication with these interlopers further south along the coast.

It was eventually decided to send the schooner, Juan Nepomuceno, a dispatch-boat normally employed in the Havana-St. Augustine-Charleston run, with her crew augmented by three trusted colonial servants. The vessel was placed under the command of Gideon Hawkins, (7) an Englishman who had remained in the province after the retrocession of 1783 and who was an old hand at navigating the tortuous coastal waters of the eastern shore.

The task of keeping a careful log of the voyage was assigned to John Humbly. (8) One of Quesada’s most trusted Indian agents and interpreters and, apparently, a man of considerable education although lacking in writing ability. Finally, to command the entire expedition, the governor selected a close personal friend, Captain Sebastian Verezaluze, (9) who held the position of senior pilot in St. Augustine. It was his responsibility to oversee the activities of the other two men and to insure
that they performed their assigned duties with dispatch and sincerity. Both he and Hambly were fully apprised of the true purpose of the expedition in order that they might be prepared for any occurrence.

The schooner set sail on February 23, 1793 and remained away until the morning of March 16 when the anchor was dropped once again in the harbor of St. Augustine. Both Hambly and Verezaluze were given immediate audiences by the governor and each presented him with a full report of the activities that had taken place during the voyage.

External evidence seems to indicate that Hambly had kept a day to day log of the expedition while his companion may have prepared his account from brief notes just prior to meeting the governor. In general content the two reports were similar although that of Hambly contained more detailed geographic and meteorological information, perhaps an indication of a more observing mind. On the other hand, Verezaluze included considerable more information about navigational problems and the suspected settlers than did Hambly. The governor prepared a covering letter to inform the authorities in Havana of what had taken place prior to the expedition and also what the mission had accomplished. The tone of his letter indicated that he was well pleased with the information that had been reported to him although he seemed a little apprehensive as to what the future might bring.

As a matter of fact, this report reached Havana just at the time when the authorities there were in receipt of orders from Madrid to be on the watch for hostile actions on the part of France. The report seems to have been buried under other documents of a more pressing nature, as the governor-general made no immediate attempt to inform Quesada other than to acknowledge the receipt of the dispatch. If nothing else did develop from this expedition to the southern coast of Florida, it did at least leave behind a rather interesting description of the coastline and of the region around the present city of Miami.

The following documents, four in number, were selected from a larger group since they actually comprise a single unit. In order, they are: a covering letter written on March 18, 1793 by Quesada addressed to the governor-general in Havana to inform him of the overall purpose of the expedition; a copy of the governor’s secret instructions to Hambly and Verezaluze; Verezaluze’s report on the progress of the mission; and Hambly’s day to day account of what transpired both at sea and on land. The original documents are to be found in the East Florida Papers now on deposit in the Library of Congress. While all the documents are in Spanish, Hambly’s original report was in English and was presented by the Indian agent to the governor who, in turn, forwarded it to the governor-general.

The original English version is reproduced in this paper. Every attempt has been made in translating the documents to retain the full Spanish meaning although the punctuation has been altered frequently to meet current usage and shorter sentences have been constructed to make the language more readable.

I

Quesada to Las Casas, San Augustin, March 18, 1793

Most Excellent Sir:

(I write) in order to inform Your Excellency of what has been reported to me concerning the possible whereabouts of Charles Lewis(10) who is believed to be established on the Rio Gega.(11) Ever since last month, the skilled pilot of the bar (St. Augustine), Sebastian Verezaluze, accompanied by the Indian interpreter, John Hambley, of whom I made mention in (dispatch) number 302 of September 26 last, has been scouting the coast under my instructions (southward) from the Matanzas, in order to find the hiding place of the aforementioned. The diligence of these men has produced the information which Your Excellency may read in the attached copy of (the account) of their activities. It is reliably reported by them that Lewis has settled on that river known as the New.(12)

A certain Robins,(13) employed in the house of Lewis, was one of the principal confidants of Bowles in the latter’s first expedition to this province in the year ’88, and it appears quite likely that he settled on the New River during the last six months. He is inclined to support Wellbach(14) and the continuing partiality shown Bowles by the Englishman in ’88.

The real purpose of the present mentioned voyage is to investigate with secrecy and skill the condition in which the Englishman finds himself, supposedly established with his family on the coast of Florida between the Rio de Ays and Boca Raton.(19) Don Sebastian Verezaluze and Don William Hambly (20) are the ones to whom this last, (the true purpose), is entrusted. For (the benefit of) the crew and the public, it is announced that the destination is to be Havana.

Keep in mind all of this, I hope Your Excellency will be pleased to inform and caution me as to what I should do in this circumstance (half measures count for nothing) to break up this nest of enemies which is without doubt the preferred (step), as otherwise it will become easier, day by day, to communicate between the Indians and the Island of Providence.

(15) It appears to me that an easier method and one less liable to arouse the savages further and to increase the number in the camp of the enemy who does not recognize our territory, will be to persuade a band of the same Indians by means of offering a reward, to seize Lewis secretly and convey him and his family as prisoners to Apalachee or to whatever place seems best to Your Excellency.(16)

Verezaluze has informed me of the news that he received from Robins that three vessels from Providence have actually made free use of the Rio de Ays.(17) I cannot say more on this subject except that it is well known that the vessels of this ant-like nation(18) continuously make use of the shore because the lack of population along the coast renders it, I believe, incapable of being guarded.

May the Lord keep Your Excellency for many years. San Augustin, March 18, 1793.

II

Instructions

The real purpose of the present mentioned voyage is to investigate with secrecy and skill the condition in which the Englishman finds himself, supposedly established with his family on the coast of Florida between the Rio de Ays and Boca Raton.(19) Don Sebastian Verezaluze and Don William Hambly (20) are the ones to whom this last, (the true purpose), is entrusted. For (the benefit of) the crew and the public, it is announced that the destination is to be Havana.

The sailor, Gideon Hawkins, instructed about the aforementioned conditions, is designated a skilled pilot. When the anchor has been cast in the bay after having mentioned audibly (to the crew) the news that the vessel is to go on to Havana, he is to give notice of having to land briefly to inform himself concerning several fine horses which it is reported the adventurer Bowles gave to the aforementioned Englishman in ’88.

After having anchored the ship at the mouth of the river or in the channel on which it is thought the Englishman has his habitation, they are to take the water-casks which they have purposefully emptied, with the (announced) purpose of filling them, and they are to tow the casks to
take on water (to a point) as near the house of the Englishman as they can go without arousing suspicion. Verezaluze, Hambly and Hawkins shall go with the sailors in the boat towing the casks behind, and the three shall carry firearms as if they were out hunting and as if in this occupation, they shall approach the house. Then employing the most friendly terms they shall carry on a conversation with the inhabitants without asking any unfriendly questions or (performing) any act that might lead the inhabitants to believe that the arrival (of the boat) was anything but by chance.

As it is believed that Hawkins is known to the Englishman, he may question him about the aforementioned horses expressing indifference yet a proper amount of curiosity.

Hambly and Verezaluze are especially commissioned not to lose a single opportunity from the time of their entry into the boat to their return to the schooner, to be in the company of Hawkins lest they be out of touch with him and out of hearing when he converses with the Englishman. This is to be done lest he converse in a way less than friendly. They are also to see how he, (the Englishman), is dressed, as also the mother and her full-grown four sons.

After leaving the house still on friendly terms, they are to complete rewatering and then return on board where Hambly shall go below decks and write down an approximation of all that has passed and all that he has noted with his famous memory while it is still fresh. And Verezaluze shall do the same thing, having gained especial knowledge by observations of the depths of water in fathoms and of the turns of the river, as well as of all other landmarks which he judges necessary to reach the house easily, be it at night or day, and on any occasion. He is also to consider what should be the best means and manner to anchor the boat in the river, entering at night, in order to begin the watering operation as they are ordered to depart the next day.

Hambly with apparent unconcern is to request information briefly about the real hiding place of one Williams,(21) who is known for certainty to have lived for some years in some place on this coast.

When all have gone back on board, the order shall be given to return to this Plaza, but not before having sailed far enough from the coast in order not to permit those on shore to conclude that they are not headed for Havana which is the destination about which they are to let the Englishman and his wife hear.

— —

III  

Report of Verezaluze (Translation)  

Account which I, Sebastian Verezaluze, rendeer of the expedition to the New River region of this Province carried out under secret orders from the governor of the Plaza, and made in the schooner, Juan Nepomuceno, belonging to the Royal Treasury.

We sailed from this bar on February 23 last and left the bar of the New River on the 9th of the present month. The distance is eighty leagues (22) from this port and ten from the Boca Raton. We cast anchor outside (the bar) in six fathoms of water headed in a southwesterly direction, parallel to a hill on the coast, and in a spot west-northwest of the aforementioned bar. We found the bar to have a depth of somewhat more than six feet of water and a breadth (of channel) of twelve yards. After we were over the bar, we entered the mouth of the river on a north-westerly course and encountered five and one-half feet of water for a distance of twelve to fourteen yards. We took a course west by northwest, always trying to navigate in the center of the channel which was six feet deep for a distance of five miles from the bar. In that place the river divided into three channels; the right one extended in the same direction to the west-northwest; that on the left toward the south-west; and the one in the middle toward the west. We sailed up the last (channel), and at a distance of twenty to thirty yards after entering this stream, there were several sharp turns in the channel. These turns stretched for a distance of sixty yards. We sailed up to the north almost to the source, always in six feet of water. We retraced our course through these curves and sailed into the northern branch past a mangrove swamp. We sailed until we came to a tributary creek and then passed by a swamp following the same course as before. After leaving this spot and along the rest of the way to the landing, we sailed in plenty of water. At a distance of one mile from the aforementioned mangrove swamp and the spot where the creek branched, we discovered a small house, a barn and a chicken coop. This location was at a spot a short distance beyond a grove of pines which we encountered on the left side.

Joseph Robbins, an Englishman of about forty years, lives in this house together with an American white youth of about twenty-four, a mulatto girl with her female child about four. We brought the vessel alongside the pier in order to be as close to the shore as possible, and anchored in four fathoms of water. The distance from the pier to the house was about ten yards, and from the bar to the house was about ten yards, and from the bar to the house about eight miles. It is worthy of note that a half mile after we crossed the bar, we found the water of the river to be entirely fresh. According to the report, the aforementioned Joseph Robbins lives in the small house belonging to an Englishman named Lewis, who had four weeks earlier departed on his schooner with his family for Providence with the intention of returning in four weeks, that day to be the 6th of this month. The aforementioned Robbins said that he had been there for five or six months, and that Mr. Lewis had lived in that house for several years, and that the latter had a plantation two miles to the west of this house. He also reported that Mr. Lewis had five horses which a certain Bowles had given him. These animals as well as the house, barn and chicken coop, all belonging to Lewis, were now in his charge.

We went into the house about three in the afternoon of the 6th. We slept that night near the pier, and we spent all of the 7th there until sunset. We then set sail and reached the bar at nine o’clock that night and we anchored near there in six feet of water. On the 8th at ten in the morning, Robbins together with the youth, the mulatto girl and her child, all arrived in a canoe, for I had asked him at his home to come to eat with us at the bar if he would enjoy it. They were on the schooner until we were ready to sail out over the bar. This was at four in the afternoon of the same day, the 8th. They took leave of us with many thanks for our assistance and with the expectation that on our return from Havana, they might come with us to the Plaza.

After crossing the bar, we set our course as though we were sailing for Havana as we had previously told Robbins. Then at night we put about and set our course for this port which we reached on the 16th of this month.

Florida, March 18, 1793

—34—
IV

Hambly's Journal

Journal of a voyage from St. Augustine to New River in the schooner, St. Juan Nepomuceno, made at the order of the Governor. (23)

23rd Feb'ry—Sailed from St. Augustine and got over the bar about 9 o'clock in the morning—Wind SE—Beat to windward all day and some part of the night and came to anchor about 3 miles to the north of Matanzas.

24th—The wind still at SE—Beating to windward all day and some part of the night—Made but little way to the southward and came to.

25th—The same as above.

26th—About 10 o'clock in the morning the wind still at SE—Making but little way—Came to anchor about 7 miles to the north of Musketoos. (24)

27th—About 8 o'clock in the morning the wind came to nearly northwest—Weighed anchor and stood to the south—Passed the Musketoos about 10 o'clock—Stood along the coast and passed Cape Canaveral (25) at sundown—Very boisterous night.

28th—Passed Indian River (26) early in the morning—The wind blowing very hard at north-northwest—Obliged to sail for the keys—In the night very boisterous—Lay to under the foresail.

March 1st—Got in to Key Biscain (27) and came to an anchor about 10 o'clock.

2nd—Weighed anchor early in the morning and stood up the Sound (28) and came to an anchor off the mouth of the River Miami (29)—Went on shore while the people were filling water—Saw Bowles' old camp where stands two large lightwood posts at about 12 feet distance and about 14 feet high—Seems to have had a piece mortized in on the top and appears to have been the entrance of some old fortification—In the pine barren saw 2 old tarr kilns—Where Hawkins said he made tarr during the last war (30)—Set the woods on fire and came on board—In the afternoon, went into the mouth of the river and caught a few fish, called snappers—We cast.

3rd—At sunrise weighed anchor and stood down the
Sound and came to an anchor at Bear Cutt,(31) the north mouth of Key Biscain. Went on shore being told by Hawkins there were plenty of game but found none.

4th—The people went on shore to cut wood—Hawkins and Mr. Sebastian went up a small creek and caught plenty of fish—half after 2 o'clock weighed anchor and came down to the barr at Key Biscain—Came to anchor at sundown—Wind SE.

5th—Weighed anchor at daylight—Got over the barr about 8 o'clock—Little wind at SW—Sailed along the coast and came to an anchor off the mouth of New River at 3 o'clock—Being ebb tide, could not get in—Mr. Sebastian and Hawkins sounded the barr—Caught plenty of fish.

6th—In the morning saw three or four Spermantia (32) Whales—Sounded the barr again and found 4 feet at low water—But a bank inside very shoal—Shifted the ballast more forward—Got over the barr about one o'clock—Sailed up the river—5½ feet water with rocky bottom—At 5 miles distant from the barr, the river forks, one branch running north(33)—another to the south and the middle one something to the north of west—About three miles from the forks up the middle branch, the English people reside—At half after three o'clock came to the place—A white man who was at the landing and seeing the vessel, ran up and said here they come high and dry—And came out of the house with his rifle gun in his hand and asked from whence we came—Hawkins very imprudently answered from Providence but he was soon told that we were from Augustine and bound to the Havanah—That having the wind a head we had put in there to get fresh water, catch some fish and ca.—That he might make himself easy that we did not mean to hurt him but on the contrary he should be welcome to take part of what we had with us—We then went on shore, shook hands with him and again told him he might make himself perfectly easy—That we did not mean to disturb him or any other person—This made him contented and he desired his wife who is a mulattoe woman, to take up some fresh water Jupitert Ib at sundown.

Our supper was cooked on shore and they took part with us—He answered that him and his sons had been gone which proved to be Mount Turtle(37) about 3 ½ miles distant from the barr, the river her child and Radcliff came on board until after 8—the barr and went under the Title of Capt. Robbins—The house stands on a pine bluff on the off Augustine Barr.

7th—Robbins and Radcliff went up the river a hunting and asked if we would wait until they came back that if they killed anything, we should have part to carry with us—We told them that if the wind did not come fair, we would wait—In the afternoon they returned having killed nothing—In the evening, we got supper together and then took our leave of them and came down below the forks of the river and came to anchor.

8th—Came down the river and come to about ½ miles from the barr (the river from the barr to the forks is not in any place above 200 yards from the sea beach)—A short time after we came to Robbins, the mulatto woman and her child and Radcliff came on board until we got very near the barr when they left us—Robbins left his rifle gun on board, which was sent on shore to him after we got over the barr—After shifting the ballast we made sail and stood to the south'd until dark—Then stood to the north'd until 12 o'clock when the wind shifted to the NNE and obliged us to stand to the south'd.

9—About 8 o'clock in the morning, passed New River and stood along the coast to Bear Cutt—At 12 o'clock came to an anchor—At 2 o'clock got over the barr—A little more than half flood—5 feet water—Stood down the Sound and came to an anchor at Key Biscain about 4 o'clock.

10th—Got under way in the morning to get out but finding the wind at east, came to an anchor at Soldier Key(35)—Went on shore—Shot some blue herons and caught a parcel of lobsters.

11th—Got under way a little after sunrise and got out—Wind ESE—A fine day and good breeze—Passed Jupiter(36) at sundown.

12th—At seven in the morning stood in for the land—Could not see it at sundown—Just before dark made the land.

13th—Early in the morning stood close in to the land which proved to be Mount Turtle(37) about six leagues to the south of Musketoes—Came to an anchor—After 8 at night got under way and stood off and on, and got a little to the north of Mount Turtle and came to an anchor—Wind NNE.

14th—Got under way about 10 o'clock and stood off and on until 1 o'clock but gained nothing, came an anchor—After sundown got under way again, the wind at east but growing quite calm—Came to an anchor at half after 10 o'clock.

15th—At daylight weighed anchor—Light breeze at SE—Passed the Muskettees at seven o'clock—The wind freshens—A fine breeze—At 4 o'clock came to an anchor off Augustine Barr.

16th—Got over the Barr of Augustine about 8 o'clock and landed about quarter after 9.
Local artist Pat Cunningham's imaginative model of the Lewis home on New River is permanently on display at the Fort Lauderdale City Hall. It is listed in the National Archives' records as a traveling Broward County display.

and William, are often confused in Spanish records.

9-Captain Sebastian Antonio Verea-luze, a Basque, held the semi-official position as pilot due to his long years as captain of a merchant vessel. His name appears in at least six spellings in Spanish documents.

10-Little is known of Charles Lewis except that he appears to have made an illegal entry into East Florida some time after 1783. His children later lay claim to several sections of land in the region to the north of present-day Miami, on one of the branches of the New River. Spanish Land Grants in Florida, IV, 62-63.

11-Rio Gega or Giga was the name sometimes applied to the Bahama Channel.

12-The mouth of the New River is located within the city limits of Fort Lauderdale and is approached from the sea through New River Inlet.

13-No information appears to be available concerning Joseph Robbins (Robins or Rovins) and his family.

14-George Wellbank, referred to by Georgia authorities as a "low, illiterate fellow," came to East Florida in 1788 with Bowles, took part in the 1792 venture, and remained as a free agent near St. Marks for at least another year. Several references are made to Wellbank or Willbanks, in the American State Papers, Indian Affairs, volume I. For a short summary of his career in East Florida, see Caughey, McGillivray of the Creeks, p. 224, footnote 186.

15-Island of Providence in the Bahama Islands is now called New Providence Island and contains the capital city, Nassau.

16-The suggestion that Lewis and his family be taken prisoner accounts for the governor's efforts to keep secret the purpose of the expedition.

17-Rio de Ays or Ays River presumably refers to one of the tributaries of the Indian River in the neighborhood of Stuart in Martin County.

18-The reference is to England.

19-The town of Boca Raton (Rat Key) is located in the southern part of Palm Beach County. The reference here probably is to some portion of the ocean front in this area, or possibly to Boca Raton Inlet.

20-Internal evidence indicates that the governor actually meant John rather than William Hambly as it was the former who went on the expedition.

21-No information appears to be available concerning Williams.

22-The reference is presumably to the Spanish legua marina which is equal to 5555.55 meters. Eighty leagues would thus be equal to approximately 275.6 statute miles or just about the distance from St. Augustine to New River Inlet.

23-No attempt has been made to correct the author's errors and inconsistencies in spelling and grammar although some modification of capitalization has been undertaken.

24-Musketoes presumably refers to Mosquito Inlet (Ponce de Leon Inlet) in Volusia County.

25-Cape Canaveral (Canaveral) in Brevard County is one of the major landmarks on the eastern coast of Florida.

26-Indian River may refer to one of the inlets to the Indian River, a sound which parallels the coast for many miles. This inlet may be Sebastian Inlet in Indian River County.

27-Key Biscain (Biscayne) lies just to the south of Miami.

28-The Sound presumably is the present Biscayne Bay.

29-The Miami River enters Biscayne Bay at a point just to the north of Brickell Park.

30-The reference is to Hawkins' participation in the war for American independence when East Florida supplied the English navy with a considerable amount of valuable naval stores.

31-Bear Cutt is the stretch of water between Key Biscayne and Virginia Key.

32-Spermaceti.

33-The northern branch of the New River is now called Opossum Creek.

34-No information appears to be available about Joel Radcliff.

35-Soldier Key lies to the south of Safety Valve Channel.

36-Jupiter Island lies to the north of Jupiter Inlet in Martin County.

37-Mount Turtle (Turtle Mound State Monument) is located near the northern extremity of Mosquito Island not far from the ruins of the New Smyrna settlement.