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FROM A REMOTE FRONTIER

LETTERS AND DOCUMENTS PERTAINING TO SAN MARCOS DE
APALACHE, 1763-1769, DURING THE BRITISH
OCCUPATION OF FLORIDA.

With an Introduction by B O Y D

PART I

The Treaty of Paris, signed on February 10, 1763, brought to a close the Seven Years War, better known in its American phase as the French and Indian War, between England on the one hand, and France and Spain on the other, and gave to England a short lived domination of the North American continent. Although the region of the Georgia-Florida frontier had for more than a half-century witnessed much friction and conflict between the English and Spaniards, strangely enough it was comparatively quiet during this struggle, if we may except English instigated raids by the Creek Indians into Florida. (A) However events in another quarter were pregnant with fate for the province. Far flung English expeditions on land and sea were generally successful, and, significantly for Florida, Havana surrendered on August 13, 1762 to a besieging English force. (B) Peace negotiations between the warring powers were initiated shortly thereafter, in which the English held a decidedly advantageous position. Although many Englishmen felt these advantages were not fully exploited in the treaty of peace, England nevertheless acquired undisputed control over all North America east of the Mississippi river, among other transfers receiving from Spain the cession of Florida in return for the relinquishment of Havana. (C)

After the capture of Havana, the English forces at that place, which included an American contingent, were left in command of General the Honorable William Keppel, a brother of the Earl of Albemarle. According to Mowat (D) the first orders

for the occupation of Florida were given to General Keppel, who quickly despatched the 3rd battalion of the 60th or Royal American Regiment, under Lieut. Col. Augustus Prevost, from Havana to Pensacola. These left on July 9th, and arrived on August 6th, 1763. Siebert (K) gives the 5th as the date of their arrival. Campbell (E) is not in agreement with this statement. According to him, Captain Wills of the third battery of the Royal Artillery, was sent from Havana to Pensacola on July 6th, and reached the latter place on August 7th. He further states that Wills received the surrender. Although four vessels despatched from Havana for the evacuation arrived a few days after the appearance of the English, it was soon found that their capacity was inadequate for the accommodation of the persons and stores to be removed. The fleet was consequently enlarged by the charter of four English vessels then in port. On the 3rd of September, the entire Spanish population, military and civil, accompanied by the former Spanish governor, Don Diego Ortiz Parrilla, embarked and sailed for Vera Cruz (K) (M).

Since the adjectives third and Royal are common to the first two accounts, and the unit is given as battalion by Mowat, and battery by Campbell, we suspect that the latter author may have erred in transcribing from the documents consulted.

Similarly (D) Captain Hedges (or Hodges) with four companies of, the Royal American Regiment was sent to St. Augustine and received the surrender of the province. Further orders received by General Keppel resulted in the later despatch of the 9th and 35th Regiments directly to St. Augustine, at which place on July 30th, Major Francis Ogilvie of the 9th Regiment relieved Captain Hedges of the command. The Florida forces thus came under the orders of Sir Jeffery Amherst, the

Commander-in-Chief in North America. Major Ogilvie was instructed to occupy St. Augustine and Pensacola with these troops, and relieve the colonials already there. He accordingly selected the 35th Regiment for service in the west, which, under Major Forbes, left St. Augustine by transport on August 2nd, and arrived in Pensacola via Charleston on November 30th. Shortly thereafter, Amherst ordered Lieut. Col. James Robertson of the 15th Regiment, to make a tour of inspection of the posts in Florida. For this purpose he arrived in St. Augustine on September 8th, and found the late Spanish governor and half his garrison still there awaiting transport. He decided to retain 6 companies of the 9th Regiment in St. Augustine, and to send one to Apalache, and two to New Providence (Bahamas) and Bermuda. Robertson himself left St. Augustine for Pensacola on October 6th on board the brig *Hannah*, in company with the sloop *Curacoa* carrying the company of Captain Harries destined for Apalache. Unfavorable weather delayed his arrival in Pensacola until the 5th of November. Although Harries' vessel touched at Apalache, he failed to take possession, and went on to Pensacola to confer with Robertson. On completion of this assignment, Robertson returned to New York in March 1764. Meanwhile in the previous November, Amherst had been succeeded as Commander-in-Chief by Major General Thomas Gage. (D).

Up to the time of the Royal Proclamation of October 7, 1763, by which Florida was divided into the provinces of East and West Florida, separated by the Apalachicola river, administrative matters were wholly in the hands of the military authorities. The first civil governor of West Florida, Commodore George Johnstone of the Royal Navy, arrived in Pensacola in February, 1764, and remained until

December 1766 (Hamilton says spring of 1768 (J), when he resigned. Johnstone was succeeded *ad interim* by the lieutenant governor, Monteforte Brown, who served until 1772, when Peter Chester received the appointment. The civil government of East Florida was entrusted to James Grant, who arrived at St. Augustine in August 1764. Grant continued as governor until 1773, although he permanently left East Florida in 1771 (D) .

Pensacola became the headquarters of the Southern military district, which included the Floridas and the Mississippi valley. In command at Pensacola there were successively :

- 1) Col. Henry Bouquet, who died in Pensacola in September, 1765, shortly after his arrival.
- 2) Bouquet would have been succeeded by Col. Reed, but the latter had left for the Illinois, in consequence of which,
- 3) Col. William Taylor of the 9th Regiment came from St. Augustine, and acted until the arrival of
- 4) Brigadier General Frederick Haldimand, in March 1767. Haldimand remained in Pensacola until June 1773, excepting for a period in 1769 and 1770, when brigade headquarters were temporarily transferred to St. Augustine.

Although military affairs in East Florida were nominally in the jurisdiction of brigade headquarters at Pensacola, a high degree of direct contact was maintained with General Gage in New York, probably as a matter of convenience. At St. Augustine, Major Ogilvie was succeeded in 1765 by

- 1) Col. Taylor, who was soon sent on a temporary assignment to Pensacola as noted. During his absence, command was exercised by

- 2) Capt. William Jenkins. On Col. Taylor's return, he resumed command, and remained until July, 1768, when he was succeeded by
- 3) Major Thomas Whitmore of the 9th Regiment, who retained this post until November, 1769. (D).

To complete the terms of the exchange, and resume Spanish possession of Cuba, the Conde de Ricla, a lieutenant general of the Royal Army, arrived in Havana on July 30th, 1763 to assume the governor generalship. He was accompanied by 2,000 troops under the Conde de O'Reilly. On the evacuation of St. Augustine by the late Spanish governor, Don Melchior Felui, he was accompanied not only by the departing troops, but by the entire Spanish civil population. Their departure was effected on -Jan. 8 and 9, 1764 (L). It is interesting to note that on this occasion the first "stinging" bees were brought to Cuba from St. Augustine.(F) Siebert (L) states that a detachment of 46 infantry, and two artillerymen, under Captain Don Bentura Diaz were previously sent from St. Augustine to Apalache on Aug. 3, 1763. Presuming these men were sent for the purpose of the formal delivery, one may infer that during the previous struggle, the Spanish garrison had been withdrawn from Apalache.

The Spanish establishments in Florida were founded from military, rather than colonization, motives, and all distinctly had the character of frontier outposts. St. Augustine was established to protect the route of the homeward bound *flota*, Pensacola to check the eastward extension of the French, and thus also to protect the *flota*, while San Marcos de Apalache, established after the destruction of the Apalache missions, was to maintain some restraint on the Creek Indians and exclude the English from the gulf. A general sketch of the succes-

sive fortifications at the latter place has already appeared (G) .

In the turmoil of the transfer and subsequent evacuation, the little garrison at San Marcos appears to have been nearly forgotten by all except the Count of Ricla. To none was the delay more vexatious than to Don Bentura Diaz, the commandant of this post. Smarting from the disgrace of the Spanish defeat in the late war, he was ready to interpret the unfathomable English delay in relieving his garrison as a studied attempt to intensify the humiliation. However he appears to have welcomed the arrival of Harries as indicating the early termination of his troubles. The lack of effective communication with the English officers, did undoubtedly, as he realized, result in misunderstandings and very evidently intensified Diaz' feeling of resentment. This is shown by Diaz acquiring the impression that Col. Robertson was actually on the *Curacoa*. Furthermore, in the problem of transport for the Spanish soldiers lay a well founded grievance. Spanish vessels had been promptly available and were unnecessarily detained at Apalache almost to the time of Harries' arrival, awaiting the coming of the English garrison. It appears that Diaz gained the impression that the *Curacoa* would be immediately available for his evacuation, and believing that his departure was imminent, freely exhibited the post to Harries. From this inspection Harries evidently formed the opinion that his force was inadequately equipped to hold the place, and probably conveniently recalled his orders not to furnish transport to bolster his resolution to proceed to Pensacola. The failure of Diaz' attempts to make other arrangements to utilize the *Curacoa*, produced a profound resentment.

Captain Harries was clearly in low spirits over this assignment, a state of mind that does not ap-

pear to have improved with his first view of his new post. Although obviously expected to occupy San Marcos on his arrival in Apalache, he found excuses to postpone the event, and may perhaps have hoped to evade it altogether. The losses sustained in the serious misadventures experienced on his attempt to return to Apalache, diminished the meager comforts of this detachment of the 9th Regiment through most of their subsequent stay at the post. Although details of the actual transfer are not given, it appears that Harries actually did reach Apalache on the day, February 20, 1764, set by Diaz for his departure regardless of consequences. It would be interesting to know if Diaz actually executed the ceremonious evacuation he proposed.

With the departure of the Spaniards, it is likely the little English garrison soon settled down to the routine of a humdrum existence in a crowded and isolated post. Unfamiliar with the Indians, Harries decided that security required a vigilant guard, and his caution cannot be questioned, for which he soon found his small force inadequate, as he arrived with one subaltern and 26 men. He immediately requested re-inforcements to raise his force to 60 men. He complained with feeling of frauds in the provisions furnished him, of lack of colors, of lack of a drum, of the need for iron fetters. Nothing suggests that he expended any great effort to make the post more habitable or secure. Although clearly unhappy and pessimistic, much of his discontent may be condoned if it is realized that his infirmity must have caused considerable discomfort.

Harries' fervent pleas for a leave of absence finally touched Gage, resulting in his departure on October 5th, 1764. He was relieved by a subaltern, a change suggesting a lowered estimation of the importance of the post, and forecasting the degrada-

tion which in later years was expressed by the progressive decline in the rank of the relieving officer.

The new officer in command, Lieut. Pampellonne, arrived on September 25th, 1764, and appears to have been a young man of considerable initiative and energy. Fortunately for Pampellonne, John Stuart the Indian Commissioner, arrived in Apalache at the same time, and proceeded to hold a conference with representatives of the lower Creeks at St. Marks. This established amicable relations which were maintained throughout the subsequent occupancy of the post. To facilitate future communication with the Indians, Stuart left an interpreter at the post, who also engaged in the Indian trade. With the aid of the troops and some skilled workmen, Pampellonne soon set about making various changes designed to improve the habitability and defensability of the place, and endeavoured to effect belated replacement of the bedding lost in Harries' shipwreck.

Provision stores continued to be received irregularly, as a consequence of which the garrison was often in distress. On one such occasion, Pampellonne sent the interpreter to buy corn in the Indian nation, where he succeeded in securing a canoe load. This was inadequate to relieve the emergency, and the supply vessel being overdue, Pampellonne chartered a schooner and despatched it to Pensacola for supplies. Governor Johnstone in the meantime, having learned that the emergency had passed, refused the request and protested the schooner's charter. The empty vessel was sent back to St. Marks, and the unpaid master began a series of efforts to collect his charter money that resulted in much embarrassment to Pampellonne. However General Gage, believing that Pampellonne acted in the best interests of his command, extricated him from the situation.

On December 12, 1765, Lieut. Swettenham and Ensign Wright arrived after an overland journey through the Creek nation, to relieve Lieut. Pamellonne and Ensign Hawkins. Swettenham remarked commendingly to Gage on the condition of the fort, but reiterated the perennial plaint of the bad condition of the barracks. Swettenham's short tour of duty at St. Marks was made notable by the shipwreck of the New Orleans bound French brigantine, the "Tiger", probably on the coast of Dog Island, from which only M. Viaud and two of his companions were saved. These survivors finally made their way to the fort after experiencing lurid adventures, including cannibalism. (H)

Swettenham was sent to Pensacola on October 2, 1766, leaving Ensign Wright in command. On the 23rd of the same month, the fort was nearly wrecked by a hurricane, and the hardships of the garrison were intensified as a result.

Meantime Haldimand had assumed command in the southern district, and Gage immediately propounded the question of the utility of the post to both Haldimand and Grant. Justification was based on a new policy of retrenchment and an intended concentration of the troops at a few points. Haldimand had no immediate views of his own in the matter, other than to express the opinion that the post could be adequately held by an officer and 20 men. In order to get first hand information, he however despatched Lieut. Pittman to Apalache to survey the fort and its vicinity. (I) Both Haldimand and Grant appear to have finally decided that the post offered certain advantages, not only to facilitate communication between Pensacola and St. Augustine (in 15 days), but to pacify the Indians, and pointed out that it was inexpensive to maintain. Meanwhile saddles were sent to the fort to facilitate the service of the expresses.

Haldimand instructed Wright to plant a garden for the garrison, an activity that must have been extremely distasteful to the soldiers, as he later related to Haldimand an account of insubordination as a consequence of this work.

The arguments of Haldimand and Grant did not convince Gage, who finally in 1767 instructed the former to relieve the detachment of the 9th Regiment which had served as its garrison for nearly four years, by another from the 31st Regiment. Haldimand finally expressed the opinion that St. Marks, along with certain other interior posts, could be abandoned without risk, and promised to send the men of the 9th to St. Augustine as soon as a vessel was available.

In 1768 Wright reported the return of some Indians who had gone to Havana in 1766. This event, together with reports of clandestine Spanish visits along the coast, and some evidences of disaffection among certain Indian groups, was the cause of considerable concern to Stuart.

It was probably in April 1768 that Haldimand finally ordered the detachment of the 9th to rejoin their Regiment in St. Augustine. Their journey from St. Marks was made overland. We can deplore the lack of an account of this march of British troops across the state. They were relieved by 9 men of the 21st Regiment, under Sergeant Wier.

Meanwhile the political situation to the northward was becoming more disturbed, and it is evident from Gage's communication to Grant, that concern over possible eventualities from this movement was a prime factor leading to the concentration of the 9th, 21st and 31st Regiments at St. Augustine. Grant was reluctant to entirely abandon the fort, in view of the opportunity it afforded to maintain contact with the Indians to the westward, and requested that a few men be kept there

until he could effect arrangements with Mr. Gordon, an Indian trader, to open a store in the fort. He evidently accomplished his purpose, as Haldimand, writing from St. Augustine late in 1769, relates that the detachment left at St. Marks had just arrived after delivering the fort to the person named by Grant to receive it.

Thus after less than a decade in British hands, St. Marks was abandoned as a military post, although the most stirring episodes in its colorful history were still in the future.

Acknowledgments

The Spanish documents here presented are preserved in the Archivo General de Indias in Seville, Spain. They were made available to me in photostats from the collection of the Florida State Historical Society, through the courtesy of the late Dr. James A. Robertson, to whom I am indebted for much encouragement in the intensification of my interest in the colonial history of Florida. The translations from the Spanish are my own. I am, however, indebted to Dr. Irving Leonard for his kindness in reviewing these and giving me the benefit of his scholarly criticism. - Mark F. Boyd.

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THE DOCUMENTS

Ricla to Arriaga. (A. G. I., 87-7-11, 20).

Your Excellency : My dear sir :

In continuation of the news to Your Excellency regarding the evacuation of the presidios ceded to England, I enclose for your Excellency copies of the latest despatches and documents sent me by the governor of Apalache, and of the letter which I subsequently wrote to the English governor of Panzacola, I have no doubt that he will take prompt measures to receive that presidio, and that the evacuation will be effected by the time this [note] reaches Your Excellency, but I am reporting this as my duty.

Our Lord preserve Your Excellency many years.
Havana, February 5, 1764

I kiss the hand of your Excellency, Your most faithful servant, The Count of Ricla.

His Excellency B^o Fr. don Julian de Arriaga.

Diaz to the [English] Governor of Panzacola. (A. G. I., 86-7-11, 20).

My dear sir:

On the 8th of the present month there arrived at this bar the British detachment despatched by the captain of La Florida [St. Augustine] to receive delivery of this post [presidio]. I offered to do so immediately, in the natural belief that I would be furnished transportation as is customary, since it is evident to Your Excellency that I have made

every effort to effect the evacuation, having sent to you a message by five men in a pirogue, and having learned of their delay, I despatched a second message of the same tenor by a schooner. The first despatch was opened by the sergeant major, Joseph Bennett, who wrote me telling of the efforts exerted by Your Excellency in this matter, informing [me] that you have neither orders from the King of Great Britain nor garrison by which you could make this change, and by the identical schooner I also had the honor to receive a letter from Your Excellency, with the misfortune to be ignorant of its contents from the lack of an English interpreter at this place.

After some conferences with the English officers, I offered them storage within this fortress for their provisions, and quarters outside in three casemates [bomb-proofs]. They did not accept my invitation, resolving to depart tomorrow * for your post, in order that Your Excellency might determine how you would be served.

I have been, and I am ready to deliver this presidio, without the least delay solely on the condition that I am furnished with transportation for the provisions, military stores and troops, in consequence of my having dismissed the two schooners which were here three months ago for that purpose.

Now would these gentlemen agree to the proposal that they should transport me to your presidio in the waiting vessel, in the hope that Your Excellency might be pleased to give me transportation in one of your vessels in case there was no available Spanish vessel.

I will be indebted to Your Excellency if this detachment is ordered to return and take possession of this post with the least delay, together with an order to their transport that it must carry us

* Nov. 12, but did not depart until Nov. 16.

straightway to Havana, but should there be a Spanish vessel available, order it to immediately come to this port.

I am at Your Excellency's orders, and hope that our Lord May preserve you many years. San Marcos de Apalache, November 11, 1763. I kiss your hands - Your very faithful servant - Don Bentura Diaz - The governor of the presidio of Panzacola.

Diaz to the Count of Ricla. (A. G. I., 86-7-11: 20).

Most Excellent Sir-Sir: On the 7th of this month there arrived at this port the privateering brigantine commanded by Don Augustin de Herrera, who delivered to me the packet of your orders, as well as those for the Governors of the presidios of Florida [St. Augustine] and Panzacola. These I will forward by whatever opportunities present themselves to me. In view of the fruitlessness of those which I have already attempted, and being desirous to give prompt obedience to all Your Excellency's orders, to free your Excellency of anxiety, so that your considered decisions should not have the least inconvenience from that which might delay their execution, I decided that the aforesaid brigantine should go to the port of Panzacola to deliver Your Excellency's packet to its Governor, as well as my own communication. In this plan I was frustrated by the illness of its pilot, who lost the use of his legs as the result of a chill experienced the second day after leaving this port. Not having here another to put in his place, I gave up this plan because of serious consequences that would follow should the weather drive the vessel from its course or should it be lost.

I have endeavoured to forward the packets by all the Indians who have visited this presidio in recent days, offering them considerable compensation for

the service, but have been unsuccessful. The savages of this nation do not respond to acquaintance, compulsion, promises or obligation, which circumstances leave me in such difficulties, which without further emphasis I will leave to the understanding imagination of Your Excellency.

The King, Our Lord, is complete master of this possession, a situation in which his vassals have nothing. For this reason instruct me whether when the British arrive, I should sell them the residence of the Commandant together with some minor structures of little importance, all built of boards, as well as the pirogue and service boat of the garrison, which are practically useless.

Under date of November 6th, in which I advised Your Excellency of all these happenings, Your Excellency will see that I gave to you an account of the English from the settlements who have come down to this presidio, with the opinions they express about acquiring its possession.

On the 8th of November, 46 hours subsequent to the departure of the two Spanish schooners [goletas] which were at this port, there arrived here an English sloop [balandra] conveying Col. James Robertson [Diego Reverson] to the presidio of Panzacola, with other officers and soldiers. After a captain and subaltern had come ashore, they delivered to me a packet from Lieutenant Colonel don Melchor Felui, Governor of Florida [St. Augustine], containing the triplicate of the original and a duplicate which I had already received, including all the necessary orders for the evacuation of this presidio, together with a note. In the latter he said that the aforesaid Colonel is going to Panzacola to take over that, as well as this presidio, without however informing me that, (notwithstanding the orders already given me that only to the official designated by the governor of Panzacola could I surrender

this post) the instructions of the said Col. Robertson could be executed.

On the 9th the same officers returned to land, as well as the captain of the sloop. They revealed that they came to receive the delivery of Apalache, to which I replied that I was at all times ready to comply, if they would provide transportation to the keys [Cayos] for the military supplies, provisions and troops in my charge. They told me they were ready to do so, by virtue of which they requested me to show them the fort. I told them I would do it with pleasure so that they could take possession as the King my Lord had me ordered. Without exception they saw the barracks, and the magazines for military supplies and provisions. Having examined with great care the artillery embrasures which were mounted with nine swivels, for these they expressed great desire, as they arrived with only the armaments and munitions of infantry, and asked me to leave them the before mentioned swivels. I replied that my authority was insufficient to permit this, as they were property of the King my Lord, and that grave charges would be made against me should I take this liberty. Being now ready to return on board, we parted in agreement that on the subsequent day they would commence unloading, and that I would permit them a guard of a corporal with four men at the site of their stores.

On the 10th the subaltern returned in the afternoon with six barrels of provisions, and on this day I arranged with the captain of the sloop for passage to the keys for 360 pesos. When the subaltern asked my permission to measure the fort, I did not refuse, but told him they could do it as if they were its possessors.

On the 11th there came an officer from aboard who said they could not give me the passage requested, because the sloop was conveying Col. Robertson,

officers and soldiers to Panzacola. I replied that this would bother me but little, as I could go in their company, and that from there I would go to the keys, if not in the same sloop, according to the agreement, the governor of that presidio would give me the desired transportation [in another] in virtue of my necessity. To which they replied that this could not be, because it would displease the governor, and that I could make the delivery of the presidio in consequence of the orders which I already had. To this I replied that, without evacuation I would not execute these orders, as this would interfere with my plans and would subject to their orders a garrison which could only receive those of their own leader [based on] those which he has from his sovereign.

After a short conference between the two officers they proposed that I should receive their garrison within the walls and that, until the final arrangements, should live together with the guard of their stores. To which I replied that I would admit this guard without arms, and that the rest of their garrison could take shelter in the three extramural casemates. This decision they would not accept, saying to me they were compelled to proceed to Panzacola to make representation to their governor of the necessity of bringing artillery and other military supplies for the defense of this place. I replied they could do as they pleased, but I would not lower the flag of the King until I had evacuated all that which is in my charge, and that I would have it hoisted in my boat until I reached the vessels evacuating me, upon which they embarked with the provisions which they had on shore.

The time from this day until the 16th of the same month, on which day they set sail, they spent in securing supplies of wood and water. On the said 16th, they raised sail with the wind in the north-

east, but before four in the afternoon it veered to the north. At 11 pm it shifted northwest and increased to hurricane force, to such an extent that these dwellings shook like sieves. Moved by concern, from the knowledge that said sloop was obliged to work the pumps every half hour, I have asked the Indians, inhabitants and hunters from the west for news, of which they have none, nor has there been found on the coast any wreckage; for which reason I do not doubt they have arrived in that port.

The reason that the sloop and the two schooners which were to transport this garrison to Havana, did not here meet the before mentioned (English) sloop is because they [i.e., the English] went from St. Augustine to Providence, requiring 35 days in the voyage.

I think their delay is because they have given much of their scanty stores to Jamaica, where the commander of the Indies resides.

The described conversation which I had with the English, may on my part, and on theirs as well have resulted in misunderstanding, because I do not have an English interpreter, nor they a Spanish. For which reason they utilized a native of France who was raised since a child in England, and I two soldiers who said they know French although but little. Both sides were solicitous to be understood, but it is certain the most effective exchange was by signs, as if dumb. But for my part that which I have related is that which I ordered said to them, and my understanding of that replied to me.

I believe, if Your Excellency will permit me to say, that the inconveniences which have arisen in this matter are attributable to poor arrangements in St. Augustine. I suspect that the commissioner for the governor of Panzacola was probably here despite his saying he has no such orders, since why was I not ordered in the triplicate to deliver this presidio

to whomsoever Col. James Robertson might designate? I feel that on the one hand it could be his authority to arrange the garrisons, and that on the other it would be to despatch the commissioner, as is inferable from the triplicate transmitted by and received from the said Col. Robertson.

Would Your Excellency condescend to instruct me whether I should deliver this post to any, other than him commissioned by the English governor of Panzacola, and if in the contrary, I will not do so, since I am not accustomed to interpret the orders of my superiors, and if alone interpret them literally. To me it appears, from their deportment on arrival, that the English will not take charge of this presidio, and all of my courtesies excepting the disputes were based on this view, and I will seek pretexts to maintain myself here. Since they came to the river they have publically manifested groundless fear.

Your Excellency will see from the enclosed, which I have written as opportunity afforded, also includes that sent with the official dispatches mentioned.

The garrison gives Your Excellency repeated thanks for the supply of clothing and provisions with which you have deigned to relieve our necessities and I report to Your Excellency the distribution which has been made of the coating, the surplus being left in my care.

In consequence of the account which I have presented to Your Excellency, I hope that you will deign to instruct me in what to do, without leaving the least to my judgment for the great effectiveness of my obedience. I am persuaded that when Your Excellency sees this, he will promptly send me a vessel advising me of his measures. I hope it is to be a more suitable vessel than the brigantine, which cannot enter this river because of its draft, which is (thus) exposed to loss because it must re-

main outside where there is no shelter, and any wind may cast it upon the many reefs. For this reason I venture to suggest to Your Excellency that the larger schooner of the two, called *Neustro Amo Castillo*, which sails from this port in charge of Manuel Gayoso, who is also owner, is the best adapted to the evacuation of this presidio, since it can enter the river and load at the wharf, and there is no other of equal capacity which will [not] ground after loading, as it is of eleven palms depth. The only pilots experienced in this river are Miguel Lopez, and don Juan de Hita, sailor Lorenzo Rodriguez, all three of St. Augustine. Miguel de Arbolada, who brings the brigantine, is not familiar with the channel.

Although Your Excellency has advised me to give you an account of all that happens, I cannot do so unless some intemperate wind shall drive some vessel to this port.

We are adequately supplied with provision for four months, excepting flour, as appears from my previous report to Your Excellency from which you will note a sufficiency through March, although unable to satisfy the Indians, whom I have entertained with the provisions and tobacco.

Juan de Arzia a negro convict, was transferred to the service of the brigantine because of his knowledge of seamanship, and because I believed the brigantine required his services.

My youngest son asks me for a place as the inspector of that island dismissed him from the position of cadet because of matrimony. I replied that he could go from door to door begging alms as I have nothing to give him but my many debts, owing to the loss of an inheritance from my great grand parent. Your Excellency knows my brothers through their honor of service under your orders in the army of Portugal, with the display of valor

which obliged their superior officers to recognize them.

Our Lord guard the very important life of Pour Excellency many happy years as he can and is my need. San Marcos de Apalache, January 19, 1764, Most Excellent Sir-Sir-At Your Excellency's feet-Don Bentura Diaz. His Excellency, the Count of Ricla.

Garrison Roll (A. G. I., 86-7-11, 20).

Report of the coating, *casquetas* (?), breeches, thread and needles [ahugas=aguja] which I have received from His Excellency, the Count of Ricla, and distributed to the following individuals, towit:

	<i>Coating</i> yards	Casquetas	Breeches
Detachment of the Commandant :			
Corporal Joseph Vallajera	3 1/2		
Pedro de Belasco	4		
Miguel Calderon	3 1/2		
Santiago Aguilera	1 1/4	1	1
Joseph Rodriguez	2 1/2		
Francisco Pintalagua	1 1/4		
Juan Joseph Garcia		1	1
Matheo Martinez	3 3/4		
	19 3/4	3	3
Detachment of don Joseph Leonar:			
Diego Escalona	3 1/2		
Phelipe de Bejar	2 1/2	1	
Joseph Agustin Rodriguez	3 1/2		
Juan de Arjona	3 3/4		
Juan Ponze	3 1/2		
Antonio Monz (sic)	3 3/4		
Francisco Vasquez		1	1
Dionisio Ilario	3 3/4		
Domingo Cortes	1 1/2	1	1
Francisco Rodriguez	2 1/4		
Juan Carrascon	3 3/4		
Alejandro Solis	1 1/4	1	1
	32 3/4	4	3
Detachment of don Bentura Diaz:			
Said captain	5		
Sergeant Antonio Rodriguez	2 3/4		
Drummer Joseph Diaz	2 1/2	1	
Blas Contreras	2 1/4		
Manuel Salazar	3 3/4		
Joseph Barrera	2 1/4		
Gerardo Sandovalo	2 1/4		
Manuel de Castillo		1	1
Gregorio Rodriguez	3 3/4		

Francisco Ansurez	3 3/4		
Juan Rojas	2 1/4		
Miguel Diaz	2 1/4		
Christoval del Castillo	3 1/2		
Esteban Grajales		1	1
	37 (sic)	3	2
Artillerymen :			
Estaban Almeida	3 1/2		
Joseph Rodriguez de la Via	3		
	7	X	X
Laborers :			
Joseph Batierra		1	
Valentin Urrutia		1	
Manuel de la O.....		1	1
Manuel Alvarez		1	1
Alonso Otero		1	1
Juan de Arcia		1	1
		X	X
		6	6
	GENERAL SUMMARY		
Commandant's squad	19 3/4	3	3
Leonart's squad	32 3/4	4	3
Diaz's squad	37	3	2
Artillerymen	7		
Laborers		6	6
Surplus	7 1/2	2	
	98 1/2	18	14

NOTE: That the pound of thread and needles (ahugas) have been distributed to the persons named in this report in equal parts. San Marcos de Apalache, January 19, 1764. Don Bentura Diaz.

Diaz to the Count of Ricla. (A. G. I., 86-7-11, 20.)

Most Excellent Sir: Sir:

The Indians which went to that place [i.e. Havana] have returned here bringing a thousand exclamations for the courtesies which Your Excellency extended them. They are still here and will remain until the three barrels of rum give the last breath, which will be very soon, from the many evil spirits which they have. They will later go from village to village discoursing on that place, and I have no doubt that if I have room, many will go with me.

They say the captain of the brigantine gave them such generous treatment that he even placed his own children in the hold in order that they might have

their berths, and that he served them breakfast, dinner and supper at his own table, and the cup of punch was always filled, and when they relate this there is always something new disclosed.

The garments which Your Excellency gave them are already torn and so filthy that one cannot recognize either their material or color.

May our Lord preserve the very important life of Your Excellency many happy years that he can and needs.

Apalache, January 19, 1764. Your Excellency-At the feet of Your Excellency=Don Bentura Diaz=His Excellency the Count of Ricla.

Diaz to Prevost. (A. G. I., 86-7-11, 20).

My very dear sir:

On the 7th of this month there arrived in this port the brigantine in the service of the headquarters in Havana, which brought me various orders and instructions from His Excellency the Count of Ricla, Captain General of that island, including at the same time the two enclosed packets for your lordship which accompanied them, with the urgency that you will note from the communication. As I have written your lordship under date of the 11th of November past, there arrived at this port a sloop conveying to this presidio Col. Diego Roverson [Col. James Robertson] and a British detachment. From which landed a captain and a subaltern who delivered to me a packet from my Captain General at the presidio of Florida [St. Augustine] (whence they departed) which contained in triplicate the orders to me for the evacuation of this presidio to the officer designated by your lordship, although my captain general did not inform me that I could execute them with an officer designated by the said Col. Robertson. When the said captain immediately informed me they came to receive the surrender

of this place, and notwithstanding so serious a difficulty for us who are subjects of the conquered, the sole compelling consideration being that this is the wish of the King my Lord, nor having other objection to surmount than the difficulty of evacuating with the munitions, provisions, troops and all that under my charge, which was lack of vessels. I consequently proposed to the said captain and subaltern that I was ready to give immediate delivery of this post in compliance with the orders of His Catholic Majesty and those which I had from my captain general, but having been obliged, by the dilatoriness of your lordship to comply with the definitive treaty of peace, to send away the two vessels which I had in this port at my orders for the complete evacuation, and since after having sent two couriers to your lordship I finally learned that your lordship did not have from your sovereign orders to send any commissioner here, in consideration of which circumstance they must give me transportation to the keys [cayos]. They agreed to this, but on the subsequent day they returned to shore and told me they could not furnish the transportation, since the sloop must go to that post [Panzacola] with the said Col. Reverson, officers and troops which it carried. To which I replied that this would not inconvenience me, since I would gladly go to that presidio and there request your lordship that in the said sloop or in another vessel, you would be pleased to have me transported to the said keys. To this they agreed, and with this understanding they began to unload some provisions. The gentlemen then examined all of this fort, while the subaltern measured all its dimensions with a tape. I did not deny them this permission since they were now the possessors of this post and they examined its external and internal construction, the magazines, and all of the dwellings. For the reasons given I pro-

ceeded to arrange transportation with the captain of the sloop, agreeing on 360 dollars. But on returning to land on the following day they told me we could not go to the presidio of Panzacola because they believed your lordship would not take it well, [suggesting] that in this situation I could write * you requesting that you could send some vessel to remove me with all my garrison and effects to the keys, and that I could deliver this post to them. To this I replied that without the complete evacuation of all that was here in my charge I could not comply, since my discretion was limited and this would suggest my obedience to others than my own sovereign and his appointed ministers, to whom I am responsible. They subsequently proposed to me that the two garrisons could live together, a solution which I did not find convenient from the mischievous results which could arise, in view of the heedlessness which is typical of the soldiers, which despite much harangueing from their superiors, cannot be prevented. With this understanding the said officers decided to reload their provisions and told me they were resolved to proceed to that presidio to secure equipment of artillery and other necessaries, and would make representations to your lordship to help them, and that within 15 to 20 days would be back. I had not the least doubt in these declarations, especially since your lordship had promised me through my son, when he was sent to your presidio in the schooner, who reported that immediately upon the arrival at your presidio of the detachment designed to receive the delivery of this post, you would immediately give your orders for them to proceed without the least delay, which action has not been realized as 2 months and 3 days have passed since these happenings.

* vide Dias to Prevost, 1-27-64.

Considering that which I have presented, as well as that left undiscussed [for convenience and not for lack of importance], I believe that your lordship will see that I on my part have complied with the will of their Catholic and Brittanic Majesty's, and have given to the subjects of His Brittanic Majesty, command, power and possession of this presidio as shown, since had I acted in the contrary I might be accused of disobedience, but to avoid which, and exercising the discretion reposed in an officer by the King my Lord, from the confidence I placed in the honorable officers of His Brittanic Majesty, they were assured I could only execute formal delivery, and that occupation was not possible before this happened.

A consideration of all [circumstances] finds me firmly resolved to leave this situation and embark for Havana in the brigantine, confident that the foresight of His Excellency the Count of Ricla, will at the latest provide the vessel necessary for evacuation of this post by the 20th of the next month [February]. You are thus advised that if your lordship does not have your commissioner for the delivery of this post here by the designated 20th of February, you can be certain that I will evacuate and abandon it, your lordship being solely responsible for all the mischief between the two crowns which can result from this action, whose mutual friendship may arouse envy in many and be a model to others. But I do not believe that the recognized courtesy of your lordship will permit that an affair so insignificant may disturb an agreement, if permitted to see the bases of its foundation in their beginnings.

I cannot believe that such an eventuality will produce delays in the decisions of your lordship, considering it cannot be ignored that in your presidio there are troops destined for this place. I am equal-

ly certain that when they left St. Augustine, they were provided with ample provisions for one year. And thus I hope that your lordship will tell me with the utmost despatch your final decision by this mail, to permit me to take that [action] which to me appears most proper, nor that your lordship (will) permit the least delay to any Spanish vessel destined to this port, since if endangered from this cause your lordship must be responsible. On these reasons and with the present communication submitted to your lordship, I will base my defence in the tribunal of His Catholic Majesty, my lawful King and Master by his deputy, His Excellency the Count of Ricla, representing this as the third request which I have made to your lordship, since although the first was sent in the belief the Spanish governor would [still] be found in that presidio, the packets which I sent to the former must have come to your hands even though the governor had already departed, for the orders given the leaders who carried them, were to deliver them to you. If his Excellency the Count of Ricla be informed of these circumstances, I believe that before I resolve to evacuate this presidio, His Excellency will order me to do so.

Your lordship must give authority to your commissioner to solve whatever difficulties or doubts we may have in the delivery, in the belief that you will not admit [excepting my privilege] any appeal to your office.

Will your lordship please send me a Spanish interpretation of your letter since we do not have an English interpreter, without which your lordship will leave me with plenty of difficulties and doubts.

I enclose to your lordship, the attached packet for the governor of St Augustine, because I cannot remit it for lack of opportunity.

I desire to affirm to your lordship my respect and my ready obedience in everything that may allow me to please you.

May our Lord guard your lordship many years.

San Marcos de Apalache, January 21, 1764. I kiss your lordships hands=your very attentive servant=Don Bentura Diaz=Senor Don Augustin Probst.

Diaz to Count of Rich (A. G. I., 86-7-11, 20).

Most Excellent Sir-Sir :

Yesterday there arrived at this post a band of 39 Indians prompted by curiosity to learn the news brought by the three who returned from Havana. From this opportunity I have succeeded with especial satisfaction, to discharge Your Excellency's orders to expeditiously arrange couriers [who leave today, the day of the date] for the post of Panzacola, by whom I forward the two packets of Your Excellency and my own remonstrance, whose terms Your Excellency will note from your copy. Although it may perhaps displease Your Excellency by its asperity, I hope that you will condescend forgiveness of a transgression born of my brooding and chagrin on observing the complete scorn for our nation that these men exhibit, manifest by the reasons and methods which Your Excellency will understand. Even though they offer in their defence reasons which they find best adapted to their excuse, I will undo these with the truth about the events which have transpired through their lack of observance of the good faith expected of officers of honor. I would give, excellent sir, and I would sacrifice my life, not to comply with the terms of my delivery, if it would perpetuate to the Catholic Crown of the King our Lord this limited dominion. I would begin by the extermination of those who now possess it, for besides occasions that in me induce justifiable

indignation from the inconsideration of their treatment, they excite in me the contempt due idle boasts prompted by baseless vanity. Thus sir, I hope that Your Excellency, after viewing all that I have said to that governor, will examine a second time the 6th article of your copy [of the treaty], giving me such citations as will dispell all my doubts, especially [indicating] when these cannot be of such a nature that would justify either a rupture or expressions of rudeness, and that nothing will prevent Your Excellency from considering all contingencies and preparing the necessary arrangements, ensuring that there be found here transportation for the 20th or earlier of the coming month, so that if they arrive earlier, or if they pretend or allege some reason or occasion to their own shortcomings, my departure or despatches to Your Excellency will not be delayed.

I regret that such a small district has already occasioned Your Excellency so much annoyance, and still more that I am the occasion of it. I am only reconciled to the surrender by the distinguished deportment of Your Excellency which makes bearable the grave situations which are pending, arising from a subject which only merits entire contempt.

Your Excellency may be certain that until this presidio and all that is in my charge is entirely evacuated, I will not lower the Royal Standard until the brief moment necessary to deliver the keys before embarkation in the boat which will be in readiness for its display. Knowing the excessive haughtiness of this nation, I ask Your Excellency to deign to advise what I must do in order to forestall any attempt to obstruct this plan.

The brigantine would have left yesterday but for lack of wind and an order to remain, and is detained one day more, which is today, on which she will resume her voyage.

I have withdrawn the copy that informed Your Excellency that the brigantine must go to Panzacola in order to deliver the copy of the original letter sent to that Governor.

I have secured this mail at the cost of a payment of 36 pesos and a donation of the provisions for the round trip, upon a promise of a return here in 24 days, which payment, if Your Excellency judges it to be wisely incurred, I hope you will condescend to re-imburse to my wife.

If your Excellency orders me to remain here, I hope you will condescend to furnish me with some rum for the Indians, as with this there will be less consumption of provisions and I will be relieved from the restlessness they manifest owing to this deficiency.

I have lately been burning the forms which served for the construction of the casemates, because of an insufficient force to send to the forest to cut firewood without leaving this castle unguarded. For this reason if I am to remain here for a longer period, I believe that Your Excellency should send me more men, since with the departure of the corporal and 8 men with whom I have reinforced the brigantine to free it from attacks by the Indians (as is their wont), I am much constrained and vigilant.

Should you have in Havana some Spaniards who speak English, if it please Your Excellency, you might send me one, to avoid the past experiences when we conversed by signs, and I suggest for this service the Florida sailor called Antonio Pueyo.

I lay my humble respect at Your Excellency's feet, praying to God for the preservation of Your Excellency's very important life the many years which he can and I require.

Apalache, January 21st, 1764 = Most Excellent Sir-Sir=At Your Excellency's Feet=Don Bentura Diaz=His Excellency the Count of Ricla.

Diaz to the Count of Ricla. (A. G. I., 86-7-11, 20).
Most Excellent Sir-Sir :

Yesterday at 8 of the morning the weather having calmed the mail for Panzacola had opportunity to leave, and on the same day at 5 in the afternoon a sloop arrived before this port, and after the pirogue was sent to reconnoiter, it returned at 4 in the morning, and informed me that it was an English sloop which had sailed from St. Augustine four weeks previously laden with provisions for Panzacola. On the arrival of the sloop at St. Joseph's bay, a storm arose in which the anchors were lost, and believing that they would here find their countrymen, turned toward this port. On this occasion I wrote to the governor of the Panzacola that which Your Excellency will see from the attached copy, because of lack of opportunity to forward him the duplicate of the remonstrance made by me.

After much alarm occasioned by the bad weather and several groundings, the brigantine managed to make sail today and escape from this anxiety.

Your Excellency has me at your feet, desirous to merit your orders to which you may be assured of my blind obedience. May our Lord preserve the very important life of Your Excellency the many happy years you merit.

Apalache January 27, 1764=Most Excellent Sir-Sir=At Your Excellency's feet = Don Bentura Diaz=His Excellency the Count of Ricla.

Diaz to Prevost. (A. G. I., 86-7-11, 20).

My very dear sir:

On yesterday, the 26th of the current month, I despatched to you two Indian couriers by whom I

transmitted two packets which His Excellency the Count of Ricla had ordered me to place in your hands, and at the same time included one packet of my own, by which you will be informed of the grounds which have placed me under the necessity to abandon this presidio in the event your commissioner to receive the delivery is not here by the 20th of the coming month of February, which packet I could not deliver punctually because this sloop would not give me space. * I will only now add that, to evacuate it, I detained here two months and five days two schooners, and the brigantine which today set sail I have detained 21 days, all occasioned by the failure to accomplish the delivery of the three presidios of Florida, those and this one at the same time as would have been orderly, nor have my representations to you been sufficient to ensure the presence of your commissioner on the opportunities which I have had to evacuate it. Being positive that on the 20th mentioned I will have here available all of the necessary facilities arranged by His Excellency the Count of Ricla, because of his evident desire to comply with his part of the definitive treaty of peace. In this event you will not censure my decision, though I believe you will not permit it to be placed in execution, because with proper behavior you will avoid the disastrous consequences of an action so contrary to the wishes expressed and agreed upon by their Catholic and Britannic Majesties.

The said sloop ** arrived before this port and anchored at 5 in the afternoon, to which I immediately dispatched the pirogue which returned to this castle at four in the morning and the captain sent me a message saying that four weeks had passed since

*Evidently referring to his own letter of 11/11/63, and the English sloop which departed on 11/16/63.

** The sloop which arrived in distress on 1/26/64.

their departure from St. Augustine on their way to Pensacola, during which [time] they encountered a storm in which they lost their anchor. I offered to supply their wants if they were in need of anything, and he replied he required nothing and that he would immediately depart as he could not delay, for which reason I cannot inform you further than merely to give you information.

My regards in whatever may serve you. May our Lord protect you many years.

Apalache, January 27, 1764=I kiss your hand=
Your very attentive servant=Don Bentura Diaz=
Don Augustin Probst.

The Count of Ricla to Col. James Robertson. (A. G. I, 86-7-11, 20).

My very dear sir:

The governor of the presidio of Apalache has told me he has not delivered to you that post for the reasons which he has disclosed to you and to your predecessor in a letter dated the 11th of November past, and seeing that you did not take measures to put this into effect, dismissed the vessels which I had sent him for the withdrawal of his men rather than detain them exposed to the risk of damage from inclement weather; and as I am not able to tolerate such inconveniences and others which might arise to the service of the King my Lord from such delays, I now again despatch another vessel capable of transporting to this port all of the effects of the King, garrison and governor, with the orders essential for this in case that you are not disposed to very shortly send at the appointed time the person who must receive the said presidio; though I am quite convinced that events will not arrive to this point, because you will take or will have taken the measures necessary to conclude a matter of such importance, with due consideration [of the consequences]

of the delay to one or the other crown, since there have [already] been concluded with the greatest harmony, others of the same nature arranged between this capital and that of Florida.

God protect your excellency many years. Havana, February 5, 1764=The Count of Ricla=Mr. Diago Roverson.

Endorsed: Copy of the letter written to the English Governor of Panzacola.

(The publication of this series of documents will be continued in the next issue of the QUARTERLY.)

SPANISH CONTRIBUTIONS IN FLORIDA
TO AMERICAN CULTURE

By VERNE E. CHATELAIN

I

Among the numerous steps taken by Spain during the sixteenth century in its efforts to establish dominion over the New World, none are deserving of greater attention from the standpoint of our own national history than the founding of St. Augustine in the year 1565. The fact that this little settlement which was only one of approximately 200 Spanish towns and cities then existing in the Indies, remained a Spanish colony for nearly two centuries and was always an indispensable factor in the defensive strategy employed by Spain for safe-guarding its commerce as well as in perpetuating its control over the rich provinces adjacent to the Caribbean Sea and the Gulf of Mexico, gives it a place of distinction in the history of the American colonial period sometimes overlooked by those who have chosen to regard it merely as a prelude to the story of English and French colonization of the North American mainland.

In this connection, it is important to note that in the process of American colonization it was Spain that led the way and initiated many of the practices successfully employed to bring European civilization to the North and South American continents. Then, too, in the extension of geographical knowledge and in the development of novel ideas of trade and emigration, it was Spain more than any other European power that made the primary contribution to methods and procedures which have since come to be regarded as distinctly American attributes. Through its early adventures in both the North and South American continents, furthermore, that nation demonstrated the practicability of many new

devices of wealth-getting, which were soon to lure other European nations to the New World.

From 1496, the date of the founding of Santo Domingo the first permanent Spanish town in America, these vital processes were to manifest themselves successively in one frontier after another. As Spanish settlers began to pour in, mines were opened, various kinds of plants such as cotton, indigo, sugar cane, olives, figs and citrus were introduced, as well as horses, hogs and cattle. Accompanying these innovations came the European military, political and social systems and such institutions as African slavery.¹

When Pedro Menendez de Aviles established St. Augustine these processes had already been repeated many times in the origin and growth of Spanish settlements and, by the end of the sixteenth century, several years before the founding of the first English settlement at Jamestown Spain had completed a full cycle of discovery, exploration, and settlement in America, including the colonization of Spanish Florida; and had transferred to the New World in most of its details a civilization equal to that of any European nation of that time. By 1574, the year when Menendez died, it is estimated there were more than 160,000 Spaniards in the Western Hemisphere, drawn from every class of life.²

St. Augustine has the distinction of being the oldest European community in point of continuous existence in continental United States. But of even greater historical importance is the fact that it was

1. Some of these innovations reflected a high cultural level. For instance, more than half a century before Jamestown was established by the English two important university centers were already flourishing, one at Mexico City and another at Lima. Along with these were other manifestations of culture, such as art galleries and printing presses.
2. Bourne, E. G., *Spain in America*, (New York, 1904), 196-97, referring to Juan Lopez de Velasco, *Geografia y Descripcion Universal de las Indias* (Justo Zaragoza' ed.).

the political, military, and religious capital of the only colony to be successfully established by Spain on our Atlantic seaboard. As such, it was the center of the provinces of La Florida comprising, at a time when several European nations were struggling to control the North American Continent, the greater portion of the lands east of the Mississippi river.³

From St. Augustine during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries went adventurous conquistadores to explore the lands of the present states of Florida, Georgia, the Carolinas, Virginia, and the Mississippi basin, devout Catholic missionaries to spread Spanish religion and influence from the southern tip of the Florida peninsula to the remote shores of Chesapeake Bay, and political leaders to stir up the hot fires of international rivalry, thereby vitally affecting the destinies of such nations as France, England, and, eventually, the United States.

It is fortunate that the transcendent importance of Spain's role in the drama of New World history is now being more fully recognized, as is also her contribution to the origin and growth of the United States. And, in this connection, the story of the St. Augustine colony is deserving of careful attention by those who would enumerate and evaluate the forces contributing to the progress of our nation.

II

The circumstances which led to the launching of the St. Augustine Historical Program in the fall of

3. Francis Parkman in his narrative entitled *Huguenots in Florida* in *Pioneers of France in the New World*, (Boston, 1865), p. 14, observed that the name Florida "as the Spaniards of that day understood it, comprehended the whole country extending from the Atlantic on the east to the longitude of New Mexico on the west, and from the Gulf of Mexico and the River of Palms indefinitely northward toward the polar sea."

1936 arose in part from the realization that, as has been pointed out, this chapter in our national history needed more careful study and interpretation. There was also the fact that many of the physical elements connected with the life history of St. Augustine, having characteristics quite unlike those of other communities along the Atlantic seaboard, still exist in various stages of deterioration and afford a rare opportunity under intelligent and realistic treatment, to promote the interests of American historical education.

Fortunately the citizens of St. Augustine were alert to the importance of preserving and using the historical resources of their community and were desirous of undertaking a program which would lead to such a result.

The Carnegie Institution of Washington, whose research activities have resulted in extending and broadening the knowledge of many phases of our colonial history, including the study of Spanish operations in the Southwestern portion of the United States and in Central America, accepted the responsibility of conducting the researches relating to the St. Augustine colony, and of advising generally regarding the program.

The city of St. Augustine and the state of Florida undertook in their own behalf to formulate plans for the control, preservation, and development of important historic sites and of the related physical environment. These plans provided for setting up desirable legal restrictions to prevent at any future time the alteration or destruction of important historical structures and remains and to promote the introduction of desirable aesthetic features looking toward the improvement of the environment. Also, through the purchase and appropriate treatment of some of the more important of the historic sites, as well as by means of the development of a system

of accurate historical markers and an adequate historical museum and library, the community expects to bring about a condition beneficial alike to the citizens of this region and of the entire nation.

Since 1936 this program has gone steadily forward and many features of the plan have already in a measure been realized, including the setting up of certain legal controls and the inauguration of extensive historical and archeological research activities.⁴

It is the purpose of this paper to indicate briefly some of the results of the investigations made during the course of the Program, particularly with regard to historical events of the first Spanish period and the contribution of this community to American cultural development.

III

Those who have been fortunate enough to visit St. Augustine and perhaps other old Spanish towns in the New World, such as Santa Fe, Mexico City, Merida, and Havana, have doubtless been impressed with the regularity of the streets, the pleasant plazas, or centrally located public squares, the beautiful patios, or gardens, often hidden away behind high garden walls, the impressive churches and cathedrals, and the comfortable homes.

These conditions are suggestive of the emphasis placed by earlier inhabitants upon the planning of an orderly, dignified and pleasant environment.

As the visitor begins his investigation of St. Augustine today not all of these things are immediately obvious. The grim grey walls of the Castillo de San Marcos, the old city gates, the narrow

4. A resume of the first two years of operation of the St. Augustine Historical Program can be obtained in Year Books of the Carnegie Institution of Washington: (Washington 1937; 1938). In Yearbook No. 36, see pages 52-6; 372-7; in No. 37, pages 57-9; 389-91.

streets, an occasional overhanging balcony and faint traces of the ancient moat lines and redoubts are the principal historical features which meet the eye. Otherwise a mantle of modern conditions seems to have fallen over the scene.

However, a more careful examination will reveal much that the tourist does not ordinarily see. As one approaches St. Augustine from the north he passes through the remains of three parallel defense lines, each of which extended across the peninsula on which the town is located, from east to west, connecting the North (or Tolomato) and the San Sebastian rivers. These lines today have nearly disappeared, only an occasional mound or depression still showing on the surface of the ground. The study of the military maps of the eighteenth century, however, as well as the archeological researches of the Program, have proved very productive, enabling the investigator to reestablish the location as well as the general character of these historical elements.

Traveling from north to south, we encounter first the Fort Maze line, then nearly a mile closer to the old city, the intermediate parallel or hornwork, and lastly the Cubo line, the course of which ran directly west from the Castillo de San Marcos by way of the city gates to the Cubo redoubt facing the San Sebastian. It is worthwhile to note that both the walls and the bastion of the star-shaped fort and the old gates are constructed of a native shell rock,

called coquina, which was quarried in the northern part of Anastasia Island.⁵

Each of the defense lines had a number of redoubts placed at regular intervals which were connected by a continuous earthwork from ten to fifteen feet in elevation and planted on top with Spanish bayonets. In front of the earthwork in connection with each parallel was a wide ditch, or moat, filled with water and operated by the tide.⁶

Coming to the intersection of Orange and Cordova streets, the visitor finds himself at the original site of the Santo Domingo redoubt, an early eighteenth century fortification, at the point of junction of the "circunvalacion," or lines of circumvallation, which included both the Cubo and the Rosario lines. The Rosario line extended south by southeast along what is now Cordova street, until near the point of intersection of Cordova and St. Francis

5. Coquina is a shell rock, which exists only along a short section of the Florida coast line from the harbor of St. Augustine to the junction of the Timoko and Halifax rivers. It is found very near the surface of the ground, and is quarried easily. Upon exposure to the air the stone, though very porous, hardens into a dry durable rock and is not greatly affected by moisture or fire. Because of its weight and the inadequacy of transportation facilities, its use has always been confined to the vicinity of the region where it is to be found. The native Indian tribes had knowledge of it at an early date, but apparently they rarely used it, perhaps because they lacked the proper tools to quarry and move the stone. The Spaniards seem to have built with wood, earth and tabby for nearly a century before deciding to employ coquina generally for purposes of construction. Today it is still used quite generally at St. Augustine. There is no evidence of any brick making until the English period, when sugar mills upon the principal plantations were constructed of coquina and brick. Even then brick was only incidentally used at St. Augustine.
6. Because the tidal action in the San Sebastian river is about an hour later than in the North river, the rise and fall of the water resulted in the regular flushing of the moats, the water flowing first in one direction and then in the other. The northern, or Mosa line, was the last constructed, being completed in the two decades following the Oglethorpe period, that is from about 1739 to 1763. The hornwork had been made immediately after the Moore attack in 1702 probably being finished in 1708 ; and the Cubo and Rosario lines thereafter, apparently in the period from 1720-1722.

streets, it turned southeastward to the Matanzas river. As in the case of the Cubo line, it was very carefully built, and some of its redoubts, like that from which it took its name, located west of the governor's mansion, were constructed partly of coquina.⁷ The Cubo and Rosario lines, together with the Castillo, formed the boundaries of the city in the eighteenth century, and in effect, gave it the appearance and condition of a walled medieval town; and a drawbridge at the city gates, which was regularly raised and lowered to permit entrance or exit, tended to emphasize this feature.

The Castillo not only was placed to command the harbor entrance but also was designed to defend St. Augustine in case of attack by land from the north. At lower Matanzas inlet, less than twenty miles south of the city, Fort Matanzas was built to guard this southern entrance to the harbor. Other immediately outlying fortifications were Picolata and San Francisco de Pupo, at the crossing of the St. Johns (San Mateo) river,⁸ and Fort Diego, located

7. No moat was necessary along the Rosario line, inasmuch as the course of the Marias Sanchez Creek and marsh, the source of which was a short distance west of the Tolomato redoubt, ran nearly parallel to that line before emptying into the San Sebastian river. Gradually this stream and marsh were filled up as the settlement was extended westward, and during the British period a system of outer redoubts was built along the east bank of the San Sebastian from the Cubo redoubt to its junction with the Matanzas to guard the newer parts of the city on the west, and southwest.

8. The inner defense system is shown on several maps of the early British period, but especially well on Castello's two maps of 1763, and Puente's maps of 1769. The Martinez map of 1765 shows the general outer defense system. In 1737 Antonio Arredondo, the Spanish military engineer, gave a detailed description of the entire defense system, with a critical analysis of its strength and weaknesses. His maps of the Castillo de San Marcos and of a proposed plan for improving the inner defenses constitute perhaps the best military cartography produced by any Spaniard during the first two centuries. It will be recalled that this was the time when the English threat was at its height. [See copies in the Map Division, Library of Congress.] Dr. Stork's map and description of the Spanish defense system at St. Augustine, written in the first decade of the British period, is also useful.

between St. Augustine and the mouth of the St. Johns river.

All these defenses in their early stages of development were constructed of earth and wood. But later on coquina was used, in rebuilding Fort Matanzas, as also the tower at Picolata, the Spanish lookout on Anastasia Island, and as already noted, the Castillo de San Marcos and certain redoubts of the Cubo and Rosario lines. Archeological investigations in connection with the Program has revealed, below the surface of the ground, an interesting historical record of palisade lines, redoubts, gun positions, and artifacts, to be associated with these defenses of Spain in Florida.

The location and development of the inner military defense system, including the Castillo de San Marcos and the Cubo and Rosario lines, had, as may be surmised, a decided influence upon the general plan and growth of the town.

But there was another important factor in this regard to be considered. A series of royal orders, culminating in the cedula of 1573⁹ made provision for the proper selection of sites and for the laying out of new towns in Spanish America. As a result of these orders, St. Augustine was moved from its second location near the harbor entrance on Anastasia Island to its present site. The cedula of 1573, it may be added, brought about, in the old capitol of Spanish Florida, the first instance of city planning and zoning in what is now the United States, outlining the principles to govern not only in the determination of the sites of all Spanish towns in the New World, but also in the location and develop-

9. The Spanish text of this document, together with a translation of the same and an introductory note by Zelia Nuttall is to be found in the *Hispanic American Historical Review*, IV, No. 4, for November, 1921, 743-53. The original manuscript (MS 3017), in the Royal Archives, is among the papers entitled "Bulas y Cedula para el Gobierno de las Indias."

ment of such features as the plaza, the streets, the churches, and other public buildings. And the similarity to be noted today between St. Augustine and other Spanish towns developed in the sixteenth century doubtless can be accounted for by the fact that every one of them was influenced by the same basic regulations as to planning.

Before 1675 a large majority of the houses and public buildings seem to have been made of wood, or tabby, although one or two coquina houses had made their appearance by 1600, or shortly thereafter. However, after the introduction of coquina in the construction of the Castillo, that material appears to have been generally adapted to almost every type of building. By 1763, 200 private dwellings, as well as the church, parish house, convent, governor's house, and hospitals were made with coquina walls; and, while many of these structures have since disappeared, there are still sufficient remains of the first Spanish period to enable the archeologist, architect and historian to fill in a substantial part of the story.

St. Augustine domestic architecture, as developed by the Spanish, was generally simple in detail, the houses being, ordinarily, one-or-two story rectangular buildings. In some cases, moreover the roofs were thick, being made of wood, tabby and mud, and in others, pitched, with heavy beams and hand-hewn shingles. Window openings and doors were few and of plain design. The floors were nearly always of earth, or of earth and shell solidly tamped, for little wood was used, owing to the dampness and rot. There were very few fireplaces in the first Spanish period. A conspicuous feature, moreover, was the overhanging wooden balconies which, in the narrow streets, almost completely covered these thoroughfares.

Facing the beautiful water front, and in an environment of great live oaks, Spanish moss, flowering shrubs, and gleaming white sand dunes, St. Augustine presents a great natural charm in addition to its historical lure.

In such surroundings it is not difficult to picture the drama and color of the fiesta days, when the streets were filled with Spanish-speaking people of all ages and classes, dressed in bright and extravagant costumes, the men strumming guitars, the ladies wearing lace shawls, and the children crowding about to hear the music and to watch the characteristic folk dances always to be associated with such events.

Then, too, there were the more solemn religious ceremonies, when the long processions of church dignitaries together with the laity, marched through the streets of the town wearing the robes of office, carrying crucifixes, and celebrating mass. Always interesting as these ceremonies were to the population, they took on added emphasis upon certain special occasions, when visiting churchmen happened to come to St. Augustine, as occurred at the time of Bishop Altamirano's trip for inspection from Havana in 1605, and, again, when Bishop Calderon came in 1674.

There was, moreover, the military life to add color to the city, for during the Spanish period St. Augustine was primarily a presidio, or fortified frontier garrison, and its armed and uniformed soldiers were always a feature, as they went about their tasks, -on sentry duty in the forts and defense lines, or in building fortifications and in keeping military equipment and barracks in good order.

Such were the more obvious features of the life as revealed in the records. Behind the scenes, and not so easy to recreate in the imagination, was the activity in the home. But it can be safely inferred that in the gathering of the food supply, in the preparation of the many palatable Spanish dishes, and

in the making of clothing and of beautiful laces for which the Spanish were justly famous, the ordinary housewife of St. Augustine was kept busy. And especially was this true, since there were gardens to be planted and tended, domestic animals and fowls to be cared for, while perhaps a soldier-husband was absent on duty at some remote frontier post.

This routine existence could be easily upset in moments of threatened or actual attack. Indian and pirate raids were numerous, and after the middle of the seventeenth century the fear of the English was constant. More than once in circumstances of great peril the inhabitants were forced to abandon their homes altogether and find refuge in the fort ; there, perhaps in the heat of summer and without adequate food or water, to remain until the trouble was ended. And until after the construction of the inner lines early in the eighteenth century these attacks more often than not involved the destruction of homes and other property, and the necessity of reconstructing dwellings and of refurbishing them.¹⁰

10. Numerous attacks upon St. Augustine by hostile foes as well as many other threats of attack occurred during the first Spanish period. Ribault's demonstration came before the settlement was hardly established, and there were a number of Indian raids in the earliest period, followed by Drake's attack in 1586, at which time the inhabitants were forced to flee to the woods and watch the English freebooter burn their town and fort. In the seventeenth century pirate raids were common, perhaps the most important of these occurred in 1668, being led by the notorious Davis. After the beginning of the eighteenth century, the attitude of the English in the Carolinas and Georgia made life in St. Augustine uncertain and hazardous. Moore's attack in 1702, despite his failure to take the castle, resulted in the destruction of approximately forty homes and public buildings and it was nearly thirty years before the Spanish government settled all of the claims for damages resulting from destruction to property by its subjects in St. Augustine. Likewise Palmer's attack in 1728 caused heavy loss, particularly in the adjacent negro and Indian villages immediately north of the town. In 1740 Oglethorpe laid siege to St. Augustine for several weeks, and, though in the long run he failed in his objectives, this period was one of great inconvenience and suffering for the inhabitants.

IV.

In 1565 King Philip II announced his determination to establish a military naval base on the Bahama Channel, ostensibly to protect the Spanish treasure fleet and to be a center for Christianizing the Indians of Florida. His decision, however, reflected a deeper motive, involving Spain's relationship to the international situation.

During the fifty-two years following Ponce de Leon's voyage of discovery in 1513, several attempts to colonize this region had failed dismally, and, by 1561, the official Spanish opinion of it was distinctly unfavorable. It was regarded as a land lacking in fertility of soil and mineral resources and containing extremely hostile native tribes. In comparison with the favorable location and conditions of the West Indies and the rich treasures of Mexico and Peru, it was a forbidding wilderness; and Spaniards generally felt that further effort to colonize it would be costly and would only serve to direct attention away from more profitable enterprises in the New World.¹¹

But in 1562 this state of affairs was abruptly altered by the vigorous French effort to gain control over Florida, which stimulated on the part of the Spaniards a renewed interest in the possible establishment of a colony on the shores of the North Atlantic. The result, three years later, was the

11. The story of the attempt of Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon to establish a Spanish settlement at the mouth of the River Jordan (possibly the Cape Fear River or the Great Pedee) is given by Woodbury Lowery in *The Spanish Settlements Within the Present Limits of the United States, 1513-1561*, 153-68.

founding of the colony of St. Augustine by Pedro Menendez de Aviles.¹²

The swiftness and the apparent ruthlessness with which Menendez acted from the moment of his arrival in Florida can not be explained merely as an outburst of Catholic fervor against the heretic, even though that consideration was involved. In the circumstances, because both Spain and France were nominally at peace with each other, and because both monarchs were Catholic, the religious justification was the most convenient excuse by which to support the action of the Adelantado.

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12. The record of the career of Menendez was preserved in three contemporary biographies by men who were close to him and who wrote from personal knowledge as well as from the records. These were Gonzalo Solis de Meras, of the colony of Florida; Mendoza Grajales, who was his chaplain and also a resident of Florida; and Barrientos, a professor of Latin at the University of Salamancas, who finished his life of the Adelantado in 1568. In addition to these, Barcia, *Ensayo Chronologico* made available materials from original sources now lost. For the general reader, however, the most useful biography of the founder of the St. Augustine colony is Jeannette Thurber Connor's *Pedro Menendez de Aviles*, published by the Florida State Historical Society (DeLand, 1923). It is well to add that this work by Mrs. Connor, as well as her volume on Jean Ribault (1927), and two volumes of *Colonial Records of Spanish Florida* (1925; 1930), also published by the Florida State Historical Society constitute an invaluable collection of source materials for the first fifteen years of the colony of St. Augustine (from 1565 to 1580). Very little published source materials are available for the period from 1580-1675, at which time the English records begin. For the Spanish materials, the student must rely largely upon the unpublished documents of the Archives of the Indies, from which selected transcribed and photostated copies have been made; these are to be found in such collections as the Lowery, Brooks and Connor materials in the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress, the Buckingham Smith transcriptions in the New York Historical Society Library and the John B. Stetson (Florida State Historical Society) photostats now in the Library of Congress. This last collection of Spanish official documents, which covers the entire first period of the history of Spanish Florida, is by all odds the most valuable single source of information available in the United States upon this phase of our colonial era.

Far more important than the religious consideration, however was the fact that by the destruction of the French colonists the Spanish position in Florida was reinforced to such an extent that for nearly a century no serious European competition again appeared south of Chesapeake Bay. And, in so far as the French were concerned, their re-appearance as a serious factor in Florida was postponed for nearly one hundred and twenty-five years.¹³

Unfortunately the founder of St. Augustine had but started his work at his death in 1574. This event marks the beginning of a critical period in the life of the colony. The Adelantado had pursued an aggressive and successful course with the wholehearted support of the King (Philip II) but in so doing he had acted in such a manner as to incur the displeasure of high officials of the government who did not like his independent spirit, much less the way the Crown had made him sole proprietor of the colony in Florida.

To finance the colony Menendez spent all of his personal fortune. He left no real successor to carry on the work he had begun, certainly no one with his vision of what ought to be done. And, even more serious, his hope of putting the colony upon a sound basis through the development of a practical agricultural program was soon forgotten.

The Spanish king was now forced to decide whether to withdraw the colony altogether, or to discover some other way of handling it. Some of Philip's closest advisers, believing that it had

13. The French re-appeared in the last years of the seventeenth century as a factor in the international situation involving the frontier of Florida, at approximately the same time that Spain reestablished the settlement of Pensacola. The French activities, no longer directed to the eastern seaboard, were confined to the area at the mouth of the Mississippi river and along the coast of the Gulf of Mexico, particularly in Mobile bay, where a colony was established.

served its purpose when the French were driven out, frankly opposed the idea of any further support and argued that Spain should concentrate her efforts elsewhere.

For the time being the King decided to abandon the proprietary principle and to make St. Augustine primarily a military and naval base, rather than a general agricultural colony, as Menendez had intended. As such it was to be a point from which to oppose the numerous pirates infesting the Bahama Channel, the route followed by the Spanish plate fleets. Also, it was to serve as a buffer, protecting the north shores of the Caribbean, and the general interests of New Spain. As for the problem of conquering the wilderness, that task was assigned to the Franciscans, who were expected to carry on a vigorous missionary program among the Indians. Such was the revised Spanish plan for Florida, and this it continued to be for more than a century, despite repeated efforts on the part of the local officials and colonists to persuade the government to adopt a large-scale agrarian and colonial program.

The cost of this program was paid by a subsidy, known as the "situado." Each year one or more ships must be sent from St. Augustine to Vera Cruz, Mexico, where the situado was collected, and certain supplies including military equipment, clothing, flour and other food stuffs were purchased. Thereafter, it was necessary to carry this cargo of money and supplies under the covetous eyes of the pirates to Havana, and thence to St. Augustine. At best the system was thoroughly unsatisfactory, and when, as sometimes happened, the supply ships were captured or wrecked, the inhabitants were reduced to the direst of circumstances—all the more serious because no one could leave Florida legally without the permission of the Spanish government

and because it was almost impossible to secure such relief. In view of these economic weaknesses, it may well be wondered how the colony could continue to exist, much less make progress.

The brighter side of the picture during the first century was the activity of the Franciscans. Until 1572 the Jesuits had been in charge of the missions in Florida and had succeeded in establishing themselves with less than a dozen priests on both coasts of Florida and even for a short time in the remote district of Axacan not far from Chesapeake Bay in the present State of Virginia-the first European occupation of that area.

Wear the close of the administration of Menendez, however, the followers of Loyola decided to leave Florida in order to devote their full attention to other rapidly expanding Jesuit operations in New Spain ; then the Franciscans took over, beginning their work in 1574. During the century that followed they developed, in the face of great obstacles, a mission system of imposing strength, which at its height, near the middle of the seventeenth century, included two important chains of stations, involving substantial portions of the present states of Florida, Georgia and South Carolina, the one running northward from St. Augustine to Port Royal Sound, the other westward and northward, to the head of Apalache Bay, and up the Apalachicola-Chattahoochee River. In addition, there were also a few stations located south of the capital in the direction of Cape Canaveral. In all, this mission system at its maximum strength, included more than fifty Franciscans and perhaps thirteen thousand converts, distributed in approximately thirty-four principal stations, around which were clustered numerous other Indian villages, relating more or

less directly to the central mission or "doctrina." ¹⁴

The Franciscan program was characterized with the same self-denial and devotion to ideals as was later exhibited by the Spanish priests in the Southwest and in California. Often the friars went alone and unprotected into the wilderness, there to remain for months without relief at their posts of duty. Their work, as a customary thing required constant travel from one place to another, for there were never sufficient numbers of them to permit their assignment to single stations, except in the case of a few of the more important missions.

The Franciscans performed a multitude of duties, building some of the first churches in what is now the United States, mastering the native tongues, making the first dictionaries in the Indian dialects, giving instructions in the catechism, acting as the first school teachers, and so developing their program that they became, to a considerable extent, the political as well as spiritual rulers of the Spanish provinces governed from St. Augustine.

In every sense these missionaries were the advance guard of Spain in North America; in their wake followed the military and political activities of the mother country, carrying with them grave international complications that would affect the future destiny of this territory in ways yet unrealized. When the long arm of English colonization,

14. For the story of the missions in Florida, see Michael Kenny's *The Romance of the Floridas* (New York, 1934), which is primarily a defense of the Jesuit contribution; John Tate Lanning's *The Spanish Missions of Georgia* (Chapel Hill, 1935), mainly a narrative of the Franciscans north of the St. Johns river; and Maynard Geiger's *The Franciscan Conquest of Florida (1573-1618)* (Washington, 1937). While only the Jesuits and Franciscans were concerned with the history of Spanish Florida after the founding of St. Augustine in 1565, to another order, that of the Dominicans, probably goes the honor of being the first Catholic missionaries "to preach to the natives along what is now the Atlantic coast of the United States." Lowery, *Spanish Settlements, 1513-61*, 391.

extending southward during the first half of the seventeenth century, at length came into direct conflict with the Spaniards, it was the Franciscan missions which bore the brunt of the attack until, overpowered by the English fur trader and English gold, rum and firearms, they at length capitulated.

Of significance in the history of the missions was the vigorous support accorded by the Franciscans to the Indians' ancient rights in the land. In so doing, these churchmen resisted all attempts by the Spaniards to alienate these lands. No doubt this was another important reason why a general agricultural system was never successfully established by Spain in Florida.

The military frontier from a geographical standpoint in the first century of Spanish Florida corresponded closely to that of the religious frontier, though until the high tide of the missions about 1660 the tendency of the Spanish government was to place the emphasis upon the Franciscan organization at the expense of soldiers and forts. There was a feeling that the priest rather than the soldier afforded the best protection of the frontier, which attitude was perhaps justified so long as the Spaniard dealt solely with the Indian. But as the English invasion into Florida began with the colonization of the Carolinas and Georgia, this process was reversed, the Spanish military forces being gradually increased, and the number and strength of the missions decreased. And as may be surmised, the decline of the missions was hastened by the ruthlessness of the English methods, for, when

border warfare began, many of the missions were completely destroyed and abandoned.¹⁵

In the first century, as has been pointed out, Spain developed three principal military centers in Spanish Florida, at St. Augustine, at San Mateo, and at Santa Elena. In 1587 Fort Felipe at Santa Elena was abandoned but the activities of Spanish soldiery continued in that region where they maintained several smaller forts and regular patrols along the coast line.

Since the situado, until Oglethorpe's time, supported a maximum of only 300 persons in the entire colony of Florida—priests, government officers and soldiers, the garrisons were necessarily small and scattered. The actual force in the Castillo de San Marcos at St. Augustine, for the first century of occupation was usually less than 150 men, because there were always a number of outlying posts, such as San Marcos in Apalache, Picolata and San Francisco de Pupo on the St. Johns, Fort Matanzas at lower Matanzas inlet, and San Diego lying between St. Augustine and San Mateo, which must also be garrisoned. Until 1587, San Mateo and Santa Elena had approximately the same quotas of soldiers as St. Augustine.

Unlike the English and French, the Spaniards, until a relatively late date, incorporated few native Indian forces into their military system, due mainly, to the fact that the practice would have been con-

15. Connors *Colonial Records of Spanish Florida* contains a great deal of information regarding the forts, garrisons, and general activities at St. Augustine, San Mateo, and Santa Elena to the year 1580. For the period which follows, one must depend largely upon unpublished sources, such as the Lowery transcripts and the Stetson photostats from the Archives of the Indies. However the thread of the military as well as the political story can be obtained from Geiger, *The Franciscan Conquest of Florida*, Lanning, *The Spanish Missions of Georgia*, Herbert E. Bolton, *Spain's Title to Georgia* (Berkeley, 1925), and Verner Crane, *The Southern Frontier 1670-1732* (Philadelphia, 1929).

trary to the religious policy; even though patrol work often necessitating long arduous trips into the wilderness, especially at times of Indian unrest, was a serious drain upon man-power and other military resources. Nor did the Spanish, as in the case of other European nations on the Atlantic seaboard, ever adopt to any considerable degree the Indian's type of warfare.

The expansion of Spanish missions westward toward Apalache Bay, which began shortly after 1600, was followed up, somewhat tardily, by the military program. Before the middle of the seventeenth century, however, a fort was established at San Luis, very near the site of the present Tallahassee. Somewhat later, that is by 1682, when Spain was fighting desperately to hold the mission lines from St. Augustine to Apalache and northward into the province of Apalachicola, Fort Apalache was built at the head of the bay by that name, supplanting Fort Luis; it, in turn, eventually gave way to the forts at Pensacola as the frontier was extended into the Mississippi Valley.

The English-Spanish conflict after 1670 for the possession of the frontier of Florida, involving also France in the west to some degree, resulted in the gradual withdrawal of the Spanish forces southward—a movement which did not stop even when the mission road from St. Augustine to Apalache Bay was reached. In the last stages of the struggle the area within the triangle formed by the defenses at St. Augustine, at the mouth of the St. Johns River, and at Picolata and San Francisco de Pupo formed the center of Spanish resistance. In passing it is of interest to note that, due largely to additions in the military forces, the Spanish population increased more than ten-fold between 1674 and 1764.

The political ties which bound the Spanish provinces on the Atlantic seaboard to the remainder

of the colonial organization of Spain in the New World were never close. While theoretically Florida was under the viceroy of Mexico, the connection was extremely loose, and actually the home government through the Council of the Indies and the Casa de Contratacion (House of Trade) exercised much more control than did the viceroy. Likewise the relationship of the local government of Florida to the Audiencia of Santo Domingo, a body of judicial nature, having an important administrative connection to the viceroy, was only nominal. In the case of the church the tie was closer, supervision being under the Bishop of Havana.

Practically speaking, however, there was little direct control except by local officials of the Florida frontier; and the colony, because of its remote position, operated with comparative independence, except for the occasional visits of inspecting officers, or visitadors. Correspondence with the viceroy, the Council of the Indies, and the Casa de Contratacion, such as was carried on, was extremely slow and questions were often debated back and forth for months, or even years, before being settled. In the meanwhile the local officials acted as they saw fit.

The chief political officer in Spanish Florida, from the time of the death of Menendez until the British period in 1763, was the governor (gobernador) who was appointed by the King from a list of names prepared and submitted to him by the Council of the Indies. As in other parts of New Spain, Florida's local government included usually, besides the governor, certain other royal officers, the principal ones being a treasurer, an accountant, and a factor, whose duty it was to purchase and distribute all the supplies under the situado. Each of these was subordinate to the governor as were the military and religious officials. Mention also should be made of the sergeant mayor, the notary (escribano)

and the chief pilot (*piloto mayor*). The sergeant mayor supervised the affairs of the garrison, and often was a political figure, second only to the governor, whose duties he sometimes assumed, as acting governor. The notary kept the official records and wrote the letters, while the pilot was the chief of navigation in the colony.

The governor, who was almost invariably an outsider, was the personal representative of the King in Florida and held theoretically absolute power. However he found himself more often than not confronted with a strongly entrenched local clique made up of residents of long tenure and influence. This clique developed very much as the invisible governments in some of our states and cities today, and was especially potent because the Spanish system provided for "visitas," or investigations of the administrations of the governor and the other royal officers during their terms of office, as well as "residencias" at the end of the terms of each governor, in which the testimony of the inhabitants was taken by the investigator to determine the character of the services of the local officials of the King.

The governors as well as the other royal officials, knowing what investigations they must face at such times, were customarily careful to cultivate support among those whose testimony might otherwise blacken their reputations, and thereby prevent much desired promotions in the government service. Thus injustice sometimes resulted from the residencias, although, in theory, at least, they served a good purpose. One important result of the visitas and the residencias was the growth of a strong tone of localism and of separatism, and the manifestation of certain tendencies toward democratic government, which were still further accentuated by the geographical isolation of the Florida frontier.

Life in Spanish St. Augustine, though marked by the perplexities of unhealthy economic conditions, the lack of the ordinary necessities, and, in many instances, grinding poverty, had its interesting and even unusual features.

Theoretically, if not always in actual practice, the King was concerned in the minute details of the lives of his subjects. They were frequently sent to Florida without their consent, and forced to remain there as long as the royal will decreed. From the beginning, however, a reasonably normal family life existed, and by the beginning of the seventeenth century there were a substantial group of men, women, and children of Spanish stock, called creoles who were native born Floridians, and who had lived since birth in St. Augustine. The population was much more stable than might be suspected in view of the tenuous circumstances of its existence. The minor civil and military offices were open to native born inhabitants of Spanish blood, and in these a certain amount of promotion was possible. In fact, the entire military system soon became, in effect, a local militia, for the reason that most of the soldiers were recruited from the native population. Only the governorship, and the higher church offices, both regular and secular, were normally filled through the appointment of outsiders.

The violation of the harsher laws of the empire was winked at or altogether ignored, as was the case frequently on the American frontier. Smuggling was prevalent and undoubtedly was an important source of income of established families, though not to the extent of the development of large fortunes. Likewise, in certain instances, lands were illegally appropriated for agricultural purposes, often with the consent of the governor. To be sure, this was done mainly on lands near St. Augustine which the Indians had abandoned voluntarily, as they retired

to areas less likely to be in the direct path of either the Spanish friar or soldier.

Though a general agricultural system was never established, the first period of Spanish occupation marks the beginning, in the present area of the United States, of the cultivation of grapes, citrus, figs and several other European fruits and crops. And with the raising of grapes in Florida, the Spanish also began to make domestic wines of good quality, though they continued to import some varieties from Spain and the West Indies.

Another colonial activity in Spanish Florida was the introduction, in considerable numbers, of cattle, horses, various kinds of fowls, and hogs; and many a razorback hog now running wild in the swamps of Florida, Georgia, and the Carolinas might trace his ancestry back to some proud Spanish porker brought to St. Augustine in the sixteenth, seventeenth or eighteenth centuries.

The adaptability of the Spanish to native products is worth noting, as in the case of corn (maize), and tobacco, both of which being indigenous to Florida, were borrowed from the Indians. Likewise oysters, turtles, and turtle eggs, became common sources of food, and one of the finest of Spanish dishes, still served in St. Augustine, was a combination of shrimp and corn, or rice, called "pilau." Ordinary varieties of garden vegetables of both European and native origin and many types of flowering plants and shrubs were grown in St. Augustine, as well as at the mission stations and military posts, and in some of the old gardens are yet to be found plants, flowers, and trees with an ancestry traceable to the first Spanish period.

The social system theoretically was rigid, corresponding to that prevailing in Spain, but the natural influences of the frontier tended to modify it. In fact many democratic influences were at work. As

for negro slavery, the first appearance of this institution in permanent form in the area of what is now continental United States, occurred at St. Augustine where it existed there almost from the beginning of the settlement, antedating that at Jamestown by more than a half century.¹⁶ In Spanish Florida, however, property rights to slaves at first seem to have been in the Crown, rather than in private owners. Gradually the system became more like that in the English speaking settlements, being marked by the assignment of slaves to individual Spaniards for certain kinds of work.

The benevolent attitude of the Spanish toward the negroes is indicated by the fact that it was possible for the blacks to buy, or otherwise to gain,

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16. The first appearance of African slavery in what is now continental United States appears to have occurred in the year 1526 when Ayllon made his ill fated attempt to plant a colony along the Carolina coast. He brought with him a number of negro slaves and there is a record that after his death these slaves revolted and murdered Gines Dancel, the soldier who had tried to secure for himself the leadership of the colony. Regarding the introduction of slaves into the colony at St. Augustine, it is not clear that Menendez brought over any in his first expedition. See Connor's *Pedro Menendez*, 77. However, Lowery, op. cit. (1562-1574), 143, 145, 147, while apparently agreeing with Connor's conclusion in regard to the first expedition, states (160) that "the negro slaves were quartered in the huts of the Indian village and the work on the defenses was proceeded with." That this mention of negro slaves undoubtedly relates to the months of August and September 1565, is shown in the following sentence in which Lowery says that "while the work was in progress, two of Ribault's ships . . . made a demonstration at the mouth of the harbor." (160-1). The comment of H. I. Priestly in his work *The Coming of the White Man* (New York, 1929), 73, to the effect that "negro slaves of the Spanish King were sent to Florida in 1581," and that "a small party of them was engaged for two years in making a wooden platform for the artillery of the fort at old San Agustin," while indicating the presence of negroes in Florida at that date, should not be taken to mean that this was the first such occurrence. It seems to be a fair conclusion that the institution of negro slavery existed almost from the beginning of the colony at St. Augustine; and it is quite evident that Menendez had a license to bring over slaves.

their freedom, and gradually some of them did so. Escaped slaves from the Carolinas and Georgia in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries added to the number of free negroes and tended to create a new problem. As a result many of them were segregated in little villages near St. Augustine, among which the most notable example was perhaps that of "Mosa" village. Some of the fortifications and military lines were built with negro labor, such as Fort Mosa, on the Tolomato (Worth) river at the eastern extremity of the Mosa, or northern, parallel.

The question of Indian relations, as has been previously pointed out, was always an interesting one. The desire to Christianize the Indian was one of the chief reasons for the maintenance of the Spanish colony in Florida and his welfare was of great concern both to the church and to the government. Under Spanish law, as a member of his community or tribe, he was the legal owner of the land. His agricultural system as well as his simple and natural life won the hearty commendation of religious leaders, such as Altamirano, Ore, and Calderon, who regarded him as living, in his native state and under Christian influence, a relatively ideal existence.

In reality, however, there were many weaknesses in the protective system with which the Indian was surrounded. While the *encomienda* gained no headway in Florida, because it was illegal for Spaniards to hold private land grants, it did not necessarily follow that the Indian was entirely without responsibility under the Spanish system. Regularly he was compelled to furnish agricultural products to the garrison, and to transplant these to St. Augustine. For these contributions he received little recompense or consideration.

Moreover, he was required upon occasion to labor on public works in the capital or at other places in Spanish Florida, assisting in building forts, defense

lines, and public buildings. In this arduous labor he served without pay, frequently being forced to provide his own food, as well as being under the necessity of staying away from his tribe indefinitely. The Franciscans vigorously protested these enforced labor practices, but they could not prevent the system.

In other respects the friars themselves interfered to his discomfort. The most serious Indian rebellions in the first two centuries of Spanish rule in Florida were caused by attempts on the part of the friars to interfere with ancient customs of the tribes, involving efforts to prevent polygamy, and to clothe the naked tribesmen after the European manner. There was a clamor also at times when the Franciscans were charged with requiring various forms of menial labor from their converts; and, even in some cases charges of excessive cruelty on the part of the priests, such as whipping and other forms of torture.

Everything considered, however, the relationship with the Indian in Spanish Florida was as altruistic as that of any Europeans in our colonial history. It left him in the possession of his wilderness and preserved for the most part his racial integrity, while attempting to Christianize him and to emancipate him from primitive practices. And while the intermingling of Spanish and Indian blood was not uncommon, it was not encouraged to the degree practiced by other Europeans in North America, or for that matter, by the Spaniards themselves elsewhere in the Western Hemisphere.¹⁷

17. The fifteen volumes of the Catholic records of the Parish of St. Augustine, the oldest in the United States of any church group, dating from 1594, constitute an important source of information on the social history of St. Augustine, supplying abundant data regarding family names, births, deaths, and marriages. The original records are in the Parish houses at St. Augustine: in addition two complete photostatic copies have been made, one being in the library of the St. Augustine Historical Society, and the other in the National Archives, Washington, D. C.

V.

As was pointed out above, the Spanish nation in the sixteenth century transplanted practically all the features of its civilization to the New World. These, to be sure, were gradually modified and diversified as the result of environmental influences.

In the history of the St. Augustine colony, therefore, we can expect to find, and we do find, inherited tendencies characteristic of other communities of Spain, but with certain marked differences due to the topography, climate, soil, rainfall, ecology, and other environmental features peculiar to Spanish Florida.

One important factor was the remoteness of Spanish Florida and its separation from other parts of the Spanish empire in the New World, which undoubtedly had a powerful effect, upon the inhabitants and their institutions. Thus, for example, the more or less flourishing conditions of trade and commerce prevalent in other parts of New Spain were, in St. Augustine, sadly lacking; and the absence of healthy economic conditions meant that poverty was always present as well as a certain pessimism in the minds of the people concerning the prospects of the colony.

This geographical separation likewise affected political matters. Though controlled by a rigid colonial system and by a Spanish monarch having theoretically absolute power, royal officers and subjects alike were so often forced to shift for themselves on this remote frontier that they formed the habit of acting with a considerable degree of independence. The result was the development of certain of the democratic tendencies of a self-governing community, such as American frontier conditions have elsewhere produced. Furthermore, in St. Augustine, Spanish class distinctions always

appeared on the surface to be more inflexible than they actually were, and, as a matter of fact, in numerous cases men of ability but of humble origin were able to force their way to the top of the social ladder.

Despite its environment and isolation, however, St. Augustine, like other Spanish towns in the New World, reflected in its physical condition, and in the attitudes of its population, characteristics peculiar to Spaniards. Language, dress, religion, home life, military methods, and advanced ideas regarding civic planning show the influence of deep-rooted Spanish customs and practices, which environment might to some extent modify, but never could entirely change.

With these things in mind, what then did St. Augustine contribute to American culture and civilization?

For one thing, the St. Augustine colony demonstrated for the first time in North America those essentially pioneer characteristics of mind-courage, initiative, perseverance, and adaptability, so necessary to the successful conquest of the American frontier, to which should be added certain well defined attributes of liberalism and democracy.

Moreover, the experiences of the Spaniards in St. Augustine afforded to other nations important lessons in what to avoid as well as what to do in the conduct of frontier affairs. The English, especially, seem to have made a careful study of the Spanish methods, and their criticisms, therefore, are of interest. They charged, for example, that it was a mistake to set up a military and religious regime in Spanish Florida, and at the same time to neglect to develop sound agricultural methods, and generally to fail to appreciate and to use properly the natural resources of the region ; again they criticised their rivals as not being able to understand

the fundamentals of good house architecture, asserting that their private dwellings lacked such useful features as fireplaces and chimneys and good floors and windows. Finally, they said that the Spaniards were idealistic and impractical in their relationship with the Indian tribes. In all of these criticisms the English were without doubt correct to a certain degree.

But while the inhabitants of Spanish Florida were perhaps, in their simple life, lacking in some respects, and while they also could not support on their remote frontier any of the highly developed institutions and practices which existed in such centers as Mexico City and Lima—the great universities, the art galleries, printing presses, and the activities of celebrated poets, painters, sculptors and scientists ; yet, nevertheless, on a more modest basis, St. Augustine did have its schools, its art, its literature and its science brought in principally by the religious orders as a part of the mission program.

The churches were built after the fashion existing throughout Spanish America and reflected a good taste in architecture and mural decorations. The forts and other public and private buildings likewise, despite the criticism of the English, showed evidence of an appreciation of the artistic as well as the realistic, and in the case of the Castillo de San Marcos the Spaniards produced a great monument to art as well as to military engineering. Thus, also, in the laying out of the town, diligent attention was given to the aesthetic as well as to the practical nature of the problem, and inside of the grim military defense lines were to be found a well kept plaza, an impressive governor's mansion, simple but attractive homes, pleasantly shaded streets, and other details of community planning, indicative of an unusual appreciation of the importance of combining natural and man-made features in the inter-

ests of beauty and harmony. Herein perchance lies the secret of the natural charm of St. Augustine which has captivated visitors from the days of the British occupation down to the present time. And to the same result the general environment of St. Augustine, the magnificent water front, the great trees, the flowers, and the vegetation also have contributed a great deal.

The Spanish character presents certain apparent contradictions to the student of history, which make it somewhat difficult of analysis. According to one authority, Fombona, Spanish Americans were, as perhaps they still are, a people "essentially democratic and at the same time eminently despotic; they are proud and yet beg alms ; they are of indomitable personal independence but as a nation submit to a most pronounced absolutism; they are very Catholic yet little religious." Fombona further concludes that "the Spaniard and the Spanish American do not tolerate abuses from servility, but from excess of individualism through lack of social cohesion, and through failure to exercise their rights." ¹⁸

While these observations contain a kernel of truth, they do not afford a true understanding of the Spanish character as reflected in the history of St. Augustine. Rather this is to be found, even today, in the simple and intimate details of home life, and in the pleasant and harmonious environment. For these objective elements of history, far more realistical than the written records, reveal the fundamental processes of growth in this community, and above all a remarkably clear balance of human values quite unusual in frontier conditions, which is possibly the chief contribution of St. Augustine to American culture.

18. Jones, Cecil Knight, "The Transmission and Diffusion of Culture in the Spanish American Colonies," in *Colonial Hispanic America*, edited by A. Curtis Wilgus (Washington, 1936) 303.

If, as may logically be expected, the St. Augustine Historical Program, through its research activities and treatment of sites and environment leads to a sharper definition and better understanding of the various elements connected with the history of St. Augustine, then the attributes which for centuries contributed to make this ancient city one of the most important on the North American continent, may again become generally known and appreciated to the benefit of this and future generations.

COLONIAL PENSACOLA : THE BRITISH PERIOD

PART II

By CLINTON N. HOWARD

After the initial difficulties which accompany any new settlement were over, Pensacola developed during the late 1760's and early 1770's much as did the other eighteenth century English colonial capitals in North America.

The return of Governor Johnstone to England upon leave of absence in January, 1767, left the administration of the province in the hands of the Lieutenant Governor Montfort Browne and the Council. The years between 1767 and 1770 constitute what may best be designated an interim period in the history of the political government of the province.

The Lieutenant Governor continued the administration from the time word of Johnstone's dismissal in February 1767 was received until the arrival of Governor Eliot.¹ The latter's sudden death within a month of his arrival in the province again left Browne in charge of the government until his departure for England in 1768 under a cloud of suspicion caused by tangled accounts and quarrels with factions in the colony. He was succeeded by Elias Durnford who was appointed lieutenant governor and who continued the administration until Peter Chester's arrival in the summer of 1770. Governor Chester continued in charge of the province until its capture by the Spanish forces under Bernardo de Galvez in 1781. Neither Johnstone nor Browne returned to the province after his departure, but Durnford continued to work amicably with Chester as lieutenant governor and member of the Council.

1. Public Record Office of Great Britain, Colonial Office paper, Series 5, volume 584.

The Assembly met on the twenty-third of February 1767 in accordance with the prorogation of Governor Johnstone. Members present at the opening session were John Lorimer, Alexander Moore, John Crozer, James Ross, Daniel Ward, John Weir, William Aird and Benjamin Ward.² Other assemblies were called in later years but there seems to have been no incident in the history of the Assembly which involved Pensacola more than other parts of the province. Between 1772 and 1776 a quarrel of the usual colonial sort between the governor and the Assembly induced Chester not to call that body. Probably the sitting of the assembly was something of an event in Pensacola as it was in other colonial capitals. Probably, too, it brought additional activity to Pensacola during the days of its session. So even more must the Indian congresses have done.

A number of regulations of local interest which had earlier been enforced as ordinances by the authority of the governor and council were enacted with the consent of the governor into statute law by this first session of the Assembly. These statutes were, of course, subject to the approval of the Crown. At a meeting in Pensacola on November 25, 1764, the governor in council had ordained that a proclamation for promoting religion and restraining vice and immorality in the province should be issued forthwith.³ It was likewise resolved that the General Commission of the Peace should be issued.

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2. P.R.O., C.O., 5:575, 627, 632. The material on the early work of the assembly is found in these three volumes. The minutes of the first session (November 3, 1766 - January 3, 1767) have been edited by James A. Padgett and published in the *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, April, 1939, vol. 22, no. 2, pp. 311-384.
 3. P.R.O., C.O., 5:632. All of the following material on the governor, council and assembly, unless otherwise stated, is taken from the Minutes of the Council and of the Assembly in the Public Record Office.

The members of the Council were for the time being made members of the Commission and to them were joined Alexander Fraser, Elias Durnford, John MacGillivray, Henry Stuart, William Shaw, Arthur Gordon, John Stephenson, Lockhart Russel and William Aird of Pensacola and nine gentlemen of Mobile. James Noble of Pensacola was added to the Commission by the governor in council at the meeting of November 27. At this meeting the clerk of the council read some advertisements to the inhabitants of Pensacola. These advertisements forbade the townspeople to sell spirituous liquors by retail. This was probably for fear of the effect of a retail liquor trade upon the Indians. Another advertisement forbade the dumping of dirt or ballast into the harbor. The reason for this appears obvious. The council also considered at this meeting the regulation of indentured servants: "That some Regulation for the better Government of Indented Servants, Likewise for the more effectual Carrying Their Different Contracts into execution, as well in respect of what they are to perform, as in respect of what their Master has on his part also engaged to perform are necessary." It was unanimously resolved that the question be referred to a committee which should draw up such resolutions on the subject as should seem proper to them.

On the twelfth of December the Council considered the questions raised by the Indian trade. It resolved that the licenses which had been issued by Major Farmar should be called in at the next Indian congresses. It was felt that the trading of spirituous liquors for horses and raw skins was the principal object of the lawless sort of traders and that their actions would ruin the Indian trade and would also encourage the Indians to steal horses. In order to forestall cattle thieves the Council ordained that all persons selling meat

should hang up the green hide with hair on it on the stockade facing the street for four hours a day. Messrs. Stuart, Blackwell and Morcier were asked to report on regulations for ascertaining identification of black-cattle, sheep, hogs and horses. At this meeting the Council also approved the project of a road between Mobile and Pensacola. At another meeting the Council returned to a consideration of the retail liquor business and resolved that not more than three retail liquor licenses should be granted in Pensacola.

Most of these early ordinances-in-council were re-enacted into statute law by the first meeting of the Assembly.⁴ Some of these acts of the first West Florida Assembly dealt generally with the province ; some of them dealt specifically with Pensacola and Mobile. All in all these first acts of the Assembly give a good picture of the colonial life. M. A. Lamb wrote from Lincoln's Inn, London, to the lords of trade apropos of these acts on May 30, 1768:⁵

In pursuance of your Lordship's Commands Signified to me by Mr. Pownall's Letter Wherein you are Pleased to Desire My Opinion in Point of Law upon the following Acts Passed in West Florida in January 1767. I have Perused and Considered the same (Viz^t.)

1. - An Act appointing the Number of the Assembly and Regulating Elections.
2. - An Act for the Regulation of Servants.
3. - An Act to Oblige Masters of Vessells to give Bond in the Provincial Secretary's Office.
- 4 - An Act for Granting Licences to Retailers of Spirituous Liquors Imposing a Duty on said Licences and for Regulating of Taverns or Publick Houses.

4. P.R.O., C.O., 5:632.

5. P.R.O., C.O., 5:575.

5. - An Act for Encouraging the Inhabitants of Pensacola and Mobile to Build Wharfs and for Establishing Rates of Wharfage.
6. - An Act for Clearing the Town of Mobile of all Offensive Weeds and Cutting down the Woods around the said Town
7. - An Act to Restrain Drunkenness and promote Industry
8. - An Act appointing where the Laws of this Province shall be Lodged.
9. - An Act Concerning Flats, Boats, and Canoes
10. - An Act to Erect Mobile into a County and to Establish a Court of Common Pleas
11. - An Act Establishing the Interest of Money and Ascertaining the damages of Protested Bills of Exchange
12. - An Act for Granting certain Duties to his Majesty to be applied towards supporting the Government of this province
13. - An Act Concerning Coasters
14. - An Act for the Regulation and Government of Negroes and Slaves

Upon Perusal and Consideration of the before mentioned Acts I have no Objections thereto in Point of Law. They are the first Acts that have been passed in this Province, And the Propriety of them, and how far they are agreeable to the Governors Instructions Will be in your Lordships Judgment, and particularly the last Act relating to Foreigners and the Powers therein Given to Papists.

On June 2, 1766 the Assembly passed an act to provide for the cleaning of the streets of Pensacola and to prevent nuisances in and about the town. The act appointed washing places at the west end of town and at the south front of Garden Lot Number 157 in the east end of town.

Several interesting sidelights on the character of these members of the colonial legislature are found in events of June 1766. On June 6 the Committee of the Assembly on Courts of Justice and the State of the Gaols reported that "the Chancellor of this Province had lately Reversed the Verdict of a Jury . . ." The Assembly thereupon resolved "That if in our Present Situation such things have happened they cannot be Considered Precedents to Deprive his Majesty's Subjects of the Benefit of being Judged by Their Peers." The Committee also reported that both felons and debtors were lodged in the same jail. The Assembly resolved "That this House will contribute to the Hire of Separate Apartments for Debtors." On this same day the Assembly was dissolved by Lieutenant Governor Browne. Browne had his opinion of the members of the Assembly. On June 29 he wrote to Shelburne "the old leaven remains, besides seeing clearly that their chief Motive for protracting of the Business of the Province was to Enjoy that Enormous Sallary, they had voted themselves . . . there are such people come are daily Coming to the Province, who will be above swallowing up the small Revenues of this Infant Colony in exhorbitant Wages . . ." ⁶ Before this stricture on the assemblymen is accepted completely it is well to remember that many of these men were Browne's political and even, often, personal enemies.

The summer of 1767 passed quietly in the government and social life of the province. On September 29 the Lieutenant Governor wrote to the lords of trade in complaint of the number of absentee office holders. One of the absentees was James McPherson the provincial secretary. He was the

6. Montfort Browne to the Earl of Shelburne, Secretary of State for the Southern Department, June 29, 1767, P.R.O., C.O., 5:584.

famous translator and editor of the *Ossian*, poems. After a few months residence in the province in 1764-65 he had returned to England leaving Daniel Clark as his deputy.⁷ Also a number of the provincial offices were vacant. The rectorships of Mobile and Pensacola were among these offices.⁸

The Spanish trade was without doubt very important to Pensacola from the point of view of the then existing mercantilistic imperial relations. Browne wrote to the lords of trade on September 29, 1767:

My Lords

I have the Honor to acquaint Your Lordships that an application made to me by the Principal Merchants engaged in the Spanish Trade at this Place; That the Provincial Sloop, would, if sent in a proper manner to Havanna and Campechy be of the utmost benefit to the Trade of this Infant Colony.

I therefore with the advice of the Council and the Commodore on this station, sent the Sloop to the Havanna, with a Merchant on Board who has long been a resident and Trader among the Spaniards and was well known at these Places.

The Pretence I made use of in my Dispatches to the Governor's, was to request of them Copys of the Records of a Vessel called the Don Carlos that had Been lost about two years ago, for want of which the Merchants could not recover their Insurance at home.

The Sloop upon her arrival at the Havanna was admitted to come to anchor at the mouth of the Harbour. between the Forts, Moro and Punto, and the Gentlemen I sent, as well as the

7. Browne to the lords of trade, September 29, 1767, P.R.O., C.O., 5 :575.

8. P.R.O., C.O., 5:632.

Captain and Ships Company were treated very Civilly but none were permitted on Shore.

I flatter myself the voyage will have the desired Effect, as I received an extreame Polite Letter from the Governor at Havanna in answer to mine wherein he acquaints me of every Circumstance Relative the Vessel Don Carlos; in a short Time after a Spanish Brigg came in here from that Place bound for Vera Cruz, to take in the Jesuits, who I am told Purchased to the amount of Thirty Thousand Dollars, in Goods Suitable for their Markets, and assured me as this Port was now open to them, and that there were Goods Sufficient among our Merchants here, we might depend on the Spaniards coming Constantly to this Place as it lay so convenient to their Forts.

I hope my Conduct in this as well as in every thing else since I have been honoured with the Command of the Province will always meet with Your Lordships approbation.⁹

In pursuing this line of action Browne was continuing the policy of Johnstone who, immediately after his arrival in the province had written home: "But really it is a doubt, in the fluctuating State of things, who May Stay or who May go, The disposition of all Seems to Lead them to Return if the Spanish Commerce is not Open'd."¹⁰

On the twenty-ninth of September the Lieutenant Governor proposed to a committee of the Council to summon the Assembly to meet forty days after the twenty-first of October. Shortly after a matter of criminal jurisdiction arose when the committee of the council reprieved for thirteen days Jonathan Scott, convicted murderer of John Farrel. The

9. P.R.O., C.O., 5:575.

10. P.R.O., C.O., 5:574.

committee which met ¹¹ under the presidency of Durnford agreed that the sentence must be reviewed by Lieutenant-Governor Browne, who was temporarily absent from Pensacola.

At a meeting of the Council on November sixth Durnford acquainted the committee that he had received a letter from the Honorable James Marsh, Esq., dated the fifth of November, wherein Mr. Marsh informed him that a certain paper, printed at "Charles Town," had accidentally fallen into his hands. Mr. Marsh declared that the paper "contained the most injurious reflections, on the conduct, and behavior, of His Honor the Lieutenant Governor; and tended to Alienate the Minds of the People of this Province from the Respect and Obedience, due to His Majesty's Representative" The committee read Mr. Marsh's letter and the paper. They were of the unanimous opinion that the publication was "a Scandalous infamous and mean Libel ; designed to creat Tumults and disorder in the Province and the highest disregard of His Honor the Lieutenant Governor. They ordered that the paper be burned by the Hands of the Common Hangman, opposite the East Gate of the Fort on Monday the ninth [of November] at eleven o'clock."

The winter session of the Assembly met on December fifteenth. On the twenty-third the House meeting in committee on finance resolved to introduce a bill to apply "several Duties mentioned in an Act Intituled 'an Act for granting Certain Duties to his Majesty to be applied toward Supporting the Government of the Province from the first Day of January 1769'." The Act appointed a treasurer of the province to superintend the collection and disbursement of the funds. It was also resolved that included in the bill there should be a grant of an

11. November 1, 1767.

additional duty of 5 on all negroes or slaves imported into the province from any other of the colonies, provided that such negroes or slaves should have resided for a period of twelve months in any other of his Majesty's colonies. The pounds received from these duties were to be applied specifically to the payment of official salaries and government expenses in part as follows:

- Clerk of the Council 70 a year
- Assembly 70 a year
- Messenger of the Council 50 a year
- Assembly 50 a year
- Contingent Fund of the Council) amount
- to be attested by the Senior)
- Councillor) unspecified
- Contingent Fund of the Assembly) amount
- to be attested by the Speaker) unspecified
- Translator of the laws into French 20 a year
- To the Speaker for each day of actual attendance 7/6
- To the Members for each day of actual attendance 5/-

When the House had passed this act it was sent to the Council which adopted it by a vote of three to two. Elias Durnford and David Hodge dissented. Durnford protested that the appointment of a Treasurer for the province and the appropriation for a specific purpose was an infringement of the king's prerogative. He continued: "I do Dissent to Section 38th in the Money Bill which Grants Salaries to the Members of the Assembly although it is not entirely unprecedented in some Colony's in North America. Yet from the Poverty, Inability and Necessity of this Colony I do think all Money's which can be Raised should be Appropriated to no other Services But those where the Community Cry aloud for Assistance-such as Draining around the Town Building a Goal and making Roads." The

bill was signed by Lieutenant Governor Browne in spite of Durnford's protest, but with the reservation that, in Browne's words to the Assembly, "I consider the appointment of the Treasurer by the Assembly as an Infringement upon the Prerogative of the Crown But as a Compleat Legislative Authority cannot exist without money to support it I have for that Reason only Passed the Bill But I do not give up this Point to any future Session of Assembly or Consent that the same be hereafter. Pleaded as a Precedent."

In February 1768 the Council enacted by ordinance that every person taking lands over his family right should give bond to begin to settle the land within two years of the issuance of the warrant of survey. The stipulated bond was 50 for under five hundred acres and 100 for over that amount. In the same month the Council refused the petition of Francis Monpruille for permission to dispose of his effects by lottery. They ruled that such practices were contrary to the law and introductory of idleness among the people.

On February first Lieutenant Governor Browne wrote to the lords of trade that he had been advised to drink Bath waters and he was therefore compelled to ask six months leave in England.¹²

During the spring of 1768 the new governor, John Eliot, Esq., was at last making preparations to leave for Pensacola, his capital city.¹³ He seemed strangely loath to come. It was in the late spring of that year that trouble which had been brewing between Browne and McClelland and Clark came to a head. On June first the Lieutenant Governor wrote that McClelland and Clark were supporters of former Governor Johnstone and were disturbers. McClelland, a former councillor, had been arrested

12. P.R.O., C.O., 5:585.

13. *Ibid.*

by General Gage. Clarke, wrote Browne, was a bankrupt and the head of the Scottish party in the province. Browne had already dismissed him from the council and intended to dismiss him from his office of receiver-general.¹⁴ This is the first indication of a serious break between the Lieutenant Governor and one of the provincial factions since Governor Johnstone's departure. It had been evident before that time that Browne was unpopular with Johnstone's party, but after the Governor's departure Browne appears to have acted with even more circumspection than before. In spite of this, however, he was forced to leave the colony under a cloud of suspicion a little more than a year later. The later trouble seems to have arisen over Browne's constant misuse of the Indian and contingent funds.¹⁵ Superficially the difficulty appears to have arisen through the Lieutenant Governor's good intention and bad bookkeeping, but the fact that so much trouble arose over the use of the Indian funds not unnaturally gives rise to the suspicion that he was following a policy which was vigorously opposed by the fur-trading interests in the province. It will be recalled that one, and possibly the chief, reason for Johnstone's dismissal was a matter of Indian policy. Probably, as elsewhere, the quarrel reached even to London. Whether this was one of the reasons for Governor Eliot's apparent reluctance to come to the province or whether he merely belonged by preference to the class of absentee office holders can only be a matter of surmise.

In June a new and apparently unexpected catastrophe threatened the colony. In a letter of June twenty-seventh General Gage informed the Lieutenant Governor of the withdrawal from the pro-

14. *Ibid.*

15. *Ibid.*

vince of all save three companies of the troops. This decision immediately provoked a series of remonstrances and petitions from West Florida settlers, traders and merchants, and from London merchants who were interested in the Gulf and the valley trade.¹⁶

On the twenty-third of August, 1768, the second session of the second Assembly met by proclamation in Pensacola. A petition to the Earl of Hillsborough against the withdrawal of the troops and a denuding of the province was adopted and inscribed on the twenty-fourth. The reasons agreed to by both the Council and Assembly for the necessity of the continued defense of the province were grouped under six principal headings:

1. Settlers would be induced to come.
2. The province was a great distance from other colonies.
3. The houses, stores, wharfs, etc. in Pensacola had cost the inhabitants upwards of sixty thousand pounds sterling. There were also valuable settlements around Mobile bay.
4. Large plantations had been laid out at great expense, especially on the Mississippi. Settlers were expected from Virginia, Pennsylvania, and elsewhere.
5. In three years about eighty thousand pounds sterling of British manufacture had been imported into West Florida.
6. The Indian trade of the colony was considerable. There were undoubtedly Indians in

16. As a result of the Falkland Islands incident, Great Britain made a second attempt to hold the great valley and interior lands; its failure, whether due to lack of vision, faulty military strategy or the more fundamental lack of money by the home government and the failure of the colonies to cooperate in any plan of continental defense, foreshadows the success of the American revolution. The plan of General Howe was to hold the seaboard and gradually lead the back country to submission with a minimum of blood shed and hard feeling.

the back country who were hostile to the colony.

The Council, meeting at Pensacola on the twentieth of October, ordered that the Reverend Mr. Nathaniel Cotton be given his choice of lands for residence and glebe, in accordance with his Majesty's primary Instructions to his governors. The Council also resolved to consult MacGillivray and Maclean concerning the Indian troubles. The Lieutenant Governor said that the removal of the troops and of the Indian Commissaries had rendered the situation dangerous.

On January 25, 1769, the Lieutenant Governor called a new Assembly. The members for Pensacola were George Urquhart, Dr. John Lorimer, George Gauld, James Ross, Valens Stephen Comyn, David Waugh, William Aird and John Blommart. James Ross had been elected for both Mobile and Pensacola, but he decided to take his seat for Pensacola. Browne informed them that he had called them because he was "daily expecting Gov. Eliot." At a meeting of the Council on the thirtieth of January the Lieutenant Governor informed the Council that he had received a letter from Admiral Parry at Jamaica, informing him that the Admiral would order his Majesty's sloop *Tryal*, which he daily expected would touch at Jamaica with Governor Eliot (Parry spelled it Elliot), to remain at Pensacola until the pleasure of the lords commissioners of the Admiralty should be known. This service the Admiral hoped would relieve the people of West Florida from the fears and apprehensions which they then daily suffered from the Indians. Browne then adjourned the Assembly until the tenth of March to await the arrival of the Governor. Also at this January 30 meeting of the Council Chief Justice Clifton laid before the council a petition from the

debtors setting forth the miserable state of the debtor's prison of the colony.

The Council minutes for the third of April (1769) present the first record of the presence of Governor Eliot in the province. The new Governor appointed Elias Durnford, David Hodge, Alexander Moore, James Neale, James Jones and William Gadby members of the Council.

The Governor told the Council that he had decided to repair the fort and also the house which had been occupied by former Governor Johnstone and Lieutenant Governor Browne and to turn over the house taken from General Haldimand for the Governor's use to be used for divine worship, sessions of the court and the Assembly, and to house the Secretary's office and such other government offices as might be necessary.

The Governor proposed that a commission of the peace be made out and that members of the Council and the attorney-general should act as justices of the peace for the time being. It was agreed that there should be added to the commission Francois Pousset, Peter Innis, Edward Crofton, the Reverend Mr. Cotton as justices for the province. Benjamin Ward, George Gauld, John Allen Martin, Valens T - - - Comyn, Joseph Jurrow, David Waugh, Arthur Struthur, and George Urquhart were appointed justices for the town and district of Pensacola.

The Governor and Council decided that the Assembly should be dissolved and a new one called. It was agreed that every freeholder should have a vote; that every house-holder paying an annual rent of 10 or more could vote after six months residence and that all candidates must be freeholders. Eight members were allotted to Pensacola, eight to Mobile and two to Campbelltown. The writs were returnable within forty days.

At its meeting on the twentieth of April the Council considered and advised against Governor Eliot's proposal to abolish the quarter session courts. Many of the laws were directed in their execution to the justices in quarter sessions such as levying of forfeitures and penalties, recommending proper persons for licenses, clearing of the woods about Pensacola and Mobile, and appeals in controversies concerning indentured servants. The power of holding quarter session courts had been given to the justices from the time of the establishment of civil government in the colony, and many laws could be executed only through these courts. They were acknowledged to furnish a speedy and cheap legal procedure and were a virtual necessity in Charlotte county to care for cases of petty crime; otherwise the residents of that county would be (the Council felt) practically deprived of justice if they had to attend Pensacola for a very small case.

Between April third and twenty-eighth the minutes of the Council record seven meetings over which Governor Eliot presided. We must rely, in lieu of other evidence, upon the Lieutenant Governor's statement that Eliot died on May second. A meeting of the Council was called by the Lieutenant Governor on the third at which "His Honor acquainted the Council that in Consequence of the Sudden Death of his Excellency Governor Eliot yesterday morning that the administration of the Government did Divolve upon him. . . " ¹⁷ The minutes of this meeting also record that the Lieutenant Governor and Council ordered the provincial arms

17. The circumstances of Eliot's death apparently unknown. It might have been caused by malaria or yellow fever, by an accident or even by factional strife in the colony eventuating in a duel which all parties found it expedient to conceal. The manner of his death would obviously make considerable difference in the interpretation of the events surrounding it, but with no further information at hand we are helpless.

and ammunition to be distributed to the inhabitants. Apparently this action was caused by the revival of the fear of an attack by the Indians. Johnstone had been dismissed for starting with the Creek Indians a war which the imperial government regarded as unjustifiable. In the early months of his interim administration Montfort Browne seems to have become involved in the question of Indian policy and perhaps he even became convinced of the danger. Whether a real danger ever existed, especially as late as 1769, is difficult to say. In any event it never matured as did Pontiac's war in the north. There is very little known on the part which may have been played in this question by commercial interest in the colony or in England, and opinions differ very sharply on the issue.

The Council meeting of May ninth was largely devoted to expenditures. A bill for 144-18-5 for the repair of the Governor's house was audited and ordered paid. The Council also heard the petition of the Indian agent at Pensacola stating that he received one dollar and one ration a day. The petitioner stated that the Lieutenant Governor had told him that he was to have five shillings and two rations a day and that he, the Lieutenant Governor, would pay him after the first of November, 1768, but that for any outstanding wages before that date he was to look to Superintendent Stuart. He stated that since November 1, 1768, he had received no pay and only one hundred and seventy rations instead of three hundred and sixty-two. He also stated that the former interpreter had had a house granted him and he hoped this would be continued to him. The Council ordered the rations given and the question of pay postponed until Superintendent Stuart's arrival.

Mr. Durnford informed the Council at this meeting that he had his Majesty's leave and proposed

to go to England by Mr. Comyn's brig. Benjamin Ward and John Allen Martin were added to the quorum of the Council and John Campbell was added to the commission of the peace.

The Assembly met in June. Little of importance seems to have occurred at this session. The Assembly authorized the treasurer's report of monies spent for assemblymen's wages, 15 for printing the provincial laws and certain books necessary for the government offices and a sum spent for charitable purposes, including a gift to the hospital at Pensacola, some money to provide "Passage of a Poor Object to Carolina," and some money spent in support of an orphan.

August saw some excitement in Pensacola over the long-expected arrival of the Spanish governor, Don Alexandro O'Reilly, at The Balize with eighteen transports. Three more transports followed him from Havana and he brought with him 4500 troops. The news of his arrival reached Pensacola on July twenty-third. The Council agreed that the Spanish governor's arrival furnished the desired impetus to the French to seek British protection. They ordered Lieutenant Campbell to the Mississippi to encourage migration.

At its meeting on the eighteenth of August the Council had read a letter from Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs Charles Stuart. Stuart wrote from Mobile: "The Mad Warrior . . . told me that many of the Indians who had been at Havana . . . ;" an allusion which caused Charles Stuart to suggest a policing of the Florida waters by the navy. The Council also heard a letter from Superintendent John Stuart dated from Lady's Island, South Carolina, on the thirtieth of June: "I think it beyond doubt the Spaniards were tampering with the Creeks." He also said that he was sending to his brother, Charles Stuart, a treaty and ratifica-

tion of the boundary lines behind the provinces in the southern department. The Indian trouble continued and the Council decided on October first to appeal to the navy. Apparently relations between the English and the Spanish on the Mississippi boundary were not intended by some persons to remain peaceful. The economic rivalry on such a borderland as the mouth of the Mississippi river was too sharp to permit of any such likelihood. Lieutenant Campbell wrote to the Council to protest the "Cruel and ungentle treatment" of himself by Governor O'Reilly.

The Council next met on the seventh of November. It is at this meeting that there is the last record of Montfort Browne as lieutenant governor of West Florida. At this meeting the Council considered the charge that the surveyor-general and his deputy had been charging exorbitant fees.

The events of the next, two months in the province are unknown, at least until further research is completed. The minute books of the Council display a gap between the seventh of November and a meeting sometime in December. The latter minutes are unreadable because of damage.¹⁸ The next readable date is December twenty-ninth. Something however is known from other sources. A letter from Elias Durnford to Lord George Germain speaks of his appointment, on July 31, 1769, to be lieutenant governor of West Florida, and of his being ordered almost immediately thereafter to

18. The Minutes of the Council for this period are extraordinarily fragmentary, so that one must make what one can of the damaged Minute Book or of the cleaner duplicates which are by no means complete. All of these records of the Council or copies of them are to be found under the dates mentioned in P.R.O., C.O., 5:626. The complete copies of the damaged records are to be found in Part II of the same volume. This division into parts is a purely arbitrary arrangement caused by rebinding of the records in the Public Record Office. The parts need not be cited in the ordinary way as a calling reference.

take charge of the province.¹⁹ At the meeting on December twenty-ninth Durnford presided as lieutenant governor.

On the eighteenth of January, 1770, the Council met under Durnford's presidency to continue its inquiry into Mr. Browne's handling of the public monies. Browne accused Durnford of dealing double-facedly with him.

At a meeting of the Council on the nineteenth of January Superintendent Stuart presented a letter (which is partly illegible) from Daniel Murphy, Indian agent for the Creek country, telling of Spanish operations (?) among the Creeks and of the suggestion by the governor of Havana, subject to approval of the Spanish crown, of an Indian rendezvous at Santa Rosa.²⁰ At a meeting of the Council on the twentieth Durnford reinstated Mr. Pousset in his offices and ordered him to write Mr. Browne for his Majesty's instructions. Pousset did this and Browne replied: "Sir, my Secretary is now totally engaged in my office that he neither can nor shall attend you, this founded upon the opinion of the Chief Justice in Council, Montfort Browne."

The Council met on the eleventh of February in Pensacola and heard the deposition made by Cromley Borrowe, before John Lorimer, Alexander Moore and James Allen Martin, justices of the peace, on the fifth of February. Borrowe deposed "That he being called upon by David Doig, Esquire, Provost Marshall of the Province of West Florida to attend him, as he had been informed by a Magistrate that a Duel was to be fought that he, this Deponent, and he said David Doig walked up Gage Hill as fast as possible, where they saw four men---- together, the minute he this Deponent and the said David Doig came in sight they the said men sepa-

19. P.R.O., C.O., 5:581.

20. Murphy's letter was dated December 30, 1769.

rated some little distance and David Doig immediately Commanded Peace in the King's Name, that he this Deponent saw Mr. Evan Jones present a Pistol at Montfort Browne, Esquire and saw it flash in the Pan about three second after he saw Montfort Browne fire a pistol at the said Evan Jones." The Council ordered Mr. Browne committed to the care of the Provost Marshall, but when Evan Jones recovered, his brother, James, replied to an inquiry of Alexander Moore, provincial secretary, as to whether Evan Jones intended to prosecute Montfort Browne that Mr. Browne could go where he pleased so far as Evan Jones was concerned for the latter had no charge against Mr. Browne. Moore ordered Doig to release Browne. The Chief Justice then memorialized the Council against Moore's action but it seemed that the attorney-general had already told the provost marshall that magistrates could release prisoners but at their own peril.

The case came before the Council again on the eighteenth of February. The clerk of the Council laid before it letters from Dr. Lorimer. These were read. The Council gave its fullest consideration to the objections of the Chief Justice as to the singularity of the case and his doubts of his being justified at home in permitting Mr. Browne to depart until Mr. Jones was absolutely cleared of danger. Durnford and the Council were of the opinion that no difficulties at present should be put in the way of Mr. Browne's going to England, first, because there were no symptoms of the Jones being in any danger, but rather the contrary, the most favorable hopes of his recovery. Secondly, because the detention of Mr. Browne at this juncture when he was going home to endeavor to clear up his accounts might be misconstrued as purposely intended to prevent his doing himself the justice that his situation required. His Honor and the Council therefore re-

solved. that Mr. Browne might be at liberty to depart in the ship *British King*.

Meanwhile the second session of the fourth Assembly convened on the first of March in accordance with the prorogation. On the eleventh of March the Council considered the proposal of Captain McKensie to employ two companies which were now on the route to Mobile to open a new road on the way. Captain McKensie estimated the work would employ about ninety men for twelve. days, if the lieutenant governor and Council would give about one hundred dollars to provide baggage horses, tools, a guide, a boat for a ferry, and a half pint of rum a day for each man. The Council summoned the Speaker to attend and he informed them that the Commons had authorized him to inform the Council that there was some money in the Church wardens' hands which had been appropriated for this service and that whatever it fell short they would find a means of supplying it.

At the opening meeting of the Assembly the House ordered read a letter from former governor George Johnstone to the Assembly. It was dated from London, May 3, 1769.

"Sir. It was with the Greatest Satisfaction I received the Thanks of the Assembly of West Florida in return for the Service I endeavoured to Render to that Colony.

"I am very sorry my power in this respect has not been Equal to my Inclinations, the Distracted State of this Metropolis and the False Accounts from that part of the World have rendered it very Difficult for me (Single and alone) even to obtain a Patient hearing on this Subject.

"As I am Conscious of the Importance of the Province and of the numerous advantages it

offers to Great Britain these, together with the Friendships I feel for many of the inhabitants whom I know to merit much better Treatment will Ensure my perserverance to the last, in doing every Good office in my power of which I beg you will acquaint the assembly together with the Strongest assurances of my acknowledgments and Respect.”

The House ordered Johnstone’s letter sent to Charleston to be published.

Apparently the project suggested by Major McKensie and accepted by the legislature to use the troops in the construction of the road between Pensacola and Mobile had been successfully carried out. The Assembly on the third of May returned public thanks to Major McKensie and the troops for aiding more speedy communication between the two towns. At its meeting on the twenty-ninth of May the Council heard a request from Brigadier General Haldimand desiring the return of his boat which he had sold for a ferry. It seems that he now needed it. The Council agreed if Haldimand would pay for the repairs. Haldimand agreed to this. He also agreed to send a party to complete the Mobile road, filling up holes and so forth in return for which he asked the Council to provide a half a pint of rum a day for each member of the work party. The Council consented to do this.

At this time an epidemic of smallpox broke out in the colony. The lieutenant governor with the advice of the Council issued a proclamation that all poor persons suffering from the disease might apply to the lieutenant governor to be taken to Rose Island and there given medicines, provisions, and attendance until their recovery. This service was to be paid for out of the contingency fund.

The Assembly at its meeting on the twenty-ninth of May received a petition from Joseph de Palac-

cios stating that he had been in the debtor's prison for upwards of two years on the charge of M. Montberant; that gentleman had recently removed with his family to "Old France" and had left no orders with his attorney concerning the petitioner. The Assembly resolved that it could do nothing to help M. de Palaccios, but that it would pass a bill to maintain insolvent debtors in confinement. At its meeting on the fifth of June the Council accepted Mr. Aird's proposition to build a combined criminal and debtor's jail for two hundred and fifty pounds. The jail then existing cost 40 pounds sterling a year and the attendance of two jailors for its maintenance, whereas the new jail would cost 50 a year for a period of ten years and would save the cost of two jailors by being a double jail.

(The third and last part of this series, relating to the administration of Governor Chester, will appear in the next issue.)

FLORIDA, PROMOTER OF CUBAN LIBERTY

By RUBY LEACH CARSON

Florida's geographical peculiarities have resulted always in giving her a colorful history, and at no time has this been more evident than during the Cuban War of Independence, previous to American intervention. This period, from 1895 to 1898, has provided inspiration for many books and articles about the Cuban Juntas formed in the United States and about their filibustering enterprises. Because Florida's ragged outline forms an arm which Uncle Sam extends into the affairs of Spanish America, it was inevitable that Cuban insurrectionists should lean heavily upon this arm after they declared their independence from Spain. An effort to assemble and weigh facts pertaining to Florida's part in this interesting epoch brings the surprising discovery that there is no summary of Florida's contribution to be found in recorded history, and that this contribution was of vital importance to Cuba in her successful struggle for freedom from Spain.

No story of this struggle is complete without an account of the activity of the Florida committee of the Cuban Junta ; of the leadership of Florida's statesman, United States Senator Wilkinson Call; and of the filibustering miracles¹ achieved by Florida's man of destiny, Napoleon B. Broward. The names of Wilkinson Call and Napoleon B. Broward should rank with the names of the great Cuban pa-

This paper was read before the last annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society.

1. It is interesting to note that Charles E. Chapman, *A History of the Cuban Republic*, p. 83 (N. Y. 1923), uses neither the word "Florida" nor the word "filibuster" when telling about the way in which help came from America at that time. He says that "expedition after expedition" took "invaluable aid to the patriots", despite the "vigilance of the United States officials, who were faithfully endeavoring to enforce neutrality laws".

triotis who participated in the Cuban War of Independence.

Because of her proximity, which provides similarity of climate, Florida by 1895 had gathered thousands of Cubans to her hospitable shores. Some came because the cigar factories in Key West and Tampa offered jobs. Others had fled the homeland after the Ten Years War (1868-1878) had failed to result in a Republic of Cuba. Of these, Horatio S. Rubens, while relating his experience as attorney for the Junta in the New York headquarters, has this to say:

For Cubans in flight from their homes and Spanish penalties for the uprising, Key West quickly became a favored settlement. Many emigrees scattered, it is true, to other parts of the United States, and to all the Spanish-American countries as well. But great numbers gravitated to Key West for two very human, almost wistful, reasons. Homesick, they could stand on the shoreline and very nearly see their homeland. And the Florida climate, being similar to the Cuban climate, cheered their distraught hearts.

Key West began to grow conspicuously when Cuban cigar makers settled there. Each family of a skilled worker had a little house built of wood; it might be owned or rented. Employment on piece-work was constant and remunerative. The workmen and their families were happy after a fashion, being able to live decently, safe moreover from Spanish dominion, able also to set aside something for a sort of Biblical tithe, to contribute to funds to support the next crusade to free Cuba.²

2. Horatio S. Rubens, *Liberty, The Story of Cuba*, p. 13 (N. Y. 1932).

Investigation of those who came to Florida from Cuba to work in cigar factories involves a peek into the Congressional Record concerning the proceedings of the Cuba and Florida immigration investigation at Havana and Key West, December 28 to 31, 1892. In this report there are few "distract hearts," since the persons generally concerned are cigar workers who went to Florida voluntarily, and not those who fled for safety.

Cubans looked upon Florida almost as a part of their own country at that time, according to this testimony taken by the Senate committee through subcommittees.

Florida's Senator Wilkinson Call, as a member of the subcommittee, was present and assisted in the investigation which concerned the danger of disease being transmitted into the United States. The report made to the committee by Ramon O. Williams, consul-general of the United States at Havana, includes his statement that more Cubans go to Florida than to northern ports³. He said:

Because in the first place, there are a great many Cubans coming from families which formerly lived in Florida; they are descendants of old families which formerly lived in Florida ; they are descendants of old Floridians. When Florida came under the flag of the United States under the treaty of 1819 a great many families would not live under the American flag and they came over here; and there are a great many very good families in Havana and out in the country here who came from those people, and

3. Proceedings of the Cuba and Florida Immigration Investigation, the Senate Committee of Immigration, the Senate Committee on Epidemic Diseases, and the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, Acting Jointly Through Subcommittees at Havana, Cuba, and at Key West, Fla., December 28 to 31, 1892. pp. 4, 5 and 6.

this office has been at times filled with them coming in here to get papers to visit their friends in Florida.

Other extracts from Mr. Williams' testimony point to the importance of Florida to Cubans, to the effect of this upon United States industry, and to the reason for the existence of Tampa's Ybor City. They are in part as follows:

. . . . The people here look upon Florida as so much a part of their own country that very often they come here and say, 'I want to go to the Key', (meaning Key West), just as in Baltimore they would say, 'I am going over to Washington'.

I recollect Mr. Ebor [Ybor]. When the insurrection broke out in 1868 the volunteers went and mobbed him because he was doing business with the United States. He established a place in Key West in order to avail himself of the difference of duty provided by our tariff. The volunteers mobbed him so he finally resolved to move to Key West; then he went to Tampa and built a factory there; then he bought land out back of Tampa and built Ebor City.

. . . . They love the personal benefit they derive from the presence of the United States flag. All of those who establish themselves there, and who live in accordance with the law, reside there five years, and become entitled to citizenship.⁴

This testimony from the Congressional Record, together with the quotation from Mr. Rubens' book, sets the stage for Florida's part in the Cuban War

4. It is to be understood that this testimony was taken in the office of the consul-general of the U.S.A. at Havana.

of Independence. The peninsula which had changed its flag from Spanish to American in 1821 was now the home and the visiting place for thousands of Cuban families. Having given a good account of themselves in Florida, the Cubans won the respect and friendship of Florida's citizens.

Florida became strong in her sympathy for Cuba because there were more Cubans here, (as already proved); because the Floridians were better acquainted with the situation and therefore more eager to lend a hand; because Florida was closer geographically, and finally because Florida had thousands of tricky inlets, bays, harbors, keys and other coast-line assets for the sporty business of filibustering. Thus Florida's residents became filibusters, they protected filibustering, and they sat on juries that refused to convict for filibustering. Florida's people felt that the United States should officially recognize the fact that a state of war existed, so that belligerent rights could be granted the Cuban government. A declaration of neutrality by the United States would have made possible an adequate and open shipment of arms and ammunition to the Cubans.

It was an eloquent voice from Florida, speaking before the United States Senate in Washington, that told the world of this fact of Cuban plight and American injustice. For Senator Call, speaking for himself and his constituency, was the Henry Clay of this revolution. As Henry Clay is the American statesman revered and honored in Latin-America because of his speeches in the United States Senate, so should Wilkinson Call be the American statesman remembered by Cubans for being the first and the foremost to urge in the United States Senate that belligerent rights be accorded the Cuban government in the 1895 revolt.

Senator Call introduced the resolution urging this with a brilliant speech supporting the resolution, on December 5, 1895. In a speech made December 10, 1896, he urges the recognition of the independence of the Republic of Cuba. A moving speech made January 6, 1897, finds him still pleading eloquently.

"This Government is actually giving aid and comfort to the Spaniards against the Cubans," was a startling statement included in his first speech.⁵ He continues :

We allow munitions of war to be bought by Spain, we allow ships to be fitted out, we allow Spain to purchase whatever is necessary in the way of supplies to continue the war, but the Cubans are prohibited from doing so, and the whole power of our government is exercised to deprive them of these rights in this territory.

I say there is no ground of public law and no ground of public policy in respect to our relations, present and future, with the island of Cuba, which justify it. I say there is no ground of justice which permits it; no ground of humanity that would tolerate it. It will be a disgrace to our country if a people following our example, acting upon advice, a people who can claim that every line in our Declaration of Independence furnishes a parallel to their own case, shall by our aid and our acquiescence, be permitted to be crushed, their women and children murdered, and merciless war maintained against them. What of the arrest and trial upon suspicion of citizens, subjects of Spain or American citizens, and their transportation to

5. *Speech of the Hon. Wilkinson Call, of Florida*, in the Senate of the United States, December 5, 1895, p. 10. (Washington, 1895.) For a sketch of Senator Call see this *Quarterly* XII, 95, 179.

the penal colony of Spain, with all its horrors?

Mr. President, I hope the Committee on Foreign Relations will take this subject into consideration. I hope it will not postpone action, but that it will be moved by these considerations to report at an early day in favor of the joint resolution which I introduced, or some other measure that will accord to the people of Cuba the same rights in our territory and our courts that are now given to Spain - the rights which a neutral Government accords whenever there is a condition of civil war.

Senator Call had opened this speech with the observation that the island of Cuba is within a few hours' travel of the southern boundary of the United States; that it, with the adjacent keys upon the coast of Florida, constitutes, according to all military authority, the absolute control and power over the Gulf of Mexico. He declared that Cuba is perhaps the most fertile region on the globe, capable of sustaining a population of eight or ten millions; and that the climate is adapted to the highest physical development of man. He then drew a picture of its miserable condition at the time of its War of Independence.

Giving Spain credit for her ancient chivalry, Senator Call said that their courage, their fortitude, their self-denial, their earnest convictions, and their enthusiastic patriotism are all possessed by their Cuban descendants, and these qualities make their struggle for freedom the more desperate and the more certain of success. The following extract from this famous speech includes a tribute to the Cuban people and one to Jose Marti - the Cuban known as the father of the Cuban War of Independence, also as Cuba's poet-martyr, as the organizer of the Cuban junta in the United States and as "the Master" :

For more than a half century the people of Cuba have been endeavoring to free themselves, as other Spanish colonies have done, from the control of the European government. They have exhibited a degree of patriotism, of courage, of capacity, equal to any which has been presented in the records of history. They are a people of quick and lively intelligence, easily susceptible of education in the higher branches of learning, and with the opportunity they have had, their progress is remarkable. They have presented some of the most conspicuous instances of patriotism, of courage, and of ability which are to be found in history.

The late Jose Marti, whose life was given disinterestedly to the cause of his fellow-countrymen, is second scarcely to any character in the pages of history: a man of distinguished learning; a man of independent fortune, devoting his entire life to the relief of his people from despotic government, from misgovernment, from cruelty, he is justly regarded as the patriot martyr of that country.

On December 9, 1896, Senator Call introduced in the Senate and House a resolution that read, in part, as follows: "Resolved That the United States of America recognizes the Republic of Cuba as a free and independent government and accords to the people of Cuba all the rights of a sovereign and independent government in the ports and within the jurisdiction of the United States."

He had less patience by now, and didn't stop to tell where Cuba was. He simply said: "Mr. President, since I have been a member of the Senate, for the last eighteen years, I have been introducing resolutions at every session for some action on the part of the Government of the United States which

would relieve the Island of Cuba from the difficulties of the government under which she has existed up to this time.”

He reminded the Senate that he had proposed that Cuba should be purchased, not to be annexed to the United States, but to be rendered independent by the guaranty of her bonds by the Government of the United States. He said that he had come to the Senate at the conclusion of the Ten Years' War in Cuba, in 1878, when Cubans had been induced to lay down their arms only by promise of autonomy or self-government. Ten years had expired, the Senator pointed out, and the same condition of things continued in the island. The same feeling of revolt, of opposition to the rule of the Spanish government, continued. Here are some extracts from this speech :

Mr. President, what reason can be given for not taking some action recognizing the fact that here are a people who have established a government for themselves? Who has a right to say that because it is or is not a civil government, but a military government, it shall not be recognized?

. . . hundreds of American citizens have been languishing for months and months in the jails and castles of Cuba, and have been transported to Ceuta -American citizens entitled to the protection of this Government.

Mr. President, I can see no reason whatever for failing to make promptly this recognition of an existing fact, the independence of Cuba, and giving it as a government the same rights that are accorded to Spain in the ports and jurisdiction of the United States. If you do not choose you need not amend your neutrality laws.

It is Senator Call's next thought that represents the feeling about the Cubans that prevailed throughout Florida at this time - the belief in Cuba's ability to take care of herself if given the chance. The Senator continued :

Cuba does not need anything but the privilege to enter into the ports of the United States and purchase arms and munitions of war. She needs no organized forces from here. She is able to maintain herself, and if she were not that is not our concern. It is sufficient for us that they have an organized government ; ⁶ that they maintain dominion over two-thirds of the island ; that they confine the Spanish government to the garrison towns upon the coast; that with all the powers of Spain at a distance of 3,000 miles it has been found impossible to: subjugate the revolutionists. ⁷

In his speech of January 6, 1897, Senator Call was exceedingly indignant over the unlawful imprisonment of citizens of the United States by the Spanish authorities in Cuba. Julio Sanguilly, a Cuban who had become a citizen of the United

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6. Although the revolution was formerly launched with the **grito de Baire** on February 24, 1895, it was not until the following July 15 that independence was formerly declared and not until September that a constitution was drawn up. It had a council of six members. Although a Cuban Assembly, composed of delegates from the Army, had four months previously elected Bartolome Maso as president, the new Council now made Salvador Cisneros president. Later Maso was again made president. See Chapman, **History of the Cuban Republic**, p. 82.
 7. Chapman is not as much of a Cuban enthusiast as Call. On page 77 he writes: "And yet, at the time of Marti's death an unbiased observer would hardly have conceded the Cubans much prospect of success In other respects as well, the resources of Spain were far superior, while the Cubans themselves were by no means unanimous for independence." The reader cannot forget that Chapman made his deductions by looking backward from 1907 whereas Call was speaking in 1896 from personal observations and experiences.

States, who was not participating in the war but who was in Cuba when arrested, had been in Cabanas prison for the twenty-three months preceding Senator Call's resolution before the Senate that the President of the United States demand his release. Senator Call also protested against the death of Charles Govin, a citizen of the United States who had been tied to a tree and chopped to pieces by the military forces of Spain. In conclusion he declared :

While we do not advocate nor desire war, we are satisfied that there are worse things than war. If any part of the country be exposed to the possible chance of injury in a condition of war, it would be the peninsula of Florida, but her people are courageous, her people are a Christian people, her people sympathize with the progress of mankind, with liberal institutions, with republican governments, with patriotism, with the sentiment which would make the Stars and Stripes the symbol of power and protection to the citizen of the United States wherever the sun shines.

Rubens, whose self-centered story of Cuba in his book "Liberty" gives Florida only occasional pats on the back, (and then without any apparent conception of their significance), admits on page 224 that "the first efforts to concede the right of belligerency came with the resolution proposed by Senator Call of Florida on December 3, 1895, with the remark, 'This Government is actually giving aid and comfort to the Spaniards against the Cubans.'"

In Rubens' Chapter I there is the statement, in his book's very first sentences, that "in Key West . . . began the preliminary skirmishes of that Cuban revolution which held stubbornly against surprising odds until independence was won for the Island."

This was late in 1893. The story of Rubens' experience in Key West in 1894 concerned the story of a strike of the Key West tobacco workers. Spanish laborers had been imported to be strike breakers, and Jose Marti, as head of the Cuban Junta in New York for the two years preceding, had sent attorney Rubens down to Key West to straighten out the trouble. It seems that since the Key West Cubans had been contributing their savings to the Junta, the Spanish agents took advantage of the strike to "lure rapacious American politicians to sustained blows against Cuban solidarity."

Says Rubens : "One of the strongest units of the Cuban Revolutionary Party admittedly centred in Key West." And this: "NO more proof is needed to establish that the events of 1894 were the results of the machinations of a few . . . than the sympathy subsequently displayed by Key West with the cause of Cuba. As a matter of fact, nowhere was the loyalty of Key West to the Cuban cause exceeded."

The Junta's committee in Key West, with which Rubens dealt, was composed of Fernando Figueredo, Jose Dolores Poyo, Teodoro Perez, Miguel A. Zaldivar and Manuel P. Delgado. "Later," explains Rubens, "Delgado was to perform most delicate detail work for me and receive special commendation from Marti."

Committees such as the foregoing were the lifeblood of the Cuban War of Independence, and most of the New York Junta's committees were in Florida. They supplied the money and just about everything else. Chapman states that there were sixty-one such clubs in Key West and fifteen in Tampa, and it was on another page that he emphasizes the importance to the Cubans of these clubs, He, like the other writers on this subject, states facts point-

ing to Florida's importance, without any interest in the conclusions to be drawn from them.

Chapman says, page 75:

In 1892 Marti reorganized the Cuban Junta in New York City, with Estrada Palma as its president. Other clubs were formed subordinate to this in various parts of the world, but especially in Florida, where a great many Cubans were congregated. There were sixty-one such clubs in Key West and fifteen in Tampa. Funds were solicited for the cause, especially from Cubans in the United States, many of whom contributed a tenth to all their earnings.

In this connection, Chapman states that all seemed to be in readiness for the formal launching of the revolution in 1894, but that the United States government seized the three vessels that the Junta had equipped.

Hudson Strode, with phraseology similar to Chapman's, has this to say concerning the starting of the revolution on February 24, 1895:

It began precisely when it did . . . because a Cuban living in New York named Jose Julian Marti decided the time was ripe.⁸

And Chapman had already written: "The war started at the precise time it did, because of the organization genius of Jose Marti . . ."

But Jose Marti had died three months after the *grito de Baire*, and when the Florida filibusters appeared upon the scene Estrada Palma was in charge in New York, capably keeping faith with Marti's memory and with the Cuban patriots.

Of a romantic interest that rivals its historical importance is the story of Florida's filibustering

8. Hudson Strode, *The Pageant of Cuba*, p. 115, (N. Y. 1934).

heroes during the few years that preceded American intervention.

Despite this country's efforts to observe neutrality in the matter of Cuban revolt against Spanish rule, ships like the Three Friends, the Dauntless, the Commodore, the LaGonda and the Paul Jones transported provisions and armed Cuban refugees to their troubled island.

From the Writers' Project's Fernandina Guide comes this story of the Paul Jones: "On her way from Fernandina with arms she was signalled by the U. S. S. Vesuvius to come alongside. The Paul Jones replied that the sea was too rough. 'Keep circling until the water is calmer', replied the warship. The circles were made, wider and wider, until dusk came, and the Paul Jones put out all lights and headed for the open sea."

The railroad official who managed the "railroading" of the Cubans and supplies to their ports of departure was the clever Alphonso Fritot. Sometimes the trips would be made at night and the cars darkened. Upon one occasion pursuing detectives were put in a separate car and the Cubans' car was uncoupled and switched. A Cuban in Jacksonville whose name became famous throughout Florida was Senor Jose Huau, (pronounced Wow). He was a cigar maker and the rear of his place of business on Jacksonville's Bay and Main streets was the meeting place of the Jacksonville committee of the Cuban Junta.

A Jacksonville attorney who played an important part in this filibustering performance was J. M. Barrs, counsel for the Browards. Then there was Jacksonville's W. A. Bisbee, owner of the Dauntless which had the negro captain; and there was Captain "Dynamite Johnny" O'Brien, employed as a sort of fleet commander, to be shifted from one vessel

to another. Albert G. Robinson⁹ lists O'Brien's first trip as having been made March 15, 1896, on the Bermuda, with General Calixto Garcia on board.

Although Mr. Robinson, in his vague picture of filibustering activities of this period, praises the work of Mr. Fritot, he was apparently unaware of the pro-Cuban activities of Senator Wilkinson Call and Napoleon B. Broward. He does, however, refer casually to the Three Friends. He also acknowledges Florida's sympathy for Cuba when he refers to the Government's seizure of the Dauntless and failure of the effort to indict O'Brien because "there was too much sympathy for the Cubans in Florida."

The discrepancy between the United States Treasurer's report and the records of the Cuban Junta is pleasingly emphasized by Mr. Robinson. The Junta's records "very materially" increase the number of successful expeditions of the filibusters.

Even John Holladay Latane in his "United States and Latin America," published in 1928, was lured by the Government's misleading reports stating that the great majority of illegal expeditions were stopped by "Port officials or intercepted by the Navy."

Professor Latane (p. 156) was of the belief that the Cubans who sought naturalization in the United States had done so in order to return to Cuba and claim American protection.

Some authorities claim that the Dauntless was the ship that made the most filibustering trips from Florida. Mr. Bisbee had purchased the Dauntless at Brunswick, Ga., for \$30,000. Since the Junta lent him the money for the purchase, it took a mortgage on the tug. Rubens, who handled the deal for the Junta, had carried the cash from New York to Geor-

9. Albert G. Robinson, *Cuba Old and New*, 1915, p. 191.

gia in the form of thirty 1,000-dollar bills sewed in the lining of his waistcoat. Bisbee was to receive \$10,000 for each Dauntless landing. We soon cancelled his mortgage.

Rubens tells of using The Three Friends, upon one occasion, to decoy the watchful revenue cutter so that the Dauntless could slip out unnoticed. He tells also of Broward's great personal popularity.

"The most picturesque and locally popular captain was Napoleon B. Broward," he writes, ". . . throughout the romantic wanderings of The Three Friends (it) held the record for having made the most voyages to the Cuba coast during the running of the Cuban blockade."

A rugged, statesman-adventurer, Napoleon B. Broward wrote himself in bold face type across the pages of Florida history. He had been sea-captain and sheriff of Duval County before he became Florida's colorful governor, the father of her Everglades Drainage and finally her choice for the United States Senate. Orphaned when a child, Broward had practically raised himself. He had gone down to the sea in ships since he was seventeen.

At the age of thirty, Captain Broward was appointed sheriff of Duval County to fill out an unexpired term. He was reappointed in 1889, and elected and re-elected until the year 1900, when he was elected to the state legislature. He was then appointed to the State Board of Health, a position he held until he became Governor of Florida.

In the early nineties, Captain Broward was interested in phosphate mining in Florida. And all the time he was operating The Three Friends - 1895, 1896 and 1897 - he was a member of the Jacksonville City Council and later a city police commissioner.

Although the historic tug, The Three Friends, was designed and built by Napoleon B. Broward, it was partly owned by his brother, Montcalm Brow-

ard, and another Jacksonville man, George A. De-Cottes. They were the three friends for whom the boat was named.

Of the several filibustering ships that took on contraband cargoes in Florida waters, and ran the Cuban blockade, this ocean-going tug became the most famous.

The first of the eight trips made by The Three Friends is described by Broward in his famous campaign booklet of the year 1904, when he successfully ran for governor of Florida. He reveals the excitement involved in the bringing together of General Colasso and his staff, who were being watched by Pinkerton detectives in Tampa; of arms and ammunition. from a warehouse at Cedar Keys, where more Pinkerton detectives were watching, and of 65 men from a schooner hiding in the Keys.

The Three Friends was written up later by a reporter in a book that has added greatly to the tug's fame. This young author, Ralph D. Paine, was a Jacksonville boy, the son of a former Jacksonville minister, the Reverend Samuel Delahaye Paine, pastor of the Ocean Presbyterian Church. Paine, as a newspaper correspondent, covered the Cuban War of Independence, both before and after American intervention. This was the man whom William Randolph Hearst commissioned to make delivery of a \$2,000 golden, be-jewelled sword to General Gomez. It is strange that Rubens, who mentions all the other journalists of importance, ignores this boy completely.

It was on young Paine's trip that The Three Friends, when crowded too close by a Spanish gun boat, shot its own Hotchkiss field piece and left the enemy craft disabled and helpless. The harassed Three Friends left its party and cargo on No Name Key to be taken to Cuba by the Dauntless and it returned to Jacksonville where it was taken under

custody of indignant government officials. But to return to Paine and his \$2,000 sword.

He was melancholy over the fact that he carried the "costly bauble" some 5,000 miles and had been frightened to death time beyond counting, and must now turn Mr. Hearst's two-thousand dollar gift over to Senor Huau to forward to Maximo Gomez. The sequel is told. Senor Huau sent the sword to the wife of General Gomez in San Domingo, and when she finally was able to present it, Gomez is supposed to have remarked:

"Ah-h-h, it cost so much money? A trinket good for nothing? Would I be so shameful as to wear it instead of my San Domingo machete? Nonsense! These imbeciles in New York, with two thousand dollars to waste! It would have bought shoes for my barefooted men, shirts for their naked backs, cartridges for their useless rifles. Take it away. It exasperates me. If the *majace*, the idiot who was sent on the stupid errand, had found me in camp, I should have been tempted to stick him in the belly with his wretched gold sword!"

Captain Broward's widow, now living in the big Broward home at Fort George, can relate intriguing stories of her late husband's filibustering experiences.

"The Captain knew the channel of Sister's Creek, at the mouth of the St. Johns River, so well that he could navigate his boat at night, without lights," Mrs. Broward revealed. "But in Cuba - when deliveries had to be made in the dark, and with the boat darkened - he needed a pilot. After he got his boat out of the three-mile limit, he always covered the name plate with a canvas on which was printed 'The Ox'."

Upon one occasion Broward was nearly delivered into the hands of the enemy in Cuba. "They were manoeuvring off the coast of Cuba," said

Mrs. Broward, "and a Cuban had been taken along to show them the cove where they were to be met. There were no lights outside the boat, and a canvas over the boat hid the lights inside. Captain Broward was in the pilot house peeping through slits in the canvas. He failed to understand why the Cuban had given him directions that would bring vibrations and echoes to his ears. The proper cove would not have done that. He became uneasy, realizing that the vibrations were caused by mountains. There were no mountains where he was expected to go.

" 'Are you sure we are going straight?' he asked the Cuban.

" 'Yes.'

" 'When will we be there?'

" 'In half an hour.'

"Sensing a betrayal, and also sensing his location, the captain turned the boat around, went back ten miles and dropped neatly into the desired cove. Cuban friends on shore, awaiting the provisions, took charge of the wayward pilot. Captain Broward always carried telescoped boats for his men to use in making delivery, and upon their return to The Three Friends, these boats were left to drift."

Napoleon B. Broward's baby sister, Hortense, who is now living at Jacksonville, remembers many of her brother's experiences as filibuster, governor and senator-elect. One can picture her, upon one occasion, during the filibustering days, running from her home every half-hour for bulletins from Key West, where Captain Broward's tug was being pursued by a Spanish gunboat within sight of Key West citizens. Everybody in Key West was on the house tops, watching The Three Friends try to pull herself out of range of the enemy ship's guns. The progress of the race was shouted down from the housetops, carried to the telegraph office at half-

hour intervals, and relayed to an excited Jacksonville citizenry.

"He finally got away," said Miss Hortense, "by doubling his smoke. He zig-zagged, so that while the revenue cutter was chasing his smoke in one direction, Napoleon would be sailing in the opposite direction."

Miss Hortense tells also of the confidence and respect that Captain Kilgore of the revenue cutter Boutwell held for her brother. Several times, after returning from Cuba, The Three Friends would cool her heels in the Jacksonville harbor, utterly indifferent to the Government's guns trained upon her. The tug was generally too busy getting ready for a trip, or resting from one, to worry about those guns. When she wanted to go, she would go. Her captain, Napoleon B. Broward, knew that. So did Captain Kilgore. That was the trouble. It sometimes got him jittery, and he would at such times seek out Captain Broward and say:

"Are you going today, Captain Broward?"

"Why, no, not today, Captain Kilgore," would be the courteous reply. Kilgore would always feel that he could relax at least for that day, so great was his confidence in the word of Captain Broward.

"I'll let you know when I'm going," the remarkable Broward would say. And he would. But at such times Kilgore's efforts to catch him in the act of filibustering would be frustrated, for The Three Friends would take on its cargo outside the three mile limit. The Bermuda was a ship famous for taking provisions to the smaller tugs and ships running the blockade.

Miss Hortense remembers distinctly how The Three Friends was built. Napoleon had sent Captain W. H. Roberts to Nassau to get the material - mahogany, horse-flesh wood and Madeira, and the ribs were made there, hand-hewed, according to

Napoleon's plans. He had whittled out the model for his boat.

"I saw the ribs when they arrived, and I saw the boat built here on Bay Street," said Miss Hortense. "It had been intended at first to carry passengers and freight between here and Nassau, but had only made one trip before it began running the Cuban blockade, with provisions and men for the revolution. The boat is in use today, and it still has those same ribs."

Possibly the only surviving member of Mr. Broward's filibustering crew is Robert Walter Bush, who was interviewed in Miami by me in the Spring of 1940. Mr. Bush said that he made three trips on *The Three Friends*, that he made \$100 a trip besides a monthly wage of \$40. He recalled the fact that *The Three Friends* burned many boxes of fat bacon whenever it was in a frantic hurry to get up enough steam to evade a passing steamer or a pursuing gunboat. "Before we would start with a load to Cuba," Mr. Bush reminisced, "Captain Broward would line us up and say, 'Boys, you know what we've got on board, and you know where we are going, and there ain't no use in my telling you. All you who don't want to go fall out of line. If we're caught we'll be shot and no one will know, but if we get back you'll get your regular salary and one hundred dollars will be handed you.'" Mr. Bush said he did not get scared enough to drop out of line until after the third trip. He said Broward was a man who never got nervous about anything.

The method of collecting money from cigar workers in Tampa and Key West was described by Mr. Bush. When pay day came the employees would call at one desk for their pay envelope and would stop at another desk for their contribution to the Junta. Mr. Bush spoke with deepest affection for his former captain, and said all who knew him loved him.

This brings to mind an incident which Broward told a close friend of mine before his death. When he was making the campaign for the office of the governor of Florida two former members of his filibustering expeditions, who had drifted down to Central America, had heard of Broward's desperate struggle for the governorship, and with difficulty having made their way back to Jacksonville sought him out and offered to organize an expedition to take the capitol at Tallahassee by force. Broward said they seemed disappointed when he assured them he did not think that would be necessary.

So famous was Captain Broward's experiences with his filibustering tug that when, as Governor, he attended a conference in Memphis, he was approached by Theodore Roosevelt who made the following remark :

"Governor, have you still got The Three Friends?"

"Yes," Broward replied.

"Well," said Mr. Roosevelt, "you ought to be mighty proud of her. If it had not been for The Three Friends you would not be governor now."

"You ought to be proud of her yourself," Governor Broward retorted, "because if it had not been for her you would not be president of the United States now."

Mention is made by Rubens of that mid-August, 1896, trip of The Three Friends, when 450,000 rounds of ammunition taken to Cuba made it possible for General Maceo at Pinar del Rio to fight the Spanish unceasingly from August 22nd until October 10th of that year. Maceo was able to fight his way through two mountain passes that had been held by the Spaniards. "A remarkable feat" that had brought praise from the enemy.¹⁰

10. Horatio S. Rubens, *Liberty, The Story of Cuba*, p. 263 (N. Y. 1932).

This trip of Captain Broward and The Three Friends was the subject for a full page feature story in the New York Herald on Sunday, September 20, 1896. It was signed by Benjamin Carico, who stated that arms and ammunition had been landed almost under the guns of one of the enemy's cruisers. The ship had been met by 1,500 men under General Perico Diaz.

"The soldiers of General Diaz thronged about us, gaunt and hollow eyed and ragged," said the writer. "Some of them were bare from the waist up. Others were in rags that had been patched and repatched in pitifully rude stitches in the fruitless effort to hide their nakedness. Through the loops and rips of their shirts you could see their protruding bones, which they endeavored to conceal with a vain show of pride. The heads of some of them were stiff with dull stains of dried blood."

Facts like the foregoing, gleaned from original and secondary sources and from interviews, indicate that Florida was the American spear-head of the Cuban War of Independence.

Most of the money, ships, brains, courage and sea ports necessary when filibustering nourished the Cuban patriots, were Florida's; so that it would seem that more than any other state in the Union - more than the rest of the United States put together, Florida had promoted Cuban liberty.

SOME NOTES ON AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY FOR FLORIDA

By H. DUNSCOMBE COLT

In these days of increasing population and expanding communities, it is inevitable that many of the historical antiquities should disappear. The Indian mounds are not alone in this respect, for the remains of the early colonial periods are also succumbing to modern demands. In order therefore to preserve, in record at least, as much as possible for the future, a register of all existing antiquities should be compiled before it is too late. In many countries a great deal has been done towards surveying archeological sites and other historical remains and marking them on maps. Shortly before the present war commenced arrangements had been made to examine and compile a list of all the ancient sites in Palestine, a plan of some magnitude considering the number of sites in the country. In order to facilitate matters the country was divided into sections, the work to be undertaken, first in those parts where antiquities were being destroyed either by new land being brought under cultivation, or building operations of various kinds. The writer was in charge of one of these sections, but unfortunately owing to present conditions all work has been postponed indefinitely. Here in this country little has been done along similar lines and in only a few states, notably Ohio, have serious efforts been made to record the antiquities systematically. A most careful survey has been made of Ohio and the results published in a series of large scale maps, each county being treated separately with the various Indian sites noted. To thus survey an expanse of territory as large as Florida it would, of necessity, require a large staff and be quite a costly operation. Florida having no organization prepared

to take this in hand, there is nevertheless, a method whereby a very useful beginning can be made at practically no cost, provided sufficient encouragement be given by those interested. If all the members of the Florida Historical Society would not only aid in this themselves but urge their friends to give assistance a good deal could be accomplished.

The main objective is to make a list of all the existing remains of the Indian period in the State, mounds, shell heaps, burial grounds and so forth. The Florida Historical Society is the obvious organization to undertake this and should be the depository of all information of this kind. If all those knowing the location of any such antiquities would send to the headquarters of the Society as much information as possible, a start could be made toward compiling a master map to eventually contain all the Indian sites of the state. The following are some suggestions to enable the ordinary layman to aid in this.

Most important is the location and that should be given as exactly as possible. If a site is near a road, the mileage to the nearest town should be stated, this can easily be done by taking the reading on the speedometer of one's car. In cases where the site is not near a road the approximate distance from the nearest road, house, or other well defined landmark should be given. This can be done by noting the time used in walking to the landmark chosen, and provides any easy way of judging distances to those who are not accustomed to doing so. Trees, large rocks and similar objects are not good landmarks as they might be removed at any time. However if there is no better landmark in the vicinity, these may be used. If an ordinary motoring map is used for locating the position of sites great care should be taken in the marking, as the scale of these maps is very small and conse-

quently a slight error might misplace the position by several miles. Other details which are necessary and should be included are: the dimensions, the condition and any other item worth mentioning. In taking dimensions the easiest way for those who have no measuring instruments is to pace off the site. Information concerning the condition is important. Whether the site appears to be untouched or has been dug into by so called treasure hunters. If it has been damaged in the course of cultivation, cut through by roads, partly built upon or otherwise damaged. In the case of shell heaps, whether any part has been washed away by the action of the sea. A statement of ownership is also helpful as a further check for location.

Not only should existing sites be noted, but also, if possible, those which are known to have already been destroyed. Many of the Indian mounds have been obliterated by building operations and cultivation. Likewise large numbers of the shell heaps have been removed for use as road building material. Surely there must be many people in Florida who know of such places which are no longer in existence and if they would give as much information as possible about them they would help greatly. Private individuals having Indian relics in their possession would cooperate if they sent in the history of these objects to the Society, particularly where they were found.

No one should hesitate in communicating information, everything is useful. To be sure, mistakes will occur but these should not be serious and can be rectified in the future when a scientific survey is made.

The most important thing is to get matters started as soon as possible and create interest among the public. One warning that ought to be especially stressed is, that any and all digging by people who

are not trained in that kind of work does a great deal of damage and should be emphatically discouraged. Furthermore the chances of discovering anything of intrinsic value to the ordinary layman are slight, and tampering with a site by the untrained searcher destroys most of the scientific value.

BOOK REVIEWS

Diplomacy and the Borderlands: The Adams-Onis Treaty of 1819. By Philip Coolidge Brooks. *University of California Publications in History*, Volume 24. (Berkeley : University of California Press, 1939. x, 251 pp. Illustrations, appendices and bibliography. Cloth, \$2.50 ; paper \$2.00).

Many authors of the past have penned the story of the treaty of 1819, but none have succeeded in producing such a clear, well-balanced account as that of Philip C. Brooks. In the brief space of 196 pp. of text, Brooks successfully guides the reader through a maze of diplomatic intrigue, maneuvers and monotonous negotiations, to a clear understanding of the events which led to the signing of the treaty.

The title suggests a division of space between diplomatic negotiation and borderland activity. Some readers, perhaps, will be disappointed at not finding more about Lewis and Clark, Pike, Wilkinson, George Mathews, Jose Alvarez de Toledo, Jackson, Robert Grey, and Astor, to mention only a few. But the author's object was to present only enough to form the background to the more important problem of negotiation. This he has done very well.

Luis de Onis, Spanish Minister to the United States, 1809-1819, is the central figure. This man, representative of a decaying nation, faced the astute John Quincy Adams in a diplomatic duel for an empire. Brooks comes to the conclusion that Onis "acquitted himself ably," saving Texas and the northern Mexican provinces for his country.

Numerous are the points of dispute in which Adams and Onis engaged. To record but a few: spoliation claims of the United States, the West Florida controversy, invasions of the Floridas, aid

to Spain's revolting colonies, validity of the Louisiana Purchase, and the transcontinental boundary. Brooks neatly covers all these problems in a minimum of space with a maximum of understanding. The diplomatic battle began in earnest in 1815, with James Monroe and Pedro Cevallos exchanging numerous notes. From 1816-1818 the negotiations were carried on in Madrid. Washington, however, was the scene of the final negotiations, with Onís, backed by a weak and constantly changing home government, endeavoring to forestall the ever encroaching demands of Adams. The contest between Adams and Onís came to an end on February 22, 1819, when they appended their signatures to the treaty. The Senate immediately gave its consent to the ratification, but ratification on the part of Spain was delayed. This was due primarily to the lack of foresight of the Spanish *consejo* and to the tactless endeavors of John Forsyth, who was sent to Madrid to speed ratification there. Fear of United States aggression and a final realization that Spain had received a fair bargain caused Ferdinand VII to ratify the treaty, which he did on October 24, 1820. Notice of Spanish approval was despatched to Washington where the Senate, with only four dissenting votes, reaffirmed its consent to ratification exactly two years after the signature.

Chapter V introduces a long needed account of Spanish efforts to obtain foreign aid during the years 1814-1819, particularly from England, France, and Russia. The results were negative as far as the British and the Russians were concerned. The French however gave some assistance, as Guillaume Hyde de Neuville, French Minister to the United States, played a successful role as go-between in Washington.

Of particular interest to the readers of the *Quarterly* is the fact that "there was 'no purchase' of the Floridas. The claims discussion . . . was kept

quite separate during the whole course of the negotiations from that on the boundary. Adams always spoke of sacrifices in other sections of the frontier, particularly in Texas and the Northwest, as the price of the Floridas, and never mentioned the claims assumption in that connection." (p. 162). Spanish land-grants in Florida involving large acreages to Alagon, Punonrostro and Vargas, were a constant stumbling block to final agreement. A compromise that all grants made after January 24, 1819, were null and void solved this problem. The West Florida controversy was cleverly solved in Article II of the treaty, where the omission of a comma after the word 'territory' satisfied both contestants. Brooks, however, places Florida in a minor role and stresses the fact that the treaty was a 'transcontinental' one, the importance of which lies not so much in the acquisition of the Floridas as in the establishment of a definite cross-country boundary.

The treaty is printed in Appendix I, and in Appendix II is an excellent short account of the Melish Map of 1818 with which is included a copy of the map. This was the official map used by the negotiators. The bibliography is found in the third appendix. It is carefully selected and well annotated.

Portraits of Onis and Adams, a despatch of Onis announcing the signature of the treaty, and a map depicting the final boundary, add interest for the reader. The work is the result of excellent research and is written in a style which makes for easy reading.

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Guide to the Material in The National Archives.
(Washington : U. S. Government Printing Office,
1940. Pp. xviii, 303.)

This is a general guide to the more than 320,000 linear feet of records received by The National Archives to December 31, 1939. Part of the records are described in some detail in the main portion of the Guide, the others being listed in an appendix. In both cases records are listed under the names of the Government agencies that created them or that have continued them after their transfer from the agencies with which they originated. A full index serves as a topical guide so far as names and subjects are mentioned, but, as stated in the introduction, "since the guide is not a detailed statement of the contents of the material in The National Archives, it follows that the index to the guide cannot be considered as an index to that material."

To readers of the *Quarterly*, those records which pertain to Florida are of especial interest. The most important groups of Florida material appear to be in records transferred from the State Department. A series of Territorial Papers, 1787-1873, described as consisting "chiefly of volumes containing original letters from the governors and secretaries of the Territories to the President or the Secretary of State; the journals of executive proceedings in the Territories; and acts of the Territorial legislatures," includes 12 volumes for Florida, 1777-1828, and "a small file of correspondence with the War Department and others pertaining to the capture of Pensacola, 1813-18." Copies of communications sent by the State Department to Territorial and State officials are to be found in a series of Domestic Letters, 1792-1906. Also mentioned as being among the State Department records are "originals and transcripts of documents pertaining to the Spanish territories of Florida and Louisiana, which were obtained by Jeremy Robinson and Nicholas P. Trist in Cuba, 1830-35."

Apart from the records mentioned above, the only material specifically identified as pertaining to

Florida are Miscellaneous Records Relating to Private Land Claims in Florida, 1824-98, transferred from the Private Land Claims Division, General Land Office; field correspondence files relative to Everglades drainage surveys, from the Agricultural Engineering Bureau, Agriculture Department ; and aerial photographic negatives, 1922-30, from the Hydrographic Office, Navy Department. There can be little doubt, however, that numerous other records contain Florida material.

The Guide does not profess to be definitive, and future revisions are promised. Meanwhile it is to be supplemented by quarterly and annual lists of new accessions, the latter to be published in the *Annual Reports* of the Archivist of the United States. - DOROTHY DODD.

* * * *

Four Centuries of Florida Ranching by George H. Dacy. (Miami. Published by the author. 310 pages. Illustrated. \$3.00).

Cattle-raising on the open range in central Florida had grown to be an extensive industry before the Civil War, and towards its close the beef ration of the Confederate armies came in large part from there. Previously Havana was the principal market for Florida cattle, and that trade was not wholly suspended during the war period, for the herds supplied the outgoing cargoes for the blockade-runners from the lower Florida ports. In the 1870's shipments were extensive and grew through the 1880's, and this was the only large industry of the region until the wide expansion of citrus planting. But today's vast ranches with one and one-half million head of beef cattle were made possible only by the elimination of the fever-tick.

All of this and much more is told of in detail in the volume, with the help of numerous illustrations. It is interesting, but apparently undue credence is given to hearsay.

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

THE REMOVAL TO ST. AUGUSTINE, AND THE NEW LIBRARY

Following the meeting of the Board of Directors in St. Augustine last May 25, the Finance Committee, headed by Mr. John G. McKay, chairman, President C. H. Curry, and others, prepared a letter appealing to the members of the Society for funds which would enable the Society to accept the offer of the City of St. Augustine of adequate and desirable space, rent free, in the Alcazar building for the location of our Library. It was the opinion of the Board that a minimum of \$1,500 would be needed for minimum necessary equipment and renovation of the new quarters.

The result of the appeal for funds was most encouraging. The following have contributed :

Abbey, Dr. Kathryn T., Tallahassee	\$ 5.00
Allen, Mr. W. G., Tampa	5.00
Alvord, Mr. John W., Winter Park	10.00
Anderson, Mr. Robert H., Miami	5.00
Arbogast, Mr. C. B., Stuart	3.00
Auvil, Mr. Arthur L., Dade City	2.50
Babson, Mrs. Roger, Wellesley, Mass.	5.00
Barnett, Mr. Bion H., Jacksonville	25.00
*Barry, The Most Reverend Patrick,	10.00
Barstow, Mrs. W. S., Hobe Sound	250.00 (1)
Beach, Mrs. John B., West Palm Beach	2.00
Bearss, Miss Esther, Washington, D. C.	2.00
Bickel, Mr. Karl A., Sarasota	10.00
Bowers, Mrs. William C., Winter Park	25.00
Boyd, Dr. Mark F., Tallahassee (Contributing Membership)	8.00
Boyles, Miss Katherine, Orange City	1.00
Bradley, Mr. Edward Riley, Palm Beach	100.00
Brown, Mr. Robert S., Clearwater	10.00
Buckman, Mrs. H. H., Jacksonville	1.00
Caldwell, Miss Nettie M., Seattle, Wash.	1.00
Carson, Mrs. James M., Miami (Contributing Membership)	8.00
Cason, Mr. F. W., Miami	5.00
Chatelain, Dr. Verne E., St. Augustine	5.00
Chubb, Mr. Thomas Caldecot, Greenwich, Conn.	10.00
Clubbs, Miss Occie, Pensacola	1.00
Coe, Capt. Charles H., Washington, D. C.	5.00
Coleman, Mr. George W., Palm Beach	5.00

Copeland, Mr. D. Graham, Everglades	5.00	
Corse, Dr. Carita Doggett, Jacksonville	5.00	
Crowninshield, Mrs. F. B., Boca Grande	75.00	(2)
Cummer, Mrs. Arthur G., Jacksonville	25.00	
Dalton, Miss Mary Alice, Daytona Beach	5.00	
Daniel, Mrs. Richard, Jacksonville	2.00	
Davis, Dr. W. W., Lawrence, Kansas	10.00	
DeMelt, Mr. W. E., Lakeland	1.00	
Dewey, Mrs. Melvil, Winter Park	5.00	
Dodd, Miss Dorothy, Jacksonville	5.00	
Douglas, Mrs. James H., Lake Forest, Ill.	2.00	
Drake, Mrs. Trusten P., Sr., Ocala	2.00	
Driscoll, Rev. Joseph, New Smyrna	2.00	
Ellsworth, Mr. W. J., Blanton	2.00	
Ewing, Mr. Charles Hull, Sarasota	5.00	
Fairlie, Miss Margaret C., Jacksonville	1.00	
Fayant, Mr. Frank H., Miami Beach	5.00	
Fée, Mr. William I., Fort Pierce	10.00	
Foley, Mr. J. S., Foley	10.00	
Gemmil, Mr. Arthur G., St. Augustine	5.00	
Gibbs, Hon. George Couper, Tallahassee	5.00	
Gibson, Mrs. W. C., Miami	3.00	
Goodwin, Mr. William B., Hartford, Conn.	15.00	
Goss, Mr. and Mrs. John H., Waterbury, Conn.	25.00	
Griffin, Mr. J. A., Tampa	10.00	
Groover, Mr. Frank C., Jacksonville	5.00	
Guild, Rev. Roy B., Winter Park	1.00	
Hamilton, Mrs. F. P., Jacksonville	5.00	
Hanks, Mr. Bryan, Miami	5.00	
Harris, Mr. John F., New York, N. Y.	25.00	
Hauss, Mr. Edward A., Century	3.00	
Hawkins, Miss Nina S., St. Augustine	2.00	
Herpel, Dr. Frederick K., West Palm Beach	5.00	
Herron, Miss Emily K., Winter Park	5.00	
**Historical Records Survey of Florida	10.00	(3)
Hoenshal, Mrs. Paul M., Port Mayaca	5.00	
Jelks, Dr. Edward, Jacksonville	2.00	
Johnson, Mr. F. Coit, New York, N. Y.	5.00	
Jones, Mr. Arthur A., Ormond Beach	50.00	
Kendall, Mr. Messmore, New York, N. Y.	10.00	
Kirtland, Mrs. Frederick W., St. Augustine	3.00	
Knight, Mr. Peter O., Tampa	5.00	
Kohl, Mrs. Henry, Palm Beach	80.00	(4)
LaFuze, Dr. G. Leighton, DeLand	2.50	
Lane, Mrs. Edward W., Jacksonville	10.00	
Leffler, Miss Cornelia, Miami (Contributing Membership)	8.00	
Leffler, Mr. W. A., Sanford	5.00	
Lester, Lucy, Tallahassee	1.00	
Lewis, Mr. George E., Tallahassee	5.00	
Liddell, Dr. Anna Forbes, Tallahassee	2.00	
Lockey, Dr. Joseph B., Beverly Hills, Calif.	5.00	
Love, Mrs. Meade A., Quincy (Contributing Membership)	8.00	
McKay, Mr. D. B., Tampa	10.00	
McKay, Mr. John G., Miami	25.00	

McKay, Mr. K. I., Tampa	10.00
McKenna, Mr. Edward R., Palm Beach	2.00
McKillop, Mr. Hart, Winter Haven	5.00
Maclay, Mr. Alfred B., Tallahassee	5.00
McRae, Mrs. Annie, St. Petersburg	1.00
Maddox, Mr. H., Archer	10.00
Malcolm, Mr. Herbert L., Pompano	5.00
Mershon, Mr. M. L., Miami	7.50
Miller, Dr. and Mrs. Robert T., Jr., Lake Wales . . .	10.00
Newman, Mr. Alfred E., St. Petersburg	2.00
Nippert, Mr. Alfred K., Daytona Beach (Contributing Membership).....	8.00
Parkinson, Mr. and Mrs. John R., Daytona Beach..	5.00
Peterson, Hon. J. Hardin, Washington, D. C.	1.00
Pierce, Miss Ruby Edna, Palm Beach	10.00
Porter, Mrs. Laura Spencer, Dade City	5.00
Potts, Mr. and Mrs. George Eustis, Ormond Beach	10.00
Puleston, Mr. W. D., Monticello	5.00
Reese, Mrs. J. Simpson, Pensacola	10.00
Rhodes, Miss Margaret, Daytona Beach	5.00
Richardson, Miss Louise, Tallahassee	1.00
Richmond, Mrs. Henry L., Jacksonville	10.00
Roberts, Mr. Albert H., Tallahassee	5.00
Romfh, Mr. E. C., Miami	25.00
Rush, Mrs. Walter H., Eustis	2.00
Russell, Mr. Wesley F., Jackson Heights, N. Y.	2.00
Ruth, Mr. Thomas DeC., New York, N. Y.	1.00
Sack, Mrs. Francis M., Tampa	5.00
St. Augustine Historical Society	50.00
Salley, Mr. G. Lawrence, Tallahassee	1.00
Scott, Mr. and Mrs. George G., Winter Park	5.00
Shepard, Mr. John, Jr., Palm Beach	10.00
Shores, Dr. Venila Lovina, Tallahassee,	2.00
Smith, Mr. Horace L., Ocala	1.00
Snodgrass, Miss Dena, Orlando	5.00
Sutor, Mr. Jack, Gainesville	1.00
Thomas, Miss Emma L. G., Winter Park	5.00
Tebeau, Mr. C. W., Coral Gables	2.00
Traynor, Mr. Frank M., Tampa	10.00
Turnbull, Mr. D. F., Sarasota	2.00
Vaill, Mrs. Frederick S., St. Augustine (Contributing Membership)	8.00
VanBeuren, Mr. Michael M., Newport, R. I. (Including Membership)	18.00
Van Wickle, Mr. George S., Miami Beach	2.00
Walker, Mr. Edwin F., Los Angeles, Calif.	2.00
Wall, Mr. J. E., Tampa	1.00
Wallace, Miss Madge, Jacksonville	5.00
Welsh, Mr. Agnew, Miami	2.00
West, Miss Bernice, Mount Dora	2.00
West, Judge DuVal, San Antonio, Texas	10.00
White, Mrs. Reginald, St. Augustine	1.00
Whitfield, Mrs. Bryan C., Tallahassee	1.00
Whitfield, Judge J. B., Tallahassee (Contributing Membership)	8.00
Whitman, Mrs. A. B., Orlando	5.00

Wilder, Mrs. C. M., Daytona Beach	10.00
Willoughby, Mr. C. H., Gainesville	2.00
Wilson, Mr. Gaines R., Miami	5.00
Wilson, Mrs. Millar, Jacksonville (Including Contributing Membership)	18.00
Wilson, Mrs. T. O., Miami	5.00
Winters, Prof. Harry S., DeLand	5.00
Woodward, Mrs. J. W., Quincy	5.00
Young, Dr. J. S., Winter Park	1.00
Young, Mr. Owen D., New York, N. Y.	50.00
Zabriskie, Mr. George A., Ormond Beach	25.00
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Total	\$1,609.50

*Deceased.

**Members of the Historical Records Survey contributing to the purchase of the typewriter stand were: Mrs. Sue A. Mahorner, Dr. Louise B. Hill, Mrs. Virginia Maxwell, Miss May L. Touchton, Mr. Gordon Reeves, Mr. I. W. Snyder and Mrs. Helen S. Wells.

- (1) Contributed by Mrs. W. S. Barstow, Hobe Sound, for the purchase of two Duo-Therm oil heaters.
- (2) Presented by Mrs. F. B. Crowninshield, Boca Grande, to defray the cost of transportation of the Society's collections to St. Augustine.
- (3) Subscribed for the purchase of a typewriter stand by the Historical Records Survey, Jacksonville.
- (4) Contributed by Mrs. Henry Kohl, Palm Beach, for the purchase of oak library tables.

* * * *

On September first, Mr. Watt Marchman, our corresponding secretary and librarian, resigned from his position on the staff of Rollins College to take active charge of the removal and subsequent operation of the Society's Library in St. Augustine. He was able to do this because of the generous contribution of several members of the Society toward a fund for the salary of a permanent official at the new location. Since September first our librarian has been engaged in renovating the new quarters, doing most of the labor himself in order to save as much of the fund as possible. He has secured the necessary new equipment, and the Library is now open and available to the public.

Included in the new equipment and supplies secured are the following:

Equipment : new Royal typewriter.	
typewriter stand (gift of Historical Records Survey)....\$	10.00
chair for typewriter stand	15.00

library tables (3), large, oak	74.70
library chairs (12), quartered oak	57.60
one 15-drawer catalogue card file, oak, with base and top	72.50
one A.B. Dick Mimeograph machine	45.00
one 6-foot glass show case, for exhibit purposes	50.00
one 4-drawer steel letter file	25.00
two large Duo-Therm crude oil heaters, including installation ; and one 2-burner oil heater (Gift of Mrs. W. S. Barstow)	250.00
Supplies ; stationery, announcements, stamps, etc.....	146.53
materials (glass and lumber) for enclosing doorway....	66.43
paint, lumber, labor, wiring and fixtures, miscellaneous office supplies, etc	600.00
3,000 printed Government envelopes	89.90
500 reprints of the July 1940 <i>Quarterly</i> for use in secur- ing new accessions for the library	46.00
totaling approximately	\$1,548.66
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THE ANNUAL MEETING

The annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society (March 26-28) will be held in Miami upon invitation of the Historical Association of Southern Florida. The general chairman is Mr. John G. McKay. Mr. Gaines R. Wilson is chairman of the program committee, and Mrs. James M. Carson chairman of exhibits. The committees are at work and plans are made for a notable meeting reminiscent of our annual meeting in that district, at Palm Beach several years ago.

On Wednesday evening, the 26th, our directors and the chairmen of the several standing committees of the Society will meet for a review of the past year and a discussion of plans for the next. The annual business meeting will be on Thursday morning, a luncheon with speakers will follow, then a program session in the afternoon. The annual dinner with the presidential address will be on Thursday evening. Friday morning another program session will precede a luncheon at which there will be speakers and this will bring the meeting to a close. The public is expected at all program sessions.

The exhibit of Floridiana will adjoin the meeting place and will be open to all both before and after the sessions.

Headquarters will be the Miami-Biltmore hotel in Coral Gables where favorable rates have been secured, and all sessions will be held there. A nearby small hotel has offered minimum rates. The Miami-Biltmore has exceptional advantages, with an outdoor swimming pool and tennis courts and golf course, and the privilege of the Roney Palaza Cabana Sun Club on Miami Beach.

With Miami in March, with the Historical Association of Southern Florida as hosts, and with an interesting historical program arranged by Mr. Wilson, the meeting will attract members from every part of the State. If you are a member, should you not attend at least one annual meeting? Is not this the time.

Mrs. Carson is gathering an unusual exhibit of Floridiana. Perhaps you can help. Should you have or know of some item of historical interest, please bring it with you or write to Mrs. Carson, P. O. box 2709 Miami.

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MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS
ON NOVEMBER 11

Present were: C. H. Curry, President; W. Marchman, Librarian; A. C. Manucy, Recording Secretary; Dr. E. L. Robinson, Director; Dr. K. T. Abbey, Director; G. R. Wilson, Director; Mrs. E. W. Lawson, Dr. H. S. Winters, Mrs. H. S. Winters, Dr. G. Leighton LaFuze, Dr. J. S. Young, Mrs. Marjorie B. Emmons, Mrs. F. W. Kirtland.

Mr. Marchman reported on the removal of the Library to its present quarters. It was the feeling of the Board that Mr. Marchman should be commended upon the excellent work that he has accomplished.

There was discussion relative to holding "open house" functions and a series of social hours to which groups from other cities might come upon special invitation.

Mr. Marchman gave the report of the Finance Committee, which follows. In summary he stated that the goal of \$1,500 was reached and this sum was ample for immediate essential expenditures. At Mr. McKay's, the chairman's, request, he emphasized the gratification of the Committee at the widespread response of the Society's members.

Mr. Wilson reported on the plans for the annual meeting in Miami, tentatively scheduled for March 26-28, 1941.

Mrs. Lawson reported for the Music Committee, summarizing the recent work of Mrs. Henry L. Richmond, Chairman of the Committee, on the composer Delius.

President Curry summarized past aims in regard to legislation, that a motion carried during the previous Board meeting had suggested two major aims : (1) that the State recognize the Society as an agency for the collection and dissemination of historical information of Florida, and (2) that the State at some future time implement the functions of the Society by the appropriation of funds. There followed considerable discussion of aims toward which the committee could work, and it was brought out that the placement of the *Quarterly* in school libraries was one major aim, and further, that other publications of the Society should be deposited in such public educational institutions. The President instructed the Legislative Committee to work out with the Publications Committee a program of legislative aims, including the amounts of appropriations to be requested from the Legislature, with a summary of the uses to which such appropriations would be put. This program should be reported to the Board at its next meeting.

Mrs. Emmons of the Statewide WPA Library Project, summarized statewide library movements since 1935 and specified how it was possible for that agency to aid the Florida Historical Society, and what aid had been given, and the plan for two local assistants for Mr. Marchman.

President Curry introduced the subject of regional meetings, urging all district directors to formulate plans for their respective meetings.

The President likewise brought up the matter of enlarging the membership, suggesting that each member make a definite effort to enroll new members.

Dr. Young requested members to write him should they have in mind key influential persons who might be of special aid to the Legislative Committee.

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The Archeology Committee

Mrs. Doris Stone, of the Middle American Research Institute of Tulane University, who, the members will recall, has twice addressed our meetings and contributed two papers on Florida and Southeastern archeology to the *Quarterly*, has been appointed to and has accepted the chairmanship of our Archeology Committee. She has been a member since its organization by Professor Hanna last year. Its first work will be a study of the archeological remains on Fort George Island, for which it has made a contour map of the section containing the Indian mounds there. Dr. W. J. Winter, former chairman, has been called to active service in the United States Army.

Miss Mary Lamar Davis of Tallahassee, granddaughter of General W. G. M. Davis, has presented to the Society's Library six Civil War letters from

his papers which are not included in *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*. She writes : "May I contribute in my small way toward building up the Library. I would be glad to be of any help to you should you desire information from here at any time. Perhaps I can also secure gifts for the Society since they now have a building in which to house the Library."

Mrs. Henry L. Richmond of Jacksonville, one of our early members, and one who has shown her interest in the Society in numerous ways, has now become a Life Member. She is chairman of the Music Committee which has been at work on the composer Delius who lived for a time on the St. Johns river.

Our librarian Mr. Watt Marchman spoke before the St. Augustine Rotary Club recently on the work of the Society and our library.

The Library of the Society was opened to the local chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution in a preview exhibition on November 13th. The Librarian spoke informally of the history of the Society, emphasizing the fact that the Society was first established in St. Augustine in 1856; that upon its reorganization in 1902, the first accession to the Library was made by Henry M. Flagler, who built the building in which the Society now has its headquarters.

LIST OF ACCESSIONS, FLORIDA HISTORICAL
SOCIETY LIBRARY

(November 25, 1940)

Chronicles of Oklahoma, 13 vols. Gift of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

The Wisconsin Magazine of History, Vol. X, 1926 through Vol. XXIII, 1940.

Legislative Journals of Florida: Senate, 1858, Nov. ; 1859, Nov. ; 1877, Jan. ; 1881, Jan.; House, 1848, Nov.; 1856, Nov. ; 1858, Nov.; 1859, Nov.; 1877, Jan. Gift of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

State of Florida. One Dollar Confederate bill. Gift of Joshua C. Chase.

Confederate money, denominations from 50c to \$50. Fifty pieces. City Book Auction, New York.

Histoire de la Floride Francaise, by Paul Gaffarel (Paris 1875).

"Corps and detachments of the St. Augustine garrison embarked for the Havana, agreeable to the treaty of 1821." Also list of maps and charts in the Bureau of Rolls and Library in the Department of State, Washington, D. C. Presented by Mrs. Garrett Porter, Jacksonville.

Certificate issued to C. D. Mills, October 21, 1888, during the yellow fever epidemic ; and a time-table of the St. Augustine Route of the Jacksonville, St. Augustine & Halifax River Railway, 1892. Presented by Dorothy Dodd, Jacksonville.

An Account of the Spanish Settlements in America. (Edinburgh, 1762.) Lacks map.

File of **Florida Game and Fish**, Vol. I. nos. 1-9, March-November 1940. Gift of the Commission of Game and Fresh Water Fish, Tallahassee.

File of **Florida School Bulletin**, Vol. I, Oct. 15, 1938, to date. Gift of the State Department of Education, Tallahassee.

The Blue Book: A Social Register of Jacksonville, Fla., 1929.

Stories of the Seminoles, by Margaret C. Fairlie (New York, 1928).

The Travels of William Bartram. With an Introduction by John Livingston Lowes. (New York, 1940).

The Life of Andrew Jackson, by Marquis James. (New York, 1938).

Health Trip to the Tropics, by N. Parker Willis (New York, 1853).

Florida Compiled Laws. Annotated. 1914. Vols. II and III.

Congressional Globe. 1st Sess, 34th Cong., Pts. I and II, 1855-56. Also **Appendix to Congressional Globe**, 1855-56. Presented by Dorothy Dodd.

American State Papers, Public Lands, Vols. I, III-VIII; **Military Affairs**, Vols. III-VI ; **Naval Affairs, Vols. II-IV; Finance**, Vols. IV-V.

Presented by John B. Stetson, Jr.:

Mayan and Mexican Origins, by Leo Wiener (Privately printed).

- Contributions toward a History of Arabico-Gothic Culture**, by Leo Wiener. In three volumes. (v. d.)
- Africa and the Discovery of America**, by Leo Wiener. In three volumes. (Innes & Sons, Philadelphia, v. d.)
- Presented by Judge B. A. Meginniss, Tallahassee:
- George Pettus Raney, 1845-1911**, a paper delivered before the Tallahassee Historical Society, October 10, 1940.
- Presented by Albert H. Roberts, Tallahassee:
- Copy of photograph of George Pettus Raney, 1845-1911.
- Florida Magazine of Verse**, Vol. 1, no. 1. (November, 1940)
- presented by Professor A. J. Hanna.
- Presented by Mrs. James M. Carson, Coral Gables:
- "Florida, Promoter of Cuban Liberty.." by Ruby Leach Carson; delivered before the Florida Historical Society.
- "South Florida As I Found It," by Joshua Coffin Chase. Address read before the University Club of Winter Park, January 27, 1940. Presented by Mr. Chase.
- The Seminoles of Florida**, by Eloise A. Lightfoot, M.S. Thesis, John B. Stetson University.
- Dividing Line-Georgia and Florida**. 20th Cong., 2d Sess., House Document No. 50. 1829.
- Survey of the Flint and Chattahoochee Rivers in Florida**. 43rd Cong., 1st Sess. House Executive Document No. 65, 1874.
- Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army, 1789-1903**, by F. B. Heitman. In two volumes. (Washington, 1903).
- Third annual report of the Bureau of Ethnology, 1881-1882**. (Washington, 1884). Gift of W. J. Winter, Tampa.
- Spanish Land Grants in Florida**. Vol I, Unconfirmed Claims (State Library Board, Tallahassee, 1940). Prepared and presented by the Historical Records Survey, WPA, Jacksonville.
- Inventory of the Church Archives of Florida. Baptist Bodies**. (Historical Records Survey, Jacksonville). Presented by the Historical Records Survey, Jacksonville.
- Maps :
- La Florida**, by Auctore Hieron Chiaves, 1582.
- A New and Accurate Map of East and West Florida**, by T. Kitchin, 1760?
- Florida**. S. Augustus Mitchell, Philadelphia. Cir. 1845.
- Florida, The North part of the Gulf of Mexico, with the adjacent territories belonging to Great Britain & to France**. by Herman Moll. 1763.
- Florida et Apalache**, by Corneille Wytfliet, 1605.
- Florida**. Drawn and published by F. Lucas, Jr., Baltimore. Cir. 1823.
- North America**, by A. Arrowsmith, (Edinburgh).
- North America, by Thomson**. From Walker's Atlas. Cir. 1797.
- North America**, by T. Jefferys. n.d.
- * * *
- History of the University of the South**, by George R. Fairbanks. Autographed. (Jacksonville, 1906).
- Prescott's Works**, edited by John Foster Kirk. 12 volumes.
- Haydn's Dictionary of Dates**, B. Vincent.
- Narrative and Critical History of America**, edited by Justin Winsor (New York, 1889). 8 volumes.

Fifteen photographs of artifacts from Sebastian Inlet. Presented by Mr. Higgs.

Numerous newspaper clippings pertaining to Jacksonville, Middleburg, and Duval County, several photographs and a copy of *Acres of Ashes*, by Benjamin Harrison, presented by Mrs. I. F. Parmenter, Orange Park.

The St. Augustine Record, July 4, 1937. Historical Restoration issue. Presented by Dr. Verne E. Chatelain.

NOTES AND COMMENT

A CORRECTION

In Mrs. Stone's paper, *Mexican Resemblances in the Southeastern Area of the United States*, in the October issue of the QUARTERLY on page 170, two lines were inadvertently transposed, which altered the sense. This should read : "These association traits, as a whole, do not belong to any single group among the higher nations of Mexico. They appear to have their roots in what is usually considered three distinct cultures: Playa de los Muertos, "Q", and Archaic, and to continue in two of the higher groups, the Maua and the Aztec. Figurines practically identical

"The Maya, whose civilization was on the decline at the time of the Spanish arrival in the New World, have a host of culture traits many of which we find picked up by the Aztec, contemporaneous with late Maya culture. A number of these traits seem somehow to have reached the Southeastern area."

Mr. Charles B. Reynolds died at his home in Mountain Lakes, New Jersey, on November 10. For more than half a century he had been a student of the history of St. Augustine and during all that time his eager interest and his writings had their part in making that history better known and in broadening an interest in it. This began with the publication of his *Old St. Augustine* in 1884, and it was in the present year that his account of the

Ponce de Leon Hotel appeared. He was one of the oldest members of the Florida Historical Society and Chairman of the Society's James A. Robertson Memorial Committee, as well as a director of the Florida State Historical Society.

TALLAHASSEE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The first meeting of the season of the Tallahassee Historical Society was on October 10, in commemoration of Judge George P. Raney. Judge James B. Whitfield presided over the program and Judge Ben Meginniss read a paper on Judge Raney. Attendance was about sixty including President Curry who came from Quincy because Judge Raney was one of the founders of our Society.

The first volume of the *Williamsburg Historical Restoration Studies* has appeared. It is a reprint of *The Present State of Virginia, and the College*, first published in London in 1727, and has been edited with a critical introduction by Hunter D. Farris, general editor of the series and Director of the Department of Research and Record of Colonial Williamsburg, Incorporated.

Mr. Charles D. Higgs of Lake Geneva, Wisconsin, and Vero Beach, Florida, former official of the University of Chicago's Yerkes Observatory at Lake Geneva, has been making a study of the lower Florida east coast to determine the location of the old Indian town of Ays.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Clifton N. Howard is an assistant professor of history in the University of California, Los Angeles.

Verne E. Chatelain is director of The St. Augustine Historical Program in cooperation with Carnegie Institution of Washington.

Mark F. Boyd of the Rockefeller Foundation is a director of the Florida Historical Society, and is well known to readers of the QUARTERLY.

Ruby Leach Carson (Mrs. James M. Carson) is a graduate of Florida State College for Women and teaches history in the University of Miami.

