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**The
FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY**

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SOURCE MATERIALS OF FLORIDA HISTORY
IN THE JOHN CARTER BROWN LIBRARY
OF BROWN UNIVERSITY

by LAWRENCE C. WROTH, librarian

[In his search for the rarest of historical material on colonial Florida, the historian will find in the John Carter Brown Library a good part of all that is available anywhere. There an extraordinary collection of source materials on the history of North, South, and Central America of the period before 1801 has been brought together for the use of scholars. More than four hundred titles, many of the utmost rarity and some unique, have been listed in that library for the Union Catalog of Floridiana.* The most important of these have been selected and are described here by Dr. Wroth against a background of Florida's changing sovereignty. This contribution of a scholar for scholars is of permanent value to Florida historians. - *Ed.*]

A library formed with the historian's needs in view must regard any particular section of a country in relationship to the whole. For nearly three hundred years Florida was the common frontier of three great European empires, the focal point of those historic destinies which, in their development, brought into being the new political entity we know today as the United States of America. Hence, Florida has always had a place of especial significance in the John Carter Brown Library; and it hardly need be said that our Florida materials are interrelated with the sources that concern New Spain and the Spanish Southwest of the United States as well as with those that pertain to the colonies of the French in Louisiana and the English in Georgia and Carolina. The geographical scope of our discussion, therefore, is seen to be extensive; when we speak in this article of

* The Union Catalog of Floridiana, established at Rollins College by Professor A. J. Hanna, has been described from time to time in this *Quarterly*. The list mentioned above was compiled through the interest of Henry Dexter Sharpe Esq. of Providence, Rhode Island.

Florida we mean that land area which extends northward from the Keys to the Chesapeake and westward from the Atlantic to the Mississippi, in brief, the southeastern quarter of the United States. That, after all, is a modest delimitation; the Spanish chroniclers thought of Florida as comprising all North America north of the Gulf of Mexico, though in later years they excepted from this broad definition the provinces of New Mexico and California.

Early Geographical Notions

One of the disadvantages arising from the increase of scholarly activity is the progressive growth in the destruction of illusions, comfortable beliefs of a picturesque character that do no harm to those who hold them and frequently provide a pleasant field for the range of the imagination. If the truth makes us free it also provides irksome restrictions to our thinking. It has always been a satisfactory belief that before Juan Ponce de Leon made his discovery of Florida in 1513, certain anonymous, and therefore romantic, mariners had located the Floridian peninsula and given names to many of its geographical features. Support of this belief was found in the appearance of an ill-defined land area to the north of Cuba on the manuscript charts of Cantino and Canerio, of the years 1502 and 1504, and on the great printed Waldseemüller world map of 1507. But the thesis has been stated, and defended with learning, that this presumptive Florida was not a concept based upon the explorations of anonymous navigators, but simply a guess at the shape and features of what the mapmakers believed to be the nearest coast of Asia. There may have existed in their time knowledge of continental land to the north of Cuba, but the area displayed in that position on

the maps of Cantino, Canerio, and Waldseemuller must not be taken, we are warned, as a graphic expression of such knowledge. Here is the material of controversy. One may ignore the controversy, but it is impossible to ignore the material. Because argument exists at all as to whether the land shown on these maps was the earliest depiction of an entirely new world or whether it was meant to be Cathay, the maps themselves remain important exhibits, elements to be numbered among the sources of Florida history.

These primary sources are to be found in good number in the John Carter Brown Library, where, in addition to the E. L. Stevenson facsimiles of the Cantino and Canerio charts and Father Fischer's reproduction of the Waldseemuller map, are preserved several original cartographical pieces that, for reasons given, belong in the Florida bibliography. The Ruysch world map in the Ptolemy of Rome, 1508, is the earliest of these. The so-called Admiral's Map in the Ptolemy of 1513 is another of significance, but from considerations of rarity and specific interest, the most important elements of this group of original sources in the Library are the maps of the hemispheres in Stobnicza's *Introductio in Ptholomei Cosmographiam*, of Cracow, 1512. The Stobnicza hemispheres were reprinted-plagiarized, if you like—from the Waldseemuller world map of 1507, in which they are found conspicuously displayed as insets. Our copy of the single map sheet containing them is one of three known to be in existence and the only one preserved in an American library. One of these maps portrays a land area that can be nothing else but North and South America. In that delineation the continents are clearly seen to be joined by an isthmus and separated from Asia by an ocean in which lies a large island designated "Zeponu insula", by which

we understand Japan. Coming back to our specific interest, we find that there is delineated on this map plainly, if crudely, the entire Gulf of Mexico area, including, at its northeastern extremity, a point of land in the general position of the Floridian peninsula. First published as part of a huge and expensive wall map of restricted circulation, republished five years later in a form that made possible a wide distribution of its concepts, this Waldseemuller-Stobnicza map carried to European scholars definite ideas of the shape of the New World.

There is evidence that the cartographical notions published in the maps we have been talking about were not lacking in influence upon contemporary thought. The Library possesses, for example, a manuscript version of the *De Geographia* of Henricus Glareanus, printed in 1527, but compiled, probably, in the decade 1510-1520. Unlike the printed work, the manuscript is helpfully illustrated. In it are five beautifully drawn and colored maps based upon the concepts of Waldseemuller and Ruysch. The map, illustrating the "Nova terre descriptio" in Gregory Reisch's *Margarita Philosophica*, of 1515, and the map in the Solinus of 1520, the *Tipus Orbis universalis iuxta Ptolomei Cosmographi traditionem*, prepared by Peter Apian, also show the influence of the Waldseemuller concept. If the Florida delineated on these several cartographical productions is either a guess or a misapprehension, most of us would be happy to guess or misapprehend with the amazing degree of exactitude they attain.

An interesting early document in the history of Floridian discovery and exploration is found in the form of the map accompanying some copies of Peter Martyr's *Legatio babylonica Oceani decas* of 1511, for in that map appears to the north of

Cuba a land area named "isla de beimeni parte". HARRISSE supposed on good grounds that the leaves containing this map were added to the book, probably not later than 1512 and before the Ponce de Leon expedition. In addition to its general cartographical interest, the Peter Martyr map has significance in the present association because it puts into print for the first time the word "Bimini", that semi-mythical name which appears so frequently and in such important connotation in the Ponce de Leon documents and story. Printed on the back of the map is an address to Cardinal Ximenez in which Peter Martyr refers to the marvellous lands found to the north of Cuba which are shown in that position on his map. Again in his *Decades* of 1516, Peter Martyr refers to land found to the north of Hispaniola where ran the living waters of a Fountain of Youth, and in his *De nuper sub D. Carolo repertis Insulis*, of 1521, he records the fact of the Ponce de Leon expedition of 1513 and calls the land then discovered "Florida". These earliest references by Peter Martyr to the lands north of the Antilles are set out at length by the pioneer Henry HARRISSE in his *Discovery of North America*. The Library has copies of the three Peter Martyr books just discussed; its copy of the *Decades* of 1511 is one of those which possesses the all-important map.

Because of the uncertainty of meaning involved in these several representations of land that might be regarded as Florida we turn with some relief to the *Praeclara Ferdinandi. Cortesii de Noua maris Oceani Hispania Narratio*, of Nurnberg, 1524, that is, the first Latin edition of the second Cortes letter, written to Charles V in October, 1520. Accompanying this book is a map supposed to have been copied from an original sent by Cortes with his report of progress in Mexico. It is in reality a

plan of the Aztec capital illustrating the events of the narrative, but one section of the sheet is occupied by an inset showing the West Indies and the Gulf region. As reproduced in this Nurnberg woodcut, the inset shows a portion of the west coast of the Florida peninsula and the entire Gulf coast from that point to Yucatan. Engraved upon the peninsula are the words "La Florida", the first appearance of the name, I believe, upon a printed map.

In two of our manuscript portolan atlases are other maps of the pre-settlement period upon which Florida is found in moderately correct delineation. One of these, the celebrated Charles V atlas of Battista Agnese, dates from the period 1543-1545; the other, a counterfeit Agnese of the Gisolfo group (as classified by Henry R. Wagner in his monograph on the Agnese atlases) is probably of the year 1550 or a bit later. There is here also one of the two known copies of the woodcut map of America designed to accompany the *Summario*, of Peter Martyr and Oviedo, of 1534, and called by Harrisse and all who have followed him, the "Ramusio" map. This notable possession is based upon the two large manuscript maps, now at Weimar, of Diego Ribero and an unidentified Spanish pilot. Photographic copies of these are in the Library in the series entitled *Maps illustrating early Discovery and Exploration in America, 1502-1530*, New Brunswick, N. J., 1906, issued under the learned direction of Dr. Edward Luther Stevenson, and in colored facsimiles appended to J. G. Kohl, *Die beiden ältesten General-Karten von Amerika*, Weimar, 1860. The great Ribero map was made in 1529, based, in all probability, upon the *Padron Real*, or master map of the world, kept in the Casa de Contratacion at Seville. It is a splendid production of broad general interest, recording

such recent explorations as Pizarro's discovery of Peru in 1527, and it is, furthermore, a specific Florida document locating by explicit legends the explorations of Estevan Gomez, Ayllon, and Garay. The Spanish pilot's map of 1527, the earlier of these two, bears a legend in the Florida area that reads "Tierra que aora ba apoblar panfilo de narbaes", an indication that the map was made shortly before the Narvaez expedition set forth in June, 1527. The Thorne map, drawn in 1527, found its way into print only with the publication of Hakluyt's *Divers Voyages* in 1582. In that book also is to be found another map of Florida interest, that is, the Michael Lok map of the world, of the year 1582. Copies of the *Divers Voyages* containing both these maps are found only in the British Museum, the Huntington Library, the John Carter Brown, and the private library of James F. Bell, of Minneapolis. The map of North and South America in the *Historia general* of Francisco Lopez de Gomara, present in our copies of the editions of Zaragoza, 1552 and 1553, is another item of historical interest in the collection from the standpoint of Florida representation.

Maps of the post-settlement period, but still of the sixteenth century, are the Boazio plan of St. Augustine in the *Expeditio Francisci Draki*, Leyden, 1588, and the separate Boazio map, published, it may be, as early as 1586, entitled *The Famouse West Indian voyage made by the Englishe fleete . . . in . . . 1585 . . . 1586*. The name of St. Augustine was placed upon this map for the reason that it was one of the towns that Drake destroyed in his ferocious raid upon the outlying Spanish dominions. That unhappy circumstance brought about this early appearance upon a printed general map of the name and location of the most important of the Spanish outposts in Florida. In a German edi-

tion of the Bigges narrative of Drake's expedition, published in 1589, is a map of North and South America by Franciscus Hogenberg, the skilled collaborator of Ortelius. The Florida portrayed in this map contains, east of the Rio del Spirito Santo, or Mississippi, twenty or more names of places, rivers, and capes, those in the interior being chiefly drawn from accounts of the De Soto expedition. Through these maps and others like them in the Library (I have not particularized the presence here of collections of the well-known atlases of Ptolemy and Ortelius) the student traces the growth of knowledge about that tough and ungrateful land in the very documents in which it was conveyed to Europeans of the sixteenth century.

The Early Explorations

Few of the explorations preceding the settlement period were described in contemporaneously printed, separate narratives. The voyages of Ponce de Leon, Hernandez de Cordoba, Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon, and Estevan Gomez are recounted in such general works as the Oviedo, *Historia general de las Indias*, published at Seville in 1535; the *Historia general of Lopez de Gomara*, found here in a large number of editions including, as already mentioned, the first, of Zaragoza, 1552; the *Dos Libros de Cosmographia* of Geronimo Girava, Milan, 1556; the *Historia Verdadera de la Conquista de la Nueva Espana*, Madrid, 1632, of Bernal Diaz del Castillo; the *Ensayo cronologico*, Madrid, 1723, of Andres Gonzalez de Barcia ; the *Historia general*, 1601-1615, of Antonio de Herrera. Though its matter is hardly pertinent to the expeditions, it should be mentioned that there is here a manuscript by Juan Lopez de Velasco, of about the year 1575, upon the text and maps of which was based that portion of Herrera's work known as the "Descripcion de las Indias".

The text of the Velasco manuscript differs in details from that of a similar codex in the Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid. Among its fourteen American maps, almost identically reproduced in the printed Herrera of 1601, are two of the Gulf regions bearing delineations of Florida. The text devotes two pages to a description of the country.

The momentous Narvaez expedition of 1527 found its chronicler in the person of one of its officers, Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vaca, whose fate it was to survive after nine years of bare existence on the coasts, in the forests, and on the plains of what is now the far south and southwest of the United States. Grief met Narvaez and his people when their land and sea forces failed to reunite, as planned, in Apalache Bay. The fleet of small boats the explorers built in this emergency was scattered by storm and Cabeza de Vaca was cast ashore on an island near what is now Galveston, Texas. He returned to civilization by way of a journey which led him in 1536 to Sinaloa, in Mexico, near the Gulf of California, having carried through, by virtue of a mighty instinct of self-preservation, the first crossing of the continent north of Mexico by a European. Various attacks have been made upon the credibility of the Cabeza de Vaca narrative. We shall not contribute to the controversy beyond saying that if he didn't do what he said he had done, he must have done something very much like it. The narrative of this extraordinary journey, first published, so far as is known, in 1542, performed one service of great significance: it united in contemporary Spanish thought the east and the west, Florida and Lower California, the Atlantic and the Pacific, and thus created a conception of the geographical scope of the coming empire. Herbert I. Priestley writes, "The excitement aroused by this cross-continental journey led to the explora-

tion by Marcos the friar of Nice, and this in turn to the attempt to conquer the famed Seven Cities of Cibola by Francisco de Coronado . . .” The second in command of the Coronado expedition was Tristan de Luna y Arellano, who was later, under royal auspices, to attempt the settlement and exploration of Florida. The adventure of Cabeza de Vaca thus is seen to have been a dynamic event in the story of Spain in the United States. And yet, because he came back naked and with empty hands, some historians have characterized his expedition as “without results”.

The Library is strong in editions of the Cabeza de Vaca narrative. Of the first edition of Zamora, 1542, entered as No. 1 in Wagner's *Spanish Southwest*, three copies are known: a perfect copy in the New York Public Library; a very imperfect copy in the British Museum; and a copy with one leaf in facsimile in the John Carter Brown Library. Here also is the edition of Valladolid, 1555, the versions in Ramusio and Purchas, the reprint in Gonzalez de Barcia's *Historiadores primitivos* of 1749, and the edition in English by Buckingham Smith brought out in 1871. Another edition in Spanish is found in the *Examen apologetico de la historica Narracion . . . de Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Baca* by Antonio Ardoino, Madrid, 1736, a work written in reply to the strictures upon Cabeza de Vaca found in the *Nova Typis Transacta Navigatio. Novi Orbis Indiae Occidentalis*, issued in 1621 by Honorius Philoponus and dedicated to Casparus Plautius. We understand the characterization of the *Nova Typis* by Henry Stevens of Vermont as “one of the impudentest books known” when we learn that Philoponus was a pseudonym for Plautius, who by this device was enabled to address to himself a dedication in terms of the most complimentary sort.

Knowledge of the memorable expedition of De Soto derives primarily from the *Relacam* of the Gentleman of Elvas. One of the most interesting pieces in the rich Lenox collection of Americana in the New York Public Library is a copy of this book in the original edition, Evora, 1557. We have a photostat copy of the original from the example in the British Museum and a copy of the translation made of it by Richard Hakluyt in 1609 under the "home consumption" title, *Virginia richly valued, by the description of the maine land of Florida, her next neighbor*. Reissued in 1611 as *The Worthye and famous History of the Travailes, Discouery, & Conquest, of that great Continent of Terra Florida*, the narrative was reprinted with that title in 1851 as one of the Hakluyt Society publications. A facsimile of the original with translation by the late James Alexander Robertson was issued in 1932 by the Florida State Historical Society. The valuable contemporary narrative of Luis Hernandez de Biedma was not put into print until the nineteenth century, when it appeared in 1841 in Henri Ternaux's *Recueil de Pieces sur la Floride*, volume 20 of his extensive *Voyages, Relations et Memoires originaux pour servir a l'Histoire de la Decouverte de l'Amerique*, Paris, 1837-41. It formed an important element also of Buckingham Smith's *Coleccion de varios Documentos para la Historia de la Florida*, of 1857, and was appended to the Hakluyt Society's edition of *The Worthye and famous History* just mentioned. The book of Garcilaso de la Vega, *La Florida del Ynca*, of Lisbon, 1605, is another De Soto source, and in the edition of Oviedo's *Historia general* brought out by Jose Amador de los Rios in 1851 is to be found the diary of De Soto's secretary and companion, Rodrigo Ranjel. All these sources of information about De Soto's mighty

thrust to the northwestward are found upon our shelves.

It is not feasible to discuss in this survey of our Florida materials the literature of every expedition that set out to explore that land of unfulfilled promise. There is little to be found, anyhow, of printed materials concerning the officially backed ventures of Tristan de Luna and Angel de Villafane. But in a manuscript volume entitled *Recopilacion de todas las cédulas, Proucissionses, e ynstruccioness, dadas por su Magd . . . tocantes al beneficio . . . de su Real hazienda en esta nueva Spa . . . desde el anno de Mdxvii . . . Recopila, . . . por mdo, de . . . don Martin enriquez Visorrey . . .*, compiled about 1584, is found an important document relating to the Tristan de Luna and Villafane expeditions. This is an instruction from the King to the Viceroy, Luis de Velasco, making provision for the costs of an expedition to settle Santa Elena in Florida. Dated from Valladolid, December 29, 1557, this royal order, entitled *Sobre los gastos de la florida*, seems to be a new and early source in the history of the Tristan de Luna expedition. It is not printed in Dr. Priestley's *Luna Papers*, where the earliest document mentioned in connection with the expedition is a royal letter of exactly the same date ordering the appointment of a suitable governor for the new colony. As the present whereabouts of that instrument is unknown, this instruction, *Sobre los gastos de la florida*, takes precedence of any other document now available connected with the expedition of Tristan de Luna. In the same *Recopilacion* is a viceregal *auto* of Luis de Velasco to the Real Hacienda, dated January 6, 1559, and likewise unrecorded, providing for the payment of those about to go to Florida in the great effort at settlement. That expedition resulted in little for Spain or Florida, but at least it sent Villafane to

take formal possession for Spain of Santa Elena, now Port Royal, South Carolina, destined to become in later days the northernmost effective settlement of the Spaniard on the coast of North America.

The persistent efforts of the religious orders to Christianize the Indians of Florida found record in contemporary writing. Fray Luis Cancer's courageous enterprise of 1549, and the efforts of several of his successors, are fully recounted in Davila Padilla's *Historia de la Fundacion*, present here in the editions of Madrid, 1596, and Brussels, 1625, and in the Valladolid edition, published in 1634 with the title *Varia Historia de la Nueva Espana y Florida*. In that manuscript volume just spoken of, the *Recopilacion de todas las cedula*s, is found an order of December 18, 1553, entitled *El Principe [to our officials of New Spain] Sobre el bergantin que fue a la florida*. This document makes sad reading, for it commands that the officials make search for the present whereabouts of the brigantine which, four years earlier, had carried the Dominican martyr, Fray Luis Cancer, upon his fatal mission.

The Settlement Period

We have anticipated the period of Florida settlement by telling in the foregoing section of documents of particular interest in the story of the unsuccessful colonizing expeditions of Tristan de Luna and Angel de Villafane. That abortive effort and those of a more successful character which followed it were forced upon the Spanish authorities as measures of self-protection. Jacques Cartier had explored the St. Lawrence in 1535, French fishing stations were increasing in number along the Newfoundland coast, and French marauders were annoying the towns and commerce of the Indies. The

Bahama Channel was the inevitable route from Havana and Vera Crux to Europe, and the usefulness of Florida to the French as a base of operations against the Spanish shipping following that course was obvious to everyone. And finally, as the commerce of New Spain and the Islands increased, so did the wrecking or battering of ships by the Florida storms grow in amount. A port where ships of war might lie and from which cargoes might be salvaged and merchant vessels given aid or rehabilitation, a combined naval base and coast guard station, became a necessary element in the plans of the imperial administration.

Despite their recognition of the situation the Spanish were anticipated in actual settlement by their French rivals who, in 1562, at the instigation of Coligny, and under the leadership of Jean Ribaut, established a colony of Huguenots at Santa Elena, now Port Royal, South Carolina, where Villafane had failed to make a settlement the year before. That event, the subsequent removal of the Ribaut colony southward to Fort Caroline on the St. Johns River, the complete destruction of the French hopes in Florida by Pedro Menendez de Aviles, the establishment of St. Augustine, the revenge taken by Dominique de Gourgues and the Spanish recovery from that swift and effective blow, are all so much a part of common knowledge as to require no recounting here. Contemporary information about the colony and its fate was obtained abroad chiefly through the published accounts of the French. The Library has a particularly fine group of the little books in which the colonists and their friends told the story of their tragic misadventure. It seems worth while to record the titles of this cohesive unit and of one Spanish addition lately made to it. In the list which follows, original copies are entered in italic, facsimiles in roman:

The Whole and true discoverie of Terra Florida. London, 1563.
(A nineteenth-century transcript of the unique printed copy in the British Museum, embodying a translation of Ribaut's account of his first voyage.)

Divers Voyages, by Richard Hakluyt. London, 1582.

(Contains "The true and last discoverie of Florida made by Capitaine Iohn Ribault in the yeere 1562. Dedicated to a great noble man of Fraunce, and translated into Englishe by one Thomas Hackit.", leaves E₂-G₃verso.)

Coppie d'une Lettre venant de la Floride enuoyee a Rouen . . .
Paris, 1565.

(With the engraved plan of Fort Caroline at the mouth of the St. Johns River.)

Histoire memorable du dernier Voyage aux Indes, Lieu appelle la Floride, fait par le Capitaine Iean Ribaut . . . en l'an M.D.LXV.
Lyon, 1566.

(The narrative of Nicolas Le Challeux.)

A true and perfect description, of the last voyage . . . attempted by Capitaine Iohn Rybaut . . . into Terra Florida, this yeare past . . . London, [1566].

(A translation into English of the preceding title. Present in the Library in a nineteenth-century transcript and in a photostat facsimile from the original in the British Museum, issued by the Massachusetts Historical Society.)

Requete au Roy, faite en Forme de Complaintes par les femmes vefues, & enfans orphelins, parens & amis de ses subjects, qui ont este cruellement massacrez par les Espagnols, en la France antartique, nommee la Floride. 1566.

(A photostat copy from the original in the Bibliotheque Mejane, issued by the Massachusetts Historical Society, of the petition for redress.)

Discours de l'Histoire de la Floride, contenant la cruaute des Espagnols . . . Item, une Requete au Roy Dieppe, 1566.

(A reprint of Le Challeux's **Histoire memorable**, entered above, with the foregoing petition for redress appended.)

Histoire memorable de la Reprinse de l'Isle de la Floride, faicte par les Francois, sous la conduite du Capitaine Gorgues . . . le 24. & 27. d'Avril . . . 1568.

(The story of the counterstroke by Dominique de Gourgues.)

Obra nuevamente compuesta, en la qual se cueta, la felice victoria que Dios . . . fue servido de dar al Illustre senor Pedro Melendez . . . contra Iuan Ribao . . . Copuesta en versa Castellano, por Bartholome de Flores . . . [Seville, 1571].

(Described more fully below.)

Brief Discours et Histoire d'un voyage de quelques Francois en la Floride: & du massacre . . . Par M. Urbain Chauveton. Ensemble une Requete presentee au Roy . . . 1579.

(A narrative added to Chauveton's translation (1579) of Ben-zoni's **Historia del Mondo Nuovo**.)

L'Histoire notable de la Floride . . . contenant les trois voyages . . . descrits par le Capitaine Laudonniere . . . a laquelle a este adiouste un quatriesme voyage fait par le Capitaine Gourgues . . . Par M. Basanier Paris, 1586.

Brevis Narratio eorum quae in Florida acciderunt Renato de Laudonniere . . . anno MDLXIII . . . auctore Iacobo le Moyne . . . Francofurti ad Moenum . . . impansis Theodori de Bry. 1591. - **Same.** (In German), 1591. **Same.** (In German), 1603.

Though it has not the interest of great rarity and was published nearly thirty years after the events described, it is probable that of this group of titles the Le Moyne narrative in the De Bry series of American voyages is the most informative and the most satisfactory to the student. It is the story of a participant in the events described who happened also to be a reflective and intelligent observer, able to reinforce the written word by pictorial illustration. Its account of the French colony and its misfortunes, its map of Florida, and its splendidly engraved illustrations of Indian life and customs, with appended notes, makes the book in both the Latin and German editions a Florida work of high interest. Lescarbot's *Histoire de la Nouvelle France* of 1609 is a historian's synthesis of the earlier materials on the Ribaut colony, and in its edition of 1618 is included a map of the settlements and the surrounding country which supplements the story of the events of the period 1564 to 1568.

For some reason the news of the conflict in Florida was not fully reported through the press in Spain or Mexico, though there exists documentary material in plenty bearing upon it in the form of letters sent the King by Menendez. The best account of the events appeared nearly two centuries later in Barcia's *Ensayo*, published in 1723. But the incidents of the campaign made talk at home and abroad, in Spain and Mexico, as well as in France. A half dozen years after the Menendez victory a somewhat cynical rejoinder to a remark about the obvious favor of God shown the Spaniards in the Menendez victory was brought out in evidence against one Juan Ortiz, a French resident of Mexico City on trial for heresy before the Inquisition. Such news sheets as were issued there and in Spain to announce the victory were probably read out of existence, for no record of them

remains. The earliest separately printed Spanish account of the conflict, and the only one of the sixteenth century that we know of, is the poem of 1571 entered in the foregoing list. The *Obra nueuamente compuesta* of Bartolome de Flores comprises 375 lines in verse which has the authentic ring of the epic stuff, the genuine fervor of a Spaniard celebrating an event which, for the time being, had settled the question of supremacy in Florida and established there the town and fort of St. Augustine, at that moment the "farthest north" outpost of the Spanish empire in America.

But to recount the destruction of the French colony was not the only purpose of our poem. Bartolome de Flores wrote with the future of the land as well as its past in mind. Finishing his account of the battle, he goes on for the whole second half of the poem with a description of the country and its inhabitants in language that suggests the colonization literature of later periods. When this realization confronts us, we recall that the interest in Florida of Pedro Menendez de Aviles was not confined to its military protection against the French. Florida was his personal land of promise; by royal appointment he was its *adelantado*, and by natural proclivity its administrator and colonizer. In the course of his connection with the land, he founded St. Augustine, reestablished Santa Elena, and made plain the way for the creation of those mission stations which, with St. Augustine, remained for some two hundred years the chief evidence of Spanish occupancy. In his last letter from Spain, written to his nephew in Florida on September 7, 1574, he says that he has "ready a great number of farmers in this home land . . . very suitable for the settlements we have at present in Florida . . .". Returning to the year 1571 when the Flores poem was published, we find in Mrs.

Connor's *Pedro Menendez de Avile's* the specific assertion that by royal cedula of March 5th, of that year, he was given permission to recruit one hundred farmers for settlement in Florida. In view of these circumstances, it seems not unreasonable to think of the Flores poem as a promotion tract designed to forward the colonization plans of Menendez, the soldier and practical administrator who had dismissed from calculation the Fountain of Youth and the mines of another Peru and envisioned Florida as a land of farms and agricultural bounty. We know nothing of the author besides his name and the fact that he was a "natural de Malaga y vezino de Cordova". One of the ghosts of early Florida history is the man surnamed Flores, Christian name not recorded, who in 1566 accompanied Father Pedro Martinez to Florida and witnessed the martyrdom of that zealous and headstrong priest. He seems never again to appear in the story of the country. One asks whether our Bartolome de Flores could have been this visitor to Florida of five years earlier. The copy of the Flores poem in the Library is the Jose Toribio Medina - Henry R. Wagner - Herschel V. Jones copy, described and textually reprinted by Medina under No. 215 of his *Biblioteca Hispano-Americana*.

These events of which we have been writing were of high importance in world history. Out of them came three definite things: the first permanent European settlement in what is now the United States; the saving for Spain of the strategic Bahama passage for the plate fleet and other shipping ; and the inhibiting of a movement which, left unchecked, would doubtless have meant French domination of the Atlantic coast from the tip of Florida to Labrador. There came also in the train of these events in distant Florida certain political

consequences in Europe and an effect upon the general Huguenot cause that offers matter for conjecture. These results of the struggle in which Menendez, Ribaut, and Laudonniere were the protagonists, justify the space given the books in which the story is told. The printed records of an event are the tangible evidence of its importance in the contemporary mind.

The Quiet Years

For something like a century after Gourgues avenged the defeat and massacre of Ribaut's colony by a slaughter as merciless as that of Menendez, the story of Florida, so far as events of general interest are concerned, is all but featureless. The destructive raid of Drake upon St. Augustine in 1586 is one of the exceptions to this generalization, but between that event and the coming of the English to Carolina and the French to Louisiana in the second half of the seventeenth century, Florida was unremembered by the world. Its home government never took fire from the enthusiasm of Menendez for colonization, so that the large plans of the *adelantado* for the creation of an agricultural province came virtually to nothing. So long as the military outpost of St. Augustine was maintained, the Council of the Indies was satisfied. But there was no neglect on the part of the Church: though the Dominicans and the Jesuits made little progress in their efforts at Christianization, the Franciscans could boast of real success. In the closing decade of the sixteenth century, Florida became what it remained throughout the next century, the seat of a military and naval stronghold and a system of mission stations clustered about Guale in the north, Apalache to the west, and Timuqua in the neighborhood of St. Augustine. When the English came to Carolina after the middle

of the seventeenth century, there were in those districts some thirty-five mission stations. In his *Southern Frontier*, Verner W. Crane says that these missions "survived until the Spanish Indian system, based upon religion and agriculture, came into fatal collision with the English system, based solely upon trade."

But though official Spain seemed to have forgot the existence of Florida in the seventeenth century, its awareness of the workaday importance of St. Augustine as its northern outpost was never completely out of mind. In books of administrative interest, such as the *Memorial Informatario* which Juan Diez de la Calle addressed to the King in 1645, and the same author's *Memorial, y Noticias sacras, y reales del Imperio de las Indias Occidentales*, of 1646, are statements of the personnel and cost of maintenance of the Florida establishment. In a manuscript codex of the Royal Hacienda of Mexico, owned by the Library, in a section entitled *Planta de las Dotaciones anuales de los presidios interiores de los Reynos de Nueva Espana, Viscaya, Galicia y Nuevo Mexico*, we find similar information recorded for the year 1697.

The record of this period of quiet is found, for the early part, in the general history of Garcilaso de la Vega and in the Franciscan Chronicle, the *Historia de la Fundacion of Davila Padilla*. A Jesuit work of strong Spanish Southwest interest, the *Historia de los Triumphos . . . entre Gentes . . . del nuevo Orbe*, of Andres Perez de Ribas, 1645, devotes several chapters to the nine worthies of that order who found martyrdom in Florida in 1566. A recent work by Fr. Ruben Vargas Ugarte, S. J., *Los Martires de la Florida, 1566-1572*. Lima, 1940, provides important manuscript addenda to this story. It is worth while mentioning here that our general resources on Jesuit activities are particu-

larly strong, comprising among other collections a moderately full set of the *Annuae Litterae*, running with breaks from 1581 to 1652; the *Lettres Edifiantes* in a set comprising editions of 1726, 1771, 1780-1783 ; Tanner's *Societas Jest*, Prague, 1675, and, in German, Prague, 1683; and Nieremberg's *Varones de la Compania de Jesus*, and its continuations, Madrid, 1643-1736. In the bibliography of Florida materials prefixed to Barcia's *Ensayo* are mentioned the series of Jesuit Relations from New France and one of the works of the same tenor that preceded the regular series, the *Lettre du Pere Charles L'Allemant*, 1627. The Library owns a remarkably full set of the Relations as well as a copy of the rare Lallemand letter.

Returning to works of a more general character, we find that the period as a whole is treated in that admirable Florida book, the *Ensayo Cronologico*, brought out in 1723 by Andres Gonzalez de Barcia under the pseudonym Don Gabriel de Cardenas y Cano. The *Ensayo* is, perhaps, the most comprehensive single record of Floridian history, the sole work, indeed, that carries the story through the quiet period of the seventeenth century and leaves it only when the land had become the scene once more of international rivalries, and, therefore, the subject of wider discussion and concern. It has the further interest of being prefaced by a commentary upon the sources, printed and manuscript, from which the author had drawn his material. Many of the manuscript documents he mentions have since disappeared, and many of his printed sources are found today with difficulty after search through the libraries of the world. Some of the least known of these printed pieces we are able to mention in the course of the present account of Florida materials in the John Carter Brown Library. But despite the esteem in which

Barcia's work is held today, it is only fair to mention that we have in the Library a contemporary criticism of his book in the treatise of a rival historian, the *Crisis del Ensayo a la Historia de la Florida*, published anonymously in 1725. This work is attributed in a contemporary inscription in our copy to Don Luis de Salazar, though the name of the author is recorded by Sabin as Joseph de Salazar.

The story told by Barcia is supplemented in brief passages in books of a general character. The history of the missions, for example, comes in for mention in some of the writings in that long controversy as to whether the control of the American mission centers, or *doctrinas*, should be assumed by the secular clergy or remain in the hands of the religious orders, through whose zeal they had been established. The chief protagonist of the secular clergy in this struggle was the Bishop of the Mexican diocese of Puebla de los Angeles, Juan de Palafox y Mendoza. This celebrated ecclesiastic is not numbered today among the saints of the Roman calendar because his process of canonization has always been opposed by the religious orders, continuously resentful of his fight against their influence in America. A chief opponent of his policy was Francisco de Ayeta, spokesman for the Franciscans in this bitter quarrel. Elements of general interest in this story of the missions are found in Ayeta's large works *Defensa de la Verdad* and *Crisol de la Verdad*. Certain more specific memorials which he wrote on this and related subjects, or which were directed against him, contain matter of Florida interest more direct in character. Among these is the memorial beginning *Senor. Fray Francisco de Ayeta . . . dize, que el Virrey de la Nueva Espana*. At about the same time appeared *Senor. El Bachiller Don Juan Ferro Machado, . . .*

Obispado de Cuba, Visitador General de las Provincias de la Florida. Sobre. La Visita de ellas . . . which was replied to by Ayeta, who did not like bishops, in a long memorial entitled *Senor. Al mas modesto. . . .* Ayeta was one of those individuals in whose books dates of publication are almost never given. The works which have been mentioned were brought out, we learn from other evidence, in the decade 1690-1700. "It must be confessed", wrote Beristain, "that our Ayeta wielded a ferocious pen."

It is from works of this fugitive character, adding to the information conveyed by Barcia, that the history of the missions is to be recovered, that story of triumphs and setbacks encountered in the efforts of the fathers to bring the Indian into the fold of industrial man. One of the most learned and most devoted of the Franciscans was Fray Francisco Pareja, who, returning from many years of service in Florida, published in Mexico City in 1612, a *Cathecismo, en Lengva Castellana, y Timuquana*, and, in 1613, a *Confessionario en lengua Castellana, y Timuquana*. These works are evidences of Pareja's zealous and intelligent effort in his mission. They have given us a learned treatment of the language of a race that has disappeared from the earth, and, as frequently happens in linguistic works, have preserved for us a deal of anthropological information. A copy of the *Confessionario* is in the Library in the original edition of Mexico, 1613. The works of Pareja are mentioned in the *Handbook of Americas Indians* as prime sources of knowledge of the Timuquans along with the Le Moyne narrative in the De Bry Voyages and the narrative of the shipwrecked Quaker, Jonathan Dickenson. *God's Protecting Providence*, the book in which Dickenson related his experiences, is present in the Library in the

editions of London, 1700, 1720, [1759], Leyden, [1707] and 1707, The Hague, 1727, and Frankfort, 1774. There is here also a photostat copy of the first edition of the work, published in Philadelphia in 1699.

The Huguenot menace recurred more than once in the history of Florida in the form of unfulfilled threats of settlement. It is difficult to say how seriously the *Histoire naturelle et morale des Iles Antilles de l'Amerique . . .* of Charles de Rochefort, first published at Rotterdam in 1658, may be regarded as a work intended to induce Huguenot emigration to Florida. It gives a full description of the Caribbean islands and devotes many pages to an account of "Apalache" but this portion of the work is of such a character as to suggest for it the designation, "extraordinary voyage", that is, a travel narrative in which a fanciful structure is uncomfortably erected upon a basis of uncertain fact. Appalachia had existence, we know, but the country described by Charles de Rochefort in 1658 was that mythical region which de Soto had gone to seek in 1539, a country with a capital city of great architectural magnificence, inhabited by an urbane race of natives. The religious ideas of these people, according to our author, had been considerably affected by the coming among them of good Protestant people, first, of Huguenots escaped from the Menendez massacre of 1565, and later, of a group of English colonists of Virginia who, escaping by ship the Indian onslaught upon Jamestown in 1622, had been cast away upon the shores of Florida and had painfully made their way into the interior, where, in Appalachia, they and their children were enjoying an idyllic life after stress and storm. If nothing else the Rochefort story of Appalachia is ingenious, and one would like to know about those refugees from Virginia and to account

for other specific references to an English colony in that country. The author was minister of a Huguenot church in Amsterdam, but if his book was intended to promote a colony made up of his co-religionists, he must have been gravely disappointed. The Spanish did not have to worry about another Protestant invasion of occupied Florida territory until Daniel Coxe, a good many years later, in 1698, proposed a settlement of Huguenots within his grant of Carolana, which included the Appalachian area. In the meantime, however, they must have read thoughtfully of the Huguenot settlements proposed to be made in South Carolina about the year 1685. There are in the Library a *Plan pour former un Etablissement en Caroline . . .* and a *Nouvelle Relation de la Caroline par un Gentil-homme Francois . . .* printed in The Hague in 1686 and [c. 1685-86], respectively. The second of these, the *Nouvelle Relation*, is one of those all but unknown writings which Barcia entered in the bibliography of Florida prefixed to his *Ensayo Cronologico* of 1723. The first of them, the *Plan*, is not recorded as existing in any other library.

English and French Activities

The history of Florida in the last half of the seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteenth is properly studied as a phase of English effort, through South Carolina and Georgia, to gain the fur trade of the Southeast, and of the rivalry to both English and Spanish set up by the French in Louisiana consequent upon La Salle's expedition of 1684 to the mouth of the Mississippi. The Spanish in Florida were so placed between the two aggressive neighbors that any idea of their further expansion had to be given up. Even before the coming of the English, they had been driven from their northernmost outpost of Santa Elena by the

Indians; thereafter the holding of their position as guardians of the Bahama Passage became their chief concern. The direction of future events is shown by two pamphlets of the period: William Hilton's *Relation of a Discovery lately made on the Coast of Florida*, 1664, sometimes described as the first Carolina tract, and the *Discoveries of John Lederer, in three several Marches from Virginia, to the West of Carolina*, London, 1672, a book of interest in Florida history because it describes an exploration similar to those which, under Henry Woodward of Carolina, were setting the English upon their way to a penetration of the Southeast.

This interrelation of destinies brings it about that the early Carolina tracts are part of the Florida bibliography also. In connection with a facsimile and translation, now ready for publication, of the *Nouvelle Relation de la Caroline*, referred to earlier, Dr. Hope Frances Kane has compiled a bibliography of Carolina promotion tracts involving the entry of sixteen separately issued titles in the period 1664 to 1699. Eleven of the sixteen are in the Library. In addition to the Hilton and Lederer narratives, the *Nouvelle Relation*, and the *Plan pour former un Etablissement*, which have already been mentioned, there are to be noticed as especially interesting the following three titles :

A Brief Description of The Province of Carolina On the Coasts of Floreda . . . Together with A most accurate Map of the whole Province. London, 1666.

A true Description of Carolina. London, [1682].
F., R. The Present State of Carolina with Advice to the Setlers., London, 1682.

If the Spanish imperial officials had been of the stuff of their great-grandfathers, these aggressive

pronouncements of English intentions would have been recognized by them as dangerous. In all probability the Spanish authorities, whether at home, in Mexico, or in Florida, were completely deaf also to the implications of the Jolliet and Marquette discovery of the upper Mississippi in 1673. But if they heard of it, that successful exploration must have seemed, even in its potentialities, a very small cloud on the horizon. When they were able to read of it, however, in Thevenot's *Recueil de Voyages*, of Paris, 1681, and to look at the map of the river in that book which the expedition, plus general assumption, made possible, they must have felt that large destinies would soon be in conflict. Certainly they would have felt so if they could have seen Jolliet's manuscript map, the *Nouvelle Decouverte de plusieurs Nations dans la Nouvelle France en l'annee 1673 et 1674*, or the Hugues Randin manuscript *Carte de l'Amerique Septentrionale* of about 1678, two of the Library's choicest cartographical possessions, with their depiction of the Mississippi in relation to the rest of North America. From these several documents they would have realized that France might some day be in a position to threaten Florida by the west as well as by the east. This became certainty when in April, 1682, the Sieur de La Salle reached the Gulf by way of the Mississippi, claimed the entire Mississippi Valley for France, and named that vast area Louisiana. The momentous expedition of La Salle is found most fully recounted in the nineteenth-century collection by Pierre Margry, *Decouvertes et Etablissements des Francais dans l'Ouest et dans le Sud de l'Amerique Septentrionale, 1614-1698*, but in addition to this work the Library has Tonti's *Dernieres Decouvertes dans l'Amerique Septentrionale de M. de la Sale* of 1697, and Le Clercq's *Etablissement de la Foy*, Paris, 1691, with the map

of that year. An early printed account of Saint Louis, the unfortunate settlement La Salle made in Texas in 1685, is found in a work by Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora, the *Trofeo de la Justicia Española*, printed in Mexico in 1691. The government in Mexico was by that time awake to the French menace. Hennepin is an important source for the La Salle adventure, and La Hontan carries on the story for Iberville and the Biloxi settlement.

It is not necessary to mention editions of Hennepin and La Hontan in detail. A checking of the bibliographies of these two writers compiled by Victor Hugo Paltsits shows that virtually every one of their editions in various European languages is present in the collection. Once more it is completeness, rather than the possession of individual rarities that we emphasize as an important characteristic of our collections.

But we have, it happens, a group of manuscript materials which provide a fresh contribution from the Spanish side of the beginning struggle. The *Hispanic American Historical Review* of November, 1936, contains a calendar by Father Damian Van den Eynde of three volumes of American manuscripts purchased by us at the Sir Thomas Philipps sale, held at Sotheby's on June 24-27, 1919. Ten of these documents are official Spanish papers relating to the conflicting interests of Spain, France, and England in West Florida, particularly as concerns the settlement of Pensacola. The titles of the more important of these documents are as follows :

Apuntamiento de las prouidenzas que S. M. & mandado dar para el desalojo de escocesses del Darien . . . 1699. [Summary of provisions ordered by the king to dislodge the Scotch from Darien. Madrid, 30 October, 1699.] Interesting for the date of the founding of Pensacola.

Desde que tome posesion del Gobierno . . . [Anonymous document without title or date, but identified as the report of the

Duque de Linares, 1717. Sections 12-14 discuss the Barlovento fleet and its usefulness in the defence of Pensacola.]

Exmo Sr Para que exponga mi parecer en razon de si sera conveniente mantener el Presidio dela punta de siguenza alias, Panzacola, . . . [Copy made May 29, 1744 of a report concerning the advisability of maintaining the presidio of Pensacola or Punta de Siguenza. Mexico, 29 May, 1744.]

Extracto del estado de este Reyno y Provincias de la Na Espana [Report of the Duque de Alburquerque, Viceroy of New Spain from 6 October, 1702 to 15 January, 1711, to his successor, the Duque de Linares. Mexico, 27 November, 1710.] Concerns the presidios of Santa Maria de Galve [Pensacola] and St. Augustine. Discusses the difficulty of dislodging the English from Carolina.

Junta sobre la dependencia Le Pasacola y Mi'si'pi'-echa en 12 de Sepre de 1701. [Junta relating to the negotiations between Spain and France concerning Pensacola and Mississippi. Madrid, 12 September, 1701.]

Memoria de Dittas dela RI Casa deestta Cortte, . . . [Expenses incurred on behalf of Pensacola, 1730-1731.]

Mui senior mio. Lacasualidad dehauer hallado en el Puerto de la Veracruz . . . [Concerned with the presidio of Pensacola, Florida and the presidio of St. Augustine, the designs of the English and the precarious situation of the Spanish. 1740.]

Rcn delos Gouiernos. Corregimientos. y Alcaldias mayores . . . [Series of lists of public offices and their holders in different provinces of the Indies, 1692-1693.]

Relacion del Estado de la Nueva Espana que hace el Duque de Linares al Exmo. Sor Marques de Balero . . . [Records information concerning assistance given the presidios in Florida, 1711-1716.]

The presence here of these virtually unknown manuscript sources relating to the conflict of races -Spanish, French, and English-in the Pensacola country gives additional interest to the printed materials we own on the same subject.

The situation brought about by the presence of the French on the Lower Mississippi finds reflection in two printed reports of Mexican publication by the celebrated Spanish-American man of letters, Carlos de Siguenza y Gongora. His *Trofeo de la Justicia Espanola* already mentioned, was issued in Mexico in 1691; his *Descripcion, que de la Vaia de Santa Maria de Galve (antes Pansacola) de la Movila, y Rio de la Palicada, en la Costa Septentrional del seno Mexicano* was submitted to the viceroy, the Conde de Galve, in 1693, though in all

likelihood published some years later. A manuscript copy of the same writer's *Relacion de lo sucedido a la Armada de Barlovento*, published in Mexico in 1691, is bound with our copy of the *Trofeo*. These three contemporary works are described in Wagner, *The Spanish Southwest*, Nos. 62 and 62b. The *Trofeo* is also found in this country in the Library of Congress and in the Genaro Garcia collection in the University of Texas Library; the *Descripcion* is not recorded as in existence elsewhere. This is the printed form of the document in which Siguenza y Gongora records the surveys he made as official engineer of the exploration of the coast conducted in 1693 by Admiral Pez. A translation has been made from a manuscript in Siguenza's hand and published as the *piece de resistance* in Dr. Irving A. Leonard's illuminating work, the *Spanish Approach to Pensacola, 1689-1693*, published in 1939 by the Quivira Society.

The Eighteenth Century

There is no strictly drawn line of division between the Florida of the closing years of the seventeenth and the early years of the eighteenth centuries. Spain's policy was still, virtually throughout the period, to hold on to what it possessed in the face of French and English rivalry.

Actual conflict between the English in Carolina and the Spanish in Florida occurred in Queen Anne's War, described as the American phase of the War of the Spanish Succession. In 1702 Colonel James Moore, governor of South Carolina, led against St. Augustine an expedition which returned somewhat ingloriously to Charleston, having done little but burn the civilian town and give the defenders of the fort a good fright. A Spanish account of that expedition was published in Madrid in 1703, in the form of a news sheet in our posses-

sion entitled *Primera, y breve Relacion de las favorables noticias que . . . se han tenido por cartas de Don Luis de Zuniga, Governador de la Florida.* . . . We are not aware of any similar account of the Colonel's second expedition of 1704, which, more successful than the first, resulted in the destruction of the Appalachia mission and the beginning of the end for the Florida Indian.

About the year 1717 certain schemes of development were designed to bring the English closer than ever to the northern Florida border, though actually at that time the plans of the aggressive neighbor failed of success. In that year the proprietors of South Carolina, feeling themselves to be land poor, and anxious to set up a buffer state between their colony and the French to the west as well as the Spanish in the Florida peninsula, transferred to Sir Robert Montgomery a great tract of land between the Savannah and the Altamaha, naming it, splendidly, the Margravate of Azilia. The Library has the two issues of Sir Robert's *Discourse Concerning the design'd Establishment of a New Colony to the South of Carolina*, and a copy, not recorded elsewhere, of his *Proposal for Raising a Stock, and Settling a New Colony in Azilia*, all of the year 1717. Three years later came from his hand, or from the hand of an associate, *A Description of the Golden Islands and An Account of . . . a Settlement on the Golden Islands*. These titles on the Montgomery project are important in the story of American colonization inasmuch as they are associated with the broad subject of English imperial policy. They forecast the establishment of Georgia and the actual settlement by the English of the country which had been the frontier of the Spanish power on the Atlantic coast of North America, the no-man's land protecting it on the north. The Montgomery projects came to

nothing because of the ruin brought about by the collapse of the South Sea Company, but their fruition in another form was only postponed. The idea of Azilia as a factor in the development of empire was not lost upon Herman Moll, a political-minded cartographer, who in several maps after 1719 laid down the boundaries of the proposed buffer state against the French in Louisiana. One such map in our possession, Moll's *New Map of the North Parts of America claimed by France with ye Adjoyning Territories of England and Spain*, published in London in 1720, shows Azilia thrust like a wedge into the vast French territory of Louisiana.

The Florida historian must take cognizance, also, of certain documents relating to French schemes of empire of this period. Almost the first official notice taken of Louisiana by the French government after the settlement at Biloxi found expression in the *Lettres Patentes du Roy, qui permet au Sieur Crozat . . . de faire seul le Commerce dans toutes les Terres possedees par le Roy, & bornees par le Nouveau Mexique & autres*, 1712. This vast monopoly and the subsequent operations begun under its terms by Crozat's governor, De la Motte Cadillac, alarmed the English as well as the Spaniards. It was translated into English and made part of the *Letter to a Member of the P-T of G--T-B-N, Occasion'd by the Priviledge granted by the French King to Mr. Crozat*, London, 1713. As a matter of fact neither rival suffered greatly from Crozat. In 1717 that ambitious gentleman was forced through financial exhaustion to surrender his patent to the King, who in August of that year gave to John Law *Lettres patentes . . . portant etablissement d'une Compagnie de Commerce, sous le Nom de Compagnie d'Occident ou la Louisianne*. This document marks the official

beginning of those financial operations which eventuated in the Mississippi Bubble. We have in English the *Memoirs of the Great Mr. Law*, 1721, and James Smith's *Some Considerations on the Consequences of the French Settling Colonies on the Mississippi*, of the year 1720. *The Memoirs of John Ker, of Kersland Esq.*, printed in London in 1726, contains with only a few verbal changes a complete reprint of the second of these, accompanied by a reissue of its "New Map of Louisiana and the River Mississippi". We need name no more of the titles of this group. Those already mentioned are an assurance that the Library has interesting materials on the subject of the Louisiana projects of the French with their threat to Spain in Florida and elsewhere in North America.

We resume the story of the English-Spanish conflict for supremacy on the "southern frontier", by mentioning a few tracts that relate to the Oglethorpe expedition of 1740 against St. Augustine and the counterattack of the Spanish in 1742. As a gauge of the importance of this conflict it should be said that at this time the Spanish outpost of St. Augustine was to the inhabitants of South Carolina and Georgia what the French fortress of Louisburg stood for in the eyes of New Englanders, that is, a continuous menace and embarrassment, for by this time the Spanish had learned that aggression was their surest defense. Florida, for so long neglected by the home government, was again become a strategic point in its policy. The joint expedition of South Carolina and Georgia in 1740 was an offensive designed to interrupt the elaborate preparations of Spain for an attack upon the English colonies of the South. Its failure brought about a war of words between the authorities of the two colonies. South Carolina washed her hands of blame for the "Causes of the Dis-

appointment of Success" in the *Report of the Committee of South-Carolina, appointed to Enquire into the late Expedition against St. Augustine, under General Oglethorpe*. The criticism of Oglethorpe by his ally must have seemed a gratuitous attention at the time of first publication of the *Report* in Charleston in 1742, for two months earlier, in July, 1742, the Georgia leader had effectively defeated the Spanish counterattack and saved both colonies from destruction. The Library does not own the original Charleston edition of the *Report*, known to exist only in the copy in the New York Public Library, but it has the edition of London, 1743, and the separately printed *Appendix to the Report of the Committee of South Carolina* containing documents and affidavits, of the same place and year. Other pamphlets in the controversy, informative as to the issues involved, are, on the South Carolina side, *An Impartial Account of the late Expedition against St. Augustine*, London, 1742, and the *Full Reply to Lieut. Cadogan's Spanish Hireling, &c. and Lieut. Mackay's Letter, . . . Wherein the Impartial Account of the late Expedition to St. Augustine is clearly vindicated . . .* London, 1743; in support of Oglethorpe are *A Letter from Lieut. Hugh Mackay*, 1742, and *George Cadogan's Spanish Hireling Detected*, 1743. The observations of an officer in the campaign are found in Edward Kimber's *Relation, or Journal, of a late Expedition to the Gates of St. Augustine*, 1744.

A certain amount of background for study of the Florida-Georgia relations is found in William Stephens's *Journal of the Proceedings in Georgia, beginning October 20, 1737*, published in 1742, present here in a copy containing the rare third volume; in Patrick Tailfer's *True and Historical Narrative of the Colony of Georgia in America*, 1741; and in

A Brief Account of the Causes that have retarded the Progress of Georgia, 1743. All three of these books are represented in the Library in copies formerly owned by John Percival, Earl of Egmont, one of the chief promoters of Georgia. In the second and third are extensive manuscript notes in Egmont's hand. Few of the titles just named are of excessive rarity ; in listing them it is our intention once more to call attention to the fullness of our resources on the great and small issues of Florida history rather than to emphasize too persistently the unusually rare items. The struggle between the colonies and Spanish Florida in the period 1740-1742 may be regarded in the large as an element in that conflict between England and Spain remembered as the War of Jenkins' Ear, a war begun when the captain of a Spanish patrol boat cut off the ear of Robert Jenkins, an English sea captain, interrupted off the Florida coast in the course of a smuggling expedition. That war, in turn, was an element in the larger considerations of the War of the Austrian Succession. There is in the Library a large collection of the pamphlet literature which these complex events in European politics brought into being.

It has been said above that Spain was once more awake, after nearly two centuries of forgetfulness, to the strategic importance of Florida. The Library has evidences of this renewal of interest in the form of two government publications, handsomely issued in Mexico in 1753. These are their self-explanatory titles : *Reglamento para la Guarnicion de la Habana, Castillos, y Fuertes de su Jurisdiccion, Santiago de Cuba, San Augustin de la Florida, y su Anexo San Marcos de Apalache* and the more specific *Reglamento para las peculiares Obligaciones de el Presidio de San Augustin de la Florida.*

The question of the cession of Florida to England as the result of the French and Indian War was one of the elements in the pamphlet controversy that arose in the preliminary discussion of the terms of the Peace of 1763. That battle of the publicists began with the fall of Quebec in 1759 and was still in an active state for a year or more after the complicated issues had been determined by the Treaty. One of the most remarkable single collections in the Library is the group of one hundred and twenty pamphlets, chiefly of English origin, published, in connection with this controversy, and because Florida was one of the pawns on the board of the peace commissioners, and because out of their action grew the English provinces of East and West Florida, this collection has importance in the study of the history of that country. Appended to Clarence W. Alvord's *Mississippi Valley in British Politics* is a bibliography of pamphlet material relating to the Peace of 1763, compiled largely from this unusual group on the shelves of the John Carter Brown Library. Since the publication of that book in 1917, we have added continuously to our section of writings on the Peace. It is probable that this collection offers material available nowhere else in such quantity for investigation of the background of Florida's part in the world politics of the late eighteenth century.

Recognition of Florida's importance to the English interest brought forth a book about the country almost before commissioners had finished signing the treaty. Though *An Account of the First Discovery and Natural History of Florida* was written by William Roberts in 1763 with imperial politics in view, the book served to give Englishmen definite notions of the early history and the geography of the country. With its map of the

two provinces and its plans of five towns and harbors by Thomas Jefferys the mapping of Florida assumed the scientific character of modern cartographical practice.

Almost the earliest Florida tract under the English occupation was controversial in character. *An Appeal to the Public in Behalf of George Johstone, Esq; Governor of West Florida, 1763*, is a reply to attacks made upon the first English governor of West Florida before he had even taken over his duties. Disaffection pursued him, we are told by Bernard Romans, to the detriment of the colony.

Hardly had the cession of Florida been completed when the British began to make plans for its development. One of these of peculiar interest was presented to the world in the form of a printed piece of two leaves entitled, *Proposal for Peopling his Majesty's Southern Colonies on the Continent of America*. This promotion tract is signed "Archibald Menzies" and dated "Megerny Castle, Perthshire, 23d October 1763". The Menzies proposal was that the country be settled by colonies of Greeks, Armenians, and Minorcans - southern Europeans, and Levantines, who had been bred to cultivation of the vine and the olive, and were adaptable to the growing of cotton and the manufacture of silk. We must leave this project where we found it, very much in the air, indeed, unless it can be connected with the actual settlement of Greeks, Italians, and Minorcans which Dr. Andrew Turnbull established four or five years later at New Smyrna. In that case the Menzies proposal takes on greater significance. Both Turnbull and Menzies were Scots, and if this Archibald Menzies was the physician of that name who accompanied the Vancouver expedition of 1796 as field naturalist, both were physicians. If there was an association between them, and the opportunity to discover

it is open to any contender, the history of New Smyrna might be carried back five years earlier than the date of beginning customarily assigned it.

The mention of Dr. Turnbull brings to mind inevitably the name of Bernard Romans and his *Concise Natural History of East and West Florida*, New York, 1775. That work by the Swiss engineer, full of interest on many counts, provided what seemed to be damnatory evidence against the proprietor of the colony of New Smyrna. The editor of the *Columbian Magazine* of Philadelphia extracted from the *Concise History* Romans's account of the New Smyrna colony for publication in his issue of August, 1788. In the issue of December, 1788, Dr. Turnbull, writing from Charleston, defends himself against the Romans charges. In searching out this interchange in the *Columbian Magazine*, by the way, we find that in it for several months in 1787 and 1788, various individuals engaged in a long and learned discussion of the question proposed by Franklin as to whether the mounds in the Ohio county and elsewhere in that neighborhood were fortifications erected by De Soto, probably one of the earliest archeological discussions on an American topic. Returning to Romans, it may be by the way to say that we have a copy of *A General Map of the Southern British Colonies, in America*, taken in part from Romans's data, and though the interest is only that of personal association with a Florida figure, we add that we have nearly all the maps of other sections of the United States drawn and published by this active writer, translator, and cartographer before he disappeared from record in 1783.

The relationship between Romans's *Concise Natural History of East and West Florida* and his great charts of the Florida waters, preserved in the Library of Congress and familiarized through

the reproduction brought out in 1924 by the Florida State Historical Society, is clarified somewhat by an examination of the author's pre-publication advertising in newspapers and broadsides. In a broadside headed *Philadelphia, August 5, 1773. Proposals for printing by subscription, Three Very Elegant and Large Maps of the Navigation, to, and in, the new ceded Countries*, our aggressive engineer asked subscribers to his project of issuing three charts of the coastal waters of East and West Florida, and of a book of description and of sailing directions intended to be used in elucidation of the charts; that is, the *Concise Natural History*. Forgotten details connected with the production of the charts and their publication, finally effected in 1775, are found in the *Proposals*, which, though the earliest Romans writing to appear in print, is not recorded in the bibliography appended to P. Lee Phillips' *Notes on the Life and Works of Bernard Romans*, issued in 1924 by the Florida State Historical Society.

In 1775, the same year that Romans's *Concise Natural History* appeared in New York, a work of direct Florida interest was published in London by James Adair, a learned trader in the southeast territory in the period 1735-1769. *The History of the American Indians; particularly those nations adjoining to the Mississippi, East and West Florida* is a substantial work devoted to the thesis that the American Indian was descended from the ancient Jew. In his development of that thesis, however, Adair put on record so much personal observation and so much knowledge acquired by study that his book has taken rank as a standard source of information on the American Indian. The appendix of the book, furthermore, is a promotion argument, specifically calling for the settlement of an area to the east of the Mississippi country

to be named Georgiana, in which the Floridas come in for much discussion.

Other scientific figures associated with the story of Florida in the eighteenth century were Mark Catesby, John and William Bartram, George Gauld, and William Gerard de Brahm. Of that magnificent work, Catesby's *Natural History of Carolina, Florida and the Bahama Islands*, the Library has the first (1731-1743) and third (1771) editions. John Bartram is represented by his journal in William Stork's *Description of East-Florida* (in the third edition of 1769 with the map of *East Florida from Surveys made since the last Peace*, by Thomas Jefferys), and William Bartram by a copy of his *Travels through North and South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida*, in the edition of Philadelphia, 1791, and in seven others in English, French, Dutch, and German. *An Account of the Surveys of Florida* by George Gauld, 1790, is another evidence of the general interest in the charting of waters then becoming of increasing commercial importance. The De Brahm works that pertain directly to Florida are the *Atlantic Pilot*, with a map of the Gulf Stream important in the history of scientific study of that phenomenon, and the translation of this book, the *Recherches faites pour rectifier les Cartes & perfectionner la Navigation du Canal de Bahama*. As in the case of Romans we mention, merely because he is a Florida figure, that we have other works of De Brahm, the mystical and, perhaps, slightly crazed student of religious and philosophical thought. Among these are: *Time an Apparition of Eternity*, 1791, and *Apocalyptic Gnomon points out Eternity's Divisibility rated with Time, pointed at by Gnomons Sidereals*, 1795.

Returning to consideration of the colonization projects under the English rule, we find unusual

material in the collection relating to the affairs of Denys Rolle, who in 1764 founded Rollestown on the St. Johns River. It is worth while enumerating this group, for we have been told by a Florida historian that some of the titles in it are unusual. The earliest information concerning it, perhaps, is to be found in William Stork's *Account of East-Florida* of London, 1766, afterwards published as the *Description of East-Florida*, of 1769, mentioned above as containing Bartram's journal and the Jefferys map, upon which, by the way, appears the name "Rollestown". The scheme is laid out in greater detail in *An Extract from the Account of East Florida published by Dr. Stork with the Observations of Denys Rolle with his Proposals*, London, 1766. The seemingly inevitable difficulties of colonization in Florida were related by Rolle in the fullest fashion in a memorial entitled, *To the Right Honorable the Lords of His Majesty's Privy Council. The Humble Petition of Denys Rolle, Esq.*, and in a collection of documents, *Copies of his Excellency Governor Grant's Letters, and also Copies of the rough Drafts from which Mr. Rolle's Letters to the Governor were wrote*. The petition and documents represented in these two works were printed in London about the year 1766. The copy of the *Petition* in the Library contains three manuscript sketch maps and plans.

There is also in the Library, relating to the subject of land development in the period of English occupation, 1763-1783, *The Case of Mr. John Gordon with respect to certain Lands in East Florida, 1772*.

The stirring incidents of West Florida history, of the later years of the American Revolution, when Spain was acting as an ally of the Americans, center about the person of Bernardo de Galvez, Captain-General of Louisiana, who carried his help-

fulness to the point of capturing from the British three towns on the east bank of the Mississippi and, later, the Gulf towns of Mobile and Pensacola, thereby ensuring the return of Florida to Spain in the Peace of 1783. The *Diario de las operaciones contra la Plaza de Panzacola* is of the highest importance in this association, containing as it does the leader's own journal of events, the articles of capitulation, and the Spanish casualty list. It has been suggested that this book was printed in Havana in 1781, but we have not found complete data on that point. It was in this operation against Pensacola that Galvez gained his proud motto "Yo solo" by taking his ship alone past the British batteries when all others had refused to make the attack. The story is told in another work in the Library's collection, the *Poema Epico. La Reindicion de Panzacola y Conquista de la Florida Occidental por el exmo. Senor Conde de Galvez*, written by Francisco de Rojas y Rocha. Published in Mexico City in 1785, this narrative of an important event follows, the privilege says, "the scrupulous precepts of the epic". Less directly related to the association of Galvez with Florida, though very important from the biographical standpoint, is a work in manuscript, entitled *Memoria sucinta de lo operado por Bernardo de Galvez desde 16 de Agosto de 1781*, containing, a brief statement of his activities in those two busy years up to the date of the memorial, Havana, June 30, 1783. Five poetic lamentations at the time of his death in 1786, published in Mexico City and entered as Nos. 7602, 7643, 7653, 7661, and 7714 in Medina's *Imprenta en Mexico* form an unusual group of personal biographical interest.

A manuscript collection owned by the Library of interest in East Florida annals from several points of view is the set of five volumes from the papers

of George Chalmers, historian and man of affairs, whose name is associated prominently with several American colonies and with the historiography of the American Revolution. For many years about the turn of the century, Chalmers acted as colonial agent of the Bahama Islands with the British government, and in these volumes is the correspondence of that period between him and the officials and private individuals of the colony. Such a collection would seem to have little relationship to Florida interests if we did not recall that when England returned that country to Spain in 1783, the American Loyalists who had taken refuge there were compelled to find asylum elsewhere under the British flag. A large number of these uneasy patriots went to the Bahamas, and in the Chalmers correspondence one comes frequently upon traces of them as a group and as individuals. A regular correspondent of Chalmers was John Wells, proprietor of the *Bahama Gazette*. With his brother, Dr. William Charles Wells, this individual, abandoning his Charleston, South Carolina, newspaper and printing office when the Americans entered that town in 1782, fled to St. Augustine and there set up a printing establishment from which issued for about a year in 1783 and 1784 the earliest Florida newspaper, the *East-Florida Gazette*. In addition to the newspaper, the two known imprints of this first press of Florida were Samuel Gale's *Essay II. On the Nature and Principles of Public Credit* and *The Case of the Inhabitants of East-Florida*, both of the year 1784. The second of these is a notable local item in which the distressed Loyalists ask compensation for the lands they were compelled to give up by the re-cession of Florida to Spain. The Library owns one of the three known original copies of *The Case of the Inhabitants*, and it has the London reprint of Gale's

Essay II. The later life of John Wells in the Bahamas provides one of the pleasantest interests of the Chalmers manuscripts.

John Pope's *Tour through the Southern and Western Territories of the United States . . . the Spanish Dominions on the River Mississippi, and the Floridas*, Richmond, Virginia, 1792, introduces us to an unusual figure in the person of Alexander MacGillivray, the Creek leader whose diplomacy was an element in the relations between the Americans of the United States and the weakening Spanish authority. The *Authentic Memoirs of William Augustus Bowles, Esquire, Ambassador from the United Nations of Creeks and Cherokees, to the Court of London*, probably by Captain William Baynton, London, 1791, is the story of another remarkable figure in the three-sided contest in which English and Spanish strove for mastery and the Indians strove for existence in the southeast territory of the new union. The failure of the Indians, both as warriors and diplomats, is unhappily manifest when we read and reflect upon a broadside of 1797 entitled *To the Settlers within the Cherokee Boundary*, signed by Lieut. Col. Thomas Butler, commanding the troops of the United States in the State of Tennessee.

This account of Florida materials in the John Carter Brown Library must not be thought of as comprising the whole of the Library's resources in that field. Its omissions are obvious to any instructed student; its inclusions in many instances are those of personal preference. If through it, we have made clear the substantial character of one of the Library's many sections and thereby given potential aid to students of American history, we shall look back upon the task of its preparation as having been one of particular pleasure.

THE RETURN OF SPANISH RULE TO THE
ST. MARYS AND THE ST. JOHNS,
1813-1821

by D. C. CORBITT

If the United States Supreme Court had wanted a precedent for deciding the insular cases it might have found one in Spain's treatment of the St. Marys-St. Johns district in 1813. When brought face to face with the question of applying the Spanish Constitution of 1812 to that area, Governor Sebastian Kindelan of East Florida, like the United States Supreme Court a century later, decided that the Constitution did not follow the flag. Higher authorities supported the governor in his decision, which, as will be shown below, was a result of the "Republic of Florida" episode of 1812-1813.

Suspecting a design on the part of Great Britain to seize Florida, President Madison moved to forestall the Britons and obtain Florida, or rather the Floridas, for the United States. General George Matthews and Colonel John McKee were appointed to sound out the Spanish officials in Florida on the question of a cession. The commissioners were instructed to establish a provisional government if they were successful. If a permanent cession was not obtainable, they were empowered to accept a provisional one on the condition of a return of the provinces to Spain at some time in the future. But if no cession were obtainable, and there "should be room to entertain any suspicion that a design existed on the part of any other power to occupy Florida," they could use the forces of the United

Of especial value in this glimpse of the transition period in the region are the names of the signers of the petition (more than 200) who, presumably, were residents of the district at that time (1820) - **Ed.**

States to take possession. The governor of St. Augustine declined to surrender the province to the commissioners on any terms. In the meantime the maneuvers of the commissioners became known along the border. Early in 1812 the restless inhabitants of both banks of the St. Marys organized the "Republic of Florida" with General John H. McIntosh as executive. Believing that President Madison intended for them to seize East Florida, the commissioners joined forces with the "patriots" to accomplish that end. Early in March 1812 an American squadron, with troops and "patriots" on board, appeared before Fernandina and summoned the commandant, Captain Jose Lopez, to surrender. With only a handful of troops at his disposal, Lopez had no option but to comply or make a useless resistance. He surrendered on March 17, 1812. The whole St. Marys-St. Johns area was soon occupied by the "allies" and St. Augustine subjected to a kind of siege, which lasted until May 1813.

President Madison saw fit to disavow the acts of his commissioners and ordered the United States forces withdrawn. According to an agreement between General Thomas Pinckney, the commander of the American troops, and Governor Sebastian Kindelan, Fernandina was taken over on May 6, 1813, by Captain Francisco Rivera, a subaltern, and forty men from the third battalion of the Regiment of Cuba. Salutes boomed from a small Spanish battery, and from an American and an English vessel in the harbor. Kindelan reported that there were also loud and sincere *vivas* for the return of Spanish rule.¹

Immediately after the occupation of Fernandina, Kindelan published a proclamation (May 7, 1813)

1. Kindelan to Apodaca, June 13, 1813, Archivo Nacional de Cuba (hereinafter cited as A.N.C.), Floridas, legajo 13, no. 9.

calling on the inhabitants of the town and surrounding district to take an oath to support the Constitution of 1812. The following day was appointed for the ceremony. For lack of a church or other public building, it took place around a pavilion erected for the dignitaries. Again cannon boomed and *vivas* roared, and "dances and all kinds of rejoicing, which demonstrated the general happiness of everybody," followed the oath-taking ceremony.²

In his proclamation Kindelan promised the inhabitants of Amelia Island and the surrounding country the blessings of that "Holy Charter" the Constitution of 1812. However, when he came to apply the Constitution, he decided that only the essential parts should be extended to the district until the higher authorities could be consulted. He explained his decision as follows:

By superior order=On account of the lack of an exact census of the population of the District of Fernandina, and because of other reasons and circumstances that are important at this time, this Government is obliged, for the present, not to proceed with the establishment of the constitutional Municipality without the previous and indispensable agreement of the Superior Authorities at Havana, which is the only means found in the present case to avoid the disagreeable errors that would result from exceeding its powers; but, on the other hand, because of the necessity for having a person appointed with sufficient authority to hear in first instance the civil and criminal cases that occur; and in order to combine good

2. *Ibid.* The proclamation is also found in A.N.C., Floridas, lagajo 13, no. 9. Antonio Jose Alvarez and Jose Maria Hernandez of St. Augustine, who had been sent to Fernandina to act as witnesses, certified all documents connected with the ceremonies.

administration with the desires manifested by the inhabitants, Mr. Philip Yonge, a vassal of Spain and a settled resident of this Town, has been appointed *Captain de Partido* provisionally, pending the decision of the Superior Authority.³

When Kindelan reported the case to the captain general⁴ on June 13, 1813, he was more explicit about his motives. He said:

I did not establish the municipality that, it [Fernandina and its districts] merits because of its Population and local circumstances: for, although they [the inhabitants] pleaded article 12 of the Royal decree of May 23, 1812, I postponed acquiescing because I understand that the Spirit of that article is directed toward Towns of colored people, that may exist in our Colonial provinces, and whose inhabitants, although they do not enjoy the rights of Citizens, are born in our dominions, speak the same language, and have our uses, customs, and Religion, which circumstances do not concur in those persons that live in Fernandina, its District, and along the St. Johns River; for in all that great area there are scarcely twenty-five Spaniards, of whom only two are in the Town of Fernandina, while two are settled in the Rural part of Amelia Island ; the rest are considered as transients, such as sailors, who have left their ships, or some soldier or released prisoner.⁵

3. Translated from the instructions to Yonge, dated Fernandina, May 20, 1813. A.N.C., Floridas, legajo 13, no. 9.
4. Juan Ruiz de Apodaca, captain general *jefe superior politico* of Cuba and the Floridas.
5. Kindelan to Apodaca, June 13, 1813. A.N.C., Floridas, legajo 13, no. 9. A report to the St. Augustine city council on August 23, 1813 mentioned 200 pesos annually in *propios* from Fernandina, which could only be considered as a deposit until a municipality was organized there. Evidently official St. Augustine thought such a move was not far distant. A.N.C., Floridas, legajo 13, no. 12.

Article 310 of the Constitution provided for municipal government in towns that, together with their districts, had one thousand or more inhabitants, and in other towns where it was "convenient." The first two articles of the decree of May 12, 1812 elaborated on the constitutional provisions. According to the above quoted extract from Kindelan's report, the St. Johns-St. Marys residents claimed the right to have a municipality under article 12 of this decree, but this must have been a mistake since only articles 1 and 2 are pertinent to the case. It is possible that the mistake was due to the copyist's misunderstanding 1 and 2 to refer to 12. It is also possible that *doce* (twelve) was misunderstood for *dos* (two) when the two pertinent articles were mentioned. Spanish Americans pronounce the two words so much alike that even natives sometimes mistake one for the other. Whatever the reason for the mistake, we will dismiss article 12 and translate 1 and 2.

I. Any town that does not have Municipal government, and whose population does not reach one thousand souls, and which, because of the special conditions of its agriculture, industry, or population, may be thought to merit a municipality, will inform the *Diputacion* of the province, on the bases of whose report the Government will provide that which is convenient.

II. Towns that do not fulfill these conditions will remain annexed to the Municipalities to which they have been attached heretofore, as long as the improvement of their political conditions does not require a change: . . .⁶

6. Alcubilla, Marcelo Martinez, *Diccionario de la adminitracion espanola* (8 vols., Madrid, 1886), I, 688. The *diputacion* was a legislative and advisory body made up of one deputy from each district of a province. The Floridas sent one man each to the *diputacion* in Havana.

There is little doubt but that under a strict interpretation of the Constitution and the decree of March 23, 1812, Fernandina and its district should have had municipal government. The distance from St. Augustine was great, and it differed from the capital in industry and commerce, to say nothing of population. Kindelan appears to have believed that the district had the necessary number of inhabitants to meet the constitutional requirements, though the available documents do not show that the inhabitants themselves made this claim in 1813. However, the petition quoted at the end of this paper shows that during the second constitutional period they claimed that the district had more than the one thousand inhabitants specified in the Constitution.⁸

But in spite of population and circumstances (or perhaps we should say because of them), Kindelan did not organize the desired municipality. This displeased the inhabitants of the district, no doubt, but it is difficult to censure the governor for delaying to organize a municipal government that would necessarily have been composed almost wholly of men who had just been engaged in rebellion, and who would have been elected by others of the same stripe. One can almost see the tears between the following lines that he wrote to explain his decision :

If I have erred, Heaven well knows that it is against my Will: I am nothing but a soldier, who by bad luck find myself abandoned in a country that is exhausted of all resources; without a public notary [*escribano*], without an authorized legal adviser, and even without a Lawyer or any other Person whatever on whose decision or opinion I might depend,

8. See the appendix at the end of this article.

for believe me Your Excellency, he that knows most among these people is, perhaps, my equal in ignorance ; and, therefore, in good faith I confess, that in these matters that are not of my profession, I work by pure instinct, as a result of which I have the affliction and Bitterness of an honest man, of a man that desires to do his duty, when he sees himself forced to take measures and issue Orders about which he is doubtful.⁹

The system that Kindelan worked out "by pure instinct" was not new. It was rather an adaptation of the plan of local government that had been developed in Cuba where Kindelan had served, and it had already been used to a limited extent in East Florida. The captains general of Cuba early adopted the plan of appointing men called *capitanes de partido* to represent them in small towns and rural districts. At first the men chosen were persons whose interests identified them with the districts over which they were to exercise jurisdiction. By 1813, however, the system in Cuba had degenerated to such an extent that many (perhaps a majority) of the *capitanes* were fortune seekers from Spain. For a man of moderate ambition a captainship offered considerable opportunities, since the holder of the office was a combination of police chief and justice of the peace.¹⁰ It is not surprising, therefore, that placemen began to seek the jobs.

9. Kindelan to Apodaca, June 13, 1813, A.N.C., Floridas, legajo 13, no. 9.

10. A.N.C., Miscelanea, 12,662, p. 389. Pezuela Jacobo de la, *Necesidades de Cuba* (Madrid 1865), pp. 71-72. Pezuela, *Historia de la Isla de Cuba* (Madrid, 1868-1878), III, 47. Zamora, Jose Maria, *Biblioteca de legislacion ultramarina* (Madrid, 1844-1849), IV, 15-16. Concha, Jose Gutierrez de la, *Memorias sobre el estado politico, y administracion de la Isla de Cuba* (Madrid, 1853), p. 50.

In applying the system to the St. Marys-St. Johns district, Kindelan reverted to the earlier practice. The men appointed were certainly identified with their districts, and, if the Constitution was not to be applied, it is difficult to imagine any plan possible within the Spanish administration that would have been better suited to the needs of the district. Since this plan was the real constitution under which a large part of the population of East Florida lived for the remaining years of Spanish rule, it merits studying in as much detail as the available information permits.

The area under discussion was divided by Kindelan into three *partidos*, or districts. That of Fernandina included Amelia, Tiger, and Talbot islands, both banks of the Nassau river, and the right bank of the St. Marys. The other two districts, called Upper St. Johns and Lower St. Johns, were carved out of the territory lying along "both banks of the St. Johns, San Pablo Inlet, and St. George Island."¹¹ The boundaries of the two districts are described in the following article from the instructions to the captains of Upper and Lower St. Johns:

Article 13 - For the convenience of the inhabitants, it has been thought best to divide the ancient District of St. Johns into two, with the names Upper St. Johns and Lower St. Johns, and therefore, it is declared that to the first pertains the territory between Hollingsworth's House and that of Buena-vista, both included, with the plantations on the opposite Bank from that of Creighton to that of Fleming, and the rest that lie on that line; and to the second from the plantation of Sanchez to that of Maxey, both included, with those on the

11. Kindelan to Apodaca, June 13, 1813, and the instructions to the *capitanes*, A.N.C., Floridas, legajo 13 no. 9.

opposite Bank from Morrison to Fitzpatrick, and San Pablo Inlet and the Island of Fort George: and consequently Don Francisco Fatio [elsewhere spelled Facio] will be *Capitan de Partido* of Upper St. Johns, and Mr. Farquahar Bethune of Lower St. Johns, which captains are authorized to appoint for the opposite Banks of the River in their respective districts, with the consent of the Government, persons of their confidence, whom they consider capable of acting for them in fortuitous cases.

Kindelan explained to Apodaca that Fatio and Bethune were the only persons along the St. Johns who had not taken part in the recent rebellion. Fatio, he said, was the son of a Swiss, who had settled in East Florida during the English occupation and had remained there after the province was returned to Spain. Bethune was a Scot born in West Florida, but who had lived ten years in East Florida. Kindelan's first choice for captain of the district of Fernandina was Don Jose de la Maza Arredondo, but he refused to serve, explaining that he had just come to settle some accounts he had pending, after which he planned to return to his family in St. Augustine. Kindelan then appointed Philip Yonge, since neither of the four Spanish residents of Amelia Island were capable of holding the office. Pedro Ponze, of Fernandina, was a baker without the necessary qualifications. Domingo Fernandez and Antonio Suarez, who lived in the rural part of the island, and who had been masters of the "king's canoes," were married to American women whose relatives had taken part in the rebellion. Besides, Fernandez had recently been tried and convicted for homicide and fined three hundred pesos. What was wrong with the fourth Spaniard Kindelan omitted to say. Yonge was known to the governor only by reputation, but

he, had rendered important services to the Plaza of St. Augustine in its hour of need by sending food. Of him Kindelan said:

He is a Person of good judgment, and, to my way of thinking, firmly attached to the Holy Cause that we defend, born in the Province under the English domination, Speaks both languages, son of a Scot, and deserves the confidence of the Inhabitants, who are composed almost entirely of Englishmen, Scots, and Irishmen . . .¹²

The new captains were provided with elaborate instructions for the conduct of their offices. Fatio and Bethune were given joint instructions. Yonge's position at Fernandina was thought to call for a separate set of instructions. However, since there are few differences in the two documents outside of the paragraphs delineating the boundaries of the districts, a summary of both may be given.

The captains were to be (1) conciliators, (2) judges, and (3) police officers. As conciliators they were to strive to reconcile parties that had fallen into disputes. Such persons were to go before their respective captains, who, with two "good men" (one appointed by each party to the dispute), must give the "providence of conciliation" decided upon within eight days. If the disputants agreed to the decision, it was to be recorded in the captain's "book of conciliation" and signed by all parties concerned. If no agreement could be reached, this fact was to be recorded in the book and signed by the same persons. In cases involving debtors, or other urgent cases, the respective captains were to give the orders necessary to prevent injuries, after which they were to proceed with the conciliation.

12. Kindelan to Apodaca June 13, 1813; the instructions to the captains; and the letter of refusal from Arredondo, all of which are found in A.N.C., Floridas, legajo 13, no. 9.

The captains could also hear and decide civil cases that did not involve more than one hundred pesos, and criminal cases that merited only light punishments. In deciding such cases, both civil and criminal, they were to be assisted by two men as in the cases of conciliation. Verbal judgments were to be given, but brief records of all cases were to be kept. When important crimes were committed, the captains were to make arrests, conduct investigations, and report to the governor.¹³ All reports and official documents must be in Spanish.

In addition to police duties already mentioned, the captains were to look after sanitation, to allow no person to settle in their districts without informing the government, and to prepare censuses when necessary. They could call on the military commandant at Fernandina for soldiers to guard prisoners, or to otherwise enforce respect for justice. In such cases, however, the sergeant or corporal in command was the only person who could give orders to the soldiers. All residents of the respective districts could be required to help enforce justice.¹⁴

To complete the description of the system set up along the St. Marys and the St. Johns, it is necessary to mention another officer besides the commandant and the captains. Due to its proximity to the United States and the ease with which goods could be smuggled through it to a neutral port, Fernandina had become a port of considerable importance during the American embargo and the ensuing war with England. It was necessary, there-

13. This was a temporary provision until the "lawyer judge" provided for in the Constitution could be appointed. It proved to be permanent, for, although the East Floridians petitioned for the judge, the constitutional period closed without one. A.N.C., Gobierno Superior Civil, legajo 861, no. 29, 161. pp. 151-152.

14. The instructions are in A.N.C., Floridas, legajo 13, no. 9.

fore, to have somebody to handle the revenues of the port. Kindelan appointed one Tadeo Arribas as *administrador interino de hacienda nacional*.¹⁵ This appointment, as well as those of the captains, provoked an argument in St. Augustine that reverberated in Havana.

According to the Spanish idea of a municipality, not only was the town itself included, but all of the surrounding country that was not annexed to some other municipality. This old principle was restated in a decree of March 23, 1813 which was made to carry out the provisions of the Constitution of 1812 concerning municipal government. Accordingly, Geronimo Alvarez, the mayor [*alcalde*] of St. Augustine, claimed jurisdiction over the whole of East Florida, since St. Augustine was the only municipality in the whole territory. Alvarez appointed Arribas as his own *comisario* to collect revenues at Fernandina, and protested to the captain general *gefè politico* at Havana about the appointment by Kindelan. At the same time he protested about the governor's appointment of "three Foreigners, married to foreign women, and two of them protestants, as *Jueces Pedaneos*"¹⁶ on the St. Johns and Nassau Rivers and in the Town of Fernandina," all without the "intervention of the municipality." The other members of the city government, however, opposed Alvarez and sent a contrary report to the authorities in Havana. The *diputacion provincial*, which advised the captain general on matters concerning municipalities, decided that St. Augustine did not extend to Fernandina.¹⁷

15. A.N.C., Floridas, legajo 13, no. 9. See also note 5.

16. *Juez pedaneo* was another title applied to a *capitan de partido*. It referred to the officer in his judicial capacity while *capitan* was indicative of his police power. The titles, however, were used interchangeably in Florida and Cuba.

17. A.N.C., Gobierno Superior Civil, legajo 861, no. 29, 160, p. 89; no. 29, 162, pp. 45-47, 26; and Floridas, legajo 19, no. 25.

The above mentioned decision was really in support of Kindelan's whole policy with respect to the St. Marys-St. Johns territory. It seems, however, that Kindelan's decision to abstain from applying the Constitution of 1812 to the area in question was never submitted to the *diputacion*. At least, there is no reference to such action in the minutes of that body.¹⁸ There is, however, a note on the margin of Kindelan's report of June 13, 1813 to the effect that it was "Passed for consultation to the honorary *oidor* [judge] don Jose Franco."¹⁹ Franco's opinion is not available, but, at least, the system of government set up by the governor was not interfered with. The Constitution was abrogated on May 4, 1814 by Ferdinand VII, and, since the Kindelan system was in harmony with the local government that was then restored in other Spanish colonies, there was no necessity for changing it. It was, therefore, allowed to continue as long as Spanish rule lasted in the district under discussion.

The Kindelan system was first destroyed in the district of Fernandina. On June 29, 1817 Sir Gregor McGregor and a group of adventurers took over Amelia Island in the name of the Republics of Mexico, Buenos Aires, New Granada, etc. The pirate Aury appeared in the name of Mexico and forced McGregor to limit his allegiance to that nation alone. Forces of the United States soon settled (or perhaps unsettled) the matter by taking the town of Fernandina from these undesirable neighbors. The American forces continued to occupy Amelia Island until the whole of Florida was handed over in 1821. Meanwhile, Spanish rule

18. The minutes are in A.N.C., Gobierno Superior Civil, legajo 861, nos. 29, 160; 29, 161 and 29, 162.

19. A.N.C., Floridas, legajo 13, no. 9.

continued along the St. Johns, and nominally over the St. Marys district.

In 1820 a revolt in Spain brought the Constitution of 1812 back into force. As soon as the news could reach St. Augustine the municipal government was reorganized. Again the *alcalde* of that city tried to assert jurisdiction over the St. Marys-St. Johns territory, much to the disgust of the inhabitants, who decided that it was time to demand their constitutional rights. On October 10, 1820 more than two hundred persons signed a petition to Colonel Jose Coppinger, the governor of East Florida, asking that a municipality be organized for them.²⁰ This time they claimed that their district should have its own municipal government, not only because of the special conditions therein, but also because it contained more than the one thousand inhabitants specified by the constitution. Coppinger, however, had no authority to grant the petition and was glad enough to pass it along to the captain general in Havana. He informed the petitioners of his action, reminding them at the same time that it was their duty "as subjects of the Spanish nation," to "remain tranquil and obey the laws, without giving any cause for being corrected because of excesses." This reply he communicated to them "through the respective *capitanes de partido*."²¹

When the petition reached Havana it was too late for the municipality to be organized in time for the December elections,²² and before elections were, due again, the Floridas had passed from Spanish control. We can, therefore, only specu-

20. See the translation of the petition at the end of this article.

21. Coppinger to Cagigal, December 2, 1820, A.N.C., Floridas, legajo 13, no. 6

22. The report did not leave St. Augustine until December 2, 1820. Elections were to take place on the first Sunday of the same month.

late as to whether Spain would have eventually allowed the Constitution to follow the flag into the St. Marys-St. Johns district, and about how the restless inhabitants of that district would have administered a Spanish municipality if they had been permitted to try. In any case it would have been a most interesting experiment.

**A PETITION FROM THE INHABITANTS OF THE ST. MARYS-
ST. JOHNS DISTRICT FOR THE ORGANIZATION
OF A MUNICIPALITY ²³**

Mr. Governor

We the Inhabitants that dwell on the St. Johns and St. Marys Rivers, and on the Mainland and Islands adjacent to this Province, with the greatest respect for Your Excellency, congratulate ourselves on the favorable change of government that has been brought about by the adoption of the constitution of 1812, as appears to be true from what we have seen in Royal Decrees ordering that it be published in all the Spanish dominions, and that the proper oaths to observe the Constitution be taken by the Vassals, a requisite that, to our great surprise, has not been carried out in these Districts, whose inhabitants being desirous of enjoying, sustaining, and protecting the benefits conferred by it, Solicit Your Excellency to be so Kind as to establish it in the proper manner throughout the whole Province, conceding to us the privileges that are granted by it to interior Towns according to articles 309 and 310-since the number of inhabitants here is greater than one thousand souls, ²⁴

23. Translated from the original in A.N.C., Floridas, legajo 13, no. 6. In copying the signatures their relative positions have been maintained.

24. This claim seems to have been well-founded. The census of 1814 gives the following figures : St. Johns River, 117; Fernandina, 518 ; Amelia Island, 209 ; Nassau, 118 ; St. Marys, 135; Tiger Island, 10 ; Talbot Island, 32 (compiled by Mrs. Katherine S. Lawson from photostats in the Webb Memorial Library, St. Augustine).

whose names we can obtain if they are required. For all of which we hope and trust that Your Excellency will be pleased to take our rights under due consideration, and order that elections be held on the first Sunday in next December for the formation of the new government, according to the provisions of chapter 3, article 37 of the Constitution, without it being necessary for us to have recourse to the Superior Authorities, for this is a right that has been granted to us by the voice of the Nation, whose rights and privileges we are unanimously, and loyally disposed to Sustain and protect in all their parts. This establishment, Mr. Governor, will prevent the Anarchy that we have experienced up to now, along with many inconveniences, such as having the *Alcalde* of the Capital order an inhabitant to go there to answer charges, an act that we consider as void for two reasons: first, because the *Alcalde* is not eligible to be such According to article 129 of the constitution, and, second, because his jurisdiction does not extend beyond his own District; and not only for this reason, but for others that present themselves every day, such as ordering an inhabitant to appear in the Capital to give testimony, which individual must expose his person to the fatigues of a journey of one hundred miles on which his life is in danger, and on which he has expenses which perhaps he cannot sustain without great injury to Himself. All these considerations cause us to trouble Your Excellency, from whom we expect the grace that with justice we the undersigned request for ourselves and for many others who are absent at their work. *Tierra firme* in the district of Fernandina, October 10, 1820

James Dell
Jno. T. Lowe
James Armstrong

James L. McTier
William Braddock
Chrisr. C Minchin

John D. Braddock	Isaac Wingate
(1) John Pearce ²⁵	E. Waterman
(1) James Pearce	(2) Solomon May
Samuell Russell	(2) James G. Smith
Cnor. [Senior]	(2) Samuell Russell Junr
John B. Christopher	(2) James Burnett
Francis Turan	Isaac Tucker
B M. Lowe	Robert Rollings
(2) James Sloan	(3) Edward Turner
(2) Isaac Holbert	(3) Jesa Turner
(2) Abram Smith	John Flenin
(2) Saml. Burnett	Carlos Seton
Hezekiah Tucker	Thomas Backhouse
John Edwards Snor	(5) Joseph J Lou [i]
[Senior]	(5) Seymour Pickitt
Cyrus Briggs	Henry Groves
Lewis Christopher	Carlos Sibbald
William Starrat	Elisha Redmon
Chas. Broward	Jesa Waller
David Turner	Peter Duran
John Uptigrove	James Bishshup
(4) Gedion Elventon	(8) Jesa Samfoa [rdl
(4) John Wilkerson	John Bassent
(4) Jacob Elventon	Nath. Wilds
Stephen Eubank	John Lozier
T. Reynolds	Z. Kingsley
H. Lowe	John Johnson
Wesley Lowe	Wm. Hobkirk
Saml. Ledworth	Wm Adam
Jeremiah Wingate	Robert Miller
John Wingate	(7) John Higinbothum
N. Barker	(6) Lewis Bachlott
Willm Walker	(6) Alexander Bachlott
John Carr	Drewry Peal

25. The numbers to the left of the names were placed there by the present writer. Names with the same number appear to have been written by the same hand.

Joseph Bachlott	Wm Nelson
John Ja Ward ²⁶	Jesa Youngblood
John Dewit	(8) John Silcock Jr
W K Rain	(8) John Silcock
(8) Wm McCulla	Saml. Worthington
(9) Thomas Higinbothom	(8) Isaac Green
James Chrozier	(8) John Purvis
(9) Isah. Hart	(8) Joseph Saals
(9) Joseph Higinbothum	Jonathan Thigpen
(9) Eliga Higmbothum	Wade Silcock
(9) David Higinbothum	John Bachlott Jun
Theodore Dodge	Ambrose Hull
Farqr. Bethune	Levin Gunby
Josi F. Ga[ult] ²⁷	John Crighton
Pedro Pons	Simion Dell
Domingo Acosta	Archalus Linsey
Antonio Diaz	(11) Charles Love
Jose Alvares	(11) Shack Standly
Spicer Christopher	(11) Wm Donnel
Wm. Fitzpatreck	(11) John G Barrow
Joseph Rain	(11) Thomas Barrow
Samuel Kingsly	(12) Hinch Holomon
Cs. Hovey	(12) Harmon H Holloman
(7) George Higinbothum	(12) Eanoch Daliel
Jno. Richard) Willoam Ellin
John Rouse	(12) Levi Cole [Coler?]
Jas- Long	(12) Briton Nite
Jesse Long	(8) David Silcock
William Crozier	(8) Saml. Salls
(8) Wm. Hogan	Blake Wells Jor
Conls Rain	Wm Drummond
John Jenings	William Sillcock
Joseph Haddock	Chas. Deshon

26. This name is very poorly written. *John Jas Ware* (or *Wares*) is another possibility.

27. The signature seems to be Gault. Gaunt was probably the name. In the photostats of the Fernandina census of 1814 in the library of the St. Augustine Historical Society appear the names Jose Gaunt, John Gaunt, and John Gault.

	Mamke Deezer	Miguel Mabrity
(10)	J. G. Rushing	Ynocencio Condin
(10)	John Jucy	Miguel V [im] a
	John Bassent Junr	Juan Reyes
	Lewis Levy	Antonio Martinez
(12)	Levi Johns	(13) Franco Triay
(12)	Js. Tison	(13) Juan Triay
(12)	Levi Sparkemon	Willm. Jno. Mills
(12)	Willoam Frink	Peter Suarez
(12)	James Jream	Tomas Suarez
(12)	John Huse	John Warren
(12)	James Walker	(14) John Daniel Vaughan
(12)	Stephen Vinsant	(14) Daniel Vaughan
(12)	James Stephenson	(15) William H. G.
(12)	William Drummon	Saunders
(12)	Stephen Woods	(12) Lewis Baley
(12)	Wm. Dun	(12) Robert Hudson
(12)	James T Pervate	(12) John Stafford
(12)	Allagoo Sugs	(12) Lewis Baley ²⁸
(12)	Horis Tifney	(12) Ellis Stafford
(12)	Smith Canon	(12) Samul Stafford
(12)	Jorge Nite	(12) Thomas Stafford
(12)	Edward Dixson	(12) Abriham Colson
(12)	John Dixson	(12) Aan Colson
(12)	Henry Swiney	(12) Mical Johnson
(12)	William Hall	(12) Den Setrunk
(12)	James Sharber	(15) Robt. Harrison
(12)	Henry Homes	(15) Samuel Harrison
(12)	William Sparkemon	Junr.
(12)	Burbon Lowden	(15) Epm. Harrison
(12)	James Sparkemon	John Houston
(12)	Thomas Pervate	James Turner
(12)	Joseph Pervate	Wm. Fitzpatrick
	Andres Lopez	Junr.
	Juan Cereopoly	

28. Whether there were two Lewis Baleys, or whether the Person that signed all the names marked (12) made a mistake and repeated a name, can only be guessed.

It is possible that some of the signers of the petition were fly-by-nights whose names were used to swell the list, but it is possible from other sources to show that a large part of these men had recognized standing in the district and that some were old settlers. The Spanish authorities made a census of East Florida in connection with the organization of the province under the Constitution of 1812. From the data then collected the following names can be verified: ²⁹

Census of Nassau River, 1813

Diego Smith (evidently James G. Smith of the petition), John Edwards (aged 58) and Guillermo Sterrate (William Sterrat). William Fitzpatrick (aged 50) appears as the father of several sons, though none appear as "Junr." as in the petition.

Census of Talbot Island, 1814

John Houston *el padre*, and John Houston *el hijo*. Also Lewis Christopher.

Census of the St. Marys River, 1814

William Braddock, John Braddock, Nathaniel Wilds and Spicer Christopher.

Census of Tiger Island

Wm. Hall and E. Waterman.

Census of Amelia Island (outside Fernandina), 1814

Robert Harrison, Samuel Harrison (aged 65, with a son of 25 whose name was not mentioned), William Saunders, and John Vaughan (aged 45 years).

Census of St. Johns River, 1814

Z. Kingsley.

29. The writer is indebted to Mrs. Katherine S. Lawson, Secretary of the St. Augustine Historical Society and Institute of Science for information from the photostats of the Spanish census lists in the library of the Society.

Census of Fernandina, 1814

Andreas Lopez, Pedro Pons, Franco Triay, Jose Alvarez, Miguel Mabrity, Farqr Bethune, Domingo Acosta, Carlos Seton, Henry Groves (aged 40), Antonio Diaz, and Carlos Sibbald. Jose Gaunt appears in one list. He is probably the Josi F. Gault of the petition. There is a John Gaunt in one list which appears as John Gault in another, which estazlished the confusion at the time about the spelling of the name.

From the list of land grants and transfers for Fernandina the following are gathered:³⁰ Pedro Suarez, Antonio Martinez, Wm. Hobkirk (also John), John Lowe, James L. McTier, Louis M. McTier and Thomas Suarez. All the grants or transfers were between 1810 and 1814 except that to Louis M. McTier, which is dated 1821.

A more fruitful source is the report of the United States Land Commissioners, who passed on all claims to land after the acquisition of Florida. The following persons whose names are attached to the petition presented land claims :³¹ John Lowe (January, 1812), Christopher Minchen (November, 1817), John Uptegrove (1803), Stephen Eubanks (1817), John Wingate (1790), John Christopher (1809), Charles Broward (1817), David Turner, William Walker (1816), John Carr, Eleaser Waterman, Charles Seton (1816), Seymour Pickett (1803), Charles F. Sibbald, Farquarhar Bethune (1817), Joseph Gaunt (1816), Pedro Pons (1817), Domingo Acosta (1817), Antonio Diaz (1811), Jose Alvares (1816), Nathaniel Wilds (1815), Zephaniah Kingsley (1815), Thomas Higginbottom, Spicer Christopher, William Fitzpatrick (1795), Joseph Rain,

30. Furnished by Mrs. Katherine S. Lawson.

31. The dates after the names are taken from the petitions to the Commissioners or from evidence submitted with them, and in most cases indicate residence at that time.

Samuel Worthington, Joseph Saul, Samuel Sauls, John Bachelot (1816), Cornelius Rain (1768), Joseph Haddock, Wm Nelson, Jose Youngblood, John Silcock (1792), William Drummond, Charles Deshon, John G. Rushing (1815), Levin Gunby, Charles Love, Shadrich Stanley, William Donnell, John Barrow, William Ellis, John Dixon, Edward Dixon, Henry Sweeny, William T. Hall, William Sparkman, Levi Sparkman, William Frink, William Drummond, James Sparkman, Jose Reyes, Antonio Martinez, Francis Triay, William Mills, Pedro Suarez, Thomas Suarez, John D. Vaughn, Robert Harrison, Samuel Harrison, John Houston.

JAMES HOLMES'S FLORIDA PLANTATION, 1804

by LEWIS LEARY

Congressman James Mott ¹ was worried about his nephew. It was years since young James Holmes had left his family in Monmouth, New Jersey, to seek his fortune in Georgia. Finally, in January 1804, the congressman wrote Peter Freneau, ² also a Monmouth man, who had settled in the south, and had lived in Charleston since the close of the Revolution, and was now editing the influential *City Gazette* of that city. Perhaps he could send word of the young man. Freneau replied immediately: ³

I have conversed with several persons from Georgia but they could not give me any information concerning Mr. Holmes. To the best of my recollection it is now three years since I saw him in this city. I then asked him what he was doing, and where he lived. He seemed not disposed to say much. All I could learn from him was that he had been unfortunate in a connection he had formed with some persons in business, who had acted dishonestly, and left him some debts to pay, that he was not able to pay them, that, if not prevented, he would return, and live with the Creek nation. As he was not detained here I am led to believe that he returned there. While he was here I

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1. James Mott, b. Monmouth Co., N. J., Jan. 18, 1739; Major, Continental Army, 1776, member N. J. General Assembly 1776-79; State Treasurer, 1799-1803; elected as Democrat to 7th and 8th Congresses; d. Oct. 18, 1823.
 2. Peter Freneau, brother of Philip Freneau, the "Poet of the American Revolution," b. Monmouth Co., N. J., April 5, 1757; settled in Charleston, 1782; became editor of *The City Gazette and Daily Advertiser*, 1794; d. Nov. 9, 1813.
 3. Each of the three letters quoted below is from the MS. *Cherry Hill Papers*, owned by Miss Edith Johnson, of Matawan, N. J.

made repeated requests to come to my house, but I could never get him there. He appeared to me to be very low spirited and uncommunicative. This is all I can tell you at present. I have written to a friend in Georgia; if he gives any information I will take the earliest conveyance of letting you know.

Early that summer James Holmes turned up again in Charleston. Peter Freneau let him know his uncle's inquiry, advised him to write immediately. The young man proceeded to do so at once. He had a new plan, and he needed help. On July 30 he wrote to his uncle:

Your letter dated Jan'y last I received a few weeks since. I have been in the Bahama Islands in order to negotiate a Letter of Credit in my favour to the amt of several thousand pounds to be invested in negroes to possession a piece of Land I have in East Florida. . . . The Tract of Land alluded to is a very valuable one, and unless I can get a few negroes to settle it, it will revert to the Government in about two or three months at the outside.

Three months passed and James Holmes received no word from his uncle. Meanwhile the young man remained in Charleston. He wrote again and again. Still he received no answer. Finally he, too, called on Peter Freneau for assistance. "He has requested me," the editor wrote to Congressman Mott, "to write to you and endeavor to learn whether it is your intention to afford him any assistance." Young Holmes was apparently desperate. Always before when Freneau had asked him "what was his situation, and what were his prospects, he waived . . . giving a direct answer." Now he swallowed his pride and asked for help.

He needed money badly. Peter Freneau wrote to James Mott on September 30, 1804:

He states his situation to be, that he has become a Spanish subject, that he has located a tract of land in East Florida on St. Mary's River, that it is very valuable and very fit for the cultivation of Cotton, Indigo and Rice, that one condition of the grant is that he shall form a settlement on it within the time therein mentioned (and which is nearly expired) otherwise his grant becomes void, that he possesses no means by which he can procure negroes to make this settlement and wishes to know whether he can look to you for assistance to procure any. Six he says will be sufficient to save his land, but ten will be necessary to put him in a situation to bring crops and make it an object worth his attention. These negroes will cost from 300 to 350 Dollars each. I cannot pretend to say whether his plan is a good one or not, though from some inquiries I have made I am assured that the place he has located is a very beautiful one, situated on navigable water and if he had hands to work it would be very valuable. As all his hopes of success seem to be placed on you perhaps it would be well to let him know immediately what he has to expect for he is doing nothing here and he must be on expense which I fear he is but illy provided to meet.

Thereafter nothing is heard of James Holmes or of the outcome of his early venture in Florida real estate.

THE FRANCISCANS IN FLORIDA

A review of three volumes of Maynard Geiger

by A. CURTIS WILGUS
George Washington University

The Early Franciscans in Florida and Their Relation to Spain's Colonial Effort. Revised digest of a historical thesis. By Maynard Geiger, O.F.M., (Paterson, N. J.: St. Anthony Guild Press, Franciscan Monastery, 1936. Pp. 21. Illus.)

The Martyrs of Florida (1513-1616) by Luis Geronimo de Ore, O.F.M. Translated, with Biographical Introduction and Notes by Maynard Geiger, O.F.M. (New York: Joseph F. Wagner, Inc., 1936. Pp. xx, 145)

Biographical Dictionary of the Franciscans in Spanish Florida and Cuba (1528-1841). By Maynard Geiger, O.F.M., Ph.D. (Paterson, N. J.: St. Anthony Guild Press, 1940 Pp. xii, 140)

For more than a century and a half after 1573 the intrepid members of the Franciscan Order labored in Spanish Florida. But it has remained for a modern scholar of the Church to picture for us today the life and activity of these religious pioneers who engaged in what was really the "Conquest of Florida" in the 17th century. The three works here listed are the product of historical scholarship on the part of a member of the Order who has spent many long but interesting hours examining the contemporary documents of the period.

Note - It will be of interest to Floridians and to many readers elsewhere to know that Dr. Geiger was indebted to Dr. James A. Robertson for some of his material, for counsel, and for invaluable other assistance—just as most writers of Florida history for a decade received aid from that source. *Ed.*

The first work is in reality an essay which surveys the missionary activities of the Franciscans in Florida from 1573, about where Woodbury Lowery ended his second volume, to 1616, at about which time Fray Francisco Pareja observed of his fellow workers: "We are the ones who are bearing the burden and the heat and we are the ones who are conquering and subduing the land."

Florida, as Dr. Geiger points out, was an outpost of the Spanish Empire. He writes:

Poverty and depression are the constant theme song that runs through all the records of this early period. From the governor down to the meanest soldier, the perennial complaint was insufficient pay. The unmarried soldier might get along, but what of those with families? Moreover, the soldiers' pay was often in arrears. And what of the widow and the orphan? The friars received their daily sustenance, but at best it was a starvation basis. The presidio of St. Augustine was poorly located. The bar allowed entrance only to the smaller ships. The town suffered inundation from the sea, while fire was an ever-present scourge. Houses were built of the rudest material. Swamp land abounded. There was little or no agriculture or cattle-raising. No mines were located in the vast region. Florida was entirely dependent on the outside-Mexico and the islands of the Caribbean-for the very necessities of life. Prices were enormous and travel was slow and insecure. It took about a week to get to Havana under favorable conditions. Most of the traveling in Florida itself was done by frigate or canoe. There was a notable lack of skilful pilots for the dangerous coast, with a consequent loss in lives, ships,

and cargo. Repeatedly in the documents there occurs the refrain: The land is poor and off the beaten track of commerce. Hostile Indians took their toll of human lives among soldiers and missionaries-five of the latter were killed in 1597, while another was held in captivity for a period of ten months. Dread of the foreign corsair made Florida fearful in her loneliness-witness the destruction of St. Augustine by Drake in 1586.

The Spanish Crown, together with the Roman Catholic Church, was most anxious to convert the natives of its vast domain to Christianity, and frequently, as in Florida, large sums of money were spent to this end without direct financial returns. Certainly many missionaries were sent to this region; and not all of their efforts were in vain.

Among the Franciscans who visited Florida was Father Luis Geronimo de Ore (1554-1629), a Peruvian who went to the West Indies and the Florida peninsula first in 1614 and again in 1616, arriving at St. Augustine on November 16 of the latter year. During the next two months he visited the Indian missions in that province. Upon his return to Spain he published his *Relacion*, an excellent translation of which is to be found in the second work listed above. This treatise by Father Ore, as Dr. Geiger points out, is divided into two parts. The first portion deals with Spanish Florida before 1565 and is "sketchy and contains a number of errors". The second portion deals especially with Florida in the years from 1595 to 1616, and is valuable for its details concerning the missionary work of the Franciscans. The *Relacion* is a mine of information regarding early Florida, and it frequently constitutes the sole source of information for certain facts regarding the period. The author was a

careful observer, and he recorded what he saw or what he believed that others had seen.

One of the contributions left by Father Ore was a collection of biographical sketches of Franciscans who went to Florida in 1587 and in 1595. Since the 16th century other compilers have tried to make lists of members of the Order who went to the Province, but all attempts have resulted in extremely incomplete lists. It, therefore, became evident to Dr. Geiger that there existed a need for a biographical dictionary of Franciscan missionaries in Florida. In consequence he set about to compile such a list. The third item given above is the result. Dr. Geiger says:

In it appear the names and biographies of over seven hundred Franciscan friars who were intimately associated with the earliest missionary field in our nation's history: the territory of Spanish Florida. Most of these friars were members of the *Provincia de Santa Elena de la Florida*, which comprised the present states of Florida, Georgia and South Carolina, and the island of Cuba. For over two hundred years (1528-1763) they trod the sands of Georgia and Florida, and it should not be said of us that we failed to recognize their footprints. It matters little that of many a friar among them we know hardly more than his name and station. If he was a pioneer and a crusader, that is sufficient title to recognition.

This veritable "Who's Who" of early Florida discloses many interesting facts which can only be appreciated when studied in detail and in relation to each other.

As one reads these three works, one feels that Dr. Geiger, who became interested in these problems while writing a Ph.D. dissertation at the Catholic

University on "The Franciscan Conquest of Florida", has accomplished an undertaking of great importance for historical scholars interested in Spanish Florida. Eventually, when other researchers have brought to light similar materials and information for other portions of the Spanish empire, we shall be able to see for the first time in a broad yet detailed panorama the interesting and often exciting story of the development of the missionary frontier in Spanish America.

SPANISH LAND GRANTS IN FLORIDA
Publications of Historical Records Survey, WPA
Vol. I, UNCONFIRMED CLAIMS
Vol. II-IV, CONFIRMED CLAIMS
A review by Frank P. Hamilton

Readers of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* are assumed to know the source of the present-day titles to the lands that make up our State. Some know more of the details of the devolutions involved than others and a few doubtless are learned in the subject. To the latter, progress toward such high estate of erudition has been tedious and oft-times discouraging. There have been few signboards along the way, but now more guide-posts have been placed for the learned and the novice.

During the first Spanish occupation little was done in the way of settlement of the country outside the fortified towns. What was accomplished in that respect was largely the work of the missionary priests, whose interest in the acquisition of land titles was hardly that of home-seekers. Ordinary land tenures were on the basis of military services or capacity.

The British occupation brought some homesteaders, settlers, and developers and hence individual ownership; but the twenty years of this occupation was not long enough for the establishment of many titles that have come down to the present. A contributing factor to this was the necessity of taking the oath of fidelity (embracing Catholicism) in order to retain, under the Spanish re-occupation, a title acquired under a British concession. The British system of absolute titles nevertheless impressed the Spanish when they entered upon their second occupation, and they tried it out. It did not work as well for them under their administrative routine, but it made progress. There was noticeable ac-

celeration as it became evident that Florida would eventually become a part of United States territory and the apex was reached when it developed that Spanish titles would be protected after the transfer, regardless of citizenship.

The treaty under which the United States took possession provided for recognition of valid Spanish titles; so, as would be expected, the last few years and months before the transfer of dominion saw a great rush to acquire grants, and hundreds were made without any substantial basis under the Spanish system and regulations. It became necessary to set up a commission to separate the valid grants from the misappropriations, so such a body was created under authority provided by the Congress and it proceeded to inquire into the facts. Its records were voluminous and its hearings and investigations continued for several years. These records, with their supporting documents, are what now constitute the muniments of the origin of the titles to vast areas of our State.

After the commission had completed its work its records began their vicissitudes and journeyings hither and yon, handled and mishandled, by the usual crop of political appointees whose interests were often greater in the collection of their fees than in the preservation of the records. What remains of these records, a surprising amount considering their political custody, unsafe transportation, climatic conditions and plain neglect, have, for the most part, come to rest at Tallahassee in the Capitol. Even there, for years, they were dumped in heaps in the basement; but were finally, through the efforts of some conscientious officials, placed in filing cases.

The supporting documents to the claims were, of course, in Spanish, (sometimes originals, frequently copies). For presentation before the United

States commissions translations were necessary, and these also are a part of the records. The reports and determinations of the commission could not embody all the material and evidence upon which its conclusions were founded, so these materials and records of evidence, oral and written, mostly untranslated, have remained all these years practically inaccessible until, under a project of Historical Records Survey, Works Progress Administration, translations and abstracts of the individual claim files were undertaken.

Professor E. V. Gage, former head of the Department of Modern Languages at Florida State College for Women, was placed in charge of the work and had, as assistants, workers of Spanish ancestry. Through their hands and under their scrutiny passed all that remains of these records, many now worm-eaten, ravaged by mold and dampness, and blurred and faded by time, as well as being obscured by old Spanish chirography and phraseology, and some perhaps, by more direct means applied by interested persons. Their translations have been checked and compared, one with another, as well as with the official contemporaneous publications in which the proceedings and findings of the commissions were collected in the series "American State Papers, Public Lands." There were two official editions of these—one printed by Duff Green and the other published by Gales and Seaton, each printers in Washington, D. C. The matter included in these compilations was selected by individuals connected with or appointed by the Congress but having no particular Florida interests.

The results of these labors by the Survey have now been published in great part under the sponsorship of the State Library Board of Florida. They may be consulted in public and institutional

libraries of the State, and are for sale. Four volumes have appeared, under the title "Spanish Land Grants in Florida." The project has been suspended, but it is to be hoped that the fifth (and last) volume may be published.

The first volume covers, under the sub-title "Unconfirmed Claims" , such claims as were presented to the commissioners but remained unapproved by them. A substantial number of these unconfirmed claims were later upheld by the Federal courts. The three remaining volumes contain, alphabetically arranged by names of claimants, the claims that were approved and confirmed by the commissioners.

Each volume carries an introduction, prepared By Dr. Louise B. Hill, manuscript editor of the Survey, which contains information as to land measures used, some details as to the method of making and the limitations upon land grants under the Spanish system, definitions of various official capacities, both Spanish and Federal, methods and manner of procedure of Spanish officials and of the United States commissioners, as well as many other details requisite to an understanding of what the archives cover and disclose, with lists of Spanish officials and the periods of their tenures and indices of proper names of persons and places appearing in the various claims.

From these compilations may be extracted and deduced substantial amounts of economic and historical, not to mention genealogical and geographical, information.

While the matter published is in the form of abridgments and abstracts of documents, it serves to indicate the more extended originals and other source material. What their ultimate value in research will be, only time and use can demonstrate, but they seem to possess much promise.

The work of translation, compilation, editing and indexing appears to have been carefully done. Already certain confirmed grants have been located from the volumes now published that could not be found in American State Papers. The material for the final volume has all been translated and collected, and it is unfortunate that it cannot be published now by those who are familiar with the work.* For there now exists a new compilation four-fifths published, pointing out and serving as an index and an indicator of a source in Florida from which matter of substantial historical value may be extracted by research workers, and from which many items of interest in the history of Florida should eventually be brought to light and be more widely circulated and known.

*Work has been resumed on the project, the body of the text of the last volume has been mimeographed, and the volume will soon appear.

FROM A REMOTE FRONTIER

(continued)

LETTERS PASSING BETWEEN CAPTAIN HARRIES IN COMMAND AT APALACHE (ST. MARKS) IN 1764 AND HIS COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF, GENERAL GAGE, IN NEW YORK

Harries to Gage

Apalache, Feby 25th, 1764

I informed yr Excellency from Pensacola of our misfortune on board the Curacoa sloop by Mr. Henry Whyte Master thereof, who expected to sail in ten or twelve days after we quited that harbour: our swivels, spare arms, provisions, carriages of two guns with six pounders each &c. were all lost in that disaster. I was obliged to buy two four pounders of Mr. Noble merchant at Pensacola in order to make some defence of the garrison of Apalache for the sum of twenty pounds sterling and gave him a draught on the Rt. Honble & Honble board of ordnance for the same, wch I hope will be duly honoured ; & wch expence might have been saved had Major Forbes thought proper to spare the carriages of some six pounders in the garrison, wch he might have safely done, as the Renown Frigate lay in the Harbour & he had artificers under his command [who] could immediately supply him with new ones. neither would he give us four swivels for our defence tho' [the] same lay quite useless & neglected. the 7th instant we embarked & took possession of this fort the 20th. I have only twenty five men fit for duty including the two servants one sergt and ten mount guard

Note - This series of documents has been edited with an introduction by Mark F. Boyd; see this *Quarterly* the issue of January last. The originals of these letters are in the W. L. Clements Library of the University of Michigan, and grateful acknowledgment is made to Mr. Howard Peckham, curator of manuscripts for copies. *Ed.*

every day & I cannot dispense with less than five sentries at night, so [that] the men will have but one night in bed, wch is too great a fatigue to be continued for any considerable time, & if more fall sick god knows what will be the consequence. I want twelve men & a drum to compleat me to [the] present establishment, am sure I am [the] only instance in all America of a Captain's command in any garrison without a drum. I have applied to Major Ogilvie for the above number but I want many more, and likewise a supply of cannon, swivels, ammunitiion and provisions. I have only three months provisions from the day of our embarkation, received fifteen barrels of flower for two hundred and thirty, and nine of pork for two hundred and twelve pounds meat each cask, two barrels of flower weighed, the one, one hundred & sixty eight pounds, & the other one hundred & sixty two; two of pork. the one one hundred & seventy one, & the other one hundred and eighty six each cask, wch the flower will run upwards of sixty pounds short & the pork upward of thirty wch is an additional grievance besides that of being limited to three months provisions only wch may expose us to run the hazard of starving if the sloop called the Two Friends shd be obstructed by contrary winds or any misfortune happen to prevent her return within the prescribed time, had Major Forbes supplied us with six months provisions we should not be subject to the same danger: to prevent accidents there ought always to be four or five months provisions in store, especially such a place as this whose navigation is so difficult & dangerous. as this place is excluded from all correspondence and communication with the rest of the world, there ought to be some small craft stationed here, wch was the method practiced by the Spaniards: some dispatches lately arrived

here could not be forwarded. for Pensacola by the Indian trader one Mr. Forester by land, nor by sea for want of such a convenience. they were sent hither by land from St. Augustine, but it was not in my power to forward them. such a small craft wd be very useful to expedite any expresses sent hither for Pensacola or Mobile. This garrison when possessed by the Spaniards had never less than eighty four men 'till within these few months, when they expected a relief daily, therefore sent away half their number, they had twelve cannon & thirteen swivels in this garrison, and two, and three swivels in an out post abt the distance of a mile from hence; this garrison cannot be defended at the lowest calculation with a smaller number than sixty men, together with eight cannon four pounders each & a dozen of swivels, the out post may then be occupied. the Spanish Commandant informed me [that] the water near the Fort all the summer is so brackish, [that] the soldiers were obliged to go up the river some miles in order to get it good & they labour under the like inconvenience for wood. wch makes it necessary that this garrison shd consist of at least sixty or seventy men. there is no place [that] required an interpreter more than this & there is an absolute necessity of making the Indians presents, for they come hungry & ravenous, & expect to be supplied now with provisions as they were by the Spaniards. Some of the Indians who lately visited me seem greatly disaffected to the English and Mr. Forester an Indian trader just gone off appears greatly terrified, he said he was obliged to go & look after his affects at the peril of his life, and his place of habitation lies at the distance of seventy or eighty miles from hence.

I have contracted with the Spanish Commandant for two large canoes at the rate of sixty dollars,

wch I think very cheap, and wch we could not want, therefore took no advantage of our necessity.

I have been obliged to engage John Bleak Master of the sloop called the Two Friends by Charter Party to supply us with provisions from St. Augustine, paying him two hundred and fifty pounds sterling, wch is more money than I wd willingly have given, but I was involved in such a dilemma, either to have engaged in such a contract or we must all otherwise starve.

I laid out for the use of this company abt twenty pounds sterling for soap, wch was lost in the time of our general calamity. when Mr. Bleak returns I intend to send by him an account to the QrMr Genl of all the money expended on this expedition for the use of the government and confide you will be so kind as to order me to be reimbursed.

I hope the welfare of a wife and an only child a daughter & the natural desire of recovery of my former health will prove such powerful motives with your Excellency to obtain my leave of absence for England next summer, wch favour shall be ever most gratefully acknowledged by

Sir Yr most obedt and most humble servant
Jon. Harries Capt in the 9th regiment.

P. S. I have but one sergt. & one corpl capable of doing duty, & fear [the] other two never will. for heavens sake consider by distressed condition, & be so good as to order a proper reinforcement with all possible expedition.

The geography of Florida will convince yr Excellency [that] Pensacola is more conveniently situated for relieving this garrison than St. Augustine, because not the fourth part of [the] distance from hence by sea.

Tho I agreed with Mr. Noble the merchant of Pensacola for nineteen pounds sterling for the two

small carriage guns, yet few hours before I embarked I was obliged to give him a bill on the Right Honble and the gentlemen of the Board of Ordnance for twenty pounds sterling, otherwise that I should not have them. this is the truth wch I can testify upon oath.

Notwithstanding that by Charter party there must be paid for the freight of the sloop called the Two Friends to supply this garrison with provisions &c. from St. Augustine the sum of two hundred and fifty pounds sterling; yet it is very cheap comparatively speaking with what Major Forbes contracted for our passage from Pensacola to this place wch was fifty pounds sterling, besides refitting the sloop & wch was supplied with a new cable and anchor gratis; because the distance from hence to Pensacola is not seventy leagues while between four and five hundred from here to St. Augustine besides the return hither again, wch in the whole may amount to one thousand leagues.

Gage to Harries

New York, 7th May, 1764

Sir

I have received your Letter of the 25th Feby and very glad to find you had at length relieved the Spanish Garrison of Apalachi, & that you had taken Possession of that Post. your first Letter was Sufficient for me to relieve your wants, at least such as appeared absolutely necessary, which I hope you are by this Time sensible of: by having received my Dispatches by the Ship Industry, which I sent from hence with supplys for all our Garrisons. The Commander of the Squadron will no Doubt Station such Craft as he sees Occasion for in every port;

and you should make application to him if it is found necessary.

I am, Sir, &ca
Captain Harries: or
Officer Commanding at Apalachi

Harries to Gage

Apalache May 11th 1764

I must inform yr Excellency that the safe arrival of the sloop called the Two Friends, John Bleak Master thereof gave me no small Joy, wch was soon damped when understood there were but four months provisions aboard for this garrison & only for fifty instead of fifty four men. by some surprizing unaccountable mistake Major Ogilvie has sent a reinforcement of thirteen men to compleat the Company, and likewise at last a drum, wch after repeated solicitation he refused me whilst at St. Augustine tho a short time before he allowed one to a younger Capt. who now commands at N. Providence. As two men died since the sloop sailed from hence for St. Augustine the compy now consists. of forty five instead of forty seven men rank & file; there are arrived here also a surgeon's mate & two men of the Artillery who brought one brass six pounder with its apparatus and ammunition ; and there was one artillery man in [the] garrison before wch together with two officers & two sergts added to [the] afore mentioned number will amount to fifty four men wch will make some difference in the above space of time. I trust you will be so good as to order an immediate supply of provisions, in my humble opinion there ought to be one years provisions in store in such a place wch wd guard against accidents that may happen. it will be necessary to have fifteen men more wch wd enable me to occupy an Outpost, wch will receive

a serjt with ten men & the guard to be relieved once a week. a serjt with twelve mount here every day there are five fixed & one walking sentry to visit the rest at night in order to keep them alert. in the number of forty five there are two sick & three servants. three more four pounders & eight or ten swivels would be sufficient for the defense of this fortress & the other post wch last being situated near [the] wood will require two swivels at least. the Spaniards had fourteen guns and fifteen swivels. the wall is so slight [that] it will not bear heavy carriages three or four pounders will be best calculated. I purpose sending an account of the money expended for the use of this garrison &c. to the Qr Mr Genl, as I shall charge only the real sums laid out for [the] purchase I hope you will be so kind as to order me to be reimbursed & that the same shl be remitted into the hands of Lt. Crawford pay-master to the 9th regiment at St. Augustine. Sent at same time wth the subsistence for that ? [line illegible] All the buildings within the fort is of boarded timber (the magazine for powder only excepted) with a certain bark for covering the same ; there ought to be always a great plenty of boards & large spikes ready at hand upon any urgent occasion. these houses will hardly last two years more without a considerable expence in repairs for want of a cooper we have already lost some casks wch in our present circumstance is an unlucky affair as we have but few. an ingenious smith, as well as a good cooper who understands the repairing of locks and arms would be very serviceable and useful in such a place. which necessary men the Spanish Commanding officer always had. there is one Forester, an Indian trader, who offers to be an interpreter if agreeable to yr Excellency's pleasure, and would gladly know what you would allow him in that sta-

tion. the resort of Indians to this place makes it impossible to live in the least comfort without such a person, a small craft stationed in this bay would be very beneficial for the garrison. no ship should be sent here with provisions [that] draws above six feet water. Major Ogilvie has great plenty of rum at St. Augustine but has sent me only one puncheon for the use of the Indians and that not full. they are insatiable in the two articles of rum and tobacco; I wish I had three more puncheons of tolerable good rum wch might be multiplied into five good enough for the Indians, one hogshead of good tobacco, one hundred weight of rice, twenty bushels of Indian corn, twenty or thirty blankets for the winter might enable one to weather one year, and without presents there is no satisfying them. Don Bentura Diaz the officer whom I relieved, assured me that the donations here every year by his Catholic Majesty exceeded two hundred pounds sterling, but I am convinced that less than half that sum will conciliate them to the English government. . . . are piquets erected upon the greatest part of the wall wch with the assistance of the late repairs may last probably two years more. I cannot recollect whether I informed yr Excellency that [the] whole territories on which this fortress is built, ceded by the King of Spain at the late treaty to his Britannic Majesty doth not exceed four acres of ground ; the ditch of one side of the garrison limits our bounds wch when the tide is in, makes a communication of the one river to the other. this information I had not only from the Indians when an interpreter happened to be present, but also from Don Bentura Diaz. There are four rooms bombproof annexed to this fortress, had the Spaniards kept this place, they probably would have greatly augmented the fortification. if I am so happy as to obtain my

leave of absence I hope you will permit me to take my servant with me, paying [the] regiment what Genl Amherst allowed the recruiting officers. [the] man, he is but a mean figure & doth not exceed five feet two inches in heighth.

I am Yr Excellency's Most Obedt. & most humble servant

Jon. Harries Capt. in the 9th Regiment

P. S. With the greatest difficulty Forester a trader procured the messenger [that] brought the dispatches from St. Augustine an Indian guide to forward the him to Pensacola ; but as his return has been expected for few days past, I wish he may be amongst the living.

A good quantity of cordage is much wanted in such a garrison as this.

As I have not officers to form a Court-Martial, iron fetters for hands and feet would be very necessary.

Gage to Harries

New York 3d June, 1764

Sir,

I am sorry to acquaint you of the loss of the Industry Transport, in which the Subsistence Money for the Troops in Florida, with the Artificers & Tools &ca for the several Forts were embarked. She was wrecked on the Bar of St. Augustine, and very little saved. I am endeavoring to repair this loss as fast as possible by fitting out another Vessel, and making upp a fresh assortment of Stores, in Lieu of what has been lost. The Money was saved, and will be forwarded to you, with the rest of the Stores destined for Apalachi.

I am, Sir &ca

P. S. The mention of Money to you was a Mistake,

as you will be supplied therewith from St. Augustine.

Captain Harries
Apalachi

Gage to Harries

New York, 20th June, 1764

Sir,

Tho' you will have been disappointed in the Stores intended for your Fort which were forwarded from hence some Time ago in the Industry, which Vessel unfortunately run upon the Bar of Augustine, and was wrecked, I hope you will receive everything you shall be in want of by this opportunity. The two Carriages intended for the two Six Pounders which were left at Pensacola were saved from the Wreck, and will be sent herewith from St. Augustine, so that I hope you will soon receive the Guns & the Carriages. The Chief Engineer, Lt Coll Eyre, will send you the proper Returns of everything which shall be Sent for your Garrison, which you will of Course Acknowledge the Receipt of and follow such Directions as are contained in my former Letters. I am

Sir, & ca

Capt Harries; or Officer
Commanding at Apalachi

Gage to Harries

New York June 23d 1764

Sir,

I Have Just time to Acknowledge the Receipt of Your Letter of the 11th of May, by Lieut. Lindsay of the Ninth Regt. who arrived here on the 20th Inst. And am to hope You will receive by this Opportunity about Six Months Provisions, Artificers, Carriages for the two Six Pounders which You

left at Pensacola, and everything else you Stand
in need of.

Colonel Robertson has received some Accts from
You, to which I conclude you will get an Answer
by this Opportunity.

I am, Sir

Capt Harries, 9th Reg.

Apalachi

(This series will be continued in the next issue)

TEQUESTA, THE JOURNAL OF THE
HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION OF
SOUTHERN FLORIDA

The publication of the first number (March 1941) of this periodical is a noteworthy event in the writing of Florida's history. Professor Lewis Leary of the University of Miami is its editor, and it is issued as a bulletin of the University. Its forthcoming appearance was noted in our last issue where its board of editors and plans of publication were mentioned. Nine articles with a column of Notes and Queries comprise this issue, and their interest and historical value call for a brief review of each:-

*Pre-Flagler Influences on the Lower Florida
East Coast*

In the leading article George E. Merrick writes the early history of the East Coast and makes a good story of it-and it is thus that history should be told. He is the one to tell it, for nature made him the historian of that territory.

As for history, the region did not exist in colonial times except as a shore to be wrecked upon, so the story begins with the coming of the first of the Conchs from the Bahamas, towards the end of the second Spanish period. These Conchs were a "sea-loving, sea-using, sea-knowing people," who brought their sea and seashore life from the shores of their native islands to the shore of Florida. They settled very sparsely from Lake Worth to Key West which became their market town. With them came their customs, their architecture, their fruits and vegetables, their speech ; and something of all these, thinks Mr. Merrick, survives there today.

Northwards the shore, and of course the interior, was a wilderness and virtually uninhabited

except for the "Houses of Refuge" every twenty or thirty miles maintained by the government for the succor of the shipwrecked. The keepers were mostly these Conchs, and it was not until the 1890's that they were abandoned.

Wrecking was an accepted industry, and salvage supplied many of the needs of these people—the material of their houses, their furniture, and often even their food.

Later, sponging also grew into an industry. Coconuts were everywhere, and then came pineapples which were shipped on sloops to New York. Then came a number of Englishmen, some drifting from the West Indies but a few coming direct enough to make a noticeable English influence. Mostly they raised vegetables which were picked up by steamer at Key West.

Another influence was that of the Bahaman negro, who from the 1870's through the 1890's was the only heavy laborer on the coast. To their knowledge of agriculture in a "coral-rocky" country Mr. Merrick attributes much of the success of the plantings which were begun with skepticism by the settler from the northwards. These negroes put their skill in the use of the native coral limestone into some of the oldest buildings in Coconut Grove and elsewhere.

A French influence is traced also in the 1880's, but the cracker influence was earlier and more pronounced. Beginning in the 1850's adventurers were drawn into the region from the nearby states. They lived much as did the Indian, working commercially only in coontie starch making, with trapping as a main reliance.

Then came a connection by boat with the old established Indian River settlements, and from there by stern-wheeler to St. Augustine and Jacksonville and the "Celestial Railroad", a narrow-

guage portage road from Jupiter on Indian River to Juno on Lake Worth.

The tourist influence began in the 1880's with the famous Peacock Inn at Coconut Grove with its English flavor and service.

Adventurous tourists first came by sailing packet from Key West, but later coming from the north by land and inland waterways.

But the lower East Coast development of today really began with the series of severe freezes between 1884 and 1896 when ruined citrus growers from further north came by ox-cart, on muleback, by stagecoach, sailing-boat or sternwheeler, took up homesteads on the coast, and then for the first time pushed into the back country, "the first steps away from the sea, away from the long-accustomed West Indian culture," to be followed by the Flagler railroad "which brought the Magic City into being."

The Caloosa Village Tequesta

Though the few Tequesta Indians were scarcely a subtribe, their location gives them an interest and an importance out of all proportion to their numbers, for on the arrival of the Spanish in the 16th century they inhabited the Miami region. Dr. Robert E. McNicoll, professor of Latin-American history in the University of Miami and director of its Hispanic-American Institute, brings together and condenses what has come to light relating to them and their town on Biscayne bay.

He has culled the well-known early sources, Laudonniere, Herrera, Dickenson, and Barcia, as well as the more recent but less-known Ruidiaz, *La Florida . . .* (Madrid 1894), and recounts some of the customs and other description given us by Lopez de Velasco preserved in the Archivo General, Seville, and in his *Geografia de las Indias*

(Madrid 1894). From Rubin Vargas Ugarte, *Los Martires de La Florida* Dr. McNicoll reproduces in full one of a number of letters written by the Jesuit missionaries in Florida. This was discovered by Father Vargas in the archives of the Vatican and translated by him. The English translation appears in *The First Jesuit Missions in Florida*, United States Catholic Historical Society, *Historical Records and Studies*. XXV (1935). This long and interesting letter was written by Brother Villareal, in charge of the Biscayne mission, to Brother Rogel then on the west coast. It describes the situation in Tequesta, the relations between the Indians and the missionaries, and their reactions to religious teaching.

From all, a fair idea may be had of the manner of life and customs of these natives of Florida—for the Seminoles of the 18th and 19th centuries were then Creeks in Alabama and Georgia.

Bradish Johnson, Master Wrecker

The inclusion of an article on some event or phase of the history of Key West was certain, and there it is on the one subject that first comes to mind when the Key West of the last century is thought of—wrecking. Nowhere else in this country, possibly nowhere else in the world, has just such a business grown up—evolved—to meet the need of certain unusual conditions. Here was a town of several thousand people in which nearly every able-bodied man was a wrecker, either on-the-side or as a vocation. Even the preacher was a member of some crew or had a wrecking sloop of his own ; and one of these, in the tale of Judge Browne in his *Key West, Old and New*, broke off his sermon when he saw a vessel pile-up on the reef, and he and his congregation raced for their boats and the wreck. So Vincent Gilpin, who has for

years been gathering material on the subject, contributes the story of *Bradish W. Johnson, Master Wrecker*.

As Johnson was the last of the wreckers and died but a quarter-century ago, some of his contemporaries have told Mr. Gilpin much about him ; and making the most of such an opportunity and advantage, he gives us a full account of the man's character and exploits. Both are interesting and the tale is well told.

But the hey day of wrecking was nearly a century ago, for it reached its peak in the 1850's. It is unfortunate that no Vincent Gilpin was there then to write what might well have been the epic of the Keys—a story of brawn instead of steam.

General Problems of Florida Archaeology

No period in the history of southern Florida has been overlooked, and two articles on the pre-historical era are included—one by Dr. Doris Stone of the Middle American Research Institute of Tulane University. Dr. Stone is chairman of the committee on archaeology of the Florida Historical Society and has contributed two papers to this *Quarterly*. These were on the connection between or the relationship of the cultures of Florida and Mexico, and Florida and the West Indies.

In the present paper this discussion is carried further and that relationship brought out more clearly. Archaeological sites in Florida, from their location, structure, and other features are divided into three categories : mounds, keys, and shell heaps. The mounds, found mostly in the northern part of the state, are more closely related to those in the other southern and the central states, yet their pyramidal form and a portion of their contents relate them to Mexican culture.

The key sites are on the west coast and are low terraces and platforms of shell built on canals or other water passages for water traffic, indicating a people familiar with the sea and primarily fishermen and traders instead of agriculturists. Their culture, as might be expected, is more clearly related to that of Mexico and the Antilles.

The shell heaps of course are near the sea also, but their builders were evidently of a simple fisher culture. The stratification of the heaps indicates a series of occupation and suggests greater antiquity than the other sites, hence they represent the oldest cultural attribute found in Florida.

While intercourse and influence from the northward are evident, Dr. Stone turns to Mexico and the Antilles for the origin of Florida's pre-historical peoples.

Pre-Columbian Man in Southern Florida

In his contribution to *Tequesta* Karl Squires, a naturalist and archaeologist who has for long carried on investigations in southern Florida, tells of the historical as well as the pre-historical inhabitants of the region. Beginning with the Seminoles and their coming into northern Florida in mid-eighteenth century and their drift into southern Florida a hundred years later, he tells of their forerunners the Caloosas and Tumucuan. Backwards again he digs into the mounds to describe their forerunners in turn, and agreeing with Dr. Stone, he looks southwards for the origin of Indian life in Florida.

The Episcopal Church in South Florida, 1764-1892

The longest article in the volume is an account of the establishment and a detailed history of the Protestant Episcopal Church in this area by Dr.

Edgar Legare Pennington, rector of the Church of the Holy Cross in Miami.

During the British occupation there was but one settlement in the whole region—that of New Smyrna, and only one of any consequence, Key West, when the diocese of Florida was organized in 1838. But the parish of the latter, notwithstanding its isolation, was one of the seven in the state which joined in that organization, and the history of St. Paul's is a part of the history of Key West from that year.

But of more general interest is a narrative and excerpts from the diary of the Right Reverend John Freeman Young, bishop of the diocese of Florida, 1867-1885. Bishop Young's account of his journeyings through the wilderness from settlement to settlement is source material for the history of the region. There are no adventures, no detailed descriptions of the infants which were to become cities, and little comment, but there is an appeal as well as definite value in every such journal written by an intelligent and observant man, and especially in this one.

To Miami, 1890 Style

A diary of another kind is that of Mrs. John R. Gilpin which is a record of a family expedition accompanying the tax collector sailing in a sharpie along the coast to Biscayne Bay in the spring of 1890.

One page of a diary or letter, such as this is or Bishop Young's, is more successful in taking you along with the writer and more convincing than is several pages of any other record. This is an ordinary diary written with no effort at ornament or wit, but if you would sail down the East Coast fifty years ago and make the circuit of Biscayne

Bay and see just what Mrs. Gilpin saw, here is the opportunity.

From Lake Worth to the Bay the total "human interests are the lone mail carrier once a week and the three Houses of Refuge built by the government . . . a surf-boat housed, with only a keeper." Entering the Bay they find at Lemon City only "a store and several houses built back among the pines. To my delight I see the dock is full of Indians, 30 of them, with squaws, papooses and camping outfit. . . . Walk back among the pines and come across a settlement made by a German, Malthaus -see the mother and six children . . . ready to show us everything about their three-year-old establishment pineapples, cotton plants, avocado pears, etc. They manufacture the comptie starch, the roots grow everywhere through the woods. This is the industry of the Bay, the only thing at which they can get any money."

The History of Air Transportation in Florida

Thomas P. Caldwell was a pioneer in air mail service to Florida in 1928 and that has been his business since, so he can speak with authority here. Beginning with the world's first air transportation line between St. Petersburg and Tampa in 1914 he tells of the first flight on January first, and its successful operation for several months before service was suspended. But "Florida was to maintain its position of leadership in commercial aviation" for in 1925 Florida Airways Corporation began the operation of a round trip daily flight between Miami and Atlanta; and in 1935 "Florida, with the greatest number of cities served directly by air transportation of any state in the Union, attained the number one position in aviation, and Miami became the largest airport of entry in the world."

An Annotated Checklist of Florida Maps

John Matthews Baxter, who has made maps his hobby, here compiles a list of fifty (1502-1915) "which seem most important to the student of Florida history and local geography." These are largely from Phillips's *Maps of America in the Library of Congress* and Lowery's *Maps of the Spanish Possessions within the Present Limits of the United States, 1502-1820*.

A department of Notes and Queries, and a list of the officers and charter members of the Association complete *Tequesta*, a publication notable both in interest and in historical value.

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

THE ANNUAL MEETING

It was at the joint invitation of the Historical Association of Southern Florida and the University of Miami that the annual meeting of the Society was held this year in Miami. The meeting extended over parts of three days, March 26-28, and all sessions, luncheons, and the annual dinner were at the Biltmore Hotel in Coral Gables.

During its journeyings into every section of the State the annual meeting has never been more fortunate in its hosts, the Association and the University, with their cordial greetings, their unusually interesting programs, the careful planning of the luncheons and the annual dinner, the notable exhibit of Floridiana, and the sight of the unique Fairchild Tropical Garden.

Mr. John G. McKay was general chairman, and the committee on arrangements were: Miss Pauline Corley, Mrs. James M. Carson, Mr. George E. Merrick, Mr. Thomas P. Caldwell, Mrs. William L. Freeland, Mr. Watt Marchman, Mrs. Thomas P. Caldwell, Mr. Lewis Leary, Mr. Gaines R. Wilson, Mrs. John E. Norman.

Mr. Gaines R. Wilson was chairman of the program committee. The complete program of all sessions follows. Miss Pauline Corley headed the publicity committee, and Mrs. Thomas P. Caldwell was chairman of the reception committee.

The exhibit of Floridiana was under the direction of Mrs. James M. Carson assisted by the librarians of the public and semipublic libraries of the Miami region and others. Mrs. Carson had long been at work gathering rare historical material and historical objects of popular appeal for the loan exhibit, which has become the most interesting feature of our annual meetings. These

came from every part of Florida, from Key West, from Pensacola, and represented all periods of the State's history. Noteworthy were the maps, from the earliest to the present. There were rare books relating to Florida in Spanish and French and early English, copies of newspapers of all eras, governmental and private documents, relics, pictures, letters and papers of the pioneers-all with the feel of another age ; so that with no effort you were carried back into other times and saw something of what Florida was in the past-and beyond our past, for there were relics too of the pre-historic native dug from their mounds.

THE PROGRAM

March 26, evening-

Meeting of the Board of Directors, and standing and special committees

March 27, morning session-

Addresses of welcome: Dr. Bowman F. Ashe, president, University of Miami ; and Mr. George E. Merrick, president, Historical Association of Southern Florida

Presidential address, Mr. Calvin Horace Curry
Ceremonial Practices of the Modern Seminoles, with phonograph recordings, Mr. Robert F. Greenlee

Comments on exhibit of Floridiana, Mrs. James M. Carson, chairman

Annual business meeting of the Society

Luncheon meeting. Mr. John G. McKay, vice president, presiding

Old Fort Lauderdale, Mrs. Frank Stranahan

Afternoon session-

Mrs. F. B. Crowninshield, formerly director of the Society, presiding

Famous Floridians on United States Stamps,

Mr. Irvin F. Duddleson

Tequesta, A Miami of the Sixteenth Century, Dr. Robert E. McNicoll. (This paper is summarized elsewhere in this number)

Norton Gallery and School of Art, Mrs. Mary E. Aleshire

History of Palm Beach County, Mr. James M. Owens, Jr., President, Palm Beach County Historical Society

Prehistoric Flora and Fauna of Florida, Mr. Charles R. Knight

Trip to Fairchild Tropical Garden. *History of the Garden*, Mrs. Marjory Stoneman Douglas
Plant Introductions in Southern Florida, Dr. David Fairchild.

Refreshments and tour of the Garden.

Annual dinner-Mr. Philip S. May, formerly director of the Society, toastmaster

Middle America, a colored moving picture with sound track, Mr. Maurice Ries, Middle American Research Institute of Tulane University

March 28, morning session-

Frederick Delius, composer, Mr. Gerard Tetley. (Paper read by Miss Wanda MacDowell)

History of the Koreshan Unity, A. H. Andrews. (Paper read by Mrs. Thomas P. Caldwell)

Comments on Exhibit of Floridiana, Mrs. James M. Carson, chairman

Spanish Land Grants in Florida, Dr. Louise B. Hill

Luncheon meeting - Mr. Richard Danielson presiding

An Early Settler, Mrs. William R. Catlow

Old Coconut Grove, Dr. John C. Gifford

MINUTES

The 39th annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society was held in the Miami Biltmore hotel, Coral Gables, on March 27th, 1941. The meeting was called to order by President Calvin Horace Curry at eleven-thirty o'clock. Because of the inability of the Recording Secretary, Mr. Albert C. Manucy, to be present, the President appointed Mr. Maxwell A. Kilvert, Winter Park, to serve as Recording Secretary, *pro tem*.

By consent, the roll call was dispensed with, President Curry explaining that registration of members upon arrival would constitute a record of attendance. Approximately sixty members were in attendance.

President Curry called for the reports of officers. The President's report, having been delivered during the morning session as a part of the program, was not given a second time. The report of the Corresponding Secretary and Librarian was called for and was delivered orally by Mr. Watt Marchman. It was accepted.

The Treasurer's report, prepared by Dr. Dorothy Dodd, Treasurer of the Society, was read by Mr. Watt Marchman in the absence of Dr. Dodd who could not be present. The report was received and ordered filed.

The reports of the James A. Robertson Memorial Committee (A. J. Hanna, Chairman) and the Publications Committee (John B. Stetson, Jr., Chairman) were given by Professor A. J. Hanna. With reference to the first of these committees, he stated that encouraging progress had been made in transcribing under Dr. A. Curtis Wilgus's supervision the handwritten notes left by Dr. Robertson which will form the basis for the memorial volume or volumes on the bibliography of Florida. Several

contributions received during the year had made this progress possible.

Reporting for Dr. Stetson, Professor Hanna said this committee proposes to revise and revive the publications program previously conducted by Dr. Robertson and that the first of the new series would be a book on the flags of Florida. This consists of a whole series of water-color flags ready for reproduction, and accompanying each flag will be its history. The committee's next step will be to secure the necessary subscribing members to underwrite the cost of publication.

Mrs. F. B. Crowninshield, chairman of the Committee for the Preservation and Restoration of Florida Antiquities, presented its report. She explained that the purpose of the committee is to create and extend public interest in the preservation and restoration of Florida antiquities; to engage in the preservation and restoration, preferably with existing agencies, of the rapidly disappearing antiquities of Florida ; and to exhibit authentic types of historic objects and memorabilia in order to stimulate public interest in early Florida. The committee's program is (1) to survey the field of Florida antiquities, compile descriptions and histories, determine ownership, and record this information for the use of the public; (2) to present lectures and exhibits; and (3) to maintain in the Library of the Florida Historical Society in St. Augustine a master map indicating the location of all Florida antiquities. A list of some eighty-five old houses has already been compiled by the committee. Mrs. Crowninshield urged all members of the Society to aid the committee in the compilation of a master list, and to cooperate fully in its program.

Mr. John G. McKay, chairman of the Finance Committee, submitted the budget approved by the

Board of Directors at the special meeting on the evening of March 26th. In presenting the budget, Mr. McKay called the attention of the Society to the salary of \$1,500 per year now paid the Corresponding Secretary and Librarian, made possible by the generous contribution of a group of interested members. He reviewed the plan presented and adopted by the Society at the annual meeting in March 1940, by which interested members of the Society agreed to underwrite the salary of Mr. Marchman as Corresponding Secretary and Librarian for a period of three years. In presenting the budget of the Finance Committee at this time, Mr. McKay expressed the opinion of the committee that the sum allotted to the salary of the Corresponding Secretary and Librarian was inadequate, and on behalf of the Committee and members of the Society, he recommended the amount be increased to \$1800 annually, to begin at once. The budget, incorporating the increase in the amount of salary was received and approved and ordered filed. (It is published herewith).

In the absence of Mrs. Henry L. Richmond, Jacksonville, chairman of the Committee on Florida Music, who could not be present, her report was read by Mr. Watt Marchman, Corresponding Secretary and Librarian. The report was accepted with thanks and filed.

Mr. Maurice Ries, of Tulane University, a member of the Committee on Florida Archaeology, presented the report of the chairman, Dr. Doris Stone. The committee has completed three projects: (1) a detailed map has been made of the archaeological features of Fort George Island, at the mouth of the St. Johns River, near Jacksonville ; (2) a site survey in the Ten Thousand Islands region of south Florida has been conducted by Frederick W. Sleight, a member of the committee, which resulted

in definitely locating eight aboriginal sites in addition to gathering a representative surface collection from each area; and (3) the Excavators' Club of Harvard University, under joint sponsorship of the committee and the Thomas R. Baker Museum of Natural History at Rollins College, conducted a "dig" at a site on the St. Johns flood plain some five miles northwest of Geneva, Florida.

The committee published and had ready for distribution at the annual meeting an attractive brochure stating its policy and program.

Mr. John G. McKay, representing the members of the Board which met with Mr. D. H. Redfearn, Chairman of the State Library Board at a conference held on the evening of March 26th at the Miami Biltmore hotel, presented the following resolution prepared as a result of the conference, and moved its adoption by the Society:

WHEREAS, the Florida State Library Board indicated a desire to cooperate with the Florida Historical Society to the end that the purposes of both organizations may be advanced, and the State Library Board has requested discussions looking toward mutual helpfulness ; and

WHEREAS, some plan of cooperation is obviously desirable;
NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED by the Annual Meeting of the Florida Historical Society that a committee be appointed by the president with power to work out and put into effect a suitable arrangement, but that none of the policies, program and activities of the Society be curtailed, or any powers now enjoyed by the Society be relinquished.

The resolution was seconded and carried unanimously.

The following were appointed to constitute the committee created by the resolution: Dr. Kathryn T. Abbey, Tallahassee, Mr. A. J. Hanna, Winter Park, and Mr. C. H. Curry, Quincy.

The report of the Nominations Committee was called for by the president and was presented by Mr. Gaines R. Wilson, a member of the committee, for Mrs. C. W. Ten Eick, chairman, as follows:

Officers

For president: John G. McKay, Miami
for 1st vice-president: John B. Stetson, Jr., DeLand
for 2nd vice-president : Herbert Lamson, Jacksonville
for recording secretary: Albert C. Manucy, St. Augustine
for treasurer : Dorothy Dodd, Tallahassee
for corresponding secretary and librarian : Watt Marchman, St. Augustine

Directors

State at large: George Eustis Potts, Ormond Beach
Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings, Hawthorn
2nd Congressional District: Philip S. May, Jacksonville
4th Congressional District: Thomas P. Caldwell, Miami

Nominations Committee for 1942

Calvin Horace Curry, Quincy, *chairman*
Mrs. William C. Bowers, Cooperstown, N. Y.
Thomas P. Caldwell, Miami
A. J. Hanna, Winter Park
Albert C. Manucy, St. Augustine

Respectfully submitted :

Mrs. C. W. Ten Eick, *chairman*
Mark F. Boyd, Tallahassee
Mrs. F. B. Crowninshield, Boca Grande
Herbert Lamson, Jacksonville
Gaines R. Wilson, Miami

Mr. Wilson moved the acceptance of the committee's report. It was seconded and carried. The president called for further nominations. It was moved that the secretary cast the ballot for those nominated by the committee. There was a second to this motion and it was carried unanimously.

The secretary read the following resolutions which were adopted:

Be It Resolved, that the Corresponding Secretary of the Society be authorized and is hereby requested to express condolence in the name of the Society to the families of members who have passed away since our last annual meeting.

Be It Resolved, by the Florida Historical Society assembled in annual meeting at Coral Gables, Florida, on March 27, 1941, that the thanks and appreciation of the Society be, and the same is hereby, extended to the Program Committee which has provided for the writing and presentation of excellent papers on important phases of our state and local history; to the speakers and others taking part on the program who have contributed so greatly to the success of this meeting; to the committees on Arrangements, Reception and Publicity, which have executed all details for making this meeting a memorable one; to the Committee on Exhibits for preparing an unusual and highly interesting and instructive exhibit of Florida historical materials; and to the management of the Miami Biltmore hotel for its full cooperation and all courtesies extended.

Be It Resolved, by the Florida Historical Society that the thanks and appreciation of the Society be, and the same is hereby, extended to the members of the Society in St. Augustine, to the St. Augustine Historical Society and Institute of Science, to the City of St. Augustine and to the people of St. Augustine for making possible the very successful formal reception and opening of the Society's library in the new location in the Alcazar building in St. Augustine, on Thursday evening, March 20, 1941.

It was moved that the Society give a rising vote of thanks to the retiring president, Mr. Calvin Horace Curry, in appreciation of his able and progressive leadership during the year. The motion was seconded, unanimously carried and so done.

An invitation was presented by Mr. X. L. Pellicer of St. Augustine on behalf of the members of the Society in St. Augustine, for the Society to hold its 1942 annual meeting in that city at the Society's headquarters and library in the Alcazar building. Mr. Pellicer moved, and it was seconded by Mrs. Frederick W. Kirtland, that the invitation be accepted. The motion was carried.

A general discussion then followed concerning methods for increasing the active membership of the Society. Mr. Maxwell A. Kilvert, a member of

the membership committee, explained that letters were being sent to all present members, requesting them to suggest the names of at least five prospective members. Letters of invitation are then sent to the prospective members by the secretary.

It was urged that if every member would make it his duty to secure at least one additional member, the membership roll would soon be doubled.

Mr. Ries suggested that in families where one or more are interested in becoming members of the Society and do not care to receive more than one copy of the *Quarterly*, a reduced membership fee should be available.

Mr. Pellicer moved that the annual meeting express its approval and recommend that the Board of Directors consider Mr. Ries's suggestion, viz. that members of families of members be allowed the privilege of becoming members of the Society on payment of one dollar additional, without receiving the *Quarterly*.

The motion was seconded by Dr. Abbey and carried.

The president instructed the secretary to send Mr. Julien C. Yonge, editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, a telegram expressing the regret of the members that he was not able to be present. This was so done.

The chair favored a motion for adjournment and the meeting adjourned at 12:45 o'clock in the afternoon.

Respectfully submitted :
Maxwell A. Kilvert
Recording *Secretary, pro tem.*

Approved:
C. H. Curry
President.

THE PRESIDENT'S ANNUAL REPORT

Ladies and Gentlemen:

As president of the Florida Historical Society, I believe that I speak for all of the members when I say how deeply we appreciate the most cordial welcome which has been extended to us by the University of Miami, the members of the Historical Association of Southern Florida, and by the people of Coral Gables and Miami.

This is the first time an annual meeting of our Society has been held in this city although a regional meeting was held in October 1936 at the University of Miami.

We hope that this meeting will be the first of a large number of others to be held here. This section of the state is unique in its historical development. It embraces a city that has had a phenomenal growth in the past fifty years, from a small pioneer settlement to a city ranking near first place in population in the state. You are surrounded by some of the most colorful history that Florida has known—the Seminole Indians, the wreckers of a century ago, the earlier Tegueta Indians, to mention but a few.

We are glad to observe the forceful leadership assumed by the University of Miami and the Historical Association of Southern Florida in focusing attention to the history of the lower peninsula; and as the state organization, the Florida Historical Society will ever be willing to do everything in its power to cooperate.

The last twelve months have been active ones for the Florida Historical Society. These activities have produced some tangible results; and, in addition, the perfection of plans for future growth.

With your permission, I should like here briefly to summarize some of the progress of the past year.

At the last annual meeting, held in West Florida in March 1940, the Board of Directors and members of the Society approved three particularly important and far-reaching resolutions. The first involved the Library ; the second involved the appointment of a permanent and paid official; and the third resolution called for the inauguration of a publication program supplemental to the *Florida Historical Quarterly*.

The Society's Library, through the courtesy of the Librarian and Board of Trustees of the Jacksonville Public Library, occupied until September 1st the basement room of the Willow Branch Public Library, Jacksonville. This room, although difficult of access, was adequate until the back numbers of the *Quarterly* and infrequent donations of books filled every available space. It was becoming more and more imperative that some suitable arrangement be made to relieve this situation. In this condition, largely uncatalogued, crowded and uninviting, the Library was valueless for reference when it might have been of unusual value because of the nature of its contents. Quite unexpectedly but nevertheless welcome, the offer by the City of St. Augustine of space, rent free, in the old, unoccupied Alcazar Hotel building which the City had leased from the Florida East Coast Hotel Company with an option to purchase for the purpose of establishing a cultural center, was, under the first resolution mentioned above, accepted after a careful investigation by the Society.

Plans were formulated at a meeting of the Board held at the proposed new location of the Society's Library, on May 25, for the Finance Committee to raise by subscription among the Society's members a minimum sum of \$1500, to provide for all renovation expenses and the purchase of necessary new office and library equipment.

The second resolution, that of providing for the appointment of a permanent paid official, was realized at least for three years when a group of members of the Society, with the wholehearted approval of the Board, volunteered to contribute a certain sum of money each year to be used for the salary of the secretary and librarian.

The third resolution, providing for the inauguration of a publications program, was officially adopted by the Society when the members voted to amend the By-Laws to provide for a special publications committee, under the chairmanship of John B. Stetson, Jr., and to provide for subscribing members. Arrangements are now underway which will bring nearer the continuation of the publication program first launched in 1921 by the Florida State Historical Society and discontinued in 1933, after eleven separate and notable publications had been issued.

The Society completed the removal of its collections from Jacksonville to St. Augustine in September. The work of renovation on the new quarters, though well under way by this time, was not finally completed until the first of this year. Then followed the building of bookshelves, the purchase of necessary equipment and the arrangement of exhibits. This work was under the active supervision of the secretary and librarian who resigned his position on the staff of Rollins College to take it over.

In order to meet the expenses of renovation and other necessary matters in connection with the new location, the Finance Committee, authorized by the Board, launched a campaign among the Society's members to raise at least \$1500. This effort, headed by the Finance chairman, Mr. John G. McKay, also first vice-president of the Society, quickly resulted in the realization of approximately \$1600.

At this point a brief description of the new quarters may be in order.

The rooms now housing our collections were formerly the ball room and ladies parlor of the hotel. There is one large room; approximately 35 x 100 feet, which is used as library-museum ; there is a large office, around the walls of which shelves have been built for back files of the *Quarterly* and other periodicals; a wash room and storage room off the office, and another storage and work room near the only entrance to the library. The rooms are adequately heated and ventilated and are lighted by natural light. It has been observed by many of the visitors and members that the new quarters provide ideal working conditions for students and writers.

The Historical Records Survey, the Federal Writers' Project and the Statewide Library Project of the Works Projects Administration have all cooperated helpfully during the year. The Statewide Library Project made possible the use, without expense to the Society, of three good assistants, two in St. Augustine and one in Winter Park. Without this help the work of the Society would have suffered considerably.

The Society's activities during the year have not centered exclusively around the new location. It is a source of satisfaction to note the accomplishment of the special committees. The James A. Robertson Memorial Committee, under the chairmanship of Professor A. J. Hanna of Rollins College who was appointed to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Mr. Charles B. Reynolds, has made considerable progress toward the publication of a bibliography of Florida, materials for which had been largely collected by Dr. Robertson. Dr. A. Curtis Wilgus of Washington is editor of the bibliography. A few hundred dollars have been

raised by the Committee to defray the expenses of transcribing Dr. Robertson's handwritten notes into typewritten form.

The Publications Committee, under the chairmanship of John B. Stetson, Jr., mentioned previously, is laying the groundwork for the publication of new volumes of rare source materials of Florida history.

The Committee on Florida Archaeology, the chairman of which is Dr. Doris Stone of Tulane University, has completed three projects. First, the surveying and mapping of two Indian mounds on that part of historic Fort George Island at the mouth of the St. Johns River which is now the John F. Rollins Bird and Plant Sanctuary; second, a mound survey in the region of the Ten Thousand Islands; and third, the co-sponsorship of a "dig" by the Harvard Excavators Club in Central Florida. A little pamphlet just issued by the Committee and available to all interested, describes the purposes and plans of the Committee.

The Committee on Florida Music, Mrs. Henry L. Richmond, Jacksonville, chairman, has made good progress in the compilation of a collection of Florida music and in the study of the life and work of the composer Frederick Delius who spent a few years on the St. Johns River.

It is our pleasure to announce the appointment lately of a new committee: The Committee on the Preservation and Restoration of Florida Antiquities. The purpose of this committee is three-fold: To create and extend public interest in the preservation and restoration of Florida antiquities; to engage in this preservation and restoration, and to exhibit authentic types of historic objects and memorabilia in order to stimulate interest in early Florida days., Mrs. F. B. Crowninshield of Boca Grande, a former director of the Society, has accepted the appointment as chairman.

A summary of the activities of the Society would be far from complete without calling attention to our quarterly magazine of Florida history and the noteworthy and indefatigable work of the editor, Julien C. Yonge of Pensacola. During the past year, a large number of scholarly and interesting articles were published on nearly every phase of Florida history.

Nothing to my mind better illustrates the interest taken in the Society by members and by friends than the large number and variety of gifts received during the year. A few of the more recent donations, in addition to the funds contributed by 140 members for the renovation of the library quarters, are:

Two large Duo-Therm heaters, presented by Mrs. W. S. Barstow, Hobe Sound

Two oak library tables and 12 chairs, presented by Mrs. Henry Kohl, Palm Beach

One new Royal typewriter, presented by Julien C. Yonge, Pensacola

One metal typewriter stand, presented by the Historical Records Survey of Florida

A leather-top dark oak library table, two large oak chairs and a settee, given by M. H. Westberry, St. Augustine

The private-library of Florida printed books, pamphlets, etc., of the late Dr. James A. Robertson of Annapolis, Md., presented by Mrs. Robertson as a memorial to her husband

A large and valuable file of Quincy, Florida, newspapers, 1887-1891, and miscellaneous copies of other early Florida newspapers, presented by the heirs of the late Frank Pierce May (1852-1937) of Quincy, Florida

One hundred thirty-five miscellaneous historical items, including books, pamphlets and other matter relating to Florida, many of which the Library did not have, from Mr. T. Frederick Davis of Jacksonville

A truck load of records of the Alcazar Hotel in St. Augustine, including a scrapbook, a large number of guest registers, ledgers, correspondence, etc.

A number of original unpublished letters and documents of Confederate General W. G. M. Davis, books, newspaper clippings and pictures, etc., presented by the General's granddaughter, Mary Lamar Davis of Tallahassee

A series of five colored prints of Seminole Indian chiefs and numerous books, presented by George A. Zabriskie, president, New York Historical Society

The Society's name painted in gold leaf on two of the large windows, the cost of which was donated by A. J. Wall, director of the New York Historical Society

A number of Florida books exchanged or presented by Emily L. Wilson, St. Augustine

And a large number of miscellaneous books, maps, manuscripts, pictures, etc., presented by many friends and members of the Society.

The growth in usefulness of the Society in all its branches of activity has been most encouraging. Nearly every member has participated in some way in bringing this about. But we must not be content with what has been done; we must proceed ever more actively because we have really just begun. We must improve and enlarge our publications, double our membership, now totaling nearly 800, carry on an extended study of Florida archaeology ; cooperate fully with the program of other historical and patriotic societies in the state; hold meetings from time to time ; and, generally, carry out in fuller detail those principles for which the Society stands which were first set forth by the founders.

Calvin Horace Curry.

TREASURER'S REPORT

To the President and Members of the Florida Historical Society :

The following statements constitute the Treasurer's report on the financial condition of the Society as of March 17, 1941:

General Fund			
Balance, March 25, 1940		\$ 360.73	
Receipts			
Annual dues	\$1,269.48		
Gifts	8.00		
Sale of Publications	37.70	1,315.18	\$1,675.91
		<hr/>	
Expenditures			
Quarterly (4 issues)	1,002.56		
Operating expenses	359.47	1,362.03	
		<hr/>	
Balance, March 17, 1941		313.88	1,675.91
		<hr/>	
Library Fund			
Balance, March 25, 1940		89.40	
Receipts			
Contributing memberships	328.00		

Gifts	1590.50		
Miscellaneous sources	3.00	1,921.50	2,010.90
Expenditures			
Library removal and renovation	682.27		
Purchase of permanent equipment	596.22		
Purchase of books	197.95		
Operating expenses	508.60	1,985.04	
Balance, March 17, 1941		25.86	2,010.90
Robertson Memorial Fund			
Balance, March 25, 1940		10.00	
Receipts (gifts)	167.00	167.00	177.00
Expenditures			
Preparation of MS. for publication	150.00		
Postage	3.00	153.00	
Balance, March 17, 1941		24.00	177.00
Archaeology Fund			
Balance, March 25, 1940		34.50	
Receipts	80.00	80.00	114.50
Expenditures (field work)	65.00	65.00	
Balance, March 17, 1941		49.50	114.50
Librarian's Salary Fund			
Receipts	1,500.00	1,500.00	1,500.00
Disbursements	750.00	750.00	
Balance, March 17, 1941		750.00	1,500.00
Life Membership Fund			
Receipts	200.00	200.00	200.00
Balance, March 17, 1941		200.00	200.00
Consolidated Statement			
Balance, March 25, 1940		494.63	
Receipts		5,183.68	5,678.31
Expenditures		4,315.07	
Balance, March 17, 1940		1,363.24	5,678.31

Since all membership applications pass through the hands of the Treasurer, a comparative report on active membership for 1940 and 1941 is attached. Members whose dues are delinquent more than six months are not included.

Respectfully submitted,
DOROTHY DODD,
 Treasurer.

Report on Active Members

	1940	1941
Total membership	794	747
Life	3	4
Honorary	1	1
Contributing	62	57
Annual	649	614
Institutional	79	71
Exchanges	44	48
New Members	268	72

PROPOSED CURRENT OPERATING BUDGET
June 1, 1941—May 31, 1942
Expenditures

PUBLICATIONS:

Florida <i>Historical Quarterly</i> (Jan., Apr., July, Oct., four issues, 1500 copies per issue)	\$2,000.00	
Postage for mailing <i>Quarterly</i> , editor's cor- respondence, copyright, etc.	100.00	\$2,100.00

OFFICE SUPPLIES: (The following amounts in-
clude the operating expenses of the vari-
ous executive committees):

Printing (stationery, booklets, annual pro- gram, membership and other forms, etc.)	225.00	
Government envelopes (approximately 4,000)	130.00	
Mimeograph supplies	25.00	
Miscellaneous office supplies	50.00	430.00

LIBRARY:

Salary of secretary and librarian	1,800.00	
Transportation (for securing gifts for the Library, arranging programs, securing new members, etc.)	200.00	
Electricity	50.00	
Water	20.00	
Telephone	60.00	
Fuel oil for heating	60.06	
Necessary reference books	150.00	
Insurance, for next three years	160.00	
Bindery (binding files of periodicals for their preservation; slip covers for our most valuable books and manuscripts; repairs, etc.)	175.00	\$2,615.00

Total expenditures	\$5,145.00
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Receipts

PRESENT INCOME:

750 Annual Members at \$2	\$1,500.00
50 Annual Contributing Members at \$10 (Eight dollars from which go into the library and archaeology funds)	400.00

Special contributions by members for salary of secretary and librarian	900.00	\$2,800.00
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NECESSARY AND ADDITIONAL INCOME :		
462 additional Annual Members at \$2	924.00	
37 additional Annual Contributing Members (Eight dollars from each to be used to maintain library and archaeology)	296.00	
Additional special contributions for salary of secretary and librarian	900.00	
Special gifts and donations for supplies, equipment and expenses of the Library	225.00	\$2,345.00
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Total receipts		\$5,145.00

In addition to a large number of visitors, the following members of the Society attended the sessions of the annual meeting:

Abbey, K. T., Tallahassee	Hill, W. B., Gainesville
Ashe, B. F., Coral Gables	Hume, Mrs. E. C., Coral Gables
Beaton, Margaret, Coral Gables	Kaplan, J. H., Miami Beach
Beck, Mrs. A. J., Ft. Lauderdale	Kilvert, M. A., Winter Park
Bowers, Mrs. W. C., Winter Park	Kirtland, Mrs. F. W., St. Augustine
Brandon, E. E., Miami Beach	Kohl, Mrs. Henry, Palm Beach
Briggs, H. E., Coral Gables	Kuykendall, J. D., Coconut Grove
Caldwell, T. P. Coral Gables	Leary, Lewis, Coconut Grove
Carson, Mrs. J. M., Kenansville	Leffler, Cornelia, Miami
Cash, W. T., Tallahassee	Marchman, Watt, St. Augustine
Corley, Pauline, Miami	Matteson, J. H., Miami
Crowninshield, Mrs. F. B., Boca Grande	May, Philip S., Jacksonville
Curry, C. H., Quincy	Merritt, Mary B., Coral Gables
Deedmeyer, Mrs. George, Miami	McKay, John G., Miami Beach
Dunaway, Mrs. C. E. Miami	Norman, Mrs. J. E., Coral Gables
Eager, Mrs. H. J., Miami	Owens, J. M. Jr., Palm Beach
Ekhardt, G. B., DeLand	Pellicer, X. L., St. Augustine
Faver, Hiram, St. Augustine	Pennington, E. L., Miami
Fay, Mrs. R. S., Miami Beach	Reeves, Rev. G. C., Jacksonville
Freeland, Mrs. W. L., Coral Gables	Reynolds, Wiley R., Palm Beach
Gibson, Mrs. W. C., Miami	Ries, Maurice, New Orleans
Gifford, J. C., Miami	Sack, Mrs. F. M., Tampa
Gilmore, J. C., Fort Myers	Stranahan, Mrs. F., Ft. Lauderdale
Gimbel, Richard, Miami	Sullivan, Mrs. J. A., Boca Grande
Goodwin, W. B., Hartford, Conn.	Tebeau, C. W., Coral Gables
Greenlee, R. F., Sanford	Ten Eick, Mrs. C. W., Hollywood
Haden, Mrs. F. P., Coconut Grove	True, D. O., Miami
Hanna, A. J., Winter Park	Whitman, Mrs. A. B., Orlando
Higgs, C. D., Vero Beach	Wilson, Gaines R., Miami
Hill, Mrs. L. B., Jacksonville	Wilson, Mrs. T. O., Miami

OUR NEW OFFICERS

John Graham McKay, president, was born on January 16, 1886 at Franklinville, New York. He was educated at Westminster, Pennsylvania (B.S. 1908) and Indiana Law School (L.L.B. 1909). Has been engaged in the general practice of law since, at Indianapolis (until 1925) and at Miami (since 1925). Is a member of the executive committee, International Association of Insurance Counsel ; president Southern Lawn Tennis Association ; and member executive committee, United States Lawn Tennis Association. Was elected a director of the Florida Historical Society in 1937, and 1st vice president in 1940.

There is a biographical sketch of *John B. Stetson, Jr.*, vice-president, in the *Quarterly* of July last.

Herbert Lamson, vice president, an attorney of Jacksonville, is a native of Waycross, Ga. (Dec. 28, 1893), son of Herbert and Corrie Daniel Lamson. He was educated at Bingham School, Asheville, N. C. and the University of Florida, LL.B., 1916. Became a member of the Society in 1926 and served as secretary and director 1935-1939.

Thomas Palmer Caldwell, director was educated at Oglethorpe University. Has been active in aviation in Tampa, Jacksonville, and Miami, ever since the inauguration of air mail service, and is now southern traffic manager for Eastern Air Lines at Miami. Is a member of the board of directors of Miami Chamber of Commerce.

Philip Stockton May, director, attorney of Jacksonville, is a native of Quincy, Florida, and the son of Frank Pierce May and Anna Mary Stockton May. He was graduated from the University of Florida, A.B., 1911 and LL.B., 1915. He has been engaged in the practice of law in Jacksonville since 1915. From 1916 he has been an active member of the Society and served as a director, 1921 to 1928.

George Eustis Potts, director, of Ormond Beach, is a great-grandson of General Abraham Eustis who served in Florida during the Seminole Indian War, and for whom Lake Eustis, and hence the town, was named.

Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings, director, of Hawthorn, is the author of several novels of the Florida scrub country which have been best sellers, one of which, *The Yearling*, won for her the Pulitzer Prize and is now being filmed. Mrs. Rawlings has also written stories for many of the leading periodicals.

NEW MEMBERS

The following have recently become members of the Society :

Allen, William P., Tallahassee
Barclay, R. E., Kansas City, Mo.
Blanding, Elizabeth, Tallahassee
Bliss, H. Bond, Miami
Blocker, Louis DeM., Cincinnati, O.
Branch, W. S., Jr., Orlando
Brandon, Edgar Ewing Miami Beach
Branham, Mary, Orlando
Brown, L. C., Evening Independent, St. Petersburg
Caldwell, Millard F., Tallahassee
Cohen, Isidor, Miami
Compton, Mary S., Orlando
Corl y, Pauline, Miami
Gross, John Hobart, Pensacola
Davis, Mary Lamar, Tallahassee
Day, Harold S., Bartow
Dunscombe, Carroll, Stuart
Eklhardt, George B., DeLand
Faver, Hiram, St. Augustine
Gautier, Guilford S., Jr., Tampa
Guernsey, Mary S., Orlando
Hall, Virginia Ivey, Tampa
Hatfield, Mrs. Elsie, Orlando
Hume, Mrs. Edward C., Coral Gables
Hutchison, Jessie E., Omaha, Nebr.
Jackson, W. H. Tampa
Johnson, Mrs. M. A., St. Augustine
Knauss, J. O., Kalamazoo, Mich.
Kuykendall, J. D., Coconut Grove
Lehman, Karl, Tavares
Matteson, J. Harold, Miami
Miller, Albert A., Tampa
Norman, Mrs. John E., Coral Gables
Perry, F. M., Jacksonville

Pratt, Theodore, Lake Worth
Ries, Maurice, New Orleans, La.
Snider, Eulah Mae, Tallahassee
Speizman, R., Coral Gables
Stokes, Mrs. Clarence, Sarasota
Stranahan, Mrs. Frank, Fort Lauderdale
Sullivan, Mrs. James A., Boca Grande
Toy, C. R., Tampa
True, David O., Miami
Ware, G. G., Leesburg
Watson, Hon. J. Tom, Tallahassee
Palm Beach Publications, Inc., West Palm Beach

DONATIONS TO THE LIBRARY

During the past quarter the Library has received a large number of gifts from numerous members and friends. A few of these are:

- Alvin Wentworth Chapman, B.A., M.D., LL.D** (a biographical sketch), by John G. Ruge. Presented by Mary Lamar Davis.
- Memoirs of a Pioneer**, by W. R. O'Neal. Presented by the author.
- "Pen Drawings of St. Augustine and other views of Florida", by E. A. Meyer. Presented by R. A. Speisserger.
- An American Princess**, by Irene Cowan Tippet.
- Photograph of General E. M. McCook (1833-1911). Presented by Mrs. E. M. McCook, St. Augustine.
- DeBumking the so-called Spanish Mission near New Smyrna Beach**, by Chas. H. Coe. Presented by the author.
- Two letters of Socrates Beach. Gift of Miss Frances Hobart.
- Report of the Secretary of State of the State of Florida, 1934-1940.** Gift of Hon. R. A. Gray, Secretary of State.
- The Episcopal Church in South Florida, 1764-1892**, by Edgar Legare Pennington. Presented by the author.
- Biennial Report of the Florida State Hospital, 1938-1940.** Gift of the Florida State Hospital.
- The Coat of Arms Magazine**, Jacksonville. March 18 and Dec. 11, 1911. Gift of Mrs. Fannie L. Gilkes.
- My Pioneer Days in Florida.** 1876-1898, by Emily Lagow Bell. Gift of R. M. Burt.
- A much-needed guest book. Gift of Mr. Philip S. May of Jacksonville, newly elected director representing the second district.
- Presented by Mary Lamar Davis. Tallahassee:
- Journal of the Proceedings of the Convention of the People of Florida, 1861** (reprint).
- A Description of United States Postage Stamps, 1847-1939.**
- And numerous other books, pictures, newspaper clippings, mss., etc.
- Report on the Public Archives of Florida, (1906)**, by David Y. Thomas. Gift of the author.
- St. Augustine is the oldest permanent European settlement**, etc., a pamphlet published by the St. Augustine Historical Society and Institute of Science, 1941. Gift of the Society.
- Polk County Record's **Anthology of Verse, 1940.** Gift of the Polk County Record, Bartow.
- Presented by the Historical Records Survey of Florida:

Inventory of Federal Archives in the States: Series VII, the Department of the Navy, No. 9, Florida. Series XI, The Department of Labor, No. 9, Florida,

Spanish Land Grants in Florida, Vol. III and Vol. IV. Confirmed Claims.

Mr. T. Frederick Davis, who has been closely identified with the work of the Society for two decades, has presented to the Library 135 miscellaneous historical items, including many books and pamphlets relating to Florida which we did not have.

A valuable file of Quincy, Florida newspapers, 1887-1891, and a number of copies of other newspapers have been presented to the Library by the heirs of the late Frank Pierce May (1852-1937) of Quincy, through Mr. Philip S. May, director of the Society, as a memorial to his father.

VISITORS TO THE LIBRARY

Our new headquarters and library in the Alcazar at St. Augustine is attracting visitors continually. Many members have come from a distance to see what Mr. Marchman has accomplished, and all have been pleased. Members from out of town are:

Bickel, Mr. Karl A., Sarasota
Bingham, Miss Grace D., Daytona Beach
Blanding, General Albert H., Bartow and St. Augustine
Bowers, Mrs. William C., Cooperstown, N. Y.
Boyd, Dr. Mark F., Tallahassee
Bullard, Mrs. Bern Kennedy, Jr., Lake Wales
Carroll, Mrs. Elizabeth Swann, Fernandina
Chase, Mr. Joshua C., Winter Park
Chatelain, Dr. Verne E., Washington, D. C.
Cobb, Mr. Samuel E., Washington, D. C.
Coe, Capt. Charles H., Washington, D. C.
Corse, Dr. Carita Doggett Jacksonville
Crowninshield, Mrs. F. B., Boca Grande
Davis, Miss Mary Lamar, Tallahassee
Davis, Mr. and Mrs. T. Frederick, Jacksonville
Dodd, Dr. Dorothy, Jacksonville
Emmons, Mrs. Marjorie B., Jacksonville
Gilkes, Mrs. Fannie L., New York, N. Y.
Goodwin, Mr. William B., Hartford, Conn.
Hanna, Professor A. J., Winter Park
Higgs, Mr. Charles D., Vero Beach
Hill, Mr. Walter B., Gainesville
Jeffreys, Mr. Linwood, Jacksonville
Jennings, Mrs. Frank E., Jacksonville
Kilverf, Mr. Maxwell A., Winter Park
Kohl, Mrs. Henry, Palm Beach
Lamson, Mrs. Herbert, Jacksonville
McKay, Mr. John G., Miami
Mahorner, Mrs. Sue A., Jacksonville
Manning, Mrs. W. S., Jacksonville

May, Mr. Philip S., Jacksonville
Mowbray, Mr. Henry B., Winter Park
Otis, Mr. Robert R., Atlanta, Ga.
Parker, Rosalind, Tallahassee
Potts, Mr. and Mrs. George Eustis, Ormond Beach
Redfearn, Mr. D. H., Miami
Richmond, Mrs. Henry L., Jacksonville
Roberts, Mr. Albert H., Tallahassee
Robertson, Miss Edna H., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Robinson, Dr. E. L., Tampa
Snider, Miss Eulah Mae, Tallahassee
Snodgrass, Miss Dena, Orlando
Towers, Mrs. C. D., Jacksonville
Wall, Mr. A. J., New York, N. Y.
Whitman, Mrs. A. B., Orlando
Willoughby, Prof. C. H., Gainesville
Wilson, Mr. Gaines R., Miami
Wilson, Mrs. T. O., Miami
Wilson, Mrs. Millar, Jacksonville
Winter, Mr. W. J., San Juan, Puerto Rico
Winters, Prof. H. S., DeLand
Young, Dr. J. S., Winter Park
Zabriskie, Mr. George A., Ormond Beach

NOTES

The Priority of St. Augustine

The St. Augustine Historical Society has issued a brochure "St. Augustine is the Oldest Permanent European Settlement on the North American Continent North of Mexico" which is in the nature of a reply to other claims of priority. The publication scarcely seems necessary to any one at all acquainted with the facts, but it might be well to have the evidence that Mrs. Lawson presents brought together in printed form.

A Tablet to Buckingham Smith

The trustees of the Buckingham Smith Benevolent Fund have placed a tablet dedicated to the memory of that Florida historian and benefactor of the Negroes of St. Augustine. This was unveiled on April third last by the librarians of the Florida Historical Society and the St. Augustine Historical Society. At the dedication Mr. A. J. Wall, director of the New York Historical Society, read a paper on Buckingham Smith as "The Man, Scholar, and Diplomat"; Mr. C. A. Lamont told of "The Citizen of St. Augustine"; and Mr. S. C. McDaniel, secretary-treasurer of the Fund, spoke of him as "The Philanthropist."

The Masonry Ruins Near New Smyrna

When certain ruins in Georgia, thought by some to be the remains of early Spanish missions, were shown by Dr. E. M. Coulter and others to be of the nineteenth century and in all likelihood parts of sugar mills, there remained little or no doubt that similar ruins near New Smyrna were of the same era and origin. Captain Charles H. Coe, a resident there of more than sixty years ago, and author of *Red Patriots*, after several years of investigation has published his findings in "De-

bunking the So-called Spanish Mission near New Smyrna Beach" (Daytona Beach, Florida, 1941. 29 p.). In addition to the reasons advanced by the Georgia investigators, Captain Coe gives numerous surmises and facts showing the mission origin untenable.

Italians in Early Florida

The Italians in Colonial Florida [1513-1821] (Jacksonville, 1941, 56 p.) by Bruno Roselli has as a sub-title "A Repertory of Italian Families Settled in Florida under the Spanish (1513-1762, 1784-1821) and British (1762-1784) Regimes ; with a Brief Historical Outline, and an Appendix on the Contemporary Colonial Press." There is a preliminary narrative (17 p.) of background interspersed with several Italian colonists, and an alphabetical list of perhaps five hundred names with a bit of biographical data on most of them.

Our Contributors

Lawrence C. Wroth is librarian of the John Carter Brown Library of Brown University and conducts a department for bibliophiles in the New York Herald-Tribune Books.

D. C. Corbitt is a member of the history department of Candler College, Havana, Cuba.

Mark F. Boyd is a member of the staff of the International Health Division, Rockefeller Foundation, and has carried on historical research in the Tallahassee region for a number of years.

A. Curtis Wilgus is professor of history in George Washington University and president of the Inter-American Bibliographical and Library Association.

Lewis Leary is professor of history in Miami University and editor of *Tequesta*.

Frank P. Hamilton is a lawyer of Jacksonville and specializes on Florida land titles.