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Manuscript  
P. K. Yonge Library  
June 26 -  
1851

Proverb

Washington June 22 1812

I have the pleasure to send you a copy of  
a project of a treaty which was proposed by the  
American Envoy at Madrid in 1805 to  
the minister of Spain, such matters, <sup>the affairs of</sup> East Florida  
an object of negotiation by way of indemnity  
to American claimants, it is referred by the  
Treaty of Madrid from Spanish territory. The Spa-  
nish govt. was willing to make the cession,  
but asked more for the territory than our  
Congress was willing to give. You will  
also recollect that a convention had been  
formed in 1802 providing for West Florida,  
which was never ratified.

I send you a copy of the instructions  
to your minister, & after the revocation of

From the original in the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida.  
(two-thirds size)

to Spain, to Govt. Mitchell of Georgia, and  
 time to East Florida. I add a copy of the corres-  
 pondence with the letter you will be so  
 good as to return these documents as soon  
 as they seem to be useful to you.

It seems to be a question whether we shall  
 give up territory to a power which has so often  
 by injury to, & so long refused to make repara-  
 tion, & in possessing it, & where these persons,  
 who have been so unjustly treated by one of our  
 agents, ~~that the action was taken from you to the~~  
 honor & rights of the United States, to the disparagement  
 of the Spanish authorities, or to keep the territory  
 & protect these people from injury.

In great haste respectfully yours  
 Jos. W. Barlow

A NEW LETTER OF JAMES MONROE  
ON THE CESSION OF FLORIDA

by **REMBERT W. PATRICK**

In all the records of the negotiations at Madrid in 1805 between the Spanish government and the envoys of the United States there is not the least intimation that Spain was willing to cede the Floridas to this country. Yet, in a hitherto unpublished letter of June 22, 1812, Secretary of State James Monroe states that she was willing to; and Monroe himself with Charles Pinckney, United States Minister to Spain, were the two men who would know the facts.

The letter is reproduced on the opposite page and a transcript follows. It is undoubtedly in Monroe's handwriting and gives every evidence of having been written in haste. The person to whom it was addressed has not been ascertained, but since the endorsement was made only four days after the writing, the letter with its enclosures must have been sent to someone in or near Washington.

Four days before Monroe penned the letter the United States had declared war on Great Britain. It is quite possible that President James Madison, who was debating his course of action in regard to East Florida, desired a copy of the instructions to General George Mathews and Governor David Bradie Mitchell for study in the hope of ending the Florida venture as quickly and as gracefully as possible.<sup>1</sup> In the last paragraph of the letter Monroe appears to be writing to one who had the power of decision on the East Florida problem. There is, however, no letter in Madison's published correspondence that indicates the receipt of such a letter from Monroe. This is no proof that it was not addressed to Madison. Though the letter could have

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1. See the account of East Florida events in Julius W. Pratt, *Expansionists of 1812*, pp. 189-218.

been sent to a member of Congress or even to Thomas Jefferson, the most logical conclusion is that the recipient was Madison.

The contents of the letter are not startling but are thought-provoking. The efforts to acquire East Florida in 1812 are well known.<sup>2</sup> In 1802 Charles Pinckney and Don Pedro Cevallos signed a convention which provided for the creation of a board of commissioners to examine and judge the claims of citizens of both Spain and the United States for maritime property losses suffered during the undeclared war between France and the United States.<sup>3</sup> The convention was ratified by the United States early in 1804, but Spain refused ratification then. In 1805 James Monroe joined Pinckney at Madrid in the hope of negotiating a treaty by which the United States would acquire the Floridas and a clear title to most of Texas in exchange for assumption of the spoliation claims of American citizens against Spain. Monroe and Pinckney made two proposals to Cevallos. The first suggested cession of the Floridas and the fixing of the Louisiana boundary at the Colorado with the district between the Bravo (Brazos) and the Colorado being left as a borderland subject to settlement by neither Spain nor the United States.<sup>4</sup> Cevallos rejected this and the American commissioners later suggested a second and in some respects a more moderate basis for a treaty.<sup>5</sup> This was also rejected and Monroe terminated the negotiations by requesting his passports and a farewell audience with the king.<sup>6</sup>

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2. Henry Adams, *History of the United States During the Administration of James Madison*, VI, 237-243; Hubert Bruce Fuller, *The Purchase of Florida*, pp. 190-202.

3. *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, II, 475.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 638-39.

5. Pinckney and Monroe to Cevallos, May 12, 1805, *ibid.*, pp. 665-66.

6. Monroe to Cevallos, May 18, 1805, *ibid.*, p. 667.

## A NEW LETTER OF JAMES MONROE

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in the official records of the negotiations, which lasted from January 28 to May 18, there is no intimation on the part of Cevallos that Spain would consider the sale of Florida. Yet seven years later Monroe says in this letter: "The Spanish gov<sup>t</sup>. was willing to make the cession but asked more for the territory than our Commiss<sup>rs</sup> were willing to give." This is in strange contrast to Monroe's reports and statement in 1805. At his parting audience before the king of Spain in that year Monroe stated his regrets that the proposition of the United States had been rejected and no proposals were, ". . . ever offered on the part of your Majesty's Government, though often invited . . . ." <sup>7</sup> In their report after the conclusion of negotiations Pinckney and Monroe again mentioned that Spain made no proposition in regard to the sale of the Floridas. <sup>8</sup>

Could Monroe's memory have been so much at fault after so short a time? This is possible, for such lapses of memory are not uncommon. On the other hand, unofficial word, purposely omitted from the records, might have been sent Monroe in 1805 of Spain's willingness to sell the Floridas. The Spanish treasury was in need of funds and a large payment for territories that were neither economically profitable nor easily defensible would have been of advantage to Spain. It is also possible that by 1812 Monroe was confusing the suggestions he received in Paris with those in Madrid. After leaving Spain he went to Paris. There he ran into a mysterious note of corruption that probably stemmed from the intimate circle of Napoleon's minister, Talley-

7. Monroe's address to the king of Spain, May 21, 1805, *ibid.*, p. 667.

8. Pinckney and Monroe to Madison, May 23, 1805, *ibid.*, pp. 667-669.

rand.<sup>9</sup> By the end of June Monroe was convinced that France had prevented a successful conclusion to the Madrid negotiations and that a payment of eight million dollars, most of which perhaps would go to France, would secure the Floridas.<sup>10</sup>

No matter the actual facts the statement of Monroe's opinion as expressed in the second sentence is important. But of more interest, if not of more importance, is the frank expression of Monroe's opinion on a question which might well have been weighing heavily on Madison's mind at this time : whether to withdraw from the semi-officially promoted invasion of Florida. This will be discussed in the next issue of the *Quarterly* with two hitherto unpublished letters of John McIntosh on the subject.

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private

Washington June 22, 1812

Sir

I have the pleasure to send you a copy of a project of a treaty which was proposed by the American envoys at Madrid in 1805 to the minister of Spain which makes the cession of East Florida an object of negotiation by way of indemnity to American claimants who suffered by spoliations from Spanish cruisers. The Spanish gov<sup>t</sup>. was willing to make the cession but asked more for the territory than our Commiss<sup>rs</sup> were willing to give. You will also recollect that a convention had been form'd in 1802 providing for these spoliations which was never ratified.

I send you a copy of the instructions to Govr. Matthews, & after the revocation of his powers, to Govr. Mitchell of Georgia, relative to East Florida. I add

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9. Henry Adams, *History of the United States During the Administration of Thomas Jefferson*, III, 41.

10. Monroe to Madison, June 30, 1805, MSS. State Department Archives: quoted in Adams, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-42.

## A NEW LETTER OF JAMES MONROE

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a copy of the correspondence with the latter. You will be so good as to return these documents as soon as they cease to be useful to you.

It seems to be a question whether we shall give up territory to a power which has so greatly injur'd us, and so long refused to make reparation, & in surrendering it, deliver those persons who have been compromitted by our agent who cooperated with him from zeal to the honor & rights of the U States, to the vengeance of the Spanish authorities, or keep the territory & protect these people from injury.

In great haste respectfully yours

JAMES MONROE <sup>11</sup>

[endorsed:]

Monroe - Ansd. & papers returned-June 26-1812

11. The original of this letter is in the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida.

Roscoe R. Hill, Chief, Division of State Department Archives, The National Archives, states (Feb. 5, 1945) : ". . . a careful examination of records in the National Archives has failed to disclose any reference to this letter . . . . The 1802 Convention referred to was ratified by Spain on July 9, 1818. Its text appears in Miller, *Treaties and Other International Acts of the United States of America*, volume 2, pages 492-497. The instructions to Governors Matthews and Mitchell are printed in *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, volume III, pages 571-573, as is also a letter of Monroe to Mitchell dated May 27, 1812. It is not possible, from the available information, to determine how much of the correspondence with Mitchell was enclosed in Monroe's letter of June 22, 1812. The correspondence of Governor Mitchell, which includes letters from Mitchell to Monroe, copies of letters exchanged between Mitchell and the Governor of East Florida, and letters relating to Mitchell, is bound in volume 2 of the manuscript series of Florida Territorial Papers. This volume is among the Florida materials to be included in the file microcopy program of the National Archives . . . ."

## CONTEMPORANEOUS REACTIONS TO STATEHOOD

Tallahassee *Floridian*  
March 8, 1845:

On the glorious news from Washington, received this morning, all the bells in the town rung their merry chimes, and the old nine-pounder bellowed forth 36 guns, for the Senators who voted for Florida, and ten more for David Levy, the favorite son of Florida.

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*Pensacola Gazette*, March 8, 1845:

### STATE GOVERNMENT \*

We are now a state. In a few days we may expect the proclamation requiring the election of a Governor, members of the General Assembly, and a Representative in Congress. The election is required to be held on the first Monday after the lapse of sixty days from the date of the proclamation. So that the election will probably take place about the middle of May.-The members of the General Assembly are to assemble at Tallahassee on the fourth Monday after the election. Escambia County (as it stood before the setting off of Santa Rosa) sends one Senator and three Representatives. Walton and Washington Counties send one Senator, and each of these two counties sends one Representative.

Such an opportunity as will be here offered to serve the people with disinterested regard, rarely occurs. The Treasury of Florida is empty ; and we are largely indebted. Treasury warrants are at a discount of 50 per cent. The people are unwilling to be taxed, indeed the very lightest tax which can

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\*Benjamin D. Wright, later to be Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Florida, had sold the *Gazette* long before this, but still wrote its editorials.

## REACTIONS TO STATEHOOD

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be imposed, will be felt as a burthen ; but at all events no money can be raised by taxation in much less than a year, and when raised, it will come in, not in the shape of cash, but in outstanding Treasury warrants. The pay of the members of the General Assembly will necessarily be small, and will be in such shape that they cannot discharge their stage fare nor feed themselves upon the road with it. But this is not all. It is but honest to pay our oldest debts first; so that the Treasury warrants to be issued under the state, ought certainly to be postponed until the indebtedness of the *Territory* be extinguished.

It follows then that none but those who are willing to spend their own means, can be expected to take upon themselves the burthen of this public duty ; for a great and heavy burthen, it is sure to be. Yet we trust that there will be found and chosen by the people, the right sort of men to represent us—men who have the requisite intelligence, integrity and industry, accompanied by that spirit of self-sacrifice which will be so necessary in this case.—Much of our prosperity and success hereafter, will depend upon the character and the impulse now to be imparted to the new state. Our most anxious wish therefore is, and this is doubtless the desire of all, that the wisest, the purest, and the best among us (if their private interests do not absolutely forbid it) will consent to serve for the General Assembly. Their being chosen will involve them in a present sacrifice of time and money, but we trust they will be content thus to “cast their bread upon the waters, that it may return to them after many days.”

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We will publish in our next number the Constitution of Florida. It is modeled after that of Alabama. At the time of its adoption many of the mem-

bers of the Convention were so greatly dissatisfied with its details, that they left the Convention before the time came for signing the Constitution. Others were called away by public duty as members of the Legislative Council. This will account for the fact that the instrument is signed by only about two-thirds of the members.

Constitution making now, is no very difficult task, and ours is as good as any other. Even the details of which we have spoken and which at first gave so much offense, seem now upon reflection, not likely to work the injurious consequences which were then expected from them.

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*Florida Herald* (St. Augustine)  
February 25, 1845:

#### FLORIDA A STATE

The bill to admit Florida and Iowa into the Union as States passed the third reading in the House on the 13th inst. by a vote of 145 to 46. The bill will probably pass the Senate without opposition. Strenuous opposition was made to the measure by the Abolitionists and an attempt was made to admit Iowa alone and leave Florida out. Mr. Levy said he was opposed to the erection of Florida into a State as a mere matter of present policy; but he felt there was no choice left between this and the future. The change of condition will bear hard on us, but it will have its counter-balancing advantages-not the least of which is that we shall have the right and privilege of protecting and securing our property, which is such an eye sore to certain Northern Fanatics. We rejoice the matter is settled. We now know the worst, and it rests with the people themselves to elevate their character in all that can dignify free-men. They now can *demand* where they were forced to beg.

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*Ibid.* March 18, 1845:

Florida has by the act of the late session of Congress been admitted into the Union as a sovereign State. She with Iowa and Texas will add three more stars to the brilliant galaxy that emblazons the flag of our vast Republic. The terms upon which she has been admitted is not satisfactory to a portion of her people; but we doubt not that the change will be less onerous than anticipated. Florida is a Sovereign State now, and it is idle for those who have opposed the change to waste their time in unavailing regret, and it becomes the people to take such measures as will insure to themselves the enactment and continuation of wise and beneficial laws to the maintenance of good order and the well being of society.

The people of Florida now have a voice in all the great and exciting questions of national politics. Two Senators and one Representative will express their will in the halls of the Capitol at Washington, and we have three votes in the Presidential election. By the position Florida has assumed she has added strength to the Southern section of the Union and her people have displayed a patriotism worthy their illustrious ancestry.

The Constitution of Florida is one of the most Democratic Constitutions ever framed. It contains the accumulated wisdom of ages and is the "embodiment" of all the world has ever done for liberty. That there are defects in it, it would be folly to deny, yet such is the condition of man and so varient are human opinions, that in the eyes of one those very defects are beauties, while to others they are hideous deformities. But the Constitution of Florida will bear comparison with the whole twenty-nine, which constitute the fundamental law of the twenty-eight Republics of this Union and the Union itself.

*Florida Sentinel* (Tallahassee) February 25, 1845:

PUBLIC MEETING IN QUINCY, RELATIVE TO THE ADMISSION OF FLORIDA INTO THE UNION, HELD

21ST FEBRUARY, [1845].

Information having been received of the passage of the bill by the House of Representatives,<sup>1</sup> for the admission of Florida into the Union, the citizens spontaneously assembled in front of the Court House, and after firing *thirteen* rounds of cannon, and ringing all the town bells, met at the court room ; when, upon motion of P. A. Stockton, General CHARLES H. DUPONT, was called to the Chair, and ISAAC R. HARRIS, appointed Secretary.

After some explanatory remarks from the Chairman, on motion of N. H. Stewart, a committee of five was appointed by the Chair, to draft resolutions expressive of the sense of the meeting, in reference to the prospect of our speedy admission into the Union, as a *Sovereign and Independent State*. Whereupon, the Chairman appointed N. H. Stewart, George W. Bruton, Isaac Nathans, Philip A. Stockton and Dr. B. McMillan, as said committee, who retired for a short time, and reported the following resolutions, viz :-

*Resolved*, That as citizens of Gadsden county, we have learned with unfeigned gratification, of the passage by the House of Representatives, of the bill for the admission of Florida into the Union.

*Resolved*, That our kindest feelings are tendered to such of the members of Congress representing the non-slaveholding States, as discarding the petty sectional prejudices which are so rife in our national assembly, have had the independence and patriotism to advocate our admission.

*Resolved*, That our thanks are due in an especial

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<sup>1</sup> On February 13, 1845.

Notes are by Dr. Dorothy Dodd, Florida State Archivist, and this issue of the *Sentinel* is in the Florida State Library.

manner, to Gen. Bayley <sup>2</sup> [*sic.*] of Virginia, who so ably advocated our right to admission.

*Resolved*, That it be recommended to our citizens, to illuminate their houses, when it shall be known that the bill for admission has been passed by the Senate. <sup>3</sup>

*Resolved*, That a committee of *thirteen* be appointed by the Chair to make such arrangements for testifying our joy upon the admission of our Territory into the Union, as will best demonstrate the public feeling on the subject.

Which resolutions were read and unanimously adopted. Whereupon the Chair appointed the following gentlemen as such committee, viz.: Sam'l B. Stephens, Isaac Nathans, P. A. Stockton, Geo. W. Bruton, A. J. Forman, Dr. B. McMillan, Wm. Forbes, James L. Tompkins, John H. Keadle, Dr. Thos. Munroe, Wm. T. Stockton, N. H. Stewart and Geo. A. Dilworth,

On motion of G. W. Bruton, the Chairman was added to said Committee.

On motion of P. A. Stockton, it was unanimously resolved, by a *rising vote*, that an extra gun be fired after adjournment of this meeting as a testimonial of our appreciation of the service rendered by Gen. Bayley. (*Cheering*).

On motion of N. H. Stewart, resolved, That the proceedings of this meeting be published in all the Tallahassee papers.

After adjournment, an extra gun was also fired by general acclamation, in honor of our Delegate, <sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Thomas Henry Bayly successfully opposed an amendment to the bill that would have required the calling of a new convention to strike from the constitution the clauses prohibiting the emancipation of slaves and the immigration of free Negroes.

<sup>3</sup> The bill passed the Senate March 1, 1845. The news reached Tallahassee March 8.

<sup>4</sup> David Levy.

for his indefatigable exertions in behalf of the Territory. (*Cheering*).

C. H. DUPONT, *Chairman*.

ISAAC R. HARRIS, *Sec'y*.

P. S.-The whole proceedings of the meeting were characterized by the utmost unanimity and good feeling, and the enthusiasm and joy manifested on the occasion, were such as is seldom witnessed in the quiet town of Quincy.

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*Pensacola Gazette*, March 18, 1845:

**FLORIDA**

Start, start from thy slumber, bright Land of the Sun!

For blessings unnumber'd their course have begun ;  
True liberty now doth thy off-spring await,  
They breath the free air of a sovereign State.

On history's pages no name hast thou won,  
No hero hast thou ever owned for a son ;  
Thy voice has been silent, nor heard in debate,  
For thou ne'er hast been crown'd as a power giving  
State.

Too long have thy sons in supineness remained  
Nor glory, nor honors have ever attained ;  
They have clung to their yoke, as a blessing of fate,  
For, alas! they breathed not the free air of a State.

Away with dependence! - we scorn the base word!-  
To the heart of a free man, it naught can afford;  
It enerves the strong mind that would seek to be  
great,  
If it breathed the free air of self-govern'd State.

The north with its ice, and its regions of snow,  
Can never the beauties and balminess know,  
That will strengthen each arm, and each bosom dilate  
To sustain the proud name of a free-governed State.

Thou now hast a name 'mong the nations of earth,  
Future heroes and sages, from thee shall claim  
birth ;  
Thy glory shall many a freeman elate,-  
Sweet Land of the South! now a starry crowned  
State.

We will soon in the banner, which floats to the  
breeze,  
Over snowy-tipped mountains, and foamy-wreathed  
seas,  
Three stars in its heaven of azure create,-  
The brightest is Florida's, flow'r'y gemmed State!

Then, Florida! in thy new honors step forth!  
Haste to join the brave band from the West and the  
North!  
Nor fear that thou e'er will -regret the stern fate,  
That hath made thee a free and sovereign State.  
March 12th, 1845. IONE.

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*Florida Sentinel* (Tallahassee) Feb. 25, 1845:

#### THE STATE OF FLORIDA

The anticipations of the friends of State Govern-  
ment are, at length, probably realized, and our Ter-  
ritory has, in all likelihood, been placed in the digni-  
fied position of a sovereign member of the great  
American Confederacy. On the 13th inst., the bill  
admitting Florida and Iowa, passed the House by  
the unexpected majority of ninety-one; and no one,  
apparently, seems to anticipate its defeat in the  
Senate . . . .

The friends of this great measure have beheld its apparent consummation with delight. It has been welcomed with the roar of cannon, with shouts and cheers, and every customary demonstration of joy. We certainly have no disposition to interrupt this festivity; but let us bear in mind that State Government will be found truly valuable not as an *end*, but only as a *means*. That it brings with it important duties and weighty responsibilities, the conscientious, upright and faithful discharge of which can alone make that a blessing which otherwise will infallibly prove an unmitigated curse.

To those who have uniformly opposed the measure, either upon grounds of expediency, or real or supposed sectional interest, and to whom its consummation will be a bitter disappointment - to such may we be allowed to say, that State Government has now probably ceased to be a question, and that opposition or regrets are alike unavailing. Its duties are now probably *imposed* upon us, and escape or evasion is utterly impossible. May we, therefore, conjure them, in the name of our infant State, whose destinies for weal or woe devolve partially on them - in the name of our common country, whose honor is now concerned in our action - by whatever motives should influence the good citizen, may we beseech them to act well their part. Laying aside all that is past, let them now, in this moment of their country's need, come to the rescue in the spirit of enlarged, liberal and comprehensive patriotism.

No intelligent mind, we apprehend, can look at the present condition of our Territory, and at her past political history, without feeling a most anxious solicitude for the future. What manner of men have heretofore had the ascendancy - the dominant power in our home government? Who have enacted our laws, and under what sort of influence have they

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been enacted. Has it been a controlling sense of moral, social and religious obligation? a devotion to the true and permanent interests of the Territory? Have men of probity, candor, sincerity, faithful in all the relations of life, industrious, staid, sober, honorable men-have such held the reins of power? On the contrary, in the management of our little affairs, have not already crept, all the more contemptible vices of old and corrupt governments? -intrigue, maneuvering, trickery, double-dealing, and all the degrading resorts which selfish and designing men use to answer their own sinister ends! . . . .

What fate awaits our young republic? . . . . Will she, with a moral dignity and energy becoming her new sphere and its important relations, exert herself to inspire love and devotion at home and respect abroad? Will her people, with a public spirit due themselves and the occasion, address them one and all with judgment, energy, and disinterestedness to the establishment of a well-ordered government.

We will not permit ourselves to think otherwise. God grant that whatever of moral and intellectual worth-whatever of disinterested patriotism there may be among our whole people, may be brought to this work.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF  
GOVERNOR MOSELEY

*Senators, Representatives and Fellow-Citizens:*

I should do injustice to the best feelings of my heart were I not, on *this* occasion, to express a becoming sense of gratitude for the *enviable* and *honorable* distinction, so recently conferred upon me, in elevating me to the supreme Executive authority of the State—a distinction the more highly prized from the *flattering* circumstances under which it was conferred. An expression of public sentiment through the suffrages of freemen, for an office within their gift, for which it was my earnest *personal* desire *not* to be a candidate.

I feel fellow-citizens, a proud consciousness of the truth of the remark, when I assert, in the presence of my assembled countrymen, that this honor I have never sought, nor could it have been acceptable to me, but as the *voluntary offering of freemen*. Under such circumstances, I do not feel myself at liberty to permit this opportunity to pass without adverting to a consciousness on my part of the want of experience, to a satisfactory discharge of a trust, the duties of which are alike arduous and responsible; nor would I do justice to my feelings, if I failed to express the deep sense of painful solicitude which is felt for the performance of them; in a manner at once acceptable to my fellow citizens and to myself.—They are entered upon, however, with a confident reliance upon the co-ordinate departments of the government, in the inception and consummation of such measures, as a proper regard for the best interests of the people may suggest, and which, if consummated, may at once insure the happiness, the prosperity and the glory of our common country. Custom has sanctioned the usage which has ever re-

## INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF GOVERNOR MOSELEY 213

ceived my cordial approbation, that public functionaries, entrusted with executive authority, when about to enter upon the discharge of the duties assigned them, should give at least an outline of the leading political principles which may be deemed proper to be observed in the execution of the trust confided to them.

It is now, in obedience to this usage, thus sanctioned by time, and with a becoming respect for public sentiment, that I proceed publicly to declare those principles, so far, at least, as they may be connected with the administration of the national government; or as they may be the basis of measures whose final action may come within the scope of the Executive department of the State Government.

In relation, then, to our Federal Government, I feel myself at liberty to remark that I believe it to be a government of strictly limited powers, a government formed and established through the agency and by the express authority and assent of the States, as independent sovereignties, by ceding, through a written Constitution, portions of that sovereignty for certain enumerated and specified purposes, which could not be so rapidly and happily effected by the States, as separate, independent communities; that the rights, powers and privileges, *not* thus transferred, were reserved as the rights of the States and of the people. That the exercise of any powers by the government thus established, other than those thus enumerated, or of such constructive powers as may be necessary and proper to carry into execution the enumerated powers, would be an usurpation of the rights of the States and of the people: a violation of the letter and spirit of the Constitution at once subversive of the compact of the rights of the States and of the people.

That among the most important and highly cher-

ished of the reserve rights, is the right of State *interposition*, under its constitutional authorities, as the *legitimate* remedy for such an act of usurpation on the part of the National Government.

The history of the Convention which formed the Federal Constitution, leaves not a reasonable doubt of the fact, that a portion of the members of that distinguished body, advocated a strong central government, of consolidated powers at the expense of State Sovereignty.-Such at least was the tendency of their measures. Another portion of the same body was for withholding those constructive powers from the government, *them* about to be established.

"It was the advocating or opposing these measures, in the formation of the constitution, that gave distinctive names to the parties, that then divided the Union ; and the principles then avowed, and the measures issuing from them, have, from that to the present time, kept up the *same political* division." The *one* claiming for the Federal Government the unlimited exercise of the constructive powers, the *other* denying that right, and insisting upon confining it to such matters exclusively, as were of National importance ; and in the success of which, the general welfare of the country was immediately and directly concerned. At the head of the former division was Mr. Hamilton, of the latter was Mr. Jefferson.

It was this illegitimate exercise of constructive power, that established the first National Bank, and gave birth to a system of political log-rolling, under the specious name of Internal Improvement-to a tariff for protection, with revenue as an incident, and to the distribution among the States, of the proceeds of the sales of the Public Domain. All of which measures, I take *this* occasion to declare, as the deliberate convictions of my judgment, to be infractions of the Constitution, as usurpations of the

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rights of the States; and apart from the Constitutional objection, as unwise, inexpedient and impolitic. The Constitutionality and expediency of these, and kindred measures, I do not, however, deem it proper, nor is it my present purpose, to discuss.

With regard to the protective policy, however, I feel myself at liberty to remark, (with due deference and a proper respect for the intelligence and patriotism of those who think differently), that if there be *any one* measure, (more than all others), the offspring of constructive powers, which should be met with uncompromising hostility by the advocates of reserved rights and strict construction, it is that odious policy. It is an excrescence of the Constitution, maintained at the expense of the day-laborer, the mechanic, the mariner, the merchant, the planter : in fine, at the expense of every species and class of industrial pursuits known to our country, but to the directors of the power-loom, and the lord of the spinning-jenny. It operates upon every other species of industry, as it does upon the agricultural -it raises the price of the *necessaries* of life, and subjects *labor*, which is their *capital*, to the competition of the rich capitalist.-It is a tax upon every species of industry, *not* for the support of the government, *economically administered; but* to administer to the "pagency of soulless monopolies," and to add to the overgrown fortunes of a favored and haughty aristocracy.

I solemnly believe it to be a violation of the National compact, of the rights of the many for the benefit of the few; and that, too, without the plea of necessity, and, therefore, without even the merit of this plea, whom the cravings of hunger have impelled to an act of larceny. Permit me in conclusion, upon this trite subject, to remark, that it would

seem, that the conclusion is strictly logical ; that whenever duties on imports are *not* prohibitory, the *duty* constitutes a part of the price, and is consequently a tax, and unnecessary burthen upon the consumer, *especially* when *such* tax is not required for the support of the government. The conclusion is also equally irresistible, that when such duties *are* prohibitory, foreign competition must cease, commerce must wither, and finally disappear, under its blighting, deadly influence; the sails of our merchantmen that now whiten every ocean, and are unfurled to every breeze, will be unfurled no more--an *indirect* revenue will no longer flow into the common treasury. - *Direct taxation*, for the support of the government, is then the *only* alternative: a state of things which, I earnestly hope, may never be adopted as the settled policy of our young, and still increasing confederacy--now the pioneer of free government, in its onward move, for the advancement of human rights, and human freedom, throughout the world; in opposition to the unjust, oppressive, and iniquitous demands of legislative monopolies, and to the arrogant, impudent, and unblushing extortions of hereditary aristocracies.

In making this public avowal, 'tis hoped that I may not be understood as making indiscriminate proscription of that portion of my fellow-citizens who entertain different views in relation to the powers of the government, and the great national measures that have so long divided our country. Such an opinion, if entertained by any one, would do injustice to every act of my public life. For my political principles I cherish a lively and abiding attachment and devotion, from the conviction that if honestly administered, they are best calculated to promote successfully our republican form of government. -- Entertaining this opinion, (as I most cer-

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tainly do), any abandonment, of those principles for selfish purposes, or for an imaginary, *temporary convenience*, would not only be an act of moral treason as to *them*, but would properly subject me to the scorn and contempt of all honorable men. The same liberal indulgence for liberty of opinion, however erroneous, and the same charitable construction for honesty of purpose, and purity of motives, which I claim as an act of justice from others, common charity and a generous magnanimity, will ever prompt me to extend to them, under similar circumstances.

In relation to our young State, now about to become a member of the great family of States, to you as the representatives of the people, delegated by their authority, as a co-ordinate branch of the Government, now for the first time assembled-to you is confided the important, and responsible trust of developing her resources, and of giving character to her institutions, by a liberal, enlightened, and patriotic public policy; and of establishing for her a permanent and enviable rank as one of the members of a confederacy, whose brilliant career and proud preeminence, in all that is great and useful; in the simplicity and purity of its civil institutions; the martial achievements of its heroes; the fervid eloquence of its orators, and the practical wisdom of its statesmen-challenge the wonder, the admiration, and the rivalry of all Christendom: a confederacy whose dominions, increasing with colossal strides, already extend from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from the sunny regions of the tropics, to the icebound possessions of the Autocrat, of the north.

To all, therefore, it must be obvious, that upon the policy *now* adopted, depends in a great measure, the

reputation, the prosperity, the happiness, and the *Glory* of our common country.

With such incentive before them, the patriot, philanthropist and statesman will enter the lists with eager delight, with united energies, a common effort, and a generous emulation and self-devotion, to effect results so desirable.

It is not my purpose on *this* occasion to enter into specific enumeration of all such measures as would, if perfected, effect the attainment of our utmost wishes; but I feel called upon, by a sense of duty, to allude, in an especial manner, to the necessity of a sound constitutional currency; to the preservation of the public credit; to a well regulated system of Common Schools and the School Fund; to the finances of the State, and to the promotion of "virtue, science and knowledge," all of which are deemed *essential* to the purity and preservation of our Republican Institutions, and which cannot be *entirely* disregarded, without a violation of the injunctions of the Constitution. Those subjects, being deemed of vital importance to the ultimate success of our government, and to the happy condition of the people, *individually*, shall, at all times, receive such assurances of Executive approbation as may come within the constitutional scope of authority, of that department of the government.

To the same department is entrusted, the high responsibility of seeing that the laws are faithfully and impartially executed; nor is the obligation of this duty in any way lessened by any *supposed* inexpediency of the law, the execution of which he may be required to enforce. This high, important and responsible duty I expect *faithfully* and *promptly* to discharge, from a well founded and deliberate conviction, that, a few wise laws, faithfully and im-

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partially executed, are the best security for life, liberty and property.

And now, Senators and Representatives, I approach, with a trembling solicitude, the discharge of the duties assigned me, relying upon your *support* in the *discharge* of them, whenever my official conduct may command itself to your favorable consideration ; and invoking the aid of the Father of the Universe in our attempt at self-government, that He would be in the midst of our Councils, guiding and directing them for the common good ; and appealing to Him for the sincerity of my motives, and the rectitude of my intentions in the performance of my duty, to my country and to myself; I take upon me the high, responsible and solemn obligations enjoined by the Constitution, with the anxious wish and fervent hope, that my administration may be as successful, in promoting the best interests of our beloved country, as my fellow-citizens have been kind, indulgent generous and confiding.

## PIONEER FLORIDA

by T. FREDERICK DAVIS

### THE PAD-GAUD AT PENSACOLA, 1830

Any well-rounded history of a country or of a section must include an account of the habits, customs and pastimes of its people in each generation. For Florida, not much has been told of these during our pioneer period from 1821, when it became a possession of the United States, to its admission to statehood in 1845. The human side of life in that period was recorded mostly in the minds of the old inhabitants, and when that generation passed the records were gone too. Every bit of authentic information relating to this period such as diaries and contemporaneous letters, should be deposited in a safe place, such as the Florida Historical Society's library, together they would make a collection from which the historian could construct at least a limited view of life in those days.

A certain festival of Pensacola's territorial days is a stone in that structure. This was the *pad-gaud*.

The name is said to have been derived from an obsolete French word, *gaud* signifying a male bird *gaud-ind*, a male turkey; *pad* or *pap*, from *papier*--- a paper turkey. The custom of shooting the *pad-gaud*, in one form or another and with varying significance, is traced to Medieval times in Europe. Before the invention of gunpower, the cross-bow was used for the occasion.

A detailed description of the festival as held at Pensacola on May 15, 1830, was published in the next issue of the *Pensacola Gazette*, as follows:

#### *The Pad-Gaud*

The writer of this lately passed a very pleasant day near Pensacola at a *fete champetre*, given in

pursuance of an ancient usage. For more than a week he had heard much of the *Pad-gaud*, but not being able to obtain a distinct explanation of the custom, he resolved to satisfy his curiosity in person. He could only learn that it resembled the annual diversion of shooting the Jay, as described by Sir Walter Scott in "Old Mortality" . . . .

The day fixed upon was last Saturday, which fortunately turned out to be unusually fine, a circumstance which does not always favor such rural festivities—a general ducking sometimes terminating those delightful assemblages in the open air. Every sort of vehicle was put in requisition—stages, carriages, gigs, and horse-carts; *cavaliers* on horseback, and some on foot; crowds of children, and a *ducky posse* of Plebians [sic.], might be seen in motion at an early hour. By ten o'clock the streets of Pensacola were entirely deserted, there was scarcely a dog left to keep watch.

The place chosen for the amusements of the day, was at the distance of a mile and a half from town, on the high land to the north, where there is a beautiful grove of spreading live oaks. On reaching the spot, rendered more agreeable, by contrast with the loose sandy road, through which we had to wade, the writer found a numerous assemblage of people, dressed in their holiday apparel together with all the fashion of the town. A long table was spread under the deep shade of the trees, and near each end of it stood a wide side board fixed against their large trunks, and well supplied with refreshments. Beyond the grove, there was a "bosky dell," filled with the rich, various and fragrant shrubbery of this climate, and around, there was the close green sod of the open fields, which had formerly been cultivated. Not far off stood the untenanted dwelling, at this moment, however, filled to overflowing,

with the gayest of the gay. The dance had already commenced, several sets of cotillions were footing it at once to the sound of the violin, and attracted by this animated scene, he left those who were seated or moving about singly, or in groups, through the grove, to join the merry throng. The assemblage of beauty would have made a paradise of any place. Pleasure was painted on every countenance-the writer promised himself a delightful day, in which he assures the reader he was not disappointed.

At twelve o'clock the important business of the day was announced-the shooting the *Pad-guad*. Here it is proper to be a little more minute. The body of the bird was somewhat larger than that of a domestic fowl; it was made of the root of cypress or wild olive, or other spongy material, so that it might be struck by a hundred balls without being brought down. An iron rod was passed through it, which was driven into the end of a long pole. The distance from the place where the shooters took their stand, was about seventy yards. The head of the *gaudy* bird was crowned with a bunch of artificial flowers, while its spreading wings, and the sweeping curve of its tail, were adorned with one hundred ribbands of every colour, and fluttering in the breeze-gifts, which it had obtained from the ladies, during the week, while paraded through the town. Every eye was now fixed on this object-it was sufficiently near to enable each fair maiden to distinguish her gift from the rest-and many a generous *Caveliero* guided by instinct, perhaps by some secret intimation, panted to possess himself, if not the *whole bird*, at least of the favor of his damsel. Eighty tickets were drawn from a hat, and the lists forthwith were opened. Rifles, muskets, fowling pieces, double or single barrellled, with common or percussion locks, were brought forth. Of-

ficers of the army and navy, citizens, the young and the old, all engaged in the contest with equal earnestness, and with equal gaiety, and good humor. But the imagination must supply the rest. The shooting continued one hour and a half, until nothing remained of the poor bird, but a small piece not longer than one's hand. As it diminished in size, and the aspirants grew more eager, the distance was shortened, until at last each one was at liberty to take what station he pleased. By this time the ornaments of the *pad-gaud* were transferred to the hats and button holes of the more fortunate marksmen, who seldom obtained the ribband most valued by them. A lucky, or perhaps well directed shot, brought down the remaining fragment—a shout ensued, and Mr. V--- was proclaimed king. Then followed a procession—his majesty *elect* with the bouquet in his hand, supported by the *ex-kings*, and preceded by music, playing "hail to the chief." The procession passed twice in review before the ladies, who were seated, but on coming round the third time a fair lady was chosen queen of the next festival, the bouquet was presented to her, and the choice was ratified by general acclaim, and by the blushes of the maiden.

The company soon after sat down to an elegant dinner—after which the dancing was resumed, the *fandango* following close on the heels of the Scotch reel. About sundown the returning population once more filled the streets, like the coming in of the tide. Any where else, it might have been worth while to add, that in the whole of this numerous collection, there was not to be seen a single instance of excess, nor was there the slightest occurrence to disturb the harmony and good humor—but here, the circumstance produced no remark. This may be ascribed to the habitual temperance of the Spanish

population, and still more to the formidable influence produced by the presence of the fair. It was indeed a pleasant day-and if there should be another *pad-gaud*, while the writer remains here, he is determined to be one of the party, and perhaps an aspirant for the honours of the day.

(Signed) *Traveler*.

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The writer, a stranger, has missed some of the details of his *fete champetre*. The editor of the *Gazette*, who doubtless had attended many, describes another patgeaud, \* which is pronounced *patgo*, he says.

The preliminaries are much the same. Each lady attached to the patgeaud "a ribband with some peculiarity to enable her to identify it. Its ownership is chronicled also by the trusty servant who carries the patgeaud. In this way with its enormous tail, it soon becomes the most flaunting gaudy thing imaginable."

This one was held on the 4th of July, following the reading of the Declaration of Independence and an oration. "The young men have brought their rifles and the girls their guitars. The Oaks, as if jealous of the charms beneath their foliage, forbid the approach of a single ray from the impudent sun and the hours, winged with pleasure, speed on to the time for the shooting of the patgeaud. The king, who has despotic control over all the details of the festivity, gives the signal. Now comes the tug. Each fires in his turn. 'There goes a ribband.' It has scarcely touched the ground before the successful marksman has it in his hand. 'Whose is it' is the question, for there is some kissing in the ease. Alas! nobody's. The conscious proprietor denies the

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\* *Pensacola Gazette*, June 27, 1835

ownership, of course, and our hero kisses the girl he likes best - on suspicion. This is an episode in the general hurly burly now enacting. The patgeaud is now nearly all shot away; the ribbands are torn all to - ribbands, we were about to say, but that would not do-however, there is no time to stop for a choice of words; everybody is in momentary expectation that the next shot will bring down the last remaining fragment of the bird.-"There it comes." "No, lend me your ramrod." At length a loud and general huzzar announces its termination. The new king receives the congratulations of his rural subjects and chooses the partner of his regal honors and all betake themselves to their amusements. Some dance, some sing, some shoot at a target, and evening surprises them in the midst of their enjoyment. This is as it used to be. Alas! for the refinements of the new comers upon these simple pleasures, these temperate, rational and healthful pastimes."

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*[ibid.]*:

We are requested by the committee of arrangements for the celebration of the 4th of July to say that at eight o'clock in the morning the citizens will assemble at Collins Hotel, and march thence in procession, with a band of music, to the Episcopal Church, where the Declaration of Independence will be read and an oration delivered. The following will be the order of the procession.

Mayor and Board of Alderman  
 Judges of the United States  
 Clergymen  
 Officers of the United States  
 Officers of the Army and Navy

President and Directors of the Bank of Pensacola  
President and Directors of the Railroad Co.  
Strangers  
Citizens

We are requested also to say that the subscription  
paper for the celebration of the day is left at Collins  
Hotel.

## THE BULOW PLANTATION, 1821-1835

by **RUTH DANENHOWER WILSON**

In the dense jungle growth of a hammock ten miles north of Ormond, are bare arches of coquina and great rectangular chimneys of another age towering above the live oaks and palmettos—all surrounded by the desolation of more than a century. This is what is left of Bulow Ville, one of the largest of the sixteen plantations, each working more than one hundred slaves, which were destroyed by the Indians early in 1835 in the section south and west of St. Augustine.<sup>1</sup>

This plantation was first thought of in 1812. The Spaniards, who had made little success with agriculture in Florida, had adopted a policy of making land grants to foreign planters in an effort to bring back the successful plantations of this region of 1783, as they were when on England's ceding Florida to Spain their British owners abandoned them.<sup>2</sup>

To one, John Russell, Don Juan Jose de Estrada, acting governor of East Florida, on July 28, 1812, granted four thousand acres of choice land in exchange for the schooner *Perseverance* (renamed by the Spanish *Barbarita*) of fifty-eight tons burden and valued at \$2,300. It was in this schooner that the newcomer had brought his family and slaves from New Providence in the Bahamas. Head-rights for himself and his company added 675 acres: fifty acres each for himself and his wife, and twenty-five each for his five children and his eighteen slaves.

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This site has been presented to the State of Florida for a state park, to be named Alexina Mitchell Wilder Park.

1. Sprague, John T. : *The Origin, Progress and Conclusion of the Florida War*. New York, 1848. p. 106.
2. Siebert, Wilbur H.: *Loyalists in East Florida 1774-1785* DeLand, Florida, The Florida State Historical Society, 1929. II, p. 183.

John Russell named his prospective plantation "Good Retreat," but no record has been found of any developments he made there before his death in 1815. His son James in 1821 re-established the title for his father's heirs, as evidenced in the following order and report, which are reproduced here as illustrations of the exceedingly formal procedure of the Spanish authorities in legal matters. These documents and all others relating, are printed in *American State Papers*.<sup>3</sup>

For the simple operations of granting this tract to Russell and confirming it to his heirs some twenty-two acts, decrees, notifications, petitions, reports, declarations, appraisements, orders and other instruments were recorded, one of which, the charming Report below is characteristically Spanish.

## ORDER

Don Jose Coppinger, colonel of the national armies, military governor, political chief, and ultramarine sub-delegate of this place and province, & c., by these presents :

I confer unto Don Francisco Jose Fatio all the faculties required by law, to the effect that, with two assistant witnesses, whom he will appoint in due form to assist him in this commission, he transport himself on the lands which were by this government sold to the deceased, John Russell, and on those lands which were granted to the same as a new settler; said lands, situated between the Matanzas and Tomoca, and there put Mr. James Russell, a lawful son and heir of said John Russell, deceased, in possession of said lands, which are hereby restored to him in consequence of what has been represented and proved on the proceedings relating

3. *American State Papers, Public Lands*, IV, pp. 571, 677-693; St. Johns county records. A, p. 71.

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thereto, with the reserve of the respective, rights which the actual occupiers may consider to possess in the lands aforesaid, in order that they may make use of said right if they think proper; and after putting down, in writing, the result, said commissioner will make his report, as it is already ordered in my decree this day, which I issued in conformity to the petition of Mr. James Russell aforesaid, with the consultation of the auditor of war. St. Augustine, of Florida, June 18, 1821.

**JOSE COPPINGER.**

By order of his Excellency:

JUAN DE *ENTRALGO*, *Notary of Government.*

*[characteristically Spanish]*

## R E P O R T

In Tomoca, June 21, 1821, in conformity to the tenor of the preceding order, I, Francisco Jose Fatio, accompanied by the witnesses, assistants, who subscribe this, and by Mr. James Russell, we went to the place aforesaid, riding about on horseback ; and, taking said James Russell by the hand, I put him in possession of the lands referred, to in my commission. There he called aloud, pulling up the grass, threw up sand in the air, broke branches of trees, and did other things indicating possession, which he took quietly and peacefully, and without contradiction. And in proof thereof, I make this report, which I sign, together with the witnesses and the interested party.

**FRANCO. PELLICER**  
**FRANCO. JOSE FATIO**  
**JOSE SIMEON SANCHEZ**  
**JAS. H. RUSSELL**

In 1821 the heirs sold the 4675 acres to Charles W. Bulow for \$9,944.50 in cash, when Bulow “. . .

immediately took possession of the tract of land and planted and improved a part of one of the tracts and erected buildings.”

Bulow was a former member of the legislature of South Carolina who was said to have made a fortune in Charleston at the time of the embargo, which may be a euphuism for speculation in cargoes of blockade runners: He had plantations in South Carolina, a house in Meeting Street, Charleston, valued at \$25,000, and a house in St. Augustine.

Like the elder Russell, Bulow died soon after acquiring the Florida property, that is, in 1823, in St. Augustine, where his grave may be seen in the Huguenot cemetery, the simple inscription giving his age as forty-four. The *St. Augustine East Florida Herald* of May 10, 1823 after lauding his character states that “Col. Bulow has embarked a large capital in the cultivation of the cane, and having all the necessary resources for prosecuting the experiment on an extensive scale, we have to deplore in his death not only the loss of a highly valuable citizen [but also] of an enterprising agriculturist whose success would have given impulse to the interests and prosperity of the territory.”

Col. Bulow left his Florida plantation to his only son John Joachim, specifying it could not be sold until the boy was of age and then only if one-third cash were secured and bond and mortgage given for the balance.<sup>4</sup>

The United States Commissioners of Land Claims in East Florida reported to Congress December 31, 1825, that the claim of the heirs of Charles W. Bulow, claiming under a grant to John Russell, was, in their opinion, valid.

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4. Will of Charles W. Bulow, St. Johns county records, St. Augustine.

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John J. Bulow being a minor the plantation was managed by trustees for a time. Although there is no record of John's age he was apparently twenty-one by 1828, as on January 24 of that year he signed an agreement with the United States giving the government a fifteen foot right-of-way for a road to a bridge over the St. Sebastian river at St. Augustine.<sup>5</sup>

Tradition through his descendants make him out to be something of a drunkard. Be that as it may, he did not turn the East Florida plantation into cash or even one-third cash on attaining his majority, but continued to develop it as his trustees had done. It was soon spoken of as the most prosperous plantation in East Florida, with three hundred slaves working on it. A thousand acres were planted to sugar cane and twelve hundred to cotton. Buildings were erected for plantation purposes and the owner had a large dwelling house overlooking the creek.<sup>6</sup>

Some idea of life on the plantation can be gathered from comments of two of Bulow's guests. James Amanuel Ormond, the third of the three James Ormonds whose plantation adjoined on the south that of Bulow, states in his reminiscences that in 1828 when he was thirteen he was sent by his father to live for about a year with John J. Bulow, "who owned from three to four hundred negroes and planted largely." Ormond describes his host as fairly well educated. "He was young his own master, and had graduated in all the devilment to be learned in Paris, France. He had a large library of books, mostly fiction, with which I filled myself."<sup>7</sup> Ormond also tells us that Bulow kept an eight-oared barge and traveled in state sometimes

5. *Ibid.* J. J. Bulow & U. S. Government.

6. Williams, John Lee : *The Territory of Florida*, New York, 1837. p. 137.

7. Reminiscences of James Ormond, MS.

as far as Jupiter Inlet, with his guns, nets, tent and cooks.

About three years after this the building of the great stone sugar mill was completed according to an inscription set on its north wall reading "Bulow Ville, Jan. 26th, 1831." This mill, with its engine and other machinery, cost about forty thousand dollars, a great sum in those days in Florida. The molasses and sugar cane from the mill together with cotton and minor products of the plantation were taken on flat boats down Bulow creek and the Halifax river to Live Oak Landing a short distance north of Mosquito Inlet where they were loaded on schooners for Savannah, Charleston and New York.<sup>8</sup>

At the end of 1831 young Bulow entertained no less a guest than John James Audubon who by that time had gained recognition as a naturalist and was in Florida on a collecting and painting trip. Audubon arrived on Christmas Day after walking with his two assistants about fifteen miles from one of General Hernandez' plantations. Bulow sent a wagon for his guests' luggage and offered to send horses for them but Audubon preferred to "see the country in as much detail as possible . . . to get new birds."<sup>9</sup>

It is pleasant to think of that Christmas, Bulow's welcome with the bounty of the plantation, followed perhaps by a companionable evening with woodland reminiscences and plans for new expeditions. A few days later Audubon wrote from Bulow Ville that "Mr. J. J. Bulow, a rich planter at whose house myself and whole party have been for a week under the most hospitable and welcome treatment that could possibly be expected," took him on a trip in his boat down the Halifax river to get specimens of brown

8. *Ibid.*

9. Herrick, F. H.: *Audubon the Naturalist*. 2 v. New York 1917, II p. 15.

pelicans. Audubon speaks further of his host as "the generous Bulow." Apparently he had more goodwill than foresight for he took his distinguished guest on this shooting and camping expedition in December with no heavy clothing, blankets, nor fire-wood. A "norther" coming up they all came near perishing during the night with their boat stuck in the mud near a mangrove swamp with no fire-wood available. When morning light came they waded in the mud, waist-deep, to push the boat off with "limbs becoming stiffened and almost useless at every step we took." After two and a half hours of such work they reached a point where there were a few trees and made a fire to recussitate two of the negroes who had "fallen down in the mud as senseless as torpidity ever rendered an alligator or a snake."<sup>10</sup>

How unfortunate that neither Audubon nor Ormond gave any details of the plantation house. In the claims later presented to Congress it is described as two and a half stories high, sixty-two by forty-two feet in dimension with a piazza all around. Probably it was furnished in a style in keeping with the well-to-do young man who had brought a library of fiction there. That it was possible to obtain rich furnishings for planters' houses is known from advertisements of goods and furniture obtainable in St. Augustine.

From the time of Audubon's visit little is known of the Bulow plantation for five years. Apparently it continued to grow and prosper during that time for in 1836 the appraised value of its various buildings with boats, tools, harness and oxen was over fifty thousand dollars. Of this amount five thousand dollars was the value of the plantation house,

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10. Audubon, in a letter to the editor of *American Monthly Journal of Geology*.

three thousand of household and kitchen equipment. The stone sugar works, one hundred nineteen by ninety-three feet consisted of boiling houses, two curing houses, steam engine house and a large framed saw-mill all complete. There were forty negro houses, all framed, with board floors and shingled, valued at \$2,500, with negro furniture valued at \$250. In addition there were barns, corn houses, gins, poultry houses, cooperage, blacksmith shop, fodder houses, etc.”<sup>11</sup>

Over this little kingdom existing self-sufficient in the wilderness with a few neighbors to the south and St. Augustine forty miles to the north, young Bulow held supreme sway. According to James Ormond III, there was not a lawyer, minister nor doctor within forty miles.

The period when young Bulow could live as “monarch of all he surveyed” came to an abrupt end in December 1835 with the outbreak of the Seminole War, and the quartering of militia at Bulow Ville in spite of the owner’s violent opposition. He declared that he and his slaves could defend his plantation without military aid. It is possible that Bulow shared the opinion of many Florida settlers that the project for sending the Indians west of the Mississippi should be abandoned and another effort made to give them their own boundaries in Florida. Such an opinion was voiced as a temporary solution by the commanding officer in Florida, General Jesup, in a letter to the Secretary of War, for which he was severely snubbed.<sup>12</sup>

Bulow’s belief in the friendliness of the Indians to him may have come from knowing them both on the plantation and in St. Augustine. James Ormond tells how the planters in the Halifax region depend-

11. 25th Congress, 2nd session. Private claims. Bucknor claim.

12. Sprague, *op. cit.* pp. 199-201.

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ed for all fresh meats on the Indian hunters "with whom they were on the best of terms."

In December when there were many signs that the young chiefs were collecting near Tampa not to emigrate as had been agreed, but to go on the war-path, troops of the regular army were stationed at Fort Brooke on Tampa bay. General Hernandez sent Major B. A. Putnam from St. Augustine with a detachment of militia. known as the "Mosquito Roarers" to protect the plantations between the Matanzas river and New Smyrna. On his way south Major Putnam stopped at Bulow Ville. In his testimony before Congress he later described the incident as follows: "I recollect that Mr. Bulow on whose plantation we made a short stop on our march from St. Augustine to Rosetta (the plantation of the Marquis de Fougères) was very much disgusted by the presence of troops at his place and very uncivil".<sup>13</sup>

On Christmas Eve during the night a large body of Indians came into New Smyrna and burned all the residences. Mrs. Sheldon, the wife of a planter there, tells how they were warned by a servant in time to escape. After an uncomfortable night on the peninsula they reached Bulow's Landing the next day. On their arrival they found all the inhabitants of the Halifax region collected there, afraid to go to St. Augustine without protection.<sup>14</sup> What a contrast that Christmas night of shaken nerves and hideous anxieties must have been to the one of four years before when Bulow welcomed Audubon to bounteous fare and pursuits of scientific interest.

Major Putnam removed his troops from Rosetta to Bulow Ville the night of December 28th. making his headquarters there until January 23rd. Putnam

13. Bucknor claim.

14. *Florida Historical Quarterly*, VIII, pp. 188-196.

reported that Bulow “. . . objected to the troops occupying his place and manifested his opposition in a very decided manner. On our approach to his place he continued to fire upon us with a four-pounder, charged with powder, with the expectation, I presume, of preventing our going to his place”. Another witness states that “. . . so rude was he in his reception of the officers that they took possession of his house and would not admit him to their mess *at his own table*. He was pressed as a soldier, and, it is said, put under guard.”

Putnam's understanding of his orders was that he was not to protect any one plantation but to station his troops at the most strategic point for the aid of the whole region. He withdrew from Rosetta because he feared that the Indians might cut him off from his base at St. Augustine if he tried to occupy the more southerly position. He fortified Bulow Ville by forming a breastwork around the quarters with cotton-bales belonging to the estate; and also built a fort in front of the dwelling house with materials from the plantation.<sup>15</sup>

The Seminole War had now begun in earnest. On December 27 Major Dade and his command of a hundred and thirty-nine regular troops were surprised in the Great Wahoo swamp and all but two men were massacred.<sup>16</sup> In the Halifax region several expeditions against the Indians were fitted out from what was now called Fort or Camp Bulow. The largest of these was on January 23 when Major Putnam took a detachment of the “Mosquito Roarers” south to what is now Port Orange to see if provisions could be found on the Dunlawton plantation for the troops and refugees at Bulow Ville. They

15. Bucknor claim.

16. Fairbanks, George R.: *History of Florida*. Jacksonville 1904 pp. 196-198.

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encountered the Indians in superior force and the undisciplined militia who, according to young James Ormond, "had never before heard a gun fired in anger" were forced to retreat to Bulow Ville, with nearly everyone wounded, including Putnam himself, and one negro killed. Bulow's hopefulness of the Indians' loyalty must have had a severe blow when he learned that the once friendly Coacoochee led the savages, his head adorned with reflectors taken from the lighthouse at the Inlet.<sup>17</sup>

A detachment of some forty-five men from St. Augustine conducted the wounded back there from Bulow Ville under cover of night.

After the retreat from Dunlawton the men were so worn out or dissatisfied that they requested permission to abandon the post at Bulow Ville. A few days later, according to the narrative of Lieutenant Cohen ". . . all of Bulow's, Williams's, DuPont's, and General Hernandez' negroes with such other property as could be removed were safely landed at Anastasia Island where the city authorities had directed that the negroes should be located. The troops then retired to St. Augustine. When the plantation-post was abandoned Bulow's carts, wagons and teams were all pressed to carry the soldiers' baggage and he was not permitted to put in them a single article."<sup>18</sup>

So the great Bulow plantation was left unprotected, standing alone in the surrounding wilderness where some of the few neighboring settlements were already smoking ruins.

On which day the savages made good their revenge on Fort Bulow is not known. The next de-

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17. Ormond Reminiscences.

18. Cohen, M. M.: *Notices of Florida and the Campaigns*. Charleston, 1836. p. 96; Bucknor claim.

scription of the plantation is in Lieutenant Cohen's narrative headed "Camp Bulow, Feb. 5th, 1836."

"Two days rations having been prepared Col. B. orders a move (fr. Camp Brisban). The line of march is taken up at 9 a.m. . . . for Bulow's plantation on which the Indians were reported to be in considerable force, having a stockade, swivel, etc. After a fatiguing march of twelve miles, rendered more so by the delays of the wagons, we arrived there, found no foe, took quiet possession of the plantation and a four-pounder, and encamped for the night.

"We gazed, not without regret, on a scene over which ruin brooded or stalked with no stealthy pace. The noble mill and mansion are utterly destroyed, and an extensive library of splendid works is scattered over the field, torn or fired, as if the Seminoles willed not that we should sip of the pleasant waters of the Pierian spring, 'the pure well of English undefiled', to the savage but a sealed fount. Here we rescued a Milton and Shakespeare and mean to make them companions of our otherwise weary way, the solaces of our heart-heavy hours. Think of one of these insensate sons of, the forest with a "Paradise Lost" or a "Hamlet", holding it up, looking at it, and trampling or burning it. What to him is the mighty English lion? What to him the sweet swan of Avon? In his hands they are just as a jewel of gold in the swine's snout, as Solomon saith." <sup>19</sup>

In an interesting unpublished narrative called "Life in Camp and Field", owned by the St. Augustine Historical Society, Dr. J. Rhett Motte tells of camping by the still smoking ruins of Bulow Ville :

"We resumed our march through heavy sands

19. *Ibid.* 143.

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and occasional swamps succeeded by thick scrubs, until near dark, when the ruins of Bulow's noble mill and mansion pointed out our resting place for the night, having marched thirty miles since morning. We turned down the broad avenue, once flanked by noble oaks whose scathed and blackened trunks and leafless limbs alone remained to attest their former magnificence. On either side were extensive fields, most luxuriant once with richest sugar crops but now presenting a scene in which the demon of desolation stalked with unchecked sway.

"On our left arose through the calm twilight of a summer's eve the ruined arches and columns of the once stately sugar mill while before us lay a smouldering, ashy heap, the only vestige to show where once stood the hospitable mansion, before the dark demon of ruin commenced his riots. Amid these ruins we built our bivouac fires, the river Halifax smoothly gliding near through green meadows of pastoral beauty."<sup>20</sup>

What became of the spoiled young man whose life had been so suddenly changed by the fortunes of war little is known beyond the bare fact of his death three months later on May 7th, 1836. The Ormond manuscript states that "He was wild and dissipated and after the way of all such came to an early end."<sup>21</sup> There has been no record found of his death in St. Augustine nor is there any Bulow grave marked there except his father's. But there remains the tribute of Audubon's, "During the whole stay with Mr. Bulow, there was no abatement of his kindness, or his unremitting efforts to make me comfortable and to promote my researches. I shall ever feel

20. Motte, Dr. J. Rhett. : "Life in Camp and Field." MS in library of St. Augustine Historical Society.

21. Ormond Reminiscences.

grateful to one of the most deserving and generous of men." <sup>22</sup>

Since the younger Bulow left no heirs the plantation, according to his father's will, reverted to his sister, Mrs. Wm. G. Bucknor of New York, and her heirs, with her mother having a life interest in one-half.

After the seven years of Indian war was over various claims were presented to Congress for the value of plantations destroyed by the savages. The Bucknor heirs of the Bulow plantation presented theirs in due course, claiming that the value of the buildings and crops totalled eighty-two thousand dollars. Their detailed inventory included the harvested cotton and sugar crop still waiting to be shipped, and the new, partly grown crops. The testimony of Major Putnam and others proved that the plantation had been made into a fortified military post and as such, according to precedents set by claims near Fort Niagara for compensation after the War of 1812, had a valid claim.

The bill to meet the Bulow claim passed both the Senate and the House but never at the same session. So it finally lapsed.

Today deer, coon and wild turkey haunt the ruined mill. The stone inscribed "Bulow Ville, January 26th, 1831" was in place until May of 1938 when it was apparently pried out and stolen. At about the same time someone, rumoured to be a hunter of buried treasure with a radio metal detector, uncovered iron sluices that ran underground out of the mill and later carried them away.

Of the commodious plantation house beside the peaceful creek merely the outlines of the foundations are left with a scraggly oleander bush beside them

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22. Herrick, *op. cit.* II, p. 15.

## TEQUESTA

The fourth issue of *Tequesta*, "The Journal of the Historical Association of Southern Florida" appeared while the last number of our *Quarterly* was in press. This one was edited by Professor Leonard R. Muller, of the University of Miami, with an advisory board of Harold E. Briggs, David O. True, and H. Frank Williams.

The first article is a biographical sketch of Frank Bryant Stoneman. There follows a paper on "Archaeological Investigations on the Upper Florida Keys" by John M. Goggin; "Five Plants Essential to the Indians and Early Settlers of Florida" by John C. Gifford; "Recent Economic Trends in South Florida" by Reinhold P. Wolff; and "The Freducci Map of 1514-1515" by David O. True. There are obituaries of Edmund LeRoy Dow, Mrs. Robert Morris Seymour, and Claude C. Matlack.

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The biography of Editor Stoneman, by his daughter Marjory Stoneman Douglas, is reprinted with revisions from *The Miami Herald*. A native of Indianapolis, he came to Orlando in time ". . . to see the freeze of 1894 devastate the country, houses left standing unpeopled, food on the tables, with the exodus of the ruined. There was talk of the railroad going farther south than Palm Beach and a frostless country below there where the town of Miami huddled, a few shacks among the palmetto. It was the real pioneer country, in contrast to the leisured laffy streets of Orlando.

"When the railroad reached Miami, Stoneman did too, and began publishing the *Record*. There is a description of Miami in those days with surries under fringed canopies waiting for the not abundant tourist, 'when the Sewall, Brothers were going

into business and Isidor Cohen had dried out that first stock of goods he had dumped into Miami River'."

Then came the founding of *The Miami Herald*, the story of which Mrs. Douglas leaves to the files of that newspaper.

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*John M. Goggin's Archaeological Notes*

The studies of archaeology and of history are two parts of a whole. So, though it is minor, archaeology is by no means out of place in a historical magazine.

As a Miamian, and with the training in archaeology he has had, doubtless no one else could tell us better than Mr. Goggin about the locations of mounds on the upper keys and what has so far been found in and about them. The area he covers is from Virginia and Biscayne keys to lower Metacumbe. These were inhabited by the Tekesta (Tequesta, Tegesta) Indians, "a political confederation of small local groups," who were, says Bishop Calderon in 1675 "very savage tribes living on fish and roots of trees."

"By 1800" says Goggin "all the Indians had disappeared from this area;" and Romans states that Metacumbe was one of the "last habitations of the savages of the Calusa nation." It may have been earlier, "for by the last quarter of the 18th century mahogany cutters from the Bahamas overran the keys after skirmishes with dwindling remnants of the aborigines."

The typical key is a wind-swept, coral-sanded beach, a rocky ridge with stunted hammock growth and on the west a thick mangrove swamp. "On the edge of the mangroves are found most of the (archaeological) sites.

"The mammalian fauna is limited. Bears were formerly common. Romans says deer were found on Biscayne Key and 'small deer' on Lower Metacumbe. The most common animal was the raccoon. Wading and sea birds were found in great numbers." All fresh water was obtained by digging wells in sandy beaches or from . . . rain water.

"A few early anthropologists may have visited the keys, but we have no published data. Moore, despite his many travels, did not explore the Keys. Stirling visited the Keys on various occasions but as yet has not published his work."

Mr. Goggin begins his survey on Biscayne Key, where he locates a midden and a sand burial mound. On Key Largo he describes a midden "175 feet long and more than three feet deep, composed of black soil and ashes with a mixture of shell and bones, in some parts a strata of fish bones over a foot thick . . . other sections composed of pure ash from an inch to two feet thick . . . only a small percentage of the total is shell. A large number of artifacts, mostly shell picks and potshards, were collected on the surf ace."

A larger midden was found more than 200 yards from the closest water. "A few shell tools were found here, but potshards composed the major portion of the artifacts collected."

Near this midden is ". . . the famous rock mound . . . the best known of all the Key sites, mainly because of Stirling's visits in the 1930s."

*The Rock Mound* - "The most conspicuous section of this site is the rock mound itself. However, it is apparently only a part of a large area which includes a number of features. There is no question that it is similar to the intricate sites of the Ten Thousand Islands area. Here, however, the material used is limestone fragments instead of shell.

The large mound is built of limestone rocks 10 or 12 inches in diameter, laid in rough courses. The elevation of the mound is about 8 or 9 feet. A few holes have been dug in this mound by treasure seekers, but the damage is slight. These do reveal the interior construction of the mound and show that it was apparently all made of stone . . . it appears roughly to be kidney shaped, about 100 feet long by 55 feet at the widest. There was apparently a sloping ramp which led down to a stone causeway traceable for at least 25 feet. This path is one foot high, about 14 feet wide, and made of the same stone as is the mound. Some 130 feet from the mound is a wall or ridge made of limestone, two and one-half feet high, eight feet wide and 70 feet long . . . It is quite possible there are other structures in the immediate vicinity but the thick forest makes it difficult to find them. No potshards were seen at this site and the only artifact collected was a broken shell pick.

“Without doubt this site was primarily used for ceremonial purposes . . . As far as known, there are no similar sites on the upper Keys, although there are rumors of one in the Everglades. The absence of potshards or other artifacts also tends to indicate that it was of special importance.”

There are two mounds on Plantation Key where pottery or cultural materials were found, but it is not known whether or not they are artificial. There are also two middens where potshards and shell artifacts were found. On Upper Metacumbe Key is a sizable midden which is about four feet deep at the deepest part. Potshards and shell artifacts are common on the surface.

“On Lower Metacumbe are several sandy ridges . . . covered to an unknown depth with midden material composed of shells and black soil. Some shards

were found. The ridges may have been used for burial purposes.”

On Lignumvitae Key is “. . . a coral sand burial mound about 50 feet in diameter and three and one-half feet high. The presence of small fragments of human bones on the surface would indicate its use as a burial mound. No shards or other artifacts were seen.”

*Material Culture* - Pottery, represented by shards, ranks first in whole numbers of artifacts found. Following this come articles of shell and bone, with occasional artifacts of stone. Wooden objects are rarely recovered from muck deposits, and none were found.

There are several carefully executed plates by Dorothy F. Goggin showing about a score of the shards found. These are mere fragments, but they show the design pattern clearly.

A table classifies the pottery wares and indicates the numerical occurrences of each article at each site. Typical, as well as unusual ones are described.

The probable methods of the manufacture of the tools are also described, as well as their uses. There are relics of picks, adzes, shell dippers, shell dishes, and others. Bone artifacts are rare because there was no excavation.

A few ornaments were collected and these are illustrated by a plate. One is a perforated shark's tooth. Another, a pendant, is a long narrow triangle made of limestone.

*Subsistence.* There is shown here: “. . . the utilization in large quantities of shell fish not used in the nearby Florida areas ; large pockets of broken *Nerita* shells were found . . . all cracked in a similar manner to extract the snail. At the present time the snails are not eaten in Florida, although they are

great favorites of the Greek people and the Polynesians.

“Of the three large conchs found in the mounds, only one is popular for food at the present time. The presence of great quantities of fish bones would indicate a large utilization of such food.”

*“Summary and conclusions.* - The sites and material examined seem to belong to the Glades area beyond question . . . . There is no evidence of contact with the Antillean area despite the close proximity to Cuba and the Bahamas. Various writers have postulated Mayan connections with southern Florida and in particular the site on Key Largo. There is absolutely no evidence of such relationships. The stone mound on Key Largo does not resemble any Mayan structure and the pottery in the area is in no way similar to Mayan ceramics as has been claimed . . . . Complete cultural connections must be based on high percentile similarity of exhaustive cultural trait lists comprising subsistence, religion, social and linguistic, and artifactual material. So far, we have certain similarities and a few common traits of material culture and little else . . . .

“The religious and social systems are not thoroughly known as yet in the Antilles, but at the present time there appears to be little similarity to the Southeastern United States. Language appears to have no similarity at all. The Calusa, who may have had the majority of contacts with the Antilles, speak a little known language which appears to be related to the Choctaw. The most important item of material culture-pottery-refutes by direct evidence the possibility of important connections. No example of West Indian pottery is known to have been found in south Florida, although slightly similar pieces are found in West Florida and Georgia.

“No European material was seen, perhaps indi-

eating that most of the sites were not occupied in Post-Columbian times, although aborigines are referred to by Spanish writers."

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Dr. John C. Gifford, Professor of Tropical Forestry and Conservation of Natural Resources at the University of Miami, writes of five Florida native or naturalized plants which ". . . served the Indian and early settler well; *Koonti*, a starch; *Black-drink*, *Florida-mate*, a beverage; *Seminole-pumpkin*, a vegetable; *Guava*, a fruit; *Georgia fever-bark* or *Florida quinine*, a medicine."

*Koonti* or *comtie*, a cycad with a large amount of starch in its root, is often used for food. It was a principal article of commerce in South Florida in the early days.

*Ilex vomitoria* from which *Florida-mate* is drawn is called *yaupon* in Florida. It grows into a small tree but is more often seen as a sturdy shrub covered with small red berries ripening in early winter. Dr. Gifford says of it: "The *yaupon* was regarded by the southern Indians as a holy plant being used by them during their religious rites and solemn councils to clear the stomach and the head . . . restore lost appetite and give them agility and courage in war."

"The Indians of South Florida raised a pumpkin . . . which is different from ours, by planting it at the foot of a tree that had been deadened" and so furnished a support for the vine and "kept the fruit away from pigs and cattle." It is small and hard and greenish but "has an excellent flavor."

"When Canova visited Miami in 1858 he found the guava bushes full of delicious fruit excellent in quality and similar to the most delicious peaches;" and Dr. Gifford wonders "if the quality of the guava has actually deteriorated or if the improve-

ment in other fruits has left it far in the background." But he adds, "There is no finer fruit jelly in the world."

During the War for Southern Independence quinine was almost unobtainable in the Confederacy, and the bark of the native *Pinckneya pubens* or Georgia-fever-bark or Florida quinine was largely used in its stead, which Dr. Gifford says is a close relative of the cinchona tree of South America which furnishes the quinine of commerce. He tells of another tree on the Florida Keys called princewood (*Exostema cariboenum*) the bark of which contains active tonic properties and has long been used as a fever fighter by the natives.

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Dr. Reinhold P. Wolff, who is Assistant Professor of Economics at the University of Miami, emphasizes the connection between transportation and the growth of South Florida. The region's development began with its first railroad. A new phase opened with the coming of motor transportation, and a third comes with the rapid growth of air transportation.

The beginning of development ". . . was agricultural with a very modest share of resort trade . . . and the real beginning of South Florida's growth into a major resort area did not come until popular-priced automobiles made motoring the most widespread and popular of all recreation activities."

Dr. Wolff concludes, "The effects of air transportation will be not less revolutionary than was the development of popular motoring."

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Mr. David O. True, of the Advisory Board of *Tequesta* and editor of the recent reprint of Fontaneda's *Memoir*, discusses the Freducci map.

This map was brought to notice by Dr. L. D. Scisco in an article on "The Track of Ponce de Leon in 1513" in *Bulletin of the America Geographical Society*, the issue of October 1919; who says, "That the charts of Ponce de Leon reached Spain and were used in the constitution of other maps is evidenced by the cartographic appearance of Florida soon after his discovery." He adds, ". . . in the Florida of the Freducci map appear nomenclature and geographic outlines that unmistakably derive from the charts of Ponce de Leon . . . . It is now without date, but Casanova [who published a photographic reproduction and accompanying monograph in 1894] fixes its time as 1514 or 1515 . . . . So soon was this map made after the Florida discovery of 1513 that there had not been time for any considerable recopying of Ponce de Leon's records. The Freducci Florida must have been derived almost directly from the explorer's charts, and it may consequently be ranked as a source document supplementing the text of Herrera."

A portion of the Freducci map is reproduced in Mr. True's article from a copy of the Casanova monograph in the Library of Congress. This includes Cuba, the lower part of the peninsula of Florida, and northwards along the Atlantic coast an indefinite distance. There are, as Dr. Cisco says, no lines of latitude indicated on the Feducci map. Mr. True indicates them where he thinks they should be and makes some interesting deductions based on them.

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#### A REPRINT OF FONTANEDA

There has been issued under the direction of the University of Miami and the Historical Association of Southern Florida a reprint of Buckingham Smith's translation of *Memoir of Hernando de Es-*

*calente Fontaneda Respecting Florida*, published in 1854.

As that edition was of but one hundred copies it is rare, and the University and the Association have rendered a service to the student and all who are interested in Florida's history in making this important work available.

The volume includes a Foreword by David O. True who has also written a chapter of Editorial Comment (13p.). The Spanish text of the *Memoir*, from a transcript in the Library of Congress placed there by Jeannette Thurber Connor, is included. Buckingham Smith's translation and his numerous notes are given in full, with additional notes and comment by Mr. True and his assistants, and there is further comment by John R. Swanton. Angela del Castillo suggests certain "corrections in Buckingham Smith's translation," and there is a bibliography, and a map of Florida with suggested locations for the Indian names which have come down to us.

The whole comprises seventy-seven pages, and copies may be had from the Association, P. O. box 537, Miami 4, at two dollars for the board binding, and two and one-half dollars for cloth.

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#### FLORIDA'S CENTENNIAL AT THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

The Library of Congress is presenting an exhibition to commemorate the one hundredth anniversary of Florida's entrance into the Union. Two special exhibits are on display from March 3 (the anniversary day) until June 1. They are limited to material in the Library's collections.

In the rotunda on the second floor is an extensive display of documents : manuscripts relating to De-Soto, old maps and views made by European cartog-

raphers, letters of Andrew Jackson relating to Florida, transcripts from Spanish archives, and numerous others; also early Florida newspapers, early travel books, Civil War material, and books by Florida authors. The contributions to Florida history by the late James Alexander Robertson are a feature.

In the downstairs galley is a photographic exhibition of enlargements of colonial maps and views of the landscape and of the architecture of St. Augustine and Pensacola. The Library's "Exhibit-of-the-Week" of March 3 was an early map of Florida.

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#### HISTORICAL SOCIETIES IN THE UNITED STATES

The American Association for State and Local History has issued: *Historical Societies in the United States and Canada. A Handbook*. Washington, D. C. 1944, 261 p.

This useful volume was compiled and edited by Christopher Crittenden, editor, and Doris Godard, editorial associate. Five hundred eighty-three historical organizations are listed, which is an increase of more than fifty per cent over those in the last edition (1936). Ten organizations are listed in Florida: The Florida Historical Society, St. Augustine; Historical Association of Southern Florida, Miami; Jacksonville Historical Society; Madison County Historical Society, Madison; Palm Beach County Historical Society, West Palm Beach; Pensacola Historical Society; St. Petersburg Memorial Historical Society; Tallahassee Historical Society; Polk County Historical Commission, Bartow; St. Augustine Historical Society and Institute of Science.

## THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

A called meeting of the board of directors of the Society was held in the library on December 10. Present were President May of Jacksonville, John H. Davis Jr. of Tallahassee, Miss Dena Snodgrass of Jacksonville, X. L. Pellicer and Albert C. Manucy of St. Augustine, and Mrs. Alberta Johnson, acting librarian.

The primary purposes of the meeting were to determine what steps should be taken by the Society for commemorating the centennial of Florida's admission into the Union, and to set a time and place for the annual meeting of the Society. Other questions were considered, but no announcements can be made yet concerning them.

It was determined to hold the annual meeting in connection with a celebration of the centennial in Tallahassee on March 3.

After plans were under way, War Mobilization Director Byrnes asked that all such meetings be called off, and President May thereupon postponed the meeting until such time as it would not interfere with the war effort.

Karl A. Bickel having resigned as chairman of the Society's centennial commemoration committee, President May appointed Dr. Mark F. Boyd of Tallahassee, who appointed sub-committees and made plans with them for the observance of March 3 throughout the State by local celebrations. Mr. David E. Smiley of Tampa and his committee promoted the observance of the day through the press and the radio ; Professor A. J. Hanna headed a committee on colleges and universities ; Professor R. L. Goulding with a committee induced celebrations in the grade and high schools throughout the State; and Mr. W. T. Cash and a committee brought together and published information on the centennial.

This publication is of twelve pages with the title *Then and Now, or Florida 1845 & 1945*. It includes the proclamation of Governor Caldwell, and comparisons of the beginning and end of the one hundred years in the state government, state finances, tax sources, population of counties and cities, occupations, education, religious statistics, industries, banks, communication, post offices, and advertisements.

Nine thousand copies were printed, and they were distributed throughout the State. A copy may be had from the secretary of the Society as long as they are available.

Professor Goulding's committee compiled and wrote a pamphlet of twelve pages on "Suggestions for the Observance of the Centennial of Statehood," which was printed and distributed by the State Department of Education. This contains the Proclamation of Governor Caldwell, a Foreword by State Superintendent of Education Colin English, a list of significant dates of the one hundred years, suggestions for observance of the anniversary, and a list of certain prominent individuals in Florida's history. There is also a list of printed source material with a brief description of each suggested title. Copies may be had from the State Department of Education.

So the Society has taken the lead in promoting the observance of the centennial.

#### NEW MEMBERS

The following have become members of the Society recently:

|                            |                       |
|----------------------------|-----------------------|
| Al B. Block .....          | Tallahassee           |
| William G. Carleton .....  | University of Florida |
| Mrs. C. M. Berry .....     | Sanford               |
| Sgt. P. K. Yonge .....     | Pacific area          |
| Victor N. Sanborn .....    | St. Augustine         |
| Lucien Y. Dyrenforth ..... | Jacksonville          |
| (contributing member)      |                       |
| R. H. McGinnis .....       | Jacksonville          |
| Olin W. Norwood USN .....  | (Jasper)              |

|  |                    |
|--|--------------------|
| Harold B. Wahl .....                     | Jacksonville       |
| Harry T. Gray .....                      | Jacksonville       |
| LaMonte Graw .....                       | Orlando            |
| Harold Colee .....                       | Jacksonville       |
| William Pierce .....                     | Ft. Lauderdale     |
| Coconut Grove Library Association        |                    |
| Mrs. Clarence M. Harrison .....          | Palmetto           |
| Mrs. Eugene Preston Carpenter .....      | Palm Beach         |
| (contributing member)                    |                    |
| P. C. Enniss .....                       | Jacksonville       |
| Frank H. Elmore, Jr .....                | Alexandria, Va.    |
| John P. A. McKenna .....                 | West Palm Beach    |
| Herbert U. Feibelman .....               | Miami              |
| Abraham Hurwitz .....                    | Jacksonville       |
| (contributing member)                    |                    |
| Florida State Board of Health Library... | Jacksonville       |
| Mrs. Ruth Hope Leon .....                | Jacksonville       |
| Rev. Charles W. Spellman .....           | St. Augustine      |
| Herbert Stockton Massey .....            | Dade City          |
| (contributing member)                    |                    |
| Mathew Zivoder USNR .....                | Ft. Pierce         |
| James A. Austin .....                    | Mandarin           |
| Kenneth Close .....                      | Miami              |
| Mrs. Joe S. Earman .....                 | Vero Beach         |
| Georgia Ann Earman .....                 | Staunton, Va.      |
| Demonstration School Library             |                    |
| Florida State College for Women .....    | Tallahassee        |
| Mrs. G. E. Copeland .....                | Winter Haven       |
| Mrs. J. D. McFadden .....                | Alachua            |
| Mrs. James H. Lipscomb .....             | Jacksonville       |
| (contributing member)                    |                    |
| Mrs. John Stephenson .....               | South Jacksonville |

*Contributors to This Number*

*Rembert W. Patrick* is Associate Professor of the Social Sciences, and a member of the Governing Board, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida.

*T. Frederick Davis*, historian of Jacksonville, has contributed much to the *Quarterly*, including our Ponce de Leon number.

*Mrs. Ruth Danenhower Wilson*, formerly a resident of Ormond, now resides in New York City. Her recent book "Jim Crow Joins Up" is a study of Negroes in the armed forces.

*John M. Goggin*, formerly of Miami, is working with the Department of Anthropology, Peabody Museum of Natural History, Yale University.

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