

# Florida Historical Quarterly

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Volume 38  
Number 3 *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Vol 38,  
Issue 3

Article 1

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1959

## Florida Historical Quarterly, Vol. 38, Issue 3

Florida Historical Society  
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### Recommended Citation

Society, Florida Historical (1959) "Florida Historical Quarterly, Vol. 38, Issue 3," *Florida Historical Quarterly*. Vol. 38: No. 3, Article 1.

Available at: <https://stars.library.ucf.edu/fhq/vol38/iss3/1>

## HENRY M. FLAGLER - RAILROAD BUILDER \*

*by* CARLTON J. CORLISS

ONE CANNOT VISIT this storied city of Saint Augustine without recalling its long and romantic past under the flags of Spain and France and England and its exciting territorial years under the American flag.

We are told that only a short distance from where we are meeting, the Spanish adventurer, Ponce de Leon, first landed on American soil - in 1513 - in search of the "Fountain of Perpetual Youth." Ponce de Leon did not find the "Fountain of Youth" but he did find an enduring place in American history.

Three hundred and seventy years later, there came to Florida and to Saint Augustine another man-truly a man of courage, who loved adventure as much, perhaps, as the renowned Spanish conquistador.

The real-life story of this man, Henry M. Flagler, who, starting as a five-dollar-a-month store boy, became one of the nation's foremost captains of industry, surpasses in human interest any success story from the imaginative pen of Horatio Alger. Flagler came here at the age of fifty-three. He came, perhaps, as Edwin Lefevre once wrote, "seeking the precious gold of the sunlight, or the turquoise sky; or, perhaps, merely a comfortable rocking chair on a hotel veranda. But he found here what his Spanish brother missed. It did not gush from a fountain, but blossomed on de tree of his life's philosophy, which later bore marvelous fruit. He found his Second Youth." And, like Ponce de Leon, he found a permanent place in American history.

And Lefevre, writing nearly fifty years ago, while Mr. Flagler was living, said prophetically: "What he has done you may see for yourself, and the children of your children will see still more clearly. The tramp of the marching years will not grind to dust his work, but make it the more solid-like the concrete of his viaducts and his buildings, which will grow harder, more like

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\* An address delivered at St. Augustine, Florida, February 23, 1959 at the unveiling of a tablet erected by the National Railway Historical Society, commemorating the role of Henry M. Flagler as a railroad builder.

stone, with age. In no other place, in no other way, by no other man, could the work have been done."

Ours would be a small nation today if it had not produced a goodly quota of bold and imaginative leaders - men of vision, men of courage. They dreamed great dreams, and then-under our system of free enterprise-they proceeded to transform those dreams into realities, oftentimes in the face of the most formidable obstacles.

James J. Hill, C. P. Huntington, E. H. Harriman and other men who girded the continent with pathways of steel were aided in their projects by funds supplied by large groups of investors-stockholders and bondholders. Some had the benefit also of government aid.

But Henry M. Flagler was unique among the great railroad builders. He was a "one-man corporation." Out of his own pocket he financed the construction of the Florida East Coast Railway and many of his other enterprises.

He was the only man in American history who initiated and carried to completion such an extensive development program out of his own personal fortune.

He was probably the only man in American history who ventured upon such stupendous undertakings late in life. He was in his seventy-fourth year when he decided to extend his railroad to Key West. He was eighty-two when the railroad was completed to that city.

He was the only man in American history-and probably in the world-who included in his development program so wide a range of activities. In addition to his railroad and his chain of hotels, Mr. Flagler operated steamboats, steamship lines, port terminals, ocean-going ferries, electric-light and power plants, and water works. He organized land companies. He promoted community development. He built streets and roads, churches, schools and hospitals. And when he couldn't induce the Government to dredge Biscayne Bay to enable him to operate steamships between Miami and Nassau, he did what no other individual in American history ever did anywhere before - he had the channel dredged at his own expense.

It is an interesting fact that Henry M. Flagler was born in the same year that public railway transportation was introduced

in America. His life-span coincides almost exactly with the period of railway expansion in this country. The date of his birth was January 2, 1830. At that time there was not a mile of railroad anywhere on the North American Continent providing public transportation service. Four months after he was born, the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad began carrying passengers and freight in cars drawn by horses on a track extending a few miles out of Baltimore. He was less than a year old when the first successful steam locomotive in America, the "Best Friend of Charleston," was placed in regular daily service a few miles out of Charleston, S. C., over what is now the Southern Railway.

He lived to see the nation covered with a network of more than 250,000 miles of railroad lines.

Mr. Flagler's first visit to Saint Augustine was in 1883. The narrow lanes, balconied houses and crumbling gates of this quaint little Spanish town, its profusion of magnolias, palms and oleanders, and its warm sunshine, appealed strongly to him. He wanted to share its exotic charm with others. But he was anything but pleased with its hotel and railway accommodations.

One day he confided to a friend that he was going to build a hotel. He invited the friend to go in with him, but the man wasn't interested. So Mr. Flagler went it alone. He purchased several acres of land, including an orange grove. He engaged two young architects and sent them to Spain to study the architecture of that country. On their return, plans for his hotel began to take shape. Ground was broken in 1885, and when the Ponce de Leon Hotel was opened in January, 1888, it surpassed in architectural beauty and luxuriousness any hotel in the South if not in the country. Its only rival in the South was the new Tampa Bay Hotel on the west coast of Florida built by his friend, Henry Bradley Plant, who was extending railroads into that part of the state.

There is a story that Mr. Flagler telegraphed his friend Plant an invitation to the opening of the Ponce de Leon. Plant, with tongue in cheek, wired back, "Thanks, Henry, for the invitation, but where is Saint Augustine?" Mr. Flagler wired back: "Just follow the crowd."

While the Ponce de Leon was under construction, Mr. Flagler began building another palatial hotel in St. Augustine, the

Alcazar; then he purchased still another hotel, the Cordova, which became an annex to the Alcazar.

At that time, the only direct rail link with Jacksonville and the North was a poorly-equipped and poorly-operated narrow-gauge line, the 36-mile Jacksonville, St. Augustine and Halifax, which ran from a joint just outside Saint Augustine to the south bank of the St. Johns River, opposite Jacksonville. In 1888, trains carrying through Pullman cars were run for the first time between New York and Jacksonville. But to get from the railroad depot in Jacksonville to Saint Augustine, the traveler had to take a cab to the point where the ferry crossed the river, transfer to the ferry, then transfer from the ferry to the train, and after a 1<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> hour ride on the narrow-gauge road, complete the trip into Saint Augustine by cab.

Mr. Flagler wanted it to be possible for his guests to board Pullman cars in Jersey City and step off in Saint Augustine. He tried to convince the owners of the narrow-gauge line that it would be to their advantage to make necessary improvements so this could be done. But they shook their heads. They couldn't see it. Their "No" proved to be a turning point in the life of Mr. Flagler - and in the history of Florida. If they had said "yes," Mr. Flagler might never have been heard of except as a hotel owner.

He then took a momentous step. To accomplish his objective, he purchased control of the little railroad, rebuilt it to standard gauge, extended it to a point near his hotels, spanned the Saint Johns River with a bridge, and by 1890 trains from New York and other Northern cities were running through to Saint Augustine. The railroad became an adjunct to his hotels. That's how Mr. Flagler became a railroad man.

To understand what Florida was like when Mr. Flagler came here and began his great development program, we must look at the census reports. He acquired the narrow-gauge railroad in 1885. The last census - that of 1880 - reported that Florida had a total population of 269,000 - less than one-tenth what it is today. The largest city was Key West, with about 10,000. Jacksonville, the chief city on the mainland, had 7,600. Tampa had less than 1,000. The largest community on the East Coast of Florida between Jacksonville and Key West was Saint Augus-

tine, with 2,300 inhabitants. Daytona, with 321 people, was the largest community on the entire East Coast between Saint Augustine and Key West. The total population of the sixteen counties in which the Florida East Coast Railway now operates was only 53,000 - fewer people than there are today in the city of Fort Lauderdale.

With the purchase of the narrow-gauge railroad, Mr. Flagler began to think in terms of railway development as well as hotels. Combining the two, he acquired and rebuilt a couple of small roads which carried him as far south as Ormond and Daytona. At Ormond he built the Hotel Ormond, bridged the Halifax River, and carried out other improvements. By 1892, he was acquiring large areas of undeveloped land down the East Coast of Florida. He was taking steps to promote agricultural development even in advance of the opening of his railroad. To provide transportation to communities beyond the railhead, he established a steamboat line which ran from Daytona as far south as Lake Worth, the future Palm Beach. His rails reached New Smyrna in 1892; Cocoa, Rockledge and Eau Gallie in 1893, and by January, 1894, trains were running as far south as Fort Pierce.

Sometime previously Mr. Flagler had visited Lake Worth, 300 miles south of Jacksonville, and he was so impressed with the natural beauty of the place that he decided to transform it into a winter paradise. His rails reached West Palm Beach in the spring of 1894. And across Lake Worth, on the ocean front, an army of workmen, recruited from a dozen states, were already engaged in building the fabulous Hotel Royal Poinciana - the largest hotel in the Flagler chain and one of the largest in the world. Soon after, he added Palm Beach Inn; later, The Breakers. He surrounded the hotels with acres of enchanting gardens, studded with royal poincianas, royal palms, japonicas, cocconut trees, and exotic shrubs drawn from all quarters of the globe.

Amid these surroundings, Flagler built his stately mansion, "Whitehall." This was his winter home for the rest of his days.

When the road reached Palm Beach it was known as the Jacksonville, St. Augustine & Indian River Railway. Soon after, it took its present name-the Florida East Coast Railway.

Down the palm-fringed coast, sixty-six miles south of Palm

Beach - reached only by steamboat, sailing vessel or winding sandy trail - was old Fort Dallas, relic of the Seminole War of the 1840s. There a plucky widow, Mrs. Julia D. Tuttle, had acquired several hundred acres of piney woods, palmetto and jungle land bordering on Biscayne Bay and Miami River. In her home state, Ohio, Mrs. Tuttle had watched the transforming influence of railway transportation and she hoped for the day when the railroad would come to the Miami River.

As early as 1893, before Mr. Flagler's railroad was half-way down the Coast, she had sent word that she would share her land holdings 50-50 with him if he would bring his rails to the Miami. But it took a devastating freeze in the winter of 1894 to cause Mr. Flagler to give serious thought to Mrs. Tuttle's proposal. It was the worst freeze on record, ruining orange groves, touching pineapple crops on the Indian River, and even nipping coconut palms as far south as Palm Beach. At the time it seemed like a fatal blow. Mr. Flagler, then in Saint Augustine, sent J. E. Ingraham, his land and colonization agent, south. Ingraham reported that there had been no sign of frost south of New River -where Fort Lauderdale is now located.

"I said to Mr. Flagler," Mr. Ingraham related, "I have a written proposal from Mrs. Tuttle. She invites you to extend your railroad to Miami River, and offers to share with you her holdings for a townsite.

"Mr. Flagler looked at me for some minutes in silence, then he said: 'How soon can you arrange for me to go to Miami River?'"

Mr. Ingraham's reply illustrates the primitive transportation and communication at that time. He said: "If you can give me three days to get a messenger through to Mrs. Tuttle, advising her of your coming, I will arrange to have a launch meet you at Lake Worth, take you down the canal to Fort Lauderdale, and from there a carriage will take you to the Miami."

The trip was made, and Mr. Flagler was so favorably impressed with the place that he closed the deal with Mrs. Tuttle, and soon started building his railroad southward from Palm Beach.

Two years later, on April 15, 1896, the first train arrived at Miami River, where Mr. Flagler's men were already engaged in

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elling trees, clearing land, erecting camps and temporary buildings. Within a few days, Miami's first hotel, the Royal Palm—also a Flagler project—was under construction. Thus, under Mr. Flagler's magic touch the fabulous city of Miami began to take form. He laid out streets. He erected a large terminal dock, dredged a channel to admit passage of shallow-draft steamships, and established a line of steamers between Miami and the Bahamas, where he built two hotels - the Colonial and the Royal Victoria. He founded Miami's light and power company, which became the present Florida Power and Light Company. He founded the Miami Water Company. He built homes for workmen. He donated lots for schools and churches, also for the city hall and the county courthouse. He erected a beautiful memorial church, and he built Miami's first hospital.

Beyond the Miami River, 156 miles southward, lay Key West, then many times greater in size than Miami and possessing a harbor capable of accommodating some of the largest ships afloat. At that time and for years thereafter the maximum channel depth of Biscayne Bay was twelve to fourteen feet. Key West, on the other hand, with the deepest harbor south of Norfolk, could accommodate vessels having a draft of thirty feet.

Came the Spanish-American War and the American occupation of Cuba, followed by greatly increased trade with the island republic. But because of superior port facilities, Tampa, on the West Coast of Florida, became the principal port of embarkation in connection with military and naval operations in the West Indies. Lack of a deep-water harbor on his railroad was keenly felt by Mr. Flagler. Then, soon after the turn of the century, the building of the Panama Canal caused business and transportation interests throughout the country to put themselves in readiness to share to the fullest whatever advantages the canal would bring.

Key West was three hundred miles nearer the Panama Canal than any other seaport in the country. Mr. Flagler sent his engineers to explore possible routes for a railroad to Key West, and to study probable costs. Finally, with their reports before him, he issued the order that started one of the most remarkable construction projects in history. The Key West Extension was a struggle of man against natural obstacles—against the sea, against



the storms that sometimes reach hurricane fury. This titanic struggle began in 1904, when engineers staked a right of way through everglades and swamps and jungles and shark-infested waters. It ended twelve years later when the last of thirty majestic concrete and steel viaducts was completed to form the permanent structure.

In the twelve-year period of construction, many thousands of men were employed; a huge fleet of steamboats, tugboats, floating machine shops, dredges, derrick and cargo barges was engaged. Hundreds of cargoes and trainloads of fuel and construction materials and supplies were brought from distant places—cement from Germany, coal from West Virginia, steel from Pennsylvania, lumber from Georgia, poles and crossties from Mississippi and Alabama, food and provisions from the Chicago packing houses. Labor was drawn from the North, as well as from the Bahamas, Cuba, the islands of the West Indies, and even from Spain.

It is my good fortune to have been engaged from 1909 to 1914 on this most interesting construction project. I can say truthfully that no experience in my life stands out more vividly—no experience packed more action, thrills, and drama—than were packed into the six years I spent on this project.

During the construction, three hurricanes of great severity swept over the Keys - in 1906, 1909 and 1910 - each causing loss of life and extensive damage. Each time there were many who feared that Mr. Flagler would become discouraged and order the project abandoned. But each time he gave orders to repair the damage and get on with the work.

At Key West, many acres of land were reclaimed from the sea to form the seaport terminal. The Flagler-controlled Peninsular & Occidental Steamship Company linked the railway with Cuba; a car-ferry service between Key West and Cuba was established, and a beautiful, modern hotel, the Casa Marina, still the finest in Key West, was built.

Mr. Flagler lived to see his railroad opened to Key West. On January 22, 1912, he rode triumphantly into the Island City on his special train, and the entire populace turned out to greet and cheer and honor him. In a brief speech, the grand old man, then in his eighty-third year and almost blind, said with a full heart, "Now I can die happy; my dream is fulfilled!"

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A few months later - on May 20, 1913 - Florida's benefactor passed to his reward, and it is recorded that "in cities and towns up and down the East Coast flags drooped in mourning, and at many points schools and churches paid a tribute they had never before paid anyone, tolling their bells for the man who had done more than any other for this part of the state."

Like many other pioneers, Mr. Flagler built better than he realized. And like many another pioneer builder, he did not live to witness the full results of his effort. Since his death in 1913, the East Coast of Florida from Jacksonville to Key West has undergone a development in some respects without parallel in the history of this nation. Where there was one winter visitor in Mr. Flagler's time, there are scores today. Land values and agricultural production have multiplied many times over. Cities and towns have experienced remarkable growth. Miami in 1913 had a permanent population of about 6,000. Today Miami is the metropolis of Florida, with a permanent population in the metropolitan area of approximately half a million. Miami Beach, called the "Eighth Wonder of the World," was yet to see its first hotel in 1913.

Henry M. Flagler was a practical businessman with a practical business viewpoint. He believed in the profit incentive. As one of the founders of the Standard Oil Company and its vice-president for many years, he had been trained in the Rockefeller school. But in his Florida operations he developed what one writer referred to as "a new attitude toward humanity." He demonstrated time and again that he was as much interested-probably more interested-in creating job opportunities, and better living conditions, not only for those who worked for him, but also for the thousands who came to live in communities along his railroad. He "seemed to feel a sense of personal responsibility for every settler on his railroad and for every one of his many employees."

On one occasion Mr. J. E. Ingraham, who knew Mr. Flagler intimately, said: "I once asked Mr. Flagler how it happened that he came to engage in the development of Florida. He said there were two things that actuated him. One was that he believed his fortune had been given him for a definite purpose, which was 'to help his fellow men to help themselves,' and this he could do better in Florida than anywhere else; the second (and he said

this with a twinkle in his eye) 'I wanted to see if a plain American could not succeed where the Spaniard, the Frenchman and the Englishman had failed.' "

Mr. Ingraham also observed: "In the work which he accomplished in this state, Mr. Flagler was most unselfish. Through all this great work of construction-there is interwoven a golden cord of unselfish deeds, of generous gifts, of great liberality to municipalities, churches, schools and individuals, which runs into hundreds of thousands of dollars, but of which there is no written record except the simple entry, 'By order of Mr. Flagler.' "

Eugene Sewell, Miami's pioneer merchant and one of its outstanding citizens called Mr. Flagler "a man with a big heart and a wonderful vision."

During the yellow fever epidemic in 1899, he said, "people got out of work and a lot of colored laborers were about to starve . . . and we were in a very bad condition. Mr. Flagler ordered street work started and gave everybody a job who wanted one. . . .

"The city development work was carried on for about two years by Mr. Flagler, and we had to depend on this for most of our business." Mr. Sewell related that "Mr. Flagler took a keen interest in the fortunes of the farmers along the railroad. He was always a friend in adversity . . . Once when the pioneer growers . . . were hit by a cold wave which ruined the tomato, bean and eggplant crops, Mr. Flagler within twenty-four hours sent his agents to those who had lost their crops and loaned them enough money to replant-without asking for security."

It was inevitable that some of the pioneering work which Mr. Flagler initiated and carried out should, in the march of progress, disappear or undergo change. Some of his great hotels-the magnificent Royal Poinciana at Palm Beach, for instance, and the equally magnificent Royal Palm in Miami, in time made way for other and more modern hotels.

The railroad to Key West continued in operation for a period of twenty-three years. Finally, on Labor Day, 1935, one of the most destructive hurricanes that ever visited the Florida Keys inflicted severe damage to miles of embankment and track, but all the great concrete and steel bridge structures which formed the backbone of the project remained intact.

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The nation was then in the midst of a severe depression. Railway traffic and earnings were extremely low. The Florida East Coast, along with many other roads, was operating in the red. These, and other factors, led to the decision to abandon the road south of Florida City rather than spend the money necessary to restore it to workable condition. Consequently, that part of the railroad was sold to the State and was converted to the now-famous "Oversea Highway."

It is regrettable that such a step was necessary, but we find comfort in the fact that the highway is carried down across the islands by the mighty chain of concrete and steel viaducts which Mr. Flagler built. Actually, the highway is a feeder for the railway. Railway or highway, it is a part of Mr. Flagler's contribution to the development of Florida.

Today-nearly half a century after Mr. Flagler laid down his work, we are gathered from many parts of the United States to honor his memory and to unveil a tablet that will express in some measure our appreciation and our gratitude for his outstanding and unique contribution to railway development.

This great contribution and his inspiring life-story are a part of our American heritage. Florida and all America are and will forever be indebted to this great and good man who, in the words of the poet, "saw a wilderness and out of it created an empire."

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Madison County. During Reconstruction in Florida, Drew, a former Whig, held a county office under the Republicans. His selection as the Democrat candidate for governor in 1876 was because of his appeal to the Whig-Unionist elements and the Negroes, and not in a small part because of his ability to finance his own campaign.<sup>3</sup>

William D. Bloxham, the Democratic party's reconstruction leader, was at this time in poor financial straits. Bloxham had neglected his Leon County plantation for politics.<sup>4</sup> Thus Drew's appointment of Bloxham as secretary of state was no small favor. Other cabinet appointments included members of all factions of the Democratic party except the Ku-Klux-Klan-like young Democratic clubs. This policy tended to confirm the fact that Drew would actually attempt conciliation between the races.

A safe Democratic majority supported the ex-Northerner in both houses of the legislature: the senate fourteen to nine, the assembly thirty-two to eighteen.<sup>5</sup> Favorable decisions in disputed contests would further swell the Democratic majorities. Additional power accrued to the governor by the provisions of the carpetbag constitution of 1868, whereby practically every political appointment was made by the chief executive.<sup>6</sup>

In sending his program to the legislature on January 10, Drew went down the line for a typical Bourbon (a term given conservative Southern Democrats in the latter part of the nineteenth century) economic policy declaring, "that government will be the most high esteemed that gives the greatest protection to individual and industrial enterprises at the least expense to the taxpayer . . . spend nothing unless absolutely necessary." Faced with a deficit of almost \$90,000 from the preceding Republican administration, he advised the sharp cutting of expenditures and held out little hope for an immediate tax cut. The first snip of

3. *Makers of America*, Florida Edition (Atlanta, 1909), I, 395-97; Ruby Leach Carson, "William Dunnington Bloxham, Florida's Two Term Governor" (Unpublished Master's thesis, University of Florida, 1945), 91-92, 134; Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, Jan. 2, June 5, 1877.

4. Carson, op. cit., 128; Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, Mar. 27, 1883.

5. *Florida Senate Journal*, 1877, 7-9; *Florida Assembly Journal*, 1877, 4-5.

6. *Journal of the Proceedings of the Constitutional Convention of the State of Florida, Begun and Held at the Capitol at Tallahassee on Monday, January 20th, 1868.*

the gubernatorial pruning shears eliminated the state penitentiary at Chattahoochee - saving \$25,000 a year - and established the convict lease system in its place, though the lease system previously had been used to some extent by the Republicans. The penitentiary building became the state insane asylum and the extra cost of boarding the insane in out-of-state institutions was eliminated.

On schools Drew bluntly told his thrifty partisans that it was "cheaper to build schoolhouses and maintain schools than to build poorhouses and jails and support paupers and criminals." Courageously leaving no doubt where he stood on Negro education he told the legislators that it was the state's responsibility to educate the Negro so that he might vote intelligently and make a good citizen. Minor improvements to the free school system included the encouragement of rural education and the standardization of textbooks. But his enthusiasm for public schools was limited to the elementary level. One of his first acts was the abandonment of the Florida Agricultural College which was about to open at Eau Gallie. The chief sponsor of the institution was William H. Gleason, lieutenant governor for a time during the first Republican administration in Reconstruction. Florida thus continued in the 1870's to be without an institution of higher learning, either public or private. In a later message Drew advocated the elimination of public high schools.

On Republican financial frauds the redemption governor mentioned only a trivial matter of \$39,097 missing in state warrants. This episode involved Democrat Robert H. Gamble, who as comptroller under carpetbagger Governor Harrison Reed was responsible for the warrants. It finally turned out that there were no missing state warrants, only a careless bookkeeping error in the comptroller's office.

In concluding his message Drew called upon the legislature to "bury the passions of the past because all within the state were one people, with one hope and one destiny."<sup>7</sup>

The state press gave a mixed reaction to the clean sweeping of the new governor's broom. The editor of the Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, Charles E. Dyke, Sr., a long time political ally

7. *Florida Senate Journal*, 1877, 37-49; *Florida Assembly Journal*, 1879, pp. 27-28; Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, Mar. 20, 1877.

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of Bloxham, probably best spoke for the Bourbon Democrats. The politically astute Captain Dyke commented favorably on the message except for Drew's stand on Negro Education. This the veteran editor dismissed as "broad liberality."<sup>8</sup> The voice of Florida's ex-Northern businessman, the Jacksonville *Daily Florida Union*, in its last days in Republican ranks evaluated the program as liberal and sensible but superficial. The *Union* editor was disappointed that taxes were not to be lowered, and he warned Negroes that the policy of conciliation might turn out to be a glittering delusion.<sup>9</sup>

Faced with the alternative of either building a personal political machine or passing the patronage along to the office-starved Bourbon county machines, Drew chose the latter. The many office seekers who hopefully beat a path to the governor's door found to their disappointment that they must have the local stamp of approval and that a comparatively short journey to the county seat would be far more profitable than the long trek to Tallahassee. As their ranks thinned out in the capitol corridors, they returned home with much less enthusiasm for the new order.<sup>10</sup> The ex-unionist's adherence to the framework of the Democratic party at the local level crushed any last hopes for the restoration of the old Whig-Unionist party.

That Democratic conciliation would not follow the Republican precedent of placing members of the minority party in offices from the local level through the cabinet was quickly made evident. To a disgruntled Republican, Drew retorted that he would not reward those who were "loudmouthed in the denunciation of the people who supported him."<sup>11</sup> The appeal for conciliation was to the rank and file Republican, not the politician. However, outside of losing his political office, the carpetbagger or scalawag had little to complain about. There were no organized or spontaneous reprisals against the defeated Republicans. Credit for the peaceful transition, according to the *Daily Florida Union*, went to Drew.<sup>12</sup>

8. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, Jan. 16, 1877.

9. Jacksonville *Daily Florida Union*, Jan. 13, 1877.

10. C. E. Dyke, Jr., to G. G. McWhorter, Apr. 7, 1877, C. E. Dyke, Jr., to H. T. Lykes, June 1, 1877, Drew Letter Book, Florida State Library (Tallahassee); Jacksonville *Daily Florida Union*, Jan. 6, 8, 1877.

11. C. E. Dyke, Jr., to R. B. Ballard, Feb. 12, 1877, Drew Letter Book.

12. Jacksonville *Daily Florida Union*, Jan. 23, 1877.



Threatened Democratic investigations of Republican election frauds in 1876 dwindled down to a legislative inquiry into the voting in Alachua County. A special election committee found a minor Republican politician guilty; surprisingly, however, he was acquitted by a vote of twenty-nine to twelve in the assembly.<sup>13</sup>

Negro leaders feared that Drew's plans for election reform would result in the disfranchisement of their race. A bill that reached the senate on February 16 called for a re-registration of voters in order to eliminate the practice of multiple voting. John Wallace, a Negro who came to Florida in the Union Army and later served as the schoolmaster for the Negroes of Bloxham's plantation, predicted in the senate that this bill would prevent all illiterate persons from voting. Robert Meacham, mulatto son of a planter, also in the senate called the proposed change unjust, unfair and unlawful. Nevertheless the Democratic majority rushed the bill through both houses and before the end of the month Drew signed it.<sup>14</sup>

The legislature proceeded to go down the line in approving Drew's economies. Measures were passed reducing fees, cutting down legislative expenses, and abolishing the state prison. The budget was balanced.<sup>15</sup>

As a frontier area, Florida in 1877 faced a transportation problem. New railroad construction in the past had been advocated by a long line of Whigs, Democrats, and carpetbaggers. Now the Democrats were to try again. Railroad building had been practically at a standstill since the antebellum era. Further, the state's land grant domain was tied up in a suit by Northerner Francis Vose. Having supplied the iron for Senator David L. Yulee's railroad from Fernandina to Cedar Keys, in lieu of payment Vose held a judgment of \$500,000 against the Internal Improvement Fund lands.<sup>16</sup> There could be no railroad grants until this lien was satisfied. Two railroad charter bills were there-

13. *Florida Assembly Journal*, 1877, 406-8.

14. *Florida Senate Journal*, 1877, 287-301; *Florida Laws*, 1877, chap. 3021.

15. "Report of the Comptroller," in appendix of *Florida Assembly Journal*, 1877; *Florida Assembly Journal*, 606; *Florida Laws*, chaps. 2089, 3033, 3034, 3035, 3052.

16. *Florida Assembly Journal*: 1877 322-323; "Annual Report of the Commissioner of Lands and Immigration, 1875-1876," 47-48; D. L. Yulee to J. A. Henderson, Apr. 26, 1886, published in Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, May 23, 1886.

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fore vetoed by Drew.<sup>17</sup> To sell sufficient state land to satisfy the Vose claim became the herculean task of Samuel A. Swann, formerly land agent for Yulee.<sup>18</sup>

Discouraged about railroad building, Drew became interested in the summer of 1877 in a cross-state canal proposed by John H. Fry of New York. Backed by Northern capital Fry planned to construct his waterway from the St. Marys River via the Okefenokee Swamp to the Gulf of Mexico. The projected route would parallel Yulee's railroad and disrupt its monopoly on all goods shipped across the Florida peninsula.<sup>19</sup> Shocked into action by the news that the governor was about to call a special session of the legislature to get the canal started, Yulee wrote him a strong letter stating that the special session would be a great expense to Floridians in these hard times.<sup>20</sup> No special session was held; no canal was dug. Although Yulee's position did not aid the project, it is more probable that the canal company failed to raise sufficient funds.

While Drew was devoting most of his attention to internal improvements, the inhumane system of convict leasing was getting off to a poor start. Thirty-four of the 110 state convicts had been leased to Major Henry A. Wyse. He in turn allowed them to remain with the St. Johns, Lake Eustis, and Gulf Railroad Company. These unfortunate forgotten men, both white and Negro, were housed in rude, dirt-floored huts in a swamp; consequently they became accustomed to awakening in the morning half submerged in mud and slime. Sadistic guards maintained discipline by hanging up miscreants by their thumbs. The camp store gave out supplies, leaving the convicts starving. For food one prisoner existed for fourteen days on palmetto tops and a little salt. Finally an epidemic of malaria in July forced Wyse to reclaim his prisoners from the railroad company. Deaths from this episode totaled approximately fifty per cent of the convicts involved. Wyse next made an agreement with Dutton, Huff, and

17. C. E. Dyke, Jr., to H. T. Lykes, Apr. 16, 1877, Drew Letter Book.
18. T. Frederick Davis, "The Disston Land Purchase," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XVII (1938-39), 204; Carson, *op. cit.*, 198-200.
19. C. W. Yulee to D. L. Yulee, July 10 [1877], Yulee Papers, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History (Gainesville); C. E. Dyke, Jr., to C. W. Jones, Oct. 10, 1877, Drew Letter Book; *The Florida Atlantic and Gulf-Ship Canal Company Summary Report* (New York, 1881), 4-6.
20. D. L. Yulee to [G. F. Drew], July 12, 1877, Yulee Papers.

Jones, a Northern naval stores firm, for the convicts to become time slaves on the company's vast empire in the Suwannee River valley. The exhausting labor of turpentine culture had made it difficult to obtain free white labor. It is not surprising that thirteen convicts died in 1878, the first full year of convict turpentine culture.<sup>21</sup> The carpetbag record of one convict death in 1875 and three in 1876 contrasted very favorably with the Bourbon record of eighteen deaths in 1877 and thirteen in 1878. Yet Florida's famed Civil War hero, "Dixie" Dickson, now state adjutant general in charge of convicts, called turpentine culture a "very healthy business."<sup>22</sup>

Though convict leasing was a bad feature about Drew's administration, economical government was its strongpoint. By December, 1877, Drew had obtained sufficient revenue to lower the *ad valorem* tax rate from twelve and one-half mills to nine.<sup>23</sup>

The election of 1878 - in which the Democrats were in charge of the election machinery for the first time since the beginning of Reconstruction - demonstrated conclusively that election frauds would be continued. Lieutenant Governor Noble Hull was implicated in a forged return from Brevard County in South Florida. Hull, the apparent victor in the race for Congress in the Second District, was removed from the office late in his term and his Republican opponent seated.<sup>24</sup>

In the opening sessions of the legislature in 1879 there were indications that Florida's Bourbons felt that Drew was not being economical enough. Disregarding his suggestion of an eight mill *ad valorem* tax, the legislature slashed the rate to seven mills and suspended the sinking fund tax for two years. Drew could not now balance the budget. Next on the agenda of the Bourbons was

21. J. C. Powell, *American Siberia* (Chicago, 1891), 7, 11-17, 22-23, 27; "Biennial Report of the State Prison commencing March 4th 1877 and ending December 1st, 1878;" K. F. Pratt, "The Development of the Florida Prison System" (Unpublished Master's thesis, Florida State University, 1949), 37-38; *Florida Assembly Journal*, 1879, 492; Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, Mar. 4, 1879.
22. "Report of Adjutant-General, Dec. 31, 1880."
23. G. F. Drew (by L. B. Wombwell) to C. Dougherty, Jan. 1, 1878, Drew Letter Book.
24. Bisbee V. Hull, *House Miscellaneous Document* 26, 46th Congress, 1st Session, 179-85, 188-91, 196, 569-71; W. T. Cash, "The Lower East Coast, 1870-1890," *Tequesta*, VII (1948), 65; *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1927* (Washington, 1933), 353.

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a fifty per cent slash in the county school tax—from five to two and one-half mills.<sup>25</sup> Then three projected railroads received charters after overcoming Drew's original objections.<sup>26</sup> The legislature turned next on Yulee and directed that the Internal Improvement Fund trustees institute a suit to obtain possession of the Fernandina to Cedar Keys railroad. The veteran Democrat's only support came from Republicans. An aggressive campaign by the *Tampa Sunland Tribune's* editor had prodded the legislature into action. The tempest in a teapot died when Drew vetoed the anti-Yulee measure.<sup>27</sup>

As the ex-unionist's first term drew to a close it became apparent that the extremist anti-Negro element in Florida's Black Belt would strongly oppose any second term nomination. Voicing this faction's opinion, the editor of the Monticello *Constitution* in July, 1879, bitterly attacked Drew and Northern people in general.

Drew, on the other hand, was too proud to openly seek a second term. Furthermore, he felt that Bloxham, his most likely opponent, had given him definite assurance that he also would be an inactive candidate. But while Drew, a political amateur, waited for a draft on the basis of his record, Florida's old professional, Captain Dyke, was astutely managing an undercover campaign to gain a large Bloxham delegation at the convention. Florida's Bourbons, aware of Drew's independent leanings, closed in large number behind their old Reconstruction leader. Drew in 1880 received the thanks of the Democratic state convention; Bloxham received the gubernatorial nomination.<sup>29</sup> A small group of scalawags attempted to take advantage of the Drew-Bloxham rift that followed by getting Drew to run as an independent candidate. This he quickly quashed with the terse announcement that he was through with politics.<sup>30</sup>

25. Roland H. Rerick, *Memoirs of Florida* (Atlanta, 1902), I, 340; "Governor's Message," *Florida Assembly Journal, 1879, 27-28*; "Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1879;" *Florida Laws, 1879*, chap. 3100.

26. *Makers of America*, III, 41; *Florida Laws, 1879*, chap. 3167.

27. *Florida Senate Journal, 1879, 365*; *Florida Assembly Journal, 1879, 442*.

28. C. W. Yulee to D. L. Yulee, July 13, 1879, Yulee Papers.

29. Carson, *op. cit.*, 132-53; Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, June 15, 1880.

30. J. T. Magbee to John Sherman, June 13, 1880, John Sherman Papers, Library of Congress.

The lumberman from Ellaville had given the state of Florida four years of good government. The relationship between Negro had been cut drastically-probably too much. Nevertheless, the free education program started by the carpetbaggers had weathered the Bourbon storm. It is true that Drew had failed to entice Northern and European capital into the state, but this failure was due more to the Panic of 1873 and Florida's frontier condition than any gubernatorial policy. It is very doubtful, however, that Drew would have been willing to turn the state's economic resources over to Northern overlords as was done in the famous Disston sale of his successor when four million acres of the choicest public domain in the state were sold for twenty-five cents an acre.

Why then was the fair-minded redeemer denied a second term? Of the five major officeholders in the state in 1880, three were ex-Whigs (Senator Wilk Call, Congressman R. H. M. Davidson, and Drew), one was a colorful political accident (Senator Charles W. Jones), and the one remaining congressman (Horatio Bisbee, Jr.) was a carpetbagger.<sup>31</sup> The ex-Whig faction of the Democratic Party was at best a minority. In 1880 it no longer held the balance of power between Bourbon and Republican. The time had come for good Bourbons to be rewarded. Dyke was the key man pushing this viewpoint. For upward of forty years he had been the intimate friend, confidant, or advisor of nearly all public officials."<sup>32</sup> During much of this period his close political ally had been Bloxham. The Bourbons now had their governor, but Drew had broken the ground for the Independent movement which four years later threatened to swamp the Democratic-Bourbon boat.

In March, 1883, Drew disposed of his Ellaville lumbering interests to Louis Bucki, receiving on consideration of \$72,000. He then moved to Jacksonville where he later became the first president of the Board of Trade.<sup>33</sup> The Drew-Bloxham feud continued to be fanned vigorously by both participants. In 1884

31. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, Feb. 9, 16, 1875; *ibid.*, Jan. 2, 1877; Tallahassee *Sentinel*, Oct. 3, 1854; *Florida Assembly Journal*, 1875, 240.

32. George M. Barbour, *Florida for Tourists, Invalids and Settlers* (New York, 1882), 81.

33. Rerick, *op.cit.*, I, 339; Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, Mar. 27, 1883.

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when Drew threatened to bolt if Bloxham were renominated, the ex-planter wrote a friend that Drew was not a Democrat and would accept the Independent Party nomination for governor if it were offered him.<sup>34</sup> When it appeared that Bloxham might be elected United States Senator by the legislature in 1887, Drew scotched his boom with the terse statement that he would spend his last cent and the last moment of his life to defeat his arch enemy.<sup>35</sup> Drew continued to reside in Jacksonville until his death in 1900.<sup>36</sup>

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34. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, June 12, 1884; W. D. Bloxham to C. B. Carlton, July 7, 1884, Bloxham Letter Book, Florida State Library.

35. *Tallahasseean*, Apr. 27, 1887.

36. Rerick, *op.cit.*, I, 339.

## THE IRISH BRIGADE OF SPAIN AT THE CAPTURE OF PENSACOLA, 1781

by W. S. MURPHY

THE CAPTURE OF PENSACOLA by Bernardo de Galvez, in May, 1781, five months before the British surrender at Yorktown constituted the only exciting military exploit of Spain during the American Revolution. It was an interesting Spanish contribution to the fortunate outcome of the war.<sup>1</sup> The Spanish victory in Pensacola required the services of 6,500 Spanish troops, a sizeable Spanish naval ancillary, and the aid of 725 French soldiers with their own ships.<sup>2</sup> This force included a substantial representation from the Irish Brigade of Spain, one of the most celebrated corps of the Spanish army.<sup>3</sup> This article will sketch the unfolding action at Pensacola and tell, in somewhat greater detail, of the effort of the Spanish-Irish troops there.

In September, 1779, Galvez won Baton Rouge from the British. In March, 1780, he took Mobile from them. These two

1. Spain, of course, was not an ally of ours during the Revolution, but merely the ally of our French ally. To the rebellious colonies and the French troops who aided them, the principal fruits of the fall of Pensacola would seem to have been (a) an assured continuation of the flow of supplies which reached them from Florida and Louisiana and (b) its psychological stimulation. For it was only five weeks after the surrender of Pensacola that Washington and Rochambeau and the long line of French and American soldiers who followed them began the 700-mile trek from Providence to Yorktown which culminated in final success. The importance of Spain's contribution to that success is well developed in Charles E. McCarthy, "The Attitude of Spain during the American Revolution," *The Catholic Historical Review* II, (1916), 47-65.
2. The basic details regarding the entire siege are to be found in John W. Caughey, *Bernardo de Galvez in Louisiana 1776-1783* (Berkeley, 1934); Bernardo de Galvez, "Diario de las operaciones contra la plaza de Panzacola . . ." [translation in], *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, I, no. I (1917), 44-84 [hereafter cited as *Diario*]; Donald E. Worcester, translator, "Miranda's Diary of the Siege of Pensacola, 1781," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXIX (1951), 163-196 [hereafter cited as *Miranda*]; Major Robert Farmar, "Journal of the Siege of Pensacola," *The Historical Magazine* (New York), IV, no. 6, (June, 1860), 166-172 [hereafter cited as *Journal*]; Major General John Campbell to Lord Germain, Pensacola, May 12, 1781, in *The London Gazette*, no. 12232, October 9 to October 13, 1781.
3. See especially Conde de Clonard, *Historia Organica de las Armas de Infanteria y Caballeria Espanolas . . .* (16 vols., Madrid, 1851-1859), Vols. IV, V, VI, X, XI, and XVI. A very good and readable

conquests greatly weakened the British position in the Gulf of Mexico. Hardly had the ink dried on the documents which sealed the capitulation of Mobile before Galvez embarked over 2,000 Spaniards on an expedition against Pensacola. Soon afterwards, he learned that the British in Pensacola were receiving reinforcements from Jamaica. Promptly, he abandoned this endeavor and bided his time. A few weeks later Galvez organized a second expedition against Pensacola and sailed from Havana with it. Upon its arrival however, the Spanish naval commander decided that it would be impossible to silence the British fort which protected the town. In May, 1780, the expedition returned to Havana. For a third time, in October of the same year, Galvez headed toward Pensacola, in this instance with 64 ships, close to 4,000 soldiers, and the highest hopes. But two days after departure of this fleet a hurricane intervened. It lashed the vessels for a week, scattered all of them, and crippled many. One month and a day after this sailing, Galvez was once again back in Havana, not knowing the whereabouts of most of his convoy.<sup>4</sup>

But even this reverse did not deter him. By the end of November, 1780, he had won acceptance from his superiors<sup>5</sup> for a fourth attempt, this one to be launched towards the end of

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historical novel which throws further light on this subject is G. A. Henty, *In the Irish Brigade, A tale of War in Flanders and Spain* (New York, 1900). This novel deals primarily with the Irish Brigade of France between 1703 and 1713 but contains some interesting references to the Irish regiments then in Spanish service.

Briefly, the Irish Brigade of *France* was organized in 1691 and consisted originally of fifteen regiments of the defeated Irish troops of James II of Great Britain. By 1792, only three of these regiments still remained. They were incorporated with other French regiments in 1792. The Irish Brigade of Spain originated in 1709 from similar Irish soldiery who took service abroad as an alternative to oppression in their homeland. At one time that brigade consisted of seven or more regiments. The last of these-Hibernia, Irlanda, and Ultonia-disappeared in 1818 when they were incorporated with other Spanish regiments. Over a period of two and a half centuries the original soldiery of those brigades and their descendants have adorned European military and political history. They provided France and Spain with no less than 300 generals and admirals and scores of celebrated leaders. Today the outstanding representative of the traditions of the Irish Brigade of Spain is probably Lieutenant-General Alfredo Kindelan, former Air Marshal of that country. His family for at least eight generations has rendered conspicuous military service to Spain.

4. *Diario*, 44.

5. The military junta of Havana included Guillermo Vaughan, one-time colonel of the Regiment of Hibernia and ultimately a major-general.



the winter. On February 13, 1781, Galvez boarded the *San Ramon*, a warship of 74 guns, and prepared to sail with a total of five fighting ships and the necessary transports. The following day, 1,315 troops went aboard. For two weeks, contrary winds delayed the sailing. On the twenty-eighth, the flotilla took off for its destination. Among the final orders of Galvez were those sent to the Spanish commanders at Mobile and New Orleans: to collect as many reinforcements as possible and to join him at Pensacola, at about the time of his arrival.<sup>6</sup>

On March 9, after a rather uneventful passage, Galvez sighted Santa Rosa Island, a long strip of ground, the western end of which spans the mouth of Pensacola Bay and lies about eight miles south of that town. That night, with a small landing party, he went ashore. By March 18, his preparations completed, he boarded the brig *Galvezton* and with three other ships in the van forced an entrance into the harbor. A week later, the reinforcements from Mobile and New Orleans arrived, providing an additional 2,253 officers and men. With close to 3,600 troops under his command, the action accelerated.

On March 24, most of the Spanish troops were ferried from Santa Rosa Island to the mainland behind Fort Barrancas. By the end of the month they were fortifying their final camp. The right wing of their camp rested on a house near the beach and its left on the point of the inner harbor, within cannon shot of Fort George at Pensacola. This, of course, had not been accomplished with impunity. During the last week of March, the Spaniards suffered fifty-eight casualties, twenty-four of them killed and thirty-four wounded.<sup>7</sup> Most of these resulted from forays by the Indian auxiliaries of the British for which the Indians received three pounds for every scalp.<sup>8</sup>

In the first half of April the Spaniards centered their efforts on completing the breastwork in front of their camp, and on reconnoitering the terrain which led to the two British redoubts in front of Fort George. Only a few skirmishes with the British outposts and the Indians interrupted this work. But Galvez was slightly wounded on the twelfth. On the nineteenth to every-

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6. *Diario*, 47-48.

7. *Diario*, 83.

8. McCarthy, *op. cit.*, 58.

ones utter surprise <sup>9</sup> a fleet of more than twenty ships was sighted. These vessels, commanded by Chief of Squadron, Joseph Solana, brought an additional 1,600 Spanish soldiers led by Major-General Juan Manuel de Cagigal. Accompanying them were four French frigates, carrying 725 French troops, commanded by Squadron-Chief Monteil and naval Captain Boiderut. A few days later, land strength of Galvez was above 7,000 officers and men, including 1,350 Spaniards from Solano's naval complement.

Five hundred and eighty officers and men of that force, or about nine percent of the entire Spanish soldiery, were from the *Regimiento de Hibernia*, one of the three regiments, at that time, of the Irish Brigade of Spain. Three hundred and twenty of them had come with Galvez' initial expedition, <sup>10</sup> the balance on the ships which arrived with Solano and Cagigal. <sup>11</sup> The regiment and the brigade had written brilliant pages of Spanish military history for over three-quarters of a century (Melazzo, 1718; Campo Santo, 1743; and elsewhere). <sup>12</sup> It is appropriate to sketch the remaining action at Pensacola with special emphasis on the action of the Irish regiment.

By April 23, Galvez' men were constructing their first parallel, some 700 yards away from the outer British position, called the Queen's Redoubt. Thereafter, the intermittent clashes between the two adversaries were on a more formidable scale and included heavy exchanges of artillery fire. In one of these, on the twenty-fourth, Sub-Lieutenant Felipe O-Reylli of Hibernia was slightly wounded. <sup>13</sup> He was the first officer of his unit to

9. *Diario*, 65-66, and Caughey, *op. cit.*, 208.

10. This figure has been obtained from the "Statement showing the list of Ships which set sail today and in which the troops intended for Field Marshall Don Bernardo de Galvez embarked." The original is among the papers in the Archivo General de Indias, Papeles procedentes de la Isla de Cuba, signed by Captain-General Navarro; and is dated Havana, February 28, 1781. The writer has a photostat of a translation thereof, which appeared in the 1919-1920 *Yearbook of the Sons of the American Revolution*, Louisiana Society, 80.

11. This figure has been drawn from the compilation entitled "Noticias de los Srs. Oficiales y Tropa del Exercito que se ha embarcada en los Navios de Guerra-que manda el Mariscal de Campo Dn. Manuel de Cagigal," dated Havana, April 10, 1781, and signed by Nicolas de Arredondo. The original thereof is also among the Cuban Papers in the Archive at Seville. The writer possesses a photostat of it through the kindness of Julien C. Yonge, Editor Emeritus of *The Florida Historical Quarterly*.

12. Clonard, *op. cit.*, XI., *passim*.

13. *Diario*, 83.

come on the casualty lists. By the end of the month, the Spaniards had experienced an additional forty-three killed and wounded. The climax was fast approaching.

On Friday, May 4, Brigadier-General Figuerola was in charge of the Spanish trenches,<sup>14</sup> which by that time had been extended laterally, so that their furthest extension was only about 350 yards from the Queen's Redoubt. On that day, the grenadier company of the Regiment of Mallorca and half the grenadier company of the Regiment of Hibernia had the honor of guarding the most advanced Spanish post. Commanding the Hibernia's grenadiers was Captain Hugo O'Connor, aided by Lieutenant Timoteo O'Daly. At about seven o'clock in the morning, naval Captain Andres Tacon, the Spanish second-in-command of the entire line, noticed parties of British infantry emerging from their base. Immediately he reported his observation to Figuerola. The latter, however, ignored the warning-feeling, as one participant said, "as safe and out of risk as in the *plaza mayor* of Madrid."<sup>15</sup> By a little after noon some 200 British troops had quietly stationed themselves behind the Spanish outpost. Following a lively British cannonade they attacked the unprepared Spaniards, at bayonet point, from the rear.

The result was devastating. The British produced a considerable disorder in the Spanish lines and took temporary possession of that part of them which Mallorca and Hibernia had occupied. After capturing five artillery pieces and setting fire to the fascines and gun-mounts, the British retreated gleefully to their own defenses suffering only a handful of casualties.<sup>16</sup> Spanish losses, however, amounted to thirty-eight, half of whom were killed.<sup>17</sup> Among the wounded were Captain O'Connor and Lieutenant O'Daly, the latter having lost an arm. Both of these officers were taken to the British lines as prisoners, as were also a wounded captain and lieutenant of Mallorca. Lieutenant O'Daly died an hour later. The writer has been unable to ascertain the full number of Hibernia's casualties on this occasion. They must have accounted for approximately a third of the Spanish total of thirty-eight.

14. *Miranda*, 185-188, and *Diario*, 73, contain excellent accounts of this British sortie.

15. *Miranda*, 185.

16. *Journal*, 170.

17. *Diario*, 84.

Partly as a consequence of this reverse Galvez summoned his principal officers to his tent, shortly after midnight of May 6. He ordered an immediate attack on the Queen's Redoubt.<sup>18</sup> Brigadier-General Giron was given command of this enterprise. Designated to lead the three separate bodies of assaulting troops, 700 of whom were Spanish and 100 French, were Lieutenant-Colonel Carondelet of the Regimiento de Flandes, Lieutenant-Colonel Arturo O'Neill of Hibernia, and French Captain Amarithon. But the soldiers lost considerable time in making a necessary detour of their lines. By three o'clock in the morning an unusually bright moon was shining, making a surprise incursion impossible. Galvez was obliged to call off this attack but the climax of the whole campaign was almost at hand.

Since May 1, the Spanish artillery had been subjecting the Queen's Redoubt to an intensive bombardment. The Spaniards hoped that one of their shots might fall on the British powder magazine. The British counter-fire was equally brisk. One of their guns, on the seventh, mortally wounded Sub-Lieutenant Fitzmaurice of Hibernia. Then, at 9:30 in the morning of the eighth, a terrific explosion was heard as far back as the Spanish camp.<sup>19</sup> Immediately thereafter a huge cloud of smoke rose from the British position. The Spaniards had realized their highest hopes. A grenade from one of their howitzers had hit close to the door of the British powder magazine and set fire to it. It exploded, causing a yawning breach in the Redoubt. When the smoke cleared away, over 100 British casualties could be seen strewn about the emplacement, most of them fatalities.<sup>20</sup> The Spaniards then took possession of the Redoubt. Just before three o'clock, Major-General Campbell raised a white flag. The following day Galvez held Pensacola.

The Spanish-French side casualties in the capture of Pensacola were 96 killed and 202 wounded.<sup>21</sup> For the British, it was 90 killed and 46 wounded;<sup>22</sup> two-thirds of them from the explosion of the powder magazine. The contingent from the Irish Brigade seems to have suffered something like 16 dead and 27

18. *Diario*, 73-74; *Miranda*, 189-190.

19. *Diario*, 74; *Miranda*, 191; *Journal*, 171.

20. *Journal*, 171; Campbell to Lord Germain, *op. cit.*

21. *Diario*, 75, 83, 84.

22. Campbell to Lord Germain, *op. cit.*

wounded,<sup>23</sup> or about fourteen per cent of the total Spanish-French losses.

Commanding the Regiment of Hibernia at the siege were twenty-two officers from lieutenant-colonel to sub-lieutenant.<sup>24</sup> The writer has been able to identify seventeen of these and to obtain copies of their service records.<sup>25</sup> These records and similar source material throw considerable light on the performance of their unit at Pensacola, as well as on the military careers of these officers, all but five of whom were born in Ireland. Their names are as follows:

*Lieutenant-Colonel Arturo O'Neill.* Born about 1737, he became a cadet in the *Regimiento de Irlanda* in 1752. A year later, he transferred to Hibernia. For his distinguished performance at Pensacola, he was promoted to Colonel and given the governorship of West Florida,<sup>26</sup> a post he occupied until 1793. He at-

23. These two figures are taken from "Relazion de la fuerza con que se halla el expresado Regimiento oy dia de la fecha . . .," dated Havana, June 1, 1781, and signed by Enrique White and a certain Nugent. The original thereof is among Hibernia's records in the Archivo General de Simancas, G. M. Leg. 455, Supl., and was located by Mrs. Adela Gonzalez Vega, who is associated with that Archive. The figures "muertos: 17" and "Total de la Baxa: 27" therein are not specifically assigned to Pensacola, although they could hardly have happened anywhere else. The document mentions the deaths of Timoteo O'Daly and Thomas Fitzmaurice at Pensacola, "como igualmente 12 de los comprendidos en la casilla de estos." The remainder died in Pensacola hospitals as similar documents indicate.
24. The number of officers and their ranks are given in the documents described in *supra* 10 and 11.
25. These service records were located by Mrs. Gonzalez Vega in the Archive at Simancas (Spain). In no instance are they complete, i.e. they do not cover the officers' careers up to their retirement and death; and some of them run only to the 1770's. In some cases I have been obligated to fill in the gap from the annual *Guia Oficial de Espana* and from from Clonard, *op. cit.*
26. Galvez' request for these honors for O'Neill because of the "distinguido merito que ha contraido durante el sitio de la plaza" [of Pensacola] is in a letter to his uncle and superior, Jose de Galvez, dated San Ildefonso, August 18, 1781. The present writer has a transcription of the original, which is in the Cuban Papers at Seville. Parenthetically, the successor to O'Neill as Governor of West Florida was Enrique White, another officer of the Irish Brigade, who held that governorship from 1793 to 1795 and was, subsequently, a general. Moreover, the three Governors of East Florida from 1796 to 1821 were, likewise, officers of that brigade. These were the same Enrique White (1796-1811); Sebastian Kindelan (1812-1815), who became a brigadier-general in 1811; and Jose Copinger (1816-1821), who was advanced to a brigadier-generalcy in 1824. See *Guia Oficial de Espana* and Kathryn A. Hanna, *Florida, Land of Change* (Chapel Hill, 1948).

tained a brigadier-generalcy in 1789, a major-generalcy in 1794, and a lieutenant-generalcy in 1802.<sup>27</sup>

*Captain Juan Brickdale.* Born in England in 1756. He entered Hibernia as a cadet in 1772. Ultimately he became its colonel.<sup>28</sup>

*Captain Juan Hogan.* Born in 1756, the son of a former colonel of the Irish Brigade, he was a cadet in 1767. At Pensacola, he merely served as captain of his regiment's grenadiers, although then enjoying the rank of lieutenant-colonel *graduado*. Galvez asked a colonelcy for him because of his conduct at Pensacola.<sup>29</sup>

*Captain Eduardo Nugent.* Born in 1748, a cadet in 1764. At Pensacola he was not a full-fledged captain, but Galvez obtained that rank for him because of his diligence at the siege. Later, a certain Eduardo Nugent attained the colonelcy of Hibernia and in 1784 became a brigadier general.<sup>30</sup> Because of the age factor, I am inclined to believe that that officer was not the present subject but the Nugent who is mentioned in Footnote 23.

*Captain Hugo O'Conor.* Born in 1735, a cadet in 1752. Wounded and captured during the British sortie of May fourth. Galvez obtained a colonel's rank for him.

*Captain Pedro O'Daly.* Born in 1757, a cadet in 1775, he served at varying times, in all three regiments of the Irish Brigade. He may possibly have been the O'Daly who, as a colonel and Governor of Rosas, distinguished himself in 1808 in the defense of that place against the French; and who in 1823, as a general, rendered a superb performance as commander of the government forces at Brihuega.<sup>31</sup>

27. *Guia Oficial de Espana.*

28. Clonard, *op. cit.*, as well as his service record. There can be a variation of one year in the birth year of some of these officers, because of the nature of these records. Where not otherwise stated, they were born in Ireland and spent virtually their entire careers in Hibernia.

29. This statement and others, hereafter, regarding the requests of Galvez on behalf of these officers, because of their record at the siege, are all taken from the transcriptions which Mrs. Gonzalez Vega obtained from the original records at Simancas.

30. Clonard, *op. cit.*, and *Guia Oficial de Espana.*

31. Martin Hume, *Modern Spain, 1788-98* (Cambridge, 1903), 231; and Edmund E. O'Daly, *History of the O'Dalys* (New Haven, 1937). I am inclined to think that the O'Daly who distinguished himself at Brihuega was General *Manuel* O'Daly.

*Captain Guillermo O'Kelly.* Born in 1736 and a cadet in 1753, he was still serving in his regiment in 1789 with the rank of lieutenant-colonel *graduado*.<sup>32</sup>

*Captain Bernard O'Loghlin,* Born in 1733, a cadet in 1754, he was lieutenant-colonel of his regiment in 1788.<sup>33</sup>

*Captain Eugenio O'Neille.* Born in 1726, he seems to have entered his regiment as a sub-lieutenant in 1744. Galvez requested a colonelcy for him because of his record at Pensacola.

*Lieutenant Thomas Butler.* Born in 1736, he was a cadet in 1757. Galvez requested a captaincy for him because of his actions at Pensacola.

*Lieutenant Cornelio O'Kenny.* Born in 1740, a cadet in 1763, Galvez sent him as a hostage to General Campbell during the negotiations over the surrender of Pensacola.

*Sub-Lieutenant Thomas Fitsmaurice.* Born about 1760, a cadet in 1776, he was mortally wounded on April 24, 1781.

*Sub-Lieutenant Dionisio O'Connor.* Born in 1745, a cadet in 1773.

*Sub-Lieutenant Timoteo O'Daly.* Born in 1745, a cadet in 1766, he was mortally wounded on May 4, 1781.

*Sub-Lieutenant Tomas O'Donnoghue.* Born in Spain in 1762, he became a cadet in 1777 and a sub-lieutenant in 1779. He apparently became a major-general in 1809.

*Sub-Lieutenant Phelipe O'Reilly.* Born in 1754, a cadet in 1774, he was wounded on April twenty-fourth. Galvez asked a promotion for him.

*Sub-Lieutenant Josef Trapani.* Born in Italy in 1738. He entered his regiment as an ordinary soldier in 1755 and became a sub-lieutenant in 1781. Galvez asked a reward for him for his record at Pensacola.

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32. From his service record, and similarly for the following.

33. Clonard, *op. cit.*, and that officer's service record.

In a narrow sense, this article has merely narrated the participation of a contingent from a famous military unit at the capture of Pensacola. It is, however, the writer's hope this his presentation may be considered to be strictly in the tradition of Herbert E. Bolton, whose *Wider Horizons of American History*,<sup>34</sup> according to his editor, constituted "an interpretation of American history in a new light, revealing those larger horizons within which the cultural elements of the major national groups that contributed to the making of the history of the Americas find their proper place."<sup>35</sup>

The unfortunate overemphasis on the Anglo-Saxon aspect of American history has led to a gross neglect of other highly important facets of that history. Not for nothing, as Sir Charles Wogan indicated in a letter to Dean Swift from Madrid in 1732, did 120,000 Irishmen give themselves, "with great gaiety of spirit . . . to slaughter" in a foreign service "within these forty years."<sup>36</sup> And not without great knowledge in the matter did Swift write to Wogan, in July of that year: "I cannot but highly esteem those gentlemen of Ireland who, with all the disadvantages of being exiles and strangers, have been able to distinguish themselves by their valour and conduct in so many parts of Europe, I think, above all other nations."<sup>37</sup>

It is this writer's hope that interested students will find their own reasons for examining the annals of the Irish Brigade of Spain and for evaluating the military and political consequences of that soldiery and their descendants during the past two and a half centuries. And so *Abu*, Alejandro O'Reilly, you who established Spanish rule in Louisiana; *Abu*, Leopoldo O'Donnell, Duke of Tetuan, you who conquered Morocco for your sovereign; *Abu*, former Air Marshall Alfredo Kindelan in the sunset of your career. You and all your gallant company have greatly embellished the history of three continents.

34. New York, 1939.

35. *Ibid.*, vii-viii.

36. *The Works of Jonathan Swift* (Edinburgh, 1814), XVII, 440. Wogan's statement is somewhat misleading. The Irish soldiery in European armies, during that period, undoubtedly suffered something like 120,000 casualties; but only about 35,000 of them could have been killed, the balance wounded. The 120,000 killed and wounded, however, still constitute an amazing contribution to the course of western civilization from such a small country as Ireland.

37. *Ibid.*, XVIII, 11.



## SUGGESTIONS FOR RESEARCH IN THE CULTURE AND SOCIETY OF SPANISH FLORIDA <sup>1</sup>

by WILLIAM B. GRIFFEN

FLORIDA WAS ESTABLISHED as a functional part of the Spanish colonies in 1565. Saint Augustine was from the beginning the focal point of the Spanish Empire in Florida from which the social and cultural influences of the Iberian civilizers were radiated into the hinterland, transforming to some degree both the physical environment and the human groups bearing different ways of life which were encountered. But, not only from the standpoint of Spanish-Indian culture contact and acculturation does early Florida hold interest for the anthropologist. The imported European culture is also of tremendous importance to be understood in the development of Florida into a Spanish province of the American Indies, intrinsically for problems of culture history and changing social relationships as well as an adjunct to historical and archaeological investigation of the contact period. Different areas of the interior of the Province of Florida were touched in varying degrees, some only indirectly or hardly at all. Research on the society and culture of the Spanish side of this situation of culture contact would help complete the picture of the Spanish in Florida.

Contact with the native populations, as was true for whatever slight physical changes were rendered on the natural environment, was not effectuated solely by the intrepid Spanish missionaries in their reduction of the Indians. Soldiers, and occasionally some settlers, also interacted with the indigenous population as bearers of the dominant culture. Thus, to some extent, they also exerted influence on the local native traditions as these were met as part of the environment that the Spaniards were obliged to confront.

Saint Augustine, as of course were its subsidiary forts and blockhouses (e.g., Santa Elena, San Mateo, later San Marcos de

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1. The following assessment is based on the writer's familiarity with the source material of the First Spanish Period, 1512-1763. No doubt many of these remarks are also applicable to the Second Spanish Occupation, 1783-1821, although the documentation for this period is for the most part unknown to the writer.

Apalache, etc.), was founded primarily as a military presidio, although more comprehensive colonizing as had been done in other parts of the Indies was planned. Penetration into the interior was made by both the military and religious branches which were usually closely allied. However, while it quickly became apparent that Florida was not the rich region that the original optimistic hopes had conjured, the Spanish settlement continued and slowly took on many of the characteristics of a fully functioning colony. Mining activity was not indulged in although there were a number of rumors of the richness of discoveries in the interior at various times. The development of agriculture and stockraising was never extensive, but that some of this activity did go on is attested to in the record. The produce went to support the colony. And, agriculture was apparently not exclusively performed by the Indians of the mission system.

Much emphasis here will be placed on research into Saint Augustine and its immediate vicinity. This city was the capital of Spanish Florida and the main body of the Spanish population was concentrated there. For the scope of interest of this paper, there are many more data on this particular area which afford information on the culture and social organization of a Spanish community of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. The garrison settlement of Saint Augustine, as time passed, slowly acquired the aspects of a fully functioning town with more diversified activities than soldiers merely standing guard duty or patrolling the hinterland. Indeed, this aspect of urbanization, such as it may be in a small garrison town, is definitely deserving of the attention of the cultural anthropologist. Much more information of this type of activity on the local level can be brought out than has heretofore been done for Florida.

The importance of research into the kind of society and culture exemplified by colonial Spanish Florida is found not only in the specific information that would thus be obtained on Florida's Hispanic past. It also, and perhaps of more significance, exemplifies a variant of a Spanish frontier post meeting the peculiar Florida conditions. In a larger framework, then, illumination could be brought about on some of the basic processes of Spanish culture as found in this variant of the presidio system. This extended over the several frontier regions of the Spanish Indies

and formed one of the spearheads of the transplantation of Iberian culture to the New World. While less important in the immediate acculturation of the American indigenous population than the religious organization, many of these presidios later became fully functioning towns, centers of Spanish culture. A comprehension of the growth and development of these nuclei is important to understanding the past of many present-day Latin American communities.

Many of the suggestions for research made here will involve much reading and careful tabulation. It is a task that will not be easy, almost certainly not to be performed by a single investigator, but a number of projects could be carried out with an eye to describing the Spanish culture as found in Florida on the local level. Nor is this an attempt to encroach upon the legitimate domains of the historian<sup>2</sup> but rather it is merely to emphasize certain possibilities that are of importance to anthropologists but generally of only peripheral interest to other scholars. Some information on these several aspects does exist; the task remains to pull it together and to integrate it into a more or less balanced description of the social and cultural processes of Spanish Florida and of the conditions under which these took place. The military organization and its history is being investigated, as well as other aspects of Spanish Florida history, by competent historians, as are problems of Florida ethnohistory by equally competent archaeologists. What is suggested here, it is hoped, will complement the work that previously has been and at present is being carried on.

The data collected can quite feasibly be organized within the conceptual schemes commonly employed by anthropologists and sociologists in viewing the interfunctioning of the several aspects of "live" communities. The sources here, of course, are documentary, not observational, and might suggest interesting methodological and theoretical questions. Much of the data logically fall within the anthropological concept of "ideal" culture, either in the sphere of norms for behavior or in that of generalizations made on their own (cultural) behavior (often confused with

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2. See *The Social Sciences in Historical Study, A Report of the Committee on Historiography* (Social Science Research Council, Bulletin 64, New York, 1954).

norms) by untrained observers (generally considered rather unreliable in field studies). Obviously, the information contained in documentary sources is highly incomplete compared to the minute data recorded by an investigator in the field over a short period. These lacunae in data over a long span of time will necessitate that the end result be much more of a composite-construct than would be the case in the ordinary field study. But on the other hand, some of the changes over time of the society and culture of a community can be seen, or at least inferred, which are difficult to get in a short-term field investigation.

It must also be emphasized that what is stated here is put forth solely in the nature of suggestions and does not purport to be an exhaustive exposee on the social-cultural research potential of Spanish Florida. Many other aspects no doubt could be investigated. Those presented here constitute a few of the more salient ones for which information does exist. Since some of the sources that will be suggested are seldom used, or at least not employed in the context advocated, it is felt that some such general approach of a diachronic-synchronic nature that the anthropologist might supply would be a fruitful one. The specific theoretical problems and the particular body of theory to which such an investigation should be tied, of course, is left up to the interests and inclinations of the individual investigator.

The sources that can be utilized are several: there are various collections of documents <sup>3</sup> ranging from formal letters of governors and other administrative officials, through certifications, financial reports, subsidy lists, to the petitions from individual soldiers to the Crown for assistance; there exist a few maps for this period; <sup>4</sup> and, there are the records of the Cathedral Parish of Saint Augustine. <sup>5</sup> The latter are one of the most important

3. *E.g.*, The Stetson Collection of photostats on file at the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, and various collections on microfilm such as that of the North Carolina Historical Commission and the Lowery Collection. The latter are on file in several places, including the P. K. Yonge Library and the Library of the Saint Augustine Historical Society in Saint Augustine. For a more complete bibliography of materials dealing with Florida during the First Spanish Period see Verne E. Chatelain's, *The Defenses of Spanish Florida, 1565 to 1763* (Carnegie Institution Publication 511, Washington, D. C., 1941), p. 95 *passim*.
4. See Woodbury Lowery's, *A Descriptive List of Maps of the Spanish Possessions within the present limits of the United States, 1502-1820* (Washington, 1912).
5. These are on file in photostat form at the library of the Saint Augustine Historical Society.

sources for the anthropologist and contain a wealth of data that cannot be found in the usual collections of formal documents and letters. Some of the various types of information to be found in sources other than the Cathedral Parish Records will be mentioned later. However, the most expedient long range plan of research attack would be to tap and collate this material first. Once this core of information on the society and culture of the period were secured, many other documents would be illuminated and made more meaningful. Moreover, documents on complaints of the extensive familial ties among the holders of various administrative posts and those indicating collaboration or collusion of such persons, would demonstrate part of the operation of this aspect of the social organization as extracted from the Cathedral Parish Records.

Consequently, the potential of this set of documents will be emphasized first, although it is impossible, of course, not to bring in other sources when particular problems are suggested. Many aspects will merely be mentioned with no further comment. Apart from specific data on kinship, of interest mainly in the long run to the genealogist and the biographer, and a few references to historical events, the Cathedral Parish Records contain much other valuable information of a biological and socio-cultural nature, plus some mention of particular social conditions. These documents comprise the marriages and baptisms beginning with the year 1594, with some gaps, to almost the close of the First Spanish Period (1763). For shorter periods, mostly in the eighteenth century, there are burial and confirmation records to round out the picture. It must be emphasized that the following assessment of the data contained in these records does not necessarily indicate that there is complete coverage for any particular period. As stated above, the eighteenth century is the most complete.

Demographically, many data on vital statistics can be obtained. The birth rate (for the most part calculable only from the baptismal rate) would have one of the longest statistical runs, and with the use of census reports would serve as a basis to make gross population estimates. Other interesting aspects would emerge from the baptismal record such as the percentage of "natural" offspring which would indicate either (1) prostitution or

the existence of certain "free" women, and (2), combined with marriage data, a possible range of variation in the courtship pattern by the percentage of presumably "shot-gun" marriages that either succeed the blessed event or do not precede it within sufficient time for the demands of dignity and propriety.

The marriage records give the frequency of marital unions, thus indicating the rate of the formation of new households, with implications for domestic construction (maintenance and repair, new building, etc.) and therefore hint at the geographical growth of the physical confines of the town of Saint Augustine. These records also afford an estimate of the number of people who reach puberty (as will the confirmation records for the years where they are available) and thus a more accurate death rate curve can be obtained. The burial records yield data on infant, child, and adult mortality, as well as information on certain socio-environmental conditions and specific events such as attacks, plagues, and starvations.

From the calculation of any or all of these rates over a long period of years, possibly a seasonal pattern would emerge. This, aside from annual variations in environment and climate, might reflect the festival or ceremonial calendar or some other such cultural phenomenon.

By defining various criteria for class participation, the structure of social class could be extracted. The pattern of giving the honorific titles of *Don* and *Dona* in the Cathedral Parish Records would be an aid here, as would the holding of administrative offices and higher ranking military positions (for the most part, contained in other sources). Other information on property holding (e.g., from appraisal lists of houses in 1708 and of lots and houses in 1763 available in other sources) and from the burial records could also be utilized. The majority of the entries on the burial records merely state the name of the deceased. However, a small percentage are much more elaborately recorded, giving the names of heirs and of the testamentary executor (*albacea*), the number of masses sung in the deceased's honor, and the amount of money willed to religious sodalities or *cofradías*. Such persons appear rather obviously as members of the higher strata of the local class system.

From the frequency of consanguineal marriages (the latter could be defined by establishing a threshold degree of relationship, say, that of parents' siblings' children) and from the percentage of unions with local non-kinsmen and with outsiders, part of the mechanism for the maintenance of social class could be gleaned. Of course, it would be interesting to see if secondary, tertiary, etc., marriages also maintained their previous class affiliation, and if not, which sex tended to change. The practice of inheriting the military services of ancestors, as evinced in many petitions to the Crown for assistance and in the subsequent grants where given, seem to demonstrate the influence of the Spanish government in the maintenance of class affiliations. Indeed, possibly the petitions themselves would represent a definable segment of the local class structure. At the same time, information could be garnered on the interesting question of the development and role of the creole in Florida.

The positions in the class system, once determined on the basis of the criteria that could be brought to bear on the matter, could then be compared with other data to determine the correlation with positions in the administrative and military hierarchies, and with the system of military titles. The latter do not necessarily correspond to the posts held and they are sometimes acquired outside of Florida.

The records of baptism, marriage, and confirmation, also contain data on the pattern of sponsorship for these rites which most probably evince the operation of the *compadre* system. It would be worthwhile to determine if the choice of sponsor shows any pattern that could be correlated with the kinship system and/or the class system. Or if one, two, or a few persons for any particular period appear to predominate in the record which might indicate the use of "professional" sponsors. Perhaps such "professional" sponsor roles themselves, should their existence prove to be the case (and it is the writer's impression that at least for some periods it is), would stand in certain definite recurrent relationships within the social organization to the class system and power hierarchy. The recipients would likewise tend to occupy specific segments of the society.

The varying racial composition over time and the rate of assimilation could be brought out. While race is not always

noted, usually it is for the three main components of Spanish colonial society: white, Negro, and Indian. Mestizos and mulattoes are less frequently recorded as such and the term *chino* (apparently a quadroon) also occasionally appears. Most of the other combinations would have to be worked out on the basis of ancestry. An intriguing question is the form that the colonial caste system took in Spanish Florida. The relative proportions of the several groups could be determined and correlated with other data, their occupations and other forms of social participation in the colony.

Another interesting aspect of the social organization that could be developed here is that of slavery. If a person is slave, it invariably appears on the record. The same vital statistical information is recorded, of course, for the slaves as for the free. The owner of the slave is usually stated, another datum related to property holding that could be employed for establishing class affiliation. Moreover, some conception of the pattern of manumission can be gleaned from determining the marriages out of the slave class, the type of marriages made by the children where both parents are slave, and where only one parent is slave. This information from the Cathedral Parish Records, combined with that from other documents such as the shipments of slaves into the colony and the entrance of runaways from the English colonies to the north, conceivably would afford a not too inadequate picture of the system of slavery in Spanish Florida. Other sources would also help bring out the occupational roles of this group.

One map<sup>6</sup> of the town of Saint Augustine, made at the end of the First Spanish Period, depicts houses and lots with their corresponding owners. Once the kinship-class pattern were extracted, at least adequately covering the period for this date, a settlement pattern demonstrating kin-residence (including fictitious) and class-residence distribution could be worked out.

One point of a more trivial nature, but of interest to anthropologists as evidence of culture change, is that of names and naming. The percentage of various given-names and their change in frequency would be a relatively easy thing to determine. The surname inheritance seems to exemplify several variations and some of the multiple-name combinations are inherited *in toto*.

6. Map of Eligio de la Puente, 1764, on file at the Saint Augustine Historical Society.



The tendency to give certain combinations of two, or more, first names could also be checked.

Almost always the marriage record gives the area in Europe or America to which the parties of the contract are native. It might be highly illuminating to see the change in complexion of the population component of the society with regard to place of origin. Originally there was high percentage of persons from Asturias, the home province of the conquistador of Florida and founder of Saint Augustine, Pedro Menendez de Aviles. Later, creoles (and mestizos, etc.) from Florida and from other sections of the Spanish American Indies, began to play a larger and larger part and some other areas of Spain were better represented.

A careful record of the officiating religious personnel in these rites, in conjunction with other information, would help show how the various branches of the religious functioned in Saint Augustine with regard to the local populace. It would be worthwhile to determine what relationship the convent and friars of the Order of Saint Francis, dedicated to missionary activity, had to the parish organization and to the town in general. There were at times jurisdictional conflicts between these religious and secular orders, as there were also between creoles and Spaniards within the Franciscan order, and some private citizens were buried in the cemetery of the Saint Francis Convent, rather than in the parish.

These, it would seem, are some of the basic points that would emerge from a careful handling of the material contained in the Cathedral Parish Records. As previously mentioned, many other documents would take on new meaning and no doubt more facets would suggest themselves. For example, the demographic data for males should be compared with the extant garrison lists of the military in an effort to determine one aspect of population turnover (to be alluded to below) and the extent of the strictly civilian population. Some persons, other than native Indians and Negro slaves, not connected with either the military or religious administrative hierarchies were apparently in Florida. But the relative proportions of such persons and what they did is a problem very much deserving of attention. It may be that certain mixed bloods were predominantly associated with particular occupational roles. The results, in conjunction with racial and class data, would be extremely interesting, and the growth of such a

population would give a hint on the non-military development of the area.

With regard to population, it would be worthwhile to investigate the degree of biological recruitment within the Florida society and the frequency of immigration (recruitment from the outside, usually as military personnel), and migration. Seemingly, many men were recruited from the outside while very few women ever came to Florida, except in the early years. With military recruitment from the exterior, and assuming a normal birth rate for both sexes, a population imbalance is thus implied for the men. A judicious comparison of other data with the garrison lists would give an indication of the rate of immigration, the place occupied in the local ranking system by the immigrants, and the rate of emigration, the class affiliation of the emigrants and whether they were outsiders who came only for a few years or native Floridians. At one period at any rate, there are complaints of military personnel who came from Cuba for a short while merely until they could receive a promotion, at which time they would return to Cuba or would go to some other area of the Spanish dominions. The rate of military desertions would also be intimately involved with this problem.

Some data is available on the material accoutrements of the society of this period. There is, of course, much information on the material culture connected with the military which can be left to the specialists of this principal occupation of Spanish Florida. There are also a few lists of personal and household objects, items from subsidy lists, gifts and trade goods for the Indians, plus a number of other more casual references. It would be interesting to see who owned these items as it would be also, for example, to determine who owned water craft, either of the canoe/pirogue class or larger. Houses and lots were owned by private individuals as was some of the land immediately adjacent to the town of Saint Augustine. Also there is some mention of haciendas more in the interior.

The subsidy is a big problem and is more properly the domain of historians. However, its distribution on the local level should be investigated. Also, other forms of income should be assessed. There was some local food production in the form of agriculture and animal husbandry, as well as fishing. It is important to find out where this was carried out, by whom-Indians, slaves, or what kind of free persons-something of its distribution, and

its relations to the subsidy. The latter was often in arrears for several years; when it was collected in New Spain and remitted to Florida a great deal of graft was involved. Seemingly much of it never reached the designated recipients. Furthermore, in the latter part of the First Spanish Period, when the English trader became common in the area, illicit trade with the British colonies took on an importance that should be investigated with regard to its effect on the local level. Indeed, this could show up a whole problem of the development of a capital surplus in Florida.

There is some information on stores, and some fifty dispensaries, including taverns, are reported near the end of the First Spanish Period. This information, while slight, should be brought together as part of the system of the distribution of goods in the colony.

Certain social groups and activities could also be investigated and their contribution to the total society be assessed while at the same time gleaning some idea of the different social participation of the society's members. There is slight information on the *cofradías*, their administration, purpose, membership, and the fiestas in which they took part. There is the problem of diversion: drinking, gambling, bull fights (the writer knows of only one taurine festival about the year 1746).<sup>7</sup> There is also a little information on the hospital, its administration and organization. There are at least two physician's reports available which give evidence of medical concepts in vogue at the time, plus slight information regarding the use of Indian cures by Spaniards. There exists at least one reference to the use of *cacina* by Spaniards and its effects on health, and one abortion performed by an Indian women.

Some local born Saint Augustinians knew how to read and write. Presumably this skill was learned from members of the Church but specific information should be obtained on the matter. There is some information concerning the participation in or awareness of the more specialized intellectual culture of the era. One individual is known to have possessed certain learned tomes, including the works of Virgil and several texts on medicine. Another, when presenting the defense of Governor Joseph de Zuniga during the latter's judicial review of his term of office (*residencia*), elaborated on the wisdom of Hippocrates.

7. Personal conversation with John TePaske, Department of History, Ohio State University.

On the linguistic side, the vocabulary of some of the reports from Florida is interesting and suggestive with regard to the use of words of local origin or known to have originated in other specific areas. The word *atequi*, apparently of local origin, meaning "interpreter," has quite common currency. Imported lexical items such as the Mexican-Spanish words for grass, *sacate* (Nahuatl-*sakatl*), and for mat, *petate* (Nahuatl - *petlatl*), also occur in documents originating in Florida. A careful study would probably turn up more. Some intrepid individual might wish to make a comparative study of structural and lexical differences between documents written by common soldiers and those of a more formal nature, an investigation that might bring to light, for example, some characteristics of the spoken language of the time.

Other questions for which an answer could be attempted are what familial connections were there between the personnel of the administrative, military, and religious branches, and how did this affect their actual operating relations? What was the relationship in actual practice in the hinterland between the military and the religious, between the military and the Indian population, and the effect the military had on the latter? For information concerning the interior of Florida there are various more or less formal reports, including inspection tours or *visitas*. Also, petitions of military personnel to the Crown are a rich source of this type of data. These often relate action that took place in the interior and include a certain amount of descriptive material. Sometimes, depositions are included, involving several deponents who certify to the service of the petitioner, with a corresponding increment to the resulting information.

There would seem to be enough information to eventually make a fairly adequate sociological analysis of Saint Augustine and Spanish Florida. A few concluding suggestions will be offered here. The role name for many, if not most, of the positions regarding occupations can usually be obtained and these often imply some information as to the function of the role in question. Especially complete here is data on some of the administrative positions and a history of the organization of the Florida branch of the Royal Treasury could be carried out quite adequately. Originally there were three Royal Officials; later assistants were added and one of the Royal official posts was abolished. There are many decrees stating what these officials should do as there

are reports containing information on what was actually done. The latter is often quite to the contrary of the expectations of the office involved. Not only the formal organization of the Royal Treasury could be worked out but also a good indication of how much business was actually carried on. It would also seem that a nice analysis of the power associated with these positions both over other persons (positions) and over local resources could be made. And, such a study might prove to be an interesting window from which to view certain aspects of the surrounding society.

Furthermore, the relationship of these posts to the governorship, for example, could be investigated. The Royal Officials were often natives of Florida. In any event they usually enjoyed a longer term of office than the governor who was always an outsider, except in occasional instances when the position was held *ad interim* by a local person on the occurrence of the death or absence of the regular holder.

The position of scribe could also be handled in a similar fashion, although there is less information here. The post as secretary, notary, intermediary, and local communication device would serve as a porthole to Saint Augustine society.

The role of the kinship ties, which were numerous in such a small settlement, should be brought into the analysis of the actual functioning of these positions as, of course, they also should in the evaluation of the military and other posts.

One final problem, that of social control, especially on the local level, could be attempted. Not only the set of roles designated to oversee and judge the other roles of the society within the precepts of the legal system could be analyzed, but also patterns might arise from some of the disputes and town scandals. Also, the use of such weapons as the ecclesiastical ban should be investigated. This entire aspect, of course, is intimately tied up with the operation of the local power hierarchy.

In summary, it would seem that there are enough possibilities to occupy a number of workers for many years. A multitude of other facets should suggest themselves to anyone who cares to peruse the available source material.<sup>8</sup>

8. The Saint Augustine Historical Society is presently engaged in a project to develop a central calendar of all primary source material relative to the First Spanish Period located in the United States.

## GOVERNOR FOLCH AND THE BURR CONSPIRACY

by ADAM SZÁSZDI

THEAT STRANGE EPISODE of American history, the Burr conspiracy, can be considered nowadays a well-known story, and the more so since the publication of Professor Abernethy's work, *The Burr Conspiracy* (1954). However, even though pertinent Spanish documents have been taken into consideration, the usual tendency is to view the subject from the perspective of those operating within the United States. Therefore, it should be an interesting experiment to cross the Florida boundary and place ourselves in the shoes of the Spanish authorities of that time.

Due to the heritage of colonial prejudices and the Spanish intrigues in the West after the Revolution, contemporary Americans see Spain's hand in the conspiracy, headed by Aaron Burr, Vice-President during Jefferson's first administration. Although by now enough is known to disprove the validity of this accusation, historians still are somewhat suspicious of the Monarchy's conduct. The fact is that such suspicions are not completely groundless, chiefly because of the attitude of the Governor of West Florida, Colonel Vicente Folch y Juan.

The first news of the conspiracy reached Madrid through the Marques de Casa Irujo, the Spanish Minister in the United States. Burr approached him through a third person, sometime in March, 1805, while the Minister was staying in Washington, his permanent residence being Philadelphia. Burr asked him for a passport to Mexico, but this was refused by Casa Irujo, who was aware of the Vice-President's "mysterious and frequent" conferences with the British Minister.

Casa Irujo's relations with Burr are usually considered with suspicion. It would be misrepresenting the facts to suppose that any friendship existed between them. When Burr set out for Pittsburgh, the Minister immediately warned the Marques de Casa Calvo, the King's agent in Louisiana, to watch his movements. Casa Irujo expressed the opinion that Burr was "astute, clever, ambitious and an intrigant, without moral nor political principles, led in his aims and conduct by ambition, his favorite passion."

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Towards the beginning of August, 1805, the Philadelphia press was already commenting on Burr's projects. As a result, Casa Irujo knew quite well that an attack on Mexico was contemplated. But he considered that project ridiculous, and thought that at the best it had been proposed to the British Minister, in order to obtain some money from him.

As far as the separation of the western states from the Union was concerned, the Spanish Minister thought it had to occur eventually, due to the sectional struggle within the United States. But he also thought that for the moment the West was not yet ripe to maintain its independence. He considered such an eventually very favorable to the King's interest, but that was about all of which he could be accused.<sup>1</sup>

Although the Spanish Minister to the United States was contemplating the possible dissolution of this country, the main preoccupation of the Court of Madrid was the protection of the King's possessions and honoring its international obligations. Burr's Mexican plans were not taken so lightly as by Casa Trujo, chiefly since the Government knew about the trip undertaken to the Viceroyalty by the Irish-born and Eton-educated Daniel Clark, erstwhile consul of the United States in New Orleans and land speculator. The seizure of his papers was even suggested in order to gather more information. Casa Calvo was ordered to remain in New Orleans for the same reason.<sup>2</sup> Even before this, on February 2, 1806, orders were sent to the Viceroy of New Spain and to the Captain General of the Floridas, to arrest Burr if he were found on Spanish soil.<sup>3</sup>

Of all the King's representatives, however, the man who had to deal closest with the Burr conspiracy was the Governor of West Florida, Folch. He was subject to the authority of the Captain General in Habana, but as a result of the English blockade maintained by seven warships off Cuba, Folch had no means of communicating with Cuba except through officers disguised as civilians, who used American passports and embarked at New Orleans on board neutral ships.<sup>4</sup> Folch tried to convince the Captain General in Habana, Marques de Someruelos, of the need

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1. Casa Irujo to Pedro Cevallos, August 5, 1805, Servicio Historico Militar (cited hereinafter as SHM) Madrid, leg. 6,636, MS 5-1-9-16.

2. Cevallos to the Secretary of War, March 28, 1806, *ibid.*

3. Josef Caballero to the Principe de la Paz, February 2, 1806, *ibid.*

4. Folch to Someruelos, No. 59, January 6, 1807, SHM, 5-1-9-12.

for an independent command of West Florida. He knew the problems of the province much better than the Captain General. Furthermore, communications with Madrid through Washington were easier than by way of Cuba. But, of course, the Marques de Someruelos was not to be convinced so easily. Folch also had trouble with Intendent Juan Morales (accused of having increased his private fortune by one million pesos while provisional Intendent of Louisiana <sup>5</sup>) who refused to reveal to the Governor the extent of his powers. Folch was at a complete loss trying to determine his duties. Even knowledge about the funds in the *Cajas* and the quantity of stored foodstuff was kept from him. This, coupled to his lack of authority to make important decisions without consulting the Captain General, rendered his position extremely difficult. <sup>6</sup> As Folch explained to his friend, General Samper:

. . . depending on a Captain General who resides at 200 leagues distance; (and considering) that these are occupied by the Gulf of Mexico, that the decisions of the Captain General take six or seven months to arrive, and that when they come ill conceived, I find myself faced by the difficult alternative of disobeying the Captain General or serving ill the King; they are capital inconveniences which render this destination intolerable. <sup>7</sup>

Colonel Folch had governed West Florida since 1796. He rightfully considered himself the man best acquainted with its problems. He always showed extreme distrust of the United States, because of its aggressive attitude. He considered ridiculous the Americans' pretension of comparing themselves to the republics of antiquity and attributing their amazing increase to their constitution. He rather thought that the good fortune of the United States was due to the war in Europe and that the only way to curb their arrogance would be by sending after the war a considerable number of troops and ships to the region. <sup>8</sup>

Folch thought that the Burr conspiracy was simply an attempt to separate the West and Louisiana from the Atlantic

5. Folch to Antonio Samper, April 16, 1807, SHM, 5-1-10-2.

6. Folch to Someruelos, No. 68, February 15, 1807, *ibid.* The dubious record of Morales did not impede his later appointment as Intendent of Puerto Rico.

7. Folch to Samper, April 16, 1807, *ibid.*

8. Folch to the Principe de la Paz, March 23, 1807, *ibid.*



states. He believed that if the United States did not change the form of its government it had to break up sooner or later into its component parts, such as New England, the Middle States, the South, and the West. He believed the West was going to initiate the process. At that moment this seemed to be quite logical and Folch's appraisal was sound. Subsequently the secession of the South was overcome only when Lincoln modified, if not the letter, at least the spirit of the Constitution.

Since the Governor of West Florida did not seem to see Burr's movement as a special threat to the Spanish Monarchy, the only question was, what attitude to take in the civil strife that was developing over the border. Washington would invoke international law. The Burrrites would contend that the secession of the West served Spain's interests, protecting Mexico from the United States. This would be in agreement with the former Spanish policy, in view of the possibility that the new state would offer to become a Spanish protectorate.

What attitude then was Spain to take in such a conflict? International law prescribed a friendly conduct toward the United States, but Folch thought the United States too often forgot its international obligations towards Spain, as in the recent expulsion of Casa Calvo from New Orleans. And if the Republic were allowed to become strong and stable, it would mean the disappearance of European possessions from America, Spain of course being the country that had the most to lose. Therefore, Colonel Folch proposed to maintain a strict neutrality and to decline any invitation to cooperate, with the pretext that he was lacking authority and had to consult first the Captain General.<sup>9</sup>

This then was going to be the line followed by the Governor. Undoubtedly, he well understood the problems his country was facing in its relations with the United States. Maybe he was the Spaniard who best knew the American Republic. But, although General James Wilkinson (military governor of the western territories of the United States, bribed by Spain and trusted by Burr at the same time) was sending Folch detailed information about Burr's aims against the Floridas and Mexico, he refused to believe the seriousness of the situation as far as Spain was concerned, thinking probably that the Americans were only trying to draw him into the conflict. As a result, he instructed Carlos

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9. Folch to Someruelos, No. 63, January 8, 1807, *ibid.*

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de Grand Pre, Commandant of Baton Rouge, not to attack the Burrites, unless provoked by them.<sup>10</sup>

This policy of strict neutrality, motivated by a desire of neither giving help to the government of the United States, nor infringing Spain's international obligations, explains Folch's attitude in the incident that involved the garrison of Fort Stoddert. On December 12, 1806, Captain Thomas Swaine, commanding the Fort, wrote to Folch almost literally copying from Secretary of War Dearborn's November 8 letter to him. The Captain had just received orders from Wilkinson to move with part of his troops down to New Orleans. So, Lieutenant Gaines was sent to Mobile to arrange the transit of the troops with Spanish authorities.<sup>11</sup> Folch refused to grant it, saying that only the Captain General could allow the passage of the American troops. He also took exception to the Dearborn-Swaine contention that relations between the two countries would remain good unless the Spaniards should impair them. According to Folch only the Americans could disturb the harmonious relations then existing.<sup>12</sup>

The report that the Colonel sent to Someruelos in Habana indicates that Gaines tried to convince him to allow the troops passage by using as an argument the common interest of Spain and the United States. It was suggested that Burr also threatened the Spanish possessions. Folch seemingly did not want to believe this. Yet he was of the opinion that the requested transit should be granted to Swaine, if not for any other reason, at least to dispel the rumors published in the newspapers about Spanish complicity in the conspiracy. In his words: "I do not know, upon what basis

10. Folch to Grand Pre, December 24, 1806, *ibid.* An example of Wilkinson's messages reads: "New Orleans, December 6, 1806, Sir, this will be handed to you by Lt. Marry of the Artillery who goes to Fort Stoddert in charge of goods for the indian agency. I pray you to let him pass without delay. Tomorrow I shall write you on a subject of high interest to your Government by a messenger express. In the mean time I can assure you *on the honor of a soldier* that every arrangement making here, is as well to *protect the dominations of Spain* as to support the government of the *United States* against its own *lawless citizens*. Tomorrow I shall be more explicit by Gilberto. With respect and esteem, yours, J. A. Wilkinson. His Excellency Governor Folch. *Es copia de su original. Vizte Folch y Juan.*" SHM 5-1-9-12. Prof. Abernethy cites a letter of the same date from Wilkinson to Folch and Morales (Thomas P. Abernethy, *The Burr Conspiracy* [New York, 1954], p. 176).

11. *Ibid.*, p. 187; Swaine to Folch, December 12, 1806, SGM 5-1-9-12.

12. Folch to Swaine, December 13, 1806, *ibid.*

they report it; but even in case it be true, it is convenient to hide our cooperation until assured of the favorable outcome of the enterprise.”<sup>13</sup>

The Americans soon tired of waiting for Someruelos' permission. On December 26, Swaine passed through Mobile en route to New Orleans accompanied by Lieutenant Murry, probably to confer with Wilkinson. Soon rumors started that Swaine was under arrest for complicity in the Burr affair. At the same time, late on December 30, Folch heard that the American garrison at Fort Stoddert was on the point of forcing its way through Florida, traveling aboard a ship that had been obliged to unload its cargo of cotton. The next morning he called in the ship's master who had brought this news. On the basis of this evidence Folch sent a courier to Stoddert at ten o'clock in the morning. He returned at four in the afternoon of the following day, January 1, reporting that he had seen the American troops embarking on a schooner. On his way back, at half-past eight in the morning, he heard cannon shots and supposed that this meant the departure of the American garrison. It was exactly what had happened.

Early on Friday, January 2, the American ship crossed Pass Heron. From there Captain Schuyler of the 2nd U. S. Infantry sent a message to Folch, announcing his crossing of Spanish territory. The Colonel, believing him still at Stoddert, answered with a threat to use force to stop the foreign troops. He did not know that they were already out of his reach. He had given orders to the two ships in the harbor of Mobile which were more or less seaworthy, the "Luisiana" and the "Vigilante," to cut off the Americans. But, because of weather conditions they could not leave until daybreak of January 2. Naturally they arrived too late and of course national honor was offended. Nevertheless, Folch found it more diplomatic to forget the incident.<sup>14</sup>

On January 3, Wilkinson wrote to Folch announcing Burr's approach "with his brigands," and advising him to reinforce Baton Rouge. He also mentioned Burr's designs on Mexico and enclosed

13. Folch to Someruelos, No. 58, December 13, 1806, *ibid.*

14. Folch to Someruelos, No. 60, January 6, 1807, *ibid.*; Schuyler to Folch, January 1, 1807, *ibid.*; Folch to Schuyler, January 2, 1807, *ibid.*; Folch to Baron de Feriet, January 1, 1807, *ibid.*; Folch to Francisco Maximiliano de Saint-Maxent, January 4, 1807, *ibid.*

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a copy of Jefferson's proclamation. Captain Swaine brought this message to Mobile. This determined the Governor to transfer his headquarters to the fort on the Mississippi, a decision he announced to Someruelos on January 6. Yet, he was ostensibly going to Baton Rouge only to "discover the intentions of the insurgents," and he continued to give the appearance of paying little attention to Burr's anti-Spanish aims.<sup>15</sup>

It was not until January 11 that Folch confessed to Someruelos that the King's domains were in real danger. However, he believed Burr's forces much more important than they really were. He felt that Burr had committed a tactical error when he did not send a secondary force of 2,000 men from Muscle Shoals down on the Tombigbee. The Spaniards would have been obliged to give up Pensacola and then retreat to Mobile, resisting there while they could. At the same time Burr's principal force would have taken Baton Rouge and New Orleans. Of course, Burr lacked the necessary troops to realize such a plan.<sup>16</sup>

What were the reasons for the sudden change of opinion of the Spanish Governor? There seems to be only one, namely the information he was receiving about the plans and activities of the Mexican Association of New Orleans. Casa Calvo had started originally to observe these activities. On his expulsion Folch took over. The Mexican Association was a branch of a similar organization in New York. Among its most important members were Judges Prevot, Workman, Old, and Nicolle, Edward Livingston (Burr's debtor), Daniel Clark, Father Rodriguez, Major Nott, and Lewis Kerr. It was said that the secretary of the Viceroy of New Spain and three magnates were also in the service of the Association. Each of the magnates contributed 100,000 pesos to the expedition planned against Mexico. There were a number of emissaries in the Viceroyalty whose task was to gain over the "libertine priests and the friars known for their immoral conduct." The Association also pretended that a number of officers in the *Provincias Internas* had been seduced, although there was no actual proof of this. The Association did not fail to consider the possibility of buying off Folch too. This proposal was defeated by

15. Wilkinson to Folch, January 3, 1807, *ibid.*; Folch to Someruelos No. 59, January 6, 1807, *ibid.*; Wilkinson to Folch and Morales, January 5, 1807, SHN, 5-1-10-2.

16. Folch to Someruelos, No. 65, January 11, 1807, *ibid.*

Workman, who warned against revealing the secrets to this astute Governor, known as a staunch royalist. He felt that West Florida could be taken easily anyway. And once that was accomplished Folch would be left with the only practical solution of joining the revolutionaries.

The plans of the Association called for recruiting 10,000 men from Kentucky, 8 to 10,000 Louisiana militiamen, 3,000 regular troops and 5,000 Negro slaves who were promised freedom. They would meet on the Natchitoches river in February or March. An expedition would be sent by sea to the Rio Grande, under the pretext of quelling existing border troubles. Then the Army would declare its independence from the United States. Some 50,000 American families would be given lands west of the Mississippi.

Previous to this information obtained by Folch in October, Casa Calvo had discovered the Association's aims against Mexico. He knew that Wilkinson and his staff were expected to head the enterprise. The plan contemplated the occupation of Baton Rouge and Mobile by the Americans, while a fleet from Jamaica would attack Pensacola. Merchandise, 200,000 pesos worth, was to be assigned to the Indians, and the army would enter Spanish territory as liberators. Father Rodriguez had already translated into Spanish a proclamation to be used when the invasion began. It depicted Spain as Bonaparte's puppet, against whose tyranny it warned the Mexicans. There were some Mexicans at Natchitoches. Proposals were also made to the heads of the Negroes - Carlos Brule, Josef Cabaret and others-who consulted and gained the consent of their old chief, a certain B.D. The Kemper brothers, Reuben, Nathan, and Samuel (frustrated land speculators who had already organized a revolt at Baton Rouge) were to make a second try which actually took place on August 7, 1807. Agents were to be sent to the Viceroy of New Spain, General Jose de Iturrigaray, with the purpose of bribing a certain influential person in his entourage (apparently the secretary). Iturrigaray was considered to be completely inept. This was probably the mission that took Daniel Clark to Mexico. The contemplated attack was to coincide with the one prepared by General Francisco Miranda to free Venezuela from Spanish rule. However, the Association's ardor declined somewhat as a result of Napoleon's victories in

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Europe together with the rumor that Florida was being transferred to France.<sup>17</sup>

Since Folch knew of the anti-Spanish plans of the Association from practically the beginning, it is time now to analyze the reasons for his previous skeptical attitude towards Burr's designs, an attitude that lasted till January 11, 1807. It seems, Folch felt that the Mexican Association actually represented the Government's policy which he also accused as being responsible for Miranda's expedition. (It appears, Governor William Claiborne of Louisiana toasted its success in public.) Wilkinson was also known to Folch as being mixed up in these plans. Furthermore, it was rumored that the crown of the West would be offered to Jefferson, Burr or a Mexican noble. In that case, the official warnings received from the United States government and its representatives in Louisiana of Burr's projects had to appear highly suspicious. Folch could not very well accept in good faith Wilkinson's invitations to cooperate. When Burr was officially denounced as a conspirator the Spanish Governor saw in this simply a split between the enemies of Spain, a split that should be exploited. Between January 8 and 11 he received some new information which startled him into immediate activity against Burr.

In a letter to Intendant Morales, dated January 15, from Delphine Island, Governor Folch declared, "three days ago [there] has come into my possession the detailed plan which the insurgents of Kentucky have formed against the King's domains." This plan, in short, consisted of an attack on Louisiana and the Floridas. With the artillery and munitions captured, Mexico would be invaded by land and sea and its independence declared. Finally, a new power would be constituted with the inclusion of Louisiana and the trans-Allegheny west.

Since the principal immediate aim of the Burrites seemed to be the capture of the Spanish artillery, and since there were not enough troops nor fortifications to defend it, Folch decided to send most of the artillery without gun-powder to San Juan de Ulva at Veracruz, keeping the destination of the expedition a secret. Most of the arms and munitions were to be concentrated in Mobile, as well as the merchandise of the Indian trade. His next measures were to order Colonel Carlos Delassus, the Com-

17. Folch to Someruelos, No. 67, February 10, 1807, *ibid.*

mandant of Pensacola, to send 150 men and some artillery to Baton Rouge. Colonel Francisco Maximiliano de Saint-Maxent had to send 100 men from the garrison of Mobile. The Governor was also counting on the militia, hoping to gather about 3,000 men for the defense of Baton Rouge.<sup>18</sup>

These troops were ready to sail within twenty-four hours of receiving the order. Folch preceded them by two days. He was joined by some detachments at Pass Christian, and by the rest at Bayou Nanchak. He had been forced to stop at Pass Christian in order to clear the ships of the ten inches of snow that fell on January 17 and 18. It was here that he received a letter from Wilkinson, dated January 5, inviting the Spanish authorities to enter into close cooperation with the Americans in resisting Burr. This determined Folch to go to New Orleans, since he wanted to get new information on the latest plans of the Mexican Association.

As a result, Folch wrote to Claiborne and Wilkinson on January 21, from the Bayou St. John where at daybreak he had anchored at a safe distance from the cannons of the American fort. He merely asked for the right to cross to Baton Rouge for himself and his staff, while the troops would continue by boat up the Iberville. Yet, both the General and the Governor refused to grant the permission, saying that public opinion was in a state of agitation because of Burr's approach and the rumors of Spanish complicity. Folch's messenger, Lieutenant Carlos Reggio, came back with the refusal accompanied by two aides of Wilkinson and one sent by Claiborne. The American officers expressed the wish to speak to Folch in private. When the Colonel had sent out everybody, they invited him in the name of their chiefs to a conference on the bridge over the Bayou, to be held the next morning. Folch did not try to hide his resentment about the insinuation of Spanish complicity in the Burr affair. He thought that the meeting proposed on a bridge was rather customary between belligerents, but not friendly nations. He cited the way in which he had received General Wilkinson on his way from the Creeks to New Orleans. But he assured the Americans that he would do his duty if Baton Rouge were attacked, and that they could count on him in preserving the peace of Louisiana.

18. Folch to Someruelos No. 65, January 11, 1807, *ibid.*; Folch to Morales, January 15, 1897, *ibid.*

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The American officer who was doing the talking for his companions implied that Claiborne's note was not to be taken seriously. He was merely afraid of the cleverness of Casa Irujo and Folch, feeling himself as placed "between two sentinels," but if the Colonel agreed to the proposed meeting, he surely would obtain the permission to enter New Orleans.

The Spaniard parried, saying that to be compared to Casa Irujo was too much honor for him but did little honor to the Marques. Neither he nor the Minister could overstep their instructions, which called for friendly relations. Finally, a Spanish commander would never implore something that by right had to be granted to him. As one of the aides did not understand English, Folch repeated all this in French. The American then retired. The following day the Spanish convoy sailed on to Baton Rouge where it arrived on January 26. From there the Governor acknowledged Wilkinson's letter of January 5.<sup>19</sup>

Baton Rouge hardly qualified as a fort. Folch had already in 1804 described its weaknesses to the Captain General of Cuba. Since then nothing had been done. Now he proposed to fortify it by a moat if he received the money.<sup>20</sup> The troops under his command were of high morale and well disciplined. But there was no opportunity to try them out in combat because of Burr's premature collapse. Folch attributed this collapse chiefly to the fear caused by the Spanish vigilance. The Governor hoped that Burr would receive the punishment he deserved. (There is no doubt as to what his fate would have been had he fallen into Spanish hands.) However the anti-Spanish activities were not to cease on the territory of the United States.<sup>21</sup>

19. Folch to Someruelos, No. 66, February 3, 1807; Folch to Claiborne, January 21, 1807; Folch to Wilkinson, January 21, 1807, Claiborne to Folch, January 21, 1807; Wilkinson to Folch, January 21, 1807; Folch to Wilkinson February 11, 1807, *ibid.*

20. Folch to Someruelos, No. 65, January 1, 1807, *ibid.*

21. Folch to Someruelos, No. 69, March 16, 1807, *ibid.* Folch describes his troops as follows: Antes de terminar debo instruir a V. S. que las Tropas destinadas a esta Expedicion se componen de una compania de Granaderos del Regimiento de la Luisiana mandada por su capitan con grado de Teniente Coronel Dn. Francisco Colléll, con los Subalternos el Teniente Dn. Rafeal Croquer, y los Subtenientes Dn. Francisco Perez Muro, y Dn. Juan Dominquez: La mitad del Piquete del Regimiento de la Havana al mando del Teniente del mismo cuerpo Dn. Lorenzo Noquera; y el Subteniente Dn. Josef Valverde: De la mitad del Piquete de Puebla mandado por el Capitan del mismo Regimiento Dn. Antonio Salazar: Del del Regimiento de Cuba al mando de Capitan del propio cuerpo Dn. Gabriel O'Ryan, con los



That strained relations between the Spanish and American authorities would continue was apparent. Wilkinson made an appeal to Folch for the extradition of a deserter, Sergeant Dunbaugh, on the condition of his being pardoned. Consent was given, but this same letter of the General was the cause of new friction, since he hinted that the testimony of the prisoner could clear the Marques de Casa Irujo of any culpability.<sup>22</sup> Next, Wilkinson demanded a free passage for the troops returning to Fort Stoddert. Of course, the Governor of West Florida found reasons enough to deny the petition, such as the previous violation of Spanish territory at Mobile and the prohibition to cross American territory, despite the treaty of 1795 which assured to his Catholic Majesty the free navigation of the Mississippi.<sup>23</sup>

It is clear that those who considered Colonel Don Vicente Folch y Juan as a staunch opponent of the United States were completely justified in their opinion. Perhaps Viceroy Iturrigaray's dubious role would deserve a special study, as well as the Mexican Association's influence on the Mexican independence movement. Casa Calvo's later Bonapartist affiliation should not be overlooked either. But it appears that the Spanish Minister in Philadelphia, the Marques de Casa Irujo, was free from any culpability in Burr's conspiracy. The Spanish crown immediately recognized the danger and as a result was ready to collaborate

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Subalternos Dn. Fernando de la Rosa, Dn. Josef Eligio, y. Dn. Domingo Gallegos: De un destacamento del Rl. cuerpo de Artilleria a las Ordenes del Capitan segundo Dn. Ignacio Salens. Todas estas Tropas venian a las ordenes del Teniente Coronel Dn. Josef Maria Morcillo Sargento Mayor del Regimiento de la Luisiana.

Ademas de los oficiales expresados han venido para ser destinados a dirigir las companias de Milicias los oficiales del Regimiento de la Luisiana siguientes: El Capitan Dn. Josef Canviosa y Adorno, los Tenientes Dn. Josef Declouet, Dn. Luis D'Annoy, y. Dn. Cirilo Morant: Los Subtenientes Dn. Pedro y Dn. Carlos Reggio, Dn. Carlos, Dn. Luis, y Dn. Enrique de Grand-Pre, Dn. Pedro Keronir, y. para Ayudantes mios los Subtenientes Dn. Francisco Morejon y Dn. Francisco Dalcour. La estricta diciplina y buen orden que ha observado la tropa; el zelo y actividad que han manifestado los oficiales; y la constancia y paciencia con que unos y otros han sobrellevado los rigores de una estacion la mas cruda que se ha conocido en este clima, hace honor a la Tropa Espanola, y en particular a los empleados en esta Expedicion; y por lo tanto creo en Justicia debido el recomendarlos coma lo hago a la Superior proteccion de V.S."

22. Wilkinson to Folch, March 27, 1807; Folch to Wilkinson, March 31, 1807. *ibid.*  
 23. Wilkinson to Folch, March 31, 1807; Folch to Wilkinson, April 5, 1807, *ibid.*

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fully with the United States. It was the Governor of West Florida, who, cut off from direct communication with his immediate superior, followed a course that was hostile to the United States. His attitude was influenced, not by an understanding with Burr, but rather by the not completely unfounded suspicion that the insurgents' anti-Spanish designs were also shared by the Government of the United States. Whatever the secret relations between General Wilkinson and the Spanish authorities, the latter did not trust him since they knew of his contact with the Mexican Association. In the end, history has vindicated Governor Folch. The aggression against Spanish territories condemned by the Washington government when undertaken by Burr, was later approved when undertaken by Jackson, Polk, or McKinley. But Spain should have attempted only one of two possible policies: to try to maintain at any cost the most friendly relations with the United States, based on sincerity and good will; or, as proposed by Folch, to pursue a course of unflinching opposition, backed by military might in the Floridas. Yet, instead of these, the policy became one of unfriendly relations without the necessary defenses, and Folch's worst fears were fulfilled: the disappearance of Spanish authority from the New World.

## BOOK REVIEWS

*Florida-A Way of Life.* By Mike Smith. (New York, E. P. Dutton, 1959. 272 pp. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$3.95).

Although the obvious purpose of this 272-page volume is to be helpfully informative for tourists and for new and potential citizens of Florida, Author Mike Smith has accomplished more. A truly historical contribution underlies her presentation of the State's cultural, industrial and institutional development at the present time.

In only 15 chapters the author presents "Florida-A Way of Life" with such objectivity and enthusiasm that the appetite for Florida grows as the reader pursues the book. Mike, whose real name is Mary Ellen, has a wide and intimate acquaintance with her subject. Besides being a native Floridian, she gained additional knowledge by traveling about the State on writing assignments with her journalist husband, the late Tom Q. Smith, to whom she has dedicated her book.

That the book's first chapter should be concerned with Florida's most important asset-its weather-is a logical first step in describing the State's way of life. Pointing to the fact that Florida's reputation "serenely rests upon climate," Author Mike gets dramatic: "It is the fastest growing large state in the Union. It is a new and exciting industrial empire where midget enterprises have grown into giants in a few years. It is a frontier for the engineer and the agriculturist who look toward Central and South America. It is a haven for the retired, a billion-dollar vacationland, the year-round home of millions of people and the hope of millions more."

While conceding that Florida's climate is not always a blessing unmixed, the author points to the occasional unpleasant humidity and cold spells as "tantalizing near-perfection," so that all can be forgiven. Injection of statistical realism here and throughout the book is no snag to reader enthusiasm for it provides backbone for the lively narrative.

With the caption, "Florida Once Over Lightly," the second chapter provides a backdrop of Florida history, against which the

succeeding chapters present verbal pictures of life in various parts of the State. This volume is not intended to be a history, but the author obligingly injects historical background wherever it is needed to make the present more understandable. This writer feels the author has done this adequately, except in the background of Miami Beach history where mention of the Lummus brothers, (J. E. and J. N.), as No. 2 developers of the beach, was omitted. Only John S. Collins preceded them.

There is a sparkling outpouring of facts and humorous anecdotes for home seekers, tourists, job seekers, investors, industrialists, sportsmen and those planning retirement in Florida.

For the year of the book's publication the reader can learn about rent and purchase price of homes, salary scales, hobbies available for pleasure and for profit, and various cultural advantages for all age levels. Real estate investments which are to be eyed with suspicion, and safe approach in selection of homes, are included. Delightfully unimportant things are mentioned, too, such as where to get Key Lime pie and turtle steak, and where to find the best fishing.

With a look into the future and with a summary of the missile achievements at Cape Canaveral, the author concludes with this simple statement: "Florida plans to take part in the conquest of space."

With this book, Mike Smith has achieved brilliantly for the decade of the 1950's what Sidney Lanier, George M. Barbour, John Temple Graves and Margaret Deland did for Florida in the decade of the 1880's. They produced volumes descriptive of the Florida of their own day. C. L. Norton did it for the 1890's, and Kenneth L. Roberts and others for the "roaring twenties." Thus Mike Smith stands at the head of a distinguished line of writers as she presents "Florida - Way of Life" to her own generation.

RUBY LEACH CARSON

*Miami*

*University of Miami*

*Florida on Trial, 1593-1602.* By Charles W. Arnade. University of Miami Hispanic American Studies, No. 16. (Coral Gables, University of Miami Press, 1959. 100 pp. Maps, illustrations, bibliography and index. \$1.00.)

It was indeed a fortunate day for the student of life in Spanish Florida when Irene Wright, with the financial backing of John B. Stetson, Jr., installed a photostat machine in the Archives of Seville and proceeded to duplicate most of the valuable records pertaining to Florida. This collection containing more than seven thousand documents ultimately found its way into the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History in the University of Florida Library where it is available today and being studied by scholars from many parts of the United States.

*Florida on Trial* is largely based upon these above-mentioned photostats in the Stetson Collection, documents found at the North Carolina Department of Archives, and the Lowery Collection at the Library of Congress. It relates how Spain in 1602 held a hearing which would decide, "if Florida should be abandoned and St. Augustine be dismantled." This hearing was held at St. Augustine and eighteen witnesses presented their testimonies. The one hundred and twenty-two pages of testimony including depositions by several Franciscans is the core about which *Florida on Trial* is woven.

This monograph which has been published in cooperation with the St. Augustine Historical Society gives an impressive account of Spanish life as it existed in Florida at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Witnesses testify as to missionary efforts among the Indians, Spanish knowledge of the Southeast, crops, food, fertility of the Florida soil, and morale at St. Augustine.

The chairman of the investigation, Fernando Valdes, son of Cuba's governor and acting as a substitute for his father, heard some divergent points of view expressed at the hearing. The soldiers, almost to a man, testified that the fort should remain at Matanzas Bay. The Franciscan fathers were the most critical witnesses and came out strongly against Governor Mendez Canzo, the Florida peninsula, and St. Augustine. Governor Mendez Canzo presented his account of the situation in a long letter de-

livered to Valdez just before he returned to Cuba. The consequence of all the testimony was that St. Augustine was retained as an outpost of the Spanish empire but Canzo was relieved of his duties.

Charles Arnade has presented another of his well-written and documented word pictures concerning life in the Latin-American scene. It is based upon extensive research and should help stimulate others to explore paths uncovered by *Florida on Trial*.

The monograph is highly recommended for acquisition by anyone interested in Florida.

JAMES W. COVINGTON

*University of Tampa*

## NEWS AND NOTES

### *The Annual Meeting*

The annual meeting of the Society will be held at the Lakeside Inn in Mount Dora on April 8 and 9, 1960. It has been many years since the Society met in the central part of the state. This meeting is designed to afford the many members and friends in the area the opportunity to attend a meeting near at hand.

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Ben F. Rogers, program chairman, reports that three sessions will be held on the morning and afternoon of April 8 and the morning of April 9. In addition, there will be a luncheon meeting on April 8 and the annual banquet the evening of the same day. A meeting of the Board of Directors of the Society is scheduled for Thursday evening, April 7.

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All program sessions are open to the public and persons interested in the history of the state are invited to attend.

Tentative costs at Lakeside Inn have been quoted as: single room and bath, \$7.00 per day; double \$10.00; suite for three, \$6.00 per person, all European plan; luncheon \$2.50 and dinner \$3.75, tip and tax included.

Please write directly to Mr. James W. Carr, Manager, Lakeside Inn, Mount Dora, for room reservations.

### *Centennial Commission for The War Between the States*

In creating a state commission to work with the national body of serving the 1961-1964 centennial of the War Between the States, Governor LeRoy Collins said: "Commemoration of Florida's participation in the Civil War is of genuine historic interest and value that may inspire and enrich young and old alike, and provide a fitting tribute to all Floridians who served their principles so well in the gravest hour of crisis our country ever faced."

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Members of the Florida commission appointed by the governor are Dr. Weymouth T. Jordan, Florida State University; Miss Roumelle Bowen, Tallahassee chapter of the UDC; Mrs. Murray Wittichen, Miami, UDC president general; Mrs. Herbert Vance, Coral Gables, state UDC president; Mrs. Aubrey Morse, Tallahassee, state UDC chaplain; Guyte McCord, Tallahassee; Mrs. L. A. Davis, Starke; Dr. A. J. Hanna, Vice President, Rollins College, Winter Park; Mrs. Harry Wood, Tallahassee, and Walter A. Coldwell, Tallahassee, Florida Board of Parks and Historic Memorials.

#### *Polk County Centennial*

Plans are being made to observe the centennial of the formation of Polk County in 1861. Robert J. Eastman of Winter Haven is chairman of the celebration committee.

#### *The Southern Historical Association*

The twenty-fifth anniversary meeting of the Southern Historical Association was held in Atlanta last November. Dr. Kathryn Abbey Hanna, who has served as president of the Association, and Dr. A. J. Hanna, Vice President, Rollins College, represented the college at the meeting. The history departments of Florida State University, Stetson, Miami and Tampa Universities and the University of Florida were also well represented at the meeting.

#### *Flight Into Oblivion*

Long out of print, this excellent history of the flight of the Confederate Cabinet by Alfred Jackson Hanna has been republished by the Indiana University Press in its Civil War Centennial Series.

Dr. Hanna is to be congratulated on this recognition of his work. The book was first published in 1938.

#### *Dr. Samuel Alexander Mudd*

The Congress has provided for the erection of a memorial tablet on Garden Key honoring Dr. Samuel Alexander Mudd for his service to yellow fever victims at Fort Jefferson during his imprisonment there.



Historians are in general agreement that Dr. Mudd was innocent of conspiracy in connection with President Lincoln's assassination. Although the legislation for the tablet, signed into law by President Eisenhower on September 21, 1959, skirted the question, its passage is tantamount to recognition of Dr. Mudd's innocence.

*The St. Petersburg Times*

At its annual meeting in Philadelphia last October, The American Association for State and Local History gave an Award of Merit to the *St. Petersburg Times*. The citation is: "*St. Petersburg Times*, St. Petersburg, Florida. Dodd Vernon, editor. For its significant support of local history through editorials, feature articles, and publication of old photographs bearing on the history of the area."

The newspaper was one of three in the nation in cities of under 300,000 population to receive an award. The Merit Award is designed to pay tribute to those people who promote a better understanding of America's heritage at the local level, and is given annually to individuals and groups deemed worthy by reason of outstanding achievement or significant new projects in the field of state and local history.

*The Suwannee Democrat*

*The Suwannee Democrat* of Live Oak observed its 75th anniversary in October of last year by the publication of a special edition. The history of the newspaper and of the area, well illustrated, were featured in the anniversary issue.

*The Forest History Foundation*

The P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History at the University of Florida became an "Approved Repository of North American Forest History" when Albert Ernest, Jacksonville, vice president of St. Regis Paper Company, presented a certificate of recognition of the Forest History Foundation to Dr. R. W. Patrick, research professor in the department of history, on November 3, 1959.

The presentation was made at a luncheon attended by Dr. Wayne Reitz, University president; Dr. C. M. Kaufman, director of the School of Forestry, Mr. Stanley West, the director of the University's libraries, and members of the library staff.

"The story of the forest is intimately woven into all the developments of American business and industry," Mr. Ernest said in making the presentation. "If we businessmen expect fair treatment from the historian, then we must make our records available to the historian. That is one of the purposes of the Forest History Foundation. No effort is made to pull source material together in one central library. Instead, the Foundation attempts to find such materials and place them in reputable libraries located in the area to which they specifically relate. The P. K. Yonge Memorial Library is one of two such in the state of Florida."

#### *College News*

Benjamin F. Rogers of Florida State University has been appointed vice president and dean of Jacksonville University. He will begin his new duties in February. Dr. Rogers is a member of the board of directors of the Society and a contributor to the *Quarterly*.

At Florida State University, George A. Lensen and Victor S. Mamatey have been promoted to the rank of full professor and Wallace W. Reichelt has been made an assistant professor. William W. Rogers, a recent doctoral graduate of the University of North Carolina, has joined the history department with the rank of instructor. Victor S. Mamatey, recipient of a Guggenheim Fellowship, is on leave for study in Vienna, Rome, Paris and London. The project on which he is working is "Russia and East Central Europe, 1914 - 1918."

At the University of Florida, Arthur Thompson, who has been a contributor to the *Quarterly*, has returned after a year of lecturing and teaching in Japanese universities. Herbert J. Doherty has a leave of absence for one year for teaching in Japan. His headquarters will be in Tokyo but he will visit universities and colleges throughout Japan. David Dowd has returned after a year's leave for research and writing on a phase

of the French Revolution. Lyle N. McAlister has been appointed head of the department of history, succeeding Donald M. Worcester, chairman since 1955. The history department's chairmanship rotates among the members of the department. McAlister will continue to edit the University's monograph studies in social sciences. Julien C. Yonge has returned after a two-month vacation with his sister in the Yonge ancestral home in Pensacola. The former editor of the *Quarterly* and director emeritus of the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History is happiest when he is working in the library and being of service to students.

*News of Local Historical Societies*

The Martin County Historical Society at Stuart is an unusually active group. It maintains the House of Refuge Museum where many types of exhibits are on display and a wide variety of community activities take place. Carl Schmidt is museum director. The publication of a local history is a project in which the Society is interested, and requests the aid of historians in its compilation.

Mrs. Schmidt, who assists her husband, has written: "Of greatest importance is the present construction of a new quarter million dollar museum donated by Mr. Harmon P. Elliott. This building will be called the Elliott Museum of Vehicular Evolution and will include over 70 exhibits of various cars through early development to the most modern achievements. Mr. Elliott has also generously provided a trust fund to maintain the exhibits. Present plans are to restore the House of Refuge Museum to its original state and to maintain nautical displays along with the turtle aquarium on the premises. Most of our historical exhibits and valuable Seminole costumes will be transferred to a wing in the new building when it is completed." The museum will be dedicated shortly after the first of the year. The October issue of the MUSEUM NEWS, published by the Smithsonian Institute, carried a story and illustrations of the new museum.

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The Lake County Historical Society has purchased a permanent home in Tavares to house a museum and to serve as a

depository for records and historical items belonging to the county. Mrs. Charles Edgar Shaw of Eustis is president of the Society.

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The Pensacola Historical Society unveiled a new marker in September on the site of the Alexander Stoddard home where the first azaleas were grown in northwest Florida. Mr. Stoddard was the founder of the New York Underwriters Agency for which the late A. V. Clubbs was the Pensacola representative. The marker was unveiled by Caroline Beggs and Dixie Beggs III, great grandchildren of Mr. Clubbs.

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The Palm Beach Historical Society recently heard an address by Dr. George T. Rahilly whose subject was "American Railroad and Street Car History." Judge James R. Knott is president of the Society.

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The St. Joseph Historical Society was organized at Port St. Joe in 1958. Mrs. Ned S. Porter is the Society's president. The restoration and preservation of the old St. Joseph cemetery, the last remaining evidence of that once-thriving city, was among the first projects of the group. Several vaults in the cemetery have already been restored. The collecting of documents, both original and copies, relating to the history of the area is well under way and plans are being made for the expansion of Constitution Park Museum to house the fast growing collection.

#### *A Correction*

The October number of the *Quarterly* incorrectly identified Frank F. White, Jr., as Project Associate in the National Records Management, New York, N. Y. Mr. White was formerly associated with the National Records Management, but is now Junior Archivist at the Hall of Records, Annapolis, Maryland. He is interested in the Seminole War and a number of his articles have appeared in the *Quarterly*.

*The Century Gazette*

Mill by the Stream Publishers, Old Mill, Morrison, Illinois, will produce a unique newspaper as a part of the Civil War Centennial. "The Century Gazette" will be published every two weeks and will contain accounts of life as reported in newspapers a century ago. These accounts will be reprinted from newspapers of the North and South and should be of interest to individuals and schools. Charter member subscriptions for schools and libraries are \$3.00 for one year and \$7.00 for three years.

*The Lincoln Essay Contest*

The American Association for State and Local History Association reports that fifty entries were received from residents of Florida. The judges awarded first places for Florida to the following: professional class, Mary Jo Ericson, 5511 N.W. Court, Miami; non-professional class, Judith Rose Armayor, 6228 Autlan Drive, Jacksonville. These winning essays of Floridians will compete with winners of other states for the national prizes.

*The Pensacola Quadricentennial Issue*

The Society has a limited number of bound copies of Volume XXXVII, numbers 3 and 4, of the *Quarterly*. This 275 page Pensacola Quadricentennial number has a permanent binding with the five flags of Florida reproduced in color on the inside cover page. Copies may be secured from Lois J. Settee, P. O. Box 3645, University Station, Gainesville, Florida, for \$3.50 post-paid.

CONTRIBUTORS

CARLTON J. CORLISS of Washington, D. C. is noted for his writing in railway history.

EDWARD C. WILLIAMSON is <sup>Assistant</sup>~~Associate~~ Professor of History at Auburn University, Auburn, Alabama.

W. S. MURPHY of New York City has worked for many years on the Irish in Spanish Florida.

WILLIAM B. GRIFFEN is Assistant Director of the School of Inter-American Studies at the University of Florida.

ADAM SZASZDI is Assistant Professor of History at the University of Puerto Rico.

