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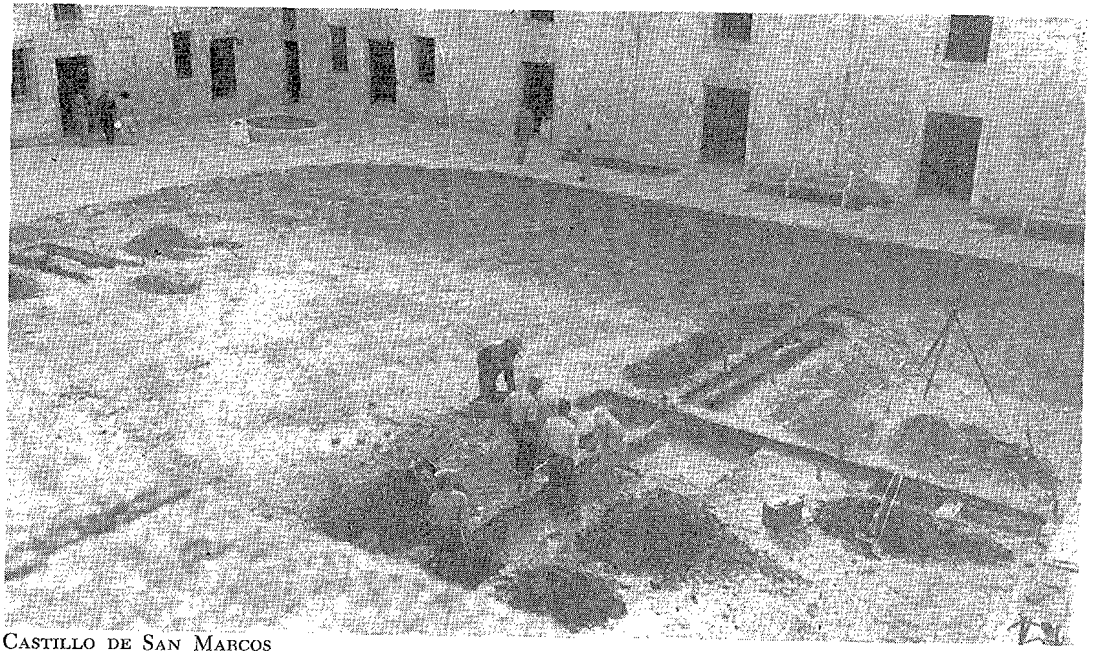

CASTILLO DE SAN MARCOS

PLATE 1. *This view, looking southwest from the rampart of the Castillo, shows courtyard excavations. Three levels of occupation were found: 1) prehistoric midden, 2) ruins of a 17th century building, and 3) 18th century pavement.*

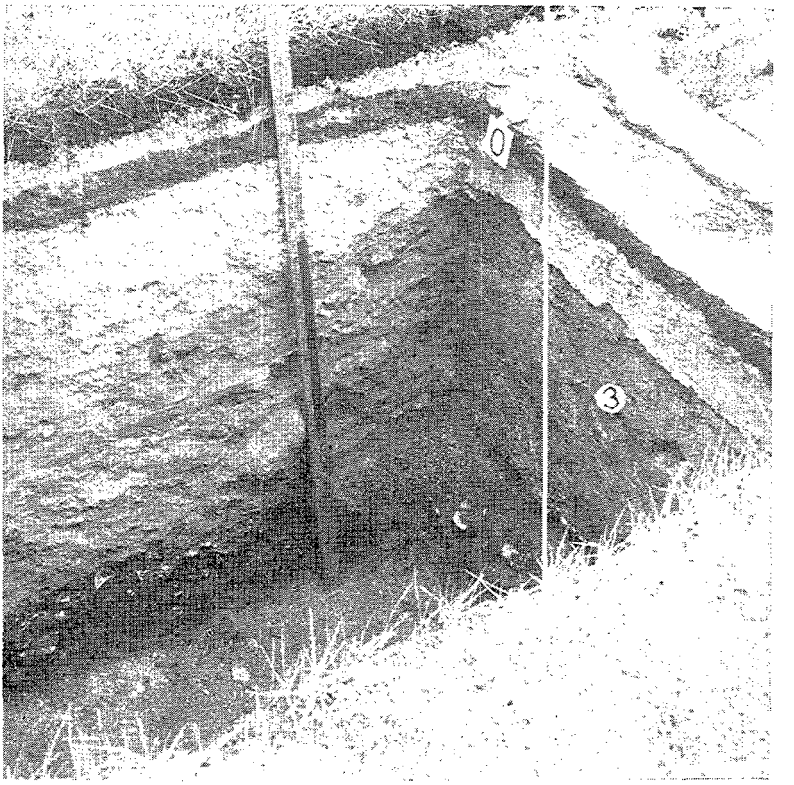

PLATE 2. *Earliest level of occupancy shows in the midden (dark) stratum at the base of this trench. The medium-dark strata above the midden are fill deposited when the masonry wall at right was built (1675). Notice the wavy line of stucco on this wall, which also marks the height of the 1675 fill. The broad, light stratum consists of coquina chippings topped by a tabby masonry pavement which extended over the entire courtyard. It is the result of modernization done in 1738-1739 in preparation for British attack. The narrow strata at top are 20th century deposits.*

This photograph shows the north end of Trench "A". See Figure 8 for further explanation of the stratigraphy.

ARCHEOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS IN THE COURTYARD OF CASTILLO DE SAN MARCOS, ST. AUGUSTINE, FLORIDA

by J. C. HARRINGTON, ALBERT C. MANUCY *and* JOHN M. GOGGIN

The recorded history of the fortifications at St. Augustine, Florida, begins on the day the Spaniards, under Don Pedro Menendez de Aviles, landed at the Timucua Indian village of Seloy in the late summer of 1565. A large Indian communal house was turned over to the newcomers, who immediately set to work throwing up earthworks around the aboriginal structure.

In the years that followed, that first makeshift fort was replaced by a succession of earth-and-wood defenses. Each was in a different location, and each in turn was destroyed, by age or attack, flood or fire-arrows. More than a hundred years went by before the Spanish built a permanent fort of stone, called Castillo de San Marcos. Begun in 1672, the Castillo was extensively modernized and enlarged in 1738-1739. Today the well-preserved remains of this 17th and 18th century landmark are part of Castillo de San Marcos National Monument.

For the past twenty years the National Monument has been under the administration of the U. S. Interior Department's National Park Service. The policy of the Service in regard to the physical care of the fort has been principally that of preservation and stabilization. But along with this, it has been possible to restore certain features of the fort to their earlier appearance.

For most of two centuries Castillo de San Marcos was the center - the pinpoint center - of Florida's history. If DeLuna's early attempted settlement on Pensacola Bay, or the later struggle there with France, or the expanding missions of Apalachee, claimed the attention at times of Mexico, Havana, and faraway Spain, ere long in each case their interest came back to St. Augustine and its fort. And now San Marcos is the most important relic of Spanish Florida. This article adds much to its history. *(Ed.)*

The *Quarterly* expresses appreciation of the generous aid in the publication of this article and its illustrations given us by the St. Augustine Historical Society.

One of these projects is the restoration of the doorways leading from the courtyard into the rooms. Most of the doorways had been altered through the years, some quite extensively. Before they could be restored correctly it was necessary that the grade of the courtyard during the period of Spanish construction and occupancy be established, so that the door sills could be set at the proper level. Historical records did not provide the necessary data, so a small archeological project was initiated early in 1953 for the express purpose of establishing the original courtyard grade.

This was the primary justification for the project. The aims, however, were three-fold:

1. To determine the colonial grades of the courtyard and the surfacing materials used during each significant period, particularly after the modernization of 1738-1739.
2. To confirm the existence of foundations of early structures.
3. To ascertain whether more extensive excavation might reveal the size, method of construction, and use of the "lost" structures of the 17th century period.

It is important to understand clearly that Castillo de San Marcos has two major periods of construction: 1672-1696, when the main walls were erected, and wooden-roofed rooms were built; and 1738-1739, when the old rooms were replaced by the existing ones.

The first step in the study was the assembling of available documentary material relating to the courtyard. This research was carried on by Albert C. Manucy, and the results are covered in the first section of the present report. The principal materials pertinent to this subject were old plans of the fort. Six such plans apply, specifically to the early period. These have been interpreted by Manucy and reproductions of the more illuminating ones are shown in Figures 1-4. The archeological explorations were directed by J. C. Harrington, whose report follows Manucy's account. John Goggin of the University of Florida has studied the ceramic materials found, and his report follows the archeological discussion.

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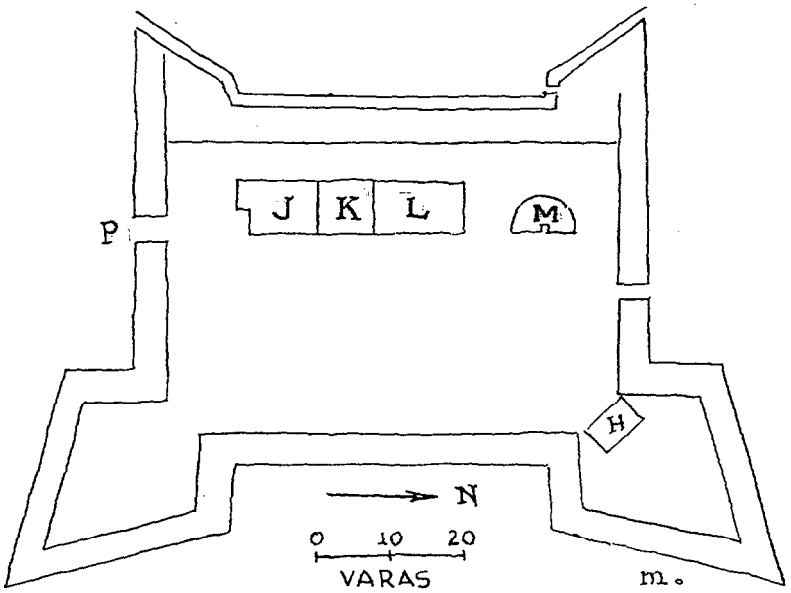

FIGURE 1. *Plan 1675b shows three sides of the Castillo almost complete, and a temporary barrier across the west side. This is the earliest plan showing the courtyard buildings. Features identified by the plan key include: H - arch built for powder. J - Guardroom already built. K - Armory already built. L - Provision magazine already built. M - Powder magazine already built. P - Main gate already built.*

HISTORY OF THE CASTILLO COURTYARD 1672-1740

The construction of Castillo de San Marcos began formally with a ground-breaking ceremony on October 2, 1672. Three walls of the four-sided fort were nearing completion when a new man, Don Pablo de Hita Salazar, arrived in May 1675 to assume the governorship of Florida (Plan, 1675a; Royal Officials, 1675).

Salazar quickly brought the three walls to full height. Along the fourth or landward side, he built a temporary scarp, which effectively closed in the area of defense. These developments show in the August 1675 plan of the Castillo, illustrated in Figure 1 (Plan, 1675b).

On this plan also appear two buildings in the courtyard. Since they were not indicated on earlier plans (Plan Key, 1674; Plan, 1675a), the obvious conclusion is that they were built by Salazar's direction in 1675, between his arrival in May and the transmittal of the August plan.

One building is a semicircular (in plan) powder magazine with a diameter of about 24 feet. The other is a long, rectangular structure about 24 by 90 feet, partitioned into three rooms: guardroom, armory, and provision magazine. The fronts of the buildings were almost in a north-south line with the sally port, which means they were not centered on, but were slightly west of the courtyard axis. The magazine was perhaps 18 feet south of the north curtain wall of the fort. The north end of the

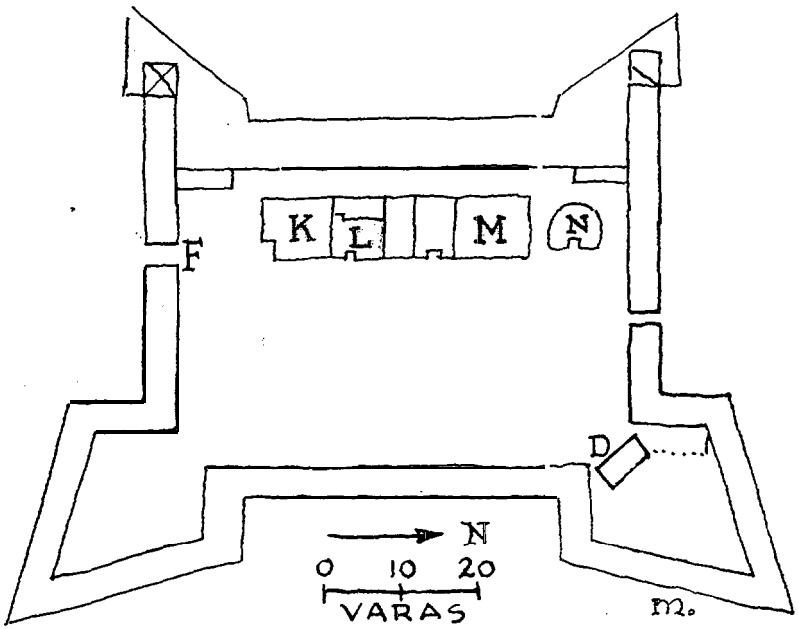

FIGURE 2. *Plan 1675c shows a further partitioning of the courtyard building. D -Arch for powder. F - Main gate. K - Temporary guardroom built. L - Temporary armory and lieutenant's quarters. M - Temporary provision magazine. N - Temporary powder magazine.*

rectangular building was about 60 feet south of this wall. There was a space of some 30 feet between the south end of the latter building and the south curtain of the fort. With the exception of a newly-built powder magazine in the gorge of the northeast bastion, there were no other rooms in the fort enclosure at this date.

The next plan (Fig. 2) showing the buildings is also dated 1675 and appears to have been drafted toward the end of the year (Plan, 1675c). It is refined by the addition of doorways, plus several more partitions. Two doors were on the east side, and one was at the southeast corner - or, more likely, on the south side near the east corner. (No window openings are shown on any plans.)

According to this plan, the north and south rooms of the rectangular building continued in use as provision magazine and guardroom, although an east-west partition was added to the provision magazine. In the center room, or armory, two partitions were set in, which converted part of the armory into lieutenant's quarters.

After 1675, the semicircular powder magazine is not shown on constructional plans.

Three other 17th century plans (Plans, 1676 and 1677; Salazar, 1680) bear on the question by representing the rectangular building in pseudo-perspective, with gable roof, two doorways on the east, and one on the south near the east corner. Figure 3, which reproduces the 1680 plan, is representative. Although the drawing indicates a division of the building into only two, rather than three sections, and the key likewise states only that the south section was a guardroom and the north section a storeroom, it seems that the exterior of the building was unchanged.

In brief, the 17th century plans show a rectangular, gable-roofed, one-story building about 24 feet by 90 feet, with three doors leading to sections used as guardroom, armory and pro-

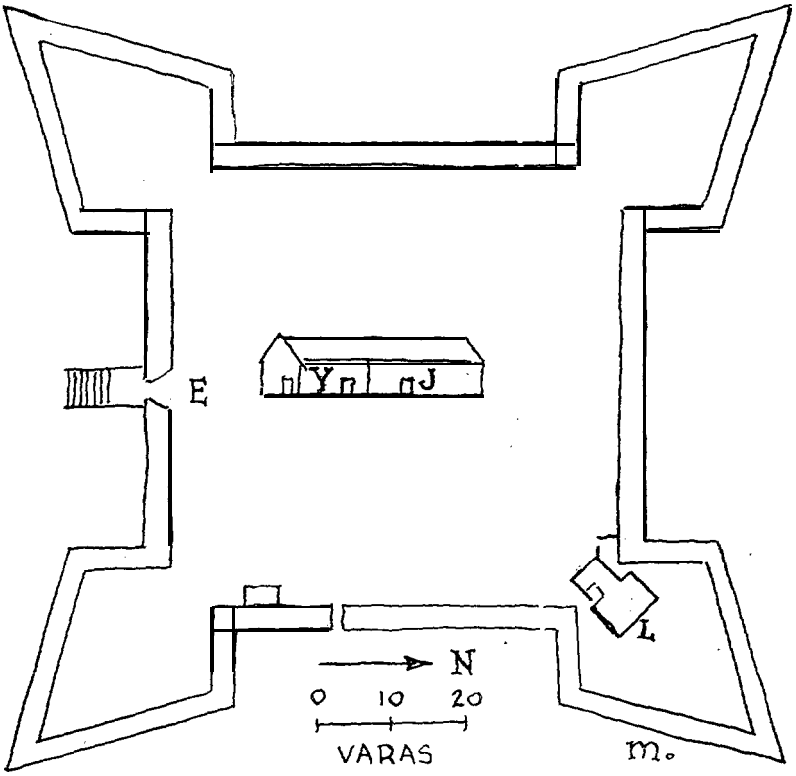

FIGURE. 3. *Plan 1680. This untitled plan was enclosed with Salazar's letter of December 15, 1680, and is typical of several plans of the period which show the courtyard building in pseudo-perspective. E - Gate. Y - Guardroom. J - Storeroom made of stone and wood. L - Powder magazine.*

vision magazine. This structure was built by August 1675. Before the end of 1675, the center or armory section was repartitioned to add quarters for the lieutenant, and a partition was also added in the provision storeroom. By December 1677 the building was used only for guardroom and provision storage, and this usage continued at least through 1680. In addition, the plans show a semicircular powder magazine, built by 1675 and evidently razed before May 1676, by which time the magazine in the northeast bastion was no doubt in use.

The main part of the fort was essentially finished by 1686. A document of that year (Plan Key, 1686) does not mention the courtyard buildings; in fact, no further mention of them has been found until 1737. A plan of the latter year (Plan, 1737) shows the outline of an L-shaped structure identified as the ruins of the governor's house and armory (Fig. 4). This building may or may not have incorporated elements of the earlier one.

Its overall length is 54 feet (compared with 90 for the 17th century building); the north wing is about 20 feet wide (the early structure was about 24 feet), while the east wing is 27

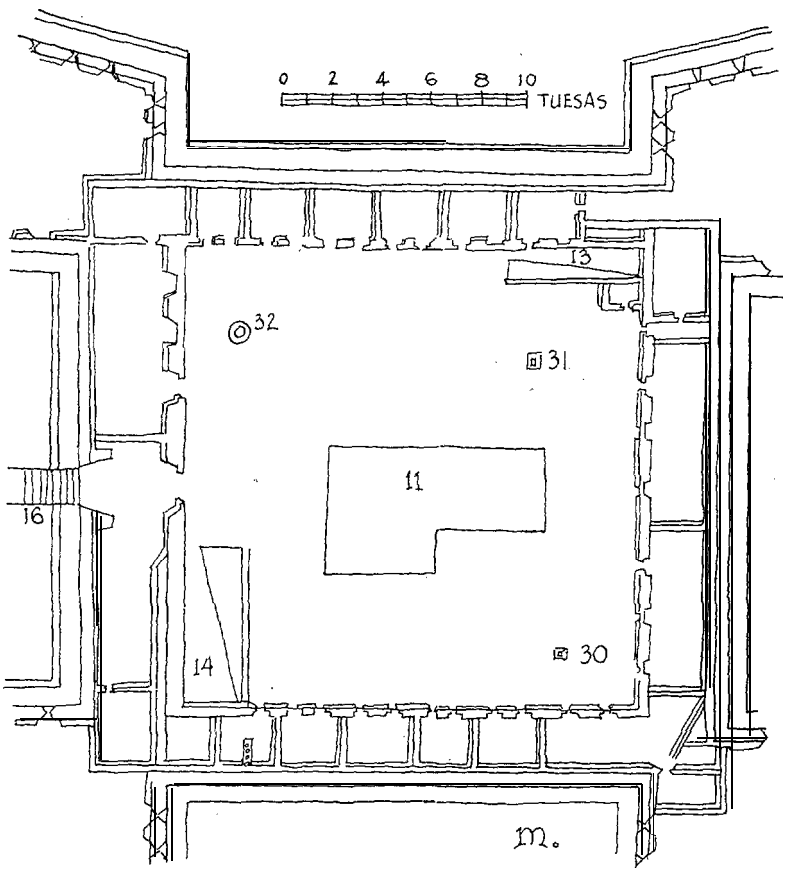

FIGURE 4. *Plan 1737 represents the fort interior prior to the 1738-1739 modernization. 11 - House of the governor and armory; fallen. 13-14 - Ramps. 16 - Drawbridge. 30-31-32 - Wells of fresh water.*

feet north-south and 32 east-west. No additional information is available on the building, except that it was a "ruined house" ordered razed in March 1737 (Justis, 1737). The demolition was part of the 1738-1739 period of modernization, when the 17th century rooms around the courtyard were replaced by the present bombproof arches.

IDENTIFICATION OF EXCAVATED RUINS

The structure represented by the foundation walls uncovered during the excavations is doubtless the same block of buildings shown on the various 17th century plans (Figures 1-4). The archeological evidence, which alone is sufficiently convincing, is corroborated by the conformity of these ruins to the design of the structures indicated on the old plans. These plans have been adjusted to a common scale, and the result shown in Figure 5. In so doing, the scales shown on the various plans were used, but they had to be checked against measurements of other structural features, such as overall dimensions, and adjusted accordingly.

The scales shown on each of the five 17th century plans are in *varas* and that for the 1737 plans is in *tuesas.* Since these units of measure varied considerably from one country to another, and since there is no way to tell which was followed, in any instance the use of the scales is limited. * Even more of a problem than the scales, is the fact that none of the plans is consistent within itself. The discrepancies are probably due to the draftsmen, who were recording constructional progress rather

* Values of the *vara* for each of the five 17th century plans, as adjusted against known dimensions of the fort, are shown below. These, of course, are estimates only, and should be used accordingly.

	Estimated *vara* equivalent
1675b (Fig. 1)	35.0 inches
1675c (Fig. 2)	35.5 inches
1676	33.75 inches
1677	34.25 inches
1680 (Fig. 3)	34.25 inches

It is probable that the value of the *vara* for each of these five plans was intended to be the same, and that the variation is due entirely to inaccuracies in the drawings.

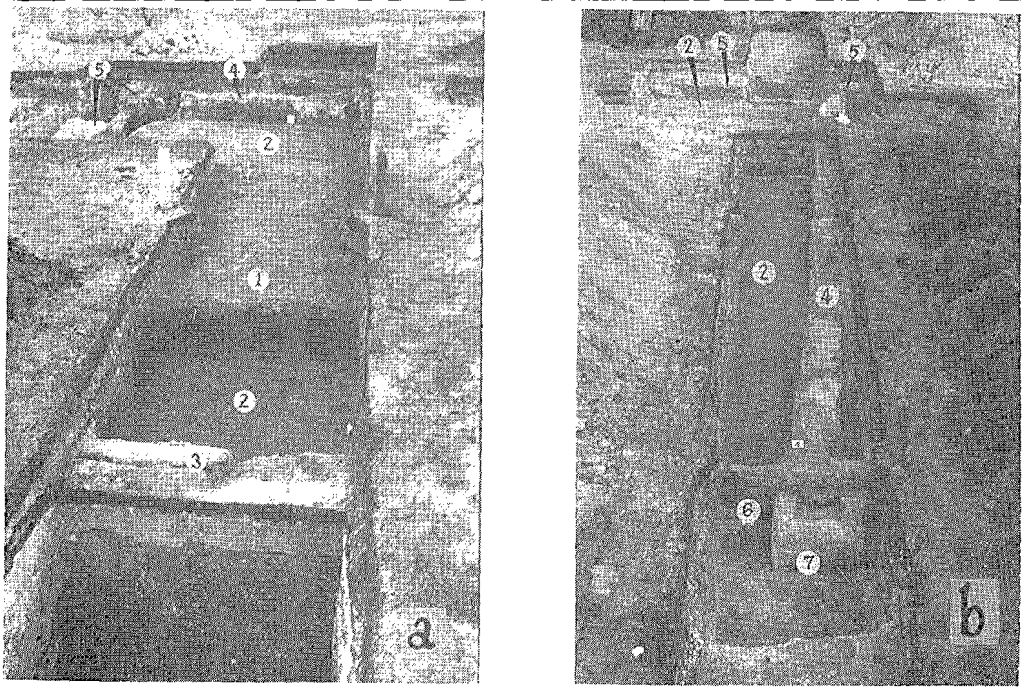

PLATE. 3. *a – Trench "A", looking south over the outside north wall (3) of the 1675 building. Parts of the east wall (5) and the partition (4) are also shown. The level areas at (2) are the tabby floor. The higher level (1) is the 18th century pavement.*

b – Lateral of Trench "A", looking east along the partition wall (4), at its junction with the outside west wall (6). Function of the mortised stone feature (7) is uncertain.

a
4
2
2
5
b
6
4
7

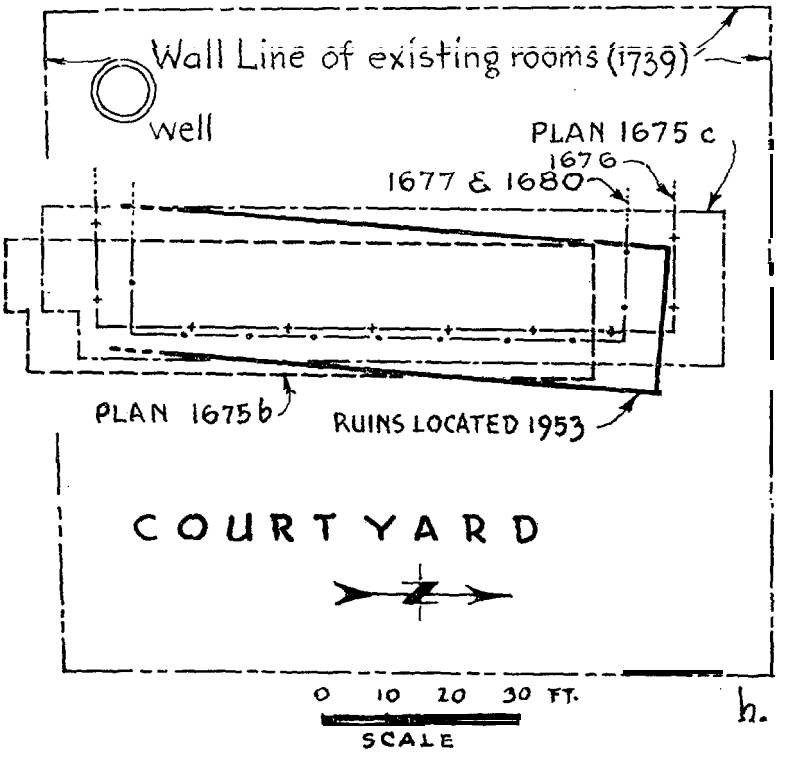

FIGURE 5. *Schematic plans of the courtyard structure of 1675 as indicated on four contemporary plans, to show relation to foundations excavated in 1953.*

PLATE 4. *a - East "doorway" in the outside east wall (5), at the junction with the partition wall (4). Tabby floor levels are shown at (2). The horizontal "channels" common to all the walls are clearly shown. A vertical "channel" or post hole is seen at the junction of the walls.*

b - Detail of the mortised stone (7), which is part of the masonry at the junction of the partition (4) with the outside west wall (6). This puzzling feature is similar to foundation stones found in the Castillo moat and used in early days to support bridge piling.

than preparing measured drawings. This explanation may also account for the fact that the rectangular building, when shown in perspective, is apparently shorter than the same edifice as represented in plan!

Actually, each plan undoubtedly shows the same building. Also, each plan shows this building as parallel with the sides of the fort, whereas the excavated ruins show the structure noticeably out of line. Obviously the contemporary plans, in spite of the prestige that the conspicuous graphic scales give them, cannot be taken at face value.

The greatest value in these contemporary plans lies in identifying the uses to which these courtyard units were put, and in showing that none of them remained in the courtyard after the fort was modernized and enlarged in 1738-1739. Apparently the north end of the block was used as a storeroom throughout the life of the building, with the armory and guardroom occupying the space to the south. Since the 15-foot room, formed by the partition found in the excavating, conforms to nothing shown on the plans, it is not possible to say whether the north room alone represents the "provision magazine."

Other inconsistencies in the various plans, such as number and location of entrances, make further speculation on this unit rather fruitless. It is clear that full excavation of the ruins must be completed before much more can be said about this structure.

Partitions, doorways, and other structural features will almost certainly be found when the entire structure is uncovered. It should then be feasible to make a fairly accurate "paper restoration" of the structure shown on the five 17th century plans. It should also throw light on the 1737 plan (Fig. 4), in which an "L" addition to the earlier rectangular structure is indicated. This addition, which could only have been put on after 1680, apparently was used, possibly along with some of the earlier building, as the Governor's house.

Any such large-scale exploration would also look for other courtyard structures, dating both from the early years of the

fort and from the post-modernization period. The semicircular powder magazine, presumably located immediately north of the main courtyard structure, may have been destroyed when the fort was enlarged; but enough of it may exist to permit its location and identification. Two wells, in addition to the one now showing, should be found without much trouble, and their excavation should yield some very interesting objects. There are also certain structural features belonging to the post-1738 period, such as a second ramp in the courtyard center, for which specific data are lacking. It is unlikely that archeological explorations could be extensive enough to permit thorough examination of the Indian deposits, since the masonry ruins above these deposits must be preserved. But in excavating outside the ruins it is possible that evidence might be found of structures antedating the Castillo itself.

* * * * *

ARCHEOLOGICAL EXPLORATIONS

LOCATION OF TRENCHES. Areas of tabby, which appeared to be remnants of an early pavement, had been observed near the existing courtyard surface, but it was uncertain whether these represented an old pavement, or remains of structures. Documentary evidence shows quite clearly that buildings stood in the courtyard prior to the period of modernization beginning in 1738, and that they were either razed or in ruins when this work was started. In view of this situation, it was decided that the most likely place to secure information would be at the ruins of these earlier buildings.

Study of the maps previously discussed by Manucy indicated the probable location of early structures within the courtyard. The first exploratory trench, 3 by 20 feet (Trench "A"), was staked out across the assumed location of the north wall of this group of buildings (Fig. 7). Fortunately, the foundation of an exterior building wall was encountered in the first trench. A second trench, actually an extension of the first, was then

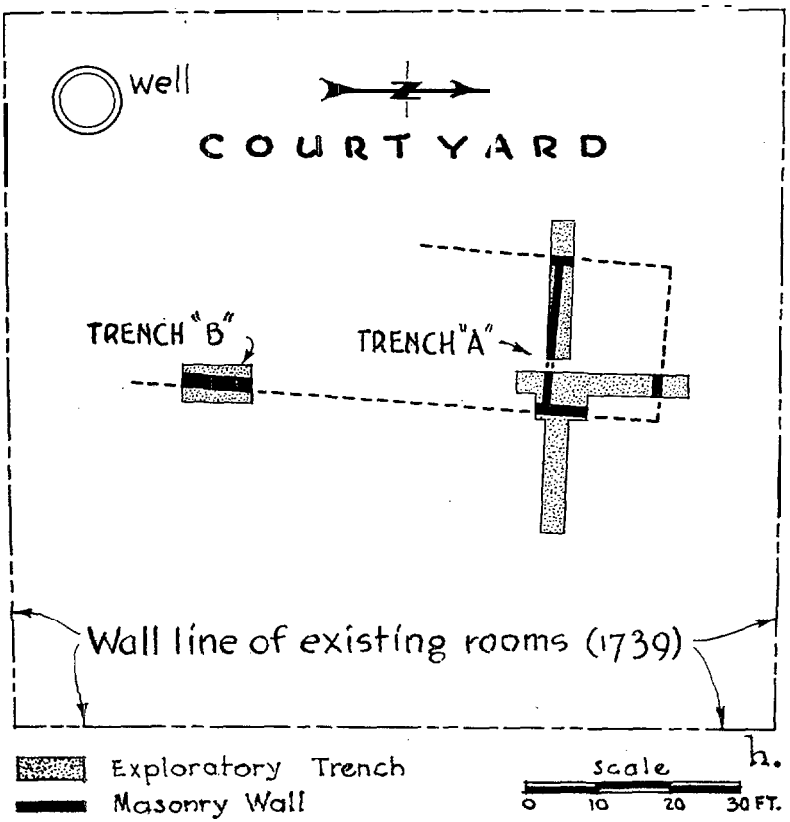

FIGURE 6. *Plan of courtyard, showing location of exploratory trenches and remains of masonry walls.*

excavated at right angles to the first, and extended until both the east and west walls of the structure were found.

After we determined the exact position of the building, another trench, 5 by 10 feet (Trench "B"), was excavated near the south side of the courtyard. Here was uncovered another foundation wall lying exactly in line with the east wall of the north unit discovered in Trench "A". Because of public walks, which could not very well be taken up at that time, Trench "B" was not extended farther to the south. Hence the possible discovery of the south wall of the original courtyard group is a

matter for future work. It was a great temptation to continue the excavating, especially to secure more information about these pre-1738 buildings, as well as other structures within the courtyard, such as the wells and the powder magazine. But funds were not available for a major excavation at the time.

* * * * *

RESULTS OF THE EXCAVATING

Briefly, the two test trenches furnished evidence concerning the type and level of the post-1738 courtyard pavement, the location of the principal courtyard structure and certain structural details relating to it, and information concerning the site prior to the earliest Spanish construction. All of these things are useful in historical interpretation of the Castillo.

The information on the pavement was put to immediate use in connection with restoration of the entrances to the courtyard rooms. It is also significant in proposed restoration of the sally port grade and the drawbridge. Obviously it is of supreme importance in planning restoration of the courtyard itself!

The data secured in this preliminary test as to depth of deposits, as well as condition and extent of early structures, will be of value in planning a major archeological exploration covering the entire courtyard.

Numerous historic objects were recovered, including a few specimens worthy of exhibit.

PRE-SPANISH PERIOD. The archeological explorations confirm the historical record, for they show that Indians had occupied the area before the Spanish came, and had left a deposit of oyster and clam shells and other refuse, typical of the shell middens found along the Florida coasts. See Plate 2 and Figure 8. Further excavating will need to be done before the extent of the Indian midden can be determined, but present evidence suggests that it was relatively shallow. The only places that the exploratory trenches were carried down through this midden deposit were just outside the walls of the courtyard structure,

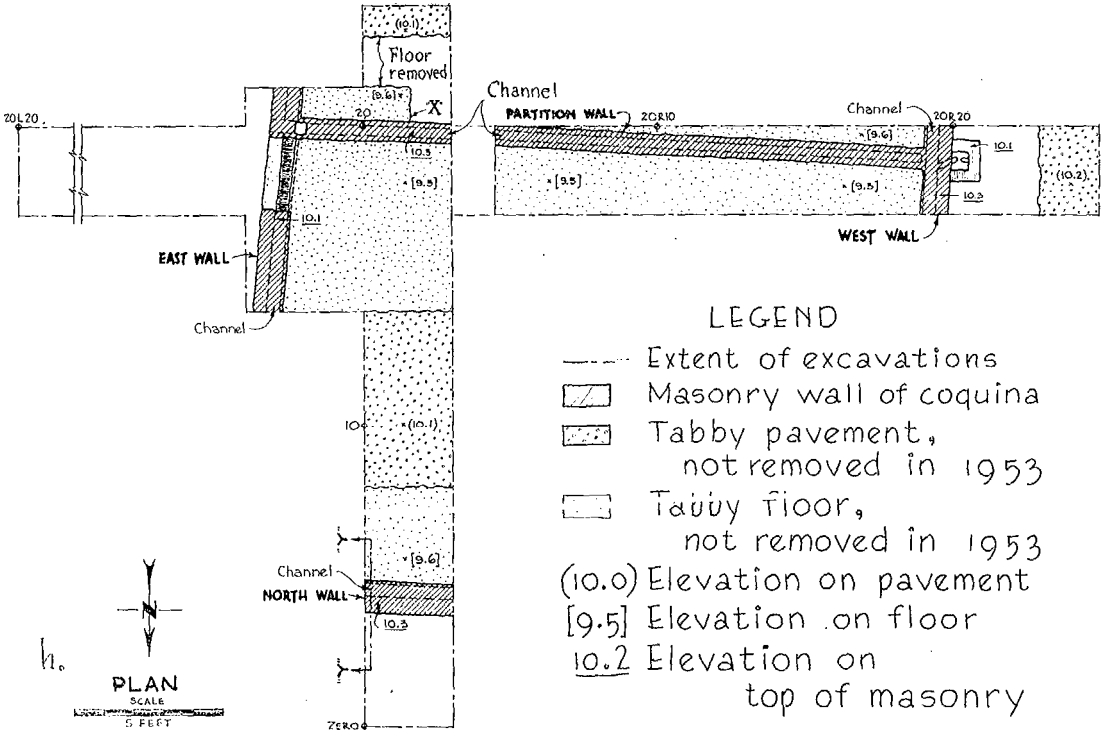

FIGURE 7. *Plan of Trench "A", showing principal features uncovered.*

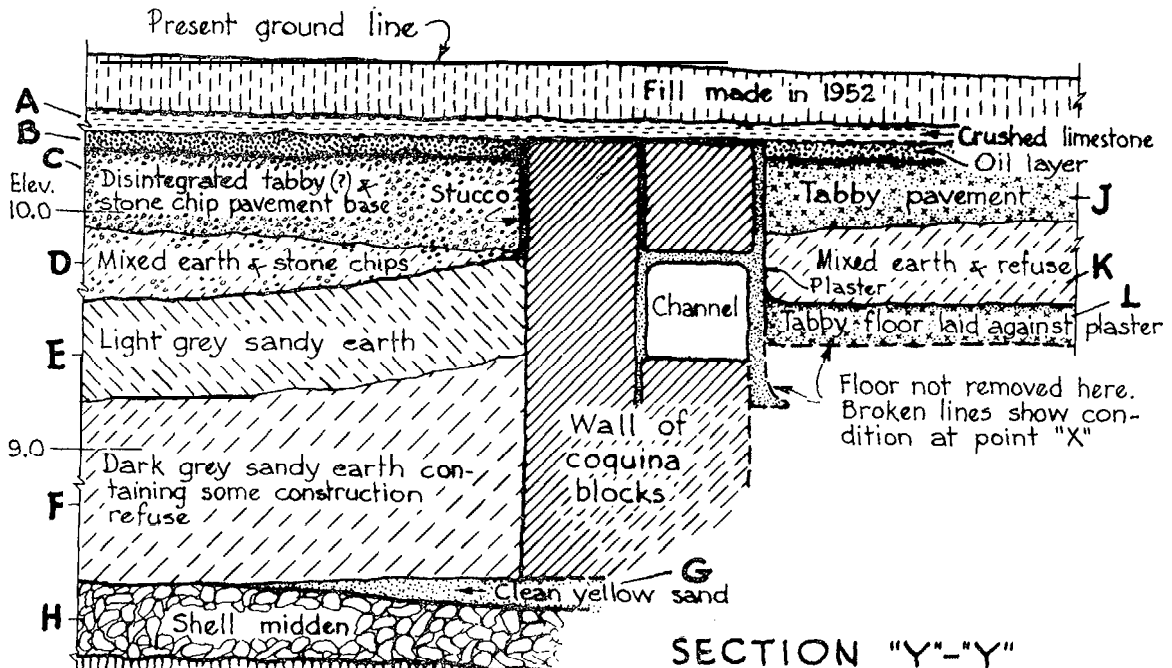

FIGURE 8. *Cross section of Trench "A" at north wall of courtyard structure.*

where the midden was found to be only 3 inches deep. It is possible, however, that some grading was done in connection with the construction of this building and hat the 3-inch deposit here does not represent the full depth of the original deposit. The shell layer lies on typical undisturbed ground, consisting of a dark sandy loam, grading into a natural sandy subsoil.

The midden deposit was made up mostly of oyster and clam shells, mixed with very dark loam. Scattered throughout this deposit were animal and fish bones, with an occasional potsherd. No other Indian artifacts were found, which is not surprising considering the small amount of excavation done in the midden deposit. The Indian pottery from here dates from the St. Johns II period. It could be late prehistoric or early historic in date, but probably is no later than the end of the 16th century.

PRE-1738 STRUCTURE. Due to the very limited excavation and the relatively small portion of the structure uncovered (Plate 3), description of the building and details of its construction must necessarily be limited. Conjecture as to the original appearance of the building is tempting, but would be unsound until more excavating is done.

A small section of each of the three outside walls of the northernmost unit of the early block of buildings was uncovered in Trench "A" (Fig. 7), and a 10-foot section of one wall was exposed in Trench "B" (Fig. 6). The excavation shows the overall width of the structure to have been 23 feet, and except for the length of the building, provides sufficient data to locate it accurately within the courtyard.

PREPARATION OF GROUND PRIOR TO CONSTRUCTION. Apparently the first step in constructing the building, or buildings, within the courtyard was to prepare a level space for the walls on the existing shell midden. Then a 2-inch layer of clean sand (Fig. 8G) was placed on the ground, presumably to provide a well-drained, level surface on which to lay the first course of coquina blocks. This sand bed was found under each of the

walls, and extended out from the building about one foot in each case.

MASONRY WALLS. The outer masonry walls were laid directly on the prepared sand bed, with no special footing, and apparently without a mortar bed. The portions of the three walls of the north unit uncovered in Trench "A" measured from 0.90 to 0.95 of a foot in thickness, exclusive of stucco and plaster. Blocks of coquina, half the thickness of the wall, were used in constructing these walls. Not enough of any wall was uncovered to determine the size of these blocks, but there was some indication that they were around 6 inches high and possibly 2 feet long. Both the vertical and horizontal joints appeared to be quite thin, with typical shell mortar used in all joints. The wall found in the second exploratory trench at the south side of the courtyard was thicker than the walls of the north unit (1.50 feet), but otherwise similar and, like the others, laid on a bed of yellow sand.

The bottom of the north wall, where excavated, was found to be nearly half a foot lower than the bottom of the east wall. The test trench was not carried down to the bottom of the west wall. The bottom of the wall in Trench "B" was nearly half a foot lower than the north wall of the building, a difference which corresponds roughly with the original slope of the ground.

One partition wall (Plate 3b) was found in the first exploratory trench, forming a room at the north end of the structure with inside dimensions of 21.25 feet east to west by 14.67 feet north to south. This partition wall was formed of coquina blocks 0.60 to 0.65 of a foot thick, laid on a relatively thick mortar bed nearly half a foot below the floor of the building, or slightly higher than the bottom of the east wall. It was quite evident that this partition wall was constructed at the same time as the exterior walls, and, although the remains were quite fragmentary, there was no break in it, showing that there had been no communicating doorway between the north room and the next adjoining room to the south.

STUCCO AND PLASTER. Archeological evidence shows that after the outer walls and the partition were built, both the exterior and interior surfaces were stuccoed, or plastered. The interior plaster is around 1/2 inch thick, while the exterior stucco appears to be somewhat thinner. Some filling and grading apparently was completed inside the structure prior to the plastering, in preparation for the tabby floor (Fig. 8L), and the plaster was carried down to the top of this fill, or 4 to 5 inches below the finished floor. The exterior stucco on the north wall (Plate 2) stopped about 2 inches above the floor line, but on the east wall it was about on line with the floor.

It is not possible to say whether the exterior and interior plastering operations were carried on at the same time, but we can say with certainty that the interior plastering was done before the floor was laid. On the outside, some of the backfill along the foundation was placed before the stucco was put on, since building refuse was found in this fill (Fig. 8F), although there was little or no refuse in the final fill material (Fig. 8E) which brought the exterior grade up to the bottom of the stucco. Very likely some preliminary backfilling was done on both sides of the wall after it had been carried up about two or three courses. The final filling operation inside the building brought the grade up in preparation for the finished tabby floor. In the one small section of floor removed in the excavating, two iron nails were found in the fill immediately below the floor. One was clinched at right angles, and one inch from the head, indicating that it had been used in wood of that thickness. This suggests that the final grading under the floor was done relatively late in the course of constructing the building. The final grade on the outside sloped away from the building, and consisted of relatively clean and sandy loam, indicating that it probably was brought in for the purpose from some point outside the shell midden.

"Channels" in the Walls. A most interesting feature is the channel found in each of the walls uncovered in Trench "A"

(Figs. 7, 9-10). There was no channel observed in the section of wall exposed in Trench "B". Because of the limited amount of wall uncovered, and the very poor condition of the masonry, information on these channels is not complete.

There was a fairly thick layer of plaster, or mortar, on the sides and top of the channels, and possibly some mortar at the bottom, leaving a clear space approximately 0.40 of a foot square. The inner surface of this mortar is very smooth and uniform, suggesting that a wooden box, or duct, had originally occupied the space. This is confirmed by the discovery inside the channels of two iron nails with wood still attached along the entire length of the nail. Each of these nails had been driven into the cross grain of the wood at an angle of about 60 degrees with the grain. Examination of the mortar lining reveals no signs of wood grain, indicating that the lumber must have been quite smooth. If a wooden duct were used in these wall channels, as the evidence indicates, it could scarcely have been larger on the inside than 2 1/2 to 3 inches square.

The channel in the north exterior wall was located partly below the floor line, the top of the channel being about 2 inches above the floor. The channel actually occupies the space of one of the stone courses, so its position in relation to the floor may be only coincidental. No openings in the side of the wall along the channel could be detected, but careful examination of longer sections of the walls may reveal something of this sort. One opening was found leading from the channel to the outside, but, with the wood lining gone, we cannot be certain that this opening in the stone wall was an outlet from the duct.

In the partition wall, the bottom of the channel was about level with the floor. It did not open into the channel in the west exterior wall, and, although its relation to the east wall channel is somewhat confused, there is a possibility that it tied into a rather complicated drainage system.

Manucy suggests that the "channels" are evidence of solid wooden members laid into the masonry to facilitate construction.

The convenience of working to a line and level established by a timber, which also furnished the room dimension, would be considerable in those days when spirit levels and measuring tapes were uncommon - and when many apprentice masons had to be trained. Even more likely, Manucy believes, the timbers may have helped support the masonry wall while the mortar in the lower courses was setting properly. Below the ground line, lime mortar hardens very slowly. Similar use of timber framework occurs in Castillo fireplace hoods, which are, however, of much later construction than the building in question.

FLOOR OF BUILDING. A tabby floor (Fig. 8L) approximately 2 inches thick, was laid on the fill between the plastered walls, with its surface finished very smooth and hard. The floor in the north room is approximately level, and quite regular, sloping very slightly to the south. The floor in the second room is about at the same level, or very slightly higher. No floor was found in Trench "B" at the south side of the courtyard, but definite conclusions as to this part of the structure are not warranted in view of the meager evidence at hand.

DOORWAY. What appears to have been an outside entrance was found at the southeast corner of the north room (Plate 4A). The wall channel continues across this opening, but is set slightly lower here than it was in the north wall. There is inconclusive evidence of a wooden threshold in this opening, lying directly on the tabby floor and across the wall channel. If there had been a door here, it would have been quite narrow, for the masonry opening could not have been over 2.5 feet wide. The masonry was in too poor condition, at the joining of the partition and the east wall, to determine whether originally there had been a finished masonry jamb at this point. The most convincing evidence for a door in this location is the fact that the space between the open channel and the exterior face of the wall appears to be a continuation of the tabby floor of the building (See Fig. 9).

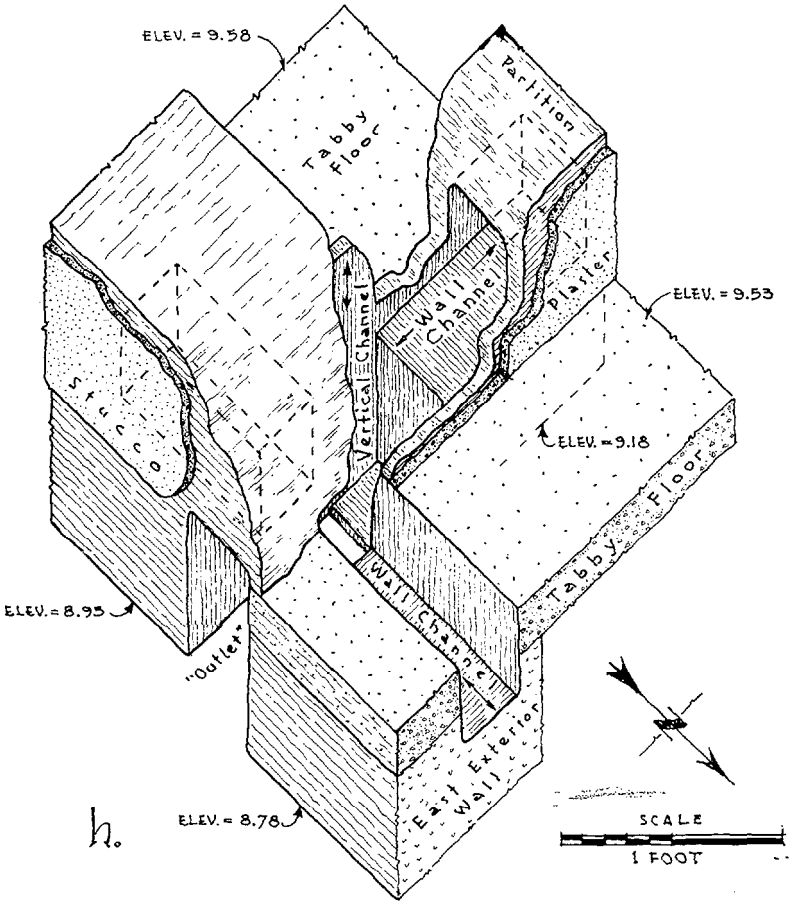

FIGURE 9. *Isometric drawing of "doorway" feature, east end of partition.*

A feature, first thought to be associated with the door, is likewise questionable. This was a vertical hole, 0.35 by 0.37 of a foot, at the east end of the partition wall, tentatively interpreted as the original location of a door post. A thick layer of mortar was found on the east side of this hole, and there may have been a thinner layer on each of the other sides. There was no mortar between this vertical channel and the horizontal wall channel in the exterior wall. The hole extended all the way to the bottom of the outside wall, and there was a layer of mortar at the bottom. If a wooden post had stood here, its purpose

would probably have been to hold the pintles for the door hinges. *

Manucy tends to regard the feature as evidence of a timber used as a plumb line, or as a structural member. On the other hand, the relation of this vertical channel to the horizontal wall channels, and to the opening from the wall channel to the outside (the "outlet" previously mentioned), may indicate a functional connection with a "drainage" system

In any case, there still may have been a door at the corner of the north room. That particular point can only be resolved by examination of the entire ruin. If no other doorway is found, then the present opening must represent the entrance to this room. Comparing this evidence with the contemporary plans helps very little, since, as Manucy points out, some of the early plans show no entrances, and, until the entire structure is uncovered, it will not be possible to relate the portion excavated in 1953 to these old plans.

INEXPLICABLE FEATURE. Probably the most puzzling feature uncovered was the stone block protruding from the outside of the west wall, opposite the end of the partition (Fig. 10 and Plate 4b). This block of coquina, which is bonded into the exterior wall, is 1.3 ft. wide and extends out from the wall roughly 1.0 ft. The finished top is 0.5 ft. above the estimated grade of the 17th century courtyard. In the top of the block is a depression 0.7 ft. square and 0.17 ft. deep; the bottom of the depression is flat. There is a short slot at one side of the bottom of the depression, which may have been used to anchor some sort of a structural member. Of more significance, however, is

* Door posts were common features of 1738-1739 construction at the Castillo. Like a conventional frame, the door posts were set into jamb recesses at each side of the stone doorway. The two vertical jambs were tied together with a lintel at the top. There was evidently no sill. The foot of each post was grouted into a deep mortise in the masonry. Later replacement of the door posts with the conventional frame and sill may indicate trouble with rot or insects, particularly at the foot. However, the feature under discussion is but a single post hole and there is no certain relation between it and door posts of the type described.

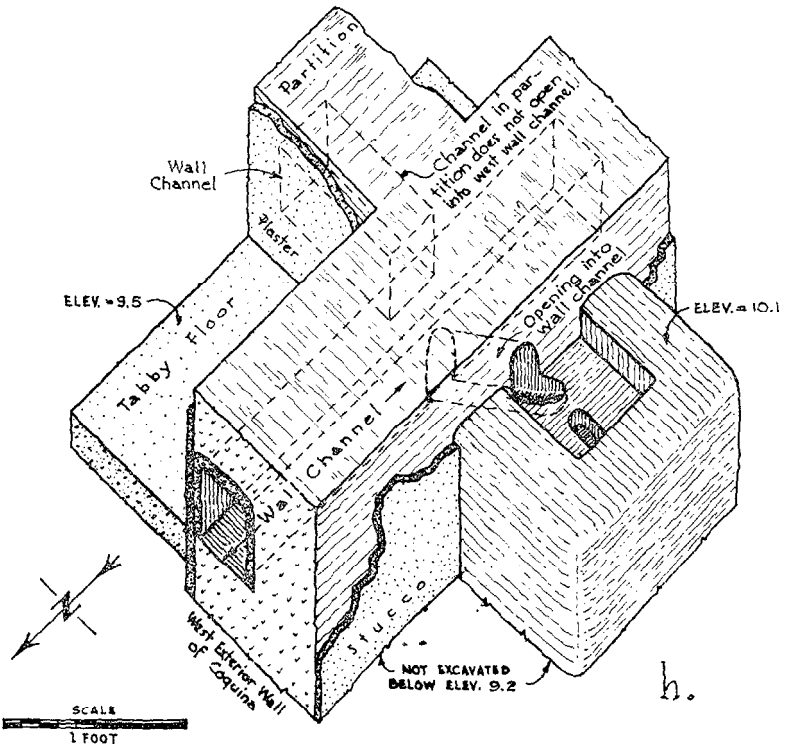

FIGURE 10. *Isometric drawing of masonry features at west end of partition.*

a slot extending from the square depression down to the channel in the exterior wall.

One possible interpretation of this feature is that a rainwater downspout was set in it, although the outlet into the wall channel seems much too small to handle the water that would have come down a downspout of the size indicated by the square depression. Perhaps it is more likely that a structural timber rested in the block. Here again, complete excavation of the entire structure may throw some light on this feature, especially if others of similar design are found.

MORE OF EAST WALL FOUND IN TRENCH "B". The wall found in this test trench, although in line with the east wall of the north unit, shows some structural differences. The coquina masonry is in very poor condition, but the wall, which is 1.50

ft. thick, appears to have been built of blocks cut the full thickness of the wall. The wall in this trench has been demolished to a lower level than those in Trench "A", leaving no trace of the original floor or plastered wall surface. Soil conditions outside the wall, however, are similar to those at the north unit, with the same thin layer of clean sand used under the wall. This suggests that the wall here very likely was built at the same time as the north part of the structure.

An interesting feature in this wall is an 8-inch square hole. This hole is skewed out of line with the wall, although the hole appears to have been built at the same time as the wall. The most plausible explanation is that it represents the original position of a structural timber.

1737 AND AFTER. As mentioned by Manucy, in 1737 the early structure in the courtyard was in ruins, and was probably razed completely when the fort was modernized during the 1738-1739 period. Little is known about the physical history of the courtyard itself during the next two centuries. "Outcroppings" of tabby suggested that at one time there may have been a tabby paving over most of the courtyard. A modern surfacing of crushed and oiled limestone had been laid over the area in the 1920's when the fort was under the jurisdiction of the United States Army. A layer of topsoil and a series of cement-block walks were added by the National Park Service late in 1952. The above inferences and facts were clearly confirmed by the archeological findings.

A thin layer of oiled, road base limestone, roughly 1/2 inch thick, was found in each of the exploratory trenches (Fig. 8B). This stratum lay directly on top of, and discolored the wall ruins in Trench "A". Over the oiled layer was a thin and irregular layer of finely crushed limestone (Fig. 8A), explicable as part of the 1952 construction of the north walk. Surplus limestone, removed from the 1920 surface in grading the walk area, was spread thinly over the northern part of the courtyard.

Next was added the topsoil which brought the grade to the proper elevation for drainage.

Both inside and outside the early structure, a thick tabby paving (Fig. 8C, J) was found directly under the oil layer. This tabby paving was quite irregular, both in thickness and hardness, but on the whole was found to be from 2 to 4 inches thick. Where the original surface was still intact, it was very hard, but did not seem to be as smooth as the earlier building floor. The condition was undoubtedly due to wear over nearly 200 years. In places, where the dense finished surface of the pavement had been removed or had worn away, the remaining tabby had decomposed to the extent that it was little more than loose shells. Near some of the old building walls, for example, the harder coquina stone was found to be actually higher than the eroded tabby paving.

Outside the exterior walls of the original structure, the space between the ground line corresponding with the period of active use of this building, and the later tabby paving, was filled with layers both of pure coquina chips (Fig. 8C) and of mixed chips and grey loam (Fig. 8D). These chips quite obviously came from the working of stone during a major building operation, presumably the modernization project of 1738-39.

Inside the structure, the space between the original floor and the paving was occupied by grey loam (Fig. 8K) containing a small amount of building refuse, including plaster, fragments of roofing tiles, and nails, with an occasional fragment of majolica. The building material found between these two tabby layers obviously came from the early structure, but furnishes very little additional information on the original appearance of this building.

In brief, although the explorations were limited, they showed quite clearly that there had been a tabby paving over most, if not all, of the courtyard. It is assumed that this pavement was laid when the fort was enlarged in 1738-1739, or very

shortly after. There is no documentary or archeological evidence to pinpoint the date of the pavement construction, but the exact date is not of significance. The important thing is that the paving was there when the present rooms of the Castillo were in use. Since any restoration work that might be undertaken at the Castillo courtyard must conform to the 18th century modernization, the tabby paving can properly be used as a basis for establishing levels for the thresholds of casemate entrances and other structural features. Although the present grade slopes down from the north side of the courtyard to the sally port, the tabby paving apparently was nearly level. *

CLASSIFICATION AND ANALYSIS OF ARTIFACTS

Artifacts found in the courtyard excavations were submitted to Dr. Goggin for study. They included a total of 177 potsherds, 1.3 *teja* fragments, and one shell bead. In addition, four fragments of burnt clay and a piece of shell were included. With few exceptions these objects comprised well-known forms typical of the region. For this reason detailed descriptions will not be given of each pottery type, as brief notes with references to more complete data should suffice.

DATING OF ARTIFACT MATERIAL. Specific dates, or periods, can be assigned to each of the various strata in which artifact material was found. There has been some previous discussion of these deposits in reference to their chronology. They will be summarized here for reference in connection with further discussions of cultural material:

1. *Pre-1565 Period.* The material in he shell midden layer, all of which presumably is of Indian origin, would probably date from before 1565 when the Spanish first occupied the site. Some Indian material was also found in higher deposits, but

* The elevation of the top tabby pavement in Trench "A" at a point 10 feet south of the present walk is 10.06; its elevation at the north end at Trench "B'" is 10.00. Elevations are in reference to U.S.C.G.S. marker AEO (on the Castillo seawall), which was given an assumed elevation of 10.00. Actual elevation of this marker is 10.25 feet.

it probably got there in the course of grading and filling when the 1672 structure was being built.

2. *1565 to 1672 Period.* Any cultural material of European origin found directly on the midden would presumably date from this period.

3. *1672 to 1675 Period.* Since part, if not all, of the courtyard structure under consideration was probably built during this 3-year period, any objects of Spanish origin found in the outside fill deposited when the building was being built, and any objects from the inside fill below the building floor, can be assigned to this period, at least as to date of deposition.

4. *c. 1685 to 1738 Period.* Any material sealed between the building floor and the tabby paving must have been deposited there after the building was abandoned, which could have been as early as 1681. As Manucy points out, the courtyard buildings were in use in 1680, but were not mentioned in the 1686 document describing the fort in some detail. In 1737 the buildings were in ruins, and presumably the tabby pavement was laid during the 1738-39 remodelling period.

5. *1672 to 1738 Period.* Material of Spanish origin from the deposits lying above the 1672-75 grade outside of the walls of the building must be assigned to a longer period than that found on the building floor. Both the coquina chips and the tabby paving, however, set a terminal date for these deposits at 1738-39. Indian material in these layers could be earlier, but could not be later than this date.

6. *Post 1738-39 Period.* Since there was no fill of any consequence above the tabby pavement, no objects dating from after 1738-39 can be expected. As a matter of fact, only one object was found on the pavement during the 1953 excavating. This was an iron spike (C-11). When more extensive explorations are carried on, however, careful attention should be given to any features cutting through the tabby pavement as possible sources of material dating from the post-pavement period.

INDIAN MATERIAL. As previously stated, the few objects of Indian origin are all potsherds, mostly from the midden deposit, and are described later in this report. The appearance of "trade" material at this site is to be expected in view of the historical record. St. Augustine was a political center where various Indian delegations were received from time to time. More important in the present study, however, was the presence of Indian labor here from Apalache, Timucua and later from Guale, during the 1650-1680 period. Their tasks included work on the fortifications. Since the western wall of the Castillo overlapped the site of an older wooden fort, our site was definitely subject to the presence of these tribes during at least the period mentioned.

PRE-1738 MATERIAL. Material from the period before the major renovation is also relatively scarce but it does include a few fragments of majolica and of the typical olive jar earthenware. The majolica falls into two groups, one from the late 17th century and the other from the 18th century. Spanish olive jar sherds are dateable only in a broad range of late 16th to late 18th centuries, and the specimens are too small to indicate anything as to size or shape of the original vessels.

Other material of European origin found in the pre-1738 zones consists of building refuse, presumably from the courtyard structure. These include fragments of plaster and roofing tiles, and a few nails and spikes. They are too scarce and too fragmentary to tell us much about the original building. The tile fragments, 5/8-inch thick, are apparently from typical curved "pantiles". One measurable fragment has an outside radius of approximately 3 inches.

CERAMICS. Before considering the meaning of the excavated specimens we can briefly discuss the pottery and its implications. We will present accepted dates for this material, but subsequently analyze it in terms of data from this site.

St. Johns Series. This group of pottery is characterized by a soft, temperless, chalky paste. Types include St. Johns Plain, St. Johns Check Stamped (Goggin, 1952, 101-2), and St. Johns Scored (Griffin and Smith, 1949, 348). The first is of little temporal diagnostic value, ranging for perhaps some 2000 years until the 18th century A.D. The last two types are relatively late; that is, St. Johns II period and later, or from about 1150 A.D. well into historic times. The precise terminal date is uncertain but was apparently early in the 18th century.

San Marcos Series. This group comprises plain, painted, and stamped types of a coarse paste ware, variously tempered with quartz and/or limestone, which, when decorated, is marked with paddle stamping. Designs are most commonly simple stamping but include other motifs. Some temporal differences are apparently present in these stamped motifs (Smith, 1948).

The series apparently developed by or before 1600 A.D. on the Georgia coast, and occasional trade sherds may have reached the St. Augustine area soon after. However, it was not until about 1650 that this pottery appeared here in any quantity - from then until about 1725 it apparently gained in importance, becoming the dominant ware.

Sherd-tempered pottery. This distinctive ware, found here both plain and check-stamped, is apparently trade material from coastal Georgia. Its date is not precisely known. However, in the writer's experience it dates *circa* 1500-1625 in Florida, and perhaps a little earlier.

Grit-tempered pottery. This undistinguished ware is poorly known and as yet has no diagnostic value.

Mission Red Filmed. This is an historic type (Smith, 1948) widely but sparsely distributed in northern Florida and southern Georgia. It appears to date from the 17th century.

Spanish majolica. Majolica is a soft earthenware with an opaque enamel surface. All forms found here - San Luis Blue on White, Puebla Blue on White, Aranama Polychrome, and un-

classified green on white - were made in Mexico. The last three forms date from the 18th century, while the first was made in the middle to last half of the 17th century (Goggin MSa).

Spanish Olive Jar. These large shipping vessels for wine and oil are represented by a number of sherds. All that can be precisely identified are of the "middle variety" dating from *circa* 1575 to *circa* 1750 (Goggin MSb).

Miscellaneous Spanish Pottery. Two distinctive sherds, which are undoubtedly Spanish, are in the sample. One is a fine-textured cream-colored earthenware, the other a green-glazed earthenware. Neither can be dated.

Mexican Redware. Two sherds of well-polished redware were probably made in Mexico. They cannot be dated as the general form is found far back in prehistoric times and continues until the present.

Burnt sherds. These Indian sherds of several types exhibit evidences of great heat such as a bright terracotta color or overall surface glaze. They frequently have mortar adhering to them. They were apparently present in aboriginal shell deposits which were burnt for lime to make mortar. *

Tejas. The convex, tapered, roofing tile or *teja* was a favorite in Spanish construction. These were probably made locally, since there was a manufactory for brick and tile in St. Augustine *(Justis, 1737).*

ARTIFACTS ANALYSIS. For purposes of study, the material recovered by Harrington is considered in a series of analysis units from different parts of the excavations. These consist of one or more numbered groups as segregated in the excavation.

Unit 1. This stratified unit includes the northernmost section of Trench A (Figure 7). It lies just outside the building wall and is one of the deepest cross-sections made in the excavations. As can be seen (Figure 8) a series of 8 stratigraphic

* Apparently the best quality of lime was made by the Spaniards in the New World by burning coral. The second best, and most favored outside the natural range of coral, was made by burning shell.

levels (called A to I respectively) were distinguished. Pottery or other objects were found in four of these, E to H respectively (Table 1). The distribution of the pottery is striking and interesting. Layer H, comprising the Indian midden layer, includes only St. Johns Series pottery. It is certainly prehistoric or early historic, *i.e.*, 16th century in date. The chalky ware includes a single specimen with an undetermined decoration, apparently punctation, stamping, or roulleting.

The potsherds from layers E and F were deposited after the building was constructed and represent pottery types dating post-1650 for the St. Augustine area.

Unit 2. This comprises artifact groups 3, 5, 12, 16, and 19 from the sealed deposit within the structure, level K, between the original floor, level L, and the 1738 tabby paving, level J (Figure 8). Indian pottery includes San Marcos forms, which would date its deposition after 1650. The majolica probably dates both before 1700 (San Luis Blue on White) and after 1700 (Puebla Blue on White). Olive jar and Mexican Redware sherds cannot be as precisely dated. The burnt sherds and *teja* fragments represent building refuse from some stage of use or abandonment of the structure.

Unit 3. Artifact groups 7, 8, and 27 comprise this unit. They come from three levels in the eastern lateral of Trench A (Figure 7) which form the fill between the original Indian midden and the stone chips underlying the oiled paving. They correspond to levels D, E, and F in Unit 1. Although three stratigraphic levels are present, Harrington assumes they were deposited at one time, presumably soon after the building was constructed.

The artifacts support this supposition. No significant difference is seen between the three levels in terms of pottery (Table 3). Like the D-F level group in Unit 1, this unit is post-1650 in date. However, the quantity of *teja* fragments suggests roofing repairs which would presumably have taken place some time after the original building.

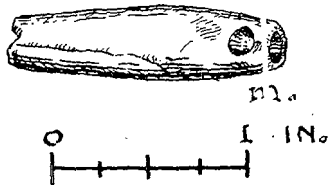

FIGURE 11. *Indian shell bead (Specimen C-22). Note the diagonal perforations.*

An unusual shell bead came from this lateral. It is tubular in form, slightly swelling in the middle and is 1 1/4 inches long by 3/8 inches in diameter. Instead of a longitudinal perforation it has diagonal corner perforations (Figure 11).

Unit 4. This includes three groups of artifacts from Trench B. Group 4 is from west of foundation wall and below paving, group 6 was in the shell-loam deposit along east side of wall, and group 9 was just below the 18th century tabby paving east of wall. Harrington felt there could be some slight differences between the date of these units, but they were substantially the same, post-dating the building construction but before the tabby pavement was laid down.

Two of the samples, groups 4 and 6, are too small for statistical validity; however, they appear to be basically similar to the third and larger series, group 9 (Table 4).

Unit 5. This unit comprises a single small sample, group 31, which came from fill in a pit just east of the structure. It predates the tabby pavement. Included in the sample are 5 St. Johns Plain, 1 San Marcos Stamped, and 2 burnt sherds, as well as 2 *teja* fragments and an unworked columella of a *Fasciolaria gigantea* conch.

ANALYTICAL CONCLUSIONS. The potsherds from the courtyard excavations at the Castillo de San Marcos fall into two distinct complexes. The first, represented by a single group (number 18), comes from the Indian midden area, the lowest cultural remains in the excavations. It is characterized only by St. Johns Series pottery and is typical of the St. Johns II period.

From what division in that period it dates cannot be determined; it could be completely prehistoric, or possibly early historic. In such a small sample the lack of historic European sherds is not diagnostic in view of their relative scarcity in 16th century Florida sites.

The balance of the material forms a second complex, which dates from the St. Augustine period, or approximately 1650 to 1725. In addition to the same chalky ware pottery (St. Johns Series) of the earlier period, it includes, as a majority, types of the San Marcos Series as well as Spanish olive jar, Spanish

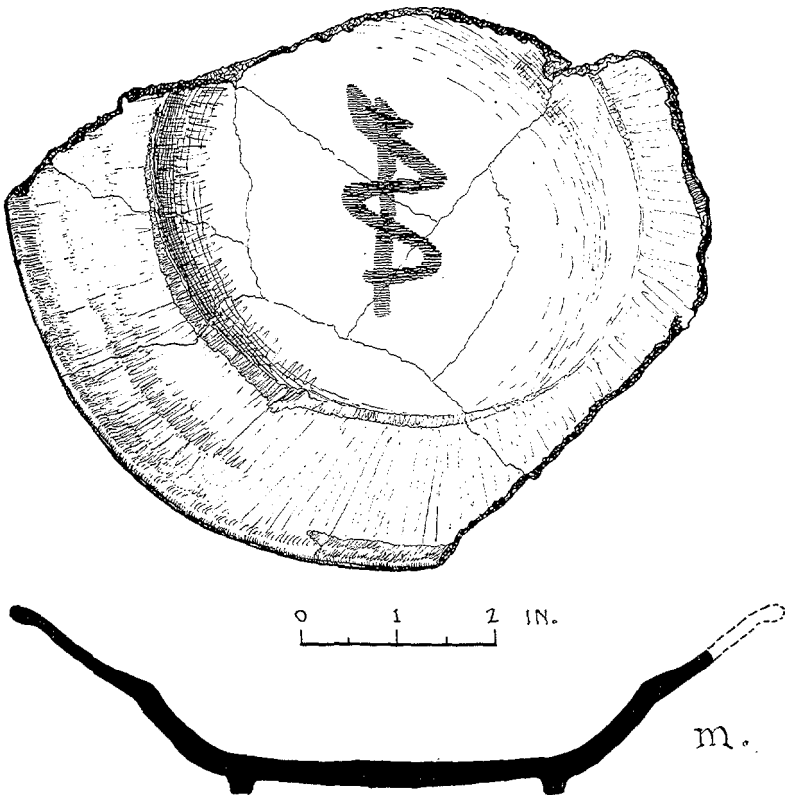

FIGURE 12. *Spanish Majolica dish (Specimen C-52). Significance of the green caducean-like symbol is not known.*

majolica and, less commonly, other Spanish forms. The general 1650-1725 date for the Indian pottery equates well with Harrington's dates for the areas from which the samples came; that is, 1672-1738 and 1685-1738.

The presence of Spanish majolica in several of the sherd groups enables us to be more precise in dating the deposition, as two of the named types, Puebla Blue on White and Aranama Polychrome, have 1700 or post-1700 dates. Thus group 5 (Unit 2), group 27 (Unit 3), and group 9 (Unit 4) were probably deposited in whole or part near or after 1700.

Previously Harrington suggested periods of artifact deposition for the courtyard area. Two of these we have just considered; the others can be noted. His first time period, pre-1565, is most likely represented by the St. Johns II material from the underlying midden. The second period, 1565 to 1672, could be in part represented by the same material, but it is not probable. The third period, 1672-1675, may be represented by the material from layers E and F (group 13, Unit 1). This is early St. Augustine period. The next two periods have a ready been considered and the final one, post-1738, is not represented.

SUMMARY

PURPOSE OF PROJECT. Major purpose of the exploration was to discover the elevation and character of the Castillo courtyard during Spanish occupation, especially about 1740, which is the high point in the fort story.

HISTORY. In 1675, while the Castillo was under construction, two temporary buildings were erected in the center of the courtyard: a semicircular powder magazine, and a rectangular structure of several rooms which became a provision depot, armory, guardroom and quarters. The latter building was in use until 1680 or later, and may be part of an L-shaped edifice designated as a "ruined house" and razed in 1737. In 1738-1739 major changes occurred. Seventeenth century rooms around

the perimeter of the courtyard were replaced with the large, massively-arched rooms standing today.

ARCHEOLOGY. Two small trenches were dug at the known site of central structures in the courtyard. Three significant levels of occupation were discovered. 1) prehistoric Indian midden, 2) 1675 building ruins, and 3) masonry pavement of the 1740 period.

The excavation revealed several masonry walls and floors which are part of the 1675 building. North, east and west walls were precisely located, but comprehensive excavation of the entire structure was not attempted. Numerous constructional details were revealed, a few of which were puzzling.

From the information available, including the contemporary plans, we can visualize a low, one-storied, white-stuccoed structure. It had a gabled roof of red tile, perhaps three doorways, but was void of windows. Inside, the walls were plastered. There were smooth tabby floors.

Stone chippings from the new work in 1738-1739 were used as a base for a new tabby pavement over the entire courtyard, raising the grade of the area about 6 inches above its previous elevation. The building ruins in the center of the courtyard were leveled to, and probably covered by, the new pavement. Beneath the present turf and walkways, this pavement still exists in fair to poor condition.

ARTIFACTS. Numerous historic objects, including exhibitable specimens, were recovered. They reveal two distinct complexes: 1) prehistoric Indian (-1565?), typical of the St. Johns II period; and 2) St. Augustine period (c. 1650-1725), which includes both aboriginal and European materials. Considerable stratigraphic data came from the trenches. Much of the occupational evidence from about 1672 to 1738 is separable into sharply dateable deposits.

USEFUL DATA. The excavation furnished data on 16th-18th century site levels, and on 17th and 18th century building con-

struction - data which are necessary for enlightened historical interpretation (including restorations) of the Castillo. The levels of occupation are specifically dateable and are therefore of unusual importance in the chronology of Florida archeology.

The project was a productive example of historical-archeological collaboration. Also, field experience gained will help to plan future work at this site.

A remarkable accumulation of information came from this small project. All objectives were achieved and considerable additional data were secured, such as normally would be expected only from a major excavation. Not the least of the profits from the project was the "show" put on for thousands of visitors who watched the work, asked countless questions, and went on their way possibly a little confused about the history of the fort, but certainly thrilled and impressed after a firsthand glimpse into the past.

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TABLE 1. ANALYSIS UNIT 1

Level	Group	St. Johns Plain	St. Johns Scored	St. Johns Check Stamped	Decorated Chalky Ware	San Marcos Plain	San Marcos Stamped	Burnt Clay Fragments
A–D	C–13	2				1	5	
E–F	C–17			5	1			1
G	C–18	2	1					1
H								
I								

TABLE 2. ANALYSIS UNIT 2

Group	St. Johns Check Stamped	St. Johns Scored	San Marcos Plain	San Marcos Stamped	Unclassified Grit-tempered Ware	Burnt Sherd	Pueblo Blue on White	San Luis Blue on White	Olive Jar	Mexican Redware	Tejas	Total
C–3	1			7	1						1	10
C–5							1		3	2	2	8
C–12		1	1	3		1			1			6
C–16				2		1						4
C–19	1		1	2		1		1	1			6
Total	2	1	2	14	1	2	1	1	5	2	3	34

TABLE 3. ANALYSIS UNIT 3

Group	St. Johns Plain	St. Johns Check Stamped	San Marcos Stamped	San Marcos Plain	Mission Red Filmed	Shell-tempered, Plain	Shell-tempered, Check Stamped	Grit-tempered, Notched Rim	Aranama Polychrome	Green-glazed Spanish Earthenware	Fine Paste Cream Spanish Earthenware	Olive Jar	Burnt Sherds	Total	Burnt Clay Fragments	Tejas
C–27	2	...	4	2	1	...	...	1	1	1	...	3	...	15	...	5
C–8	2	6	7	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	1	2	2	22	...	5
C–7	3	6	9	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	2	22	1	3
Total	7	12	20	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	4	59	1	13

TABLE 4. ANALYSIS UNIT 4

Group	St. Johns Plain	St. Johns Check Stamped	San Marcos Plain	San Marcos Stamped	Undassified Red on Buff	Mission Red Filmed	Grit-tempered Plain	Puebla Blue on White	Undassified Green on White Majolica	Total	Tejas
C–9	1	7	...	26	5	2	1	7	1	50	...
C–6	...	2	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	5	...
C–4	...	1	2	3	...	...	...	...	...	6	1
Total	1	0	2	32	5	2	1	7	1	61	1

ANDREW JACKSON *vs.* THE SPANISH GOVERNOR

PENSACOLA 1821

by HERBERT J. DOHERTY JR.

For more than one hundred years Andrew Jackson has been to writers of American history an exciting, inspiring, controversial, or shameful figure - according to the varying beliefs of those many writers. This writer, in recent issues of this *Quarterly*, has reexamined Jackson's Florida career in two articles which were suggested by several previously unpublished Jackson letters.[1] Several new letters coming to light have suggested a more detailed look at some of the ground covered in those earlier articles, specifically, the sources of hostility between Jackson and the last Spanish governor of West Florida, Jose Callava. Some historians have looked upon that hostility as stemming from Jackson's inherent rascality; to others this was an inevitable product of his explosive temperament and frontier crudity. There is no denying the heat of his temper and its frequent manifestations, but this writer is inclined to deny that he was a rascal at heart or that he was the crude hillbilly some writers portray. Rather, let us dwell or the factors which conspired to inflame the feelings of both Jackson and Callava and brought on their collision, resulting in the throwing of the governor into the common jail at Pensacola at midnight under Jackson's direct orders. These factors were: misunderstandings, several tedious delays, personal hardships, and cultural differences, as well as numerous petty annoyances.

In broad outline the story is a familiar one. On May 9, 1821, Jackson arrived at Montpelier, Alabama, where he was instructed to wait until Colonel James G. Forbes arrived in Pensacola with orders from the Captain General of Cuba for the transfer

1. These articles appeared in *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXXIII (July, 1954), 3-31; and *ibid.*, XXXIV (July, 1955), 3-29.

of West Florida. He remained in that Alabama border town until June 15, growing ever more impatient at the many delays imposed by the plodding Spanish bureaucracy, first in Havana and then in Pensacola. On June 15, after the arrival of Forbes, he came down to the farm of Manuel Gonzalez fifteen miles outside Pensacola, where he remained another month while tedious negotiations were carried on with Jose Callava who still sat ensconced in the Government House in Pensacola. Finally, on July 17, Callava delivered West Florida over to Jackson but further annoyed the American governor by repudiating a promise Jackson believed he had given to acknowledge in writing all assistance and supplies given by the United States which were beyond the strict letter of the treaty of cession.

Shortly after the latter disagreement, Mercedes Vidal, a mulatto native of Florida, pressed upon the new government her claims to justice apparently long denied to her under the Spanish regime. Her case led to the most serious conflict between Jackson and Callava, as a result of which Callava was jailed overnight and a mild international incident was provoked. The events that led to that stormy scene between the two men on a hot August night in 1821 are the ones that concern us now.

Jackson arrived in Florida with a disposition not to trust any Spaniard. His general inclination seems to have been not to trust men until through personal contact he developed an implicit faith in their integrity and loyalty. His earlier experiences with the Spanish in Florida did not augur well for the establishment of such trust for Callava, and his misgivings after the Spanish government delayed for two years ratifying the treaty of cession further strengthened his belief in the "bad faith" of the Spanish. The long delay experienced by Colonel Forbes in Havana, while Jackson cooled his heels at Montpelier, served to deepen his suspicions, and he listened credulously to every rumor. Forbes, he feared, was being dazzled by

To his Excellency:

I have received with great satisfaction yesterday morning by Capt. Richard K. Call, Aid de Camp of your Excellency, your correspondence dated the 11th of the present month referring to my answer of the 4th instant.

I am convinced to have manifested Lawyer Breckenridge Esq.r in our deliberation in order to deliver me the first correspondence of your Excellency that no objection appears to be in which your Excellency should not have in this place the deposit of provisions refer: and I have done it in this case to Capt. Call.—

The wisdom of your Excellency has seen [illegible] as well as necessary and consequently the action declared by you to be your opinion about transports from St. Marks to this place the Commandant [illegible]

Excellency towards him: and with all, I do answer to the correspondence of your Excellency which I refer and also understood.

God keep your Excellency many years. Pensacola May 16th 1821.— José Callava

To his Excellency Andrew Jackson, Major General of the 1. Division of the United States Army.—

Letter of Gov. José Callava to Gen. Andrew Jackson (see Appendix I) Original in P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida

the Spaniards to hold up the transfer till large numbers of Negro slaves could be imported into Florida, a "dreaded evil." [2] The merchants of Cuba, he heard, had conspired with the Captain General to delay the transfer until large quantities of goods could be imported into Pensacola, evading the United States customs laws. Forbes, he feared, might even be in league with them. [3]

For a time after the establishment of communication between Jackson and Callava in May, Jackson felt reassured. His aide, Richard K. Call, was sent to find out whether or not Callava was "a coward full of duplicity, or a candid honourable man." [4] Call replied that he found the Spanish governor to be "a frank, ingenuous soldier" in whom the fullest confidence could be placed. [5] This satisfied Jackson for a few days and he wrote that he expected no delay in the transfer after Forbes arrived from Havana on the *Hornet.* [6] Less than two weeks later, however, he was declaring to John Quincy Adams, "every delay will be experienced that the Spanish officers think will be submitted to by the American Government." [7]

On May 30, Forbes sailed for Pensacola after having spent almost six weeks getting the necessary papers from the Cuban authorities. He attributed the delay to habitual Spanish tardiness and to such unforeseeable events as the death of the Intendant and his being succeeded by an officer who insisted upon fully reviewing all the negotiations before giving his approval to them. "The authorities here," he wrote, "consider it

2. Andrew Jackson to John Q Adams, May 1, 1821, *Senate Papers*, 17 Congress, 1 Session, No. 1.
3. Andrew Jackson to John Q. Adams, May 7, 1821, *Senate Papers*, 17 Congress, 1 Session, No. 1.
4. Andrew Jackson to Richard K. Call, May 11, 1821, in Caroline Mays Brevard, *A History of Florida*, I (Deland, 1924), 260-261.
5. Richard K. Call to Andrew Jackson, May 21, 1821, *Senate Papers*, 17 Congress, 1 Session, No. 1.
6. Andrew Jackson to John Q. Adams, May 21, 1821, in John Spencer Bassett (editor), *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson* (Washington, 1926-1935), III, 57.
7. Andrew Jackson to John Q. Adams, May 30, 1821, in Bassett, *Jackson Correspondence*, III, 62.

a *prompt dispatch!*" [8] Monroe shared this attitude and advised Jackson to "make every allowance for the dilatory character of all transactions, habitual to the officers of the Spanish government." [9]

Consider at this point the contrasting natures of Jackson and the men with whom he dealt. Jackson himself was a product of the frontier, a believer in firm, direct, and energetic measures. He was a high ranking officer, immensely popular, and somewhat feared - for political reasons - by his own superiors; a man accorded a wide latitude in the interpretation and exercise of his powers; a man more accustomed to dealing with Indians and frontiersmen than with cultured, polished Europeans; a man, moreover, surrounded by young aides who knew less than he about diplomatic procedures and protocol. Nonetheless, he was an aristocrat of the West, noble in bearing, chivalric, too proud to have been lacking in diplomatic courtesies had he known what international usage demanded of him.

Callava, on the other hand, was a product of Europe. He had come from the great military bureaucracy of the ramshackle old Spanish Empire. Well versed in red tape, formalities, procedures, he was not a man to disregard the established channels of command or to take direct action, if it were unprecedented. He was, moreover, something of a "bright young man" in the vast bureaucracy, who had capped an outstanding military career by becoming a provincial governor before he was forty years of age, and he took undoubted pride in his office and standing. Because he was more urbane and possessed more sophistication than Jackson, it has often been overlooked that he was quite as proud and quite as stubborn as Jackson.

Though Jackson was quite irked that Callava would make no move toward evacuating Florida until orders came from

8. James G. Forbes to John Q. Adams, May 30, 1821, *Senate Papers*, 17 Congress, 1 Session, No. 1.
9. John Q. Adams to Andrew Jackson, June 27, 1821, *Senate Papers*, 17 Congress, 1 Session, No. 1.

Havana, he recognized Callava's position and assured him that he would not think of inducing him to act without orders. On June 9, however, the orders came and Jackson's impatience with delay then grew rapidly. On the fifteenth he moved to within fifteen miles of Pensacola and on July 11 he moved to within two miles of the city. During this time disputes were dealt with in regard to the removal of cannon from the forts and in regard to the transporting and supplying of Spanish civil officers, families, and servants - points that were all omitted from the treaty of cession. Jackson fumed at Callava's insistence on carrying off the cannon but he conceded that he would not induce him, if he could, "to depart from your positive instructions." [10] During this time Jackson did not call on Callava or present his credentials, and Callava, as was proper, did not feel obligated to call upon Jackson to see them.

By June 22, however, Callava felt impelled to suggest that Jackson might meet with him or that he might send his credentials. [11] Again Jackson passed up the opportunity to call and sent Callava certified copies of his commission, rather than the original which had been requested. On July 4, he told a friend:

> I have not been yet in Pensacola, nor do I suppose I will be, until I go and enter as governor of the same, I never have been invited. I proposed an interview, the commandant declined it, and I would sink the place and him with it, before I would visit him. . . . [12]

That both Jackson and Callava may have misunderstood each other is quite likely. That Callava took Jackson's proposals for an interview as a request that he come out to the American camp seems clear. Likewise Jackson never seems to have taken

10. Andrew Jackson to Jose Callava, June 17, 1821, in Bassett, *Jackson Correspondence,* III, 70-71.
11. Jose Callava to Andrew Jackson, June 22, 1821, in Bassett, *Jackson Correspondence,* III, 74-75.
12. Andrew Jackson to John Coffee, July 4, 1821, Bassett, *Jackson Correspondence,* III, 89.

Callava's suggestions that he come to Pensacola as a direct invitation. If Callava's letter to Jackson of May 16 (Appendix I) is any indication of the clarity of the letters which passed between them, it is easy to see why misunderstandings existed. The translations in the printed official records are all in good English, but this letter, too, in the official records is in excellent English quite unlike this actual document which was sent to Jackson. [13] (see facsimile)

The first two weeks in June were spent in loading transports, inventorying archives and inventorying ordnance. Callava had finally agreed to leave the ordnance if receipt should be given for it, leaving final disposition to be made by higher authority. Jackson agreed to this compromise on condition Callava would receipt for the transportation for civil officers, families, and servants, and their provisions. Jackson thought Callava agreed to this. [14]

Tempers grew short again when Callava told Jackson he would deliver the province on July 16 or 17. Jackson recounted all the earlier delays and stated that if the Spanish were not out by July 15, they would have to pay the expenses incurred by holding the transports two extra days. [15]

The proud, and stubborn, Castilian replied that Jackson might levy whatever charges he would, but that the province would not be delivered until July 17 at ten in the morning. The delay was attributed to the transports not being ready to sail, to his personal illness, and to the slowness of the American officers in helping with the ordnance inventory. Having received

13. Verbatim copies of the letter in Appendix I appear in the manuscript volume "Journal of Governor R. K. Call" in the Florida Historical Society Library, and is printed in Brevard, *History of Florida,* I, 262. The version in good English is found in *Senate Papers,* 17 Congress, 1 Session, No. 1, and in *American State Papers: Foreign Relations,* IV, 761-762.
14. Andrew Jackson to John Q. Adams, June 29, 1821, *Senate Papers,* 17 Congress, 1 Session, No. 1.
15. Andrew Jackson to Jose Callava, July 12, 1821 Bassett, *Jackson Correspondence,* III, 92-93.

his orders seventy-two days before the deadline specified for delivery, Callava asserted, "by making the delivery after 37 have elapsed, I think I have complied with whatever promises may have been made by His Catholic Majesty's Minister." [16]

This unbending reply brought from Jackson almost an apology. Of course, the general replied, had the unforeseen difficulties been explained he would have acquiesced in the delay. "I am satisfied," he wrote, "and wave the demand of demurrage on the vessels." [17] Two days later Jackson wrote disclaiming any intention of having wounded Callava's feelings and expressing the hope that the latter should make allowances for his zeal in attempting to promote the interests of the United States. [18]

Callava replied generously that "a mutual misconception of our opinion is the cause of the unpleasant feelings of Your Excellency as well as of my own." The Spaniard then gently lectured Jackson upon his breach of international etiquette. He reminded the American that he had promptly entered into negotiations with him as soon as orders had arrived from Havana,

> . . . without having seen your credentials and actuated solely by good faith; this circumstance is an unequivocal proof of the ingenuousness of my disposition, for Your Excellency cannot but observe that previously to taking that step, I ought to have seen your credentials. [19]

Callava went on to say that he had told Jackson, in response to his request from Manuel's asking an interview, that he might present his credentials in Pensacola at his convenience. You should have visited me then, he told Jackson, "an honour which I should have been warranted in returning immediately."

> In my capacity of Governor of a Province. . . it was my duty to support my station with all the circum-

16. Jose Callava to Andrew Jackson, July 13, 1821, *ibid.*, III, 94-97.
17. Andrew Jackson to Jose Callava, July 13, 1821, *ibid.*, III, 98-99.
18. Andrew Jackson to Jose Callava, July 15, 1821, *ibid.*, III, 100.
19. Jose Callava to Andrew Jackson, July 16, 1821, *ibid.*, III, 101-102.

> spection due to it; for what I might have done as Jose Callava as often as I pleased, the pretensions of my Nation would not permit me to think of; because according to the Etiquette necessarily observed amongst nations, I should be subjected to a humiliation in appearance indecorous in making those previous advances to Your Excellency which of right should first proceed from the part of Your Excellency. . . [20]

In delivering over St. Marks without having seen the credentials, Callava declared that he had deviated from his obligations at considerable risk, "for the delicacy of my own feelings made me even prefer my own ruin to putting Your Excellency under the necessity of showing me your credentials." The Spanish governor claimed that he had waived all points of etiquette "which were my due" yet he conceded to Jackson, "I believe it to be equally true that you are incapable of wilfully and intentionally disregarding what is due to me; but since it is no longer possible to correct the error . . . far be it from us to permit the occurrence to occasion new explanations, or the slightest resentment."

To clinch his point with documentary evidence, Callava sent along to Jackson a little volume detailing how everything was conducted on the occasion of the transfer of Louisiana to the United States. He hoped that the general would "peruse" it and from it "be convinced how erroneous the opinion is which Your Excellency has unhappily formed of me." [21]

Jackson replied in a conciliatory vein conceding that "the misunderstanding must have existed from the want of a proper interpretation of our real thoughts as expressed in our correspondence."

"Let me assure you," he wrote, "I should have met you with pleasure in Pensacola, had I not conceived that it was

20. *Ibid.*
21. *Ibid.*

not your wish. . . . I was induced to believe that an undue condescension was expected." Jackson concluded this message with the ambiguous remark, "I am certain after further acquaintance we will know how to appreciate each other." [22]

This was the last correspondence which passed between the two before the transfer of flags on the next day. This era of good feeling between them was brief, however. On August 1, Jose Cruzat, Callava's secretary, told Major Henry Stanton, who waited upon him for Callava's long overdue signature upon the receipt for transportation and supplies furnished beyond the requirements of the treaty, that the Spanish minister at Washington had told Callava flatly that such items were to be supplied by the United States according to the treaty. Callava therefore stoutly maintained that he could sign no receipt which stated that these items were not required by treaty and which referred settlement for them to higher authority. [23] All Jackson's misgivings about "Spanish treachery" surged back at this turn of events and he charged Callava with "a willful breach of the agreement." Indignantly he voided his own receipts given to Callava for the ordnance and stormed, "This closes my correspondence with Your Excellency on this subject for ever." [24] The stage was now set for the famous Vidal affair.

It was shortly after this exchange that Mercedes Vidal went to the American authorities for aid in securing the estate due her as one of the natural heirs of Nicholas Maria Vidal. Vidal had been a Spanish military auditor who died in 1806 leaving a considerable legacy to his heirs. It had gone into the hands of Forbes and Company for settlement, but not until 1820 had the heirs been able to force an accounting from the executors. The auditor who examined the accounts found them to be fraudulent and wholly irregular, and he recommended that suit

22. Andrew Jackson to Jose Callava, July 16, 1821, *ibid.*, III, 103-104.
23. Jose Cruzat to Henry Stanton, August 1, 1821, *ibid.*, III, 107n.
24. Andrew Jackson to Jose Callava, August 3, 1821, *ibid.*, III, 108-111.

be brought to force the executors to an accounting. This was followed by a decree by Callava ordering such an accounting, a decree which had not been enforced, however, up to the time the Vidal woman appealed to Alcalde H. M. Brackenridge for justice.

The papers needed to prove the case were not among those relating to private property transactions and, consequently, were not to be delivered to the American government. Whether or not these papers were properly filed is subject to grave doubt; however, because of Vidal's office, they were filed with the papers of the military tribunal and the revenue department - to which the United States had no claim. Jackson, however, insisted that no matter where they were they concerned private property and must be seized. He came to the conclusion that Callava must be in league with Forbes and Company to defraud the Vidal heirs, and sharing the common belief of Americans that the company had encouraged Indian outrages on the frontier, he was in no mood to trifle.

Alcalde Brackenridge easily got Jackson's order for the papers, and as quickly drew from Callava a refusal to deliver them. The order was made known to Callava while he was dining with a large company at the residence of Colonel James Brooke, commander of the United States troops in Pensacola. Brooke and several other leading Americans were embarassed by the indignity shown their friend and took his side in the controversy. Undaunted, Jackson ordered a squad of soldiers who were sent to the residence of Callava where he was routed from bed and placed under arrest. Escorted to the Government House, he was confronted by an angry, hot, tired Andrew Jackson and a scene of wild confusion ensued. Jackson and Callava both talked loudly, each in his own language, with Callava making loud inflammatory asides to the onlookers (so inflammatory that Jackson's translators dared not repeat them to him). Jackson's stubborn demands for the papers were countered by

Callava's equally stubborn insistence on formal procedures and written requests which must pay him deference either as Spanish commissioner or former governor. At length Jackson ordered Callava jailed and signed a warrant for the seizure of the documents in his possession.

At the jail Callava's friends gathered with wine and food and the rest of the night was spent in feasting and drinking and derisively mocking Andrew Jackson. After his release the next day, Callava soon set out for Washington where he was consoled by the Spanish minister and those who thought poorly of Andrew Jackson. His version of the event received wide circulation by Jackson's political enemies, and another episode in the varied career of Andrew Jackson was well on the way to being wonderfully embroidered. [25]

APPENDIX I

[Jose Callava to Andrew Jackson] *

To his Excellency

I have received with great satisfaction yesterday morning by Capn. Richard K. Call Adjudent of your Excellency your correspondence dated the 11th of the present month refering to my answer of the 4th instent. -

I am convince to have manifested Lawyer BracKenridge Esqr. in our deliberation in order to delivered me the first correspondence of your Excellency; that no objection appears to be in which your Excellency should not have in this place the deposit of provisions refer: and I have done it in this case to Capn. Call.

25. Jackson's account of the affair may be found in a letter to Adams in Bassett, *Jackson Correspondence*, III, 112-116. Jackson's translator, Brackenridge, wrote an account which may be found in *American State Papers: Miscellaneous*, II, 828. Callava's account may be seen in *American State Papers: Foreign Relations*, IV, 768. In addition both Bassett and Marquis James give colorful accounts of the interview between the two men in their biographies of Jackson.

* The originals of this letter and those which follow are at the University of Florida.

The wisdom of your Excellency his so greatness as well as necessary and consequently the action declared by you to be your opinion about transporting from Sn. Markes to this place the Espanish Troops and join together with the remains to be exported under the convoy of the Sloop of war of the United States Army the Hornet, with Safety; and I will with great pleasure contributed so Soon I will received the depending orders from his Excellency the Capn. General to avery thing concerning in my power, and with the activity, and energy able to resist any difficulty that could deducted any daley, and Angry not to be this day in my power to Executed, for Such orders are not yet arrive.

I hope your Excellency will do me the honor to be convince great and entirely; that I am with your on conformity; that every thing should be manage with Kind, and feelings of friendship between us, and Kindness to your most interested desires towards me and to my officers; and troops under my Command.

So Soon I will be authorize to concern in the evacuation of this province, I will immediately Send to your Excellency all the informations requested by you, and all those necessary also to contributed to the best concerning upon this Subject.

Capn. Call was considerated and respected by me; not only by his particular merits, but also by the respectable and great, that was to me the recommendation of your Excellency towards him: and with all, I do answer to the Correspondence of your Excellency which I refer and also understood.

God Keep your Excellency many years. Pensacola May 16th 1821.

Jose Callava

To his Excellency Andrew Jackson, Esqr. Major General of the S. Division of the United States Army

* * * * *

APPENDIX II

[James Gadsden to Richard K. Call]

Montpelier

June 11, 1821

My Dear Call

I sincerely congratulate you on the arrival of the Hornet. It has produced but one sensation here among officers & soldiers. On reading the order on parade to be prepared for marching on Thursday next for Pensacola the joyful feelings of the soldiers could not be suppressed. It broke out in a general murmur of satisfaction on their dismissal.

The Blunder committed by Forbes whether intentional or not has excited the General. [1] He has written the would be Commissioner & I have endeavoured to soften down some of the asperity of his language, but the communication still retains an expression of dissatisfaction.

The General approved of my leaving you to execute the duties assigned me: He has confidence be assured in you & I hope that the Governor will meet with that disposition as to enable you to accomplish your Commission in your usual style of despatch.

We are under orders to march on Thursday morning; but I am in doubts myself whether a movement can be effected before Saturday. Sunday night the General will probably spend at Manuels [2] & he will send me into the city of Pensacola to notify the Governor or Commissioner of his arrival with a request that he may fix the day when they may meet & concert

1. Col. James Grant Forbes, who brought the orders from the Captain General of Cuba to Governor Jose Callava for the transfer of Florida, carried an order designating himself as the officer to whom West Florida was to be delivered. Apparently this was a misunderstanding or clerical error on the part of the authorities in Havana. On his objection, the authorities amended the order to read that the province should be received by Forbes or duly constituted authorities of the U. S.
2. The residence of Manuel Gonzalez, located about fifteen miles from Pensacola.

the necessary measures, mode of delivery &c &c &c &c &c &c &c &c &c

What an expression here it means much by constuction but in reality nothing.

We have at length received the Army Register: The disappointment among the officers in this quarter is not as great as expected; although there are some hard cases. [3]

Lt Donaldson sends you a paper with the Register; & containing the appointments made in Florida. This last has disappointed us all & I assure you the General feels sensibly the neglect evinced toward his recommendations. A certain Great Man has only strengthened a suspicion long entertained of [torn] temporising spirit, & jesuistical [?] feelings. [torn] cannot say no, or resist the importunities of lose whose possess influence in political society.

I hope the disappointment will not be severe to you; The General will provide for you if possible. But the late act of the Executive, while it has neglected his friends, has diminished his power of providing for them. [4]

God Bless you & may you
live as the Spaniard says
one Thousand years
Gadsden

Give my respects to Bronaugh, Shannon &c. I protest against your interfering in a certain case connected with a certain Georgia Belle. I have prior claims, having first encountered

3. In 1821, the Congress of the United States passed an act for the reduction of the armed forces under which many officers were retired or reduced in rank. The Army Register brought the news of these changes. Andrew Jackson was one of the officers retired.
4. President James Monroe filled all the federal offices in Florida without consulting Jackson and ignoring recommendations made by him. Call had been recommended for the post of Secretary of West Florida. Jackson was left only with the local Territorial offices to fill. The "Great Man" referred to was probably Monroe.

her in the wilderness; & having first testified to her excellencies & beauties.

APPENDIX III

[Andrew Jackson to Richard K. Call]

Montpelier June 11th 1821 -
11 oclock A.M.

Dr. Call

This moment Dick [5] has arrived with a note from Doctor Brunough *[sic]* - and I am still more gratified to find that the Governor of Pensacola is the sole commissioner with whom we have to act - and his assurances to you that the order for the delivery of St Marks should be given you on the morning of yesterday is a sure pledge that no delay is intended - and I have no doubt, but the Governor of East Florida is appointed sole commissioner for the delivery of East Florida and that Don Aredondo is merely the agent to carry the order as Don Alva was here. [6]

I enclose for your perusal my letter to Colo. Forbes, which I wish you to seal & deliver to him, from which you will find the Colo. agency has ceased as soon as he delivers the archives to me, if he has brought them.

I send Dick back immediately and give him the letters which Capt Donelson was to hand you, as the Capt is sick. I am fearfull he cannot travel as fast as I wish him. I will leave here on Thursday morning with the Troops, and am prepared to set out sooner if it should be necessary, but for the want of waggons which are sent for I cannot move the Troops before Thursday morning.

It is important I should get possession of Pensacola as early as possible as I cannot send Colo. Gadsden to St Augustine

5. Dick was a Negro slave, the trusted personal servant of Dr. James C. Bronaugh.
6. Forbes was accompanied to Pensacola by two Spanish officers, Arredondo and Alva who apparently were the official agents of the Captain General to transmit the transfer orders.

before I do - and I hope the Governor of Pensacola will consent to the removal of his troops to the Barranka remain himself if he chooses in the Government house, keep his own guard or be furnished with one by me, untill his Troops are paid and it suits him to embark, which I am convinced from his character he is disposed to do as early as he can both on account of the season as well as to free the U States from that Demurrage on the Transports you will therefore, if it should become necessary for you to speak to him on this subject before I receive further advice from you, or his communication to me which, from his promise in his letter to me I await; you can suggest to him with the assurance, of my real wish for all things to be done with the greatest cordiallity, and my full confidence in his assurances and that of the Minister of Spain to our government that no unnecessary delay shall take place.

Should the Governor not write me I shall adress him by Colo. Gadsden when I reach Mr Manuels, which I suppose will be on Saturday next.

Present me to Dr. Brunough & Brackenridge & communicate to them the substance of my letter to Colo. Forbes confidentially In haste

yr friend

Andrew Jackson

Capt Richard K. Call

DAVID SELBY WALKER (1815-1891)

EDUCATIONAL STATESMAN OF FLORIDA *

by NITA KATHARINE PYBURN

David S. Walker was a leader of distinguished ability during the formative years of the government of Florida. In addition to practicing his profession as a lawyer, he was at all times actively engaged in assuming his responsibilities as a citizen in his home community, Tallahassee, and in his State, holding various positions of trust, including elected and appointive offices. [1] At various times he was intendant (mayor) of Tallahassee, a member of the Florida House of Representatives, of the Florida State Senate, Register of Lands and *ex-officio* Superintendent of Schools for the State during the 1850's, Associate Justice of the Florida Supreme Court during the War for Southern Independence, and a governor of the State in the Reconstruction period (1866-1868). After 1868, he was engaged in the practice of law and in his personal business enterprises until his appointment as judge of the Second Circuit Court of Florida in 1879. Throughout his long life, regardless of the position held, he actively encouraged education. [2]

Lawyer and citizen Walker, a man of dignity, yet unassuming, would probably be surprised if he knew he was considered the father of state education in Florida. As is the democratic way, he worked in different groups at different times, with numerous objects in view, but apparently the object nearest his heart and for which he worked consistently over a long

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* Dr. Pyburn's thesis: that David S. Walker was the father of public school education in Florida, is fully proved in this article. *(Ed.)*

1. David S. Walker (1815-1891) was born in Logan County, Kentucky. His father, David, was a lawyer and congressman; his grandfather, George, was a colonel in the British Army. After receiving his education in Kentucky and Tennessee, David came to Tallahassee in 1837 where he was admitted to the bar. He was a Royal Arch Mason, a member of the Episcopal Church, and a Democrat.

2. *Florida Senate Journal* 1845; *House Journal* 1848, 1849, 1865, 1868; *Supreme Court Records and Reports; Minute Book* of the Circuit Court, 2nd, Leon County.

period was democratic education. He believed that the government was based on the character and education of the people. In one of his official reports he wrote, "Certainly under our free government nothing whatsoever can be of more importance than the general education of the people, since upon their intelligence and virtue depends the very existence of our institutions." [3]

D. S. Walker, with others, worked out, step by step, in Florida the beginnings of universal education for citizenship at the same time and much in the same way it was being developed in other states. One of the first things the group did was to create a publicly supported school in Tallahassee free to all children, which was said to be one of the first of its kind in the South. [4] The first step in this creation was an experiment with a free school carried on there from 1850 to 1853, in which all boys "not under the age of seven, residing within the corporate limits of Tallahassee, were to be admitted free. . " [5] In financing this free school there was an important departure from precedent in the use of public money. The town had used part of a fund (fire) for education of the children of the indigent which was the traditional way. In 1852, as intendant (mayor), D. S. Walker was instrumental in securing the use of the fund for the education of all the children in the free school, the democratic way. [6] This principle of universal education was adopted state-wide by the school law of 1853, Florida being the fourth state in the Union to take this step. [7]

The early experiment with a free school in Tallahassee was discontinued in 1853, but the idea was not given up. The same men who worked to establish the school, worked for the location of the West Florida Seminary in Tallahassee. According to the

3. *Report* of *the Register of Public Lands and Superintendent of Common Schools,* 1854, pp. 3-10.
4. George Gary Bush, *History of Education in Florida,* Bureau of Education, Circular of Information No. 7, 1888: Washington, 1889, p. 16.
5. *Floridian and Journal,* (Tallahassee) March 30, 1860.
6. William G. Dodd, "Early Education in Tallahassee, Part I," *The Florida Historical Quarterly,* July 1948, p. 19.
7. E. P. Cubberley, *Public Education in the United States,* p. 205.

agreement, the city pledged $1,500 to be used to pay the tuition of children (boys) of Tallahassee including those in the preparatory department, "in such manner as should be agreed upon between the governing board of the Seminary and the corporate authorities." [8] In 1858, with Walker as a member of both the Board of Education and the City Council, the Seminary was made free to girls as well as boys. The city obligated itself to contribute $25.00 a year toward the education of each eligible child who wished to attend school. [9] Thus the beginnings of universal education had been firmly planted.

To D. S. Walker, the above was a way of "putting education within the reach of all." In his 1858 report, as Superintendent of Schools for the State he wrote:

> The plan of levying a County or Corporation tax for the support of Common Schools has only to be once tried to secure its continuance. No county or city has been known to abandon it after once having tried it. Experience soon demonstrates that it is not only better but far cheaper than any other. Under this system it costs less to educate all the children than it took to educate *half* of them under the old plan. I need not go out of the City of Tallahassee to demonstrate this fact. She raises by taxation and pays to the Public School $25 for each of the children, rich or poor, male or female, within her borders.

He thought that Tallahassee was not the only city in Florida with a public supported school, presuming that Key West, Apalachicola, Jacksonville, Marianna, and Pensacola also had publicly supported schools for all. [10]

Concurrent with the step by step creation of a school free to all in Tallahassee, statesman Walker was working for universal

8. *Acts of Florida*, 1856-57, p. 28.
9. *Floridian and Journal*, June 26, 1858.
10. References to his reports are: *Florida Senate Journal*, 1852, (Appendix) pp. 111-117; 1854, (Appendix) pp. 3-10; 1855, (Appendix) pp. 3-6; 1856; (Appendix) pp. 11-14; 1858, (Appendix) pp. 12-18.

education throughout Florida. As *ex-officio* Superintendent of Schools for the State from 1851 to 1859 he organized and put the State System of Common Schools "into practical operation." [11] He had to organize the existing common schools and help create new ones in the process of developing a state system. He informed the local citizens ". . . upon whose initiative and leadership the schools depend," of the procedure, according to the law. In a newspaper article in 1852, he traced the steps in securing a portion of the state school fund and a portion of the county school fund until each reached the hands of the Judges of Probate who were *ex-officio* county superintendents of common schools. The state was to contribute at least two dollars for each pupil who attended a school for three months the preceding year. The county boards of commissioners were to contribute "such sums as they may deem proper, provided it does not exceed double that amount received from the State." Each Judge of Probate was to apportion the money among the several school districts, which he was to create under the law. The apportionment was to be based on the reports of the trustees, but "no share will be alloted to any district from which no sufficient annual report shall have been received, or where no school house is provided, or where the said trustees shall have failed to make the necessary allotment and assessment of School Rates." If the apportionment of that school district was not sufficient to pay the sum agreed upon, the trustees were to collect the residue of such wages by means of a rate bill *from which indigent persons were to be exempt*. He concluded the article with the statement, "I am fully persuaded that it only requires

11. *Acts of Florida* 1848-49, pp. 25-34;35.
In a collection of manuscripts pertaining to school lands in the Field Note Division of the State Department of Agriculture, Tallahassee, there are 125 letters, 28 of them are to and 19 from D. S. Walker, This collection reveals something of the business conducted in connection with the school lands. Nita K. Pyburn, *Papers and Documents Relative to Seminary Lands*, (Published by The Florida State University, Tallahassee, 1950).

a little exertion on the part of our citizens to put into full operation and make it bestow upon us and our posterity all the blessings of a beautiful system of Free Education." [12]

To Superintendent Walker, there were two main characteristics of the 1849 school law which prevented the development of democratic education. The rate bill, *with the indigent exempt,* did not put the poor on an equality with the rich. In one instance, he proudly characterized the Free School of Tallahassee as one where the poorest child was "put upon the footing of perfect equality with the most wealthy." [13] In his report for 1852 he wrote, "The School Fund was designed for the benefit of those children who are in need of its aid: but the effect of the present law is to exclude all, except those who have shown ability to attend school without its assistance."

Superintendent Walker knew that general education for citizenship in a democracy was dependent upon the desire or will of the people. For this, he expected much from the newspapers. This is shown in his report for 1854, when he wrote: "But from certain indications of the Newspaper press, that great luminary of a free country, I trust that a new flood of light is about to be shed on this subject, which will awaken the people to a sense of its importance."

Walker's reports from 1854 to 1858 inclusive indicate the growth of the state common schools and the state seminaries before 1860. Secondary education was not included, because the academies and variants were under private control. In 1854, he reported that he had apportioned $5,013.07 among 29 counties with 16,577 children between the age of 5 and 18. In 1858, he reported that he had apportioned, $6,524.60 among

12. *Floridian and Journal,* August 21, 1852.
13. Leon County Circuit Court Chancery File 1327, "City of Tallahassee Vs. J. B. Bell et. al." See Francis A. Rhodes, *A History of Education in Leon County, Florida,* Unpublished Master's thesis at the University of Florida, 1946, pp. 21-22, and Nita K. Pyburn, *Documentary History of Education in Florida,* 1822-1903, Published by Florida State University, 1951.

33 counties with 20,885 children. Even though very few counties had reported to him, the indications were that counties were beginning to make contributions to the support of common schools. The county of Monroe had employed one teacher for 12 months for 58 pupils. "The amount paid the teacher from County Treasury, $342.86, from State Treasury, $89.25. The county of Jackson had employed 16 teachers for 436 pupils. The period each teacher was engaged was usually three months. The amount paid from the County Treasury was $527.50, from the State Treasury $170.00."

The Seminaries

The East Florida Seminary and the West Florida Seminary were also organized and put into practical operation during the decade 1850-1860, with D. S. Walker as one of those who guided and directed their incipiency and growth. [15] In his report for 1858, he reported that he had visited the State Seminary at Ocala, "I found it in a flourishing condition and giving promise of much usefullness." The Secretary of the Board of the Seminary reported 58 students from October 1, 1857, to March 1, 1858. Amount received for tuition and music was $485.00, and from State Seminary Fund, $1,339. From March 1, 1858 to August 5, 1858 there were 65 students. "Three of the above students (female) were beneficiaries, who have filed with the secretary their declarations, [to teach] as provided for in 8th Sec. of the Seminary Act of 24th January, 1851." The amount received from tuition was $570.99, from music $201.20 from Seminary Fund $741.30. The total income from all sources for the year was $3,337.73. The main subjects were spelling, reading, writing, arithmetic, English grammar, history, botany, philosophy, geology, astronomy, chemistry, algebra, geometry, Latin.

He reported that the State Seminary at Tallahassee was "also doing well." In it about 200 students were receiving instruction. The Seminary had acquired (with Walker a member of the

15. *Acts of Florida*, 1850-51, pp. 97-101; 1852, pp. 87-88; 1856-57, p. 28.

City Council) "by gift and purchase . . . the lots and commodious building known as the Leon Female Seminary." A female department of the State Seminary had been created and within five weeks, 112 "children have been received into it, and the number is increasing."

The closing paragraph of Superintendent Walker's report of 1858, summarized the accomplishments and hopes in a modest statement:

> From the promise now afforded us by the awakening interest of our people in our Common Schools and the two State Seminaries, we may well hope that the time has almost arrived when all the children of Florida may and will be *educated in her own institutions,* "a consummation most devoutly to be wished."

So, before 1860, D. S. Walker, had helped create a school "to which all men's children might go," [16] in Tallahassee, and had organized and "put into practical operation" such schools throughout the State. He also put "into practical operation" the two state seminaries of higher learning. So firmly were they rooted that they survived the devastation of the war years. The state apportioned the school fund every year during the war except one, 1862. The next year, 1863, the apportionment was doubled. [17] As governor, during the Presidential Plan of Reconstruction (1866-1868), Walker further extended universal education by creating a state system of common schools for Negroes.

The bill which became the law providing for common schools for freedmen was handed to the legislature by Governor Walker. According to the law, the governor was to appoint, with the advice and consent of the senate, a State Superintendent of Common Schools for Freedmen. There was to be a school fund drawn from three sources: (1) a tax of one dollar on each colored person between the ages of twenty-one and fifty-five

16. Lotus D. Coffman, "Conflicting Government Philosophies," *School and Society,* March 18, 1933, p. 341.
17. *The Semi-Weekly* Floridian, May 28, 1867.

years: (2) tuition from those who could afford to pay: (3) and five dollar fee for the required teacher's certificate. [18] Governor Walker appointed E. B. Duncan State Superintendent of Common Schools for Freedmen who organized and put the schools for Negroes into operation as provided for by law. [19]

A short time later, Governor Walker made a speech to the Freedmen upon their invitation which he considered a compliment. He urged them to educate their children and themselves as far as possible; for, "The free government under which we live is founded upon the virtue and intelligence of the people, and whenever that foundation shall give way the structure built upon it must fall." He told them that their greatest want was that of education. "Among the first messages I sent to the Florida Legislature was one advising them to pass a law to provide for the education of the colored people. Such a law was passed and my superintendent, Rev. Mr. Duncan, reports to me that he has now in operation under that law about three hundred schools." The audience reacted most favorably to this information. He continued, "I trust that the good work will go on until with what aid the State can give, and the General Government can give, and our planters and people can give, and our Northern friends can give, I say, I trust that with all of these aids the time will surely come when under the blessings of God, the means of education will be afforded to every child whether colored or uncolored in the land." He reminded them that they had a responsibility in the matter. "I want you to send your children to school and have them taught there and I request you also to teach them at home to love God and to obey Him and to keep all His commandments, and

18. *Acts of Florida,* 1865-66, pp. 37-39.
19. *Florida Senate Journal,* (Nov. 11) 1866 (appendix), pp. 25-30. For an account of schools for Negroes which Superintendent Duncan organized see: Nita K. Pybum, *The History of the Development of a Single System of Education in Florida, 1822-1903:* (Published by the Florida State University, 1954), p. 82.

to love the Constitution of the United States and obey it, and all the laws both of the General and State Governments; this will make them become good children and good citizens."

Governor Walker told the Freedmen that the welfare of the two races was interwoven. "The colored man and the white man are now in the same boat, and the boat is in a storm. . . if she goes down they both go down with her; if she lives to reach the shore they are both saved. It is better, therefore that they should pull together manfully and save themselves than that they should pull against each other and swamp the boat." He said that the great question was whether two different races could live in peace together "under the same government with equal political rights." He did not know of an instance in history in which this had been done. "But God has placed the work upon us and with his blessing we must try our best to accomplish it." The inference was that education was the best means of accomplishing this purpose. [20]

In the Teacher's convention held in Tallahassee, Governor Walker was chairman of the committee on education for Freedmen. His report included one by Superintendent Duncan which revealed the beginnings of a State System of Common Schools for Negroes in operation. [21] According to a report for July 1, 1867, there were 34 day schools, and 22 night schools for Negroes. Of these 56 schools, 10 were sustained entirely by the Freedmen and 23 were sustained by them in part. There were six graded schools with four grades each. [22] Thus before the Congressional

20. *The Semi-Weekly Floridian,* April 22, 1867. President Lincoln is recorded as holding the opposite attitude concerning the peaceful co-existence of the two races. He is reported to have told a group of Negro leaders that the two races were not only different but that the difference was broader "than exists between any other two races." Lincoln gave this as his reason for urging the colonization of free Negroes in Central America. *Inside Lincoln's Cabinet The Civil War Diaries of Salmon P.* Chase, (Ed.) David Donald. 1954, p. 293.
21. *The Semi-Weekly Floridian,* May 28, 1867.
22. J. W. Alvord, *Fourth Semi-Annual Report on Schools for Freedmen,* pp. 35-40.

Plan of Reconstruction (1868-1876) a state system of common schools for white children and a state system of common schools for Negroes had been put "into practical operation" by David S. Walker - the father of universal education in Florida.

For some time after 1868, Walker was engaged in private business which included law practice. However, his keen, disciplined, practical, and fearless mind prompted him to assume responsibilities of a citizen.

This was revealed in a published letter written in 1872 in which he gave reasons why he did not favor the reelection of Gen. Grant as President. In it, he marshalled facts and figures to support his position. Summarizing, forthright statements which all could understand were interspersed throughout. The following is an illustration:

> While this Grant party thus increased our liability to taxation about ten-fold, they have decreased our ability to pay about one-half thus making the burden upon us just twenty times as it used to be. [23]

One of his more pleasant duties was to address the organizational meeting of the Centennial Association of Tallahassee in which he again taught informally. Notwithstanding the rather ornate style and praise of the ladies, as was the custom of his day, his speech was well-balanced, compact, and reflected thorough study. It vibrated with his love for and with his belief in the progress of his State and he visioned a glorious future for Florida. In his conclusion, his practical mind brought him to the point.

> But we must not permit our imaginations to run away with our judgments. Although we "are on pleasure bent," let us have "frugal minds."
>
> Let us contemplate for a moment the great benefits this Exposition will bestow upon our Country. My expectations from it are that vast streams of people and

23. *The Weekly-Floridian*, Sept. 7, 1872.

vast streams of wealth will flow in upon us, and in a short time our State will be what nature intended her to be - one of the first in population, wealth, refinement, and civilization as she is already first in point of geographical position and natural advantages.

In a short time we shall have a church on every hilltop and a school in every valley - The people of all lands will flock to ours to enjoy its luxuries and its beauties, and will exclaim, in the language of Lord Byron:

"Oh Christ! it is a goodly sight to see
What heaven has done for this delicious land.
What fruits of fragrance blush on every tree,
What goodly prospects o'er the hills expand." [24]

He not only expressed his belief in the future of Florida, he continued to work for its progress. An instance of his unselfish devotion to the good of his state and the cause of education was in connection with the beginnings of the Agricultural and Mechanical College. In 1862, the General Government gave land, "or script in lieu thereof," to encourage what has come to be known as land-grant colleges. [25] Even though a law of 1870 established the Florida Agricultural and Mechanical College, [26] it was not definitely located until 1883. During the intervening thirteen years, there were different attempts at location with accompanying acts, resolutions, reports, and increasing legal entanglements. In 1879, the Legislature requested D. S. Walker to take professional charge of the legal interests of the college. He agreed to do so on the condition that he receive no compensation and was appointed with Dr. Branch and Judge Baker

24. *The Weekly-Floridian,* Dec. 29, 1874.
25. For a copy of the Morrill Act of 1862 which encouraged the establishment of State Agricultural and Mechanical Colleges see: *Public Statutes at Large of the United States of America,* Vol. XII. p. 503.
26. *Acts of Florida,* 1870, pp. 45-49.

as a committee to relocate the school. The Agricultural College was located at Lake City in Columbia County in 1883. [27]

Before this service was completed, Ex-governor Walker was working with others to create the University of Florida in Tallahassee with the West Florida Seminary as a part. He was a member of the group which had created the Seminary and which he had helped nurture in various capacities since. He had been a member of the Board from 1857 to 1860 and again from 1873 to 1879, serving as president six of those years. [28] So, it was in line for him to be a member of the Board of Regents and president of the Board which made him chancellor of the University according to the charter of 1883. [29] There were to be five colleges: literature and science; a polytechnic and normal institution; a college of law; and a college of medicine and surgery. [30] The first and last of these were put into actual operation, and when the department of law was opened he spoke at its opening on December 3, 1884. [31] In 1885, the Legislature recognized the school as the University of Florida. The law included a provision that "there shall be no expense incurred by the State by reason of this Act." [32] He was a member of the board of the West Florida Seminary in 1859 when the Legislature granted it "power to confer collegiate degrees." The Constitutional Convention of 1885 failed to recognize the University as a state institution. This and the removal of the medical school to Jacksonville left little of the University in Tallahassee. [33]

Perhaps the little left was centered in the library and lecture

27. For an account, with references, of the history of the Florida Agricultural and Mechanical College see: Nita K. Pyburn, *The History of the Development of a Single System of Education in Florida,* 1822-1903, (Published by The Florida State University, 1954) pp. 122-123.
28. William G. Dodd, *History of West Florida Seminary 1857-1901, Florida State College, 1901-1905;* (n.p. n.d.) pp 109-110.
29. Charter was filed March 17, 1883, Book B, pp. 386-387.
30. Constitution and By-laws of The Florida University was signed by J. Kost, Dean and D. S. Walker, President. Filed March 17, 1883.
31. *The Floridian,* December 9, 1884.
32. *Acts of Florida,* 1859, p. 29.
33. William G. Dodd, *op. cit.* p. 65.

hall created at his instigation. In the early part of the 1880's, he had built a two-story brick building at the southeast corner of Monroe Street and Park Avenue. He proposed to the citizens of Tallahassee that he would construct a hall on the second floor and donate it to the city to be used as a library and lecture hall. This was to be done if the citizens would provide the books and periodicals to constitute the library.

Influential citizens established a Library Association which functioned many years and which collected a library of several thousand volumes. The hall served as a place for public lectures and lyceum purposes. Many prominent men of Tallahassee, including members of the faculty of the University in both the medical and literary departments, gave public lectures there. The library was named the "University Library" and served as such during the existence of the institution. [34] After 1885, even though the University no longer existed, the hall continued to be used as a library and lecture hall and the Association continued to function. D. S. Walker willed the building to his son with the stipulation that the receiver was not to interfere with the operation of the Library Association. "It is my wish that David [his son] will always do all he can to encourage this association." [35]

In 1891, a life which had always actively encouraged education ended; but the education which David S. Walker helped to root in Florida continued. As a result of his comprehension of the bases of a democracy, of his conception of the kind of education necessary for a democracy, and of his understanding of the democratic processes, the foundation he laid has continued to develop and expand and will continue as long as our "government is based on the virtue and intelligence of the people."

34. Mildred W. McCollough, "The D. S. Walker Library," *Apalache*, The Publication of The Tallahassee Historical Society, 1946, pp. 13-18.
35. Will of D. S. Walker, Sr., File 1030, (filed July 5, 1886) Leon County Court.

FLORIDA IN 1643

AS SEEN BY ITS GOVERNOR

Introduction and Translation

by CHARLES W. ARNADE

Throughout much of the Spanish era Florida was a poor colony and a recurrent headache for Spain. To be stationed or live in this land was to be far from any civilization. For example: on August 29, 1644, Governor Damian de Vega Castro y Pardo wrote the King that for eight long years no subsidy or financial help [situado] [1] had reached the province, and that for more than twenty months not a bit of food had entered through Saint Augustine. Vega warned the King that the city would soon perish of starvation if aid was not forthcoming. [2]

More than a year earlier the same governor had dispatched a pleading letter to the Crown, which is representative of many similar letters in the Spanish Archives written by other governors and administrators from Florida. It portrays in accurate summary the hardships in Florida's history under the Spanish banner. The letter is quite indicative and typical; it is not written by one of the great governors such as Menendez Marques, Mendez de Canco Marques Cabrera, or Zuniga y Cerda. Little is known about Vega Castro y Pardo. He was an average faithful servant of the Spanish Crown with long tenure. His letter of July 9, 1643 is unpolished, undiplomatic, but frank and candid.

Not many Florida documents of the first years of the 1640's are available, for these were sparse years in the records. This might well have been a golden age of Spanish Florida. The initial struggle for successful beachheads had passed; the proposed dismantling of Saint Augustine had been defeated; the effects of the great Guale revolt had faded; foreign intrusion

1. For *situado* see Chatelain, *The Defenses of Spanish Florida* (1941) 21-24.
2. Archivo General de Indias; 54-5-9: 10, 6 folios.

was at a low ebb; the impact of Drake's raid was past; English aggression from sea and land was yet to come; and the region of Apalache was becoming a great new missionary frontier. This letter by Governor Vega was written during this era of peace and calm, but what did it tell!

The stark document shows the eternal problems of Florida: continuous shipwrecks in the Bahama Channel; the impossibility of receiving the subsidy assigned to the province, the very life-blood of Florida; the long delays in getting supplies and consequently the lack of foodstuffs which became aggravated when there were failures of crops in the few cultivated patches. And there was the eternal conflict between the laity and religious authorities which exasperated practically all governors. It portrays the beginning of the boom in the lands of Apalache and the immediate insistence of the administration to tax severely whenever progress was in sight.

Even in this age, Saint Augustine, the heart of Spanish Florida, was starving. Certainly it was a wretched colony, as so many governors called it. The scrivener at the Council of Indies summarized [folio 1] "The Governor represents the wretched conditions [Saint Augustine], lacking aid and subsidy for several years, but he also says that the religious state of the province has improved."

Governor Damian de Vega Castro y Pardo's letter reads: [3]

[Saint Augustine]

Sir, the twenty-second of September of last year [1642] I was informed that a boat from New Spain, sent by Viceroy

3. A.G.I., 54-5-9:105 (4 folios). The above letter was translated from a photostat at the University of Florida, of the original document in *Archivo General de Indias* (Seville). The collection of these photostats was described in the last issue of this *Quarterly* (xxxiv, pp. 36-50). A microfilm copy of a calendar of the entire collection (more than 7,000 documents) may be obtained by any library from the Library of Congress, where the calendar was compiled and filmed. The collection itself is available to scholars at the University of Florida Library.

Don Juan de Palafox y Mendoca, with sealed envelopes for Your Majesty, after having arrived safely in Havana and then entered the Channel [of Bahama] was overtaken by a severe storm which unmasted and unrigged it. [The boat] ran aground at the beach and sandbank of San Pedro Atuluteca in this Province. Captain Antonio de Orueta, who was its commander, came to report this accident to me. He solicited help in order to endeavor the freeing of the boat from there. I gave it to him although at this time we are most needy and everything is lacking. Never has the *presidio* witnessed such [conditions]. Only with the help of God this ship left soon, although it was a difficult job, as it was the first one of those which had run aground on this coast to depart.

Considering all the attention that one could give this commission it was [nearIy] impossible because there was absolutely nothing in the royal deposits that would have been helpful for this duty *(misterio) [sic* for *ministerio].* The ship was brought to this port on October 17, [1642] and continued its journey on January 10, [1643], equipped with all necessities. But it was necessary to take away from the poor soldiers of this *presidio* their sparse belongings for their maintenance.

[Folio 3] Sir, not only this happened but besides there is the lack of the subsidy *(situado)* for so many years. Besides, many other tasks had to be undertaken this and last year due to the sterile crops of corn. And then there is the everlasting lack of hope of aid from Mexico [referring to the *situado].* I do not know if this is because the Viceroy has not dispatched the commissioners in charge of collecting the overdue subsidy, as Your Majesty has ordered in your two royal cedulas, or because the boats that carry [the *situado]* have been detained by the commander of the fleet *(flota).* I can not explain this.

Up to this date we are all perishing. It has been necessary, as I have said on other occasions, to bring down the flag [which means to give furlough to the troop] and let the soldiers go for

many days in order that they might search for roots never used to obtain nourishment. Because of this many have become sick and I fear a terrible consequence. Out of such an omen one really cannot expect anything else. To fight, Sir, and to die is nothing new [for us] but to lack completely nourishment for more than eight months is something no one would tolerate in any place of the world. This is the wretched state in which this [place] is because of the above mentioned [reasons]. I have done my utmost and now I find myself like this, without forces (due to the lack of inhabitants), or nourishment, after forty-three years of service to Your Majesty. And there are continuous mumurs among the garrison. [Therefore] if the enemy would intend an invasion I would be intensely worried.

For long time the natives of this province have lacked the support *(socorro)* which Your Majesty orders to give them. [Because of this] their minds are very languid. Seeing the little support they get they depart for the forest to join the infidels, ignoring their duties. I am unable to remedy this because this land is very spacious. This is so serious that the missionaries *(religiosos),* not showing much consideration and attention for my administration, kill me with petitions. They tell me they will close their missions *(conventos),* if they do not receive what Your Magesty has ordered, and they will look for their support in the *Dotrinas [sic* for *Doctrinas,* parishes]. Really it is the poor infantry that suffers the most.

I recommend all this strongly since if in a few days no help arrives, I fear great injury. Such a great delay is not due to negligence on my part. [Folio 4] I have done in every way all that was humanly possible. But the remission has been greatly [word missing, delayed?]. For more than one year no aid has arrived. I repeat that I do not know if this is due to the lack of collecting [the subsidy] or because of certain obstacles to letting the ships depart [for Saint Augustine], as Your Majesty has informed me you had ordered that these impediments be

removed. I ask Your Majesty to please order again speedily to remedy this at the present as well as in the future. If God does not help us that some aid might come from New Spain we are forced to perish.

The conversion, Sir, of the province of Apalache, thanks God, is going ahead fast. Commerce in those parts [Apalache] has begun with Havana under the pretext of sending aid to the missionaries stationed there. But really the ships carry away the produce of those lands without any accounting or supervision. Therefore I decided to place persons there [in the region of Apalache] to stop such illicit trade and place this province under Your Majesty and under the jurisdiction of this government [of Saint Augustine]. This is so that they might pay the royal duties that belong to Your Majesty and watch what comes in and goes out and also to know what kind of people come in these ships. If they are not trustworthy they might do damage. [It is necessary] to be familiar with such important commerce.

May God give Your Majesty many happy days as all Christianity desires.

Saint Augustine of Florida on July 9, 1643

Damian de Vega Castro y Pardo
(rubric)

FLORIDA SEEN THROUGH THE EYES OF NINETEENTH CENTURY TRAVELLERS

by BENJAMIN F. ROGERS

During the first half of the nineteenth century, there were published both in this country and abroad a great number of books written by travellers in all parts of the United States, and especially in the South. As one Southern author observed in 1860: "The fashion has been for several years . . . to write books about the South. Englishmen, Frenchmen, Down-Eastern men, the Bloomer style of men, as well as countless numbers of female scribblers, have not ceased to drum upon the public tympanum (almost to deafness, indeed) in praise or blame - generally the latter - of Southern peculiarities, social habits, manners, customs, observances, and domestic institutions." [1]

The most famous of the ante-bellum travellers, however, all seemed to skip Florida. Charles Dickens travelled widely through the North and West, but he didn't see Florida. Harriet Martineau visited with statesmen in Washington, and went South to Richmond, Charleston, and New Orleans, but she overlooked Florida. Frederick Law Olmsted journeyed through the seaboard slave states, into the back country, and even into Texas, but missed Florida. And neither did the Trollopes nor Basil Hall. Even Lafayette who had been granted a whole township in the vicinity of Tallahassee, did not get to Florida to see his beautiful rolling acres.

Probably the main reason that Florida had so few visitors during the ante-bellum period was that it was off the beaten track and that transportation into the state was difficult. Concerning the trip from Savannah to Jacksonville, one traveller wrote as late as 1875: "There are two ways of getting to Jacksonville, and which ever you choose, you will be sorry you had

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1. D. R. Hundley, *Social Relations in our Southern States* (New York, 1860, pp. 7-8.

not taken the other. There is the night train by railroad, which brings you to Jacksonville in about sixteen hours; and there is the steamboat line, which goes inland nearly all the way, which may land you in a day, or you may run aground and remain on board for a week."[2] As for the trip from Mobile to Pensacola, William Howard Russell, correspondent for the London *Times*, observed in 1862 that it was "most tedious and exceedingly comfortless in all respects, through a waste of sand, in which we ran the chance of being smothered or lost," and that in the forty miles between Fort Morgan and Pensacola "not a human habitation disturbs the domain sacred to alligators, serpents, pelicans, and wild fowl."[3] If transportation problems were not enough to keep travellers from visiting Florida, there were also the Seminole Indians, who were a problem during much of the ante-bellum period. As late as 1857, James Stirling referred to Seminole attacks on some of the settlements along the St. Johns river.[4] Little wonder that Florida had not yet become a popular stopping point for Northern visitors.

It was really after the war that travellers and immigrants began to enter Florida in considerable numbers. These outsiders had come from a great diversity of places for a great diversity of reasons. Not all of those who came South wrote books about their experiences, but many did, and it is from the observations of some of these that this article is drawn. Represented in this group among others are the reporters, Whitelaw Reid, Edward King, and Julian Ralph; the doctor, Daniel G. Brinton; and two Northerners who eventually came South to live, George Barbour and Harriet Beecher Stowe. Though most observers apparently really tried to be objective, the effort at impartiality is best seen in the title of a book by

2. G. W. Nichols, "Six Weeks in Florida," *Harpers Magazine*, XLI (Oct., 1870), p. 655.
3. William H. Russell, *My Diary, North and South* (London, 1863), I, p. 288.
4. James Stirling, *Letters from the Slave States* (London, 1857), pp. 217-9.

one Oliver Crosby: "Florida Facts both Bright and Blue. A Guidebook to intending settlers, tourists, and investors from a Northerner's standpoint. Plain unvarnished truth, without 'taffy.' No advertisements or puffs." [5]

During the late nineteenth century, the customary port of entry into Florida was at Jacksonville, and it was here that the average visitor made his headquarters. Sometime during his stay he would make the trip up the St. Johns River to Enterprise, and perhaps also up the Oklawaha to Silver Springs. Most tourists who took the St. Johns trip stopped at Tocoi or Picolata and went overland to St. Augustine by coach. One of our observers has described this trip for us: "Deep white sand obstructs the stage, and not so rarely as one wishes the wheels strike a pine or palmetto root with a most unpleasant effect on the passengers, especially if they are invalids. After 3 1/2 hours of this torture, the stage is checked by the Sebastian river, over which a miserable ferry boat conveys the tourist who at length finds himself in St. Augustine." [6] Occasionally a truly adventuresome soul would travel down the east coast as far as Volusia county, but beyond that only the most hardened and curious traveller ventured. Miami, of course, was a little fishing village whose sole contact with the outside world was the barefoot mailman who walked along the beach for ninety miles, during which he saw only one house.[7] As time passed, and as settlers began to move into the vicinity of Orlando, which was then called Southern Florida, some travellers visited there, and with the completion of the east-west railroad from Jacksonville to New Orleans, a few visitors made it out to middle Florida to see the state capitol at Tallahassee.

The Climate

Wherever the visitors came from and however they entered

5. (New York, 1887).
6. Daniel G. Brinton, *A Guidebook of Florida and the South. . .* (Philadelphia, 1869, p. 62.
7. *Ibid,* pp. 80, 102-5.

the state, they were almost unanimously impressed with Florida's climate. They referred to it as "exquisite," "absolutely delicious," Florida's "chief charm," "one continuous spring," "surpassing Italy," "the lotos eater's paradise," "a child's Eden," "the finest winter climate in the United States," and Nathaniel Parker Willis on a first of May picturesquely noted the "morning air by which a new born child would be sufficiently clad." [8] Some Northerners apparently did grumble when they hit Florida during a cold wave, but these were the exceptions, as were those who complained about the hot summers. In the words of Oliver Crosby, "Florida summers are supposed by winter residents or prospestive settlers to be our greatest drawback, and it is pleasant to note their surprise as upon experience they declare, 'it is not so hot as in New York.' " [9] If travellers praised the climate, native Floridians were proud of it. As Crosby observed, "How do you like *'our'* climate?" was "the universal question asked each new-comer, much as one would say 'our' house, 'our' gun, or 'our' horse, as though the speaker were in some way part proprietor in such a glorious affair, and wanted some of the credit. Sure of an enthusiastic reply in the climate's favor, he pushes the subject forward on every occasion, gloats over the newspaper telegraphic reports of Northern blizzards, or snow blockades, and is even charged with selling the *climate* at so much per acre over worthless land. . . . [10]

Scenery

Florida's scenery came in for somewhat less praise than its climate. As Mrs. Stowe remarked: "Tourists and travellers generally come with their heads full of certain romantic ideas of

8. See for example Edward King, *The Southern States of North America* . . . (London, 1875), p. 398; Whitelaw Reid, *After the War: A Southern Tour* (Cincinnati, 1866), pp. 172, 180; Brinton *op. cit.* pp. 102, 126; Nathaniel P. Willis, *Health Trip to the Tropics* (New York, 1853), pp. 298, 304-5.
9. Oliver Crosby, *Florida Facts Both Bright and Blue.* . . (New York, 1887), p. 28.
10. *Ibid,* p. 24.

waving palms, orange-groves, flowers, and fruit, all bursting forth in tropical abundance" and they find a "dead sandy level, with patches behind them of rough coarse grass, and tall pine trees, whose tops are so far in the air that they seem to cast no shade, and a little scrubby underbrush." [11] Those travellers who got as far as Tallahassee, however, were unstinted in their praise, while the St. Johns river also received its due share. Even James Stirling, an Englishman who had few good words to say for anything American, referred to the St. Johns as "beautiful and interesting" and then paid it the supreme compliment. It was, he said, "more like an English river," than any he had previously seen. [12]

It was along the St. Johns river that most travellers had their first glimpse of a real live full-grown alligator, and they were invariably impressed. Prior to the war, men had killed them just for the fun of it; James Stirling in 1857 heard of a hunting party which had bagged seventy-five. [13] After the war, the commercial exploitation of the alligator really got under way, and in the 1890's Julian Ralph remarked that the main street of Jacksonville was "fit to be called Alligator Avenue, because of the myriad ways in which that animal is offered as a sacrifice to the curiosity and thoughtlessness of the crowds. I did not happen to see any alligators served on toast there, but I saw them stuffed and skinned, turned into bags, or kept in tanks and boxes and cages; their babies made into ornaments or on sale as toys; their claws used as purses, their teeth as jewelry, their eggs as curios. Figures of them were carved on canes, moulded on souvenir spoons, painted on china, and sold in forms of photographs, water-color studies, breastpins, and carvings." [14] Undoubtedly, this was the reason why, long before 1900, there were "hardly alligators enough to show the tourists." [15]

11. Harriet Beecher Stowe, *Palmetto Leaves* (Boston, 1873), p. 27.
12. Stirling, *op. cit.*, p. 215.
13. *Ibid*, p. 216.
14. Julian Ralph, *Dixie; or Southern Scenes and Sketches* (New York, 1896), p. 172.
15. Crosby, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

Economic Development

In addition to their opinions on Florida's climate, scenery, and alligators, the visitors also had a good deal to say about its present state and future possibilities of economic development. Their remarks on Jacksonville are typical of what they said about the state as a whole. This port of entry for travellers was a small town of 2000, counting slaves in 1860, and the war dealt it several disastrous blows. Occupied three times by Union troops and partly burned during the third occupation, Jacksonville had grass growing waist high in the streets and cattle bedded down in deserted homes when the war was over. [16] It is small wonder that Whitelaw Reid, who was a dyed-in-the-wool Yankee anyway, was not particularly impressed with what he saw there in 1866. [17] Within a very few years, however, other travellers were marvelling at the rapid progress made in the economic reconstruction of the city. By 1870, its population had increased to 7,000 and Ledyard Bill noted that the "waste and stagnation caused by the war" had disappeared. "Which-ever way we turn," continued Mr. Bill, "new buildings and stores greet our view; old ones being enlarged, streets cleaned, and substantial. . . . In short new impulses and new ideas have seized the town; and its present watchword is 'Forward.' " [18] Jacksonville continued to grow and progress during the 1870's and 1880's, and by 1890 it had 17,000 permanent residents and an estimated 20,000 winter visitors, enough for at least one Northern traveller to refer to it as a metropolis. [19]

Northern enthusiasm over Florida's urban progress was no more pronounced than their enthusiasm over her progress in the field of agriculture. Here they saw immense opportunities in citrus culture and cattle raising, but they also expanded the list of possible crops, some of which are still only in the possible

16. Brinton, *op. cit.*, p. 58; King, *op. cit.*, p. 382.
17. Reid, *op. cit.*, p. 162-7
18. Ledyard Bill, *A Winter* in *Florida. . .* (New York, 1869), p. 82.
19. Crosby, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

class, to include coffee, tea, cane, indigo, wine grapes, tobacco, rice, watermelons, wheat, corn, potatoes, cassava, silk, quince, figs, peaches, apricots, guava, pomegranate, citron, shaddock, cocoanut, plums, bananas, olives, tamarind, arrowroot, and pistache. [20] George Barbour's story of "two bright young New York lads" who had cleared $1800 on an acre of pineapples was typical of the rose colored glasses with which the visitors looked at Florida's agricultural possibilities. [21] As Ledyard Bill put it "the capabilities of the State in an agricultural point of view are unbounded." [22]

Tourists

In addition to the bright future in agriculture, Northern observers also saw possibilities in timber, fisheries, and the manufacture of lead pencils, but the economic opportunity which was most impressive to the Northerner was in the tourist trade. Before the war, there had been a limited number of tourists visiting the upper East Coast, most of them coming for their health. In 1857, James Stirling had referred to Jacksonville as the "principle resort of invalids on the St. Johns," and had remarked of St. Augustine that it was "chiefly noted as a resort for invalids from the North, the climate of Florida having acquired some renown as a restorative for consumptive patients." [23] Immediately after the war, Whitelaw Reid had suggested that Florida might again become a resort for debilitated people from the North, and for the next few years, most of those who journeyed to Florida in the winter went there for their health. [24] In 1869, Brinton remarked of Jacksonville that it was "a favorite residence of invalids during the winter months," so much so that the very sight of the sick "often affected one unfavorably." [25]

20. George Barbour, *Florida for Tourists, Invalids, and Settlers. . .* (New York, 1882), pp. 14-5; L. D. Stickney, "Florida: Soil, Climate, and Productions," *Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture for the Year 1862* (Washington, 1863), pp. 60-1.
21. Barbour, *op. cit.*, p. 14.
22. Bill, *op. cit.*, p. 8.
23. Stirling, *op. cit.*, pp. 213, 215.
24. Reid, *op. cit.*, p. 172.
25. Brinton, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

Meanwhile, however, there was a growing admixture of pleasure seekers. Bill in 1869 noted some vacationers among the invalids, and within five years, Edward King estimated that there were three "crusading to find the phantom, Pleasure," for every one who came South because of his health. [26] During the 1880's, the percentage of invalids and consumptives continued to decline while the tourist business boomed. As one observer, himself a Northerner, noted, the winter visitors were "usually wealthy, and equipped with more prejudices than their well-filled travelling-bags would contain," and their chief desire was to find an elegant hotel. [27] By the 1890's this sort of tourist had almost completely replaced the invalids. As Julian Ralph remarked in 1896, "I have seen but few persons who had the appearance of being victims of any lung disease. . . . Florida was the resort of invalids for many years . . ., but those who spent their winters there, now go to the so-called piney-woods and mountain resorts of Georgia and the Carolinas." Florida on the other hand, continued Ralph, "has become a resting place for those who can afford to loaf at the busiest time of the year - the men who have 'made their piles,' or organized their business to run automatically. As a rule, they are beyond the middle age and of comfortable figures." [28]

Settlers

All of the Northerners observed by our travellers, however, were not tourists. Actually one of the most interesting facts about Florida's economic development in the late nineteenth century was the large part played by Northern immigrants. We are all familiar with the names of Plant and Flagler and DeLand and Stetson and Sanford, but there were many thousands of lesser renown who also played their parts. Even discounting the natural tendency of Northern travellers to exaggerate Northern contributions, the evidence is amazing. Edward

26. Bill, *op. cit.,* p. 7; King, *op. cit.,* p. 382.
27. Barbour, *op. cit.,* p. 13.
28. Ralph, *op. cit.,* p. 169.

King noted in 1874 that Jacksonville had been rebuilt "according to the New England pattern," and estimated that half its resident population was from the Northern states. [29] And at Palatka, which had "a cheery, neat, New England look," he found most of the orange groves owned by Northerners. [30] A decade later, George Barbour, travelling through the state, was everywhere amazed by the number of Northern immigrants he found. At Altamonte, he found the residents were "generally cultured people from the North." In Tampa, he noted that the new real estate developments in the suburbs were named after Northern states, and that those who settled in them were "nearly all Northern people." In Volusia County, he was surprised to see that "nearly all the villages and settlements" were composed "of exactly the right sort of Northern stock." It is little wonder that, with pardonable exaggeration, he concluded, "Florida is rapidly becoming a Northern colony." [31]

Travellers in Florida, of course, observed Southerners as well as Northerners, and in general they were very favorably impressed. As early as 1868, Harriet Beecher Stowe was quoted in the Hartford, Connecticut *Times:* "Mrs. Stowe says the Southern people are no more inclined to resist the laws or foster the spirit of rebellion than Vermont is. Mr. Sumner and his friends will not like this testimony, but it is hers. She even 'tested' the real feeling of the people in her somewhat extended journeys all over Florida and found them so kind that they would even surrender their own sleeping accommodations to her. They desire only peace and the restoration of the Union." [32] Oliver Crosby found his admiration increasing "for a people that have borne such grievous burdens so uncomplainingly" and testified to many warm friendships between one-time Union soldiers and ex-Confederates. [33]

29. King, *op. cit.,* p. 382.
30. *Ibid,* pp. 400-3.
31. Barbour, *op. cit.,* pp. 44-5, 62, 225.
32. Quoted in St. Augustine *Examiner* June 20, 1868, and in turn in Mary B. Graff, *Mandarin on the Saint Johns* (Gainesville, 1953), pp. 46-7.
33. Crosby, *op. cit.,* p. 109, 125.

There were some places, however, where Northerners were not completely accepted. In the words of George Barbour, it was "entirely useless . . . for the Northern immigrant to expect to become an intimately familiar guest and neighbor of the old residents and aristocrats of the South." But though one could not expect intimate friendship, continued Barbour, "in health and sickness, in trouble or disaster, you will always receive kindly attention, care, and assistance from these excellent people, if you at all deserve it." [34]

The Florida Cracker

In addition to their observations on the aristocracy, our travellers all made reference to the so-called Florida cracker. James Stirling had noted in 1857 that society seemed to be divided into a wealthy, dominant class and a poor white class. [35] The poor whites lived among the pines, where most of them had a few cattle and hogs running wild, raised a little patch of corn, and just barely existed. Whitelaw Reid, who was very much prejudiced against the South, was quite sympathetic toward these simple folk. "Of course, the Government will never think of interfering with their little plantations," he wrote. "Surely, they meant no harm, and knew no better than to fight for their State, as they were told!" [36] Perhaps the best concise description of the Florida "cracker" was that of Edward King who referred to them as a "soft-voiced, easy-going, childlike kind of folk, quick to anger, vindictive when their rage is protracted and becomes a feud; and generous and noble in their rough hospitality. But they live the most undesirable of lives, and surrounded by every facility for a luxurious existence, subsist on 'hog and hominy,' and drink the meanest whiskey.'" [37]

Negro

The negro, of course, was of great interest to all Northern

34. Barbour, *op. cit.*, pp. 229-30.
35. Stirling, *op. cit.*, p. 222.
36. Reid, *op. cit.*, p. 171.
37. King, *op. cit.*, p. 420.

travellers, and their impressions here fell into two general categories - one, that he was practically useless so far as the state's development was concerned, and the other, that through freedom and education he might be a valuable asset as a laborer. None of our travellers wrote polemics on racial equality; indeed after observation of the Florida Negro, they seemed to assume inequality without question,

As Oliver Crosby put it, the Negro problem would "assume a new form to even the most rabid abolitionist, after a residence in Florida." The Northerner would soon learn, continued Crosby, "how utterly shiftless and devoid of all honor the average Southern darkey is." As for the Negro, he generally preferred to work for his old master "rather than to be driven by the impetuous Northerner, who they suspect wishes to get more work out of them than is agreeable to their indolent nature." Crosby did feel, however, that the Negro was as necessary for manual labor "as the Irishman is at the North" although he felt it would be ages before as a rule he would be a "thrifty honest laborer." [38]

George Barbour, on the other hand, felt that the Negro would not "play a permanent or prominent part in Florida." The Northerners and Westerners, he felt, would not tolerate their shiftless ways. He criticized Negroes as "always uncertain, indolent, and negligent, unless closely and incessantly watched;" "given to falsehood and petty theft;" and in his opinion, "their only praiseworthy quality" was "their easy good nature." Barbour's suggested solution to Florida's labor problems was the importation of Chinese coolies. [39]

As one might imagine, most Northerners with such low opinions of Negro labor had absolutely no confidence in the radical reconstruction government of Florida, and many of them, although they voted Republican in national elections, joined

38. Crosby, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-3, 125.
39. Barbour, *op. cit.*, pp. 227, 238.

with the Southern conservatives in their campaigns for white supremacy, Negro disfranchisement, and racial segregation. [40] Though Northerners who remained at home might deplore these activities, those who moved to Florida were firm in the opinion that they would change their minds about the 15th amendment if they ever came South "where it really meant something." [41]

Even Mrs. Stowe, whose book, *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* had contributed much to the sectional bitterness which caused the War, definitely did not favor racial equality, though she did have confidence in the Negro's ability to furnish Florida's labor. To prepare the Negro for the part he must play in society, she advocated industrial education, and she tended to blame his shortcomings not on hereditary racial characteristics but on the environment to which he had been subjected under slavery. [42]

These then were the views of Northerners visiting Florida in the 19th century. They enjoyed the climate; they were enthusiastic about the economic possibilities; and their sociological and political opinions were not a great deal different from those of the Florida natives. As time passed, the second generation immigrants became Floridians, and there were ever-increasing migrations into Florida from the North. Each successive wave of migrants was conditioned in part by its Florida environment. The tropical climate, the long and beautiful coastline, and the presence of the Negro had just as great an effect on Northerners moving South as did the aridity, the treelessness, and the presence of the wild Indian on Easterners moving West into the Great Plains region.

It has been customary for Americans to think always in terms of the Western frontier - the pioneer in buckskin with his rifle and his axe, or the cowboy with his ten gallon hat and high-heeled boots, or the dirty old prospector with his straggily beard, or the two-gun desperado holding up the stage to Laramie. It

40. King, *op. cit.,* p. 419.
41. Crosby, *op. cit.,* p. 111.
42. Stowe, *op. cit.,* pp. 279-321.

is true that these characters are more dramatic than the middle-aged middle class city dweller clearing land for a grove in Orange County or the sport-shirted Northern businessman putting up a hotel on Florida's lower east coast; but the migrants to Florida were nonetheless pioneers, and the frontiers they were exploiting were no less significant than those in Wyoming or Arizona.

The history of American expansion has too long been written in accord with the pessimistic statement of the 1890 census that the frontier had evaporated. It should be rewritten to include a chapter on the southward moving frontier, which only in the twentieth century has exploited what is truly Southern Florida and which may not yet have exhausted all the possibilities there. And in this chapter there should be a footnote to remind us that although Florida was the first of the forty-eight states to see an attempt at colonization, it was one of the last frontiers to be developed; and that although it has a long and interesting history, the accomplishments of the past one hundred years dwarf those of the preceding three centuries.

P. G. T. Beauregard, Napoleon in Gray. By T. Harry Williams. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1954). pp. xiv, 345. Illustrations, maps, bibliography, index. $4.75.

Beauregard, a Louisiana Creole, attended West Point, fought as an engineer officer in the War with Mexico, gave up his commission in order to fight for the South during the Civil War, was in command at Charleston when Fort Sumter was fired on, was the successful field commander at First Bull Run, held and lost command of the Confederate armies in the West, and defended Charleston from attack by sea. He turned to many things after the War, notably to Louisiana railroads and the Louisiana Lottery. His connection with the Lottery was for show and lobbyist purposes, and as a result he died a wealthy man. Another post-War activity was defense of his War record. His attackers were legion, his defense was marled more by shrewdness than by historical objectivity.

General Beauregard was the South's first Civil War hero. However, he was a trouble-maker in the eyes of President Jefferson Davis and of several of the men, cabinet officers and soldiers, closest to Davis. Egocentric, fault-finding, ambitious in a manner peculiarly similar to Napoleon Bonaparte, and somewhat paranoiac, he clashed with a man of like traits. President Davis, on numerous subjects and occasions. Davis was his superior, but this seems only to have whetted Beauregard's appetite for criticism. Moreover, when the "Little General" damned a man he damned him in no uncertain terms, fluently, even unto death. Thus, Davis being Davis, Beauregard was relegated during much of the Civil War to posts that were relatively insignificant, hero or no hero. Still, Beauregard, flamboyant and picturesque, loved by his men and adored by Southern ladies, ended the War a hero. In comparison, Davis was exceedingly shopworn as a leader and hero in the year 1865. Davis the President was not loved, whereas Davis the man became much loved in the years after 1865. Both Davis and Beauregard were accorded heroes' funerals.

T. Harry Williams' study of Beauregard is the fifteenth number of the *Southern Biography Series* which was inaugurated by the distinguished historian, Wendell H. Stephenson. And Professor Williams has continued the established practice of the *Series* of publishing only good books. His subject, Beauregard, is a fabulous one, and he has made the most of it; his materials were widely scattered, but he has gathered them together quite adequately; he writes well; he makes his subject live; he has written an appropriately balanced book, giving most of his space to Beauregard's Civil War career. Williams unfolds Beauregard's whole life and career, detail by detail, praising him here and castigating him there. All of this is as it should be when one prepares a biography of such a controversial figure as Beauregard.

WEYMOUTH T. JORDAN

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History of Banking in Florida, by J. E. Dovell (Florida Bankers Association, Orlando, Florida, 1955) 300 pp.

This history of 126 years of Florida's banking is a well-written, interesting and informative volume, and Florida bankers are greatly indebted to the author.

Florida's recent banking history has been so up and down, so zig-zag, that we needed a compilation such as this for comparing the exciting present and the equally exciting but tragedy-filled past.

In 1825 Florida had but 13,554 people. One hundred years later, in 1925, its population was 1,265,549; and now only 30 years later, we have 3,658,000, and are growing at the rate of 3500 per week.

Our banking history is filled with tragedy, just as is that of the other states. Many more banks have failed than are open today. Banking is now firmly established, but it has encountered

heart-breaking hurdles. In the beginning, banking and credit were based on land. There was then just as much land as there is today, but then there was too much land or too few people and too little production. So for seventy-five years banking tried to get a foothold without satisfying success.

In 1906 the bank with which this reviewer is connected was established. The total deposits in all of the commercial banks of Florida in that year were $32 million; but Florida was booming, and during the preceding twenty years, deposits had increased from $2 million.

Then came World War I in 1917-1918 followed by one of the greatest land booms of history anywhere - the Florida land boom - which exploded in 1926. At that time bank deposits had increased to $900 million. Then, by 1934, deposits decreased to $274 million. Two hundred twenty-four banks had closed and only one hundred fifty-five remained open. Today there are two hundred forty-two banks in Florida, and bank deposits are $3,102,000,000. A startling, thought provoking growth.

Bank supervisory officials at the national and the state levels are students of banking history. Their responsibility is not to make money in banking, but to keep banking sound and solvent.

Bankers and the supervisory officials now have a number of new tools, plus history, plus experience, which were not available in the 1920's. The Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation is perhaps the most effective tool in the preservation of confidence - and confidence is the most valuable asset in banking. There is no greater liability than the loss of confidence. The Federal Reserve System, in existence in the Twenties, but without the experience, now has the experience, plus added powers - the power and the desire and the responsibility to prevent financial chaos such as developed in the 1929-34 era.

Florida's economy. The new era of pensions is making Florida a paradise for retirees. These millions of new citizens will,

because of their fixed incomes be a great stabilizing factor in Florida's economy.

Industry is rapidly becoming a big factor in our economy also, and bids fair to become a mainstay.

We have become, by far, the largest citrus producing area in the world. We are rapidly climbing as a cattle producing area and pastures are consuming much of our land area. We are the second largest forestry area in the nation, and pulp and paper plants are rapidly increasing at tens of millions of dollars per plant. Ere long there will be few idle acres in Florida, and every acre will have a substantial liquid value worthy of and eligible for bank credit.

What of the future? I have full confidence that up to now Florida's development has been but practice swings for the great future which is beginning.

As a Florida banker, I wish to acknowledge the great debt we owe Dr. J. E. Dovell for his outstanding narrative of our exciting Florida banking history.

G. G. WARE

The First National Bank
Leesburg

The Caribbean: Its Economy, edited by A. Curtis Wilgus (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1954), pp. xix, 286. $4.00.

According to the eminent geographer, Carl Sauer, the Caribbean is the American Mediterranean and may be the second "chief crossroad of the world." Who doubts that Florida is an integral part of the Caribbean? Indeed the peninsula is one of the vertices of the Caribbean triangle, as Sauer calls it. Therefore nothing is more appropriate than Florida being the host to the annual Caribbean conferences to discuss the Caribbean community in all its phases. The yearly gatherings of known

authorities, businessmen and scholars, at the campus of the University of Florida are acquiring more fame and are a genuine source of friendship among the diverse nationalities of the Caribbean domain.

The wide interest in these conferences is due mostly to the high caliber of their participants and the effort of the School of Inter-American Studies of the University of Florida in co-operation with the University of Florida Press to publish annually, in a handsome volume, the papers delivered at the conferences.

The 1953 conference, held in December and published by the Press the following year, dealt with the economy of the Caribbean. The book contains twenty contributions grouped into six parts: an introduction containing the speech of the Assistant Secretary of State for Latin American Affairs, which is now obsolete; followed by sections dealing with resources and production, manufacturing and investment, transportation and marketing, labor and industry, and culture and economy. Sixteen of the twenty papers were by our countrymen and the rest by Latin Americans, a somewhat unhealthy proportion.

In general all papers are good and solid. The fascinating topic of resources is sketched by such able voices of experience as Carl Sauer and Wilson Popenoe, old hands in Latin America. Alan Probert's essay on mining resources has plenty of facts, but his advice that Latin America can improve its condition by imitating the American system of free enterprise is tactless and undiplomatic. The words of the colorful mayor of San Juan, Sra. Rincon Gautiers, about Puerto Rico are enlightening and simple. The speech by a dean of the University of San Carlos in Guatemala about his country's resources and social progress is most candid and straightforward.

All the other essays are interesting. For example, an American businessman, Percy Magnus, speaks abort the touchy issue of expropriations in the Caribbean and uses admirable moderation

and supplies the reader with thoughtful ideas. Another businessman, John M. Mitchell, manager of the export division of Alcoa, writes a noteworthy essay in his "Caribbean Trade - a Two-Way Street." His advice on how to behave in other countries is sound. To this reviewer it is the best chapter. A paper about roads and bridges is highly original. The chapter on housing and sanitation is scholarly and the only annotated essay of the book.

The last section about "Culture and the Economy" is somewhat unintegrated with the whole subject. The papers about music and drama are interesting and well delivered, but neither drama nor music is an important part of the Caribbean economy. That "Guatemalan Arts and Crafts" are important in that country's economy can be seen from the enlightened account of Lilly de Jongh Osborne. And Roscoe R. Hill's "Caribbean Archivalia" is written with the weight of his many years of experience in this field, but that too is far removed from the main topic.

In summary, the book is interesting, useful, and well done. The very minor defects are well over-shadowed by the many positive factors.

CHARLES W. ARNADE

University of Tampa

EDUCATION IN FLORIDA

The Research Council of Florida State University issues a series of *Studies* under an Editorial Committee of which Dr. George Yost Jr. is chairman. Number Fifteen of the series, with Dr. Victor S. Mamatey as editor, is *Education in Florida, Past and Present* (182 p.). As the title indicates, this is partly historical, five of the papers in the volume being based on historical research.

English School in Spanish St. Augustine, 1805, by James E. McClellen, tells of a school in the English language in that Spanish town many years before the cession of Florida to the

United States. This is based largely on documents in the "East Florida Papers" in the Library of Congress, the most important source for all the history of the area during the second Spanish period.

Dr. Nita K. Pyburn who has written much relating to education in Florida in her nearly thirty years as a member of the staff of the College of Education of Florida State University, tells of *An Early Proposal for the Development of the State System of Education,* and includes a reprinting of the first annual report (1850) of the State Superintendent of Schools, John Beard. Numerous explanatory annotations are added by Dr. Pyburn who is well versed in the subject.

A study of the *Minutes of the State Board of Education, 1871-1895,* by S. E. Hand, covers that subject.

A Preliminary History of Adult Education in Florida (11 p.) by Dr. Coolie Verner includes schools established for the freedmen after the War for Southern Independence.

Dr. Sarah L. Hammond in *Historical Development of Schools for Young Children in Florida,* begins with private kindergartens 1875-1890, following with public county kindergartens, 1890-1946, and later programs. The article is documented with numerous references to official and other publications.

EARLY FLORIDA MAPS

Early maps hold a fascination for many. It is interesting to trace the gradual growth of knowledge about a country with which you now are familiar. Especially is this true of Florida. Most coast lines are so similar to others they can scarcely be identified if not labeled; but on the very earliest maps of our part of North America you see at least the definite outline of a projection, under various names or none at all, which can only be our Florida of today.

The above was suggested in turning the pages of a recently published article by one who, through long study, has come to

know more of early Florida maps than any other two or three of us together. This is a reprint from *Imago Mundi, A Review of Early Cartography*, edited in Stockholm and printed in Leiden, entitled "Early Maps Relating to Florida" by David O. True of Miami.

Here is the Cantino map of 1502 - so very few years after Columbus - with a peninsula pointing to a large island. There follows more than a score of others in succession all undoubtedly showing our Florida peninsula. These include the Caverio map of 1504, the Waldseemuller of 1507, the Ptolemy of 1513.

If you are interested, suppose you write to Mr. True in care of The Historical Association of Southern Florida, 1340 DuPont Bldg., Miami.

DADE COUNTY MEDICINE

The recently published *History of Medicine in Dade County* is all that the title implies. The author, Dr. John G. DuPuis, is the only surviving charter member of the Dade County Medical Society (Association), the official records of which from its organization in 1903 to 1915 have been lost; which two facts emphasize the importance of the volume and point to Dr. DuPuis as the one to undertake such a history. The comprehensive volume includes numerous related subjects: early hospitals, epidemics, Florida State Board of Health, pioneer nurses, drugstores, a list of early physicians with biographies of the principal ones, etc. etc.

Early Schools

The same volume includes a *History of Early Public Schools in Dade* County (82 p.) and *History of Early Agricultural Relations* (85 p.) for Dr. DePuis took a prominent part in public education and agricultural problems as well as medicine.

KEY WEST

The Martello Towers and the Story of Key West, a folio brochure of 48 pages with numerous illustrations, first appearing in 1951, has been republished in a revised and enlarged edition. Construction of these towers, part of the fortifications of Key West, was begun shortly before the Civil War and carried to completion during that war. Since then they have largely fallen to decay, but are being restored in part by the Key West Art and Historical Society. You are invited to become a member of the Society, P.O. Box 913, Key West, where copies of the book mentioned may be obtained.

RECOLLECTIONS OF A PIONEER FLORIDA JUDGE

The first volume of these *Recollections. . .* was published two years ago. This was *'Gaters, Skeeters and Malary,* and the judge is Judge E. C. May of Inverness. Judge May has now given us another volume of the series, *From Dawn to Sunset* which is equally interesting. These are tales of pioneer Florida, and as the story teller saw or was a participant in many of the incidents and adventures, they will become an important part of Florida's folklore. Either volume can be obtained from Judge May himself.

THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY

With the publication of *Knickerboker Birthday,* the New York Historical Society celebrates its sesqui-centennial, having had a continuous life since 1804.

This Society has become a national institution, for its collections and activities have grown and expanded in interest until its library is one of the important sources for historical research in the country. For example: here is the large collection of Florida historical material gathered by our Buckingham Smith, our foremost historian one hundred years ago.

The author of this history of the New York Historical Society is R. W. G. Vail, the present director of the organization and the library. It is a handsome volume of 547 pages with hundreds of illustrations, Including the former homes of the Society and the present one facing Central Park which to us is a palace.

Our especial interest is the prominent place given George A. Zabriskie who held a keen interest in our Florida Historical Society and was one of our active members. He lived a good part of each year at his home in Ormond Beach where he died on January 2, last year. Former director Alexander J. Wall and the present director, Mr. Vail, are numbered among our Society's friends too.

Mr. Zabriskie, of 17th century American stock, was a leading member and official of the New York Society for thirty-four years, eight years of which he served as president. Through his efforts as treasurer, the Society was put upon its feet and enabled to build its present home. On retiring from the presidency, he was elected Honorary President for life.

TWO CENTURIES OF A GEORGIA FAMILY

Among those who came to Georgia in 1732 with General Oglethorpe was a Noble Jones, a physician with other abilities. Jones settled on an island near the coast and called his home *Wormsloe.* The plantation which he began is still the home of his descendants of the sixth generation. A number of members of the family, as well as Jones himself, have taken a prominent part in Georgia's life and government in every generation, and a few of them in the larger life of this country; hence, a volume recently published: *Wormsloe, Two Centuries of a Georgia Family,* is a stone in the building of our country's history; and since the greater part relates to the first of the two centuries, it is a bit of the foundation of recorded Southern history.

The author is Dr. E. Merton Coulter of the University of

Georgia, whose numerous volumes on Southern history and whose editorship of the *Georgia Historical Quarterly* for many years is assurance that the volume is a thoroughly worthwhile if a minor stone.

This volume (Univ. of Georgia Press, 322 p.) is the first of a series to be issued by Wormsloe Foundation Publications which "will be largely important manuscripts relating to Georgia and the South."

EARLY DAYS OF COASTAL GEORGIA

Though there are only occasional brief references to Florida, a recently published volume, *Early Days of Coastal Georgia,* will prove interesting and enlightening to Florida readers. The author, Margaret Davis Cate, a Georgia historian of note, in association with Dr. Orrin S. Wightman, an artist-photographer, determined some years ago to preserve in picture and story the vanishing life of coastal Georgia, as well as bring to life that which is gone. The result is a folio volume with full-page photographs on the left and the story behind each on the opposite page written by Mrs. Cate, the one preeminent for the task which to her was a labor of love. There are more than one hundred of these vivid pairs, and not one will disappoint the reader. The volume was published by the Fort Frederica Association of St. Simons, Georgia.

COLUMBUS, GEORGIA, IN THE CONFEDERACY

Whatever is written about Columbus, Georgia, except what is purely local, frequently has some connection with West Florida history, both because of its proximity and because the Chattahoochee River (Apalachicola River in Florida) was a highway one hundred years ago. A recent publication, *Columbus, Georgia, in the Confederacy* is of interest for both reasons. The author is D. W. Standard, and the publisher, The William-Frederick Press, (N.Y.1954). $2.00.

SEMINOLE LIFE 100 YEARS AGO

A story of the Seminole Indian War, recently published, is *White Moccasins* by Louis Capron. While this is fiction, the author's *Medicine Bundles of the Florida Seminole and the Green Corn Dance,* published as *Anthropological Papers No. 35* in Bureau of Am. Ethnology Bull. 151 (1951) is abundant evidence of the authenticity of this story of the life of the Florida Indians one hundred years ago.

BATTLE OF OLUSTEE

Much the most important battle ever fought on Florida soil, both from the number of men engaged and the results, was that of Olustee. A full and scholarly account, with a map of the four stages of the battle, by Dr. Mark F. Boyd appeared in this *Quarterly* (July 1950, xxix, pp. 2-37).

The site was marked and consecrated by a monument more than forty years ago. Now "an interpretive museum exhibit, designed and constructed by Florida State Museum of the University of Florida for the Florida Board of Parks and Historic Memorials" has been dedicated and formally opened on the site.

THE HOUSE OF REFUGE MUSEUM

The Gulf Stream flowing northwards is near the shore along much of Florida's east coast; hence, through the centuries, this has been the path of vessels from the Gulf out into most of the Atlantic, and many in all eras have been wrecked on that shore. The beach is barren and there have been no habitations inland until recent years. So the few survivors who reached the shore nearly always perished from hunger. Brinton, in his "Guidebook of Florida" (1869) says that even as late as that there was but one house along ninety miles of beach, and in earlier times there was no human along most of the whole shore or inland. So in

1876 the U. S. Government established seven houses of refuge along the beach solely to save ship-wrecked mariners.

Only one of these houses has survived, and the Martin County Historical Society has established therein a museum with the above title. You are invited to become a member of the Society and thus have a part in building up the Museum. If you have anything which would be appropriate there, or relating in any way to Martin County, will you not make a permanent loan of it to the Society. The address is Box 1297, Stuart, Florida. You will receive all of their publications, the first of which is a complete "History of the House of Refuge."

AN F.S.U. HISTORY PROJECT

Florida State University
Southern History Business Center

To the members of *the Florida Historical Society:*

There has recently been launched at Florida State University a project in Southern history which will be of interest to members of our Society. This project, The Southern History Business Center, has been organized to collect the business records of pioneer firms of Florida and other Southern states. The collections obtained will be preserved in the F.S.U. Library, where they will be available for research studies by graduate students, faculty members, and visitors interested in history, business administration, economics, sociology, and related subjects.

We hope that you will give us your assistance in this undertaking. Do you know of any pioneer business men, or their heirs, who might have business records, no longer important for current business purposes, but which will contribute to the understanding of some industry, or some community or section? Tell us about them. Tell them about us. Explain to them that historical records should be preserved in public repositories where

they will be both safe and useful. This Center has been organized to explore, over many years, and as fully as may be possible, one vital aspect of our history. We invite you to participate in this enterprise, and to become partners with us in the development of a research center worthy of that great historical tradition which has so long been a part of our Southern heritage.

Southern History Business Center
by M. M. Vance

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

EDITORSHIP OF THE QUARTERLY

Julien C. Yonge was elected editor of our *Florida Historical Quarterly* at the annual meeting of the Society of 1924 and has edited the *Quarterly* continuously since then. The present issue will be his last one. During these thirty-one years no issue has failed to appear, until our Osceola Number of this year when, because of its size and cost, our January and April issues had to be combined into a double number.

Rembert W. Patrick, Ph.D., Professor of History at the University of Florida, will edit the next and the following issues. He has long been a director and cornerstone of our Society. He is an authority on the history of the Confederacy, the author of *Jefferson Davis and His Cabinet, Florida Under Five Flags, Florida Fiasco,* and other works.

The Editor bespeaks for him the same generous encouragement and support which he himself has always received from our officers and members.

AN INDEX TO THIRTY-THREE VOLUMES OF THE QUARTERLY

A single index to all volumes of our *Quarterly* is nearing completion after many months of work. This will probably be not far from one hundred pages, and its publication will cost more than five hundred dollars. The Society has no funds for this, so it can be printed only through the contributions of a large number of our members.

Such an index will be especially useful in public and institutional libraries, many of which have incomplete files of the *Quarterly.* As a public service, the University of Florida Library has microfilmed the first twenty-three volumes, which are the rare and out-of-print ones. Positive films of the volumes needed,

in groups, will be furnished any library at cost. So any library may now have the complete file of our *Quarterly*, and, *we hope*, a complete printed index to all of the volumes.

Our Florida is on her way to taking her rightful place among those Southern States which care most for their history, but we are still far behind. Yet we have the longest and one of the most interesting histories of any. A complete index to the thirty-three volumes (132 issues) of our *Quarterly* is a forward step towards that rightful place.

It has not been determined how the index will be distributed when published, but each of those who contribute to its printing will receive a copy.

Will you not have a part in this the most important project our Society could undertake at this time.

EXECUTIVE-SECRETARY MERLIN COX

The Society has received with much regret the resignation of Merlin G. Cox, who became our executive secretary in August 1954. He is to teach on the staff of the Department of Social Sciences, University of Florida. Mr. Cox had the well-being of the Society constantly in mind, especially our greatest need - an increase in membership, and to him is due a large part of the success of our present drive for new members. He revived our newsletter, and worked steadily for the Society in other ways also. We are grateful to him.

THE OSCEOLA NUMBER

The demand for the Osceola Number of the *Quarterly* continues, and an additional printing has been made. Copies are sold by the Secretary at two dollars each, which is our regular price for a double number. These are exactly the same throughout as the original printing. Each issue sold means a good profit for the Society.

CONTRIBUTING MEMBERS

The Society's only income is from the dues of our members. This is needed for the publication of our *Quarterly* if it is to remain the size of recent issues. Other activities are calling us, such as most state societies carry on: the placing of permanent markers on Florida's historic sites which have not yet been marked, the purchase of new and old books relating to Florida which we do not have; and also there is great need of a full-time executive-secretary.

A number of our members have become Contributing Members recently. This additional income enabled former secretary Merlin Cox, to prepare and send to all the membership our newsletter *What's New*. These generous members are listed below and the Society is grateful to them. It is our hope that such a list of new Contributing Members in the next *Quarterly* will cover several pages. Will you not become a Contributing Member for this year and thus help to fill those pages? Contributing Member dues are ten dollars a year, and Life Member dues are one hundred dollars with no further payment.

An important project at this time is the publication of the index to the thirty-three volumes of our *Quarterly* which is described on another page. If you wish, you could ask that six dollars of your ten be applied to that publication.

LIFE MEMBERSHIPS

Madeleine Estey Appleby ..... Winter Park
L. Chauncey Brown ..... St. Petersburg
Richard P. Daniel ..... Jacksonville
Ruby Diamond ..... Tallahassee
Clarence V. Griffin ..... Howey in the Hills
Fannie Webb Holt ..... Jacksonville
Lucius S. Ruder ..... Clearwater
Mr. and Mrs. Arthur J. Sackett ..... Westover P.O., Va
St. Augustine Historical Society and
Institute of Science ..... St. Augustine
Florida Power Corporation ..... St. Petersburg

CONTRIBUTING MEMBERS

Charles G. Adalian ..... St. Petersburg
Roscoe T. Anthony ..... Palm Beach
Horace Cameron Avery ..... Jacksonville
Hubert Arlander Barge ..... Miami
Mrs. Roger W. Babson ..... Babson Park
Karl A. Bickel ..... Sarasota
Joseph A. Bower ..... Palm Beach
Mark F. Boyd ..... Tallahassee
Jessie M. Brown ..... Bradenton
Jules M. Burguieres ..... Louisa P. O., La.
B. A. Carpenter ..... Orlando
LeRoy Collins ..... Tallahassee
Mrs. Allan S. Davison ..... Bradenton
Mrs. Alfred I. duPont ..... Wilmington, Dela.
Hugh P. Emerson ..... Miami
George E. Engelhard ..... Leesburg
Harley Loeber Freeman ..... Ormond Beach
Walter P. Fuller ..... St. Petersburg
Samuel Wyche Getzen ..... Gainesville
Mr. and Mrs. Tucker C. Gibbs ..... St. Augustine
J. Carver Harris ..... St. Augustine
Edward A. Hauss ..... Century
Mrs. A. Judson Hill ..... Miami
W. N. Horne ..... Ocala
F. M. Hudson ..... Miami
Mrs. Fleda Hughes ..... Miami
Allan C. Jackson ..... Tallahassee
Waldo H. Jones ..... Myrtle Beach, S. C.
Mrs. A. G. King ..... Lakeland
Mrs. Henry Kohl ..... Palm Beach
Elise Lafitte ..... Quincy
George Lewis, II ..... Tallahassee
Alfred A. McKethan ..... Brooksville
John Francis McKeown ..... Vero Beach
Mrs. Tweed McMullin ..... Clearwater
M. L. Mershon ..... Miami
A. B. Michael ..... Wabasso
Fred B. Noble ..... Jacksonville
Mrs. Garland C. Norris ..... Lakeland
George S. Okell ..... Miami
Rembert W. Patrick ..... Gainesville
Frank B. Sessa ..... Miami
Leland C. Shephard ..... Miami
Charlton W. Tebeau ..... Coral Gables

CONTRIBUTING MEMBERS (Continued)

Mrs. O. N. Tevander ..... Chicago
Camilla G. Webber ..... *Babson Park*
H. E. Wolfe ..... St. Augustine
Owen D. Young ..... Van Hornesville, N. Y.
Lewis State Bank ..... Tallahassee
St. Augustine Alligator Farm ..... St. Augustine
State Library Board ..... Tallahassee

NEW MEMBERS

	Nominated by
John R. Himes, Tampa	Alexander C. Liggett
Mary Morse Jameson, Safety Harbor	Merlin G. Cox
Waldo H. Jones, Myrtle Beach, S. C. (contributing)	Theodore Pratt
Kevin E. Kearney, Gainesville	Merlin G. Cox
Mrs. Tweed McMullin, Clearwater (contributing)	Alexander C. Liggett
David A. Forshay, Lake Worth	Charles T. Thrift, Jr.
Frank M. Le Gate, Jr., Jacksonville	Julien C. Yonge
Sam Brammar, St. Cloud	Charles T. Thrift, Jr.
Herman G. James, St. Petersburg	Mark F. Boyd
Mr. and Mrs. J. C. Cowart, Mascotte (contributing)	Frank E. Owens
Mrs. John DuBois, Jupiter	Mrs. Clyde W. Fisher
William R. Neblitt, Key West	H. J. Mitchell
Benjamin S. Roberts, West Palm Beach	John Griffin
Clyde V. Hayman, Winter Haven	Gilbert P. Richardson
Hubert Arlander Barge, Miami (contributing)	C .W. Tebeau
Gilbert P. Richardson, Winter Haven	Charles T. Thrift, Jr.
Joseph Jonathan Gill, Sarasota	Winder H. Surrency
Rosemary Young, De Leon Springs	G. G. Ware
Frederic L. Pfeiffer, Orlando	Mrs. Anna A. Rand
Mrs. Lottie Clifford Taylor, Eustis	G. G. Ware
Thomas Walker Cooper, Tampa	D. B. McKay
Mrs. Garland C. Norris, Lakeland (contributing)	Charles T. Thrift, Jr.
Byron T. Cooksey, Vero Beach	Julien C. Yonge
E. P. Padgett, Jacksonville	Charles T. Thrift, Jr.
Charles W. Arnade, Tampa	Merlin G. Cox
H. Granville Tilghman, Norfolk, Va.	Dena Snodgrass
Stuart Robert Pottinger, Chicago, Ill.	Joseph Jonathan Gill
Alexander Menzies Gill, Sarasota	Joseph Jonathan Gill
Harry W. Caygill, *Miami*	Charles T. Thrift, Jr.
Mrs. Edwin W. Craig, Nashville, Tenn.	Bayard B. Shields
W. N. Horne, Ocala (contributing)	Whitfield M. Palmer
William C. Steel, Miami	Robert H. Anderson
Mrs. J. W. Dellastatious, Charleston, S. C.	Mrs. Frank S. Lee
Nelson E. Rosier, Gainesville	Mrs. M. H. Latour
Morgan Welch, DeLand	Robert L. Allen

NEW MEMBERS (Continued)

	Nominated by
Mrs. E. S. Byron, Babson Park	Mrs. L. Keith Quinn
Mrs. W. C. Payne, Pensacola	T. T. Wentworth, Jr.
Hedwig Michel, Estero, Lee County	Claude J. Rahn
J. Douglas Saunders, Valparaiso	Eugene L. Taylor
Fred Butler, Tallahassee	H. Lawrence Smith
William Henry Longton, Gainesville	Merlin G. Cox
Vic Lang, Key West	H. J. Mitchell
Allen Morris, Tallahassee	Dena Snodgrass
J. Winston Shelton, Jacksonville	Ernest T. Le Baron
Miss E. Ellington Chaires, Jacksonville	Mrs. Alberta D. Taylor

LIBRARIES

Milton High School Library, Milton	Edward C. Williamson
Citrus High School Library	Inverness, Fla.

THE SOCIETY'S *Quarterly* VOLUMES

Our Society has no complete duplicate file of the *Quarterly*. It should not be so. If any member has a copy of any of the following, we should be grateful for it; and surely this would be of more service sooner or later in our library than in yours. How about it?

1924, July, October
1925, October
1926, January, April, July
1927, January, April
1928, April

BOARD OF DIRECTORS MEETING

At a meeting of our Board of Directors in the Society's library on October 1, called to select a secretary-treasurer, almost the entire Board was present. Never before have so many directors come from so great a distance, showing their deep interest in the Society and our activity today under the guidance of President Thrift.

Dr. Mark F. Boyd came from Tallahassee, Frank B. Sessa from Miami, Harley J. Freeman from Ormond Beach, Edward T. Keenan from Frostproof, Walter P. Fuller from St. Petersburg, J. Ryan Beiser from Tampa, David R. Dunham and Albert C. Manucy from St. Augustine, Dena Snodgrass and Richard P. Daniel from Jacksonville, and Rembert W. Patrick, Julien C. Yonge and Merlin G. Cox, Gainesville, and President Charles T. Thrift Jr., Lakeland, who had brought so many together.

Mrs. Elizabeth C. Baldwin of Gainesville, an experienced secretary, was chosen in place of Mr. Cox, who has resigned to become a member of the University of Florida faculty. She will be a full-time employee, so our library will be open throughout the day.

Several other matters were discussed, and two resolutions, which follow, were passed.

Dr. Patrick reported on the program for our centennial annual meeting in St. Augustine in April next.

The Board gave Dr. Boyd especial thanks for his outstanding and important life of Osceola in the Osceola Number of the *Quarterly,* and for financial aid in the publication of the issue.

An Index to the Florida Historical Quarterly

Whereas: A complete index of all volumes of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* is being prepared, and its publication is important; and

Whereas: The Florida Historical Society has no funds for such publication;

IT IS RESOLVED: by the Board of Directors that when in the opinion of the President our balance in the treasury is more than sufficient for necessary expenses, that six dollars of the ten dollars dues of each Contributing Member be expended for the publication of that index. That this resolution be abrogated when that publication is fully paid for.

To Merlin G. Cox:

The Board of Directors of The Florida Historical Society on behalf of the entire membership express our gratitude for the deep interest you have taken in the Society and for all you have accomplished during the past year. You have worked for us each day and many evenings, far beyond what was our due. It was you who planned and carried out our present drive for new members. You revived our newsletter, writing it and mailing each copy yourself, in addition to your duties as secretary and treasurer.

We all wish you success in your chosen profession of teaching.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE OF THE QUARTERLY

Albert C. Manucy is Supervising Historian, National Park Service, St. Augustine, Florida.

J. C. Harrington is Regional Chief of Interpretation, National Park Service, Richmond, Virginia.

John M. Goggin is Associate Professor of Archeology, University of Florida.

H. J. Doherty Jr. is Assistant Professor of Social Sciences, University of Florida.

Nita K. Pyburn is Professor of Education, Florida State University.

Benjamin F. Rogers is Assistant Professor of History, Florida State University.

Weymouth T. Jordan is Professor of History, Florida State University.

Charles W. Arnade is Instructor of History, University of Tampa.