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**The**  
**FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY**

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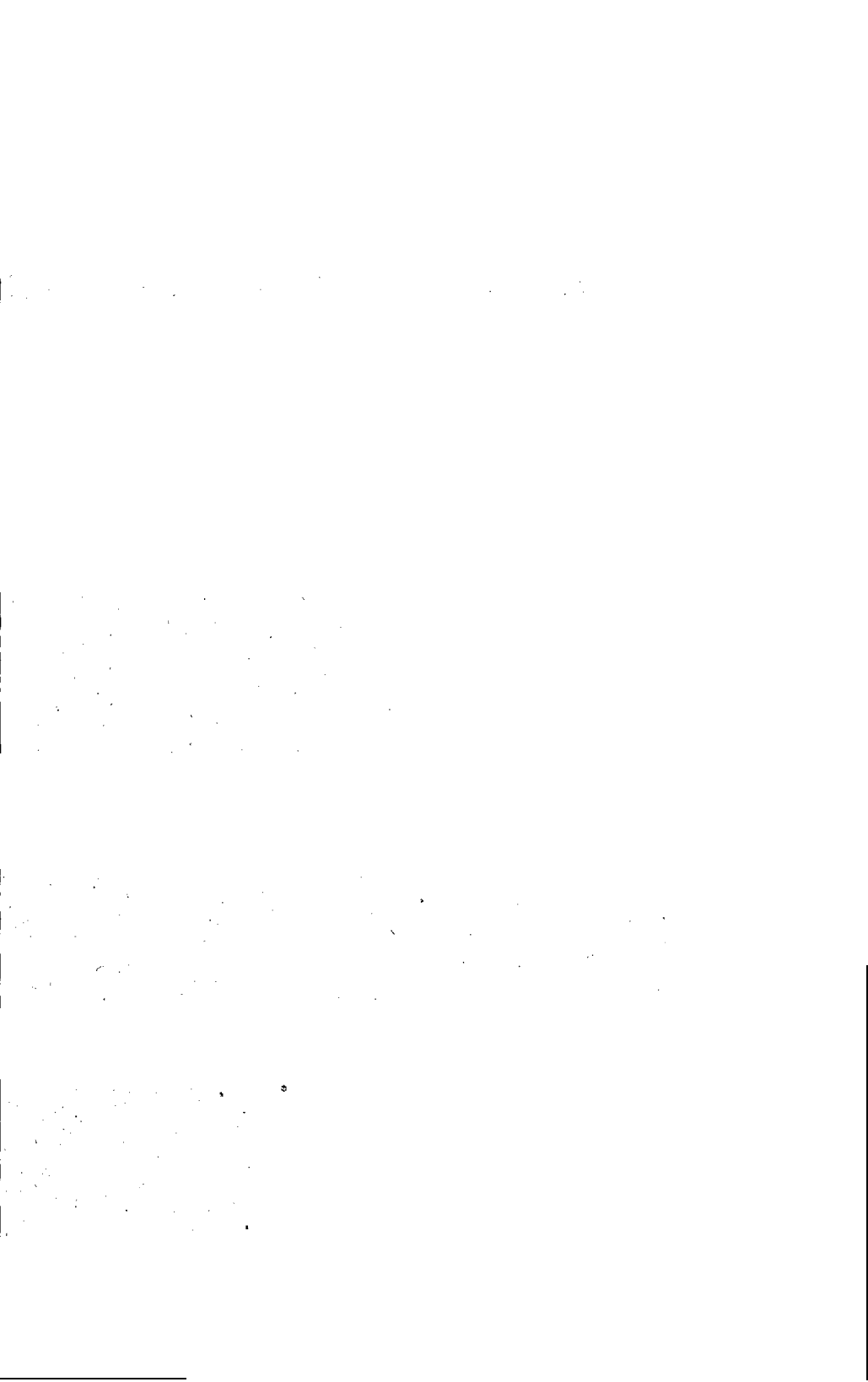
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THE PORT OF ST. AUGUSTINE DURING THE  
BRITISH REGIME  
by WILBUR H. SIEBERT

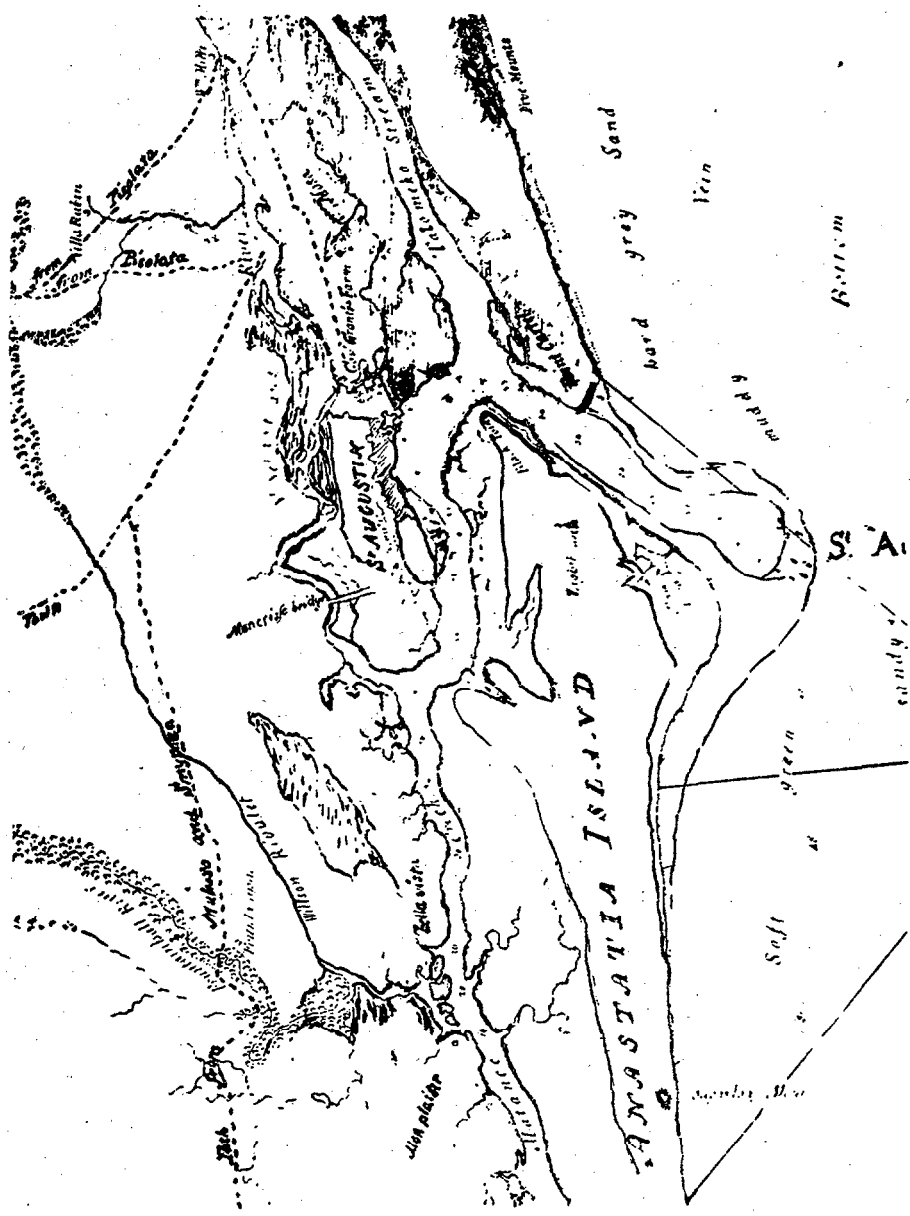
PART I

*The Look-out Tower on Anastasia Island*

A little more than six miles of Anastasia island, eastward of St. Augustine, is shown on the old map by De Brahm, one-time surveyor-general for the Southern District of British America. The channel is depicted and, less than a mile east of the fortress or "castle," the bar. The Look-out Tower stands two thirds of the island's width at that point from its inner side, a little more than a fifth of a mile from its outer side, and half a mile from the shore directly north. De Brahm's survey was made in 1765 and 1766. <sup>1</sup> On a much earlier map Boazio shows Drake's attack on St. Augustine in June 1586. On this map a few lines represent the Look-out as standing in the northeastern area of Anastasia island, with mounds of sand to the east and north. Tilled plots of ground are scattered among clumps of trees southwest of the Look-out, three of the plots having houses. Drake's fleet lies off the east shore of the island from the channel a distance southward. Boats are landing troops north of the Look-out and more boats at the north end of the town. <sup>2</sup>

In times of peace when a ship approached the bar, a bell was rung as a signal for some of the Spaniards to put off to the ship in boats so as to assist in case of a mishap on the bar. <sup>3</sup>

1. Plan of St. Augustine Inlet and Town, by Wm. Gerard de Brahm, Esq.
2. *Expugnatio Civitatis S. Augustini in America Sitae.* (St. Augustine Historical Society).
3. Schoepf's *Travels in the Confederation.* (Morrison translation, Philadelphia 1911) II, 228.



Plan of St. Augustine Inlet and Town. Drawn in 1765 and 1766 by William Gerard de Brahm.

De Brahm shows the watch tower to have been a little more than a mile and a half southeast from the fort and a little south of the southern end of St. Augustine. The Spaniards had built it of coquina or shell rock, quarries of which existed, and still exist, on a ridge somewhat west of the Look-out site. These quarries were twelve to fifteen feet deep, fresh water preventing their deeper excavation. The coquina was, of course, the stone used in the construction of the fort on the mainland. The width of Anastasia island where the Look-out stood was scarcely a mile. The same distance southward its width was over two miles. Its total length was fourteen miles. De Brahm wrongly called the tower a "light house," and correctly said that it had been built of mason-work by the Spaniards. In 1769, by General Haldimand's order, the tower's height was more than doubled by the addition of some fifty feet of carpentry-work, on top of which a cannon was planted. This was fired at the moment the flag was hoisted as a signal to the town and pilots that a vessel was outside. De Brahm noted that the "light house" had two staffs, one to the south and one to the north, the flag being raised on the latter if the vessel came from the north and on the former if it approached from the south.<sup>4</sup>

In his *Concise Natural History of East and West Florida* (1775) Bernard Romans, deputy surveyor under De Brahm, speaks of the Look-out Tower as situated about half a mile from the north end of Anastasia island, a heavy stone building serving for a look-out, with a small detachment of troops on duty there. By signals they informed the inhabitants what kind of, and how many, vessels were

4. Wm. Gerard de Brahm, MS. in Widener Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

approaching the harbor, either from the north or the south. He, too, tells that in 1770 fifty feet of timber framework were added to its former height, and to that a mast or flagstaff forty-seven feet long, but this last endangered the building and was soon taken down.<sup>5</sup> The erection of the wood section and certain repairs on the tower were the work of John Allen, for which he was paid one hundred pounds. This item appears in the contingent expenses for the year 1769-70. There was also an item for halyards and a pennant for the Look-out. Another pennant and a flag for the same were procured in 1771. About two years later the tower was repaired with iron-work by the blacksmith Robert Bonsall.<sup>6</sup>

Soon after the landing of Lieutenant Colonel James Robertson at St. Augustine, September 9, 1763, from New York, he sent William Brasier to the Look-out Tower to draw a ground plan and a vertical section of it. Later this was enclosed with Robertson's "Report on the State of Florida" to the commander-in-chief.<sup>7</sup> The author wrote that the Spaniards had only four men at the Look-out, although it could accommodate forty to "keep guard conveniently."

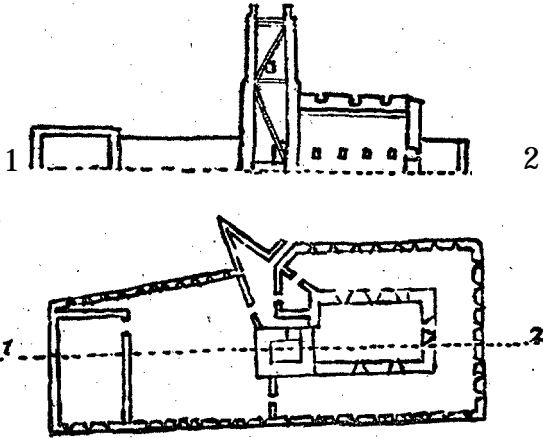
The dimensions and other features of the Look-out are given by John Bartram, the noted Quaker botanist of Philadelphia, who made collecting excursions with his son William to the island several times in the latter half of October 1765. They rowed over at noon of the 29th, walked to the "watch

5. *Journals of John and Wm. Bartram* (American Philosophical Society 1942), p. 105; W. H. Siebert, *Loyalists in East Florida, 1774-1785*, II, 342-343.

6. C. O. 5/551, p. 93; 5/552, p. 115; 5/554, p. 107.

7. Brasier's original drawing, measures 15 by 7 1/2 inches and is in the archives of the Library of the Colonial Office, in Downing Street, London, S. W.

house," thence to the sea shore and between it and the sand hills until evening. They gathered strange seeds and "Billy" found some curious plants. Returning to the "light house," wrongly so called, they were lodged for the night. They climbed the wooden ladders inside the tower to its top, forty feet high and crowned with battlements. They viewed the coast and the raging ocean as far as they could see. Bartram explained that the use of



*William Brasier's vertical section and ground plan of the Lookout Tower on Anastasia Island. Drawn probably in 1763. Figure 2 is at east end.*

the tower was to signal the approach of a vessel by hoisting a flag for the town to send out help, which was often wanted, and to warn sailors at night to avoid the dangerous breakers.<sup>8</sup>

Most of Bartram's measurements are in paces, here translated into feet : the outer wall of the entire structure was eighty feet long and twelve feet high. The west end was thirty-one and a half feet wide, and formed the outside wall of a guardroom twenty-one feet, eight inches long, by thirteen feet wide.

8. *Journals of John and William Bartram*, p. 34.

Adjoining the tower and extending east within the larger court, was a rectangular, battlemented wall twenty feet high, enclosing two "strong rooms," one above the other, with the same dimensions as the guardroom. The lower strong room was pierced with loopholes. Outside was an enclosing path eight and a half feet wide. A well of potable water had a depth of twelve feet. The east end wall measured forty-three feet outside.<sup>9</sup> A salient angle extended from the middle of the south side of the other wall. Through the angle's east wall was the only passage into the tower, courts, and rooms. He mentions neither the passage nor the angle.

Of course the Look-out Tower was "a guide for navigators," and its guards cared for the property and hoisted the proper signals when vessels came in sight of the coast. The hidden bar in the shallow channel necessitated guidance by pilot boats for entering or leaving vessels. There were only two men in charge of the tower during the fiscal year 1767-68. They were Alexander Leslie and Robert Bennet, and their pay was eighteen pounds, five shillings. In 1768-69 Andrew Drysdale and John McKay were on duty; the next year Hector Collins and William Watt; in 1770-71 William Kennedy and William Rytledge. The number for 1771-72 was increased to three, viz., Henry Gill, gunner, John Bell, and Robert Gregg. Their pay was four pence a day each, or eighteen pounds, six pence. Gill continued as gunner during 1772-73 and Bell remained, but Gregg was replaced by William Culbert. The next year the Look-out was in charge of Francis Neal, Christopher Hammond, and Anthony Richardson. They were supplied with a new flag to hoist, made by the tailor Thomas Tweedy, and with a

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9. *Journals of John and William Bartram*, p. 34.



number of "signal balls," for which Henry Catter, the additional pilot, was paid two pounds, thirteen shillings.<sup>10</sup>

### THE POOR BOATS

The signaling from the tower was intended to bring out the pilot and his assistants in their boats to escort ships into port. Sometimes adverse wind and heavy seas prevented their coming out, or, at least, their performing efficient service. At the evacuation of East Florida by the Spaniards, late in August 1763, Governor Feliu had no help in embarking the families and artillery except "from the long boat and a launch." He believed that in order to cross the bar laden, vessels should not draw more than eight feet of water. Of his fourteen transports, an English packet plied to windward for a week before being able to anchor outside the bar. Four other vessels were delayed by the foul weather and the shallow depth over the bar. Some that were loaded in port had to be lightened, towed out, and their cargoes and supplies carried out to them. Families from two such vessels were transferred to the English packet outside.<sup>11</sup>

Lieutenant Colonel Robertson ran grave risks when he arrived off the bar with four ships, on September 8. The waves ran "mountain high" and the wind blew "directly on shore." He had signals given but learned from a near transport that "a personal application only could procure a pilot." His message was delivered by a man from a small vessel that ventured in without a guide and was cast away. By morning the gale abated and a Spanish launch came and piloted in all the vessels that could cross the bar. Evidently the detachment

10. C. O. 5/549, p. 118; 5/550, p. 125; 5/551, p. 93; 5/52, pp. 115, 275, 307; 5/553, p. 147; 5/554, p. 106.

11. 86-7-11. Feliu to Governor of Havana, Aug. 25, 1763.

of troops and the stores on board the *Venus* had to be ferried in. The *Benjamin's Conclusion* had ridden at anchor in peril for thirty days and had been loosened. It was sent back to England.<sup>12</sup>

Late in October two French sloops assisting in the evacuation were lost, one at St. Augustine and the other a few miles down the coast, where the schooner *Charming Sally* was also wrecked about the same time. A Spanish brigantine, unable to leave the harbor with half a load, was freighted outside by the help of small boats.<sup>13</sup>

Robertson learned that visiting navigators paid the Spanish pilots three dollars to fetch them in and as much to lead them out and sixty bits (\$7.50) to assisting soldiers each time. He tried to employ qualified residents as pilots by promising them the same rate of pilotage, the use of a launch, and the tenancy of a house at the Look-out. All refused unless paid fifty pounds a year. He thought mariners from New York could become pilots in a week and "be of infinite service to this place." He considered the shifting bar "a fable invented to raise the price of pilotage," and was sure that Assistant Engineer Philip Pittman's chart of the harbor and his description of its landmarks would largely remove "the difficulty of getting in." No vessel would attempt it at this season despite the high prices it could get for what it brought.<sup>14</sup>

Robertson told in his report that the bar sometimes had fifteen feet of water at high tide and only four at low. The breakers ran "terribly high" and

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12. Robertson to Amherst, Sept. 26, 1763 (Gage Papers, in William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor).

13. *Georgia Gazette*, late Oct., 1763; 86-7-11, Feliu to Conde de Ricla, Nov. 15, 1763.

14. Robertson to Amherst, 13 May, 1764 (Gage Papers).

the coast was unsheltered from southeast storms, to which it was very subject in autumn. Inside the bar, however, the harbor was safe. In December Commandant Major Ogilvie wrote to General Gage that if a pilot, a large boat, and a schooner were not procured for St. Augustine it would have no trade.<sup>15</sup>

One surmises that the Look-out Tower lacked signal men at the departure of the Spaniards. That would explain Captain Laurence's failure, on May 6, 1764, to advise Ogilvie of the presence of himself and the *Industry* transport outside the bar. Having no boats to pilot her in, the *Industry* was cast away and her wreckage strewn down the coast. It was already too late when all boats in port were sent to her aid. They could only bring back a few supplies and six boxes of subsistence money for the troops. A guard was set over the hulk and most of the damaged goods were salvaged by inhabitants. Despite such wrecks De Brahm declared that with a southerly or easterly wind the bar of St. Augustine was "as safe as any in America." He considered the evil things said of it to have done great injustice.<sup>16</sup>

Returning to New York, Robertson hired in behalf of Gage, a pilot and three assistants to proceed at once to St. Augustine. James Warner as pilot was to have thirty-five pounds sterling a year, a house and ground for a garden, provisions from the king's stores, and the customary pilotage from arriving and departing vessels. He was to pay a reasonable allowance to any soldiers he might employ. Each of his three assistants-Josiah Warner, David Ward, and Richard Sax-was to receive

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15. C. O. 5/83 p. 137.

16. Ogilvie to Gage, 13 May, 1764 (Gage Papers) ; *Georgia Gazette*, Feb. 21, 1765.

seventeen pounds, ten shillings, a year, and provisions.<sup>17</sup>

Seven months after the arrival of Governor James Grant, August 29, 1764, he complained to the Board of Trade that Gage would pay the pilot and his men for their first year only, and that his contingent fund would not bear the expense. Moreover, they had no proper boat and were thus prevented from crossing the bar when vessels were sighted. So he decided to have a decked boat built at Charleston as "absolutely necessary for the safety of the shipping and the good of the province." He would pay for it out of the contingent fund.<sup>18</sup>

Henry Laurens supervised the construction of the new pilot boat. It had a twenty-five foot keel, a ten foot beam, a cockpit and seats abaft, a five foot hold, a long floor, a clean run, a round tuck, etc. It was fitted with masts, yards, booms, bowsprit, and everything complete. Laurens named it the *Dependence Pilot Boat* and put it in charge of Captain Peter Bachop and his crew to navigate to St. Augustine. It cost fourteen hundred and twenty-three pounds, seven shillings, or much more than double its estimated price.<sup>19</sup>

Pilot Warner wanted a fixed salary and threatened to leave unless he got it. Grant reminded the Lords of Trade that no allowance had been assigned to the pilot in the provincial estimate for the year 1765-66, and that Warner's departure would severely hurt the place. Not a single vessel had been lost since his arrival. He repeated this statement in a letter of January 26, 1766, when Warner had

17. C. O. 5/540, p. 297; Agreement between Lt. Col. James Robertson and a Pilot and Sailors for St. Augustine.

18. C. O. 5/540, pp. 159, 234; *South Carolina Gazette*, Aug. 25, Oct. 1, 1764, *Georgia Gazette*, Sept. 20, 1764.

19. C. O. 5/540, p. 234; Grant to Lords of Trade, Nov. 22, 1764.

been in service nearly two years. Grant claimed that vessels with more than ten feet draft could be brought into the harbor safely, and that everybody agreed there could be no better anchorage than that outside the bar and along the coast. Sloops of war had anchored off the bar for ten days in very bad weather without an accident to any of them.<sup>20</sup>

In November 1764 William Greening arrived at St. Augustine as naval officer to enter and clear vessels, issue their bonds for enumerated commodities, cancel those received in other ports, sign and seal certificates for naval stores and so on. He soon found that his fees were inadequate to provide him with the necessaries of life, which were "extremely expensive." His fees averaged eight shillings a vessel, and only twenty-six brigantines, sloops, and schooners had entered the port during the half year from November 14, 1764 to May 14, 1765. He asked the home authorities for more income and was given the additional office of register. This helped but little on account of the scant number of legal papers to be recorded. Greening served for more than three years and died in October 1768, lamented as "a gentleman of most amiable character."<sup>21</sup>

The official records show that thirty-five vessels entered the port of St. Augustine in 1764, including the artillery ship which came up to town on December 8 with Captain Lieutenant Skyner and thirty soldiers on board, and tools and other things for Colonel James Moncrief. In the years 1767, 1768, and 1769 the number of arriving vessels was fifty-two, fifty-six and fifty, respectively. In 1770 and

20. C. O. 5/540, p. 301; 5/548, p. 146.

21. C. O. 5/540, pp. 211, 215; 5/548, pp. 95-98; *South Carolina Gazette*, Oct. 24, 1768.

1771 it dropped to thirty and twenty-six. Most of them ranged from thirty tons down to ten or twelve, and brought their passengers and goods from larger ships at Charleston. They carried back produce and travelers to such vessels bound for Northern or for British ports. Only one or two ships of seventy, eighty or one hundred tons visited St. Augustine during the years mentioned above, and these had probably come direct from England.<sup>22</sup>

Grant did not limit the *Dependence* to its piloting. In February 1768 he instructed its master, Benjamin Barton to sail it down to the Florida Keys and stop Bahama Islanders from felling mahogany and other valuable timber to carry off in their vessels. He was also to warn them that the armed schooner *East Florida* would be stationed in those waters to seize seacraft stealing the British king's timber. Grant allowed the *Dependence* to extend her voyage to Havana, so that Jesse Fish, a resident of Anastasia island, could attend to business there.<sup>23</sup>

Although the pilot's salary for the year 1765-66 and those following was fifty pounds,<sup>24</sup> James Warner had left the harbor. A pilot and his three assistants continued to receive their pay, provisions, and daily tots of rum. In 1768-69, 1769-70, and 1770-71 James Smith was the "additional pilot" for attending the bar, but was replaced by Henry Catter for the year 1772-73 at a salary of twenty pounds, this being increased to twenty-five pounds the next year. Probably from the end of Captain Barton's service as pilot Josiah Warner held that post, al-

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22. Grant to Gage, Dec. 8, 1764 (Gage Papers) ; *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Oct. 1941, p. 134.

23. C. O. 5/541, pp. 1-4, 61.

24. C. O. 5/563, pp. 192, 222, Feb. 7, 1770, pp. 284-285; 5/550, p. 77; 5/553, p. 15; 5/554, p. 59.

though the title does not appear with his name until in the budget of 1771-72.<sup>25</sup>

Barton's short service as pilot may have been ended by his loss of the *Dependence*. His name is not mentioned in that connection, but we know that the costly boat was "lost on the Mosquito beach" and that the *Augustine Pilot Boat* was built and rigged to take its place. The local ship carpenter Samuel Grondine shaped the *Augustine's* hull, masts, booms, and bowsprit for the sum of sixty-five pounds. Its rigging and sails were brought from Savannah by the *East Florida*, for which John Graham received fifty pounds. These bills were presented in the year 1767-68. The small pilot boat had been stranded on the South Beach and considerably damaged. John Ross was paid nearly sixteen pounds for repairing it. More than ten pounds were spent on sundries for both pilot boats.<sup>26</sup>

On October 18, 1768 two transports with troops from Pensacola for St. Augustine suffered much in a gale, one a sloop-losing her mast. By December 6 all of the 21st Regiment and most of the 31st had disembarked. Two days later one of their transports parted her cables in a hard gale and broke up on the bar. After this bad weather both pilot boats required extensive carpentry repairs and ironwork. For the latter Robert Bonsall's bill was nearly eleven pounds and for the former Samuel Grondine's was close to fifteen pounds. After a squall had driven the small boat on the South Beach, it was launched by some soldiers and civilians, who got sixteen shillings for their labor.<sup>27</sup>

25. C. O. 5/550, p. 125; 5/551, p. 93; 5/552, pp. 115, 275, 295, 297, 301, 303; 5/553, pp. 119, 133, 143; 5/554, p. 107.

26. C. O. 5/549, p. 118.

27. *South Carolina Gazette*, Nov. 7, Dec. 15, 1768; *Georgia Gazette*, Jan. 4, 1769; C. O. 5/550, p. 125.

After having spent some months in Charleston, the 21st Regiment embarked early in September 1769 for St. Augustine to relieve the 9th Regiment. It sailed on the transports *Mary*, *Sally* and *Harriet*, which were blown out from their destined port and spent a month or more at sea before getting back to Charleston. Grant wrote to Hillsborough early in November that embarkation in Southern latitudes should be avoided in September if possible, very stormy weather occurring about the time of the equinox. The hardest gale he had ever witnessed in any part of the world had raged on September 28 last. He added that the schooners bringing the 21st Regiment were then in sight.<sup>28</sup>

Seeking to avoid further accidents, General Haldimand had ordered the 21st to re-embark at Charleston on vessels small enough to pass the St. Augustine bar, but ironically had himself hired a vessel of nine feet draft to convey him to Pensacola. He had ample time to realize his mistake during the ten days his vessel lay inside the bar, being unable to cross it until April 26, 1770. Nearly a month later four companies of the 31st Regiment landed from Pensacola, a sergeant's guard remaining with the baggage and provisions in a ship of too much draft to enter over the bar.<sup>29</sup>

In the year 1769-70 both pilot boats were furnished with sundries, for which Mr. Bonsall was paid more than twelve pounds. The small boat was also fitted with a new bowsprit and new masts by John English, the ship carpenter. These cost something

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28. *South Carolina Gazette*, Oct. 12, Nov. 2, 23, 1769; C. O. 5/551, p. 5; Grant to Hillsborough, Nov. 5, 1769.

29. *South Carolina Gazette*, Nov. 16, 23, 1769; Brit. Mus. Add. Mss. 21664, f. 90, p. 157; Maxwell to Gage, May 24, 1770 (Gage Papers).



more than a pound. In a letter of December 12, 1770 Grant boasted to Hillsborough that during the last two months no less than forty vessels from New York and other places had entered the harbor without a single accident in passing and repassing the bar. He suggested that if the port could have a few boats like the Spanish launches troops might embark and disembark more easily than in many other places. Until then large vessels visiting the Florida coast would doubtless experience delay. However, merchant vessels commanded by Messrs. Severe and Fuller had suffered no damage during Grant's seven years in the province.<sup>30</sup>

Both pilot boats were again repaired and supplied with accessories during the year 1770-71. Samuel Grondine's repairs cost nearly thirteen pounds. Pilot Joseph Warner had three pairs of oars shaped, two pairs being twelve feet long, two masts, and a rudder. He had four pairs of rowlocks wrought, a rudder iron, a set of runner irons, etc. To render the boats water-tight, he supplied six pounds of oakum for caulking and a barrel of pitch and a quantity of tallow for coating their bottoms. All these things cost almost twenty pounds sterling.<sup>31</sup>

Sometime in January 1771 the snow *Charlotte* landed one hundred and twenty slaves from Banca island at St. Augustine, and while Captain James Tosh was on shore with them, the snow lost her anchors in a gale which blew her out to sea. Her mate took her into Charleston about the end of that month.<sup>32</sup>

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30. C. O. 5/551, p. 93; 5/552, pp. 115, 275, 297, 9.

31. *Ibid.*

32. *South Carolina Gazette*, Feb. 7, 1771.

*Gay St. Augustine*

A fortnight later, to the joy of St. Augustine's population, the band of the 21st Regiment came ashore. For two months, according to Governor Grant, the town was "the gayest place in America," with nothing but balls, assemblies, and concerts. In April, the musicians embarked on shipboard and sailed the next day for Philadelphia. A month later Grant further saddened the towns-people by departing for Britain. Sailing to Charleston, he transferred directly to the *Sandwich Packet*, which weighed anchor in two days.<sup>33</sup>

At the close of the previous March Lieutenant Governor Moultrie had credited Providence in a letter to Hillsborough with having altered the St. Augustine bar "much to its advantage," a channel having opened north of the old one and nearer the harbor. Its course ran northeast and southwest, permitting vessels to go in and out with the prevailing southeasterly and westwardly winds. Inside the bar they were safe at once.<sup>34</sup>

Despite Moultrie's praise of the new channel, Captain Frederick George Mulcaster was directed to have a new pilot boat built. It was outfitted with masts, sails, cables, an anchor, etc., for which the sum of forty-two pounds was paid in June, 1772. During the last of July and the beginning of August the new passage was useless under a northerly wind. The sea ran so high at the bar that "no vessel could get over." Five transports were anchored outside to receive the 31st Regiment. Three schooners were hired to carry the baggage

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33. Grant to Gage, Feb. 18, 1771; Grant to Maxwell, Mar. 27, 1771; Grant to Gage, Apr. 3, 17, 1771; (all in Gage Papers); *South Carolina Gazette*, May 16, 1771.

34. C. O. 5/552, p. 232.

out to the ships and could make only one trip in twenty-four hours. On August 12 Major McKenzie and the regiment crossed on flatboats to the Anastasia island beach and lay that night on their arms. Next day they were conveyed by the schooners out to the transports, which soon vanished from sight.<sup>35</sup>

Despite these trying experiences of the troops in departing, Moultrie boasted to Hillsborough that ever since the new bar's discovery "the benefit of it had been felt." Although it was no deeper than the old one, its situation was so much better that navigation proceeded with more expedition and safety. However, the brig *Pompey* was an exception to this statement even though General Gage declared it light enough to help the 29th Regiment and its luggage on board the large transports outside the bar. In fact the *Pompey* could not carry one company out of port in the teeth of an easterly wind that left the water too shallow over the bar. It did not sail until late in August. Lieutenant Colonel Carr wrote to Gage that the bar shifted so often that the pilots were frequently at a loss to know anything about it, and vessels often struck on it. Passing it once was enough for Carr, having struck four times in an open pilot boat.<sup>36</sup>

St. Augustine's only wharf had been built some years before by Messrs. Kender, Mason and Jones near Fort St. Mark for the convenient landing of provisions near that post. During the past three years Thomas Nixon, a London merchant, had sent one or more ships a year to St. Augustine laden with building tools, farm implements, and other

35. C. O. 5/662, pp. 297, 305; Lt. Col. Maurice Carr, 29th Regiment, to Gage, Aug. 15, 1772 (Gage Papers).

36. C. O. 5/552, p. 378; Gage to McKenzie, June 29, 1772; Carr to Gage, Sept. 5, 1772; Gage to Carr, Nov. 10, 1772, (Gage Papers).

manufactures, which were stored in his centrally located warehouse. He had petitioned for land on the water front nearby to establish his own wharf. The old wooden wharf and stage were remote, riddled by worms, and unsafe for landing goods. Fearing denial of his petition, Mr. Nixon appealed to Lord Darmouth to aid him.<sup>37</sup>

In February 1773 one of the old pilots boats sank in the river, but was hauled up by the aid of cordage wound on a gin or windlass by Corporal Dobings and other soldiers. They were paid something more than three pounds for their labor. Robert Bonsall received a like amount for bracing both of the old boats with iron-work, and Richard Poole a pound for caulking the larger one. Several months later both craft were well painted and coated with soft resin and tallow. They were also supplied with tarred and cable ropes, clouts, two large padlocks and other sundries. For all these things Robert Payne and Henry Catter were paid, the latter over twelve pounds and the former more than twenty-two pounds. Both boats underwent carpentry repairs by John Hewitt and more iron-work by Robert Bonsall, who did some on the Look-out Tower.<sup>38</sup>

Another new pilot boat was bought from James Wallace, the price paid being forty-six pounds. It was built of "Loblolly Bay Plank" and had a twenty-five foot keel, cars, masts, sails, cable, anchor, and everything complete, being approved by the pilot as a suitable boat for the bar.<sup>39</sup>

Late in September 1773 three transports carried Lieutenant Colonel Carr and the remaining companies of the 29th Regiment to Charleston. After

37. C. O. 5/545, p. 161.

38. C. O. 5/553, pp. 119, 135, 137, 139; 5/554, p. 107.

39. C. O. 5/553, pp. 120, 153.

lying off the Look-out Tower for a fortnight, the brigantine *East Florida Merchant* (Captain Alva Lofthouse) with dry goods from London, was becalmed over the bar on December 2, struck, and broke up during the next ten days. Two thirds of her damaged merchandise was salvaged. Such mishaps convinced the local authorities of the need of two launches like those the Spaniards had used. They could lighten vessels outside the bar and tow them in. Governor Tonyn had arrived from England on March 1, 1774. His ship, the *Brittania*, had lain off the bar for sixteen days until his servants and baggage could be landed. In early July he wrote to the Board of Ordnance that an incoming ship's only danger was in getting becalmed on the bar and heaved by a heavy swell into shoal water. To obviate this he was having a launch built with sixteen oars in double banks. In a calm it would tow all ships over the bar. With it the pilots expected to bring in safely any ship of ten feet draft. Tonyn wrote to Dartmouth that several owners of small craft sought to profit by spreading "dreadful accounts" of the bar and imputing to it losses of vessels down the coast. The new launch would be ready by November 1 and cost fifty-six pounds, ten shillings. Dr. Andrew Turnbull's bill for this amount was dated December 9, 1774.<sup>40</sup>

In the previous July Alexander Skinner, the naval officer since January 12, 1770, had presented his bill of over thirty-five pounds for sundries for the Look-out Tower, etc.<sup>41</sup>

(To be concluded in the next number).

40. *South Carolina Gazette*, Sept. 27, Oct. 4, Dec. 27, 1773; C. O. 5/554, pp. 133, 97, 99, 15; W. H. Siebert, *Loyalists in East Florida, 1774-1785*, II, 379; *South Carolina Gazette*, Mar. 21, 1774.

41. Siebert, *Loyalists in East Florida, 1774-1785*, II, 379, 24n., 94n.

# PHYSICIANS AND MEDICINE IN EARLY JACKSONVILLE

by WEBSTER MERRITT

## *The Earliest Years*

During the years 1829 to 1833, New Ross, a typical plantation of the early nineteenth century, lay on the border of the St. Johns river about four miles above Jacksonville. Of the happenings on the plantation Judge F. Bethune, its owner, kept a comprehensive account in his diary. On Friday, April 5, 1833, he wrote, "Andrew sick." On Monday, April 8, he recorded, "Went to Jacksonville court Andrew sick," and on the following day he added, "at Jacksonville returned before dinner with Dr. Hall had Andrew bled."<sup>1</sup> This account of the treatment of one of Judge Bethune's slaves in accordance with the medical custom of the day is the first authentic record of the practice of medicine by a physician residing in Duval county.

### *Dr. James Hall*

Dr. James Hall, at this time in his seventy-third year, was born in Keene, New Hampshire, on October 8, 1760. While still a boy in his late teens he served his country during the Revolutionary War as a sergeant in the Third Regiment, New Hampshire Line.<sup>2</sup> It is not known where and when he received his medical education nor when he moved to East Florida,<sup>3</sup> but he was living in this section

1. Judge F. Bethune's Diary, 1829-33. Library of the Florida Historical Society.
2. Information obtained from the United States Pension Records by Mrs. Jessie R. Fritot, Jacksonville.
3. Spanish Land Grants in Florida. Historical Records Survey, State Library Board, 1941. vol. IV, p. 141. Library of T. Frederick Davis, Jacksonville.

as early as 1804.<sup>4</sup> Apparently he arrived during or before the year 1798.<sup>5</sup> Dr. Hall was in all likelihood the first *bona fide* American (United States) physician to practice medicine in East Florida, or anywhere in Florida.<sup>6</sup> During the first quarter of a century of residence in the vicinity he practiced under Spanish rule and for sixteen years thereafter under American rule.

Sometime between the years 1803 and 1808,<sup>7</sup> Dr. Hall married the young widow of Robert Pritchard,<sup>8</sup> who was the first settler (1791) on land which later became Jacksonville proper.<sup>9</sup> She is referred to in the records of the Spanish land grants in some places as Leonore Plummer and in others as Eleanor Prichard. The couple made their home in Plummer's Cove, the region then known as La Grange, East Florida.

During these early years this pioneer physician not only engaged in the practice of medicine but was active and influential in affairs of the community as well. Repeatedly he testified in behalf of local persons before the boards of commissioners for ascertaining claims and titles to Spanish land grants in East Florida,<sup>10</sup> and he helped at least one Revolutionary War veteran obtain his pension from

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4. *Ibid.* vol. I, p. 200.

5. *Ibid.* vol. V, p. 137.

6. The author has not been able to find a record of any American (United States) physician who practiced medicine in St. Augustine prior to 1800, and it is thought that probably there was no American physician in West Florida prior to the nineteenth century.

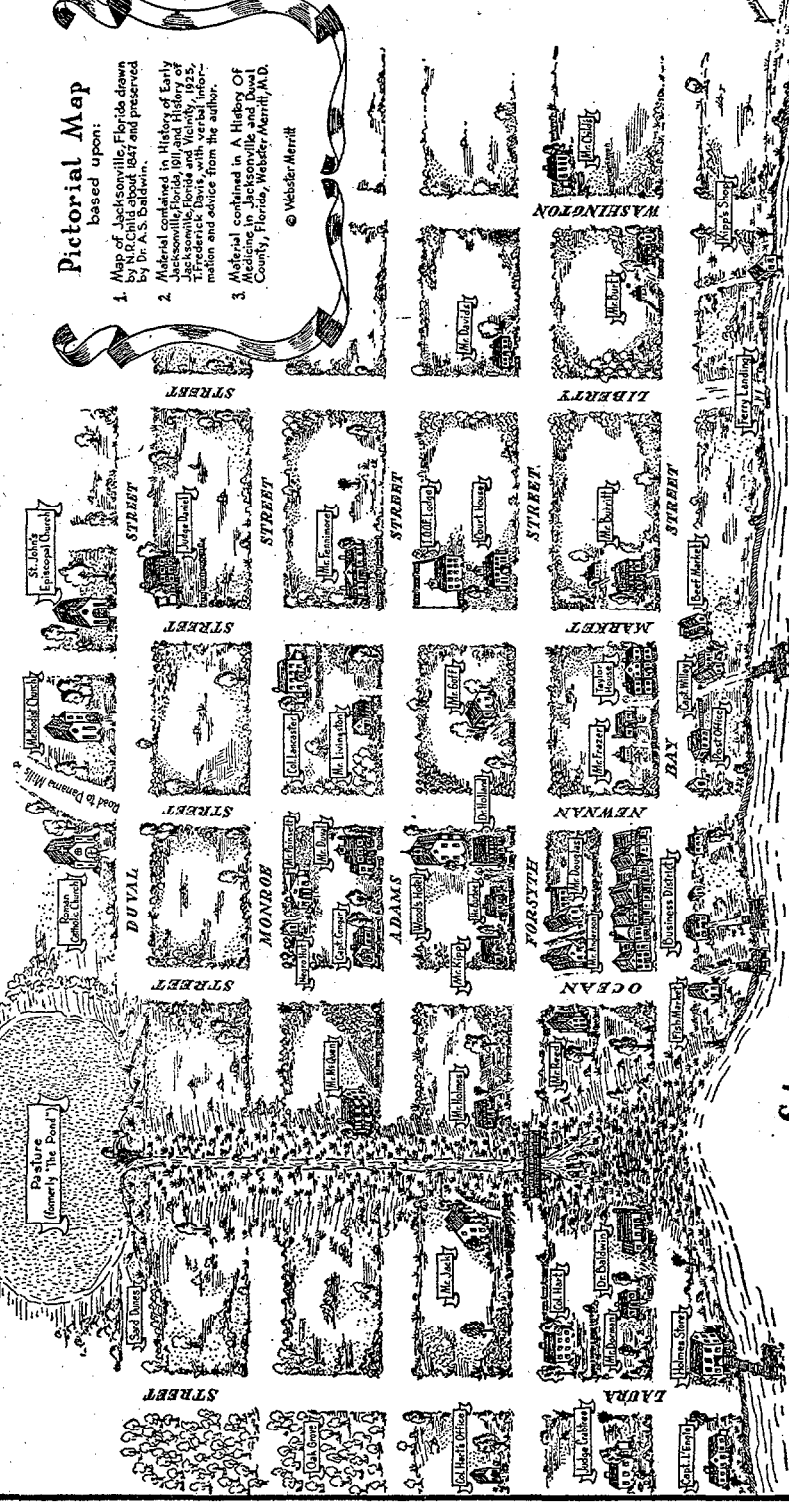
7. Spanish Land Grants in Florida. Historical Records Survey, State Library Board, 1941, vol. V, pp. 255-6. Library of T. Frederick Davis, Jacksonville.

8. *Ibid.* vol. IV, pp. 221-2.

9. *History of Jacksonville, Florida, and Vicinity*, T. Frederick Davis, 1925.

10. Spanish Land Grants in Florida. Historical Record Survey, State Library Board, 1941. vols. I, IV, V. Library of T. Frederick Davis, Jacksonville, Fla.

# An Artist's Conception of JACKSONVILLE, FLORIDA IN 1847



**Pictorial Map**  
based upon:

1. Map of Jacksonville, Florida drawn by Dr. A. S. Baldwin.
2. Material collected in Historic Early Jacksonville, Florida, 1801 and Historic Jacksonville, Florida and Vicinity, 1925, by Frederick Davis, with verbal information and advice from the author.
3. Material contained in A History Of Medicine in Jacksonville and Duval County, Florida, Webster, Merrill, M.D.

© Webster, Merrill

St. Johns River



the United States government. Dr. Hall's own pension, probably because of his prominence, was not obtained through the usual channels; hence there is less information in the office of the Bureau of Pensions than otherwise would be available.

Two other physicians located in Jacksonville in 1835. Dr. Charles Hoyt began practice in January and died in the fall ;<sup>11</sup> Dr. Edward Aldrich began practice in December, but no further record concerning him is available.<sup>12</sup> But for nearly four decades Dr. Hall was the only authentic representative of the medical profession in the territory which he served. He was privileged to see the tiny settlement and the region around it become the town of Jacksonville and Duval county many years before his death on Dec. 25, 1837. His grave may be viewed today on private property in Plummer's Cove between Beauclerc Road and Mandarin, about eleven miles from downtown Jacksonville. Miss Annie Locke, Chairman of the Historic Spots Committee of the Jacksonville Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, in 1924, was largely responsible for the discovery of his grave at that time. The chapter engaged a caretaker to tend the plot, but the caretaker became ill, the terrain of the land and nearby swamp changed, and again the grave was lost. On Aug. 3, 1944, it was relocated by Mrs. Jessie R. Fritot and the author, and on August 24, after it had been restored, a photograph was taken. The inscription on the gravestone reads:

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11. Jacksonville *Courier*, Jacksonville, East Florida, Jan. 29 and Dec. 3, 1835. The P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, The University of Florida.

12. *Ibid*, Dec. 24, 1835.

Erected  
 In Memory of  
 James Hall, M. D.  
 A Soldier of the Revolution  
 Born in Keen, N. H.  
 8th of Oct. 1760  
 Died at La Grange, E. F.  
 25th Dec. 1837  
 Aged 77 Years.

*At the Cow Ford*

During the first two decades of the nineteenth century Florida was under the rule of Spain, and the little settlement where Jacksonville now is located was known as Cow Ford. The Floridas, East and West, were ceded to the United States by Spain on Feb. 22, 1819, by a treaty which finally was ratified exactly two years later, on Washington's birthday in 1821. Actual possession of the Floridas by the United States, with General Andrew Jackson as the first governor, did not, however, take place until July, 1821.<sup>13</sup> The county of Duval was created in August, 1822,<sup>14</sup> and just prior to this date, in June, the little village of Cow Ford was surveyed,<sup>15</sup> founded as a town and named in honor of General Jackson<sup>16</sup>

*Medical Legislation*

The records of the Territory of Florida show that during the earliest months of its existence the regulation of the practice of medicine engaged the attention of the lawmakers. On September 6, 1821, one

13. Data in the possession of T. Frederick Davis, Jacksonville.

14. Acts of the territorial council, 1822.

15. Webb's *Florida*, 1884.

16. *Florida Times-Union and Citizen*, Jacksonville, Jan. 1, 1900. The *Florida Times-Union* files.

of the last ordinances issued by General Jackson during his brief tenure of office as governor conferred upon the Board of Health of Pensacola full power to regulate the practice of medicine and grant to physicians licenses to practice. Governor DuVal and his "council of thirteen discreet and reputable citizens" in their session of 1824 passed an act which required every person desirous of practicing as a physician or surgeon in the territory to file within the office of the clerk of the county court a diploma granted by some college or university and a certificate of moral character, or in lieu of a diploma, a certificate that the applicant had studied the science of physic or surgery for a term of two years in a college or under some reputable physician or surgeon. Any two judges of the county court could then decide whether the applicant was qualified to practice medicine and could grant a license.<sup>17</sup>

In 1828 an act of the Council created the first medical board of the Territory, whose duty it was to hold an examination at Tallahassee once each year "for the convenience of prospective physicians and for the protection of the public." The board was made up of fifteen members, three of whom were from St. Augustine, two from Key West, three from Tallahassee, two from Gadsden county, three from Jackson county and two from Pensacola. It may seem surprising that not one of the board's fifteen members resided in Duval county; however, this lack of representation is understood when it is recalled that in 1828 Dr. Hall was Duval county's only physician and that he was in his sixty-ninth year. In 1831 the act was repealed,<sup>18</sup> and another, somewhat more lenient, was enacted.

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17. *Memoirs of Florida*, vol. II, R. H. Rerick, 1902.

18. *The Story of Florida*, vol. II, W. T. Cash, 1938.

### *Jacksonville's Early Growth*

The growth of Jacksonville was at first disappointingly slow. For ten years it remained a struggling village. In 1830, eight years after its founding, the estimated population was only about 100, but in 1832 the town received its charter of incorporation<sup>19</sup> and began to show signs of life. During the next two or three years its population doubled. On January 1, 1835, the Jacksonville *Courier*, the town's first newspaper, began publication<sup>20</sup> and, with the exception of short suspensions,<sup>21</sup> was published weekly until 1839<sup>22</sup> when it was replaced by the *East Florida Advocate*.<sup>23</sup> The various events and activities in Jacksonville were chronicled in the *Courier*, one of the most notable of which was the Fourth of July celebration in 1835.

Since 1945 marks the centennial year of Florida's statehood, the patriotic mood of Jacksonville's citizens in 1835, ten years before Florida was admitted to the Union, is of particular interest. On Thursday, July 2, 1835, the following editorial appeared in the *Courier*:

INDEPENDENCE-The approaching Anniversary of our National Independency, will be celebrated in this place on Saturday, next, 4th inst... . Arrangements have been made for a public dinner . . . which will be provided at the Court-house. . . . We under-

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19. Act. no. 70, Legislative Council of the Territory of Florida, session of 1932.
  20. Jacksonville *Courier*, Jacksonville East Florida, vol. I, no. 5. Jan. 29, 1835. The P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida.
  21. *Florida Herald*, St. Augustine, Jan. 10, 1835. The P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida.
  22. Information obtained from the files of the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida.
  23. The *East Florida Advocate*, Jacksonville, vol. I, no. 1, Sept. 7, 1839. Library of Congress.

stand that there has never been a public celebration of the kind, in this place. We welcome this as a happy opportunity to invite the young to attend and inquire into the causes of it. Although there have been "changes of flags," we believe that fathers and mothers wish their children to know that Liberty is dear, and that they will be protected in all lawful efforts to sustain themselves, and prosper the country in which they live. We are young as a Territory. Our resources, like those of other Territories are as yet in their infancy. The broad field of public enterprize is comparatively untouched. The axe has not yet made the forest of thousands of acres echo with cultivating industry. . . . While our flag floats around us, all should be free. . . .

The celebration was impressive. A psalm was sung to the tune of Old Hundred, W. J. Mills, Esq., read the Declaration of Independence, S. Eddy, Esq., sang the Ode on Science with "spirit and taste," and John L. Doggett, Esq., delivered the oration of the evening in a "spirited and eloquent manner." Several visitors from St. Augustine were present, and there was an abundance of food. At the banquet there were thirteen regular toasts, one for each of the original states, and there were numerous volunteer toasts. A "cotillion party" in the evening closed the ceremonies.<sup>24</sup>

The Seminole War, which began in 1835, stimulated the town's growth. The onset of hostilities caused a shift in trade from the interior part of

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24. Jacksonville *Courier*, Jacksonville, July 2 and July 9, 1835. The P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida.

the territory, soon there was evidence of increased business activity. About the year 1836, a blockhouse of unique design was built on the northeast corner of Ocean and Monroe streets, and residents of the rural districts moved into the town for protection from marauding Indians, who were burning and pillaging the countryside.

The blockhouse, a one room building constructed of logs, was perched high above the ground on a small pedestal-like base. By means of a ladder the townspeople could enter through a door in the floor of the building, draw the ladder up and close the door behind them. Through portholes on all sides and in the floor of the blockhouse the occupants could project rifles at many different angles, enabling them to protect themselves from attack and also to prevent Indians from setting fire to the building from below.

Jacksonville suffered in the panic and depression which began in 1837, but the Army surgeon who that year described Jacksonville as a miserable little place with sandy streets and a dozen scattered houses,<sup>25</sup> was not giving an entirely accurate picture of the town.

### *Medical Practice*

Before any large clearings were made around Jacksonville and before there was an influx of people, apparently there was little sickness in this region.<sup>26</sup> As early as 1833 the St. Johns river area was recognized as a healthful locality in which to live. Some of the most highly educated people of

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25. Life in Camp and Field, J. Rhett Motts, A. M., M. D. From chapter XV of the unpublished manuscript. Library of the St. Augustine Historical Society.

26. Medical History of Florida, Dr. Thomas M. Palmer, Proceedings of the Florida Medical Association session of 1878. Surgeon General's Office Library.

the time believed that if the settler built near the St. Johns river there was less danger of disease and that the air along the river was better adapted to pulmonary disorders than was that of St. Augustine.<sup>27</sup>

Medicine during these early years was practiced in crude form. There must have been here, as there were in other places in Florida, self-appointed physicians who pretended to be men of wisdom. There were many backwoodsters who "physicked" folks, and most housewives knew how to administer drugs such as castor oil, calomel, blue mass, rhubarb and opium as well as how to prepare remedies gathered from herbs in the woods. Turpentine, sulfur, spirits of niter and paregoric were also supplies which could be found on nearly every plantation. They were considered almost as essential as clothing, cornmeal and bacon.

When home remedies failed, the doctor was summoned. He brought all the medicine he thought necessary and before leaving the bedside gave particular directions for the administration of every pill, powder or liquid. The directions usually were followed scrupulously, for the early settlers had an almost blind faith in the physician.<sup>28</sup>

The three types of fever prevalent in Florida about the time of the Seminole War were described as intermittent, remittent and congestive.<sup>29</sup> The congestive form was by far the most dreaded, but the remittent form, usually called "bilious remit-

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27. The Diary of Robert Raymond Reid, 1833-35 (note entered Aug. 12, 1833). Library of the St. Augustine Historical Society.

28. The Murat papers, cited by W. T. Cash. Florida State Library.

29. *Medical Topographical of Florida*, E. S. Gaillard, M. D., *Charleston Medical Journal and Review*, vol. XI, January, 1856. The Surgeon General's Office Library.

tent fever," occurred with greatest frequency. Apparently most of this fever was in reality malaria.<sup>30</sup>

The treatment of malaria in those early days was far from satisfactory. The old fashioned "dose of bark and wine" was relied upon to a considerable extent, for quinine was almost unknown in Florida prior to the Seminole War. The lancet was used freely, just as Dr. Hall used it on Judge Bethune's slave, but unfortunately bloodletting often exhausted the patient and retarded convalescence. Frequently dropsy and an enlarged spleen, not to mention anemia, were disturbing sequelae when malaria was treated by bleeding the patient.

As quinine became better known, the incidence of malaria began to decline. Dr. R. S. Holmes, an Army medical officer of the Seminole War, wrote to the Surgeon General about the treatment of disease in Florida, which he characterized as usually assuming a "remittent form." He stated that in 1841 when he first arrived in Florida, he gave two grain doses of quinine; after he himself had had an attack of "congestive fever" that same year, he gave large doses, sometimes as much as eighty grains,<sup>31</sup> but usually about twenty grains in a single dose.

As early as 1825 Dr. Henry Perrine, then in Mississippi, but later a resident of Florida, was

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30. *Remarks on the Climate, Diseases, etc., of Middle Florida, particularly Gadsden County*, Robert Edmonds Little, M. D. *The American Journal of the Medical Sciences*, vol. X, July 1845. The Surgeon General's Office Library.

31. *Remarks on the Use of Quinine in Florida and on Malaria and its Influence in that State*, R. S. Holmes, M. D., Medical Staff, United States Army. *The American Journal of the Medical Sciences*, vol. XII, October, 1846. The Surgeon General's Office Library.



giving large doses of quinine in the treatment of malaria.<sup>32</sup>

Other diseases were prevalent in Florida during the Seminole War. In 1836 measles and diarrhea were particularly annoying at Garey's Ferry (Middleburg). In 1839 there was an epidemic of yellow fever in St. Augustine and two years later there was another throughout most of the state, particularly in Tallahassee, Pensacola, Tampa Bay and Key West.<sup>33</sup> It appears, however, that no disease visited Duval county in epidemic form until the turn of the midcentury.

Hookworm apparently was fairly common in this section and was known as the dirt-eating disease. A physician of central Florida described a patient with this disease in these words: "With head and body large, limbs shrivelled and deformed, eyes dull and of a bilious tinge, lips colorless and features distorted."

#### *Dr. Abel Seymour Baldwin*

Dr. Hall's death on Christmas Day in 1837 had left Duval county without any medical attention worthy of the name. Fortunately, however, just a little less than one year later, a young physician, then only twenty-seven years of age, arrived to take up his long residence in Jacksonville. He was Dr. Abel Seymour Baldwin,<sup>34</sup> destined to become not only the town's greatest physician, but for many years its most outstanding citizen.

32. Dr. Henry Perrine. *The Journal of the Fla. Medical Association*, April, 1934. Dr. Edward Jelks.

33. Digest of Florida Material in Niles Register 1811-1849, T. Frederick Davis, MS., 1939.

34. *The Book of Jacksonville*, S. Paul Brown, 1895; *The Florida Times-Union*, Dec. 9, 1898; *History of Early Jacksonville, Florida*, T. Frederick Davis, 1911; Jacksonville, *The Metropolis of Florida*, James Esgate, 1885.

Dr. Baldwin was born in Oswego county, New York, on March 18, 1811. Orphaned in infancy, he was adopted by an uncle in Madison county, New York, where for some time he was taught by private tutors. He was graduated from Geneva, now Hobart, College in 1834 with the Bachelor of Science and Bachelor of Arts degrees and then studied medicine in the office of Dr. Thomas Spencer. Two years later he received the appointment of botanist in the geologic survey of Michigan, but exposure incident to camp life in that state resulted in an acute attack of rheumatic fever, which made it impossible for him to continue with the work. He returned to New York, completed his medical studies and received the degrees of Master of Arts and Doctor of Medicine from Geneva College in 1838. The climate in the North did not agree with him, he suffered recurrent attacks of rheumatic fever, and the following winter he departed for Florida with his bride. He arrived in Jacksonville on December 2, 1838.

Here a balmy and salubrious climate soon restored Dr. Baldwin to a state of vigorous health. Although he became a defender of the state in the Seminole War, his major interest during the early years of his residence in Duval county was the practice of medicine. His professional duties soon became laborious and extensive for he had to make nearly all of his calls on horseback and it was necessary for him to cover a territory with a radius of thirty or more miles. This active engagement in the practice of medicine was more than enough to absorb the energy of an ordinary man, but such were his great industry and capacity for work and such was the fertility of his mind and intellect that he found time to interest himself in many enterprises.

It became apparent almost immediately that this versatile newcomer combined two qualities that were to make him unusual. He was scientific and at the same time practical. Because of his training in botany he was well versed in the life and growth of plants. He did fine carving on ivory and wood and also played several musical instruments. He became an active member of the St. Johns Episcopal Church and for many years the leader of its choir.

In 1839 Dr. Baldwin began to keep a record of the thermometer readings, to make careful observations of the weather and to study the climate which had restored him to health. In 1852 he was made official meteorologist for the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, and in later years studies of the climatology of Florida were based largely upon his records. Their publication did much to attract great numbers of tourists to Florida each winter.

On professional visits up and down the St. Johns river he began to observe the tides and the currents and to study the bar at the mouth of the river. He became convinced that a small appropriation for closing up Fort George Inlet would enable the waters of the St. Johns to flow into the ocean with less obstruction and would force a channel deep enough to allow the passage of larger vessels up the river to Jacksonville. At a public meeting in Jacksonville on August 2, 1852, he was requested, by vote, to go to Washington, D. C., to secure an appropriation for improvement of the bar<sup>35</sup>. He obtained two appropriations of \$10,000 each, one for the bar and the other for the lighthouse.<sup>36</sup> After

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35. *Florida Republican*, Jacksonville, Fla., Nov. 17, 1852. Library of Congress.

36. *Ibid*, Dec. 9, 1852.

the initial success of his efforts to secure the navigation facilities that were to become of inestimable importance to the development of the city, he continued to maintain interest in the project, and many years later it was he who was largely responsible for the system of jetties at the mouth of the river.<sup>37</sup>

In the fall of 1852, while absent on his mission to Washington, Dr. Baldwin was elected to represent Duval county in the state legislature. From Tallahassee on January 21, 1853, he wrote a letter to the editor of the *Floridian and Journal* championing the Florida, Atlantic and Gulf Central Railroad. In so doing he took issue with Governor Call, who had appealed to the citizens of middle Florida to unite in promoting the construction of a railroad to connect the St. Marks and Brunswick roads. Dr. Baldwin was convinced that this route would shunt the trade of the state into Georgia.<sup>38</sup> During the first session of the legislature he secured a charter for the Florida, Atlantic and Gulf Central Railroad with a right of way from Jacksonville to Pensacola. On September 1, at a meeting in Tallahassee Dr. Baldwin, Morris Kiel, A. A. Canova, Paran Moody, J. P. Sanderson, D. S. Gardiner, F. C. Barreth, T. E. Buckman and John Roberts were elected directors of the railroad,<sup>39</sup> and on November 5 at a meeting in Jacksonville Dr. Baldwin was elected president of the directors.<sup>40</sup>

More than three years later, in March, 1857, ground was broken for the road from Jacksonville to Alligator (Lake City), but an epidemic of yellow fever in Jacksonville interfered with the work, and

37. St. John's Bar, A. S. Baldwin, *The Semi-Tropical*, June, 1876.

38. *Florida Republican*, Jacksonville, Feb. 10, 1853. Library of Congress.

39. *Ibid*, Sept. 15, 1853.

40. *Florida News*, Jacksonville, Nov. 12, 1853. Library of Congress.

there was delay. The railroad reached its destination on March 13, 1860, and two days later the event was celebrated by an excursion to Lake City, the name having been changed from Alligator on January 15, 1859. At a barbecue there Dr. Baldwin and Dr. Holmes Steele addressed a large gathering. On March 21, a return excursion to Jacksonville was climaxed by a colorful ceremony staged at the Judson House, in which Miss Louisa Holland of Jacksonville and Miss Kate Ives of Lake City with pitchers mingled the waters of the St. Johns river and Lake De Soto.<sup>41</sup> In this auspicious manner was the Florida, Atlantic and Gulf Central Railroad launched.

In the Florida State Senate Dr. Baldwin opposed secession from the Union, but soon after Florida seceded he offered his services to the Confederacy. He was made medical director for Florida and was stationed at Lake City throughout the war between the states. Dr. Baldwin's two letter books, a Medical Directory of Florida and the book of the Chief Surgeon, District of East Florida, together with his case book of the General Hospital at Lake City, are preserved in the Confederate Museum in Richmond, Virginia.<sup>42</sup>

In 1874, at Dr. Baldwin's home and office, located at that time on Laura and Adams streets, the Florida Medical Association was founded. Fittingly enough, Dr. Baldwin was elected to serve as its first president.<sup>43</sup>

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41. *Jacksonville, Fifty-five Years Ago*. Recollections of a Veteran. Otis L. Keene. The Jacksonville Metropolis, Dec. 12, 1908.

42. Letters from the House Regent, The Confederate Museum, Richmond, Va. to Mr. Joseph F. Marron, Librarian, Jacksonville Free Public Library.

43. Proceedings of the Florida Medical Association, Jan. 14, 1874, Surgeon General's Office Library.

This beloved physician, ever the public servant as well, was largely responsible for Jacksonville's excellent system of water works. When eighty-five years of age, he was elected president of the Jacksonville Board of Trade. He apparently had not the slightest mercenary interest. Public-spirited in the truest sense of the word, he seemed always to strive for the good of his adopted city, never for pecuniary gain. Even the magnificent oak trees that made Jacksonville famous for its beauty in his declining years were a tribute to his foresight for in 1850, nearly half a century before, he, with Gen. Thomas Ledwith, had supervised their planting.<sup>44</sup> Unfortunately, they survived him but a short time for nearly all of them were destroyed by the disastrous fire of 1901.

For six decades almost to a day Dr. Baldwin led the vanguard of progress in Jacksonville. At the time of his death on December 8, 1898, in his eighty-eighth year, he was the city's most distinguished citizen.

*Dr. Henry Drayton Holland*

In addition to Dr. Hall and Dr. Baldwin, one other outstanding physician settled in Duval county prior to 1840. He was Dr. Henry Drayton Holland,<sup>45</sup> a typical gentleman of the era and a planter as well as a physician, who was born in Charleston, S. C. in 1806. He learned to walk under the guidance of a remarkable Negro woman named Dolly, who was somewhat more than seventy years old at that time. About forty years later, at the age of 113, Dolly, still

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44. *History of Jacksonville*, T. Frederick Davis.

45. Mrs. J. H. Burroughs, Jacksonville, Fla. Interview, Aug. 7, 1944. Letter to the author from the Registrar of the Medical College of the State of South Carolina, Oct. 24, 1944.

in possession of her health and mental vigor, was an active servant in Dr. Holland's home.<sup>46</sup>

Dr. Holland was graduated from the Medical College of the State of South Carolina in 1830 and moved to Camden county, Georgia, near Brunswick, where in 1831 he married Ann Barrie. In late January, 1836, Dr. Holland, surgeon for a group of thirty mounted volunteers from Camden and Glynn counties in Georgia, came to Jacksonville en route to join the "Richmond Blues" of Augusta, Georgia, in their march to Fort King in central Florida (now Ocala).<sup>47</sup> The public mind had been aroused by Dade's massacre of December 28, 1835, and Gen. Duncan L. Clinch, Commander of the United States forces in Florida, had been authorized to call for and accept troops from the adjoining states. When General Clinch became discouraged with the state of affairs in Florida and retired in the summer of 1836, apparently Dr. Holland withdrew from the fighting, returned to Duval county and settled at Mulberry Grove, now Black Point on the St. Johns river about seven miles south of Jacksonville, the present site of the Jacksonville Naval Air Station.<sup>48</sup> Sometime between the years 1842 and 1845 he moved to downtown Jacksonville and began the practice of medicine.

Like his distinguished colleague, Dr. Baldwin, Dr. Holland found time to take an active part in community affairs, and it soon became apparent that

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46. Editorial, *Florida Republican*, June 20, 1850. Library of Congress.

47. The Jacksonville *Courier*, Jacksonville, Fla., Feb. 4, 1836. The P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida.

48. *Florida, Its History and Its Romance*, G. R. Fairbanks, 1898. Inventory of the Miscellaneous File of Court Papers, Saint Johns Court, Florida, vol. II, P-Z., Florida Historical Records Survey, Jacksonville, Fla., 1940. Library of the Florida Historical Society.

he was a public-spirited citizen as well as a good physician. In 1864, as in 1835, Jacksonville and Duval county had a gala Fourth of July celebration. The committee in charge of arrangements was made up of prominent citizens, and Dr. Holland's name headed the list.<sup>49</sup> In 1852 Dr. Holland was elected intendant (mayor) of Jacksonville and became the first physician to serve as the town's chief executive.<sup>50</sup> Under his able leadership an ordinance to prevent the spread of contagious or infectious diseases was passed, a Board of Health was organized, and Jacksonville was guided safely through an epidemic of smallpox which at first was the cause of much fear.<sup>51</sup> During the late eighteen fifties Dr. Holland's health failed, and he died prematurely in 1860.

### *Jacksonville at Midcentury*

It is fascinating to visualize the Jacksonville of a century ago when Florida was admitted to the Union, and to examine some of the more interesting aspects of its physical makeup at that time. On Bay street along the river front in 1842 there were one store, one commission house and three residences, Dr. Baldwin's cottage, the "Taylor House", occupied by "Colonel" Hart, and Captain Willey's house.<sup>52</sup> Dr. Baldwin's home, in which he had his office, was located on the north side of Bay street just west of Pine (now Main). His property bor-

49. *The News*, Jacksonville, June 26, 1846. Library of Congress

50. *Florida Republican*, Jacksonville, Fla., April 8, 1852. Library of Congress.

51. *Ibid.*, June 10 and July 1, 1852. Reminiscences of old citizens, recorded by Mrs. W. M. Bostwick. Library of T. Frederick Davis, Jacksonville. *The Ancient City*, Saint Augustine, Florida, August 8, 10, and 14, 1852. The P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida.

52. Note of reminiscence from the editor of the *Palatka Herald*. The weekly *Florida Union*, Jacksonville, Fla., June 9, 1877. Library of Congress



dering on Pine was a garden consisting, of low ground, much in need of drainage. Actually the river marsh extended up Pine as far as Forsyth, where a bridge or causeway was built across its border. North of this point Pine was impassable—a quagmire which could not be crossed until Duval street was reached. Here at the intersection of Pine and Duval streets a bridge consisting of “dune sands” blown there at some remote period closed the natural outlet of a small body of water on the north side, familiarly referred to as “the pond.” In 1847 the city council was induced, probably by Dr. Baldwin, to have a ditch dug from the pond through the dune sand along Pine street to the river marsh. To the surprise of many, the pond, which had hitherto been considered a permanent body of water, was drained so that it soon became covered with a luxuriant growth of grass, which made a fine pasture for cattle.<sup>53</sup>

An incident graphically portraying life in Jacksonville at midcentury is related in a letter written on Christmas Day in 1849 by William J. L’Engle, then a boy of seventeen who later was to study medicine and to practice for a short time in Jacksonville. He regaled his Aunt Leonis with this Christmas Eve scene :

“ . . . My head is full of a little incident that befell me last night. I can think of nothing else so I must tell it to you. While returning from Mr. Bryant’s in company with Mr. Drew, where we had been practicing the Anthems, for Christmas, we encountered, what do you think? A huge black

63. *Report of Health Committee*, by A. S. Baldwin, *Daily Sun and Press*, Dec. 5, 1877. The Florida Times-Union files.

bear just at Mr. Reed's corner, as we turned to cross the bridge, at the causeway (Main and Forsyth). I was not ten feet from the fellow's nose. I happened to be walking with Father's sword cane and I drew it and pursued him, but Master Bruin was too quick for me. He took to his heels, down the side walk and ran up against Cyrus Bisbee . . . and scared him half to death. We followed him until he got into the bushes back of the town." <sup>54</sup>

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54. Letter from William Johnson L'Engle to his father's sister, Leonis L'Engle, Dec. 25, 1849. Original in the possession of Mrs. C. W. Camp. Copy furnished author by Mr. Richard P. Daniel, Jacksonville, Fla.

PIONEER FLORIDA  
by T. FREDERICK DAVIS

DESTRUCTION OF PORT LEON, 1843

Below the town of St. Marks and flanked on both sides by wide marsh, low, open pine land extends from back country roughly in the form of a V with its apex at the east bank of the St. Marks river. In this apex, two miles in a straight line and two and a half miles by boat from St. Marks, a purposed town named Port Leon was opened up with a public sale of lots May 3, 1838, coincident with the completion of the Tallahassee Railroad to St. Marks—(See “First Railroads” in this *Quarterly*, January, 1945). St. Marks had been the shipping point for that region for years and furnished sufficient depth of water for any vessel able to pass the bar at the mouth of the river, but the harbor was narrow and congested. Port Leon was conceived by the owners of the railroad with the idea that this situation would be improved and at the same time produce profits from leases and the sale of lots in the new development. Evidently these anticipations were in a measure verified, as an advertisement in the Tallahassee *Floridian*, dated December 7, 1839, notified the public that an extension of the railroad from St. Marks to Port Leon had been completed, and that another public sale of lots would take place at Port Leon on January 13, 1840.

In five years Port Leon had reached the small town class in resident population. The business interests were preponderantly maritime. Dockage and warehouses had been built, as well as dwellings for those whose business held them there. General

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This is the eleventh of the “Pioneer Florida” series of historical sketches from contemporaneous sources, beginning in the October 1943 issue.

stores sufficient for local needs were in operation. There were two taverns. A small weekly paper had made its debut. The buildings were of frame construction, some of them flimsily erected. The highest ground elevation in the town was only a few feet above tidewater. Broadly, this was Port Leon the day before the frightful night of September 13, 1843.

About 11 A. M. Wednesday, September 13, 1843, the wind commenced blowing fresh from the southeast, bringing up a high tide, but nothing alarming. Late in the afternoon the wind lulled and the tide fell, but the weather continued threatening. Around 11 o'clock that night the wind again freshened and the tide commenced flowing. By midnight the gale was blowing with hurricane force. The whole town was inundated by a storm or tidal wave to a depth of seven to ten feet. The gale continued with unabated violence until 2 A. M. of the 14th, when the wind suddenly lulled for a few minutes, and then came from the southwest, with redoubled violence, and blew with gradually diminishing force until daylight. (This was a severe tropical storm of small diameter. The lull in the wind about 2 A. M. of the 14th, was the center or core of the hurricane passing over the town.)

"Our city is in ruins! We have been visited by one of the most horrible storms that it ever devolved upon us to chronicle." Every warehouse in the town was laid flat with the ground, except that of Hamlin & Snell's, and a part of that also was demolished. Nearly every dwelling was thrown from its foundation and many of them crushed to atoms. The merchants took what precautions they could for protection against high wind and water before the height of the storm, by moving their goods, as they

thought, out of danger. But the surging water and furious blasts were irresistible, and the goods in the stores were either destroyed or badly damaged. The store of Daniel Ladd was the least injured of any, although the water there was three feet above the counters; this building had the highest foundation of any in the town. Every dwelling house and store that was not demolished was left in a wretchedly shattered and filthy condition. Many of the citizens rendezvoused at the principal tavern before the storm struck in full force, and there waited in terrible anxiety and uncertainty its abatement. It was nothing less than a miracle that only one life was lost at Port Leon—a half-witted negro boy drowned.

The railroad between Port Leon and St. Marks was completely washed away, and considerable damage was done to the track north of St. Marks. All of the warehouses and most of the dwellings at St. Marks were destroyed, but no lives were lost. The railroad bridge across St. Marks River, a substantial structure built upon the self-suspension principle, supported by strong piers, was lifted bodily by the flood and carried some distance up the river, where it was left "an entire bridge yet, but in judiciously placed". All cottages in the miniature "summer resort" near the light house at the mouth of the St. Marks River between four and five miles below Port Leon, were washed away, with a toll of seven white occupants and five negro servants drowned. Little damage was done in Tallahassee twenty miles north of St. Marks.

(The tidal wave was the major hand in all of the destruction. There can be scarcely a doubt that many buildings would have survived the force of the wind alone.)

When they had recovered from the daze of the appalling catastrophe, the citizens of Port Leon held a mass meeting to determine what was best to do. The decision to abandon the place as a town site, salvage as much as possible, and move to another location, was practically unanimous. A committee was appointed to make a selection. A site on the west bank of the St. Marks River four miles above the town of St. Marks was chosen and named "Newport." The location was generally high above the reach of water and was considered healthful. Good roads would make it accessible. White Sulphur Springs, said to have medicinal value, were nearby. Off the waterfront there was sufficient depth for vessels light enough to pass the bar at the mouth of the river, and, withal, it was considered a much better berth for them than at Port Leon. Before the end of September, 1843, lots in Newport were being surveyed and plans were progressing for the erection of several warehouses. Thus another Territorial Florida small town flashed into existence.

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This account, except where otherwise indicated, is derived from: Port Leon *Commercial Gazette*, Sept. 15, 1843-extract in *Niles' National Register*, Sept. 30, 1843; Tallahassee *Sentinel*, Sept. 19 and 26, 1843; *Niles' National Register*, Oct. 14, 1843.

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#### FIRST MILITIA ORGANIZATION

The first militia muster in Florida after the formal transfer by Spain to the United States in 1821, for which we have a record, was the "Florida Rangers," organized in St. Augustine on or about August 1, 1826, with the following officers: Joseph Woodruff, captain; Joseph S. Sanchez, first lieutenant ; Joseph Elsourdi, second lieutenant ; William Taber, third lieutenant; John M. Fontane, ensign; B. A. Putnam, orderly sergeant. The editor of the St. Augustine *East Florida Herald*, August 8, 1826,

had this to say of the company: "Every laudable spirit deserves an honorable notice, and it gives us pleasure to extend a tribute of praise to the officers and members comprising a new company just organized in this city and called the Florida Rangers. It is but little more than a week since this company was proposed, and it now consists of about fifty members."

The first public appearance of the company was at the honorary funeral rites held in St. Augustine early in August, 1826, as an expression of respect for the departed patriots Thomas Jefferson and John Adams, both of whom through singular coincidence died July 4, 1826, on the fiftieth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence. Thirty members of the company were in uniform and performed an interesting part in the procession *-(op. cit.)*.

A premonition of coming trouble with the Seminole Indians, brought about by the murder of several members of the Carr family at their farm on the Aucilla River in December, 1826, inspired a general militia act by the legislative council of the Territory, approved January 20, 1827. Under this act, two brigades, to be composed of seven regiments were ordered organized, apportioned : First Regiment-Escambia and Walton counties ; Second -St. Johns, Mosquito, and Monroe; Third-Jackson and Washington; Fourth-Duval and Nassau; Fifth-Gadsden ; Sixth-Alachua ; Seventh-Leon. The officers commissioned for the seven regiments so constituted were - (*Pensacola Gazette*, Feb. 9, 1827) :

<b>Regiment</b>	<b>Colonel</b>	<b>Lieut. Col.</b>	<b>Major</b>
First	John de la Rúa	Joseph Noriega	vacant
Second	George Murray	Francis J. Fatio	John M. Hanson
Third	John M. Pope	William T. Kilbee	Vacant
Fourth	John Broward	John L. Doggett	James O'Neal
Fifth	Henry Yonge	Edward A. Robinson	James A. Wooten
Sixth	James Dell	Simeon Dell	William Colson
Seventh	James Gadsden	Achille Murat	Richard C. Allen
<b>Adjutant-general</b> , Isham G. Searcy;		<b>Quartermaster-general</b> , Samuel F. Love.	

(Brigade officers not named)

The Carr murder was at length traced to a small party of vagabond Indians roaming the country and did not prove to be the prelude to a general Indian uprising; the excitement abated, and the militia law of 1827 became in fact an authorization rather than an order. A popular sentiment arose, that the United States troops stationed at various places in Florida could and would take care of any general emergency. Communities in several instances, however, loosely organized undrilled parties, miscellaneously equipped with any weapon individually possessed, something on the order of "Vigilantes", for the protection of their respective localities solely. The Florida Rangers remained for many years the only regularly mustered company of militia in the Territory.

The first extensive call upon the "Florida Militia" was made just prior to the outbreak of the Seminole war in 1835; but it was directed to a phantom organization so far as military preparedness was concerned. The companies responding to this call were Volunteers rather than Militia in a military sense.

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### **THE WILD TALLAHASSEE OF 1827**

For nearly three years after Florida became a possession of the United States it had no permanent official capital. The system of government was to alternate the sessions of the Legislative Council between Pensacola and St. Augustine. This migratory arrangement was unsatisfactory from the start, and at the second session of the Council, held in St. Augustine in 1823, commissioners were appointed to select a permanent site for the capital of the Territory. They selected a place near the old Indian town "Tallahassi", about midway



between Pensacola and St. Augustine. The first settlers at the future capital arrived in April, 1824. They were two men, two women, two children, and a mulatto man, who brought their effects in a wagon. They built a temporary hut the day of their arrival. We do not know with certainty the names of these people. Soon, other parties came and the town started upon its career. In the Fall of 1824, the Legislative Council assembled there for its third session.

Three years passed before we get a glimpse of local conditions from published contemporaneous accounts. This was when the Leon County grand jury went on the war path in 1827, and in its report made the following presentment: "We are sorry to find that in Tallahassee, a horrible state of things has existed for some time. The most flagrant breaches of the laws have taken place. The civil authorities have in many instances been set at defiance; and the most riotous, immoral, and disorderly proceedings have constantly taken place. It is truly lamentable to see such occurrences in any civilized country, but that it has occurred at the capital of our Territory, where it is so particularly desirable to establish a character for morality and good order, is the more to be regretted. . . . We therefore recommend to the next Legislative Council, the passage of a law, laying a tax upon all retailers of spiritous liquors, except respectable houses of entertainment" - (*Pensacola Gazette*, Nov. 2, 1827).

#### *A Contrast*

Two years later. Tallahassee has a population of about 1000. One wing of the Capitol has been completed, and the whole building is under contract. There are two churches, an Academy, and two pri-

vate schools. There are three public houses of entertainment (hotels), besides several boarding houses; nine stores, two groceries, and but one grog shop, the rest having closed for want of patronage. The jail for some time past has been without occupants-(Tallahassee *Floridian and Advocate*, Sept. 8, 1829).

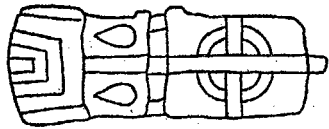
## HISTORIC ARTIFACTS AND THE "BUZZARD CULT" IN FLORIDA

by JOHN WALLACE GRIFFIN

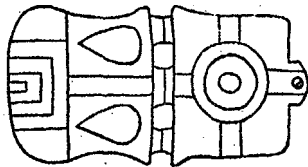
An extensive literature on the archaeology of Florida has been amassed over a considerable number of years. By far the greater part of this literature is purely descriptive, and it is the purpose of this paper to take some of the older materials and interpret them in the light of current archaeological knowledge ; knowledge which has advanced at an almost breathtaking rate in the past decade. For our purposes we shall select seven related artifacts from southern Florida; made of gold, silver, brass, stone and wood.

The small gold ornament, shown as figure 2 in the accompanying plate, was described by A. E. Douglass in 1890. It was found on an island in the Kissimmee river near Fort Bassinger (Basinger) and is two and a quarter inches long, one and a quarter inches broad and the thickness of a half dollar. Tests showed it to be sixty percent gold, thirty percent copper and ten percent silver; doubtlessly representing a post-contact source of metal. It consists of two main segments separated by a depressed area containing two holes. One of the segments bears a projection, bored for suspension. The obverse is decorated with incised lines as shown in figure 2, while the reverse has incised crescents in the upper left and lower right quarters, and incised vertical lines in the other two quarters.

C. B. Moore, the wholesale digger of Florida archaeology, discovered two small metal ornaments with burials in the Gleason mound on the east bank of the Banana river in Brevard county. One of them is of brass (figure 4) and is about one and three-quarters inches long, while the other (figure 6) is of silver and



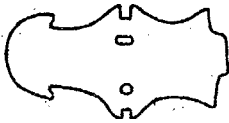
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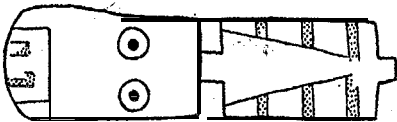
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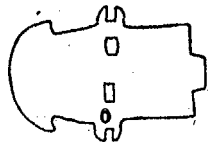
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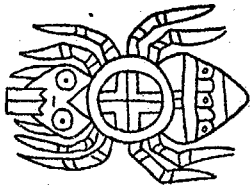
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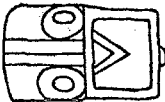
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is about one and one-half inches long. Also found with burials in this mound were three large glass beads, and three silver beads, apparently of European make. The general outlines of these two small gorgets are similar to the gold ornament discussed above, but either they bore no ornamentation or the oxidation of the metal had obliterated it.

Two wooden plaques from South Florida have been published by J. W. Fewkes (figures 1 and 3). Figure 1 is eight and one-quarter inches high by three inches wide ; figure 3 is nine and three-quarter inches long by three and one-fifth inches wide. Both were removed by dredge from below a shell mound west of Fort Myers on the Caloosahatchee river, and were presented to the National Museum by Mr. George Kinzie.<sup>1</sup>

The famous Key Marco site, excavated by Cushing, provides us with our final set of data. The wooden example shown as figure 5 was made of pine or cypress, was two feet three and one-half inches long, ten inches wide, three inches thick in the middle of the head and one inch thick on the flatter upper portion. The design is painted in black and white and the reverse had four round marks of white enclosed and dotted in black. No fewer than ten or twelve of these objects were uncovered by Cushing; probably all had been painted, although the evidence was lacking on most. In size they ranged from slightly over one foot to nearly five feet in length. Various similar objects, several of wood, one (figure 8) of stone were also found. They were decorated by incising with eyes, zig-zags for mouths, and triangles or concentric circles on the bodies.

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1. Fewkes did not publish the sizes of the objects or their find-spot; the writer is indebted to Joseph R. Caldwell of the U. S. National Museum for this information.

The example figured is of coral limestone, about two inches long, and is grooved for suspension.

There are as many interpretations as to what the designs are meant to depict as there are finders and writers, and the explanation offered in this paper differs from all of them. Douglass had the most ingenious, and the least tenable, theory. He interpreted his gorget (figure 2) as representing a cross with the Orbis Mundi at the intersection of the arms; the base on which the cross rests was a crude representation of the gradines which characterize the Spanish-American mounting of the cross. The two pear-shaped figures he took to be hearts, representing the two thieves crucified with Jesus. Moore figured his gorgets upside down and thought that the projections and round hole in figure 6 represented a duck head. Fewkes merely called his "altar slabs" and gave no indication of what he thought they represented; he, too, figures his specimens upside down, from our point of view. Cushing felt that the design of figure 5 represented an alligator or similar creature.

The writer is of the opinion that the designs on these Florida artifacts are intended to represent the spider. Figures 7 and 9 are spiders from incised round shell gorgets from Missouri and Illinois. The holes in the gorgets (not shown in these drawings) make it certain that the spider hung head downwards, which is not an abnormal position for a spider. If these spiders are closely compared with the Florida materials it will be noted that many similarities exist, despite the lack of legs and the generally more conventionalized appearance of the Florida examples. The division of the artifacts into two segments may be taken to represent the cephalothorax and abdomen of the spider; the shell gor-

## BUZZARD'S CULT IN FLORIDA

get examples have the cross and circle superimposed at the juncture of these two segments. The cross and circle motif occurs on at least two of the Florida examples, and on all of the decorated examples the eyes and the retangularly shaped mouth parts are evident. Furthermore, the lateral protrusions at the middle of several of the Florida examples might conceivably be taken to represent, in a rudimentary fashion, the legs which are fully represented on the carved shell examples.

Before continuing with our interpretation it will be necessary to digress briefly and sketch, in barest outline, the sequence of cultures in the southeastern United States. Ford and Willey in 1941 gave us the first overall synthesis of this sequence and described it under five time periods; Archaic, Burial Mound I and II, Temple Mound I and II. In the Archaic period a hunting and gathering economy prevailed with pottery making its appearance toward the end of the period. In the Burial Mound periods the economy shifted to agriculture, at least in part, pottery came into its own, and the dead were interred in burial mounds. Burial mounds, it must be noted, did not entirely disappear at the end of these periods. In the Temple Mound periods agriculture became more intensive and the erection of pyramidal mounds of earth as the substructures for buildings began. Toward the end of Temple Mound II a cult arose which has been variously called the "Bussard Cult", the "Death Cult" or the "Southern Cult". An analysis of this cult was made in 1945 by Waring and Holder ; it is characterized by a series of ceremonial objects too lengthy to mention here, and seems to have reached its peak at Etowah in Georgia, Moundville in Alabama and Spiro in Oklahoma, although evidences of it are found widespread, including Mount

Royal and Key Marco in Florida. It is generally assumed that this "Buzzard Cult" is a late manifestation, perhaps in the form of a nativistic revival, influenced from Mexico, subsequent to the first inroads of the Whites themselves or due to deprivations caused by disease introduced along the coasts by the Whites. In several areas materials which seem to belong to the cult are found in horizons associated with historic materials; such a case occurs in Northwest Florida in the Fort Walton horizon in the form of Spanish olive jar sherds with Indian materials.

To return to the materials under consideration in this paper, we have seen that the artifacts described seem to represent the spider, which is a "Buzzard Cult" motif, that two of them display the cross and circle, another cult motif, and that others come from Key Marco which is an acknowledged "Buzzard Cult" site. This is of interest since three of the objects are of metals which must have come from White sources. The metals could date from a time shortly after the discovery, say the first quarter of the sixteenth century, since we know from Fontaneda's memoir that the Calusa of South Florida had access to such metals from wrecked Spanish ships. This, however, sets the maximum, not the minimum age. In this connection it is of interest to note that John Davides in his *History of the Caribby Islands* published in 1666 tells of pile dwellings near the sea among the Indians of Florida "beyond the Bay of Carlos and Turtugues" (Cushing, p. 403). The Key Marco site is of course in the correct area for this statement, and it was built on piles. Ford and Willey gave a "guess date" of from 1600 to 1700 for the "Buzzard Cult", while Waring and Holder, without stating any definite dates, would



seem to incline toward a slightly earlier dating. The evidence presented here, together with some not presented here but which the writer hopes to publish soon, strongly suggests that the seventeenth century dating is correct; that the "Buzzard Cult" falls definitely into historic times in Florida.

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# THE CONTEST FOR PENSACOLA BAY AND OTHER GULF PORTS 1698-1722

by STANLEY FAYE

## PART II

The brothers Lemoyne began Louisiana's war against Mexico, as told in part one of this narrative. Francois Blondel de la Tour continued it. One month after the fall of San Carlos (at Pensacola bay) the commandant of Natchitoches led the six men remaining in his garrison against San Miguel de Adaes, the nearest Spanish mission of Texas. He captured one of the two Spanish soldiers, who formed the garrison there, but neither Blondel nor Governor Alarcon at Mission Dolores (near Nacogdoches, Texas) possessed military strength for further operations.<sup>1</sup> Natchitoches waited in stalemate until the Company of the Indies should open the port of San Bernardo bay. Meanwhile the French Commodore Champmeslin with the naval ships *Hercule* (flagship), *Mars* (Captain Roquefeuil) and *Triton* (Captain de Vienne) was approaching Haiti,<sup>2</sup> where on July 9 he came into port at Cap Francois.

Four days earlier Commodore Francisco Cornejo with the ships *San Juan* and *San Luis* of 60 guns each and the fragata *San Jorge* of 50 guns, all from *Cadiz*, had anchored in the offshore port at Vera Cruz. Thereby on July 13 the viceroy in his upland capital city<sup>3</sup> knew officially that France was at war with Spain.

Great Britain also was at war with Spain. Serigny

1. Carlos Eduardo Castaneda. *The Winning of Texas. 1693-1731* (Austin. 1936) 115.
2. Mithon to the Council of Marine, July 31, 1719, ANC, C<sup>9</sup>A, 16: (No. 67) ; names of ships and commanders in Hubert, *Relation*, 314.
3. Valero to the king, Sept. 23. annexed to same to Elcorobarrutia, Oct. 15, 1719, Mexico, 61-2-1; the king to Valero, Jan. 27. 1720, AGM. *Historia*, v. 298.

in his report made at Pensacola on June 20 conformed to old French theory in asserting that he had formed his expedition in haste not in order to take Governor Matamoros by surprise but "for fear lest the English should forestall us."<sup>4</sup> Captain-general Gregorio Guazo Calderon, governor-general of Cuba and of Florida, held a well-founded fear of the English in Carolina, but only because of St. Augustine. King Felipe possessed on the Atlantic coast of Florida no port other than this one, where the harbor entrance offered no more than from 8 1/2 to 10 (English) feet of water. St. Augustine could not serve as a base for any Spanish squadron capable of defending itself against the British navy, but the little open boats of Cuban privateersmen could ask no better harbor from which to raid the seaborne commerce of Charleston.

At once to inspect British shipping and to strengthen St. Augustine's garrison for a seaborne raid against Charleston, Calderon had prepared a mosquito fleet. Under command of Alfonso Carrasco de la Torre as "admiral" he put as flagship a fragata-by-courtesy of 150 tons armed with 16 guns<sup>5</sup> and twelve of the privateer boats.<sup>6</sup> One of these latter was another fragata-by-courtesy armed with fourteen 6-pounders;<sup>7</sup> the others were *faluchos* (two-masted luggers), *balandras* (one-masted luggers) and *bergantines* (sailing barges), mounting each from 2 to 10 guns<sup>8</sup> and of burden from perhaps 15 to perhaps even 100 tons.<sup>9</sup> La Torre was leaving

4. Serigny, Report, 109v.

5. Legac, Memoire, 74v, 107.

6. Hubert, Relation, 305v. Cf. Valero to the king, Sept. 23, annexed to same to Elcorobarrutia, Oct. 15, 1719, Mexico, 61-2-1. Legac, Memoire, 88v-89, said one 16-gun fragata and 10 *balandras* and *bateaux*.

7. Hubert, Relation, 307v.

8. Legac, Memoire, 89, 91v.

9. Cf. *ibid.*, 95v, 106v-107.

Havana for St. Augustine as the *Comte de Toulouse* and the *Marechal de Villars* came into view. Back into the harbor he turned accompanying the vessels of enemy France.

Captain-general Calderon refused to recognize the French flag of truce, the surrender of Governor Matamoros or the fact that France and Spain were at war. He took the French officers and sailors as prisoners and confiscated the French vessels.<sup>10</sup> On July 19 La Torre, sailed out again, bound this time to Pensacola, bay with an augmented fleet. To the 16-gun flagship Calderon had added the two 20-gun French vessels, now with Spanish officers and crews. He reduced the number of privateer craft to nine.<sup>11</sup> La Torre took with him 150 soldiers from the garrison of Havana. Governor Matamoros and his 300-and-more Mexicans sailed as passengers. The privateersmen and such French sailors as preferred to enter service under a foreign master raised the total of the squadron's personnel to 1600 men.<sup>12</sup>

On the previous day two Company vessels, the *Union*, (Captain Mancelliere-Grave) and the small vessel or flute *Mary* (Captain Japil)<sup>13</sup> had arrived at Cap Francois bearing orders for Commodore Champmeslin to direct his squadron to the aid of Louisiana.<sup>14</sup> When the squadron did sail, a voyage of nineteen days brought Champmeslin to Dauphine island on September 1. Landfall was ordinarily made at Pensacola or nearby.<sup>15</sup> If Champmeslin had

10. *Ibid.*, 89; Hubert, Relation, 305v-306.

11. Valero to Elcorobarrutia, Oct. 15, 1719, and enclosures, Mexico, 61-2-1.

12. Chateaugue to Bienville, Aug. 9, 1719, quoted in full in Hubert, Relation, 311-312. There were 2000 men according to Legac, Memoire, 90v; 1200 men, excluding sailors, according to Bienville, Report, 275.

13. Hubert, Relation, 314.

14. Mithon to the Council of Marine, July 31, 1719, ANC, C<sup>9</sup>A, 16: (No. 67).

15. "Avis de Mr. hubert," 284v.

found orders awaiting him at Cap Francois on July 9 and if he had sailed at once he might have made landfall on July 28. If he had sailed on July 18 immediately upon receipt of orders a voyage of 19 days might have brought his heavy armament to bear upon La Torre's weak vessels while the Spaniards were still at sea. Injuries that his squadron had suffered during his voyage from Brest delayed his departure from the Cape until August 13.<sup>16</sup> Pensacola, or Pensacolle, as the French indifferently called their new capital, before that time had changed its nationality again.

Since the Company had ordered Pensacola to be made the capital and port of deposit for Louisiana, work had begun in transferring thither the goods and equipment of Dauphine island. Two French slavers arriving from Guinea landed their 450 Africans at the new port before sailing away on July 11.<sup>17</sup> The Company vessel *St. Louis* (Captain du Colombier) and the flute *Dauphine* (Captain Faraud) brought to Pensacola cargoes of provisions and merchandise and 350 troops and colonists.<sup>18</sup> To the 20-gun vessel<sup>19</sup> *Philippe*, the sea-going longboat *Neptune*<sup>20</sup> and several barges, all bearing provisions, Serigny and Bienville transferred the new arrivals and nearly 400 of the Africans. Next day all came in at Dauphine island,<sup>21</sup> whence the *Neptune* and the barges carried their provision cargoes to the

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16. Sorel to the Council of Marine, Aug. 25, 1719, ANC, C<sup>9</sup>A, 16 : (No. 85).

17. Legac, Memoire, 89.

18. *Ibid.*, 89v ; ships' names in Bienville, Report, 275 ; captain's names in list of French officers annexed to Valero to Elcorobarrutia, Oct. 15, 1719, Mexico, 61-2-1, and (as to Faraud or Fareau) in Noyan to Bienville, Aug. 12, 1719, quoted in full in Hubert, Relation, 312v.

19. Legac, Memoire, 93v.

20. Cf. Hubert, Relation, 304.

21. Legac, Memoire, 90.

Mississippi river. Serigny remained on the island and Bienville proceeded to Mobile.

Chateaugue stayed on at Pensacola as commandant. With him stayed the veteran senior officer Richebourg, one major, one captain, one adjutant, three lieutenants, three ensigns, one army surgeon and 240 or 250 troops. Larcebaud's staff consisted of about 40 clerks and laborers with a commissary and a keeper of the stores. The two sea-captains had each his first and second mates and his surgeon. The garrison and the seamen enjoyed the care of two chaplains.<sup>22</sup> The sea captains careened both the *St. Louis* and the *Dauphine* on the inner beach in order that their seams might be recaulked.<sup>23</sup>

Pensacola bay had not received the "800 men" that Salinas Varona had carried from Vera Cruz in 1718, but news of their misfortune at Pass Cavallos reached Jamaica, although some ten months late and in garbled form. The British allies reported therefore in July, 1719, to an incredulous French intendant in Haiti that the viceroy had recently sent out 4,000 or 5,000 men against the French of Mobile bay but that a storm had destroyed the Mexican expedition and the transports had returned to Vera Cruz.<sup>24</sup> By the day when this story reached Haiti the European squadron of Commodore Cornejo had only just reached the Mexican port. Some time later Havana contributed to Vera Cruz the Peninsular fragata *San Jose* of 30 guns and a miscellany of minor craft under command of Francisco Guerrero.<sup>25</sup> This combined force remained still in harbor and Champmeslin's squadron had not yet finished

22. *Ibid.*, 90; list of French officers, cited above.

23. Hubert, Relation, 303.

24. Mithon to the Council of Marine, July 31, 1719, ANC, C<sup>9</sup>A, 16 : (No. 67).

25. Cf. Valero to the king, Sept. 23, annexed to same to Elcorobarutia, Oct. 15, 1719, Mexico, 61-2-1.

repairs at Cap Francois when on August 4 Carrascosa de la Torre brought his Cuban mosquito fleet to swarm off Pensacola entrance, where the lack of wind held him during two days.<sup>26</sup>

Serigny in his report of June 20 had expressed the certainty that the Spaniards would try to retake Pensacola. Yet La Torre, making his entry on August 6 with the oared boats only, found Chateaugue less prepared for defence than Governor Matamoros had been in May. The Spanish "admiral" set 100 men ashore on Point Siguenza to occupy the untenanted battery. While the light guns of his privateers peppered the helpless vessel and flute careened on the beach, he caused his flagship and Calderon's two French prizes to be towed into the channel. The French defenders destroyed the *Dauphine* by fire, but the fire failed to injure the *St. Louis*. The Spaniards' naval artillery (some of it formerly French) and the French guns (formerly Spanish) of Fort San Carlos fought a battle until six o'clock in the evening. Then truce was declared until ten o'clock in the morning of the seventh,<sup>27</sup> when Chateaugue surrendered without conditions.

La Torre conceded to Chateaugue that the French prisoners should retain the honors of war and should be taken to Havana with their personal effects guaranteed against looting on the part of Pensacola's privateersmen. Chateaugue's surrender was a "surrender at discretion" and not a "capitulation," but it seemed to the French commander "as advan-

26. Carrascosa de la Torre to Valero, Aug. 7, 1719, annexed *ibid.* Legac, Memoire, 90, said, Aug. 6.

27. Valero to Elcorobarrutia, Oct. 15, 1719, and annexed letter of Carrascosa de la Torre and copy of imprint, "Relacion de la sorpresa hecha por los franceses . . . ." (Mexico, no date, published by order of the viceroy). The French reports insist that the fire was caused: Bienville, "by accident;" Noyan, "by the fault of the gunner;" Legac, "through the carelessness of the crew."

28. Carrascosa de la Torre to Valero, Aug. 7, 1719, annexed *ibid.*

tageous a capitulation as can be made," and Chateaugue welcomed an excuse for returning in the course of events to Europe<sup>29</sup> after his fifteen years in Louisiana.<sup>30</sup> Bienville's younger brother had excuse for disgust with the colony as the Company of the Indies was administering it. Most of his soldiers were from among those the Company had sent, recaptured deserters from the French armies of Europe,<sup>31</sup> and 40 of them had gone over to the Spaniards on the first day of the siege.<sup>32</sup> Most of the remaining 200<sup>33</sup> joined the Spaniards after being taken as prisoners at the time of surrender. The officers and all other loyal French made their voyage to Cuba aboard a sailing barge that put out to sea on August 12.<sup>34</sup> On the same day departed three of the privateer boats, bound to Dauphine island.

Upon rumor of the Spanish operations, brought to that island on August 7 by a coasting pirogue, Serigny had led out one party of reconnaissance and Bienville had sent out two others from Mobile. Bienville's nephew Noyan, commanding a patrol of Indians, penetrated late on August 11 even to Fort San Carlos and accepted an invitation from Governor Matamoros to enter under a flag of truce. The governor received him in kindness and in sorrow and not with the arrogance that French prejudice would expect from any Spaniard. The governor in-

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29. Chateaugue to Bienville, Aug. 9, 1719, in Hubert, Relation, 311-311v.

30. Cf. Bienville to the Council of Marine, Sept. 25, 1718, ANC, C<sup>13</sup>A, 5 :160v-161.

31. Serigny, Report, 111.

32. List of French officers annexed to Valero to Elcorobarrutia, Oct. 15, 1719, Mexico, 61-2-1. These first deserters were 50 in number according to Bienville, Report, 275; more than 60 according to Hubert, Relation, 303; "almost all" according to Chateaugue in *ibid*, 311v; 90 out of 300 men according to Penicaut, Relation, in Margry, *op. cit.*, V, 567.

33. *Ibid*.

34. Noyan to Bienville, Aug. 12, 1719, in Hubert, Relation, 312v.



sisted that France and Spain were not at war. He expressed a wish to be once again on friendly terms with Noyan's uncle, Commandant-general Bienville. Carrascosa de la Torre aboard his flagship next received and equally bewildered the French officer with Spanish hospitality, treated him with "a thousand civilities" and issued him provisions in order that he and his Indians might not go hungry on their return march to Mobile.<sup>35</sup>

The mosquito fleet's admiral the more gladly rid himself of unexpected guests because the privateersmen were causing him annoyance. "These men I have with me," he had already complained by letter to the viceroy, "are of such character that, having once attained the objective, I could not control them and relied only on 150 soldiers, which is the number of troops that were given me from the garrison of Havana, and Your Excellency may figure moreover the lack caused, thereby in the aforesaid presidio. At the moment I am persuading the privateersmen to go on and burn and loot Massacre and Mobile, but I find them to be untrustworthy in the highest degree, and Your Excellency may easily estimate the character of these people since, although that [raid] will result to their profit, they contemplate it with reluctance and insubordination." Carrascosa de la Torre revealed his intention of returning to Havana as soon as Mexico should send the reinforcement without which he knew Fort San Carlos and its battery could not defend the bay. Delicately he refrained from mentioning among possible reinforcements the squadrons of Cornejo and Guerrero, although he knew them to be already due at Vera Cruz.<sup>36</sup>

35. *Ibid.*, 312-312v.

36. Carrascosa de la Torre to Valero, Aug. 7, 1719, as cited. Cf. Chateaugue to Bienville, Aug. 9, 1719, in Hubert, Relation, 311.

Beginning the task that he hoped the heavy squadrons would finish, La Torre exhorted Pensacola's privateersmen to such effect that on the morning of

August 13 three armed boats of his mosquito fleet appeared off Dauphine island and Captain Antonio de Mendieta sent ashore a demand for surrender, which the French officers rejected. During the rest of the month a half-dozen light draft privateer craft held possession of Mobile bay and all but cut communication between Dauphine island and the shore. The one boat that made a landing, at a plantation half-way up the bay, proved to be manned by French deserters from Pensacola. The other boats in the bay, reinforced in the roadstead by the *Marechal de Villars* under the Spanish flag and by the 14-gun fragata, continued to act with much of the reluctance that had annoyed their admiral earlier in the month. The French defenders decided that these cautious Spaniards wished only to capture the 20-gun vessel *Philippe*, whose cargo included the entire supply of European provisions on which the French garrison, Dauphine island and Mobile depended for survival,<sup>37</sup>

One colonizer who did not land at Dauphine island until the middle of November complained later to the French ministry that the brothers Lemoyne could have retaken Pensacola in August if they had wished to do so.<sup>38</sup> Serigny's force when the privateersmen began their raid consisted of nine officers, 114 soldiers, twenty miners destined to the Illinois and twenty tobacco farmers destined to Natchez,<sup>39</sup> residents of Dauphine island and other residents to

37. Legac, *Memoire*, 91-93; Hubert, *Relation*, 304v-313v; Bienville, *Report*, 275-276. Charles Etienne Arthur Gayarre, *History of Louisiana* (4 v.; New York, 1856-1866). I, 250-252, adds imagination to his archival sources (Hubert and Legac) in relating some events of the Spanish raid.

38. Drouot de Valdeterre, "Instruction sommaire," 4.

39. Legac, *Memoire*, 86v-87.

the number of sixty, and 205 Indians.<sup>40</sup> The complaining one was thinking therefore of an army composed of Indian allies, such as soon did arrive at Dauphine island, though only to the number of 400.<sup>41</sup>

Of such armies Bienville had thought throughout his years in Louisiana. He had learned to speak many of the Indian languages.<sup>42</sup> His insistence on creating and maintaining personal relations between himself and the tribes had seemed to one governor to be a usurpation of authority,<sup>43</sup> but that governor had sailed back to France and Bienville and his influence remained. So when Bienville wrote of the great confidence that the natives of the country had always placed in him he did not boast but asserted fact, as he saw it, in adding, "That is wherein consists the safeguard of this colony."<sup>44</sup>

Bienville had promised the French ministry in the previous year that he could easily take Pensacola from the Spaniards,<sup>45</sup> and he and his brothers had kept that promise in May. Serigny in June wrote in like fashion of St. Joseph bay to excuse his failure to visit that port.<sup>46</sup> But from the scanty stores aboard the *Philippe* must come now all means of feeding the defenders of Dauphine island,<sup>47</sup> and no surplus remained for a conquering expedition of Indians. Admiral Carrascosa de la Torre moreover had let Chateaugue inform Bienville by letter that

40. *Ibid.*, 92v; "Avis de Mr. hubert," 308-308v; Bienville, Report, 276-276v. Bienville said, 180 white men of whom half were soldiers, some of the soldiers more dangerous than the enemy; Legac said, 350 men in all.

41. *Ibid.*, 92v.

42. Baron, "Observations touchant la Colonie du Misisipy," Jan. 20, 1715, Service Hydrographique (Paris), Archives, 67-2, No. 4, ff. 1v-2.

43. Lamothe Cadillac to the minister, Jan. 2, 1716, ANC, C<sup>13</sup>A, 4:509-535, f. 520.

44. Bienville, Report, 281.

45. Bienville, Memoire, 204v.

46. Serigny, Report, 111.

47. Legac, Memoire, 91v, 93v.

four heavy ships out of seven warships arrived at Vera Cruz were daily expected at Pensacola to sail against the Frenchmen's port.<sup>48</sup>

Bienville in 1718 had urged a transfer of colonial headquarters to the Mississippi river, because there in a bountiful land a colonial capital might find security beyond one fort on the river's bank.<sup>49</sup> Painful experience since that time had taught him fully the lesson that earlier he could teach himself only in part. Writing of Dauphine island now he paraphrased the opinion that twenty years or so before the Council of the Indies had expressed to King Carlos II of Spain regarding Pensacola bay.<sup>50</sup> "The only forces we have," he set forth, "are the Indian allies, whom we cannot employ at present because of the shortage of provisions. If we had enough we should be in a position to withstand all the Spaniards' efforts, however strong they might be because of their nearness to Havana and Vera Cruz, provided that they should not cruise with armed vessels along our coasts to cut off the supplies that come to us from France."<sup>51</sup>

It seemed at Dauphine island on September 1 that the combined forces of Havana and Vera Cruz were indeed approaching when a squadron of five vessels heaved their top canvas into view. When the squadron made known its true identity the remaining privateer craft fled eastward in shallow water, for the newcomers were the three warships of Commodore Champmeslin and the two Company vessels that the commodore had convoyed from Cap Francois. The convoy brought a new Company director, Villardeau; 250 troops, other passengers to the number of

43. Chateaugue to Bienville, Aug. 9, 1719, in Hubert, *Relation*, 311.

49. Bienville, *Memoire*, 201-201v, 204v-205.

50. See above, note 12.

51. Bienville, *Report*, 277-277v.

300 and a plentiful supply of provisions.<sup>52</sup> Work began at once to unload the cargoes.

### *Spanish-French Seesaw*

To act before the coming of ships from Vera Cruz a French expedition set out eastward in mid-September. Serigny and Villardeau travelled aboard the warships, followed by the *Union* of thirty-six guns and the *Philippe* of twenty. Eight small boats carried between 200 and 300 troops and volunteers. Bienville, like Chateaugue in another month, took the eastward path by land with 100 white men and 500 Indians. At six o'clock in the evening of September 16 Champmeslin anchored off Pensacola entrance. Signals by fire and smoke on shore told him in evening and by night that Bienville was encamped one league distant from Fort San Carlos. Next morning Bienville's Indians began a harrassing movement that justified Governor Matamoros in his later boast of having held his fort during eight hours of French attack.<sup>53</sup> Champmeslin took his five vessels into the entrance channel and anchored them broadside-on to the Spanish 16-gun fragata, the refloated *St. Louis* and the two Company vessels that Calderon had confiscated at Havana.<sup>54</sup>

Calderon had provided Carrascosa de la Torre with a supply of heavy artillery and an engineer officer. Therefore in the battery on Point Siguenza, where Bienville in May had found only three cannon to be spiked, twenty-four guns of 12- and 18-pound

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52. *Ibid.*, 278v-279 ; Legac, Memoire, 93-93v ; Hubert, Relation, 313-314.

53. Report of Matamoros de Ysla, dated at Brest, Jan. 9, annexed to Consejo de Indias to the king, Feb. 17, 1720, AGI, Indif. Gral. de N. Espana, 136-4-6. Bienville, Report, 279, said he attacked the fort "during two days."

54. Council of Marine, "Extract of the operations of Champmeslin's squadron," Jan. 16, 1720, AN, Marine, B<sup>4</sup>, 37:418-420v; Legac, Memoire, 93v-94v ; Bienville, Report, 278v-279.

ratings<sup>55</sup> saluted the French visitors as did the guns of San Carlos, until after an hour or more the French fire silenced those of the battery. A contest of two hours and a half between the two squadrons caused one of the Spanish commanders to haul his colors down. La Torre aboard his fragata now became the object of attentions from all the French ships and especially from the flagship *Hercule*, which had anchored within musketshot, and soon he abandoned the struggle for himself and for his naval companions. The defenders of the silenced shore battery yielded up their arms. Half an hour later Governor Matamoros sent a small boat with an army captain to inquire the French terms for a capitulation. Champmeslin refused to offer terms, and Matamoros, like Carrascosa de la Torre, thereupon surrendered "at discretion." The Spaniards had lost more than 100 men. The French losses were small. The vessels, both French and Spanish, had sustained little damage.

Bienville's Indians, surrounding the fort, prevented departure of Mexicans by land, but many French renegades (500 of them, said Champmeslin) escaped aboard five privateer craft to the mainland opposite the eastern end of Santa Rosa island. In addition to these five and another boat Champmeslin took only La Torre's fragata and recaptured the *St. Louis*, *Comte de Toulouse* and *Marechal de Villars*. One of the Spanish privateer boats had gone earlier to Havana as a transport for French prisoners. Most of the French provisions that La Torre had captured had made a similar journey to Havana, since Pensacola's Cuban auxiliaries were expecting at any time to be relieved by reinforcements from Vera Cruz.<sup>56</sup>

55. Legac. Memoire, 94v.

56. *Ibid.*, 94-95; Council of Marine, "Extract of the operations," cited above.

Yet Champmeslin found in the two forts and aboard the captured vessels a great number of men, including 121 French renegade soldiers and transported criminals. He sent 626 privateersmen and non-combatants to Havana aboard the *St. Louis* and small boats. As prisoners aboard his squadron he held the admiral of Cuban privateers and the Cuban officers, Governor Matamoros and his six subordinates and all the Cuban and Mexican soldiers and sailors. A balandra coming in from Havana on September 21 contributed provisions and also more Spanish subjects to be prisoners.<sup>57</sup> On October 12 the expected reinforcement arrived from Vera Cruz aboard a pink (Bienville called it a flute) and a sailing barge; it consisted of two companies, each of two officers and 40 soldiers, and the two boat's crews, or about 100 in all.<sup>58</sup> These additions brought the total of prisoners to 1237 men.<sup>59</sup>

The brothers Lemoyne had first captured Pensacola for John Law. Commodore Champmeslin captured it the second time, but for his king, and he put it into the charge of one of his own officers, Lieutenant-commander Delisle. To assure the safety of the colony the directors and commandants-general decided to abandon both Pensacola and Dauphine island and to remove to Biloxi bay the government and the Company's warehouse and goods. Champmeslin left with Delisle only a sergeant and twelve private soldiers. He razed both Fort San Carlos and the battery of Point Siguenza and burned all

57. *Ibid.*, 95; Bienville, Report, 279.

58. List annexed to Elcorobarrutia to the king, Feb. 17, 1720, Indif. Gral. de N. Espana, 136-4-6; Council of Marine, "Extract of the operations," cited above. The pink may have been an old fashioned falucho (lugger) of the type borrowed from the Balearic islands, two-masted, double-ended, broad of beam.

59. "Deliberation of the Council of Marine," Jan. 15, on letter of Champmeslin, Brest, Jan. 3, 1720, ANC, C<sup>13</sup>A, 6:3-5v. Bienville, Report, 279, said, perhaps 1500 prisoners.

buildings except three huts preserved for Delisle and his guard.<sup>60</sup>

Champmeslin departed on November 2 for France. His ships sailed with spars newly cut at Pensacola.<sup>61</sup> He carried with him half the poor booty that Pensacola had yielded to him in the form of its chapel's lamps and altar silver, 119 marcs one ounce in all; <sup>62</sup> the other half remained for the altars of Louisiana. He carried no other Spanish treasure, since the captured Spaniards had no money. His squadron did transport to France the Spanish soldiers and sailors. To the Spanish officers he assigned space aboard his flagship *Hercule*. Thus, like Chateaugue before him, he made with astonishment the acquaintance of Spanish colonial gentlemen. Before the squadron reached Brest the French and the Spanish officers had become the best of friends, and from Brest the commodore, reported to Paris that his guests were fine fellows (*d'honnestes gens*)<sup>63</sup> worthy of the French government's consideration.

Champmeslin's departure did not gain the approval of the commandants and directors left thus unprotected in Louisiana. They could not know that the regency already had dispatched two other squadrons to their aid. They did know that captured French renegades at Pensacola had repeated the story Chateaugue first had told of four heavy ships expected from Vera Cruz, and the Mexican barge

60. Legac, *Memoire*, 95, 96; [Jean-Francois-Benjamin Dumont de Montigny,] "Memoire de L..... D..... officier Ingenieur . . . . (MS; 1747, Ayer Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago), f. 62. Dumont indicates that when the captured French officers returned from Havana (July 17) one of them, Lieutenant Carpot de Montigny, succeeded to command at Pensacola; cf. list of French officers annexed to Valero at Elcorbarrutia, Oct. 15, 1719, Mexico, 61-2-1.

61. Margry, *op. cit.*, V, 627.

62. One marc, the French troy pound, equalled a little less than 8 ounces avoirdupois in English weight.

63. "Deliberation of the Council of Marine," Jan. 15, 1720, ANC, C<sup>13</sup>A, 6:3-5v.



arriving on October 12 carried letters from the viceroy and Commodore Cornejo promising that such a squadron was about to sail to operate against Mobile bay.<sup>64</sup> The defenders of Dauphine island would have found therefore little of immediate interest in knowledge that war in Europe had drawn toward its close. King Felipe V was refusing offers of peace unless all conquered Spanish possessions should be returned to his keeping, but on February 17, 1720, his ambassador at the Hague put an end to war by signing the Quadruple Alliance.

Yet on January 27 King Felipe in Spain was still insisting on the *status quo ante bellum*. He wrote on that day to his viceroy of Mexico that at Cadiz were preparing two ships-of-the-line and one frigate under command of Baltasar de Guevara with 500 infantrymen for the purpose of "dislodging the French from Mobile, Massacre and other territories that they are unlawfully occupying." In view of current negotiations for peace he was ordering Captain-general Calderon that if no suitable duty, such as an attack on Charleston, should appear for the ships upon their arrival at Havana they should go on to Vera Cruz to join the viceroy's coastguard squadron.<sup>65</sup> One month later Madrid, had not yet learned of events at the Hague, but it was known that both France and Great Britain had ordered a cessation of hostilities. The war had ended and Spain was, for the moment at least, "everywhere safe on the sea."<sup>66</sup>

The *Catalan* of 74 guns, the *Camby* of 66 and the *fragatella* or little frigate *Fidela*, composing Gue-

64. Bienville, Report, 279v-280. P-F-X. Charlevoix, *Histoire Generale de la Nouvelle France* (3 v. ; Paris, 1744), II, 452, presents with attendant circumstance one form of the fable that arose based on this news.

65. The king to Valero, Jan. 27, 1720, AGM, *Historia*, v. 298.

66. Fernandez Duran to Valero, Feb. 28, 1720, *Ibid.*

vara's squadron, had sailed from Cadiz on February 23. Within a week orders issued recalling Cornejo to Spain with the *Catalan*, with either the *San Luis* or the *San Juan* (both of 60 guns) and with the *San Jorge* (50 guns) and the *San Jose* (30 guns). The *Camby*, the *Fidela* and one of the 60-gun ships were directed to remain as parts of the viceroy's coast-guard. The king ordered Guevara to suspend his operations against the French in the Gulf of Mexico.<sup>67</sup>

#### *Commodore Cornejo's Expedition*

By the date of Guevara's sailing from Cadiz the French colonials had so well carried out their transfer to Biloxi bay that only two officers, a dozen enlisted men, the director Legac and a few of his clerks and employees still represented the regency and the Company of the Indies on Dauphine island. At half-past five in the evening of February 26 ten Spanish deserters from St. Joseph bay presented themselves to the director Villardeau at Fort Louis in Mobile. They brought news that Vera Cruz long since had dispatched Commodore Cornejo with a squadron consisting of his own fragata *San Jorge* (50 guns), Guerrero's *San Jose* (30 guns), two Mexican armed vessels and five small auxiliaries. At St. Joseph bay Cornejo had learned of Commodore Champmeslin's presence in the Gulf of Mexico. He disembarked the infantrymen that he carried (500 in number, said the deserters) and hastened to Havana to await there the coming of his 60-gun ships *San Luis* and *San Juan* before he should return to carry his landing troops against the French coast.<sup>68</sup>

67. The king to Valero, Feb. 28, Fernandez Duran to Valero, Feb. 28, 1720, *ibid.*

68. Villardeau to Legac, Feb. 26, 1720, ANC, C<sup>13</sup>A, 6:49-49-v; Rowland and Sanders, *op. cit.*, III, 294-295. Cf. Pierre Heinrich, *La Louisiane sous la Compagnie des Indes, 1717-1731* (Paris, 1908), 65.

So Legac felt, as he said, disquieted when on February 27 five ships were espied off Dauphine island. But this squadron proved to consist of the French warships *Achille* (Captain de Valle), *Mercure* (Captain Gabaret) and *Content* (Captain de Rochambault) under direction of Commodore the Chevalier de Saugeon, and in convoy the king's merchant vessel *Mutine* (Captain de Martonne) of sixteen guns and another French merchant vessel.<sup>69</sup>

Saugeon promptly took his four armed ships out again to search for the Spanish fragatas. He discovered no trace of them at St. Joseph bay and did not try to make a landing at a port where Gregorio de Salinas Varona was waiting<sup>70</sup> with reinforcements. During two months he cruised off the Dry Tortugas in waters through which a Spanish squadron would pass from Havana toward Pensacola and Mobile. He deserted that empty sea at last and was back at Dauphine island on April 8.<sup>71</sup>

One week later the *St. Louis*, which the Spaniards had stripped of most of her sails, cables and other equipment, came in from Cuba bringing as exchanged prisoners the ensigns and enlisted men whom La Torre had captured at Pensacola. These men told the reason, as far as they knew it, for Cornejo's delay at Havana. The *San Luis*, the *San Juan* and a Mexican consort had sailed from Vera Cruz to join their commodore even though the incompetent caulking that the two former ships had received at Cadiz was causing their bilges to fill rapidly with water even in port. A norther drove the squadron southward and scattered the three

69. "Copy of the deliberation of the squadron of M. de Saujon," Feb. 29, 1720, annexed *ibid.*; Legac, *Memoire*, 96v.

70. The king to Casafuerte, July 1, 1725, AGM, *Historia*, v. 298.

71. "Deliberation" Feb. 29, Saujon to Legac, Roadstead of St. Joseph, March 8, both annexed to Villardeau to Legac, Feb. 26, 1720, ANC, C<sup>13</sup>A, 6:49-49v; Legac, *Memoire*, 97-97v.

ships. The Mexican ran aground on the banks of Campeche but freed herself and managed a return to Vera Cruz. The *San Luis* and the *San Juan* were lost.<sup>72</sup>

Enough of these facts reached Dauphine island in April to assure Legac of his safety. Although Saugeon sailed for France on May 4 Dauphine island was therefore not again disquieted when one month later three vessels appeared in the offing. These were the French warships *Amazon*e and *Vic-toire*, commanded by Commodore Sainvilliers, and a merchant vessel in convoy. Sainvilliers in turn had sailed for France, with Lemoyne de Serigny as a passenger, before Acting Commodore Valette arrived on July 1 with the warships *Toulouse* and *Henry*. On the seventeenth Chateaugue and the other senior French officers once of Pensacola came back from Havana to tell that the captain-general and Commodore Cornejo knew now of the suspension of hostilities.<sup>73</sup> France, like Spain, was "everywhere safe on the sea."

So Commandant-general Bienville did not delay in obeying the Company's "positive orders" to prepare for aggression against the Spanish province of Texas. He sent Louis Juchereau de St. Denis, the Red river trader, and also a company of fifty soldiers, to wait at Natchitoches for further orders if the Company of the Indies should carry out its purpose.<sup>74</sup> On August 26 Bienville dispatched the sea captain or skipper Jean Beranger with a bateau and thirty men to inspect San Bernardo bay. Beranger came back to Biloxi in mid-November with news that Pass Cavallos on a furiously dangerous coast of-

72. Legac, *Memoire*, 97v, 101v; Rowland and Sanders, *op. cit.*, III, 294-295; Heinrich, *op. cit.*, 68; Pez to Valero, Feb. 17, the king to Valero, March 16, 1721, AGM, *Historia*, v. 298.

73. *Ibid.*, 98v-100.

74. *Ibid.*, 109v-110.

ferred only from eight to nine feet of water and that the resident Indians, friendly enough to Frenchmen bearing gifts, were miserably poor. Beranger brought one bit of good news. Toward the western end of Mississippi sound, just within the arc of the Chandaleur islands, he had found what an earlier Spanish inspector had missed, an anchorage of from six to seven brasses of water affording depth and shelter for the heaviest ships-of-the-line.<sup>75</sup>

The discovery of such a haven, better sheltered and larger if no deeper than the half-sheltered entrance, at Ship island, promised benefits greater than Pensacola bay could have offered even if Pensacola had lain at a lesser distance from the new Louisiana along the Mississippi river, to which the Company of the Indies now was destining its constantly arriving flute-loads of colonists. Bienville, though emphatic as to the virtues of the Mississippi mouth, had entered heartily into the expeditions against the Spanish port, but only for the purpose of expelling troublesome neighbors. The director Hubert in the moment of the first French success had foreseen little value in holding Pensacola except thereby "to prevent enemies from seizing that port."<sup>76</sup> Even after the second French success the director Legac could see no benefit at all, but rather various detriments, that possession of Pensacola might bring to France. To avoid enormous and useless expense, to recreate the friendship formerly existent between France and Spain and to create

75. *Ibid.*, 101v-102v, 125v ; [Devin], "Plan de la Baye de St. Esprit nomme par les Francais de St. Bernard," "Carte de L'Entree de la Baye de St. Louis . . . levee au mois d'Octobre 1720 par Devin," "Carte de la Coste de la Louisiane . . . levee aux annees 1719 et 1720 par Devin," BN, GeDD, 2987, Nos. 8840, 8841, 8802. The first map cited (No. 8840) is a copy of a Spanish map. The French brasse had a value of 5 French feet, or 5 feet 4 inches English. Devin's map shows a depth of 30 French feet.

76. "Avis de Mr hubert," ANC, C<sup>13</sup>A, 5:294v.

thereby a trade with the Spanish colonies he recommended that the regency should give Pensacola back to King Felipe V.<sup>77</sup>

The French regency viewed the matter differently in 1720. Even after the cessation of hostilities in Europe it issued orders to the departing Sainvilliers and to Valette's predecessor in squadron command to drive the Spaniards from Pensacola if they should have retaken it a second time from the French.<sup>78</sup> Foreknowledge that the Mississippi Bubble would burst and the Company of the Indies become bankrupt in the last days of 1720 did not change the regency's attitude. In diplomatic negotiations with Spain looking toward the Treaty of Madrid, which the two nations did effect on March 27, 1721, France advanced again for the sake of Pensacola all the arguments that Spain had rejected in the first years of the century.<sup>79</sup> In the first years of the following century, when the new American republic sought to buy Gulf Coast lands from Spain, the prime minister asserted that "the policy adopted by His Majesty not to dispossess himself of any part of his dominions forbids him the pleasure of agreeing to the cessions that the United States wish to gain by purchase."<sup>80</sup> For the sake of a European alliance France recognized late in 1720 that His Catholic Majesty's policy was unchangeable. In November France abandoned her pretensions to the port that the brothers Lemoyne and Commodore Champmeslin had in succession won for her and won again.

Despite renewed friendship with Spain, the

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77. Legac, *Memoire*, 124v-125v.

78. Heinrich, *op. cit.*, 67.

79. *Ibid.*, 73-79; Lawrence Carroll Ford, *The Triangular Struggle for Spanish Pensacola, 1689-1739* (Washington, 1939). 120-124.

80. Herbert Bruce Fuller, *The Purchase of Florida* (Cleveland, 1906). 109n.

French government carressed no thought of abandoning the claim to Texas that Cavelier de la Salle and his colony of 1684 had won for King Louis XIV. King Louis XV's regency on August 20, 1721, instructed Bienville to surrender Pensacola to the previous owner, but on April 26 the administrators of the bankrupt Company had instructed Bienville to act in the western regions. So on August 17 the commandant-general dispatched a bateau with twenty men to make a settlement within Pass Cavallos. The expedition's leader recorded ten feet of water on the bar instead of the eight or nine feet that Captain Beranger had found, but the Indians who had rejoiced in Beranger's French gifts appeared now strangely unfriendly to Frenchmen. The expedition sailed home to Biloxi bay in despair.<sup>81</sup>

Already the Company administrators had sent out orders to abandon the project of occupying San Bernardo bay and of seizing the Spanish province by a pincers movement. If orders had been otherwise, they would have come too late. Salinas Varona in 1717 had recommended populating the unpopulated lands west of the bay, and the king had issued successive orders to this effect and also "to build at that bay a fort in the same place where previously Monsieur la Sala had built one."<sup>82</sup> The viceroy thereupon in 1720 approved the raising of armed forces to strengthen all the Texas missions from San Antonio to Adaes and to occupy the lands of San Bernardo bay.<sup>83</sup>

Thus in 1721 Governor Alarcon established a fort and a garrison at Adaes, and Bienville could take no more counteraction than he took in the appoint-

81. Rowland and Sanders, *op. cit.*, III, 313-317.

82. *Cf.* the king to the viceroy, June 11, 1718, AGM, Historia, v. 298.

83. The king to Valero, March 16, same to same, May 26, 1721, *ibid.*

ment of St. Denis to continue as French military commandant at Natchitoches nearby.<sup>84</sup> Thus also within the ten months between the successive visits of two French bateaux the Indians of San Bernardo bay had become Spanish Indians, needing no French gifts. On March 10, 1721, a Spanish captain coming overland with a force of forty men "took possession" of San Bernardo bay.<sup>85</sup> In order that the French might entertain no doubt of Spanish sovereignty on that coast the Spaniards built their fort (the first of those to be known as Bahia) just beyond the bay on the left bank of the Garcitas river, opposite the riverside site where thirty-seven years previously Cavelier de la Salle had built one.<sup>86</sup>

The viceroy had needed four years' time to act on the advice of Salinas Varona, but by the year 1721 the Gulf of Mexico had freed itself of French armed squadrons and on all the French coast not one cannon was mounted.<sup>87</sup> On August 20 of that year the French government ordered that Bienville should restore to the Spaniards the conquered bay that Andres de Arriola had regarded as "so important that whatever nation might occupy it [would] be master of the entire Gulf of Mexico."<sup>88</sup> One month later the king of Spain ordered the viceroy to occupy Pensacola bay with one of the infantry companies that Commodore Guevara had brought to Vera Cruz after the end of the late war. At last King Felipe had put himself into agreement with the director Legac and, for that matter, with Hubert and Bienville. Recent events had tarnished the tin-

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84. Rowland and Sanders, *op. cit.*, II, 265.

85. Castaneda, *op. cit.*, 136.

86. [Devinl, "Plan de la Baye de St. Esprit," BN, GeDD, 2987, No. 8840.

87. Inspector-general Diron, notes of March, 1722, annexed to census of Louisiana, Nov. 24, 1721, f. 29, ANC, G<sup>1</sup>, 464.

88. Arriola to the viceroy, Nov. 20, annexed to Alburquerque to the king, Nov. 24, 1703, Mexico, 61-6-22.



sel of Pensacola bay, and the king revealed now by his royal act that he regarded that cherished possession only as an international nuisance.

King Felipe ordered the viceroy to send an engineer officer and a company of engineer troops to cut a crevasse across Santa Rosa island in order that new currents should be formed to drift sand into the entrance where French squadrons twice had prevailed against his army and navy. Thus, he expressed his hope to the viceroy, it would become "impossible that armed ships [should] enter, and it [would] avoid the great cost of fortifying and maintaining that bay with no benefit to my royal treasury and my subjects and with the patent danger of losing it to any enemy enterprise." If it should be impossible to cut the proposed ditch, the king directed the viceroy "that in order that no aliens may occupy it the engineer who shall go there, and the workmen, . . . shall build . . . a fort." As to Bienville's first Spanish conquest he added, "Being informed that St. Joseph bay, which was occupied about three years ago on your order, is useless, weak and incapable of being put into a state of defense . . . I direct that you cause it to be abandoned."<sup>80</sup>

Pensacola and St. Joseph bays could find little place in the thoughts of Bienville, who busied himself with the dispatch of colonists up the Mississippi river. The bar at the river's mouth proved to be less shallow than Bienville had supposed; soundings now revealed eleven to twelve feet of water in the east pass. The 150-ton fragata captured from Carascosa de la Torre crossed the bar frequently in her new duty as a lighter running between New Orleans and Dauphine island, which was still the official port. Late in 1721 Bienville reported that a

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89. The king to Valero, Sept. 20, 1721, AGM, *Historia*, v. 298.

330-ton flute had entered with full cargo into the Mississippi river.<sup>90</sup>

By the beginning of spring, 1722, circumstances had settled the destiny of the Mississippi and of New Orleans, instead of Pensacola, Mobile or Biloxi bay, as the port and capital of Louisiana. The colony's business office was in process of transfer from Biloxi bay to New Orleans. Two merchant vessels drawing thirteen feet of water already had crossed the Mississippi bar in safety. The newly arrived inspector-general had become no less enthusiastic than Bienville about the entrance of sea-going vessels there. Bienville was delivering (on April 6) to a Spanish agent the French order for the transfer of Pensacola.<sup>91</sup> All Indian tribes had become peaceful except the Chickasaw. These latter were helping British traders from Carolina to hasten the westward movement that after four decades was to draw for a while within the British domain all lands above New Orleans on the Mississippi left bank and to make Pensacola for a while a British port.<sup>92</sup>

The director Hubert had no intention of visiting Pensacola when he set sail from New Orleans in April bound to France aboard the *Adour*, a flute of 300 tons. The *Adour* ran fast aground in the Straits of Florida, and Hubert and his companions of voyage returned to Louisiana in the ship's boats. The Mexican garrison of St. Joseph bay gave them succor as they passed up the coast, and Ensign Dionisio Alegre, formerly one of Governor Matamoros' officers at Pensacola bay,<sup>93</sup> showed them special hos-

90. Rowland and Sanders, *op. cit.*, III, 316; Legac, *Memoire*, 107.

91. *Ibid.*, III, 317-319, 320, 321; census of Louisiana, Nov. 24, 1721, ff. 26-26, 28, ANC, G<sup>1</sup>, 464.

92. Legac, *Memoire*, 108v.

93. List annexed to Elcorobarrutia to the king, Feb. 17, 1720, Indif. Gral. de N. Espana, 136-4-6.

pitality. In safety all the castaways reached the French port of Pensacola and the western coast.<sup>94</sup>

Within ten months the viceroy was reporting that the presidio of St. Joseph bay and the bay itself were "abandoned and uninhabited" again,<sup>95</sup> for the garrison that Hubert had found still stationed there had gone to be the garrison of Pensacola bay. To receive these Spanish soldiers a Scotch-Spanish naval commander (*capitan de fragata*) who signed his name as Wauchop had sailed from Vera Cruz on November 10, 1722, with three small vessels and with Bienville's order for the transfer. The French lieutenant and seventeen soldiers whose only remaining shelter was one ruinous hut gave over to his care on November 26 the international nuisance that was Pensacola bay.

The two small vessels that Wauchop sent on to St. Joseph bay avoided the storm that in mid-December wrecked a boat coming from that port and drowned in the surf of Santa Rosa island the commanding ensign and two of his seventeen men. On December 27 Wauchop's vessels came in bringing artillery, equipment, planks, cypress bark (for roofs), seventy soldiers and Captain Primo de Rivera, late of Florida's Apalache post, to be second in command on Santa Rosa island.

It was to be a permanent command, for Wauchop defeated his king's thrifty hope by reporting that a crevasse could not be cut across the island. Captain Primo and his men used the salvage from St. Joseph bay to build for themselves barracks and other shelters beyond Point Siguenza. On the mainland site where Governor Matamoros twice had surrendered

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94. Charlevoix, *op. cit.*, III (Journal), 454, 455, 466, 476, 478; "Deliberation of the Council of Marine," Nov. 16, 1722, ANC, C<sup>15</sup>A, 6:275-276v.

95. The king to Casafuerte, July 1, 1725, AGM, Historia, v. 298.

to the French, Wauchop could see among the prostrate barrels of a dozen cannon only "an old bake oven and a cistern without a lid and with rotten cross beams, which [was] all that remained of the former village and fort."<sup>96</sup>

96. *Ibid.*; Wauchop to Casafuerte, Feb. 27, 1723, and annexed inventory, in "Cartas Originales que escrivio Don Alexandro Wauchop - ano de 1723," Mexico, 60-5-5.

## BOOK REVIEWS

*Miami: Economic Pattern of a Resort Area.* By Reinhold Paul Wolff. University of Miami, Coral Gables, Florida, 1945. 172 p. charts and tables.

This is an interesting study of an interesting area. Probably no city has mushroomed into the attention of the American people, or even the world at large, more speedily than has Miami. Certainly none has been the subject of more fantastic and extravagant claims. Dr. Wolff, who is Associate Professor of Economics of the University of Miami, dissects this "glamour girl" with penetration and thoroughness, and the result is more arresting than the exaggerated version.

"The greatest asset of a frontier land is people . . . . South Florida is such a frontier land, still almost devoid of people". Yet Miami has been one of the fastest growing metropolitan districts in the United States. From 1920 to 1940 its population increased from 42,000 to 267,000. As this human tide rises-and there seems to be no way to stop it even if the inhabitants so desired-the problem of achieving and preserving a balanced community is paramount. Florida air and sunshine encourage the city to spread in all directions rather than coop its residents into "blocks of steel and cement". No hindrance is offered this expansion by a hinterland of settlement. Miami's enormous size, pinned on the southeastern seaboard, is without supporting back country.

The city has a distinctive social pattern. It is topheavy with proprietors and managers, salesmen, clerical help, and service workers. At the same time, laborers, farm workers, and operatives are scarce. Since Miami is the gateway of the great inter-

American area, the author believes that the forty million Caribbean people provide a potential labor reservoir of significance. Miami is a great sales area and distributing hub, not the least of whose salable goods is vacations for tourists. From this fact results the seasonal quality of economic life which tends to hamper its potentiality for industry and distorts price levels. The author points out ways of overcoming this hurdle ; the expansion of commercial aviation, both passenger and freight with its attendant services, inducements to residents to remain all-year in their homes, and the promotion of year-round occupations and businesses.

The resort character of Miami may be estimated in terms of its hotel and amusement industries, its service trade, and tremendous retail business. Retailing, real estate, and transportation, in the order named, account for the three largest items of income. Believe it or not, amusements provided only four percent of Dade county's revenue in 1940, the last prewar year. It is difficult to determine accurate figures for tourism because so much of it merges with the general population and makes use of the same services. "Visitor" includes all seasonal residents, travellers, and migrant labor. On this basis about 750,000 persons visited Miami in the year before the war, 1940. The number of arrivals is far less important, however, than the number of days they stay. This is estimated at ten days. The typical tourist family does not spend over ten dollars a day. Their dollar may be divided as follows : housing thirty percent, eating and drinking twenty-nine percent, amusement's ten percent, shopping ten percent, services eight percent, personal services eight percent, gasoline five percent.

The author refutes the assertion that Miami is a millionaires' haven. He supports his conclusion from income figures and home construction estimates. The lavish spending of the "upper ten", depicted in the Sunday supplements, he insists does not represent the real city.

Will Miami become a great port and industrial center? Its people are divided on the desirability of such a course and, besides, there are handicaps. For example, transportation is costly compared with other industrial areas, the port facilities need enlargement, labor is not numerous and raw materials are scarce. Today Miami's imports and exports are largely by air and are thus small in comparison with well established ports such as New Orleans and Houston; it is also the least industrialized metropolitan district of the United States. The writer contends that greater industrial growth will gradually take place, especially in light "smokeless" industries. He also has strong faith in the future inter-American prominence of the region.

Illustrating the text are a goodly number of excellent and arresting charts. An extensive appendix gives much additional statistical data. There might well have been more bibliographical references, inasmuch as a large part of the discussion is fairly technical. However, Professor Wolff has done a distinctive job. He has answered some questions and raised many others in the minds of his readers. He gives a more realistic view of Miami than is usually offered. Other cities in Florida would profit by similar investigations.

KATHRYN ABBEY HANNA

*Florida Under Five Flags.* By Rembert W. Patrick, Professor of Social Sciences, University of Florida. University of Florida Press, Gainesville, 1945. (139 p. 110 illus. \$2.50)

As its commemoration of the centennial of Florida's statehood, the University of Florida, through its newly established University of Florida Press, published in December last Professor Rembert W. Patrick's *Florida Under Five Flags*.

This is a narrative of our more than four hundred years told in less than one hundred pages of text, but with the help of one hundred ten pictures and five maps. In so few pages there can be no detail, only the thread of the story and its interpretation; but that is as much as many readers want to know of Florida's history, and is plenty as a first installment for any one.

Professor Patrick has gone to the original sources for his history, and in doing so has thrown a new light on numerous aspects and events of the State's past. In this he has the assistance of illustrations which he gathered from many sources and which are contemporaneous with their subjects.

The publication of the book and the work itself are planned to help in the awakening of interest in Florida's history noted and commented upon under *Florida's Past in 1946* on a following page. The University has expressed the hope that this brief but interesting and authentic story of Florida will be widely read throughout the State and further that awakening. It is expected that the volume will be but the first of the University's contributions to the writing of our State's history.

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## THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

FLORIDA'S PAST IN 1946

Interest in Florida's history is more general and prospects for accomplishment therein are brighter now than for a long, long time. The spark was doubtless the State's centennial, but it fell on tinder which was ready and waiting. The fire must not be neglected and allowed to burn low or out as it always has in the past.

Our Society has had a large part in keeping the spark alive and in fanning the infant blaze. It might well be that the most important single factor in this revival of interest was the pamphlet on the observance of the centennial which the Society distributed in every corner of the State; and perhaps the Society's name in small type on the back cover was of more benefit to us with the public than anything else we have ever done.

The awakening of interest in our State's history is evident : (1) Out of the midnight meeting of the Society in St. Augustine on December 7 has come a committee of able and earnest members which has begun the study of our problems and how best to put new life into our body (There is a message from the committee to the members on another page) ; and the *Quarterly* is getting back to its prewar size. (2) Other evidence which will prove an important factor, is the centennial volume now in press, "Florida Becomes a State," which the State Library is publishing, compiled and edited by Dr. Dorothy Dodd of its staff.\* (3) The University of Florida has recently added a course on the State's history to its curriculum, it has established and is building up a library of Florida history, and has just published

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\*The volume has appeared and will be reviewed in the next number of the *Quarterly*.

a narrative outline of Florida's four hundred years. This is reviewed on another page. (4) Several of the local historical societies have recently become active again. The Jacksonville Historical Society, the Tallahassee Historical Society, and the Historical Association of Southern Florida plan new issues of their annuals. (5) There is real awakening in the Manatee region noted on another page.

The fire must not burn out this time.

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*The Long-range Committee*

You will recall that at the meeting of the Society in St. Augustine on December 7 an appointive committee was created to consider and plan a long-range program for building up the Society. President Bickel has appointed the following:

Dr. Mark F. Boyd, chairman, Tallahassee

Dr. Webster Merritt, Jacksonville

Dr. Rembert W. Patrick, Gainesville

Hon. Winder Surrency, Sarasota

Mr. David E. Smiley, Tampa

Mr. Gaines R. Wilson, Miami

Mr. W. J. Winter, St. Augustine

The committee will have held its first meeting ere this number of the Quarterly reaches the members. But such plans cannot be made overnight, and the chairman earnestly asks you, each of you, to consider-now that the war is over-what you think is the best means to start the Society on its way again and keep the fire burning briskly. Please send your suggestions to Dr. Boyd, 615 East Sixth Ave., Tallahassee; and if you will do so soon, they can be considered without haste.

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This committee met in Orlando, while this issue was in the press, with Dr. Boyd, Mr. Surrency, Dr.

Merritt, and Professor Patrick attending. It was decided that four sub-committees should make a study of the Society's problems and report to a meeting of the whole committee on the completion of their work. These committees and their subjects for study are:

- (1) Mr. Surrency, chairman ; Mr. Smiley
  - Integration of State and local societies
  - Conferences with local societies
  - Representation on Board of Directors
  - Relation to State of Florida
  - Membership classes
  - Full-time secretary
  - Financial set-up of State society; trustees
- (2) Dr. Boyd
  - Publications
    - Quarterly
    - Monographs
    - Publishing
    - Financing
- (3) Professor Patrick, chairman; Mr. Wilson
  - Promotion of research in Florida history
  - Fellowships
  - Stipends
    - Endowments
    - Eligible candidates
    - Selection and supervision
    - Publication rights
- (4) Dr. Merritt, chairman; Mr. Winter
  - Facilities over the State for historical research
  - Survey of existing facilities
  - Catalog
  - Relation to location of Society
    - Permanency
    - Housing
    - Building
    - Collections

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#### HISTORY-MINDED BRADENTON AND MANATEE COUNTY

The Manatee region is one of the older Florida districts. Its settlement began more than a hundred years ago, and the early settlers included some from the aristocratic Tallahassee country. One of them, Robert Gamble, came as a planter with his slaves and built a home which has become a famous Confederate shrine, for it was the stopping place of

Judah P. Benjamin in his flight from the overpowered Confederacy.

The history of this region has been well and and charmingly told by Lillie B. McDuffee, a former director of the Florida Historical Society, in her *Lures of Manatee*. So there is ample background for the interest of the present-day residents in its history. More than forty of them have now come together, one of the largest history-conscious groups in the State, and joined with the Florida Historical Society. Something of their plans will be told in the next number of the *Quarterly*.

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NEW MEMBERS

Alvin Mills, St. Petersburg  
 Mrs. George H. Dewitt, Leesburg  
 Col. and Mrs. H. D. Porterfield, Jacksonville  
 Nathan Bedell, Jacksonville  
 Ruby Diamond, Tallahassee. (Life member)  
 Mrs. Patrick H. Odom, Jacksonville  
 Mrs. May McNeer Ward, Leonia, N. Y.  
 Riverside Branch Library, Miami  
 Alan Waddell, Bradenton  
 Robert W. Bentley, Bradenton  
 Bradenton Chamber of Commerce  
 William A. Manning, Bradenton  
 W. D. Sugg, Bradenton  
 Ruth C. Dickinson, Bradenton  
 Mary Burgoin Brown, Bradenton  
 Mrs. Olivia K. Maskiell, Bradenton  
 Mrs. Roy Jay Miller, Bradenton  
 Mrs. Helen M. Perry, Bradenton  
 Clifford H. Perry, Bradenton  
 Mrs. Chas. H. Rogers, Bradenton  
 Mrs. J. C. Rogers, Bradenton  
 Mrs. W. H. MacColl, Bradenton  
 Betty MacColl, Bradenton  
 Marian W. Mulloy, Bradenton  
 Chas. W. Pritchard, Bradenton  
 Mr. and Mrs. Chas. W. Wooten, Bradenton  
 Geo. L. Fairbank, Bradenton  
 Mrs. R. R. Greene, Bradenton  
 Mr. and Mrs. R. B. VanSlike, Bradenton  
 Mable M. Horton, Bradenton  
 Freeman H. Horton, Bradenton  
 W. J. Walker, Bradenton  
 Mrs. Allen S. Davison, Bradenton

Raymond M. Turner, Bradenton  
 Iva W. Fairbank, Bradenton  
 Blake Lancaster, Bradenton  
 Blake Lancaster, Jr., Bradenton  
 Eva M. Gates, Bradenton  
 Dan S. Blalock, Bradenton  
 Martha H. Morris, Bradenton  
 J. Ben Fuqua, Palmetto  
 Mrs. W. R. Pollard, Terra Ceia  
 Mrs. J. W. Barney, Palma Sola  
 Mrs. Susan W. Tallant, Palma Sola  
 Janet B. Hampton, Palma Sola

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GIFTS TO THE LIBRARY

- ADMIRAL JOHN A. DAHLGREN, FATHER OF U. S. NAVAL  
 ORDNANCE, by Ex. Lieut. C. Stewart Peterson. Gift of  
 the author.
- A GUIDE TO THE UNITED STATES NAVAL ACADEMY  
 (American Guide Series) 1941. Gift of Dr. Carita Corse.
- JACKSONVILLE HISTORICAL SOCIETY ANNUAL, 1933-1934.  
 Gift of Dr. Carita Corse.
- INTERCOASTAL WATERWAY, NORFOLK TO KEY WEST  
 (American Guide Series). Gift of Dr. Carita Corse.
- SOME ASPECTS OF THE HISTORY OF CITRUS IN FLORIDA,  
 by T. Ralph Robinson, Terra Ceia. Gift of the author.
- CAPITAL CITY BANK OF TALLAHASSEE, FLORIDA. Gift  
 of Mr. A. H. Roberts, Tallahassee,
- HER BRIGHT FUTURE, by Caroline Lee Hentz, 1880.
- HELEN AND ARTHUR, by Caroline Lee Hentz, 1870.
- THE AMERICAN PIONEER IN FORTY-EIGHT STATES, by  
 C. Stewart Peterson, New York, 1945.
- TEACHING 48 STATES HISTORIES BY COUNTIES, by C.  
 Stewart Peterson, Baltimore, 1945.
- BISHOP WHIPPLE'S SOUTHERN DIARY, 1843-1844, by Les-  
 ter B. Shippe. Account of life in St. Augustine.
- FLORIDA UNDER FIVE FLAGS, by Rembert W. Patrick.
- CENTENNIAL OBSERVATION SCRAPBOOK, compiled by Dr.  
 Mark F. Boyd, Tallahassee.
- A LITTLE ABOUT WASHINGTON IRVING; by George A.  
 Zabriskie. Gift of the author.
- OUR UNIQUE INDIANS, THE SEMINOLES OF FLORIDA,  
 by Ethel Cutler Freeman. Gift of the author.
- CHRISTMAS AT CHRISTMAS, FLORIDA, HASN'T CHANGED  
 IN 100 YEARS, by J. A. Murray, Palm Beach Tribune. Gift  
 of Mr. W. A. Pratt.

## CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER

*Wilbur H. Siebert*, Professor in History, Emeritus, Ohio State University, is the author of "Loyalists in East Florida, 1774 to 1785," and other historical works. He has contributed a number of articles to this *Quarterly*.

*Webster Merritt*, a physician of Jacksonville, is a director of the Florida Historical Society.

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

*John W. Griffin* is a graduate student in anthropology at the University of Chicago and is engaged in research on the Upper Mississippi Valley.

*Stanley Faye* attended the University of Chicago and the Faculte des Lettres de l'Universite de Toulouse. He is a corresponding member of the Academia Nacional de la Historia of Venezuela. He has contributed several articles to this *Quarterly* and to a number of other historical publications.

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