

The
FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

CONTENTS

St. Augustine During the Civil War

Omega G. East

Foreign Travellers in Florida, 1900-1950

Lawrence S. Thompson

Documents Describing the Second and Third Expeditions of
Lieutenant Diego Pena to Apalachee and Apalachicola in
1717 and 1718

Mark F. Boyd

The Fatio Family

Walter C. Hartridge

Book reviews:

Dovell, "Florida, Historic, Dramatic, Contemporary"

Dorothy Dodd

Thorning, "Miranda, World Citizen"

Lyle N. McAlister

Local and regional historical societies:

The Hillsborough County Historical Commission

Mrs. John Branch

Historical Association of Southern Florida

Seminole County Historical Society

Halifax Historical Society

General Clinch Memorial Association

Florida Historical Society

Directors' meeting

New members

Contributors to this number

SUBSCRIPTION FOUR DOLLARS

SINGLE COPIES ONE DOLLAR

(Copyright, 1952, by the Florida Historical Society. Reentered as second class matter
November 21, 1947, at the post office at Tallahassee, Florida, under the Act of
August 24, 1912.)

Office of publication, Tallahassee, Florida

Published quarterly by

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Gainesville, Florida



ST. AUGUSTINE DURING THE CIVIL WAR

by OMEGA G. EAST

Three days before Florida seceded from the Union about 125 state artillerymen marched resolutely on Fort Marion's Federal garrison as ordered by Governor M. S. Perry.¹ The action which resulted cannot be recorded as one of the major engagements of the war, if we are to believe Private J. Gardner (a member of the expedition), who reminisced: "We took possession of the fort, and captured the entire garrison, consisting of one lonely sergeant, well advanced in years, who surrendered very graciously."²

The ladies of St. Augustine were busier than the men that 7th day of January 1861, as they were already scurrying about raising funds for a flagpole to fly their "national flag of Florida" in the Plaza.³

For awhile it appeared the artillerymen would be busy at the back-breaking job of mounting the 63 cannon found at the fort; but Gen. Robert E. Lee, who commanded the coastal defenses of South Carolina, Georgia, and East Florida in 1861, saved them from this task when he ordered that

Reference note: Official reports are extensively used herein; they will be found in the Government publications. *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies in the War of the Rebellion*, or the companion volumes for the Navies. Citations of these sources will be abbreviated to O.R.A. or O.R.N. as the case may be, with its series and volume numbers, name of subscribing officer and addressee, together with the date the report or letter was written.

1. O.R.A., Ser. I, Vol. 1, p. 333, Ord. Serg. Henry Douglas, U.S.A., to Col. H. K. Craig, Jan. 7, 1861; Dorothy Dodd, "Edmund Ruffin's Account of the Florida Secession Convention, 1861," *The Florida Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 21, No. 2, p. 76.
2. J. Gardner, "St. Augustine in Wartime," *The St. Augustine Evening Record*, July 15, 1914 (The Record Company, St. Augustine). Gardner was one of the 25 volunteers from Fernandina who helped "capture" Fort Marion.
3. Dorothy Dodd, "The Flags of the State of Florida," *The Florida Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 23, No. 3, p. 166; *Minutes of the City of St. Augustine*, Feb. 11, 1861, p. 265 (St. Augustine Historical Society library).

cannon at St. Augustine be moved to more important places.⁴ Since Confederate intelligence reports emphasized the possibility of a Federal attack on Fernandina, four of Fort Marion's cannon were sent there; four went to a battery at the mouth of the St. Johns River, while others were sent elsewhere until Fort Marion was left with only five cannon mounted in the water battery to defend the city.⁵ With virtually no cannon to use, the St. Augustine Blues and the Jefferson Beauregards, two companies of the 3rd Florida Infantry, from Jefferson and St. Johns counties took over the garrison duties at St. Augustine from the artillerymen.⁶

Though adequate railway facilities were not available, the port of St. Augustine was used by a few Confederate blockade-runners such as the *Garibaldi*, or the St. Mary's during 1861.⁷ And, manned mainly by Floridians, the *Jefferson Davis*, one of the twenty privateers commissioned by the Confederacy to prey upon Northern commerce, sent several prizes into her home port of St. Augustine during its four-month cruise in the Gulf Stream before running aground at St. Augustine harbor.⁸

The St. Augustine and Jupiter Inlet lighthouses stopped blinking friendly beams to Federal commerce when the garrison at St. Augustine removed their lenses. This blow to

4. O.R.A., Ser. I, Vol. 6, Ch. 15, p. 327, Gen. R. E. Lee to Gen. S. Cooper, Nov. 21, 1861; *Id.*, Vol. LIII, p. 171, Gov. M. S. Perry to Sec. of War L. P. Walker, May 17, 1861.

5. O.R.N., Ser. I, Vol. 12, p. 595, Com. C. R. P. Rodgers to Flag Officer Samuel F. Du Pont, March 12, 1862; T. Frederick Davis, *History of Jacksonville Florida and Vicinity 1513 to 1924* (The Florida Historical Society, 1925), pp. 116,459; Gardner.

6. O.R.A., Ser. I, Vol. 1, p. 470, Col. W. S. Dilworth to L. P. Walker, Aug. 2, 1861; Florida Board of State Institutions, *Soldiers of Florida in the Seminole Indian and Spanish American Wars* (The Board, 1903), p. 100.

7. O.R.N., Ser. I, Vol. 12, p. 622, Buckingham Smith to Wm. H. Seward, Feb. 26, 1862; Letter, Harriet B. Jenckes to Mary M. Reid, Jan. 7, 1862 (St. Augustine Historical Society library).

8. O.R.N., Ser. II, Vol. 1, p. 257, see Jefferson Davis: *Id.*, Ser. I, Vol. 12, p. 622, Buckingham Smith to Wm. H. Seward, Feb. 26, 1862.

Union shipping led one Federal naval officer to estimate that "their loss for a single night would be disastrous."⁹

The main determinants which led to the Federal capture and occupation of the city were based upon the use of the local harbor. Blockade-runners were a decisive factor though Federal gunboats also needed the harbor as a blockading station. With the city occupied the potential threat of Fort Marion as a factor which might provide a safe harbor of refuge for privateers would be eliminated, along with other interference with Federal shipping in local waters.¹⁰

To the Federal Navy Department fell the responsibility of enforcing Lincoln's proclamation of a blockade on Southern coasts. This, it soon became apparent, was a difficult duty to perform, especially since the few available blockading ships operated too far from friendly harbors. A committee, appointed by Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles to advise him on measures for effective blockade of the South Atlantic Coast, recommended that Fernandina and Port Royal be seized as harbors of refuge and coaling stations for the use of the squadron.¹¹ At Hampton Roads an army of about 15,000 men commanded by Brig. Gen. Thomas W. Sherman joined Flag Officer Samuel F. Du Pont's South Atlantic Blockading Squadron to accomplish this mission. On November 7, 1861, Port Royal in South Carolina fell to the combined land

9. *Minutes of the City of St. Augustine*, Jan. 23, 1861, p. 262; *O.R.N.*, Ser. I, Vol. 12, pp. 207-8, Com. T. A. Craven, U.S.N., to Sec. of Navy Gideon Welles, Sept. 6, 1861.

10. *O.R.A.*, Ser. I, Vol. 6, Ch. 15, p. 225, Maj. Gen. George B. McClellan to Maj. Gen. T. W. Sherman, Feb. 14, 1862, wherein McClellan ordered: "St. Augustine might as well be taken by way of an interlude, while awaiting the preparations for Charleston." Thus McClellan correctly minimized the importance of the harbor. See also, *Id.*, p. 243, Gen. H. G. Wright to Col. Thomas Whipple, March 9, 1862. For a discussion of northern newspaper charges of Confederate filibustering expeditious, the Confederacy as a "buccaneering community," and charges of Spanish or British attempts to regain Florida see George W. Smith, "Carpetbag Imperialism in Florida, 1862-1868," *The Florida Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 27, No. 2.

11. *O.R.N.*, Ser. I, Vol. 12, pp. 195-206, Reports of Conference to Welles, July 5, 16, 26, 1861.

and water attacks which were to prove so damaging to Confederate hopes for outside aid and supplies.¹²

General Lee's expectations of holding the Atlantic Coast became the casualty of Confederate defeats in Tennessee. In February 1862, Secretary of War Judah P. Benjamin ordered Lee to withdraw troops from the seaboard and send them west to protect the railroad line from Memphis to Richmond. "The only troops to be retained in Florida," the Secretary directed, "are such as may be necessary to defend the Apalachicola River, as the enemy could by that river at high water send his gunboats into the very middle of the State of Georgia."¹³

By-passing Confederate strongholds at Forts Sumter and Pulaski, three infantry regiments and two sections of light artillery of the Federal force swept down the coast to find Fernandina virtually deserted when they arrived in February 1862.¹⁴ Likewise Jacksonville was undefended, though by this time Lee had clarified Florida defense to include holding the interior of the state.¹⁵

At Jacksonville elaborate plans to capture St. Augustine were formulated by the Federal command. They would send two infantry regiments with a section of light artillery up the St. Johns River. Landing at Picolata, the troops were to march on St. Augustine's rear while Federal gunboats in the Atlantic blockaded the harbor.¹⁶ The plans were elaborate, but unnecessary. Lee had already suggested that the small force posted at St. Augustine "serves only as an invitation to attack."¹⁷ So it was that the night before Du Pont arrived off

12. *Id.*, p. 208, Lincoln to Welles, Sept. 18, 1861; *Id.*, p. 214, Welles to Du Pont, Oct. 12, 1861; *O.R.A.*, Ser. I, Vol. 6, Ch. 15, p. 188, Sherman to Adj. Gen., Nov. 15, 1861.

13. *O.R.A.*, Ser. I, Vol. 6, Ch. 15, p. 398, Benjamin to Lee, Feb. 24, 1862.

14. *Id.*, p. 93, Brig. Gen. James H. Trapier to Maj. R. H. Anderson, March 28, 1862.

15. *Id.*, p. 406, Lee to Trapier, March 13, 1862.

16. *Id.*, p. 248, Sherman to McClellan, March 15, 1862.

17. *Id.*, p. 406, Lee to Trapier, March 13, 1862.

St. Augustine harbor in the Flagship *Wabash* to assist his three blockading gunboats, the two Confederate companies garrisoning St. Augustine sailed together with 20 percent of the local population to New Smyrna.¹⁸ There they assisted in protecting and removing to the interior arms and ammunition which Lee considered "so valuable and so vitally important that no precaution should be omitted [for their protection]."¹⁹

Local folks did not regret the departure of the troops we learn from the following letter of Harriet B. Jenckes to Mary Martha Reid:

St Augustine 10th March 1862.

Tomorrow God willing I will add to this, if W. H. does not come for it as promised.

Dear friend.²⁰

The City is in motion today, I have not seen so much bustle for a long time. The Blues²¹ are ordered to Smyrna this aft. & I hope as much as a pair of pants will not be left behind, if our safety depends on their going. Yesterday the alarm was given that the War Steamer²² which has been off for some days, was landing Troops. The Catholic congregation left en'mass not heeding the remonstrance of Father Lance. Today they are sounding and placing buoys in the Channel. I have heard the City Fathers (among them George Burt) have decided upon raising a White Flag on the fort, and barracks, to invite the gun boats in when they come (They say to prevent the place being burnt by bombs.) Walton told me he hoped I would join them, I told him I would see them

18. *O.R.N.*, Ser. I, Vol. 12, p. 595, Com. C. R. P. Rodgers to Du Pont, Mar. 12, 1862.

19. *O.R.A.*, Ser. I, Vol. 6, Ch. 15, p. 370, Lee to Trapier, Jan. 17, 1862.

20. The first paragraph recording personal affairs has been omitted from this otherwise complete letter. Spelling and grammar has not been changed.

21. The St. Augustine Blues.

22. This gunboat was the *U.S.S. Keystone State*. On March 11, Du Pont in his Flagship *Wabash*, together with the *Isaac Smith* and *Huron* joined this gun boat off St. Augustine's bar.

all in a bad place first, a set of Granies. Already they smell the parched Coffee selling in Fernandina at 10 cts. pr lb. Flour they say at \$5. and here many families have but one meal a day. Coming events cast their shadows before. I can do nothing but walk and talk. To day I sent Old Sam to cut up the flag staff, a parcel of girls had cut down in the square (Anna H. giving the first blow) to boil salt with, Mrs. W. & I were to share it. The Marshal stopped him, I did not think I was doing wrong, as Mr. S. Mrs. Smith and a number had said what a pity it could not be taken off the ground. I paid 50 cts. to help put it up. Anna D. does not know what to do. To day nothing can be had to transport the servants to Palatka, and as we hear the Federals have Jacksonville, she cannot take the girls there now, it is too late. I have the napkin you [wrote ?] of. I am sorry you sent the \$2 I meant you should keep it for the hats. The blessing of God rest on you & yrs. Pray for us, yr. friends.

11th Brought in safety to see the light of another day.

12th What a day of trial and anxiety increased by the invitation to the Federals to come in, by the hoisting of a white flag on the fort. Dennis the Federal officer ²³ was escorted about the town, by the Mayor Bravo. (Arneau threw up the office in disgust.) ²⁴ The keys have been surrendered and the inhabitants told they would not be molested. The officers also say they had no intention of coming in at present. ²⁵ It has leaked out that some one three or four days since had been out to the vessels, But it is kept secret who it is. S--y and her son in law B. are suspected, at all events a guard of 17 escorted them to the Boats that took the blues to Smyrna. I hope they may be *shot*. L.S. went into hysterics when she

23. Mr. Dennis of the Federal Coast Survey accompanied Commander C. R. P. Rodgers ashore to accept the surrender of the city.

24. Mayor Paul Arneau resigned March 1st. Christobal Bravo served as Mayor *pro tem* until March 24 when G. A. Pacetti was elected Mayor.

25. The first Federal troops, consisting of a small Marine guard and a company of the 4th N.H. Reg., landed March 15.

found her Aunts making the white flag, and swore in the St. that she would never set her foot in the house again if they finished it, but it was carried from their house. I am told, and by way of consistency, she took off her hat and waived it to Capt. D.²⁶ hailing him as an old friend. And today at the Boat house she is having a long talk with him. As Mr. Dowling says she is sparking him already when she has been one of the loudest to talk. Col. B. too they say, threw his arms round his neck mind you, and asked what in the devil had brought him here. D.S. is boiling with passion. She spit at Capt. D. as he raised his Cap at her in the St. The provisions which were intended for the Citizens have fallen into the hands of a few. Mrs. G. got scarcely any thing, and the Bridiers and others Cart loads. Mr. S. has made his last Confederate Prayer. For myself I shall Pray at home, I cannot contribute to Mr. S. any longer, neither can I change my politics as I would a filthy garment. W.W. went with the Blues. The F. Officers were told at once where the Troops had gone, and for what purpose,²⁷ God only knows how it will end. Rev. A.G. has gone South to day to put the Blues on their guard. Mrs. G. has loaned Dora for the purpose.

Friday morning.

Just returned from Church where prayers were offered as usual for Our President & Army. Mrs. Judge S. went stamping through to inform Mr. S. that she could stay in no Church where prayers were offered for Old Abe. Do send after yr things at Tocoli or they will be missing. The Carriage is expected every moment, so I must leave off here, God bless you.

H. B. JENCKES

26. Capt. D. is obviously Dennis who accompanied Rodgers ashore.

27. Rodgers reported to Du Pont: "The garrison of this place went from St. Augustine at midnight on the 10th for Smyrna, where are said to be about 800 troops, a battery, the steamer *Carolina*, and a considerable quantity of arms and ammunition. I am led to believe that Mosquito Inlet, upon which Smyrna is situated, has been much used for the introduction of arms from the Bahamas." See *O.R.N.*, Ser. I, Vol. 12, p. 596, Rodgers to Du Pont, March 12, 1862.

Du Pont, realizing the city was not defended, sent Commander C. R. P. Rodgers ashore on March 11, 1862, to accept the surrender of the city. With him went Dennis of the Coast Survey who found that at least one lady avoided Yankee contamination by spitting at him. Rodgers saw the much-disputed white flag flying on the fort as they landed at the wharf. There he sent orders for the Mayor to meet him, and escort him to the City Hall.²⁸ This was a difficult order to obey because Mayor Arneau had recently resigned. However the City Council was equal to the occasion; they quickly sent Christobal Bravo who served as Mayor *pro tem*.²⁹

Rodgers, too, met opposition from the ladies. "Rodgers met a virago here," Du Pont recorded. "Mrs. Mitchell . . . told him the men had behaved like cowards, but there were stout hearts in other bosoms, striking her own with theatrical effect."³⁰

Once in the safety of the City Hall Rodgers had only men to deal with. With these he laid down the law. They were to accumulate all Federal property, and furnish a guard over it until Union troops could arrive to take over the garrison duties of St. Augustine. Immediately they were to hoist the Stars and Stripes at the fort, and be held responsible for order until the garrison could land. After the City Council complied with these instructions, the city was considered surrendered.³¹

Not everyone frowned on the Federal officer. Union sympathizers came forward to greet him, and a few Southerners found it good politics to change sides at this time. "These times will work wonders," Harriet Jenckes observed, "make

28. *O.R.N.*, Ser. I, Vol. 12, p. 595, Com. Rodgers to Du Pont, Mar. 12, 1862.

29. *Minutes of the City of St. Augustine*, Mar. 1, 24, 1862, pp. 310, 314.

30. *O.R.N.*, Ser. I, Vol. 12, p. 601, Du Pont to Com. Drayton, Mar. 14, 1862.

31. *Id.*, p. 595, Rodgers to Du Pont, March 12, 1862.

some of us discreet, and stayers at home. We are beginning the game of rise Ladies and change places, and between two stools your humble servant is coming to the ground.“³²

Soon prayers were being offered for the Union in St. Augustine churches despite the fact that Mrs. Judge S. went stomping through the church, as told by Mrs. Jenckes. Here is the situation two months later: “Mr. S. [the minister] has forfeited my respect,” Harriet Jenckes commented, “I do not go to Church. Heads of families have left generally. A free passage to Pulaski has been offered him, I hear he says neither man, woman, or child can make him go without he pleases. I have not joined in the Cabal against him, but I do wish him 40 miles off. I can’t bear to come home with a ruffled temper, I like to leave Church loving both God and man better than when I entered it.“³³

The disembarkation of troops went slowly. “The bars off this coast are our worst enemies,” explained Du Pont.³⁴ But eventually seven companies of the 4th New Hampshire Volunteer Regiment (about 600 men) took over the occupation of the city which was to continue for three years. (Half a dozen regiments were to serve in St. Augustine before the occupation ended.) Three companies lived in Fort Marion where huts and tents were erected while the others stayed at St. Francis Barracks. A few slaves were quartered in the fort, and prisoners were kept there. The glacis on the north and west sides of the fort was raised for greater protection than the Spanish level afforded. Within a month after its “capture” the fort boasted an armament of twelve cannon

32. Letter, Jenckes to Reid, May 26, 1862.

33. *Ibid.*

34. *O.R.N.*, Ser. I, Vol. 12, p. 603, Du Pont to Sherman, Mar. 15, 1862.

which covered the city and the approaches to the fort.³⁵ Concerned at first over the possibility of a Confederate attack, Lt. Col. Louis Bell, the commandant, attempted to rally sympathetic citizenry into joining his regiment. When few takers answered the roll of the drums the commandant charged local Unionists with "a want of loyalty."³⁶ But if the Army felt bitter toward such folk, the Navy offered them sanctuary. "As many Union families expressed a wish to come aboard this vessel in case of an attack," a gunboat captain reported, "I freely offered all who desired it a refuge."³⁷ (Later garrisons involving full regiments did not fear an attack on Fort Marion. Indeed, St. Augustine was considered a rest camp during the last year of the war.)

As optimism gave way to practicality it was learned that the number of Unionists in St. Augustine had been grossly overestimated.³⁸ When he accepted the surrender of the city, Commander Rodgers had reported, "the men seemed anxious to conciliate us in every way"; though a month later Commandant Bell did not agree with him.³⁹ He found the men were effectively, though quietly, offering resistance. As an example: William Keys and three neighbors were caught har-

35. *Id.*, Vol. 14, p. 333, Bell to Benham, April 15, 1862. Federal volunteer regiments garrisoning St. Augustine were as follows: 4th N.H. until Oct. 1862; 7th N.H. until Dec. 1862; 7th Conn. until Aug. 1863; 48th N.Y. until Oct. 1863; 17th Conn. until May 1865 when the 7th Regular U.S. Infantry took over garrison duties. Others were the 24th Massachusetts and the 10th Connecticut, or portions of them. A manuscript diary of Lt. James H. Linsley of the latter regiment describing his stay in St. Augustine is in the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida history, University of Florida. Published histories of three of these regiments are: Palmer, A. J., *The History of the Forty-eighth Regiment, New York State Volunteers in the War for the Union*. Brooklyn, N. Y. 1885; Little, H. F. W., *The Seventh Regiment New Hampshire Volunteers in the War of the Rebellion*. Concord, N. H. 1896; Walkley, Stephen, *History of the Seventh Connecticut Volunteer Infantry* (n.p.n.d.). Copies of all are in the same library.

36. O.R.A., Ser. I, Vol. 6, Ch. 15, p. 255, Wright to Bell, Mar. 27, 1862.

37. O.R.N., Ser. I, Vol. 12, p. 753, Lt. Com. J. W. A. Nicholson to Du Pont.

38. *Ibid.*

39. *Id.*, p. 595, Rodgers to Du Pont, March 12, 1862.

boring a Confederate sergeant in the city. The sergeant was accused of being a spy; all four were heavily ironed and sent to Northern prisons.⁴⁰

In 1862 guerrilla warfare in East Florida reached its peak. Several Unionists were hung in St. Johns county where guerrillas even grew bold enough to slip into St. Augustine to snipe at Federal sentinels.⁴¹ The *New York Herald* elaborated: "The inhabitants [of St. Augustine] are not privileged to go out because of bands of guerrillas who are everywhere organizing. This has produced a reign of terror in the neighborhood. Guerrillas do not hesitate to kill those who differ from them."⁴²

This activity was the prelude to a stricter policy against Confederate sympathizers in St. Augustine. Du Pont advised Brig. Gen. H. W. Benham that "these Floridians ought to be well punished while you are waiting for your reinforcements for more important work."⁴³ The General replied that he did not fear for Union sympathizers in St. Augustine, because the garrison there could protect them; but he was worried for others in the interior or in evacuated Jacksonville. He ordered that any guerrilla outrages upon Unionists or property "contrary to the laws and usages of war shall be visited fourfold upon the inhabitants of disloyal or doubtful character nearest the scene of any such wrongs when the actual and known perpetrators cannot be discovered."⁴⁴ This seemingly ruthless proclamation could not be carried out: it was up to the Fernandina or St. Augustine garrisons to execute

40. O.R.A., Ser. I, Vol. 14, p. 356, Maj. Charles G. Halpine to Bell, June 30, 1862.

41. *Ibid.*, R. A. Speissegger, *Early History of New Augustine* (The Author, 1948), p. 24.

42. William W. Davis, *The Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida*, (Columbia University Press, N. Y., 1913), citing *New York Herald*, Sept. 12, 1862.

43. O.R.N., Ser. I, Vol. 12, p. 765, Du Pont to Benham, Apr. 21, 1862.

44. O.R.A., Ser. I, Vol. 6, Ch. 15, p. 128, H. W. Benham to Wright, Apr. 2, 1862.

the threat, and these isolated garrisons could not operate far afield, due to the superior strength of the interior Confederate forces.

Thus the commandant was already worried when the good ladies of St. Augustine again chose to flaunt their patriotism. It will be remembered that the ladies were responsible for erecting the flagpole in the Plaza early in 1861, and hoisting thereon the "national flag" of Florida, which was subsequently replaced by the Confederate banner when Florida joined the Confederacy. To them the flag and its flagpole were a symbol of Confederate hopes. Two days before the city surrendered, they cut down their flagpole lest it be "desecrated" by the Stars and Stripes.⁴⁵ Remembering that the pole could be re-erected by the Federals, plans were made to have it cut up for firewood. Though the Federal officer who accepted the surrender of the city felt "much violent and pestilent feeling among the women," and remarked that they seemed "to mistake treason for courage, and have a theatrical desire to figure as heroines," this affair was over before the garrison troops arrived.⁴⁶

In May, however, a group of the damsels assembled at the Plaza in full view of the Federal soldiers. They proceeded to chip off small pieces from the remaining stump of the flagstaff, which they kissed "with all the fervor of a youthful maiden in her first love."⁴⁷ Some of the soldiers who had noticed the proceedings became so indignant that they dug up the stump and burned it to ashes. Returning the next day, the bevy of damsels, with great ostentation, brushed up the ashes into small papers to be cherished as souvenirs.

The Examiner, a paper printed by the Federal troops, com-

45. *O.R.N.*, Ser. I, Vol. 12, p. 595, Rodgers to Du Pont, March 12, 1862; Letter, Jenckes to Reid, March 10, 1862.

46. *Ibid.*

47. *The Examiner*, May 8, 1862, Published by the 4th N. H. Reg. (Castillo de San Marcos library).

mented on the incident in high humor: "We are sincerely sorry that the destruction of this stump renders it impossible that it can be kissed any more, but as the only consolation we can afford, we hereby publicly offer to conduct the afflicted ones to a gallant set of young men who will receive all the kisses they have to bestow, and return them, too, the only condition being that the ladies shall first sign the oath of allegiance. Apply at this office." ⁴⁸

The commanding officer did not share in the humor. He issued an ultimatum: "Certain women having conducted themselves, last evening and this morning, in a manner grossly insulting to the United States Forces stationed here, by collecting together in the Plaza and there openly manifesting their disloyalty to the United States, I have ordered that hereafter any woman who shall be guilty of any open and offensive exhibition of disloyalty, shall be considered as having forfeited immunity from punishment by reason of her sex, and shall be held in strict arrest. And furthermore, if any such disgraceful scene is reenacted, I shall enforce the full vigor of Martial Law in the city." ⁴⁹

The commandant reported his difficulties in St. Augustine, and requested advice in handling his problems from Maj. Gen. David Hunter who directed him: "You will also threaten to arm, and if necessary arm, all negroes and Indians who may be willing to enter the service. You should also at once drive out of your lines all persons, without reference to sex, who have not taken and shall refuse to take the oath of allegiance." ⁵⁰

Most people in St. Augustine had kinsmen in the Confederate service, and there were many who, like Harriet Jenckes, "could not change their politics as they would a filthy gar-

48. *Ibid.*

49. *Ibid.*

50. *O.R.A.* Ser. I, Vol. 14, p. 356, Maj. Halpine to Bell, June 20, 1862.

ment." These people were ordered to sell their property, sent aboard ship, and evacuated to Jacksonville. There the order was rescinded, and the evacuees returned. But by this time the damage had been done. Only Federal notes were circulated in St. Augustine, and the Confederate money they had received as payment for their properties was worthless. With homes gone, and no means to earn a living, many of this group left the city shortly thereafter.⁵¹

Carpetbaggers arrived early on the scene in St. Augustine, but there was very little Federal money in the town for them. Property there was, and about \$20,000 worth was bought in, under the supplement to the direct tax law of 1861, which was a move to confiscate the real property of southern landholders. John Hay, Lincoln's private secretary obtained one of the lots, though he was unable to find 10 percent of St. Augustine's voters who would take the oath under the Lincolnian ten percent plan of reconstruction, and send him to Washington as their Representative to Congress.⁵²

Cut off from sources of interior supplies there was little food in the city. "This city is in a most lamentable condition with respect to food," the commandant reported. "I have been compelled to issue Government provisions to families to prevent them from perishing from hunger."⁵³ Charging that Unionists were issued most of the food, one hungry Confederate lady remarked: "I can't tell you how many times a day I say to myself, Trust in the Lord, and verily thou shalt be fed. I wish I could congratulate Flora, but I do think it is an awful time to come into this world."⁵⁴

Holding the Confederate interior defense line at Palatka through Green Cove Springs, and up the St. Johns river as

51. *Id.*, Brig. Gen. Alfred H. Terry to Maj. W. P. Prentice, Sept. 23, 1862.

52. George W. Smith, "Carpetbag Imperialism in Florida, 1862-1868," *The Florida Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 27, No. 3, p. 288. See the citation for a comprehensive treatment of the subject.

53. *O.R.A.*, Ser. I, Vol. 14, p. 333, Bell to Benham, Apr. 15, 1862.

54. Letter, Jenckes to Reid, May 26, 1862.

far as Volusia county was Company H, 2nd Florida Cavalry, C.S.A., led by Captain J. J. Dickison. The St. Augustine occupation garrison generally purchased cattle for their needs from local cattlemen, and kept a supply on hand in a small cowpen near the city. (A cattlepen full of stolen cattle reaching from Picolata to St. Augustine was not the case, as one writer to the Lake City Columbine believed during the war.) They seldom plundered; not for lack of inclination, but for lack of force large enough to penetrate Confederate defenses. Alfred and Kathryn Hanna gave to Dickison and his men, more than to any other factor, the credit for keeping central Florida's plantations from being broken up.⁵⁶

Later to become a general, Captain Dickison was nicknamed "War Eagle" by Confederates while Federals called him "Dixie" and the territory west of the St. Johns, "Dixie's Land."⁵⁷ Legends have arisen that he walked St. Augustine streets in disguise and heartily hailed every Federal he passed, or that he spiked Fort Marion's cannon. In truth, action in St. Johns county involved merely minor skirmishes, which served the useful purpose of keeping the Federal garrison pinned down, and discouraged looting expeditions into the interior of the state.

When sixty Federal soldiers ventured two miles north of the city to cut wood, Dickison's men pounced upon them; capturing 24 and wounding a half dozen, the Confederates chased the others back to the safety of Fort Marion.⁵⁸ This skirmish and others near Picolata served to discourage small detachments of Federals from operating afield, and since gar-

55. Mary E. Dickison, *Dickison and His Men* (Louisville, Ky., 1890), p. 46.

56. Alfred J. and Kathryn A. Hanna, *Florida's Golden Sands* (The Bobbs-Merrill Co., N. Y., 1951), p. 149, Dickison, p. 73.

57. Dickison, p. 46.

58. O.R.A., Ser. I, Vol. 28, Part 1, p. 752, Col. F. A. Osborn, U.S.A., to Brig. Gen. J. W. Turner, Jan. 1, 1864; *Id.*, p. 753, Report of Capt. J. J. Dickison, C.S.A.; Dickison, 110; Alfred S. Roe, *The Twenty-Fourth Regiment Massachusetts Volunteers 1861-1866* (Twenty-Fourth Veteran Ass., Worcester, Mass., 1907, p. 249.

rison duties interfered with operating in force, the Federals in St. Augustine were tied down.⁵⁹

During the last year of the war Dickison's men carried out an extensive campaign in St. Johns county where they collected eighty-four prisoners, killed four, and wounded several other Federals. Recapturing ten wagon-loads of stolen cotton, and two hundred horses, they visited a farm house where a dance for Federal officers in the Picolata garrison was in progress. There they captured the Federal soldier band, an ambulance, and most of the officers forming the Picolata garrison. Riding back to "Dixie's Land" they decided their tattered uniforms were not warm enough for the December weather. Soon, all who could, snuggled comfortably in warm Federal overcoats of blue; their prisoners shivered dejectedly. Dickison sent his blue-overcoated men forward as his advance guard. When meeting Confederate deserters the guard would accuse them of being rebels. Thinking the guard were Federal troops the deserters would hotly deny the charge, declaring they had deserted and were good Union men. Arresting them, the guard would pass them on back to their comrades in grey. They stopped at a farm where the lady of the house, an ardent Unionist, mistook Dickison for a Federal officer. Playing the game, the Captain pointed to his men in grey and remarked, "they are some of Dickison's men we have captured." With an earnest "God Bless you, Colonel," the lady threw her arms around him and begged Dickison to capture "that man Dickison." The Captain replied confidentially, "I will get him before he crosses the river."⁶⁰

Though it was true that the Federals could not safely venture beyond the town limits, it is also true that they had

59. For details of skirmishes at Picolata see *O.R.A.*, Ser. I, Vol. 14, p. 224, Col. H. S. Putnam to Lt. Col. O. G. Halpine, U.S.A., March 12, 1863; *Id.*, Lt. Col. J. C. Abbott to Putnam, March 10, 1863; Dickson, 109.

60. Dickison, 112-122; *O.R.A.*, Ser. I, Vol. XLII, pt. 1, p. 166, summary of this action by compilers.

accomplished their major objective, which was to close St. Augustine harbor to blockade-runners. During stormy weather, blockade-runners were forced at times to seek refuge at Matanzas Inlet fourteen miles south of St. Augustine, and here at least six were captured with cargoes valued at over \$50,000.⁶¹

After Appomattox, Confederate troops in Florida were ready to surrender. During May 17-20, 1865, they surrendered to Brig. Gen. Vogdes, in compliance with terms agreed upon between Generals Johnston and Sherman, at Baldwin, Lake City and Waldo. Eleven companies of the 7th U. S. Infantry, Regular Army, reached St. Augustine May 31 to relieve the Volunteers. However, the command of the District, as part of the Department of the South, was not relinquished by Vogdes until July 10, when the official order transferring the State to the Department of the Gulf arrived.⁶²

61. *O.R.N.*, Ser. I, Vol. 12, p. 709, Com. J. W. A. Nicholson to Du Pont, April 7, 1862; *Id.*, Vol. 17, p. 685, Com. E. C. Healy to Sec. of Navy, April 19, 1864; David D. Porter, *The Naval History of the Civil War*. (Sherman Publishing Co., N. Y. 1886,) pp. 838-842.

62. *O.R.A.*, Ser. I, Vol. XLVII, pt. 1, pp. 166-167. This appears as a summary of events by the compilers, and complete citations are not given.

FOREIGN TRAVELLERS IN FLORIDA, 1900-1950

by LAWRENCE S. THOMPSON

During the first half of the twentieth century more foreign writers visited the South than at any other period in history. Among the various Southern states the most popular among this group of visitors were Florida, Louisiana, Texas, and Virginia. In many instances Virginia was a sort of afterthought to the customary visit to Washington, but the other three states attracted foreigners primarily on account of their own colorful history and scenery. If New Orleans were to be placed in a separate category as a tourist attraction, Florida would outstrip Louisiana in this respect. Moreover, a large proportion of travellers who go to Texas do so simply because the sheer bulk of the state blocks their way en route across the continent. Such is not the case with South Americans who enter the United States *via* the International Airport in Miami; for they have a clear choice of stopping to dally in the fleshpots of Miami or of purchasing a through ticket on the airlines to Washington.

Sixty-two foreign writers have included some aspect of Florida in travel books written in foreign languages between 1900 and 1950. Almost a third of these books, twenty to be exact, were written by Germans (including two Swiss Germans). Thirteen are in Spanish (four by Cubans, three by Chileans, two by Peruvians, two by Argentines, one by a Spaniard [i.e., Basque], and one by a Puerto Rican). Twelve are by Scandinavians (eight by Swedes and four by Danes). Nine are in French (including one by a French Swiss). Four are in Portuguese, all by Brazilians. Two are in Italian, and two are in Dutch.

During the first decade of the twentieth century only five foreign writers visited Florida and recorded their trips in print. A like number visited the state during the decade of World War I. In the twenties, however, the number went up to twelve; and during the depression decade no less than twenty-three

writers described various aspects of Florida in their books. Between 1940 and 1950 seventeen foreigners wrote about Florida. A large proportion of the latter group consisted of South Americans brought to the United States for propaganda purposes, and there were virtually no independent writers who visited Florida (or the United State in general) until after 1945 during the last decade. Thus, in spite of the grave obstacles to travel caused by war and the collapse of great nations, the popularity of Florida with foreign writers has risen steadily.

It is, of course, perfectly obvious from a cursory examination of their writings that the majority of foreign writers came to Florida because of the attractions for tourists. As would be supposed, well over half of them went to Miami. Something less than a fourth visited Jacksonville, Key West, and St. Augustine. Jacksonville appears somewhat drab to many visitors, but the magnificent river is atonement enough for the mercantile atmosphere of the city itself. Tampa, Palm Beach, Sarasota, and Daytona also have their appeal to foreigners, but Tallahassee has only those few visitors who travel overland to New Orleans. Industry and agriculture are all but ignored, and even the social problems of the South receive little attention (quite contrary to the attitude of foreign writers who describe other Southern states). The lush tropical landscape and the tinsel of Miami overshadow all other aspects of Floridian life.

There are relatively few serious books about travel in Florida in the following bibliography. Indeed, the beaches and bars of Miami are not exactly conducive to serious writing, so most foreigners have written about Florida as the traditionally care-free vacation land. There have been a few scientists such as Abel, France, and de Vries, but they represent a small minority. In other Southern states foreigners are attracted to the great educational institutions; but only a couple of the authors in this list have anything to say about Florida's great universities (one about the University of Miami and one about the higher

institutions in Tallahassee). Not a single one of these foreign writers visited the most rapidly growing university in the South in Gainesville!

The following list of books by foreign authors which deal in whole or in part with Florida has been selected on the basis of an examination of over 3,000 books on travel in the United States in most of the languages of modern Europe in an effort to ascertain which ones dealt with travel in the South. Approximately 400 of these 3,000 books dealt with travel in the various Southern states. Nearly all of the 400 books on Southern travel and the sixty-two which include Florida have been located in American libraries, but a few could be found only in the Latein-Amerikanische Bibliothek in Berlin, one each only in the University of Havana Library and the Royal Library in Stockholm. A fully effective cooperative acquisition policy among American libraries would insure the presence of at least one copy of every one of them in some American library.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abel, Othenio. *Amerikafahrt; Eindrücke, Beobachtungen und Studien eines Naturforschers auf einer Reise nach Nordamerika und Westindien*. Jena, Verlag von Gustav Fischer, 1926. 462 p. Date: Spring and summer 1925. Abel, a professor of palaeobiology in Vienna, examined pleistocene remains in Vera, Florida; and he deals with this part of his North American tour in two chapters, "In den Hammocks Sudfloridas" (p. 58-77) and "Die Menschenreste aus den Plistozanablagerungen am Kanal bei Vero in Florida" (p. 78-85). In the first chapter he describes in some detail the flora of a typical Florida landscape, and in the second he gives an account of the fossils found at Vero. There is nothing on social or economic aspects of life in Florida.

Albrektson, Bror. *Till det soliga Florida*. Goteborg, Privately Printed, 1926. 54 p. Date: Winter 1926. This is a rather superficial account of Florida from the standpoint of a Swedish busi-

ness man. He visits St. Augustine, West Palm Beach, Miami, Jacksonville, Key West, and an interesting Danish agricultural colony at White City (p. 44). The West Palm Beach Rotary Club, the fantastic trends of American advertising, the scrumptious homes of millionaires are all more interesting to him than the social and economic aspects of the boom of the 1920s.

(The titles of lesser importance, as they relate to Florida, are set in smaller type.)

Bardin, Polo. *Aterrizajes (viaje relampago)*. Buenos Aires, Editoriales Reunidas, 1941. 202 p. Date: July-August 1941. In the chapter on Miami, "playground of the world" (p. 117-138), Bardin describes the great vacation city as something pretty and perfect to the point of exaggeration but makes no more profound comments. He is struck by the large number of women in the city and by the atmosphere of the coming war.

Bluth, Hugo. *Wandervogel. Bilder und Gedanken aus Amerika und China*. Berlin, Wilhelm Weicher, 1910. 167 p. Date: Probably soon before publication. The first part of this volume of travel reminiscences by a German minister deals with his work as a tutor and his travel impressions in Florida ("Aus dem Lande der Blumen und Pruchte," p. 1-58). On p. 3-9 he jots down his first impressions of America (with descriptions of the Charleston, S. C., harbor and Jacksonville); on p. 10-16 the country and its people (with special notes on the phosphate industry); on p. 17-24 the language of the people; on p. 25-37 hunting and hunting stories; and on p. 38-58 the Negro. On the whole Bluth is rather dull and his descriptions poor.

Bonn, M. J. *Die Kultur der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika*. Berlin, Volksverband der Bucherfreunde, Wegweiser-Verlag, 1930. 304 p. Date: Probably soon before publication. Although this book is not written according to an itinerary, it seems that Bonn travelled in Florida from his comments on the race problem ("Indianer und Neger," p. 41-47), in which he gives the historical background and an objective report on the present situation, and from a similar note on the Klan (p. 68-70). He does not view the twentieth century Klan as primarily a Southern movement.

Bringuier, Paul. *J'ai vu l'Amerique en guerre; reportage*. Algiers, Edmond Charlot, 1944. 88 p. Date: 9-10 May 1944. Bringuier spent two days in Miami (p. 16-26), where he was impressed as much by the multitude of uniformed men and women as he was by the Gold Coast aspects of the city. His observations are superficial, but they do bring into sharp perspective one of the most fabulous cities of America in World War II.

Christophersen, Birte. *Springet ud i verden*. Copenhagen, H. Hirschsprungs Forlag, 1948. 103 p. Date: Fall 1946. This is the story of a trip of thirty-seven Danish boys and girls who travelled all over the United States giving gymnastic exhibitions. The chapter entitled "Sydstaterne" (p. 76-81) describes a trip to Florida, where the group visited St. Augus-

tine, Silver Springs, and Miami. The young Danes were mildly surprised at racial segregation, much more interested in the quaint aspects of Southern Negroes. There is also a chapter on Cuba, p. 81-85.

Clauson-Kaas, Knud. *Vi ruller gennem Amerika*. Copenhagen, Casper Nielsens Forlag, 1948. 304 p. Date: 1946-47. This is one of the best written, best illustrated travel books on America published in Europe in recent years. In Jacksonville Clauson-Kaas begins to note the tropical landscape, and in St. Augustine he is delighted with the old-fashioned architecture and the Castillo de San Marcos (p. 71-74). He describes Marineland (p. 74-76), between St. Augustine and Daytona, in detail. He skirts Vero, goes on to Palm Beach (p. 80-82), and spends Christmas at Hobe Sound. He passes through Fort Lauderdale en route to Key West and gives a detailed account of tourist life in the latter community (p. 86-96). Subsequently he lectures to a women's club in Miami and gives a long description of life in that fabulous resort (p. 96-116). Through Punta Rassa, Sanibel Island, Fort Myers, Punta Gorda, Sarasota and the Ringling camp (p. 123-125), Tampa (p. 125-130), Tarpon Springs, Cypress Gardens, Winter Park, Rollins College, Silver Springs (p. 137-142), the Suwannee River, Tallahassee and its white and Negro educational institutions (p. 151-156), and Wakulla Springs, he sees all a tourist should see in Florida, including highway patrolmen and chain gangs.

Coudekerque-Lambrecht, A. de. *Vers le jardin des dieux; deux ans en Amerique du nord*. Paris, Dorbon-Aime, 1939. 304 p. Date: Two years most probably in the 1920's. On p. 150 there are a few impressionistic notes on Florida.

Coviello, Alfredo. *Lo que vi en Estados Unidos y en Canada (impresiones de un viaje a traves del continente)*. Tucuman, Talleres Graficos Miguel Violetto, 1945. 285 p. Date: 26 February-25 April 1945. Coviello was one of a group of Latin American newspapermen invited to this country by the National Press Club in cooperation with the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American affairs. Landing in Miami (p. 47), he is impressed by the comeliness of the female auxiliaries of the various branches of the armed forces, but he gives only cursory attention to other aspects of the great resort city. Chapter IV (p. 61-82) is largely devoted to the South and includes a description of Jacksonville.

Decken, Ernst von der. *Grosse Welt - kleine Welt. Amerika. Auf Schienenstrang und Autobahn durch U.S.A.* Leipzig, Paul List Verlag, 1940. 273 p. Date: Probably soon before publication. There are a few brief notes on Jacksonville, where von der Decken stopped in the course of a motor trip through the South; but he is quite indifferent and notes nothing of essential interest in this city.

Demaison, Andre. *Terre d'Amerique (grand et petits chemins des Etats-Unis)*. Paris, Librairie Arthème Fayard, 1939. 336 p. Date: Probably soon before publication. Although Demaison does not cover the territory that Clauson-Kaas did, he ranks with him as one of the most successful of all foreign writers who have dealt with the South in the twentieth century. He describes virtually all major aspects of contemporary life in the South (including Florida), but he is considerably more interested in traditions and manners than in social and economic problems. The picture he draws of Florida and of Miami in particular expands considerably the limited viewpoints of other travellers who visited the state primarily out of curiosity.

France-Harrar, Annie. *Florida, das Land des Ueberflusses*. Berlin-Schöneberg, Peter J. Oestergaard, 1932. 239 p. Date: Probably soon before publication. This volume is a detailed description of Florida in twenty-three chapters. Special sections are devoted to rivers, swamps, phosphate deposits, Silver Springs, the Keys, turpentine forests, Indians, hurricanes, the tourist business in Miami, orchards, truck farms, and the cities (St. Augustine, p. 192-196; Tampa, p. 197-202; Orlando, p. 202-204; Jacksonville, p. 204-207; and various Negro communities, p. 212-220). The descriptive material is based on reliable information, contains a multitude of detail, and reflects a genuine affection of the author for her subject. In treating both the physical characteristics of the state and the people she is able to single out characteristic, outstanding, or unique elements for special treatment.

France, Raoul Heinrich. *Lebender Braunkohlenwald. Eine Reise durch die heutige Urwelt*. Stuttgart, Kosmos (Gesellschaft

der Naturfreunde), 1932. 79 p. Date: Probably soon before publication. This report of a naturalist on his trip to Georgia and Florida gives a detailed account of the flora of the backwoods and the swamps. On p. 10-50 France describes the climate, hydrological conditions, and flora of Georgia and Florida. He also describes individual swamps, including the Dismal Swamp on the North Carolina-Virginia border, the great swampy jungle on the Georgia-Florida border, Okefenokee Swamp, the swamps along the banks of the Oklawaha River in central Florida (p. 27-32), the lake region of Kissimmee (p. 33-36), and, above all, the Everglades (p. 37-48). The concluding portion of the book attempts to draw some conclusions about the origin of the German peat deposits with the help of observations and experiences of the author as described in the first part of the book.

Frau Marsal, L. *La Babel de hierro*. New York-Havana, Graphic Press of Cuba, 1918. 216 p. Date: Probably soon before publication. On p. 7-36 there is a series of disconnected impressions of the trip from Key West to Washington: a rather colorful account of resort life in Key West (p. 8-27), the night express to Miami over the causeway, hotel and street life in Miami (p. 25-28), Jacksonville "uniforme y vulgar" (p. 29-31).

Frederikson, Nils. *Reise ohne Ende, ein Seemannsleben*. Zurich, Albert Muller Verlag, n.d. 288 p. Date: 1932. On p. 280 the author gives a brief note on his ocean voyage down the coast from Baltimore to Florida in order to load phosphate and spend the night in an unidentified Florida port with a Negro wench. The Swedish original has the title of *Resa utan ende*, but no copy could be located in an American library.

Gobat, Albert. *Croquis et impressions d'Amerique*. Bern, Gustave Grunau, n.d. 301 p. Date: Probably 1904. Gobat, a Swiss educator, came to America for the St. Louis Exposition and subsequently toured the entire country. On p. 238-275 there is a good account of Florida, with intimate details about the tropical landscape that might escape most foreigners as well as pleasing little glimpses of Southern life and ways as he noted them in Florida (race relations, superstitions, country life, incipient economic invasion by the Yankee). Altogether he tells a thoroughly authentic tale of life in Florida and the South in general at the turn of the century. The second of the two chapters on Florida, "Sur les rivières de Florida" (p. 258-275), is a little classic of nature description.

Goy, Henri. *De Quebec a Valparaiso: paysages - peuples - ecoles*. Paris, Librairie Armand Colin, 1917. 288 p. Date: Winter 1914. Goy reports briefly on a visit to Louisiana and Florida *en route* to Havana and South

America. He is charmed by the tropical landscape of both Louisiana and Florida, and he considers the latter (p. 46-48) even more picturesque than the former, a rather unusual attitude among French travellers.

Guimaraes, Celso. *Um sonho! Rio de Janeiro*, Editora Civilizacao Brasileira, 1947. 292 p. Date: Probably May and June 1945. On p. 25-26 there are a few fleeting impressions of Miami, where Guimaraes first landed in the United States.

Hausmann, Manfred. *Kleine Liebe zu Amerika; ein junger Mann schlenkert durch die Staaten*. Berlin, S. Fischer Verlag, 1932. 345 p. Date: A year in late 1920's. Stoutly armed with a well-developed sense of humor, Hausmann visits Miami *en route* to Havana, then returns and starts for St. Louis (p. 207-299). He experiments with hitch-hiking on Florida highways, goes sight-seeing in Jacksonville (and challenges the guide's pious assertion that the St. Johns is the world's only northbound river), and spends a "nigger night" in the Florida countryside.

Heckmann, Johannes. In *Nord-Amerika und Asien, 1902-1903; Reise-Eindrücke*. Bonn, R. Schade, n.d. 230 p. Date: November 1902-January 1903. In Florida (p. 37-40) Heckmann visits Lake City, St. Augustine, and Miami. He gives a pleasing account of the subtropical landscape and some attention to Florida agriculture.

Hensel, Rudolf. *Rund um den Erdball*. Berlin, Paul Franke, 1942. 638 p. Date: Probably late 1930's. Hensel's book is the account of a six-month circumnavigation on a Hapag boat. On p. 69-76 he gives a brief account of Florida, particularly Miami and Palm Beach, from the rather superficial viewpoint of the tourist.

Heye, Artur. *In Freiheit dressiert*. Zurich, Albert Muller Verlag, 1940. 159 p. Date: Probably soon before World War I. This book of adventures of a German hobo (volume I of Heye's *Wilde Lebensfahrt*) contains some rather picturesque but exaggerated accounts of his adventures as a field hand and alligator hunter in Florida (p. 74-80).

Hoppe, Emil Otto. *Die Vereinigten Staaten; das romantische Amerika; Baukunst, Landschaft und Volksleben*. Berlin, Atlantis-Verlag, 1930. 304 p. Date: Probably 1927. This is a collection of 304 photographs by a master photographer who produced better work of this sort than any produced in the United States before the days of the W.P.A. There are brief introductory comments on Miami and the Keys. On p. 62-71 there are photographs of Palm Beach, Coral Gables, Miami, and the Keys.

Iraizos y de Villar, Antonio. *Itinerario par los Estados Unidos*. Havana, Editorial Hermes, 1936. 270 p. Date: Probably soon before publication. The author makes his way north gradually, travelling from Key West to Washington (p. 19-81). He goes via Miami, which affords him several opportunities to comment on the more unpleasant aspects of Yankee civilization; St. Augustine, where he digresses into history from the Spanish period, plus a note on Osceola; and Jacksonville, which seems almost mid-western from Iraizos' description.

Kircheiss, Carl. *Meine Weltumsegelung mit dem Fischkutter Hamburg*.

Berlin, Kribe-Verlag, 1928. 296 p. Date: 2 January 1926-29 December 1927. During the course of a circumnavigation with four companions Kircheiss stayed in Miami from 13 to 19 September 1927. He jots down his impressions of the city as a tourist capital under the caption of "Das Babel der USA" (p. 206-213).

Kisch, Egon Erwin. *Paradies Amerika*. Berlin, Aufbau-Verlag, 1948. 334 p. Date: 1928-29. The late Egon Erwin Kisch, well known Czech Communist newspaperman known to his associates as "der rasende Reporter" because of his vigorous and lively style, is particularly interested in the life of the "little man" (or "forgotten man" in American political parlance). On p. 84-86 he makes brief comments on his stay in Jacksonville in this tone; and as he leaves for Panama he gives a short but effective description of the Florida coast. The first edition of this book was published in 1930 but cannot be located in any American library.

Lambert, Max. *Les Etats-Unis; bilan en 1939*. Preface de M. Andre Siegfried. Paris, Bloud & Gay, 1939. 310 p. Date: Ten trips to the United States between 1898 and 1938. This is an encyclopedic work on the United States, compressing the whole fund of the author's information which he picked up in the course of four decades. Commerce, industry, finance, politics, international relations, social life (including the race problem) and much else are discussed with great sapience and insight. Lambert travelled in Florida as well as in nearly every other state.

Larco Herrera, Rafael. *Por la ruta de la confederacion americana; consideraciones en pro de la unidad y la defensa de America*. Lima, 1948. 315 p. Date: August 1948. On p. 206-207 there is a brief account of Larco Herrera's sojourn in Miami, including a visit to the Okeelanta Growers sugar plantation. Descriptions are somewhat more lyrical than factual.

Lazurtegui, Julio de. *Espana ante el hemisferio de occidente*. Bilbao, Imprenta Echeguren y Zulaica, 1924. 3 v. Date: 22 October 1922-1 July 1923. On p. 319-326 of the first volume there are brief notes on New Smyrna, St. Augustine and the pageant in honor of Ponce de Leon, Miami, Henry W. Flagler, the Florida East Coast Railway, and Caya Hueso.

Leitner, Maria. *Eine Frau reist durch die Welt*. Berlin, Agis-Verlag, 1932. 200 p. Date: Probably soon before publication. Chapter IV is captioned "Was ich an Amerikas Milliarden-Küste sah" and deals with Miss Leitner's experiences as a worker in a tobacco factory in Tampa and as a waitress in Palm Beach ("Stadt der kunstlichen Monde"). Both are rather pleasing

travel essays with valuable observations on social and economic life in the Florida of the twenties.

Leon P., Luis. *Cronicas de viaje; siete semanas en EE.UU.* Lima, 1945. 388 p. Date: March-April 1944. Leon came to the United States as a guest of the federal government and spent a great deal of his time in Florida and Georgia (p. 10-73). He made a quick trip to the University of Miami and to Camps Drew and McDill, but his observations are rather superficial. Considerably more interesting are his accounts of the Spanish-American population in Tampa.

Lyautey, Pierre. *Revolution americaine.* Paris, Librairie Hachette, 1934. 248 p. Date: Early part of 1934. On p. 208-211 there are brief notes on the luxury hotels and tourist life at Palm Beach and Miami.

Mielche, Hakon. *Ovre i Staterne.* Copenhagen, Steen Hasselbalchs Forlag, 1938. 351 p. Date: February-June 1938. Mielche undertook a transcontinental tour as correspondent of *Jyllands Posten* in 1938 and touched on the following Florida cities: Jacksonville, St. Augustine, Daytona Beach, Palm Beach, Miami, Key West, Tampa, Silver Springs, and Tallahassee. He is remarkably successful in his account of Florida, sensing just those elements which determine the nature of life in each locality. His treatment of the Negro and poor white problem reveals considerable insight into the basic issues. His feeling for Florida scenery is rivalled by few other European writers.

Mikusch, Gustav. *Kuba, Haiti und Louisiana als Zuckerlander. Eindrücke von einer Studienreise durch diese Lander.* Berlin, Paul Parey, 1930. 248 p. (*Berichte über Landwirtschaft*, n. F., 21. Sonderheft). Date: 1928. The last section of this study is captioned "Florida und Louisiana" and is divided into four chapters, covering p. 204-230. The first (p. 209-212) describes the trip from Havana to New Orleans *via* steamer and (from Key West on) *via* rail (passing through Jacksonville). It contains many valuable observations on the geography, social structure, and economy of Florida, recorded with the traditional thoroughness of the German scholar.

Molander, Greta. *Pass for Amerika.* Stockholm, Steinsviks Bokforlag, 1943. 205 p. Date: Probably 1939 or 1940. In a light

vein Miss Molander skips through Florida, Cuba, and the Deep South *en route* to Texas and the west. At Silver Springs she has an amusing trip through a man-made jungle. In her account of life and manners at Miami Beach she is especially impressed by the \$2.10 ham sandwiches at the Roney Plaza. Her account of her visit with Ernest Hemingway (p. 92-96) is particularly valuable. After a brief visit to Cuba, she looks in on the winter quarters of the circus at Sarasota (p. 130 *et seq.*) and then goes on to Alabama via Tallahassee. *Pass for Amerika* is a refreshing view of certain aspects of Florida life, even though it ignores social and economic problems almost completely.

Molina, Enrique. *Paginas de un diario; viaje a los Estados Unidos de Norte America, abril-juno de 1940*. Santiago de Chile, Editorial Nascimento, 1940. 146 p. Date: May 1940. P. 44-45 are devoted to Molina's impressions of a brief glimpse of Miami - a relatively quiet city in this unfashionable time of the year, yet fully equipped with the inevitable North American skyscrapers and movies.

Napoleao, Aluizio. *Imagens da America (cronicas)*. Rio de Janeiro., Companhia Brasileira de Artes Graficas, 1945. 171 p. Date: Probably 1943 or 1944. Immediately after his arrival in Miami Napoleao recorded brief impressions of the American scene and the American spirit as well as a few impressions of the Florida landscape (p. 23-27).

Nielsen, Roger. *Amerika i Billeder og Text*. Copenhagen, H. Aschehoug & Co., 1929. 319 p. Date: Probably soon before publication. This work by a press attache at the Danish Legation in Washington is one of the most monumental of all travel books on twentieth century North America. Marshalling a tremendous amount of geographical, historical, political, ethnological, sociological, economic, commercial, educational, and agricultural information, he has matched his data with typical photographs from each state, including Florida, to form a virtual encyclopedia of the United States. In all cases he is well-informed and uses the most reliable and up-to-date sources.

Nordstrom-Bonnier, Tora. *Resa kring en resa. I Frederika Bremers fot-spar*, Stockholm. Albert Bonniers Forlag, 1950. 272 p. Date: Probably soon before publication. Mrs. Bonnier undertook this trip in Frederika Bremer's footsteps in order to comment on the latter's observations and to describe

the state of the nation a hundred years after her famous predecessor. While Mrs. Bonnier did not visit Florida, she does reproduce on p. 245 a sketch of a Florida landscape drawn by Frederika Bremer.

Nyblom, Eric. *Omkring golfstrommen; skisser fran Nordamerika och Vastindien*. Goteborg, Ahlen & Akerlunds Forlag, 1911. 138 p. Date: Probably soon before publication. Most of this book is devoted to Florida. In Jacksonville Nyblom was introduced to the spirit of the Old South by an argument with a Confederate veteran on the relative merits of Negroes and white people. He describes the sawmill at Palatka and gives a pleasing picture of the town itself as a sleepy old Southern community. He is particularly effective in his narrative of the trip up the St. Johns River, embellished with striking *accounts* of the scenery. Most interesting, however, is his trip on the Ocklawaha River and his analysis of cracker character as exemplified by a chance acquaintance. In St. Augustine he conjures up memories of the Spanish period, but he awakens quickly to the reality that he is on America's Riviera and gives a glowing account of the Royal Poinciana (calling it "America's Monte Carlo"). He put up at the Royal Palm in Miami and was much less impressed by that city than he might have been two decades later. The section on his trip to Key West, with excellent descriptions of that city's hotels and tobacco factories, is another high point in the book.

Pagan, Rafael J. *Va Usted para los Estados Unidos? (Guia para el puertorriqueno)*. San Juan de Puerto Rico, Puerto Rican Adjustment Bureau, 1944. 186 p. Date: Pagan was in the United States sometime between 1942 and 1944. Miami (p. 56-62) is described with all the details necessary for the Puerto Rican visitor (streets, stores, hotels, eating places, bus stations, airports).

Ponten, Josef. *Besinnliche Fahrten im Wilden Westen*. Leipzig, Philipp Reclam, 1937. 76 p. Date: February-September 1929. Published as no. 7,350 in Reclam's famous "Universalbibliothek" (German pocket books), this is an account of a study tour undertaken by the author to secure background for his series of novels to be entitled "Volk auf dem Wege." Ponten visited St. Augustine and the Keys (p. 70-76), and here, as elsewhere, he shows much greater appreciation for the landscape than for social and economic conditions.

Pos, Mary. *Ik sag Amerika; en bezocht het opnieuw*. Amsterdam, Albert de Lange, 1949. 407 p. Date: Probably soon before publication. Miss Pos, a Dutch lady journalist, describes Christmas Day in Miami in her chapter captioned "Kerstdag in Miami" (p. 315-319). In spite of the season, she catches all of Dade County's gaudy atmosphere.

Pumariega, Juan G. *Impresiones de un viaje a Tampa*. Prologo del Dr. Luis A. Baralt. Havana, Imprenta Avisador Comercial, 1929. 126 p. Date: January 1909. This book is a rather superficial account of the life and economic structure of the Cuban colony in Tampa, and virtually no attention is given to the lower social classes who make up the great bulk of the colony. At the same time it is a rather full description of the city of Tampa and neighboring communities. Although much too much attention is given to ceremony and social functions, there are good accounts of the sanatorium sponsored by the Delegacion Asturiana, whose dedication was one of the main events of Pumariega's tour, and of the tobacco factories. There is also valuable biographical information on prominent Tampanans and some background data on the Cuban immigration.

Remberg, Carl August. *Pa stroftag; resebref till Handelstidningerna fran skilda luftstreck*. Goteborg, Goteborgs Handelstidning, 1905. 85, 207, 105, 157 p. Date: 15 March-May 1904. A substantial part of the second section of this book is devoted to Florida. Remberg came to the United States for the St. Louis Exposition of 1904, but he also saw the rest of the country. After giving a rather pedestrian account of Jacksonville (p. 89-94), he goes directly to St. Augustine (p. 95-102), which he describes in glowing terms as a luxurious winter playground in a verdant subtropical landscape populated by picturesque Negroes. The next leg of his journey was *via* river steamer to Palatka (p. 103-110). His description of the scenery in this area is excelled by few other books of travel on the American tropics. From here he goes on to Havana.

Recouly, Raymond. *L'Amerique pauvre*. Paris, Les Editions de France, 1933. 374 p. Date: Probably soon before publication. "La Floride" (p.

270-274) is a very superficial account of Miami as a playground of the rich - but already well impoverished by the depression.

Bitter, Carl. *Erlebtes Amerika*. Heidelberg, Karl Pfeffer Verlag, 1946. 160 p. Date: The author was in America from 1941 until shortly after World War II. On p. 14 he gives brief impressions of Florida, mainly the subtropical landscape and the Negroes, as viewed from a Greyhound bus window.

Ross, Ralph Colin. *Von Chicago nach Chungking; einem jungen Deutschen erschliesst sich die Welt*. Mit einem Vorwort von Colin Ross. Berlin, Verlag Die Heimbucherei, 1941. 252 p. Date: 1939 or 1940. This is a refreshing travel book by a young German who was killed in Russia in 1941. Miami (p. 74-82) appears as a glittering city of tourists and hotels; but young Ross is far more interested in the Everglades (p. 83-87) where he jotted down brief notes on the history as well as the present-day life of the Seminoles.

Sanchez, Luis Alberto. *Un sudamericano en Norteamerica; ellos y nosotros*. Prologo de Waldo Frank. Santiago de Chile, Ediciones Ercilla, 1942. 393 p. Date: Latter part of 1941 and early part of 1942. Miami (p. 119) is presented merely as a fabulous resort city; but Chapter VII (p. 198-22), a sociological study of "Los Negros," indicates that Sanchez did probe a little deeper into the problems of American life. He is hesitant to criticize too severely, despite a few honest and forthright comments on the race question, perhaps because he was a guest of the federal government.

Sarfatti, Margherita Grassini. *L'America, ricerca della felicità*. Milan, A. Mondadori, 1937. 293 p. Date: Probably soon before publication. During the course of a fairly thoughtful consideration of American life and manners the author jots down a few casual observations on Miami (p. 91-92) as a tourist city.

Scheffer, Paul, Max Clauss, and Julius Krauss. *USA 1940; Roosevelt-Amerika im Entscheidungsjahr*. Berlin, Im Deutschen Verlag, 1940. 206 p. Date: 1939-40. Three Nazi newspapermen take a last fling before returning to the austerity of wartime Germany. They visit Palm Beach, Miami, Key West, and the Everglades (p. 66-71) but find nothing more important than gaudy tourist spots.

Serpa, Enrique. *Norteamerica en guerra*. Havana, Arrow Press, 1944. 240 p. Date: September-October 1943. On p. 13-24 Serpa, a guest of the State Department, presents a picture of the same war-time Miami that thousands of other Latin Americans saw when they entered the United States in 1941-1945:

the fantastic red tape of the Immigration Service, the night life and commercialism of Miami, the hordes of service men and women, and the atmosphere of a glorified vacation land.

Subercaseaux, Benjamin. *Retorno de U.S.A.; New York, Spring '43; cronicas*. Santiago de Chile, Zig-Zag, 1943. 325 p. Date: Winter 1942-43. Subercaseaux, a guest of the State Department, gives one of the best accounts of wartime Miami (p. 66-81) to be found in the work of any South American imported for propaganda purposes during the last war. He reports objectively on the great vacation city as a social phenomenon thrown out of joint by the tens of thousands of enlisted men quartered there.

Thomas, Louis. *Les Etats-Unis inconnus*. Paris, Librairie academique, 1920. 288 p. Date: 1919. On p. 211-217 Thomas reports his visit to Jacksonville and gives a few brief historical notes, a description of the physical aspect of the city, and a general account of civic activities.

Uchoa, Joao de Barros. *Cartas dos Estados Unidos*. Rio de Janeiro, 1947. 216 p. Date: April-September 1946. A letter dated 29 April 1946 (p. 16-19) written for the *Jornal do Brasil* describes the Barry School (Dominican), the Hospital of St. Francis (Franciscan), and other Roman Catholic activities in Miami. A letter dated 13 August 1946 to *O Estado* gives Monsignor Uchoa's impressions of the aerial view of Miami (p. 137).

Valentini, Zopito. *Un anno senza rondini*. Florence, Vallecchi Editore, 1930. 369 p. Date: Probably soon before publication. On p. 69-98 Valentini reports on an extended visit to Key West; and while most of this section is taken up with a chatty account of his stay with his host, there are many pleasing glimpses of the land and seascape. On p. 101-105 there is an impressionistic account of the countryside between Key West and New Orleans.

Verissimo, Erico. *A volta do gato preto*. Rio de Janeiro, Edicao da Livraria do Globo, 1947. 440 p. Date: Fall 1944. Arriving in Miami, this Brazilian journalist devotes several pages to a description of the International Airport, hotels, and other accomodations for tourists (p. 15-27). After a brief digression on the "boom" of the 1920s (p. 27-34), he describes his wanderings on the streets of Miami and Miami Beach, where he is amused by the town characters, public display of affection by couples, and other peculiarities of a wartime city (p. 35-43).

He describes Jacksonville briefly (p. 43-47) with a few side-lights on Florida history.

Vries, Hugo de. *Van Texas naar Florida; reisherinneringen*. Haarlem, H.D. Tjeenk de Willink & Zoon, 1913. Date: 1912. At the time he served as visiting professor at the Rice Institute de Vries botanized from San Antonio to Key West. There are several striking descriptions of the flora of Florida in the latter part of the book.

Wickert, Erwin. *Fata Morgana uber den Strassen*. Leipzig, Arwed Strauch Verlag, 1938. 231 p. Date: Probably soon before publication. P. 25-28 contains an account of Wickert's quest for a job in Florida and an impressionistic note on the Everglades. P. 84-98 contains an account of Hotel Maticumbe on the road to Key West with enlightening glimpses into the life of its vacationing guests; but the most significant part of this chapter is a vivid account of the hurricane that wrecked the Maticumbe and gave the young German a full comprehension of the awful fury of tropical seas.

Wiren, Gosta. *Pa jakt efter jobb i U.S.A.; mina vagabondar i Amerika*. Stockholm, B. Wahlstroms Bokforlag, 1933. 220 p. Date: Probably soon before publication. This light-hearted Swedish youngster seems to have toured the United States and Mexico on a smile, but the only impression he received of America's more serious aspects was the enormity of unemployment in the 1930's. Chapter XV ("Floridasasong," p. 194-210) tells how he went South, armed with all the traditional conceptions of juleps, colonels, and magnolias, and worked as a servant in a rich man's home until the depression caught up with the boss. The abundance of food in the home of the wealthy and the luxury of high society in Florida were his most profound impressions of America.

Zurbuchen, R. *Kreuz und quer durch Nordamerika in den Jahren 1915-1919*. Bern, Paul Haupt Akademische Buchhandlung, 1923. 284 p. Date: Winter and spring 1917. Chapter XXIV, "In Nord-Florida" (p. 196-207), has notes on Florida history, a brief account of Jacksonville and the St. Johns, and a note on an excursion to St. Augustine. Chapter XXV, "An Floridas Westkuste" (p. 208-213) contains factual accounts of Orlando, Tampa, and St. Petersburg. Chapter XXVI, "Nach Pablo Beach"

(p. 214-218), deals with Pablo and Daytona beaches. Chapter XXVII, "Auf dem Indian-River nach Palm-Beach" (p. 219-226), contains descriptions of the towns of Rockledge, West Palm Beach, and Palm Beach. Chapter XXVIII, "Die Everglades und Miami" (p. 227-232) describes Miami and a nearby farm belonging to a friend of Zurbuchen as well as the life of the Seminoles in the Everglades.

DOCUMENTS DESCRIBING THE SECOND AND
THIRD EXPEDITIONS OF LIEUTENANT
DIEGO PENA TO APALACHEE AND
APALACHICOLO IN 1717 AND 1718 *

INTRODUCTION AND TRANSLATIONS

by MARK F. BOYD

The success attained by Lieutenant Diego Pena in the discharge of the mission to Apalachee and Apalachicola, to which he was assigned in the summer of 1716, made him the logical choice for similar duties in the following two years.¹ The authorities in St. Augustine entertained the hope of repopulating Apalachee through inducements offered to surviving Apalacheans then living along the Apalachicola (present-day Chattahoochee) river and elsewhere, as well as members of adjacent and related tribes, whose disillusionment with the English had produced the then recent Yemassee war. Knowledge that the success of this project was imperiled by the English, who were again penetrating this area in an effort to regain their former ascendancy over the Indians, and that the French from Mobile as well were, with thinly veiled hostility since the death of Louis XIV, competing for Indian favor, intensified the efforts of the Spanish authorities to bring the Indians wholly under Spanish influence. The French had penetrated among the Upper Creeks where they enjoyed considerable favor, while among the Lower Creeks the competition between Spanish and English partisans resulted in much turbulence.

Although Barcia, in his chronicle, devotes considerable space to the then still nearly contemporaneous events of 1717 and 1718,

* This is a contribution from the Florida Park Service. The documents are from the Archivo de Indias in Sevilla, Spain, where they are catalogued as 58-1-20:82; dated September 28, 1718, 124 pages. The translations were made from photostats in the files of the North Carolina Department of Archives and History, by courtesy of the director, Mr. Henry Howard Eddy.

1. Boyd, Mark F. (transl.) "Diego Pena's Expedition to Apalachee and Apalachicola in 1716," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, xxviii (1949) pp. 1-27.

he mentions Diego Pena by name only once, and then not in connection with his diplomatic missions, and only briefly alludes to the 1717 mission. Since Barcia's chronicle is now available in a translation,² the reader may be referred to this work for the requisite background and broad detail. It will be noted that the Spanish authorities in Pensacola were in active and amicable relations with the Creeks, more especially with those of the upper towns.

In 1717 we mainly encounter the *dramatis personae* of the previous year: Sergeant Major Don Juan de Ayala Escobar, the interim governor of Florida; Yslachamuque, the principal chief of Coweta, who is rarely referred to by name, but who is now, in full appreciation of his ascendancy among the Creeks, referred to as emperor; Chipacasi the *Usinjulo*, son of the emperor with aspirations to the succession and an ardent Spanish partisan; Chislacaslache, apparently the leader of the Spanish party, whose village occupied a site on the point formed by the confluence of the Flint and Chattahoochee rivers; and the chief of Bacuqua (an old Apalachean band) named Adrian, who was also a Christian. The principal newcomers on the 1718 scene, were Don Antonio de Benavides, the new royal governor of Florida, who assumed office in the latter part of that year, and Captain Don Joseph Primo de Rivera, who was assigned command of the new post established at San Marcos in Apalachee, to whom Pena appears to have become subordinate.

Following is an abstract of the instructions given to Pena for the conduct of his 1717 mission, and several documents in their entirety. Pena's principal document is a report, rather than a diary as was the case in 1716, two letters from the commandant at Pensacola to the governor, delivered by Pena, and two letters to the governor written by Pena on his return journey. Pena's

2. *Barcia's Chronological History of the Continent of Florida*. Translated by Anthony Kerrigan, with Introduction by Herbert E. Bolton. (Univ. of Florida Press, 1951.)

journal or report of the 1718 mission is not available to us, but we have utilized a dispatch, presumed to be from Governor de Benavides to the King, in which it is extensively summarized.

Pena's arrival at Coweta in 1717 coincided with the presence of an English embassy, and as a consequence the passions of the adherents of both the Spanish and English factions, intensified by rum as a fuel, rose to fever heat. The reception accorded Pena by the emperor was chilly, and Pena charged him with duplicity. Pena himself does not disclose in the journal whether he felt his life was endangered, although in one of his letters he credits the chief of Bacuqua with having saved it. Certain it is that his Indian adherents believed so; his departure appears to have been precipitate, and his return journey to Chis-lacasliche's town was more or less a flight. The Spanish faction appears to have been in the ascendancy at his return in 1718, and he extended his travels to visit the Upper Creeks and the French fort.

The rather discursive instructions given to Lieutenant Pena for the conduct of this mission by the interim governor, were dated July 20, 1717. In substance they had the following tenor:

1. Lieutenant Diego Pena, as a consequence of his successful execution of a similar mission in the previous year, was assigned as leader of a squad of eight mounted soldiers, to escort the *Usinjulo* of Coweta and his party to the provinces of Apalachee and Apalachicola.

2. Assignments as second and third in command were given to Sergeant Antonio Solana, retired, and to Corporal Francisco Dominges, both of the company of horse.

3. With the object of promoting reduction and conversion of the natives to the Holy Evangels, the principal chiefs and leaders, with their people, are to be invited to remove or come nearer to the province of Apalachee, under the protection of the arms of the garrison for establishment within one-half league of the port of San Marcos.

4. Pena and those of his command were admonished to comport themselves with all kindness, gentleness, and forbearance to the Indians, and refrain from becoming involved in dissensions, disputes, or controversies among themselves, lest such conduct be misinterpreted by the Indians.

5. Although some goods for private trade with the Indians were to be carried, personal interest must not be allowed to interfere with the leaders responsibility of trading for horses for the use of the dismounted cavalry at St. Augustine.

6. The leader is to minutely report on the Indian deportment, considering the motives, demonstrations and commotions, whether originating at councils, dances, or other gatherings, as well as the reception accorded them, the entertainment proffered as well as the grace with which offered, whether the hospitality is extended to include the soldiers, as well as the degree of ceremony attending departure. The leader is to note whether the hospitality extended is free-handed and gratuitous, or whether it appears that it is given in expectation of remuneration or of other advantage.

7. Should there for any reason, be made any demonstration of distrust by any chief or *tascaya*, and more especially by the great chief and emperor of Coweta, every artifice must be made to conceal that it has been detected, and effort made through affectionate boldness or some civility to overcome this hostility, employing as presents some of the goods of His Majesty or of individuals.

8. The leader is to inform the emperor that he comes on behalf of the governor and in obedience to the governor's orders, to learn in what manner he can serve the emperor or his subjects.

9. The leader is to present and distribute the munitions and arms which the Indians sought and requested, in the name of the King, as well as that of the governor.

10. The leader is to invite the chiefs with their villages and people, to remove and settle in the province of Apalachee, where

will be located the garrison requested by the *Usinjulo* and *Talachasli* (*sic*: *Chislacasliche*?) at their first visit.

11. The leader is to present to the emperor in the name of His Majesty, the fine uniform and hat, all with gold lace, the most handsome procurable at the moment.

12. The leader is to carefully ascertain and record in writing the names of all villages, their chiefs and people with little or much dissimilarity, in accordance with his penetration, describing each village with provinces and languages, and whether they have given submission to our King or are English adherents.

13. If the leader can, on going or coming, pass by the site where the garrison is to be placed, he is to erect a cross as a demonstration that construction is near.

14. The leader on arrival is to attempt to dispatch the letter for the Governor of Pensacola which he bears, with which goes another for the Viceroy of New Spain, and he may, should he find it expedient, write the Governor of Pensacola about anything he finds necessary, asking the aid of the emperor of Coweta for the securest carriage.

The extent to which couriers were sent to overtake the returning party may be noteworthy. Thus the chief of Achitto sent a message to the chief of the Uchis urging his return, and the chief of Apalachicolo (Jurquiza) sent word to Chislacasliche to fortify his village. Chislacasliche ordered this done by those of his band who remained behind. Accomplishment of this task probably explains why the village at the forks became known as "Cherokeeleechee's fort" on contemporary English maps.

The list of the six towns which were expected to emigrate presents some interesting aspects. The statement that those of Tasquique speak Yamassee, affords corroboration of Dr. Swanton's surmise³ that the *diamaza* of the 1716 report was intended for Yamassee. Pena states that Euchitto (Achito), Apalachicolo, and Ocone spoke Uchise, which according to Dr. Swanton,

3. Boyd, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

would now be known as Hitchiti. In the 1716 report, Pena mentions these as speaking Apalachian. This probably accounts for their ready response to the Spanish advances. It is further to be noted that the villages of Uchi and Sabacola, spoke different and distinctive languages.

There is a particularly pathetic implication to the statement that Adrian, chief of Bacuqua, had only two followers. Bacuqua was one of the villages of old Apalachee. No mention is made of the place of Adrian's contemporaneous residence, so that evidently there no longer existed a town or band of Bacuquanos.

Pena and his party, with the escort of Indians, entered St. Augustine on the morning of October 15, 1717. For the benefit of his Indian companions, this welcome was as formal and ostentatious as circumstances permitted, being closely similar to the reception of 1716.

A few days later, Pena himself, Corporal Francisco Dominges and Joseph Escobedo made declarations before the governor, which were notarized. These being in substantial accord with the report, are not considered.

On each of the successive journeys, Pena penetrated farther into the interior: to Apalachicola in 1716, to Coweta in 1717, and to Talasi and the French fort in 1718. Despite his uncomfortable and hazardous experiences in 1717, one concludes that he acquired the respect of the Indians, and was widely influential. His declaration in 1717, that had any one else been sent on this mission, the lives of the members of the troop, and the support of the Spanish party as well, would have been lost, was no idle boast. From the relatively meager information relating to the journey of 1718, one infers that the influence of the Spanish partizans was in the ascendancy, as the emperor himself appears to have been cordial. We must conclude that Pena had a deep insight into Indian character, and was himself a no mean diplomat, meriting in this respect coequal rank with that other remarkable character of the southeast, Dr. Henry Woodward.

FURTHER REFERENCES

Cardenas z Cano, Don Gabriel (Pseud. for Andres Gonzales de Barcia Carballido y Zúñiga). *Ensayo Cronologico para la Historia General de la Florida* * * * desde el año de 1512, * * * hasta el de 1722. Madrid, 1723.

Serrano y Sanz, Manuel. *Documentos Historicos de la Florida y Luisiana, Siglos XVI al XVIII*. Biblioteca de los Americanistas, Madrid, 1913. (Peña's report of 1717 and the two letters from the Governor of Pensacola occupy pages 227-242.)

DOCUMENTS

I.

Letter (Report) of Lieutenant Diego Pena to Don Juan de Ayala Escobar, Governor of Florida, Sabacola, September 20, 1717.

(pp. 42-80)

Senor Governor and Captain General:

This serves to give Your Lordship an account of my tiresome journey. My desire has been to do so much sooner, but I have not had a courier available. I relate, Sir, the exertions expended have been insufferable because of the abundance of water, since the creeks were transformed into rapid rivers, as I informed Your Lordship in the (letter) sent from the *Ycapacha* of Santa Fe by some Appalachian Indians I encountered. The twenty fourth day of August I arrived at the village of Chislacasliche, having departed the twenty sixth of July, in company with the *Usinjulo* of Coweta, the chief of the Uchises, and (the chief) of Bacuqua. The other Indians went directly overland from San Martin, and carried (off) the machetes. This was the first misfortune. The thirtieth day of the month I left the village of Chislacasliche, the *Usinjulo* having departed in much haste on a horse two days earlier.

The first day of September I met an Indian (*Indiette*) of Sabacola in the road, who was abroad hunting. He informed me that the province was in turmoil as the consequence of the arrival of twelve Englishmen and a negro at the town of Casista. On approaching, they bore a white flag, to which the inhabitants replied with a red flag. When the English saw

they would not be admitted, they went by *el ganal de lugar* to the town of Coweta, which they entered as far as the council house, and to the presence (of the emperor) of that place. When the outcome appeared nearly certain, the emperor recalled what he should do, and decided to comply with the order of Your Lordship to the letter.

On the fourth day I arrived at some meadows or hamlets governed by a Christian Indian called Augustus, of the Tama nation of Apalachee. Here I was met by an Indian who ordered me not to pass beyond that place (until) it is determined what is to be done, and related the same news to me, with much more, as Your Lordship and the other gentlemen will see later. The principal chiefs and *tascayas* were coming to this hamlet daily on their appointed days and were holding their councils, excepting those of the towns Coweta, Casista and Chavagali. Chislacasliche and the chief of Bacuqua were in our favor and loyal to our King in their councils, and with fervor (supported us) from the fourth day until the sixth, and at night. On the third day of council, the *Usinjulo* of Coweta arrived with two *tascayas*. During these three days I spent a keg of rum in treating them and (distributed) other minor presents, since I found myself a prisoner. On the arrival of the said *Usinjulo* another keg of rum was emptied. The council of all these chiefs and other principal men and *tascayas* finally decided in our favor. The deliberations of this council determined the following: that these Englishmen should be made captive and sent to the presence of Your Lordship; and that the horses, which are more than twenty two, would be carried to that presidio, and the negro (held) for His Majesty. I expressed that Your Lordship would be pleased, contented and satisfied with this outcome.

I departed from this hamlet on the seventh day and camped at the cattle ranch of some Apalachean Indians, with the *Usinjulo*, Chislacasliche, the chief of Bacuqua, and the chief

of the Uchis. All the referred to are very loyal, which I acknowledge. The eighth day I arrived at the village of Tasquique, where the *Usinjulo* told me that I should stop for the night, because he would go ahead to arrange my reception. It was thus, since it was at his order. I left on the ninth day for the said town of Coweta, which was a short league (distant). They came out to receive me with a white flag, the *Usinjulo* leading, requiring from me a speech before entering in the house of the emperor. (There, assembled) on neatly made seats, were all of the chiefs, principal men and *tascayas* of this province. He brought me to where the emperor reclined on a bed without power of movement, because of a wound in a foot which was pierced by a cane, which should have been in his heart. I arrived, as I said, and found him beneath a bower. Although I gave him expressions of condolence in your name, I also gave him in name of Your Lordship, repeated compliments, and at the same time the present of the plumed hat, the dress coat, and the stockings, for which he expressed to me thanks, to His Majesty and Your Lordship, for the great favor shown him. After a brief interval I told him I brought orders from Your Lordship which I would give them to understand, to him as well as to the other chiefs, principal men and *tascayas*. I ordered all gather together in my presence for the understanding of all, whereupon I made the said order understood through two interpreters: Joseph de Escobedo who is qualified in the Apalachian idiom, and by the chief of Bacuqua, qualified in the Uchise idiom, and having heard, they all acknowledged that they had heard and understood. The chief of Coweta replied, saying that he had understood very well, and that on the following day, the tenth, in the morning, he will call a council and determine what he has to do.

Today I ascertained minutely that which had passed from the chief of Bacuqua, who has assigned two of his tribe to

inform him of all intrigues, in order that he may relate them to me, and I rewarded him to have him better satisfied. From him I learned the English have been here in the province since the end of July and that all of the malcontents rejoiced much over their arrival, especially the chieftainess Qua, to whom she opened her arms, and with wailing and sighs celebrated their arrival. They brought ten or twelve horses freighted with fine clothes, good *fresadas*, ribbons, beads, (as well as) two very fine saddles for horses, which are in the storehouse of the said chief. It is also known very definitely they were making presents of rum to the chiefs, and had sent for more. They related that finally the leader of the English (was given) the daughter of the chief as wife. To all this I give credance, for the reason that from the public house, where the English were housed, to that of the chief, is no more than fifty steps, and the said English, loitering with much laxity and passing the place, instigated a thousand indecencies which I will not bring to the attention of Your Lordship because of their lewdness. In the party were thirteen English with a negro, of these, ten and the negro went to the province of the Talapuses to promote amity, and two remained in charge of the beasts which brought the loads, which are perhaps ten. I have news that when the French of Mobile learned this news, they dispatched a hundred and fifty men with the Ayabamas to intercept the English on their way to the Talapuses. While en route, with the Indians marching in two files with the said French in the center, and with scouts before and on the sides, they encountered the English. Their scouts informed the French that the English and Talapuses were coming, that they were nearby, and they quickened their own advance. At this moment the English through their own advance scouts detected the French, whereupon the English with their troop fled and the French pursued them. I do not know in what shelter they stopped. Before all this, and even (as late) as

my arrival in this province, the malcontents proposed that immediately on our arrival with the powder we were bringing, that we should be confined in a house, and with the same powder be set afire, (since) we must be good to refine powder. Twenty five malcontents are said to have gone openly to the English, whom they followed and joined.

This same day, before the council began, I asked the said chief, by what reason were the English in his town, with so much liberty and so much license. He replied to me that he was not aware of it, neither that he had had them invited, they said they were here guarding some horses which they had brought, they said also they went to speak with the French and that they had not returned, and that as yet he had not spoken with them, and that (although) he saw them, he does not know their motive. Whereupon I replied to him that since he had given submission to our King, it appears strange that those men were enjoying the license they were. To this he replied that they came on the invitation of some men who went about circulating evil talk without his knowledge. I told him that among us, such as these were accused as traitors, and added that such an action deserved no other punishment or chastisement than cutting off their heads. He turned to me to say that he had not invited them, that they had come (of their own accord). I replied that I had not said that, but that I would use force on him who would put unwelcome strangers in another's house, he having the key, and that in the same case, they having taken the hand to enter into his house, they should be reproached, and not admitted, that I being his friend and being as we are in peace and union as brothers, it would have been (un)necessary, were I in his place, (to send) his son to seek for the one, or ask for the other; that as soon as I arrived at the village of Chis-lacasliche, I sent by his son to ask permission to enter his town, but he sent one who detained us Sabacola, who did

so until his son came to, get me, when he fell in *tililaciones* without reply. The most he did was to bow his head and shed tears. After a short interval he replied to me that I was as white as were (the English) and that I should reach an agreement with the said English. I replied that I had nothing to adjust with them, that I did not recognize them as masters of the province, neither had I come to buy places nor people, that I was solely sent by Your Lordship to see where they wished the garrison of fifty soldiers to be located, which was requested by their emissaries to that presidio, and to see that which he assigns them, so that Your Lordship could give the necessary orders, as he had always done that which he promised them, and that I in one or another manner would return much pleased to the presence of Your Lordship, and that I had not told him that the English were bad, neither that they were good, but that time will disillusion him. Upon which he told me that he much esteemed the Spanish, as well as other things which were irrelevant, which are not placed before the attention of Your Lordship, because he never replied to me in the intent to which I had to him spoken, and as I was unwilling to say more, nor openly resent that which my eyes saw, I left him to silence and the consolation of a bottle of rum.

The following day he held council and before so doing, I was obliged to treat the chiefs and principal men from the stores of His Majesty which I had brought, (so that) by means of this it might go well and all not be lost. I took counsel with the *Usinjulo*, who was very much on my side and very loyal, as Your Lordship will see below. He told me I did well and that in the interval in which they were in council they would consume the other barrel of rum. Also that to the *tascayas* I could give a share of powder and flints, as they were those who had to free and favor us. I did it, thus showing my gratitude, giving of the goods which I

brought, cloth, ribbons, beads, and knives, and it was necessary to avail myself of a little of a private bale of fifteen yards, and two yards of colored cloth with white selvage. I distributed (goods to the value of) more than two hundred pesos. They began the council (after) having given to the *tascayas* the half of the powder, and (when) the council was at its midst, the chiefs were laying aside their flasks, and the *tascayas* theirs as well. The council closed at one oclock, and I being with the said chief within his house, all of the chiefs and *tascayas* entered, except the malcontents, and they informed the said chief they had now agreed, and that they would give submission to the King Our Lord, and that they did not desire other than friendship than that San Augustin, Pensacola and France, and that now they did not have more to do. All came to embrace me, and give me the kiss of peace. God grant that it be not as that which Judas did with Christ Our Lord.

All having gone outside, the *Usinjulo* his son, and the chief of Bacuqua, remained in great dispute with his father, of a character which became very serious, dealing with whether those English should be killed or made prisoners, and take the horses for His Majesty, and he did not wish to agree. The said chief (of Bacuqua) left, and at sunset called to his house all of our adherents and taking more than two arrobas of powder and ball, he distributed them, and subsequently there came to me the *Usinjulo*, with Chislacasliche and the chief of Bacuqua. (The *Usinjulo*) told me through Joseph Escobedo and the Sergeant Solana, that the first thing in the morning I should get on the road, to which I agreed, and that he would accompany me in good spirit, that he had to die sooner than me, and that he would not believe his father in anything, that he had two words, and that one he would say to me, and the other remain in his head. Understanding that to which he referred, I went to the emperor,

and said that with his permission I would leave in the morning, but that I needed to learn where the soldiers should be established so as to inform them where they were to be located. He replied that the fifty men he wished (placed) in those villages which were most oppressed, and, that I should write (for) him two letters, the one to the Governor of Pensacola; asking his favor, and the other to him of Mobile asking the same. I did this (but) I could not reveal myself to the Governor of Pensacola for the reason they might give the letters to the English to read, and I be injured. I already had written him from the village of Chislacasliche of the occurrences.

The said *Usinjulo* informs Your Lordship that he is obedient to the order of the King Our Lord, and that he goes to Mobile to ask assistance, and to the Talapuses with the chief of the said Talapuses, and that one and another will not give submission to other than (he who) is at San Augustin, and that he is willing to give his life for the Spaniards, and that if there is no agreement, he knows it will be necessary to make war on his father, that he does not wish to appear in the presence of Your Lordship even though well assured, since he is found ashamed, because Your Lordship will discern that it has been (through) his error, but that his father is a bad man; that the chief of Bacuqua goes there, who can confirm to Your Lordship, as well as can Chislacasliche, whom Your Lordship pardon, as he is not responsible for that which happened. Sir, the town of Coweta is the source of the disturbances which have occurred.

After I left the said town of Coweta, I learned, as previously had been told me by the *Usinjulo*, that his earlier departure had been imperative, as the English proposed to the malcontents that they kill us to assure their (own) safety. There go in my company the chief of the Uchises' with fourteen men *tascayas*. He says he is a vassal of the King of Spain, and that these *tascayas* go to defend the Spaniards,

and says that as soon as he returns he (will) move to the *Chicazas* of Apalachee, that (he) is expecting a hundred followers who are in the other province, that they have already promised. It is worth while for Your Lordship to show him favor, he only says that he has no interpreter to explain his good zeal to Your Lordship. The villages which are to move are Tasquique nation, and in addition Apalachicolo, Sabacola, (that) of Chislacasliche, and the chief of Bacuqua, with two men, and it is said with perhaps more, and the said Uchises. The Apalacheans continue dispersed, the reason for which, say the English, (is) that they and the Yamassee do not wish to exercise vengeance.

I know, should you invite me to express my opinions before the vast comprehension of Your Lordship and the other gentlemen, I could not be accused of being an advisor (*advitriador*), since my limited ability is insufficient to give advice (*advitrio*) to Your Lordship and the other gentlemen. I am solely prompted by the intuition and the experience which today I possess because of which I implore Your Lordship and gentlemen to pardon my simplicity, which is only the expression of my great zeal to further the royal service. Sir! Your Lordship has deliberated, in conference with those gentlemen, upon placing a garrison in the port of San Marcos, which cannot be avoided for three reasons: the first is because this has been promised to these nations so that they cannot say that your word to them lacked truth; the second, because the Indians who come to locate at the said San Marcos come with confidence in having protection with the Spaniards; the third, is that the English have said that this (project) was senseless, since (what) the Spaniards had (said) to them was false, and that they (themselves) this winter, will settle or place a garrison in the said San Marcos. With this fundamental clear, Your Lordship and gentlemen will decide with your mature and advanced judgment that which

is suitable, but I say, Your Lordship and other gentlemen, that I find that it is impossible to effect a similar march by land, for two things which I offer to present. The first is that for fifty men (more) or less, there are required so many horses, some solely for the rations, because today it is an uninhabited (distance) of more than eighty leagues, and at the least they will be delayed (on the march) very near two months, since we eight who came mounted (were) delayed thirty one days, and in spite of being few, there were left in the road three beasts, two exhausted, while that of the corporal, Francisco Dominges, was drowned in the Aucilla. Furthermore of the eight of us in the party, four did not know how to swim, and for them it was necessary to effect their passage on rafts. Thus although the crossing of creeks and rivers might have been effected in one hour, it was necessary to spend two (on their account), and (since) all this is delay, what might happen to a troop so much enlarged, as also to be encumbered with sufficient iron work, and especially the munitions, in which in other times the natives of the provinces aided, but today we are deprived of all, as what could also happen to those who might have some illness, and all will be delays and mounting costs. The second which could happen is that the English might influence the Indians so that bands of two hundred or four hundred men (would attack) and thus impede the march and (our force) perish, while they remain safe, and we without power to take vengeance. You will only succeed if the infantry are brought to the said San Marcos by vessel, in any other manner I maintain it is impossible, for I find myself today with an identical experience. Your Lordship will pardon my importunities, because I desire nothing which falls outside the discharge of my obligation, and the aid I can render the royal service.

Today (there) is found in this village of Chislacaslíche, a

negro prisoner who was captured in San Jorge. There has elapsed since they brought him, they say, six (*sic*) months. He stated that in the month of June there left San Jorge a long boat and two canoes with English and Indians in pursuit of Yamassees who were about the said place, and that they returned from San Juan. I believe that this was when Your Lordship was advised from the bar of San Juan that they had seen a canoe with fourteen men. The said negro said that they had captured the said Yamassees, and that thus the said English conversed. Sir!, while at this place there came two Indians of the village of Achitto seeking the chief of the Uchis, who came in my company with fourteen warriors, and these two Indians brought word from the said chief of Achitto, sending them to say that he return to his village to stay with the women, because the villages were in confusion, as it seemed to them that the English had come with evil intention, and that he was called to attend council to decide what they should do with the said English, and that he expected a rupture. The Uchis chief replied to this message saying that he could not, that he had promised the governor of San Augustin to be his vassal and escort the Spaniards, offering to die with them; that for this (service) the governor of San Augustin supplied them with guns, powder and ball, and that he will return six (men), which he did. Realize, Your Lordship, their great loyalty.

I add that the English were not admitted to the province of the Talapuses, they returned to Coweta, they (say) they are evil, and that after the council this will be revealed. The *Usinjulo* and the chief of the Talapuses departed together, and on their way to the French, passed through the province of the Talapuses. The said chief said that he will soon wait on Your Lordship, that he is much the friend of the Spaniards and that he greatly esteems Your Lordship and all of those gentlemen. Sir! I bring for the King ten horses, which are

all I could acquire, because the goods which I brought were cheap and the beasts very dear, since they ask forty pesos, (saying) that in the presidio they have sold them for fifty pesos. One of these is Chislacasliche, He believes, Your Lordship, that he is a good vassal, without (*lama*) but (he is) very adept (*settario*) at purchases and sales. The chief of Bacuqua as well as Chislacasliche will relate to Your Lordship that here narrated and something more. I enclose two letters for Your Lordship from the Governor of Pensacola.

(This) being for the moment as much as presents itself to me, I ask God for the health of Your Lordship. That of ours is not very good, but (we are) always obedient to the orders of Your Lordship.

Sabacola and September twenty of (one) thousand and seven hundred and seventeen. I kiss the hand of Your Lordship. Your Lordship's least subject.

Diego Pena.

On the day twenty four, with the aid of God, I leave this place.

II.

*Don Gregorio de Salinas Varona, Governor of Pensacola, to
Don Juan de Ayala Escobar, Governor of Florida.*

Santa Maria de Galve, July 24, 1717. (pp. 81-88)

My dear sir:

I have wondered, since the Reverend Father of your province sent Indian bearers with the *patente* for the guardian of the convent of this garrison, why (the opportunity) did not merit communication of your orders to me, with very good news of the health of your lady and all of your family, which I always commend when I should have opportunity, mine remaining with all affection, as always.

By letter from the Reverend Father fray Claudio de Florencia, written to the guardian of the convent of this fort, I have learned how the Indians of the Tequipaches, Talapuches, Sabacolas,

Apalachicolos, and other neighboring nations have been to give submission to the King Our Lord at that presidio, at Your Grace's hands, which news has been much esteemed from the tranquility which you can promise to the inhabitants (as a consequence).

Of that which I may say to Your Grace, (I relate) that I sent on the 8 of April, 1715, a captain of this fort with letters for the Governor of San Jorge, giving news of the proclamation of peace between the powers of Spain, France, and England, (and stating that) he should take notice of the annoyance received by the garrison of that presidio from the incursions of the nations of their Indian adherents. (The captain) having arrived at the seat of the Talapuses nation with ten Spaniards and twenty friendly Indians on the twenty fifth of May, he heard the news that the said nations had taken arms against the English, whence they would not let him depart, saying that any of the other nations which they say (are) with them, might discharge their arms upon them, and that he must remain some days while they gave the news to the chief of Coweta, who sent an order directing him to return to his presidio. In the meantime he would advise his chiefs to make friendship with the Spaniards with whom they desired good relations. This they effected on July 7 of the said year, when there arrived at this fort the principal Indian of Talasi with forty other chiefs and captains of the said nations, with three Spaniards sent by the chief of Coweta, in manifestation of the good union and harmony which he desired to observe with the Spaniards. They were complimented with powder, ball, shirts, cloths and hats. From that day there has been no lack of parties going and coming, as was effected by the principal chiefs of the Tequipache and Talapuche nations on the thirtieth of the following September, who arrived at this fort with fifty and more chiefs and captains, and more than three hundred Indians with arms, who in the name of all gave submission to His Majesty by my hand, whereupon they performed

their calumet dance. This news I placed immediately before the Viceroy of New Spain, the Duke of Linares, as also before that of His Majesty (Note: *At this point the copyist has omitted some text. The deficiency is supplied from Serrano y Sanz.*) sending a list of the towns and nations represented. At the present, today, there are in the Kingdom of New Spain, seven Indian chiefs. The Senor Marques de Balero sent an order that they should be sent, by which means we have obtained some rest in this presidio. I caution you of this, for (although this is of) great importance in the preservation of these nations, it is at the cost of much treasure, because they are children of (self) interest, they seek and receive, here they do the same and all appears little (to them).

I hope that at the first opportunity you will inform me what ships are those which have arrived at your port, which the Indians say are five, loaded with people, as also if there is some novelty worthy of communication.

It also occurs to me to tell you how there have deserted from me some soldiers and convicts, and daily I expect (others) will do the same, and that you employ the remedy in case they arrive at that presidio. Lately four convicts fled, escaping in a canoe, who came with the last group which arrived at this fort, sentenced by the Royal Chamber of Crime for ten years and two hundred lashes. Two of them, *fulano* Ponse and Salvador Sanchez, who has a cut hand, were slapped by my order. I judge that if they arrive, with the ready communication which at present we have through the Indians, you will send them to me manacled, the same which I will do for you on each occasion, and when it should offer. God preserve you many years. Santa Maria de Galve and July 24 of 1717. I kiss your hand, your most dependable servant. Don Gregorio de Salinas Varona. (To) Senor Sargento Mayor Don Juan de Ayala.

III.

*Don Gregorio de Salinas Varona, Governor of Pensacola, to
Don Juan de Ayala Escobar, Governor of Florida. Santa
Maria De Galve, September 9, 1717. (pp. 88-95)*

Friend and dear sir:

I received (a letter) from you of July 20 past, which the Lieutenant Diego Pena sent me by some Indians from Sabacola, who arrived at this presidio the eighth day of this month, from which I learn that you enjoy perfect health. It is my desire that God continue this (many) years, in which service I offer that which aids me, with affectionate good will.

(I note) that which Your Grace tells me how the great Indian chief and emperor of Coweta sent to your presidio his own son and fifty five Indians, his vassals, among whom were included some principal men and chiefs, and at the same time a soldier of this presidio, of the company of Don Pedro Bilbao, who said he had been a captive of the Indians. It is certain he had been a prisoner and was returned in the month of July of the past year of seven hundred and fifteen (*sic*) by the principal Indians of Ialasi, Talapuches and Tequipaches, who came by order of their emperor of Coweta to give submission to our King and Lord, saying that they had for many days desired the friendship of the Spaniards, and in token of the good faith and the relations which they desired to maintain with us, sent me three Spaniards who were prisoners in their villages, and among them Antonio de la Membrilla, who, near the end of April of this year, asked me, with two others, for permission to go out and hunt buffalo, which I granted them. In the woods he separated from his other companions, taking with him one of them, leaving the other and an Indian alone, who did not wish to follow them, according to the gossip. He readily reached the Indian villages, from whence he did not desire to accompany his companion because they were unfamiliar with the terrain, nor acknowledge the mistake

which he had committed. (He knew that) the first Indians who came to this presidio (would likely) bring him to it, and as he knew that Indians came daily, he contrived this deceit, and thus I will regard that you do me a favor to send him by some Indians that they may bring him here.

Concerning the opinion which you express to me, that you do not have much confidence in the friendship of the Indians from their great inconstancy, I will express what appears to me in this respect; as it is some time since I have penetrated their designs. Their only purpose is that they are daily collecting (*pechando*) taxes, and they are not content with that which is given them in this presidio, or in that province, but they (also) go to the French of Mobile and make the same proposals, as happened about the middle of August, when the captain Jurquiza of the Apalachicola nation arrived here with other Indians. (They had just) come from Mobile, (where they were) much entertained by its governor, who made the former a captain of war, and further gave them clothes, and sent to their village a supply of powder and ball, and he (Jurquiza) told him that they sent a message to the chief of Coweta, inviting him to come (to Mobile) or send some person of his suite, because the governor wishes to treat them. Now I leave to your consideration what security we can depend from these friendships. They become final allies of him who gives them most.

By the pink (*pingue*) of the Royal Windward Fleet, which left this port the seventh day of February past, for the port of Vera Cruz, I sent the seven principal Indians of the Talasis, Tequipaches and Talapuses, one of whom is the son of the chief of the Talasis, who is of the first of the war (chiefs), to see the Senor Viceroy, from whom I had order to do it, and I continue awaiting them hourly, and from the impressions which they may bring we will see how we stand, of which we will advise Your Grace.

You also informed me by the last to arrive, that you are disposed to settle in the province of Apalachicola (*sic*), fifty veteran men, making a fort, so that from encouragement by it, the villages became grouped about, the which is contrived much from the service of God and of His Majesty, and I wish the success of your good plans, so zealous for his royal service, (and) that by this means we may have the aid of more frequent communication, and that the English will not succeed in the object they desire through their lieutenants to effect reconciliation with the Indians. Touching upon the misgivings in which Your Grace is found, that the English with Indian allies, in some piratical and rebel vessels, are found disposed to invade that plasa, from news which you have received, precaution is always necessary, and I do not doubt but that the English will make every effort to effect some disturbance, at least with the Indians who have taken refuge in that presidio. That of which you have warned me, (as requiring you) to ask help of the Governor of Havana, who did it promptly with fifty men, has not been of the least consequence. I am urging, at each opportunity to write to the Senor Viceroy in Mexico, to effect the same, from apprehension of the neighboring French. I expect on this occasion sixty men, but I do not know whether they will arrive. Your Grace knows I am your heartfelt friend, and as a consequence I desire that you order me in anything for your greater service, which I will execute with my life. May God protect yours many years. Santa Maria de Galves and September nine of (one) thousand seven hundred and seventeen. I kiss your hand, your dependable friend and servant. Don Gregorio de Salinas Varona. (To) Senior Sargento Mayor Don Juan de Ayala Escobar.

IV.

*Diego Pena to Don Juan de Ayala Escobar, Governor
of Florida. Santa Fe, October 8, 1717. (pp. 30-39)*

Senor Governor and Captain General:

Immediately on arrival at the village of Chislacasliche on the 19th day of the past (month), I told him I wished to write to Your Lordship, giving an account of the news from the places above and that for this I required that he furnish me with two men. He replied to me, yes, and I immediately wrote and on going to him to deliver the said letter he told me he did not dare dispatch the two men because of the danger that they would encounter in the road, and declined (to do) it. As I could not positively command I gave up in silence. I send this (letter) by another two who are going, including with that which I send to Your Lordship, (those) received from the Governor of Pensacola. The twenty fifth day I left the village of Chislacasliche, and after passing the river, I encountered a storm of wind and water which obliged me (to camp) on a plain, where I was detained three days by the heavy rain. The same day at about seven of the night, there arrived a courier who called (Note: evidently to Chislacasliche) in haste, (saying) that two men had arrived from the village of Apalachicolo with a verbal message which was for him alone. He returned to the plain the twenty sixth day very downcast, and told me he was very disconsolate because the chief of Apalachicolo had ordered him to be told that he should exercise great care because the English had arrived (and were) roaming the province with much *desaogo*; that they came to the village of Ocomulque and there asked (the chief) questions about his village. The first, if it had many people; if it had a fort; if it had sufficient munitions; if the fort could be examined; if they had acquired guns (and) how many. The said chief of Ocomulque replied to him, that of these nothing was lacking, because he frequently

visited the province of San Augustin. (They further said) the English exhibited much malice, and that consequently he (Chislacasliche) should look to fortifying himself well. They also told him that the English already may (have done some) killing, and that they (say they) will bring together all those *tascayas*, *casiques* and principal men which are of our adherence, at which they are to be killed. One (was said to have) replied saying that he did not agree (*converia*) since now they did him ill, for the reason that this stung the disaffected (who) would not travel by the road, and that they will kill us. (They said that) they were for hours guarding the *Usinjulo* of Coweta, who, as I have written to Your Lordship, in other (letters) went to Mobile, with the conviction that if his father is hostile, he would give him war, and that the *Usinjulo* had said that the words of his father should not be trusted, that he was a traitor and that he received the English because of the gifts which they gave him, and that they would not trust nor *de dadivas* of the English, that (he would) first lose his life (in the cause of) the Spaniards.

I had, Sir, on my return, two and one half arobas of powder. He (Chislacasliche) made importunities that I should give it to them, and although he said to me it did not pertain to the King but to Captain Don Joseph de Rivera, I replied all of us were of the King, and that the powder would be required for the defense of his village which was of the King of Spain. He obliged me to give this with more than two hundred flints for guns.

They (Note: evidently Chislacasliche's followers) remained in the said village making an extensive stockade because of the advice given to immediately make a fort, since as soon as it is known that the garrison is in San Marcos they will descend to settle near said garrison, which they greatly desire, because as Your Lordship knows, they are loyal (and will come) for greater

security and with confidence in Your Lordship. (When) the English on leaving, are two or three days journey from the town of Coweta, they are to be killed, and that if the chief of Coweta and he of Casista are chiefs, (these English) are likewise, and they attempt to make chiefs of traitors.

The villages which will come down this winter are the following: The village of Tasquique of the Yamassee tongue; the village of Euchitto (Achitto) and Uchise tongue; the village of Uchi and a tongue for which there are only found two interpreters of its language, a people very warlike and on this occasion very loyal; the village of Apalachicola of the Uchise tongue; the village of Ocone and Uchise tongue; and the village of Sabacola, a part of them Christians. These six villages are those which will move this winter to the province to settle near the mouth of the river of Guacara (Wakulla) and in Calistoble near San Marcos. They say that they will occupy these two sites as well as that of the fort. They are making canoes in all haste.

Sir! Chislacasliche comes with the idea of asking Your Lordship (to) give him twelve soldiers to return in his company for defense of his village and reassurance of the others. In the meantime, if they are sent as far as the province, they will be availed of by the other villages above, which have much loyalty to Chislacasliche and to the *Usinjulo* and the Uchis chief, and him of Bacuqua who preserved my life, and for the *Usinjulo* (who) was left to raise arms against his father, the chief of the Talapuses (*sic*). He behaves very loyal, but I assure Your Lordship, that if I had not gone to the province, and had any other (person) attempted (to do) that which I did to please them, you would have lost all, the one and the other.

The entertainment afforded the *Usinjulo* in that presidio, as much by Your Lordship as by those gentlemen, was much discussed among themselves, and more especially by Chislacasliche and the chief of Bacuqua. Your Lordship will learn precisely.

Sir! of the ten beasts which I brought for the King, one fell sick at San Pedro and another drowned in the Guacara (Suwannee).

From the date of this (letter) in five days I will arrive at the Rio de Picolata. Altogether (my party comprises) fifty men. Your Lordship will favor us by sending us rations, since we are without, and Chislacasliche says he hopes that Your Lordship sends him a couple of bottles of rum, being the amount I offered him to inform Your Lordship, whom God protect many years.

Santa Fe and October eight of (one) thousand seven hundred and seventeen. I kiss the hand of Your Lordship.-- --and humble soldier,

Diego Pena.

V.

Diego Pena to Don Juan de Ayala Escobar, Governor of Florida Picolata, October 13, 1717. (pp. 39-42)

Senor Governor and Captain General:

I received (a letter) from Your Lordship, its date that of the twelfth of the current (month), and in it noted how much that Your Lordship favors me. (I asked) immediately that the Most High give to Your Lordship an eternity of glory for favoring a poor and humble soldier such as I. Sir! I expressed to Chislacasliche the compliments and embraces which Your Lordship ordered me (to) in your (letter), by which he was greatly pleased, on which account, I can assure Your Lordship, he has regained (his spirits) today because as an Indian he could have said he is unwell. He came very apprehensive of Your Lordship, although I had told him to entertain concern (for) that which occurred, as he was blameless, since everywhere there are malcontents and fanatics, while he had been (a) loyal vassal as he has, of which I tried to convince him, as related. I immediately explained the tenor of Your Lord-

ship's letter. He did not know what to do, and in rejoicing, immediately organized a dance.

I received from the lieutenant of the cavalry four arrobas of biscuit, and two bottles of rum, four arrobas of corn, and four bundles of tobacco,, which I immediately distributed. They give to Your Lordship repeated thanks for these (gifts) for them from the bounty of Your Lordship, since independently of the present distribution made in the name of Your Lordship, the other goods of Your Lordship have been well received, which has been commented upon on different occasions among your own who desire sight of Your Lordship. (Our arrival) will be (on) the fifteenth day of the current (month).

The bearer of this is Bartholome Ramires who accompanies the Sergeant Solana who has become ill.

As soon as I arrive in the neighborhood of that presidio, I will send to advise Your Lordship of anything of which Your Lordship should be informed.

May heaven protect Your Lordship for extended years in your employment, and with much dignity. I am always of whatever manner - of Your Lordship. Picolata and October thirteenth on (one) thousand seven hundred and seventeen. I kiss the hand of Your Lordship, your least subject.

Diego Pena.

VI.

Don Antonio de Benavides, Governor of Florida, to the King. St. Augustine, September 28, 1718. (pp. 1-8)

(An account of Lieutenant Diego Pena's third mission to Apalachicola made in 1718, presumably abstracted by, or on order of, the governor.)

Sir:

On the twenty fifth of the current (month) I received letters from the captain of horse Don Joseph Primo de Rivera who is

found commanding the garrison of the wooden fort of San Marcos in the Province of Apalachee, and among other news which he gives me, that on which I have placed most concern and which I, for expedience, place in the (hands) of Your Majesty, are, among others, those which consist of an extended diary which was written to Don Joseph Primo by a retired lieutenant from the village of Sabacola. On the second of this month (he) sent the before mentioned (lieutenant) to visit the villages of the Province of Apalachicola, and having arrived at Coweta, where the emperor lives, he and the soldiers he brought with him were well received by the (emperor) and the other principal men. The emperor told him that it was of moment for him to go with his son and heir, the *Usinjulo*, called Sincapafi (Chipacasi), to the Province of the Talapuses, and having marched two days, he arrived at the first village called Talasi, where they were received with much courtesy and many presents, saying to him that all of those lands were and are in submission to His Majesty with twelve villages which belong to the great chief, (whose name means) the same as the *Lord of Many Villages*. (Those) of the Apiscas who were found there, rendered submission as well. Those Talapuse chiefs, said he, made a grant to Your Majesty of some mines in the neighborhood of Talase, and they gave him some rocks which appear to be - silver, the which he will bring when he returns to this presidio, for examination here. They asked him frequently to go with them to the Province of the Aibamos, where the French have a garrison in a wooden fort at the bank of the river of Mobile, because it would advance the service of His Majesty, and arrived (there after) a day and a half. He was well received by the officer in command of that outpost, who said (he was) a Biscaino, and that he awaited another officer who would come to relieve him, and that this was in order to make a journey to New Mexico, that the journey would be of three months from Mobile by river and by land, and that silver was in abundance,

which there was had (in) such an amount that some houses had been seen with pillars of silver, and the French wished to open a road, because they only know (rumors of the place), and the Biscaino officer showed him some pieces of rock which appeared to the said Diego Pena to be *fijas de polynas* of silver, and that these were (found) in the neighborhood of the fort, the reason for its establishment there. (The Indians told him that the) French have carried much to Mobile. During this there arrived the expected French officer, with three large launches, in which were brought a great quantity of goods, his woman and ten Frenchmen. He had some conferences with the said French officer and the principal Indians of those provinces, and among other things the Sincapafi (Chipacusi) said, that the French and English will thrust them from their lands, and that they do not desire other friendship than with the Spaniards, to whom, as their king, they had given submission; to which the French officer replied that it was the Spaniards they should throw out, and that they should leave the English who had their commerce. He said that the Lieutenant Diego Pena should refrain from returning there, because (if he did) he would be sent to France. Pena returned with the others who had gone with him much disturbed. They returned to the same place of Talasi in the Province of the Talapuses. The chief said to him, since the French do not know, nor have news of the mines adjacent to that place, whence came the rocks which he brought (Note: Here occurs a break in the continuity of the text, and termination of the account of Pena's mission.)

. . . and arrived with them and with the said chiefs who all came to see me and render submission to Your Majesty. I attempted to compliment them on their arrival, and treat them in such a manner that they would leave pleased, like those who have come here from other provinces and tribes, pagans and Christians (alike). The incurring of these expenses, Sir, is necessary, and they should be much more in the future, as

the readiest means, either to preserve those already reduced to our Holy Catholic faith, or to attract, and to have always in these first beginnings of our part, all of the Indian nations which extend for the north for two hundred leagues, that you will consider that you will have from this presidio to the referred fort of the French, all of the mainland, except those arms of the rivers which they say cross the land. It is certain, Sir, that little confidence can be placed in their friendship, and that they remember the extortions upon them made by the Spaniards and to have seen them bum their villages, with some killed. (This is) the reason why they rebelled and maintained the war against us for so much time, until from some misgivings they had of the English they saw it was necessary to give submission to His Majesty, from the atrocities they committed by killings in San Jorge.

I, Sir, will try and favor them as I have done since I took possession, devoting myself, with all vigilance for their preservation, giving them from my salary all that they ask.

Of all I have given an account of to Your Majesty in the dispatches of the 12 and 15 of August of this present year, and in the 30 of this month and year (*sic*) I describe with more familiarity the nature of these natives and that of which the nine charges treat. This government, Sir, is a pure misfortune, and nevertheless it offers many things which are necessary to draw to the Royal attention of Your Majesty, from which motive, I am bothersome in writing at length.

God protect (L. C. R. P.) Catholic Royal Person of
Your Majesty as Christianity requires. San Augustin of Florida,
and September 28 of 1718.

[Note on original:] [This] is a letter which came without signature. Nevertheless it is inferred it is from Don Antonio de Benavides, actual governor of Florida, not only from its context and the summary on the margin, but as well from having been received with others signed by this same governor.

THE FATIO FAMILY - A BOOK REVIEW *

by WALTER C. HARTRIDGE

This account of the Fatics and their descendants is a significant contribution to the regional history of our country, and it deserves to be viewed and evaluated against the background of historical writing relating to the southeast for the past century and a half.

In the years after the American Revolution, our textbooks tell us, there was little interest in the writing of history. The times were too hard. But as the nation's economy was strengthened at the turn of the century, Americans became conscious of their past. At first their interest was centered on the struggle for independence, and reminiscences of soldiers and accounts of battles were written and eagerly read. Biography, too, was not neglected: Parson Weems's life of George Washington became one of our first "best sellers."

As the century progressed Americans began to ask questions about the generations that preceded the Revolution. Town and church records were printed to meet this demand, New Englanders with their wealth of official documents taking the lead in this phase of historical writing. By mid-century the reading public had been educated beyond these simple annals. Trained historians like George Bancroft undertook ambitious projects, and general histories of America from the days of Columbus to modern times poured forth from the presses. Toward the close of the century the art of writing history reached maturity, but even then writers hesitated to abandon the narrative form to interpret the facts they had so patiently gathered.

* A paper read at the Annual Meeting of the Florida Historical Society April 25, 1952. The volumes referred to are: *Notes of My Family and Recollections of My Early Life*, New York, 1888; *A Collection of Letters, Information and Data on Our Family*, Jacksonville, 1949; and *Letters of William Johnson L'Engle, M.D., and Madeleine Saunders L'Engle, 1843-1863*, Jacksonville, 1951.

Henry Adams launched a more sophisticated approach to history. Familiar with the European schools of historical writing and accustomed from childhood to the world of diplomacy, he viewed his country as a transatlantic extension of Europe. He set himself the task of tracing the course of American history through presidential papers and diplomatic correspondence. His thesis caused much comment. Acclaimed by some, it was rejected by many. Soon a different explanation was offered by such eminent historians as Frederick Jackson Turner, who believed that the driving force in our national life was the frontier, the rough and tumble, freedom-loving pioneers of the West rather than the cultivated diplomats of the Eastern seaboard.

Succeeding generations of historians rejected the theses of both Adams and Turner. They conceived of our Atlantic seaboard as a cultural unit, through which European ways of life and thought were adapted to New World conditions. By delving into the social annals of the past, into family letters and the papers of business houses, these writers rounded out a convincing school of thought.

The writing of biography kept pace with developments in historiography. Perhaps the most interesting trend in this field has been toward family biography. The contributions of several generations of a given family were examined and found to count for more than the achievements of an individual member, however distinguished he might have been. New England was the first section to be represented in this collective approach, and James Truslow Adams's work on the Adams family remains a classic. Virginia was recognized when Burton Hendrick published his story of the Lees. One by one, other States brought forward the claims of their first families, New York the Roosevelts, Georgia the Houstons, to name but two.

Through the publication of Mrs. Susan Fatio L'Engle's "Rem-

iniscences . . ." and Miss Gertrude L'Engle's two volumes on the Fatio family, Florida begins to take its place in this gallery of families, for the Fatics have had a part in Florida's history throughout four changes of political allegiance. The family has been in Florida since 1771, when Francis Philip Fatio, his wife and five children, sailed into St. Augustine harbor in a chartered vessel. At that time Florida was an English colony, sparsely settled, and with few amenities. It is interesting to observe how easily this well-born family adjusted themselves to pioneer conditions, and prospered. They had an interesting background that can be matched by few of America's other first families.

Francis Philip Fatio was a native of Switzerland with a pedigree that went back to remote antiquity in Italy. He was a relative of Madame de Stael, through whose descendants the Fatics are kin to leaders of French intellectual and social life of modern times. His wife, Maria Maddalena Crispel, an Italian lady, was of the Pazzi family of Florence. But their prestige was not diminished by their change of worlds, and they and their children came to the fore in Florida. They had a town house on the bay at St. Augustine, and a ten thousand acre plantation on the St. Johns, which was called New Switzerland for their homeland. So completely had they become identified with Florida that when the colony passed from England to Spain in 1783 and many families left, the Fatics chose to remain, and the second generation of Fatics carried on.

Louis Fatio, the eldest son, is remembered today as one of Florida's early writers. His treatises on the trade and agriculture of his adopted land are often referred to by historians of the present day. He returned to Europe on family affairs and died there, but his daughter married in Florida, and has descendants living here. The second son, Francis Philip II, had an interesting career as an army officer under

the British regime and as a planter under the Spanish. His wife, Miss Ledbetter, was of Virginia ancestry, related to the Washingtons. Through two daughters of that union, Mrs. Dunham of St. Augustine and Mrs. L'Engle of Jacksonville, their line has been carried on.

Philip Fatio, the youngest son, was secretary of the Spanish Minister in Philadelphia, went on a mission to Mexico, and was later appointed Spanish Consul in New Orleans, where he died in 1820. His son, Francis Joseph Fatio, the third generation of the family in Florida, lived in St. Augustine and played a part in allaying tensions between Spaniard and American during the period of transition when Florida passed from Spain to the United States.

Of the daughters of the first Francis Philip Fatio, the elder, Louisa, married Colonel John Hallowses, a British army officer. The younger daughter, Sophia, married a young Irishman, George Fleming. It is needless to recount here their descendants, among whom are numbered an eminent lawyer, Lewis Fleming, and a governor of Florida, Francis Philip Fleming. Hibernia, George and Sophia Fleming's plantation on the St. Johns across from New Switzerland, is still held by the family.

Happy it is for the social historian that Mrs. John C. L'Engle, born Susan Philippa Fatio in 1806, was in the 1880's persuaded by her children to record her reminiscences for preservation in the family. She performed her task well, preserving for us much that would have been lost, including many anecdotes that relate to the Second Spanish regime in Florida. She tells of the only bull fight ever fought on Florida soil, describes the pomp and circumstance that McGregor and his freebooters introduced to Amelia Island, and related happenings of her childhood spent on the family plantations that stretched along the waterways of northern Florida. The volume is one of the rarities of Floridiana.

Inspired by her grandmother's example, Miss Gertrude

L'Engle has devoted many years to amplifying the family chronicle. The result is two volumes of biographical and historical data that is an important contribution to the history not only of Florida but to that of our country.

A FERNANDINA BULL FIGHT

(The following is an excerpt from *Notes of My Family and Recollections of My Early Life* by Susan Fatio L'Engle.)

In writing of Fernandina, how many things rise up before me, indelibly impressed upon my memory!

In the last war between the United States and Great Britain, Fernandina, because of the embargo, became an entrepot for the commerce of all nations. Vessels crowded the harbor for miles, flags of many nations floating in the breeze; bales of cotton were piled up in the streets, stores and warehouses were filled to their utmost capacity with merchandise. The port was the theatre of illicit trade and the resort of smugglers, smuggling being the openly avowed business that drew the masses there. Even females carried on such traffic, which was the jest of the communities profiting by it. I remember seeing Russians and Swedes, French and Germans, in the streets. A Russian physician by the name of Boleen, not only visited in our family, but attended it professionally; and a Swede, a master of a vessel, made a swing for us children, and used to play with us and swing us under the great trees around the house.

It is the old town, not new Fernandina, that I write of. The new town, Fernandina of the present, was then a plantation owned by Mr. Domingo Fernandez. I remember being taken when a child to his plantation by my eldest sister, who was visiting one of the daughters of the family. The visit was made on horse-back, and I was indulged with a ride behind her. But another visit, prior to that, was quite an event in my young life. The commandant, Capt. Pangua

(? Paniagua?), got permission from Mr. Fernandez to have a pic-nic there- a pic-nic though, entirely of his own getting up and at his own expense. The principal families were invited, and it was to be a great affair. The commandant was young and a widower, with an only child, a boy little older than myself. He was a splendid-looking man, was deeply in love with a beautiful girl, the daughter of the "Contador," and the entertainment was given to find favor in her eyes. It was on Sunday, I am constrained to say, that this *fiesta* was given. There were a banquet and a ball, but the crowning pleasure of the day was a bull-fight. On withdrawing from dinner we were conducted to the arena. My father was one of the guests, and I was allowed to attend at the solicitation of some of my playmates, children of the "Contador," Senor Raymondo Arribas. Seats raised one above another encircled a large space. A young Spaniard, fantastically dressed in close-fitting garments, with several little red flags in his hands, marched around a little while; then several dogs of various sizes, but not at all formidable-looking, for they seemed bent on sport, were admitted. The matador played with the dogs, brandishing the flags in their faces and making them bark furiously. Then a hush, "the bull is coming," and a half-grown white bull was set loose in the arena. The dogs immediately made an attack on him, and the matador, shaking the flags in his face, incited the animal to turn on him instead of the dogs. With his stiletto he made agile thrusts and evaded attack on himself, darting up the steps of the amphitheatre when pressed by the bull. All this vastly amused the company. Cries resounded of "Bravo el torete!" when the bull had the advantage, or "Bravo Francesco!" "Bravo el Matador!" when the man prevailed. At last the little animal, which was declared to have made a good fight, was led off bleeding, but not badly hurt, they said. The company returned to the house; fruit was served - splen-

did watermelons, peaches, and figs in abundance, and dancing, which had been indulged in during the morning and until dinner was announced, was resumed. At the close of the evening we returned to the boats, the band played all the while and the moonbeams dancing on the water.

BOOK REVIEWS

Florida: Historic, Dramatic, Contemporary, by J. E. Dovell, Associate Professor of Political Science, University of Florida. 2 vols., 995 pp. (Lewis Historical Publishing Company, New York [1952])

This handsome set consists of a two-volume history of Florida by Dr. Dovell and two volumes of "Family and Personal History" compiled by the publishers. Although the latter will be of enduring value for biographical reference, they are of no particular interest to the general reader. This review will be confined, therefore, to a consideration of Dr. Dovell's work.

Since George R. Fairbanks published the first history of Florida in 1871, others have followed at fairly regular intervals. Roland H. Rerick's work came out in 1902, George M. Chapin's in 1914, H. G. Cutler's in 1923, W. T. Cash's in 1938, and Kathryn Abbey Hanna's in 1941. The first and the last two may fairly be termed scholarly works, although Dr. Hanna is the only professionally trained historian among the authors. One may reasonably ask, therefore, Why write another history of Florida now when two reliable ones have appeared within the last fifteen years?

The volume of scholarly literature on Florida has increased greatly during that period. It is true that Dr. Hanna issued a revised edition of her work in 1948, but as the revision was confined to re-writing and enlarging the last two chapters and adding another, the results of important research published during the last decade on earlier phases of Florida's history are not incorporated in the volume. The justification for Dr. Dovell's work lies in the fact that he has been able to consult and to draw freely upon materials not available to any of his immediate predecessors.

Dependence upon secondary material is inevitable for the historian who writes of an area as large and with as long a

recorded history as Florida if he is ever to complete his task. Dr. Dovell acknowledges this necessity in his preface, where he states that he resorted to original sources "only as time allowed or where secondary sources and studies do not exist." His use of secondary works is so complete that it actually becomes a virtue rather than a matter for apologetic explanation. His narrative, in conjunction with the copious documentation, constitutes a digest and compendium of the literature on Florida.

Any reader who will take the time to run through the chapter notes will readily perceive that secondary material is still far more abundant for certain periods than for others. In spite of this, Dr. Dovell's allocation of space between the major periods of Florida history, and hence his emphasis, is well balanced. The first volume begins with the early Indians and concludes with the Civil War; the second brings the story up to the administration of Governor Warren. This emphasis on post-bellum and contemporary Florida gives us the most complete history of American Florida that has yet appeared. To round out the picture, there are two appendices: "Natural Setting of Florida" and "The Antiquities."

The appendices deserve more than passing mention for they contain a wealth of information that one would not expect to find in a general history. The first covers topography, geology, geography, paleontology, flora, and fauna. The second gives a historical review of anthropological and archeological research in Florida and a summary of the present knowledge concerning the prehistoric and historic archeology of the area.

The coverage is complete in another way, and one that should give satisfaction to many readers. This is no straight political history, although the political story receives full treatment and is placed, where necessary, against its international or national background. But economic and social life is also treated in detail, and frequently enlivened by illustrative quo-

tations from contemporary observers that convey a sense of the spirit of the times obtainable in no other way.

The effect of Dr. Dovell's numerous quotations from secondary writers is not so happy. In the main, the transitions from his own writing to the quoted matter are smooth, but the frequency of the latter is somewhat disconcerting. Most readers regard quote marks as an invitation to skip. Any one who does so in this book will soon lose the thread of the narrative. More paraphrasing and less quoting would have improved both readability and style.

This stylistic defect is an irritant that does not materially detract from the very substantial worth of the history. As already indicated, it is almost encyclopedic in detail. And that detail is accurate. The few errors in fact that this reviewer noted are inconsequential and far less numerous than one would expect in a work of this magnitude.

Documentation is in the form of chapter notes. In view of the modern publisher's insistence upon concealing, if not actually abandoning the scholarly apparatus, this is an acceptable device. Since full bibliographic information is given only the first time a work is cited, it is sometimes necessary to work back through scores of notes, or even to the preceding chapter, to ascertain the exact nature of the reference. Inclusion of a formal bibliography would have done much to obviate this annoyance. It would also have been in itself a first-rate bibliography of Florida.

The general history and the biographical volumes are separately indexed. It is to be regretted that there is not more analytical indexing in the former, especially with regard to counties and cities. A user seeking a given fact about Key West, for instance, may have to consult fifty-six different page references before finding it or concluding that it is not to be found.

The work is profusely illustrated, but the illustrations leave

something to be desired. Although interesting in themselves, they are placed without regard to context and have lost much of their definition in reproduction. The format is otherwise pleasing. Indeed, in this day of shoddy bookmaking, it is a pleasure to handle such well-manufactured volumes.

Viewed as a whole, Dr. Dovell's work is an impressive contribution to the historiography of Florida. Its appeal is to the historian and the antiquarian as well as the general reader and affords them an opportunity of acquaintance with much of the minutiae as well as the main currents of Florida history. Its greatest value, perhaps, will be found in its use as a reference book. Certainly, it is the most comprehensive authoritative work yet published on Florida.

DOROTHY DODD

Florida State Library

Miranda: World Citizen. By Joseph F. Thorning (Gainesville, University of Florida Press, 1952). pp. 311. \$5.00.

Francisco de Miranda, if not one of the great men of modern history, was certainly one of the most colorful, and Dr. Thorning, in selecting him as a subject for a biography, has provided himself with an opportunity to tell a fascinating story.

Miranda began his career as a cosmopolite at the age of twenty-two when he left his native Venezuela to offer his sword to his king, the able and enlightened Charles III of Spain. As an officer in the royal army he saw service against the Moors in North Africa and against the English in the Caribbean during the American Revolution. Through sheer merit he advanced to the rank of colonel. Then, for reasons somewhat obscure, he left the Spanish service in a rather informal manner although he continued to use the title of colonel and added to it on his own initiative that of "Count." During the next two decades Miranda traveled extensively in the United States where he expressed himself as deeply impressed by the experiments in democracy being conducted

by the young republic, in Russia where he charmed the ageing Catherine the Great, in France where he became a general in the revolutionary armies, and in Denmark, the Low Countries, Germany and England. During this period he kept a diary which reveals the eager and alert but undisciplined character of his mind. No subject, politics, diplomacy, national customs, personalities, was exempt from his curiosity. Nor did he refrain from commenting on his numerous and indiscriminating amorous adventures. Miranda's diaries and correspondence constitute a valuable commentary on European society in an age of change.

At some period during his travels, again the circumstances are not quite clear, Miranda conceived his grand design for the liberation of Spanish America, and in 1801 he returned to England to promote the project. Here, subsidized by the British Government, he and a band of other South American patriots dreamed and plotted. The key to their schemes was British military and financial assistance. His Majesty's government, however, was reluctant to upset its continental diplomacy by open support of revolution in the Spanish colonies, and in 1806, Miranda left for America to take direct action. In the United States, he collected a small vessel and a motley band of adventurers with the intention of invading his native Venezuela. It was confidently expected that the token invasion would touch off a general uprising, but Miranda had been abroad too long to correctly gauge the sentiments of his countrymen. Public sentiment was not yet prepared for independence; Miranda met nothing but indifference and was forced to withdraw hurriedly.

After the Venezuelan fiasco, Miranda returned to London to resume his plotting. Then, in 1810, the Venezuelans themselves struck for independence. Miranda immediately returned to his native land where he was appointed commander-in-chief of the patriot armies, but his glory was short-lived. Mismanagement, dissension, and sheer hard luck defeated the

insurgents; and Miranda himself fell into the hands of the Spanish commander in 1812. After four years of imprisonment, he died in Cadiz in 1816.

Of particular interest to students of Florida history is Miranda's participation in the Spanish siege and capture of Pensacola in 1781, an operation which led to the expulsion of England from her last foothold within the present limits of the United States. During the campaign he was *aide-de-camp* to General Juan Manuel de Cagigal who commanded the Cuban contingent in the forces of Bernardo de Galves. Not only did Miranda distinguish himself in the operations at Pensacola, but he kept a diary of the siege which has survived and is one of the important sources for this episode. This diary has been translated and published by Professor Donald E. Worcester in Vol. XXIX, No. 3 (January, 1951), of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*.

Dr. Thorning has told the story of Miranda's life very well. The work is the product of extensive research and meets any usual test of scholarship. Fortunately the author has not sacrificed readability to meet academic standards. The narrative is lively and colorful and will certainly satisfy the requirements of the general reader. In interpreting the life of Miranda, one suspects that Dr. Thorning tends to overplay such lyrical expressions as "standard bearer of democracy," and "humanity's paladin." In particular, while Miranda was certainly a world traveler and cosmopolite, some leeway is needed to classify him as a "world citizen." However, Miranda's role in history was, is, and probably always will be controversial, and the reader is entitled to make up his own mind. Readers of this review will pardon the expression of the writer's opinion that the format of the book measures up to the high standard of excellence we have come to expect from the University of Florida Press.

LYLE N. MCALISTER

University of Florida

REGIONAL AND LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

THE HILLSBOROUGH COUNTY HISTORICAL COMMISSION *

by MRS. JOHN BRANCH, Chairman

There are no short cuts to obtaining a County Historical Commission and Museum. Such objectives come to fruition through the concentrated efforts of many interested persons. Usually the leader has enough enthusiasm to inspire others to join in the cause. Once he lets his project be known, he finds there are others eager to help.

You need the cooperation of the City or County, or both, one of which will probably furnish the site and one or both funds for the project. The City or County Park Board will be glad to cooperate in keeping and beautifying the grounds. The various Garden Clubs could contribute to this end.

In the instance of creating the Hillsborough County Historical Commission, the County Commissioners were approached and discussions followed. Consent was given by the County Board with the request that a few endorsements urging the creation of a Commission, be submitted. This was requested by the Commissioners to serve as evidence that the proposal had popular appeal

Members of the Daughters of The American Revolution and United Daughters of The Confederacy gave a great deal of help in getting endorsements. The County Parent-Teachers' Association which had a membership of some eighteen thousand was contacted. It secured the endorsement of its membership. The Federation of Women's Clubs, The Women's Club, Chamber of Commerce, The Junior Chamber of Commerce, and many other clubs and organizations, comprising a membership of some twenty-five thousand persons supported the project. The first step took about six months. The next

* Mrs. Branch was asked to tell of the establishment of the successful Hillsborough County Historical Commission in the belief that other counties might be added to the very few in Florida which have led the way in a work which is so necessary if Florida's local history is to be preserved.

step was to draw up an enabling act authorizing the County to create a County Historical Commission. The enabling act provided for three thousand dollars annually. The proposal then was presented to the members of the Legislature of our County for their approval. These officials readily gave their approval, and when the next Legislature met, in 1949, the authorization of a Historical Commission for Hillsborough County became a law.

The Commission is composed of eleven persons keenly interested in doing this kind of work. They were carefully selected. They serve without pay. It involves of course the gathering of historical data, the assembling of old documents, correspondence and interviews with "old timers" who may furnish important information concerning almost forgotten events.

We have had the good fortune of having as our County Historian an eminent retired newspaperman, D. B. McKay, former mayor of Tampa and former publisher of the *Tampa Daily Times*. Mr. McKay's rich knowledge of historical Florida and his keen interest in the Commission have been a valuable help.

Our first project has been to gather the pioneer family records, the cemetery records and old Bible records. The County has an "Old Timers" Association and for the past two years we have sponsored a picnic at which we registered all the "old timers." To qualify one must have been a resident of the County for forty years or more. Of course, many have lived in the County longer than forty years.

The *Manual on Small Museums*, by Laurence Vail Coleman, Director, The American Association of Museums, Headquarters at the Smithsonian Institution, Washington 25, D. C., found in a few public libraries, is excellent for Director suggestions.

The plan now is to have a general law for the whole State, so that each County will not need to have a special Act. This proposed legislation will need the backing from people

all over the State. Just before your legislators leave for the 1953 Session mention this to your local members and let them know it has your approval. Then later write them letters reminding them to push it through.

If you would have a County Historical Commission and Museum, start to work now by talking to every person you meet. Carry your campaign to Civic and Service Clubs and try to get their support. It is not too soon to begin.

It is planned to make our library outstanding in historical and genealogical material. Polk County, which is a neighbor of Hillsborough, had one of the first Historical Commissions in the State. Through the able leadership of Mr. M. D. Wilson, it purchased the United States census records of the southern states from the earliest times on microfilm.

In addition to the regular members, the by-laws of our Commission permit us to have associate members, who assist in the activities.

THE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHERN FLORIDA

This Association is continuously active, with well-attended program meetings at regular intervals. On May 23, last, Mr. Gene Plowman of the Associated Press addressed the Association and their guests on "John Ringling, the Circus King," a subject with which he is well acquainted, as he is the author of the forthcoming "The Amazing John Ringling." His talk covered much of John Ringling's life, from his humble beginning to his extraordinary and generous gift to the people of Florida.

On June 26 Marjory Stoneman Douglas, on the subject "The Sense of Time," told of her numerous interesting experiences while gathering material for her books in remote sections of South Florida. Two sound films on "maps" were shown.

Another historical marker was placed and dedicated by the Association on July 25 in commemoration of Mrs. Julia D.

Tuttle's large part in the founding of modern Miami. Senator Scott M. Loftin made the address of dedication to the "Mother of Miami."

SEMINOLE COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The preservation of local history should be the foremost objective of the history-minded people of Florida. Realizing this, several local and regional historical societies have been organized in various parts of Florida during the past two years, thus adding their efforts to the few associations who have long been carrying on.

A group of public-spirited citizens of Sanford and vicinity with a warm interest in the past of their area, met on July 10, last, and formed the Seminole County Historical Society. The first objective is a building, planned as a library and museum, whose first and foremost accession will be the library of General Henry S. Sanford. Mrs. F. E. Roumillat was elected president, Mr. Randall Chase vice-president, and the other officials are: Mrs. C. R. Dawson, Dr. J. B. Root, Mr. John W. Meisch, Mrs. C. Stuart Brown, and Mrs. Fred T. Williams. An advisory committee was named, being: Mrs. Miriam Russell, Mr. Volie Williams, Jr., Mr. Rolland Dean, Mrs. A. R. King, and Mrs. Roy Tillis.

HALIFAX HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Recently elected officers of the Halifax Historical Society are, Mr. W. L. Coursen, president; succeeding John R. Parkinson; Mr. R. L. Smith, vice-president; Mrs. Ianthe Bond Hebel, secretary-treasurer, both being reelected. The directors are: Mr. C. C. Durkee, Mr. Virgil R. Hall, Mrs. Lucille Maheau, Mr. Leon J. Robbins, Dr. Josie M. Rogers, and Mr. Calvert Smith.

GENERAL CLINCH MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION

At a meeting of the General Clinch Memorial Association in Fort Clinch State Park on June 26, last, Mr. Harold Colee made the principal address.

Mr. Dan Kelly is president of the Association, whose objective is to preserve the history of the Fort and the area, as well as furthering the recreational facilities of the Park.

FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
DIRECTORS' MEETING

A called meeting of the Board of Directors was held in the Society's library on August 16. Present were President Blocker and Mr. Fuller from St. Petersburg, Mr. Daniel and Miss Snodgrass from Jacksonville, and Gainesville members, Mr. Proctor, Mrs. Johnson and Mr. Yonge.

The resignation of Mrs. Johnson as librarian and secretary was accepted with the greatest regret. Mr. Edward C. Williamson was nominated by Miss Snodgrass and elected unanimously.

There were numerous expressions of love for Mrs. Johnson and appreciation of her many years of faithful service.

A financial report was read and approved.

A report on new members for the past quarter showed two life members and fifty-seven annual members as the result of the membership drive instituted by President Blocker, and the Board expressed appreciation of and thanks to him for its success.

Mrs. Johnson's offer to make a complete index of the *Quarterly* was greeted with enthusiasm and gratitude.

It was decided that the next annual meeting of the Society will be held in Lakeland on the invitation of Florida Southern College.

A school history of Florida was discussed and a committee appointed in this regard.

Mr. Daniel reported on a conference with President Miller of the University of Florida regarding the Society's suggestion and request that a chair of Florida history be established there. Dr. Miller cordially received the suggestion.

Student interest in Florida's history was discussed, and an annual medal was proposed for an essay on the subject by high school students. Mr. Daniel made a generous contribution toward a fund for this purpose. It was decided that the

Board recommend to the next annual meeting the establishment of a special class of membership limited to high school students, with annual dues of one dollar.

OUR MRS. JOHNSON

After ten years of loyal and efficient service our Librarian and Secretary, Mrs. Alberta Johnson, has retired, and we are all distressed. Seldom has any work and worker fitted so closely, the one with the other. Few know so much of Florida's long history, and fewer know so well just where to find what might be asked for. Nor could any take a greater interest in the questions and problems which were continually brought to her in person or by mail. None were turned away when the answer was to be found in her head or in the Society's library - even when, after a long day, she must return to the library in the evening to help some one who could come at no other time. Our Mrs. Johnson will not be forgotten.

EDWARD C. WILLIAMSON OUR LIBRARIAN AND SECRETARY

Mr. Williamson, our new Librarian and Secretary, has been assistant editor of the *Quarterly* since 1949. He received his education at the University of Florida where he majored in history and received the degrees of B.A. and M.A., and at the University of Pennsylvania where he completed his academic work for the Ph. D. degree and is now writing his dissertation on Florida history for the period between Reconstruction and the end of the century. He served as an artillery captain on the Western Front in World War I and received several decorations. Before going to Korea, where he served as Army historian and was promoted to Major, he was an Instructor in History at the University of Florida.

A recent accession to our Library is the gift of a portrait of Osceola from Mrs. W. S. Manning of Jacksonville. This

is a print of a copy on stone by George Catlin of his original portrait of Osceola made at Ft. Moultrie in Charleston Harbor in January 1838, and completed only four days before the death of that famous Seminole. Of the numerous portraits of Osceola, that by Catlin is generally regarded as the most accurate and important.

NEW MEMBERS

Nominated by:

Justin R. Weddell, Pensacola	T. T. Wentworth, Jr.
William J. Schellings, South Miami	Charlton W. Tebeau
John D. Carroll, Pensacola	T. T. Wentworth, Jr.
Wilbur A. Willis, Oklawaha	Mrs. Roy V. Ott
A. J. Sackett, Westover P. O., Va. (<i>Life membership</i>)	David R. Dunham
Mrs. A. J. Sackett, Westover P. O., Va	David R. Dunham
Roy Dew, St. Petersburg	John C. Blocker
Joseph D. Howell, St. Petersburg	John C. Blocker
Mrs. Frank S. Lee, Leesburg	H. G. Holland
W. H. Stuart, Bartow	William A. McRae, Jr.
National Society of the Colonial Dames of America in Florida, Jacksonville	Mrs. W. S. Manning
Cecilia A. Harris, Holly Hill	Mrs. Edward Cole
Gordon A. Taylor, Jacksonville	J. W. Shands
Bill J. Humble, Tampa	Jocelyn Cooper
Glenn Duckett, Mason, Mich.	H. Maddox
Ernest Metcalf, West Palm Beach	George W. Coleman
Walter C. Hartwig, Lake Wales	Thomas DeC. Ruth
Mrs. Virginia Martin Taylor, Jacksonville	Mrs. Genevieve M. King
Rev. Randolph F. Blackford, Talladega, Ala.	Julien C. Yonge
John Hale Neafie, Eau Gallie	Joseph E. Torrence
Edward F. Brantley, St. Petersburg	John C. Blocker
Florida Power Corporation (<i>Life membership</i>).....	John C. Blocker
Mrs. Helen Hanford, Leesburg	Rev. Randolph F. Blackford
Mrs. Alberta Davis Taylor, Jacksonville	Fannie Webb Holt
Angus B. Rosborough, Jacksonville	Mrs. Herbert Williams
Mrs. J. Lawrence Kelley, Coral Gables	Mrs. Ruby Leach Carson
Gertrude P. Meek, Tallahassee	Elizabeth Blanding
Mrs. Lucius Albert Jones, Miami	Cornelia Leffler
Herbert S. Sawyer, Miami	J. Velma Keen
Victor O. Wehle, St. Petersburg	John C. Blocker
Mrs. John Skillman Burks, Dade City	Mrs. A. C. Black
Jack F. White, Clearwater	John C. Blocker
Leroy Collins, Tallahassee (<i>Contributing member</i>).....	Guyte P. McCord
Jon L. Stapleton, Marianna	Mrs. Lucy Milton Evans

Camilla G. Webber, Babson Park	Mrs. Roger W. Babson
Garnett Ashby, Jacksonville	Mrs. James Lipscomb, Jr.
H. J. Comer, Jr., Lake Wales	N. H. Bunting
A. Williams Fisher, St. Petersburg	John C. Blocker
Ernest G. Gearhart, South Miami	Justin Havee
D. Biemann Alexander, Daytona Beach	Mrs. John E. Hebel
Omega Gene East, St. Augustine	Albert C. Manucy
Mrs. William G. Dwight, Holyoke, Mass.	G. G. Ware
Werner M. Lauter, Gainesville	Mrs. M. H. Latour
Mrs. G. Fildes Tresher, Jacksonville	Mrs. Ray O. Edwards
Genealogical Society of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah	
Marion B. Ross, St. Petersburg	Alfred E. Newman
Justus R. Moll, Washington, D. C.	
T. Frank Hobson, Tallahassee	John C. Blocker
Charles G. Adalian, St. Petersburg	John C. Blocker
Paul H. Brinson, Coral Gables	John C. Blocker
Alfred A. McKethan, Brooksville (<i>Contributing member</i>)	John C. Blocker
Mrs. Willard W. Cutler, Morristown, N. J.	Mrs. Ethel Cutler Freeman
Samuel J. Brown (<i>student, Univ. of Fla.</i>)	Edward C. Williamson
W. Cecil Watson, Miami	F. M. Hudson
Mrs. Willie Mae Boley, Pensacola	T. T. Wentworth, Jr.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER OF THE QUARTERLY

Omega G. East is a member of the staff of the National Park Service, Castillo de San Marcos, St. Augustine.

Lawrence S. Thompson is Director of Libraries, University of Kentucky.

Mark F. Boyd, past president of the Florida Historical Society, has contributed numerous articles to this QUARTERLY especially on the early Tallahassee region, and is well known to our readers.