

Tequesta: THE JOURNAL OF THE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHERN FLORIDA

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Tequesta

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George Edgar Merrick

by HELEN C. FREELAND

THE Historical Association of Southern Florida mourns the passing of George Edgar Merrick, one of its founders, and its first president, who died in the early morning hours of Thursday, March 26, 1942, at Jackson Memorial Hospital in Miami, Florida.

His is the story of a dreamer and his accomplishments, of a builder who made a beautiful vision become a reality, of a writer, a poet, a philosopher, a lover of the beautiful, a creator, a thinker, and with it all, a very human man. To understand him, we must know his family background and his life story.

George Merrick did not know very much about his maternal forebears, except that, in his mother's near kin folk were numbered famous artists, writers and musicians. His mother herself was a painter, specializing in nature and delighting in transferring to canvas, portrayals of the beautiful tropical flowers surrounding her home in southern Florida. She was also a musician, and found time in her busy pioneer life to instruct her daughters on the piano and organ. There is no doubt that George's artistic ability came to him from his mother's family.

George Merrick was descended in the eighth generation of his paternal line from a Welsh ancestor, John Merrick, who emigrated from Wales to Talbot County, on the eastern shore of Maryland in 1669. John Merrick was of pure Celtic stock, and the family are still in possession of the same ancestral estate, "Bordorgan," Angelys, Wales, where Merricks have lived for over a thousand years. The motto on the family crest is, "God, Enough; Without God, Nothing." John Merrick, and after him, his descendants, lived through seven generations on their original grant of land in Maryland, and George's father, Solomon Greaseley Merrick, was born there. Solomon Merrick married Althea Fink of Springdale, Pennsylvania, whom he met while they were both attending Lebanon Valley College, at Annville, Pennsylvania. After her graduation,

Miss Fink had taught art and penmanship in the college. Solomon Merrick later graduated from Yale University, and assumed the pastorate of the Congregational Church at Gaines, New York. Solomon and Althea Merrick had seven children. Their eldest child, George Edgar, was born on June 3, 1886, at the home of his maternal grandparents in Springdale, Pennsylvania. When George was eight years old, his father left Gaines, and accepted a call to the old Plymouth Church at Duxbury, Massachusetts. George completed grade school there, and attended Partridge Academy for a year.

His parents, induced by the rigorous winters typical of New England, decided to seek a milder climate in Florida. The Reverend Merrick corresponded with Reverend James Bolton, pastor of the Community Church in Coconut Grove. He sought his advice and through him, learned of the one hundred sixty acre Gregory homestead in Dade County which was for sale. He purchased this homestead, without seeing it, with his life savings of eleven hundred dollars.

George Merrick was early in life interested in writing and some of his boyhood poems were published in the Springdale Press. But this phase of his character had to stay dormant for a time, for he and his father preceded the family to Florida to make sure of suitable living conditions. They arrived during the Spanish-American War. The Miami area was quarantined on account of a yellow fever epidemic. George, then a boy of thirteen, went with his father to a friend's home on the Loxahatchee River, where they spent several months waiting for the quarantine to be lifted.

They found much hard work awaiting them when they reached their homestead. Only one acre was under cultivation. They cleared more land, planted vegetables, and set out many varieties of fruit trees. They made the cabin already on the land as habitable as possible with the limited means at their disposal. They overcame the many trials of a pioneer life with courage, always saying, we will be able to do this or that, "when the groves begin to bear."

By the time Mrs. Merrick and four children (one daughter died in the north and a son was born in Florida) arrived, the vegetables were being marketed. This was not so easy in those days. George hauled them with mule and wagon over narrow rough roads to Miami, where he sold as much as possible to the Royal Palm Hotel, which had its opening season in the winter of 1898-1899. Any remaining of his load had to be peddled to stores or to housewives. Miami was a small village at that time. It had been incorporated two years previously on July 28,

1896, with a population of five hundred and two persons, including Negroes. The town extended, mainly, from the railroad tracks on the west to Biscayne Bay on the east, and from the river on the south to what is now eleventh Street. It was a tiresome whole day's trip from his home to Miami and back again.

During this time, his education was not neglected. His father had long dreamed of establishing a small, congenial colony of retired professional men. A few came, and he sold, or, in a few instances, gave them small plots of land. George was tutored by one of these men, a retired Yale professor, to enable him to enter Rollins College at Winter Park, Florida, in 1907. During the one year he spent there, his writings received favorable notice. He was an editor of the school paper and won the Ronan medal for oratory. In the fall of 1908, he enrolled in the New York Law School, then a part of Columbia University. He divided his time between writing and the study of law, but writing was nearer to his heart. He had several short stories accepted, and won a short story contest conducted by the New York Evening Telegram with his story "The Sponger's Delilah." The prize story was printed in the issue of February 24, 1910.

Soon after their arrival in Florida, his father accepted the pastorate of the Congregational Church in Coconut Grove. The family all attended there and his sister, Ethel, played the organ. Distances seemed greater then, with inadequate means of transportation, and it was a labor of love to travel the weary miles at first with mule and wagon, later with horse and carriage, and still later, "when the groves began to bear," in one of the early Maxwell cars. It was, therefore, quite fitting that George Merrick should be on the Board of Trustees who later built the artistic Plymouth Congregational Church.

Reverend Merrick's health failed and George left school to assume the management of the home place, entering into the partnership of "S. G. Merrick and Son." When his father died in 1911, he assumed the entire management of the plantation. In the period between 1911 and 1920, he gradually built up the largest and most prosperous plantation in the area, having over a thousand acres under cultivation, chiefly in citrus and tropical fruits. The first full carload of grapefruit shipped from Dade County came from his groves. Coral Way, at that time was a narrow, shady road of crushed and rolled coral rock, bordered on either side by the beautiful Merrick groves. The original cabin had been followed by a new house in 1900, and in 1906 an artistic coral house was erected in front, including the original four room house. This spacious

house with wide verandas had a colorful tile roof, which led them to name it "Coral Gables," and the entire acreage with the house was called "Coral Gables Plantation." Thus it was that when the City he later planned came into existence, it was named after his home place.

In 1916, George Merrick married Miss Eunice Peacock, only child of Robert Alfred S. Peacock and Lillian Frow Peacock of Coconut Grove. Mr. Peacock came to this area from England in 1878 and formerly had owned and operated the old "Peacock Inn," first tourist hotel in the Biscayne Bay country. Miss Peacock was educated in the local schools, and attended the Model School for Girls in Trenton, New Jersey.

George Merrick served as County Commissioner in Dade County from 1914 to 1916. He was much interested in the development of transportation and good roads, by means of which the back country could be developed. He was an early advocate of the Tamiami Trail, and a causeway across the bay, both of which projects were begun during his term as County Commissioner. He also was one of the group who persuaded S. Davies Warfield to extend the Seaboard Railway to Miami.

The dream that later materialized in the founding of the City of Coral Gables, developed in George's mind during his boyhood years. His father's idea of interesting a small congenial group of retired educators and ministers to settle on small tracts was developed and expanded until he had a vision of a great and beautiful city. To gain experience and to increase his capital, he entered the real estate field, still, however, retaining active management of the Merrick Groves. He became vice-president, in charge of the development department, of the Realty Securities Corporation, and, in association with Clifton D. Benson and the late T. O. Wilson, founders of the company, developed and sold a number of subdivisions, among which were North Miami Estates, Riverside Farms, Kirkland Heights, Grapeland, Coconut Grove Subdivision, Goulds, Acadia, Aqua Vista, and, later, Twelfth Street Manors and South Bay Estates. This was his deliberately planned apprenticeship for the city building which was to follow.

After having worked out on paper the plans, essential details, and limits of his "dream city," he began to turn his ideas into a reality. The first streets were laid in the spring of 1921. He brought together outstanding artists, architects, city planners, and engineers, many of national repute, to assist in the building of Coral Gables, his "City Beautiful." Between the spring of 1920 and the fall of 1923, over fifty million dollars was expended under his direction in permanent improvements and buildings. During the same period, nearly one hundred fifty million dollars

was received in the sale of Coral Gables property throughout the entire nation. Over three thousand salesmen were employed at one time. Eighty-six large Coral Gables busses brought people from the states east of the Mississippi and many of them purchased homesites and today are residents of Coral Gables. Over three million dollars was expended in advertising. Able writers, artists and orators contributed to this unique system of advertising and sale, the like of which has never been known before or since. Among these notables, were Rex Beach, Denman Fink, Phineas Paist, and William Jennings Bryan. Mr. Beach wrote eloquently on "The Miracle of Coral Gables," and Mr. Bryan lectured daily at the Venetian Pool for nearly two years.

Outstanding among the Coral Gables institutions founded by George Merrick were the Miami Biltmore Hotel ensemble, consisting of a four hundred room hotel, with its beautiful Giralda Tower, and the Miami Biltmore Country Club, with its two eighteen-hole golf courses designed by Donald Ross. Both buildings are unusual in design and equipment. The million dollar Douglas Entrance and the Venetian Pool (transformed from an unsightly rock pit), the City Hall—all are monuments to his love of beauty.

Before any building had been started in Coral Gables, George Merrick had made plans to build a great university. He gave one hundred-and-sixty acres of land and pledged four million dollars, one million of which he made immediately available. The main building was started. The cornerstone was laid dedicating the University to the memory of his father on February 4, 1926. Thousands of spectators, including many noted men, were present. The pledges to the endowment fund amounted to nearly eight million of the goal of fifteen million dollars. Few of the pledges, except that of Merrick, materialized, due to the devastating hurricane of September, 1926, and the ensuing financial depression. However, the University of Miami, whose start Merrick had made possible and whose early achievement he largely guided, opened its doors to nearly eight hundred students on October 15, 1926. The school was housed, not in the magnificent building originally planned, but in the nearly completed Anastasia Hotel on University Drive. The original building stands, skeletonlike, the only unfinished structure of boom days in Coral Gables. The school has steadily progressed, fulfilling George Merrick's dream since it is also serving the youth from many Latin-American countries. The University has been unusually fortunate in that it has numbered on its faculty from the beginning outstanding educators, many of whom were willing to forego the larger remuneration received

in large northern universities, in order to help in the building of a new one. George Merrick served as Regent and Trustee of the University from its beginning to the time of his death.

Millions were spent in tropical planting, gathered from all the tropical world. The plans for each building had to be submitted for approval to a planning board so that each structure would conform to the type building allowed in the particular neighborhood. The broad thoroughfares which meet in beautiful plazas with their Spanish wells, pools, and fountains, make a sight nowhere else to be seen.

In 1920, the Four Seas Company, of Boston, published Mr. Merrick's "Songs of the Wind on a Southern Shore," a compilation of his Florida and Caribbean poems. A second edition was published in 1926. Before and since that time, many of his writings, including poems, short stories and historical articles have appeared in various publications, including the Christian Science Monitor, New York Times, Tequesta, and in a number of Latin-American magazines. At the time of his death, he was compiling a volume of nature poems, as well as a volume of short stories based on pioneer days of South Florida.

George Merrick was decorated by King Alphonso of Spain in 1927 for his wonderful expression of Spanish architecture in Coral Gables, and was made a "Don of the Order of Isabella De Catolica."

The financial collapse which followed the terrible hurricane of 1926, brought financial disaster for Mr. Merrick. The Merricks voluntarily sacrificed all of their assets in an endeavor to complete Coral Gables and to hold it together as a City entity. The latter aim was eminently successful, but thereafter, the control of his wide realty holdings passed into other hands. The Merricks bravely started out to begin all over again. For a few years, they operated the Caribbee Fishing Camp on Matecumbe Key, on land bequeathed to Mrs. Merrick by her father, R. A. S. Peacock. A hurricane completely destroyed this camp in the fall of 1935.

In 1934, they both entered the real estate field, when "George E. Merrick, Incorporated," was formed. Mr. Merrick served as Chairman of the Dade County Planning Board from 1935 to 1939. He had always advocated County zoning and spent much time in the work of the Dade County Zoning Commission, of which he was chairman from 1937 to 1939. Under his leadership, the Dade County Zoning Code, which is a model code for county areas throughout the United States, was worked out. He was a Director of the Fairchild Tropical Garden.

He was never particularly interested in the money he could make, did make, and refused to keep, when reverses came to Coral Gables. After the crash came, he had not a foot of soil to his name. His dream of a beautiful city had become a reality, but one in whose destiny he no longer had a guiding hand. He had built well, but of those who admire its charm today, few know its true story.

Mr. Merrick was appointed Postmaster of Miami, after receiving the highest grade of the sixty-six taking the competitive civil service examination for the post. He was sworn into office on June 1, 1940. He immediately applied his energetic, able mind, and his creative genius to the task of improving the service rendered by the Miami post office.

During the fall of 1939, Mr. Merrick and Gaines R. Wilson conferred together as to the feasibility of the formation of a historical society in South Florida, to include Cuba, the Bahamas and the Keys. In response to their invitation, a small group of those interested in the project met on January 4, and January 18, 1940. They set up definite plans for such a society, which they named the "Historical Association of Southern Florida." Mr. Merrick acted as Chairman at these preliminary meetings, and was chosen by unanimous approval to be the first president. His assistance in planning the scope of the program to be undertaken and his influence in securing members has been invaluable. He served as President of the association until May, 1941. His interesting article on "Pre-Flagler Influence on the Lower Florida East Coast," was a valuable contribution to our program, to the society's journal, "Tequesta," and to the historical record of the region. He knew his subject, and gave those who were fortunate in hearing him, a new insight into the history of the section.

Saturday afternoon, March 28, 1942, was a sad occasion for the family, the friends and associates who gathered by the hundreds at the Plymouth Congregational Church to show their love and respect for George E. Merrick. Men and women of all walks of life came to pay tribute to the backwoods' farm lad who became one of the area's most outstanding citizens. His mortal remains lie interred beside those of his parents in Woodlawn Park Cemetery, but his memory lives on in the hearts of his friends and in the beautiful City he planned and founded.

Some Plant Reminiscences of Southern Florida*

by DAVID FAIRCHILD

HISTORY so far as it concerns plants is a thing which belongs in an entirely different category from the history of human beings and their behaviour towards each other. Just where the difference lies will be hard to explain but before I launch out into a series of reminiscent remarks I would like to try and make my point.

Human beings are pretty well known to other humans. Almost any little child knows how many legs a human being has and what are the principal characteristics of humans but there are very few artists or historians who have very definite ideas of the characteristics of even the commonest plant. I have been often taken to art collections to be shown paintings of trees which no botanist could ever by any possible means identify. It often requires an expert working for months to identify plants from the word descriptions of historians. I am speaking in terms of the general run of historians. There are doubtless historians whose accounts tally pretty closely with the botanical or the horticultural accounts of the things they are trying to record the behaviour of.

If my audience does not agree with me it may perhaps be because few of them have ever tried to read the word picture of let us say an apple tree. I have chosen here a tree which since the discovery of America has been a more or less constant companion of the American from the time of the pioneers to the present day,—almost as constant a companion as the dog. Suppose I had chosen any one of the newer fruit trees which have come into America in my own lifetime. How many historians are there in the State of Florida who could identify one were he taken up to an avocado tree when it is not in fruit? I repeat that to the masses of mankind history is the account of the doings of man. I am using the word in the sense of the Florida Historical Society, not in the sense of the Naturalist who has his term Natural History to fall back upon. We are not here discussing the descriptions of the other species of living

*Delivered, Annual Meeting, Florida Historical Society, March, 1941 at the Fairchild Tropical Garden.

organisms which inhabit the planet and which descriptions have multiplied enormously since the days of the great botanist Linnæus.

As I sit here at my typewriter and let my mind sweep back over the days which I have spent in the state of Florida, I discover what an impossible task it is to give anything but a most distorted picture of that past. Even the common words which I will have to use do not carry the meanings which they did at that time. The word Avocado in 1898 when there were none in Florida, except an occasional specimen in some experimenter's yard, has a very different meaning now from what it had then. Were I writing in those days I would have to begin with the assumption that none of my readers had the faintest idea what an avocado was, for the word itself had not penetrated into the literature of the Floridians. If they knew anything about the avocado it was as an Alligator Pear. Why alligator and why pear are points I have never quite comprehended. They illustrate what I wish to bring out however, viz. that the so called "things" of history are merely symbols and that it is with these symbols and not with the things that History is mainly concerned.

I think I know what the Program Committee wished me to do when it asked me to present a paper on the history of plant introduction in Florida. But I submit to my audience that what they want me to do and what I can do are very different things indeed.

Let me try to explain how vastly different the task is from writing an account of the human happenings here in the State.

In 1898 when I first came to Florida in company with James Ingraham, the Vice-President of the Florida East Coast Railway, it was to see a little clearing in the Brickell Hammock—now practically a thing of the past. It was with the purpose of seeing if tropical plants could be grown in it and if they could, whether or not these plants would be useful to the people; then a few hundreds only—who were coming to settle here. I was organizing in Washington what was then called a Section of Seed and Plant Introduction.* Of the romance which gathered about that little clearing I could speak in general and passionate terms for it was one of the most interesting places in the world to me then and remains a memory of wonderful days spent with new plants which grew into trees that have been destroyed to make room for an apartment house. This latter was erected where precious "specimens," brought from the

*Now Division of Plant Exploration and Introduction, Bureau of Plant Industry, U.S. Department of Agriculture.

far corners of the world were planted and flowered for the first time on the soil of North America.

It was with the feeling perhaps that words would never suffice to give a picture of the behaviour of the strange looking new things which Edward Simmonds and I planted there in that little garden that I brought my camera down from Washington and began to take photographs of the little plants, small as they were. This feeling of the insufficiency of word symbols has grown upon me and through the years I have continued to take photographs of the "stream of living plants" which has come into Florida through the activities of that Section of Seed and Plant Introduction. These photographs have mounted up and now constitute a real problem for what to do with them and where to store them is the question. Incidentally I imagine there are many which have a significance in the *human history* sense, giving views of people and man-made things which have changed with time and even passed away.

How to record the arrival of a new "Plant Immigrant" as I decided to call these plant introductions in order to dramatize them somewhat and drag them out into the light where people could see them and stop calling them by such generalized names as "plant growths" or "tropical verdure" or just "tropical vegetation" or "economic plant material," became a problem, and my friend O. F. Cook and I decided upon a system by which a printed account of the arrival of every plant species or variety was made. It is to this record of over 180 thousand introductions that I would refer the historians in search of historical data. In the 16 volumes on my desk here before me I can find the abstracts taken from Agricultural Explorers Notes or traveller's journals or letters relating to particular plants of which the seeds were collected in some foreign country.

The commonest tree on the streets of Coral Gables, which is being superseded now by the slower growing species, *Pithecolobium dulce*, was brought to Washington Dec. 1st 1899 by a Botanical Collector whose work on the plants of Mexico is a matter of record. His name was Dr. Edward Palmer and I had the pleasure of taking down from his rapid-fire conversation descriptions of his collections of the seeds of many interesting plants. He took no photographs but made dried specimens of leaves and fruits which he had collected and preserved. The seeds of this Mexican tree, known as Huamuchil to the Mexicans of Guymas, soon attracted Edward Simmonds' attention because of their rapid growth; they germinated in a day or two when put in the ground. With the mushroom growth of buildings and street construction which began

in the Miami area soon after its arrival here, it kept pace and quick effects could be produced with it which vied with those secured by the use of an even more rapid growing tree, the Australian *Casuarina equisetifolia*, which came to be called the "Australian Pine" although no relation whatever to a pine. Take these two trees out of the landscapes of the Miami of those days and one wonders what would have been found to take their places; something slower growing but better perhaps.

Another tree from Australia has had a picturesque career. The Cajeput tree, *Melaleuca leucadendron*. Introduced by my friend Dr. John C. Gifford as a small packet of seeds so tiny that neither he nor Ed. Simmonds felt able to undertake their germination without greenhouse facilities, the first seedlings were produced in the Greenhouse in Washington and sent down as little spindling things to find a home here. This they did with a vengeance and soon these seedlings bore such quantities of seeds that we planted a row of them at Davie on the edge of the Everglades where an Experiment station had been started by some Real Estate developers. I have a series of photographs showing how those trees grew and how their seedlings covered the surrounding land then occupied by an orange grove. They completely smothered the orange trees with their growth and I thought at one time that they threatened to sweep over the Everglades and transform their broad prairies into an Australian landscape. Today the builders of new white-walled houses on Miami Beach and elsewhere are paying fancy prices for this striking white barked tree and planting it beside their front doorways as choice decorative specimens.

I have chosen these examples for the reason that I assume there are many present who know them by name. But I wonder as I sit here and try to visualize a history which would take into consideration anything but the doings of humans, how it would be possible to substitute the names of these trees under which today thousands of little children play, for the political and military and movie star names of humans with which the so called "literature" of the period is filled. Would it be possible ever to bring a blush of shame to the cheek of a young girl in her teens in any way comparable to that which suffuses it when the teacher discovers that she never even heard of Queen Elizabeth or King Arthur of the Round Table, or Napoleon or Theodore Roosevelt or George Washington the Father of his Country, by disclosing to the class that although she plays under a Cajeput tree every day she does not have any idea what it is nor that it has a history which reaches back beyond the days of the arrival of men and women on this planet? She

would scoff at the very idea that it mattered. All her friends and classmates are familiar with the names of people. They would shame her if she could not give the names of the great movie stars. They would never bother her if she shrugged her shoulders and threw out her hands and remarked that she didn't know and didn't care; that it was just a tree.

No. The names of people and the things they eat and drink and do, take precedence over everything else in this world as it stands today. If you do not believe this look at any newspaper or popular magazine or simply look out of your car as it speeds along through the ghastly wilderness of vari-colored signs which disfigure landscapes which were once pleasant things to gaze upon. We have, let us say, a half million sign boards at least scattered about through the Miami area, repeating ad nauseam the name of some food or drug or drink. But where is there a single word of explanation, where anyone can see it, that relates to any other living organism than the one species *Homo sapiens*? The names of these man-made stuffs have been seared into the minds of the children as the initials of the ranchers of the plains are seared with a red hot iron into the flanks of their yearling calves. The children cannot escape. They must know these things for their fellows know them and will make fun of them if they don't.

It is into this state of affairs that I am invited to walk calmly and dispassionately and in twenty minutes give a sketch of the "history" of the introduction of plants into South Florida.

Ladies and gentlemen you have not the necessary vocabulary at your command to enable you to follow me were I to give you for example the names alone of the twenty most spectacular introductions. You would have to have a glossary in your hand to identify the characters of my story. Anthony Adverse has so many characters in it that I who read few novels get confused and have to turn back to see which person has come on the stage now. In the history you desire me to write, you who would attempt to read it would not even have any visual picture whatever of what my characters looked like, for they would not bear the semblance of the human form with which you are so familiar that you do not need to know just what he looked like. You can make your own imaginary picture of humans.

Let me see if I can illustrate such a history of plant introduction without photographs for your enlightenment.

When I arrived in Miami in 1898 and went to the little garden on Brickell Avenue I found Herbert J. Webber standing beside a tree of the *Seratonia siliqua* or Carob the seeds of which I had sent him from

the shores of Italy. He was sure that it would be a great thing here and I felt pleased to see it. Forty-three years have passed and the other day I found a friend of mine growing the carob in a few tin cans, thinking to try it out again. It is a Mediterranean tree and does not like the wet summers of Florida.

In the same garden there were growing some trees of the White Sapote (*Casimiroa edulis*) the fruits of which Wilson Popenoe in his "Manual of Tropical Plants" described thus: "The white sapote is a medium sized erect or spreading tree, having palmately compound leaves, small inconspicuous flowers, and yellowish green fruits the size of an orange. The fruits have a thin membranaceous skin, yellowish flesh of soft melting texture and sweet or slightly bitter flavor, and one to five large oval or elliptic seeds." Popenoe wrote this 21 years ago. I have growing on my Kampong at this time and they are loaded with young fruits a number of varieties as distinct as the Wine Sap apple is from the Stark's Delicious, of this White Sapote and I would not be able to recognize the things I have here from such a description as Popenoe gives; and yet his description is a fair one as horticultural descriptions go.

You see what a wierd thing a history of Florida Horticulture would be from my point of view.

I think I can elucidate the difficulty somewhat by referring to some of the new work which is being done in the field of symbols for we must recognize that there is a fundamental difference between a word symbol and the thing itself.

There are two ways of teaching a person what a thing is. The common easy chair or class room method is to "describe it." Get a dictionary and read about it. The dictionary description is composed of words and many of those words you will have to look up too and if you look up all the words you will find that you have yet another crop of other words. You get only such a picture of the thing as your imagination builds out of what experiences you have had with similar things. In the case of the White Sapote a child would get nothing from the dictionary which would enable it to recognize a White Sapote were he to be brought where a tree loaded with fruits was standing. This method in the new parlance of my friend Count Alfred Korzybski is the "*intensional*" method; the method of definitions; the Aristotelian method if you please.

Now the other method which he calls the *extensional* method is to take the child to a White Sapote tree and let him feel its leaves and fruit and sink his teeth into its delicious fruit flesh.

But how can such a method be used in the crowded class rooms? It

cannot, and here is where the rub comes. I doubt if it is worth while to try to teach a child what a White Sapote is from a book. There are many principles in the use of symbols which can be drilled into children's heads in the class room but by the intensional methods mighty little that is worth while about practical horticulture. And so I come to the kernel of my remarks.

If it is desirable that the history of the horticulture of Florida be written in such form that it will be something more than another leaflet or short lived book to please the imaginations of those who delight in those fantasies of the past which come as one reads "accounts of past occurrences," some museum and permanent garden method will I suspect have to be worked out; something that will keep on display as the museums of natural history and the great Zoological gardens do, the actual objects in the life, or their stuffed skins or the best possible photographs of the things, or life sized models; something besides those futile word descriptions which so often merely confuse the mind.

In the Fairchild Tropical Garden and this Palm Museum I think there has been made a small beginning that is pointed in the right direction. It deserves to have the most serious attention attracted to it in order that it may be built up into an institution of education of the *extensional* kind where in the future thousands of little children will come and see for themselves, with their own eyes, not through those of book writers, the living *elements*, other than man-fashioned, which make the world of actualities. To consign little children to a life of the streets and buildings where they see nothing living but other beings like themselves is it seems to me to dwarf their imaginations and start them along the road to that mode of life which ends in wars and insanities of various kinds.

In my imagination I picture a historic scene in which the origin of the citrus groves of Florida would be shown; the kinds of citrus fruits from which the orange arose in China; the palm groves of the Tropics, the industries which have been built around the various species; the nut trees, the spice trees, the poison trees; the hundreds of kinds of fruit species with opportunities for tasting the fruits; the gorgeous vines gathered from all over the tropics; the fiber plants; and the host of flowering trees and shrubs the use of which about our homes will transform them into abodes of beauty such as the world has never yet seen.

This dream is one which has grown with the years of my experience here and has become more and more of a reality and my conviction of its possibility has been strengthened.

The insanity of this terrible war will pass and leave deep scars on the

minds of millions of children scattered throughout the whole world and some methods more comprehensive than those we have been using must be evolved in order to bring these children into a realization that they must know things from actually seeing and touching them and not from merely pronouncing their names. Children are being borne into a world of symbols. Let us drill the fact that it is a world of symbols into their minds and give them *actual living* things to get acquainted with for comparison.

I am conscious that I have probably not made my point clear but I have taken up your time and explained why I am incapable of writing a "Historical Sketch" of the Plant Introduction work here in Florida.

My photographic collections, all my notes and so called historical records and the living plants with which I have associated I hope may some day be utilized along the lines of a great out-of-doors museum or arboretum and garden in which the children can play and learn what a world of fascinating romance this world of the plants really is, quieting, and saner than the world of the human beings.

THE KAMPONG, COCONUT GROVE, FLORIDA

March 26th, 1941

Henry Perrine, Pioneer Horticulturist of Florida *

by T. RALPH ROBINSON

PLANT introduction, so all important to a newly developed region like Florida largely dependent on her horticultural products, is commonly thought of as a recent enterprise. And so it is, at least on a systematic and world wide basis such as is exemplified in the monumental work of Dr. David Fairchild and his collaborators of the United States Department of Agriculture, such men as Popenoe, Swingle, Meyer, Dorsett, Cook, and Collins. Private introductions by such men as Pliny and Egbert Reasoner, Taber, Meade, and Nehrling have also contributed richly to Florida's store of plant material during the last half century. While we are at this meeting stressing the historical side of Florida's horticultural development it seems especially fitting to remind our present day fruit growers that almost 100 years ago a valiant and well planned effort was made to establish in Florida new industries capable of producing for the nation many of the tropical crops that were at that time either unknown or secured through costly importation. This was the dream and lifetime effort of Dr. Henry Perrine, to whom Florida has given, I fear, scant recognition. Some account of his life, aims, and tragic death may serve to accord to him the belated tribute due to such a "hero of agriculture," a title recently bestowed upon him in an appreciative and fascinating article contributed to the Bulletin of the Garden Club of America (November, 1941). This article was written by Frances Cleveland Preston, wife of the late President Grover Cleveland and a step-daughter of Henry E. Perrine, a son of Dr. Perrine.

Henry Perrine was born April 5, 1797, at New Brunswick, New Jersey, of French Huguenot ancestry. He studied medicine and soon after receiving his degree in Philadelphia went to Ripley, Illinois, to practice medicine, later removing to Natchez, Mississippi. Due to ill health following accidental poisoning he decided to seek a still milder climate and secured in 1827 an appointment as U. S. Consul at Campeche,

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Yucatan, where he remained for ten years. He was interested in botany and made extensive collections of the plants growing in that region. These herbarium specimens are now to be found in the collections of the New York Botanical Garden. During his stay in Yucatan he survived serious attacks of both yellow fever and cholera and is credited with having had unusual success in treating these diseases among the natives, services which he rendered gratuitously.

Soon after his arrival in Yucatan he received from Richard Rush, Secretary of the Treasury, at the instance of President John Quincy Adams, a circular letter calling on consular officers to secure plants of probable utility for cultivation in the United States. A Treasury Circular of September 6, 1827, states that "Dr. H. Perrine appears to be the only American Consul who has unreservedly devoted his head, heart, and hands to the subject of introducing tropical plants in the United States and his voluminous manuscripts alone exhibit a great amount of labor and research which promises to be highly beneficial to our common country." Some of the manuscripts referred to were later published as Congressional documents, a few of which may be worth citing. In Senate Document No. 300, published in 1838, the following papers were published: "Letters on Tropic Plants," "Meteorologic Tables of Indian Key" (Fla.), "Geography of Plants," "List of Official and Economic Plants of the Tropics" (a list of plants already introduced by him into south Florida), "Cuban Economic Plants," and "Tropic Fiber Plants." In the House of Representatives Report No. 564 appear "Plants of Mexico," "The *Agave sisalana* or Sisal Hemp," "Letters on Tropical Plants," and "Propagation of Fibrous Leafed Plants." This later report also states that upward of 200 species and varieties of tropical economic plants were already planted, mostly in boxes, at Indian Key, Florida, ready for removal to the mainland when the Seminole Indian war should cease.

While gathering together this material for trial in Florida, Dr. Perrine conceived the idea of forming a colony under a government grant for the planting of tropical crops after preliminary trials had shown that they offered promise of success. Meanwhile he established connections with settlers on the lower East Coast of Florida, notably Captain Dubose of Cape Florida, at the southern end of Biscayne Bay, and Mr. Charles Howe of Indian Key. To them he sent seeds and plants collected about Campeche, many of which were established in nurseries and test plantings before his return to the United States in 1837. In 1838 Congress passed an act granting to Dr. Perrine and two associates, James Webb of Key West and Charles Howe of Indian Key, a township of land (6 square

miles) on lower Biscayne Bay for the propagation and cultivation of tropical plants. This is said to have been the first agricultural grant made by Congress. By a curious coincidence the tract granted lies only a short distance south of the present Plant Introduction Garden of the United States Department of Agriculture, the latter location being acquired originally by the government for a flying field known as Chapman Field.

Soon after the grant was made Dr. Perrine returned to the United States, stopping off at New Orleans en route north. There he was invited to settle in Louisiana and was offered a tract of land on La Fitte Island for his plant introduction work. He was, however, convinced that the southern tip of Florida, then considered almost worthless, offered the best opportunity for the growing of the tender tropical crops in which he was chiefly interested.

The development of the land grant as planned was prevented, however, by the disturbances in south Florida due to the Seminole War then in progress. Accordingly, when Dr. Perrine with his wife, daughter, and son came to Florida in 1838, traveling by way of Key West, he settled for the time on Indian Key, a small island of about 12 acres lying a few miles southeast of Lower Maticumbe Key. There Charles Webb and three or four other families with their servants and slaves were already established. There were docks, shops, and warehouses, and the island seems to have been something of a trading post for coasting vessels of light draft. There many of his seeds and plants had already been sent and he spent the next 18 months in further propagation work and in making actual plantings. Plantings, however, were necessarily restricted to the nearby keys, selecting the most favorable locations but leaving the plants to nature's care and an occasional visit from himself. It is small wonder then, when we consider the rocky nature of these keys, that few plants survived without human care to stand as memorials of his labor.

Among the products listed in various documents as desirable for culture and ready for introduction were Sisal hemp, yam, ginger, cassava, indigo, sugar cane, pimento, tea, orange, shaddock, grapefruit, lime, citron, sugar apple, banana, plantain, pineapple, coconut, sapodilla, sour sop, avocado, mango, mamey sapota, olive, boxwood, and ship timber. Various spices and medicinal plants were also included and the white mulberry was introduced to afford the basis for a silk industry. His interest extended even to bee culture and he sent several swarms of stingless bees from Yucatan to Mr. Howe at Indian Key.

The Indian Key colony felt secure from Indian attack on their isolated island, but in the early morning of August 7, 1840, a band of Indians

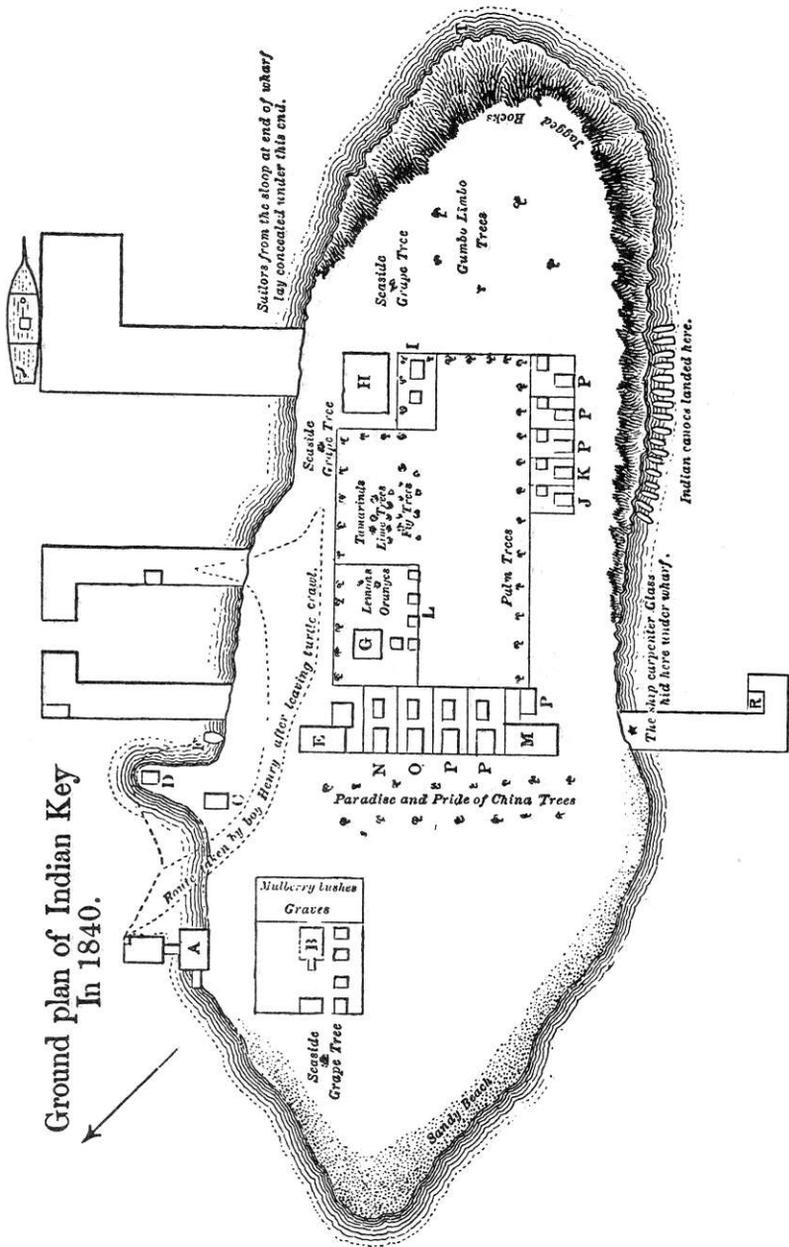
(locally called "Spanish Indians") under Chekika landed without being observed, the party consisted of 17 canoe loads. But for a wakeful workman the whole colony would probably have been annihilated at daybreak. As the attacking party lay hid waiting for daylight they were discovered by Bieplet and the premature attack began between 2 and 3 in the morning. Under cover of darkness many members of the colony escaped to boats or lay hid in the bushes or rock crevasses until the Indians left after daylight. Dr. Perrine, however, together with five or six other members of the colony, fell a victim of their brutal attack. Had he sought safety in flight he might also have escaped, but he felt confident that by parleying with the savages in Spanish he could dissuade them and avert a general attack on the colony. His wife, son, and daughter concealed under the house in a sort of cistern or tidewater bath, had a most miraculous escape. With the house burning down over their heads they managed by desperate digging with bare hands to loosen some palm posts, or piles, that barred passage way to the bay shore and emerged just at a most opportune time to seize a nearby boat and escape. The boat they took was one that the Indians had started loading with loot from the storehouse, and the Indians had just left the boat to secure another load of provisions when they made their fortunate escape. They were soon picked up by a passing schooner and taken to a military post at Tea Table Key, where they were cared for until they could start their long sad journey northward.

The Indians left the island shortly after daybreak, having set fire to all the buildings and destroyed everything of value which they could not carry off. In the burning of the Perrine house all of the records made by Dr. Perrine were lost, together with a large chest of seeds all ready for planting when conditions became favorable. This chest incidentally played a part in saving the lives of the Perrine family, as the Doctor used it to conceal the trap door leading to the cistern-like bath where the wife and children were placed in hiding on the approach of the Indians.

During the following day some of the survivors, including Dr. Perrine's young son, returned to the scene of desolation and Mr. Howe gathered up the charred remains of Dr. Perrine's body which he buried near a Sisal plant on Matacumbe Key, a plant in which Dr. Perrine had shown special interest.

For most of the details regarding this tragic affair we are indebted to a book written and privately printed some forty-five years later (1885) by the son, Henry E. Perrine. This rare volume, being written largely for the benefit of his children and grandchildren, is entitled "The True

Ground plan of Indian Key
In 1840.



Story of Some Eventful Years in Grandpa's Life." The author was 13 years old at the time of the Indian Key Massacre and he gives a vivid and circumstantial account of that wild and tragic night. In the book is included a detailed map or "Ground Plan of Indian Key in 1840." This map shows seven good sized houses besides numerous cabins for servants and slaves. Three good sized piers are shown, and locations are indicated for tree plantings already made, such as lime trees, lemons, oranges, figs, tamarinds, mulberries, palm trees, etc. At this point it may be stated that none of these plantings today survive. The writer had the privilege six years ago to visit Indian Key, in company with David Fairchild, who of course had a special interest in this pioneer attempt to introduce tropical plants into Florida. We found that the Sisal plants introduced by Perrine had taken the whole island, it being possible to walk only around the extreme shores of the rocky island because of the dense jungle formed by the thicket of "century plants." The foundation walls of the home of Charles Howe are still intact, showing that the house must have been a substantial building. Little else remains to indicate that the island was ever inhabited, much less witnessed the beginning of an ambitious and unique horticultural enterprise unexampled in all previous history. It would seem to be a fitting project for this Horticultural Society to see that a proper tablet be prepared and erected on Indian Key as a Florida memorial to Dr. Perrine—truly a martyr to his horticultural zeal.

It is idle perhaps to speculate as to what would have been the effect on Florida's horticultural development had Dr. Perrine's heroic efforts not been terminated in such a catastrophe. The only plants known to have been introduced by him on the Keys which seem to have survived despite

 REFERENCES TO GROUND PLAN

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| <p>A. Dr. Perrine's house with wharf in front</p> <p>B. Mr. Howe's house and negro dwelling kitchen, shop and cistern.</p> <p>C. Carpenter Shop.</p> <p>D. Blacksmith Shop.</p> <p>E. Store where the six Indians were when Mrs. Perrine and the children took the boat at F, which they were loading with plunder.</p> <p>G. Mr. Houseman's house, kitchen and negro dwellings.</p> <p>H. Large Warehouse under which two men and a boy were concealed in a cistern.</p> | <p>I. State Senator English's house and kitchen.</p> <p>J. Cottages of Glass and Beiglet who gave the alarm.</p> <p>L. Place where the Indians lay when discovered by Beiglet.</p> <p>M. Tropical Hotel.</p> <p>N. Mott's house and kitchen.</p> <p>O. Mrs. Smith and Mrs. Sturdy's house and kitchen.</p> <p>P. Other cottages and kitchens, vacant.</p> <p>R. Bath house where the old lady sought refuge.</p> <p>T. About the place where Mrs. Smith and baby and her mother Mrs. Sturdy crouched down behind the rocks.</p> |
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lack of human care are the so-called "wild limes," the Sisal, and a number of date palms scattered along the Keys. Pineapple culture was at one time practiced on some of the Keys and may have had its origin in plants which he set out on his frequent trips along the Keys seeking favorable locations for trial plantings. Houseman, who was one of the Indian Key colony, is known to have had a pineapple plantation on Matacumbe Key.

It is clear from his writings that he had great hopes for developing a fiber industry based on the Sisal and henequen fibers, both derived from two species of *Agave*, *A. sisalana* and *A. fourcroydes*. He had given these plants intensive study in Yucatan and published a description of the former as a new species, up to that time undescribed by botanists. His name remains today the valid name for the species, *Agave sisalana* Perrine. While the introduction of these fiber plants failed to develop a profitable fiber industry in Florida, it proved in later years to have an important effect on American agriculture. The sisal plant in particular found a congenial home in Florida and spread rapidly along both coasts. Some fifty years later when binder twine became essential in the operation of the recently invented reapers and binders the only source of supply of necessary fiber was in Yucatan. Mexico promptly established an embargo on the export of plants or seeds, enjoying for a time a highly profitable monopoly. From the sisal plants growing wild in South Florida, however, Florida nurserymen were able within a few years to furnish hundreds of thousands of seed bulbs, or bulbils, to the planters in other lands, notably Java where within a few years extensive plantations were in production. Thus through competitive prices American farmers and users of cordage were saved many millions of dollars during the past fifty years, and indirectly the dream of the plant introducer was realized.

Perrine's name has been perpetuated in Florida in the naming of the town of Perrine (first known as Perrineville) about 15 miles southwest of Miami. This town was founded by the son, Henry E. Perrine, when he revisited Florida in 1876, bringing with him eight other settlers from Buffalo and Palmyra, N. Y. They took up land on or near the Perrine Grant, but no serious effort appears to have been made to resume the plant introduction work on the scale undertaken by the father. Perrine at this time revisited Indian Key en route up the coast from Key West, but found no remains of the early plantings except a few palm trees and sisal plants, "every other trace of human habitation or care had disappeared." Likewise on Matacumbe Key, where a nursery had been started, no trace of the early plantings remained. He attributes part of

the loss of plants to the periodic hurricanes, one of which devastated the keys shortly before his arrival.

A recently introduced variety of lemon has been named the Perrine lemon. The Mexican or "Key" lime introduced by Perrine was used in numerous hybrids made by the citrus breeders of the United States Department of Agriculture. One of these new fruits, a hybrid between the lime and the Genoa lemon, seemed to meet the need of Florida for a lemon of medium size, good quality, free from lemon scab and anthracnose, and possessing great vigor of growth and fruitfulness. To this hybrid lemon when first introduced by the writer in 1931 at the Miami meeting of the Florida State Horticultural Society was given the name "Perrine," with the statement that "it would be only poetic justice, though long deferred, if one of the offspring of the Mexican lime he introduced should perpetuate his name and bring to the region he loved an additional source of income for citrus growers." The first commercial crop of the Perrine lemon marketed during the season just closing seems to have fully justified the hopes here expressed.

In the original grant made by Congress the hope was expressed that "through the introduction of tropical and sub-tropical plants there may be rendered valuable our hitherto worthless soils by covering them with a dense population of small cultivators and family manufacturers and that these will promote the peace, prosperity, and permanence of the union." We are fast seeing this hope realized in the region of which the Perrine Grant formed the nucleus, and the influence here set in motion is spreading rapidly over large portions of south Florida, where killing frosts seldom occur. Even a hundred years may be too short a time to properly evaluate the work of such a pioneer as Dr. Henry Perrine. Despite his seeming failure through tragic fate, yet his career may still serve as an inspiration to those of us today who are interested in developing new tropical crops and who are privileged to labor without the tremendous handicaps imposed upon his brave spirit. All honor to Henry Perrine, physician, botanist, plantsman, and pioneer introducer of useful plants chosen to serve his country's need.

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Ceremonial Practices of the Modern Seminoles*

by *ROBERT F. GREENLEE*

THE modern Florida Seminoles are descendants of the Indians who remained in the Everglades after the close of the Seminole war in 1842. One hundred years later we find a people radically transformed both in material aspects of life and in their ideas and religious customs. In this instance we are concerned with their ceremonial and medicinal practices—vestiges of a much richer life which has vanished due to the coming of white people in ever increasing numbers to what was formerly a cloistered Indian world. To discover and record these remnants of the Seminole's former life before it disappeared forever from the minds of the older generation was one of the chief objects of the 1939 study.

A medicine man of the Big Cypress swamp settlements was my chief informant. He consented to interpret many phases of ceremonial life, especially those connected with the annual Green Corn dance and his own specialty, medicine. A number of chants from the old medicinal formulas, many of them rendered in the special medicine man's language, with its archaic words and phrases were recorded on phonograph records. A similar study was made by Miss Frances Densmore. This was published in 1932 by the Smithsonian Institution. She used the same informant I did and was able to record "75 songs of the corn and hunting dances as well as the alligator, catfish, quail, screech owl, and other dances." The songs sung for me include several from the Green Corn Dance, the horned owl chant from the hunting dance, several of the Seminole mourning chants, as well as a number of medicinal formulas. I shall now give a few of the general features of Seminole social organization, ceremonial and medicinal practices.

In the Seminole social organization descent is counted only on the mother's side and with clans as a basis, a child belongs solely to the clan of the mother. Nine clans are found among the Big Cypress people, all

*Delivered at the annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society in Miami, March, 1941.

but one of them being named after some animal. Thus Panther, Wildcat, Tiger, Bird, Otter, Wind, Wolf, Snake, and City or Town clan are the chief active clans. A Deer clan also exists but it is dying out due to the fact that there are only three men left and no women. Since the children follow the clan of the mother the Deer clan will be extinct in the next generation. A similar fate was in store for the Alligator clan noted by Clay MacCauley in 1880. Now it has disappeared completely. Each one of these nine clans is exogamous, that is, a man must marry outside of his mother's clan. Among the Seminoles a further provision is made whereby certain groups of the nine clans are linked together which restricts a man's choice of a mate even further. Thus the Tiger, Panther, and Wildcat clans are linked; the Otter and Town clans are similarly joined; as also are the Bird and Wind. Under this marriage restriction a member of the Bird clan would be obliged to avoid marriage with a girl of the Wind clan but he would be permitted to choose one from any other clan. A study of the marriages recorded by the U. S. government Seminole census shows that extremely few marriages occur which do not correspond to this usual pattern. Due to the fact that so few clans survive from the much larger number once in Florida, it has now become allowable for a man to marry a woman of his father's clan though I was told that in the old days this clan was prohibited to him also. As an example we can note Ingram Billie's family where Wilson Billie, Ingram's brother married Ingram's daughter. Though she would be considered his niece by our system of reckoning kin, she was a member of her mother's clan, the Wind clan, hence a proper bride for a Panther man. Another instance in the same family is where Annie Billie, Panther clan, Ingram's sister married Charlie Billie, Ingram's son — her nephew by our system but outside of the clan by Seminole custom and hence a fit mate.

Of special interest is the clan known as the City or Town clan which my informant maintains is composed largely of Indians of mixed blood. He indicated that when the Seminoles fought at St. Augustine they found two white girls wandering in the woods, lost, tired, and hungry. He thought perhaps they were Spaniards. Some of the tribe wanted to kill them, but the chief said no, as they were women they should be kept and made to work. Eventually they married Seminole men. Since these women were not Indian they belonged to no clan, and consequently their children had no clan affiliations. To solve this problem the City clan was created, its original members being the children of those two marriages. He says that this clan is composed of descendants of captives and marriages outside the tribe such as Seminole-Spanish or Seminole-White,

anything but Seminole-Negro. Members of the City clan now include influential members of the tribe.

Two classes of medical practitioners exist among the Florida Seminoles. The most important are the medicine men who are not only in charge of the entire ceremonial life of these people, but hold a good deal of political power as well. A medicine man is responsible for curing sickness and must undergo a period of instruction and training to fit him for this duty. The main distinction between the medicine man and the "doctors," or second class practitioners, lies in the possession of a fragment of war medicine by the former. My informant said that he inherited his medicine from Old Billie Motlo, and that his brother obtained his from his mother's brother. He further said that when he died his medicine would go to his brother who in turn would present it to a suitable member of the Panther clan. Thus we see that the passing down of the medicine, which is the source of power to each practitioner, is a matter of inheritance within the same clan. This medicine is so supernaturally powerful that it cannot be kept at the settlements but is hidden away at the ceremonial grounds where the annual Green Corn Dance is held. The medicine is composed of a silver-colored powder and is kept in small buckskin bags. This war medicine is taboo to women. They may not approach too near it since its great power would knock them down, according to Seminole belief. When I asked about the origin of the war medicine I was told that it was derived from thunder and snake—thunder in the sky and snake in the water. Thunder went way up to the sky got the medicine and then made it rain. The rain brought the medicine to earth to water where the snake got it. One man went over to the creek and obtained a small bundle of medicine from snake. This bundle was brought to the king or chief who kept it. Once there was a big war and the king didn't want to go. He gave some of the medicine to a man who went for him. They called the man war chief. This medicine kept the war chief very strong. When he died he gave the medicine to his clansmen. A part of the medicine went to his son. Finally the medicine of supernatural power became divided into seven parts as it is today. When this powerful medicine passes to new hands the old buckskin bags are destroyed and the medicine is transferred to new ones.

The tribal lore, ceremonial practices, and healing are not taught indiscriminately to all the young men but only to those who show that they are willing to pursue the requisite preparation. Not all boys are interested and similarly not all boys are considered as possessing the suitable temperament. A medicine man need not confine his instruction

to members of his own clan, but may teach anyone whom he considers deserving. However, the inheritance of the sacred medicine is strictly a clan affair.

The preparation of the medicine man advances by degrees. The respective degrees are named after the months in the Indian lunar calendar. Thus during the first month (fubli hasi) "wind moon" of his preparation a prospective medicine man is given the "black drink" which acts as a purgative. Herbs and medicine are then given him for eight additional days. After this the "medical student" is allowed to study on his own but he is expected to return to the medicine man who is in charge of his teaching on the first month of the ensuing year for further instruction and to ask questions. In order to cure one must learn the proper magical chants and formulas. Hence the teaching of the songs in connection with each one of the various types of disease undoubtedly forms a significant part of the training of a new medicine man.

A Seminole has a decidedly different notion about medicine from that held by white people. Whereas we think in terms of drugs, ointments, stimulants, or cathartics which will benefit the body in a predictable fashion, the Seminole relies on the actions of the medicine man. These people have confidence in his power to cure disease or to alleviate mental suffering. The Indian medical doctor must also have his patients consider life as supernaturally dangerous as possible. The more fraught with danger he makes the affairs of everyday life, the more clients he has, and the more secure his position.

A most common cause of disease is the loss of the ghost or soul. The Seminoles believe in the existence of a double soul. One soul may leave the body in sleep and wander far afield while the other leaves the body only at death. The nightly adventures of the first soul are revealed in dreams. To discover the cause of sickness a medicine man must analyse dreams.

In order to explain the diagnosis through loss of the soul my informant drew a diagram on the ground to illustrate his conception of the subject. He was trying to show me graphically the Seminole theory of well-being, of disease, and of the final death and destruction of the soul. The world is considered as divided into four cardinal directions, north, south, east, and west. West is believed to be a ritually dangerous direction since the dead are thought to travel over the Milky Way (solopi heni—spirit or ghost road) to the west. The designation of the Milky Way as the path of the dead to the afterworld is an Indian idea which was found among most of the Southeastern tribes and even among some tribes of the Great Plains.

A.—First let us consider the situation at death. One soul or ghost goes up north and likes it there. The soul goes to the north and then continues around to the east. If, when it gets to the east, the medicine man is not able to call it back to its proper position (central) the ghost will go over the Milky Way to the west. As the city of the dead is located in the west this happening indicates the death of a person. Four days after death the second soul or ghost follows the first at night fall. This accounts for the four day mourning period in which all the relatives of the deceased must stay in their camps to wait for the final passing of the second soul to the afterworld. At this time, also, mourning chants are sung for the bereaved so that they may be permitted to forget their loss and to have life in the community restored to normalcy as soon as possible.

B.—If the soul wanders at night, goes to the north and then returns at dawn the person has merely been dreaming. This is in no sense an abnormal ghostly episode.

C.—My informant explained that sometimes the ghost enjoyed his nocturnal adventures so much that it refused to come back at dawn. When this happened the person who had dreamed suddenly found that his body became sick. Hence a medicine man always asks his patients first about their dreams. Upon learning from the dreams how the soul has been detained the medicine man obtains the proper herbs, mixes them in a pot, and sings the proper chants beseeching the soul to return. It is also important to blow his breath through the "medicine pipe," his "ammunition" as this power of breath is quaintly called. The medicine man believes that certain magical power comes from himself through the pipe and that this power is sufficient in most cases to retrieve the wandering soul.

Dreaming about fire may cause fever to their way of thinking. To illustrate this my wife and I once saw our medicine man friend sauntering down the Tamiami Trail with his blowing tube in his hand on the way to obtain some herbs. When asked what he would use them for he replied that his wife had told him that she had dreamed of fire. He accordingly was afraid that she might contract a bad fever. Medicine was necessary to prevent this contingency from occurring.

Aside from diagnosis by dreams there are many examples of diagnosis through observing bodily symptoms. In these cases the type of disease is often named after an animal. For instance, if a baby cries and scratches and never stops—similar to the actions of a monkey, he is thought to have monkey disease. The treatment is to sing a particular chant to the monkey and supposedly the child will be cured.

The dog disease is considered to be caused by both the dog and the buzzard, hence the chants are sung to make these creatures desist. The symptoms of this malady are stomach ache, loss of appetite, vomiting, and bad dreams. Along with the medicinal chants herbs are mixed and medicine prepared. Both together should produce a cure.

The actual curing of disease is brought about largely through the recitation of certain formulas, by the performance of certain rites, and by the concoction of herbal medicines in a specific manner. The cure is magical not strictly medicinal as among ourselves though Seminole herbal medicine is efficacious by itself in some instances. The Seminole doctor's theory of medicine springs from the belief that Man, the medicine man in particular, can control the baneful forces of disease and dispel them if only the diagnosis of the disorder can be ascertained. Some of the herbs used to effect a cure are sweet bay leaves (*otli*), willow (*hoaniči*), cedar leaf (*acini*), and sassafras.

Recent innovations due to closer contact with white people have changed the Seminole idea of medicine and curing. The medicine man now imitates the white doctors and I know of an instance where prepared drugs have been ordered from a wholesale drug company. These additions consist of herbs, barks, and roots, which white pharmacists had on their shelves at the turn of the century. Epsom salts have become quite a favorite and a store of bottles can be seen on the platform of the medicine man's chekee or dwelling. A greenish concoction for the relief of lumbago and dispensed by Dr. Pender of Everglades, also has had a wide following in the Indian world. Rubbing alcohol was also a favorite external but mostly internal medicine at one time, and the unwary white person still hears with monotonous regularity the Seminole plaint, "You got 'em lubbing alcohol," or, "You got 'em Epsom salts."

Magical practices still have a following among the Seminoles. There is a ceremony which they believe will produce rain by putting a pot in the ground and filling it with water and blowing the breath upon the water. Then the rain is called through chants. One must not eat all day long till the rain comes. To make the rain stop it is merely necessary to light tobacco pipes and blow smoke against the rain for ten or twenty minutes. The rain procuring ceremony is not confined to medicine men but can be produced by anyone, even the women, I was told.

Tobacco is frequently used for magical purposes among the American Indians. The Seminoles are no exception to the general rule. Tobacco is employed to ward off evil influences. For instance, some Indians once came to the camp of our medicine man friend from Miami and told him

that lots of fever raged in that city. He decided to make medicine in his camp to ward off the fever. To accomplish this he took two tablespoons of dried tobacco which he kept wrapped up in a rag. He proudly brought this rag and tobacco out and showed them to me. He said that this medicine was used on the occasion just mentioned. When he made this sort of medicine he did not sleep all night. He sang a song and then blew on the tobacco. Then he wrapped up the tobacco for a while and held it. This process was repeated four times during the course of the night. At daybreak some tobacco was placed in the pipe and smoked. Then he declared that fever had never come to his camp. A tobacco pipe is smoked, or was formerly smoked, to blow away hurricanes so that they would go around the Indian camps and hit somewhere else. This is a striking instance of the belief in the potency of supernatural power.

While my wife and I were watching the recital on the platform of his dwelling, he took out a splinter which he kept hid in the bag. After looking all around before talking, he said in a guarded tone that this was the strong thunder medicine which he had taken from a tree just after it had been split by lightning. A splinter taken under such circumstances is sure to be very powerful and its proximity to the tobacco further enhanced the potency of the plant.

Although black magic or sorcery is not employed by the modern Seminole medicine men to my knowledge, it is likely that at one time it was in full bloom. My informant indicated that he knew a medicine which would make a person sick. This sorcery is devised to make one contract a fever. To produce this effect the medicine man retires about half a mile from his camp. There he makes a fire at night and then sings songs. This is done when the person to be injured is asleep. The purpose of the songs is to call the intended victim's soul to the medicine man. When he gets the soul he puts it into the fire and burns it up. This severe treatment can be given to anyone in any camp no matter how far away the camp may be from the one where the medicine man is preparing his malevolent spell. On the following day the person cursed will have a fever which he cannot dispel and pretty soon he will die. The counter-magic to rid the patient of this mischief consists of songs intended to bring back the burnt soul. Frequent applications of cold water are given to calm the fever and reanimate the burnt soul. As soon as the soul has been revived the fever will vanish.

Aside from rituals dealing with curing one discovers certain rites which are used on occasion to produce definite desired results. For example, to keep from losing a new born baby if the mother has already lost children

before they reach maturity, the following rite is performed. When the baby is four or five weeks old a "doctor" makes a medicine fire with the logs pointing outwards in the four cardinal directions. Corn is then put in a pot which in turn is placed on the fire. One ear of corn is set on the end of each log at N, E, S, and W points. Then the corn is moved from the north to the west position. The ear is turned over and the baby's name is called out. Then one must slide the west corn to the south, turn the ear over and again call out the child's name. Then move the south corn ear to the east, turn the ear over and repeat the baby's name. Then the corn must be slid from the east position to the north again, it must be turned over and the baby's name repeated a final time. Then the child is placed on the ground and the doctor must pretend that he is looking everywhere for the child till at last it is found. This little rite is supposed to bind the baby to the mother's clan as well as to aid in bringing it to maturity.

At first I thought that these small rites might well be derived from the imagination of the medicine man but one morning when my wife and I went to a camp to take my informant and his wife to Ft. Myers, we saw one of the so-called "doctors" or minor practitioners holding a new born baby over the coals of the fire in the cook shed. A small bower of bay leaves had been placed in the coals and the baby was being immersed in the smoke from the bay leaves when we arrived. We asked for the meaning of this rite and were told that it was to keep the child from being lost when it left the camp for the first time.

An interesting avoidance occurs in connection with mentioning of recently widowed people of both sexes. Speaking of widows is dangerous. The belief is that if you talk too much about widows your wife will die. Widows are obliged to eat by themselves. At the annual Green Corn Dance a widower strips the clothes from a recently made widow, or at least most of her clothes, throws them away and then she obtains new ones. Our friend had a widow staying at his camp, his wife's sister. He would neither make medicine for her or for her infant child. He would speak to her only sparingly as necessity demanded. A widow remains in a ritually unclean state for a certain length of time, her hair is let down, and her beads are removed. She becomes an active member of her group again after being ceremonially readmitted at the Green Corn Dance.

The Green Corn Dance or world renewal ceremony is well known in outline to most people who know anything about Seminole life. The dance is performed as a new year festival much in the same manner as did the Creek Indians from whom they are descended. For this dance

new clothes are made by the women for their entire family. Old fires in the camps are allowed to die out and a new fire is kindled by resort to the ancient fire drill instead of using matches. Then again, the new corn crop cannot be eaten by the men till they have been made ritually pure for its reception.

Another striking feature is the scratching of the men and boys with an instrument made of bone in which teeth of the gar fish have been inserted. This allows the blood to flow freely and supposedly cleanses the blood and the men who partake of the rite. Likewise, taking a concoction of herbs which induces vomiting is supposed to cleanse the stomach for the reception of the green corn. A ball game is played between the girls and boys, stomp dances are held, and a feast of beef looms prominently in the festivities.

Unfortunately the Green Corn Dance which I attended was a degenerate variety of the original Creek ceremonial but the essential features were still present.

A revolution in the ceremonial life of the Seminoles is now in progress. Just as surely as increased Indian-White contact continues, their old values will gradually sink in importance and allure. The older generation will find it increasingly difficult to instill youth with the zest and fire of the old Seminole life which has lingered on since the time when these people were left to fend for themselves after the close of the Seminole wars. Each death of a Seminole elder brings a fresh irretrievable loss of lore and the knowledge of old ceremonies now in the process of change and distortion. The need for penetrating linguistic studies and further data on Seminole customs is pressing. Before long the old civilization of the Seminole with all of its colorful contrasts will be, to all intents and purposes, as dead as the proverbial dodo.

Food Plants of the DeSoto Expedition

1539 - 1543

by ADIN BABER

FOUR hundred years ago, Hernando De Soto, the Spanish explorer led nearly seven hundred men, four white women, at times a few hundred Indian men and women, a few colored slaves, about two hundred fifty horses, some mules, a drove of hogs, possibly some cattle, and a pack of dogs on an exploratory march through Florida, or what is now a dozen of the southeastern states. After the first few months, all the food was obtained from the country through which the expedition passed.

He first established a base of supplies on Tampa Bay near Bradenton, Florida, and later moved it to what possibly is now St. Marks, when he made his first winter camp just west of the place which is now Tallahassee. By spring, most of the supplies that had been brought in the ships had been consumed. He planned to make a reconnaissance march into the interior and return to the bay, now named Mobile, to replenish them from the supply of the ships. However, he subsequently learned that his army could live off the country. After the famous battle with the Indians of Mobile, he turned away from the coast and spent three more years in the unmapped wilderness.

Of course these Spanish adventurers would have been almost helpless, so far as gathering food plants and subsisting on them was concerned, had it not been for their Indian guides, prisoners, and camp followers. The food plants and vegetables of this continent entirely differed from old world plants in pre-colonial days, and just what was edible could not have been known by the white men. What was lacking in knowledge was made up in hunger and the hardihood to try anything. Many things were tried out as food, and notes were made of it. It is from four different journals, contemporary records, diaries of early travelers, and findings of the earlier botanists, that we can know fairly well what definitely was eaten, what probably was eaten, and what possibly was eaten.

Any Boy Scout can name the game animals, birds, fish, and insects, that made up the meat dishes of the early Indians, and we know that

some of the increase of the swine herd was eaten, so we pass over much of that. Let us see: On the ships that sailed from Havana for Tampa Bay, there was included in the cargoes: 3000 loads Cacabi, *Manihot esculenta*, or Cassava, *Palmata aipi*, 2500 shoulders of bacon, 2500 fanegas of corn, *Zea mays*. There was clothing of all kinds, shoes, etc., arms of all kinds: shields, helmets, etc., ships supplies: sails, ropes, pitch, tallow, etc. There were garden seeds which were to be planted when the first landing was made, "Lettuce, radishes, and other garden stuff."

Had the Spaniards landed in lower Florida, they might have found the Coco plums, *Chrysobalanus icaco*, but these are not mentioned. I do not know if they tasted Sea grapes, *Coccolobis uvifera*, but we know definitely that the "first to land and explore around brought back on board the ships many green grapes (*Vitis vulpina*) and grass for horses." The Guava, *Psidium guajava*, they did not find, but some of them may have tasted it in Central America. All disembarked, and some exploring round about, may have found the Papaya, *Carica papaya*, for it was growing wild in north Florida, in 1774.

In the middle of July 1539, the expedition left the shores of Tampa Bay, and following a trail that later probably developed into the old country road of recent days, went by the Lake of the Rabbit (Lake Mango?) and the Lake of the Flints (Thonotosassa); and, after a torrid march, reached some cultivated fields of the Indians, probably near present Richland, where the first green corn was eaten.

The next few days were spent wandering through the morasses of the Withlacoochee River swamps. If these were finally crossed where there is now a sand road just south of Tsala Apopka Lake, no growing gardens were found to plunder, and the members of the expedition ran out of all supplies, including the emergency rations, "biscuits and cheese." In this extremity they ate "roots roasted and others boiled with salt." Now these could have been the Arrow Head, *Sagittaria variables*, or the Swamp Potatoes, *Sagittoria lorata*, such as Cabeza de Vaca, of the ill-fated Narvaez expedition, had to dig while a prisoner of the Indians; or it may have been the roots of the American Lotus, *Nelumbo lutea*. When the villages were found, "Blites" were gathered and stewed in salt water. Now Blites is translated from Spanish Bledo, the Italian is Bledum, meaning in Europe a member of the Chenopodiums; but this genus of plants was not native to this country, or not many of them; so we must determine some "Greens" native to Florida swampland and growing in July and August. It may have been one of the Portulaca, *Sesuvium*

portulacastrum, or *Salicornia ambigua*, or Sea Goosefoot, *Chenopodium maritima*.

July 26, 1539, As soon as the Withlacoochee River itself was crossed, they came upon the Cabbage Palms, *Sabal palmetto*, the hearts of which were eaten. Others ate young corn stalks, and immature ears of corn on the cob. Maybe some ate the fruit of the Saw Palmetto, *Serenoa serrulata*, or the pith of another native palm, *Sabal minor*. Meantime, De Soto, who had gone on ahead with some of the mounted troops, came upon an abundance of provisions near present Ocala, and sent some back by "pack mules to the main army." This was "corn, of which there was much ripe, and other provisions." No doubt, there was the product of the Coonti, *Zamia floridana*, which the Indians alone knew how to prepare; a Spaniard had sampled one of the raw roots and died. For the first time on the trip, they had Beans, of which the Indians grew about all the present known varieties.

These may have been the dolichos, *Dolichos lablab*, for this variety later was seen in that section by the botanist, Romans. And they may have been of the Hyacinth of which there were two species indigenous to Florida. For seasoning these beans were cooked with "little dogs" and wild pepper, and this was no doubt the first hot dogs served to white men in America, July 29, 1539.

August 11, 1539, our Spaniards being well-fed and feeling good, went northward up into the Alachua country where a variation was added to the daily diet of corn. They ate "Chestnuts, but the trees that bear them are only two palms high and they grow in prickly burrs." Now we are on solid ground botanically; these were chinquapins, *Castanea alnifolia*. Striking the trails that crossed the Sante Fe and Suwanee Rivers, as later named, we follow what later became the Spanish Highway across northern Florida, northwest into the Tallahassee country where, as previously mentioned, the first winter camp was established, October 8.

Many provisions were now laid in, including maize, Ranjel distinctly says "Kidney beans," *Phaseolus vulgaris*, dried plums, *Prunus umbellata*, and pumpkins. The pumpkins were described by Elvas at being more "savory" than European ones, *Curcubita moschata*. In one of the books by Dr. Charles T. Simpson, pumpkins raised by the Seminole Indians, are described as being unusually small and sweet. I think he must be describing the same kind that the Spaniards tasted, because one time when I solicited Indian Anna to purchase garden seed, she briefly said, "No." An interpreter explained that the Indians made a practice of raising their own seeds year after year. Confirming that: The Department

of Agriculture recently collected thirty-three different strains of corn from different Indian tribes. (Chromosomes of Maize from North American Indians Vol. 56 No. 3.) Also was gathered and eaten "Grain like coarse millet" and, at a later period Romans mentions two varieties of edible Panicum. One American vegetable they did not have was the potato, *Solanum tuberosum*. These had not been introduced from South America.

The Spaniards could have learned to prepare properly the St. Johns coonti, *Zamia pumila*, although they had a starchy diet in the ever available corn. In the summer, it had been eaten roasted green in the husk, boiled on the cob, and pounded green for a porridge. By now, the corn was dry and use could have been made of the many mortars the Indians had (Cabeza de Vaca 1528) for grinding it into meal for mush, or it was pulverized into a paste for cooking on the hot stones. The Spaniards had brought along garden tools, and maybe iron hoes were then used to bake the first "hoe cakes." Then there was hominy made with the ash lye; or the corn was boiled with beans for frijoles. Corn was boiled, roasted, and pounded into flour; or it was crushed and sifted through cane baskets, the coarse part boiled with pumpkin, or beans, or bean leaves, then thickened with the fine corn flour, and the whole mass seasoned with soda lye ashes, to make the famous Sagamite.

No doubt all this was washed down with copious Calabash gourdfulls, *Curcubita lagenaria*, of a good American tea Dahoon, *Ilex cassine*, but I am sure that these hardy souls could scarcely stomach the drink made from "Fruit like a bean," the infamous black drink Yaupon, *Ilex vomitoria*. Then, unknowingly anticipating press agent Raleigh, they filled their new pipes with a soothing blend of tobacco, *Nicotiana tabacum*, and sumac, *Rhus copallina*, and relaxed before the blazing logs of turpentine pine knots.

Then spring came at last. The Live Oaks, *Quercus virginiana*, put out flowers and young leaves and ambition stirred this first group of winter visitors to Florida. They quaffed the great spring beverage and named it sassafras, *Sassafras officinale*. March 3, 1540, packing their remaining maize, they set off up the Flint River valley into what is now Georgia. They camped the first night out in a pine wood, *Pinus rigida*, or perhaps *Pinus taeda*, or *Pinus echinata*, and the second, in a "Land with bushes," Oak scrub, *Quercus nigra*, and in a week came to a place called "Catachequi" where there were plenty of supplies. Among these in this section were "corn cakes and young onions," which Ranjel says, "were just like those of Castille, as big as end of thumb." It may be a moot question

just which *Allium* this was, but I shall venture *Allium continuum*.

By the end of April, having travelled in a northeasterly direction and crossed a few rivers, they were lost and famished, and reduced to a vegetable diet of again "Unknown herbs and greens gathered in the woods," perhaps, *Smilax laurifolia*. There were found quantities of mulberries, *Morus rubra*, and of all good things to eat, the strawberries, *Fragaria virginiana*, and not edible but enjoyable were "Countless roses at the sides of the trails," *Rosa carolina*. They arrived at the Savannah River near the falls (Augusta, Ga.) where Gallegos located seven cribs full of corn, and all was well again. The Indians here lived on "Roots of herbs which they seek in the open fields," perhaps, *Smilax beyrichii*. Surely there were the blackberries, the small ones, *Rubus trivialis*.

Turning north towards the mountains they found the population thin and the food scarce. They fell back on corn and little dogs, but after crossing the Blue Ridge into now western North Carolina, they were met by twenty Indians carrying twenty baskets of the mulberries, and an enormous amount of them were eaten. Coming into what is now east Tennessee they entered a veritable land of milk and honey. There were hickory nut milk, *Hicoria alba*, and, believe it or not, honey, and calabash gourds, *Curcubita texana*, of hickory nut oil, and bear fat, for cooking.

The hickory nuts were crushed and allowed to set and settle. The cream or oil that raised was skimmed off and used as oil for cooking, or as a spread like butter. In this Tennessee valley, they rested a month while the horses were permitted to graze in the good Blue Grass, *Poa pratensis*, or Red Top, *Agrostis alba*. Two centuries later the cattlemen were grazing herds in these valleys. There was plenty of corn, and cooking beans, *Phaseolus vulgaris*, that had grown on high vines.

August 30, 1540, leaving the Tennessee River they bore southwardly to the Coosa River in Alabama, where were found most excellent grapes. One man was lost who wandered away to search for possibly the original wild scuppernongs, *Muscadinia rotundifolia*.

Fall began to approach as Mobile Bay was neared, October 16th. Bread made from chestnuts, *Castanea pumila*, was eaten. Here occurred the bloody battle of Mavilla, the greatest battle of all time on this continent between white men and the Indians. All provisions were lost, and De Soto would not go on to Mobile Bay and receive supplies, but turned the army northward up the Tombigbee valley. Oil was had from the chestnuts, to mix with corn meal, which was captured with other supplies before winter quarters were established in now northern Mississippi.

Here were the Chicasaw plums, small and sour, *Prunus angustifolia*, the wild sweet potato, *Ipomoea pandurata*, and the sunflower seeds, *Helianthus gigantea*, which pounded into flour and mixed with cornmeal made a bread. Also there was an abundance of acorns, *Quercus virginiana* and *Quercus nigra*, which were crushed and the bitter elements washed away to make flour. Also there were many walnuts, *Juglans rupestris*.

Spring came again, the spring of 1541, and forth fared the Christians to plunder the Indian granaries of corn, on their march westward where they came upon and discovered the Mississippi River, Saturday, May 21, 1541, at about present Frior's Point, perhaps. After building boats and crossing, they marched northwest until they came to a "—plain upon which grew a plant so rank and big" that the horses could not break through. If this was the prairie bluestem, *Andropogon furcatus* Muhl, far later travellers had the same difficulty. Soon they arrived in a territory where there were no provisions but meat, as the Indians did not plant truck patches, on account of the buffaloes trampling them. Upon turning southward, they came into the rich river margins where there grew an abundance of provisions, and also salt was found, September 6th. Here they ate the Jerusalem artichoke, which is neither an artichoke, nor from Jerusalem, but a sunflower, *Helianthus tuberosus*.

Soon after visiting the "Hot streams" where were Indians gathered from many tribes, as do their white successors, they went into their third winter quarters in what is now Arkansas, where there was plenty of firewood and food: Persimmons, *Diospyros virginiana*, which dried made into a kind of bread; grapes, *Vitis cordifolia*; plums, *Prunus americana*; and a new winter drink if they liked, made by the Indians from fermented honey locust seed pods, *Gleditsia triacanthos*.

The warm spring of 1542 crept into those Ozark hills, and the farrowing sows had multiplied the hog crop into seven hundred head. These were auctioned off among the effects of the redoubtable leader, De Soto, after his death, on the west bank of the Mississippi River, May 21, 1542. These were the first swine to be fattened on good American corn, and mast.

The leadership now fell to Moscoso, and it was agreed by the chief men to try to march westward through what is now called Louisiana and Texas to reach Mexico. Accordingly, they set out, stopping long enough on the way to make salt, and finally arrived at the Red River, where was found much food among the Caddo Indians. Passing on into Texas, they heard reports of other Christians, and an Indian said, "They were travelling about near there." Perhaps this was the Coronado expe-

dition. After the cross timbers were passed, food and corn became more and more scarce, and it was decided to return to the Mississippi Valley where there was much corn, and go into winter camp. This was done, December 1542.

Again through the winter, they subsisted upon all the Indian food products of the Mississippi River valley, using the time to build boats in which to descend the river. A great Spring of 1543 flood detained them, and it was not until July 2nd that they started down the river on the last long, but successful, journey that took them into the Gulf of Mexico, where they skirted the coastline, and reached Panuco, Mexico on September 10, 1543.

Thus was tested for four years the original American diet.

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The Administrative System in the Floridas, 1781 - 1821

by *DUVON CLOUGH CORBITT*

UPON superficial examination of the administrative system used in the Floridas during the second Spanish period, it would appear to have been simplicity itself. On closer investigation, however, it proves to have been about as complicated as Spanish genius could make it with the material at hand. The traditional check and balance system was there in all its glory, not only in the provinces of East and West Florida themselves, but in the relations of their officers with the higher authorities. Loosely joined together under a common chief (who was also either captain general of Cuba or viceroy of New Spain), and placed in a precarious position with respect to the Indians and other neighbors, the Floridas presented special problems, the study of which reveals at the same time the strength and the weakness of Spanish institutions. And finally, the attempts to apply the Spanish Constitution of 1812 to the provinces (1812-1814 and 1820-1821) produced results of a nature not to be found elsewhere in the Spanish dominions. The purpose of the present study is to outline the regular administration in the Florida provinces, and to follow it up with another on the effects of the constitutional system.

The Captaincy General of Louisiana and the Floridas

WHEN in 1779 Spain decided to take part in the American Revolution, her province of Louisiana was attached to the captaincy general of Cuba. The governor of the province was responsible to the captain general in Havana, but he enjoyed and exercised the right of corresponding directly with the supreme authorities in Spain. The incumbent at the time was the young and energetic Bernardo de Gálvez, who upon hearing of the declaration of war, seized the initiative and attacked the British posts along the Mississippi. By March of 1780 Manchak, Baton Rouge, Natchez and Mobile were in his

hands, and preparations were under way for an attack on Pensacola. He was rewarded for his activity by an appointment to govern Louisiana and the newly-conquered territory with complete independence from the captain general of Cuba, and since Pensacola was expected to be in possession of the Spaniards soon, its district was added to the new jurisdiction. The appointment, dated February 12, 1781, reads:

The King, having considered the great extent acquired by the Province of Louisiana through the conquests that you have made of the English Forts and Settlements on the Mississippi and at Mobile, and having in mind the decorum with which you should be treated as Commander-in-Chief of the Army of Operations at Havana; has been pleased to decree that, for the present, and while you govern Mobile and Louisiana, their administration shall be independent of the Captaincy General of the Island of Cuba, and that Pensacola and its district shall be added to your jurisdiction as soon as they are occupied by the forces of the King, who fully authorizes you to govern and defend them through Substitutes during your absence.¹

Gálvez's first step in his new capacity was to inform Colonel Pedro Piernas, his subordinate in New Orleans, of the change. Although nothing was said about the creation of a captaincy general, colonial officials assumed that such was the intention,² and later events proved that they had judged correctly. The term was officially adopted a few years later (in 1784) when East Florida was added to the new jurisdiction.

East Florida, however, seems to have been first organized as a separate administrative unit, from the tenor of the royal order appointing Vicente Manuel de Zéspedes to take over its government from the British authorities. The order conferred on Zéspedes

the Government and captaincy general of the City of St. Augustine and the *Provincias de Florida*, with an Annual Salary of four thousand pesos (for the present) payable from the Royal Treasury, and the Rank of Brigadier in the Royal Armies.³

Although in the copy of the order in the Archivo Nacional de Cuba the word *Provincias* appears in the plural, it seems likely that only East Florida was intended. This is indicated by the fact that Zéspedes never tried to assume jurisdiction over anything farther west than the St. Marks region. What was intended by the term "captaincy general" is uncertain. It is possible that the home authorities planned to set up a government in East Florida equal in rank to that in Louisiana and West Florida, but it is more likely that the term was used to indicate that

1. Archivo Nacional de Cuba (hereinafter cited as A.N.C.), Floridas, legajo 2, no.

1. The copy here is one sent to Pedro Piernas on August 18, 1781.

2. Miró to Gálvez, April 9, 1792, *ibid.*, legajo 3, no. 7.

3. A copy of the order, dated October 31, 1783, is in *ibid.*, legajo 10, no. 6.

Zéspedes was the commander of all troops in the territory. Later governors were occasionally referred to by that title. On the other hand, the term "captaincy general" may have been used carelessly by the persons who drafted the order. Numerous examples of such carelessness might be cited from Spanish colonial documents.⁴

If a new captaincy general was intended, a change of heart was soon wrought in the Peninsular authorities, for Bernardo de Gálvez was given jurisdiction over a captaincy general consisting of Louisiana and both Floridas.⁵ At the time he was also made captain general of Cuba and given the promise of the viceroyalty of New Spain when it should become vacant. According to the historian Pezuela, this promise was given because Bernardo's father, Matías de Gálvez, then viceroy was in very bad health. When the ship bearing Bernardo to Cuba touched at Puerto Rico, the young captain general learned of his father's death. The three months that he spent in Cuba, beginning February 4, 1785, was only a period of preparation for the transfer to New Spain, much to the disappointment of the Cubans who had been looking forward to his administration of their island.⁶

Louisiana and the Floridas seem to have been considered in Spain as a monopoly of Bernardo de Gálvez, for, although another captain general was appointed to Cuba, they continued under his command until his death on November 30, 1786. The personal factor is clearly indicated by the disposition of those provinces after his decease, when a royal *cédula* transferred the captaincy general of Louisiana and the Floridas from the viceroy of New Spain to José de Ezpeleta who was then governing Cuba. The *cédula* enumerated the following reasons for the change: (1) the "particular merit, services, activities, and military ability" of Ezpeleta; (2) his "zeal and love" for the royal service; (3) the fact that he was "the only Executive Officer who could give the assistance, and speedy succor needed by Louisiana and the Floridas."⁷ A fourth reason might have been given: the difficulty of communication between those provinces and Spain by way of Mexico City.

4. The results of a recent study of the use of the term "*capitania general*" in connection with Cuba have not been entirely satisfactory. See D. C. Corbitt, *The Colonial Government of Cuba* (Manuscript Ph.D. thesis in the library of the University of North Carolina).

5. Jacobo de la Pezuela, *Historia de la Isla de Cuba* (4 vols.; Madrid: 1869-1878), III, 199.

6. *Ibid.*, III, 199-200. Pezuela, *Diccionario de la Isla de Cuba* (4 vols.; Madrid: 1863), II, 382-383.

7. A.N.C., Floridas, legajo 10, no. 9. The *cédula* is dated March 3, 1787.

In order to prevent exasperating delays, Gálvez had found it necessary to authorize his subordinates in New Orleans, Pensacola and St. Augustine to communicate directly with Spain, simply sending him duplicates of their correspondence. This privilege allowed to his subordinates was not new in Spanish administration: It had been more or less an unwritten law of the Spanish government to learn about colonial affairs from more than one source. There was not an officer of importance in the colonies but had an associate or a subordinate who exercised the privilege of writing directly to the home government. Gálvez himself, while governor of Louisiana, had been very active in the enjoyment of this right. Between 1777 and 1781 he had sent 462 letters to the Minister of the Indies and only 304 to his immediate superior, the captain general of Cuba. Those to the captain general were often duplicates or summaries of those sent to Spain, but a careful perusal of the correspondence shows that much was written home which the captain general did not hear about. Even if Gálvez had forbidden his subordinates in Louisiana and the Floridas this right, it is very likely that the Spanish government would have overruled his orders.⁸

The experience of Ezpeleta amounts to almost positive proof of this assertion. His appointment as captain general of Louisiana and the Floridas removed any necessity for direct communication between those provinces and Spain, since mail between them had necessarily to pass through Havana. Realizing this fact, and desiring naturally to increase his control of the new jurisdiction, Ezpeleta ordered the practice stopped on the ground that it was no longer necessary.⁹ His attitude was logical, but the home government wanted as many checks on its colonial officers as possible and his order was countermanded.

The wisdom of combining the government of Louisiana and the Floridas with that of Cuba was questioned by Governor Estevan Miró of Louisiana in a letter to the ministry of January 11, 1787. He believed that he himself should have been given the office of captain general, but the ministry thought otherwise. The decision was made for administrative reasons and not because of any lack of confidence in Miró's ability, as is demonstrated by the fact that upon the retirement of Intendant Martín Navarro of Louisiana early the next year the duties of the latter were

8. See the letterbooks of Bernardo de Gálvez, *ibid.*, legajo 15, nos. 77 and 79.

9. Ezpeleta to Valdés, December 6, 1787, A.G.I., Papeles de Cuba, 86-6-16 (transcript in the McClung Collection, Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville, Tennessee). A translation appears in the East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications*, No. 12 (1940), pp. 116-117. See also A.N.C., Floridas, legajo 3, no. 7 and legajo 10, no. 6.

given to the governor along with the corresponding increase in salary.¹⁰

A few years later Miró's successor, the Baron de Carondelet, developed a similar ambition to be captain general. In this he had the support of his brother-in-law, Captain General Luis de las Casas of Cuba, and that of Diego de Gardoqui, then Secretary of Treasury. In 1795 the king authorized his minister Godoy to erect Louisiana and the Floridas into a *comandancia* whenever he saw fit to do so and the next year Las Casas authorized Carondelet to act as *comandante general interino*. He filled this position from December, 1796 to August, 1797, when the continental provinces were returned to their former status. In 1801 Captain General Someruelos of Cuba recommended a separate government for them, but the cession of Louisiana to France was then pending and nothing was done about the suggestion.¹¹

What appears to have been the last attempt to separate the Floridas from dependence on the captain general in Havana was made in 1807. Governor Vicente Folch of West Florida suggested the appointment of such an officer in the Florida provinces and went so far as to nominate himself for the position, alleging his long experience on that frontier. The home authorities, however, had other opinions on the subject and Folch's proposal was passed up.¹²

The loss of Louisiana to Spain reduced the captaincy general to East and West Florida, but Spain managed to keep a hold on the territory as far west as the Mississippi until the revolution of 1811 in West Florida, at which time the Perdido River became the *de facto* boundary, though the Spaniards in the province continued to claim the Mississippi boundary for some time to come.¹³

The captaincy general of the Floridas was temporarily destroyed by the application of the Spanish Constitution of 1812. By that famous document all chiefs of provinces were transformed into *jefes superiores politicos*, and an attempt was made to separate political from military functions. If the Florida provinces had contained sixty thousand inhabitants each they would have been entitled to a *jefe superior politico* in each of their capitals, but together they could muster scarcely a sixth of that number. Therefore, East and West Florida were attached to the

10. *Ibid.*, Reales Ordenes, VIII, pp. 523-524.

11. A. P. Whitaker, *The Mississippi Question, 1795-1803* (New York and Boston: 1934), p. 29. See also chapter II, note 3.

12. I. J. Cox, *The West Florida Controversy, 1798-1813* (Baltimore, 1918), pp. 214-215. Folch's letter to Godoy on the subject was dated August 8, 1807, *ibid.* p. 215, note 41.

13. A.N.C., Floridas, legajo 13, no. 8.

province of Havana as mere districts (*partidos*) and their respective governors became simple *jefes políticos*, a term used to designate subordinate officers representing the *jefes superiores* in important cities. This was in 1812. The next year, when the *Diputación Provincial* of Havana¹⁴ met to decide on the permanent status of the Floridas, it was voted to further reduce them to mere parishes of the *partido* attached to the city of Havana because they did not have the five thousand persons necessary to be rated as districts. This change was to take effect in 1815 but the Floridas escaped this additional humiliation because Ferdinand VII returned to the throne of Spain and abolished the Constitution, with whose abrogation they rose again to the status of provinces, and together made up the captaincy general of the Floridas. The *jefe superior político* in Havana became captain general and the *jefes políticos* in Pensacola and St. Augustine resumed their governorships. It should be mentioned, however, that custom was strong, and the constitutional period so short, that the time-honored titles were used even in many official documents even when the Constitution was in effect. Such combinations as "*capitán general jefe superior político*" and "*gobernador militar y jefe político*," were in frequent use at the time and indicate the confusion that reigned.

The restored regime lasted until the 1820 revolution in Spain reinstated the Constitution. This automatically abolished the captaincy general and reduced the Florida provinces once more to districts, or *partidos* of the Cuban province of Havana. The question of further reducing them to parishes because of insufficient population was again suggested, but before it was acted upon orders came to hand over the Floridas to the United States.¹⁵

Complications in the business of administering the captaincy general of the Floridas were due to a number of circumstances. In the first place it was not self-supporting and depended upon a *situado*, or subsidy from New Spain to make up the annual deficit. Since Cuba depended on a similar subsidy, the captain general in Havana could not supply the deficiency in the Floridas from his island jurisdiction. Any naval forces used, except a few galleys and gunboats built for river and coastwise service, were under the command of the *comandante general del apostadero* of Havana, who was the commander of the Spanish West Indies

14. Each province had an advisory and legislative body called a *diputación provincial*. It is proposed to treat this body in more detail in the study of the effects of the Constitution on the Floridas.

15. A.N.C., Gobierno Superior Civil, legajo 861, no. 29160. *Diario del Gobierno Constitucional de la Habana*, December 6, 1820.

Fleet. Some of the naval commanders were very jealous of their positions, and consequently were often at cross purposes with the captains general.¹⁶

The right of the governors to correspond directly with the home government has been mentioned. In judicial matters there was always the possibility of an appeal to the *audiencia* in Puerto Príncipe (now Camagüey), Cuba. Still more troublesome were the handling of Indian affairs and the relations of the Florida officials with the intendant in Havana, topics that have been reserved for separate treatment.

The Intendancy of Louisiana and West Florida

THE disasters of the Seven Years' War led Spain to make a number of changes in her colonial system, including the introduction of intendancies into America. The creation of the Cuban intendancy in 1764 led the way. Louisiana followed in 1780 with the appointment of Martín Navarro as indendant on February 24. As Spanish dominion was extended over West Florida, Navarro's jurisdiction extended until all the province came under his financial supervision by 1781.

In Cuba the indendant was an officer equal in rank to the captain general, and independent of him. In New Spain, on the other hand, the viceroy with the title of superintendent was in charge of the financial administration. The Louisiana plan was a kind of compromise between those of Cuba and New Spain. The governor there controlled land grants until 1798. He was also responsible for Indian affairs,¹ but was obliged to consult the intendant in cases involving finance, such as duties on the fur trade, permits for commerce with foreign countries to secure Indian goods, and licenses for the use of foreign ships to haul these goods as well as the furs. It was necessary to spend thousands of dollars each year to keep the friendship of the Indians, and this called for the joint action of the governor and the intendant also.²

16. Pezuela, *Historia de la Isla de Cuba*, III, 115-119. José María Zamora, *Biblioteca de la legislación española* (Madrid: 1844-1849), III, 334-345. See Corbitt, *The Colonial Government of Cuba*, chapter II. From 1812 to 1816 the captain general was also the naval commander. This was probably due to the fact that the incumbent, Juan Ruíz de Apodaca, had been a naval officer.

1. A. P. Whitaker, *The Mississippi Question, 1795-1803*, p. 30 and chapter II, note 6.

2. See the correspondence of Miró, Navarro, McGillivray and Panton in *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, XXI, No. 1 (March, 1937). pp. 72-83. For similar documents see D. C. and Roberta Corbitt (eds.), "Papers Relating to Tennessee and the Old Southwest, 1783-1800," East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications* for the years 1937 to 1941.

Upon the promulgation of the *Ordenanza de intendentes* for New Spain in 1786, the Louisiana intendant was instructed to follow it in so far as was practicable, with the reservation, however, that of the four *causas* mentioned therein — *justicia, policía, hacienda y guerra* — only two, *hacienda y guerra*, were to come under his jurisdiction, justice and police being especially charged to the care of the governor.³ There were many matters calling for the joint action of the two officers; yet, they seem to have coöperated without much friction. For example, the comment by Miró on his relations with Navarro on the question of a change of Indian policy: "It is my plan, to which the intendant, with whom I always proceed in accord in Indian affairs, agrees . . ."⁴ Professor Whitaker's careful study revealed the same kind of coöperation during the administration of Francisco Rendón (1794-1796).⁵ Not until the appointment of a man with a contentious turn did the harmonious relations between governor and intendant cease, i.e., Juan Ventura Morales, of whom more later.

Such cordial relations may have resulted from the instructions sent to the first intendant, Martín Navarro, putting him in subordination to the governor.⁶ It is remarkable, however, that this was done because a few days previous to the signing of the instruction an order to the captain general of Cuba concerning his relations with the intendant in Havana stated that the king desired to have

treated with decorum an officer like the *intendente de ejército y real hacienda*, who is so important to His Majesty that in him is vested the collection, preservation, and disbursement of all branches of the revenue, with complete independence of you; and . . . who is a *jefe principal*, without other superior than the *Superintendente General de Real Hacienda de Indias*.⁷

Navarro retired from the Louisiana intendency in 1788, at which time Governor Miró was invested with the powers of the office.⁸ The inclusion of the phrase, "for the present," in Miró's commission as intendant sug-

3. Instructions of June 7, 1799 to Ramón López de Angulo, A.N.C., Floridas, legajo 16, no. 126. The *Ordenanza de intendentes* appears in Zamora, *Biblioteca de legislación ultramarina*, III, 371-388.

4. Miró to Sonora, June 1, 1787, East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications*, No. 11 (1939), pp. 77-78.

5. Whitaker, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

6. *Ibid.*, Chapter II, note 6.

7. W. W. Pierson, "Establishment and Early Functioning of the *Intendencia* of Cuba," *James Sprunt Historical Studies*, XIX, No. 3, p. 93. Carlos de Sedano y Cruzat, *Cuba desde 1850 á 1873* (Madrid: 1873), p. 60.

8. A copy of Miró's commission is in A.N.C., Reales Ordenes, VIII, pp. 523-524.

gests that the union of the offices was looked on as temporary; nevertheless, it was continued until well into the term of Miró's successor, the Baron de Carondelet. In 1793 there was appointed another intendant, Francisco Rendón, who reached his post early the next year.⁹ According to Professor Whitaker this move was made in order to insure the operation of the new commercial system promulgated the year before.¹⁰ No further combination of the offices of governor and intendant occurred until long after Louisiana had passed from Spanish control.

The last occupant of the intendency in New Orleans was Juan Ventura Morales, who achieved lasting fame by his action in closing the American deposit at New Orleans; in fact, he might be called the last of the Louisiana-Florida intendants for, with the exception of an occasional suspension from office after he went to Pensacola, he held the position until its abolition in 1817. Morales became acting intendant of Louisiana and West Florida in 1796 on the retirement of Rendón. Ramón López de Angulo, a full-fledged intendant, succeeded him in 1800, but was summarily removed the next year upon his violation of the laws by marrying a New Orleans girl named Marie Delphine Macarty.¹¹ Morales again became provisional intendant and held office until the Spanish colors were struck in 1803. As a matter of fact, he remained in Louisiana three years longer, refusing to leave until expelled by the American authorities.

For some time after the lowering of the flag Morales and the other Spanish officials in New Orleans were at a loss what to do because no definite orders were sent to govern their conduct. But Morales stayed long after such orders came. He may have hoped for another diplomatic shake-up which would return Louisiana to Spain. Doubtless, he did not relish the idea of living at the frontier post of Pensacola after his taste of more attractive life in New Orleans. Furthermore, in Pensacola he would drop to the level of Governor Vicente Folch y Juan who, as *subdelegado* of the intendency, had long been his subordinate. Moreover, these two officers had developed an antipathy for each other that approximated hatred, and matters did not mend after the Americans took over Louisiana. Morales continued to give orders from New Orleans as

9. Gardoqui to the intendant of Cuba (Pablo Valiente), October 30, 1793, *ibid.*, Floridas, legajo 14, no. 48. Whitaker, *op. cit.*, chapter II, note 7.

10. *Ibid.*, note 7. Professor Whitaker cited a memorandum by Gardoqui dated May 25, 1793.

11. Whitaker, *op. cit.*, p. 161 gives an account of the López y Angulo affair. A copy of the order removing him from office is in A.N.C., Reales Ordenes, XV, p. 59.

though Folch were still his subordinate, to the confusion of the commandant at Mobile and others. Contradictory orders were issued about trade through that port with the American territory up the river.¹² The climax to the situation was reached in January, 1806, when Governor C. C. Claibourne peremptorily ordered Morales to leave Louisiana, and Folch flatly refused to allow him to land at Pensacola, forcing him to leave the port with his goods and papers, and to disembark at Mobile.¹³ Naturally Morales protested to Spain and he was ordered to proceed at once to Pensacola and assume the authority of intendant of the province. Both he and Folch were admonished to "try to preserve the best of harmony, and to avoid disputes and contentions."¹⁴

But Morales willed it otherwise. Even before this admonition reached him he was accusing Folch of making innovations in the financial administration of West Florida and proceeded to take matters into his own hands as far as the western part of the province was concerned, issuing orders to the officers commanding the troops on the Pascagoula River. The officers appealed to Folch, who informed the intendant that only the commandant at Mobile had such a right. Mutual recriminations followed until the latter appealed to Spain. The king commanded all documents concerning the quarrel to be forwarded to him for examination,¹⁵ and in the meantime Morales was off on another tack with Folch.

Before Morales' arrival in Pensacola the finances of West Florida had been administered by the traditional *oficiales reales* in the form of an accountant and a treasurer, supervised by the governor as *subdelegado* of the intendency in New Orleans. In addition to the *oficiales* there were clerks, warehousemen, porters, etc., many of whom were also officers or soldiers of the garrison.¹⁶ With the transfer of the seat of the intendency to Pensacola in 1806, the number of clerks and minor employees in the financial department increased, and there was added an *asesor*, or legal adviser.

This appointment is interesting because the first *asesor* was José Francisco Heredia, the father of the famous Cuban poet, José María Heredia. Thus it came about that the poet lived in Pensacola between the ages of three and seven, his favorite sister, Ignacia, being born there in 1808. Of more importance to the present study is the fact that José

12. Cox, *op. cit.*, pp. 148-182.

13. A.N.C., Floridas, legajo 18, no. 48.

14. *Ibid.*, legajo 14, no. 48. The orders from Spain were dated March 31, 1806.

15. *Ibid.*, legajo 2, no. 24.

16. *Ibid.*, legajo 17, no. 242 and legajo 18, no. 87.

Francisco received his appointment from the intendant of Cuba, who, upon reporting the move to Spain for royal approval, was curtly informed that he had exceeded his authority; Morales' assistant should have been appointed by the captain general.¹⁷ Heredia remained in Pensacola as *asesor* to the intendant, however, until 1810, at a salary of one thousand *pesos* assigned him by the Cuban intendant.¹⁸ Thereafter the *auditor de guerra*, or legal adviser to the governor, acted as *asesor* to the intendant of West Florida.¹⁹

The appointment of Heredia illustrates the confusion as to the supervision of the intendency in Pensacola. Both the Cuban intendant and Morales contended that the right should belong to the former instead of to the captain general in Havana. The reprimand that followed failed to settle the matter, and before long the two Havana authorities were at swords points about Florida finances as well as their respective positions in Cuba itself.²⁰ The situation became acute during the administration of Captain General Juan Ruíz de Apodaca (1812-1816), who claimed absolute control over West Florida finances under an instruction of January 26, 1782 to Bernardo de Gálvez as captain general, in which the latter was referred to as the *superintendente de real hacienda de la Luisiana y de la Florida Occidental*. A bitter dispute lasted until the arrival in Cuba of two more pacific personalities—Captain General José Cienfuegos and Intendant Alejandro Ramírez. On August 9, 1816—exactly forty days later—the argument that had promoted hard feelings for a generation was settled.

Cienfuegos and Ramírez adopted the simple expedient of giving honor to whom honor was due, and in so doing each obtained the full coöperation of the other. The question of finances in the Floridas was settled by Cienfuegos's turning the whole matter over to Ramírez until the king's will on the point should be ascertained—a logical move since both Cuba and the Floridas were dependent on a subsidy from New Spain which was usually sent to Havana for distribution. Royal approval of the Cienfuegos-Ramírez agreement was given on September 3, 1817, Ramírez

17. Two copies of the order, dated May 7, 1806, are in *ibid.*, legajo 18, no. 50.

18. For data on the residence of the poet and his father in Pensacola see José María Heredia, *Poesías completas* (Emilio Roig de Leuchsenring, editor; Havana: 1940-1942), I, 19.

19. A.N.C., Floridas, legajo 18, no. 149.

20. The argument was not definitely settled until 1854 when the two positions were united. Joaquín Rodríguez San Pedro, *Legislación ultramarina* (16 vols.; Madrid: 1865-1869), I, 75. See D. C. Corbitt, *The Colonial Government of Cuba*, chapter II for an account of the attempts to settle the trouble.

being made *superintendente* of the Floridas as well as of Cuba.²¹

The foregoing imbroglio over the *superintendencia* was scarcely terminated when the intendency of West Florida was abolished. Morales, who in 1810 achieved his heart's desire by becoming a full-fledged intendant (hitherto he had been only provisional), was promoted to the intendency of Puerto Rico and became in a sense the successor to Ramírez. Unlike Ramírez, however, who was promoted to Cuba for his brilliant work in Puerto Rico, Morales was relieved in 1819 and dropped out of the colonial administration.

The last years of Morales in Pensacola deserve a parting comment. Rare were the epochs when he was not the center of a storm. On one occasion he was suspended from office on account of his failure to report properly the results of a hurricane on October 11 and a fire on October 24, 1810, which destroyed many records.²² Perhaps the dispute in 1812 over who should be his substitute can be laid to contagion. The *auditor de guerra*, as the intendant's legal adviser, and the accountant, as second in the financial administration, each claimed the law on his side. Nevertheless, an order of the regency passed over both claimants and conferred the provisional intendency on the governor of Pensacola.²³ Another and more serious difficulty arose in 1817, though the exact nature of the trouble is not very clear. Finally, however, the king announced that "he was pleased to proclaim the innocence of the Intendant of Pensacola, Don Juan Ventura Morales," without mentioning any specific accusation.²⁴ At this juncture Morales was transferred to Puerto Rico,²⁵ and with his departure the West Florida intendency came to an end. Finances there had long since ceased to justify the payment of four thousand pesos for their administration;²⁶ in fact it is doubtful whether any reason could be produced for ever having had an intendency in Pensacola other

21. D. C. Corbitt, "The Contention over the *Superintendencia* of the Floridas," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XV, No. 2 (October, 1936), pp. 113-117.

22. A.N.C., Floridas, legajo 18, no. 144.

23. *Ibid.*, legajo 18, no. 149.

24. *Ibid.*, legajo 19, no. 34. The royal order in question was signed on February 19, 1817.

25. Morales was relieved of the intendency of Puerto Rico December 30, 1819 at his own request. *Ibid.*, Reales Ordenes, XXIII, pp. 579-581. He had been in the administrative service since 1777 at which time he was appointed clerk in the *secretaría de gobierno* of Louisiana. Bernardo de Gálvez to Joseph de Gálvez, December 30, 1777, A.N.C., Floridas, legajo 15, no. 79.

26. This salary was assigned to Morales by an order of March 21, 1810 which made him full intendant, *Ibid.*, Reales Ordenes, XVIII, p. 267.

than that of providing employment for a man released by the loss of Louisiana. During the closing years of Spanish rule in West Florida the governor supervised the treasury administration as *subdelegado* of the *superintendente de real hacienda in Havana*,²⁷ Alejandro Ramírez. It should be remembered, that during much of 1818 the province was occupied and administered by American armed forces.

With the abolition of the intendency in Pensacola the financial systems of East and West Florida were harmonized for the first time. It is true that on at least two occasions the governors of the former had requested the creation of an intendency in St. Augustine, but always with the view to the office for themselves. The first was made as soon as it was known that Miró had been entrusted with the office left vacant by Navarro in New Orleans. The petition was laid before the captain general of Cuba early in 1790 and was forwarded to Spain on March 26. There was a prompt negative reply on July 9.²⁸

A second suggestion for the creation of an intendency in East Florida was made by the governor of the province in 1799, with the ostensible purpose of removing certain evils attendant on the existing system. He would even have been satisfied with the establishment of a *subdelegación* of the Havana intendency, but the authorities in Spain merely instructed the governor to report any irregularities that might occur in the finance administration to them.²⁹ Except for the two constitutional periods (1812-1814 and 1820-1821), when municipal finance was temporarily in the hands of the city government of St. Augustine, the accountant and the treasurer, supervised by the governor as the representative of the captain general in Havana, were responsible for the financial part of the East Florida government until 1816. At that time the governor automatically became *subdelegado* of the Cuban *superintendente* by the relinquishment by Cienfuegos of control of Florida finances.

During the constitutional periods the municipality of St. Augustine was responsible to the *Diputación Provincial* in Havana for all of its activities. This affected East Florida during both periods; West Florida only during the first, since Pensacola had insufficient population in 1820

27. The intendency of Cuba was raised to a *superintendencia* in 1812, at which time Cuba was divided into three provincial intendancies.

28. A copy of the king's reply is found in A.N.C., Floridas, legajo 14, no. 79. Another copy is in *ibid.*, Reales Ordenes, IX, pp. 483-484. The reply stated that there was absolutely no need for such an intendency, but rather for a punctual observance of the Laws of the Indies.

29. *Ibid.*, Floridas, legajo 16, no. 130. The reply was dated June 18, 1799.

to warrant municipal government.³⁰ There was an *alcalde* in Pensacola for a time who disputed with the governor the control of many phases of the administration, but this will be better treated in another connection.

The Government of West Florida, 1779-1821

BRITISH West Florida extended from the Appalachian River to the Mississippi, and north to the thirty-second parallel, but the governor at Pensacola also exercised some jurisdiction as far north as the Chickasaw nation, or what is now northern Mississippi.¹ The boundaries of the territory that came to be known as Spanish West Florida were not so well defined. The British division line to the east was removed in 1784 when the St. Marks district was shifted from the jurisdiction of St. Augustine to that of Pensacola, a logical move since communication with the latter was much easier than with the former. In this way the trading post of Panton, Leslie and Company at St. Marks could be more effectively supervised. No division line was ever drawn between the St. Marks district and the jurisdiction of the governor at St. Augustine, but it proved to be unnecessary because the intervening territory was never settled by whites during the Spanish period. The northern boundary was more troublesome.

The secret clause in the treaty between the United States and Great Britain dealing with the area lying between the thirty-first and the thirty-second parallels was responsible for a dispute between Spain and the United States. The matter was further complicated by Spain's claiming the whole east bank of the Mississippi and jurisdiction over the Indian nations that had formerly traded with Mobile and Pensacola.² Treaties with the Creeks at Pensacola and with the Choctaws and Chickasaws at Mobile in the spring and summer of 1784 went far toward making good these claims and sent Spanish influence to Middle Georgia on the east

30. Some of the effects of the constitutional system on the Florida administration will appear in the sections on the provincial governments. A more detailed study of the constitutional phase is in preparation.

1. Governor Johnston to the Council of Choctaw Chiefs, March 26, 1765. Dunbar Rowland, *Mississippi Provincial Archives* (Nashville: 1911), I, 222.

2. For the Spanish claims see Miró to Gálvez, March 12, 1784, *East Tennessee Historical Society's Publications*, No. 9 (1937), p. 116. For a discussion of these claims see D. C. Corbitt, "James Colbert and the Spanish Claims to the East Bank of the Mississippi," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, March, 1937.

and to the Cumberland on the north. Within a decade the imperialistic Carondelet had garrisoned the debatable land with detachments of troops stationed at Walnut Hills, Chickasaw Bluffs, Fort Confederation and Fort St. Stephen. Natchez was in the same area but it had been in Spanish hands since Gálvez occupied it in 1779. The only posts whose ownership was not disputed by the Americans were Mobile, Pensacola and St. Marks, the last being garrisoned in 1787 at the request of Alexander McGillivray.³

Natchez and its district had a governor but was at the same time under the supervision of the governor at New Orleans; nevertheless, the former enjoyed the privilege of corresponding directly with the home government.⁴ Walnut Hills, Fort San Fernando de las Barrancas at Chickasaw Bluffs, as well as Fort Confederation, took orders after their establishment in the nineties from New Orleans. Fort St. Stephen, like Mobile, was dependent on Pensacola; although, as will be pointed out later, the chief at New Orleans could send orders directly to them when he chose to do so.

It will appear from the foregoing paragraphs that between the close of the American Revolution and the loss of Louisiana by Spain, the so-called province of West Florida could be said to extend from the Pearl River on the west to some point east of St. Marks, north beyond Fort St. Stephen and the Tensaw district, and as far northeast into the Creek nation as Spanish influence reached. The frontiers just described were very indefinite, but where in her colonies did Spain delineate or survey provincial boundaries?

Internal relations between the various officers were even less clear than the boundaries of their jurisdiction. In one sense the whole of West Florida was part of Louisiana, since the governor at New Orleans exercised jurisdiction over it. However, Spanish officialdom chose to look upon it as a province, and the governor, or commandant at Pensacola was allowed some liberty of action. He could correspond directly with the captain general, and not infrequently received orders by the same route;⁵ although the majority of his relations with the superior officers

3. Miró to McGillivray, July 13, 1787 and McGillivray to Miró, July 25, 1787, Archivo General de Indias, Papeles de Cuba, legajo 200. For a translation see East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications*, No. 11 (1939), pp. 84-88.

4. Whitaker, *The Mississippi Question, 1795-1803*, p. 30.

5. O'Neill to Gálvez, May 20 and 30, 1786; September 24, 1786; and October 11, 1786, East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications*, No. 10 (1938), pp. 137-151. O'Neill to Las Casas, October 2 and 18, 1790, Archivo General de Indias, Papeles de Cuba, legajo 1445 (transcript in the McClung Collection).

were conducted through the governor at New Orleans. Some of the Pensacola governors used their liberty to complain to the captain general about the conduct of their superiors in the Louisiana capital.⁶

The position of the commandants of Mobile and St. Marks was analogous to that of the governor at Pensacola in that, although they were nominally under the jurisdiction of the governor at Pensacola, the governor at New Orleans could send orders to them direct when he chose to do so. The system became so confusing to Pedro Favrot at Mobile that in December, 1786, he requested Governor Arturo O'Neill of Pensacola to clarify his position. The latter replied: "The Superior direction and orders of Don Estevan Miró are to be given preference, and it remains for me only to give a general explanation of the rules that you are to follow."⁷

The loss of Louisiana by Spain simplified the situation by removing the governor at New Orleans. Manuel Salcedo, the last incumbent, would have had it otherwise. With no definite instructions as to his future conduct, and loath to surrender his prerogatives as governor, Salcedo moved up to Baton Rouge and attempted to continue ruling West Florida from that point. The home government, however, elected to make Pensacola the capital, and the governor of that post came into his own.⁸ Thereafter West Florida could boast of reasonably definite frontiers: the Mississippi on the west and the thirty-first parallel on the north, and the eastern boundary still undisputed.

For a time the commandant at Baton Rouge, Carlos de Grand Pré, was a vexing problem for Vicente Folch at Pensacola. Many factors contributed to disturb the relations of Grand Pré with his new chief, but the basis of the trouble probably lay in the fact that the former had long drawn a salary as governor of Natchez, although no Spanish governor had actually resided at that post since 1797, at which time Grand Pré had been commissioned to reoccupy it.⁹

Until the cession of Louisiana there were no civil officers in West Florida. Financial and judicial, as well as administrative affairs were carried on by the post commanders assisted by their lieutenants and other employees, usually from the military forces. Finances were directed by

6. For instance see O'Neill to Gálvez, November 8, 1786, East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications*, No. 10, pp. 153-154.

7. O'Neill to Favrot, December 1, 1786, *ibid.*, p. 135.

8. Cox, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

9. Whitaker, *op. cit.*, p. 65. For troubles between Folch and Grand Pré see Cox, *op. cit.*, p. 150-161.

the governor at Pensacola acting as *subdelegado* of the intendant in New Orleans. Judicial and administrative decisions were appealable to the governor of Louisiana, and beyond him to the king by way of Havana or Santo Domingo according to the *fuero*, or charter of privileges that might be involved;¹⁰ the judicial powers of the governor of Pensacola himself were practically limited to conciliation and evidence collecting. Minor cases were handled after the manner of a police court, or as by a referee or friend. Major suits, along with evidence collected, were referred to New Orleans for review by the governor and his *asesor* as long as Louisiana belonged to Spain.

There is an eloquent though pathetic description of the working of the administration at Pensacola written by Arturo O'Neill, who had been ordered by Miró to deliver some munitions to McGillivray's Indians in a way that the Americans would be unable to prove Spanish complicity. O'Neill replied:

I shall carry out your orders as far as possible. I should advise you, however, that the presents of Powder and balls cannot be made in the quantities prescribed with the dissimulation and secrecy that you suggest to me, for these things are deposited in the royal Warehouses, and to take them out the Adjutant of the Plaza, the Officer in Command of Artillery, the Accountant who audits it, the Guard of the Indian Warehouse, the Guard of the Artillery Warehouse, and the Porters and Wagoners who bring it to this Place, must be informed; after which follows the buying, and putting the Powder and balls into sacks for transportation, turning them over to the Indians who are not a little scrupulous about weight and Quality, and the distribution which is made through others as has sometimes been done through Mr. Panton, in which manner the number of persons knowing about it is increased.¹¹

After 1803 the establishment at Pensacola inherited the position that had belonged to the Louisiana capital. The first change was made in obedience to the following order of December 10, 1803:

The King has resolved that, when that Province [Louisiana] is handed over to the French Republic, West Florida shall remain under the control of the commandant of Pensacola; that, in order that he may have an adviser in Civil and Criminal cases that shall arise in the District under his command, the *Auditor de Guerra y Asesor de Gobierno* that now resides in New Orleans shall move to the said Plaza; and that for

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10. The Spanish administration of justice was a confusing jumble because so many persons enjoyed *fueros*, or the right to be tried in the special courts of their class, rank, order or organization. Suits in the Floridas involving *fueros* reached Spain by way of Havana, where the captain general ordinarily presided over the special courts of appeal. Ordinary suits went to the *audiencia* in Santo Domingo (in Puerto Principe, Cuba after 1800) before going to Spain.
 11. Archivo General de Indias, Papeles de Cuba, legajo 37 (transcript in the McClung Collection). A translation is printed in East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications*, No. 11 (1939), p. 90. O'Neill's letter was dated August 3, 1787.

the provincial discharge of the duties of Secretary of that Province the said Commandant shall choose from the Garrison a Subaltern Officer, who shall receive a gratification above his salary of two hundred and fifty pesos annually as is the practice with the officer who performs those duties in East Florida.¹²

In this order are to be found listed the important officers of the administration outside of those attached to the intendancy. There was the usual complement of assistants in the offices of the secretary, the *auditor* and the governor, but with few exceptions they were military men selected from the garrison.

Mobile and St. Marks had even less civilian interference in the government than Pensacola. The commandants and their fellow officers governed everything, even to finances. Usually the only civilians in the administration were the men in charge of the supply warehouses, one or two warehouse guards (even these were at times soldiers) and the employees of the trading post of Panton, Leslie and Company, who, although not officially part of the administration, usually counted for as much as, and some times more than the commandant himself. Baton Rouge was also governed by a commandant with military assistants.

Other factors there were that deserve special mention. As early as 1787 it was found convenient to work out a special system for dealing with the settlement of Tories, pioneers, vagabonds and half-breeds at Tensaw on the Tombigbee. As a result one of the settlers, Tom Linder by name, was appointed *alcalde*.¹³

A variation of this plan was used on a wider scale in the Pearl River-Baton Rouge territory where the population had a similar composition. Even while the Baton Rouge district was part of Louisiana the white residents were allowed to have an *alcalde* and a syndic, chosen by the governor upon their own recommendation. By 1810 the territory between the Pearl and the Mississippi Rivers was divided into four districts (Feliciana, Baton Rouge, St. Helena, and Tangipahoe or St. Tammany), each with an *alcalde* and a syndic. These officers were responsible for carrying out orders from the governor at Pensacola or from the neighboring commandant.¹⁴

12. A copy of this order is found in A.N.C., Floridas, legajo 2, no. 43. It is contained in a letter from Folch to Morales of January 23, 1804, informing the latter of the appointment of Sublieutenant Francisco Morejón of the 5th Company of the 3rd Battalion of the Regiment of Louisiana to the secretaryship.

13. O'Neill to Miró, March 27, 1787, East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications*, No. 11, pp. 67-68.

14. Cox, *op. cit.*, pp. 152, 155, 161 and 312.

The appointment of the district *alcaldes* is interesting in that the practice ran parallel to a similar plan adopted in East Florida in 1813. There Governor Kindelan, faced with the necessity of ruling Anglo-Americans along the St. Marys and the St. Johns, chose some persons from among them to represent authority in the several districts. Kindelán, however, confessed that he was following the practice common since 1763 in Cuba, where he had served for some time. There the captains general had found it convenient to use residents from each locality to represent them and keep order. The practice that grew up in West Florida was very much like that followed in Cuba, but appears to have evolved from local conditions rather than having been imported from Cuba.

Ironically enough, it was in the Pearl-Mississippi territory that dissatisfaction arose: in fact, these very *alcaldes* played an important part in the next move, meeting in a *junta* somewhat after the pattern of those which promoted independence in the South American colonies. By 1810 the inhabitants of the territory had revolted and had abolished Spanish control. United States troops occupied this district and that east of the Pearl River and west of the Perdido the next year. Thus it came about that only Mobile, Pensacola and St. Marks remained in Spanish West Florida to enjoy the blessings of the Constitution of 1812.¹⁵

The Constitution provided for municipal government in towns whose districts could muster one thousand or more inhabitants. Under this provision Pensacola was organized as a municipality with an *alcalde*, four *regidores* or councilmen and a *síndico-procurador*.¹⁶ This organization functioned until the abrogation of the Constitution in 1814. There was an attempt at reorganization in 1820 about which it will be necessary to say more later.

One provision of the Constitution whose purpose was to separate the political from the military functions was the cause of much contention in the two Florida provinces. Such a step would have been inadvisable in the frontier provinces of East and West Florida, where danger from Indian attacks or troublesome white neighbors called for an essentially military system. A special adaptation of the constitutional requirements were, therefore, attempted, by which the governors retained their military

15. The Spanish inhabitants of West Florida continued to claim everything up to the Mississippi, especially when calculating representation in the Cortes and in the *Diputación Provincial* in Havana. It is interesting to note that, although the Spanish authorities made the same claim, they did not accept it when apportioning the representation. A.N.C., Floridas, legajo 13, no. 8.

16. *Ibid.*, legajo 1, no. 42.

commands and took over the duties of *jefes políticos*.¹⁷ This amounted to a cancelation of the strict orders of the national charter, and the *alcaldes* of St. Augustine and Pensacola were not slow in protesting to higher authorities.

The problem was further complicated by the Spanish conception of a municipality. Since all land in the Spanish dominions was considered as attached to some municipality, the *alcaldes* claimed jurisdiction over the respective provinces. The direction taken by their claims varied slightly, that of the *alcalde* of St. Augustine leaning toward giving orders to officers as well as to residents of rural areas. The essentially military character of Mobile and St. Marks prevented the *alcalde* at Pensacola from asserting jurisdiction over the commanders of those posts: instead, he demanded that the public records be taken from the *secretaría de gobierno* and placed in his care. When the governor (or *jefe político* as he was called) refused, he appealed to the *audiencia* in Puerto Príncipe (formerly that of Santo Domingo), which sustained the demand.¹⁸ It was a fruitless victory, for before the decision could be enforced the constitutional regime was abolished (1814), and the old order returned, only to be wiped out completely with the advent of Jackson in 1818. A few months later Mariscal del Campo Juan María Echevarría was commissioned to receive the province from the Americans, for which purpose he left Havana with twenty-four officers and four hundred and eighty-three men. Eight of the officers were for the permanent government of the province. Lieutenant Colonel José Callava went to assume the post of governor, and along with him went a captain to be secretary of the government. There were an adjutant and five other officers for the military establishment. Instead of restoring the intendency that had functioned until 1817, Callava was named *subdelegado* of the financial administration in Havana. To assist him in this capacity went a treasurer, one treasury official, a clerk, a warehouse guard, and an "*oficial de cuenta y razón de artillería*."¹⁹ An *auditor de guerra* was soon appointed.

Spanish control was scarcely restored in West Florida when news arrived (early in May, 1820) that the Constitution of 1812 was back in force. Callava and the other officials took the necessary oaths to support

17. Minutes of the City Council of St. Augustine. The originals are in the Library of Congress. A copy is in the possession of the St. Augustine Historical Society and Institute of Science.

18. A.N.C., Floridas, legajo 13, no. 6.

19. *Ibid.*, Floridas, legajo 9, no. 33.

the charter and set about reorganizing the administration so as to conform to its provisions. The title of *gobernador militar y jefe político* came into use again and the question of a municipality was taken into consideration. A census, however, revealed only 695 residents in Pensacola and its district—a number far short of the one thousand required by the Constitution. It was claimed, nevertheless, that Pensacola could qualify under some special conditions laid down for exceptional cases. Callava was uncertain and referred the matter to his legal adviser, the *auditor de guerra*, Nicolás Santos Suárez. The latter handed down the amazing opinion that Pensacola could not legally have municipal government, but that it should have an *alcalde*. The governor followed up this contradictory decision with a call for an election on June 15, 1820.

As soon as the new *alcalde*, José Noriega, took office, he reopened the business of the first constitutional period by demanding the public records, and he laid claim to all government functions in the province that were not strictly military. After several weeks of wrangling, with insufficient legal data (most of the documents of the former period had been taken to Havana from fear of Jackson), Noriega uncovered a law indicating that Santos Suárez could no longer hold office because of his military position as *auditor de guerra*. Both sides then appealed to Havana, Santos Suárez going in person to present his own case and that of Governor Callava.

It was late in October, 1820, before the West Florida troubles were laid before the *Diputación Provincial* in Havana, and a decision was not reached until November 4 to the effect that the population of Pensacola warranted neither a council nor an *alcalde*.²⁰ Before it could be enforced, however, orders had come from Spain to hand over Florida to the United States. Thus it happened that when Andrew Jackson arrived to take control of West Florida, he found the public welfare in the hands of the mutually antagonistic *alcalde* and governor, neither of whom had any clear idea of his own functions or powers. Small wonder that H. M. Brackenridge, whom Jackson appointed to succeed Noriega as mayor, could find no one to coach him in his duties. Not realizing that he was trying to ascertain what related to an office that did not exist, he wrote thus to Jackson:

I cannot speak positively with respect to the duties and powers peculiarly and exclusively belonging to the office The *alcalde* here has acted as notary public; as chief of the police, he exercised a criminal jurisdiction, but of what nature I do not exactly

20. *Ibid.*, legajo 13, no. 6. *Diario del Gobierno Constitucional de la Habana*, October 21 and 26, 1820.

know. . . I have been able to procure but little information from my predecessor in office; what he said was summed by the remark that I had more power than the Governor.²¹

Noriega had surrendered none of his claims although Spain had lost the province.²²

21. Brackenridge to Jackson, July 18, 1820, *American State Papers*, Miscellaneous, II, 904-905.

22. In the next issue of *Tequesta* will appear an article by Mr. Corbitt on "The Government of East Florida" and "Agencies for Handling Indian Affairs" in this same period. (EDITOR).

Florida in History and Literature

Fabulous Florida, Florida's Story for Children, by Ruby Leach Carson, Manfred, Van Nort and Co., Dallas Texas, 1942. Illustrated, maps, appendix, glossary, 249 pages, \$2.50.

Students of Florida's varied and romantic history have been fortunate in the last two years. Dr. Kathryn Abbey's, *Florida, Land of Change*, reviewed in the preceding issue of *Tequesta*, answered the long felt need for a textbook for more advanced students as well as for the general adult reader. *Fabulous Florida*, by Ruby Leach Carson, written for youngsters, appeared early this year to delight the hearts and stimulate the imagination of old and young alike.

The author of *Fabulous Florida* has been closely associated with the origin and development of the Historical Association of Southern Florida and needs no introduction to its members. She is admirably equipped to write the history of the state, for she has been studying, teaching, and writing in that field for a number of years, and writes out of an abundant knowledge and a deep appreciation of all the human elements that have gone into the making of the state's history. The book is a remarkable combination of authoritative information and simple, effective storytelling that will appeal to youngsters and satisfy the demands of more mature readers for a substantial account of the facts in the history of the state.

The material is divided into eight units, with a total of fifty short chapters, each complete in itself. Original illustrations and maps as well as reprints of standard ones add to the interest and value of the book. Various tables, charts and lists of important persons and events, and a glossary, increase the usefulness of the volume. The story of the state from discovery to the present day is built around the lives of the people who made it. An amazing number of them are identified and described in a manner to make them come alive again in the minds of the reader. This technique appeals to children. It would also clear history of the charge of dryness if it were applied in writing for college students and adults.

In the preparation of the text Mrs. Carson had the advice of expert educators at the Merrick Demonstration School of The University of

Miami and of the Demonstration School of The Florida State College, and others. Her own children, Carol and Jack, were the "guinea pigs" on which the presentation of all the stories was tested. Their reactions were expert judgments on the difficult problem of adapting these accounts to the capacities of the child mind, without distorting their historical accuracy. The author and the publishers may well feel proud of *Fabulous Florida*.

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The Mangrove Coast. The Story of the West Coast of Florida, by Karl A. Bickel. New York, Coward-McCann Inc., 1942. 344 pp., \$3.50.

There have not been many general histories of the Florida west coast published, so that when a book such as Mr. Bickel's appears it is the subject of great interest and expectation. A great variety of sources have been quoted and there is no paucity of detail. One moves from the wanderings of Ponce de Leon and De Soto through the days of the coastal pirates, the Civil War, the Spanish American War to the flush days of the 90's and the great Tampa Bay Hotel to the present day. All these events Mr. Bickel follows with a running commentary gleaned from old newspapers and other sources reflecting contemporary public reactions. There are also 32 full pages of photographs.

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A Guide to Miami and Dade County, in the American Guide Series, prepared under the direction of Carita Doggett Corse and associates in the Florida Writers' Project, Works Progress Administration, Northport, N.Y., Bacon, Percy and Daggett, 1941. 250 pp. \$2.25.

This book is an up to date guide to this area in a graphic picture of the natural setting of flora and fauna and geology, together with a Calendar of annual events, descriptions and locations of all points of interest. It is more than just a guidebook. Space is devoted to activities peculiar to this locality, including in each case a historical sketch of its beginnings. There is an effective foreword by Marjory Stoneman Douglas. A special feature is an unusually large number of excellent pictures.

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The following two items, though not new, are mentioned here for the benefit of members of the association. Copies are available of *The Commodore's Story* by Ralph Middleton Munroe and Vincent Gilpin, New York, Ives Washburn, Publishers, 1930. Of this book the *New York Times Book Review*, November 30, 1930, says, ". . . This story of his life, written with much varied detail, is just such a local chronicle of the development of a community as every city or region ought to be glad to

have. . . . It is the kind of volume that is always treasured in historical collections because of its value as a source book”

Also, *Pioneer Reminiscences*, by Mrs. Harlan Trapp, privately published in 1940, is a personal narrative of Mr. and Mrs. Trapp's early experiences in Coconut Grove. Mr. Trapp first came to Coconut Grove in 1887. He brought Mrs. Trapp back with him in 1895. Mr. Trapp is the only living charter member of the Biscayne Bay Yacht Club, founded in 1887. The famous Trapp avocado was named for him.

Florida Bibliography, 1941*

by WATT MARCHMAN

The compilation below was prepared to offer to the readers of *Tequesta*, a selected list of writings of literary and historical nature on the subject of Florida and Floridians that were published in 1941. The comments are merely descriptive. Only novels with authentic Florida characters and backgrounds are included.*

Books: *Non-Fiction*

Abbey, Kathryn T. *Florida, Land of Change*. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press. Illus., maps, index.

An excellent general history of Florida, written from secondary sources.

Blanding, Don. *Floridays*. New York, Dodd Mead & Co.

Colorful poems about Florida days and nights, illustrated with many of Blanding's full-page drawings and decorations.

Chatelain, Verne E. *The Defenses of Spanish Florida, 1565 to 1763*. Washington, D. C., Carnegie Institution of Washington. Illus., maps, notes, index.

A monograph presenting Spain's defense of Florida. The study constitutes in part a report of the investigations of the St. Augustine Historical Program.

Crandall, C. W. *Treatise on the Practice in Actions and Law in the Circuit Courts and Supreme Court of Florida*. 1940 supplement. New York, The Bobbs-Merrill Co.

*Mr. Marchman is preparing a similar bibliography for 1942 to appear in the next issue of *Tequesta*. Any significant omissions from the 1941 list will be added as a supplement in 1943. The inclusiveness of the compilation will be increased now that this has been established as a regular feature of the journal.—THE EDITOR.

Hamilton, Holman. *Zachary Taylor, Soldier of the Republic*. New York, The Bobbs-Merrill Co., Illus., maps, index.

Chapter IX, "Florida Glory," is devoted to Taylor's activities in the Seminole Indian War and in the Battle of Lake Okeechobee.

Laramore, Vivian Yeiser. *Florida Poets, 1941*. Dallas, Tex., Manfred, Van Nort Co.

Compilation of poems of Florida writers by the Poet Laureate of Florida.

More, L., ed. *Florida Hotel and Travel Guide*. New York, Florida Guide Co., Illus., maps, index. 575 pp.

A good general guide book to Florida.

Nance, Ellwood C. *Florida Christians, Disciples of Christ*. Winter Park, Fla., The College Press. Illus., 314 pp.

A compilation of the history of the Christian churches in Florida, prepared by the Dean of the Knowles Memorial Chapel, Rollins College.

Venable, Elizabeth Marshall. *William Adam Hocker (1844-1918), Justice of the Supreme Court of Florida. A Biography*. Privately printed. Illus., 107 pp.

Work Projects Administration, Federal Writers' Project. *A Guide to Key West, Florida*. (American Guide Series) New York, Hastings House. Illus., bibliog., index. 122 pp.

A fine guide book to this old Florida port town.

Work Projects Administration, Federal Writers' Project, *Florida Recreation Handbook*. 28 pp. New York, Bacon and Wieck.

Work Projects Administration, Federal Writers' Project. Tamiami Trail. Illus. *Florida Highways*, v. 9, pp. 8-9, 24-7, Dec. 1941.

Work Projects Administration, Florida Historical Records Survey. *Inventory of County Archives of Florida*. No. 10. *Clay County (Green Cove Springs)*. Front., bibliog., index. 478 pp. Mimeo.

——— *Inventory of County Archives of Florida*. No. 37. *Leon County (Tallahassee)*. Front., bibliog., index. 201 pp. Mimeo.

——— *Inventory of Federal Archives in the States*. No. 9, *Florida*.

Series III. *The Department of the Treasury.*

Series V. *The Department of Justice.*

Series VII. *The Department of Navy.*

Series VIII. *The Department of the Interior.*

Series IX. *The Department of Agriculture.*

Series X. *The Department of Commerce.*

Series XI. *The Department of Labor.*

Series XII. *The Veterans' Administration.*

Series XVI. *The Farm Credit Administration.*

Series XVII. *The Miscellaneous Agencies.*

- *Guide to public vital statistics records in Florida.* Bibliog., appendix, 70 pp. Mimeo.
- *List of the materials in the Austin Cary Memorial Forestry Collection in the University of Florida.* Index, 47 pp. Mimeo.
- *List of municipal corporations in Florida* (revised). Index, 89 pp. Mimeo.
- *Spanish Land Grants in Florida.* In five volumes. Unconfirmed and Confirmed claims. vols. 3-5 published in 1941.
- *Transcriptions of public archives in Florida. Ordinances of the City of St. Augustine.* (v. 1, 1821-1827; v. 3, 1843-1861). Index, Mimeo.
- *Translation and transcription of Church archives of Florida: Roman Catholic Records, St. Augustine Parish. White Baptisms, 1784-1792 and 1792-1799.* In two volumes. Index to each vol. Mimeo.

Books: Fiction

Corley, Pauline, *The World and Richard.* New York, Random House. 324 pp.

A young Southern belle loses both husband and child after a year of marriage. In readjusting her life, she is attracted to and adopts a deformed foundling and dedicates her life to its survival and return to normalcy. In her struggles she brings happiness into the child's life as well as into her own. Concluding scenes in Miami.

Faherty, Robert. *Big Old Sun.* New York, Putnam.

This story is one of violence, with explosive passions of the characters—a Georgia cracker, a girl and a conch boy—barely held in check. For background there are colorful descriptions of life on the Keys, of 'gator hunts and of fishing. The setting and characters are real and the story moves rapidly.

Havron, Laurie. *Hurricane Hush.* New York, The Greystone Press.

The setting is in the turpentine woods of Florida. Farrell Lull, a descendant of an old Florida family, believed herself to be in love with a young turpentine worker. The affair flourished through one summer until the night of the hurricane when Farrell discovered at last the power of her emotion.

Pratt, Theodore. *Mercy Island.* New York, Knopp.

Marooned on one of the Florida keys, six people fight for existence and against the jealousies and hatreds among themselves and against the island's queer spell.

Strabel, Thelma. *Reap the Wild Wind.* Triangle Books.

An historical romance of Charleston, Key West and the Florida keys. The back-

ground is an excellent picture of life in Key West and its connection with the mainland in the middle eighteenth hundreds. The story is tempestuous and melodramatic.

Wylie, Philip, *Salt Water Daffy*. New York, Farrar & Rinehart.

Serialized in the *Saturday Evening Post*, *Salt Water Daffy* presents Crunch and Des, two Miami fishing guides, in a new series of stories. They leave Miami to go to Hollywood where they secured jobs as doubles. Later, returning to Florida, they again find fish enthusiasts eager to go out after the big ones.

Articles: *General*

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- Babcock, E. L., Tampa in outline. *Florida Municipal Record*, v. 14, pp. 18, 40, 57, Nov. 1941.
- Boyd, Mark F., From a remote frontier: San Marcos de Apalache, 1763-1769. *Florida Historical Quarterly*, v. 19, pp. 179-212, Jan.; pp. 402-414, Apr.; v. 20, pp. 82-92, Jul.; pp. 203-209, Oct. 1941.
- Brookfield, C. M., Cannon on Florida reefs solve mystery of sunken ship: wreck of H.M.S. Winchester. Illus., map. *National Geographic Magazine*, v. 80, pp. 807-27, Dec. 1941.
- Carson, Ruby Leach, Florida, promoter of Cuban liberty. *Florida Historical Quarterly*, v. 19, pp. 270-92, Jan. 1941.
- Cash, W. T., It Happened in Florida. *Wentworth's Magazine*, v. 1, p. 6, Oct. 1941.
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- Chatelain, Verne E., Spanish contributions in Florida to American culture. *Florida Historical Quarterly*, v. 19, pp. 213-45, Jan. 1941.
- Colt, H. Dunscombe, Some notes on an archaeological survey for Florida. *Florida Historical Quarterly*, v. 19, pp. 293-96, Jan. 1941.
- Corbitt, D. C., The Return of Spanish rule to the St. Mary's and the St. Johns, 1813-1821. *Florida Historical Quarterly*, v. 20, pp. 47-68, Jul. 1941.
- Papers Relating to the Georgia-Florida Frontier, 1784-1800, XVIII, edited and translated. *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, V. 25, Mar. 1941.
- Ibid.*, XIX concluded in June 1941 number.
- Farris, Charles D., The courts of Territorial Florida. *Florida Historical Quarterly*, v. 19, pp. 346-67, Apr. 1941.

- Faye, Stanley, Commodore Aury. *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, v. 24, pp. 611-697, Jul. 1941.
- Howe, Charles, A letter from Indian Key, 1840. *Florida Historical Quarterly*, v. 20, pp. 197-202, Oct. 1941.
- Huhner, Leon, Moses Elias Levy, Florida pioneer. *Florida Historical Quarterly*, v. 19, pp. 319-45, Apr. 1941.
- Leary, Lewis, James Holmes' Florida plantation, 1804. *Florida Historical Quarterly*, v. 20, pp. 69-71, Jul. 1941.
- Lewis, M. F. W., Watery pastures. Illus. *Audubon Magazine*, v. 43, pp. 511-20, Nov. 1941.
- Olschki, Leonardo, Ponce de Leon's Fountain of Youth: history of a geographic myth. *Hispanic-American Historical Review*, v. 21, pp. 361-85, Aug. 1941.
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- Sharp, Helen, R., Samuel A. Swann and the development of Florida, 1855-1900. *Florida Historical Quarterly*, v. 20, pp. 169-96, Oct. 1941.
- White, E. B., One mans' meat. *Harper's Magazine*, v. 182, pp. 553-6, Apr. 1941.
- Wreck a-s-h-o-r-e ! Illus. (Key West) *Saturday Evening Post*, v. 213, pp. 16-7 +, Mar. 1, 1941.
- Wroth, Lawrence C., Source materials of Florida history in the John Carter Brown library of Brown University. *Florida Historical Quarterly*, v. 20, pp. 3-46, Jul. 1941.
- Wylie, Philip. Florida detour. *Harper's Magazine*, v. 184, pp. 101-4, Dec. 1941.

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- Park, N., Leaf from Louisiana's book: G. Whitten house, Miami. Illus., plans. *Art and Decoration*, v. 54, pp. 13-5, Dec. 1941.
- Record poll of urban architecture (Miami). Illus., map. *Architectural Record*, v. 89, pp. 21-2, Apr. 1941.
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- Morrison, K. D., America's last frontier: Florida Everglades, perhaps the site of our next national park. *Nature Magazine*, v. 34, pp. 570-2 +, Dec. 1941.

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Constitution

of Historical Association of Southern Florida

ARTICLE I: NAME

The name of this association shall be Historical Association of Southern Florida. The place where it is to be located is Miami, in Dade County, Florida.

ARTICLE II: OBJECTS

The purposes of the Historical Association of Southern Florida are

(1) To discover, collect and preserve all materials, especially original and source materials, pertaining to the history of or in any manner illustrative of Southern Florida and related areas such as the Keys, Bahamas, Yucatan, Cuba and West Indies generally.

(2) The dissemination of this knowledge for the enlightenment of our citizenry through preparing, editing and publishing historical materials descriptive and illustrative of Southern Florida and related areas especially through an annual journal and programs of historical papers.

(3) To promote historical research.

(4) To preserve and perpetuate historic sites and places.

(5) To bring together those interested in the history of these areas.

(6) To promote and stimulate public interest in and appreciation of the history of Southern Florida and related areas and to further in every way Southern Florida's historic past.

ARTICLE III: MEMBERSHIP

All persons of good character may become members of this Association upon payment of dues as provided by the by-laws. Honorary members may be chosen at all annual meetings but only upon unanimous recommendation of the Board of Directors. The Board of Directors may provide by appropriate by-laws for additional types of membership, such as contributing members, life members and other special types of members, as the Board sees fit, who shall pay such dues as the Board may determine.

ARTICLE IV: TERMS OF EXISTENCE

This Association shall have a perpetual existence.

ARTICLE V: ORIGINAL INCORPORATORS

Founding members and charter members in list of members on page 78-80.

ARTICLE VI: OFFICERS AND ANNUAL MEETING

Section 1. The affairs of the Association are to be managed by the following officers and directors, namely:

A President, a First Vice-President, a Second Vice-President, a Secretary, a Treasurer, Editor of the Journal, a Librarian and a Board of Directors consisting of the President, the First and Second Vice-Presidents, the Secretary, the Treasurer, the Editor of the Journal, the Librarian and not more than twenty-one directors chosen from the membership at large.

Section 2. Such officers and directors named herein shall be elected annually.

Section 3. Such officers and directors are to be elected at the annual meeting of the Association which shall be held on the fourth Tuesday in May unless otherwise designated by the Board of Directors, the place of such annual meeting to be designated at least ten days in advance by the Board of Directors.

ARTICLE VII: CHARTER OFFICERS AND DIRECTORS

The names and residences of the officers and directors who are to manage all of the affairs of the Association until the first election are as follows:

George E. Merrick, Miami
President

F. M. Hudson, Miami
First Vice-President

Gainies R. Wilson, Miami
Secretary

Lewis Leary, Coconut Grove
Editor, Tequesta

Mrs. James M. Carson, Miami
Second Vice-President

Thomas P. Caldwell, Coral Gables
Treasurer

Mrs. Mabel B. Francis, Miami
Librarian

DIRECTORS

Hervey Allen, Coconut Grove
A. H. Andrews, Estero, Florida
Bowman F. Ashe, Coconut Grove
James M. Carson, Miami
D. Graham Copeland, Everglades, Florida
S. Bobo Dean, Miami Beach
Marjory Stoneman Douglas,
Coconut Grove
Gaston Drake, Miami
George C. Estill, Miami
Mrs. William L. Freeland, Coral Gables

Dr. John C. Gifford, Coconut Grove
Cornelia Leffler, Miami
Mrs. Charles W. Ten Eick,
Hollywood, Florida
John G. McKay, Miami Beach
Robert E. McNicoll, Coral Gables
Mary Moseley, Nassau, N.P. Bahamas
Thomas J. Pancoast, Miami Beach
William R. Porter, Key West
Edwrd C. Romfh, Miami
Charlton W. Tebeau, Coral Gables

ARTICLE VIII: BY-LAWS

Section 1. The by-laws of the Association are to be made, altered or rescinded by a two-thirds vote of members present and voting at any regular meeting with the revisions having been read at a previous meeting.

Section 2. The Board of Directors shall at its discretion create such committees as may be necessary to carry on the work of the society and the President will appoint such committees subject to the approval of the Board of Directors and said Board shall determine what publication or publications, if any, shall be issued by the Association, and shall provide funds for the expenses of issuing and handling the same.

ARTICLE IX: LIMIT OF INDEBTEDNESS

The highest amount of indebtedness or liability to which the Association may at any time subject itself is \$10,000.00 dollars, which shall never be greater than two-thirds of the value of the property of the Association.

ARTICLE X: VALUE OF REAL ESTATE

The amount in value of the real estate which the Association may hold, subject always to the approval of the Circuit Judge, is \$25,000.00 dollars.

ARTICLE XI: AMENDMENTS

This Association may amend its charter by resolution as provided in the by-laws, and as provided by law.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the undersigned have hereunto set their hands and seals.

GEORGE E. MERRICK

F. M. HUDSON

JAMES M. CARSON

GAINES R. WILSON

WILLIAM B. ROMAN

By-Laws

Historical Association of Southern Florida

ARTICLE I: NAME

The name of this Society shall be the "HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHERN FLORIDA." Its headquarters shall be in Dade County, Florida.

ARTICLE II: OBJECTS

The objects for which this Association is formed are to:

1. Discover, collect and preserve all materials, especially original and source materials, pertaining to the history of or in any manner illustrative of southern Florida and related areas, such as the Florida Keys, the Bahamas, Yucatan, Cuba and the West Indies generally;
2. The dissemination of this knowledge for the enlightenment of our citizenry through the preparation and publication of historical material descriptive of and illustrative of southern Florida and related areas through an annual Journal and programs of historical nature;
3. To promote historical research, and to preserve and perpetuate historical sites;
4. To bring together those interested in the history of these areas; to promote and stimulate public interest in and appreciation of the history of the area and to further in every way the perpetuation of the knowledge of Florida's historic past.

ARTICLE III: ELIGIBILITY AND MEMBERSHIP

Section 1. All persons of good character, agreeable to the Board of Directors may become members of this Association upon the payment of annual dues.

Section 2. Honorary members may be chosen at any regular meeting, provided that names for such membership may be presented only upon unanimous recommendation of the Board of Directors. A majority vote at the annual meeting shall elect.

Section 3. The Board of Directors may, from time to time, provide for additional types of membership, with such dues as the Board may determine.

ARTICLE IV: TERM OF EXISTENCE

This Association shall have a perpetual existence.

T E Q U E S T A

ARTICLE V: OFFICERS

Section 1. The officers of this Association shall consist of a President, a Vice-President, a second Vice-President, a Recording Secretary, a Corresponding Secretary, a Treasurer, an Editor of the Journal and a Librarian.

Section 2. There shall be directors, not more than twenty-one in number, chosen from the membership at large.

Section 3. Such officers and directors shall constitute a Board of Directors and shall be elected by ballot at the Annual Meeting.

ARTICLE VI: DUTIES OF OFFICERS

Section 1. The president shall preside at all meetings and shall perform such other duties as pertain to the office. He shall be member ex-officio of all committees except the nominating committee.

Section 2. The vice-presidents, in their order, shall in the case of the death, absence, or resignation of the president, perform the duties of the office.

Section 3. The recording secretary shall keep a permanent record of all meetings and shall have charge of all records and documents, except those which properly are in the care of the librarian and editor.

Section 4. The corresponding secretary shall conduct the general correspondence of the Association, and shall send out notices of all meetings, upon receipt of programs from the Program Chairman. He shall notify all officers of their election, all committees of their appointment and members of any action affecting them. In case of the absence of the recording secretary, he shall perform such of his duties as are imperative.

Section 5. The treasurer shall collect the dues and have charge of all funds of the Association, and shall deposit same in a bank designated by the Board of Directors. He shall keep an alphabetical list of all members with addresses, date admission to the Association. He shall make all payments for authorized purposes by check only. His accounts shall be audited at the close of his term of office in a manner determined by the Board of Directors.

Section 6. The editor of the Journal shall have charge of the publication of the "Tequesta," official journal of the Association. He shall be assisted by associate editors who shall be appointed by the president with the approval of the Editor and Board of Directors.

Section 7. The librarian shall have charge of all books, manuscripts, relics, documents and maps, including all surplus copies of Tequesta, and such other materials as may be the property of the Association and such other materials loaned to the Association. He shall keep an itemized, classified list of all accessions with the name of the donor, date of the gift and any information pertaining to them. He shall continually strive to increase these accessions.

ARTICLE VII: BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Section 1. The officers and directors shall constitute a Board of Directors.

Section 2. This Board shall direct and control the affairs of the Association and in general adopt any measures advisable for the well being of the Association, providing that no debt or liability, except for current expenses, shall be incurred, unless approved by the members of the Association at a regular meeting.

Section 3. The Board shall fill any vacancy in office which occurs for any reason

other than expiration of the term thereof, such elected officer to continue until the following annual election.

ARTICLE VIII: MEETINGS

Section 1. Program, social or business meetings shall be held at such times and places as arranged by the Program Committee with the approval of the Board of Directors.

Section 2. The annual meeting shall be held on the fourth Tuesday in May unless otherwise designated by the Board of Directors, for the purpose of electing officers, receiving annual reports of officers and committee chairmen and for the transaction of any business that may arise.

Section 3. Meetings of the Board of Directors may be called by the president at any time, or upon the written request of three members of the Board.

ARTICLE IX: COMMITTEES

Section 1. The president shall appoint such committees as are approved by the Board of Directors, with the exception of the nominating committee which shall be elected by the Association at the meeting immediately preceding the Annual Meeting.

Section 2. The Board of Directors shall direct the scope of the work of all committees.

ARTICLE X: DUES

Section 1. Annual dues of one dollar are payable on or before November first for the succeeding calendar year, and are delinquent on January first, the membership card being considered a receipt.

Section 2. Tequesta, official journal of the Association, shall be mailed to all members in good standing at the time of publication of same.

ARTICLE XI: QUORUM

Section 1. *Twenty* members present shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business at any meeting.

Section 2. *Five* members shall constitute a quorum at a meeting of the Board of Directors.

ARTICLE XII: AMENDMENTS

These by-laws may be amended by a two-thirds vote of members present and voting at a regular meeting, provided that notice of the proposed amendment shall be sent to all members at least two weeks before the meeting at which it is to be considered.

ARTICLE XIII: PARLIAMENTARY AUTHORITY

Robert's Rules of Order Revised shall govern the Association.

Communication

to the Historical Association of Southern Florida

IT is most fitting that the extreme southern section of Florida should have a historical journal, and it is even more appropriate that the Historical Society of this area should publish it.

There are not a few who err in thinking that everything of importance in that part of Florida south of parallel 29 degrees north latitude has happened within the last fifty or sixty years. As a matter of fact history was being made in southern Florida long before the founding of Jamestown, in fact even prior to the birth of Shakespeare.

During Ponce de Leon's voyage in 1513 he discovered a group of islands on which were numerous turtles and gave them the name "Tortugas," which they have borne ever since. Later on Ponce de Leon sailed up the west coast and into Charlotte Harbor which long afterward was known as "the Bay of Juan Ponce."

On the mainland near this same bay in 1566 Pedro Menendez was married to the sister of the chief of the Caloosa Indians and as a result of the Spanish visit a mission was established.

Even prior to the coming of Menendez Spanish treasure fleets from Mexico had been wrecked along the islands and coast of Florida or grounded on its reefs, but there came a time when what were known as "the plate fleets" suffered more from pirates than from storms or treacherous coastal channels.

The most famous of these pirates was Jose Gaspar and many are the romantic tales concerning him. Many persons during the years have searched the islands and coasts of South Florida hoping to find some pirates cache or the gold from the wreck of a plate fleet. The story of the wreckers of Key West has been many times written, but it always has a new interest for us every time it is related.

The history of South Florida's part in the Indian wars of the State is particularly interesting, and I am glad that the names of such men as Dade, Meade, Worth, Eustis, Myers, Lauderdale and many others are perpetuated in your place designations. Many now living do not know why Eustis, Lake Worth, Fort Myers and Fort Lauderdale received the honored names they bear.

In bringing unknown historical material to light you are doing a good work. Your society will promote useful research and will be the means of illuminating your interesting history.

I not only wish you well, I believe your success is assured.

Signed: SPESARD L. HOLLAND

Contributors

ADIN BABER of Kansas, Illinois, and Miami, Florida has made a hobby of the study of early American history as shown by the records of the movement of commerce and military supplies over early trails and streams.

DUVON CLOUGH CORBITT, Ph.D., is a professor in Candler College, Havana, Cuba. He has published many results of his researches in the Cuban and the Spanish archives.

DAVID FAIRCHILD of Coconut Grove organized the Section of Foreign Seed and Plant Introduction of the U. S. Department of Agriculture in 1898. He became head of this organization as it developed into a Division. He conducted as its Agricultural Explorer various Expeditions in many parts of the world in search of new and valuable plants of promise for agricultural and horticultural uses in America. This Division has fostered the introduction of nearly 200,000 varieties and species of useful plants. He came to Miami first in 1898 and made his home here in 1916 and is the author of "Exploring for Plants" and "The World was my Garden" and the "Book of Monsters" and has been President of the American Genetic Association since 1913. This association publishes the Journal of Heredity.

HELEN C. (Mrs. Wm. L.) FREELAND of Coral Gables knew George Merrick intimately for thirty-one years. She has seen the city of Coral Gables grow from its inception in the mind of the founder. Mrs. Freeland has wide interests in history and genealogy and has done much research, especially in the latter.

ROBERT F. GREENLEE of Ormond Beach, Florida, has lived among the Seminoles, has been permitted to witness their ceremonies and to make recordings of them. These recordings are available to students of Indian lore.

WATT MARCHMAN, is now residing in St. Augustine, where he is Corresponding Secretary and Librarian of the Florida Historical Society.

T. RALPH ROBINSON, has retired from government service and lives at Terra Ceia, Florida. He was a plant physiologist in the Division of Fruit and Vegetable Crops and Diseases, Bureau of Plant Industry, United States Department of Agriculture. He spent much of his active life in Florida stations.

Historical Association of Southern Florida

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