

1565 SAINT AUGUSTINE 1965

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In my remarks this evening I should like to address the story of this city, sole survivor of Spain's sixteenth century La Florida, under two titles: Its Creation in 1565 and Its Recreation in 1965.

We begin with the city's founder, Pedro Menéndez de Avilés. When on March 15, 1565 that worthy captain general received his royal charter to establish a permanent Spanish presence in La Florida, it was not for the purpose of driving the French out of this peninsula, as is commonly assumed. The presence of French interlopers at Fort Caroline on the St. Johns was not known to King Philip II or to Menéndez until eleven days later. True, in light of that intelligence, the monarch supplied Menéndez with additional soldiers and arms, and with orders to deal with the French "by whatever means you see fit." But Menéndez's overriding purposes in coming here were not military; they were commercial and personal. He intended to become Florida's first great agribusinessman, mining engineer, and fisheries protector. And he wanted to search for his son Juan, who, he was told, had been shipwrecked somewhere along this peninsula coast. Add to that a surprisingly strong missionary impulse. "What grief seizes me," he declared to Philip at court, "when in my mind's eye I behold the wretched state of those Indians...sunk in the thickest shades of infidelity...that I should choose the ...settling of Florida [before any other] command...that Your Majesty might bestow." Of that statement the great American historian Francis Parkman, no friend to Spain or Spanish persons, wrote in 1914: "Those who take this for hypocrisy do not know the Spaniard of the sixteenth century." Interestingly, it was this evangelical intent that was the only one to succeed.

As Menéndez sailed westward toward his new domain in the late summer of 1565, he had reason to ponder the geographic immensity of his new responsibilities. The La Florida over which he was now designated *adelantado*, that is, direct representative of the king, ran southward from the cod-fisheries of Newfoundland, Nova Scotia and northern New England to the Florida Keys, thence westward along the Gulf Coast to the Soto La Marina River in Mexico. Spanish claims to the interior lands, rising from the peregrination of Hernando de Soto in the 1540s, stretched north to Tennessee and west to the edge of Texas. Where in that vast territory would he land and build his base?

The answer would come from his decision to take on the French "pirates" first. When that opportunity finally presented itself in early September, Menéndez was gravely handicapped in doing battle. Of the nineteen ships that set out with his from the Spanish port of Cádiz only five arrived at Cape Cañaveral, the Adelantado's first landfall on the continent. The remainder had been sunk or turned back by storms at sea. What success he might have against the French depended on his reaching their fort before a reinforcement fleet from France, known to be at sea, arrived at the same destination. Sailing north toward the St. Johns, Menéndez sighted this inlet and river where we gather this evening. Thinking well of it, he decided to return here if he needed to make land in a hurry. Leaving aside the resulting sea and land engagements with the French--which are a story in themselves--Menéndez decided that he did require a shore base within fighting distance of the French, and that is how it happened that he with 500 soldiers, 200 sailors, four parish priests and 100 civilian settlers, came ashore here instead of elsewhere. The date was September 8, 1565--one year after the death of Michelangelo and one year after the birth of William Shakespeare. Menéndez named the site St. Augustine after St. Augustine of Hippo, on whose feast day, August 28, he had first sighted Cape Cañaveral.

For agricultural purposes he could not have chosen a worse location. Early on he found that the grains which were staples of a Spaniard's diet--wheat, barley, rye and oats--would not grow in the sandy, infertile coastal plain. When ship-borne food stores ran out, his people began to starve. By the following January more than one hundred settlers, military and civilians, died. Unaccountably, the Spaniards refused to eat the fish and shellfish that abounded in the Matanzas River and in the nearby ocean. Historians who have studied this matter can only throw up their hands in disbelief, since who today would rather die than eat St. Augustine's shrimp, pompano, flounder, stone crab and clams?

After disposing of the French, the settlers might have enjoyed the fruits of this new land had Menéndez, or his successors as governor, moved the young city northward to a site more congenial to agriculture. It was not for lack of distance vision. Strategically, Menéndez gazed as far as Newfoundland, where he planned to patrol the fishing banks. In 1566 he built his capital city, Santa Elena, at today's Parris Island, South Carolina, in the fertile piedmont. From Santa Elena he sent out two expeditions into the interior across the Appalachian Mountains into the Tennessee Valley, so he knew good soil. But, in 1586, fearful that Santa Elena was too dangerously exposed to pirate attack, his nephew and successor Governor Pedro Menéndez Marqués abandoned the site and contracted government offices and the garrison back to the spit of sand at St. Augustine; which was a curious decision in that, earlier that year, St. Augustine itself had been obliterated—it was said that not even the leaves were left on the trees—by the English corsair Francis Drake. If Santa Elena was a potentially dangerous place, St. Augustine was a proven liability. In any event, as historian Eugene Lyon has written, "Pedro Menéndez's dream of a viable colony based on agriculture and commerce had vanished forever." Still, the survivors, who had taken refuge in the woods, and the transfers from Santa Elena jointly put their shoulders to the wheel and rebuilt their first city, now also a capital. After having tried three earlier sites, one on the mainland, two on Anastasia Island, the early colonists had settled on boundaries marked off by today's Plaza, Avilés, Charlotte and Bridge Streets. There a complex of new offices, homes and parish church, all of lumber and thatch construction, now took form.

That there were citizens present to inhabit these buildings is owed to the fact that, at last, the colonists consented for survival purposes to eat what was locally available, including seafood. In point of fact we know exactly what they ate, thanks to the pioneering excavations in that named street-by-street zone by archaeologist Kathleen Deagan and two other experts in floral and faunal remains. What we find is that the Spaniards adopted the diet of the local Timucua natives: cow, pig, deer, gopher tortoise, shark, drum, mullet, sea catfish, and the cultigens maize, beans and squash, along with nuts, fruits and miscellaneous greens. Households followed native food preparation techniques. Additional food, it should be mentioned, was supplied by an annual *situado* (subvention) sent at the Crown's directive from New Spain (Mexico). The *situado* also included financial support for a colony that produced no wealth for itself.

Contact with the Timucua natives led to another feature of Spanish acculturation, namely, marriage of soldiers to native women. When, owing to the scarcity of Spanish women, men took native brides, that led to a part *mestizo* culture, i.e., men and women of mixed races, or as Dr. Deagan describes it, this country's first melting pot. Other distinctions among the population can be drawn. Residents were predominately *criollos* (creoles) persons of Spanish descent who were born in Florida or elsewhere in the Indies, the name Spain used for the Americas. About 16 percent of the inhabitants were *peninsulares*; mostly men, they had been born in Spain, mainly Andalusia, and had migrated directly to St. Augustine from Iberia. Tensions between the two castes, *criollos* and *peninsulares*, were sharp, owing to the assumptions of superiority displayed by the *peninsulares*.

By 1607, when the first English colony, Jamestown, was established in what came to be called Virginia, St. Augustine had a number of accomplishments to its credit. It was home to our country's first school, first library and archives, first church, first hospital, first mission to the natives, first public market, first city plan, and first orange grove. The school was a college-level seminary for the education of Franciscan priests, members of the Order of Friars Minor, whom Menéndez had brought to St. Augustine in 1573. The seminary antedated educational institutions in the later British and Dutch colonies by a half century.

In the same year, 1607, King Philip III reached the conclusion that the presidio of St. Augustine was making a contribution neither to the Spanish economy nor to the defense of the West Indies. Rather, the city had become a drain on the king's coffer and was subject to the depredations of any passing pirate. Philip therefore recommended to Pedro de Ybarra, governor at the time, that he reduce the status of St. Augustine from city to outpost, replace the army units with a corporal's guard of 150 men, and dismantle the mission system. Ybarra vigorously objected that Spain should not surrender its lone

significant footprint on the northern continent. But it appears that the deciding intervention came from two missionary friars, Francisco Pareja and Alonso de Peñaranda, who argued that to abandon the native Christian converts would be unthinkable. “We beg your Majesty, who is a most Christian king,” they wrote, “that you protect the presidio...and send more missionaries to answer the needs of the field.” The king reluctantly consented. Thus, St. Augustine and its missions were saved by the Franciscans. And thus Jamestown, founded that same year, would not go on to become the oldest permanent European settlement in what is now the United States.

With one exception, the remainder of the 17th century passed quietly in and around St. Augustine, where the citizenry followed a daily routine of work and play, marrying and birthing, eating and sleeping, isolated from and undisturbed by world events, but anxious about fires, nor’easters and hurricanes. Church life, with its liturgies and discipline, its holy days and festivals, animated every day and year. (The extant parish registers of baptisms, marriages and burials date from January 1594.) And there was no violence at the gates or in the streets—until 1668, when, one midnight, the English pirate captain Robert Searles (alias Davis), having slipped over the bar and past the ninth wooden fort under the guise of being Spanish, deposited his men on the streets of the city where they immediately spread death and plunder. Sixty inhabitants died—blood was said to have run down Calle Real (Royal Street)—while others fled for safety into the western woods. The pirates looted residences, the governor’s and treasurer’s houses, other public buildings and the parish church. That gross awakening from what had been the quiet century caught the full attention of the governor and his military commander. Officers were reprimanded, sentries were discharged, and security was tightened overall on both land and sea.

In April 1670 the incoming governor Manuel de Cendoya was presented with a more pressing challenge. On the coast of what later would be named South Carolina the English established a settlement christened Charleston, their first serious incursion into the lands south of Virginia. Cendoya recognized it at once as a dagger pointed at St. Augustine. King Philip V shared his alarm and transferred funds for the erection of a large stone fortress to protect the city’s population. An engineer, Ignacio Daza, was sent from Havana to direct the work. Cendoya turned the first spadeful of earth on October 2, 1672. Twenty-three years later, the last slab of stone was set in place. The completed edifice bore the name Castillo de San Marcos (Castle St. Mark). Just as Cendoya had feared, an English force of 600 men with an equal number of Indian allies from the Charleston region struck St. Augustine in November, 1702. Their purpose was to wrest Florida away from Spanish rule. The then Florida governor Joseph de Zuñiga y Cerda ordered his 1,300 people into the castle with their food, animals and most of their possessions. The English attackers sacked and looted what was left, then, beginning November 4, besieged the castle. For all their artillery bombardment, however, they could not breach the stone walls which instead of shattering from the impact of the cannonballs, simply absorbed them. As one British officer complained, “It was like sticking a knife into cheese.” Sighting a four-ship relief fleet from Cuba on the day after Christmas, the Carolinians retired from the field. In their frustration they torched the entire board and thatch city, excepting the hospital, thus recreating the ashen wasteland left by Drake 117 years before.

In the rebuilding this time the governors turned to the shellstone called *coquina* from which the castle had been constructed. It was stone formed by sand and billions of mollusk shells cemented together by their own lime. The existence of coquina under the surface of north Anastasia Island had been known to the Spanish since 1583, but, without quarrying tools, it had not been utilized. After Cuba made available such tools for unearthing mollusk coquina for the Castillo, those same tools were now turned to municipal service. Slab after slab now was lightened across the river for the erection of residences, shops, government, military and church buildings. St. Augustine gradually became a stone city, plastered and whitewashed inside and out, with tabby floors and cypress shingle roofs and, on the second floors, wood-plank balconies that did arabesques over the streets below. When on June 6, 1740 James Oglethorpe, governor of the newly founded English colony of Georgia, invaded the city with 1,620 men and more artillery batteries than had been placed against the Castillo thirty-eight years earlier, he knew that burning the city to the ground was no longer an easy option. What he should have

known as well was that trying conclusions with a shellstone castle was a futile effort. After five and a half weeks of ineffectual bombardment, he turned tail for Georgia.

The fate of St. Augustine's First Spanish Period as a capital city was decided by events far distant from the provinces of Florida. To the north France and England contended for hegemony over the larger part of the continent. In their inevitable collision, which we call the French and Indian War (1754-63), Spain, worried about English dominance over the continent, threw in her lot with France in 1761. It was a disastrous decision, for England quickly seized Havana. In the humiliating Treaty of Paris in 1763 Spain had to sacrifice Florida to England in order to regain the rich Cuban port. The Spanish flag came down St. Augustine's flagstaffs on July 20, 1763.

The 198-year first Spanish Period may stand for what I am calling this evening the *creation* of St. Augustine. There was much history to follow, of course: a 21-year British interregnum, a 37-year Spanish restoration, a 24-year period as a United States possession and territory, a four-year period as a member of the Southern Confederacy, and 163 years as a member of the United States of America. But 1565 to 1763 were her formative years. And I turn now to what I call her *recreation*, culminating in the quadricentennial of 1965.

Fast forward with me nearly four centuries in time to March 25, 1957, when the St. Augustine City Commission announced "to the United States and the Nations of the World" that, "The year nineteen hundred and sixty-five shall be the Florida Celebration of the Four Hundredth Anniversary of the City of St. Augustine, Florida, and that Good People everywhere shall be invited to participate in this Celebration."

No specific actions pursuant to that Proclamation were undertaken until the years 1962-66, when seven different Quadricentennial organizations either came into being or directed their interests toward the 400th:

(1) The National Quadricentennial Commission, a federal body created by President John F. Kennedy in 1963. Mr. Herbert E. Wolfe, prominent St. Augustine banker and road contractor, was chosen as chairman. Other members included national business executives Henry Ford, Jr., J. Peter Grace, and Dr. Edward H. Litchfield, Chairman of the Board of Smith-Corona-Marchant Corporation; Archbishop Joseph P. Hurley of the Catholic Diocese of St. Augustine; and Florida's two senators, Spessard Holland and George Smathers. Earle W. Newton, lately director of Old Sturbridge Village in Massachusetts, accepted the position of executive director. In announcing the formation of the commission President Kennedy stated that its work would form "a cultural bridge to Latin America." No funding was ever appropriated to support that work, however, except for a \$25,000 grant secured by Senator Smathers at the behest of Chairman Wolfe. One meeting of the commission took place in St. Augustine, and no further meetings appear in the record.

(2) The National Park Service, represented in St. Augustine by the superintendent and staff of the Castillo de San Marcos (Castle St. Mark), the remarkable coquina stone structure that twice saved St. Augustine from English capture. The NPS planned to reconstruct the Cubo Line, a defensive bulwark that extended westward from the Castillo to the City Gate. Federal funds would also be secured to restore the coquina Gate.

(3) The St. Augustine Historical Society, the oldest such society in the state, whose archival holdings of documents, books and maps were vital to the community's plans to present authentic reenactments and publications.

(4) The St. Augustine Historical Restoration and Preservation Commission (hereafter Preservation Commission), a State of Florida board created by Governor LeRoy Collins in 1959. Its members, appointed by the governor, represented various constituencies in St. Augustine and the state. Its original mission was to oversee reconstruction and restoration of Spanish and English colonial buildings. Chosen by the members to be executive director was Earle W. Newton.

(5) St. Augustine's 400th Anniversary, Inc., a local corporation formed by eight prominent citizens, which proposed building a St. Augustine Amphitheater on Anastasia Island, in which to produce an outdoor drama about the events of St. Augustine's founding year. Noted dramatist Paul Green ("The Lost Colony," "The Common Glory," "Unto These Hills") would be commissioned to write an original production, which Green titled "Cross and Sword."

(6) The Diocese of St. Augustine. Mission Nombre de Dios, founded in 1587 on the site where the first settlers with their pastor celebrated on September 8, 1565 the First Mass in the first parish in what are now the United States and Canada, planned to erect four monumental structures to observe the 400th anniversary of that religious event. The first would be a free-standing 208-foot tall stainless steel cross. The second would be a state-of-the-art archives and library building. The third would be contemporary coquina stone church to be named Prince of Peace. And the fourth, connecting the other three structures, would be an arching steel and concrete bridge over what the Spaniards called Macaris Creek. At the same time, downtown on Cathedral Place, the Cathedral of St. Augustine, built during the presidency of George Washington, would be enlarged and redecorated by a nationally ranked architect. To raise funds for those undertakings, diocesan Archbishop Hurley sought donations from parishes in the forty-six Florida counties that the diocese encompassed.

(7) The St. Augustine 400th Anniversary Coordinating Committee (hereafter City Committee). This committee, consisting of seventeen leading citizens of St. Augustine, was established by the City Commission both to promote cooperation among the various agencies engaged in quadricentennial activities and to create activities of its own. Membership represented every local constituency, business, professional, cultural, educational, ethnic and racial. In many ways it became the most important of the appointed bodies, owing largely to the contributions of three members: Mr. John Bailey, much-respected local realtor who was chosen as chairman and who would serve as mayor commissioner during the 400th year 1965; Major General Henry W. McMillan, Adjutant General of Florida, who, with his fluency in Spanish and gracious personal manner, provided the city with an impressive spokesperson and host; and Earle W. Newton, who took on the duties of executive director to go along with his already assumed responsibilities as director of the National Commission and as director of the Preservation Commission. Enough cannot be said about the effective labors of Mr. Newton, who established remarkable contacts nationally and throughout Spain and Latin America. He was particularly successful in his travels to Spain where he won the agreement of the Spanish government to reconstruct a residence in the historic district as well as pledges from Spanish officials of the highest rank to visit St. Augustine during 1965. Mention will be made later about his role in helping to raise funds for the city's ambitious quadricentennial projects.

The City Committee lent perfunctory support to planned ephemeral events and ceremonies, e.g. a projected flight of U.S. Air Force aircraft from Avilés, Spain to MacDill Air Force Base in Tampa (which never happened); costumed reenactments of Indian, Spanish, Minorcan and English folkways on May Day, 1965; regular Spanish music and dancing performances in the Plaza; a street fiesta on north St. George Street during the evening hours of September 3-8, 1965; flag raisings and bunting on Bay Street and the Bridge of Lions; and entertainment of visiting dignitaries. But the City Committee offered its primary moral or financial backing to four major undertakings:

- I. Reconstruction and restoration of Spanish buildings in the historic district.
- II. Construction of the Great Cross, library-archives, bridge and Prince of Peace Church at Mission Nombre de Dios and enlargement and decoration of the Cathedral of St. Augustine.
- III. Construction of the St. Augustine Amphitheater and production of the outdoor drama "Cross and Sword."
- IV. Reconstruction of the Cubo Line at the Castillo and restoration of the City Gate.

The Committee's intent, in other words, was to help endow St. Augustine with what Andrew Carnegie called "real and permanent good."

Reconstruction and restoration in the historic district proceeded at a steady pace, particularly along north St. George Street where the Arrivas House was the first completed structure. It was also the first and last to receive state funding. Thereafter, the reconstruction-restoration effort had to depend on private gifts. Led by Mr. Newton, citizen fundraisers approached potential donors, both in-state and out-of-state, with encouraging results. Mr. Lawrence Lewis, of Richmond, Virginia, an heir of Standard Oil executive Henry Flagler, who built St. Augustine's Ponce de Leon Hotel in 1887-88, contributed \$1,750,000. Other generous donors contributed lesser amounts. These included the William R. Kenan Family in North Carolina; Mr. William Sims, of Orlando; Mrs. Alfred I. Dupont, Mr. Ed Ball, Mr. Jacob Bryan, and Mrs. Daughtry Towers, all of Jacksonville; and Mr. Herbert E. Wolfe, Mr. L.C. Ringhaver, Mr. John Bailey, Mr. Pierre Thompson and Mr. John Versaggi, all of St. Augustine.

Thanks to the energetic initiatives of Mr. Newton, the Spanish Government contributed significant sums to make possible construction of a Spanish Casa del Hidalgo (House of a Gentleman) at St. George and Hypolita Streets, and the Organization of American States similarly funded a Pan American Building (El Centro Panamericano) on St. George Street. Certain local businesses such as Ripley's Believe It or Not attraction also gave support to the reconstruction-restoration effort. As a result, by mid-1965 the homeland fundraisers, with the aid of local and nearby historians, archaeologists and historic al architects, had brought to life a north St. George Street that resembled a residential *calle* in Old Spain—or, to say it another way, the St. Augustine that once was, long ago. Donations that made a dozen houses and shops possible amounted to \$2,380,000.

Construction of the Great Cross, bridge and church at Mission Nombre de Dios began in 1964 under the direction of the Boston architectural firm of Maginnis, Walsh and Kennedy. Archbishop Hurley, assisted by his principal fundraiser Monsignor James Heslin, succeeded in garnering \$3,750,000 for both the Mission and Cathedral projects, but that sum was not sufficient to fund both fully. The archives-library building fell victim to the shortfall. (In 2009 a diocesan library-archives was created in the Father Michael O'Reilly House on Aviles Street.) The Great Cross, honoring the site where Christianity was first permanently planted in this country, was dedicated on November 20, 1966 by Casimiro Morcillo, Archbishop of Madrid, with participation by the Rector of Trinity Episcopal Church, the Pastor of Memorial Lutheran Church, the Methodist Choir of St. Augustine, the [African-American] Florida Memorial College Choir, and the [Baptist] Stetson University Concert Band. Dedication of the Prince of Peace Church and bridge took place on different dates.

During the period 1964-66 the Cathedral was enlarged and redecorated by Mr. George Stickle, Architect, of Cleveland, Ohio. Paintings were by Mr. Hugo Ohlms, of Rambusch Studios in New York City.

Construction of the St. Augustine Amphitheater was made possible by the sale of \$1,000 bonds which brought in \$128,000. Chair seating was obtained at minimal cost in New York City by corporation director Mr. W.I. Drysdale: Learning that the football New York Giants were abandoning the Polo Grounds, and that the Grounds were closing, "Drys" went to the stadium and purchased all the seats St. Augustine needed for a modest amount. Paul Green's symphonic outdoor drama "Cross and Sword" opened on schedule in June 1965 for a run of many years, June to September. In 1973 "Cross and Sword" was designated Florida's Official State Play. In recent years the amphitheater has been substantially enlarged and modernized. Today the 4,092-seat facility plays host to every public high school graduation and to entertainers such as The Beach Boys, James Taylor, Art Garfunkle, and Garrison Keillor, who draw fans from north Florida and south Georgia. Truly, the amphitheater, too, has proven to be "a real and permanent good."

The National Park Service, of the Department of the Interior, provided funding for the reconstruction of the Spanish log and earthen Cubo [defense] Line from the Castillo west to the City Gate (\$31,000), and restoration of the City Gate, closing of the gate to vehicular traffic and reconfiguration of the surrounding grounds (\$9,702). Improvements to the Castillo proper that also attracted Interior funds included waterproofing the terreplein; restoration of the second floor and English Room; rehabilitation of the courtyard rooms; and construction of gun carriages.

It is worth notice that, excepting the Federal funds that were obtained by the National Park Service, the \$25,000 grant of the U.S. Senate to the National Commission, and a \$50,000 annual subsidy provided in 1963 through 1965 by the City and St. Johns County to the Preservation Commission, all of the remaining monies used by the Quadricentennial organizations (\$6,258,000) was raised by St. Augustine citizens living within the city limits, and without the aid of any professional fundraisers.

The City Committee commissioned Barcelona artist-sculptor Enrique Monjo to create a 400th anniversary medallion that could be sold to raise funds for the quadricentennial. Five copies of his design were minted in gold (for presentation to dignitaries); a large number were minted in silver for sale at \$35.00 each; and an even larger number were minted in bronze for sale at \$5.00.

At the request of the City Committee, endorsed by the City Commission, the U.S. Postal Service created a five-cent postal stamp depicting a Spaniard in armor holding aloft a Spanish flag; in the margins were printed the words: "United States Postage. Settlement of Florida 1565-1965." Date of issue was August 28, 1965.

The Arrivas House, first residence to be reconstructed, was dedicated by Vice-President Lyndon B. Johnson on March 11, 1963. The vice-president visited the rest of north St. George Street, then in process of reconstruction-restoration; Mission Nombre de Dios; and the Ponce de Leon Hotel, where he attended a black tie dinner and stayed overnight.

The following month, Mr. Harold Colee, president of the Florida Chamber of Commerce, called me and asked if I would meet with President John F. Kennedy in Tampa on November 18th to explain to him the importance of St. Augustine in our nation's history and to invite him to visit the city for the purpose of gaining national exposure for the quadricentennial. I did meet with the President at MacDill Air Force Base, showed him maps and documents in which he seemed to take great interest, and conveyed the invitation that Mr. Colee promoted. The President said, "I'll keep in touch." But four days later he was dead.

A nightly fiesta, "Dias de España," began on north St. George Street in advance of the founding date, September 8, 1965. It featured Spanish folk dancers, strolling musicians, costumed merrymakers, and sword fighters. Dozens of booths offered food, drink and souvenirs. Sponsored by the St. Augustine Jaycees, the fiesta was called at the time the largest ever staged locally in modern years.

Two construction accomplishments of the Preservation Commission were dedicated during that period. On September 4 the Pan American Center (El Centro Panamericano) was dedicated by Dr. José Mora, Secretary General of the OAS and Ambassador Juan Plate, Chairman of the OAS Council. Both gentlemen acknowledged contributions to the project that had come from General Motors, Ford, Humble-Esso, Gulf, Texaco, AT&T, Pan American Airways, W.R. Grace Company and other industries doing business in Latin America. The majority of the building's interior space was devoted to an exhibition of modern art assembled from eighteen of the Latin American countries. It was to be succeeded by exhibits of Treasures from Pre-Colombian Peru, and of Popular Arts of Mexico. The United States was represented at the inaugural ceremonies by U.S. Senator Spessard L. Holland, of Florida. About 1,000 local citizens attended.

The next day, September 5, Lt. Gen. Camilo Alonso Vega, Minister of the Interior in Spain, dedicated that country's Casa del Hidalgo. An Hispanic Garden featuring a statue of Queen Isabel connected the OAS and Spanish buildings. Other Spanish dignitaries present were Don Angel Sagaz, Director General of North American Relations in the Foreign Office, Ambassador to the United States the Marques de Merry del Val, and Alvaro Armada, Conde (Count) de Revillagigedo, of Gijón in Asturias, linear descendant of Pedro Menéndez de Avilés and holder of the hereditary title of Adelantado [Governor] de la Florida. The United States was represented by U.S. Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall.

Final and solemn observance of the Quadricentennial came on September 8, 1965, the actual Founding Day. Planned for that occasion was an outdoor Mass of Thanksgiving on the grounds of Mission Nombre de Dios, at the approximate site given on Spanish maps where the 800-person landing party of Pedro Menendez worshipped exactly 400 years before. It was expected that 5,000 people would attend. Unfortunately, that day St. Augustine was swept by the high winds and rain of a nor'easter, and services had to be transferred to the cramped confines of the nearby Mark W. Lance National Guard Armory. Still, for a comparative few, including foreign and domestic dignitaries, the anniversary Mass was duly celebrated.

Thanks to subventions offered by the St. Augustine Historical Society and the St. Augustine Foundation, a number of scholarly books and journal articles about the city's history were produced in the years 1962-65:

Albert G. Manucy, *The Houses of St. Augustine, Notes on the Architecture from 1565-1821* (St. Augustine, FL: St. Augustine Historical Society, 1962).

_____. *Florida's Menéndez, Captain General of the Ocean Sea* (St. Augustine, FL: St. Augustine Historical Society, 1965),

Anthony Kerrigan, ed. and trans., *Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, Founder of Florida*, by Bartolomé Barrientos (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1965).

Michael V. Gannon, *Rebel Bishop: The Life and Era of Augustin Verot* (Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1964).

_____. *The Cross in the Sand: The Early Catholic Church in Florida, 1513-1870* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1965).

Two scholarly journals devoted entire issues to Spanish colonial St. Augustine:

The Florida Historical Quarterly [twelve essays], Vol. XLIV (July-October 1965) Nos. 1 and 2, pp. 1-149.

The Catholic Historical Review [four essays], Vol. LI (October 1965) No. 3, pp 305-372.

Two scholarly conferences connected to the quadricentennial took place in the city:

Pan American Symposium on Restoration and Preservation of Historic Monuments, held in June 1965, attended by delegates from most of the Latin American countries. Joint sponsors were The National Trust, the Pan American Union and (in name only) The National Quadricentennial Commission.

Historical Symposium on Explorations and Settlements in the Spanish Borderlands: Their Religious Motivations, held on October 29, 1966. Speakers included Maynard Geiger, O.F.M., Old Mission Santa Barbara in California, John Francis Bannon, S.J., of St. Louis University, and Lewis Hanke, Ph.D. of Columbia University. Sponsor was the St. Augustine Foundation.

The popular press—newspapers, magazines, newsletters—gave generous coverage to St. Augustine in 1965 and 1966, but none so expansively as *National Geographic*. Its cover story of February 1966, titled "St. Augustine, Nation's Oldest City, Turns 400," covered thirty-three pages, with seven original paintings and nineteen photographs.

Finally, it should be recalled that the Quadricentennial events and observances took place against a backdrop of racial struggles in St. Augustine's streets, motels, restaurants and nearby beaches. Expecting to draw national attention for his campaign for civil rights legislation, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. came to the city in 1964 accompanied by non-resident African American activists and led freedom marches through the downtown district. Unfortunately, the peaceful black demonstrators were

physically confronted by white resisters, most from outside the city. A threat of truly serious violence hung over the community for many months, and a Quadricentennial leadership that had sought positive national exposure for its anniversary plans instead watched St. Augustine demeaned and embarrassed on the evening newscasts of CBS, NBC and ABC.

In that extremity I, as a member of the City Committee, drafted a conciliatory statement titled "A Declaration of Good Will" and together with Mr. Newton, presented it to Mayor Joseph Shelley, M.D. In his book *Racial Change and Community Crisis* (1991) historian David Colburn wrote that the declaration "decried the violence carried on by belligerent racists and the recalcitrance of local political leaders who seemed bent on prolonging the crisis. The document urged an end to the rancor and the beginning of a serious dialogue to ease the racial hostilities." Mayor Shelley refused to issue the statement or anything like it. On April 12, 1964, accompanied by three local African American couples, I peacefully integrated the dining room of the Ponce de León Motor Lodge. That all-white restaurant, one of the finest in or near St. Augustine, thereby became the first to accept black diners. I and my party were treated with genuine courtesy.

Two more results of "real and permanent good" might be recognized in these remarks: racial barriers in all other restaurants in the area collapsed, one after the other, in the wake of the Ponce de León decision; and Dr. King's longtime dream of a Civil Rights Act passed the Congress and was signed into law by President Lyndon Johnson on July 2, 1964.

As I take leave of these pages, I remind us that this has not been A Tale of Two Cities. Instead, it has been A Tale of One City, seen through the prisms of two periods of time, when she was born and when she was reborn. May St. Augustine continue her rise through the centuries and achieve her rightful place in the pantheon of American cities.