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THE ALONSO SOLANA MAP OF FLORIDA, 1683

by LUIS RAFAEL ARANA

MAP No. 7 AT THE END OF Verne E. Chatelain's *The Defenses of Spanish Florida 1565-1763*¹ is entitled *Mapa de la Ysla de la Florida*. It is of Spanish origin, but its printed legend admits the anonymity of the cartographer and the uncertainty of the date. Although Woodbury Lowery listed maps from the same repository, he was unaware of the existence of this one.² It was Professor Louis C. Karpinski of the University of Michigan who discovered this paper representation of Florida in the war ministry in Madrid, while searching for American history materials in Spanish archives. His original typed entry of it does not show author or date, but an added handwritten notation in brackets indicates its date to be 1683.³ This marking is identical with that appearing in brackets on the northeast margin of the map itself, placed there possibly by ministry personnel. A second publication of the *Mapa* . . . attests that the date is indeed 1683 and that a Don Juan Marquez Cabrera remitted it to Spain.⁴ The mapmaker is still unknown, although strong circumstantial evidence points definitely to *reformado*⁵ Adjutant Alonso Solana, the Younger, public and governmental notary of the *presidio* of

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1. Carnegie Institution of Washington Publication 511 (Washington, 1941).
 2. *A Descriptive List of Maps of the Spanish possessions within the Present Limits of the United States* (Washington, 1912).
 3. Louis C. Karpinski, "Manuscript Maps relating to American History in French, Spanish, and Portuguese Archives," composed of a 3-page introduction by Karpinski, reprinted from the *American Historical Review*, XXXIII (January, 1928), a typewritten table of contents, and a 45-page map list, 39.
 4. Servicios geografico e historico del Ejercito, *Cartografia de ultramar, Carpeta II: Estados Unidos y Canada* (Relaciones de ultramar; Madrid: 1953), map No. 48.
 5. Reformado was a soldier who had once held a grade contained within the regular scheme of organization for a given unit. Luis R. Arana, "The Spanish Infantry: the Queen of Rattles in Florida, 1671-1702" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Florida, 1960). Solana had once been one of the regular adjutants of the St. Augustine garrison. All military rank mentioned in this paper was *reformado* rank, except that of Captain Arguelles, who was a regular company commander.

St. Augustine in 1678-96, as the author of this Florida map of 1683.⁶

Which one of three Alonso Solanas was the cartographer and how did he become the governmental notary of the St. Augustine garrison? Inquiry reveals that the highest bidder at the public sale of that office usually became the *escribano*. It was a custom as old as St. Augustine itself. Adjutant Alonso Solana, the Elder, had received the position at the auction which followed the death of notary Juan Moreno y Segovia. In seeking royal confirmation of the title, Solana unknowingly failed to pay a fee of 100 ducats within the required thirty days following favorable consideration by the Council of the Indies. Consequently, on January 29, 1678, the royal officials of Florida on order from the crown declared the notary's office vacant and placed it on the block again. The governor appointed Solana's son, Alonso Solana, the Younger, as acting notary until the conclusion of the new auction. Next day, drum beat and crier's voice opened the sale at the city's main guardhouse, where the first of the prescribed thirty days for bidding was duly proclaimed. Captain Nicolas de Carmenatis stepped up to Accountant Antonio Menendez Marques and Treasurer Francisco de la Rocha, the royal officials, and offered a scanty ten pesos for the position.⁷

In the course of the snail-paced auction, the three Solanas managed to win that job for their family. On the fifteenth day for bids, the younger Solana overtook Carmenatis with a substantial offer of 100 pesos, but nine days later he lost his lead to Captain Francisco Lopez Medrano, who promised to give a hefty 500 pesos. On the twenty-eighth day of the sale, the elder Solana, feeling that the crown had not expressly disabled him from competing, made his own munificent bid: twenty pesos above the

6. The royal officials of Florida (Accountant Tomas Menendez Marques and Treasurer Joaquin de Florencia) to the Crown, St. Augustine, January 20, 1697, 3 ff., Archivo General de Indias (hereafter AGI) 54-5-13, No. 96 (photostat in Stetson Collection, P. K. Yonge Memorial Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville; hereafter SC).

7. The royal officials of Florida (Accountant Antonio Menendez Marques and Treasurer Francisco de la Rocha) to Antonio de Rozas, secretary of the Council of the Indies, St. Augustine, April 21, 1678, 22 ff., AGI 54-5-14, No. 144, SC.

highest offer that might be made. The royal officials rejected him on the grounds of ineligibility, since the king's command had removed Solana from office, and returned the amount originally paid by him for the position. On March 1, the day for final bids and award, Solana, the Younger, walked away with the notary's office by promising to give 560 pesos. He paid, as was the custom in a place where cash was almost unobtainable, by having the amount deducted from pay and allowances in arrears, in his case from what the crown still owed his grandfather, Sergeant Major Alonso Solana,⁸ who was to die shortly thereafter on July 12, 1678.⁹

Solana, the Elder, had a subsequent opportunity to regain the *escribania* for himself. The crown in 1680 remarked that the rejection of Solana's bid had overlooked the much-desired objective of increasing royal revenue. The position was therefore to be auctioned off once more, admitting offers by Solana, and awarding the post to the highest bidder.¹⁰ It is not entirely clear whether or not the public sale was held, but the fact is that the roll of the general muster of May 27, 1683, counts Adjutant Alonso Solana, the Elder, among the *reformados* in Captain Antonio de Arguelles' company of infantry. Likewise, Adjutant Alonso Solana, presumably the Younger, appears on the staff list as public and governmental notary of St. Augustine.¹¹

Events in Guale province¹² in 1680 gave rise to circumstances eventually demanding a map of Florida. On two separate occasions before mid-May, English-directed, flintlock-armed heathen Indians fell upon Spain's Indian subjects living on

8. *Ibid.*

9. Crown to the governor and royal officials of Florida, Madrid, June 3, 1681, 3 ff., AGI 58-1-21, No. 287, SC.

10. Crown to the royal officials of Florida, Madrid, June 21, 1680, 2 ff., AGI 58-1-21, No. 264, SC.

11. Governor Juan Marquez Cabrera of Florida to the Crown, St. Augustine, June 28, 1683, 46 ff., AGI 54-5-12, No. 9, SC. After Alonso Solana, the Younger, died in 1696, the position passed on to his brother, Ensign Juan Solana, who bid 895 pesos for it and held it until his death in 1727 (Governor Francisco de Corcoles y Martinez of Florida to the Crown, St. Augustine, March 14, 1714, 12 ff., AGI 58-1-30, No. 32, SC; Governor Antonio de Benavides of Florida to the Crown, St. Augustine, September 28, 1727, 16 ff., AGI 58-1-31, No. 14, SC).

12. Coastal Florida, north of the St. Johns, and Georgia (Governor Pablo de Hita Salazar of Florida to the Crown, St. Augustine, August 24, 1675, 9 ff., AGI 58-1-26, No. 38, SC).

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Guadalquini [St. Simons] and Santa Catalina [St. Catherines] Islands. The natives of these two places had long been converted to Christianity by friars. At Santa Catalina, headquarters of the Spanish provincial garrison, six soldiers and fifty-six Indians entrenched themselves in the mission church, and from daybreak until four o'clock, successfully withstood the attacks of 300 enemies. However, the execution caused by the flintlocks of the infidels instilled so much fear in the Christian natives, that they deserted the island village. Despite military success, the Spanish garrison was thus compelled to fall back eighteen miles to Sapala [Sapelo] Island, involuntarily moving the northern frontier of Florida that much closer to St. Augustine, and contracting the extent of effective dominion.¹³

Immediately after assuming the governorship of Florida on November 30, 1680,¹⁴ Juan Marquez Cabrera stabilized the Guale situation, and made proposals to recover the lost ground. By December 8, he had reinforced the provincial garrison, instructing its commander to build a small fort at the new location. He hoped the new post would be able to withstand future attacks. Marquez furthermore expected to supervise personally the further strengthening of the temporary fortification and study the feasibility of reoccupying Santa Catalina. That island, he reminded the crown, was an indispensable source of food supply for St. Augustine; he thus suggested its resettlement with 100 Canary Islands families who would take up farming. The soil was so fertile that the venture would succeed if, in addition, the settlers were given some cattle and horses.¹⁵

In 1681 the crown manifested interest on the resettlement of Santa Catalina, but demanded more specific information, including a map of Florida. The king told Marquez that the president of the Canary Islands was being requested to encourage some families to migrate to Florida. When the transports conveying

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13. Governor Pablo de Hita Salazar of Florida to the Crown, St. Augustine, May 14, 1680, 7 ff., AGI 58-1-26, No. 63 (microfilm of Spanish Records, North Carolina Historical Commission, hereafter NC, in P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, reel 4, manuscript 72).
 14. Governor Juan Marquez Cabrera of Florida to Jose de Veitia Linaje, secretary of the Council of the Indies, St. Augustine, December 8, 1680, 2 ff., AGI 54-5-11, No. 67, SC.
 15. Crown to the Governor of Florida, Madrid, November 10, 1681, 4 ff., AGI 58-1-21, No. 306, SC and NC 4-86.

them touched at Havana, the governor there was to see to it that no family remained in that city. Even when the migrants had arrived in St. Augustine, Marquez was advised to wait for a final order before sending the families ultimately to Santa Catalina. For the moment, he was urged to send a map drawn to scale, showing the extent of territory comprised by Florida, the location of the several provinces, and Santa Catalina Island in particular. A report evaluating the benefits expected from the proposed colonization would supplement the map. It would state the kind and quantity of produce of the island, whether the produce was the same as that found on the mainland or so indispensable that without it the settlers would be unable to support themselves, and to what degree was the island exposed to occupation and fortification by foreigners. The same report was being required from the governor of Havana and the bishop of Santiago de Cuba. Not until fully briefed on the subject would the crown give the final order to proceed or desist on the inhabiting of Santa Catalina.¹⁶

Governor Marquez responded instantly with action leading toward the drawing of the requested Florida map. Trusting in the skill and experience in mathematics of governmental notary Alonso Solana, he ordered Solana on May 4, 1683, to make a scaled map of Apalache,¹⁷ Timucua,¹⁸ and Guale provinces. Solana finished the task promptly, and on June 28 the governor forwarded the map to the crown. Marquez vouched for the accuracy of the latitudes and ground distances, boasting that he himself had seen the Gulf coast of Florida and traversed Apalache and Timucua. The inlets, islands, and mainland of the east coast and Guale province had been traced accurately, because the knowledge and experience of several able veterans had been pooled for the purpose, especially that of Solana, who had once been a sea pilot. Marquez had not yet been able to see Guale for himself due to other pressing chores. At the time of writing, the Canary Islands families had yet to appear in St. Augustine.¹⁹

16. *Ibid.*

17. North Florida, from the Aucilla River westward to the Apalachicola River. Governor Pablo de Hita Salazar of Florida to the Crown, St. Augustine, August 24, 1675, 9 ff., AGI 58-1-26, No. 38, SC.

18. North Florida, from the St. Johns westward to the Aucilla River. *Ibid.*

19. Governor Juan Marquez Cabrera of Florida to the Crown, St. Augustine, June 28, 1683, 12 ff., AGI 58-1-26, No. 78, NC 5-28.

The *Mapa de la Ysla de la Florida*, as Solana entitled his handiwork, represents an area slightly larger than the Florida delimited for the first time in 1670. The Treaty of Madrid had fixed the northern limit at latitude $32^{\circ} 30'$, or a line cutting off Bay Point, the southernmost tip of Edisto Island. It had also recognized the English settlements, including Charleston, located north of that boundary.²⁰ The region drawn by Solana coincides with the southeastern portion of the United States bordered by the 80° and 85° longitudes of Charleston harbor and Apalachicola River respectively, and the $24^{\circ} 30'$ and $32^{\circ} 50'$ latitudes of the Florida Keys and Charleston city respectively. Despite the assurances of accuracy by Governor Marquez, Solana marked the latter elevation as $34^{\circ} 10'$, incurring in an error of $1^{\circ} 20'$. He did not curve coastal Georgia and South Carolina sufficiently to the east to make Charleston rest on latitude $32^{\circ} 50'$. Solana erred also in plotting all the elevations of specific sites, except those of St. Augustine, Cape Kennedy, the extreme southern shore of the mainland, the keys, and the St. Marks River mouth. The bulge of Florida's lower east coast too does not come even close to longitude 80° .

Solana's mistake in placing Charleston may have resulted from concern about representing clearly the relative position of Georgia's and South Carolina's coastal islands. The location of Santa Catalina, one of those islands, was admittedly the object of particular interest to the crown. Solana himself warned that he had given them "body," that is, drawn them longer and wider in order to make them noticeable, inasmuch as the widest island was only one-half league across. But he felt that the distance between points on the islands and elsewhere could be measured accurately from the scale. Despite the presence of a scale of forty French leagues and another of thirty-five Spanish leagues, the result of Solana's labor was a sketch rather than a scaled drawing. It demonstrates, however, the competent knowledge that the men at St. Augustine had of the Georgia and South Carolina coastline. Certainly, there is agreement between the number of islands represented by Solana and those there today which are separated by substantial expanses of water. On the other hand, the knowledge of Florida's west coast was rather limited.

20. Chatelain, *op. cit.*, 65, 153 N. 22.

Coastal islands, inlets, rivers, and settlements are the geographical features exclusively portrayed in Solana's map of Florida. The settlements were all Indian villages, except St. Augustine and Charleston. These two were in 1683 the only towns of European origin in the area shown by the map. The Spanish map terms are made available here, together with a translation into English, and a speculative identification of some of them with modern sites.²¹ Beginning at the northeast corner of the mapped territory, round the tip of the peninsula, and ending at the Apalachicola River, we find:

Puerto y poblacion de San Jorge de la nacion ynglesa	Port and settlement of St. George of the English nation	Charleston
Rio de Nogales	Nogales river	Charleston harbor
Barra de Capisi	Capisi inlet	Stone Inlet?
Barra de Yasi	Yasi inlet	Inlet between Seabrook and Edisto islands?
Barra de Ostano	Ostano inlet	St. Helena Sound?
Barra de Sin Provecho	Useless inlet	Fripps Inlet?
Bahia de Santa Elena	Santa Elena bay	Port Royal Sound
Pueblo de ynfeiles	Heathen [Indian] village	On Hilton Head Island?
Bahia de los Bajos	Bay of the Flats	Savannah harbor
Baya de Cruzes	Bay of Crosses	Wassaw Sound?
Barra de Aguadulce	Fresh water inlet	Ossabaw Sound?
Barra de Asapo	Asapo inlet	St. Catherines Sound
Ysla de Santa Cathalina despoblada	Santa Cathalina island depopulated	St. Catherines Island
Barra de Sapala	Sapala inlet	Sapelo Sound
Ysla de Sapala poblada de Xpnos.	Sapala island populated by Christian [Indians]	Sapelo Island
Barras de Asajo y Espogue	Asajo and Espogue inlets	Doboy and Altamaha Sounds?
Ysla de Guadalquini con dos poblaciones de Xpnos. y una de ynfeiles	Guadalquini island with two Christian and one heathen [Indian]	St. Simons Island
Barra de Guadalquini	Guadalquini inlet	St. Simons Sound
Barra de Ballenas	Ballenas inlet	St. Andrew Sound
Ysla de San Phelipe con poblacion de Xpnos.	San Felipe island with Christian [Indian] village	Cumberland Island
Barra de San Pedro	San Pedro inlet	St. Marys entrance
Barra de Santa Maria Xpnos. [cristianos]	Santa Maria inlet	Nassau Sound
Barra de San Juan	San Juan inlet	Fort George Island
Pueblo de Thomas de cristianos	Tomas' Christian village	St. Johns entrance
Nombre de Dios	Nombre de Dios	?
Castillo y ciudad de San Agustín	Castle and city of St. Augustine	In St. Augustine
Barra y vijia de Matanzas	Matanzas inlet and lookout	St. Augustine
Barreta	Narrow inlet	Matanzas Inlet
Barra de Mosquitos	Mosquitos inlet	Opposite mouth of Pellicer creek?
Pueblo de ynfeiles	Heathen [Indian] village	Ponce de Leon Inlet
Cabo de Canaveral	Cape Canaveral	Turtle Mound?
Barra de Ays	Ays inlet	Cape Canaveral
		Fort Pierce Inlet?

21. G. Donald Hudson (ed.) *Encyclopaedia Britannica World Atlas* (Chicago, 1956) has been used for the comparison between the coastal islands in Solana's map and the same islands as represented today.

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Pueblo de ynfielos	Heathen [Indian] village	? [close to above]
Pueblo de ynfielos	Heathen [Indian] village	? [close to below]
Barra de Jobe	Jobe inlet	Jupiter Inlet?
Cayos de la costa del sur de la Florida	Florida's southern coast keys	Florida Keys
Puerto y poblacion de ynfielos	Port and village of heathen [Indians]	? [near Punta Gorda]
Pueblo de Tampa	Tampa [Indian] village	Madira Bickel Mound?
Barra de Asapo	Asapo inlet	Tampa Bay entrance?
Pueblo de ynfielos	Heathen [Indian] village	Hernando?
Rio de Espiritu Santo	Espiritu Santo river	Withlacoochee River?
Rio de Amajuro	Amajuro river	Waccasassa River?
Rio de San Martin	San Martin river	Suwannee River
Puerto de Palache	Palache port	St. Marks River
R. Chachave	Chachave river	Sopchoppy River?
Pueblo de Indios	Indian village	? [near river above]
Rio Lana	Lana river	Ochlockonee River?
Rio Apalachecolo	Apalachecolo river	Apalachicola River

The inland villages extended westward almost in a straight line from St. Augustine to the Apalachicola River, but there were two others in central Florida. These two, Mayaca and San Antonio, were situated southwest of the city, along the St. Johns. The other settlements composed the provinces of Timucua and Apalache. Again, their map names are made available, but no speculation is attempted at identifying them with present-day locations.

Timucua province

- Salamototo
- Eyvitanayo
- Santa Fée, Provincia de Timucua [headquarters, Spanish garrison]
- Pueblo de San Francisco
- Pueblo de Santa Cathalina
- Pueblo de Tarijica
- Pueblo de Guacara
- Pueblo de San Pedro
- Pueblo de Machava
- Pueblo de San Matheo
- Pueblo de Asile

Apalache province

- Pueblo de Yvitachuco
- Pueblo de Aiubale
- Pueblo de Santa Cruz
- Pueblo de Oconi
- Pueblo de Aspalaga
- Pueblo de Ocuya
- Pueblo de Nuestra Senora de la Candelaria
- Pueblo de Tomole
- Pueblo de San Luis
- [headquarters, Spanish garrison]
- Pueblo de Escambe
- Medellin
- Puerto y villa de San Marcos
- Pueblo de Patale
- Bacuca
- Pueblo de San Carlos
- Poblacion de yndios
- Poblacion de yndios
- [These two along eastern shore of Apalachicola river]

For unknown reasons, archivists possibly have later made notations on *Mapa de la Ysla de la Florida*. In modern handwriting for instance, the words *la Ysla* have been lined out, and substituted by the phrase *parte de la costa*, thus making the title read *Mapa de Parte de la Costa de la Florida*, or a map of part of the coast of Florida. *Canal de Bahama* has been written in along the east coast, and *Cabo de la Florida* over the area representing the Everglades. The latter term means either tip of, extremity of, or

Cape Florida. Finally, the area which portrays the Gulf of Mexico has been labeled *Seno Mexicano* twice. These extraneous notations, except that of the *cabo*, have disappeared from the second publication of the map.

In conclusion, royal need for information dictated the making of *Mapa de la Ysla de la Florida* by Alonso Solana, the Younger. The crown wanted to see graphically the location of the proposed home for a few hundred of its subjects. These subjects, it is true, were being asked to go there voluntarily and establish what would have become the second settlement of European origin in Florida. Still, the king felt it his concern to assess the possibility of success before embarking in an enterprise that could well cost lives and substance. The map he asked for was a superbly drawn sketch rather than the accurate, scaled map that be desired. Yet, despite shortcomings, Solana's map gave quite a fair idea of the extent of the king's dominion overseas. More important, however, it recorded for posterity the knowledge that the men at St. Augustine had of the land under their jurisdiction in 1683. The map should be referred to as the Alonso Solana map of Florida in recognition of the accomplishments of a segment of humanity isolated in Spanish Florida.