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:- To explore the field of Florida history, to seek and gather up the ancient chronicles in which its annals are contained, to retain the legendary lore which may yet throw light upon the past, to trace its monuments and remains, to elucidate what has been written, to disprove the false and support the true, to do justice to the men who have figured in the olden time, to keep and preserve all that is known in trust for those who are to come after us, to increase and extend the knowledge of our history, and to teach our children that first essential knowledge, the history of our State, are objects well worthy of our best efforts. To accomplish these ends, we have organized the Historical Society of Florida.

GEORGE R. FAIRBANKS

*Saint Augustine, April, 1857*

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# THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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## “GRAVEYARD FOR BRITONS,” WEST FLORIDA, 1763-1781

by ROBERT R. REA

TODAY IT IS KNOWN as the Miracle Strip, and every spring its long white beaches beckon to sun-starved multitudes who flock to that stretch of coast centering upon Pensacola to the east and Mobile to the west. There lie warmth, relaxation, recreation, and health. Few of today's sun-worshippers remember that Pensacola was once the swampy, fever-infested capital of British West Florida, and that Mobile was known as a “graveyard for Britons.”

Whatever the romantic attributes of French and Spanish colonization of the Gulf coast, when the British occupied the region late in 1763 its prospects were far from encouraging.<sup>1</sup> Pensacola had been abandoned by its Spanish population, and the British troops were barracked in “miserable bark huts without any sort of fire places or windows, void of every necessary utensil.”<sup>2</sup> Mobile boasted a regular fort, but the redcoats who stumbled ashore, “all eat up by the scurvy” after weeks at sea, found Ft. Conde in a state of “very bad repair,” and the town too crowded to provide other accommodations.<sup>3</sup> With their first summer the British began to discover the deadly effects of a climate and fevers that decimated their ranks indiscriminately from private soldier to commanding general.

Major Robert Farmer, commander of the British force that occupied Mobile in 1763, reported from that city that the “old

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1. Peter J. Hamilton's assertion that the “continued unhealthfulness was remarkable, for the French had had no such trouble,” reflects a naivety which is contradicted by modern studies such as John Duffy, *The Rudolph Matas History of Medicine in Louisiana*, I (Baton Rouge, 1958), and Jack D. L. Holmes, “Medical practice in the lower Mississippi Valley during the Spanish period, 1769-1803,” *Alabama Journal of Medical Sciences*, I (1964); Peter J. Hamilton, *Colonial Mobile* (Mobile, 1952), 265.
  2. Major William Forbes' Report, January 30, 1764, Dunbar Rowland, ed., *Mississippi Provincial Archives, 1763-1766, English Dominion* (Nashville, 1911), I, 113. Cited hereafter as *MPAED*.
  3. Robert Farmer to Thomas Gage, December 27, 1764, Gage Papers, William L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan. Farmer to the secretary of war, January 24, 1764, *MPAED*, I, 11, 19.

worn out Soldiers" of the 34th and 22nd Regiments, both of which participated in the deadly Havana campaign before coming to West Florida, were too sickly to mount the officers' guard or even the common guard at the fort. Two officers died in early August 1764, and as many as eight men were committed to the hospital nearly every day. Farmar took some small consolation in noting that the illness, though general, was not as certainly fatal as he first apprehended.<sup>4</sup>

Care of the sick posed a serious problem under Mobile's crowded conditions. Governor George Johnstone observed that "the state of the town in filth, nastiness, & brushwood running over the houses is hardly to be credited."<sup>5</sup> By September, Farmar was desperate. He requisitioned private facilities as necessary, turned the proud Chevalier Montault de Monberaut out of his bed in order to provide for a sick officer, and purchased a house from Mme. Grondel to be used as an auxiliary military hospital. The sum of 186.13.4 pounds was an exorbitant price to pay for the medical facility, but Farmar had little choice if he was to care for his ailing soldiers.<sup>6</sup> It was not until November, however, that three hospital mates were sent to Mobile from Pensacola, and by that time it was reported that "the stench which issues from the barracks & hospital is sufficient to knock a man down!"<sup>7</sup> As the medical staff in all of West Florida in the fall of 1764 included only six mates - George Brown, Christopher Johnstone, William Pemberton, Edmond Taylor, John Knollis, and Joseph Price - and one surgeon, Samuel Fontinelle, its resources were stretched to the breaking point.

Pensacola was in slightly better condition than Mobile, or so the officers stationed there tried to persuade themselves.

4. Farmar to Gage, August 7 and September 24, 1764, Gage Papers.

5. George Johnstone to Gage, January 2, 1765, Gage Papers.

6. Farmar's certificate of purchase, November 29, 1768, Haldimand Papers, Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa, Canada. According to Johnstone, Farmar deducted a \$40 interpreter's fee from the price paid to Mme. Grondel. The old French military hospital contained only sixteen beds. See Laura D. S. Harrell, "Colonial Medical Practice in British West Florida, 1763-1781," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, XLI (November-December 1967), 540.

7. Johnstone to Farmar, November 2, 1764; McLellan to Johnstone, November 15, 1764, Gage Papers. Harrell, "Colonial Medical Practice in British West Florida, 1763-1781," 540, mentions one surgeon and a mate at Mobile in January 1764, but fails to note the arrival of medical reinforcements later that year.

Captain Robert McKinnen admitted that his troops were suffering from "a most inveterate scurvy," but he blamed the death of one lieutenant and the illness of seven others on their having contracted fever at Mobile. "No person that goes to Mobile," he wrote, "but may lay his account to have a very severe fever." The reckoning included the 22nd Regiment, just returned from the Mississippi, whose major reported that most of his officers and 107 privates were very ill.<sup>8</sup>

Winter brought some relief and the promise of more, for in March 1765, Dr. John Lorimer was appointed surgeon to the military hospitals in West Florida, and he sailed from England with the 31st Regiment to take up his post.<sup>9</sup> Summer arrived before Dr. Lorimer, however, and it found the troops in West Florida sadly weakened by a shortage of fresh provisions. Scurvy was rampant at Mobile, and, anticipating the worst, Lieutenant Colonel Edward Maxwell proposed to send his sick and convalescent out to Dauphin Island where he had stationed a small detachment and erected a hut. It was, said Maxwell, "the only method I can think of to preserve a few men for the defence of that post during the sickly season."<sup>10</sup>

In August, the 31st Regiment and Surgeon Lorimer landed at Pensacola. The regiment brought its own afflictions, and these produced a mortality which one hardened veteran declared to be "beyond anything I ever saw in the West Indies."<sup>11</sup> Governor Johnstone provided a graphic description of the disease: "To a putrid bilious fever succeeded an epidemic of flux, which, from want of a regular Hospital, and the crowded situation of the sick, in the dirty, despicable, confined huts of the garrison, was followed by the Jail or Hospital fever which became universal." The governor estimated that one-fifth of Pensacola's

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8. McKinnen to Gage, September 24 and November 25, 1764, Gage Papers.

9. Halifax to John Lorimer, March 14, 1765, *MPAED*, I, 399. Harrell, "Colonial Medical Practice in British West Florida, 1763-1781," 543, assigns Lorimer to the 21st Regiment. Lorimer apparently entered the service as a surgeon in 1761 or 1762, accompanied the expedition that took Belle Isle in 1762, and was placed on half-pay at the end of the Seven Years War. He returned to active duty with his appointment at surgeon to West Florida in 1765. *MPAED* Transcripts, IX, 63.

10. David Wedderburn to Johnstone; Johnstone to Jacob Blackwell; Blackwell to Johnstone; Johnstone to Wedderburn, June 9, 1765, Haldimand Papers. Maxwell to Gage, June 28, 1765, Gage Papers.

11. Edward Bromley to Gage, July 25, 1765; Simpson to Gage, August 25, 1765, Gage Papers.

inhabitants died in August and September 1765, including Brigadier General Henry Bouquet. His case was all too typical; he arrived in Pensacola on August 24, already indisposed from his voyage, and died on September 3. In less than a month, the 31st Regiment buried four officers, five out of the six officers' wives, and nearly 100 men.<sup>12</sup>

Evidently the colony suffered simultaneous epidemics of yellow fever (putrid billious fever), dysentery (flux), and either typhus (hospital or jail fever) or typhoid. As malaria was also certainly present, the combination was deadly. Unfortunately no very useful descriptions of the symptoms exist. While yellow fever has always been considered the chief killer, it is surprising that no one applied the term to the sickness in West Florida even though the modern nomenclature was in use at the time, both professionally and popularly. It is significant that Captain John Campbell, who visited the area in 1764 and who had personal experience with yellow fever, distinguished it from the fever that ravaged Mobile. The modern historian of colonial epidemiology equates "putrid billious fever" with typhoid and declares that "yellow fever seems to have disappeared from British North America for a thirty year period from 1763 to 1793." British troop transports' West Indian landfalls offered ample opportunity for the introduction of the disease to the Gulf coast, however, so yellow fever may continue to be listed - though only sharing honors - with malaria, dysentery, typhoid, and typhus.<sup>13</sup>

While Pensacola could no longer be considered healthy in comparison to Mobile, the latter still retained its evil reputation. The fever at Mobile was of longer duration than at Pensacola, even if there were fewer fatalities. Captain Campbell swore that in his own case, Mobile fever was worse than the yellow fever he had survived on Martinique. Lieutenant Colonel David Wedderburn, who was too ill to write his own letters, noted that a great number of men were sick with "scorbutick complaints" in April and that by July nine officers had had the fever. Happily he had received a medicine chest (whose virtue

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12. Johnstone to Gage, September 21, 1765; John Campbell to Gage, September 7, 1765, Gage Papers.

13. John Duffy, *Epidemics in Colonial America* (Baton Rouge, 1953), 162, 222-23. It must be noted that Duffy generally excludes the Floridas from his otherwise excellent study.



must have been chiefly psychological), and observing that the men were not as sick as they had been the previous year, the young officer devoted his attention to altering the lace and cut of the soldiers' coats and securing approval for a regimental band. Even embarkation for home failed to cure the 22nd Regiment of Mobile fever.<sup>14</sup> Governor Johnstone concluded that "Mobile must be the most unhealthy place on the face of the earth," and he warned that "persisting in quartering troops there is a kind of war against Heaven, by the piling up of dead bodies."

General Thomas Gage, at headquarters in New York, was properly concerned over the state of His Majesty's forces in West Florida and particularly with the shortage of medicine which he thought "must have proceeded from some strange mismanagement." Two chests had been dispatched from New York in April 1765, and the medical storekeeper had assured Gage that they "contained each sufficient quantities of drugs to last a regiment of one thousand men for two years." Nonetheless, the general ordered another medicine chest sent to beleaguered Mobile and urged Surgeon Lorimer to supervise its use most carefully.<sup>15</sup>

The year 1766 saw little change. A new brigadier, William Tayler, who had served in St. Augustine, came to Pensacola in May and found everything in a state of decay. Barracks which were being used as a hospital were roofed only with boards, and the windows were open to the rain and cold. The building lacked a kitchen or even a chimney to carry off the smoke of winter fires. Yet Pensacola was still in better condition than Mobile, and Tayler, a well-intentioned if ineffective officer, was quick to order Dr. Lorimer to set out on forty-eight hours notice for Mobile "to consult with Lt. Col. Maxwell the best means of preserving the health of the men by change of ground, encamping or hutting them."<sup>16</sup>

Dr. Lorimer was fully engaged in the universal struggle for survival at Pensacola in 1765 and 1766. There was work enough,

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14. Wedderburn to Gage, April 9, May 7, July 15, September 3, 1765, Gage Papers.

15. Gage to Edward Maxwell, January 23, 1766; Gage to Lorimer, January 23, 1766, Gage Papers.

16. William Tayler to Gage, April 28, 1766, Gage Papers. Tayler to Gage, September 18, 1766, Haldimand Papers.

but lacking even the simple remedies of the day or any place worthy of the name hospital in which to minister to the sick, and unable to secure effective support from the civil and military authorities, Lorimer must have been more of a grave-digger than a healer. Certainly, like every gentleman who visited the new colony even briefly, he dabbled in real estate. Very shortly after his arrival he secured a house lot in Pensacola, and early in 1766, he was granted thirty acres on the outskirts of the town.<sup>17</sup> During the next two years Lorimer added as much more property to his holdings and thereby became a considerable person in the community. When Governor Johnstone ordered elections for a provincial assembly in August 1766, Lorimer offered himself as a representative of Campbelltown and was chosen by the voters, sixteen to twelve, over David Williams. He was not favored, however, by the returning officer, James Johnstone, who falsified the results in Williams' behalf. The affair was brought to the attention of a committee on privileges and elections when the House met, November 3. Lorimer's petition to be seated was received, and Williams, who at first refused to appear, claiming indisposition, was ordered to apologize and was promptly expelled. James Johnstone, when summoned, pleaded inexperience in his office and was excused - doubtless because of his close political and familial relationship with the governor. Lorimer was an active and successful politician. He served as speaker *pro tempore* in 1767, and in 1770 he secured a sinecure appointment as deputy surveyor and auditor of revenues for the colony.<sup>18</sup> He also interested himself in the western part of the province and secured two large grants of land near Natchez and modern Vicksburg. In February 1774, he visited the Mississippi River in the company of cartographer George Gauld who added Lorimer's name to his carefully plotted "Plan of Manchac." The two friends subsequently journeyed up the Mississippi as far as the Yazoo River, admiring the rich lands which they hoped would compensate them for their sufferings on the Gulf coast.<sup>19</sup>

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17. Clinton N. Howard, *The British Development of West Florida 1763-1769*, University of California Publications in History, XXXIV (Berkeley, 1947), 66, 69, 104, 106.

18. Cecil Johnson, *British West Florida, 1763-1783*, Yale Historical Publications, XLII (New Haven, 1943), 87-91, 99, 225.

19. William G. Wilton, Manuscript Map of British Land Grants (1774),

It was painfully apparent that the struggling young colony needed the direction of a firm hand. Civilian authorities, primarily concerned with the accumulation of wealth - and bitterly disappointed therein - could not provide it, but with the arrival of Brigadier General Frederick Haldimand, in March 1767, British West Florida began to enjoy the leadership necessary to bring order out of its early confusion. Haldimand set both the military and civil establishments to their proper tasks, and among those for whom this remarkable Swiss mercenary found employment was the provincial surgeon.

Appalled by the conditions he encountered at Pensacola, Haldimand immediately undertook to improve the "so-called fort" by moving the high pallisades of the stockade farther from the barracks in order to facilitate the circulation of the sea-breeze about the crowded huts - "the only comfort Nature seems to intend for this place." Basic sanitation was implemented by the construction of privies. Ditches were dug to drain the swamp behind the town, and attention was given to the supply of drinking water which came from that same low-lying area. At best it was very bad, and for days after a rain it was as yellow as saffron. Work on a new hospital was begun in May, and by the end of the month the building was roofed and ready for use.<sup>20</sup> Temperatures in the high eighties and a shortage of rations pressed hard upon the men; they could not work in the afternoon, and they would not work at all unless encouraged by extra rations of rum. Dr. Lorimer, who appreciated the salutary effects of rum, ran into opposition from headquarters. General Gage was "by no means inclined to open the Sluice of Rum. I have had experience enough," he wrote, "of the hurt it has done this Army." Gage hoped that the men could be satisfied with spruce beer, and he dispatched kettles and other stores for making a brew which he thought "much more wholesome for the men than hot rum new from the still." Haldimand hastened to pacify his commander: "You

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Louisiana State University Library, Baton Rouge, Louisiana. George Gauld, "A Plan of Manchac" (1779), William L. Clements Library, Map Collection. See also Harrell, "Colonial Medical Practice in British West Florida, 1763-1781," 557. Alexander Dickson to Frederick Haldimand, February 15 and May 9, 1774, Haldimand Papers.

20. Haldimand to Gage, April 31 [*sic*] and May 22, 1767; Haldimand to Ross, August 6, 1767, Haldimand Papers.

know, Sir, that I am an enemy of Rum . . . but I am convinced that it is necessary here for the troops' health . . . especially during the great heat." In any case, he added, the men could always buy it in town - and bad New England rum at that - by spending their free time "working like niggers" for the merchants. Furthermore, the impoverished redcoat had to purchase his own shirts, breeches, hose, and shoes, all of which wore out very rapidly in the humid coastal climate. Shoes, then as now, were attacked by mildew, and the soldier, accustomed to keeping his footwear in shape with oil, discovered that he must forego even that treatment in West Florida, for the oil attracted cockroaches which devoured the leather itself. All hands agreed that stimulants were beneficial to the convalescent, at least, and between 1767 and 1769, Haldimand supplied the hospital with \$237 worth of good Madeira for medicinal purposes. In 1767, however, when the brigadier switched the sick from rum to wine, he found that they abused their privilege, and he temporarily cut off their supply altogether. Haldimand credited his own good health to his drinking habits. "Doctors say that wine is the best liquor for this country, and it seems that opinion has pretty much prevailed here, without producing any bad effect." He observed to his agent, "I really believe your good Madyra has been the best preservatif I could have wished. . . . I am sorry it is almost gone, as well as the other pyp of sherry and several . . . of claret and vin de Graves." For the future he asked to be supplied with New York wines which he found preferable to any others.<sup>21</sup>

The brigadier's sympathies were with his men; heat in the nineties, and the inevitable fever which cut down his working parties in a couple of weeks, moved him to declare to Gage, "I swear, Sir, every day I yearn for the ice of Canada!" The temperature reached ninety-eight degrees in mid-August, and the hospital proved its usefulness, but Haldimand could credit his reforms with the fact that there were only eight fatalities that month. Having moved the stockade, developed vegetable

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21. Gage to Haldimand, May 8, June 4 and 13, 1767; Haldimand to Gage, June 16 and November 30, 1767; Haldimand to Hugh Wallace, November 30, 1767 and March 3, 1768; Account of Money Disbursed, March 24, 1767 to March 24, 1769, Accounts of Pensacola, 1767-1773, Haldimand Papers.

gardens, built a hospital, and begun to drain the swamps and bring in fresh water to the garrison, he could boast, "I have the satisfaction of seeing that the sickness diminishes every day." The seriousness of the situation was apparent in the return of the deceased for the 31st Regiment. In two years (July 25, 1765 to July 10, 1767) that regiment lost six officers, 190 men, five officers' ladies, twenty-three other women, and forty-four children. Dysentery, dropsy, scurvy, and consumption accounted for some, but most succumbed to malignant and bilious fever. Medicine was in short supply as usual, and one consignment of hospital supplies sent from New York was lost in a shipwreck. Fortunately no new recruits arrived until October's cooler weather brought a general improvement in health. The newcomers introduced further complications, however, for they were badly infected with venereal disease.<sup>22</sup>

To the harrassed medical staff of West Florida the closest approach to a solution of their problems seemed to lie in the acclimatization of troops destined to serve in the province. As early as February 28, 1767, Brigadier General Tayler ordered a meeting of the hospital staff to consider this matter. Dr. Lorimer, Surgeon Richard Dean of the 31st Regiment, and assistants George Brown and John Sommers advised the commandant that troopships should not sail from England for West Florida before mid-September, and that they should rendezvous at St. Christopher's in order to time their arrival for the first of December. As an alternative they suggested a January sailing and arrival no later than April 1. Tayler accepted the recommendations and urged the adjutant general's office to avoid sending troops to the colony between May and September.<sup>23</sup>

When Haldimand took command in March, a month later, he promptly called the medics together, and they repeated their plea that troop arrivals in West Florida should be scheduled for "about the last of October, when that Climate is healthiest

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22. Return of Deceased, July 10, 1767; Haldimand to Gage, June 16, July 4, 5, August 5, and September 1, 1767; Haldimand to Ross, August 6, 1767, Haldimand Papers.

23. Meeting of Surgeons, Pensacola, February 28, 1767; Tayler to Harvey, March 11, 1767, Haldimand Papers. This, rather than Lorimer's 1769 report, appear to be "the first written study of health conditions" in West Florida. See Harrell, "Colonial Medical Practice in British West Florida, 1763-1781," 545.

& the heat most supportable to an English Constitution. . . . By this means they may land at this place about the last of November or beginning of December, when this climate is much about the same temperature with England at the time they leave it. They will have a short agreeable winter before them, & be seasoned to the country next spring in the most gradual manner possible.”<sup>24</sup>

At Haldimand’s request, Lorimer submitted further detailed proposals for “preserving the health of the soldiers” under the headings of “Air and Aliment.” He urged the building of new two-story barracks with “piazzas” to protect the men from the sun and provide for ventilation. He called attention to drainage and “to cleanliness particularly what relates to the common necessaries.” As for “ailment,” Lorimer insisted that drinking water ought to be boiled, which would require the provision of firewood and “vessels of tin or iron, for copper will not do in this climate. He suggested the brewing of beer from spruce, pine tops, or sassafrass, and the distribution of small quantities of rum or grog to all working parties. A supply of fresh meat and vegetables was needed, and Lorimer suggested that the regulation issue of salt rations might be exchanged for wild fowl and venison brought in by the Indians. Fishermen might also be advantageously employed to supply the garrison. “But as the soldiers must live upon salt meat after all, mustard & veniger or sour-cROUT ought to be procured & serv’d to the messes” and soup provided for the sick and convalescent. For the hospital, Lorimer requested wine, brown sugar, lime or orange juice, barley, and oatmeal. The proper weekly allowance for a soldier’s subsistence he put at seven pounds of bread, five pounds of beef, three pounds eight ounces of flour, two pounds of rice, and twelve ounces of butter, a generous diet which would have delighted any redcoat on the Gulf coast had it ever been available.”<sup>25</sup>

Lorimer next set out the particular requirements of his hospital. Bedding, instruments, utensils, and “portable soup” should be provided from England; firewood, candles, or oil

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24. Meeting of Surgeons, Pensacola, March 28, 1767; Haldimand to Gage, April 6, 1767, Haldimand Papers. The copy of the report forwarded to headquarters is dated March 31 in the Gage Papers.

25. Lorimer to Haldimand, c. April 1, 1767, Gage Papers.

should be furnished by the barrack-master; the surgeon should be free to purchase suitable fresh meat, oatmeal, and barley. One nurse should be on permanent duty, and others employed as necessary to assist the staff of one chief surgeon and six assistants. One clerk was to be in charge of hospital stores. Such an operation must be costly. Lorimer received 182.10.0 pounds p.a., and his hospital mates had annual salaries of 91.5.0 pounds. A further sum of \$2,152 was to be allowed for assistants and supplies, the largest item being \$1,600 for Madeira or port wine.<sup>26</sup>

Ultimately, however, the health of the troops in West Florida depended upon the coming of cool weather, and in 1767-1768 it came with a vengeance. By late November, even General Haldimand was complaining that the cold in Pensacola was worse than it had been in Canada, and his subordinates were bewailing the 500 comrades they had buried during the past two years. Men living in huts without doors or windows suffered grievously and lacked even blankets for their beds. The brigadier's urgent plea for bedding elicited from the quartermaster general in New York the sour reply that troops fresh from Europe were often inclined to “grumble horribly” at the total lack of sheets in America. As for blankets, they were supposed to last for seven years, and only four years had passed since the last shipment to West Florida! In January 1768, the Pensacola temperature dropped to nineteen degrees, and then to seventeen degrees. Without beds or bedding, Haldimand wrote, “I don't know how a European constitution can stand it.” February's heavy rains sent forty men to the hospital, and recruits arriving in March, bringing their illness with them, were landed on Santa Rosa Island in order to achieve a practical quarantine system. All in all, Haldimand concluded, “the scorching heat of last summer and the severity of this winter [is] intollerable.”<sup>27</sup>

The summer of 1768 was only less deadly than its prede-

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26. Lorimer to Haldimand, April 27, 1767, Haldimand Papers; dated April 28 in the Gage Papers.
  27. Haldimand to Quartermaster General Robertson, November 29, 1767; Robertson to Haldimand, October 5, 1767; Haldimand to Gage, January 16, 28, February 27, March 3, 1768; Haldimand to Thomas Willing, April 28, 1768, Haldimand Papers. Harrell errs in failing to observe the use of both Dauphin Island and Santa Rosa Island as quarantine bases during this period. Harrell, “Colonial Medical Practice in British West Florida, 1763-1781,” 557.

cessor. Surgeon James Gray, with the 21st Regiment at Mobile, reported his sick in a very sorry state. In spite of appeals to his superiors and to Dr. Lorimer, he was short of medicine; on August 8 he had but three days' supply on hand. The house being used as a hospital was filled with sick men but unprovided with bedding or utensils. Worse was to be feared - disaster - if the putrid fever should appear. In response to such pleas, Lorimer did his best to secure medical supplies, even to the extent of sequestering 14 pounds worth of medical instruments from Colonel Edward Maxwell's regiment on the grounds that his soldiers had stolen a kettle from the hospital at Pensacola!<sup>28</sup>

From general to private, the decimated British regiments welcomed General Gage's decision to withdraw the bulk of British troops from West Florida in 1768, as part of a general reduction of forces in North America. The Mobile garrison - or hospital, as Haldimand described it - was transferred to Pensacola by September. Nine men died during the short trip, and the brigadier thought that never a regiment had more sick proportionate to its number. The 31st Regiment was in better shape by virtue of having a dozen or so men who were *not* sick.<sup>29</sup>

The original plan called for three companies to remain in the colony, and Haldimand proposed that the medical staff should be reduced to one hospital mate at Pensacola and one at Mobile who would draw their supplies from the surgeon at St. Augustine. Lorimer was ordered to make these arrangements and to move the remaining men and supplies either to St. Augustine or England. It was soon evident that the brigadier was overly sanguine. It became necessary to appoint "a carrefull Woman," a nurse, to attend the sick at Pensacola and to assist Surgeon's Mate Brown,<sup>30</sup> and in February 1769, Haldimand ordered Lorimer to take up quarters in Mobile where he could "make proper observations on the disorders which have yearly attacked the troops of that garrison." The surgeon was instructed to keep a journal and to report "every observation and precaution which you think will tend to the preservation of the troops and new settlers." Immigrants were to be advised of the

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28. James Gray to Chissolm, August 8, 1768; Maxwell to Haldimand, February 9, 1772, Haldimand Papers.

29. Haldimand to Gage, September 16 and 29, 1768, Haldimand Papers.

30. Haldimand to Gage, October 2, 1768; Hutcheson to Lorimer, November 8, 1768; Haldimand to P. Innes, January 1, 1769, Haldimand Papers.



best health measures, and Haldimand hoped that Mobile would "in a short time be restored from the bad report it hath lately lain under."

Recognizing that Lorimer's private affairs might detain him briefly in Pensacola, the general gave him until April 20 to change his residence, but the doctor promptly appealed his case to Gage. As the medical corps had been reduced by four mates, and William Pemberton, who remained at Mobile, was most likely to fall ill at least once every autumn, Lorimer proposed sending Surgeon's Mate Brown to Mobile and remaining on duty at Pensacola himself. The thirty or so men at Mobile did not justify his presence there, he argued, and he could make the required observations from Pensacola and report in a very short time. Having "already suffered a great deal in this climate," Lorimer had no wish "to be confined for life to so disagreeable and so dangerous a situation." He pointed out that his commission directed him to Pensacola, the provincial capital, and, appealing to Gage's humanity and disinterest, he argued that his transfer to Mobile would have "no tendency to the good of the service."<sup>31</sup>

Haldimand was much put out by these dilatory tactics. He was willing to give Lorimer five months leave to go North for his health if he wished it, but he had orders from Gage to reduce the West Florida hospital staff to one surgeon and one mate. He needed Lorimer's services on the spot, and he wanted the junior hospital mate, Pemberton, separated at once.<sup>32</sup>

Pemberton displayed a most commendable devotion to his duty, and with Lorimer's encouragement and support, he also appealed to General Gage for continuance at his post. He addressed himself to Dr. Lorimer in moving terms: "I have been full nine years in the service as Hospital Mate, and five years of that time in West Florida, where more or less every year I have had my share of the distempers of the country. I certainly judged that I came here to remain on pay till I could be better provided for. I am confident that it cannot be pretended I have ever failed the least in doing my duty; and now to be dismissed

31. Haldimand to Lorimer, February 14, 1769; Lorimer to Gage, February 22, 1769, Gage Papers.

32. Haldimand to Lorimer, March 4, 1769; Haldimand to Crofton, February 1769; Gage to Haldimand, March 14 and April 25, 1769, Haldimand Papers.

without so much as one day's pay or any allowance to defray my expences to England . . . seems very inexplicable indeed. . . . I hope therefore that it will not be construed as a breach of orders, if I should remain at Mobile till the pleasure of the Commander in Chief shall farther be known." Lorimer supported Pemberton's request, attesting to the fact that he had "always behaved as an attentive and humane man should, when intrusted with the lives of the King's Troops," and noted that he had been "almost as long a Mate as I have been a Surgeon."<sup>33</sup>

Pending receipt of word from New York, Lorimer decided to obey Haldimand's orders, and he moved to Mobile in May, in time to feel the full effects of its sickly season. The utility of a second hospital mate at Fort Charlotte was obvious. At the beginning of the summer nearly a third of Captain Edward Crofton's little force was in the hospital, and Crofton felt it "indispensably necessary" to continue Pemberton at his post: the man was "indefatigable in the execution of his duty." Unwittingly, Crofton gave the game away when he added, "Doctor Lorimer, the properest judge of these matters, continually addresses me on this subject." Lorimer himself was not immune to illness, and Crofton reported that the doctor's "constitution is so much impaired that he will soon be obliged to retire to a plantation for the recovery of his health." The prediction came true in July when Lorimer fell victim to a violent attack of fever. He was removed to Elias Durnford's residence on the salubrious eastern shore of Mobile Bay, but suffering a relapse, he secured permission late in August to return to Pensacola, and Pemberton remained at Mobile to care for the resident detachment of the 31st Regiment. Lorimer reported that he was still quite weak in November, and as late of March 1770, he declared, "My state of health at this day is not so much confirmed as to be able to stand such an other shock."<sup>34</sup>

Permanent relief from an onerous assignment was on the way. General Gage responded to Lorimer's appeal most cordially; he assured the surgeon that Haldimand's orders merely

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33. William Pemberton to Lorimer, May 30, 1769; Pemberton to Gage, May 31, 1769; Lorimer to Haldimand, May 30, 1769, Gage Papers.

34. Crofton to Innes, July 8, 1769; Innes to Gage, August 19, 1769; Lorimer to Gage, March 15, 1770, Gage Papers. Lorimer to Haldimand, December 1769, Haldimand Papers. Hamilton, *Colonial Mobile*, 265, errs in stating that Lorimer spent six months in Mobile.

indicated the necessity of having a “skillfull Person” at Mobile. “I don’t imagine the Brigadier meant or intended, that Mobile should be the constant place of Residence for the Chief Surgeon of the Province at all Times, especially when the Garrison of Mobile is reduced to a subaltern’s command.” Gage insisted, however, upon the reduction of the hospital staff in view of the general transfer of troops to East Florida.<sup>35</sup>

General Haldimand had no choice but to acquiesce in the commander-in-chief’s decision, but he insisted upon making the case clear to Gage, and he quite bluntly told him that Lorimer’s desire to remain at Pensacola was politically motivated. Lorimer was a member of the Assembly, and according to Lieutenant Governor Montfort Brown, he was “uniquely occupied in forming a party there to oppose the Governor’s measures.” Brown had hoped that Haldimand would send Lorimer away, hence the surgeon’s transfer to Mobile and Haldimand’s offer of five months leave, but the brigadier felt that he could go no further without doing Lorimer an injustice. Neither could he replace his only surgeon, and so he asked Gage to leave Lorimer where he was. The general, finally enlightened and more than a little familiar with the ways of provincial politicians, replied, “If he is a Member of the Assembly I fear he will at times find means to repair to Pensacola whether we will or not.”<sup>36</sup>

By October the problem seemed on the way to a natural resolution as Gage decided to double the West Florida military complement and to add another surgeon’s mate. Lorimer welcomed the news but regretted the loss of that “very deserving young man” Pemberton whom he now described as “the only one whose constitution seemed to agree with that unhealthy spot” Mobile. Pemberton withdrew to St. Augustine; Haldimand appointed another mate in his place, and Gage refused to approve his return to the colony unless more than one regiment was stationed there.<sup>37</sup>

Dr. Lorimer’s brief sojourn in Mobile sufficed to illuminate all of the local medical problems. Hospital space was short, so

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35. Gage to Lorimer, May 26, 1769, Gage Papers.

36. Haldimand to Gage, July 6, 1769. The forms of this letter in the Gage and Haldimand Papers are significantly different. Gage to Haldimand, September 30, 1769, Gage Papers.

37. Gage to Haldimand, October 3, 1769, and July 7, 1770; Lorimer to Gage, March 15, 1770; Haldimand to Gage, April 18, 1770, Gage Papers.

the doctor gave up his own airy quarters for the care of the sick, but without medicine, or funds with which to purchase it, all was in vain. It was "upwards of two years" since West Florida had received any medical supplies from England, and what money was available went for bark which was issued to the sick to brew tea. If this medication was cinchona, in use among the Spaniards at this period, the malaria sufferers may have secured some relief, but British doctors were wary of the plant and sometimes refused to use it - apparently for no better reason than that it came from a Spanish source. Fortunately, Lorimer was able to dispatch a "very seasonable supply of medicines" to Mobile after he returned to Pensacola.<sup>38</sup>

Lorimer's visit to Mobile also produced a lengthy "General Report," in accordance with Haldimand's orders, describing the physical and medical circumstances of the place.<sup>39</sup> Prefacing his remarks by a reiteration of the argument for acclimatization, Lorimer blamed military officialdom for the bad timing of the troop arrival and subsequent sickness of 1765, against which he had "publicly warned . . . at the War Office above two months before our embarkation." He then noted that under normal conditions few were ill at Mobile before June when bilious remitting (yellow?) and intermitting (malarial) fevers set in. These lasted through September when in 1769 two-thirds of the garrison was sick. With the coming of cold weather, fevers turned into fluxes (dysentery), dropsias, and cachexies (the result of dietary deficiencies). There was, he argued, no way to improve the health of the troops at Mobile with the human and medical resources at hand. The garrison was so small that anyone even slightly recovered from the ague must do guard duty and thus risk a relapse. Unable to consume a whole bullock before it spoiled, the little company was forced to go short on fresh meat, and whereas civilians could afford to purchase food to hasten the recovery of their strength when convalescent, the

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38. Lorimer to Haldimand, May 30, 1769; Crofton to Haldimand, enclosing a note from Lorimer, October 13, 1769; Richard Nugent to Innes, September 1769, Haldimand Papers.

39. Lorimer to Haldimand, December 2, 1769, Haldimand Papers. Portions of this document are printed in Hamilton, *Colonial Mobile*, 266-68. Harrell notes that Hamilton edited his version of the report but not that she merely reprinted parts of Hamilton's version. Harrell, "Colonial Medical Practice in British West Florida, 1763-1781," 545.

troops were too poor to do so. The surgeon observed that Fort Charlotte's location surrounded by swamp, pine woods, and the bay, was disastrous of itself. Something might be accomplished by clearing and draining the site and by raising costly two-storied barracks, but he despaired of any significant improvement ever being achieved. A military post on the east side of the bay would enjoy the obvious advantages of cool air and pure water, but the inconvenience involved seemed to outweigh these virtues. In sum, Lorimer looked upon Mobile as hopeless.

Neither considerations of imperial finance nor of regimental health finally determined the occupancy of Mobile. Scarcely had Haldimand settled his regiments on the Atlantic coast then they were ordered back to the Gulf coast to meet an Anglo-Spanish war scare. The return of the British army to West Florida in 1770, seems to have been accomplished with a minimal increase in sickness. Housing and sanitation reforms began to have a beneficial effect. Pensacola was relatively healthy, its population inured to the climate, its water supply improved, its barracks rebuilt according to Haldimand's plans, and during the four sickly months of summer troops were moved out to the rising ground called Red Cliffs. The civil authorities even displayed some interest in the maintenance of the hospital. Supplies were still a problem, however; the salt beef provided to the army was three years old, and rice frequently had to be substituted for flour. On one occasion Haldimand dipped into his own pocket to purchase flour for bread and was forced to guarantee the victualler's agent at Pensacola a penny a pound profit in order to secure his cooperation in selling the bread to the troops.<sup>40</sup>

Mobile continued to suffer. Although the garrison, which was reduced to one officer, a sergeant, and twenty-four privates, lost only six men in the summer of 1770, many more women

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40. Haldimand to Edward Codrington, June 11, 1770, Haldimand Papers. The suggestion by Harrell, based on Reverend Nathaniel Cotton's burial register, that the 1769-1770 period was "unusually healthy," ignores the removal of British troops who made up a major portion of the population of Pensacola. It would rather appear that mortality was proportionately as high as it had been in any normal year. Harrell, "Colonial Medical Practice in British West Florida, 1763-1781," 547-48, 557-58.

and children died. August was particularly bad. Captain Crofton reported twenty-one men and officers, including Hospital Mates Barry and Grant, ill. Lorimer visited Mobile, accompanied by his wife and a new hospital mate, Brown, and proposed sending the sick across the bay, but the commandant feared the spread of the disease. As the number of new sufferers rose to nine in one day, the surgeon insisted on moving at least a dozen men out of Fort Charlotte's pest-hole to Croftown. Brown was soon replaced by Hospital Mate John Sommers who remained in the colony until 1781, and Dr. Lorimer hastened back to Pensacola observing that even a brief sojourn at Mobile was sufficient to make him think of going North for his health.<sup>41</sup>

When Haldimand visited Mobile for an Indian congress in December 1771, he found that all of the officers and men stationed there had been ill during the preceding months, though none had died. A system of rotation with healthy troops at Pensacola offered an effective form of relief for the garrison at Mobile, and Croftown served as a recovery post for Mobile's sick, although the difficulties of transporting men and supplies across the bay severely reduced its usefulness. In 1772 the loss of six men in a canoeing accident in mid-bay made Haldimand think of abandoning the post altogether. Fort Charlotte was practically dismantled; troops were lodged in the officers' square, and the town was "almost entirely deserted" because of its unhealthy condition. Intermittent fever (malaria) continued to be the chief problem, and in 1772, Haldimand found it necessary to send a third medic to Mobile to care for the afflicted.<sup>42</sup>

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41. Alexander McKenzie to Gage, c. April 1770; Haldimand to Gage, October 7, 1770, Gage Papers. Elias Durnford to Haldimand, March 9, 1770; Crofton to Haldimand, August 6 and 12, 1770; Lorimer's Return of Sick, August 10, 1770; Lorimer to Haldimand, November 5, 1770, Haldimand Papers; Great Britain, Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report on American Manuscripts in the Royal Institute of Great Britain*, 4 vols. (London, 1904-1909), II, 324. Hereafter cited as HMC Report. Harrell cites with approval Elias Durnford's appeal for the establishment of a town at Red Cliffs and his epistolary puzzlement that nothing had been done toward that end by 1770. Harrell, "Colonial Medical Practice in British West Florida, 1763-1781," 546. Durnford was actually proposing that a town should be built on his own property - at government expense - and he was entirely cognizant of the reasons why this was not done.
  42. Haldimand to Gage, December 28, 1771, and May 14, 1772, Gage Papers. Thomas Sowers' Report on Fort Charlotte, January 13, 1771; Return of Sick, Mobile, October 1, 1771; Haldimand to Gage, August 15, 1771, Haldimand Papers.

As a well-established West Floridian, Lorimer extended his interests from the practice of medicine and politics to the pursuit of natural science. Inspired by the ardor of John Ellis, the colony's royal agent and a botanist of international repute, Lorimer collected specimens of the local flora and noted such curiosities as "a beautiful kind of bean, which some of our sailors having eat of, were surprized with a vomiting and purging, just as another crew were by eating poke for sallad." Although he admitted to being "no great botanist," Lorimer frequently communicated with the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia, and in 1769, he was elected to membership in that august body.<sup>43</sup> His connections with George Gauld, William DeBrahm, and Bernard Romans, who esteemed Lorimer's acquaintance as "a valuable jewel," may have elevated the surgeon to the lower rank of colonial scientists, but any relationship with the peripatetic Romans was apt to be troublesome. In 1774, Lorimer was charged with having unwittingly assisted Romans in pilfering certain maps drawn by his friend Gauld. Romans' explanation of the affair was unsatisfactory, and when he joined the American rebels, West Florida Governor Peter Chester recommended that his salary of 50 pounds and his place as collector of "rare & useful productions in Physick and Botany" in the provincial establishment be given to Dr. Lorimer, a proposal which was duly approved by the colonial secretary.<sup>44</sup>

So matters stood on the fever-ridden shores of West Florida when the American Revolution put a period to British domination of the Gulf coast. Peacetime problems were only aggravated by the influx of sickly troops from the northern colonies and the West Indies and by interruptions of supply due to hostile action.<sup>45</sup> Lorimer and his hospital mates became prisoners of Spain when Pensacola fell before Galvez' attack in 1781, and they

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43. Robert R. Rea, "The King's Agent for British West Florida," *Alabama Review*, XVI (1963), 141-53; American Philosophical Society, *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, I (1769), 250-54; *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, XXII, Part 3 (1885), 20, 29, 35, 71.
  44. Brooke Hindle, *The Pursuit of Science in Revolutionary America* (Chapel Hill, 1956), 177-78; P. L. Phillips, *Notes on the Life and Works of Bernard Romans* (DeLand, 1924), 27; *MPAED Transcripts*, VI, 485-88.
  45. Harrell, "Colonial Medical Practice in British West Florida, 1763-1781," 550-56.

were dispatched to New York with the survivors of the British garrison. Lorimer provided for a nurse aboard the hospital ship on which the wounded were evacuated, and Mate John Sommers' last service in Pensacola consisted of purchasing seven gallons of wine and four gallons of vinegar for the material consolation of the wounded men of the 60th Regiment. Dr. Lorimer secured a short-lived appointment as inspector of regimental hospitals in New York during the winter of 1782 - 1783, but with the coming of peace, he withdrew to England to join the throng of British subjects forcibly evicted from West Florida.<sup>46</sup>

In the light of military records, it is difficult to agree with the view expressed by a recent writer that "Whitehall was sympathetic to the medical needs of the garrison of British West Florida," or that due to "the supervision of Dr. Lorimer, the military personnel in the province received the best medical care possible."<sup>47</sup> What relief from the natural disabilities of the place the suffering redcoat enjoyed was owing most directly to the efforts of a few hardy hospital attendants, men who could not escape from their onerous and dangerous duty, and to the practical directions of West Florida's only competent commanding officer, Brigadier General Haldimand, whose insistence upon ventilation, sanitation, and a balanced diet must have saved more lives than any eighteenth-century medical chest. Considering the penurious policy imposed by the government upon the American command, it is rather to be regretted that Haldimand's oft-expressed wish that West Florida might be entirely evacuated by the military was not fulfilled. In spite of the efforts of Farmar, Tayler, and Haldimand - not discounting the lengthy reports and interesting career of Dr. John Lorimer - the fever-ridden refugee camp that surrendered to Bernardo de Galvez was indeed a notable "graveyard for Britons."

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46. HMC *Report*, II, 8, 187, 301, 324; IV, 124, 285, 314. Harrell failed to note Lorimer's subsequent activity but correctly guessed that he did not return to West Florida. Harrell, "Colonial Medical Practice in British West Florida, 1763-1781," 557. Lorimer died in London, July 20, 1795; he was then examining surgeon of the East India Company, Fellow of the Royal Society (London) and of the Royal College of Physicians (Edinburgh). *The Scots Magazine*, LVII (1795), 546.

47. Harrell, "Colonial Medical Practice in British West Florida, 1763-1781," 558.



## FLORIDA BLACK CODES

by JOE M. RICHARDSON

AFTER CIVIL GOVERNMENTS had been reorganized under President Andrew Johnson, the southern states passed laws popularly called "black codes" which frankly differentiated between Negroes and whites. These laws were products of the "baneful heritage" of slavery which rooted in the southern mind false ideas of the Negro, including biological inferiority and innate criminality. The first and among the harshest codes, passed by Mississippi and South Carolina in late 1865, activated a storm of protest from the North. Numerous northern editors warned the South that the sentiment of the country was "firmly fixed" upon the necessity of securing complete protection for freedmen. Failure of the South to do so might result in continued military government and other painful consequences.<sup>1</sup>

The South by 1866 was aware of northern reaction. Furthermore, most of the freedmen were now back on the plantations hard at work. There was less fear of the Negro's refusal to work and of his becoming a burden to the state. "Of the seven former Confederate states which did not enact Black Codes in 1865, only the laws of Florida failed to reflect the changed circumstances of 1866." Florida's code was as severe as any passed in the earlier year, and her legislature remained "bigoted, vindictive and shortsighted."<sup>2</sup> The question is why did Florida refuse to heed northern opinion and the changed conditions of 1866?

The reaction of a majority of white Floridians to emancipation was disapproval. It was difficult for many to comprehend that they no longer owned the blacks. Federal General Israel Vogdes reported in July 1865 that Floridians were generally opposed to the freeing of their slaves. Many still retained a

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1. Rembert W. Patrick, *The Reconstruction of the Nation* (New York, 1967), 44-47; *New York Times*, August 19, 1865. For a full discussion of Northern reaction to the black codes see Theodore B. Wilson, *The Black Codes of the South*, Southern Historical Publications No. 6 (University, Alabama, 1965).
  2. Wilson, *Black Codes of the South*, 96, 144; Patrick, *Reconstruction of the Nation*, 47.

lingering hope that some compensation would be awarded to them or that a system of apprenticeship would be established. The desire for slavery died hard. In August 1865 the Gainesville *New Era* reported: ". . . there are quite a number of persons who seem to hope that the next Congress will reestablish slavery. Their hopes for future happiness and prosperity are wrapped up in this idea. . . ." <sup>3</sup> Major General John G. Foster, commander of the Department of Florida, encountered the same idea. In September he found a large number of former slaveholders "who still hug the ghost of slavery, and hope that the State may get back into the Union with so loose guarantees upon that subject, that the institution may be revised by State laws at some future favorable opportunity." <sup>4</sup>

Though Floridians were forced to accept emancipation many could not conceive of Negroes as little more than subordinate laborers. Many planters hoped to keep the freedmen on the plantations in some form of servitude. This desire for unpaid or poorly paid labor was widespread in the state. <sup>5</sup> The wish to control Negro labor was a major reason for the enactment of the black codes. The prevailing sentiment throughout the South was that Negroes would not work without physical com-

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3. I. Vogdes to O. O. Howard, July 31, 1865, Records of the Freedmen's Bureau, Florida, National Archives, Washington. Cited hereafter as Bureau Records, Florida; Gainesville *New Era*, August 5, 1865.

4. J. G. Foster to G. A. Forsyth, September 20, 1865, Bureau Records, Florida. For further discussion of White Floridians' reluctance to accept emancipation see Jacksonville *Florida Union*, May 27, 1865; *New York Tribune*, June 20, 1865; Vogdes to B. C. Tilghman, May 20, 1865, U. S. Army Commands, Florida, National Archives; H. H. Moore to T. W. Osborn, February 25, 1866, Bureau Records, Florida; Ellen Call Long, "History of Florida," manuscript, Richard Keith Call Papers, Florida Historical Society Collection, University of South Florida Library, Tampa, 346 (microfilm copy at the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville); Ellen Call Long, *Florida Breezes, or Florida, New and Old* (Jacksonville, 1883), 382. See also facsimile edition with introduction by Margaret L. Chapman (Gainesville, 1962).

5. A Union chaplain concluded that Floridians had "so long and so selfishly" regarded the Negro "as created to be their slave-only that and nothing more-that their minds are cast in that mold. . . ." A school teacher quoted a planter as saying after emancipation that a Negro "would still be their slave in some way." A *New York Tribune* correspondent heard of several plans in Florida to restore slavery under a different name. One plan was to place by state law a price upon labor without the workers consent. Another proposal was to give employers authority to use the whip and to chase down runaways. Planters also discussed entering into agreements to employ none but their own ex-slaves, thereby compelling freedmen to labor upon their former plantation on such terms as former masters prescribed. *New*

pulsion.<sup>6</sup> Even though an overwhelming majority of the freedmen were already toiling on the plantations by June 1865, white Floridians continued to believe that rigid controls were essential to force them to work.<sup>7</sup>

Even without the labor question, Florida would still have passed laws to regulate the freedmen. Like most southern whites, a majority of the citizens of Florida were racists. They generally considered the Negro inferior and criminally inclined; he was untruthful, disposed to steal, and fearfully licentious. The editor of the Gainesville *New Era* announced his policy in June 1865, as one of fairness and independence, but he continued, "this is a government of WHITE MEN," and "inferiority of social and political position for the Negro race, and superiority for the white race, is the natural order of American Society." Benjamin C. Truman, a *New York Times* correspondent who was usually fair to the South, discovered a class of people in Florida who pompously claimed to be Caucasians and who disparaged every effort made by the freedmen. They raved about his being totally unfit to care for himself, and insisted that he was "but a few removes from brute creation."<sup>8</sup>

The belief in the Negro's innate inferiority was not restricted to the illiterate and uneducated. The claim that the freedman was of a lower order appeared frequently in the public press

*York Tribune*, September 5, 1865; *Senate Executive Documents*, 39th Cong., 1st Sess., No. 2, p. 21; Vogdes to Howard, July 31, 1865, Moore to Osborn, February 25, 1866, Bureau Records, Florida; National Freedman, I (July 15, 1865), 182-83.

6. A white man of Key West told a traveler the freedmen were "saucy and worthless"; would not work more than necessary; charged high prices for their labor; would rather steal than work; would "dance all night and be good for nothing" the next day; "were fearfully licentious"; and were "an unmitigated nuisance." Whitelaw Reid, *After the War: A Southern Tour, May 1, 1865 to May 1, 1866* (Cincinnati, 1866), 186.
7. *Senate Executive Documents*, 39th Cong., 1st Sess., No. 2, p. 16; W. G. Branch to Dear Sir, July 8, 1866, in Branch Family Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; George F. Thompson Journal, December 12, 1865, in Bureau Records, Florida; Jacksonville *Florida Union*, May 27, September 30, 1865; E. Phillips to J. J. Phillips, October 27, 1865, James J. Phillips Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina; *New York Tribune*, September 5, 1865.
8. Vogdesto Howard, July 31, 1865, Osborn to Howard, January 10, 1866, W. L. Apthorp to A. H. Jackson, September 10, 1867, Bureau Records, Florida; Gainesville *New Era*, June 8, August 19, 1865, July 5, 1866; *New York Times*, December 25, 1865; Fritz W. Buchholz, *History of Alachua County Florida: Narrative and Biography* (St. Augustine, 1929), 130.

and in the personal correspondence of persons representing every economic and social class. "The freed people are looked upon as an inferior and distinct race," once bureau agent reported, "and the difference, which is made is almost as great as in other parts of the civilized world, the difference between man and beast." Even the clergy gave currency to such theories from the pulpit.<sup>9</sup> Florida newspapers approvingly quoted Dr. Josiah C. Nott of Mobile, Alabama, who avowed that the Negro had never shown any capacity for civilization or self government and that he attained his nearest approach to civilization by serving in a subordinate capacity. Naturally, since the freedman was considered inferior and criminal, it was assumed that special laws should be passed for his control so as to protect the rest of society.<sup>10</sup> Furthermore, there had always been laws to govern Negroes, slave and free, and few Floridians saw any reason why the practice should be stopped now. Indeed there was a similarity between parts of the black code and statutes regulating the free Negro in antebellum Florida. The committee appointed to advise the Florida legislature in making laws for the freedmen claimed that neither the federal nor the state constitution inhibited Florida's authority to pass discriminatory laws.<sup>11</sup> In addition, the long standing fear of Negro insurrection had not died with slavery, and whites demanded laws to curb the expected license of the freedmen. A Florida Supreme Court justice told the legislature which passed the black codes: "We have a duty to perform - the protection of our wives and children from threatened danger, and the prevention of scenes which may cost the extinction of an entire race."<sup>12</sup>

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9. J. E. Quentin to C. Mundee, August 1, 1866, Bureau Records, Florida; Warren Q. Dow Dairy, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History; Emory F. Skinner, *Reminiscences* (Chicago, 1908), 282.

10. Gainesville *New Era*, October 20, 1865, May 11, 1866; Tallahassee *Semi-Weekly Floridian*, October 27, 1865; N. Yulee to D. L. Yulee, October 3, 1865, David L. Yulee Papers, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History; Quentin to Mundee, August 1, 1866, Bureau Records, Florida.

11. Wilson, *Black Codes of the South*, 39-40; Julie Ann Lisenby, "The Free Negro in Antebellum Florida" (unpublished Masters thesis, Florida State University, 1967), 10-29; *Florida House Journal*, 1865-1866, 60-61.

12. Patrick, *Reconstruction of the Nation*, 34; *Florida House Journal*, 1865-1866, 64.

Most Floridians believed President Johnson would approve discriminatory legislation.<sup>13</sup> The newspaper spokesman of Florida Democrats interpreted Johnson's message to Congress December 4, 1865, to mean that his plan required only the adoption of the thirteenth amendment for restoration. A Florida legislative committee claimed that Johnson would protect the "brave people" in the South from the "bloody-minded, diabolical radicalism" of the North.<sup>14</sup> Both William Marvin, the provisional governor appointed by Johnson, and Governor David S. Walker had private conferences with the President and corresponded with him frequently. In none of the communications which went back and forth between Florida and Washington was there any indication of warning against discriminatory laws. In fact, after the constitutional convention which passed ordinances similar to the later black code, President Johnson congratulated the convention on a job well done. Later, Governor Marvin wrote the President thanking him for defending the southern constitutions.<sup>15</sup>

Military and bureau orders similar to the black codes probably encouraged Floridians in their determination to pass dis-

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13. Eric L. McKittrick said that "once it became certain that the Southerners were not to suffer wide-scale reprisals and that summary punishment was not to fall upon their leaders, another kind of uncertainty had apparently been allowed to invade their minds; they were not precisely sure what was now expected of them. There was a margin of doubt wide enough that they were encouraged to experiment with the spirit of the requirement." Eric L. McKittrick, *Andrew Johnson and Reconstruction* (Chicago, 1964), 9.
  14. The newspaper praised Johnson's message as worthy of Madison or Jefferson "contrasting most signally with the feeble utterances which during four years proceeded from Mr. Johnson's predecessor." A committee on federal relations made a report in which it was said: "In President Johnson is centered the hope of the Nation: He is, as it were, the great break-water, against which the raging billows of a bloody-minded, diabolical radicalism, which would otherwise, submerge, overwhelm and destroy, may lash itself into unavailing fury and exhaust its impotent range. With the swords of wisdom, justice and clemency in his hands, he stands over the prostrate body of a brave people to protect them from the radical wolves and hyenas who would suck their life-blood and revel at the repast." Tallahassee *Semi-Weekly Floridian*, January 16, 1866.
  15. Tallahassee *Semi-Weekly Floridian*, December 15, 1865; W. Marvin to A. Johnson, February 20, 1866, Johnson telegram to Marvin, November 20, 1865, D. S. Walker telegram to Johnson, July 12, 1865, Andrew Johnson Papers, Library of Congress; Marvin to W. H. Seward, August 22, 29, October 7, November 18, 1865, *Senate Executive Documents*, 39th Cong., 1st Sess., No. 26, pp. 205-06, 215, 258-59; Walker to D. L. Yulee, September 12, 1865, David L. Yulee Papers.

criminary legislation.<sup>16</sup> Though both bureau and military usually tried to secure justice for the Negro in white courts, defended his right to testify, and attempted to arrange fair labor contracts, their decrees regarding vagrancy and apprenticeship were similar to later Florida laws.<sup>17</sup> They forced freedmen to work. At least one military officer went even farther than the black codes; a few days before the Florida legislature met, the Federal commander at St. Augustine ordered that hereafter all Negroes "whether soldiers or citizens, on meeting white people will give them the inside of the street or walk."<sup>18</sup>

For the most part, Floridians believed that only a few "fanatical theorists" in the North favored equal rights for freedmen. These fanatics were sincere perhaps, but the refusal of voters in Connecticut, Wisconsin, and Minnesota to accept Negro suffrage in 1865 proved conclusively to Florida whites that "perfect equality" was not the sentiment of a majority of the northern states.<sup>19</sup> Most Floridians assumed, probably correctly, that a majority of whites in the United States were anti-Negro.<sup>20</sup>

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16. In September 1865, Assistant Commissioner T. W. Osborn threatened to move forcibly some indolent freedmen from Jacksonville to Tallahassee to work on plantations. For a detailed statement of military and bureau coercion of freedmen see Joe M. Richardson. *The Negro in the Reconstruction of Florida, 1865-1877*, Florida State University Studies No. 46 (Tallahassee, 1965), 53-65. See also Special Orders No. 15, September 13, 1865, Bureau Records, Florida; Wilson, *Black Codes of the South*, 58; James E. Sefton, *The United States Army and Reconstruction 1865-1877* (Baton Rouge, 1967), 43.
  17. In Leon County Richard H. Bradford was authorized by the bureau to retain control of two Negro boys aged fifteen and seventeen until they were twenty-one. In return for their services they were to be fed and clothed and given \$100 and a suit of clothes when they were of age. Wilkinson Call was given authority to retain control over a Negro lad aged thirteen until he was twenty-one. In return for the eight years of service Call was to allow the youth enough education to learn to read and write and give him two suits when he reached twenty-one. There were several similar instances. On occasions the bureau and military also used force to coerce freedmen to work. See Bureau Records, Florida, Special Orders and Circulars of Assistant Commissioner, Special Orders No. 24, December 29, 1865, No. 4, January 8, 1866, No. 6, January 12, 1866; General Orders No. 22, May 4, 1865, No. 30, September 21, 1865; S. L. McHenry to E. Kellog, May 24, 1865, U. S. Army Commands, Florida.
  18. This order was later countermanded by Assistant Commissioner T. W. Osborn. Moore to Osborn, January 4, 1866, Bureau Records, Florida.
  19. *Florida House Journal, 1865-1866*, 62.
  20. For detailed discussion of the northern attitude toward the Negro see James M. McPherson, *The Struggle for Equality: Abolitionists and the*

Apparently numerous white Floridians were not overly concerned with northern public opinion anyway. The state was far from the major theater of strife during the Civil War and did not feel "the terrible blows that brought down the revolt." Neither the United States nor the Confederacy considered Florida very important from a military point of view, and no major battles were fought in the state. Floridians boasted that theirs was the only capital east of the Mississippi not captured during the war. The only attempt to take Tallahassee had been defeated in large part by a group of young boys and old men in March 1865. Though the Confederacy had fallen, the people did not feel that Florida had been conquered and they were inclined to be defiant and belligerent.<sup>21</sup> As Chief Justice C. H. DuPont of the Florida Supreme Court said, "it is needless to attempt to satisfy the exactions of the fanatical theorists."<sup>22</sup>

The constitutional convention which convened in Tallahassee on October 25, 1865, was an omen. Provisional Governor Marvin believed that if the convention abolished slavery and guaranteed the "protection and security" of the former slaves, Florida would be readmitted to the Union. He expressed the hope that with progress, improved intelligence, and civilization the freedmen might in the future become "the best free agricultural peasantry" in the world. To ensure that they would be good laborers, Marvin suggested making vagrancy punishable by temporary servitude.<sup>23</sup> The convention responded with a special ordinance providing for a vagrancy law until the legislature could take action. Any able-bodied person who was "wandering or strolling about or leading an idle, profligate, or immoral course of life" could be arrested upon complaint of any citizen before a justice of peace or circuit court judge. Penalties

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*Negro in the Civil War and Reconstruction* (Princeton, 1964), and Leon F. Litwack, *North of Slavery* (Chicago, 1961).

21. *New York Tribune*, February 20, 1868; F. P. Fleming to M. Seton, May 3, 1865, Fleming Papers, Florida Historical Society Collection; F. F. L'Engle to E. M. L'Engle, June 26, 1865, Edward M. L'Engle Papers, Southern Historical Collection; A. B. Hart to B. H. Hart, December 18, 1866, A. B. Hart Letters, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History; *House Executive Documents*, 40th Cong., 2nd Sess., No. 57, p. 77; *House Reports*, 39th Cong., 1st Sess., No. 30, pt. 4, pp. 1-2; Tallahassee *Semi-Weekly Floridian*, March 20, 1866.
22. *Florida House Journal*, 1865-1866, 64.
23. Tallahassee *Semi-Weekly Floridian*, October 27, 1865; *Senate Executive Documents*, 39th Cong., 1st Sess., No. 236, pp. 209-12.

included imprisonment, fine, or being sold to the highest bidder for as much as twelve months. It was this ordinance that provoked Senator Charles Sumner to tell Congress that Florida had provided for semi-peonage of the freedmen. Another ordinance permitted Negroes to testify in criminal proceedings when a member of their race was involved, but an all white jury would determine the witnesses' credibility.<sup>24</sup>

When the legislature met in late December it was controlled by former slaveholders and ex-Confederates.<sup>25</sup> Antebellum Florida had been controlled by a few families, and the same men who led the state out of the Union were dominant in the first post-war legislature. The assistant commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau in Florida concluded that the legislature was opposed to the "equal or semi-equal rights" of freedmen. Their refusal to fly the United States flag over the capitol during the session, he thought, indicated their hostility toward the United States. A historian of the black codes decided that the Florida legislature was probably the most "bigoted and short-sighted of all southern legislatures of 1865-1866." Even after Florida's attorney general had declared that the law prohibiting freedmen from owning firearms was unconstitutional, and Governor Walker had recommended its repeal at the next session, and it had been opposed by the Freedmen's Bureau, the legislators still refused

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24. Wilson, *Black Codes of the South*, 66; *Senate Executive Documents*, 39th Cong., 1st Sess., No. 26, p. 212; William W. Davis, *The Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida* (New York, 1913), 364-65. See also facsimile edition with introduction by Fletcher M. Green (Gainesville, 1964); *Journal of Proceedings of the Convention of Florida, 1865*, 97; *Congressional Globe*, 39th Cong., 1st Sess., pt. 1, p. 97.
  25. Senator Charles Sumner charged that four-fifths of the members of the legislature were former rebel officers. The Tallahassee *Semi-Weekly Floridian* claimed that only twenty of eighty-eight were officers. There were other ex-Confederate soldiers, however. An indication of Florida's conservative leadership should be seen in the appointment to the three member state supreme court. Governor Walker nominated C. H. DuPont, chief justice, and A. E. Maxwell and J. M. Baker, associate justices. All were ex-Confederates. DuPont had been on the court before and during the war. Maxwell and Baker had both served in the Confederate Congress from February 1862 until the Confederacy's overthrow. The Tallahassee *Floridian* claimed no two men were more popular in the state and "none more deservedly popular." *Congressional Globe*, 39th Cong., 1st Sess., 1865-1866, pt. 1, p. 313; Tallahassee *Semi-Weekly Floridian*, February 9, 1866; Davis, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida*, 365-66.



to revoke it. This stubborn refusal was clearly an act of defiance.<sup>26</sup>

A three-man committee appointed at the request of the constitutional convention to recommend legislation relating to the freedmen bears much of the blame for the severity of Florida's black codes. As one historian noted, the committee presented a "report ridiculous for its pompous bigotry."<sup>27</sup> The committee quoted the Dred Scott case to prove that the Negro was not a citizen and that Congress had no power to make him such. After praising the institution of slavery and reminding the legislature that it had been destroyed without their concurrence, the committee members recommended legislation which would "preserve as many as possible" of the "better" features of slavery.<sup>28</sup> Ignoring the reaction of federal officials and Governor Marvin's warning, the legislature proceeded to enact most of the committee's recommendations.<sup>29</sup>

The freedmen were given no political rights whatsoever. They were permitted to testify only in cases involving other Negroes and even then the jury was to be white. Freedmen were forbidden to carry firearms of any kind.<sup>30</sup> A county criminal court was created to aid in handling the increase in crime caused by emancipation. These courts were considered necessary to replace the household tribunals that had previously punished slaves. The act creating the county courts provided that anyone who could not pay a fine would be sold at public

26. Wilson, *Black Codes of the South*, 143-44; Osborn to Howard, January 10, February, n. d., 1866, Bureau Records, Florida.

27. The committee was composed of C. H. DuPont, A. J. Peeler, and M. D. Papy.

28. The only "inherent evil" of slavery, the committee said, and it had been necessary, was in leaving the marriage relation of slaves up to the master. Wilson, *Black Codes of the South*, 96; *Florida House Journal, 1865-1866*, 58-59.

29. Assistant Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau Thomas W. Osborn had warned Provisional Governor Marvin that some of the proposed legislation was unwise. Osborn to Marvin, December 30, 1865, Osborn to Howard, December 30, 1865, Bureau Records, Florida; *Florida House Journal, 1865-1866*, 19-23; Wilson, *Black Codes of the South*, 97.

30. Florida, *Acts and Resolutions, 1865-1866*, 14th General Assembly, 1st Sess., 25. The provision forbidding freedmen to possess firearms was apparently motivated by fear of insurrection. The legislature passed a resolution calling upon the governor to use "utmost endeavors" to put Florida in a complete state of defense against any insurrectionary movement. There were repeated references in law to possible insurrections among "a certain portion of the population." The three-man committee had warned that the legislature had a duty to protect women and children from "threatened danger."

auction to any person who would take the delinquent, pay the fine and court costs. This of course was supposed to apply to Negroes. Special punishments for freedmen were also created. When the law called for line and imprisonment, there was super-added the alternative of thirty-nine lashes, standing in the pillory, or both. The discrimination, the legislators claimed, was based on the difference in the two races. "To degrade a white man" by whipping would make a bad member of society; to fine and imprison a Negro, on the other hand, would punish the state rather than the individual. Furthermore, to imprison a Negro petty offender would mean his withdrawal from the plantation, but whipping meant a speedier return to work.

The laws attempted to separate the two races. "A person of color" was defined by the legislature as anyone with one-eighth or more Negro blood. Cohabitation of white women and Negro men was punishable by a \$1,000 fine or three months imprisonment or both. It was unlawful for any person of either race to intrude himself upon a gathering or into a railway car assigned to another race. The statute to create schools for freedmen made the system separate from whites. Negro schools, to be operated at no expense to the state, were to be financed by levying a one dollar capitation tax on all Negro males between twenty-one and fifty-five.<sup>31</sup> Four types of offenses were made punishable by death: inciting of insurrection, administering poison, burglary, and rape of a white female. It was assumed that these laws would apply especially to freedmen; no mention was made of punishment for rape of a Negro woman. To raise revenue a head tax of three dollars was placed on all males between the ages of twenty-one and fifty-five. If the tax was not paid the delinquent could be seized and hired out to anyone who would pay the tax. It was obvious that this provision would bear directly upon the frequently penniless Negro.

Laws controlling labor were important provisions of the black codes. Vagrant freedmen could be arrested and sentenced to as much as twelve months labor. All contracts with Negroes

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31. *Ibid.*, 38. Any white person who taught in a Negro school without a license from the state was subject to fine and imprisonment. This clause was intended to discourage white northern teachers. The state did not open schools for Negroes though the capitation tax was collected.

were to be in writing. If a former slave entered into a contract and was disrespectful or impudent to his employer or refused to work, he could be sentenced for vagrancy.<sup>32</sup> Children of vagrants were at the disposal of the county as apprentices. Negro couples were given nine months to have their marital relationship solemnized.<sup>33</sup> Adult children of indigent parents were required to provide support for them. If they failed to do so, their wages or other income could be appropriated and paid to the parents.

Florida's black codes placed the Negro in a position distinctly inferior to the white.<sup>34</sup> That was in part the object of the laws - not to return the freedmen to slavery - but to subordinate him and to place him under the control of whites. White Floridians would have opposed any legislation that attempted to give the Negro equality. The laws in effect placed the state in much the same position of the former master; they provided for the control of a class of people through officers of the law and the courts.

The spirit in which the laws were enforced was perhaps as important as the laws themselves. Some of the legislation was inoperative largely because of Freedmen's Bureau interference,

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32. *Ibid.*, 32. If the contract was broken by the white employer, he would be tried by a jury and, if guilty, the laborer would be given a first lien on the crops to obtain his legal pay.
33. *Ibid.*, 31. In December 1866, an additional marriage law was passed providing that in "all cases where colored persons have resided and lived together as husband and wife, and have before the world recognized each other as husband and wife, they shall be deemed and taken to be husband and wife, and are so declared to be by this act, as fully and lawfully as if the marriage had been solemnized by a proper officer legally authorized to do and perform the same." Florida, *Acts and Resolutions, 1865-1866*, 14th General Assembly, 2nd Sess., 22.
34. There were other laws applying to freedmen not mentioned above. It was illegal for Negroes to own or have in their possession a bowie knife, dirk, or sword unless licensed by a probate judge. The penalty for having such an instrument was forfeiture of the weapon plus a whipping or one hour in the pillory. Offenses which were punishable by six months imprisonment, \$1,000 fine, whipping or standing in the pillory included: extinguishing street lights, injuring or cutting loose a boat, cutting timber, damaging any house, building, or anything attached to the land, malicious defacement, refusing to leave the premise of another or forbidden entry, selling of leaf tobacco or cotton without evidence of ownership, purposely setting fire to any agricultural produce, setting fires to buildings, fences, or bridges, and entering a house with intent to commit a felony. A public whipping or the pillory was decreed for injuring or killing animals of another person, unauthorized use of horses and hunting with a firearm on another's property. For the Florida black codes in their entirety see Florida, *Acts and Resolutions, 1865-1866*, 1st Sess., 23-29.

but a prejudiced court enforced some of the laws with a vengeance.<sup>35</sup> In June 1866, judges in Alachua and Marion counties sentenced a number of freedmen to receive lashes. A Negro boy was caught riding his employer's horse without permission, and he was fined \$200 and court costs. Being unable to pay he was sold at public outcry to the highest bidder. At Enterprise, a Negro was sold at auction for twelve months for assaulting his wife, and another man was sold for forty days for taking a drifting log out of the river and selling it.<sup>36</sup>

While freedmen were assessed large fines for petty offenses, white outrages against Negroes were frequently ignored or lightly punished. In Lake City two Negroes were convicted of stealing two boxes of goods from a railroad company and were fined \$500. When they could not pay they were sold to the highest bidder.<sup>37</sup> A few months later a white man was convicted of an unprovoked murder of a Negro; he was fined \$225 and sentenced to one minute imprisonment. In Alachua County three freedmen were charged with violation of contract and were sentenced to be publicly whipped. They also forfeited their wages and had to pay court costs. In Marianna a white man was convicted of assaulting a freedwoman and fined five cents.<sup>38</sup>

When Negroes attempted to bring a case to court, civil officers and justices of the peace usually demanded costs in advance. Even Florida's Democratic attorney general declared that demanding costs in advance from Negroes was not based on any principle of justice, but, on the contrary, appeared to "effect an absolute denial of justice and prevent the punishment of offenders." Such actions convinced General Vogdes that the rights of Florida Negroes extended little beyond "the simple

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35. The bureau especially protested the use of whipping and pillory. Nevertheless these punishments continued to be used for several months. Howard to Osborn, January 12, 1866, Bureau Records, Florida; Tallahassee *Semi-Weekly Floridian*, February 6, 1866.
  36. For a detailed treatment of injustice of Florida courts see Richardson, *The Negro in the Reconstruction of Florida, 1865-1877*, 40-52. *New York Times*, July 4, 1866; F. E. Grossman to J. H. Lyman, October 19, 1866, Apthorp to Osborn, May 29, 1866, Bureau Records, Florida.
  37. The Bureau agent at Lake City claimed that numerous freedpeople in the area had been sold for inability to pay large fines. He suspected that the courts intended the fines to be too high for the freedmen to pay. A Mahoney to McHenry, May 1, 1866, Bureau Records, Florida.
  38. J. H. Durkee to McHenry, July 20, 1866, C. M. Hamilton to McHenry, March 31, 1866, Bureau Records, Florida.

condition of absolute bondage." Assistant Commissioner John T. Sprague declared in 1867, that the civil law offered "but little protection to the freedmen." They were severely punished by the courts, but when acts of violence and injustice were imposed upon them they could expect no redress. Sprague believed there was a determination on the part of state, county, and municipal officials to make the "freedman know and feel his inferiority." This was done by arrests for trifling offenses and the imposition of harsh penalties. "The freedman is made to feel that he is still a slave," Sprague added. General John G. Foster agreed that injustice in Florida courts was so frequent that Negroes looked upon them as instruments of oppression to their race.<sup>39</sup> The black codes and prejudiced courts relegated the Florida Negro to something less than a free man.<sup>40</sup>

The passage of black codes by Florida and other southern states was unfortunate and unwise. They insured what Florida wanted to avoid - intercession by the federal government. The Freedmen's Bureau immediately announced that laws decreeing the use of whipping and the pillory would not be tolerated. Assistant Commissioner Thomas W. Osborn warned that there must be no difference in treatment before the law because of color. A bureau protest resulted in the state attorney general declaring unconstitutional the law forbidding Negroes to carry arms. When agents thought Negroes received unjust sentences the assistant commissioner appealed to Governor Walker for executive clemency. When executive clemency was not forthcoming more positive action was taken. For a period the bureau set up its own courts with agents making arrests and acting as judges. More frequently bureau agents observed trials in the county courts and when they believed a decision to be unjust, the case was appealed to the appellate court. If the verdict of the appellate court was considered unfair, the case could then be appealed to the United States District Court, which was

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39. *House Executive Documents*, 40th Cong., 2nd Sess., No. 57, pp. 13, 86-87; *House Reports*, 39th Cong., 1st Sess., No. 30, pt. IV, p. 121; Foster to Howard, August 10, 1866, J. T. Sprague to Howard, January 31, 1867, April 6, 1868, J. A. Remley to E. C. Woodruff, December 31, 1866, Bureau Records, Florida; Sprague to Mundee, May 31, 1866, U. S. Army Commands, Florida.

40. The black codes most vigorously enforced were those concerning contracts, vagrancy, and apprenticeship.

regarded as final.<sup>41</sup> Bureau interference did not end all injustice, but it did much to neutralize the evil effect of Florida's black codes.

More important than provoking bureau intervention, Florida and the South by enacting special laws to control freedmen played directly into the hands of the Negroes' friends who wanted a more stringent reconstruction. Protagonists of the Negro were furious when they discovered that President Johnson's plan of reconstruction permitted southern whites to rule in a way uncomfortably similar to before the Civil War. They became more convinced that the freedmen's future was unsafe with Southerners. Republicans in Florida and the South insisted that the Negro must have suffrage for their protection. Lewis Tappan, famous New York abolitionist, was fond of saying that the black man would never have his rights until he had a "musket in one hand and a ballot in the other." Florida was frequently pointed out as an example of the worst in the South. The black codes, southern rejection of the fourteenth amendment, the Memphis and New Orleans riots, and President Johnson's increasing intransigence convinced a majority of Congress that the South had to be dealt with more harshly. The result was the reconstruction acts of 1867 which placed southern government under Republican control.<sup>42</sup>

The reconstruction acts of 1867 and the resulting Florida constitution of 1868 overturned the black codes.<sup>43</sup> The constitution recognized Negroes as political equals, prohibited discriminatory laws based on race, and permitted blacks to testify against whites in courts. The Florida legislature by its obstinance, bigotry, and refusal to heed Northern public opinion

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41. Tallahassee *Semi-Weekly Floridian*, February 6, 1866; *Senate Executive Documents*, 39th Cong., 2nd Sess., No. 6, p. 45; Mundee to Quentin, June 12, 1866, copy of the proceeding of the Bureau Court, Bureau Records, Florida.

42. Lewis Tappan to D. Baldwin, June 3, 1865, Lewis Tappan Papers, Library of Congress; *Congressional Globe*, 39th Cong., 1st Sess., pt. 1, p. 97; D. Richards to E. B. Washburne, May 7, 1866, Elihu B. Washburne Papers, Library of Congress; *American Missionary*, X (January, 1866), 7, XI (April, 1867), 82; John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of Negro Americans*, 3rd ed. (New York, 1967), 303-05.

43. See Florida, *Constitution of 1868*, 17, 19, 22, 26-27.

contributed to what it most dreaded—laws intended to guarantee equal rights for Negroes.<sup>44</sup>

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44. That equal rights for Negroes were written into Florida's constitution of 1868 did not insure that they would always be treated equally. Black men continued to receive unfair treatment in many white courts, their labor system did not change, and even though school revenue was fairly distributed under the Republicans schools remained segregated.

# MILITARY RECONSTRUCTION AND THE GROWTH OF ANTI-NEGRO SENTIMENT IN FLORIDA, 1867

by RALPH L. PEEK

AFTER MONTHS OF bitter controversy Congress passed, over the President's veto, the Reconstruction Acts of March 2 and March 23, 1867. The South was divided into five military districts, each ruled by a major general; Florida, Alabama, and Georgia comprised the third military district which was commanded by Major General John Pope.<sup>1</sup> He in turn appointed Colonel John T. Sprague to head the sub-district of Florida, with headquarters at Tallahassee and later at Jacksonville.<sup>2</sup> Sprague assumed command on April 1, 1867, with ten companies of the 7th United States Infantry and six companies of the 5th United States Artillery, comprising respectively 635 and 480 men, a total of 1,115 soldiers.<sup>3</sup> The artillery companies garrisoned the coastal defense bastions of Pensacola, Key West, and Dry Tortugas; the infantry companies were scattered about the state in small detachments of twenty to thirty men each. They were charged with aiding the civil authorities in enforcing law and order, and they served as a restraining force on civil officials or private persons who might wrong any individual. These troops were also available to aid Freedmen's Bureau officials whenever the need arose.

Pope's orders provided that civil officers in the district were to function until their terms expired, as long as they dispensed impartial justice. Officials were also ordered to avoid any action inhibiting the people from taking an active part in reconstruct-

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1. George Sanger, ed., *Statutes at Large of the United States of America, 1789-1873*. 17 vols. (Boston 1850-1873), XIV, 428.
  2. *Report of the Secretary of War, 1867-1868*, Vol. II, 40th Cong., 2nd Sess., *House Document No. 1*, Serial No. 1324, p. 353. Hereinafter cited as *House Document No. 1*. Sprague, as brevet captain, 8th Regiment, U. S. Infantry, had served in Florida during the Second Seminole War. His *The Origin, Progress, and Conclusion of the Florida War* (New York, 1848) became the standard history of that conflict. See also facsimile edition with introduction by John K. Mahon (Gainesville, 1964).
  3. *Ibid.*, 354.



ing the state government. The commanding general could fill all civil vacancies existing at the time.<sup>4</sup> On April 4, 1867, Pope ordered all post commanders to report acts of local or state officials or of tribunals which discriminated against any person because of race, color, or political opinion.<sup>5</sup> Four days later Sprague was told to divide Florida into districts for the registration of voters as required by the Supplementary Reconstruction Act of March 23. The law provided that registrants must take the "iron-clad oath." The major general commanding would be in charge of registration and election procedures.<sup>6</sup>

The imposition of military rule created little excitement in Florida.<sup>7</sup> Conditions remained reasonably quiet, according to General Pope, in vivid contrast to those in the northern sections of Georgia and Alabama where the depredations of mounted bands of robbers had gotten beyond the control of the civil authorities.<sup>8</sup> Federal army units had been stationed in Florida since the close of the war, and the presence of additional troops was accepted with a minimum of excitement.

With the coming of martial law to Florida the Republican organization began the immediate implementation of policies designed to confer full citizenship upon the Negro and to insure his enlistment into their party ranks. Radical leaders, including Freedmen's Bureau agents, Negroes, and southern loyalists launched an intensive campaign to "educate" the freedmen.<sup>9</sup> United States Senator Henry Wilson of Massachusetts was invited by the Union Republican Club of Jacksonville to speak at a meeting there. This organization, which had volunteered to

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4. *Ibid.*

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Ibid.*

7. *Senate Executive Documents*, 40th Cong., 1st Sess., Serial No. 1308, No. 14, p. 95. Hereinafter cited as *Senate Document 14*.

8. *Ibid.*

9. For example, see: Reports of William Purman, June 7, 1867, and Charles Hamilton, May 31, 1867, and July 31, 1867. West Florida, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands, Special Orders, Reports, Letters from Private Citizens, selected documents. Microfilm of original in P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville. Hereinafter cited as *Freedmen's Bureau Papers*. Report of Joseph Harvey Durkee, June 2, 1867, Gainesville, *ibid.*; Report of Lt. Julius Quentin, June 30, 1867, Madison, *ibid.*; Report of Frederick Grossman, October 31, 1867, Lake City, *ibid.*; Report of J. A. Remley, April 30, 1867, Ocala, *ibid.*

assist Colonel Sprague with voter registration, was the core of the Republican organization in Florida.<sup>10</sup> One of the most effective devices in enlisting the freedmen was the organization of secret societies. The Union League and Lincoln Brotherhoods, using secret oaths and mysterious and awe-inspiring rituals, and eliciting the passionate religious and patriotic fervor of the Negroes, attracted a large following.<sup>11</sup>

The proceedings of a meeting in Jacksonville to select candidates for mayor and alderman on March 14, 1867, revealed a new spirit among the Negroes. They noted that Negroes were now citizens of Florida and the United States, that they were politically equal to whites, that they were perfectly capable of selecting their own candidates for office, and that they would never vote for former Confederates. The Jacksonville *Florida Times* scorned these pronouncements and called the assemblage a device of demagogues "base enough to try to separate the freedmen" from their white friends.<sup>12</sup>

Negroes at St. Augustine formed the Union Club, and a few days after the imposition of military rule about fifty of them met to learn the provisions of the reconstruction laws. Resolutions adopted at the meeting were generally indicative of Negro sentiment in Florida at this time. The body resolved that it owed primary allegiance to the federal government for giving the Negroes freedom. The reconstruction laws were endorsed and the Negroes vowed not to support former rebels "who come to us with oily words of promise, and with faithless pledges of future friendship."<sup>13</sup>

White Conservatives tried to convince the Negroes that Radical attempts to alienate them from their "true" friends were inimical to the freedmen's best interests and that they

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10. Proceedings of the Union Republican Club of Jacksonville, April 18, 1867. Transcript from the original mss. in the Florida Historical Society Library, University of South Florida Library, Tampa, is in the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History. Hereinafter cited as Republican Club Proceedings.

11. Tallahassee *Semi-Weekly Floridian*, April 16, 1867; Report of Lt. (illegible), 7th U.S. Infantry, September 29, 1867, on tour of inspection in Florida in Freedmen's Bureau Papers. See also John Wallace, *Carpetbag Rule in Florida* (Jacksonville, 1888). 42-45, for a description of a ceremony used to awe the Negroes.

12. Tallahassee *Semi-Weekly Floridian*, March 26, 1867, quoting the Jacksonville *Florida Times*, March 21, 1867.

13. *St. Augustine Examiner*, April 20, 1867, quoting the Jacksonville *Florida Times*, April 11, 1867.

were being used as political pawns.<sup>14</sup> Even with their Negro allies the Radicals were still in the minority in Florida and whites were warned that the Radicals would try to “seduce a sufficient number of thoughtless whites” into a union to create a political majority in Florida. The contest between Radicals and Conservatives was intense, and at many meetings a Conservative would be followed by a Radical speaker, usually a freedman, who sought to refute the former’s speech. At a meeting at the Tallahassee courthouse in early April 1867, Florida Supreme Court Justice Samuel Douglas spoke at length, advising the freedmen to register but not to vote for bad men. He also cautioned them not to join any party or party organization. God, the judge declared, not the North, gave Negroes their freedom.<sup>15</sup> After Douglas concluded his talk, Joseph Oats, a mulatto who lived in Tallahassee, spoke. Citing the loyalty of Negroes when their masters were away fighting to preserve slavery, he urged the freedmen to vote for Northerners who had been the agents for their emancipation. There is little doubt that the Negroes were more impressed by Oats than by Douglas.

Benjamin Harvey Hill, senator from Georgia in both the Confederate and the United States Congress, was one of the foremost critics of Reconstruction, and carried on the fight in numerous articles and speeches.<sup>16</sup> In a speech in Atlanta to a mixed audience on July 16, 1867, Hill insisted that the Radicals were not friends of the Negroes but were using them as pawns; their promises of land for freedmen were false. “Are you foolish enough,” he asked, “to believe that you can get another man’s land for nothing?” Negroes, according to Hill, should reject those who possessed “white skins but black hearts.”<sup>17</sup>

Hill’s activities had a marked effect in the third military district, both on General Pope and upon the general population. Pope wrote General Grant on July 24, 1867, enclosing a copy of Hill’s speech and calling him the “representative of a large class” whose attitudes illustrated the “hopelessness of any satisfactory reconstruction of the Southern States while such men

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14. Tallahassee *Semi-Weekly Floridian*, July 26, 1867.

15. *Ibid.*, April 30, 1867.

16. See Benjamin Harvey Hill, Jr., *Senator Benjamin H. Hill of Georgia: His Life, Speeches, and Writings* (Atlanta, 1893), 730-813, for his articles on Reconstruction.

17. Tallahassee *Semi-Weekly Floridian*, July 26, 1867.

retain influence.”<sup>18</sup> Charles Hamilton, Freedmen’s Bureau head in Marianna, reported that the “rebels” were exasperated by their failure to seize control of the state government and were using “that treacherous enemy to peace and good order . . . [that] last standard-bearer of treason, B. H. Hill” to deter freedmen from registering, voting, or taking any part in the Reconstruction program.<sup>19</sup> Pope regarded leaders such as Hill, Wilkinson Call of Florida, and other Conservatives as a powerful reactionary force against Reconstruction and a dangerous threat to the operations of government. If they obtained power, Pope asserted, Union men and southern loyalists would be driven from the South, and the status of the freedmen would be worse than ever. He deplored their tendencies toward violence, intimidation, and the suppression of free speech, and he argued that such men should be banished from the United States so that real peace could be secured. Needless to say, the Conservative press condemned Pope for his proposal “to banish . . . every honorable, high-toned patriot” and accused the general of being an ardent Radical.<sup>20</sup>

The Radical campaign for Negro allegiance was so much more successful than that of the Conservatives that the newspapers complained of a “Radical tyranny over the freedmen” which kept them from attending Conservative meetings and prevented Conservatives from instructing them.<sup>21</sup> According to Freedmen’s Bureau reports, Negro members of the secret leagues demanded total allegiance by all members; defections were met with “persecution and intolerance.”<sup>22</sup> As an example of Radical tyranny, the Tallahassee *Floridian* cited a recent incident in which a Negro delegate to a Conservative meeting in Tallahassee was threatened with death by Negro Radicals if he attended. The editor asked, “Are we not fast coming to a war of the races?”<sup>23</sup>

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18. *House Document No. 1*, 349.

19. Report of Charles Hamilton, July 31, 1867, West Florida, Freedmen’s Bureau Papers.

20. Tallahassee *Sentinel*, August 22, 1867.

21. Tallahassee *Semi-Weekly Floridian*, September 17, 1867.

22. Report of William Purman, October 1, 1867: Annual Report of Bureau Operations, 1867, West Florida, Freedmen’s Bureau Papers. See also Report of Joseph Durkee, June 2, 1867, Gainesville, *ibid.*

23. Tallahassee *Semi-Weekly Floridian*, September 27, 1867.

The freedmen believed the Radical orators, and so rapid was the growth of secret organizations that Conservatives became greatly alarmed. The proliferation of leagues and brotherhoods increased the fear of imminent Negro domination in Florida, resulted in a growing bitterness, and increased the Conservative determination to defeat the Radical purposes whatever the cost. The *Floridian* on June 28, 1867, called on the white people to organize "for safety," what with Radical leagues being organized in every county to vote for the freedmen and insisting that they support only Radicals. According to an army officer reporting on a tour of inspection in Florida for the Freedmen's Bureau, the secret leagues possessed almost total unity, and the freedmen received advice and counsel that resulted in a growing antagonism between the races.<sup>24</sup> The officer claimed that in some sections of the state Negroes were being told that the President and his advisors were traitors who planned to return them to slavery; the total effect was evil, and many freedmen in the towns were becoming "idle, loud-spoken, impudent, and disolute" as a result of such teachings. According to a report appearing in the Tallahassee *Floridian*, highly incendiary statements were being made at secret meetings. At a Jacksonville meeting, Colonel Horatio Bisbee alleged that his desire was to command a brigade of freedmen in a charge upon a Conservative camp. Bisbee, according to a report in the Tallahassee *Floridian*, "endeavored to excite and fire the minds of his audience with allusions to military discipline, united ranks, and powder and bullets."<sup>25</sup>

Conservatives failed in their effort to win Negro support and in their campaign to get whites to take the loyalty oath and to register. Only 11,180 whites registered as against 15,357 Negroes.<sup>26</sup> In eleven Florida counties - Escambia, Jackson, Gadsden, Leon, Jefferson, Madison, Alachua, Columbia, Nassau, Duval, and Marion - Negro registrants outnumbered the whites. The Conservatives charged wholesale fraud in the registration process as they compared registration figures with returns from

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24. Special Report of Lt. (illegible), 7th United States Infantry, September 29, 1867, in Freedmen's Bureau Papers, Box 85-Q.

25. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, November 12, 1867, quoting the *Charleston Mercury* (Beginning November 8, 1867, the Tallahassee *Floridian* was issued once weekly instead of twice.)

26. *House Document No. 1*, 363.

a special census of each county that were published occasionally by the *Floridian*.<sup>27</sup> A comparison of the two sets of returns reveals several paradoxes. In Escambia County, according to census figures, there were only 438 eligible Negro males, yet 619 Negroes were registered to vote. In Jackson County there were 857, but 1,169 were registered to vote. Gadsden County had 929 Negroes of suffrage age; 1,138 were registered. The greatest discrepancy was in Jefferson County where 965 eligible Negroes were counted and 1,747 Negroes were registered to vote. The *Floridian* cited a case in Jefferson County as typical of how registration returns were inflated illegally. A Negro male, nineteen years of age and exhibiting a registration certificate, was asked how he obtained registration. He replied that "we were told that all over eighteen could register and that we must do so." Joseph Nelson, nineteen-year-old Negro of Marianna, was told by Republican friends that he was old enough to vote, and he was immediately registered.<sup>28</sup>

General Pope divided Florida into electoral districts and ordered an election to select delegates to a constitutional convention.<sup>29</sup> The extreme Radical Republicans elected thirteen delegates, the Conservative Republicans elected thirty-one delegates, and the Democrats elected two. The election generated new allegations of fraud, and the *Floridian* printed affidavits from persons specifying illegal acts in several counties.<sup>30</sup> The belief of Conservatives that still another victory had been denied them by what seemed to be outright fraud increased their bitterness and resentment, and intensified a disappointment that bordered on despair. Despite their spirited opposition they had seen the Negro enfranchised, enlisted in the ranks of the Radicals, arrayed in secret political organizations of almost monolithic

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27. The legislature ordered a special census by counties in 1867, to be conducted in each county by the tax assessor. See the Tallahassee *Semi-Weekly Floridian*, July 9, 1867. Census returns in full, with the exception of one county, are carried in the Tallahassee *Floridian*, June 30, 1868. Registration returns are in *House Document No. 1*, 363.
  28. Tallahassee *Semi-Weekly Floridian*, October 8, 1867; Joint Select Committee on Condition of Affairs in the Late Insurrectionary States, 42nd Cong., 2nd Sess., *House Report* 22, Series No. 1541, 13 vols. (Washington, 1872), XIII, 144.
  29. *House Document No. 1*, 363.
  30. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, December 10, 1867 (frauds in Hillsboro County are cited). The issue of December 24, 1867, specifies frauds in Hernando, Lafayette, and Jackson counties.

unity, and given political dominance by gerrymandering operations with the support of a military ruler. The Conservatives also claimed that Negroes were being taught to hate and scorn southern whites. The virulent racial antipathy harbored by the whites since 1865 was further aggravated, and by the end of 1867 the infection had begun to flare up and to manifest itself in violent collisions between whites and Negroes.

Conservatives never acknowledged that the Negro deserved freedom, or that he might be motivated by a desire for freedom, however vague and undefined, and never surrendered their concept that the Negro was an inferior being and must always be in subordination to the white man. Any factor that might serve to reinforce these ideas was seized upon and emphasized. And the Negroes in Florida never believed the protestations of their former masters that Negro welfare was identified with an alliance with white Southerners.

The Conservative press emphasized the lawless acts of freedmen. Early in 1867 the *Ocala Banner*, in commenting on several shooting affrays in Alachua and Marion counties, denounced society as "bad."<sup>31</sup> Reportedly armed Negroes were meeting in isolated places in Marion County for drill and instruction in military tactics.<sup>32</sup> Although the Freedmen's Bureau agent sought to dispel the rumors, they persisted. Freedmen were involved in a property controversy in Fernandina, and, according to bureau reports, many were armed with guns which they were "ready to use."<sup>33</sup> William Johnson, a citizen of Fernandina, wrote United States Attorney General James Speed on March 27, 1867, that his house in Fernandina, which had been sold for taxes by United States commissioners, was being destroyed by Negroes who were using doors and other parts of the house for firewood.<sup>34</sup>

Although the imposition of martial law under the reconstruction acts caused little excitement in Florida, the state of society was turbulent because of other factors. Early in March,

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31. Tallahassee *Semi-Weekly Floridian*, January 29, 1867, quoting the *Ocala Banner*, January 23, 1867.

32. Report of J. A. Remley, February 28, 1867, Ocala, Freedmen's Bureau Papers.

33. Report of Alonzo A. Cole, February 1, 1867, Fernandina, *ibid.*

34. William Johnson, Fernandina, to the attorney general, March 27, 1867; National Archives, Record Group 60, Department of Justice; Attorney General's Papers, Letters from Private Citizens: Florida. Hereinafter cited as Attorney General's Papers.

a Mrs. Rushing, the wife of a minister, was murdered in Gainesville by a freedman who sought revenge for a fancied injury. He was captured, confessed to the murder, and was shot and killed "while trying to escape."<sup>35</sup> Troops were dispatched occasionally to quell disorders and to protect those favoring Reconstruction.<sup>36</sup> Although reassured by bureau agents and others, people continued to fear a Negro insurrection and reports persisted in many localities that Negroes had formed secret military organizations and were meeting for drill.<sup>37</sup> The tendency of freedmen to leave their work to attend political and religious meetings exasperated the planters, and the press condemned Radical leaders for using these meetings to excite and mislead the Negroes, stating that "the road to ruin lies so plain" before the Negro.<sup>38</sup>

Colonel Francis Flint, commanding in middle and east Florida, received persistent reports of the meetings of armed Negroes, and on June 27, 1867, he issued an order embracing Calhoun, Gadsden, Jackson, Leon, Liberty, Franklin, Wakulla, Jefferson, Taylor, and Madison counties, in which he noted that, "many colored people are in the habit of meeting at night, armed, in various portions of the above-named counties, and holding their secret night sessions under the protection of armed guards around the premises in which they are assembled. This practice must be discontinued at once. . . ."<sup>39</sup>

The summer and fall of 1867 saw an increasing amount of violence and conflict. The bureau agent at Ocala reported several such occurrences in May 1867. Two white men shot and killed a Negro who had broken a labor contract. James Denton, a white man, was tried at Ocala for the murder of a freedman in 1866 and was convicted of manslaughter; he was sentenced to pay a fine of \$225 and to serve one minute in jail. The

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35. Tallahassee *Semi-Weekly Floridian*, March 19, 1867, quoting the Gainesville *New Era*, March 9, 1867. See Tallahassee *Semi-Weekly Floridian*, March 22, 1867, for account of the murderer's capture, confession, and death.

36. Report of Joseph Durkee, June 2, 1867, Gainesville, Freedmen's Bureau Papers.

37. Report of J. A. Remley, May 31, 1867, Ocala, *ibid.*

38. *Tallahassee Sentinel*, May 10, 1867.

39. Tallahassee *Semi-Weekly Floridian*, June 28, 1867; *American Cyclopaedia and Annual Register of Important Events for the Year 1867* (New York, 1868), 313. Hereinafter cited as *American Annual Cyclopaedia*.



Radicals reacted angrily against this verdict, and the Union Republican Club of Jacksonville requested Colonel Sprague to launch an investigation.<sup>40</sup> Benjamin Ryan, a white resident of Ocala, was involved in a drunken altercation and fired on a group of Negroes because they were "noisy." No one was seriously injured, but the affair caused great excitement.<sup>41</sup> Drunkenness was a persistent problem among freedmen as well as whites, but the problem that seemed least capable of amelioration was promiscuity and adultery among the freedmen; their conduct, perhaps conditioned by their previous condition of servitude, appeared more amoral than immoral.<sup>42</sup>

Fernandina was in an almost constant state of turmoil. In April, a Negro living with a white woman was riddled with buckshot as he lay in bed.<sup>43</sup> Continuing controversy over the property question also plagued authorities there.<sup>44</sup> The engrossment of land in the vicinity of the Florida Railroad Company added further complications, preventing homesteading by many Negroes and whites and causing bad feelings. The bureau agent in Fernandina reported that the tax sale monopoly and railroad monopoly "rested like a nightmare" on the community, that one firm alone held over 700 lots to be sold when prices advanced, and that the railroad was building its depot a mile from town to improve the value of their lands in that locality.<sup>45</sup> The same report cited several shooting affrays in which freedmen came off second best to white men.

Freedmen had few if any open friends among Conservatives. Many southern whites who would have befriended the Negro were afraid to do so because of the fear of ostracism, "that terrible inquisition of Southern society."<sup>46</sup> Southerners withdrew their benevolent influences from the Negro and he suffered accordingly. Many whites opposed the education of the freed-

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40. Report of J. A. Remley, May 31, 1867, Ocala, Freedmen's Bureau Papers; Republican Club Proceedings, meeting of May 30, 1867.

41. Report of J. A. Remley, May 31, 1867, Ocala, Freedmen's Bureau Papers.

42. Reports of sub-assistant commissioners, *passim*, Freedmen's Bureau Papers.

43. Report of Alonzo A. Cole, May 1, 1867, Fernandina, *ibid.*

44. Reports from Fernandina Bureau, 1867, *passim*, Freedmen's Bureau Papers.

45. Report of D. M. Hammond, October 7, 1867, Fernandina, *ibid.*

46. Report of William Purman, June 7, 1867, West Florida, *ibid.*

men and/or the freedmen's children, and efforts to educate Negro children caused trouble. The Misses Harriet Barnet and Catherine Bent, northern white teachers in the colored school at Gainesville, reported early in 1866 that the bitter hatred of whites for Negroes often manifested itself in cruel treatment of freedmen. They cited incidents in which a drunken white man gouged out the eye of a Negro who happened to get in his way and the stabbing of two Negroes at Archer because they had served in the Union Army.<sup>47</sup> The young teachers reported that their greatest trouble came from assaults of white boys who often harassed them by throwing missiles into the schoolroom, sometimes hitting the teachers.

The Conservative press highlighted cases involving outrages upon whites, but other sources reveal that Negroes were also being harassed by whites. Bureau agents reports and newspaper stories reveal that the great majority of both races in every section of Florida carried weapons.<sup>48</sup> The bureau agent at Ocala, J. A. Remley, on May 31, 1867, called for a detachment of troops for use at Orange Springs, a few miles away, which had become a "hang-out for desperadoes," three of whom had brutally beaten a freedman a few days before. Remley reported ten cases of white assaults on Negroes during August 1867.<sup>49</sup> Attacks on Negroes were common in West Florida, according to bureau officials Charles Hamilton and William Purman, and summary military measures were recommended to "make an example of some of the chivalry" and to achieve harmony in that part of the state.<sup>50</sup>

With voter registration completed there was a rising tide of defiance. "The rebels are exasperated," reported Charles Hamilton from Marianna. Hamilton, who lay wounded for five days and nights on the battlefield at Fredericksburg and subse-

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47. Samuel Proctor, "Yankee Schoolmarms in Postwar Florida," *Journal of Negro History*, XLIV (July 1959), 275-77.

48. Report of J. A. Remley, May 31, 1867, Ocala, Freedmen's Bureau Papers; Report of Charles Hamilton, December 31, 1867, West Florida, *ibid.*; Gainesville *New Era*, May 4, 1867, noted the prevalence of the practice in Columbia and Alachua counties; the *New Era* of July 27, 1867, carried an order of clarification from the adjutant general's office, stating that even though shotguns and pistols were carried openly the practice was still forbidden.

49. Reports of J. A. Remley, May 31 and August 31, 1867, Ocala, Freedmen's Bureau Papers.

50. Report of Charles Hamilton, July 31, 1867, West Florida, *ibid.*

quently spent about a year in Libby Prison in Richmond, felt unable to deal with the problems in West Florida with the small detachment of federal troops available to the bureau in Marianna. He reported that the lives and property of loyal men were inadequately protected, and he asked for a "considerable" cavalry force to aid in enforcing the laws and to protect officials.<sup>51</sup> Southern loyalists in Jackson County, he said, were often greeted on the streets by such remarks as "I smell a Radical and he stinks like a nigger," or "there's a Republican - he's no better than a dog." Hamilton claimed that the spirit of intolerance was so strong in West Florida that "rebels are free to defy the government" and that loyal men dared not support the government openly.

Hostility toward the government and toward northern men was freely expressed in central Florida during the latter part of 1867. The bureau agent at Ocala complained of the "overbearing and intolerant spirit" of many of the white people there, most of whom had come into the area before the war from South Carolina. These people, Agent Remley reported, were the most violent secessionists and exercised an almost absolute control on society and government through their incumbency in all the civil offices. Remley believed that "no Union man or freedman can ever get justice."<sup>52</sup> On the other hand, the people of Ocala were alarmed at the prospect of Negro political domination, according to John Taylor, Sr., a citizen of Ocala, who wrote the United States Attorney General on September 28, 1867. Taylor asked the attorney general if there was any way for the men of the South to be re-enfranchised so that they might vote against Negro rule, a prospect "too appalling to contemplate."<sup>53</sup> He stated that Negroes in Ocala were drilling every night and that his neighborhood was "made hideous by their shrieks and screams."

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51. *Ibid.*; Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, March 10, 1868. This biographical sketch in the *Floridian* brought out some favorable facts about Hamilton; e.g., he was shot down a few feet from the enemy at Fredericksburg while snatching the colors from a falling sergeant; so favorable was the article that a critic accused the *Floridian* of supporting Hamilton in his race for Congress - an accusation categorically denied in the next issue.

52. Report of J. A. Remley, October 31, 1867, Ocala, Freedmen's Bureau Papers.

53. John Taylor, Sr., Ocala, to attorney general, September 28, 1867, Attorney General's Papers.

The political controversy in Florida during 1867 had a profound effect on the actions of those who felt submerged by the opposition. The bureau agent at Madison reported on November 30, 1867, that politics had revived the "spirit of rebellion" and that loyal men needed protection from intimidation by threats and violence. He stated that "the Civil Rights Bill, the orders from the District Commander, and the Reconstruction laws are little heeded or obeyed."<sup>54</sup> Sentiment in Alachua and Levy counties was overwhelmingly hostile to Reconstruction, according to the local press and reports of the Freedmen's Bureau agent. The people of Gainesville and Alachua County had been convinced by certain northern newspapers, said Joseph Harvey Durkee, that they ought to resist Reconstruction a little longer because the sentiment of the North was changing in their favor and southern ideas would yet prevail.<sup>55</sup> The Gainesville *New Era* echoed these sentiments; on September 14, 1867, an editorial proclaimed that the state suffered under the "dominion of a military despotism," and that the *New Era* would continue undauntedly to espouse the right of white men to be governed by themselves and "not by mulatoes [*sic*], Radicals, or any other class of idiots - General Pope, or any other Negro-loving Judas Iscariot to the contrary notwithstanding."

Although the great majority of the white people in Florida were hostile to Reconstruction and were growing more defiant, there were more than 2,000 white Republicans in the state.<sup>56</sup> The majority of whites in Taylor County belonged to their own Union League chapters, organized separately from those incorporating the freedmen.<sup>57</sup> The sentiment in Clay County was decidedly pro-Union, according to Ambrose Hart, who was engaged in lumbering and farming in Clay County. Hart, a former Union soldier who had migrated to Florida in 1866, wrote his father in Poughkeepsie that Clay County was the strongest Union county in the state and that expressions of

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54. Report of Lt. Julius Quentin, November 30, 1867, Madison, Freedmen's Bureau Papers.

55. Annual Report for 1867, Joseph Durkee, October 1, 1867, Gainesville, *ibid.*

56. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, December 3, 1867, quoting the Savannah *Republican*.

57. Report of Lt. Julius Quentin, June 30, 1867, Madison, Freedmen's Bureau Papers.

rebel sentiments were dangerous there. More than two-thirds of the natives who had been drafted by the Confederacy had deserted, he claimed, "and a rebel might as well go out and shoot himself as to say anything against deserters."<sup>58</sup> Hart might have erred in his estimate of the situation in Clay County, however, for the district, including Clay and Bradford counties, had an overwhelming white majority of registered voters<sup>59</sup> who elected a Democrat to the Florida senate in May 1868.<sup>60</sup> Wakulla, Jackson, and the other West Florida counties were said to have strong Union elements.<sup>61</sup> Delegates from Jackson County to the Florida Secession Convention in 1861 were instructed to vote against secession,<sup>62</sup> and, according to a local historian, West Florida was a wartime haven for deserters, draftdodgers, and Union sympathizers who posed a threat to Confederate control of the area all during the war.<sup>63</sup>

As the apparent frauds of Radical electoral procedures became known an added note of defiance became evident in the actions and utterances of the people and the press in Florida. In many areas tax collectors met violent resistance as they tried to collect revenues. On October 19, 1867, General Pope ordered Florida post and detachment commanders to furnish military aid to civil authorities to enable them to collect the taxes.<sup>64</sup> Default in tax payments was due, at least in part, to the failure of the cotton crop because of the depredations of the caterpillar.<sup>65</sup> The depressed economic situation certainly added to resentment against the Reconstruction program, which manifested itself in rebellious actions and words directed against the

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58. Ambrose Hart to father, February 24, 1867, in Ambrose Hart Letters, 1866-1872 (transcript from the original), P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, miscellaneous collections, Box 5. Hereinafter cited as Ambrose Hart Letters.

59. *House Document No. 1*, 363. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, April 14, 1868, also published an official list of the number of registered voters in each county.

60. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, June 9, 1868.

61. *Ibid.*, December 17, 1867.

62. J. Randall Stanley, *The History of Jackson County* (Jackson County Historical Society, 1957), foreword.

63. *Ibid.*, 179.

64. Tallahassee *Semi-Weekly Floridian*, November 5, 1867.

65. See reports of the various sub-assistant commissioners, July-November 1867, *passim*, in Freedmen's Bureau Papers, for reports of losses due to the caterpillar.

Freedmen's Bureau, the military, and the United States government in general.

A squad of federal troops met with armed resistance in December 1867, at Campbellton in Jackson County when they sought to enforce a contract agreement imposed by a bureau agent. Planters in West Florida threatened bloody opposition if the bureau tried to interfere in settlements with Negroes.<sup>66</sup> The spirit of defiance was such, an agent reported, that unmounted soldiers were not safe in Calhoun County. The contempt of the whites in Jackson County for the bureau and its policies was expressed by acts of vandalism, taunts, and open threats. The Marianna *Courier* called bureau personnel in Marianna "fanatical emissaries" and claimed that unless some protection were afforded the whites the bureau's work would bring material ruin and destroy the county.<sup>67</sup> Citing recent cases of arson, robbery, and the threatening display of firearms by Negroes, the *Courier* stated that outrages were frequent and ought to be prevented, either by law or by force.

The Tallahassee *Floridian* on December 30, 1867, described the Freedmen's Bureau as "an army of malignant Southern haters, Negro fanatics, and needy adventurers," backed in their power by the army of the United States. Moreover, continued the paper, their agents had made the freedmen enemies of the white race, their purpose was to "Africanize the South and put the white man under the Negro," and they had indoctrinated the Negro with the idea that the white man's land rightfully belonged to the Negro. All these incendiary teachings had generated numerous Negro assaults against whites, according to the *Floridian*.<sup>68</sup>

Major General George Gordon Meade succeeded General Pope as commander of the third military district on January 6, 1868, and on January 15, he issued an order designed to curb the growing tide of incidents. Noting that frequent outrages were reported throughout the district and that reports indicated that civil authorities were lax in administering justice, Meade

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66. Report of Charles Hamilton, December 31, 1867, West Florida, Freedmen's Bureau Papers.

67. *St. Augustine Examiner*, December 28, 1867, quoting the Marianna *Courier*, December 5, 1867.

68. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, December 30, 1867.

warned that the military would assume such functions unless equal justice were afforded all men regardless of class or color.<sup>69</sup>

One of the greatest problems plaguing the turbulent society of Florida in 1867 was dishonesty. Planters, bureau personnel, and farmers were faced by large-scale thefts of property by Negroes, especially of crops growing in the fields, livestock, and personal possessions in homes. The Madison agent reported on November 30, 1867, that "robbery and stealing are occurring at a fearful rate" and that friction and trouble was growing because white planters were offering attractive inducements for laborers and then defaulting at the time of payment. This practice by planters in Madison County was causing the freedmen "to grow more insolent, lazy, and unfaithful," reported the government agent. Stealing became so prevalent in some areas that people quit growing foodstuffs and raising livestock, and they bought meat and provisions at a much higher cost.<sup>70</sup> The *Marianna Courier* stated that all the hogs and most of the cattle, sheep, and goats in Jackson County had been destroyed by the depredations of the freedmen.<sup>71</sup>

In early November 1867, the captain of the *Dictator*, a steamboat plying between Charleston and Jacksonville, travelled from Jacksonville to Fernandina, Tallahassee, and Gainesville, and reported his observations in the *Charleston Mercury*, November 10, 1867. He stated that robbery and plunder were daily occurrences along these routes, and that the small portion of the cotton crop that escaped the caterpillar and grew to maturity was either stolen in the fields or from the ginhouses, scores of which had been broken into and robbed. Livestock, he claimed, was being slaughtered every night and carried off by the freedmen, and many owners had lost all their animals in this fashion.<sup>72</sup>

Coincident with the realization by white Conservatives that the freedmen were aligning themselves with the Republicans was a growing belligerency of the press, and a large number of articles were published emphasizing the basic and hopeless

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69. *American Annual Cyclopaedia*, VIII, 266.

70. Special Report of Lt. (illegible), 7th U. S. Infantry, September 29, 1867, tour of inspection in Florida, Freedmen's Bureau Papers.

71. *Tallahassee Sentinel*, December 5, 1867, quoting the *Marianna Courier*.

72. *Tallahassee Weekly Floridian*, November 26, 1867, quoting the *Charleston Mercury*, November 10, 1867.

inferiority of the Negro. Professor Louis Agassiz's doctrines were quoted to show fundamental physiological differences between the white and Negro races, especially in skeletal structure and in blood chemistry. Included in one such quotation was this simile: "The chimpanzee has not much further to progress to become a negro than a negro has to become a white man."<sup>73</sup> John W. Draper was also quoted to the effect that the Negro had fulfilled his mission in America and should be banished to Africa, his true home. Quoting Draper, one writer made a statement which, when considered against the background of later events, was indicative of the trend of thought among the leaders of the Conservatives. He stated: "Formerly the negro question was called the slavery question, which was political and social at the same time. Today the question is a purely social one. *The discussion is no longer whether the negro is to be free or enslaved, but whether he has a right to exist* [italics mine]. The discussion is still confined to books . . . [but] will reach the meetings."<sup>74</sup> In a comment a few weeks later, the Gainesville paper affirmed its belief that the major moral and social problem confronting Florida was the political suppression of the superior class, while the inferior class - only a degree above the gorilla and mere puppets of Radical demagogues - was destined to govern the state.<sup>75</sup> This paper also pointed hopefully to significant changes of sentiment in the North - the change in the tone of the press and the results of elections in the principal states - as indicative of the fact that government in the United States would always be a white man's government, and that the Negro must occupy the subordinate position assigned him by nature.

White Conservatives made sporadic efforts during July, August, and September 1867, to organize a Conservative Party. The movement was initiated in St. Augustine with a county convention of Conservatives on July 22, 1867. W. Howell Robinson, former officer in the Union Army, was chosen county chairman.<sup>76</sup> Similar meetings were held in other counties, and

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73. Gainesville *New Era*, June 22, 1867.

74. Tallahassee *Semi-Weekly Floridian*, September 6, 1867.

75. Gainesville *New Era*, November 16, 1867.

76. Tallahassee *Semi-Weekly Floridian*, August 2, 1867, quoting the *St. Augustine Examiner*, July 27, 1867.



a statewide meeting was set for September 25-26, 1867, at Tallahassee. Only five counties sent delegates to the meeting, however, and no Conservative Party was formed during 1867.<sup>77</sup> The efforts of this abortive movement to enlist Negroes were illustrated by the emphasis placed by the *St. Augustine Examiner* upon the attendance of a former slave at the meeting of July 22. Citing the faithfulness of the slave, Anthony Huertas, to his master during the war, the *Examiner* lamented: "Would that more of our colored citizens would hearken to the voice of Tony," which warned them that heeding Radical promises could lead only to disaster.<sup>78</sup> At the Tallahassee meeting Robert Kent, a Negro from Leon County, presided along with Major Van Ness, former Union officer, and Colonel William Archer Cocke of Jefferson County.<sup>79</sup> Despite all efforts, however, very few Negroes entered the Conservative camp.

An open letter to Radicals in Florida, probably written by W. Howell Robinson, appeared in the *St. Augustine Examiner* in late December 1867. The writer urged the formation of a white man's party, and asked Radicals if they realized the consequences of Negro government in the South. He characterized Negroes as wholly ignorant, except in manual labor, and blamed slavery for coarsening them and lowering their already limited capacities. Formerly the Negroes were restrained by servitude and law, but they had now passed to a state of unlimited license. According to him, antagonism between the races had increased so much that an explosion of violence was imminent.<sup>80</sup>

The military government took notice of the tense situation, and on December 27, 1867, prohibited all military organizations and decreed that there would be no parading of armed men except United States troops.<sup>81</sup> Shortly after this decree, General Meade issued his order calling attention to the frequency of reported outrages, and warned that the military would impose strict sanctions unless these outrages ceased and unless the courts dispensed more impartial justice.<sup>82</sup>

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77. Tallahassee *Semi-Weekly Floridian*, September 27, 1867.

78. *St. Augustine Examiner*, September 21, 1867.

79. Tallahassee *Semi-Weekly Floridian*, September 27, 1867.

80. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, December 24, 1867, quoting the *St. Augustine Examiner*.

81. Edward McPherson, *The Political History of the United States of America During the Period of Reconstruction* (Washington, 1875), 205.

82. *American Annual Cyclopedia*, VII, 266.

Thus it is clear that the anti-Negro sentiment of most of the white people of Florida had crystallized by the end of 1867. Turning from serious attempts to win the Negro as an ally, the Conservatives openly rejected the Negro as a person, defiantly asserting their belief that he was fundamentally inferior and only a degree above an animal. Calling upon the doctrines of racist authorities for aid, they denied the Negro's intrinsic worth. Enraged by economic and social upheaval which continued as an aftermath of war and defeat, the Conservatives saw a fundamental threat to their futures in the ascendancy of the Negro. The political framework constructed by the Republican Party in 1867 had no place for white Conservative Democrats; moreover, the Negro vote was the keystone of the structure. These factors, plus the apparent registration frauds, General Pope's arbitrary redistricting of the state, and the complete Radical enlistment of the Negro, evidently convinced Florida Conservatives that violent counter-revolution was the only method by which the Radical grip could be broken.

Aversion to the Negro as a person and as a dominant political factor was not confined to southern Democrats. Various sources reveal that southern loyalists and other conservative Republicans also harbored the same sentiments. Alex Magruder, United States marshal at St. Augustine, wrote Attorney General Evarts on January 6, 1868, protesting General Pope's redistricting of Florida to allow the populous counties, all with Negro majorities, to dictate the constitution under which all would be governed. He asserted that loyal whites would keep away from the polls and allow a Negro triumph that would bring a reaction from Congress which would, "shield and protect . . . those men who are willing to do anything and accept everything except the doctrine of full and complete equality of the Negro with the white race."<sup>83</sup> D. M. Hammond, bureau agent at Fernandina, observed that the universal enfranchisement of the Negro was a great evil, and those that placed him in power were able to see at last that the Negro was "dishonest, untruthful, and ungrateful." Moreover, he stated, "I am satisfied that the Southern people had a more just estimate of the moral worth of this

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83. Attorney General's Papers, Letters Received, Florida, 1862-1870, Northern District of Florida.

people than those of the North could have in an short period, and yet I am convinced that their average good will toward the Negro race is quite as much as that . . . [of Northerners].”<sup>84</sup> Hammond was a member of the Union Republican Club of Jacksonville.<sup>85</sup>

Ambrose Hart, who was a faithful Republican for the first three or four years of his sojourn in Florida, wrote one of his sisters in New York that he rarely encountered a Negro that was a credit to his race. “Most of the Negroes,” he claimed, “are regular spendthrifts and never lay up anything, and in my opinion are not qualified to properly vote.”<sup>86</sup> In November 1868, Hart wrote another sister that on her forthcoming visit to Florida she would be able to study “Negro characteristics in all its [*sic*] hideousness,” and that “statements about Negro depravity are no exaggerations.”<sup>87</sup>

Solon Robinson, correspondent for the *New York Tribune*, observed the opening sessions of the Florida Constitutional Convention, which began January 20, 1868, and talked with a large number of people along the route from Tallahassee to Jacksonville. His experiences convinced him, he stated, that the dominant sentiment of white Republicans in Florida at that time was hostility to the Negro both as a person and as a political equal, eligible to hold office.<sup>88</sup>

The Negro, the major weight in the political scale and solidly arrayed in the Radical Republican camp, was caught in a crossfire among contending factions. The conservative Republicans needed his vote to effect their policies, but they apparently rejected the Negro as a person of worth, and, with one exception, they never did appoint a Negro to a major office.<sup>89</sup>

84. Report of D. M. Hammond, April 30, 1868, Fernandina, Freedmen's Bureau Papers.

85. Republican Club Proceedings, 2-3.

86. Ambrose Hart to Mary Hart, March 20, 1867, Ambrose Hart Letters.

87. Ambrose Hart to Louisa Hart, November 17, 1868, *ibid.*

88. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, February 25, 1868, quoting the *New York Tribune* (n.d.), letter from Solon Robinson, February 5, 1868.

89. Jonathan Gibbs, secretary of state under Harrison Reed, and later state superintendent of public instruction, was the only Negro to hold a major appointive office; several Negroes were elected to the state legislature, and Josiah T. Wall, a Negro of Gainesville, was elected to Congress. Negroes held the office of constable, the only elective office in county government, in several counties, and Robert Meacham served as superintendent of education in Jefferson County.

The Radicals, the Negro's greatest champion, and a definite minority, were soon to suffer a shattering defeat in the final organization of the constitutional convention, a blow that destroyed them as a cohesive force and sent many of them into the conservative Republican camp. The Southern Democrats - anti-Negro, anti-Republican, and anti-Reconstruction - perceived that counter-revolution had a definite chance of success, and they aimed their main blow at the keystone of Republican strength - the Negro. Subsequent events reveal that the white Southern Democrats began, in the winter and spring of 1868, to organize forces whose activities flared into open violence and resistance with the resumption of civil government on July 4, 1868.

# BEMROSE'S MEDICAL CASE NOTES FROM THE SECOND SEMINOLE WAR

edited by E. A. HAMMOND

JOHN BEMROSE, a young pharmacist's apprentice from Lincolnshire, England, began his long sea journey to the United States in August 1831.<sup>1</sup> He disembarked in New York harbor in late September, and shortly afterwards, on November 1, he appeared at an army recruiting post in Philadelphia and accepted a five-year enlistment in the United States army. He was eighteen years old at the time. His slight acquaintance with the field of medicine was sufficient to obtain for him an assignment as hospital steward and surgeon's aide and an early transfer to garrison duty in St. Augustine.<sup>2</sup> As hostilities between the United States and the Seminole Indians intensified, Bemrose found himself late in 1835 in the field of military operations in central Florida. He was one of the very few medical assistants present at the Battle of Withlacoochee, the opening engagement of the war, on December 31, 1835.<sup>3</sup>

Professor John K. Mahon of the University of Florida in 1966 edited Bemrose's *Reminiscences of the Second Seminole War*. In the preparation of the manuscript Professor Mahon by chance came to the attention of Mrs. Dorothy Donovan, great-granddaughter of Bemrose, and presently a resident of Knowle, Warwickshire.<sup>4</sup> In the ensuing exchange of letters Mrs. Donovan

1. John Bemrose, *Reminiscences of the Second Seminole War*, ed. by John K. Mahon (Gainesville, 1966). See also John K. Mahon, "Postscript to John Bemrose's 'Reminiscences'," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XLVII (July 1968), 59-62.
2. Bemrose, *Reminiscences*, 13.
3. For descriptions of the Battle of Withlacoochee see Frank Laumer, "Encounter by the River," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XLVI (April 1968), 322-39; John T. Sprague, *The Origin, Progress, and Conclusion of the Florida War* (New York, 1847) and facsimile edition with introduction by John K. Mahon (Gainesville, 1964), 92-94; and John K. Mahon (Gainesville, 1964), 92-94; and John K. Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War, 1835-1842* (Gainesville, 1967), 108-12.
4. Dorothy Donovan to "Mr. Walker," January 12, 1968. Mrs. Donovan, uncertain as to Professor Mahon's identity, had written to "Mr. Walker" in Tallahassee. Amazingly, the letter was brought to the attention of N. E. Bill Miller, director of the Florida Board of Park and Historic Memorials of Tallahassee. Knowing of Professor Mahon's interest in Bemrose, Miller forwarded the letter to him in Gainesville.

disclosed the existence, still in her possession, of a medical notebook bearing on its front fly-leaf the inscription: "John Bemrose, St. Augustine, Anno Domini, 1834." As Mrs. Donovan describes it, "Nearly the whole book [manuscript] consists of anatomical drawings beautifully copied in ink, and then pages of medical text and at the very end are those cases which were probably made at a slightly later date when the war [Second Seminole] had started."<sup>5</sup>

Subsequently, Mrs. Donovan copied these case notes for Professor Mahon, and they are presented as examples of the medical practice carried on under exceptionally unfavorable circumstances in Florida in 1835-1836. They reveal the stage and degree of knowledge possessed by Bemrose whose medical learning was probably acquired solely from his experience as a country druggist's assistant in Lincolnshire (presumably in the town of Long Bennington) and augmented by the practical demands made upon his services with the army in Florida.<sup>6</sup>

These case notes were brought to the attention of Dr. William Straight, physician and members of the medical faculty of the University of Miami. After reading and offering clarifying notes of his own, Dr. Straight solicited similar comment from three of his colleagues in Miami: Dr. Richard C. Dever, a general surgeon who has an interest in the treatment of mass casualties; Dr. Bruce Alspach, a psychoanalyst teaching at the University of Miami; and Mr. Freeman Oikle, a practicing pharmacist interested in the history of pharmacy. The comments of these four practitioners and students of medical history have been incorporated into the footnotes, *passim infra*.

Dr. Straight observes: "Undoubtedly Bemrose was a very observant individual and I am impressed with the detail and care with which he records his cases. Perhaps it was his careful nursing care that resulted in the relatively good success he had

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5. Dorothy Donovan to John K. Mahon, February 29, 1968.

6. It is not possible to provide precise dates on which these soldiers received their wounds. Since two of the cases are referred to in Bemrose's *Reminiscences* (Joshua Woods and Jeremiah Exbridge), 52, 61, and are known to have been casualties of the Battle of Withlacoochee (December 31, 1835), and since it is known that Bemrose was discharged from the army in September 1836 (see frontispiece in *Reminiscences*), it is a reasonable assumption that the casualties occurred in the winter of 1835-1836.

with these patients.”<sup>7</sup> Dr. Dever also found Bemrose “to have been an excellent observer.” “I think,” he writes, that “he managed his cases extremely well. As one who is interested in the management of casualties, particularly under austere conditions, I would say that he did very well indeed. And, as a matter of fact, as an example of how the wheel turns, his management of many of these injuries was what is advocated for the management of mass casualties under austere circumstances [at the present time].”<sup>8</sup>

The following notes are presented exactly as they were copied by Mrs. Donovan except that a few commas and periods were inserted to clarify the meaning for the readers, and some paragraphs have been rearranged. The editor has interpolated some information which is enclosed in brackets, but the spelling and grammar are Bemrose's.

### *The Case of Fleming*

This man was shot in the leg above the ankle joint, about 3". The osfibula and oscubitus were shattered to pieces and the dangerous state of the wounds had determined the Medical Officer to amputate, but being an excellent character the General [Clinch]<sup>9</sup> was much interested in him and overpersuaded the surgeon to defer this operation and give him a trial which was done. The leg was splintered and dressed being occasionally poulticed when the wound denoted great inflammation. The bones of the part were allowed gradually to be removed when Nature denoted the proper period, and the parts formed admirably. The splints were carefully removed every fourteen days so that the leg might be properly cleansed, and were removed permanently after a period of six months when the wounded man could bear his weight upon the wounded leg, and was to all appearances not in the least distressed. This case shows the utter inconsistency of so much amputation as have been performed on poor fellows during the Peninsular Campaigns.<sup>10</sup>

7. Wm. M. Straight to E. A. Hammond, July 15, 1968, in possession of the editor.

8. *Ibid.*, Dr. Dever's explanatory notes.

9. General Duncan L. Clinch was given command of the army forces in Florida on November 24, 1834.

10. The interesting part about this case is Bemrose's observation about

*The Case of William Davies*

This man was shot with a rifle ball. It penetrated the *rectus abdominus* about 2" to the left and 3" below the navel. It is supposed it took a lateral direction and lodged in the *os illium*. Supposing the intestines cut, the case would have appeared hopeless.

*Treatment:* The patient was put on a low diet, soup, etc., and the wound dressed daily with *ung resinous*<sup>11</sup> confined by strapping. The patient complained after a week's dressing of increased pain of the part and troublesome and alarming sweats. Poultices were applied which relieved, but after a few had been applied part of the mesentery<sup>12</sup> projected from the wound 2" in length. The stench after the removal of the poultice was intolerable, followed by about half a pint of thin pus resembling in appearance water coloured with milk. Eight days after the appearance of the mesentery I removed it altogether, in appearance it was altogether gangrenous, no resemblance of those delicate tissues or networks so beautiful in the caul<sup>13</sup> on dissection. The next morning on removing the dressing I perceived two gangrenous marks the size of a pea, one above the other below the wound. I was directed to apply immediately a poultice every four hours of the leaves of ferns, aloes, oaks (*chenopodium*)<sup>14</sup> until these spots were removed. After two dressings I perceived in their place two openings in the abdomen with healthy margins, no appearance of gangrene being visible. The patient was now

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amputation. Usually this type of injury was treated by amputation because of the frequency of gas gangrene or other suppurative disease. The treatment by compressing and probable local debridement along with removal of bone fragments or sequestrectomy resulted in eventual healing of this severe injury.

11. *Unguentum resinae*. This was also known as resin cerate and consisted of rosin 350 grams, yellowwax 150 grams, and lard 500 grams. Formerly used as a stimulating and protective application for blistered surfaces, indolent ulcers, burns, bruises, etc., it is rarely used today [Mr. Oikle].
12. More properly, the mesentery; but Bemrose probably has reference to the *omentum*, an apron of tissue which hangs anteriorly between the intestines and the abdominal wall. It customarily plugs holes in the abdominal wall and thus helps prevent widespread peritonitis. The *mesentery*, a tissue from which the intestines hang, would hardly plug the hole made by the bullet [Drs. Straight and Dever].
13. Bemrose is obviously using *caul* and *mesentery* interchangeably, *caul* being an ancient term for *omentum* [Dr. Straight].
14. The *chenopodium*, or wormseed, is common in eastern United States, where it is commonly known as Jerusalem oak. *Aloes* is not commonly found in Florida.



allowed a more generous diet. His wound dressed daily as at the commencement with the exception of the *ung simplex*<sup>15</sup> being used until he finally recovered strength and vigour. His wound gradually healed and after a month's attention was quite resuscitated. This young man was 23 years of age.

*The Case of Thos. Caswell*

This man was shot with a rifle ball. It penetrated the upper part of the pectineus [pectineus] muscle and was treated in the usual manner.<sup>16</sup> After a period of three weeks the patient was taken with severe paralytic affections of the whole body, preceded with the most agonising spasms.<sup>17</sup> After making enquiry I found he had taken a large quantity of onions with animal food, and had by such conduct brought upon him the greatest agony. I never knew a human being suffer what this poor fellow did.

*Treatment:* We commenced by an emetic which cleansed the stomach. Then castor oil was taken which in some degree relieved the spasms. At H/S<sup>18</sup> he took one gr. *acet. morphia*. In the night after the affects of his opiate has subsided I was awoke by the cries of the poor fellow or 'hisses' if I may be allowed to express myself, for I found the poor man was also taken with lockjaw to add to his misery. I immediately prepared him an injection<sup>19</sup> composed of soap, oil and salt and found after some plentiful evacuation he was greatly relieved. I then injected a small quantity of (dinsand)<sup>20</sup> decoction with *tinct opii* and left him for the night. The *trismus*<sup>21</sup> still remained. In the morning I found him pretty much the same, great paralysis remained, and the powers of expressing his wants was still the same. The surgeon then directed poultices having found his wound to have become fistulous, and also to take every two hours half gr. of *acet. morphia* with these injections daily. This treatment was followed for a week then it was found paralysis had extended

15. *Unguentum simplex*, or simple ointment, was made of five grams of white wax, fixe grams of lanolin, and ninety grams of white petroleum.

16. The rifle ball has entered the anterior part of the thigh.

17. This was a clear-cut case of tetanus.

18. H/S: probably "hour of sleep".

19. Enema.

20. "Dinsand" possibly used here for "diasene," a senna compound administered as a purgative.

21. Lockjaw.

further, all the limbs, muscles, even muscles of the face were rigidly contracted and from the poor fellow's emaciated frame (not having any powers of taking sustenance but by suction through a quill) all the external muscles were delineated in their contracted state to the eye. He was now ordered to have his wound injected daily with a mixture of spirits and water to dispose to commence the healing process. The dose of *morphia* was increased to one gr. an hour to abate the spasms. We found by the above injection the suppuration was become more thick and slightly tinged with blood; previous to the injection it was altogether a watery matter. The injections are still continued to the wound and the dose was further increased to two grs., so that I had given from 5 a.m. to 10 a.m. the enormous quantity of 10 grs. of *acet. of morphia* which appeared not to answer the purpose but little better than the previous small doses at the commencement of the spasms, showing the habit of anodynes, or otherwise the increased pain had required such stimulus to destroy its effects. He is allowed to take spirits and water or wine and water to assist his emaciated frame, having used the aforesaid means for a period of three weeks the spasms are gradually overcome and in the meanwhile the ball forces a passage to the *gluteus* from which it is extracted. The patient soon improved in appearance after the *trismus* left the jaws, and was gradually restored to his functions but will doubtless always remain a cripple.

#### *The Case of Jeremiah Exbridge*

This man was shot with a rifle bullet. It penetrated the right pectoralis half an inch below the nipple, entered the lungs and was extracted from the belly of the *latissimus dorsi*. The patient was affected with great *dyspricea*,<sup>22</sup> anxiety, with the greatest possible dejection and dread of death. He was on account of the vomiting of blood, *dyspricea*, removed on a litter from the field of battle carried by six men, (alternately changing through the battalion) a distance of 58 miles, otherwise he would not have survived.

*Treatment:* This wound was dressed in the usual form.

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22. *Dyspricea*: possibly could have been *dyspnea*, or shortness of breath.

Regimen low, clysters, occasionally, and grs. two of *plumb acet.*<sup>23</sup> to stop internal haemorrhage was given at proper intervals. The haemorrhage stopped after such treatment. Expectoration is now adjusted by mild muscilaginous drinks, such as *decoct. (lini), ga. accaciae*, etc.<sup>24</sup> Everything now appears favorable excepting the excessive anxiety constantly present which is still increased by the scruff<sup>25</sup> of the wound not suppurating by the ninth day as it commonly does in gun shot wounds. The patient appears morose and sullen and will only look on the dark side, misconstruing all your advice (of keeping quiet and bearing his misfortune manfully) as unfavorable signs and he gives up with the greatest despondence. On the eleventh day the wadding came from the wound which caused me to predict amendment and finally upon the thirteenth day the scruff made its appearance followed by bloody matter. Nothing possible could be described equal to the poor fellow's joy and I began to fear the effects of it. But no advice could restrain him so immoderate was the joy caused by the possibility of recovery and the wish to enjoy all the ideal fancies the mind so vainly forms for our happiness here. But to resume, the patient finally recovered to his usual health and again returned to his duties either to slay or himself be slain.

#### *The Case of T. O'Brian*

This man was shot through the lower portion of the *deltoïdes*, shattering the *humerus* one portion of which projected through the opening the ball had made after coming through the *coraco-brachialis* close up to the *axoia*.<sup>26</sup>

*Treatment:* This patient suffered much from inclemency of the weather and the little conveniences he had of conveying his shattered limb carefully to his destination. The arm was poulticed four or five times successfully, afterwards dressed and splinted.

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23. *Plumb. acet.:* *lotio plumbi acetas*, a lotion of lead acetate which is now obsolete. Dangers of lead poisoning from this medication were acute.

24. A boiled compound of water, linseed, and acacia, presumed at the time to have been readily absorbable from the alimentary tract and exercised an internal demulcent action. *Ga.* is probably an abbreviation for *galingale*, formerly used as a stomachic.

25. *Scruff:* a thin covering, coating, or film.

26. Obviously an erroneous spelling of *axilla* (armpit).

tered, alternately bathed with lotion of *plumb. acet.* and *opium*.<sup>27</sup> His diet was low but owing to the great quantities of spirits [to which] he had habituated himself, he was allowed half a pint of weak toddy twice a day. After careful attention this man's humerus was firmly set in four weeks, and after six weeks had elapsed the splints were permanently removed and a dressing of *tinct.*<sup>28</sup> and simple *cerate*<sup>29</sup> to the axoia wound completed a cure.

#### *The Case of Joshua Woods*

This man was shot, the ball striking the petrans<sup>30</sup> portion of the *os temporalis*.<sup>31</sup> Upon examination of the ball when it was cut from under the scalp, it was completely flat with the exception of the uneven surface caused by being wedged so closely to the projections so characteristic of the portions of the temporalis it struck. There was found upon examination simple fracture of the part.<sup>32</sup> The wound soon healed, which caused this patient to go to his duties sooner than was advisable, for after having gone through the fatiguing march of 20 days, he was finally laid up, suppuration commenced from the ear, and great time was required to restore him.

#### *The Case of Daniel Baily*

This man was shot with a rifle ball through the parotid gland,<sup>33</sup> taking in its course *processus coronalis*,<sup>34</sup> and was then supposed to have fallen out of the mouth with the blood or have been swallowed as no further traces of it could be seen. This poor fellow's appearance the morning after the engagement was truly distressing, not a vestige of the human countenance was left, so swollen was the whole head. Also *trismus* was present to a great degree; the jaws could not be separated further than would admit of the introduction of the little finger

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27. Lockjaw.

28. *Tinct.* Tincture of what, Bemrose does not indicate.

29. An ointment with a wax base to which other medicants were added.

30. Possibly an error in copying. The writer obviously intended the word, *petrous*.

31. *Os temporalis*: the temporal bone.

32. This is an indication of the low-velocity nature of the weaponry of the times.

33. A salivary gland, slightly below and in front of the ear.

34. Progressing upward toward the center of the cranium.

between the teeth. This patient by patience soon recovered after proper treatment, only there will always be a slight degree of stiffness of the *inferior maxillaris*.

#### *The Case of McCanly*

This man was shot in the *sinea alba*.<sup>35</sup> As to the direction the ball took, it is speculative. Great anxiety was apparent stools bloody with a foetid smell; occasionally spasms of the *recti* muscles with costiveness [constipation].

*Treatment:* The bowels were assisted with injections [enemas] and fomentations to the abdomen to keep up a proper dilatation. On the seventh day the *os chare*<sup>36</sup> was removed and suppurations were of a healthy appearance during the whole healing process. This patient was occasionally troubled with spasms of the muscles of the abdomen for some period after his recovery, which probably might be attributed to the quantity of spirits he demolished being known for an encourageble drunkard.<sup>37</sup>

#### *The Case of Pocenburg*

This young man was shot through the left breast entering that part of the pectoralis neari [nearest], the *serator major anticus* [more properly, *serratus magnus anterior*], cutting through the lower portion of the *teres major* adjoining the *latissimus dorsi*.

*Treatment:* This case was extremely tedious, the lung occasionally suppurating a sanguineous matter after the removal of the *os chare* [that is, the eschar, or scab] by nature, and great expectoration which occasioned great debility. The stomach also was very irritable, and the body much jaundiced. Poultices were found in this case a good application; with purgatives composed of hydsubhurr L.P. antimonalis<sup>38</sup> in small quantities. Diet

35. Known today as *linea alba*, a fibrous tissue in the middle of the abdomen running from the pelvis to the xyphoid and lying between the two rectus muscles.
36. There is small doubt that *os chare* was Bemrose's spelling of eschar, meaning scab.
37. Dr. Deyer wonders whether the physician "encouraged" his drinking or was the patient "incorrigible."
38. Mr. Oikle identifies *hydsubhurr* as probably *hydrosburr*, or calomel. *Antimonalis*, was certainly antimony. The symbols, "L" and "P" cannot be identified.

was soups and occasionally a little *panada*<sup>39</sup> to assist the weakened system. After pursuing this mode of treatment for three months he was rendered convalescent.

*The Case of Urbain Stoll*

This man was shot [the bullet] entering the *sartorius* and [going] through the *rectus femoris*.

*Treatment:* There was great swelling of the whole thigh, and the cicatrix was disposed to close for the *cochar* had suppurated.<sup>40</sup> Poultices were applied to assist suppuration process and after the period of five days the fluctuation of pus was perceptible and on the ninth day the size of the thigh was frightful. An incision of three inches was made at the apex and about two quarts of pus was taken away. It was repoulticed and when removed the quantity of a pint was again pressed from the cavity. The suppuration now became more natural and upon the fourteenth day the ball had made its appearance in the center of the semi-membranosius from which it was cut and the wounded man quickly recovered.<sup>41</sup>

*Singular case of a volunteer who was wounded in the scalp*

The ball cutting through the scalp immediately over the junction of the two *parietalia*. Although the bones were not touched the complications were so great as to deprive the whole body of motion for a period of three weeks. Limbs were useless.<sup>42</sup> When he first felt returning powers in the arms, a week afterwards he was enabled to use them and could support his body on crutches allowing his toes to rest lightly upon the ground. By keeping his wound open longer than (if not attended by such symptoms denoting the loss of all nervous power) would

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39. *Panada* was a bland food of breadcrumbs and water.

40. The cicatrix is the fibrous tissue which forms around a wound. It later contracts to form a scar. *Cochar* obviously was used for *eschar*, or scab.

41. An example of an abscess healing promptly after drainage and removal of a foreign body.

42. Dr. Dever suggests that the loss of motor response here was due to hysteria rather than to "brain damage." He doubts that extradural or subdural (the *dura*, or *dura mater*, being the tough fibrous membrane enclosing the brain) bleeding of sufficient proportions to have produced such reactions could have occurred without death to the patient.

have been necessary, this man was gradually restored all his faculties.

*The Case of a soldier who died of fright*

This man joined the army in Florida [and] engaged against the Seminole Indians as a recruit. He was noticed by his comrades from the commencement to be continually uneasy and frequently let drop expressions of dread of the enemy. The night that Fort Drane<sup>43</sup> was attacked this poor fellow's mind was completely disordered from the commencement of the attack. Particularly the yells or Indians' warcry (which was yelled every volley) terrified him to such a degree that his services were altogether useless. After the dispersal of the foe he was brought into the hospital completely an idiot. At intervals crying out "Don't you hear them, Indians, Indians, turn out, Indians," the general orders (when surprised) used by the commanders.

*Treatment:* In the first place he was given an emetic which was forced, after the operation of which he was blistered upon the scalp and injections [were] passed up the anus as he was now quite a maniac. During the night I was obliged to have him bound to the floor, to keep him from damaging himself and others. Notwithstanding, in the morning I found him making a noise more like a wild beast than a human being and thought probably he had bit his tongue whereupon I forced a piece of wood between the teeth, and observed something projecting from the palate. Upon removal [it was apparent] that he had taken the blister off and placed it in his mouth which had so adhered and blistered him that he could never express himself afterwards until his death which happened three days following.<sup>44</sup> His treatment during the time consisting of hydrsub-

43. The fort, constructed by and named for Augustus S. Drane, was located about ten miles below Micanopy on General Clinch's plantation. The property had been called "Auld Lang Syne." Bemrose, in his *Reminiscences*, describes the fort and the porch of the driver's residence where he administered to his patients. Mahon, *Reminiscences*, 33-34.

44. Dr. Alspach has suggested alternative possibilities in this case. He feels, however, that the "most likely diagnosis . . . was an acute schizophrenic reaction because of the hallucinations and the bizarre behavior (putting things in his mouth that scalded the inside of his mouth)" and that the "man died of electrolyte and fluid deficiencies." "Nowadays," says Dr. Alspach, "such reactions are treated by heavy sedation with drugs such as Thorazine and a few years back such patients were treated by emergency electroshock therapy."

murr cathartics and blisters with cataplasms <sup>45</sup> to bring the excitement to the surface, but it was of no avail.

*Death from a blow with the fist*

This patient was struck when fighting by his antagonist to the left of the pit of the stomach and immediately fell senseless. He was brought into the hospital in the meantime having recovered in some measure so that he could point out the place where he was struck. I was directed by the surgeon to cup him upon the seat of pain and if not relieved to then apply a blister. But during the operation of cupping his pain increased frequently striving to elevate his legs so that I placed them upon a medicine chest which he said eased him. But I soon noticed the whole abdomen distending itself to such a degree that, deciding a vessel was ruptured, I immediately sent for the surgeon. His breathing was now very laboured and by the time I had taken off another glass he drew his last breath. When opened we found the *vena cava ascendens* burst and the abdomen full of blood. <sup>46</sup>

*The Case of James McFeeley who died of an abscess of liver*

This patient was a continual drinker of ardent spirits and was constantly in the hospital either with deranged stomach or bilious fever. When his company was ordered to garrison Fort Oakland <sup>47</sup> he was obliged to do without his usual stimulus which occasioned him to be very debilitated and finally the Indian type of intermittent [fever] attacked. He was treated for it with the usual remedies and an occasional ounce of weak toddy. But it was too late. His energy would not assist him, he gradually wasted and great pain of the kidneys with micturition came on. He was ordered diuretics, *decot. sim.* <sup>48</sup> with *sp. ether*

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45. Cataplasms: plasters, probably made of clay and glycerine, containing active ingredients. Similar to the modern antiphlogestine. Mr. Oikle feels that one ingredient used here was capsicum, or possibly, cantharides, either of which could have had a blistering effect.

46. Two possibilities are suggested in this case. It seems quite probable that the man suffered a ruptured spleen, or equally likely he suffered a rupture of the liver with a tear extending to the *vena cava*.

47. Fort Oakland, known also as Ft. McIntosh, was located in northern Marion County.

48. There was no formula for simple decoction. This could simply refer



*nitrosi*,<sup>49</sup> also the *tinct. ferri mur*,<sup>50</sup> but everything was useless, for he then complained of pain of the liver (striking up to the shoulder, to use his expression). He was then ordered *hydrsub. mixt.*<sup>51</sup> one gramme with one-fifth of a gr. of opium night and morning, but it was useless. An external swelling is seen over the seventh rib or immediately below, which was open[ed] after a day or two, when he seemed somewhat relieved but the stamina of life was gone and he died three days afterwards.<sup>52</sup>

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to hot tea made of bark, such as juniper tea or palmetto berry tea, both of which are diuretics.

49. *Sp. ether nitrosi*: sweet spirits of niter, used as a diuretic.
50. This was tincture of ferric chloride - an iron preparation, used as a styptic.
51. Again, probably calomel (mercurous chloride).
52. As to the cause of death in this case numerous possibilities suggest themselves. "This case appears at the outset to be malaria, probably of the 'blackwater fever' variety but the eventual death due to what must have been liver abscess is hard to relate to malaria. I suppose this man could have had two diseases and had either a pyogenic liver abscess or possibly an amebic liver abscess" [Dr. Dever]. "Another explanation would be that this man developed appendicitis which gave him the type of intermittent (fever) and from this he developed a subdiaphragmatic abscess. The description of 'pain of the liver (striking up to the shoulder . . .)' strongly suggests something was irritating the right diaphragm. Such symptoms are commonly seen in a subdiaphragmatic abscess which often results as an extension from the liver or could result from peritonitis" [Dr. Straight].

# SOUTHERN LIMIT OF TIMUCUA TERRITORY

by RIPLEY P. BULLEN

ACCORDING TO A popular belief the area south of Tampa Bay was the domicile of the Calusa Indians. Whatever the origin of this dogma, it is likely connected with the fact that Narvaez and De Soto supposedly landed in Timucua Indian territory. How far south of Shaw's Point this territory may have extended has never been delineated. Historically, north Florida east of the Aucilla River was inhabited by Timucua, and south Florida, south and west of Lake Okeechobee, by Calusa Indians.<sup>1</sup> Archaeological evidence suggests that regional differences in material culture had existed for about 1,500 years before the coming of the Spanish in the sixteenth century.<sup>2</sup> The languages spoken in these areas in prehistoric times are unknown.

Professor John M. Goggin in 1947 divided Florida into eight archaeological areas: the Central Gulf Coast, area 2, covered the territory from the Aucilla to the Manatee rivers; area 3, the Manatee Region, ran from the Manatee to the middle of Charlotte Harbor; and the Glades area included the land south to the tip of the peninsula.<sup>3</sup> The Central Gulf Coast was clearly western Timucua territory and the Calusas lived south of Charlotte Harbor. The Manatee Region, Goggin called intermediate, because of "the admixture of cultural contents in some of the sites."<sup>4</sup> In 1949, however, he grouped the Manatee Region with the Central Gulf Coast as occupied by Indians of the Gulf Tradition as opposed to those of the Glades Tradition found further south.<sup>5</sup> Recent study supports Professor Goggin's allocation.

There is also evidence available to support the contention

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1. Adelaide K. Bullen, "Florida Indians of Past and Present," *Florida From Indian Trail to Space Age: A History*, Charlton W. Tebeau and Ruby Leach Carson, eds., 3 vols. (Delray Beach, 1965), I, 318.
  2. Ripley P. Bullen, "Florida's Prehistory," *ibid.*, 306.
  3. John M. Goggin, "A Preliminary Definition of Archaeological Areas and Periods in Florida," *American Antiquity*, XIII (October 1947), 114.
  4. *Ibid.*, 119.
  5. John M. Goggin, "Cultural Traditions in Florida Prehistory," *The Florida Indian and His Neighbors*, John W. Griffin, ed. (Winter Park, 1949), 18.

that all of the Manatee Region, including Boca Grande and the area immediately south of Punta Gorda on the south side of the Peace River, properly may be considered Timucua territory. This is based on the assumptions that the Timucua made the Indian pottery found with other historical material in known Timucua territory north of Tampa Bay, and that the areal extent of such pottery in quantity indicates the extent of Timucua hegemony. It is also assumed that the strikingly different Glades Area pottery was made by the Calusa. A further assumption states that common ceramic history implies common culture history. These assumptions are not always completely correct as two people making the same pottery may speak different languages, and the western Timucua, north of Tampa Bay, did not make the same types of pottery as the eastern Timucua in the St. Johns River valley. Nevertheless, they would seem to be reasonable hypotheses for the problem under discussion.

The archaeological culture periods of the Central Gulf Coast and those of the western Glades Area are well known. This consideration of the ceramics of these areas begins at around A.D. 500 with the Glades II period to the south and the Weeden Island period to the north. In the western Glades Area at that time predominantly plain gritty and sand-tempered pottery is found. Decoration, when present, consisted of straight lines made by incision, linear punctation, and series of short parallel lines. Typologically such vessels are referred to by archaeologists as Miami, Gordon's Pass, or Sanibel Incised.<sup>6</sup> Lateness in the period is marked by the presence of Key Largo Incised sherds, fragments of vessels decorated with incised arcades. Trade sherds include Belle Glade Plain from near Lake Okeechobee and St. Johns Plain, and Dunns Creek Red from northeast Florida. This ceramic complex is typical of Glades II times which ended about A.D. 850.<sup>7</sup> After that, during the Glades III period, there may be some holdover of the above types but the highest and hence latest levels produce Surfside Incised and Glades Tooled containers. Sherds of St. Johns

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6. Gordon R. Willey, *Excavations in Southeast Florida*, Yale University Publications in Anthropology No. 42 (New Haven, 1949), 95-100.

7. Bullen, "Florida's Prehistory," *Florida From Indian Trail to Space Age*, I, 306.

Check Stamped trade vessels from northeast Florida are time markers for this period. These data come from excavations at the Key Marco,<sup>8</sup> Goodland Point,<sup>9</sup> Lower Fisheating Creek,<sup>10</sup> Turner River,<sup>11</sup> and Turner River Jungle Garden<sup>12</sup> sites. They are supported by data accompanying research collections at the Florida State Museum, Gainesville, and by that in the Laboratory of Anthropology records at the University of Florida. The pottery types which belong to the Glades Tradition, it would seem, must equate with the Calusa. None of the decorated Glades pottery types, so far as is known, have been found north of the middle of Charlotte Harbor except for a few Glades Tooled sherds discovered during the Cape Haze survey and excavations on the north side of that harbor.<sup>13</sup> This strongly implies that the Calusa never occupied any of the land north of the middle of Charlotte Harbor.

The archaeological situation in the Central Gulf Coast region north of Tampa Bay is substantially different. Here during the Weeden Island period, which equates with Glades II temporally, are found the full range of Weeden Island ceramics - Carrabelle, Weeden Island, and Pypys Bayou Incised and Punctated, various complicated stamped, and dentate, shell and cord marked vessels.<sup>14</sup> Such decorated types are also found in northwest Florida and some even as far west as Louisiana, but only as extremely rare trade sherds or poor local copies in the Glades Area. Dunn's Creek Red in Weeden Island I and St. Johns Check Stamped in Weeden Island II - as in the Glades Area - are found as trade vessels from northeast Florida. St. Johns Check Stamped vessels are also present in the succeeding Safety Harbor period.

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8. John C. and Linda M. Van Beck, "The Marco Midden, Marco Island, Florida," *Florida Anthropologist*, XVIII (March 1965), 5, 9.
  9. John M. Goggin, "Cultural Occupation at Goodland Point, Florida," *Florida Anthropologist*, II (November 1949), 71.
  10. John M. Goggin, "Archaeological Notes on Lower Fisheating Creek," *Florida Anthropologist*, IV (November 1951), 54, 57.
  11. William H. Sears, "The Turner River Site, Collier County, Florida," *Florida Anthropologist*, IX (June 1956), 53.
  12. Dan D. Laxson, "The Turner River Jungle Gardens Site," *Florida Anthropologist*, XIX (December 1966), 136-38.
  13. Ripley P. and Adelaide K. Bullen, *Excavations on Cape Haze Peninsula, Florida*. Contributions of the Florida State Museum, Social Sciences No. 1 (Gainesville, 1956), 20, 43.
  14. Gordon R. Willey, *Archeology of the Florida Gulf Coast*, Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, Vol. 113 (Washington, 1949), 407-09.

Late protohistoric pottery from north of Tampa Bay belongs to the Safety Harbor period and reflects influences from Middle Mississippian people living to the west. This pottery exhibits incised and punctated decoration (Ft. Walton, Safety Harbor, Pinellas, and Englewood Incised) stylistically different from that of the Glades Area plus new features such as handles, rim lugs (Lake Jackson Plain), and the water-bottle shape.<sup>15</sup> There are also differences in paste and temper. The only similarity - except for extremely rare trade sherds - is notching at the outer corners of lips which is reminiscent of Glades Tooled rims.

Continuity of people between the Weeden Island and Safety Harbor periods is indicated by slight stylistic similarities in the pottery decorations and by the presence in many of the Weeden Island period burial mounds of Safety Harbor pottery without any break in the construction or use of the mounds.<sup>16</sup> The Thomas mound on the Little Manatee River, east of Tampa Bay, contained Weeden Island and Safety Harbor pottery in addition to Indian worked copper and silver objects.<sup>17</sup> The Safety Harbor period Parrish and Picnic burial mounds, east of Tampa Bay, also produced European objects.<sup>18</sup> That the Safety Harbor ceramic complex is that of the western Timucua is further documented by the finding of European objects in the burial mound, in the village midden, and in the upper part of the temple mound at the Safety Harbor site on Phillippi Point,<sup>19</sup> which is believed to be the site of Tocobago visited by Pedro Menendez in 1567.<sup>20</sup>

If the correlation between the Safety Harbor ceramic complex and the Timucua and that between the Glades pottery complex and the Calusa seems demonstrated, the Manatee Region between Tampa and Charlotte Harbor must be examined. No decorated Glades Area pottery north of the middle of Charlotte Harbor except for a few Glades Tooled rim sherds from

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15. *Ibid.*, 458, 472, 479.

16. *Ibid.*, 110, 119-20, 132-33.

17. Ripley P. Bullen, *Eleven Archaeological Sites in Hillsborough County, Florida*, Florida Geological Survey, Report of Investigations No. 8 (Tallahassee, 1952), 14-17.

18. *Ibid.*, 66-69; Willey, *Archeology of the Florida Gulf Coast*, 145, 155.

19. John W. Griffin and Ripley P. Bullen, *The Safety Harbor Site, Pinellas County, Florida*, Florida Anthropological Society Publications, No. 2 (Gainesville, 1950), 18, 24.

20. *Ibid.*, 31.

Cape Haze has been located.<sup>21</sup> Both Weeden Island and Safety Harbor ceramics have been found in quantities in the burial mounds of the Manatee Region in Manatee and Sarasota counties. Examples are the Palmer mound in Osprey<sup>22</sup> and the Englewood mound just north of the Charlotte County line.<sup>23</sup> Weeden Island pottery was also uncovered at Cayo Pelou, east of Boca Grande.<sup>24</sup>

The more common Safety Harbor ceramics have been unearthed at Englewood, Arcadia, Hickory Bluff, and in the Boca Grande burial mound<sup>25</sup> as well as on Cape Haze.<sup>26</sup> In 1962 the author accompanied Mr. and Mrs. Robert Max Jones to the Aqui Esta burial mound southwest of Punta Gorda. Pottery from this location included various water bottles, a vessel with incised hands on the sides, applique ropes at the base of water bottle necks, Lake Jackson Plain containers with lugs and handles, and Pinellas Incised vessels. Incised hands are a feature of Tampa Bay ceramics and presumedly have a ceremonial connotation. Pottery from the Aqui Esta mound is so typically Safety Harbor that it leaves no doubt but that the people who made this mound and were later buried in it must have belonged to the Safety Harbor culture and, based on the assumptions mentioned earlier, they must have been Timucua.

Only a little Safety Harbor pottery has been recorded south of Charlotte Harbor. None is recorded in the Florida State Museum's research collections. Examination of the records of the Laboratory of Anthropology, Department of Anthropology of the University of Florida, revealed that Englewood Incised sherds are recorded for Upper Captiva Island, Pine Island, the mouth of the Caloosahatchee River, and Johnson's Key in Estero Bay; Ft. Walton Incised for Johnson's Key and Demorey Key; Lake Jackson Plain for Demorey Key; Safety Harbor Incised for four locations on Pine Island; and Papy's Bayou Punctated and Pinellas Incised for Pine Island. In every instance only one or two sherds of these types are listed. This sprinkling

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21. Bullen and Bullen, *Excavations on Cape Haze Peninsula, Florida*, 20, 43.

22. Florida State Museum records, catalogue of specimens from the Palmer site, Sarasota County.

23. Willey, *Archeology of the Florida Gulf Coast*, 132-34.

24. *Ibid.*, 344-45.

25. *Ibid.*, 342-46.

26. Bullen and Bullen, *Excavations on Cape Haze Peninsula, Florida*, *passim*.

of sherds is what might be expected as a result of trade across a cultural boundary. They do not support a possibility that the Timucua had any substantial influence around Pine Island Sound, the Caloosahatchee River, or Estero Bay. While this area has not been extensively exploited archaeologically, enough work has been done by various people, including real estate developers, to substantiate this conclusion which, of course, agrees with the historical records. It seems evident that the division between the Timucua and Calusa territories occurred along the middle of Charlotte Harbor. The north shore of this body of water is very low and marshy. Probably the Calusa paid little or no attention to it. Their "center of gravity," if contemporary historical data is accurate, was in Estero Bay some thirty-five miles further south.

The southern limit of Timucua territory is of interest to historians since it is one of the points bearing on Hernando De Soto's landing place. The reports of that expedition seem to indicate that the landing occurred in Timucua territory and that the Indians of Ucita and of the villages of Hirrihigua and Mocozo were not very different from those encountered as the expedition moved northward.<sup>27</sup> The delineation of the southern boundary of Timucua territory as the north and northeast side of Charlotte Harbor would suggest that De Soto did not land further south. This would eliminate the San Carlos Bay - Caloosahatchee River-Fort Meyers area as a possible landing site, but it would not discard the Charlotte Harbor-Peace River-Punta Gorda location as a possible landing point.

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27. Edward G. Bourne, *Narratives of the Career of Hernando de Soto*, 2 vols. (London, 1905), I, 23-44.

## BOOK REVIEWS

*The Sea Brings Forth.* By Jack Rudloe. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1968. xv, 261 pp. Acknowledgments, illustrations. \$6.95.)

Like the rest of us Gulf-side Floridians, Jack Rudloe is fascinated by the beautiful water, sky, and fringing landscape. "Vast expanses of blue waters and skies stretching on and on forever," he writes, "weird tall pine trees like inverted mops, ragged palms and scrub bushes - that is the landscape of the Florida Gulf. . . . No matter where I travel or what I see, nothing can compare with it." Unlike most of us, however, he has an intimate knowledge of what exists under those waters, and in the telling of it he has created a delightful book.

*The Sea Brings Forth* is an unusual and beguiling potpourri of Rudloe's experiences as collector of marine specimens, vivid portraits of human beings, and much scientific information. At twenty-four, the author already has a wide reputation as a knowledgeable and dependable marine biologist. He was a member in 1963-1964 of the International Indian Ocean Expedition to Madagascar, has written scientific articles and a textbook, and is becoming increasingly successful at the collecting business he started on a shoestring after brief academic instruction in scientific fundamentals at Florida State University.

Though he calls the fishing town where he has headquarters "Arcadia" (strangely, when there is a real Arcadia on the Peace River), his publishers divulge that it is really Panacea on Apalachee Bay, not far from the curve where Florida becomes the Panhandle. From Panacea, he ranges east, west, and south, or beachcombs close at home. Rudloe is an expert raconteur. His observation is keen, his narrative swift. The dialogue is vivid, lively, salty, often very funny, and it is devised to reveal character as a novelist would use it. Although, for obvious reasons, he must have created pseudonyms for at least some of his fishermen associates, and doubtless scrambled certain incidents, one always senses a basic truth.

This book will certainly delight the person with scientific



curiosity - especially perhaps if he has no scientific training. "A collector," says the author, "must know the scientific names used in the scientific world, and the common names that books and imaginative scientists give the animals," as well as "the local names like 'sea lice,' 'shock fish,' and 'sea snakes'." He uses all of them, but without a word of technical gobbledegook. Rudloe collects not only the better known inhabitants of the Gulf but such less obvious material as hydroids, sea grapes, polychaete worms, mole crabs, and chitons. In size, his prey ranges from the almost microscopic to huge fish and sharks.

When do all these things come into waters where the collector can reach them? In spring, the time of migrations? In summer, when "the shallow Gulf waters become a gigantic warm bathtub filled with lethargic rays and scavenging sharks?" In fall, with their "great schools of leaping mullet, redbfish and trout?" Or in winter, when there are "lush growths of littoral marine life," but almost nobody but oystermen goes out? How do these organisms live? As free-roving life, or as parasites, or commensal with some other living creature? How, where and when does one collect? How preserve the specimens, live or dead? How ship to waiting laboratories? The answers are all here, along with suggestions of important unsolved problems.

The reader comes to know Rudloe himself as a brilliant, enthusiastic, strong-bodied, dedicated scientist, who (though he must often kill) is imaginative and compassionate enough to throw back an important specimen from his aquarium "because this sea horse was now my friend." Here is another book of which Florida may be proud.

MARIAN MURRAY

*Sarasota, Florida*

*Tales of Palm Beach.* By Beatrice de Holguin. (New York: Vantage Press, 1968. 181 pp. \$6.95.)

This very slight volume purports to tell a series of self-styled "great love stories" in a variety of Palm Beach settings ranging from "great" homes and "great" entertainment places to sports and club life. Ostensibly, the author intends the exposition to be in the form of tales, with perhaps the magic and charm of

"once-upon-a-time" style. Alas, the writer is no stylist, and the book's content is most inconsequential, comprised of incomplete social notes about a limited number of persons who have figured more or less in Palm Beach's life. Regrettably, there is a paucity of history here and a plethora of speculation, plus simple gossip. The author's selection of personages is neither representative of the community, nor of any particular social stratum. The hodge-podge of people is presented with unusual immaturity of judgment.

Superficial observations and evaluations are submerged in "purple prose" of the most tasteless kind; for example: "He knew the real meaning of love: to give, to give, to give again. And he gave to Gerda. . . . Great love sprang from his heart and overflowed into every area of their lives." Almost every page is filled with similarly inane intensity. Very limited ideas are couched in a superfluity of words that comprise bad diction, turgid style, and numerous cliches. Typically, page thirty-three hosts a fifteen line run-on sentence, and a three-line sentence on page forty-nine contains twelve prepositions. Malapropisms picked at random include: "a centaur on horseback," "an English castle with wall and ceiling treatment to match," and "She was loth [*sic*] to leave." On page fifty-nine the author observes with seriousness, "But Dick could not fly a plane on, after he had leaped into his sky dive, and he took to asking June to be his pilot."

In addition, the author is particularly maladroit with adjectives: "Magnetizes knowledgeable epicures," "electricity began to sparkle, crackle, and explode into a great huge bomb of love," "neighboring trees," and "a polkadotted inlet." The book abounds with dangling participles, incomplete sentences, misspelled words, improper usage, and an assortment of other grammatical errors, as well as mistaken historic fact and even lack of basic logic. Old sayings and hackneyed phrases are not only used, but misused with exceptional abandon, as for example: "in the large rooms where Libby could use her imagination to decorate them and thereby transform a sow's ear of a house into a silk purse," or, "that night some dream of hers caught fire, ignited into a big blaze and fell in love."

Perhaps the greatest flaw in the book is its almost total lack of structure, order, or proportion. Little planning is coupled

with even less thought. Without reason, chapters are of disproportionate length; key topics are introduced at times, three or more to a single page, without any apparent purpose. Treatment of personalities in the same realm, i.e., art or architecture vary from a cursory paragraph to a multi-page tirade. In short, this volume is of little interest either for form or content, and is virtually a textbook of writing ineptitude. Readers in search of fact or style would do well to turn to the author's reference books, which are not even accorded the dubious honor of a place in the bibliography in this ill-conceived and poorly executed work.

JAMES R. KNOTT  
GEORGE L. HERN, JR.

*West Palm Beach, Florida*

*Explorers and Settlers: Historic Places Commemorating the Early Exploration and Settlement of the United States.*  
Edited by Robert G. Ferris. (Washington: National Park Service, 1968. xvi, 506 pp. Foreword, illustrations, maps, index. \$3.50 from supt. doc.)

This is another excellent volume in the series being edited by Robert G. Ferris for the National Park Service. Like its predecessors, it deals with a particular period in American history and covers historic sites and buildings associated with it. It will open more eyes than its predecessors to same aspects of the American past, neglected because of an Anglo-American blind spot which limits the colonial story primarily to English settlement on the east coast. This volume covers the English story only to 1700; the eighteenth century is covered in a companion volume, *Colonials and Patriots*. Spanish, French, Dutch, and Swedish settlements constitute the book's principal focus, with no limitation of chronology.

Unlike the conventional text these volumes provide us with a different introduction to American history. A popular narrative introduces the volume, supplemented by "suggested reading." The text is based on a study prepared by Dr. Seymour V. Connor, with special contributions by Richard E. Morris and

John W. Walker. The "meat" of the volume begins at page 138 with a listing and analysis of twenty-five sites in the National Park Service, three national historic sites in non-federal ownership, sixty-eight sites eligible for the registry as national historic landmarks, four eligible historic districts, and 156 other sites considered. The criteria for selection of the listed historic sites is buried on page 421, but it should be read prior to the data on particular historic sites. Probably no one will agree completely with the list; every local and regional historian will know of some unlisted site or building which is, in his mind, of superior national interest (sites of purely state and local interest are automatically excluded). But the process of selection has been a long and detailed one, first at the staff level and then by two consulting committees. It would have been impossible to satisfy everyone; the surveyors and editors have done a conscientious and creditable job.

Choices are based on an analysis of source materials, and this must be examined carefully since claims for historic sites are notoriously unreliable. Selections based on historic happenings are matters of judgment as to the importance of those events and are hard to dispute; selection based on architectural merit are more debatable, because of the unreliability of much data and the tricky character of architectural evidence itself. Sources are largely indicated in the footnotes, but the "acknowledgments" indicate the use of a variety of consultants who are also "sources." The latter are quite uneven. In New York, Corey, Cunningham, and Tyrell constitute a group of professional experts in the field, as do Stevens, Kent, and Christie in Pennsylvania. Florida is generously provided with seven consultants, but not one of them a professional historian, archaeologist, or historic site specialist. Historians like Samuel Proctor and the late Rembert W. Patrick of the University of Florida; Hale Smith from Florida State University, who has dug many historic sites in Florida; F. Blair Reeves of the University of Florida, who has measured more historic Florida buildings than any other person; and Albert Manucy and Luis Arana, acknowledged National Park Service experts on Spanish sites, all go unmentioned. Only a single manuscript study of Manucy dating from the 1930s is mentioned in the footnotes.

The footnote sources are very uneven, reflecting the lack in

many cases of up-to-date careful research. Sometimes only very old, traditional, or popular sources are indicated. For example, we would expect the Fairbanks House in Dedham, Massachusetts, to have been thoroughly studied and documented as probably the oldest surviving house of European origin in the United States. But its sources are: Alvin L. Jones, *Ye Old Fayerbanks House* (1894); Morrison's excellent but general *Early American Architecture*, Shurtleff's special study on the log cabin myth, Samuel Chamberlain's pictorial guide, *Open House in New England*, and the measured drawings of the Historic American Buildings Survey. Have no architectural, archaeological, and documentary studies been made of the house, and, if so, where can they be found? The nearby (Saugus, Massachusetts) and equally important "Scotch"-Boardman House is documented by Morrison and by a special analytical article by the careful and well informed Abbott Lowell Cummings. Has not the Fairbanks House been similarly studied? Of the three eligible sites in Florida, Fort San Carlos de Barrancas (Pensacola), San Luis de Apalache, and San Marcos de Apalach, the first two have manuscript or published special studies. The third falls in this volume in the category of other sites considered for which no sources or footnotes are given (it has only recently been declared eligible). There are 256 sites listed, seventy-two of them eligible and worthy of footnotes. The validity of sites already in the National Park Service must be considered established; no footnotes or sources are given for them. It would have been interesting also to see the materials relating to the 156 other sites considered; which might reveal why they were considered important enough to include in the volume, but not enough to be eligible. Perhaps they are under continuing study and some, like Florida's San Marcos, may be elevated in time.

However, one only needs to examine the brief descriptions of these properties to understand some of the problems which remain in authenticating and justifying national significance. For example, the semantics of defining "oldest" keeps recurring. The myth of the "oldest house in the United States" in St. Augustine has been demolished by careful architectural, archaeological, and documentary study by the St. Augustine Historical Society, and it does not appear, as it might otherwise have, as an eligible site.

In the immense number and variety of sites presented, and these are only a fraction of the total, the studies reflect, but do not solve, the twin problems of authenticating and restoring historic buildings, and the apparent conflict between the sites as a preserved document and as an interpretation of history. Even though these nagging problems shadow our steps through every page, we cannot expect a solution from the authors; this was not their purpose. In simply selecting and listing, after extended analysis, they have accomplished a most difficult task and left us greatly in their debt.

EARLE W. NEWTON

*Pensacola Historical Restoration  
and Preservation Commission*

*Detailed Reports on the Salzburger Emigrants Who Settled in America. . . . Edited by Samuel Urlsperger, Volume 1, 1733-1734.* Edited by George Fenwick Jones. Translated by Hermann J. Lacher. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1968. xxii, 211 pp. Foreword, introduction, preface, illustration, map, index. \$7.50.)

Students of early American history will be most interested in this volume of documents written by the Salzburgers who settled in colonial Georgia. Indeed, anyone intrigued with the settlement of America will perceive the difficulties of conquering New World wildernesses. The Salzburgers, forced to renounce their Lutheran confession or leave their European city, accepted land offered by James Oglethorpe and the Georgia Trustees. This volume recounts, through diaries, reports, and letters, the emigrants' early experiences, including their voyage and the first months of building the community of Ebenezer located about fifty miles upriver from Savannah. Written principally by pastors accompanying the pioneers, the documents' original purpose was to portray favorably the Salzburger emigration for European sponsors who might finance other colonists. Editor Jones demonstrates how unpleasant incidents were sometimes minimized or deleted. Moreover, since the pastors were ardent Pietists, the spiritual progress of the emigrants merited more detail than did material affairs.

Despite these handicaps for modern readers, the documents reveal a courageous and humble people. The Salzburgers settled in a strange land with little intention of isolating themselves from English ways, an unusual attitude for German emigrants of that time. The generosity of the Trustees and neighbors who provided help in clearing land, food for immediate needs, and livestock and seed grain for future development constantly amazed the Salzburgers. Their fervent religious faith instilled optimism that God controlled both the universe and personal lives and that storms or delays should only teach patience and trust. Adversity nevertheless affected the Salzburgers. As visions of future handicaps crystalized, pastors increasingly spoke of death and the spiritual preparation necessary for that imminent event.

Volume one concludes abruptly, leaving the reader wondering how these people survived. That struggle is reserved for subsequent volumes for which this book serves as a necessary though sometimes frustrating prelude.

JERRY L. Surratt

*Wingate College*

*Prologue to Democracy: The Federalists in the South, 1789-1800.* By Lisle A. Rose. (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1968. xvii, 326 pp. Introduction, appendix, bibliography, index. \$8.50.)

The stereotype of the Federalists established by the progressive historians of the first quarter of this century portrayed the "friends of government" as elitists suffering from a superiority complex who performed an important function in strengthening central authority but were doomed to political failure because of their scorn for pandering to the masses. Lisle A. Rose in *Prologue to Democracy* offers a partial corrective to this view by examining the political efforts of the Federalists in Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia (1789-1800).

Rose utilizes the findings of William N. Chambers, Norman K. Risjord, and George C. Rogers, Jr., who separately have shown that while the Republicans enjoy a reputation for having

created the first democratic party, their organization in the 1790s was inchoate, they were themselves elitists, and their antagonists were often quite agile. What these pathbreakers have implied, Rose makes explicit: in the southern states Federalists recruited party managers, newspaper editors, and grassroots politicians in an effort to win popular support. Contending that "it is as necessary to study the activities and responses of those whose power was challenged as those who mounted the challenge," Rose demonstrates that southern Federalists pioneered techniques of mass appeal only slightly less successfully than the Republicans. Thus as Federalists sought popular support they nurtured the seed of ripening democratic temperament, paradoxically to be rejected by the very spirit they cultivated.

Rose's thesis is both intriguing and defensible in light of the evidence he provides. The writing is clear and well balanced between narrative and analysis. Written for scholars, the book will be appreciated by scholars as a workmanlike performance. However, there is necessarily an air of inconclusiveness, for after all, the Federalists lost in 1800 despite their efforts. Ultimately, their conversion to politicking was too shallow, their factionalism was too debilitating, and their opponents were too persuasive.

WALKER BLANTON

*Jacksonville University*

*Spanish War Vessels on the Mississippi, 1792-1796.* By Abraham P. Nasatir. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968. viii, 359 pp. Preface, documents, index. \$10.00).

Here is a very fine volume of Mississippi Valley history in the late colonial period. This study of Spain's desperate attempts to obstruct the advance of American frontiersmen into the Louisiana Territory offers an interesting, informative, and unusual story of Hispanic sea power in the defense of the Borderlands. Somehow, the significance of the Spanish navy after the loss of the Armada is too often misunderstood and forgotten in contemporary colonial historiography. Professor Nasatir's new work helps correct such misunderstandings. During the last years of



the Spanish empire, a tiny squadron of warships (six galleys, four galiots, and a *lancha canonera*) defended Louisiana against foreign invasion and intrusion. *Spanish War Vessels on the Mississippi* thus reveals the important role of Spain's inland sea force in America.

This well-documented and written account also serves Borderlands' scholars and students alike as an exposition of colonial life on the American frontier. Beyond the courts of kings and councils of the Indies, the hinterland settlements struggled for survival in an age of Indian insurrections and foreign intrigue. In this chronicle of the late eighteenth century, the actual state of conflict to control the Louisiana Territory emerges with clarity and realism. Personalities such as the commander of the Mississippi River *flota*, Captain of the Army Don Pedro Rouseau, a Frenchman in the service of His Catholic Majesty Charles IV of Spain, and his personal diary, describing three years of naval maneuvers in the Mississippi Valley, provide a realistic portrait of the local levels of administration in Spanish America. This kind of history really holds any reader's attention because it reveals how the colonial officials operated all echelons of their overseas empire.

Professor Nasatir's book, therefore, serves as an important naval study of the unusual inland squadron which Spain organized to protect the peripheral openings into the Louisiana Territory. According to the author, the little fleet "played a major role in the Spaniards' plans for defense against these threatened aggressions, and their mere presence created a salutary effect upon restless American frontiersmen. Since none of the attacks materialized, it may be concluded that the river squadron fulfilled its purpose of protecting Louisiana against foreign assault."

One minor criticism should be mentioned along with the obvious recognition of the value of this recent addition to Yale University's Western American Series. Many readers will undoubtedly wish that Professor Nasatir would have included more maps to enable them to visualize the Mississippi strategy of the Spanish river patrol. Only one map of a small section of the Mississippi River now appears in this useful work. *Spanish War Vessels on the Mississippi* must be considered, therefore, as an

important contribution to colonial, West Florida, and Mississippi Valley historiography.

ROBERT L. GOLD

*Southern Illinois University*

*Rufus King: American Federalist.* By Robert Ernst. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1968. ix, 446 pp. Preface, illustrations, note on sources, index. \$10.00.)

Rufus King was an honest and hard-working public servant, and like this biography he was sometimes rather dull. Born into a conservative Maine family, King graduated from Harvard, studied law, and entered the legislature in 1783. He was obviously a young man of political talents. He went to Congress in 1784, and his marriage into a wealthy mercantile family opened the way into the best circles of New York society and politics. King represented Massachusetts at the Constitutional Convention, but early in 1789, he decided to make his home in New York. His connections brought swift election to the assembly, and a compromise election soon sent him to the U. S. Senate. Ernst's treatment of party matters is unfortunately outdated, and King's precise role as a Federalist leader remains unclear. The author is strong on exposition but generally weak in analysis.

Tired of political conflict after the Jay Treaty battles, King served creditably for six years as minister to Britain. When he returned in 1803, King was a Federalist hero, but he remained aloof from party strife despite the frequent urging of his friends and repeated nominations to high office. In 1813 a divided legislature surprised King by sending him back to the Senate, where he denounced Madison's policies and remained to voice firm opposition to the admission of Missouri as a slave state. A second mission to England was cut short by failing health in 1826.

Rufus King served his country well, and this painstaking biography is an excellent summary of his long career. Professor Ernst makes good use of manuscripts, including some still owned by the King family, but he often gives too little attention to

the work of other scholars. As a private person King remains hidden, and the reader is left to wonder how he managed his considerable wealth. The index is unusually thorough, but a bibliography is sorely missed. Serious students will find *Rufus King* useful, but few will read it for pleasure. Its solid virtues are in many ways like those of King himself.

PATRICK J. FURLONG

*Indiana University at South Bend*

*Antebellum Natchez.* By D. Clayton James. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1968. xiv, 344 pp. Acknowledgments, illustrations, bibliography, index. \$10.00.)

The Natchez of the popular mind was created by folklore. To the average American, whether Northerner or Southerner, it is a city of eternal sunshine, boundless cotton and tobacco plantations, houses which were all mansions with glistening white pillars, huge live oaks festooned with Spanish moss, Negroes strumming banjos or chanting in the night, women of ravishing beauty, and grinning Topsyies and dutiful Uncle Toms. No doubt many of these elements were present in the development of Natchez before the Civil War, but it was also a city of ordinary citizens, small businessmen, free Negroes, and a haven for gamblers, robbers, and harlots.

James ably portrays every aspect of the city's history. Indeed, his book is certainly the most definitive work I have read of any southern city. Beginning with the customs and manners of the Natchez Indians, he traces clearly the role played by what later became the area of Natchez in the Indian War of 1729 - 1732 and the plotting and intrigues of the changing French, Spanish, British, and American regimes. Before the Revolutionary War the development of Natchez was inauspicious. But after the Treaty of San Lorenzo el Rey in 1795, it became a pivotal point in the negotiations between two great nations, Spain and the United States. It was the headquarters for Andrew Ellicott, surveyor general of the United States, whom President Washington had appointed commissioner to represent his country in surveying the boundary established by the treaty.

His on-off, hot-cold negotiations with Manuel Gayoso de Lemos, Spanish governor of the Natchez District, form some of the most interesting pages in the book.

In another interesting chapter James debunks with convincing substantiation and analysis the claims of some writers that Natchez was a stronghold of Federalism and Whiggery. He points out, for example, that one out of twelve whites in Natchez owned slaves, whereas the average slaveholder in the same region owned eighty-two. Nevertheless, the nabobs, consisting of about forty families, eventually dominated the city through blood kinships and established family connections. "In the little world of the nabobs," says James, "the sense of uniqueness and separateness grew until, by the late antebellum years, the aristocrats had recoiled within their restricted sphere, almost oblivious to the lower classes." The author concludes bitterly that "Natchez lost forever the opportunity to become a major metropolis, and Mississippi was led to ruin."

The amount of research which James has done on this book is very impressive. The bibliography, including scores of manuscripts and hundreds of titles of public documents, published sources, and secondary works, covers thirty pages. In a few instances I have discovered that his enthusiasm for citations has exceeded his judiciousness in the use of them. The citation sometimes does not jibe with the text. Looking over his bibliography, I think he would have been wiser if he had been more selective.

JOHN ANTHONY CARUSO

*West Virginia University*

*William Montague Browne, Versatile Anglo-Irish American, 1833-1883.* By E. Merton Coulter. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1968. vii, 328 pp. Preface, illustrations, appendixes, bibliography, index. \$7.50.)

The product of the mature pen of a veteran of the historian's craft, this is a masterly study of a secondary figure in the history of the South, one who led a variegated career as a journalist, diplomat, soldier, farmer, and teacher - and always, in his large

correspondence and writings uncovered by the indefatigable research of the author, one who was a pungent commentator on his times. His times in the history of the South stretched from the 1850s to the 1880s, taking in a fascinating and tragic period, in parts of which Browne was at the center of action.

Arriving in this country in about 1852 after an early and obscure career in Great Britain, Browne became an editor of the New York *Journal of Commerce*, where he quickly became assimilated to American politics as a loyal Democrat of the "doughface" variety. In 1859 he migrated to Washington where as editor of the *Washington Constitution*, he was deeply involved as a spokesman of the Buchanan administration. Professor Coulter gives us an excellent picture of the political journalism of the day, of which Browne was a prime exemplar.

More important, as editor of the *Constitution* during the growing crisis between 1859 and 1861, Browne gravitated into the camp of militant southern nationalists, and, following Lincoln's election, he was one of the earliest to approve secession. In doing so, Browne broke with Buchanan, with whom he had been on close terms. Brown threw in his lot with the Confederacy and early became a confidant of President Davis, briefly as his assistant secretary of state, and for the balance of the war as Davis' aide-de-camp. Professor Coulter, in handling this aspect of Browne's career, affords the reader many glimpses into the inner workings of the Confederate government and its increasingly insoluble problems.

Following the defeat of the South, Browne, impoverished and unrepentant, settled in Georgia, and as a farmer, columnist for a number of papers both North and South, and as editor of a farm journal, sought to make a living during these hard days. He wound up his career as a professor - and essentially the founder of the Department of History - in the University of Georgia. Here, too, the author gives us many an insight into the mind of an embittered white Southerner who felt keenly the wrongs of what he felt to be the evil and vindictive policies of Reconstruction.

Altogether, this is a valuable study, and one which shows the firm grasp of the author, not only of his particular subject, but of this period of southern history. With only an occasional lapse from the historian's objectivity, Coulter writes extremely

well. One or two minor weaknesses might be noted: the treatment of Browne's transition from a Buchanan Democrat to a rabid southern nationalist is somewhat superficial; a more thorough inquiry into the evolution of his thought between 1859 and 1861 would have been fruitful. And Browne's own character is depicted rather fuzzily, although the problem here lies primarily with the surviving records themselves. In general, this book makes rewarding reading.

JULIAN S. RAMMELKAMP

*Albion College*

*Essays on the American Civil War.* By Frank E. Vandiver, Martin Hardwick Hall, and Homer L. Kerr. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1968. 107 pp. Introduction, bibliography. \$3.95.)

The University of Texas at Arlington has established the Walter Prescott Webb Memorial Lectures to honor this eminent historian who was the institution's "friend, guide and counselor." *Essays on the American Civil War* contains the first three of these lectures, delivered in the spring of 1966, and an impressive bibliography of Webb's writings and addresses. Included also is his "Letter to a President," published here for the first time but given in 1960 at the inaugural luncheon of Jack R. Woolf, president of Arlington. This amusing, tongue-in-cheek commentary on the trials of a university administrator is well worth the price of the book.

Two of the essays are written by Arlington professors, Homer L. Kerr and Martin Hardwick Hall, and the third is by Frank Vandiver of Rice University. Kerr's contribution, "Battle of Elkhorn Tavern: The Gettysburg of the Trans-Mississippi West," is an analysis of the background, strategy, and Confederate defeat at Pea Ridge in northern Arkansas. In attempting to explain why this important battle received so little attention, the most plausible reason offered by the author was "the tendency of many of the Confederate leaders, including Lee, to underestimate the importance of the Trans-Mississippi theater of war." In "Planter vs. Frontiersman: Conflict in Confederate Indian Pol-

icy," Hall stresses the lack of understanding by Easterners of Indian problems confronting Westerners. This account revolves around Colonel John Robert Baylor, forceful frontiersman, determined Indian fighter, and governor of the Arizona Territory who was commissioned to raise and command the Arizona Brigade. Because of his understandable prejudice against the Indians, and especially the Apaches, Baylor's wartime career was a stormy, frustrating one until he was elected to the Confederate Congress and eventually found favor with his erstwhile adversary, Jefferson Davis. "It does seem," writes Hall, "that the frontiersman had ultimately won his case against the planter gentleman." Frank Vandiver's essay, "The Civil War as an Institutionalizing Force," is the most provocative of the three. The author discusses and interprets the ways in which the Civil War changed, destroyed, and created institutions. "Old ideas, old loyalties, indeed every institution, went to the test of combat," says Vandiver, and he proceeds to trace the war's impact on politics, religion, society, and economics. While not ignoring hatreds, problems, and postwar Yankee overconfidence, his is a positive approach. Emphasizing that "centralization became a fact of life," he also states that "if the war had touched no other institution, it would deserve remembrance for its part in making the modern American city." Seeing the conflict as "a type of frontier," Vandiver compares its effect on Union and Confederate institutions and concludes that there emerged "a new alloy of American institutions, an alloy tested and toughened for the challenge of world leadership."

All of the essays are not of equal merit, nor is this unusual when each is the work of a different historian. Kerr's paper, based entirely on published sources, offers nothing new for the historian, but it is a well-written synthesis. Hall's contribution, sympathetic to Baylor but also convincing, is thoroughly researched, informative, and refreshingly original. Vandiver's essay is that of a mature historian whose years of study, thought, and writing are reflected in this succinct and brilliant interpretation of a broad subject.

The reviewer congratulates the history faculty of the University of Texas at Arlington for sponsoring this annual series of lectures. If those to follow are as interesting and informative

as the first of the series, a positive contribution will be made to historiography.

MARY ELIZABETH MASSEY

*Winthrop College*

*History of Andersonville Prison.* By Ovid L. Futch. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1968. v, 146 pp. Preface, illustrations, bibliographical essay, index. \$5.00.)

Andersonville! Few words in American history conjure up a more terrifying image. To earlier generations of Americans the name was as horrible as Auschwitz. Few Civil War controversies were argued more passionately than the one over this small patch of dirt and scrub in southwestern Georgia, the site of the Civil War's most famous prison.

Because of Andersonville's fame, it is always surprising to realize that the prison existed for only fourteen months. In February 1864, Confederate authorities decided the Union prison population in Richmond was too great a drain on resources there. A new site was picked in Georgia, and on February 25 the first 500 Yanks arrived. Eventually 32,000 Union enlisted men were confined at Andersonville. Almost all suffered greatly and 13,000 died.

Why did so many die? Chief among the factors was "gross mismanagement." Inadequate supplies, refusal of the Union government to establish an exchange procedure, and outright neglect and cruelty contributed to the appalling totals, but hopeless inefficiency hovered over all. Almost to a man, prison authorities were inadequately trained. Such men would have had trouble functioning in the best of times, but plagued with problems of a nation collapsing, these officials blundered most of their 13,000 captives to their graves. Examples of purposeful brutality do exist, but few deaths can be attributed to these practices.

All prisoner populations have men who cooperate with the enemy and prey on their own; Andersonville had more than its share. If the "Andersonville Raiders" had been stopped sooner some of the discomfort and agony Union prisoners suffered



could have been avoided. It took a prison uprising and support from guards to end the depredations of these vicious Yanks on their fellows.

Professor Futch has written the first scholarly, objective account of Andersonville's horrors. In dealing with the prison's two most famous figures, John H. Winder and Henry Wirz, Futch's objective analysis informs us that neither practiced systematic brutality, but each was ill-suited for his job. Winder was "narrow, unimaginative, and inept"; Wirz, though victim of a "legal lynching," was "harsh, ill-natured, and abusive."

This excellent study could have profited from a more dramatic first chapter and a summary that more completely explored the post-war debate. In a work where so many sources are biased, footnotes on each page would have been an advantage. Nevertheless, this clear treatment of one of the Civil War's *cause celebres* makes us all realize what we have lost with Professor Futch's death.

JAMES P. JONES

*Florida State University*

*The Second Rebellion: The New York City Draft Riots of 1863.*

By James McCague. (New York: Dial Press, Inc., 1968. xii, 210 pp. Acknowledgments, prologue, illustrations, bibliography, index. \$5.95.)

James McCague, a Sarasota, Florida, novelist and historian, has written an interesting account of New York's 1863 draft riots. What began July 13 as a protest against the Federal Enrollment and Conscription Act, quickly degenerated into five days of bloody, uncontrolled rioting which resulted in approximately 1,200 deaths and millions of dollars of property damage.

As the citadel of northern antiwar sentiment New York City was especially susceptible to violent opposition to the Conscription Act. Anti-Negro and pro-southern feelings were clearly evident during the riots. Negroes, including women and children, were chased down, tortured, and killed. One mob, urged on by women, attacked and burned a Negro orphanage. Fortunately a quick thinking superintendent helped all but one of

the children escape. A little girl found hiding under the bed was beaten to death. Mob action was sometimes accompanied by cheers for Jefferson Davis.

Sympathy for the South was only one reason for the riots. Once under way disorders may have been guided by malcontents with Copperhead leanings, but the original outbreak, McCague concluded, was a spontaneous eruption by an underdog population that had proved itself prone to violence in the past. This was a riot by the poor, primarily the Irish, and such events were nothing new to the Empire City. These riots were, the author said, natural consequences of slum poverty, misery, and degradation. The mob hated rich men as much as black men. A major objection to the Conscription Act was the exemption of those who could afford \$300 for a substitute. Any well-dressed man who appeared on the streets was subject to mob attack. Among the 250 buildings wrecked were factories and shops in which many of the rioters had been exploited. Racism, antiwar sentiment, poverty, and exploitation were all causes of the bloody outbreak. Indeed, the author intimates that the causes of the 1863 riot were similar to those of present-day city disorders.

McCague had produced a balanced, well-written book. His explanations of the riot are convincing, but a discussion of the long standing antagonism between the Irish and Negroes would have added to the reader's understanding. Many readers will want more adequate documentation.

JOE M. RICHARDSON

*Institute of Southern History*  
*The Johns Hopkins University*

*The Papers of Andrew Johnson. Volume 1, 1822-1851.* Edited by LeRoy P. Graf and Ralph W. Haskins. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1967. xxxiii, 700 pp. Introduction, appendixes, index, illustrations. \$15.00.)

Biographers have been inclined to see the early life of Andrew Johnson in the light of his later career. They have had no easy alternative, for Johnson left very few records for the period preceding his election to the Tennessee legislature at the age

of thirty-one. Literacy had come tardily to him, and most of the letters he wrote before his presidency seem to have been lost during the Civil War.

The editors of his *Papers* have searched through widely scattered manuscript collections, public and private, to bring together, in this first volume, surviving correspondence to and from Johnson for the thirty years from 1822 to 1851. The bulk of the material, however, consists of his speeches and has been taken from published sources: newspapers, state legislative journals, and the *Congressional Globe*. Twenty-three pages suffice for the available items dated before 1840. The editing is meticulous, with numerous footnotes to explain allusions and identify persons. Additional aids include a biographical and editorial introduction, a general chronology, thirteen illustrations, a genealogical chart, a day-by-day record of Johnson's actions in the Tennessee legislature and in the national House of Representatives, an 1849 biographical sketch, and a detailed index. Tasteful typography and binding make this a handsome as well as a highly useful book.

Not that it fills many of the gaps in Johnson's biography. As the editors acknowledge, his biographers remain free to speculate about most of the mysteries of his early life. Nevertheless, the volume does modify the accepted story at certain points. It shows, for example, that at the beginning of his political career Johnson was not quite the self-conscious and assertive "plebeian" that he subsequently became. For a time he cooperated in local politics with some of the "aristocrats" of Greenville, and during the presidential campaign of 1836 he was at least enough of a Whig to support Hugh Lawson White in preference to Martin Van Buren.

The collection also makes it possible to sharpen the familiar if somewhat fuzzy image of the early Johnson. Through his writings he revealed his growth in powers of self-expression, along with his persisting clumsiness in the use of language and his fondness for polysyllables, such as "domiciliated." Also evident are a number of the traits that marked him later as President. In Congress he viewed himself as a special friend of the constitution and of the common people, resisting such unpopular expenditures as a pension for the widowed Dolly Madison but

urging a gift of public land for every poor man. Though not above demagoguery, he was extremely sensitive to the charge of "demagogue." Politics with him were very personal, and he privately sneered at James K. Polk and the latter's appointees as "the little man of the White House and his parasitical minions." Defending slavery and contemning Negroes, he asked the anti-slavery congressman, John Gorham Palfrey, if Palfrey would want *his* daughter to marry one, and he denounced with heavy sarcasm Abraham Lincoln's proposal for compensated emancipation in the District of Columbia. He took a drink now and then, even before breakfast on at least one occasion; a few hours afterward he was gratified to find himself "neither sick drunk nor groggy."

RICHARD N. CURRENT

*The University of North Carolina at Greensboro*

*The Waning of the Old South Civilization, 1860-1880's.* By Clement Eaton. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1968. xii, 195 pp. Foreword, preface, bibliography, index. \$4.75.)

In this tenth number of its Lamar Memorial Lecture series, Mercer University has added to its earlier publications the work of one of the distinguished historians of the Old South. Professor Eaton, after more than a third of a century of study in this field, is highly qualified to evaluate southern society in this period of transition. For those already familiar with his writing, there will be little surprise in his contention that the Old South civilization "waned" slowly, and that much of its culture remained intact well into the twentieth century.

In the first two chapters, Professor Eaton uses travel accounts, autobiographies, diaries, and literary contributions to describe an ante-bellum society consisting of a small minority of aristocrats and numerous yeoman farmers, overseers, villagers, mechanics, and "poor whites." White attitudes toward Negroes receive some attention, but the Negroes themselves are apparently not part of southern culture as it is understood in this volume. Having distinguished between the everyday life of the common folk and the plantation aristocracy, the author includes an excellent

chapter on the Creole historian, Charles Gayarre, on the ground that one might gain insight into southern culture on the eve of the Civil War by examining his concept of history.

Despite the expectations of such young writers as Sidney Lanier and Henry Timrod that forming the Confederacy would lead to "the most splendid empire on which the sun ever shone," the Civil War truncated southern cultural achievements and deprived the South of thousands of educated and promising young men. Professor Eaton furnishes a traditional account of "harsh Reconstruction" and the stubborn southern reaction to it, concluding that this "decade of political turmoil" delayed reconciliation of South and North until the Spanish-American War of 1898.

In the final chapter, the author asserts that the problems of a long war and the resulting disorganization of society impaired "the outstanding virtues of the society of the Old South, the hospitality of the people, their high sense of honor, their chivalry, and their elegant courtesy." But, despite this stress, the Old South survived into the twentieth century if only by the rise of the cult of the "Lost Cause." While noting the powerful inhibition against change caused by lingering racial attitudes inherited from the old days, Professor Eaton emphasizes the works of Atticus G. Haygood, Jabez L. M. Curry, and others who tried to increase the Negroes' self-respect as well as the respect of whites for Negroes.

One does not have to accept Professor Eaton's interpretation of the New South's cultural inheritance from the past to agree that the "waning" of the Old South civilization was slow indeed, and never complete. Although this volume contains much that may be gleaned from other works by the author, it is remarkably compact for a book based on a lecture series, and worthy of attention from all interested in southern history.

JERRELL H. SHOFNER

*Florida State University*

*The Rise of the Cotton Mills in the South.* By Broadus Mitchell. (New York: Da Capo Press, 1968. xi, 281 pp. Introduction, preface, note on bibliography, index. \$12.50.)

Broadus Mitchell's contributions to the field of economic history are well known. This volume was first published in 1921. It is reprinted without change except for a new introduction by the author. The substance of the work is an examination of the growth of cotton manufacturing in the South. Mitchell correctly regards this story as the central feature of the section's industrial efforts following the Civil War.

He dates the genesis of mill development at 1880. He denies any essential connection between this event and the meager efforts for a more balanced economy during the ante-bellum period. The industrial desires of the New South represented a psychological change of heart. The Civil War proved that the old agrarian order had been a terrible failure. Cotton manufacture was adopted as the key theme for a comprehensive and embracing "social regeneration" of the section.

Describing the rise of the mills Professor Mitchell's prose glows with uncritical admiration for the South and its industrial leaders. The essence of the cotton manufacturing campaign was self-help. The author pursues that theme diligently, perhaps too much. He stresses also that cotton manufacture was often more than an economic matter. Location of mills could be partly motivated by considerations such as community pride or humanitarian concern for the condition of poor whites. One social result of mill development was the reintegration into southern society of poor whites who became the mill operatives. Ante-bellum slave labor had earlier dispossessed them not only from progressive occupation but from participation in the larger life of the section.

The reader will find few novelties in the ideas which the volume presents. The author is untroubled by such modern concerns as the subordinate role envisioned for the Negro in this new industrial order. The work does not of course reflect modern scholarship on southern industrial development, the most recent of which is Professor John Moore's studies of the lumber industry. Still, the reprint is worthwhile. The volume is a classic statement on a highly significant aspect of southern history. It should be available to historians.

CHARLES O. JACKSON

*Georgia College at Milledgeville*

*The Politics of Provincialism: The Democratic Party in Transition, 1918-1932.* By David Burner. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1968. xiii, 293 pp. Preface, appendix, bibliography, index. \$6.95.)

This book is one of the most mature accounts we have of the politics of the 1920s. It is both analytical and descriptive, and the author has an eye for the ironical and the farcical. Various aspects of the Democratic party are included - presidential and congressional elections, voting patterns, the course of the party in Congress, the ups and downs of the national committee, the positions and personalities of the leaders.

An important theme is the bitter intra-party contest between the rural, nativist, prohibition, and Protestant fundamentalist forces on the one side, and the urban, immigrant, wet, and Catholic forces on the other. Although the Madison Square Garden convention of 1924 is a stale tale, Professor Burner's coverage is notable for its conciseness, color, clarity, perception, and fairness. The campaign of 1928, too, is brought into truer focus; on a number of issues Herbert Hoover is shown to have been more progressive than Alfred E. Smith; and Smith comes off as much a parochial New Yorker as his southern and western detractors were rustic and small-town provincials. Indeed, Burner concludes that Smith, instead of attempting to allay the honest doubts of the nativists, actually flaunted his wetness, Catholicism, Tammany connections, and big-business affiliations.

Burner reminds his readers that the conflicts of dries and wets and of Klansmen and anti-Klansmen plagued the Republican party, too; that some of the most notorious scandals were in the Klan-dominated Republican states. The Republicans inherited the contention of rural puritans and city dwellers from the Whigs; but because the Republicans had fewer Catholic supporters in the cities than did the Democrats, they were better able to paper over their internal differences and in the 1920s to attract more Klansmen the country over to their presidential nominees.

Within each of two wings of the Democratic party - nativist and urban - there was also a conflict between progressives and conservatives. The decline of progressivism after World War I was reflected in the Democratic party as well as the Republican,

and all the Democratic party's presidential nominees in the 1920s - James M. Cox, John W. Davis, and Smith - were conservatives by Wilsonian and Rooseveltian standards. The Democrats in Congress, too, despite an off-and-on cooperation with farm-belt progressive Republicans, were conservative as often as they were liberal; and it was only on the question of government fertilizer production at Muscle Shoals, which appealed to southern farmers, that the Democrats took a consistently forward-looking stand.

However, during the 1920s (and this is a major thesis of the book), the Democrats were making gains over the Republicans in the large cities. The population explosion among the "new immigrants" was swelling the Democratic vote, preparing the way for a city-oriented and liberal Democratic party. Burner's analysis shows that these Democratic gains in the cities were markedly noticeable as early as the congressional election of 1922. In 1924, Senator Robert M. La Follette, presidential nominee of the Progressive party of that year, took away considerable of the city labor vote from both the major parties. Many a Republican workingman never returned to the Republican fold; for a number of workers La Follette's party seems to have functioned as a way station between the Republican and Democratic parties. Then in 1928, the Al Smith campaign resulted in phenomenal gains by the Democrats among the ethnic minorities in the cities. These were retained and increased in 1932.

For Franklin Roosevelt, the task of winning the nomination in 1932 was a practice in intra-party consensus. During the 1920s, he maintained a voluminous correspondence with leaders of all factions of the party throughout the country and took note of Smith's mistakes on the national level. As governor of New York, Roosevelt responded to the depression episodically but imaginatively, and he managed to disassociate himself from a narrow urbanism and from Tammany. During the campaign of 1932, he pursued an essentially cautious course, and only in such things as his meeting with the Bonus Army, his Commonwealth Club speech, and (unmentioned by Burner) his courting of Minnesota's Governor Floyd B. Olson and the Farmer-Labor party were there anticipations of the bold direction he would take later.



A striking characteristic of this book is its eminent fairness. Although perhaps somewhat over-impressed with embittered criticism of Woodrow Wilson by *The Nation* and other liberal sources in 1919 and 1920, Burner ascribes the narrow capture of Congress by the Republicans in 1918 not to national disapproval of Wilson but to a farm-belt revolt of wheat growers; he largely attributes the disintegration of the Wilson coalition and of Democratic party organization to post-war disillusionment and the President's illness; and he points out the similarity of the Roosevelt coalition of 1932 and the Wilson coalition of 1916. More remarkable, Burner penetrates the stereotyped image of Bryan and of Al Smith. At last Bryan emerges not in caricature but as a political leader of consistency and considerable stature. Smith emerges as only a partial liberal - a liberal in specific welfare legislation and in conservation, but a conservative in his big-business orientation and in his Irish-Catholic "propriety," which led him to support censorship of books and theaters on moral grounds. William G. McAdoo remains what he was - a brittle opportunist.

WILLIAM G. CARLETON

*University of Florida*

## BOOK NOTES

The University of Florida Press has again added to its laurels with the publication of two more volumes in its Florida Facsimile & Reprint Series. The first is Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Palmetto Leaves*, published in Boston in 1873. Mrs. Stowe, best known, of course, for her *Uncle Tom's Cabin: or Life Among the Lowly*, was interested after the Civil War, in establishing a winter residence in Florida. In 1866 she rented "Laurel Grove," an old plantation on the west side of the St. Johns River near the town of Orange Park, where she hoped to raise cotton and provide work opportunities for the freedmen. She visited the site in the spring of 1867 and was disappointed, but she was still convinced that Florida offered real advantages, and a visit across the river to Mandarin helped her decide to

purchase thirty acres of the "Old Fairbanks Grant." She and her family moved into a small cottage on a bluff overlooking the river in 1867. Her love affair with the land and the area was reflected in the enthusiastic letters that she wrote to northern friends. She had promised James R. Osgood, her Boston publisher, a novel, but instead she sent him in the winter of 1872 a series of sketches and essays which she entitled *Palmetto Leaves*. This is sometimes referred to as the first unsolicited promotion writing to interest the northern tourist in Florida. The facsimile edition of *Palmetto Leaves* has been edited by Mary B. Graff and Edith Cowles. Miss Graff is the author of *Mandarin on the St. Johns*, one of the better local histories of Florida.

The other facsimile volume is Thomas Hutchins' *An Historical Narrative and Topographical Description of Louisiana and West-Florida*, originally published in 1784. Hutchins, a man of many talents and inclinations, visited West Florida in the 1770s where he familiarized himself with Gulf coast area. General Thomas Gage, British commander in North America, authorized his assignment to Pensacola, where Hutchins' services as engineer had been requested by General Sir Frederick Haldimand. Instructed by Gage to inspect Spanish settlements along the Mississippi to note details of their fortifications and how they might be breached, Hutchins was also told to pay particular attention to the Gulf approaches to the Mississippi, to the defenses of New Orleans, and to the individual merits of the various plans of attack by which the city might be taken. Hutchins' stay in West Florida was very productive. Not the least of his valuable services were the various maps and descriptive accounts of Louisiana and West Florida that flowed from his pen, adding to the valuable work already completed by George Gauld, Elias Durnford, Philip Pittman, Thomas Sowers, and Bernard Romans. In addition to constructing military fortifications in Pensacola and mapping and surveying, Hutchins also found time for a bit of spying on the side. His report on New Orleans and the defenses of Louisiana in 1773, as Professor Joseph C. Tregle, Jr., editor of this facsimile edition, points out, "is to have a fifty-year preview of the Battle of New Orleans." Professor Tregle's editing of the Hutchins' volume is first-rate,

and he has prepared a full and excellent introduction. Both of these facsimiles, as all the others in the series, were edited by the late Dr. Rembert W. Patrick. Mrs. Stowe's *Palmetto Leaves* sells for \$9.00, and the Hutchins' volume is \$6.00. Members of the Florida Historical Society may order directly from the University of Florida Press, and if they identify themselves they are eligible for a ten per cent discount.

The Historical Society of Fort Lauderdale has published August Burghard's monograph, *Mrs. Frank Stranahan, Pioneer*. Called Broward's "first school teacher," Ivy Julia Cromartie Stranahan taught in the area even before it became Broward County. Her husband, Frank Stranahan, was the founder of modern-day Fort Lauderdale. Mrs. Stranahan is best known for her work with the Florida Seminoles. As a trusted friend, she persuaded them to move to the reservation at Dania and the Indian youngsters call her "Watchie-Esta/Hutrie" or "Little White Mother." As a result of her exploits and accomplishments among the Seminoles, she has become almost a legend in her own time. She was also one of the earliest proponents of the Everglades National Park. Mr. Burghard, co-author of *Checkered Sunshine: The History of Fort Lauderdale, 1793-1955*, which was also published by the Historical Society of Fort Lauderdale, is a man of many talents - a researcher, historian, civic leader, and businessman. His biography of Mrs. Stranahan helps to fill one of the greatest needs of Florida history - good local histories. Black and white sketches and a large number of interesting photographs illustrate the pamphlet which sells for \$2.50. (Historical Society of Fort Lauderdale, 850 N. E. 12th Avenue. Extension, Holiday Park, Fort Lauderdale, Florida 33304.)

The American Meteorological Society (45 Beacon Street, Boston, Massachusetts 02108), has just published David M. Ludlum's *Early American Winters (Part II) 1821-1870*. This is his third book in the History of American Weather Series. The first was *Early American Hurricanes 1492-1870*, published in 1963, and the second was *Early American Winters (Part I)*, published three years later. This particular volume is of interest to southerners and to Floridians because several of the historic freezes of this area are described. Florida's Christmas freezes of

1868 and 1870, the snowstorm of January 1852 which saw, according to the *Pensacola Gazette*, as much as four inches of snow in that community and a record low of 26° in Fort Myers, and the calamitous freeze of February 1835, when temperatures at Jacksonville and St. Augustine dropped to 8° above zero and Tallahassee recorded a low of 4°, are described. According to Mr. Ludlum's research, the 1835 freeze was the severest ever known in northeastern Florida. Weather conditions in Key West, Palatka, and other points in Florida are described in Ludlum's book. It sells for \$10.00.

Two new Florida publications are of special interest to University of Florida alumni and supporters. The first is Harold B. Bachman's history of bands and band music at the University of Florida. He calls his book appropriately enough *The Biggest Boom in Dixie*. He traces the beginnings of band music and music education back to the four nineteenth-century institutions which were merged by the Buckman Act of 1905 into the University of Florida. The East Florida Seminary, then in Ocala, offered courses in piano to special students as early as 1853, and a few years later, a German musician was engaged to teach at the Seminary at a salary of \$600 a year. After the school moved to Gainesville, a band was organized to provide music for the military parades on the campus. There was also a band at the Florida Agricultural College in Lake City. The first official music at the University when it was located in Gainesville was provided by buglers who sounded reveille and taps each morning and night. Bachman's book is profusely illustrated; the many interesting photographs greatly enhance its value. The price is \$4.80, and it can be ordered directly from the author, P. O. Box 13483, University Station, Gainesville, Florida 32601.

*It's Always Too Soon To Quit: The Steve Spurrier Story*, as told to Mel Larson, is, of course, the story of the coveted Heisman Award winner of 1966, and it recounts his football exploits as a high schooler in Tennessee, as a collegian at the University of Florida, and as a professional player with the San Francisco 49ers. The publisher is Zondervan House, 1415 Lake Drive S. E., Grand Rapids, Michigan 49506. The price is \$3.95.

Susy Smith's *Prominent American Ghosts* includes a chapter with the intriguing title "Miami's Pertinacious Poltergeist." It describes the happenings in Miami, January 1967, when presumably without any apparent reason, crockery began to crash at a warehouse in the northeastern part of the city. According to the authoress, these manifestations occurred in the presence of "as many as fifteen people at a time, tantalizing everyone from policeman to preachers and even para-psychologists." The book, published by World Publishing Company, 2231 W. 110 Street, Cleveland, Ohio, sells for \$5.95.

*Possum Trot* is a Florida novel written by Anne L. Harwick, a native of Jacksonville and one of the best known sportswomen of the state. It is, according to the author, "an authentic story of Florida sharecroppers based on actual incidents witnessed." Possum Trot Road runs through Baker County about thirty miles from Jacksonville. It is an area that Miss Harwick knows well, having done social work there during the depression years of the 1930s. Later she was Florida District Supervisor for Social Service under the W.P.A. The book, published by Carlton Press, New York, sells for \$2.75.

The Island Press, Ft. Myers Beach, Florida, has published a revised edition of *1,000 Years on Mound Key* by Rolfe Schell. Originally published in 1962, this new edition notes the results of Mr. Schell's anthropological and archaeological research on the Calusa Indians. The pamphlet sells for seventy-five cents.

The University of Nebraska Press (Lincoln), has published a paperback edition of *The Appalachian Indian Frontier: The Edmond Atkin Report and Plan of 1755*, edited with an introduction by Wilbur R. Jacobs (\$1.95). In the 1750s the French, who has established settlements and forts along the Gulf coast and in the Mississippi Valley, found themselves challenged by an aggressive English trading advance. Indian affairs were extremely important matters in colonial times, and yet an examination of the manuscripts and printed sources concerning the southern frontier of the period discloses much confusion and conflict in Indian diplomacy. Edmond Atkin, a South Caro-

linian, issued a comprehensive report in 1755 which recommended placing all Indian affairs under two Imperial Superintendants, one for the North and another for the South. His design for the superintendency system was nothing less than a scheme to extend British imperial authority over an untamed wilderness in face of the rivalry of another major colonial power. Atkin became the superintendent of Indian affairs for the South, and he worked closely with the Cherokees, Choctaws, Catawbs, and the Lower and Upper Creeks. While Atkin never visited Florida, as did his successor John Stuart, he was concerned with both the Spanish and Indians living there. This volume was published originally by the University of South Carolina Press in 1954.

*Georgia and State Rights* is a southern classic by Ulrich B. Phillips that has been published in a new edition by the Antioch Press, Yellow Springs, Ohio (cloth \$5.00; paperback \$2.00) with an introduction by Louis Filler. Phillips' focus is almost the constant antebellum struggle between state and federal rights, between local government and centralized government - a struggle that still echoes loudly in our own day. Slavery was an important issue of the times, but it was not by any means the only one. Phillips also points out how the Indian question - what to do about the large Creek and Cherokee tribes in Georgia - in its time excited high partisan passions and condemnation of federal interference. So did questions of the plantation economy in interstate trade, taxes, and tariffs. Dr. Phillips received the Justin Winsor Prize from the American Historical Association when this study was first published in 1902.

*Who Speaks for the South?* by James McBride Dabbs (Funk & Wagnalls, New York. \$2.95), was first published in 1964 and is now available for the first time in this paperbound edition. It is a perceptive book that attempts to probe into the conscience and thought of the American Southerner. It is divided into three parts: "The Formation of Southern Character," a development of the Southern up to the Civil War; "Its Bitter Testing," the modifications caused by military defeat, Reconstruction, and colonialization; and, "Its Present Possibility," the Southerner as he is today.

*The Spanish Tradition in America*, edited by Charles Gibson (Harper Torchbooks, New York. \$2.45), is a collection of documents covering the period from the late fifteenth century, when Spanish colonization began, to the early nineteenth century, when most of Spain's American empire declared its independence. While none of the documents deals specifically with the Florida scene, an examination of the material reveals the motivation for Spanish exploration and colonization of the New World, and it reflects upon the Spanish spirit and character which was unique and quite foreign to the English. The book is an important contribution to Spanish colonial scholarship.

*The Flying Fisherman* by R. V. "Gadabout" Gaddis, as told to George Sullivan (Trident Press, New York. \$4.95), describes the fishing exploits and adventures of one of America's best known sportsmen. Among the sketches is one entitled "Swamp Fever," describing a fishing and exploring expedition into the Everglades in 1939. "Gadabout" returned to the Everglades many times, and in 1950, he did a special article on the area for *Look Magazine*. He describes an expedition into the Okefenokee Swamp, fishing along the Florida Keys, and along both the Atlantic and Gulf coasts of Florida. He has fished on almost every Florida river, and many of these adventures are detailed in this book.

After sailing twice around the world in their yacht *Wanderer III*, Eric and Susan Hiscock sailed down the Atlantic coast from Maine to the Chesapeake Bay, and at Norfolk they entered the inland section of the Intracoastal Waterway which they followed south to Fort Lauderdale. Eric Hiscock has written an extremely attractive book entitled *Atlantic Cruise in Wanderer III* (Oxford University Press, New York. \$10.00), describing this journey. He and his wife were determined to see as much as possible of the states through which the waterway travels. All of it was interesting and new although they found Florida to be the least attractive of the waterway states. The illustrations, all of them in color, are beautiful.

The University of South Carolina Press, under the general editorship of Richard B. Morris, is publishing a documentary

history of the United States. The first volume, *Confederation and Constitution, 1781-1789*, edited by Forrest McDonald and Ellen Shapiro McDonald, includes important source material of the period, from the Articles of Confederation (1781) to the Bill of Rights (1789-1791), including the rejected proposals. The second volume, *The Early Republic, 1789-1828*, edited by Noble E. Cunningham, Jr., includes such important documents as Washington's Report to Congress (November 20, 1794), an address by President Adams to the students at William and Mary College, Jefferson's First Inaugural Address, and some of the precedent setting court cases which established the doctrine of judicial review. *Foundations of American Diplomacy, 1775-1872*, edited by Robert H. Ferrell, includes a variety of documents, ranging from the Treaty of Paris in 1783 to the documents relating to the Mississippi question, the Quasi-War with France, the Louisiana Purchase, the War of 1812, the Texas annexation, and the Mexican and Civil Wars. The fourth volume to appear is *The Transformation of American Society, 1870-1890*, edited by John A. Garraty. Among other things, the documents throw light both on southern farming after the Civil War and on the relations between black workers and white landowners and merchants. Each of the volumes sells for \$7.95.

*The Emerging South* (revised edition) by Thomas B. Clark is published by Oxford University Press, New York. \$7.50. This updated edition discusses recent advances in agriculture and capital farming, and surveys industrial gains and the effects of technology and scientific discoveries on production and on people in the South. Professor Clark expands his earlier discussion of school segregation and voting rights, and gives special attention to the numerous attempts to circumvent the Supreme Court's 1954 decision.

Lachlan McIntosh was the second son of John McIntosh Mor who, was captain of the Highland Company, participated in the unsuccessful siege of St. Augustine in 1740 and was captured at Fort Moosa by the Spanish. William McIntosh, the eldest son, was a cadet in Oglethorpe's Regiment and participated in the Battle of Bloody Marsh in 1742. Lachlan's papers in the Keith Read Collection at the University of Georgia have been edited



by Lilla Mills Hawes, director of the Georgia Historical Society, and have been published by the University of Georgia Libraries under the title of *Lachlan McIntosh Papers in the University of Georgia Libraries* (University of Georgia Press, Athens. \$3.00). They are an important addition to "The Papers of Lachlan McIntosh, 1774-1799," which were published as *The Letter Collections of the Georgia Historical Society, Volume XII* (Savannah, 1957). Of particular interest to Floridians is the account of the horse-whipping of George Walton, signer of the Declaration of Independence, whose descendents later lived in Pensacola, which is described.

*James Edward Oglethorpe's Parliamentary Career* by the Right Honorable Dr. Horace Maybray King who was speaker of the British House of Commons in 1965, describes the founding of Georgia and Savannah in the 1730s and the actions of the Trustees of the colony.

In 1960, Warren H. Wilkinson of Jacksonville Beach published his *Opening The Case Against The U. S. DeSoto Commission's Report*. In it Mr. Wilkinson argued that the De Soto route as set forth by John R. Swanton in his 1938 report of the United States De Soto Expedition Commission was not accurate. Mr. Wilkinson's series of articles. "The De Soto Expedition in Florida" first appeared in *The American Eagle* (Estero, Florida), vols. 42-43, November 6, 1947-May 20, 1948. Revised slightly and edited by Mr. Wilkinson, they are being republished by *The American Eagle*, beginning with the January 1969 number. William M. Goza, immediate past president of the Florida Historical Society, wrote an introduction to the series.

## HISTORICAL NEWS

### *The Annual Meeting*

The Florida Historical Society will hold its annual meeting in Pensacola, May 9 and 10, at the Ramada Inn. Dr. James A. Servies is chairman of local arrangements, Dr. William Warren Rogers and Dr. Jerrell H. Shofner of Florida State University and Dr. Ernest Dibble of the University of West Florida are program chairmen. The Friday morning session will consist of a panel representing the local historical societies and commissions of Florida. The purpose is to discuss the problems and concerns of these groups as they relate to publication programs, the maintenance of historic sites and houses, managing historical museums, membership, finances, and programming. William M. Goza, past president of the Florida Historical Society, will chair this session and the discussion leader will be Dr. Charles G. Summersell, chairman of the Department of History, University of Alabama, and a member of the Council of the American Association for State and Local History. The Friday afternoon session will deal with the historical development of West Florida. Judge James R. Knott of West Palm Beach will introduce the chairman, Professor Robert C. Harris of the University of West Florida. Professors Jack D. L. Holmes of the University of Alabama in Birmingham and Harry P. Owens of the University of Mississippi will read papers. The discussant will be Professor Frank L. Owsley, Jr., of Auburn University, recipient in 1968 of the Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Prize in Florida History. The Saturday morning session will deal with the historical problems of Florida's natural resources and Professors Arch Fred Blakey of Pensacola Junior College and A. M. Burns of the University of Florida will read papers. James C. Craig of Jacksonville, president-elect of the Society, will introduce the chairman, Professor Martin Abbott of the University of South Florida. Professor Robert R. Rea of Auburn University will be the discussant at this session.

The Board of Directors will hold its meeting on Friday evening. The business luncheon on Saturday will be convened by Dr. Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., president of the Society. Election

of officers and committee reports are important items on the business agenda. Charles L. Dufour, lecturer in American history at Tulane University, editorial columnist for the New Orleans *States-Item* and *Times-Picayune* and author of four books, is the banquet speaker Saturday evening. Dr. Samuel Proctor, editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, will announce the recipient of the Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Prize in Florida History for 1969, Milton D. Jones will make the Award of Merit - Excellence in Presentation of Florida History by News Media, and Dr. John E. Johns will present the winners of this year's Rembert W. Patrick Junior Historian Awards. Professor Laurence S. Fallis of the University of West Florida is chairman of the Patrick awards committee. The local arrangements committee is planning a tour of the historic area of Pensacola on Saturday afternoon.

#### *Manuscript Acquisitions*

Florida State University, Robert L. Strozier Library

*General James Patton Anderson Papers* (Jefferson County, 1822-1872). Two biographies, documents, and correspondence. Thirty-one pieces, chiefly in photostat.

*Dr. Edward Bradford Papers* (1830-1871). Medical records, business correspondence, export and transportation documents, receipts, and records pertaining to his plantation, slaves, cotton production, and sawmill, shingle mill, grist mill, blacksmith shop, wheel-wright's shop, carpenter shop, cooper's shop, and brick yard, all on his premises. 192 pieces.

*Pensacola Land Grants* (May 25, 1775-January 12, 1780). 103 original land grants signed by Governor Peter Chester, and forty-three holograph surveyor's maps. Seventy of the printed forms used for the land grants are said to be "unquestionably the product of a printing press operated by the British administration at Pensacola." 146 pieces.

*British East and West Florida Documents* (1762-1801). Collection of documents relating to the civil and military administration of British East and West Florida. Signatures include Governor George Johnstone of West Florida; General Sir

Frederick Haldimand, Pensacola; Lieutenant Colonel Ralph Walsh; Lieutenant Governor Monforte Brown; Governor Patrick Tonyn of East Florida; Governor Peter Chester of West Florida; Major John Campbell, Pensacola (re. "Rebels under Willing's command"); Lord George Germain, Secretary of State for the Colonies, and others. 123 pieces.

*Miscellaneous Holograph Civil War Letters and Papers* (1856-1865). Civil War correspondence, documents, and papers chiefly by Florida Volunteers from various battlefields, military prisons, army camps, and army hospitals; papers pertaining to the Confederate cruiser *Florida*; muster rolls of Georgia-Florida Volunteers, records of the pension office and war department, oaths of allegiance by Confederates, paroles of honor, diary of a Confederate officer, Confederate money, reports of quartermasters' orders, requisitions, receipts, complaints about lack of communications, roads, transportation facilities, food and supplies for men and animals. 258 pieces.

*Captain Hugh Black Papers* (Gadsden and Leon counties, 1855-1898). Relates to his service with Florida troops during the Third Seminole War, Confederate army, and as a clerk of the Florida legislature (1868). Two diaries, correspondence, and land deeds. Eighty-two pieces.

*Governor Albert Waller Gilchrist Papers* (Charlotte County, 1876-1929). Official documents signed by Governor Gilchrist, campaign papers, speeches, papers pertaining to naming of Gilchrist County, naming of Gilchrist Hall on Florida State University campus, business, family, and social correspondence. All are xeroxed copies. 216 pieces.

*Evelyn Rees Burt Collection* (Duval and Levy counties, 1866-1920). Men of the Rees family were plantation owners, Confederate officers and soldiers, and served in the Spanish-American War and as army and air force officers during World Wars I and II. Members of the family were leading citizens, real estate owners, and developers of Cedar Key and the area. Besides a sixteen-page genealogical outline, the collection consists of holograph family and business papers and correspondence, pictures, tax and other receipts and records, mortgages, land deeds, a will, and newspaper clippings. 566 pieces.

*Dr. F. A. Byrd Collection* (Leon County, 1891-1892). Collection of Flavius Augustus Byrd, physician and surgeon, consists of holograph personal, family, and business correspondence, land deeds, letter testamentary, invoices, bound account book, declaration of taxable property, records of sales of land, sales of Negro slaves, custodian of Negro children, Civil War letters, charter of Home Guard Organization with list of names of volunteers, and other political items, 113 pieces.

#### Miami Public Library

*Gleason Waite Romer Photographic Collection*. 30,000 pictures of the Miami area (1900-present). Partial index to collection available.

*Dade County Commission and Metropolitan Dade County Commission* (1869-1959). Nineteen reels of microfilm; thirteen reels of index (1910-1960).

#### Orlando Public Library

Library of Congress photostats (negative copies) of Florida maps (1794, 1823, 1837, 1839, 1843, 1845, 1850, 1876, 1879, 1883, 1893, 1911); post route maps (1884, 1911, 1926); Tallahassee (1829); Cantonment Brooke (1829).

#### University of Miami Library

*Mark F. Boyd Collection*. The original Boyd collection of 7,000 books, maps, and prints was acquired in 1959. An additional collection was bequeathed by Dr. Boyd in 1968, including an incomplete dictionary of the Seminole language. Collection contains source material on Florida exploration, discovery, social, and economic history, and geography and literature.

#### University of West Florida, John C. Pace Library

*James C. Watson Papers* (Pensacola, 1788-1938). Genealogical papers (1788-1916), imprints, photographs, memorabilia, and miscellaneous papers of Thomas Campbell Watson and his son, James C. Watson. 537 pieces.

*Murphy Papers* (1802-1960). Correspondence, maps, im-

prints, business records, and scrapbooks relating to the West Florida region. 1,375 pieces. Incorporated with this collection are 165 volumes from the library of Fernando Moreno of Pensacola, assembled in the period 1830-1850.

*John William Buchanan Cole Papers.* Clippings, photographs, pictures, and miscellaneous papers assembled by J. W. B. Cole, member of the Florida House of Representatives from Pensacola.

*Rosasco Papers* (Pensacola, 1895-1958). Business records and related papers of the Rosasco Brothers, ship brokers. Five bound volumes.

*W. H. Watson Papers.* Letters of Timothy W. Bludworth (1821-1864), to his wife, written from the battlefields of Chattanooga, Petersburg, and elsewhere. Miscellaneous papers of Confederate Captain John R. Ely (1862-1865), and the daily report book of the Sixth Florida Regiment (1862). Fifty-two pieces. Restricted use.

*T. T. Wentworth Library.* Books, pamphlets, periodicals, and imprints primarily relating to Pensacola and West Florida. Approximately 1,500 pieces.

*Thomas D. Bailey Papers.* Correspondence, drafts of speeches, and other personal papers of Thomas D. Bailey, state superintendent of public instruction. Approximately 500 pieces.

*Bonifay Family Papers* (Pensacola, 1853-1930). General papers, imprints, and photographs. 260 pieces.

*Kell Papers* (Pensacola, 1885-1910). Miscellaneous papers, imprints, and photographs. Twenty-six pieces.

*Pace Family Papers.* Family papers and business records of Hardy Pace (1784-1836) of Twiggs County, Georgia, and his descendants. Includes papers of various family-owned lumber businesses in West Florida. 263 pieces.

University of South Florida Library

*Simmons Papers.* Simmons family of Rutherford County, North Carolina. Earliest item is a royal land grant of 1772.

Correspondence deals largely with Civil War-Reconstruction period.

*Herbert S. Phillips Papers.* U. S. district attorney in Tampa until 1953. Felt very strongly about school desegregation, and the papers provide an excellent case study of the segregationist viewpoint. Contains letters from well-known political figures. Sixteen boxes.

*Edward C. Nance Papers* (1927-1961). Former president of the University of Tampa, papers deal with education and Nance's tour of duty as a chaplain during World War II. Sixteen boxes.

*Father Jerome Papers.* Correspondence particularly rich in Florida history and bibliography, and contains letters from a number of Florida writers, historians, educators, and public and church people. Fourteen boxes.

*Wyatt Blassingame Papers.* Manuscripts of his juvenile books and correspondence with the editors and publishers. Five boxes.

*Hillsborough County Government Study Commission Papers.* Copies of minutes, studies, and recommendations. Three boxes.

University of Florida, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History

*George A. Smathers Papers* (1950-1968). 216 boxes to date (under seal until 1993).

*Charles E. Bennett Papers.* Twelve additional boxes (1967-1968) have been added to the Bennett collection.

*E. H. Tomlinson Collection* (1925-1938). Sixty land promotional pamphlets; 100 maps showing various acreage plots in Florida; diaries, correspondence, and legal papers concerning real estate business.

*David Levy Yulee Letters* (1858-1876). Twenty-five letters written by Senator Yulee and his business associates concerning the building and financing of Florida railroads, particularly the Florida Railroad Company.

Map: Charles Francois Delarache, *Etats-Unis de l'Amerique septentrionale avec les Isles Royale, de terre neuve, de St. Jean etc.* (1785).

The P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History has received a table of conversions listing the old and new (post-1929) *legajo* numbers of the documents in the John B. Stetson Collection which were drawn from the Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla. The table is based on the "List of Archival Numbers" appearing as cards 1-14 of Reel One of the "[James A.] Robinson Index to the Colonel John B. Stetson, Jr., Collection (1953)." (Listed in the P. K. Yonge Library as Microfilm 144-A, Reel One of "Stetson Collection, Archival Reels," Six Reels. 1953). Columns list the old, three-part number, the number of documents in the Stetson Collection from that *legajo* (in parentheses), and the section and number assigned to that *legajo* under the post-1929 numeration scheme. The table was compiled by Paul E. Hoffman, a doctoral candidate in Latin American history at the University of Florida, during his recent investigations at the Archivo General de Indias.

#### *Activities and Events*

*Father Jerome Memorial:* Saint Leo Abbey and the Peace River Valley Historical Society sponsored a memorial luncheon honoring the memory of Father Jerome at Saint Leo College on Saturday, March 15, 1969. The memorial address, "The Florida Spanish Missions: Their Relevance Today," was given by the Reverend Michael V. Gannon of the University of Florida. Miss Margaret L. Chapman, executive secretary of the Florida Historical Society, reported on the books purchased for that organization from the Father Jerome Memorial Acquisition Fund. The Reverend Marion Bowman, abbot of Saint Leo Abbey, delivered a tribute to Father Jerome, and Mrs. J. W. Thraikill read the ode to Father Jerome which she had written. The program was arranged by William M. Goza, former president of the Florida Historical Society. A special exhibit of rare books, pictures of Father Jerome, and some of Father Jerome's publications was displayed in the library.

*Barry College History Forum:* Dr. John L. Snell, professor of history at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, was the featured speaker at the Barry College History Forum held in the auditorium of the college on February 28, 1969. Dr. Snell spoke at the morning session on Franklin D. Roosevelt.



Dr. Michael Davis, professor of history at the University of Miami, discussed "The Image of Lincoln in the South" at the afternoon session. The Forum was under the direction of Sister Elizabeth Ann, O. P., chairman of Barry College's department of history.

*Florida Conference of College Teachers of History:* The seventh annual meeting of the Florida Conference of College Teachers of History was held at the University of Florida, March 28-29. Among those who read papers at the two-day session were Sister Elizabeth Ann of Barry College, Maurice Vance of Florida State University, Frances J. Stafford of Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University, Cecil B. Curry of the University of South Florida, Gilbert L. Lycan of Stetson University, Charles J. Kolinski of Florida Atlantic University, Glenn Hoffman of the University of Florida, William F. Marina of Florida Atlantic University, George Winius of the University of Florida, Michael Davis of the University of Miami, Robert C. Harris of the University of West Florida, Eugene Timmerman of the University of Florida, and James A. Parker of Brevard County Junior College. At the Saturday breakfast, John B. Toews, professor of history, University of Calgary, Alberta, Canada, spoke on "The Medieval Empire: A Plea for Realistic Appraisal." The speaker at the Saturday luncheon was A. K. Johnson, regional director, National Archives and Records Service of Atlanta. He was introduced by Dr. Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., a member of the board of directors of the National Archives and Records Service. Professor Duane Koenig of the University of Miami, president of the Florida conference, presided at the breakfast and luncheon sessions. George Osborn, vice-president of the conference and program chairman, convened the Friday evening and Saturday morning sessions, and John K. Mahon, professor of history at the University of Florida, chaired the Saturday afternoon session.

*Association for the Study of Negro Life and History:* The fifty-fourth annual meeting of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History will be held on October 9-12, 1969, at the Tutwiler Hotel, Birmingham, Alabama. Persons interested in proposing sessions or papers should write to the program chairman, Walter Fisher, department of history, Morgan State College, Baltimore, Maryland 21212.

*Conference of Southern Historical Societies:* Sponsored by the American Association of State and Local History, the Fourth Annual Conference of Southern Historical Societies will meet at Natural Bridge, Virginia, on May 1-3, 1969. The conference will provide members of historical societies and other interested persons with lecture-discussion sessions on such matters as historical restoration, public relations, genealogy and local history, and the need for getting young people involved in historical projects. Those interested are asked to contact William T. Alderson, American Association for State and Local History, 132 Ninth Avenue, North, Nashville, Tennessee 37203, or the Roanoke Historical Society, "Cherry Hill," 301 Twenty-third Street, N.W., Roanoke, Virginia 24014.

The State and Local History Association has announced that it will hold its twenty-eighth annual meeting in St. Paul, Minnesota, August 20-23, 1969. Hosts for the meeting will be the Minnesota Historical Society and the headquarters hotel will be the St. Paul Hilton.

#### OBITUARY

##### *Weymouth Tyree Jordan*

A leading Florida educator, author, and scholar, Weymouth T. Jordan died of a heart attack in Tallahassee, November 22, 1968. A longtime member of the Florida Historical Society, Professor Jordan contributed articles and book reviews to the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. He was a member of the board of editors of the *Journal of Southern History* and was president of the Agricultural History Society (1962-1963). Receiving his bachelor's degree from North Carolina State College and his masters and doctorate from Vanderbilt University, Professor Jordan taught at Transylvania College, North Carolina Indian College, Judson College, and Auburn University, before moving to Florida State University in 1949. He was department chairman from 1955 to 1964, and professor of history at the time of his death. His publications include *Hugh Davis and His Alabama Plantation*; *George Washington Cable of Tennessee: Western Statesman*; *Ante-Bellum Alabama*; *Rebels in the Making: Planters' Conventions and Southern Propaganda*; *The Daybook of a Planter of the Old South*; and *The United States: From Revolution to Civil War*.

*Notice*

The *Florida Historical Quarterly*, beginning with this number (April 1969), will be printed by The E. O. Painter Printing Company of DeLand, Florida. This company has printed the *Florida Law Review* for many years and it has published books for the University of Florida Press, the Florida State University Studies, and the Florida State University Friends of the Library. The magazine will be mailed from DeLand, but all matters relating to membership and subscription should continue to be addressed to Miss Margaret Chapman, Executive Secretary, University of South Florida Library, Tampa, Florida 33620.

# MINUTES OF THE DIRECTORS' MEETING

FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

December 7, 1968

The officers and directors of the Florida Historical Society met in the Student Union Building on the campus of Stetson University, DeLand, Florida, at 10:00 a.m., December 7, 1968. Dr. Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., presided. Other members attending included William M. Goza, James C. Craig, Samuel Proctor, James D. Bruton, Jr., Milton D. Jones, James A. Servies, N. E. Bill Miller, Baynard Kendrick, John E. Johns, August Burghard, and Luis R. Arana. The minutes of the directors' meeting, held at Daytona Beach, May 3, 1968, were published in the October 1968 number of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* and were approved as printed.

Miss Margaret L. Chapman, executive secretary, reported on her visit to a recent meeting of Florida school officials in which concern was expressed for the limited emphasis on teaching of Florida history. She reported that a bill will be introduced at the regular session of the legislature in 1969 to provide funds for the books and other materials necessary to teach Florida history. After discussion, Dr. Proctor moved that the Florida Historical Society should extend every encouragement to local and state officials in developing course offerings on Florida history in the schools of Florida. The motion passed. Miss Chapman gave a short financial report and announced the current balance in the Society's regular and special accounts.

Dr. Samuel Proctor, editor of the *Quarterly*, announced the receipt from the printers of the memorial article on Dr. Rembert W. Patrick. Some delay in mailing resulted from the attempt to include as many of Dr. Patrick's friends and associates as possible. The distribution of the article will proceed, however, in the near future. Dr. Proctor described briefly several of the proposed changes in the format of the *Quarterly*, and assured the directors that these changes, if adopted, would have little effect on the costs of publication. The final product, he said, would be a more attractive and appropriate appearance of the *Quarterly*. Dr. Proctor again stressed the problem of the

rising costs of publication, and its effect on the operations, size, and quality of the *Quarterly*. Although new bids will be obtained from several printing firms in the state, Dr. Proctor warned that the quality of the *Quarterly* would deteriorate unless additional financial support was received.

Mr. Goza, chairman of the finance committee, announced that a study is being made of membership dues, and that a survey of the fees of other historical societies in the United States has been conducted. He also announced a forthcoming report of his committee in which a total new dues schedule for the Florida Historical Society would be recommended. Mr. Goza moved that the directors recommend to the membership at the May meeting that the annual dues be increased to \$7.50 per year. The motion was seconded and unanimously approved.

Dr. Johns summarized a few of the difficulties experienced by the real property committee, and solicited suggestions from the directors regarding the project now underway to locate, identify, and inventory all property owned by the Florida Historical Society. Mr. Milton Jones commented briefly on the work of the committee on rules revision, emphasizing that its immediate objective was to study the revision of the by-laws. Certain proposed changes in the by-laws will be discussed at a later meeting. Mr. Craig reaffirmed the determination of the membership committee to continue actively to seek members.

In Mr. Dodson's absence, Dr. Doherty commented briefly on the status of arrangements for the annual meeting of the Society in Pensacola, May 9-10, 1969. Professors William Warren Rogers and Jerrell H. Shofner of Florida State University and Ernest Dibble of the University of West Florida are program chairmen. Mr. James Servies is appointing his local arrangements committee.

Mr. Goza presented a brief report on the visit to historic sites in Spain which he and several other members of the Society took last summer. Mr. Goza also reported on recent excavations conducted by National Park Service officials at Osceola's burial place at Ft. Moultrie, South Carolina. Since the directors at its May 1968 meeting had passed a resolution concerning Osceola's remains, Mr. Goza assured the Society that the National Park Service activities were conducted in such a way as to prevent commercial exploitation of the remains, which are still

at Ft. Moultrie. Mr. Goza recommended that one member of the board of directors be present at the reinternment ceremonies to represent the Society.

Dr. Doherty then distributed to the directors certain correspondence, photographs, and other documents relating to the Fort Gates property, situated near Ocala on the St. Johns River, which the owners wished to donate to the Society. Mr. Kendrick mentioned that he was quite familiar with the tract, and felt the property should be acquired by Florida, perhaps as a state park. Mr. Miller and others questioned the feasibility of its acquisition by the Society unless this was the only method by which the property could be transferred to another state agency. The directors were unanimous in their belief that the costs of maintenance, repairs, and development were beyond the resources of the Society. Dr. Proctor moved that the Society extend thanks to the owners of the Fort Gates property and express its regrets that the Society is not in a position to accept title to the property; furthermore, that the Society encourage the acquisition of the property by the Florida Board of Parks and Historic Memorials, or by some other appropriate Florida agency. The motion passed.

The names of five regional vice-presidents were nominated seconded, and approved. The newly-elected regional vice-presidents are: northwest, N. E. Bill Miller (Tallahassee); northeast, Luis R. Arana (St. Augustine); central, Baynard Kendrick (Leesburg); southeastern, Charlton W. Tebeau (Miami); and, southwestern, Mrs. T. O. Bruce (Key West).

Dr. Proctor commented briefly on the success of the University of Florida Press publications, "Floridiana Facsimile & Reprint Series." This venture has seen the republication in a handsome format of a number of rare Florida books and imprints, and has made the titles available to an appreciative nationwide audience. Dr. Proctor moved that the Society commend the University of Florida Press for its successful efforts to broaden the appreciation of Florida history, and urge the press to continue the publication of this important series. The motion carried. Dr. Proctor also moved that the Society commend Dr. John K. Mahon, University of Florida, for his recently published volume *History of the Second Seminole War*, Dr. Charlton W. Tebeau, University of Miami, for his contributions to Florida history

as an educator and author, the St. Augustine Historical Society for its development of local history programs, and the Florida State Museum for its excellent depiction of Florida history in the interpretative state park museums. All of these received 1968 Awards of Merit from the American Association for State and Local History. Dr. Proctor's motion carried unanimously.

Mr. Miller expressed concern about the deteriorating condition of the St. Marks Light which is under the jurisdiction of the U. S. Coast Guard, and he expressed the opinion that representations should be made to that organization about its maintenance. Dr. Doherty appointed Mr. Miller chairman of a committee to investigate the matter and named as committee members, Mr. David Phillips, department of architecture, and Drs. W. W. Rogers and Jerrell Shofner, department of history, all of Florida State University.

Dr. Doherty expressed the thanks of the directors to Dr. Johns and the staff of Stetson University for the opportunity to meet on the campus. Dr. Johns on behalf of the University invited the officers, directors, and their wives to a luncheon served in the Stetson Room. The meeting adjourned at 12:00 p.m.

Respectfully submitted,  
John E. Johns and James A. Servies  
Acting Recording Secretaries

## CONTRIBUTORS

ROBERT R. REA is alumni professor of history at Auburn University.

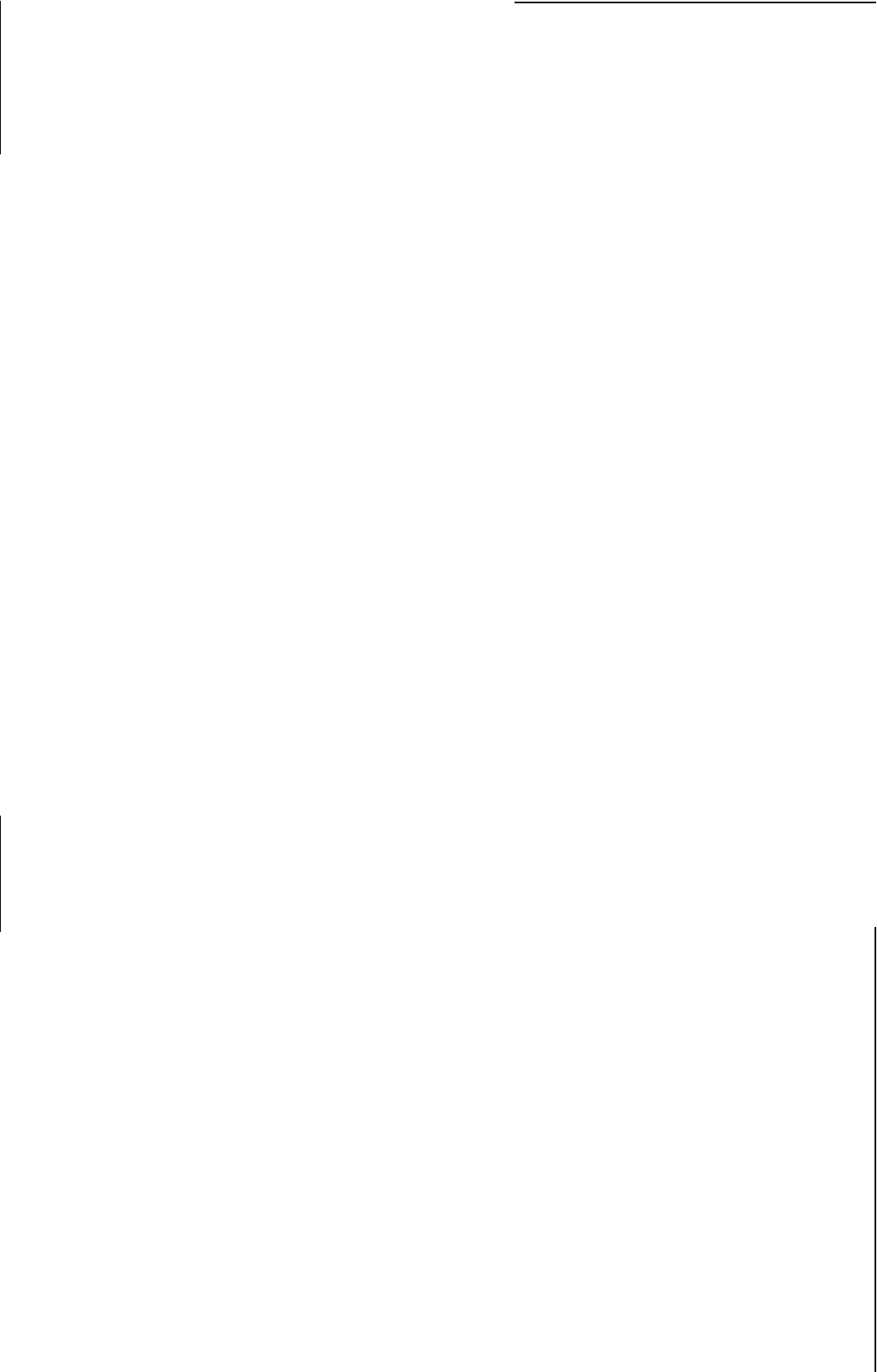
JOE M. RICHARDSON is assistant professor of history at Florida State University and this year is at the Institute of Southern History, The Johns Hopkins University.

RALPH L. PEEK is assistant professor of social sciences at the University of Florida.

E. A. HAMMOND is professor of history and social sciences at the University of Florida.

RIPLEY P. BULLEN is chairman, department of social sciences, Florida State Museum.







# THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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SAMUEL PROCTOR, *Editor*

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The Florida Historical Society supplies the *Quarterly* to its members. The annual membership fee is five dollars, but special memberships of ten, twenty-five, fifty, and one hundred dollars are available. Correspondence relating to membership and subscriptions should be addressed to Margaret Chapman, Executive Secretary, University of South Florida Library, Tampa, Florida, 33620.

Manuscripts, news, and books for review should be directed to the *Quarterly*, P. O. Box 14045, Gainesville, Florida, 32601. Manuscripts should be accompanied by a stamped self-addressed return envelope. The *Quarterly* takes all reasonable precautions for their safety but cannot guarantee their return if not accompanied by stamped return envelopes. Manuscripts must be type-written, double-spaced, on standard sized white paper, with foot-notes numbered consecutively in the text and assembled at the end. Particular attention should be given to following the foot-note style of this *Quarterly*; bibliographies will not be published. The Florida Historical Society and editor of this *Quarterly* accept no responsibility for statements made by contributors.

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