

FRONT COVER

The boat trip on the Oklawaha River from Palatka to Silver Springs was considered a "must" for the nineteenth-century visitor to Florida. Daniel Brinton, Sidney Lanier, William Cullen Bryant, Harriet Beecher Stowe, and President Ulysses S. Grant were among the celebrities that travelled aboard the little wood burning steamers that plied the horseshoe curves and windings of the river. Sidney Lanier described the vessel that he sailed on as "like nothing in the world so much as a Pensacola gopher with a preposterously exaggerated back."

Hart's Line which ran most of the boats was organized in 1860. The *James Burt* was the first to make the run. After the Civil War, when the river was cleared of debris and brush, the company's passenger steamers began regular sailings on the river. Some of the boats provided cabins for overnight travel and served sumptuous meals. The river traversed a tropical wilderness, and northern visitors were delighted with the alligators, herons, snakes, wild flowers, and tropical foliage that they saw.

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The Florida Historical Quarterly



THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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THE MAKING OF MODERN TAMPA: A CITY OF THE NEW SOUTH, 18851911

by Durward Long"

HISTORIANS HAVE YET to devote the thought and research to urbanization in the South that the subject deserves. Coulter's brief attention to the growth and role of cities and towns in the Reconstruction era, Van Woodward's similarly brief concern with cities in his Origins of the New South, Ezell's short treatment in his textbook survey. Park's interpretative chapter in Couch's Culture in the South, and Vance's edited work on the recent South nearly exhaust the list of serious histories which offer even slight leads about southern urbanization. A survey of the Journal of Southern History and state historical journals is equally disappointing despite the fact that the larger changes of the South since the Civil War have been inextricably tied to the city. Only recently have students of the South's history turned to examining the city as a topic deserving of as much attention as "Bourbons," "Redeemers," "Populists," "Jim Crow," and the politics of the "Solid South." It could be that the lag in historical study reflects the lag of the section in comparing quantitatively with urbanization of other regions.² But perhaps quantitative measurements, which place the South about fifty years behind other parts of the nation, do not necessarily indicate the degree of importance urbanization has played in the South since the Civil War. Nevertheless, as recently as 1967, a monograph on research needs in the South failed to include urban development as a separate topic.3

^{*} Mr. Long is vice-chancellor, University Center System, University of Wisconsin, Madison. This paper was read at the Southern Historical Association meeting, Washington, October 1969.

Merton Coulter, The South During Reconstruction (Baton Rouge, 1947), 252-74; C. Van Woodward, Origins Of the New South (Baton Rouge, 1951); John Samuel Ezell, The bouth Since 1865 (New York, 1963), 232-37; Edd Winfield Parks, "Southern Towns and Cities," in W. T. Couch, ed., Culture in the South (Chapel Hill, 1935), 500-18; Rupert Vance, ed., The Urban South (Chapel Hill, 1954).
 Charles N. Glaab and A. Theodore Brown, A History of Urban America (New York 1967) 130-32

⁽New York, 1967), 130-32.
3. Edgar I. Thompson, ed., Perspectives for the South: Agenda for Research (Chapel Hill, 1967).

It is probable that serious studies of the rebirth of cities like Richmond and Atlanta, the emergence of Birmingham and Dallas, the agonizing struggle of New Orleans to retain her importance, the dramatic growth of Memphis, Nashville, Durham, and scores of lesser medium-sized towns would reveal patterns of historical development which would prove helpful in understanding the many Souths of the present. Although the approximately forty years following the removal of the last of the federal occupation troops is particularly pivotal in the emergence of the modern South, the role of urbanization in this development is relatively untouched in the South's historiography.

Whatever else the term "New South" includes, it suggests the rise of the commercial entrepreneur as the dominant economic force. It is this development which is "writ large" in the progress of Tampa from an isolated gulf coastal town of sandbeds, small merchants, and cattlemen to a thriving commercial port city in 1911 through which the majority of the world's phosphate and the lion's share of luxury cigars passed.

Although the Tampa Bay area was known by the Spanish well before the nineteenth century, it was not settled until the Americans established Fort Brooke on Tampa Bay in 1824.4 The trading post and other non-military enterprises which sprang up around the fort became "Tampa" in 1834. The presence of troops encouraged settlers to Florida's west coast during the Seminole wars: others came under the terms of the Armed Occupation Act of 1842.5 But the transportation and communication barriers, the constant threat of yellow fever and the Seminoles, and the other hardships imposed by the primitive region kept the population small. The total inhabitants numbered only 796 in 1870 after a slight impetus of growth due to federal troops in the town and fort; the population then dropped to 720 by 1880.6

During the 1880s, Tampa experienced a vigorous growth because of a number of economic changes, some from purely local

Charles W. Arnade, "Celi's Expedition to Tampa Bay: A Historical Analysis," Florida Historical Quarterly, XLVII (July 1968), 1-7; Clarence E. Carter, ed., Territorial Papers of the United States: Florida Territory, 26 vols, (Washington, 1956-1962) XXII, 844.
 Karl Grismer, Tampa (St. Petersburg, 1950), 94-99.
 U.S. Bureau of the Census, Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910, "Population," II (Washington, 1912), 299.

developments, while others were reverberations from national and state trends. Nearby, the farm population to the north and west of Tampa, in Hillsborough and Polk counties, tripled each decade after 1870, creating a market for Tampa's merchants and a clientele for the area's transportation lines. Cultivating market garden commodities, vegetables, citrus, and other truck crops, the farmers turned to towns as the natural market; some Tampa townsmen became brokers to ship the commodities to New Orleans and other ports.7 Cattle ranching, continued from earlier days, emphasized the need for rail or port depots. The settlement of Florida's frontier lands on the gulf coast was in keeping with the national trend propelling settlers to open federal lands; it was further encouraged by Florida's policy of inviting immigration to inhabit its swamp and timber lands, and the state's award of lands to railroads which pierced the sparsely populated wilds.8

Among the companies penetrating Florida's frontier was Henry Bradley Plant's investment company. Plant's South Florida Railroad was instrumental in launching Tampa on its course to a modern city where construction began in 1883 on a rail line that would connect the gulf community with Jacksonville on the eastern seaboard.9 During the same year the old military reservation, Fort Brooke, comprising sixteen square miles juxtaposing Tampa Bay, was opened to settlement, bringing in a number of newcomers and launching a flurry of interest in land speculation.¹⁰ Also in 1883, pebbles of phosphate were dredged up in the Hillsborough Channel, causing still another type of land fever in Hillsborough County and Tampa.

In one year, the town took on the symptoms of some of the

^{7.} The diary of John T. Lesley, a Tampa entrepreneur during the period, The diary of John T. Lesley, a Tampa entrepreneur during the period, revealed that he acted as a middleman in many businesses and farm Crops, like other general merchants of the town. The diary also indicated that barter and Spanish gold coins were common in the village as late as the 1880s. A copy of the diary is in the author's possession.
 Robert James Young, "Administering Florida's Natural Resources" (M.A. thesis, University of Florida, 1952), S-IO. See also Alfred J. Hanna and Kathryn Abbey Hanna, Lake Okeechobee: Wellspring of the Everglades (Indianapolis, 1948).
 The connection to Tampa was completed on February IO, 1884 according to Henry V. Poor, Poor's Manual Of Railroads (New York, 1890), 725

⁷²⁵

^{10.} D. haul Westmeyer, "Tampa, Florida, A Geographic Interpretation of its Development" (M.A. thesis, University of Florida, 1953), 47, like Grismer, Tampa, probably overemphasizes the opening of Form Brooke lands to settlement-in 1883.

mining settlements of the West, and over the next two decades events in the surrounding area assumed nearly all of the characteristics of a frenzied western community "on the make," but with a southern flavor.

While the railroad, the opening of Fort Brooke, and the phosphate discovery were influential in bringing the town to new life, it was not until the cigar industry began operations in 1885 that a solid industrial and population base provided the catalyst for Tampa to become a city. Literally thousands of workers followed the factories over the next few decades.11 And in great measure, the organization of entrepreneurs into the Tampa board of trade in 1885 was responsible for bringing the cigar industry to the city by assuring factory owners of subsidies in land and construction of buildings, although wisely avoiding any commitments of tax exemption.12 The board of trade seemed to be the generating force in developing Tampa after 1885, unifying influential political sentiment and serving as the catalyst to initiate change. The activities of the body during its first two years included campaigns for a variety of improved city services and business-oriented developments such as attracting V. Martinez Ybor and the cigar industry from Key West.13

Within two years after Ybor established a cigar manufacturing city named after himself, Tampa annexed it, and it was incorporated as a city. 14 With the beginning of phosphate mining and the opening of Plant's rail connection to Port Tampa in 1888, the city's new economic base was set and its transportation links to other parts of the region and the nation were assured. Largely as a result of the efforts of the board of trade, the gulf port was declared an official port of entry in 1887, and a customs house was established, primarily to receive the large imports of Cuban tobacco which the cigar makers made into

^{11.} See Wallace Martin Nelson, "The Economic Development of Florida, 1870-1930" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Florida, 1962), 398-99, for Hillsborough's labor force increases.

^{12.} Ybor and his partner, Edward Manrara, were given a subsidy of \$4,000 in cash and land toward the purchase of a tract of ten acres for a total price of \$9.000. See Minutes of the Tampa Board of Trade, October 5, 1885, Ledger I, 15.

Minutes of the Tampa Board of Trade, Ledger I, 4-42, and Minutes of the Board of Governors of the Tampa Board of Trade, Ledger II, 4-10.
 Durward Long, "Historical Beginnings of Ybor City and Modem Tampa," Florida Historical Quarterly, XLV (July 1966), 31-44.

Tampa-brand Havana cigars.

Simultaneous with these business activities, utilities and other urban services were initiated. The city had two telegraph lines by 1884, and a local street railway company was formed the next year, financed with local capital and outfitted with passenger cars made on the scene. The Tampa Electric Company came into existence in 1887 to provide lighting and energy for other uses and was soon thereafter reorganized as a stock company renamed the Tampa Electric Light and Power Company. A water works was established in the middle 1880s, although it was 1889 before it provided water to city businesses and residents. Supporting these improvements, the board of trade also sponsored a bond issue in 1889 to provide \$65,000 for sewers and \$35,000 for paving city streets. The Southern Bell Telephone and Telegraph Company brought telephones to the city in 1890, and in the same year, a Florida railway firm, the Florida Central and Peninsular, constructed a second railroad. The new company also brought Plant's monopoly much-needed competition.

As the city entered the decade of the 1890s, with a population of nearly 6,000 or a seven-fold increase in ten years, 15 it had many of the characteristics of a city and was radically different from the village of 1880. Electric lights, a sewerage system, sidewalks, and paved streets were subjects of local pride despite the fact that they served only the commercial and business section. Efforts to pave streets with cypress blocks became a fiasco when during the first rainy season the blocks swelled and popped out of their places. Like many other cities, Tampa's sewers emptied raw sewage directly into the Hillsborough River. In 1891 Tampans approved a bond issue of another \$100,000 for streets and sewers.

There were other differences, however slight, in the pattern of development in the 1890s. Previously advancement had in great measure been spansored by local entrepreneurs and one or two outside interests which held a monopoly over their economic function, Now competition among the various interests became quite severe, particularly among the railroads and opposing street railway and electric and light companies. In each of these cases outside capital allied with a local interest usually won out. Com-

^{15.} Thirteenth Census, 1910, "Population," II, 299.

petition extended to journalism as well, with one group of businessmen sponsoring the Tampa Times and another backing the Tampa Tribune. It was also during this period before the twentieth century that the deposit and exchange of capital was sufficient to bring about the establishment of four banks, each of which was capitalized, at least during the early years, by local businessmen.

It was during this era of competition that the Boston firm of Stone and Webster was indirectly aided in its quest for control of the Tampa Electric Company when cattlemen dynamited the company's dam north of Tampa because the dam flooded open grazing range. The company never recovered, and it had to sell to Stone and Webster. A more standard device: excessively low passenger rates, was used by the Consumers Electric Light and Power Company, financed by New York capital, to force the locally-owned Tampa Street Railway into bankruptcy in 1894 after two years of competitive warfare. National concentration in the Havana cigar industry began'in the late 1890s, bringing the American Tobacco Company' to the city in 1901.16 The following year the Atlantic Coast Line Rail Company purchased control of Plant's Florida Southern Railroad.17

In part, the gradual change from a mercantile town to a more entrepreneural and urbanized community was reflected in the kinds of businessmen who organized Tampa's board of trade in 1885 and the group which reorganized the body in 1892.18 The initial group was dominated by general or specialty retail store owners (twenty-seven of sixty-three) and lawyers and other professions. In 1892 real estate dealers numbered more than any other single group and were tied with managers and superintendents of companies; builders and building suppliers constituted the next largest group, followed by general retailers, and then lawyers.¹⁹ Manufacturers and managers grew in number and prominence among board members, and by 1911, together with lawyers, they seemed to exert the greatest influence on board action.

^{16.} Report of the Commissioner of Corporations on the Tobacco Industry Pt. I, (Washington, 1909), 7.

^{17.} Henry V. Poor, *Poor's Manual* **of** *Railroads (New York,* 1902), 250.

18. Minutes of the Tampa Board of Trade, Ledger I, 1-3.

19. *Ibid.*, 62.

From the beginning, Tampa had lacked a deep water port conveniently close to the settlement. The channel of the Hillsborough River was too shallow for big ships to enter. Moreover, the depth of the gulf at the mouth of the Hillsborough remained consistently two to three feet for several miles. The nearest natural deep water channel was Old Tampa Bay, nine or ten miles from the Hillsborough River. Although army engineers made efforts to dredge the river in 1886, they pro-. nounced the enterprise exhorbitantly expensive and recommended that federal harbor improvement funds be spent on Old Tampa Bay. Once again Henry Bradley Plant provided the initial investment by constructing an extension wharf on Old Tampa Bay, creating Port Tampa. It was tied to Tamps by a rail connection with Plant's South Florida Railroad. Plant's steamship company served the port, giving his empire a monopoly of commercial shipping for a brief time. And because his railroad controlled the Florida interior, he played a dominant role with the shippers who wished to make port connections. To add glamour to his varied holdings, Plant completed the opulent Tampa Bay Hotel in 1891, providing a gulf coast competitor for Henry Flagler's Ponce de Leon Hotel in St. Augustine.

Plant's Port Tampa experienced its greatest prosperity during the Spanish-American War. Even before the United States entered the conflict, Tampa had become a center of support for Cuban revolutionaries who regularly visited the city to secure funds and to contract with filibusterers for the delivery of arms to the island. At the same time, Tampa merchants served the Spanish in Cuba by shipping cattle to Havana. Tampa became the major port of embarkation for men and supplies during the war. Thousands of troops were encamped in and near the city, producing a monthly payroll of approximately \$75,000, in addition to pouring other funds into the local economy through purchase of supplies and services. The nation's attention focused on Tampa, and the city enjoyed the limelight of free advertising of inestimable value. Port Tampa was burdened beyond its ability to serve, filling company coffers, and bringing unknown prosperity to hotels and suppliers.20

^{20.} William J. Schellings, "The Role of Florida in the Spanish-American War, 1898" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Florida, 1958), 256, 258, 273-74.

Partly because of unhappy experiences with the inadequacy of Port Tampa and partly because of the continued promotional activities of the Tampa board of trade, congress in 1899 approved a serious effort to develop a port at Tampa and to expand Port Tampa. Other large appropriations in 1905 and 1910 provided a total of nearly \$3,000,000 to transform a marshy estuary into a modern port. The port of Tampa began receiving large steamers in 1908, and by World War I it was a major port. But it was not the pattern of commercial development, complemented by a nationally-important extractive industry, which made Tampa unique among the New South's cities. Nor was the city unique in the spirited promotionalism of its entrepreneurs, organized in a formidable block to achieve their aims in city politics and the development of local commerce. The factor which distinguished Tampa among southern urban communities was the presence of large numbers of immigrants during the development of the city.

The population changes in Tampa and Hillsborough County between 1880-1911 were dramatic in the percentage of increase, and, as significantly, in the composition of the population. Compared to the nation's average increase of 25.5 per cent, and Florida's growth of 45.2 per cent between 1880-1890, Tampa grew by 668 per cent in the period. During the next two decades the city increased by 186 and 138 per cent, respectively, compared with the state's growth of 35 and 42 per cent, and the nation's low 20 and 21 per cent.²¹ Coincidental with the rapid growth of the cigar manufacturing industry and with the post Spanish-American War period, Tampa's population became more heterogeneous. In Hillsborough County in 1890 there were 2,275 foreign-born inhabitants and 2,917 blacks, comprising a third of the total. Ten years later, the foreign-born white males of voting age numbered nearly 3,000; black males of voting age totaled over 2,500; together they outnumbered by 1,000 the approximately 4,500 native white males of voting age, and constituted more than half of the males of voting age. By 1910, there were almost as many foreign-born males of voting age as natives; with blacks, the two groups comprised more than 60 per cent of the county's voting-age males.22 Restrictive electoral

^{21.} Thirteenth Census, 1910, "Population," II, 298-99.

^{22.} Ibid., 311, 315, 332.

laws minimized the possible effect of this particular grouping of potential voters.

Within Tampa, the population change was even more pronounced than in the county. By 1900, a new town, West Tampa, had emerged as an almost exclusively non-native white communi ty. Within a decade, its slightly more than 8,000 population included only 626 native whites of native parentage and 6,500 foreign-born or of foreign or mixed parentage. In 1910, there were nearly 21,000 persons of foreign birth residing in Tampa, 23 The city boasted of 9,000 wage earners in manufacturing in 1909, nearly four times that of any other Florida city. The value of tobacco products in Tampa in 1909 was nearly \$15,000,000, or 82 per cent of the city's manufactured products.24

The percentage of foreign-born employees in the Tampa cigar industry ranged from 75 to 90 per cent in the years 1885-1911. During the first decade the Cubans were in greatest numerical strength, the Spanish second, and the Italians third. These groups changed positions in numerical importance during the period, but they remained the most important three.25 A study of these groups in 1908 revealed that 87.3 per cent of the Cubans, 49.8 per cent of the Spanish, but only 25.0 per cent of the South Italians were engaged in the manufacturing of cigars and tobacco before coming to the United States. As a contrast, 39.2 per cent of the South Italians and 28.4 per cent of the Spanish were engaged in farming or farm labor before migrating, while only 7.0 per cent of the Cubans were so engaged. 26 The majority of the new residents had been urban and town dwellers before they came to the United States.

The immigrants' response to their new environment and the natives' reaction to the Latin immigrants constituted one of the most important themes of the city's social and political development. The Latins included Cuban, Spanish, and Italian workers who had immigrated to Tampa from Key West, New Orleans, New York, Cuba, and from their home countries. Generally, they were highly literate and brought with them ideas of

^{23.} *Ibid.*, "Manufacturing 1909," IX, 20. 24. *Ibid.*, 20, 196.

[&]quot;Report of the Immigration Commission," Senate Documents, 61st Cong., 2nd sess., No. 633, 1911, Pt. 14, "Cigar and Tobacco Manufacturing," 186-200.

^{26.} Ibid., 200.

social and economic cooperation that did not always agree with their native American neighbors. Drawing ideas from Kropotkin and Marx rather than from Darwin, the immigrants found themselves condemned as "radical" when these ideas were ex-

In addition to the basic philosophical differences between the immigrants and the native Tampans, the confusing racial composition of the newcomers created another breach. The various shades of skin color among the Cubans caused the natives to lump most of them with the Negro and to adopt a similar pattern of discrimination against them. The deceptively open pattern of integration of Negroes in the ranks of Cuban labor caused the Tampa gentry to attribute it to radicalism. Voluntary segregation among the middle and upper economic and social families was so subtle that it was often overlooked. Factory owners, for example, whether Spanish or Cuban, felt little if any discrimination by the "Anglos," and, in fact, moved quite freely among "high society." Their sons and daughters (usually daughters) sometimes married into families of Tampa's' old elite. While there was generally little or no structured color discrimination within the Cuban colony, blacks were not welcomed as members of Circulo Cubano, a mutual benefit society organized in 1899. The next year Cuban blacks organized La Union Marti-Maceo.27

The development of immigrant institutions, including the hand manufacture of cigars, gave the city its unique flavor and strongly influenced the making of modem Tampa. The Latins formed labor unions, some of which were founded on Marxian and syndicalist ideology. They organized mutual benefit societies which provided unemployment and burial insurance, cooperative medicine, and educational and recreational programs.²⁸ Social medicine groups were organized as early as 1888. The newcomers shocked Tampans with their open discussion of anarchistic and socialistic ideas. Their interests in philosophical and literary works, with particular recurrence of Lamarck, Hugo,

Jules A. Frost, "History of Ybor City," Ybor City, Federal Writer's Project, Works Progress Administration for the State of Florida, 6, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville. "Life of Jose Ramon Sanfeliz," *ibid.*, 7.

28. Durward Long, "An Immigrant Cooperative Medicine Program in the South, 1887-1963," Journal of Southern History (November 1965),

^{417-34.}

Zola, and other European writers, and their cosmopolitan social habits gave the city a Latin flavor. The Spanish newspapers, social customs, and festivals which appeared in the early twentieth century continue to exist. The organization of anarchistic reading groups, socialist political groups, and the endorsement of Eugene Debs, the I.W.W., and the Mexican Revolution by some of the Latins, galvanized Tampa's entrepreneurs into a formidable economic and political force. Laborer's demands for a union shop and threats of a general strike were viewed by the business interests through the colored glasses of the Haymarket and Pullman affairs, McKinley's assassination, and Marxian socialism. Therefore, commercial interests resisted with all powers at their disposal, legal and otherwise.

From the very early days of the cigar industry, the Tampa board of trade had assured the owners of the companies that life and property would be protected by all legal means.29 More than once, the business elite acted as non-neutral mediators in labor disputes and sometimes encouraged vigilante action against the alleged "radical agitators." In 1901, La Resistencia union and strike leaders were forcibly kidnapped, put aboard a chartered ship, deposited on a deserted beach in Honduras, and warned under threat of their lives never to return to Tampa.

Law enforcement officials, although aware of the kidnapping, failed to prevent it or to prosecute the vigilantes. Despite the demands by laborers for an investigation of the affair, and a subsequent white-washing by a federal attorney, the native community of Tampa found little to condemn.30 As the immigrant labor organizations grew larger and more militant, so did the spirit of vigilantism in Tampa, which resulted in the lynching of two Italians during the strike of 1910-1911 in retaliation for the shooting of a cigar company's bookkeeper. This tragedy not only created more severe divisions along nationality lines, but it also broke the spirit of unionism for nearly a decade. More significantly, it drove underground any radical ideas among the Latins, and for some it probably destroyed hope in achieving fundamental change through the normal legal and

^{29.} Minutes of the Tampa Board of Trade, March 8, 1887, Ledger I, 41. This assurance was in response to a strike in some of the factories and in reaction to rumored threats against non-strikers and the factories.

30. Durward Long, "La Resistencia: Tampa's Immigrant Labor Union," Labor History, V (Fall 1965), 193-213.

political processes.

For a variety of reasons, the main one of which being a restricted electorate, there was no sustained or significant social or political reform in the city in the period prior to 1911. While the evidence consulted is *unclear* at this point, it appears that the immigrants did not participate significantly in the city's political life. Instead, they used the mutual benefit societies as protection leagues-Spanish versus Cuban prior to War War I; Asturianos versus other Spaniards, and Latins against Anglos as educational self-help organizations, and as cooperative medical and welfare groups; in great measure they diverted their tendency to social reform into these societies. For most of the period, the Latins also rejected the American middle-class idea of labor unions and resisted the establishment craftsmen of the American Federation of Labor. There were flirtations with and serious discussions about the varieties of socialist ideology of the time, although electoral returns do not in themselves indicate significant political support of socialist candidates. About twenty per cent of the socialist votes cast in Florida in 1904 were in Hillsborough, ten per cent in 1908, and about fifteen per cent in 1912. In each year the number was much less than 1,000, and hovered closer to 500, but that vote was probably the reflection of the attitudes of a much larger group of immigrants who were unregistered.³¹ Many of them soon became involved in local politics and the traditional party cleavages; others rejected political activity altogether as promising any hope for the worker.

Although there was a powerful minority of commercial leaders who influenced the political and economic fortunes of the city during the period of development, "bossism" in the form of one powerful individual does not manifest itself. Peter 0. Knight, an influential attorney who became a corporation lawyer with national firms by World War I, came closest to qualifying as a boss. The alliance of the managers, entrepreneurs, and the *Tampa Tribune* constituted the clique which determined Tampa's directions. D. B. McKay and his political supporters, primarily business leaders and old Tampa families, was closest to a political machine, but it fell short of the control

^{31.} Florida had the highest socialist vote among the southern states in these elections. See the official election returns for 1904, 1908, 1912 in the Biennial Reports of the Secretary of State for the State of Florida.

maintained by machines in other cities. Perhaps the absence of a discernible bossism actually prevented the rise of a significant progressive impulse. And while there was an elite of sorts in the early years, it was based on old Tampa families and professionals and not on entrenched wealth.

Until 1880 Tampa was nothing more than a village, exhibiting the characteristics of a garrison and market city. Its geographical location made it a likely distribution center for a relatively restricted interior hinterland and a break-in-transportation point for rail-water connections. These considerations prompted Plant to build his railroad into Tampa. Some historians have sought in the railroad the one main explanation for Tampa's growth. But to do so is to overemphasize the importance of one factor in the complex development in even a small city. Without the promotional activities of the board of trade, it is questionable whether the village of Tampa would have developed as it did. Also, it seems fairly clear that the cigar industry and its accompanying Spanish-speaking immigration decisively affected the course of the city's development. The accidental discovery of phosphate and the establishment of a world supplier of this extractive product fortuitously occurred during the same period. These economic interests provided the impetus for the construction of the port of Tampa and constituted the city's modern economic configuration.

Along with Tampa's economic development and growth there were several technological advances and improvements in the general living conditions, although these were rarely part of an organized effort to better the lives of all citizens. In many ways, the city remained tied to the Old South, with the entrepreneur replacing the planter and landed squirearchy, although there was even some revival of the latter, based on profits of commerce. These conditions seem to conform to most of the growing cities in the nation in this age of Horatio Alger rather than to those of just the New South. But the mixture of ante bellum southern tradition, the commercial entrepreneurship of the New South, and significant numbers of immigrant workers drawing practices from still other institutional values provided the milieu of Tampa as a modern city. Recurring tensions over the years indicate that the three institutional patterns still persist and that none have won a total victory.

THE CASE AGAINST A NINETEENTH-CENTURY CUBA-FLORIDA **SLAVE TRADE**

by Kenneth F. Kiple*

THE BELIEF THAT there existed a sizable clandestine traffic in Negro slaves between the island of Cuba and Florida after 1808 has been a persistent one in the historiography of slavery in the United States.1 There are, of course, many logical reasons for this persistence.

Perhaps most important is that the Atlantic slave trade to Cuba, despite its illegal nature after 1820, continued to grow in volume until the middle 1860s and even then slaves continued to be imported to the island until slavery itself was finally abolished in 1886.2 Hence many have felt that the Cuban planters, blessed with a continuing supply of slaves from Africa, could not only have satisfied their own labor requirements during the first half or so of the nineteenth century but would also have had a surplus of slaves to sell to their less fortunate North American counterparts.³ Nor would the physical problems connected with carrying out this illegal transfer of slaves from

1511-1868 (New York, 1967), 245-49.

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^{1.} In 1808 importation of slaves to the United States became illegal.

As a result of British persuasion and diplomatic pressure, Spain, on September 23, 1817, prohibited her subjects from engaging in the slave trade north of the equator, beginning in December of that year. The treaty further specified that after May 20, 1820, the trade would be forbidden to all Spanish subjects south of the equator as well. Moreover, the introduction of any slave to Spanish-owned territory by anyone of whatever nationality was declared illegal after 1820. "Real cédula de Su Majestad y Señores del consejo, por la cual se manda guardar cumplir el tratado que va inserto, concluído entre S.M. y el rey del reino unido de la Gran Bretaña e Irlanda para la abolición del tráfico de negros," año de 1818, Madrid en la Imprenta Real, Archivo Histórico Nacional (hereinafter referred to as AHN Ultramar), legajo 2547, L.2, No. 26. See Fernando Ortiz Fernández, Hampa afro-cubana: los negros esclavos, estudio sociólogo y d e derecho público (L a Habana, 1916), passim, for an estimate of the dimensions of the Cuban slave trade, particularly during the last half of the century.
 For example, see Hubert H. S. Aimes, A History of Slavery in Cuba, 1511-1868 (New York, 1967), 245-49. 2. As a result of British persuasion and diplomatic pressure, Spain, on

Spanish to United States territory have appeared insurmountable. Instead, "because of its long and indented coastline, and of its proximity to Cuba. Florida afforded an excellent opportunity for the illegal importation of slaves." Moreover, for a bit more than a decade after the United States closed its Atlantic slave trade, much of the Floridas remained in Spanish hands. thus eliminating any legal problems of navigation between Cuba and the closest North American mainland. Hence it has been urged by at least one recent author that "until 1818 a slave ferry operated regularly between Havana and Pensacola."5 From Florida the slaves were in turn smuggled into the southern United States.6 In fact, the Cuba-to-Florida traffic was purportedly so great during this period that "three hundred square rigged vessels were seen in Spanish [Florida] waters." and "Amelia Island was then probably the most populous slave station in the world "7

Even after the United States acquired all of the Floridas. the Cuba-Florida traffic is alleged to have continued because the United States lacked the "enforcement machinery" to give meaning to its slave trade laws.* Largely because of this, an other historian has assured us that for the period 1821-1841 "Cuba was the centre of a considerable trade in Negroes to the United States," with Florida presumably a major terminus of this trade.9 In fact, we are informed that even as late as the years 1859-1862 slavers made forty voyages between Cuba and the United States mainland, with Florida again as the most logical place for clandestine landings. 10

Obviously then, there exist sufficient historical accounts to make a case for a Cuba-Florida slave trade from 1808 right up to the Civil War. Besides, it has the appeal of "making sense,"

Dorothy Dodd, "The Schooner Emperor: An Incident of the Illegal Slave Trade in Florida," Florida Historical Quarterly, XIII (January)

^{5.} Daniel P. Mannix and Malcolm Cowley, Black Cargoes: A History of the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1518-1365 (New York, 1965), 203. 6. Ibid.

John Randolph Spears, The American Slave Trade: An Account of Its Origin, Growth and Suppression (New York, 1900), 123-24.
 Frances J. Stafford, "Illegal Importations: Enforcement of the Slave Trade Laws Along the Florida Coast, 1810-1823," Florida Historical Quarterly, XLVI (October 1967). 124.

^{9.} Aimes, Slavery in Cuba. 245-48. 10. William Law Mathieson, British Slavery and Abolition, 1823-1838 (London, 1926), 232.

at least superficially, for certainly propinquity made for opportunity. However, historians are now discovering that very often those things connected with the Atlantic slave trade to the New World which seemed to earlier scholars to "make sense"-and were subsequently footnoted by others, thus hastening the conversion from opinion to fact-have very often turned out to bear little, if any, resemblance to reality.11 The burden of this study will be to demonstrate that the same is probably true for the Florida-Cuba slave trade.

To do so, it seems best first to consider the extent of the contraband slave trade to the United States as a whole, from whatever source, for its magnitude would undoubtedly have had a bearing on the size of the Cuba-Florida trade. During the first part of the twentieth century, such scholars as W. E. B. Dubois, Lewis Gray, and W. H. Collins put the total number of illegal slave importations to the United States at between 250,000 and 270,000 for the period 1808-1860.12 In view of the fact that during these years the United States slave population increased from fewer than 1,000,000 to almost 4,000,000, these estimates seemed reasonable or even a bit conservative.

However now that there is more examination of the slave trade in terms of vessel capacity, slave mortality aboard ship, and the many obstacles a slaver had to overcome-both legal and physical-these earlier estimates appear excessive. Philip D. Curtin, for example, has estimated that the total number of slaves brought to the United States during the years 1808-1861 did not exceed 54,000, while others have agreed that "no large number of contraband Africans were imported into the United States between 1808 and 1861,"13 These later studies, in turn, tend to "fit" with Warren Howard's recent work which found the smuggled slave in the United States in the nineteenth cen-

^{11.} Philip Curtin, The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census (Madison, 1969),

Philip Cuttin, The Attanta Stave Trade: A Census (Madison, 1909), passim.
 W. E. B. DuBois, Suppression of the African Slave Trade to the United States Of America, 1638-1870 (New York, 1954), 108-18; DuBois, "Enforcement of the Slave Trade Laws," American Historical Association Annual Report, 1891, 161-73; Lewis Gray, History Of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860, 2 vols. (Washington, 1933), II, 649-51; W. H. Collins, The Domestic Slave Trade Of the Southern States (New York, 1904). York, 1904), 20.

^{13.} Curtin, Atlantic Slave Trade, 74-75; Peter Duignan and Clarence Clendenen, The United States and the African Slave Trade, 1619-1862 (Stanford, 1963), 19.

tury definitely "elusive" and seriously doubted that "he ever existed in very large numbers."14

Evidence contained in the decennial returns of the United States Census Office emphatically agrees with Howard. We know, for example, that far more men than women were victims of the Atlantic slave trade, and, for this reason, the slave sex ratio of nations receiving imports was always high.¹⁵ Illustrative is Cuba, which in 1817 possessed 167.1 slave males for every 100 females, a disproportion between the sexes which had increased to 176.8 by 1827.16 In the United States, by contrast, there were only 105.1 slave males for every 100 females in 1820, and by 1840 this ratio had fallen to 100.4, remaining at this level until the Civil War.¹⁷ Moreover, the census office in 1870. despite an effort to tabulate those Negroes which might have been illegally imported, could discover only 9,645, out of a population of 4,880,009, who had been born outside the United States.¹⁸ Furthermore, of these 9,645 blacks a mere 1,984 claimed to have been born in Africa, while Cuba was listed as the place of nativity in only 508 cases.19

Taken together then, recent historical investigations and statistical evidence caution against a belief in an extensive contraband slave trade to the United States. This in turn, would tend to warn against an easy acceptance of a Cuba-Florida slave traffic. It most certainly rules out such suggestions as the presence of "three hundred" slaving vessels in Florida waters, if for no other reason than it can be demonstrated that the average number of slaves per vessel carried to Cuba from Africa during the years 1820-1860 was about 330.20 If one assumes that the

^{14.} Warren Howard, American Slavers and the Federal Law, 1837-1862 (Berkeley, 1963), 154.

⁽Berkeley, 1963), 154.

15. Curtin, Atlantic Slave Trade, States that "slave cargoes at this period contained between two and five males for each female," fn. 41.

16. Computed from "Estado General de la población . . . correspondiente al año de 1817," Archivo General de las Indias, Audiencia of Santo Domingo (hereinafter referred to as AGI, Santo Domingo), legajo 1342. The census of 1827 can be found in Cuba, Dirección general del censo, Census of the Republic Of Cuba; 1919 (Havana, 1919), 273-75.

17. Calculations are based on the appropriate decennial returns of the United States Census Office

United States Census Office.

^{18.} U.S. Department of the Interior, *The Statistics* **of** *the Population* **of** *the United States* . . . *Compiled* **from** *the Original Returns* **of** *the Ninth* Census, June 1, 1870 (Washington, 1872) I, 6, 336, 338.

^{19.} Ibid., 336, 338.

Computed from the "Estado de las espediciones de negros bozales capturados en las costas de la Isla de Cuba," AHN, legajo 3547;

same class of vessel would have been employed in the Cuba-Florida trade, then this implies some 90,000 slaves in a single year, or almost twice the number of Africans which Philip Curtin estimates that the United States as a whole imported during a fifty-three year period.

Another reason for doubting the existence of a Cuba-Florida trade concerns the types of evidence used by historians. Many of those who have made a case for this traffic either personally have relied on an autobiographical account by a slaver or have used works dependent upon this account.21 Captain Richard Drake described huge joint stock companies representing both Spanish and American interests which made fortunes by smuggling great numbers of slaves first into Florida and then up the Perdido and Escambia rivers into Georgia and from there distributing these blacks to other southern states. Yet Drake's account has recently been examined by a historian of the American slave trade and pronounced "almost certainly spurious."22 It was commented that "apparently there was enough interest in the trade to make production of such accounts a worthwhile enterprise."23

The capture, or for that matter the accidental grounding, of laden Spanish slaving vessels in Florida waters has also been pointed to as evidence of a Cuba-Florida slave trade. The example of the Guerrero is representative and mentioned often by those seeking to document this traffic.24 The error they make is not in pointing out that the vessel ran aground on the Florida Keys in the year 1827 with a substantial slave cargo aboard; rather, they mistakenly assume that the vessel's captain was attempting to smuggle these slaves into, Florida. That this is a mistake is evident from the records of the British Foreign

[&]quot;Return of all Vessels Captured by British Cruisers for Violations of Slave Trade Treaties in Each Year from 1840-1847 . . ," in Appendix

<sup>of Slave Trade Treaties in Each Year from 1840-1847..., in Appendix to "Minutes of Evidence Before [the] Select Committee on the African Slave Trade of the House of Lords," House of Lords Sessional Papers, Accounts and Papers (1849), XXVIII, appendix F, 111-17.
21. Richard Drake, Revelations of a Slave Smuggler: Being the Autobiography of Captain Richard Drake, An African Trader for Fifty Years from 1807-1857 (New York, 1860). A portion of Drake's Revelations can be found in George Francis Dow, Slave Ships and Slaving (Salem, 1807).</sup>

^{22.} Howard, American Slavers, 320.

^{23,} ibid.24. Stafford, "Illegal Importations," 132.

Office which clearly indicate that the Guerrero, a many-gunned and well-manned brig, cleared Havana for Africa in early 1827, with the intent of "plundering the [slave] cargoes of weaker vessels on the coast" and then returning to Havana, not Florida, to market its pirated slaves.25

The Guerrero's career of piracy, however, was short-lived. Successful in relieving another vessel of its slave cargo, the Guerrero's luck ran out soon after it re-entered the Caribbean. With the island of Cuba lying directly ahead, it was encountered by the schooner H.M.S. Nimble, a British naval vessel patrolling Cuban waters for the precise purpose of capturing illicit slavers. Choosing to flee instead of fight, the Guerrero ran north and west, away from Havana, hoping to shake off its pursuer in the Florida Straits.26 Due to the vagaries of wind and current, however, it found itself off the Florida Keys and, in an unsuccessful bid for freedom, attempted to cross over the shoals and reefs of the keys into the Gulf of Mexico.27

Clearly, the Guerrero was in Florida waters very unwillingly, yet this accidental grounding of a Cuban vessel has been used by many as proof of a Cuba-Florida slave trade. So too, for that matter, has the capture of a vessel apparently quite guilty of engaging in exactly this sort of traffic. This reference, of course, is to the celebrated Emperor case-the only documented landing of slaves in Florida which were brought from Cuba after 1820.28 Though a proven example of slaves from Cuba being landed illegally in Florida, this case, by the very fact that it created such a stir, testifies to the uniqueness of the event. The discovery that such an act had taken place during the year 1837 not only created an uproar in St. Joseph, Florida, the scene of the landing, but occasioned many newspaper editorials and caused the authorities to hunt down and confiscate all the contraband slaves, as well as the vessel Emperor valued at \$3,000.29 That such a commotion resulted from this instance of illegal slave importations suggests plainly that these importa-

^{25.} J. T. Kilbee and William Mackay to George Canning, July 31, 1827, House of Commons Sessional *Papers*, Accounts and Papers (1828), XXVI, 143. (Hereinafter referred to as Commons *Accounts and Papers*).

^{26.} Kilbee and Macleay to Canning, December 31, 182'7, ibid. (1829). XXVI. 230.

^{27.} Ibid. 28. Dodd, "Schooner Emperor," 117-28. 29. Ibid., 124-28.

tions were hardly commonplace.

An even more convincing argument against the allegations that Cuba was a source of slaves for Florida and the South during the nineteenth century is the little appreciated fact (on the part of North American historians) that Cuba neither possessed nor had access to any surplus of slaves. On the contrary, slave labor was in scarce supply, and consequently, blacks were in very great demand on the island due to the sugar revolution which it experienced throughout the entire last century.30

From a labor standpoint, Cuba was ill-prepared for this revolution. As late as 1792 the island had a slave population of only 84,456, which had increased seventy years later to only 370,553.31 This increase was due largely to the efforts of illicit slaving captains who successfully defied the provisions of the treaties of 1817 and 1835, by virtue of which Spain promised Great Britain to end the slave trade to Cuba and gave the British navy authority to "police" suspected Spanish slaving vessels.32 Yet the increase was not nearly enough, and as late as 1858 the Spanish government was fretting about the great demand for slaves on the island.33

If, then, there was a continual scarcity of slave labor in Cuba during the first six decades of the nineteenth century, it seems logical that the Cubans would have been less than eager to sell a portion of their slaves to North American planters. An analysis of differential slave prices which prevailed at roughly the same time periods in Cuba on the one hand and Florida and the southern United States on the other, seems to indicate that this eagerness was lacking.

As the legal slave trade drew to **a** close in the United States, a young healthy male, fresh from Africa, was selling for about \$250, a price that coincides with the average insured value of Negroes being imported at the time.34 In Cuba during 1807,

^{30.} For an account of the diplomatic difficulties this shortage of slaves pro-30. For an account of the diplomatic difficulties this shortage of slaves produced, see Arthur F. Corwin, Spain and the Abolition of Slavery in Cuba, 1817-1886 (Austin, 1967), passim.
31. Census of the Republic of Cuba, 266, 275.
32. For details of the treaties of 1517 and 1835, see Corwin, Spain and the Abolition of Slavery in Cuba, 17-34, 60-64.
33. "Informe del Consejo de ministros," San Sebastian, November 27, 1858, ALL Ultramar legio 3550, No. 16

AHN, Ultramar legajo 3550, No. 16.
34. Elizabeth Donnan, **Documents** Illustrative of the History of the Stave Trade to America, Vol. IV: The Border Colonies and the Southern Colonies (Washington, 1935), 521-22, 529.

the price was the same, with bozales (Negroes newly imported from Africa) selling for \$225 to \$265.35 After "seasoning"-a cruel process of forced acculturation which about seven to twelve per cent did not survive-the slave in either country was worth considerably more.³⁶ Thus in Cuba a young healthy black, six months away from Africa (and therefore at least partially seasoned) would bring between \$350 and \$400, while a seasoned male slave or a female skilled in domestic work was worth about \$500.37

Nor did the price vary in Florida, with a newly arrived prime slave at Amelia Island being sold for \$250, while "others went for \$175 to \$200."38 On the other hand, in the southern United States as a whole, the average price for seasoned slaves was between \$400 and \$500 in 1814, rising temporarily to between \$800 and \$1,000 in 1818, and then descending again to a \$400 to \$500 level.39

Clearly then, the price of bozal Negroes in the United States, until their importation was prohibited in 1808, and in both Florida and Cuba until 1817, was similar. The momentary price increase in 1818 in the American South might have tempted slavers to smuggle in slaves to Florida from Cuba had the price of bozal Negroes on the island not increased to a level of between \$380 and \$600.40 The higher price in the United States was for seasoned slaves, implying, of course, that they were familiar with the cultivation of cotton and spoke English. A

Aimes, Slavery in Cuba, 267. Cuban slave prices, of course, were given in pesos. Conveniently, for the period in question, the Spanish silver peso was traded on a par with the United States dollar. See John Ramsay McCulloch, A Dictionary, Practical, Theoretical and Historical of Commerce and Commercial Navigation (London, 1846), 312-13.
 Alexander von Humboldt, The Island of Cuba, translated from the Spanish with notes and a preliminary essay by J. S. Thrasher (New York, 1856), 227-29.
 Digrio del Cobierna de la Habana, issues of October 1 and 21, 1914.

^{37.} Diario del Gobierno de la Habana, issues of October 1 and 31, 1814, AGI, Santo Domingo, legajo 1637.

AGI, Santo Domingo, legajo 1637.
 American State Papers, Documents, Legislative and Executive of the Congress of the United States, Class X: Miscellaneous, 2 Vols. (Washington, 1834-61), II, 957-75; Stafford, "Illegal Importations," 130.
 Ulrich B. Phillips, American Negro Slavery: A Survey of the Supply, Employment and Control of Negro Labor as Determined by the Plantation Regime (New York, 1918), 370-71.
 Aimes, Slavery in Cuba, 267. Ramiro Guerra y Sánchez, ed., Historia de la nacidn Cubana, 10 vols. (La Habana, 1952), II, 301, placed the price of bezales at between \$500 and \$600.

price of bozales at between \$500 and \$600.

bozal, because he still had to undergo seasoning, would have been worth much less, while a seasoned slave from Cuba would neither have been familiar with cotton cultivation nor would he have spoken English, consequently reducing his value to southern planters.

On the whole, then, it can be said that slave prices in the two countries were similar enough to make the existence of an extensive Cuba-Florida slave trade prior to 1820, as described by Captain Drake, impossible and the existence of even a moderate traffic highly unlikely. By 1821 the price of bozal Negroes in Cuba seems to have run between \$450 and \$600, a price that apparently remained fairly consistent throughout the decade, although again seasoned male slaves were selling for \$650 and more, while female domestics were bringing about \$550.41 By contrast, even seasoned slaves were bringing only \$500 to \$600 in the United States in 1823, and for most of the decade, in fact, a seasoned field hand in the New Orleans market seems to have sold for \$600 or less.42

Throughout the 1830s and 1840s, slave prices in both the southern United States and Cuba hovered around levels established in the 1820s. In Florida, for example, an examination of a list of "slaves and other property belonging to the estate of William B. Nuttall, sold at foreclosure [in] 1844" reveals an "average worth" of about \$300 each, including men, women, and children of all ages, a figure which seems to correspond closely to the average of the South as a whole.43 The valuation placed on the seasoned male slaves of the plantation, however, ranged between \$350 and \$725, while a woman and child together would bring about \$450.44 Meanwhile, raw bozales in

Observador de la Isla de Cuba, September 9, 1821, AGI, Santo Domingo, legajo 1635; Diario de la Habana, January 21 and 23, 1929, AHN, Estado, legajo 6371, No. 21; Guerra y Sanchez, Historia, II, 301; Aimes, Slavery in Cuba, 267.
 Phillips, American Negro Slavery, 370-71; Kenneth M. Stampp, The Peculiar Institution: Slavery in the Ante-Bellum South (New York, 1964) A16.

^{1964), 416.}Ulrich B. Phillips and James D. Glunt, eds., Florida Plantation Records
From the Papers of George Noble Jones (St. Louis, 1927), 541-43. Dubois,
Suppression of the African Slave Trade, 162, gives the average price of 43. slaves in 1840 at \$325.

[&]quot;Bill of Sale for a Woman Slave Named Amy and Her Child Named Flora, from Henry Hartly to David Palmer, Duval County, 8 December 1843," roll 182J, microfilm copy in P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville. 44.

Cuba were selling at between \$350 and \$500, while female domestics and seasoned males were bringing the higher figure.45

It was not until the late 1850s and early 1860s that slave prices began to increase appreciably in both slave societies. A list of fifty-four slaves sold in Florida in 1860 by George Noble Jones reveals an average worth of \$900 each, with seasoned men and older boys worth an average of \$1,161.12 and twenty-three women and older girls worth \$921.74 each. On the other hand, bozales in Cuba were bringing \$750 to \$800 each, while the average worth of all seasoned slaves, including both sexes, was about \$1,000.47

From the foregoing, then, it can be seen that slave prices in Cuba, Florida, and the southern United States as a whole closely approximated each other, from the termination of the United States slave trade right up to the beginning of the Civil War. Because of this, it appears unlikely that there was much, if any, nineteenth century slave traffic between Cuba and Florida. Why should a slave trader have risked losing a portion of his cargo to disease aboard ship, or all of his cargo and ship through confiscation if apprehended, in an effort to transfer slaves from Cuba to Florida, only to sell his slaves at little or no profit? The answer, of course, is that he would not. For this reason then, the existence of a Cuba-Florida slave trade is most probably a myth.

^{45.} Diario de la Habana, September 5, 1840 and June 11, 1840; and El Redactor . . . propriedad de la Real Sociedad Econdmica de Amigos del Pais, July 27, 1840, AHN, Ultramar, legajo 619, No. 48; Diario de la Habana, June 6, 1841, AGI, Santo Domingo, legajo 1637. See also Aimes, Slavery in Cuba, 267-68.

 [&]quot;List of Slaves Sold by George Noble Jones to Joseph Bryan, 1860, With Prices Affixed," Phillips and Glunt, eds., Florida *Plantation Records*, 558-60.

^{47.} Jos. T. Crawford, Consul General in Cuba to the Earl of Clarendon, Havana, February 28, 1856, AHN, Estado, *legajo* 8048, L.15, No. 5; Aimes, Slavery in *Cuba*, 268.

HAMILTON DISSTON'S ST. CLOUD SUGAR PLANTATION. 1887-1901'

by Pat Dodson*

FLORIDA HISTORY remembers Henry Bradley Plant and Henry Morrison Flagler because of the railroads and hotels that these two nineteenth century magnates built and because of the major impact that they had on state politics and on Florida's economic growth. But Hamilton Disston of Philadelphia preceded them, and in fact, helped make their ventures possible. Disston's own accomplishments may have had a greater influence than either Plant or Flagler in leading Florida into the twentieth century. A member of the prominent Pennsylvania saw-manufacturing family, Disston was first attracted to Florida in the 1870s by the lunker black bass that once populated Florida's lakes and rivers, and these early fishing trips were destined to help change the course of Florida's history.

When William D. Bloxham was inaugurated governor in January 1881, Florida was still experiencing the impact of the Civil War and Reconstruction on its economy. The Internal Improvement Fund, created by legislative action in the 1850s to supervise the state's public lands, controlled some 20,000,000 acres. The Fund, however, was in receivership because of its inability to pay off approximately \$1,000,000 in claims. In 1877 the claims had amounted to some \$960,000, but with accrued interest this amount bad increased to \$1,000,000 by 1881. Governor Bloxham was looking for someone who could rescue the state from this serious and embarrassing dilemma and get it back on its financial feet. He found such a savior in Hamilton Disston.

Within three months after Bloxham's inauguration, Disston had signed with the Internal Improvement Fund trustees the two contracts that were supposed to activate the sub-tropical Florida wilderness and open it up for settlement and develop-

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ment. On January 31, 1881, the Fund entered into an agreement with Disston and his associates-William H. Wright, Whitfield H. Drake, and Albert B. Linderman, all of Philadelphia, William C. Parsons of Arizona, and Ingram Coryell of Florida. A formal contract was drawn up February 26, 1881, and it was approved by all parties on March 10. It stipulated that Disston and his associates would drain all overflowed land south of Township 24 (three miles north of Kissimmee) and east of Peace Creek. For its efforts the group would receive alternate sections of all reclaimed land. As it turned out, the Fund's precarious situation prevented the trustees from honoring this agreement. To forestall a court-ordered sale of Internal Improvement Fund lands, as demanded by the Fund's creditors, Governor Bloxham persuaded Disston to purchase 4,000,000 acres of Florida land for \$1,000,000. On June 14, 1881, Disston signed this second contract and agreed to a down payment of \$200,000.1

By January 1882, Disston's first dredge had begun its operations in Lake Flirt on the Caloosahatchee River to open Lake Okeechobee to the Gulf of Mexico.* In a few years sugar cane would grow in this area, but in 1882 the pattern of draining swamp lands and cultivating sugar cane was more to the north. On Lake Tohopekaliga, where Disston's Florida command post was then developing into the early settlement of Kissimmee, another drainage operation was beginning. In July 1882, the Atlantic and Gulf Coast Canal and Okeechobee Land Company's second dredge steamed south to Gum Swamp, where Tohopekaliga overflowed into Lake Cypress, some four miles south and three feet lower in elevation.3 Slushing muck and sand on a thirty-six by six-foot beeline, the bucket-type dredge reached Lake Cypress in February 1883. Within a year, near a settlement called Southport, about twenty acres of sugar cane were

T. Frederick Davis, "The Disston Land Purchase," Florida Historical Quarterly, XVII (January 1939), 204-07; Minutes of the Board of Trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund of the State of Florida, 6 vols. (Tallahassee, 1902-1906), II, 437, III, 501; R. E. Rose, The Swamp and Overflow Lands of Florida (Tallahassee, 1916), 3-4. Disston's associates had incorporated as the Atlantic and Gulf Coast Canal and Okeechobee Land Company on July 20, 1881.
 The Atlantic and Gulf Coast Canal and Okeechobee Land Company (Philadelphia, 1885), 13. Hereinafter referred to as Atlantic and Gulf Coast Canal

Coast Canal.

^{3.} Ibid., 32; Will Wallace Harney, "The Drainage of the Everglades," Harpers New Monthly Magazine, LXVIII (March 1884), 598-605.

planted in muck "previously under two or three feet of water." In spite of "a very dry spring and a very wet fall," the cane was full-grown eleven months later, and according to report, the vield was "enormous, the stand perfect, and the average length— FULLY MATURED-twelve feet, many stalks measuring fifteen feet" The muck had required no fertilizer, and the cost "to clear the land, fence and ditch it, buildings, seed cane, planting and cultivation" was estimated at less than \$100 an acre.4

Clay Johnson, a Disston employee from Louisiana and later a Kissimmee steamboat captain, and John W. Bryan, the representative in the Florida legislature from Polk. County, documented the results. of the cane experiments for Disston. They reported an average yield of 16,000 stalks per acre. This meant that an acre could produce 700 gallons of syrup that was saleable in Kissimmee for forty cents a gallon. Yet with the very small and crude two-roller Parry mill "at least 15 per cent" of the juice remained in the bagasse.⁵ Samples of this cane took- first prize in yield and quality at the Cotton Centennial Exposition in New Orleans in 1884-1885 in competition with sugar cane from Louisiana, Cuba, and Mexico.6

Though the Southport farm grew at least one more crop, probably from the rations, its significance lies as predecessor and impetus to the much greater sugar effort in which Hamilton Disston himself was to take the leading role. As soon as his No. 2 dredge had finished the first Southport cut, it was swung toward Lake Tohopekaliga's eastern cove where the sawgrass and maiden-cane of Cross Prairie-four miles long and averaging a mile and a half wide-connected the lake with her sister to the northeast. In June 1884, the dredge crossed the water trail traversed for years by a flat-bottomed "lighter" ferry, and the

Atlantic and Gulf Coast Canal, 32.
 Ibid., 33. In appreciation for the success of the Southport farm, Disston offered lands on both sides of the canal to Clay Johnson, operator of the dredge. Johnson declined because of his river-boating activities, a refusal which his family eventually regretted when valuable citrus groves were cultivated in the area. Interview with Mrs. George Steffee, Johnson's daughter, August 13, 1954.
 According to "Osceola County Commission Report" (Tampa, 1914), Johnson "opened a ten-acre cane farm . . . and grew as fine sugar cane as was ever produced in Cuba or Louisiana, in fact the cane was exhibited at an exposition and took the medals for the quality of the syrup as well as the percentage of sugar."

following September the canal was completed. In what is normally the rainy season, the thirty-six foot by six-foot cut lowered the lake three feet in thirty days, and eventually perhaps as much as eight feet. It changed Little Lake Tohopekaliga (today called East Lake Tohopekaliga) from a "cypress lake" into a smaller body of water, white-rimmed with a wide, sandy beach.7

Behind the cypress stand and along the canal, thousands of acres of land submerged four to ten feet deep in muck lay ready for further reclamation. Within a few months company superintendent Rufus E. Rose, Clay Johnson's brother-in-law, had purchased 420 acres, probably from the drainage company which by 1885 had received 1,125,432 acres from the Internal Improvement Fund. Disston's agents were advertising these lands in the Kissimmee River area for \$1.25 per acre and up.8 In January 1886, Rose began ditching the lands which were still saturated because of a lack of a natural slope. 9 Gabe H. White later remembered that he and Sam Batton cut the first furrow that spring, he driving the oxen, and Sam holding the plow. 10 Besides rice and corn, twenty acres of sugar cane were planted. All were "unusually productive," and the next season the cane was increased to ninety acres. In the summer of 1887, a small "open kettle" mill was installed.11

In 1887 Disston bought half interest in the St. Cloud Plantation (said to have been named after the village near Paris, France), and provided the capital needed to increase the acreage to 1,800 acres and to erect the first sugar factory. Part of the crop was harvested that winter, producing "some 5,000 pounds of granulated sugar per acre," a yield superior to any American record up to that time. The rest was used as seed: "there being

^{7.} Atlantic and Gulf Coast Canal, 19; Elizabeth Cantrell, When Kissimmee Was Young (Kissimmee, 1948), 30; R. E. Rose, "The Disston Sugar, Plant tion," Annual Report of the State Chemist of Florida (Tallahassee,

Kissimmee Leader, March 19, 1886; Atlantic and Gulf Coast Canal, 1. Rose refers to this 420-acre purchase as the "original St. Cloud Plantation" in his "Disston Sugar Plantation," 41.
 Ibid., 41; Atlantic and Gulf Coast Canal, 25.
 Interview with Gabe Harrison White, Narcoossee, August 19, 1954.
 Rose, "The Disston Sugar Plantation," 43-45; S. L. Lupfer, "The Sugar Industry in the Everglades of Florida," unpublished mss. in Lupfor family pagers Viscimmes 5

Lupfer family papers, Kissimmee, 5.

420 acres of cane on the farm in 1888-89, 100 acres Ratoon and 320 Plant cane."12

About this time (1890) Disston and Rose had a disagreement over company policy. Disston, anticipating the passage of a bounty law on sugar, wanted to expand operations considerably. Rose opposed enlarging the plantation, arguing that any bounty law would be of short duration. Rather than go along with Disston's wishes, Rose sold his half-interest and resigned as superintendent. Disston replaced him with a prominent Louisiana sugar man, Colonel L. A. Bringier, 13 who increased the plantation's drainage by doubling the number of lateral ditches. Rose had purchased some eighty acres of land across the canal, and he became one of several private cane planters operating between the two lakes. In August 1887, Rose became the first mayor of Kissimmee and the first chairman of the newly created Osceola County Board of County Commissioners.14

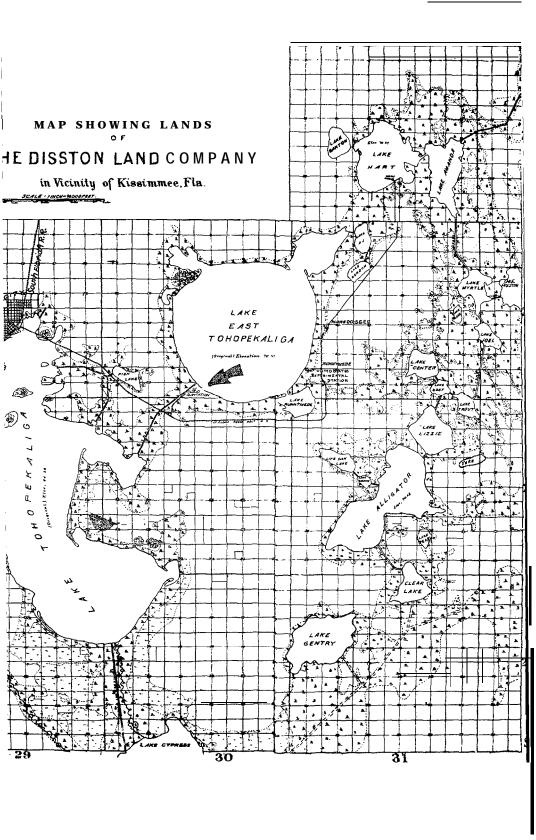
In the summer of 1888 Disston brought down Philadelphia contractors to erect, with aid from local contractor Frank Bass. a mill costing \$350,000.15 Probably shipped to Kissimmee on Henry P. Plant's South Florida Railroad, the bricks and heavy machinery were towed on barges by Captain Clay Johnson's first sidewheel steamer across Lake Tohopekaliga and up the St. Cloud Canal. The Mumie Lo-run, a small oil-burner, lacked the power to make headway against the current, and consequently "a yoke of oxen on the canal bank had to help with a towline on her bow."16

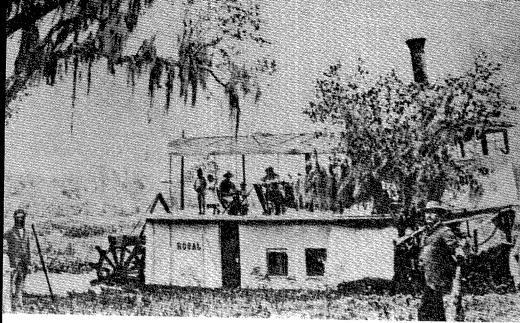
The mill had a capacity of nearly 372 tons. of cane a day, much above the average of 200 tons. The crushing machinery was actually a combination of two second-hand mills, a threeroller and a two-roller. The plant was equipped with working clarifiers, double effect (evaporators), vacuum pan, and centri-

Rose, "The Disston Sugar Plantation," 43.
 Ibid., 47; Lupfer, "The Sugar Industry in the Everglades of Florida," 5;
 J. Carlyle Sitterson, Sugar Country (Lexington, 1953), 362.
 Interview with Gabe Harrison White, Narcoossee, August 19, 1954;
 Minnie Moore-Wilson, History of Osceola County (Orlando, 1935), 12,

^{15.} Interview with Mrs. Rosa Woodall, Frank Bass's daughter, Kissimmee, August 13, 1954. Mrs. Woodall stated that her father built many of the houses on the St. Cloud Plantation and the commissary which was still standing in 1954.

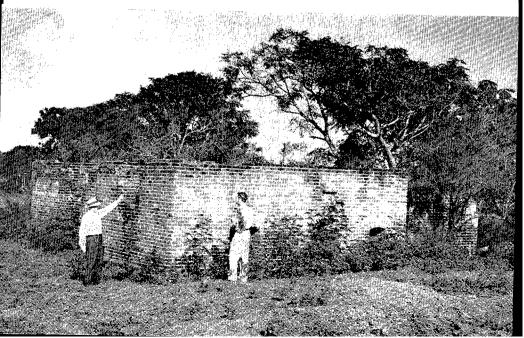
^{16.} Kissimmee Gazette, March 5, 1936, quoting from interviews with Captain George Steffee.





The Rosalie, one of Disston's dredge tenders.

Gabe White and the author at the ruins of Disston sugar mill near St. Cloud, 1956.



fugals, which seemed very modern according to local standards. However, 0. C. Sutton, the chemist who was in charge in 1889-1890, called the machinery "crude," the clarifier "inefficient," and the settling tanks "not of sufficient capacity." He also bemoaned the absence of juice filters for removing impurities.¹⁷ Sutton reported that 1,442,909 pounds of sugar had been extracted from 8,578 tons of mixed cane (red, red ribbon, green, green ribbon, crystalline, etc.). This had been produced from 357 acres during the year that he was in charge. Not only was this yield very high, but the sucrose content averaged 13.79, which compared favorably with sugar cane grown in Florida for the next several decades.18

The brick mill and warehouse sat several yards south of East Lake Tohopekaliga on the canal's east bank. Disston built a spur connecting the narrow-gauge Kissimmee-to-Narcoossee railroad to the mill. He utilized it to bring in supplies and to ship out the plant's products, including the raw, brown sugar which went to Savannah for further refining.¹⁹ The woodburning St. Cloud and Sugar Belt Railroad, 15.4 miles in total length, also transported tourists in from Kissimmee. The Tropical Hotel announced that failure to see the plantation and the Seminole Indians farther down the Kissimmee River "would be like going to Rome without seeing St. Peters." John Jacob Astor and his bride and Hem-y B. Plant were among the prominent visitors to St. Cloud.20 Disston himself and various members of his family and northern associates usually stayed at the Runnymeade Lodge, a few miles northeast on East Lake. This pretentious, three-story wooden building, with an "illusory roof garden," had been acquired by one of his companies from Beauchamp Watson, an eccentric Englishman who had tried to establish an agricultural school in the area. Often Disston and his

County, 16.

^{17. 0.} C. Sutton, *Louisiana Planter and Sugar Manufacturer*, IV (1890), quoted in Rose, "The Disston Sugar Plantation," 53. 18. *Ibid.*, 54-56.

Ibid., 54-56.
 Interview with S. L. Lupfer, Kissimmee, August 20, 1954; Associated Railway Land Department of Florida, "Osceola County" (Buffalo, 1892). This brochure states that the right-of-way for the railroad was purchased by Disston and his associates in the fall of 1888, and transferred to the St. Cloud and Sugar Belt Railroad Co. in 1890. See Deed Book E, 104, Osceola County Courthouse, Kissimmee.
 "Tropical Hotel," brochure (Kissimmee, 1894); Interview with Mrs. Charles H. Merritt, Pensacola, August 28, 1954; Moore-Wilson, Osceola County. 16

companions also stayed aboard his yacht, the Hamilton Disston.²¹

Disston had created on his holdings a cross between an old southern planter's domain and a nothern factory-flavored with a frontier rusticity. The mill itself-smoke stacks and water tower reaching into the Central Florida sky, and its warehouses a few yards south-had many of the marks of Yankee industry. Yet there were also many reminders of the rural South. Scores of tenant houses hugged dirt streets running under the mossdraped cypresses that had marked the lake's shoreline. A large bell hung from a crossbar on two trees. The plantation included a commissary, a boarding house, blacksmith shop, pumphouse, and the homes of the superintendent and manager.22

While Disston employed only a single black on his dredges as cook, he worked 300 to 400 on the plantation itself. Several hundred Italians were also employed, the majority coming from Tampa by train for seasonal work.²³ The farm also employed tramps and other types of transient workers from time to time.²⁴ There were contradictory reports about living conditions on the plantation, some suggesting that it was a very healthy life and others criticizing the insects, heat, and drinking water. Mrs. Bringier showed particular great concern for her son who was on the plantation with his father. She described it as a "fearful den of the lowest order, roughs and outthoats [sic], women devoid of virtue and refinement."25

In 1890, efforts to free the United States from sugar imports led Congress to pass a bounty paying domestic sugar producers up to two cents a pound. It was this issue which had helped to

^{21.} Interview with Gabe Harrison White, Narcoossee, August 19, 1954; Alice Chapman to Mrs. Violet Ford, quoted in the St. Cloud News, July 23, 1954; Cantrell, When Kissimmee Was Young, 33-34.
22. See photos made at the plantation in the 1890s by the St. Cloud Colony,

Seminole Land and Investment Co. (Washington, 1969).

23. Interviews with Gabe Harrison White, Narcoossee, August 19, 1954, Mrs. Rosa Woodall, Kissimmee. August 13, 1954, and S. L. Lupfer, Kissimmee, August 20, 1954; Atlantic and Gulf Coast Canal, 35; Kissimmee Valley, November 11, 25, 1896. The log of the Minnehaha, November 27, 1891 (Robert Bullock papers, Kissimmee), describes the Italians at St. Cloud. Some may have been Italian immigrants from Philadelphia, but others were probably Sardinians and Sicilians who came to Tampa after the New Orleans riots in 1890.

24. Interview with S. L. Lupfer, Kissimmee, August 20, 1954.

25. Cantrell, *When* Kissimmee *Was* Young, 29-30; Mrs. L. A. Bringier to Browse, May 11, 1889, Bringier Collection, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge.

stir up controversy between Disston and R. E. Rose. The United States Department of Agriculture also established at Runnymeade, on land provided by Disston, a sugar cane laboratory. Before experiments were terminated four years later, the station had worked also with garden vegetables, pineapples, olive and peach trees, cassava, and tobacco.26

Influenced by the bounty, advice from sugar experts, and by increasing consumer demand for sugar. Disston took in more associates, and reorganized his plantation under the name of the Florida Sugar Manufacturing Company. It was capitalized at a \$1,000,000, and an additional 36,000 acres were added to the holdings.27 Samuel L. Lupfer, a former Pennsylvanian who became a superintendent for the company at St. Cloud, later explained the reasons for this expansion: "Disston felt the weight of his Florida investments had become too much for him to carry alone." and so he induced others to join him in the sugar operations. 28 But things were not to work out as well as Disston had hoped. Even with production reaching a maximum of 1.000 acres in the next few years, the Florida operations began to decline. Colonel Bringier left the company, and it is not clear whether he resigned or was discharged.29 Disston was no longer able to spend the time in Florida that was needed, and he began to play an ever-declining direct supervisory role at the plantation. A general directorship was in charge, but control was so diffused that it created more problems than it solved. It was claimed that the "local managers were changed almost every year, the policy of working the crops was dictated from the Philadelphia office, the name of the company to whom the plantation belonged was changed as often as two or three times a year and the sugar plantation was used as a speculator's investment to catch 'suckers.' "30 This last action probably included land sales to hopeful sugar planters.

Cane borers, some believed introduced with seed cane from

^{26. &}quot;Report of the Secretary of Agriculture, 1892," House Executive Documents, 52 Cong., 2nd sess., XX, 150-51.
27. Rose, "The Disston Sugar Plantation," 47.
28. S. L. Lupfer, "The Florida Everglades," Engineering News (September

^{14, 1905), 278.}

Interview with Gabe Harrison White, Narcoossee, August 19, 1954;
 Lupfer, "The Sugar Industry in the Everglades of Florida," 5.
 Lupfer, "The Florida Everglades," 279. 29.

Cuba, had also become a very serious problem to the crops.31 Lupfer wrote: "Not sufficient protection had been made against excessive rainfall, and a large area of the acreage planted to cane went under water, this coupled with cold weather, fires, and some friction in the Philadelphia office, made the outlook for the sugar industry in that section discouraging."32

At the Runnymeade station, cane borers and a series of drainage problems finally brought the experimentation activities to an end. As it was, the research had met with few results despite the presence of D. C. Sutton, former chemist at St. Cloud. Completing sugar studies in Louisiana, Dr. Harvey W. Wiley, head of the United States Department of Agriculture's chemistry division, after examining the Kissimmee-Okeechobee watershed in 1890-1891, recommended that the cane should be grown south of the area. He was thinking of the Lake Okeechobee section where he had seen sizable stands of sugar cane being cultivated near the Caloosahatchee River and where Colonel James M. Kreamer, Disston's chief drainage engineer, had aspirations of much more extensive reclamation projects.33

About 1892 an experimental crop of rice was planted on the Disston plantation. Small quantities had been grown in the area as early as the Civil War, and Rufus Rose had successfully harvested seventy-five acres in 1886. At the beginning of the 1890s several farms east of Kissimmee were increasing their rice acre-.age, and it was estimated that 5,000 to 6,000 acres were under cultivation.34 Theodore Ravenal of Charleston, S. C., supervised the St. Cloud rice plantings, but for a variety of reasons the 1892 crop was not successful. It was claimed that many of the stalks failed to fruit, and that the few that did were decimated by rice birds. The Kelly brothers, operating on land around Fish Lake (southwest of East Lake Tohopekaliga), were somewhat

Lupfer, "The Sugar Industry in the Everglades of Florida," 12; interview with Mrs. Clara Meacham, St. Cloud, August 19, 1954: "Report of the Secretary of Agriculture, 1891," House-Executive Documents, 52 Cong., 1st sess., XX, 238-39.
 Lupfer, "The Sugar Industry in the Everglades of Florida," 5.
 "Report of the Secretary of Agriculture, 1891," 163-71.
 Rose, "The Disston Sugar Plantation," 43; "Report of the Secretary of Agriculture, 1891," 169; H. J. Chaffer, supervisor of the W.P.A. Writers Project, Orlando, to Mrs. Minnie Moore-Willson, December 27, 1935, Moore-Willson Collection, University of Miami.

more successful with their rice crops. This area, which included Lake Tohopekaliga's northern shore, was the center of most of the local rice fields. Two small Disston canals to Fish Lake from Lake Tohopekaliga were instrumental in controlling flooding there, and the Kelly brothers supposedly built Kissimmee's threestory rice mill during this period.35 Besides rice, the Disston company also promoted experimentation with peaches, grapes, potatoes, a variety of truck vegetables, and cattle. As early as 1886, Rose had developed a peach orchard, and for several years it was one of the most profitable areas of the plantation. Disston was consulting at least one peach expert in the fall of 1894 about the possibility of expanding his plantings, and forty acres were set out which bore "fair" crops.36

Disston's desire for new horizons had never diminished. With improvements of the Kissimmee system completed, he made a new contract with the state of Florida in 1888 and started operations in the lake chain east of the Tohopekaliga's. In 1891 the drainage company began digging a canal at Rita River on Lake Okeechobee's south shore, and plans were made to cultivate sugar cane there. This cut was abandoned, however, after diggings were made south into the Everglades for about twelve miles.37

In 1892, the St. Cloud factory produced 1,200,000 pounds of sugar on about 1,000 acres.38 Then with production declining slightly, the Disston company, along with many others in the country, was drastically hurt by the financial panic of 1893. As a result of the severe economic crisis, several Disston corporate changes took place. Among other actions the St. Cloud and Sugar Belt Railway was merged with Henry B. Plant's South Florida Railway. When the last drainage contract with the state was completed at the end of 1893, with 825,056 acres going to Disston's company, he placed a \$2,000,000 mortgage on his Florida holdings.39 All drainage was halted despite the unfinished

Manuscript notes of Mrs. Clara Meacham, St. Cloud.
 Rose, "The Disston Sugar Plantation," 47.
 Minutes of the Board of Trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund of the State of Florida, III, 497-98; S. L. Lupfer, "The Drainage of the Florida Everglades," Engineering News (April 5, 1906), 375.
 Louisiana Planter and Sugar Manufacturer, IX (1892), 372.
 Ralph V. Hill and James H. Pledger, comps. The Railroads of Florida (Tallahassee, 1939), A-22; Mortgage Book A, 564, Deed Book C, Osceola County Courthouse; Minutes of the Board of Trustees of the Internal

effort to link the Lake Preston-Lake Alligator-Lake Gentry chain with Lake Cypress.⁴⁹ Because of strong pressures exerted on Washington, Congress lifted the sugar bounty in the fall of 1894, and this action, together with the disastrous freezes of December 1894 and February 1895, wreaked havoc to Florida's agriculture and real estate values. With lessening responsibilities from Philadelphia, Disston became more actively involved in Florida in 1895, and for a short while the situation at St. Cloud improved. Sugar production reached 1,500,000 pounds.41 Then suddenly, on the evening of April 30, 1896, Hamilton Disston died in Philadelphia.

The Disston family had never been very enthusiastic over his Florida enterprises, despite many trips with him to the- state, and now the empire began to disintegrate.⁴² In February 1897, the local Kissimmee newspaper reported that R. E. Rose, apparently reassociated with the plantation, was negotiating the sale of the farm properties, which included the mill and around 2,250 acres, to three Cubans who planned "to put everything in St. Cloud in first class order." They promised, according to the newspaper account, to "treble the capacity of the mills at an estimated *outlay* of \$50,000 600 tons of cane will be handled every day of the grinding season; and they intend to begin at once preparation to put in 2,000 acres of cane." Rose, the newspaper explained, was supposed to be employed by the Cubans as. manager of the St. Cloud operation.⁴³

As it turned out, the Kissimmee paper did not report all the facts in the matter. In reality, an English syndicate was holding an option on the property which was valid until April 1897; obviously the Cubans would not be permitted to make any

Improvement Fund of the State of Florida, IV, 260-61, 269-71. Overall, the drainage company received a total of 1,721,530.4 acres, Biennial Report of the Department Agriculture, 1915-1916. Various reports by the company and official sources do not, however, agree on this figure.

<sup>Keport of the Department Agriculture, 1915-1916. Various reports by the company and official sources do not, however, agree on this figure.
40. "Report of the Secretary of Agriculture, 1891," 164.
41. Lupfer, "The Florida Everglades," 279; Lupfer, "The Sugar Industry in the Everglades of Florida," 5; Louisiana Planter, and Sugar Manufacturer, XIV (1895), 338. Lupfer was superintendent of production and John Garrity was in charge of machinery. Interview with Katherine Farr French, St. Cloud, August 19, 1954.
42 A. L. and Kathryn Hanna. Luke Obsechabas. Wellspring of the Evergence of the Everge</sup>

^{42.} A. J. and Kathryn Hanna, Luke Okeechobee, Wellspring of the Everglades (New York, 1948), contains an account of Disston's activities in Florida.

^{43.} Kissimmee Valley Gazette, February 3 ,1897.

transactions until after that time. The weeks passed, and the English failed to purchase, but by this time the Cubans had lost interest in the Disston properties and had invested elsewhere in Florida. Rose, blaming the delay on company mismanagement, filed suit against the Disston Land Company, claiming \$15,000 as his share of the commission if the sale had gone through and to compensate him for other "losses."44 It is unlikely that Rose collected anything from his legal efforts.45

Notwithstanding the loss occasioned by Disston's death and the legal entanglements, a report by the Kissimmee paper in 1896, a few months before Rose's lawsuit, gave a relatively optimistic picture:

Under the management of Mr. Ferdinand Green, a most affable and pleasant gentleman, and his competent assistant, S. L. Lupfer, the farm is now kept in most excellent condition, and the standing crops is the highest testimonial to their skill and ability as agriculturists on the most scientific plan. As far as the eye can reach, with tops 14 to 15 feet high waving in the breezes, standing so thick that one can scarcely walk through it. [sic] About 400 acres in all, is the crop of sugar cane, giving to the beholders the appearance of a solid mass of green foliage. A drive through the farm shows the cane to be of uniform size and a good acreage throughout. The crop this year is considered one of the best that has been produced on the farm.

Besides cane there are about 40 acres in peaches which, although the trees were set back in the spring of '95, bore a fair crop this year and is expected to yield abundantly next year.

Casava [sic] and ramie produce well and may be seen with all the luxuries of a magnificent growth in different sections of the farm.

The bananas that cluster around some of the cottages have borne well this year, presenting a most pleasing picture of life in the tropics and one might well imagine himself while viewing them in Cuba or Sunny Italy.

The men are now engaged in overhauling the machinery, setting up the railroad track and cars, and putting everything in order for the sugar grinding which will begin about December.46

Ibid., February 17, April 17, July 21, 1897. Interviews with Mrs. Rosa Woodall, Kissimmee, August 13, 1954, and and Mrs. Leon F. Lonnsbladh, Rose's daughter by his second wife, Tallahassee, August 26, 1954. Kissimmee Valley Gazette, September 30, 1896.

The Disston Land Company had stopped meeting the notes on the \$2,000,000 mortgage after July 1895,47 and in the period between 1897 and 1901, the plantation, with most of the other Disston operations in Florida, lay virtually dormant.48 John Garrity, a Louisiana Irish-Catholic who had been in charge of the mill's machinery for several years, now became little more than a watchman. The yacht, the Hamilton Disston, was divested of its machinery and it lay abandoned. C. W. Ward, secretary of the company, remained somewhat active, but most of his travels related to company matters which seemed to get steadily worse. By 1900 the mill's machinery was sold, although it was not actually removed from the Kissimmee area, to Sabal Bros. of Jacksonville.48 In January 1901, this firm re-sold the machinery to the Redo Brothers of Mexico for a reputed \$75,000. Garrity resigned from the Disston operations and was hired by the Mexican company. His job was to supervise the machinery's relocation. He crated and marked each piece and shipped it from Kissimmee to Tampa where it was loaded aboard a Dutch schooner which set out for the long trip around Cape Horn.⁵⁰ It was many weeks in reaching its destination, and there had been reports that the vessel had sunk first off Cuba and later near Cape Horn. Actually smallpox on board had forced the captain to land at a small harbor in Chile where the crew was quarantined, and this delayed the journey.51

The St. Cloud plantation was acquired by the Seminole Land and Investment Company; and in 1909 an effort was made to turn it into a veterans colony. The old sugar mill was wrecked, and part of the material was used to complete the St. Cloud Hotel. Still later, a few of the bricks were utilized in the con-

^{47.} Elder Isaac Anstaat, a Shaker, purchased 7,646 acres in Osceola County on November 2, 1896 from the Disston Land Company for \$94,560. This lay some twelve miles southeast of Kissimmee and included Trout Lake, Lake Lizzie, Live Oak Lake, Sardine Lake, and the upper portion of Alligator Lake. Osceola County Courthouse, Deed Record Book "O", 233-35. See also "The Shaker Colony, Osceola County," unpublished mss., P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville.

^{48.} Kissimmee Valley Gazette, January 18, 1901; manuscript notes of Mrs. Clara Meacham, St. Cloud.

^{49.} Kissimmee Valley Gazette, January 25, 1901. 50. Ibid., February 1, 1901; undated memorandum of Anne Guessaz, in manuscript notes of Mrs. Clara Meacham, St. Cloud.

^{51.} *Ibid*.

struction of Edward Partin's home on Lake Tohopekaliga.52 Sugar cane production declined in Osceola County after the demise of the Disston operations, and only small patches are now grown. However, south of the area, approximately 100 miles along the lower shore of Lake Okeechobee, sizable stands of sugar cane are being cultivated. This is where Dr. Wiley and Captain Rose, and perhaps Disston and Colonel Kreamer dreamed the center for cane production in Florida really would be located. Some 200,000 acres of newly improved cane varieties were being cultivated in this section of Florida by the late 1960s.

The failure of the St. Cloud plantation may be attributed to a number of factors. Rose claimed that it was not because of climate, soil, or the quality of cane, but rather that it resulted from "extravagance, by ignorance of proper methods of culture, and neglect of drainage, by want of proper business methods on the part of the company and its managers, and most important-by speculation, by turning a legitimate agricultural and manufacturing enterprise into a joint stock speculation concern."53 Lupfer felt that Disston's death had brought about the downfall of the Florida operations. "Had Mr. Disston lived a few years longer," Lupfer wrote, "or had he been allowed to dictate the policy of the company (between 1890-1894, when the plantation's troubles began), the St. Cloud sugar plantation would be making sugar today."54 Gabe White insisted that mismanagement caused the failure, "three or four men doing what one could." Others, some not as qualified to speak, have offered other reasons, but it is difficult to determine their validity. Obviously, the major calamity at St. Cloud seems to have been Disston's failure to supervise actively operations in the four year period prior to his death. Much money, time, and energy was invested in the Florida operations, but to no avail. Disston's mark on Florida was diminished as a result of the failure to develop the agricultural empire that he planned. Except for a few canals little remains to note his presence in the state.

^{52.} Interview with Gabe Harrison White, Narcoossee, August 13, 1954.
53. R. E. Rose to St. Cloud *Tribune*, November 30, 1911.
54. Lupfer, "The Florida Everglades," 279.

LORD DUNMORE'S LOYALIST ASYLUM IN THE FLORIDAS

by J. LEITCH WRIGHT, JR."

To the astonishment of many, Lord John Murray, fourth Earl of Dunmore, member of the House of Lords, formerly controversial colonial governor of New York and Virginia, became governor of the Bahama Islands in 1787. Immediately eyebrows were lifted and questions raised as to why the Earl had accepted the apparently insignificant governorship of islands whose total population, black and white, was not appreciably greater than that of Williamsburg when the colonial assembly had been in session. Dunmore had returned to America late in 1781 and had expected to resume his role as the Virginia governor in the wake of Cornwallis' victories; but the defeat at Yorktown was responsible for his arriving at British-occupied Charleston rather than the governor's palace at Williamsburg. Examining Dunmore's post-1781 career helps explain what eventually drew him to the Bahamas and also clarifies British policy toward the Floridas, Louisiana, and the entire Mississippi Valley in the 1782-1783 Paris peace negotiations.

The House of Commons early in 1782 adopted General Henry Conway's resolution to restrict military operations against the Americans to defensive measures. Dunmore shared the general view after the Yorktown debacle and after the adoption of Conway's resolution that at least most of the rebel colonies would in fact become independent. It made little difference whether Britain officially recognized this independence or not. Under these circumstances Britain had to contrive new policies, and Dunmore was determined to influence the thinking of the ministry, now headed by the Earl of Shelbume. Britain in 1782 was at war not only with the rebel Americans but also with Spain, France, and Holland. Conway's motion made reference only to the rebellious colonists; it said nothing about Spain. This Bourbon power had come into the war in 1779 and had

^{*} Mr. Wright is associate professor of history at Florida State University.

waged an aggressive campaign against luckless British forces in America. She had won victories over the Iogwood cutters in the Bay of Honduras, had ejected British troops from the lower Mississippi, Mobile, and Pensacola, and had defeated a British expedition against Nicaragua. Dunmore argued, and there were many who agreed with him, that Britain, even after Yorktown, could partially rehabilitate her prestige at Spain's expense if she would begin another Central American campaign, if she would co-operate with rebelling Spanish Americans in South America, and especially if she would seize West Florida and New Orleans. There was nothing original about suggesting a campaign against West Florida and Louisiana, but Dunmore insisted that this proposal had added significance after the Yorktown surrender and the adoption of Conway's resolution.¹

The future status of the tens of thousands of loyalists who had openly supported George III came to the forefront after Cornwallis' surrender. Many of them could not return to their original homes-unless they enjoyed being tarred and feathered or otherwise mistreated. For better or worse the fate of the loyalists was linked with the fate of the Floridas. A majority of the loyalists, of course, was white, but when one viewed the southern colonies it was apparent that there were thousands of black faces among the loyalist multitude. Some of these Negroes were free and had gained their freedom by deserting their rebel owners, by fleeing to the British lines, and by serving the royal forces in various capacities. Other Negroes were slaves, property of loyalist masters. When one considered the loyalists and the Floridas after 1781, inevitably it was necessary to include the blacks.

No one was more aware of this than Lord Dunmore after he set foot in Charleston in December 1781. For years he had been intrigued by the military potential of the numerous American Negro slaves. When he had been in Virginia in 1775-1776 he had not hesitated in arming the slaves and promising them

I. Lord Dunmore to Lord George Germain, Charleston, March 30, 1782, Colonial Office Group, Class 5, Vol. 175, Public Record Office (transcript, Library of Congress). Hereinafter referred to as C.O. 5/175. Dunmore to Thomas Townshend, London, August 24, 1'782, Sydney Papers, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. The author is indebted to Mr. William S. Ewing, curator of manuscripts at the Clements Library, for bringing to his attention the Dunmore letter of August 24.

their freedom: and his Ethiopian Regiment had been an important part of his tiny force while he remained in the Chesapeake area.² In South Carolina the ratio of blacks to whites three to one or larger in the Low Country-was even greater than in Virginia and was an important reason why the Earl again championed organizing them into military units. He conferred with John Cruden, who as commissioner for seizure and custody of captured rebel property, was chiefly concerned with the disposition of the thousands of Negroes in and around Charleston. Their status was confused, but Dunmore and Cruden were in complete agreement as to what the Crown's policy should be: arm them, promise them freedom and land, and use them with effect as events dictated. If Britain were going to make a determined effort to retain South Carolina and Georgia in the final peace settlement, as at first appeared probable, the Negroes could render valuable service. If England were going to relinquish these southern colonies-and as time passed this seemed to be the drift of British policy-black soldiers still could be put to good use. Dunmore and Cruden argued that a loyalist force, of which armed Negroes would be an important part, would be almost strong enough to seize West Florida and New Orleans. Then the Floridas and Louisiana could become a sanctuary for both black and white loyalists who were willing to fight to make it so.3

Major General Alexander Leslie, senior military commander in the South, and most British authorities in South Carolina heartily agreed with Dunmore and Cruden about arming the Negroes and pressed the home government to implement this policy.4 Dunmore sailed from Charleston to New York around April 1, 1782, and spent several months there before returning to Britain. Both in New York, where he conferred with the new commander in chief, Guy Carleton, and in London he

^{2.} Benjamin Quarles, *The Negro in the American* Revolution (Chapel Hill, 1961), 19-32.

^{3.} Dunmore to Henry Clinton, Charleston, February 2,1782, C.O. 5/175; John Cruden's proposal . . . for employing 10,000 black troops, Charleston, January 5, 1782, ibid.; Dunmore to Germain, Charleston, March 30; 1782, ibid.

^{4.} Alexander Leslie to Clinton; Charleston, March 1782, Sir. Guy Carleton (British Headquarters) Papers (microfilm, Florida State University Library, Tallahassee; P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, Gainesville), no. 4331. Hereinafter referred to as Carleton Papers.)

renewed his appeals.5 Cruden, who remained in Charleston, did the same thing, not only while he was in Charleston but also after the evacuation of that city when he and thousands of loyalists moved to East Florida.6 Though Cruden and Dunmore subsequently fell out over other issues, the one thing they always concurred in was the utility of founding by force, diplomacy, or intrigue, a refuge for loyalists, black and white, in the Floridas and Louisiana. This settlement could be an outright British colony, automonous within the Spanish empire or independent.

When Dunmore and others advocated a campaign against West Florida and Louisiana they were more directly concerned with matters other than the Negro loyalists. Many who rallied around Dunmore were royal officials and planters in the former British province of West Florida who had good reason for wanting to see the British flag wave over Pensacola, Mobile, Natchez, and New Orleans. An example is Robert Ross, former merchant-planter on the Mississippi, who made his way to Charleston after the Spanish conquest of West Florida. He won the confidence of General Leslie, Dunmore, Cruden, and John Graham, Indian superintendent for the western division, and when they urged Whitehall to authorize a campaign against the Spanish gulf coast provinces, they drew heavily on the detailed information furnished by Ross.⁷

Ross hoped Dunmore would lead a powerful loyalist force against Spanish possessions. Merchants and planters like Ross, former West Florida office holders, from the governor and council on down, and southern Indian superintendents were not only the ones who bombarded Whitehall with requests that Britain seize

Clinton to James Moncrief, New York, April 15, 1782, Carleton Papers, no. 4400; Dunmore to Townshend, London, August 24, 1782, Sydney Papers.

John Cruden to James Clitherall, St. Augustine, April 27, 1783, Carleton Papers, no. 7566; Clitherall to Cruden, St. Augustine, May 31, 1783, ibid., no. 7834: Cruden to Earl of Dartmouth, St. Marys River, East Florida, The Manuscripts of the Earl of Dartmouth (Historical Manuscripts Commission, Fourteenth Report, Appendix [London, 1895]), IT 483.

Robert Ross to Dunmore, Charleston, March 3, 1782, C.O. 5/175; Observations on the Importance of Louisiana to Great Britain . . . by Robert Ross, Carleton Papers, no. 5937; John Graham to Sir Guy Carleton, St. Augustine, October 20, 1783, Carleton Papers, no. 5936; Jack D.L. Holmes, "Robert Ross' Plan for an English Invasion of Louisiana in 1782," Louisiana History, V (Spring 1964), 161-77.

at least West Florida. The most active in promoting a campaign against the Spainards were influential speculators in western land, like Alexander Ross, Moses Franks, Adam Christie, John Murray (Dunmore's son), John Miller, and John F. D. Smyth, most of whom had been associated with Dunmore before the Revolution in Mississippi Valley land speculation and had collaborated with him in Virginia at the outset of hostilities in unsuccessfully trying to put down the rebellion.8 Again, as in Virginia in 1775-1776, they wanted Dunmore to be their military leader so that they could continue unabated their land speculations.

When one talked about speculating in western lands, Dunmore was in the vanguard. The rebels had confiscated almost 4,000,000 acres which he claimed, most of which were in the Ohio Valley. A loyalist state on the gulf coast might allow Dunmore to reimburse himself; indeed he and his associates of the Illinois-Wabash Company and similar companies might be able to resume control of their confiscated western lands.9 There were relatively few whites west of the Appalachian Mountains, and Dunmore reasoned that if there were a loyalist colony in the lower Mississippi Valley and another in Canada then Britain might soon regain control of the intervening area. He and his fellow land speculators might resume their labors temporarily frustrated by the Revolution. In 1782-1783 the status of West Florida and the entire Mississippi Valley was up in the air, and it was possible that Spain, who already had Louisiana on the Mississippi's western bank, would end up with much or all of the territory bordering the eastern bank up to or possibly beyond the Ohio River. When spokesmen for unnamed British

Thomas P. Abernethy, Western Lands and the American Revolution (New York, 1937), 17, 93-94; John Ferdinand Dalziel Smyth, A Tour in the United States Of America, 2 vols. (London, 1784), II, 227-69; Percy B. Caley, "Dunmore: Colonial Governor of New York and Virginia" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 1939), 417.
 For Dunmore's claims to western lands and his connection with land companies, see Schedule of Losses Sustained by the Earl of Dunmore, Audit Office Group, Class 13, bundle 78, Public Record Office (photostat, Library of Congress): Indian deed to Earl of Dunmore, et al., Past Saint Vincent, October 18, 1775, American State Papers. Documents Legislative and Executive, of the Congress of the United States, 38 vols. (Washington, 1832-1861), Public Lands, II, 119-20; Caley, "Dunmore: Colonial Governor of New York and Virginia," 161, 182-83, 202-03, 292-93, 416-17; Abernethy, Western Lands and the American Revolution, 56, 73, 87-90, 105, 113-15, 119.

loyalist suggested to the Spanish ambassador in London that Spain should encourage an almost autonomous loyalist settlement on the lower Ohio vaguely under Spanish influence, one could assume that some of these unnamed loyalists were Dunmore's associates.¹⁰

Throughout 1782 and for most of 1783 Dunmore, Cruden, loyalist land speculators, and assorted West Florida refugees bombarded the government with memorials and petitions. Shelburne was sympathetic to the concept of acquiring West Florida and possibly Louisiana, either by force or diplomacy. The Spanish government, and at least some English authorities would willingly swap Gibraltar for these colonies.¹¹ Shelbume, his chief representative negotiating with the Americans in Paris. Richard Oswald, and a small minority in Britain, were influenced by Adam Smith's doctrine of laissez faire. Oswald foresaw eventual British domination of Mississippi Valley commerce by merchants based in Canada and on the lower Mississippi. Britain at first would monopolize the Mississippi Valley fur trade, and, as whites inevitably settled west of the Appalachian Mountains, Britain-and not France-could manipulate both their commerce and their politics. Oswald hinted Britain might direct western dissatisfaction with the eastern seaboard into proper channels, and the aftereffects of Yorktown might not be as disastrous as initially feared. 12 Oswald, like Thomas Townshend and Henry Stratchey, who were also directly involved in the peace making, had extensive land holdings in East Florida, though there is no way to gauge how much this influenced their recommendations to the British ministry. In any case, Oswald, who earlier had flirted with giving Canada to the Americans, quickly came around to Dunmore's point of view concerning

Bernardo del Campo to Conde de Floridablanca, London, August 9, 1783, in Tohn W. Caughey, ed., East Florida. 1783-1785. A File of Documents Assembled, and Many of them. Translated by Joseph Byrne Lockey (Berkeley, 1949), 139.

⁽Berkeley, 1949), 139.
11. George III to Lord Grantham, St. James, December 19, 1782, in John Fortescue, ed., The Correspondence of King George the Third from 1760 to December 1783, 2 vols. (London, 1927-1928), VI, 192; Ignacio de Heredia to Conde de Aranda, London, January 6, 1783, in Caughey, ed., East Florida Documents, 46.

^{12.} Richard Oswald to Townshend, Paris, October 5, 1'782, Shelburne Papers, William L. Clements Library, 70; Oswald to Henry Strachey, Paris, December 4, 1782, *ibid*.

the Mississippi Valley and the Floridas.

Because the arguments of Dunmore, Oswald, and even the American negotiators14 had merit and because Anglo-Spanish hostilities did not diminish after Yorktown, the Shelburne ministry considered it likely that Britain would attack and control West Florida, and possibly New Orleans, before the definitive peace was signed. This helps explain the curious provision in the preliminary Anglo-American peace treaty that West Florida's northern boundary would be the parallel intersecting the mouth of the Yazoo River if Britain acquired this province in the definitive treaty but merely the thirty-first parallel if Spain retained it.15 The British and American diplomats in Paris, along with Dunmore, assumed, or at least hoped, that West Florida's boundary would be the Yazoo line when the formal peace treaties were signed. This meant that Britain would have regained West Florida, after which she, in contrast to Spain, would allow the Americans free navigation of the Mississippi.

Contrary to the expectations of Dunmore and the Paris diplomats, West Florida and the mouth of the Mississippi remained in Spanish hands. This was the situation in 1783 confronting Dunmore who found himself unemployed and pressed to meet the financial demands of his large family. After having lingered some months in Charleston and New York, he returned to Britain somewhat discouraged, resumed his seat in the House of Lords, and took over more direct management of his Scottish estate. But though he had abandoned America, he had not renounced his dream of making the Floridas and even Louisiana a loyalist haven. The veteran Dunmore knew that, although the United States's western boundary was the Mississippi, in fact it was Indians hostile to the Americans who occupied the extensive area between the Appalachian Mountains and the

Address of British subjects resident in East Florida to Patrick Tonyn, St. Augustine, February 15, 1785, in Caughey, ed., East Florida Documents, 522; Charles L. Mowat, East Florida as a British Province, 1763-1784 (Gainesville, 1943; facsimile edition, 1964), 60-61.
 The Americans wanted West Florida restored to Britain because Britain

^{14.} The Americans wanted west Florida restored to Britain because Britain would allow them free navigation and the Spainards would not. Oswald to Townshend, Paris, October 2, 1782, Shelbume Papers, 70; Richard B. Morris, The Peace Makers: The Great Powers and American Independence (New Yorlc, 1965), 221-26, 232-37, 344-45.
15. Anglo-American Preliminary Articles of Peace, Paris, November 30, 1782, in Hunter Miller, ed., Treaties end Other International Acts of the United States of America, 8 vols. (Washington, 1931), II, 101.

Mississippi. He believed, as was commonly assumed in Europe, that the United States would soon break up. He rejoiced when Britain, contrary to the peace treaty, retained forts in the Old Northwest on American soil, and he was optimistic that Britain could retain her influence not only in the Old Northwest but in the entire transmontane region. In short it is apparent that after his return to Britain he was not primarily concerned with local politics and his election as a Scottish peer, or with supervising his estates, but with championing his old plan of founding a loyalist haven in the Old Southwest. This project had numerous advantages, not the least of which was that it might allow the Scottish laird to redeem his 4,000,000 acres or to secure their equivalent.

Because Spain acquired both Floridas in the 1783 treaty, Dunmore obviously could not go there immediately. But the Bahama Islands, whose original population had been increased by an influx of restless loyalists were close by and could serve the same purpose in maintaining British influence in the Old Southwest as Canada did in the Old Northwest. He became governor of the Bahamas in 1787, and promptly set about establishing a loyalist colony in the Old Southwest. Encouraged by his fellow speculators in western lands, like Alexander Ross, John F. D. Smyth, and Moses Franks, or West Florida loyalists like John Miller, Robert Ross, and Adam Christie, most of whom were on the Bahamian Council or held other office, Dunmore urged loyalist filibusters to make military-commercial expeditions to the mainland. Of these, William Augustus Bowles was the most outstanding.16 Again and again Dunmore entertained delegations of southern Indians at Government House in Nassau, gave them presents and commissions in the name of their British father, and reported to Whitehall how anxious these natives were for the British to return and how they would willingly cede valuable lands. Using either his own vessels or those of former West Florida merchants now based in Nassau. the governor tried to maintain a direct commerce with the

J. Leitch Wright, Jr., William Augustus Bowles, Director General of the Creek Nations (Athens, 1967), 27-70; Lawrence Kinnaird, "The Significance of William Augustus Bowles' Seizure of Panton's Apalachee Store in 1792," Florida Historical Quarterly, IX (January 1931), 158-61.

southern Indians, by-passing the Spaniards. 17 There probably was something to the reports that Dunmore had solicited Warren Hastings's support in encouraging thousands of colonists to settle in the Old Southwest with or without the approval of the United States and Spain,18 and that Dunmore considered sending one of his sons to the mainland to head an independent loyalist-Indian state.19 In 1790, at the height of the Nootka Crisis and the prospect of an Anglo-Spanish war, Dunmore was convinced that the Floridas and New Orleans would come under British control, and he envisioned the Union Jack waving throughout the Mississippi Valley. To his chagrin, the belligerents resolved the controversy and subsequently formed an alliance to combat French Republicianism. During the brief interval of the Anglo-Spanish alliance from 1793-1796 the British home government discouraged Dunmore's aggressive conduct toward the Floridas, and Dunmore, attempting to take advantage of the friendship of Britain's new ally by soliciting special trading concessions for himself and friends, was rejected by the Spaniards who, for the best of reasons, distrusted him.²⁰

The British government suddenly recalled Dunmore in 1796, and the reasons are not entirely clear. His administration in the Bahamas had been as dissentious as his earlier one in Virginia, and repeated charges of corruption and nepotism may have had their effect.²¹ Possibly, as Dunmore charged, his old political enemy, the Duke of Portland, who had just joined the ministry, was responsible for his recall.²² More likely, how-

Numerous references to Dunmore's Florida ventures are in Colonial Office Group, Class 23, vols. 31-32, Public Record Office. Hereinafter referred to as C.O. 23. See also East Florida Papers, Library of Congress; microfilm, Florida State University Library, 114J9.
 Manuel de Zéspedes to Antonio Valdes, St. Augustine, October 18, 1788, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid, estado, legajo 3887, expediente 1, doc. 144 photostat, Library of Congress); Warren Hastings to Dunmore, London, January 24, 1788, Dunmore Family Papers, III, 99, E.G. Swem Library, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg. Virginia

Alexander McGillivray to William Panton, Little Tallassie, November 28, 1792, in John W. Caughey, McGillivray of the Creeks (Norman, 1959), 347.

^{20.} Henry Dundas to Dunmore, London, October 16, 1793, C.O. 23/32; Duke of Alcudia to Marques del Campo, San Ildefonso, August 6, 1794, Archivo General de Simancas, estado, legajo 2624 (Spanish transcript,

Library of Congress).

21. Michael Craton, A *History of tne Bahamas* (Collins, 1962), 173-80.

22. Dunmore to William Pitt, Manchester St., October 7, 1797, Gifts and Deposits Group, Class 30-8, vol. 131, Public Record Office.

ever, his daughter's clandestine marriage to the Duke of Sussex, George III's son, which provoked the monarch and which George III had annulled, led to Dunmore's abrupt dismissal.23 But one thing is certain; from immediately after Cornwallis's surrender at Yorktown, and until his recall, Dunmore's ambition, motivated both by genuine sympathy for the loyalists, black and white, and by self-interest, was to establish and direct a pro-British loyalist-Indian state in the Old Southwest at the expense of Spain or the United States or both and to link it with the British in the Old Northwest and Canada. Dunmore was not the only one who considered the status of the Floridas and the Mississippi Valey unsettled, as the diplomatic maneuverings at the time of the Nootka Crisis, the Genêt episode, and the Blount conspiracy testify. But the plans that he, Ross, Cruden, and General Leslie discussed in Charleston in 1782, along with the schemes of British diplomats involved in the Paris peace negotiations, go a long way toward explaining what motivated Dunmore in his post-Revolutionary career. If the Earl had had his way, transports bearing black and white British soldiers would have appeared off Amelia Island, the Apalachicola River's mouth, Pensacola, Mobile, and New Orleans long before 1814-1815.

^{23.} Great Britain, Privy Council. Copy of council minutes on enquiry regarding marriage of Prince Augustus Frederick and Lady Augusta Murray, January 27 and 28, 1794, Melville Papers, Clements Library; The Gentleman's Magazine, LXIV (January 1794), 87.

SOURCES FOR THE HISTORY OF THE SPANISH BORDERLANDS

by William S. Coker* and Jack D. L. Holmes**

The recent flurry of scholarly endeavors on Spanish Louisiana and the Spanish Floridas has revealed some new sources for the study of those areas. In addition to a number of new books and articles and some valuable reprints, several recent meetings have been devoted in whole or in part to resources and research opportunities for the Spanish era. The interest stimulated by this burst of activity led to the compilation of this note which reviews new sources available, indicates well-known collections and archival holdings that have been microfilmed and can now be purchased or borrowed on interlibrary loan, and mentions other items which it is hoped may prove useful to investigators.

One of the most ambitious undertakings of recent years was the microfilming of approximately 140,000 pages of material for Spanish Louisiana. The project has been described by one of its directors, Father -Charles Edwards O'Neill, S.J., "Catalogues and Microfilm: The Louisiana Project of Loyola University (New Orleans) in the Archivo General de Indias," in Homenaje a Don Jose' Maria de la Peña y Cámara (Madrid: Ediciones José Porrúa Turanzas, 1969), 83-91. The documents on microfilm at Loyola University are identified and indexed in José de la Peña y Cámara, Ernest J. Burrus, S.J., Charles Edwards O'Neill, S.J., and Maria Teresa Garcia Fernandez. Catalogo de Documentos del Archivo General de Indias. Sección V. Gobierno. Audiencia de Santo Domingo sobre la Epoca Española de Luisiana, 2 vols. (Madrid and New Orleans: Administracidn General de Archivos y Bibliotecas de España and Loyola University of New Orleans, 1968). This work is sold only in sets of both volumes. The prices are \$20.00 for the

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paperback set and \$27.00 for the hardback, and they are available from the Spanish Documents Project, Loyola University. New Orleans, Louisiana 70118. Father O'Neill emphasizes the importance of the collection: "Works written on Spanish colonial Louisiana have tended to rely on the Papeles procedentes de Cuba-naturally, for since 1916 research in that archival section has been facilitated by Roscoe R. Hill's Descriptive Catalogue of the Documents Relating to the History of the United States in the Papeles procedentes de Cuba. Deposited in the Archivo General de Indias at Seville (Washington, 1916: reprint edition. New York, 1965). These Papeles are the documents removed from New Orleans and from West Florida to Cuba. and from there, almost a century later, to Seville. In the Seccidn Quinta [(Gobierno) , Audiencia de Santo Domingo] are the documents which originated in the mother country or arrived from the colony during the colonial period itself."

The publication of Thomas T. McAvoy and Lawrence J. Bradley (comps.), Guide to the Microfilm Edition of the Records of the Diocese of Louisiana and the Floridas, 15761803 (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Archives, 1967), \$1.50, makes the twelve rolls of microfilm on that subject of even greater value than previously. The film is available at a cost of about \$120.00 including delivery charges, and it may be ordered from the Microfilm Publication Project, Notre Dame Archives, Memorial Library, Notre Dame, Indiana 46556.

The Mississippi Provincial Archives, Spanish Dominion, 9 volumes (1759-1820) in the Mississippi Department of Archives and History, Jackson, have been microfilmed and may be purchased from the Micro Photo Division, Bell and Howell, Drawer "E," Wooster, Ohio 44691. The price is \$72.80. Although dated, a list of the archival holdings in Seville, Madrid, and Simancas, Spain relating to Mississippi, as prepared by W. R. Shepherd and published in Dunbar Rowland, Fifth Annual Report of the Director of the Department of Archives and Histoy of the State of Mississippi (Nashville, 1907), 50-55, is on the first reel. The Mississippi Provincial Archives, French Dominion, 34 volumes, (1678-1763), are available for \$135.20, and the English Dominion, 10 volumes, (1763-1783), for \$52.00, from Bell and Howell.

The forty volumes of the Natchez chancery court records for

the years 1781-1797 have been microfilmed (twenty-four reels), and the Mississippi Department of Archives and History has a negative copy. This microfilm edition is even more valuable since several of the original volumes in Natchez have disappeared since the records were filmed. In 1817-1818, David Harper translated these records and others from the Spanish period in seven volumes, lettered A through G, and they are included in the microfilm edition. May Wilson McBee compiled an index or abstract of the Harper translations in The Natchez Court Records, 1767-1805: Abstracts of Early Records (Greenwood, Miss., 1953), which can be ordered from the Genealogical Book Company, 521-23 St. Paul Place, Baltimore, Maryland 21202; the price is \$22.50. (The Natchez Court Records is cited as volume II of the May Wilson McBee Collection. Volume I, however, does not pertain to the Natchez records; it is Anson County, North Carolina Abstracts of Early Records [Greenwood, Miss., 1950]). Inquiries about the microfilm of the Natchez Court Records should be directed to the Mississippi Department of Archives and History, P. 0. Box 571, Jackson, Mississippi 39205.

In 1966 Dr. Jack D. L. Holmes began examining the sources in Spanish archives pertaining to Spanish Alabama, and he had approximately 20,000 pages of documents relating to the period (1780-1813) copied onto twenty-nine microfilm reels. Copies are available at the Universities of Alabama in Birmingham and Tuscaloosa; the University of Southern Mississippi, Hattiesburg; the University of West Florida, Pensacola; and the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville. A guide which identifies groups of correspondence between various officials as well as a variety of other documents is available on the microfilm.

The Holmes collection deals primarily with the Pascagoula, Biloxi, Bay St. Louis, Pass Christian, Dauphin Island, Mobile, Tensaw, Fort San Esteban de Tombecht and Fort Confederation posts; there are also documents relating to the Natchez district and other Gulf coast and West Florida areas. The courtmartial of Captain Cayetano Perez for his role in surrendering the fort at Mobile to the American forces led by General James Wilkinson in 1813 is a lengthy *expediente* comprising hundreds of documents and continuing for approximately 3,000 pages.

Other documents include letterbooks and dispatches between the various commandants of the Mobile District and their superiors in New Orleans and Pensacola. The wide-range of subject materials include: Indian affairs, religious reports, laws and regulations, contracts, criminal and civil suits, Negro slavery and run-aways, fortifications and other buildings, petitions, census reports, militia lists, quartermaster reports, inventories of official documents of the various posts, and a variety of minor matters.

The collection is divided into three sections: Section one (reels 66-l through 66-6) contains a description of Spanish Louisiana by the Baron de Pontalba from the Archives Nationales of Paris. documents concerning the capture of Mobile and Pensacola in 1780-1781 by Gálvez taken from the Sección de Guerra. Archivo General de Simancas, legajo 6912 (for a guide to these holdings see Angel de la Plaza. Archivo General de Simancas. Guia del investigador (Valladolid, 1962), an account of the 1719 capture of Pensacola by French forces from Mobile copied from the Archivo del Ministerio de Asuntós Exteriores in Madrid, and the rest of this section is derived from the Archivo General de Indias. Papeles Procedentes de la Isla de Cuba. (AGI, PC). Seville. The second and third sections (consisting of reels 67-l through 67-18 and 68-l through 68-5) are from a series of Zegajos from the AGL PC. The documents in the AGZ, PC are described in Hill, Descriptive Catalogue.

The Mobile probate court contains two volumes of translated Spanish records (the originals are apparently lost) dealing with land grants and sales. Volume I, translated by Joseph E. Caro of Pensacola in 1840, covers the years from 1715 to 1812. There are duplicates of many of the documents in Volume II. For information on this collection see Jack D. L. Holmes, "Genealogical and Historical Sources for Spanish Alabama, 1780-1813," *Deep South Genealogical Quarterly*, V (February 1968), 130-38, and Mrs. John H. Mallon, Jr., "Mobile Translated Records, 1781-1795," *ibid.*, 144-59.

The baptismal, marriage, death, and confirmation records of the Parish of the Purest Conception, Mobile, contain information concerning Catholic and Protestant settlers. They cover the Spanish period beginning March 12, 1780. These may be consulted in the Chancellor's Office of the Mobile Diocese, 400 Government Street.

The Forbes collection in the Mobile Public Library complements the collections on William Panton and the Panton-Leslie Company in the Florida Historical Society Library, University of South Florida Library, Tampa. The Florida Historical Society holdings consists of two important collections: the Marie Taylor Greenslade Papers (1764-1900), and the Heloise H. Cruzat Papers (1788-1859). Of importance on this subject also are the Elizabeth Howard West Papers at the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History. Contracts, correspondence, and other original documents concern William Panton, John Savage, John Forbes, Vicente Folch, Enrique White, the Baron de Carondelet, Samuel Mitchell, William Simpson, James Martin, Pierre François Roze, John McQueen, Jean de la Villebeuvre, and others.

The Washington County probate court office, Chatom, Alabama, contains a volume (A) of deed records, land grants and sales, matrimonial banns, and wills covering the years 17981816.

A collection of documents concerning Tennessee and the Old Southwest is located in the McClung Collection, Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville, Tennessee. Assembled in Spain during the 1920s by Professor Arthur P. Whitaker, this collection consists of eighteen boxes of photostats and typescripts from the Archivo General de Indias and the Archivo Historico Nacional in Madrid. An excellent guide to this collection is Miguel Gómez del Campillo, Relaciones diplomaticas entre España y los Estados Unidos según los documentos del Archivo Historico Nacional, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1944-1945). Duvon C. Corbitt, with aid in translation from his wife, Roberta, has been editing and publishing these materials in "Papers from the Spanish Archives Relating to Tennessee and the Old South-West," Publications of the East Tennessee Historical Society. No. 9 (1937) to date, continuing on an annual basis. They constitute a valuable, but little-known, source of translated materials on the Old Southwest, and the Mobile and Natchez districts.

The Mississippi Valley Collection is an important source for research at the John Brister Library, Memphis State University. Through arrangements with the University of California a total of 265 reels of microfilm from the *Archivo General de la* Nacidn, Mexico City have been acquired. Among the approxi-

mately 250,000 exposures are copies of materials relating to French, Spanish, English and early Anglo-American interests in the Louisiana area, as well as a considerable body of documents on Texas, Florida, and other frontier regions of New Spain. The documents are from three record groups in the Mexican archives: *Correspondencia de los Virreyes, Historia*, and *Provincias Internas*. For a general description of the contents of the *Correspondencia de los Virreyes*, and a volume-by-volume listing of the contents of the other two record groups, see Herbert E. Bolton, *Guide to Materials for the History of the United States in the* Principal *Archives* of *Mexico* (Washington, 1913; reprint edition, New York, 1965).¹

The Mississippi Valley Collection also includes: 277 reels of microfilm from the *Archivo General de* Indias, *Seville: Papeles procedentes de Cuba*; four reels of documents from the *Archivo Histdrico Nacional, Madrid: Consejo de Indias* concerning official investigations into the activities of Governors Unzaga, Carondelet, and Miró of Louisiana; sixteen reels of documents from *the Archivo General de Simancas: Secretaria* de *Guerra* ("Guerra Moderna"), concerning Spanish military activities in the "borderlands" area and the West Indies from 1781 to 1802;² and eight reels of microfilm from Simancas containing documents from the *files* of the *Secretaria de Marina* concerning Spanish naval operations in the West Indies, 1780-1783.³

Also available in the Mississippi Valley Collection is the twenty-two reel microfilm edition of the *New Mexico State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe: Spanish Archives of New Mexico, 1621-1681,* a significant collection of Spanish borderlands materials. The New Mexico State Records Center and Archives, 404 Montezuma Avenue, Santa Fe, New Mexico 87501, can supply a guide to the collection without charge. A

^{1.} MVC Bulletin, No. 1 (Summer 1968), 29, an occasional publication of the Mississippi Valley Collection, Memphis State University. A brief summary of the holdings from the three record groups are contained in ibid.. 29-30.

The curator of the Mississippi Valley Collection can furnish a brief description of the contents of the various legajos in the two preceding items above.

The acquisitions in this paragraph were secured from the Library of Congress holdings.

calendar is also available from the same source for \$1.00.4

Memphis State University is also adding the microfilm edition of the Bexar Archives of Texas, now being published by the University of Texas Archives and consisting of about 220 reels. The Bexar Archives, one of the important collections of documentary sources on Spanish and Mexican Texas, are described in three pamphlets (1717-1803, 1804-1821, 1822-1836) published by the University of Texas Archives, Library, Austin, Texas 78712 (fifty cents each). Material from Memphis State University is available on interlibrary loan, but it cannot be duplicated.

Memphis State University has joined in a consortium with the University of Southwestern Louisiana, Loyola University at New Orleans, the Mississippi Department of Archives and History, and the Library of Congress to microfilm and/or purchase microfilm copies of records in the Archives Nationales in Paris.5 The records are from the Archives des Colonies, Series C, Correspondance generate. Subseries C13A, Louisiane I, 54 volumes (1678-1804). Most American items from this group (as well as many from other series and archives) are listed in Nancy Maria Miller Surrey (ed.) , Calendar of Manuscripts in Paris Archives and Libraries Relating to the History of the Mississippi Valley to 1803, 2 vols. (Washington, 1926). Two other subseries are involved: C13B, Louisiane II, 1 vol. (1699-1800), and C13C, Louisiane, divers., 4 vols. (1692-1790). News from the Center, No. 6 (Fall 1969), Center for the Coordination of Foreign Manuscript Copying, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, details information on French archives, copying projects, and the location of microfilm copies of French archival holdings bearing on United States history, etc.6

MVC Bulletin, No. 2 (Spring 1969), 56-57.
 For its part, the University of Southwestern Louisiana has published a pamphlet, Louisiana Colonial Records Project, which describes the origin and scope of this endeavor. The USL project encompasses not only the French records for Louisiana but its third phase calls for the reproduction of all Spanish colonial records pertaining to Louisiana as well. One of the ultimate objectives of the project for the University of Southwestern Louisiana is to establish an Institute of French Studies at Lafayette.
 This issue is in the Library of Congress Information Parkets VAVI.

^{6.} This issue is in the Library of Congress, *Information Bulletin*, **XXVI**, (February 16, 1967), 127-34. *News* **from** *the Center* has been published each spring and fall since 1967. Early editions were appendiced to the *Information Bulletin*. No. I (Spring 1967) contains notes.on major

The University of Southwestern Louisiana is publishing a history series devoted to monographs on French and Spanish colonial history in North America. Glenn R. Conrad, director, Southwestern Archives and Manuscripts Collection, USL University Libraries, Lafayette, Louisiana 70501, indicates that suitable manuscripts would be welcomed for publication.

Two new bibliographies are available: James A. Servies (comp.), Pensacola and West Florida: A Chronological Checklist of Printed Works, 1542-1969 (Pensacola: John C. Pace Library, University of West Florida, 1970), and Jack D. L. Holmes, A Guide to Spanish Louisiana, 1762-1806, Vol. II of the Louisiana Collection Series of Books and Documents on Colonial Louisiana (New Orleans, 1970). Servies describes his compilation as "A trial bibliography, incorporating: contemporary accounts, secondary works, Pensacola imprints, and items written by Pensacola authors." Holmes's Guide includes an outline of Spanish Louisiana history, 1762-1806, and a bibliography of published and unpublished materials for the period.

The "Records and Deliberations of the Cabildo (New Orleans), 1769-1803" (Las Actas del Cabildo), are available on microfilm at \$10.00 per roll from the New Orleans Public Library, 219 Lovola Avenue, New Orleans, Louisiana 70140,7 The set consists of four rolls of English translation and three rolls of Spanish typescript. There are references to the Floridas as well as the Province of Louisiana in these records which contain information on political, social, religious, military, and economic history for the Spanish period. Dr. Carmelo Richard Arena used these records extensively in the preparation of his study," "A Social Study of the Spanish Land Tenure System in Spanish Louisiana, 1762-1803" (M.A. thesis, Tulane University, 1954). Arena noted that besides the enumeration of laws the Actas also frequently described the circumstances which prompted the laws and the effect which their promulgation had upon the people.

An article by Winston De Ville, "Manuscript Sources in Louisiana for the History of the French in the Mississippi

American microfilm projects in foreign manuscript collections, and a listing of books and articles describing foreign manuscript collections in the United States. Several entries are listed of French and Spanish holdings for the southeastern United States.

^{7.} American Historical Association Newsletter, VIII (December 1969), 38.

Valley," in John Francis McDermott (ed.), The French in the Mississippi Valley (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1965). describes the New Orleans notarial archives which are important for both the Spanish and French periods.

Other manuscript collections in Louisiana include the papers of Vincente [Vizente] Sebastian Pintado, assistant survevor-general of Louisiana and, after 1803, chief surveyor of West Florida. The papers consist of seventeen books, four memo booklets, and eighteen bundles of papers reduced to eleven volumes in the WPA Translation and indices. The five reels of microfilm are available from the Louisiana State Archives and Records Commission, P. 0. Box 44222 Capitol Station, Baton Rouge, Louisiana 70804. The Pintado Papers. which contain information on British. French, and Spanish land grants in West Florida, are located in several libraries including Louisiana State University, Tulane University, and the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History. The Louisiana Genealogical Register has been publishing the indices to these papers in installments beginning in 1968.8 The Louisiana Genealogical Register is also publishing abstracts from the Spanish West Florida Records. These nineteen volumes cover the period from June 3, 1782 to September 22, 1810. The original documents and typescript copy of the WPA Federal Writers Proiect translation are in the clerk of court's office, East Baton Rouge Parish Courthouse. There is an index available. A microfilm of the typescript is in the Louisiana State Library, Baton Rouge. These translations were microfilmed by the Genealogical Society of the Church of Christ of Latter Day Saints.9 There are plans by the Louisiana State Archives and Records Commission to make available microfilm copies of the translations as well as the original documents.

Howard-Tilton Memorial Library, Tulane University, has agreed to permit the microfilming of the translations of the Despatches of the Spanish Governors of Louisiana made by the WPA Federal Writers' Project. The Despatches, in twenty-five volumes, cover the period from 1766 to 1791. To be filmed also are the eleven volumes of the Messages of El Baron Carondelet

Louisiana Genealogical Register, XV (September 1968), 87-88; ibid., XVI (March 1969), 3-4.
 Ibid., XV (December 1968), 148-51; ibid., XVI (December 1969). 309-10.

for the years 1791-1792. The WPA translations were made from photostats of the originals in the *Papeles Procedentes de la Isla de Cuba*, Archives of the Indies, Seville, Spain. Descriptions of both collections are contained in the introductions to the WPA translations.

Basic to any survey of materials on Spanish Louisiana, however, is the twenty-one page compilation made by Pearl Segura, "Sources of Spanish Records in Louisiana," *Proceedings* **of** *the Fourth Annual Genealogical Institute*, (January 21-22, 1961), sponsored by the Department of History, Louisiana State University and the Louisiana Genealogical and Historical Society. This guide includes a description and the location of Spanish judicial, cabildo, notarial, parish courthouse, city, land, military, church, and family records and papers. In addition to a section of miscellaneous documents, it also provides data on some sources outside the state of Louisiana. For information write to the Louisiana Genealogical and Historical Society, P. 0. Box 335, Baton Rouge, Louisiana 70821.

A folder of Spanish transcripts in the manuscripts division, Howard-Tilton Library, Tulane University, New Orleans, is referred to as the "Gardoqui Transcripts." (Diego de Gardoqui was Spanish charge d'affaires to the United States in the 1780s-1790s.) This material should not be confused with the six-volume set of "Gardoqui Despatches" in the Reuben Thomas Durrett Collection, Harper Memorial Library, University of Chicago from which the material at Tulane was probably obtained. Materials in the "Gardoqui Despatches" in the Durrett Collection have reference to the Floridas and Louisiana. There are copies or abstracts of some letters to Gardoqui from Spanish officials in St. Augustine. There are also a number of items on the United States-Spanish boundary question which directly concerned Florida. Most documents relate only to the years 1785-1787. The "Gardoqui Despatches" can be obtained on microfilm by libraries from Special Collections, University of Chicago Library, for about five cents per exposure.

Transcripts of some Spanish documents, mainly Carondelet correspondence, 1791-1795, are in the Lyman Draper Collection, vols. 39-42, George Rogers Clark Papers, Series J, at the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. The Draper Collection is available on microfilm, and copies are available in the Florida State

University Library, the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, and the Mississippi Department of Archives and History, Jackson. The Wisconsin Historical Society, *Guide to Manuscripts*, lists thirty-one portfolios and two boxes of materials identified as item 641, Spanish Archives, 1766-1805. Included are photographic and typewritten copies of despatches from the governors of Louisiana to the captain-general of Cuba, and from the Archives of the Indies, Seville, dealing with the Spanish regime in Florida and Louisiana, 1766-1791. Some of the Louis Houck transcripts, 1767-1805, with translations are also in the collection. Calendars are available. Translations of some of these papers have been published in the Wisconsin Historical Collections, XVIII, 299-468, *passim.*, and microfilm copies can be secured from the Society, 816 State Street, Madison, Wisconsin 53706.

An important study of Spanish-Indian relations in the southeast is Vicenta Cortés Alonso, "Historia de los Indios del Sureste de los Estados Unidos en la Segunda Mitad del Siglo XVIII" (University of Madrid, Facultad de Historia, ca. 1956). This is a three volume dissertation: Vol. I is the text, Vol. II contains the principal documents, and Vol. III is the bibliography.

There is a great abundance of materials on Spanish Florida. Of major importance on the borderlands are the papers of Woodbury. Lowery in the Library of Congress. They include nine volumes of transcripts, extracts, titles, and notes, plus an additional volume listing by archival location documents found by Lowery to be pertinent. The papers are arranged chronologically and are labelled 1551 to 1660, but there are a few of later date. The major archives of Seville and Madrid are represented, as well as Paris and the British Museum. Microfilm copies of the Lower-y Collection are in the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History. Lower-y's collection and list of maps pertaining to the Spanish settlements within the limits of the United States are also in the Library of Congress. In 1912, Phillip Lee Phillips edited and published a description of the map collection (The Lowery Collection: A Descriptive List of Maps of the Spanish Possessions within the Present Limits of the United States, 1502-1820).

Since the East Florida Papers at the Library of Congress comprise all of the archives of the Spanish government of East

Florida between 1783 and 1821, they contain many items of importance to the borderlands. Descriptions of the papers can be found in the *Report* **of** *the Libraries* of Congress for 1905 (Washington, 1905), pp. 49-50, in the *Handbook* of Manuscripts *in the Library* of Congress (1918); Mabel M. Manning, "The East Florida Papers in the Library of Congress," Hispanic *American Historical Review*, X (August 1930); and Irene A. Wright, "The Odyssey of the Spanish Archives of Florida," *Hispanic American Essays* (1942). An unpublished analytical index of the series in the East Florida Papers is in the Manuscript Division, Library of Congress. The papers have been microfilmed and are available at Florida State University Library and the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History.

The West Florida Papers is a relatively meagre collection of land claims, business papers, legislative journals, and diplomatic and general correspondence at the Library of Congress and the National Archives. These were assembled and microfilmed for the Historic Pensacola Preservation Board and copies are available at the University of West Florida Library, and the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History.

Of importance also to a study of the Spanish borderlands are the Jeannette Thurber Connor Papers at the Library of Congress. They comprise documents, translations, transcriptions, and maps, mainly from the archives at Seville, for the period 1570 to 1706. Microfilm copies are available, and twenty-six letters and reports, covering the period 1570-1580 were published in Mrs. Connor's *Colonial Records* of *Spanish Florida*, 2 vols. (DeLand, 1925, 1930). Microfilm copies of the Connor collection are in the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History.

In the 1920s a thorough and systematic program for reproducing pertinent documents from the Spanish archives was financed by John B. Stetson, Jr., under the direction of James Alexander Robertson. It is now part of the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History. This exceptionally valuable collection, perhaps the most comprehensive of its kind in the United States, consists of 100,000 pages of photostats taken from the Spanish archives, particularly the Archivo General de Indias. The great majority of the documents deal with the period 1565-1763. The papers were indexed and calendered by the St. Augustine Historical Society, the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, and

the National Park Service. The collection is on microfilm.

Attention is directed to the recently published proceedings and papers from the First Annual Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference held at Pensacola in December 1969. Ernest F. Dibble and Earle W. Newton (eds.). In Search of **Gulf** Coast Colonial History (DeLand, 1970). The articles by Jack D. L. Holmes, "Resources Outside the United States and Research Opportunities for Spanish Florida, 1781-1821," and Samuel Proctor, "Bibliographical Resources in the United States for Gulf Coast Studies," in this volume survey resources currently available on the Spanish period in Florida. They update but do not replace the studies on that subject by Charles Arnade, "Florida History in Spanish Archives. Reproductions at the University of Florida," Florida Historical Quarterly, XXXIV (July 1955), and "A Guide to Spanish Florida Source Material," Florida Historical Quarterly, XXXV (April 1957). Also included **in** the papers from the Pensacola conference is a compilation of resources for British West Florida history by Robert R. Rea of Auburn University.

A study in social and economic history by Jack D. L. Holmes, *Pensacola Settlers, 1781-1821*, is being published by the Historic Pensacola Preservation Board. The papers from the conference "The Spanish in the Mississippi Valley, 1763-1804," held in St. Louis, Missouri, and Edwardsville, Illinois, April 1970, are being published by the University of Illinois Press. This is the third volume of papers on the French and Spanish in the Mississippi Valley published as a result of meetings sponsored by Southern Illinois University (Edwardsville) under the general chairmanship of Professor John Francis McDermott.

A manuscript on inter-disciplinary research topics and resources for a study of the Spanish southeast by Jack D. L. Holmes (Spanish Alabama and Spanish Louisiana), J. Leitch Wright, Jr. (Spanish West Florida, 1783-1821), and William S. Coker (Spanish Mississippi), will be published by the *Latin* American *Research Review* in the summer of 1972.

Besides the two guides to manuscripts on the Spanish borderlands by Herbert E. Bolton and Roscoe R. Hill, reprinted by Kraus Reprint Corporation, 16 East 46th Street, New York, New York 10017, others of great value to this region are available from Kraus: Charles Oscar Paullin, *Guide to the Materials*

in London Archives for the History of the United States since 1783 (Washington, 1914; reprinted 1965); Luis Marino Pérez, Guide to the Materials for American History in the Cuban Archives (Washington, 190'7; reprinted 1967); William R. Shepherd, Guide to the Materials for the History of the United States in Spanish Archives (Simancas, the Archivo Histórico Nacional, and Seville, Washington, 1907; reprinted 1965); and James Alexander Robertson, List of Documents in Spanish Archives Relating to the History of the United States, Which Have Been Printed or of Which Transcripts are Preserved in American Libraries (Washington, 1910; reprinted 1965).

MANUSCRIPT ACQUISITIONS AND ACCESSIONS

Florida State University, Robert L. Strozier Library

Ruby Diamond Collection (Tallahassee, 1773-1969). Julius Diamond and his family settled in Tallahassee in 1870. These papers, collected by his daughter, Ruby Diamond, consist of biographical sketches, memorials, correspondence, legal papers, pictures and newspaper clippings. There are also documents and miscellaneous letters from Sidney Hamilton Diamond's legal files. Included also is a scrapbook containing items relating to Florida business and politics, five bookkeeping journals and one cash book relating to general merchandising business of Julius Diamond, pictures, and miscellaneous Florida books, pamphlets, and magazines. 3,755 pieces.

William Foster Hankins Collection (Kissimmee and Tallahassee, 1923-1965). Professional engineer (U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey Department and Florida State Road Department) with interest in sawmill and lumber brokerage business. Papers consist of biographical sketch: holograph notes; loose leaf notebook listing names, addresses, and information about Florida sawmills, pictures of timberlands and sawmills in South Florida: maps; Edison flat discs relating to timber and lumber industry in Florida; and newspaper clippings and journals. 2,054 pieces.

Guyte P. McCord, Sr. Collection (Tallahassee, 1899-1961). Attorney, prosecuting attorney for Leon County, 1914-1918; mayor of Tallahassee, 1919; mayor-commissioner, 1920-1922; city commissioner, 1934-1936; clerk of the supreme court of Florida, 1939-1964; president, Tallahassee Historical Society, 19641968. Papers consist of holograph notes, correspondence, copies of records of Tallahassee Historical Society, type-scripts of manuscripts published in Apalachee, the Tallahassee Historical Society journal; pictures; papers by and about Judge James R. Whitfield; correspondence identifying first Negro lawyer in Florida; two articles relating to Florida Negro legislators in 1885; papers and articles relating to Port St. Joe, "Apalachee District," Colum-

bia County, Fort St. Marks; historical map of Florida; pamphlets; bulletins; and newspaper clippings. 466 pieces.

Allen Morris Papers (Tallahassee, 1861-1967). Newspaper reporter, columnist, editor, author, and clerk of the Florida House of Representatives. Papers consist of personal and professional records and research materials; files of "Cracker Politics"; correspondence; biographical sketches of Florida officials; pictures and programs relating to the Allen Morris Legislative Awards; and books and manuscripts. 29,246 pieces.

Records of the IN-AS-MUCH Circle of the Florida Branch of the International Order of The King's Daughters and Sons, Inc. (Tallahassee, 1894-1966). Included are records of officers; tributes; names of members: correspondence; papers of New York City Order; original charter and by-laws of the Florida branch; and charter of the Silver Cross Hospital. 3,500 pieces.

Clifton Paisley Collection (San Marcos, Texas, and Tallahassee, 1915-1968). Author and research editor. Collection includes manuscript of *From. Cotton to Quail;* author's notes; biographical sketches; and pictures relating to plantation owners in the Tallahassee and Leon County area; letters; maps; and other research materials. 492 pieces.

Winthrop Papers (Grotton, England and Tallahassee, 1592-1970). Papers consist of biographies, genealogical sketches and pictures of the Winthrop families; mementos; diaries; letters; plantation and household records and papers; military and civil engineer's papers; legal correspondence; records; tax receipts; contracts; and newspapers and newspaper clippings. 6,072 pieces.

Bird and Ulmer Papers (Jefferson County, 1851-1922). Papers pertain to Pickens B. Bird, Paul Ulmer, John Ulmer, and their families. They consist of correspondence; land deeds; tax papers; speeches; resolutions; and accounts of estate executors and division of land and slaves with values assigned of Bunker Hill, Nacossa, and Freelawn plantations. 91 pieces.

Love-Scarborough Papers (Gadsden County, 1835-1936). Papers pertain to Captain Raburn Monroe Scarborough, plantation and land owner and Civil War captain. Included are letters; miscellaneous Confederate papers pertaining to provisions, clothing, etc.; commission certificate; and land deeds. 137 pieces.

Walker Papers (Tallahassee and Gadsden County, 1745-1938). Papers pertain to affairs of George Keith Walker and Major George Wythe Walker. George Keith Walker was engaged in real estate and land investments with Richard Keith Call. George Wythe Walker was admitted to the Florida bar, and he was major of the Florida Militia in 1889, and state attorney from 1891 to 1929. Papers consist chiefly of correspondence, deeds, and land transactions. 488 pieces.

Richard Ellis Watkins Collection (DeSoto County, 1882-1931). Professor, soldier, and businessman. The collection includes letters; receipts; bills; account books; land deeds; contracts; documents; and pictures. 1,215 pieces.

Jacksonville University Libra y

W. E. Grissett, Jr. Papers (Jacksonville, 1966-1969). Jacksonville councilman. Included are city council papers, including reports of local government study commission.

John E. Mathews Papers (Jacksonville, 1963-1970). Senator from Duval County. Included are legislative papers dealing with apportionment, constitutional revision, and other legislative matters; and personal papers and correspondence.

Orlando Public Library

Six scrapbooks of material on the city of Orlando; eighteen albums of photographs of Orlando and Orange County; fifty scrapbooks containing miscellaneous material on Orlando and Orange County; and newspapers: *Florida Agriculturist* (January 1893-September 1894); Kissimmee *Valley Gazette* (scattered series, 1913-1918); *St. Cloud Tribune* (March 28, 1912).

St. Augustine Historical Society Library

"The Sixteenth Century Colonial Architecture of the United States." mss. by John B. Kirby, Jr.; "Archival material relative to Engineer Mariano de la Rocque of Spanish East Florida in 1784-1793." mss. by John D. Ware; fifty-nine reels of sound tape of programs from radio station WFOY, St. Augustine.

Maps and prints from the collection of Ralph H. Wark, St. Augustine: "East America" (Theodor De Bry), 1594; "Province of Florida" (Theodor De Bry), 1594; "Coast of Florida from Mobile to Cape St. Martin," ca 1700; The Voyages of Christopher Columbus, IV, frontice-piece (Theodor De Bry), 1591; "Fort Caroline, 1562," (De Bry), from Voyages of Christopher Columbus, 1591; "Countries of the New World," (Johann Dietrich De Bry), 1616; "Construction of Fort Caroline, 1562," (after drawings made by Jacque Le Moyne), 1707; "Florida and Virginia Indians" (Mallet), 1683; "A March Day in St. Augustine, Florida," Harper's Weekly, April 25, 1895 (drawn by T. de Thulstrup); "View of St. Augustine, 1671," (John Ogilby); "Geographical, Statistical and Historical Map of Florida, 1822"; "Plan du Port de St. Augustine Dans La Florida" (Bellin), 1764.

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

Books: Phillip Pittman, The Present State **of** the European Settlements on the Mississippi, 1770; Joseph Lorenzo de Arenas, Oraculo de la Europa, 1744.

Maps: "New Map of the British Empire in North America," (Kitchin), 1782; "Map of Florida, 1584," (Ortelius); Hulbert Crown Collection of Maps-Photographs of American maps from the Public Record Office in London, Colonial Office Series.

Microfilm: Public Record Office-microfilm and xerox copies of materials from the admiralty, audit, home and colonial offices; Bahamas government records-104 reels, 1700-1850; *Residencias*—four reels from the Archivo General de Indias, Seville; New England Emigrant Aid Company Papers-two reels and a guide to the papers; Cuba Archivo National-one reel of miscellaneous documents concerning Florida, 1790-1820.

Congressman Charles E. Bennett Papers. Three additional boxes added to the original collection.

Henry *H. Buckman Papers* (1905). Papers concern the debate and passage of the Buckman Bill and the establishment of the University of Florida, one box.

Ernest R. Graham *Papers* (1936-1944). Member, state road department and state senator. Eight additional boxes added to the collection.

Napoleon *B. Broward Papers*. Four boxes added to the original collection.

Spessard L. Holland Papers. 100 boxes added to original collection.

Colonel John J. Dickison, letter to Captain Barth, August 17, 1864.

University of South Florida Library

Dr. James W. Silver's collection of photostats concerning southern public opinion during the Civil War years; broadsides; proclamations; general orders; poems; cartoons; songs; and research notes on the period. The collection is not catalogued but it can be used with permission of the special collections librarian.

University of West Florida, John C. Pace Library

Milton Press-Gazette Papers, 1910-1970, and other newspapers in Santa Rosa County, 1880-1970, 1915-1924. 105 bound volumes.

Cary Family Papers (Pensacola, 1900-1961). Correspondence, business papers, and financial records of R. M. Cary and Company. 739 pieces; eighty-two ledgers.

Pensacola Little Theatre Papers (1938-1970). Scrapbooks, imprints, photographs, and miscellaneous papers. 2,872 pieces.

Pleas Papers (Chipley, 1895-1905). Correspondence; clippings; publications relating to the development of the Kudzu vine; and photographic negatives. 374 pieces.

Fred 0. Howe and Company Papers. Includes letterbooks, financial records, correspondence, and related papers of the Pen-

sacola ship brokers and commission agents (1890-1906); papers relating to the Louisville & Nashville Railroad Co., Pensacola division (1929-1948). There are also miscellaneous papers and literary works of Louis H. Sellars of Pensacola (*ca.* 1893-1904). 11,534 pieces.

Elizabeth Moreno Papers. Personal accounts, lumbering records, literary and theatrical papers (1878-1930); family correspondence and miscellaneous imprints (1898-1960). 360 pieces.

Pensacola Printing Company Papers. Miscellaneous pamphlets, broadsides, and political posters (*ca.* 1940-1960); issues of the *Pensacola Standard*, 1941-1960. 346 pieces; twenty volumes.

BOOK REVIEWS

In Search of Gulf Coast Colonial History. Edited by Ernest F. Dibble and Earle W. Newton. (Pensacola: Historic Pensacola Preservation Board, 1970. Introduction, note on participants, illustrations. \$3.00.)

This publication presents the papers read and the panel discussions evoked during the First Annual Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference held at Pensacola, Florida, December 5-6, 1969. The conference received its inception from the long-held conviction of gulf coast historians that "isolated scholars needed to gather into a professional relationship to explore the fragmented resources and research facilities on the gulf coast region." The conference was sponsored by the University of West Florida, the Pensacola Historical Restoration and Preservation Commission, Pensacola Junior College, and the Escarosa Humanities project, along with the American Association for State and Local History. Its purpose was to concentrate on the resources for historical research on the gulf coast area, both documentary and artifactual.

Jack D. L. Holmes. in his paper, "Resources Outside the United States and Research Opportunities for Spanish Florida," gave the location and extent of documents in Spain, Great Britain, Mexico, and Cuba which pertain to Spanish West Florida. He concluded by pointing out the many areas of investigation still to be explored and for which definitive studies have not yet been written. "Resources and Research Opportunities for British West Florida, 1763-1783," by Robert R. Rea described and gave the location of the principal documents relative to British West Florida which are located in Canada, the United States, and Great Britain. He outlined the work of American historians of the early twentieth century in collecting transcripts of documents in the British Public Records Office concerning West Florida, described the Colonial Office transcripts in the Library of Congress, and emphasized the need for prosopographical studies of British West Florida.

Samuel Proctor covered the "Bibliographical Resources in the United States for Gulf Coast Studies." He mentioned early secondary sources and the collections of documents gathered in their writing, especially those of Hakluyt and Purchas, Obidiah Rich, Buckingham Smith, B. F. French, John G. Shea, and Justin Winsor. He reviewed the historiography of Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi and Florida as pertaining to West Florida, and named early guides and bibliographies of European documentary material in the United States. He concluded with a valuable listing of archival sources and their principal holdings relative to West Florida.

In their presentation, "History in Three Dimensions," Lucius F. Ellsworth and Donald H. Bragaw indicated the research and teaching potential of the artifact, which they believe can add a new dimension to the understanding of culture in the broadest sense. The final essay, "Building Research Collections," by Walter Rundell, Jr., dealt principally with regional collecting by state and metropolitan universities; with collecting by private universities according to their special interests; and with collecting by universities as influenced by the research areas of major professors.

This publication furnishes a long-needed guide to resource material for colonial gulf coast history and will assist in avoiding the duplication of effort in present-day collecting. Unfortunately, this publication has no index, which would have greatly enhanced its value to the research historian.

LAURA D. S. HARRELL

Mississippi Department of Archives and History

Strengthening the Florida Legislature: An Eagleton Study and Report. By C. Lynwood Smith, Jr. (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1970. xiii, 270 pp. Preface. \$3.95.)

This is a valuable proposal to reform the Florida legislature. It was made by the Eagleton Institute of Politics of Rutgers University. This center for state legislative research and service provides professional personnel who, under contract, study the operations of a state legislature and make recommendations for modernization. Before this 1968 Florida study an earlier study by the Rutgers Center, made in 1967 for Maryland, served as a model. There have been four other state studies besides those on Florida and Maryland.

At the time the Eagleton study was undertaken in 1968, the

Florida legislature was meeting under the 1885 constitution. At that time the constitution provided for a biennial session of the Florida legislature and the salaries of the legislators were fixed in the constitution at \$3,900 for two years. Professional help for the legislature was provided by the Legislative Reference Service which had a small staff, but not one adequate to serve all legislators and legislative committees.

In summary, the Florida legislature in 1967-1968 was basically a legislative body with a structure adapted to a rural type state with small population as Florida has been in 1885 when the constitution was made. Meanwhile, Florida had become the ninth most populous state with almost 7,000,000 inhabitants over eighty per cent of whom live in urban centers. The consequence was that the legislature and other machinery of the state badly needed overhauling. Fortunately the Eagleton Study came at the same time as the legislature was considering the revision of the state constitution. It was, therefore, possible 'to incorporate many of its recommendations in the new Florida constitution which was adopted by the voters in the election of 1968. Other provisions were changed by statute. Consequently, most of the recommendations of this study have been implemented.

The result is that **a** vital change has been made in the Florida legislature. It now meets in annual sessions. The pay for legislators, no longer fixed in the constitution, has been set by statute at \$12,000 per year. The Legislative Reference Service has been supplemented and professional and technical help has been assigned to each of the regular legislative committees, which now function on a year round basis. They also hold hearings throughout the state and, in the case of the Florida Senate, presession meetings of the full senate to hold hearings on proposed legislation are scheduled in the leading metropolitan centers. The machinery for printing bills and for dissemination of studies and reports has been vastly improved. The work of the legislature is now a year-round operation. Also to aid this activity, in addition to a technical staff for each committee, each member of the legislature is served by a full time aide or secretary. Office facilities have been provided in Tallahassee and appropriations made for construction of a new capitol. The state auditor for post-audit has been transferred from appointment by the governor to the new role of legislative auditor. His staff is thus independent of the executive branch, audits that branch, and reports criticisms for appropriate action. This is an analytical post-audit which is quite useful in appraising executive agencies and in preparing for the work of the annual appropriations bill.

The Eagleton study provides a careful analysis of the old methods of procedure formerly used by the legislature and makes specific recommendations for the changes, as outlined above, which have been made in the operation of Florida's state legislative machinery. The outcome is that today the Florida legislature is better organized, has a more adequate staff, and is much more able to perform an independent role in updating state government than was true at the time the study began in 1968.

There are some possible theoretical considerations which the rather technical study does not discuss. The updating of the legislature is important but what should its role be vis-a-vis the governor? It is possible for too detailed legislative supervision to hamstring programs? This point has hardly been reached in Florida but in the perennial relationship between the governor and the legislature the reality of the problem exists.

One concluding note which is of interest, the reform leaders of the legislature who are mentioned in the study as guiding it include: Senator Reubin Askew, now elected governor, Lawton M. Chiles, now elected United States Senator, R. T. Mann, now a circuit judge, and Robert A. Pettigrew, just installed as speaker of the house. It is interesting that the more forward looking legislators have provided leadership in more fields than the legislature proper.

University of Florida

MANNING J. DAUER

Empire and Interest: The American Colonies and the Politics of Mercantilism. By Michael Kammen. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1970. viii, 186 pp. Preface, introduction, index. \$4.95; \$2.95 paper.)

Empire and Interest is a fascinating and frustrating essay in historical interpretation, sweepingly assumptive, but thoroughly intriguing in concept. Kammen's purpose is to explore

and explain the political economy of the first British Empire in terms of social groups-to project both backwards and forwards the Namier approach to British politics in the age of the American Revolution. But Kammen's intentions are more easily applauded than his accomplishment: this is too vast an undertaking to survive compression into less than 150 modest-sized pages.

Even so, Empire and *Interest* deserves a wide audience. Kammen's survey of interest group politics in Britain from 1660 to the 1780s is worth having for all its brevity. His treatment of early British mercantilism is excellent. His terse outline of subsequent changes in the British economy and their implications for the "stunningly rapid transformation" in British politics (1748-1762) has more than passing interest. And his conclusions, like his assumptions, are no less thought provoking than some of his propositions recently advanced by Kammen's mentor Bernard Bailyn (to whom the book is dedicated). Essentially Kammen contends for the pervasive power of Britain's economic experiences and argues consequently for the origins of the American Revolution in the post-1748 period rather than post-1763 (see Lawrence Henry Gipson).

For this reviewer Kammen's approach creates questions and doubts. He may be seemingly pluralistic in his embrace of a multiplicity of interests, but he seems extraordinarily narrow in his conception of why and how politicians in Britain and America behaved as they did. His economic chronology seems suspiciously tidy and simple. His indifference to ideology and its origins seems too complete. By his own admission his essay is "selective and interpretative," but the omissions appear too substantial, too convenient. In short, Kammen's approach is refreshing if not original, his essay provocative if not persuasive. But if his thesis has the genuine merit here suggested, it deserves the dignity of a more thorough and comprehensive presentation. A better understanding of just what the eighteenth century meant by "interest"-and why it was so absorbing a concept could indeed enhance our view of the first British Empire. Kammen is clearly qualified to make this contribution. He has furnished an excellent aperitif; let us hope he is preparing a comparable main course.

University of New Hampshire

TREVOR COLBOURN

Alexander Hamilton and American Foreign Policy. By Gilbert L. Lycan. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970. xviii, 469 pp. Preface, abbreviations, illustrations, map, bibliography, index. \$9.95.)

Many scholars have written on the diplomacy of the founding fathers-Bemis, Burt, Whitaker, DeConde, and more recently, Combs, whose excellent monograph on the Jay Treaty appeared too late to have been used for this study. These historians, the author notes, have not sufficiently recognized the influence of Hamilton, while his biographers have paid less attention to diplomatic issues than did Malone and Brant in their studies of Jefferson and Madison. As a result Hamilton's motives have been misunderstood and his considerable achievements in foreign affairs overlooked. Perhaps the former is a more accurate assessment.

Lycan argues that Hamilton's views on government and society played a large part in determining his concept of the nation's foreign policy. He was not the arch conservative as portrayed by his partisan opponents and the scholars who followed their view. Hamilton recognized America's commercial dependence on Great Britain. He also admired British law and parliamentary monarchy and saw no reason for future conflict, at the same time assuming that Britain would eventually honor her treaty obligations. Mutual interests, both material and ideological, called for Anglo-American co-operation. By contrast his dread of governmental disorder led him to look cooly at revolutionary France. Long before his political opponents he saw that the government of France was heading toward military dictatorship, that the French Revolution which came to represent the ultimate in evil was threatening to subvert every social good and political institution, perhaps civilization itself.

This study of Hamilton's role, based largely on primary sources, becomes a vehicle for a full scale exposition on American foreign policy. As such it does not break new ground or substantially revise previous views. On three key points, however, the author has made a distinct contribution. He clears Hamilton of the charge levied by Julian Boyd that in 1790 he misrepresented to Washington the British position. Boyd himself misread Lord Dorchester's instructions to the British emis-

sary. Nor did Hamilton's revelation to George Hamond that the United States would not join with the Baltic powers in 1794 jeopardize the administration's position. The news did not arrive in London in time seriously to hamper Jay in his negotiations with Grenville, and the "Armed Neutrality" was rendered nugatory by the disinterest of the Danes. Finally Lycan finds it incomprehensible that any scholar after reading the sources could accept the view that in 1799 Hamilton sought to become a military dictator. Yet it should be noted that Stephen Kurtz in his study of the Adams's administration concluded on the basis of the correspondence of the Federalist leaders that they planned to use the provisional 100,000 man army of which Hamilton was inspector general against their domestic opponents.

At times Lycan accepts uncritically Hamilton's assessment of a situation, or opts for the view of one scholar against that of another without any evaluation. For example, the reader is not informed why the author prefers Bemis's interpretation over that of Burt on British retention of the Northwest posts. He considers Washington's Farewell Address a great *state* paper, one which is still sound. Yet DeConde's charge that it was a campaign document, a piece of partisan politics, while *too* caustic, is also held to be the "germ of truth."

JACK SOSIN

University of Nebraska

Federalists in Dissent: Imagery and Ideology in Jeffersonian America. By Linda K. Kerber. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1970. xii, 233 pp. Preface, note on sources, index. \$7.50.)

In this volume Professor Kerber explores the ideas, conceptions, and views that underlay the Federalist opposition to Jeffersonian Republicanism. She focuses attention on a particular group of Federalists whom she calls "Articulate Federalists," which is another way of describing those Federalists, primarily. from New England, whose public and private writings have survived the ravages of time. Essentially Kerber's Federalists are conservatives steeped in the classical tradition; order, authority, and law were their favorite words. They were

not monarchists, but they did believe that a healthy democratic order must contain sufficient checks on individualism to avoid anarchy or tyranny.

In the Republican party in general and Thomas Jefferson in particular the Federalists perceived most dangerous enemies. It was not only that the Republicans had driven the wise and the good from national power in 1801, but the total cultural challenge of Republican party philosophy aroused the Federalists. The Republican mind, as embodied in Jefferson, was inquisitive and skeptical. It subjected ideas and institutions to the test of reason, refusing to accept anything on the grounds of revelation or longevity. Federalists were profoundly disturbed by Republican receptivity to innovation and speculation. Believing that the American nation was yet a tenuous experiment that might at any time be destroyed by the mob, they resisted any and all change for fear it would fatally loosen the bonds that held society together. Jefferson and his supporters, who did not share this apocalyptic vision and generally took a much more cheerful view of the world, appeared supremely irresponsible to the Fed-By holding before the people impossible visions of societal and human perfection, the Jeffersonians were helping to undermine faith and confidence in time-tested values and institutions. Equally deplorable from the Federalist point of view was the hypocrisy of the Republicans. In part it was the hypocrisy of slaveholders preaching democracy. More importantly, it was the hypocrisy of men who were ruining American culture by their aimless experimentation and questioning but all the while insisting that they were "doing nothing at all."

Professor Kerber's volume is most definitely a contribution to the revisionist literature dealing with the Federalists. She has reminded us that the Federalists were intelligent men, that they operated from a coherent philosophy of society and government, and that they continued to forcefully promote their beliefs long after 1801 when Henry Adams and other historians have consigned them to oblivion.

FRANK A. CASSELL

University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

The Fox at Bay: Martin Van Buren and the Presidency, 1837-1841. By James C. Curtis. (Lexington: University Press of

Kentucky, 1970. xi, 234 pp. Preface, prologue, epilogue, bibliographical essay, index. \$8.50.)

This study of Martin Van Buren's presidency has as its central concern the administration's response to the financial crises of 1837 and 1839, but it is primarily political in emphasis. It begins with two brief introductory chapters on Van Buren's earlier career, has another on the organization of his administration, and concludes with a discussion of external affairs (containing but a single mention of the war against the Seminoles in Florida) and the Whig victory in the election of 1840. But the main body of the book is to be found in its central four chapters which deal with Van Buren's ultimately successful effort to force the Independent Treasury through the Congress as, to use the author's phrase, "a program of recovery."

He admits that Van Buren, is all his messages to the Congress, expressly denied this intention, but argues nevertheless that his advocacy of the separation of the government from any relation with banks "represented a dramatic step away from his former professions of laissez faire and his commitment to the principle of limited government." The evidence cited for this conclusion is Van Buren's statement that the Independent Treasury would have "a salutary influence on the system of paper credit with which all banks are connected"; hardly a plea for governmental regulation and most certainly not, what the author says it is, a portrayal of "the sub-Treasury as a mechanism capable of reforming the national economy."

The author seems to believe, at least he states it as a fact, that banks which suspended specie payments "failed" and "closed their doors," and even more strangely, he denies, what all contemporaries affirm, that Clay's joint resolution concerning the specie circular, adopted by the Congress on May 30, 1838, actually accomplished its purpose of repeal. There are also significant omissions. For example, Jesse Hoyt, Van Buren's "backstairs friend" who stole several hundred thousand dollars after being appointed Collector of Customs in New York, is never mentioned in the book, and William Lyon Mackenzie's publications of Hoyt's correspondence, much of it discreditable to Van Buren and his associates in the Albany Regency, are not included in the bibliography. Some explanation is needed.

University of Oregon

THOMAS P. GOVAN

Squall Across the Atlantic: American Civil War Prize Gases and Diplomacy. By Stuart L. Bernath. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970. x, 229 pp. Acknowledgements, notes, note on sources, index. \$6.50.)

Anglo-American relations during the American Civil War were of the greatest importance, and few matters strained them as severely as the prize cases which resulted from Union capture of privately owned British vessels charged with intent to violate the blockade of the Confederacy. Yet, as the late Professor Bernath pointed out, these cases have received *very* little attention from historians. His study is intended to remedy this neglect.

Beginning with a general look at the diplomatic and legal ramifications of the Union blockade, the author devotes a chapter to the Prize Cases which involved four ships seized in the early months of the war. The Supreme Court decision in these cases established the legality of the blockade and provided the basis for subsequent decisions. Moreover, the fact that this was a five-four decision led President Lincoln to add a tenth justice to the court to prevent any possible interference with the Union's war effort. Later chapters deal with the especially perplexing problem of the Rio Grande blockade and the Matamoros cases arising from its sporadic enforcement, with the Peterhoff and Springbok cases as examples of continuous voyage, with violations of neutral territory by Union naval vessels attempting to intercept suspected blockade-runners, and with the **treatment** of the crews captured in the blockaders' prizes. The focus is shifted in the penultimate chapter in order to consider the attitude of the British public toward United States seizures of ships and cargoes owned by Britons.

Twenty-eight pages of notes and an eleven page bibliographical essay indicate that the *author* made **extensive** *use* **of both** American and British primary and secondary sources. The essay is well arranged and partially annotated; the notes would have been of more use had the publisher printed the relevant chapter number and title at the top of each page in this section.

Bernath has presented a very complex subject in a clear and concise manner. That in itself may be a weakness, however, because international law is sometimes made to seem more clear and concise than it actually was. The definition of blockade presented in the first chapter seems curiously limited, and the problems which plagued Union naval officers might have been treated with greater understanding. But these are relatively minor criticisms; this is a successful book on the whole.

ROBERT ERWIN JOHNSON

University of Alabama

The Papers of Andrew Johnson: Volume II, 1852-1857. Edited by Leroy P. Graf and Ralph W. Haskins. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1970. xliii, 652 pp. Introduction, chronology, illustrations, index. \$15.00.)

During the years from 1852 to 1857, Andrew Johnson ended his career in the house of representatives, served two terms as governor of Tennessee, and was elected to the United States Senate. His repeated victories in the gubernatorial race demonstrated his popular appeal but left him almost powerless in office. Both times he ran well ahead of the rest of the Democratic ticket, but during his first term he faced a Whig majority in the lower house of the legislature, and during his second term a Whig majority in the upper house as well. He confirmed and enlarged his reputation as a champion of the underprivileged, however, and he revealed many of the personal qualities that were to be conspicuous during his presidency.

This second volume of the Johnson papers, then, is more a record of political development and personal growth than one of legislative accomplishment. Even the political and personal record has many gaps, for Confederate soldiers pilfered the papers during the Civil War, leaving only a few family letters and none at all between Johnson and his wife, and leaving practically no correspondence that would show how he occupied his spare time in Nashville, who were his intimate friends there, or what were his precise relations with the state Democracy or with the General Assembly. "Yet," as the editors point out, "a contemporary sense of the real Andrew Johnson does emerge from the more than one hundred and sixty letters written and received; from a variety of speeches written by the congressman, governor, and politician; and from a miscellaneous assortment of papers-amendments, resolutions, exchanges, proclamations, deeds, receipts, and bills of sale."

On the whole, the Johnson who depicts himself in these documents seems an admirable and even a likeable man. He was, of course, not so much a thinker as a doer. Nor was he above a bit of demagoguery now and then, or a touch of political paranoia. When, for instance, he concluded he had been gerrymandered out of reelection to Congress in 1852, he identified himself with Jesus Christ--"My political garments have been divided and upon my vesture do they intend to cast lots" as he was later to do on occasion when President, Still, he was often on the side of the angels, if also on the side of the voting majority. He denounced the military establishment of his time and called for a retrenchment of army and navy expenditures. which (in 1852) he said accounted for more than \$600,000,000 of the \$1,000,000,000 total the federal government had spent from the beginning. He continued, even as governor, to keep up his demand for homesteads. He ridiculed the Know Nothings. And when a state judge presented him an iron shovel that the judge himself had made, the governor responded in kind-with a "black cloth sack coat, which coat was drafted cut. sewed and pressed with my own hands."

The editing continues at the high level set in the first volume.

RICHARD N. CURRENT

The University of North Carolina at Greensboro

The White Chief: James Kimble Vardaman. By William F. Holmes. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1970. xiii, 418 pp. Preface, introduction, epilogue, essay on authorities, index. \$10.95.)

This is the story of Vardamanism, which in the first decade of the twentieth century brought a belated Populism to Mississippi. Under the colorful leadership of James K. Vardaman, poor-white "redneck" farmers were arrayed against the planted oligarchy, a "mud-sill" white racism was pitted against the traditional "gentlemanly" white racism, the hold of the Bourbons was impaired, and a reform program in state government was initiated. That program, however, was not as extensive as that of Huey Long's even more belated Populism in Louisiana, for Vardaman did not possess the genius of Long, he left no

organization to continue his work, and Mississippi had not the resources to finance a program as costly as that of the Louisiana Kingfish.

All of the Southern "agrarian demagogues" of the turn of the century had certain characteristics in common, but each was also unique. How did Vardaman differ from the other "stormy petrels" of his time? Vardaman was by far the most blatant in his white racism. He advocated repeal of the Fifteenth Amendment, drastic revision of the Fourteenth Amendment, denial of education to Negroes, and lynching of Negroes accused of raping white women. (While governor, however, Vardaman helped suppress the Whitecap terrorists and personally intervened to prevent lynchings.) With respect to the other phobias often fanned by the "demagogues," Vardaman never went so far in his anti-Catholicism as did Tom Watson of Georgia, and unlike Watson he had a positive admiration for the Jewish people and their culture.

Of all his contemporaries, Vardaman was the most impassioned orator. Indeed, oratory was the chief source of his political power. Always a dandy in dress, he prepared for his oratorical engagements as carefully as an actor. He invariably appeared all in white, with a large sombrero on his head, his raven locks flowing to the base of his neck. With invective, vituperation, hyperbole, and earthy Anglo-Saxon, he lashed his hearers to a frenzy; they scrambled to touch his person, his "chariot," and even the oxen which bore it. Like Tom Watson, Vardaman was a bookish man, a wide reader. He was a more consummate orator than Watson but a less effective writer. Vardaman's white racism was indigenous, but he buttressed it with a racial interpretation of history as embodied in the writings of such authors as Lothrop Stoddard and Madison Grant.

Unlike "Pitchfork" Ben Tillman of South Carolina, and also unlike Watson, who galvanized his minority faction in such a way as to hold the balance of power in, Georgia's gubernatorial elections for two decades, Vardaman had little gift for organization. He was essentially a loner. During his term in the United States Senate, he was regarded as a maverick, although his frequent opposition to the Wilson administration came out of sincere conviction. Vardaman was a progressive of the "bust-the-trusts" school who hesitated to join the increas-

ing number of progressives who were moving in the direction of regulating the conglomerates by government commissions rather than decentralizing them and enforcing competition. In foreign policy, Vardaman was at heart an isolationist. He might have survived his many other disagreements with President Wilson, but he could not survive his courageous vote against the declaration of war with Germany. On the other hand, Theodore G. Bilbo, who rose in politics as a leader in the Vardaman faction, was usually, during his terms in the senate, a loyal supporter of President Franklin Roosevelt.

While Vardaman was a constructive governor, he was in private life the most impractical of men. He failed as a practicing lawyer. When out of office, he made his living by editing a succession of weekly newspapers and as a paid lecturer. In his declining years, he would have faced actual want had it not been for his daughters and a Spanish-American War pension.

In telling the Vardaman story, Professor Holmes has thrown new light on a number of Mississippi notables, among them Anselm J. McLaurin, John Sharp Williams, LeRoy Percy, and Pat Harrison. He has also thrown additional light on the folk mind of the "piney-woods" farmers of the deep South and on the methods and techniques used to manipulate its prejudices and values. And he has elucidated the over-personalized and often meaningless, irresponsible, and even violent factionalism of the old one-party South.

The research of the author was made unusually difficult by the scarcity of extant Vardaman papers. Nevertheless, Professor Holmes has written an insightful, lively, balanced, and definitive life of "the White Chief."

WILLIAM G. CARLETON

University of Florida

Essays on Recent Southern Politics. Edited by Harold M. Hollingsworth. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1970. 115 pp. Preface, introduction. \$4.00.)

This book is the fourth volume of the Walter Prescott Webb Memorial Lectures, a series created at the University of Texas at Arlington in honor of the late distinguished frontier historian. The three essays which comprise the book are, like their predecessors, by different authors, and are bound together only in the loosest sense by the title. Two of the contributions are by members of the department of history at Arlington, Professors E. C. Barksdale and George Norris Green. The third is by the noted American historian, T. Harry Williams, Boyd Professor of History at Louisiana State University.

Since the essays are so varied, it is difficult to discuss them either in terms of a unifying theme or in a comparative way. Consequently, I shall make only one or two remarks about the chapters by Green and Williams, and will comment more extensively on the leading essay by Professor Barksdale.

Professor Green has written an interesting, if somewhat diffuse, paper on 'Some Aspects of the Far Right Wing in Texas Starting with a generalized explanation of the Politics". psychological and social factors behind right wing extremism in general, he proceeds to show how special circumstances in Texas have tended to exaggerate these tendencies. Among the several activities described, the most interesting is the effect that right wing groups have been able to work on textbook (and teacher) censorship in the public schools of Texas. Professor Williams's chapter entitled "Huey Long and the Politics of Realism" is a direct distillation from his recently published biography of Huey Long, which won both the National Book Award and the Pulitzer Prize. The essay not only provides the reader with the basic flavor of that massive work, but also furnishes the essence of Williams's characterization of Long as a "mass leader" who is about equally interested in social and economic reform and manipulation of political power.

Professor Barksdale's ambitious story of "The Power Structure and Southern Gubernatorial Conservatism" is the most original and the most exasperating of the three contributions. The author is concerned to show that *those* who have argued that the "Southern Establishment" furnishes the primary basis of support for the perpetuation of extremely conservative Democrats in the office of governor are incorrect. The author's case rests on the results of a poll of editors and publishers of newspapers in Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana. The tabular results indicate that the newspapers favored moderate candidates by a considerable margin, and that the "substantial leadership" in the community tended in the same direction.

Although Professor Barksdale is extremely vulnerable in his methodology, I am less concerned about the naive polling technique than I am about his lack of specific knowledge of the subtle differentiations of politics from state to state in the deep South. For example, the fact that almost no newspapers, and a minority of the vaguely classified "substantial community leadership," supported Earl Long in his race against deLesseps Morrison in 1956 really tells us nothing about political conflict in the state of Louisiana. Earl Long was a populist economic liberal, who contradicted the usual populist tendencies by not resorting to racist appeals in order to hold his poor farmer laborer following in line. Morrison, on the other hand, was highly "respectable" insofar as the conservative business community was concerned, so it is not difficult to understand why the newspapers and community influentials might prefer his brand of alleged liberalism to the more radical liberalism of Long. I have no doubt that Professor Barksdale is correct in his judgment that racist appeals are more effective with poor whites than with urban business *types*, but I am equally certain that he has not been sufficiently attentive to the McKinley business conservatism that underlies the support of the more "moderate" candidates revealed by his poll. Many similar complications are present, but space does not permit elaboration.

An eclectic publication such as this would be much improved if the contributions were increased sufficiently to cover the subject adequately, and if more attention were given to coordination of the papers. Otherwise it would seem preferable to have one person give the entire set of lectures, which could then be published as a proper monograph.

WILLIAM C. HAVARD

Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University

Social Welfare in the South: From Colonial Times to World War I. By Elizabeth Wisner. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1970. viii, 154 pp. Preface, introduction, bibliographical essay, index. \$5.95.)

If a society is measured by its willingness to care for its helpless members, the South receives in this simple and unprepossessing book one of its most damning indictments since Hinton Helper wrote *Impending Crisis*. The author, a respected leader in the field of social work, presents a history of social welfare in the South from its beginning to the New Deal. The emphasis of this study is on the basic problem of poverty in the South and the measures by which aid was given to the needy.

First Professor Wisner surveys methods for dealing with severe poverty during the colonial period, when they were primitive in their rationale and often cruel in their application. But if aid was unequal and insufficient in the colonies, when the church was responsible for the unfortunate, it became worse after the nation acquired independence and that responsibility became a secular one. Southerners, mostly poor themselves, were not inclined to support taxes for assistance to the needy. In addition to the general picture of southern callousness and ineptitude, the study deals with some constructive developments. The accounts of Dorothea L. Dix's crusade and the development of the Freedman's Bureau are of particular interest. And, although the post-Civil War period receives less adequate attention, a surprisingly detailed account of social welfare measures in New Orleans is included. The story closes with the period between World War I and the New Deal.

Still this book has several defects. Based on research which is neither careful nor extensive, it is written in a style reminiscent of the graduate theses on which the author relies too heavily. Moreover, the subject of southern social welfare is dealt with in this study only in an episodic manner.

Despite these shortcomings, however, this is a book that should be read by students of southern history. Professor Wisner has opened a door to the hitherto unexamined aspect of southern history. While the book probably raises as many questions as it answers, it is the best work on the subject yet written.

Memphis State University CHARLES W. CRAWFORD

The Myth of Southern History: Historical Consciousness in Twentieth Century Southern Literature. By F. Garvin Davenport, Jr. (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1970. xi, 212 pp. Preface, introduction, bibliography, index. \$7.95.)

"History," states Professor Davenport in the preface to this intriguing analytical study of southern literature, "is not so much what happened as what people believe happened." Small

wonder then that even supposedly profound students of the South are rarely able to see through the thick patina of romance and idealism brushed across the true face of southern history by the loving hands of such scholars as the Southern Agrarians who, like Don Quixote, are still busy tilting at literary windmills. Or by the Technicolor portrayal in *Gone With the Wind* of a world that never really existed, except in the imagination of romantic novelists.

Son of a Mississippi mother and a father who taught southern history, the author grew up in a home where "the South from various perspectives was a topic of suppertime conversation from the earliest remembrance." Thus he brings not only a love for the region to his study but, equally important, a sense of perspective and, though teaching in the North, is able to analyze the myths of southern history with a sympathetic, though critical eye.

A region that was both the first frontier, when yeoman and Cavalier alike sought room to exercise individual freedom, and the last stand of the individual farmer, now largely extinct, was certain to have a turbulent history. To these influences must be added the memory of crushing defeat in a war fought as much to destroy southern political power on the national scene as to abolish slavery, already proving economically impractical, and the guilt of the "white man's burden" that still hangs over the region like a dark cloud. The result then, as Professor Davenport shows, is that the writings of many older southern authors were shot through with myths designed, consciously or unconsciously, to allay both the knowledge of defeat and the burden of guilt.

Beginning about 1902 with Woodrow Wilson, William Garrott Brown, and, above all, Thomas Dixon, the myths of the South as a land of gracious and intellectual living under the magnolias, benign paternalism toward an inferior and unfortunate race, and a bastion of rugged individualism against the industrial tides lapping at its bulwarks from the North, have been nurtured by many southern writers. And this in spite of the obvious truth that one cannot consistently degrade another without being himself degraded, or the true face of slavery as revealed in such books as Twelve Years a Slave by Solomon Northrup.

The romantic myths of southern history were even being shored up as late as 1930 when twelve southern scholars published I'll Take My Stand, seeking "to utilize the South's mystical past to meet the threats which industrialism posed to a humanistic society." Far stronger bastions than these were needed, however, to withstand the battering rams of writers like William Faulkner, who showed "the dilemma of the modern South caught between a belief in the national faith of moral salvation through economic progress and a sense of moral burden which contradicts such an easy faith in progress." William Faulkner started widening the breach ever farther in Absalom, Absalom!, as well as subsequent works; and Martin Luther King added logic, reason and a leavening of humanity in Why We Can't Wait.

Myths are at best vulnerable if they fail to take new form and gain substance. Thus the author can say in the closing paragraphs of the book: "The myth of Southern history, which we have traced through 65 years of this century, suggests that out of suffering comes wisdom and that out of wisdom comes the ability' to redeem American life. The nonviolent, love-centered quest for justice of Martin Luther King stood in the eyes of many as one of the most profound contributions to this national redemption made by any Southerner in the nation's history."

FRANK G. SLAUGHTER

Jacksonville, Florida

The Death of Art: Black and White in the Recent Southern Novel. By Floyd C. Watkins. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1970. ix, 77 pp. Preface, notes, bibliography, index. \$4.00.)

To the category of the Western, that American classic of white-hatted heroes and black-hatted villains confronting each other in walkdowns at high noon, must be added a category of more recent origin, the Southern. In the Southern, black-skinned heroes meet -white-skinned villains in confrontations which usually end in lynching or, at the least, mayhem. Floyd C. Watkins, professor of English at Emory University, became aware of the kinship between the Western and the Southern when he took two quarters away from his teaching duties to

read "approximately forty" novels about the South published since the Supreme Court's desegregation ruling of 1954. It must have been a half-grim, half-hilarious two quarters. The result was this book, originally the Lamar Lectures at Mercer University in the fall of 1969.

"Modern Southern novels which treat the relationship between the black man and the white man are highly prejudiced against the white. It may be possible to defend this bias as a historical, political and social corrective; but as fiction the bias fails," says Watkins. "The heart is not black or white but human." True. One is inevitably reminded of the dictum of F. Scott Fitzgerald that if a writer begins with a type he will create a stereotype, whereas if he begins with a character he will create a type.

The reader turns every page of Watkins's examples of excess in Southerns with fresh laughter. Yet somehow, in the end, it all goes on too long. Is the obvious truth that most fiction about the South is propaganda worth such heavy artillery? Do serious critics concern themselves with such drugstore staples as *Shoot*-Out at Goose *Gulch?* Watkins is also just a shade too emotional about the injustice of Southerns to be as objective *as* he urges novelists to be. The most serious weakness in his book appears when he states that novels hostile to the South can "have little good effect." Is effect a more legitimate concern for art than the very stereotyping he so wittily decries? Must a good novelist always "control and limit the extremes of human nature" with "tastes and common sense"? Where does that leave Henry Miller and Charles Dickens?

The value of *The Death* of Art, in the last analysis, is that it argues against a simplistic view of man. No one can quarrel with the conclusion that "any great author who writes about racial struggles anywhere must first write profoundly about the human heart."

GLORIA JAHODA

Tallahassee, Florida

From Thurmond to Wallace: Political Tendencies in Georgia, 1948-1968. By Numan V. Bartley. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1970, vii, 117 pp. Preface, introduction, tables, index. \$6.95.)

This is a brief book but one that is closely reasoned and filled with food for thought. The author, an assistant professor of history at Georgia Institute of Technology, vividly demonstrates the fruitfulness of quantitative methods in political history.

The sub-title actually is more accurate than the main title, since Professor Bartley considers state and local elections (especially in Atlanta and Macon), as well as presidential elections. However, the fact that Strom Thurmond received twenty percent of the popular vote as a third party candidate in 1948 while George Wallace received forty-three percent as a third party candidate in 1968 strikingly illustrates the author's thesis that the state is becoming more conservative.

Although Georgians tend to think in terms of the city of Atlanta versus the rest of the state, Bartley's statistical analysis shows that the voting tendencies of lower class urban whites resemble those of rural and small town whites much more than they do those of affluent urban whites. It is the combination of affluent whites and large numbers of Negro voters which give Georgia cities whatever liberal tendencies they have. In Bartley's view. Georgia political trends have been growing more conservative, on the whole, because lower class whites have become more conscious of social issues and less responsive to economic issues which formerly made them liberal at least on "bread and butter" matters. Bartley divides the Georgia electorate into three groups: the coalition of rural, small-town, and poor urban whites who are approximately forty-five percent of the electorate; Negroes and liberal whites who constitute twenty-five percent; and the urban-suburban bourgeioisie who are the remaining thirty percent. As the latter group becomes more conservative and the blacks more militant, the political alliance between the affluent whites and black liberals is increasingly unstable.

Professor Bartley's book will be of interest to any student of recent southern history or contemporary trends. It will be especially illuminating to those Floridians who are aware that the politics at least of the northern part of their state reflects the presence of many immigrants from Georgia. Analysis of elections in Atlanta and Macon should compare interestingly with those in Jacksonville, which, after all, has been called "the

second largest city in Georgia" with symbolic truth.

ROBERT H. AKERMAN

Kennesaw Junior College

Museum *Villages.* By Nicholas Zook. (Barre, Massachusetts: Barre Publishers, 1970. 136 pp. Illustrations. \$4.95.)

Following World War II, and in the wake of the well known Williamsburg Restoration, there sprung up around the United States an increasing number of "museum villages," portraying various aspects of American life at different periods and in different regions. We have needed a guide to them, and Nicholas Zook, home, garden, and travel, editor of the Worcester *Tele*gram has endeavored to supply the need. It is not a critical study; the author simply reports the information supplied him, but this is a start toward the thorough canvas and critical analysis needed.

However, Mr. Zook blurs the important distinctions between preservation, restoration, and reconstruction, and rarely informs us accurately the extent of each. He does not distinguish between: (1) collections of houses (Shelburne, Greenfield); (2) re-created synthetic villages of authentic structures (Old Sturbridge, Farmer's Museum, Mystic Seaport); (3) recreated historical villages (New Salem); (4) preserved communities (Old Salem, Ephrata, Old Economy); (5) restored towns, mixing preservation, restoration, and reconstruction (Williamsburg, St. Augustine); and (6) historic districts in urban areas with programs of private restoration for adaptive use (Charleston, Savannah, Annapolis, Vieux Carré).

The average visitor tends to accept what he sees uncritically. But eventually these recreated three-dimensional documents of history must be judged like any other document or study which attempts to interpret the past. Is it the whole truth? Or, are its partial statements accurate, and if not, to what degree? Mr. Zook makes little attempt to judge what he reports-an admittedly difficult task even for someone well grounded in the history of the preservation movement.

The editor's balance is often odd. One of the most professional and accurately interpreted villages at Cooperstown, N. Y. receives less space. (and no pictures) than nearby Smith's Cove,

of amateur origin. He groups his subjects in rough historical chronology, but some inclusions are curious (Greenfield Village, most outstanding for its industrial era structures and collections, is under "Life in the Early Republic") .

Did the editor or the publisher supply and caption the illustrations? The selection of pictures is unbalanced, and captions often are in error. Those for St. Augustine, for example, were supplied by the Florida Development Commission; they are promotional photos with incorrect captions, many others come from promotional sources, but most photos are photographically excellent. There are some textual errors (Jamestown Festival Park is not "operated" by the National Park Service, but by the State of Virginia) . This paperback will be very useful for some time to come; Mr. Zook is to be complimented on what was obviously a laborious job of assembling scattered and disparate data.

EARLE W. NEWTON

Historic Pensacola Preservation Board

BOOK NOTES

They Built a City, by Dorothy Kaucher, is the history of Lake Wales from its beginnings in 1911 until the dedication of the Bok Tower by President Calvin Coolidge on February 1, 1929. The Sessoms Investment Company of Bartow purchased land in 1905 in the area for \$2.25-\$2.50 an acre for turpentine and lumber operations, and the first house constructed was a commissary for their men. The Atlantic Coastline Railroad's arrival in 1911 determined the location of Lake Wales. The company's engineers put up a fence around their tent city to keep out wild hogs. Growth was rapid, and the legislature incorporated Lake Wales as a municipality in 1917; eight years later it became a city. Edward Bok, editor of the Ladies Home Journal, had been a resident of nearby Mountain Lake Colony since 1919. According to Dr. Kaucher's account, one April evening in 1923, he and his friend, Major H. M. Nornabell of the British Royal Infantry, walked to the top of Iron Mountain, one of the highest points in peninsular Florida. There, Mr. Bok unfolded his dream of building a beautiful garden sanctuary, dominated by a singing tower, which would become one of the most beautiful and best known attractions in Florida. Dr.

Kaucher, retired from the faculty of San Jose (California) State College, has used more than 160 photographs to illustrate her monograph. It sells for \$3.75 and may be ordered from the author, Route 2, Box 112, Lake Wales, Florida 33853 or from the Lake Wales Public Library.

The Voyages of Giovanni da Verrazzano, 1524-1528, by Lawrence C. Wroth, is a detailed account of the exploration of the coastal area of North America from Florida to Newfoundland in 1524. There is a photographic facsimile and a translation of the Cèllere Codex, the earliest known and most revealing contemporary narrative of the expedition. This manuscript which is in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York City, has been interpreted by Professor Wroth, librarian emeritus of the John Carter Brown Library. The denials of the authenticity of the Verrazzano voyages by Buckingham Smith and Henry C. Murphy are examined, along with information on Verrazzano's place and date of birth and his parentage. The hope of reaching the Far East had drawn Columbus and John Cabot upon their westward voyages, but the concept of a great open sea between the continents of Europe and Asia had to be revised as a result of their discoveries. Verrazzano's task in 1524 was to find a way through or around the great barrier so that he could chart an unimpeded seaway to Asia. He followed a middle Atlantic route, but the exact spot of his American landfall is not known. Most historians place it in the area of Cape Fear, North Carolina, but it has been suggested that it may have been as far south as 28°30' at Cape Canaveral, Florida. Verrazzano had a general knowledge of Spanish interest in Florida through the Ponce de Leon and Pineda explorations, but it is doubtful that he knew of de Ayllon's 1521 expedition. He included in his account the earliest known information on the ethnology of the Indians north of the Florida Gulf Coast. This beautiful book which includes a number of historically important map plates was published by the Yale University Press. It sells for \$25.00.

The Colonial American Jew, 1492-1776, three volumes, by Dr. Jacob R. Marcus, is of major importance to American and southern colonial historians. Jewish life in the western world began in 1492 with Columbus's Spanish *converso*, Luis de

Torres. Dr. Marcus describes the Jewish role in Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch, and English dependencies in South America and the Carribbean. In 1654 organized Jewry established itself in the New Amsterdam colony. By the end of the the colonial period there were congregations as far south as Savannah and Charleston, and Jews were active in the economic, cultural, and political life of the times. Though Jewish shipping firms operating out of the West Indies and North American ports shipped goods in and out of St. Augustine, there were no known Jews living there during the colonial period. Isaac Menendes, a merchant-shipper, was at Pensacola in 1776, and three Jews, joint owners of a plantation, lived in Mobile in the 1760s. One provided military supplies to Major Robert Farmer, local British commandant. Jews were also living in New Orleans in this period. When Isaac Monsanto and his family were expelled from Louisiana by General Alexander O'Reilly they moved their headquarters to British West Florida. There are a number of Florida references in this work. Published by Wayne State University Press, Detroit, the set sells for \$45.00.

Riparian and Littoral Rights, by Carroll Dunscombe, a Stuart attorney, is a brief survey of legal problems involved in residential and commercial uses along the water's edge in relation to the substantive aspects of public policy. This is a matter of major concern in Florida. The monograph briefly surveys the first Florida land grants made by the Spanish governors. They did not convey any riparian, littoral, or mineral rights; these were held in trust by the king, and became the precedent for the American homestead grants. This paperback. published by the William-Frederick Press, 55 East 86th Street, New York 10028, sells for \$3.00.

What to Look For in Florida and What to Look Out For! by Frank Cowles, Jr., news editor of Florida Trend Magazine, contains brief information on job and business opportunities, the real estate market, mobile home living, and taxes and government in the state. The appendix lists sources for economic information, publications, and the location of Florida employment service offices. Trend House, P. 0. Box 2350, Tampa, is the publisher, and the price is \$1.50.

Indian Foe. Indian Friend: The Story of William S. Harney. by Jules Archer, is a short biography of a man who played an active role in Florida's first and second Seminole Wars. As a young lieutenant. Harney arrived in Pensacola in 1818 as one of Andrew Jackson's aides. During the Second Seminole War, when the Second Regiment of Dragoons under Colonel David E. Twiggs was called into action, Lieutenant-Colonel Harney was named second in command. He remained in Florida almost constantly until March 1841 when malaria forced him to take sick leave. Harney fought in many Indian wars-the Black Hawk, Seminole, and Sioux. In all he remained loval to the United States, and yet he maintained an attitude of fairness to the Indians. As late as 1874 he testified before a House Committee on Indian Affairs pleading their cause. This book is published by Crowell-Collier Press (Macmillan Company). New York, and it sells for \$4.95.

Under the editorship of William Cullen Bryant, a two-volume collection of steel and wood engravings, entitled *Picturesque America*, was published in 1872-1874. Contemporary authors pooled their impressions of the American scene. A half-dozen prints and descriptions of the St. Johns and Oklawaha Rivers and St. Augustine were included in this nineteenth-century work. *America Was Beautiful*, edited by Alice Watson, is a selected collection of some of the pictures from the original volumes. Several of the Florida scenes by Harry Fenn are included. This volume, published by Barre Publishers, Barre, Massachusetts 01005, sells For \$12.50.

MacKinlay Kantor who has a home in Sarasota was born in Hamilton County, Iowa. There are nine other counties named Hamilton in the United States, including one in Florida. He and his photographer son, Tim Kantor, have produced a nostalgic portrait of American life, which many contemporaries think is rapidly disappearing, by describing America's Hamilton counties. *Hamilton County* is a beautiful and unique book. Florida's Hamilton County is described in a chapter entitled "Weep No More, My Lady." Published by Macmillan Company, New York, this book sells for \$9.95.

Once to *Every Man*, by Paul Good, describes the civil rights violence in a Florida community called St. Clementine in the mid-1960s. These activities and locales, of course, suggest St. Augustine and the events that occurred there during the summer of 1964 when Martin Luther King and his associates sought the integration of the beaches and public facilities in that area. Published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, the book sells for \$6.95.

Panther! is by Roger Caras, the well-known free-lance writer who specializes in natural history. The scene is the Florida Everglades. The story concerns the antagonism and the almost mystical bond between the great Everglades panther and Doc Painter, who had hunted panthers in the Everglades for some forty-five years and reputedly had killed over 200 of them. Only the animal survives: Doc loses his life in a tropical storm. This beautiful descriptive story of the Everglades was published by Little-Brown & Co., Boston, and it sells for \$5.95.

The Strangest Summer is an adventure novel for teenagers by Jo Ann Bosely, who lives in Miami and who is editor for the GT-70 Consortium of Community Junior Colleges of this state. The scene of her novel is the Florida Keys. The book, published by John F. Blair, 404 N.C. National Bank Building, Winston-Salem, North Carolina 27101, sells for \$4.50.

Jake Gaither: Winning Coach, by Wyatt Blassingame, is a children's book, designed for elementary school students. Not only is Gaither, former head football coach at Florida A & M University, one of the "winningest" coaches in the history of football, but he has also had an influential role in shaping the lives of the men who have played on his teams. Mr. Blassingame, the author of this book, has written adult fiction and nonfiction as well as many juvenile books dealing with the Florida scene. This volume is published by the Garrard Publishing Company, Champaign, Illinois, in its Americans All series. It sells for \$2.49.

Lost Island by Phyllis A. Whitney is a mystery novel dealing with St. Simon's Island just north of Fernandina. In the book

it is called Hampton Island. Mrs. Whitney did extensive research into the history and mythology of the area, and **much** of **this** is reflected in her book. It was published by Doubleday and Co., New.York, and it sells for \$5.95.

The Saga of Coe Ridge: A Study in Oral History, by William Lynwood Montell, is an account of a physically and culturally isolated, all-Negro settlement in Cumberland, Kentucky. The author reconstructs the history of the settlement through the use of oral interviews with blacks and whites. The first blacks came as slaves from North Carolina early in the nineteenth century. After the Civil War, Zeke Coe, one of the slaves, tried to assemble members of his family on a 300-acre tract that he had purchased. In the following years, the place became a refuge for various outcasts and misfits, including a few white women. In the 1920s roads made the colony accessible to the outside world, and the people started migrating; by the 1960s it had disappeared. Dr. Montell's work is of importance for the study of local history, utilizing oral history techniques. Published by the University of Tennessee Press. Knoxville, the book sells for \$8.95.

Colonial Records of South Carolina (Series 2): Documents Relating to Indian Affairs 1754-1765, edited by William L. Mc-Dowell, Jr., was published for the South Carolina Department of Archives and History. It mainly deals with the Cherokees but there is material on the Creeks, and there are several references to Florida, particularly to St. Augustine. A description of some Florida Indians appeared in a report from Wawahatchee of the Cherokees in 1756 to Captain Demere: "He says that some of the Indians called by them Sucolusay's which we take to be the Florida Indians, are come among the Creeks all very well and richly cloathed after the Fashion of the White people and have desired the Creeks to go with them and see how they live and to partake of their Food and Plunder &c. &c. and not knowing themselves what Sort of Indians these could be, whether they were French or Spaniards, I told them they were Spanish Indians that lives all along the Coast by the Saltwater Side, they are no Friends to no Nation. When Vessels had the Misfortune of being cast away upon their Coast by contrary Winds they killed the People and plundered the Vessels of everything. That was the Way they came by these fine Cloathes. They were bad People. When a Man was fat they did eat him." This volume sells for \$20.00, and it may be ordered from the University of South Carolina Press. Columbia.

Books and Articles on South Carolina History, by Lewis P. Jones, is a South Carolina Tricentennial Commission publication. Beginning with the pre-English period, 1521-1670, it lists general studies in southern and American history, and special studies and topics, general histories, contemporary descriptions, and old accounts by early historians of South Carolina's history. It does not supplant Easterby's bibliography, but it does include the most recent publications which have appeared in the last two decades. The monograph sells for \$1.95; it may be ordered from the University of South Carolina Press, Columbia.

New Writing in South Carolina, edited by William Peden and George Garrett, is a new volume in the South Carolina Tricentennial Studies series. To celebrate the state's many contributions to cultural development, a creative writing committee was established, and it organized fiction and poetry workshops and conferences. South Carolina authors were invited to submit manuscripts to be considered for this anthology. Published by the University of South Carolina Press, it sells for \$6.95.

American Indian Medicine, by Virgil J. Vogel, examines the full field of Indian medicine and the effects of its practices on white civilization. Dr. Vogel credits the excellent health of the Indians prior to the coming of the whites with their knowledge of specific drugs. For example, insulin and penicillin were anticipated in rudimentary form and the Peruvian Indians were utilizing cocoa leaves as narcotics hundreds of years before cocaine appeared as a local anesthetic. Dr. John Lorimer, writing from Pensacola in 1769, noted that there was "a plant of the pea kind . . . used by the Indians as a universal remedy in venereal cases." Pedro Menéndez called attention to an herb used by the Ays Indians of Florida as a purgative. The Caloosas of the lower Gulf coast were devoted to the "black drink"

(Zlex *cassine*) which is still a part of Seminole Indian medical practices. John Hawkins, visiting the St. Johns River area in 1565, remarked that the natives "have for apothecary herbs, trees, roots and gums great store as Storax liquids, Turpentine, Gumme, Myrrag and Frankinscence." The Florida Seminoles use "snakeroot" for stomach disturbance and tobacco for some medicinal purposes. This volume is in the Civilization of *the* American *Indian* Series. It is published by the University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, and sells for \$12.50.

The Country Doctor and the Specialist, the autobiography of Dr. Fred Lyman Adair who had retired to live in Maitland, Florida, was noted in the Florida Historical Quarterly (January 1969). Some Family Origins of Fred Lyman Adair, M.D. and his wife, Myrtle May Ingalls by Richard Porter Adair has now been published. It is a genealogical record of the American descendants of James L. Adair and Edmund Ingalls. Dr. Adair has written a short preface to this volume, and a biographical sketch of him notes his civic activities in Maitland. The book sells for \$17.50; it may be ordered from Adair Press, Box 65, Maitland, Florida 32751.

American Place-Names: A Concise and Selective Dictionary for the Continental United States of America, by George R. Stewart, consists of approximately 12,000 entries alphabetically arranged. Each contains the place name, location by state, language derivation, and information as to the date and source of the naming. A number of Florida people and places are included. The dictionary is published by Oxford University Press, New York, and it sells for \$12.50.

They Came to Louisiana, published by Louisiana State University Press, are letters written by the Mother Superior and some of her associates who taught the children of Catholic families in Louisiana from 1855-1882. They tell of the physical hardships endured by the nuns and describe the progress of schools and education in this area of the South in the years immediately before and after the Civil War. The letters have been translated and edited by Sister Dorothea Olga McCants, and the book sells for \$5.50.

HISTORY NEWS

The Annual Meeting

The Florida Historical Society will hold its sixty-ninth annual meeting in Punta Gorda, May 6-8, 1971 at the Holiday Inn Motel. Vernon E. Peeples, Colonel Read B. Harding, and William Bevis are in charge of local arrangements. The Peace River Valley Historical Society will act as official host. Professors William W. Rogers and Jerrell H. Shofner of Florida State University are program chairmen. Dr. Robert G. Hartje is the banquet speaker Saturday night. He is a professor and chairman of the Department of History, Wittenberg College (Springfield, Ohio) and director of the American Association for State and Local History's American Revolution Bicentennial Project.

Dr. Samuel Proctor, editor of the *Florida Historcial Quarterly*, will announce the recipient of the Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Prize in Florida History for 1970-1971, and Milton D. Jones will make the Award of Merit-Excellence in Presentation of Florida History by News Media. The first recipient of the Rembert W. Patrick Memorial Book Award will also be announced at the banquet by Dr. Charlton Tebeau of the University of Miami.

The board of directors will hold its meeting on Thursday evening. The business luncheon will be convened by James C. Craig, president of the Society. Election of officers, committee reports, and adoption of resolutions are important items on the business agenda. The local arrangements committee is planning a scenic boat cruise of the Punta Gorda area, and therewith a reception on Friday evening, May 7, at six o'clock at the Punta Gorda Isles Yacht Club. Registration will begin at nine o'clock on May 7 in the lobby of the Holiday Inn, 300 Retta Esplanada, Punta Gorda.

Announcements and Activities

The twenty-third annual meeting of the Florida Anthropological Society was held at the Science Center, St. Petersburg, March 27. Dr. James W. Covington of Tampa University presided as president. Artifact reproductions of the Key Marco and Weedon Island time periods, and artifacts of the Canton street

sites are displayed. Officers elected at the business meeting included: Carl A. Benson, president; William M. Goza, first vice-president; George H. Magruder, second vice-president, and Sara B. Benson, secretary-treasurer. Thomas H. Gouchnour, Cliff E. Mattox, Wilma Williams, James Varner, and Anthony Paredes were elected to the executive committee. Ripley P. Bullen is editor of the *Florida Anthropologist*, and Mrs. Benson edits the Society's newsletter. The Sun Coast Archaeological Society and the Science Center served as hosts for this conference.

The ninth annual conference of the Florida College Teachers of History met at Stetson University on April 2-3. Eighteen college and university professors presented papers. Major addresses were made by Dr. Franklyn A. Johnson, trustee of the William H. Donnor Foundation and former president of Jacksonville University, Francis P. Whitehair, former special assistant attorney general of the United States and undersecretary of the Navy, and Dr. J. Ollie Edmunds, chancellor of Stetson University. Dr. Gerald E. Critoph, Stetson University, was program chairman. He was also elected president of the association for 1971-1972, succeeding Dr. Ted Carageorge of the Pensacola Community College. Professors Evans Johnson and Marc Lovelace, Stetson University, were in charge of local arrangements.

The Indian River Community College has been designated as a Center for Historical Data, and it is collecting material relating to the historical development of the four-county area encompassed by the college. It will include Spanish, French, English and Dutch colonial sources: newspapers, maps, charts, sketches, photographs, personal journals, books, letters and collections of letters, and recorded and taped interviews. The materials will be filed and indexed for use by qualified students. An Advisory Commission on Local History is being appointed from among citizens of the four counties.

The Florida Historical Society's Speakers Bureau has been making available to historical, civic, and community groups individuals who are knowledgeable and who are willing to talk about local and Florida history. Dr. Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., is currently revising the list of speakers, and any member of the Society who is willing to speak on any phase of Florida history

is asked to communicate with him at 352 Little Hall, University of Florida. Gainesville 32601.

Mr. T. T. Wentworth, Jr., former member of the Board of Directors of the Florida Historical Society and director and owner of the T. T. Wentworth, Jr. Museum of Pensacola was recognized as Pensacola's "Man of the Year" by that community's Kiwanis Club in January 1971. Mr. Wentworth was one of the founding members of the Pensacola Historical Society **and** has played an active role for many years in developing the history of West Florida.

A nineteenth-century Florida home and the surrounding gardens have been restored and opened to the public by the Florida Park Boards. It is located at Point Washington, a mile north of U.S. Highway 98 overlooking Choctawhatchee Bay in Walton County. The home *was* built in 1895 by William Wesley, *a* lumber entrepreneur, and it was presented to the state in 1968 by Miss Lois Maxon of Pensacola. Furniture of the period has been used to decorate the house.

Local Historical Societies and Commissions

Alachua County Historical Society: In December 1970, members visited the site of Newnansville and inspected a section of the Bellamy Road. A second trip was made in February, and on March 27, 1971, the Society were hosts to the members of the Santa Fe River Historical Society and the Lake County Historical Society on a trip to Newnansville, O'Leno, and the area. Russell H. Robarts spoke on the history of Newnansville at the January meeting. Dr. Ripley Bullen of the Florida State Museum was the speaker at the February meeting.

Florida Genealogical Society: Meetings and genealogical workshops are held monthly in the Tampa Public Library. The Society has contributed reference books, genealogical records, and historical publications to the library. Mrs. Wilson L. Baker is president, and Theodore Lesley is editor of the "Florida Genealogical Journal."

Historical Society of Fort Lauderdale: On November 23, 1970, the Florida Power and Light Company dedicated a plaque

marking the site 'of Broward County's first and second **schools** and the first county courthouse. The marker was unveiled by Mrs. Frank Stranahan, the county's first teacher, and was formally dedicated by Mayor Peter Clements. Members of the historical society who cooperated with the company in preparing the plaque were Mrs. A. J. Beck, Mrs. Frank Stranahan, James S. Hunt, Sr., N. B. Cheaney, August Burghard, C. P. Weidling, and Mrs. William G. Hardy. The Society also was represented at ceremonies on December 9, 1970, marking the tenth anniversary of the opening of the New River Tunnel. The January 197 I issue of "New River News" included a history of Fort Lauderdale High School.

Jacksonville Historical Society: Dr. Samuel Proctor, editor of the Florida Historical Quarterly, spoke on "The P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History: A Treasure Trove of History" at the Society's meeting on February 10. He emphasized the source material in the Yonge collection at the University of Florida which relates to Jacksonville history as an aid to the city's sesquicentennial celebration in 1972. The February 1971 number of the Society's newsletter listed several gifts of books, pictures, and historical records. These include an oil painting of the steamship "City of Jacksonville" which was displayed at the February meeting.

Jefferson County Historical Association: A number of historic homes in Monticello were open to visitors on April 3-4. This is an annual event of the Society, and several hundred people visited the nineteenth century homes and buildings in the area that were opened to the public. The Association's major project is the restoration of the Wirick-Simmons house. Edwin Finlayson is president of the Association and Mrs. Parkhill Mays is vice-president.

Orange County Historical Commission: The commission is occupying its new quarters at 27 East Central Boulevard (upstairs). The museum has also been moved to this location. Several pieces of furniture, books, photographs, and a painting have been added to the collection. The December 1970 number of the "Orange County Historical Quarterly" carried a brief history of the "Rosalind Club" which was organized in Orlando

in 1894. Donald Cheney is chairman of the commission, Kenneth D. Kienth is treasurer, and Rolland Dean is editor of its publication.

Palm Beach County Historical Society: Donald W. Curl, chairman of the Department of History at Florida Atlantic University, spoke to the Society on December 17, 1970, on "Pioneer Life in Southeast Florida." This is the subject of his recent book, derived from the Charles W. Pierce manuscript, which has been published by the University of Miami Press. Margaret K. Johns, a film producer and director, spoke at the January meeting and showed some of the color films which she has produced. Dr. John F. Reiger was the speaker at the February meeting, and he discussed "Florida During the Civil War." On display in February at the Henry Morrison Flagler Museum were two exhibits, one on the Seminole Indians of Florida with oil paintings by Anne Tyler of Belle Glade. The other exhibit was artifacts taken from work site number 5 (Haiti) by the Santa Maria Foundation. The published works of Louis Capron and Lawrence Wills were also on exhibit.

Peace River Valley Historical Society: At the January meeting, the question of teaching Florida history in the public schools was discussed by Mrs. Susie Brewer, principal of the DeSoto Middle School in Arcadia, and Mrs. Agnes Washington, a member of the school's faculty. The DeSoto Middle School teaches Florida history as a major subject, and Mrs. Washington demonstrated the methods used in teaching the courses. Professor Alvin J. Marrow of the South Florida Junior College at Avon Park was the speaker at the February meeting. He discussed the historial background of the West Florida Panhandle. Vernon Peeples of Punta Gorda, past president of the Society, was named recipient of the Florida History Award for 1970. A presentation will be made at the Annual Meeting of the Florida Historical Society in Punta Gorda in May. The Peace River Valley Historical Society will be the hosts for this meeting. Mr. Peeples, Colonel Read R. Harding, and William Bevis are in charge of arrangements.

Pensacola Historical Society: "Law, Order, and Punishment of Indians in the Southeast United States" was the title of the

talk by Dr. Rennard Strickland of the University of West Florida at the February 15, 1971 meeting of the Society. Members appointed to the Pensacola Historic Preservation Board include Robert L. Stone, Henry Cary, and Mrs. H. James Seegers. Recent issues of the "Newsletter:: list new members and donors. In addition to several gifts, the Society has purchased microfilm of the *Pensacola Gazette* for the period March 25, 1854-March 8, 1858.

Pinellas County Historical Commission: At the January meeting, Lee March described the trek made by Boy Scout Troop 12 of Dunnedin from Tampa to the site of the Dade Massacre. The marchers attempted to retrace the route of the Old Fort King Road. They were aided by William M. Goza of Clear-water and Frank Laumer of Dade City who had made a similar trek in 1963. An effort will be made to mark the road at approximately half-mile intervals and to incorporate it into the national trail system.

Safety Harbor Area Historical Society: Recent speakers at the regular monthly meetings of the Society have included Bradley Cooley, Basil Yettaw, Sam Prentice, and Margaret Chapman. Mr. Cooley of Riverview, who is president of the Tampa chapter of Peninsular Archaeological Society, displayed his collection of Florida projectile points. The February meeting featured a slide presentation of Florida historic sites. Miss Chapman, vice-president of the Florida Historical Society and special collections librarian, spoke at the March meeting.

St. Augustine Historical Society. Dr. Samuel Proctor was the speaker at the annual membership meeting of the Society on January 12, 1971. He presented American Association for State and Local History awards to Mrs. Mary MacRae of Homosassa for her more than fifty years of contributions to state and local history, to Miss Joyce Harmon for her book, Trade and Privateering in Spanish Florida, 1732-1763, and to the St. Augustine Historical Society for publishing Miss Harmon's book. Officers elected for 1971 include: N. P. Calhoun, president; Hubert Carcaba, vice-president; W. J. Winter, secretary; Roy C. Barnes, treasurer; Luis R. Arana, librarian; Milton E. Bacon, X. L. Pellicer, Dr. Carlton L. Calkin, and W. I. Drysdale, directors;

and Dr. Michael V. Gannon, director emeritus. The January 1971 issue of *El Escribano* carried an article by John D. Ware entitled "Marino de la Rocque, Military Engineer: Two Files of Documents." St. Augustine sites recently added to the National Historic Landmarks include the Spanish coquina quarries on Anastasia Island and Anastasia State Park.

St. Petersburg Historical Society: Officers elected at the annual meeting in January include: William M. Goza, president; Mrs. Frank Golub and Seymour 'Gordon, vice-presidents; Mrs. Cameron Lusty, treasurer; Emily N. Kirbach and Mrs. Robert Massey, secretaries; and Ethel Chapman, historical research secretary. The Society has a total of 396 members. Captain John D. Ware spoke at the January 1971 meeting on "Surveys of Tampa Bay." Work is continuing on the restoration and furnishing, of the Lowe-Condrick House which will be open soon to the public. The Society also operates the Haas Museum at 3511 Second Avenue, South, and the Grace S. Turner House at 3501 Second Avenue, South. Several hundred students and teachers from Pinellas and Hillsborough counties visited the museum exhibits during the past several months.

Southwest Florida Historical Society: Joe Dan Osceola was the speaker at the December 1970 meeting, and he discussed the history and the current problems of the Florida Seminole Indians. Stanley Hansom described the Gonzalez family, one of the three original settlers of Fort Myers, at the January meeting. The Society holds its program meetings in the Lee County Courthouse.

Notes

Dr. Robert Hemenway, associate professor of English and American Studies at the University of Wyoming, is writing a critical and biographical study of Zora Neale Hurston (1903-1960), the Florida-born black novelist and folklorist. Miss Hurston was born in Eatonville, where her father was mayor, and she spent most of her life as a Florida resident, living in Eau Gallie, Cocoa, and Merritt Island before her death in Fort Pierce in 1960. Professor Hemenway would appreciate hearing from anyone who knew Miss Hurston, corresponded with her, or

had any association with her. He is especially interested in Hurston letters and memorabilia. He can be reached at the University of Wyoming, Box 3334, University Station, Laramie, Wyoming 82070.

Dr. Geraldine M. Meroney of Agnes Scott College is working with the Program of Loyalist Studies and Publications to secure an inventory of all manuscripts and materials on the Loyalists of the American Revolution. The resulting finding-list will be published in the Antiquarian Society Proceedings for the use of scholars. Dr. Meroney is soliciting knowledge of any loyalist papers in private hands. Anyone having information is asked to write to her, Department of History, Agnes Scott College, Decatur, Georgia 30030.

Mr. Jerry W. Weeks of the University of North Carolina is researching "The Development of the the Florida Citrus Industry, 1870-1890." He is seeking material pertaining to citrus varieties, cultivation, packaging, marketing and/or transportation. Citrus culture developed the St. Johns and Indian rivers regions during this period, and material relating to these areas will be of value. Anyone having information or data is asked to write to Mr. Weeks, Box 1131, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 27514.

MINUTES

The semi-annual meeting of the officers and directors of the Florida Historical Society was called to order by James C. Craig, president, in the library of Jacksonville University, at 10:30 a.m., December 10, 1970. In addition to Mr. Craig, the following attended: John E. Johns, Mrs. Milton D. Jones, Samuel Proctor, Luis R. Arana, Donald W. Curl, Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., William M. Goza, Byron S. Hollinshead, N. E. Bill Miller, Mrs. 0. C. Peterson, Robert H. Spiro, Charlton W. Tebeau, and John D. Ware.

Samuel Proctor, editor, *Florida Historical Quarterly*, reported on the activities of the journal. Response from book reviewers and contributors has been good. The editor noted that more information is needed for the "history news" section, featuring accomplishments of local historical groups. Dr. Proctor emphasized the need for a Society newsletter, pointing out that the Quarterly costs \$12 per page; this is an expensive way to publicize the news and activities of local and regional historical groups. He said that indexing of the Quarterly has begun with graduate student help, and that within two-three years an index to Volumes 36-49 would be ready for publication.

Dr. John E. Johns suggested that Stetson University might be able to publish the Society's newsletter on its offset press. Dr. Charlton W. Tebeau suggested having at least one newsletter. a year, preferably to be distributed at the time of the annual meeting. Dr. Proctor emphasized the importance of recognizing the activities of the local societies. An editor of the newsletter would be needed as well as some source to finance its publication and distribution. Dr. Proctor suggested one of the state or private universities or colleges. Mr. Craig appointed Dr. Proctor, Dr. Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., and Dr. Johns to a committee to examine the possibility of securing a newsletter.

Dr. Proctor reported on the status of the Rembert W. Patrick Award which will be given annually for the best book on Florida history. Dr. Proctor noted that there are a limited number of Florida books being published each year, and he wondered if it might not be better to give the prize every other year and double the award money. This is a matter, however, for future consideration.

Mr. Craig announced Vernon Peeples of Punta Gorda is chairman of the local arrangements committee for the 1971 annual meeting. It will be held on May 6-9, 1971, at the Holiday Inn, in Punta Gorda. Colonel Reed Harding and William Bevis are also members of this committee. In addition, Professors William Warren Rogers and Jerrell H. Shofner of Florida State University are chairmen of the program committee. Mr. Craig read a letter from Dr. Rogers, outlining the tentative program.

In the absence of Mrs. Mary Jane Kuhl, executive secretary, William M. Goza gave her reports through November 30, 1970.

Bank Balances on Hand

University State Bank (Checking Account)	\$4,769.37
First Federal Savings and Loan (Main)	9,323.92
Guaranty Federal Savings and Loan (Thompson)	2,731.39
Tampa Federal Savings and Loan (Father Jerome)	1,839.35
Guaranty Federal Savings and Loan (Yonge)	11,682.25
	\$28,506.93

Properties and Stocks

Volusia County Property	\$120.00
Pennzoil United	200.00
Middle South Utilities	126.00
Florida Growth Fund	110.40
	\$556.40

As of November 30, 1970, the Society had 1,509 members, which represents a decrease of thirteen members since April 1970. Captain John D. Ware, membership chairman, noted that the Society membership had apparently reached a plateau of 1,500. He has written letters to the regional vice-presidents, emphasizing the importance of recruiting new members whenever and wherever possible. He expressed a desire to see a membership goal of 2,000 set. Dr. Robert H. Spiro noted that

Florida, in comparison with other states, had a very low percentage of the population as members of its historical society. Captain Ware distributed application blanks to those present, and asked all of the directors to consider themselves members of this committee. It was noted that displaying the Quarterly during talks to public groups was a useful tool in interesting prospective members. It was mentioned that perhaps public libraries, the Castillo de San Marcos, and state museums could be used for exhibition purposes, also. Mickler's Floridiana includes information on joining the Society in all their catalogues. It was pointed out that all institutions are anxious to have complete files of their publications, and that the Society might garner some memberships by having full volumes of the Quarterly available for sale. History department faculties also should be contacted regarding memberships. Dr. Johns said that television stations could be contacted to have public service announcements pushing membership. Mr. Craig said that each of the regional vice-presidents could handle this for his own area. Captain Ware said that he will place applications in the Hillsborough County Museum, and Dr. Spiro promised to push membership in the Jacksosnville area. Dr. Proctor pointed out that public officials on all levels have not supported the F.H.S. with membership. Mr. Goza noted that Judge James R. Knott when he was president had used his allowable travel allowance to purchase memberships for public officials, but most had not renewed on their own. Mr. Miller requested a list of current members in the Tallahassee area. Mr. Goza said that he had a list broken down by cities that he could furnish to any director. Dr. Doherty suggested that perhaps Senator Robert Williams could also help in making membership lists available. It was pointed out that the Quarterly is broken down on a regional basis for mailing purposes.

Captain Ware talked about reprinting the numbers of the Quarterly that are out-of-print and not otherwise available. He suggested that possibly the first fifteen volumes might be reprinted, with more being done later if the situation warrants. Captain Ware suggested a number of ways that might be utilized to determine the demand for out-of-print issues of the *Quarterly*, including using a tear-mail back page that could be inserted in the *Quarterly*. Dr. Proctor noted that several national reprint

publishers have expressed interest in re-doing the Quarterly.

Mr. Goza said that perhaps individuals could underwrite the cost of such a venture, with reimbursement being returned from sales. Dr. Tebeau suggested that local printing houses are sometimes cheaper on reprint work. Mr. Goza moved that the chairman appoint a committee to consider the matter of reprinting the *Quarterly*, and the motion passed. Mr. Craig appointed Captain Ware, chairman, and Dr. Proctor and Mr. Goza to the committee.

Luis R. Arana informed the directors that the tricentennial of the beginning of construction of the *Castillo de San Marcos* in St. Augustine would occur in 1972. The Society had passsed a resolution in 1966 to the National Park Service calling for a suitable celebration of the event. Mr. Arana called for another resolution reminding the National Park Service of this earlier action. Dr. Tebeau moved that the directors take the action requested by Mr. Arana and that a copy of the original resolution be transmitted with an inquiry as to what was being planned. The motion passed.

Mr. Craig read a letter that he had received asking the Society to buy a piece of a windmill in England in connection with a historic preservation project. No action was taken.

Dr. Spiro noted that the Society will hold its 1972 meeting in Jacksonville at the time of the city's sesquicentennial. A number of events and activities commemorating this event were described by Dr. Spiro. He hopes to have the exhibit of Florida-Jacksonville material. Dr. Doherty said that Jones Brothers Furniture Company had a number of old Jacksonville photographs that might be used.

It was noted by Dr. Proctor that the American Association for State and Local History at its annual meeting in Kansas City, Missouri, in September 1970 had voted the following awards:

An Award of Merit to Mrs. Mary Macrae, Homosassa, Florida, for more than fifty years of exemplary action in the cause of Homosassa, Citrus County, and Florida history.

Certificates of Commendation to the Saint Petersburg Times, St. Petersburg, Florida, for the carefully researched historical articles appearing in *The Floridian*, the weekly news magazine, and

Trade and Privateering in Spanish Florida, 1732-1763, by Joyce E. Harmon, published by the St. Augustine Historical Society, St. Augustine, Florida. The St. Augustine Historical Society was also recognized for its efforts in publishing Miss Harmon's work.

Dr. Procter also informed the group that Mr. Goza had received the "Historian of the Year Award" from the Safety Harbor Area Historical Society. Mr. Miller stated that Mr. Goza had recently been appointed to the Historic Tallahassee Preservation Board.

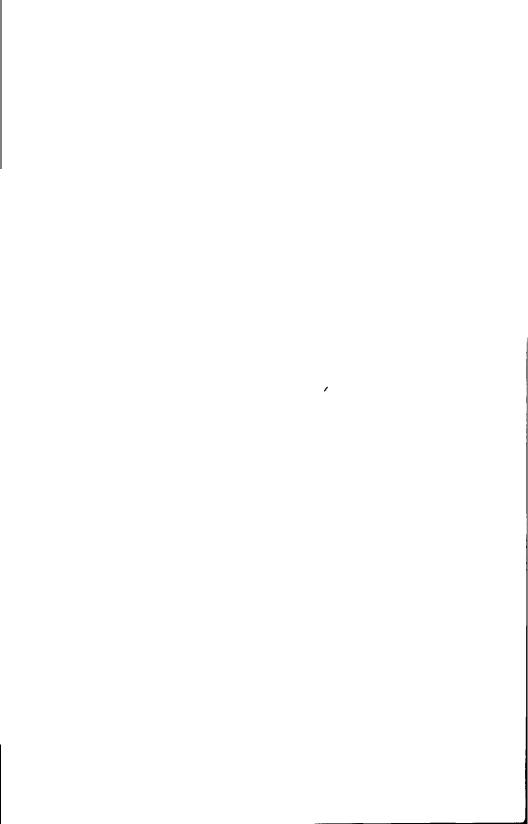
Mr. Arana suggested two films from the National Park Service for use at the 1971 convention. Mr. Craig asked Mr. Arana to send this information directly to Dr. Rogers.

Mrs. 0. C. Peterson asked what action was being taken to get more Florida history taught in the public schools. Mr. Goza stated that William Bevis of Fort Meade had introduced legislation aimed at Florida history in grades kindergarten through twelve, and his bill had carried the approval of the State Department of Education. The bill did not get out of committee, but Mr. Goza thought that the legislation might be reintroduced.

Mr. Craig then expressed the appreciation of the directors to Dr. Spiro and Jacksonville University for serving as hosts for this meeting. The meeting adjourned at 12:20 p.m.

Respectfully submitted, Alva L. Jones (Mrs. Milton D.) Recording Secretary

G REAT E	EXPECTATIONS	
May 6-8	FLORIDA HISTORI-	Holiday Inn,
J	CAL SOCIETY-69TH Annual Meeting	Punta Gorda
September	American Association for	Portland, Oregon
15-18	State and Local	
	History	
October	National Oral History	Bloomington,
8-11	Colloquium	Indiana
November	Southern Historical	Houston, Texas
17-20	Association	
December	Board of Directors Florida Historical Society	
December	Third Annual Gulf	Pensacola
	Coast History and Hu-	
	manities Conference	



THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

THE I-IISTORICAL SOCIETY OF FLORIDA, 1856 THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, successor, 1902 THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, incorporated, 1905

OFFICERS

James C. Craig, president

John E. Johns, president-elect

Margaret L. Chapman, vice-president

Mrs. Milton D. Jones, recording secretary

Mary Jane Kuhl, executive secretary and librarian

Samuel Proctor, editor, The Quarterly

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The Florida Historical Society supplies the Quarterly to its members. The annual membership fee is \$7.50, but special memberships of \$15.00, \$50.00, \$75.00, and \$150.00 are available. Correspondence relating to membership and subscriptions should be addressed to Mary Jane Kuhl, Executive Secretary, University of South Florida Library, Tampa, Florida 33620. Inquiries concerning back numbers of the Quarterly should be directed to Mrs. Kuhl.

