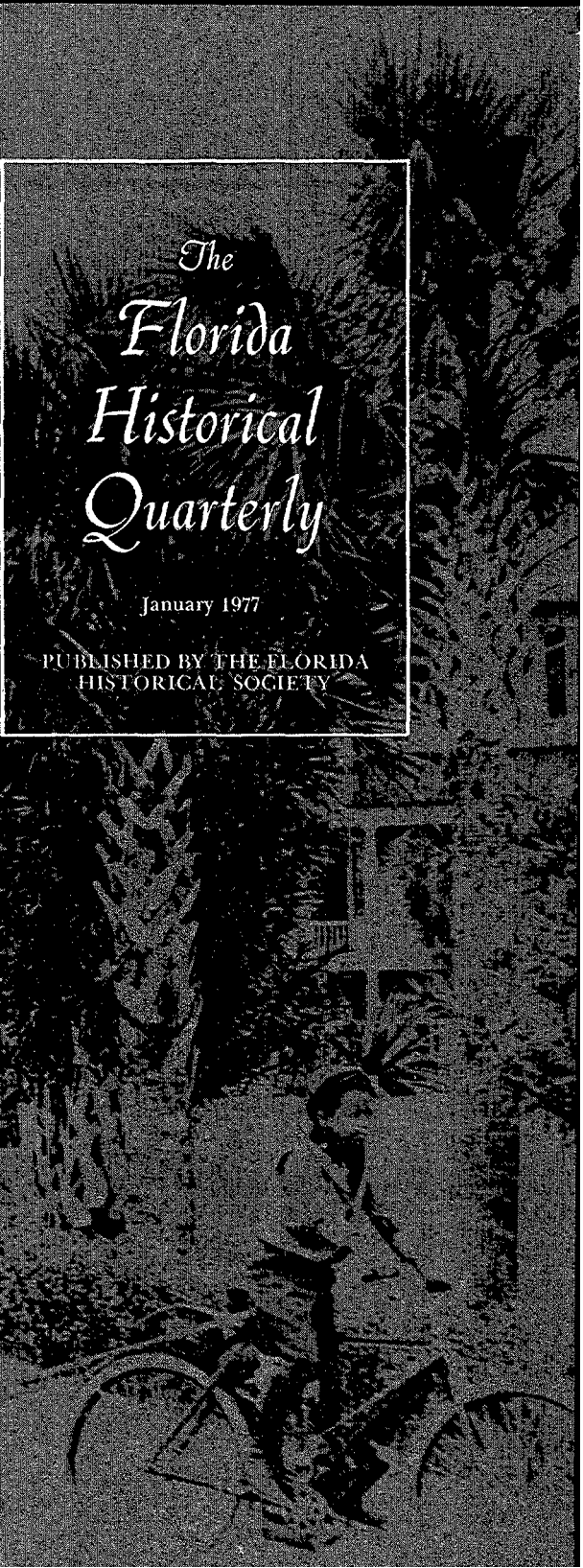

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COVER

Joseph Dowling Price and John Anderson built the Ormond Hotel, Ormond Beach, in, 1876. In 1890, Henry M. Flagler purchased it and doubled the capacity from seventy-five to 150 rooms. The capacity was raised again in 1899, making the Ormond one of the largest wooden hotels in the world. The photograph is from *Ormond-Daytona* (New York, 1904).

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SAMUEL PROCTOR, *Editor*

Correspondence concerning contributions, books for review, and all editorial matters should be addressed to the Editor, *Florida Historical Quarterly,* Box 14045, University Station, Gainesville, Florida 32604.

The *Quarterly* is interested in articles and documents pertaining to the history of Florida. Sources, style, footnote form, originality of material and interpretation, clarity of thought, and interest of readers are considered. All copy, including footnotes, should be double-spaced. Footnotes should be numbered consecutively in the text and assembled at the end of the article. Particular attention should be given to following the footnote style of the *Quarterly.* The author should submit an original and retain a carbon for security. The Florida Historical Society and the Editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* accept no responsibility for statements made or opinions held by authors.

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BOOK REVIEWS

WEAPONS, STRATEGIES, AND TACTICS OF THE EUROPEANS AND THE INDIANS IN SIXTEENTH- AND SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY FLORIDA

by BARBARA A. PURDY*

THE INDIANS OF FLORIDA were hostile to white explorers, adventurers, colonists, and missionaries from the time of Ponce de León's encounter in 1513 until 1710 when it was reported, "there remains not now so much as one Village with ten Houses in it, in all Florida, that is subject to the Spaniards."[1] These were the Apalachee and Timucua Indians of northwest and central Florida, but it is known that the Tocobago Indians had been destroyed by 1709.[2] The Ais, never many in number, seem to have disappeared sometime during the first half of the eighteenth century, and the Tekesta were finally exterminated by bands of raiding Creeks.[3] Some historians believe the last remnants of these and the Calusa Indians went to Havana with the Spaniards in 1763, but there is evidence that a few Calusa Indians remained near Charlotte Harbor and later supported the Seminoles.[4]

Indian hostility might be attributed to fear of enslavement or the natural tendency for all people to protect their homes

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1. [Nairne?], A *Letter from South Carolina* (London, 1710), 34, quoted in Verner W. Crane, *The Southern Frontier, 1670-1732* (Ann Arbor, 1929, 1956), 81.
2. Crane, *Southern Frontier,* 81. The Tocobaga were an Indian group (possibly Timucuan speakers) who lived on the Gulf near Tampa Bay early in the historic period.
3. Eugene Lyon, "More Light on the Indians of the Ays Coast" (research paper, University of Florida, 1967), 2, copy in P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville; John Mann Goggin, "The Tekesta Indians of Southern Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly,* XVIII (April 1940), 278.
4. William C. Sturtevant, "Chakaika and the 'Spanish Indians': Documentary Sources Compared With Seminole Tradition," *Tequesta,* XIII (1953), 35-73; Wilfred T. Neill, "The Identity of Florida's 'Spanish Indians,'" *Florida Anthropologist,* VIII (June 1955), 43-57; John R. Swanton, *The Indians of the Southeastern United States* (Washington, 1946), 102.

and families. Since the way of life of the intruders was vastly different from the aborigines, resistance should have been expected. Despite eventual changes in Spain's policy regarding slavery and treatment of the Indians, and her attempts to pacify the Indians through the mission system, the Florida natives continued their resistance.[5]

The material culture of the Indians was not greatly altered, mainly because there was so little access to European goods. Florida served as a buffer "for Spain's richer possessions to the south," and the crown was little interested in expending any more time or money than was necessary.[6] In many areas, white contact was not sustained, and the social life of the Indians endured. The Indians seemed satisfied with their traditional ways; there was no reason to introduce anything new. For example, when the chief of Acuera was asked by De Soto to come forward, he noted proudly that he was king in his own country, and that there was no necessity for him— who had as many subjects as he possessed— to become another's subject.[7] The Indians remained nomadic, wore only skins or moss, used bows and arrows, kept their language, planted crops, prepared foods, and hunted as they did before Europeans arrived.[8] Despite efforts to abolish certain habits, either by instilling Christian ideals or through force, the Indians continued to scalp and hack up their enemies, practice premarital

5. On the Spanish missions in Florida, see Mark F. Boyd, Hale G. Smith, and John W. Griffin, *Here They Once Stood: The Tragic End of the Apalachee Missions* (Gainesville, 1951); Michael V. Gannon, *The Cross in the Sand: The Early Catholic Church in Florida, 1513-1870* (Gainesville, 1965); Robert Allen Matter, "The Spanish Missions of Florida: The Friars Versus the Governors in the 'Golden Age,' 1606-1690" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington, 1972).
6. Lillian M. Seaberg, "The Zetrouer Site: Indian and Spaniard in Central Florida" (M.A. thesis, University of Florida, 1955), 109.
7. Garcilaso de la Vega, *The Florida of the Inca,* John Grier Varner and Jeanette Varner, transls. and eds. (Austin, Texas, 1951), 118.
8. Seaberg, "Zetrouer Site," 123; Lucy L. Wenhold, transl. and ed., "A 17th Century Letter of Gabriel Diaz Vara Calderon, Bishop of Cuba, Describing the Indians and Indian Missionaries of Florida," *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections,* vol. 95, no. 16, publication 3398 (Washington, 1936), 12; Jonathan Dickinson, *Jonathan Dickinson's Journal, or, God's Protecting Providence. Being the Narrative of a Journey from Port Royal in Jamaica to Philadelphia between August 23, 1696 and April 1, 1697,* ed. Evangeline Walker Andrews and Charles McLean Andrews (New Haven, 1945), 28; Robert Allen Matter, "Missions in the Defense of Spanish Florida, 1566-1710," *Florida Historical Quarterly,* LIV (July 1975), 33; John Tate Lanning, *The Spanish Missions of Georgia* (Chapel Hill, 1935), 148.

sex and polygamy, conduct inter-tribal warfare, build new fires, observe first fruit rites, hold the ballgame, consult the shaman, pay tribute to the cacique, paint themselves red and black, and retain other characteristics.[9]

Bernard Romans, in the eighteenth century, described these Indians: "what a people do we find them, a people not only rude and uncultivated, but incapable of civilization: a people that would think themselves degraded in the lowest degree, were they to imitate us in any respect whatever, and that look down on us and all our manners with the highest contempt: and of whom experience has taught us, that on the least opportunity they will return like the dog to his vomit."[10]

It is likely that the Indians permitted the Europeans to gain a foothold in Florida only because they coveted their material possessions. Likely the Indians had already learned of white activity in the Caribbean and had salvaged goods from shipwrecks. They realized the advantages of metals, and at least by 1565, Hawkins found that they were using "piked pointes of kniues, which hauing gotten of the Frenchmen, broke the same, and put the points of them in their arrowes heads."[11]

The ships were of little use to the Indians except to strip them of materials to be converted into serviceable implements. They would hardly have known how to operate and maintain a fully-rigged ship. Also, the horse was not a popular innovation; it did not fit their already established pattern of life. Firearms might have been functional, but the Indians could not repair them or replenish needed accessories, nor could they produce gun flints.[12]

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9. Seaberg, "Zetrouer Site," 121-28; Michael Kenny, *The Romance of the Floridas, The Finding and the Founding* (New York, 1934), 350-51. See also numerous references throughout Lyon, "More Light on the Indians of the Ays Coast"; Dickinson, *Jonathan Dickinson's Journal;* and Albert Samuel Gatschet, "The Timucua Language," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society,* XVI (April 1877), 626-42; XVII (April 1878), 490-504.
10. Bernard Romans, *A Concise Natural History of East and West Florida* (New York, 1775; facsimile edition, Gainesville, 1962), 39.
11. Clements R. Markham, *The Hawkins' Voyages During the Reigns of Henry VIII, Queen Elizabeth, and James I* (London, 1878), 53.
12. Luis Geronimo de Ore, "The Martyrs of Florida (1513-1616)," *Franciscan Studies,* XVIII (July 1936), 93; Lucy L. Wenhold, transl. and ed., "The Trials of Captain Don Isidoro De Leon," *Florida Historical Quarterly,* XXXV (January 1957), 253, 262.

They seemed to be fascinated with mirrors, glass beads, and other trade gadgets, but for nearly 200 years apparently European clothing was the most sought-after item. The first mention of Indians dressed in European clothing is in the account of Lucas Vasquez de Ayllón's expedition of 1521. The Spaniards captured two Indians and, in order to gain their good will, "clothed them in doublet and hose like themselves."[13] Garcilaso de la Vega, in his chronicle of De Soto's expedition, says that when Grajales was captured, the Indians stripped him of his clothing, and "dressed him in some loin cloths."[14] In 1566, Pedro Menéndez "clothed Hotina in a shirt, for he was naked, with only a belt round his loins, . . . and he clothed him in a pair of breeches and a doublet of green silk, and put a hat on his head."[15] The Adelantado "clothed them [the Ais] many times," and the Indians ransomed their prisoners for "cloth, linen, and hatchets."[16] In 1559, Don Tristán de Luna's group "bartered their clothing for corn, as the Indians of the place had no desire for money."[17] During the Guale Revolt of 1597, when Father Francisco Avila's habit was taken from him, even though covered with blood, the Indian put it on.[18] Later during the trial, an Indian was wearing the tunic of a slain Franciscan.[19] In 1604, Governor Pedro Ibarra gave "presents of clothes," and in 1696, the clothing of Jonathan Dickinson and his shipwrecked party was taken by the Ais.[20]

History has not recorded the Florida Indians' impressions of the Europeans. Contemporary accounts, however, relate that

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13. Woodbury Lowery, *The Spanish Settlements Within the Present Limits of the United States,* 2 vols. (New York, 1905; facsimile edition, New York, 1959), I, 156.
14. de la Vega, *Florida of the Inca,* 91.
15. Gonzalo Solis de Meras, *Pedro Menéndez de Aviles, Adelantado, Governor and Captain-General of Florida, Memorial,* transl. Jeanette Thurber Connor (DeLand, 1923; facsimile edition, Gainesville, 1964), 208.
16. Jeanette Thurber Connor, transl. and ed., *Colonial Records of Spanish Florida,* 2 vols. (DeLand, 1925-1930), I, 41.
17. Herbert Ingram Priestly, transl. and ed., *The Luna Papers: Documents Relating to the Expedition of Don Tristan de Luna y Arellano for the Conquest of La Florida in 1559-1561,* 2 vols. (DeLand, 1928), I, xli.
18. Ore, "Martyrs of Florida," 77.
19. Maynard Geiger, *The Franciscan Conquest of Florida (1573-1618)* (Washington, 1937), 113.
20. Lanning, *Spanish Missions of Georgia,* 139; Dickinson, *Jonathan Dickinson's Journal,* 30-32.

the explorers found a people generally taller than themselves, scantily dressed, but adorned with paint, tattoos, and various ornaments. They were armed with bows and arrows, reed knives, and sometimes clubs and spears. The Indians wore breastplates that were probably more decorative than protective, and their hair style functioned, at least in some areas, to hold extra arrows. They possessed canoes.[21]

The Europeans were equipped with weapons– firearms, cross-bows and quarrels (arrows), swords, pikes, and other pole arms– made wholly or partially of metal. They carried leather or metal shields and wore chain mail shirts or full suits of plate armor and helmets. Their horses also wore armor made usually of leather. Sometimes dogs trained to kill were used to subdue the Indians. The Europeans arrived in the New World in a variety of sailing vessels– galleons, caravels, and brigantines, some armed with cannon.[22]

If the Spaniards with their garments, weapons, horses, dogs, and ships startled the Indians, the use of paint as helmet, shield, and breastplate by the natives seemed to have interested the white men only slightly.[23] The Indians used bows and arrows with great skill, and to adjust to this expertise, the Europeans had to change their fighting techniques.

The principal weapon of Florida Indians was the bow and arrow. According to contemporary narratives the bow was large, made of hardwood, and strung with animal gut or skin; the cane arrows might be tipped with that material or the harder sections of palmetto, wood, deer horn, turkey cock spurs, vipers teeth, the sting of the stingray, tails of the horseshoe

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21. Lowery, *Spanish Settlements*, I, 50-52, 140; Charles E. Bennett, comp., *Settlement of Florida* (Gainesville, 1968), 19, 31, 32, 35, 39, 55, 58, 67, 80, 220; Jean Ribault, *The Whole & True Discouerye of Terra Florida* (London, 1563; facsimile editions, DeLand, 1927, Gainesville, 1964), 69, 73, 79-81; Gannon, *Cross in the Sand*, 64-65; Swanton, *Indians of the Southeastern United States*, 43-53, 571.
22. Harold L. Peterson, *Arms and Armor in Colonial America, 1526-1783* (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, 1956), 1-151; Carl P. Russell, *Guns On The Early Frontiers: A History of Firearms from Colonial Times Through the Years of the Western Fur Trade* (Berkeley, 1957), 26-30; Bjorn Landstrom, *Sailing Ships in words and pictures from papyrus boats to full-riggers* (Garden City, New York, 1969), 86-113, 155.
23. Alonso Gregorio de Escobedo, *Pirates, Indians and Spaniards, Father Escobedo's "La Florida "* ed. James W. Covington, transl. A. F. Falcones (St. Petersburg, 1963), 136.

crab, animal bones, bird bills, fin bones, fish teeth, scales of the great brown spotted gar, and stones.[24]

The earliest description of an encounter with clubs was in 1513 when one of Ponce de León's seamen was struck "in the head with a stick, from which he remained unconscious."[25] Le Moyne pictures the use of the club in warfare and for in-group punishment.[26] In 1597, during the Juanillo revolt, Brother Antonio was killed by a blow with a large wooden knife *(macana)* edged with flint.[27] In 1696, Jonathan Dickinson's shipwrecked party was attacked with "truncheons" near Jupiter Inlet.[28] Escobedo says, "The macaña is made of a strong and thick piece of wood only four palms long (twenty-eight inches) and pebbles or small stones are encrusted in it. Thus, there is nothing, no matter how hard it is, that will splinter it. It will kill the best armored man and anyone who hesitates and is struck with the macaña will surely be killed. The blows of the Indians are so accurate that they are able to crush the stones of a seawall."[29] Father Louis Cancer was struck on the head with a club at Port Espiritu Santo on Florida's west coast, June 26, 1549. After he was knocked down, he was set upon and killed.[30] Garcilaso de la Vega related that the Indians used their bows as clubs, and since their bows were "as thick as an arm, six or seven feet long," his remark is believable.[31]

There is scant mention of the use of spears or lances in any of the Florida literature, nor does Le Moyne picture them extensively.[32] Two of Ponce de León's men were wounded "by

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24. Bennett, *Settlement of Florida,* 55, 65; Swanton, *Indians of the Southeastern United States,* 571-82.
25. Edward W. Lawson, *The Discovery of Florida and Its Discoverer, Juan Ponce de Leon* (St. Augustine, 1946), 16.
26. Bennett, *Settlement of Florida,* 29, 67. While the authenticity of Jacques le Moyne's drawings is questionable because they were made from memory after he returned to France, they can probably be considered as accurate as other documents of the time written from memory.
27. Lanning, *Spanish Missions of Georgia,* 89.
28. Dickinson, *Jonathan Dickinson's Journal,* 50.
29. Escobedo, *Pirates, Indians and Spaniards,* 136.
30. Charlton W. Tebeau, *A History of Florida* (Coral Gables, 1971), 25.
31. Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, *Adventures in the Unknown Interior of America,* transl. Cyclone Covey (New York, 1961), 42.
32. Bennett, *Settlement of Florida,* 63, depicts Indians running from the fortified town carrying spears but in the accompanying narrative he says "they set up a cry which summons those within the town to the defense, armed with bows and arrows and clubs." *Ibid.,* 62.

the natives' darts and arrows."[33] The darts might have been lances since Juan Ortiz, held captive by Indians near present-day Tampa Bay, was given four darts to throw at lions who tried to steal the corpses he was instructed to guard.[34] Pedro Menéndez was wounded by a javelin thrust in his chest by Carlos' Indians (Calusa) and would have died except for his armor.[35] The lack of references to spears and similar weapons is probably because they served little function in the type of warfare conducted by the Indians.

Canoes were used extensively, and were constructed by hollowing out a tree with the aid of fire and adze. A large canoe may have been fifty feet long and as deep as a split tree trunk. According to Jean Ribault: ". . . .they went thither in there boates, which boates they make but of one pece of a tree working yt hollowe so cunyngly and fyttely, that they put in one of these thus shapen boates or rather great troughes, XV or XX persons, and go therwith verry swiftly. They that rowe stand upright having there owers short, made after the fashyon of a peele *[pelle* or shovel]."[36] They sometimes were lashed together and covered with mats to form decks to carry goods.[37] The canoes were very maneuverable and essential for transportation along the coasts and inland waterways.

The Europeans, wearing heavy suits of armor and carrying shields and other paraphernalia, were ill-equipped to trudge through swamps, dense forests, and across rivers. The dysfunctions of such military materiel have been noted by one writer: "In America where the whole white population was outnumbered and continually on the defensive, where wars consisted of ambushes, forays, and surprise attacks, at night and in the rain; different and superior weapons were needed. The armor was discarded as too burdensome for the long treks and rapid movements of woodland warfare. Polearms were found to be of little use against an enemy who would neither charge nor stand against a charge. In addition they were too unwieldy for use in rough and forested country. The crossbow and matchlock were too clumsy and slow for use against an enemy

33. Lowery, *Spanish Settlements,* I, 140.
34. de la Vega, *Florida of the Inca,* 66.
35. Connor, *Colonial Records of Spanish Florida,* I, 67.
36. Ribault, *Whole & True Discouerye,* 80-81.
37. de Meras, *Pedro Menéndez de Aviles,* 193.

who refused to stay in one place long enough for such a weapon to be discharged in his general direction."[38]

Members of the Narváez expedition built rafts to carry the shirts of mail, the weapons, what other baggage they bore, and the non-swimmers so they could cross what is believed to have been the Withlacoochee River.[39] *The Florida of the Inca* describes the hardships suffered by De Soto's group including those arising from the disadvantages of sixteenth-century accoutrements of war.[40] In addition to its cumbersome weight and resulting loss of mobility, the problems of wearing armor must have been compounded by heat, humidity, and insects.

There were advantages, of course, in being protected from the arrows which the Indians shot so rapidly that they could discharge six or seven while a Spaniard was reloading his musket, and with such force that they sometimes penetrated coats of mail and inflicted severe wounds.[41] Soon, padded cloth armor, called *escaupiles,* was worn in addition to metal armor. Padded protective garments had been worn by the poorer classes in Europe, but *escaupiles* were patterned after those worn by the Aztecs. Made of canvas and stuffed with cotton, this clothing was light, easy to wear, and effective against Indian arrows.[42] They were used at least as early as 1539 because Rodrigo Ranjel returned to De Soto and had him draw out more than twenty arrows which he bore fastened in his armor, which was a loose coat quilted with coarse cotton. By 1578, *escaupiles* were the only kind of armor listed in the official stores at the Florida ports with the exception of one buckler.[43] According to John Tate Lanning, "These padded cotton jackets were reported to be the only armor of value in Indian warfare. The leathern coat could be pierced very easily from the front, while the armor of the heavy corselet only turned the arrows, splitting them into splinters which, frequently striking persons near by,

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38. Peterson, *Arms and Armor in Colonial America,* 5.
39. Lowery, *Spanish Settlements,* I, 183.
40. See numerous examples throughout de la Vega, *Florida of the Inca.*
41. James Alexander Robertson, transl. and ed., *True Relation of the Hardships Suffered by Governor Hernando de Soto & Certain Portuguese Gentlemen During the Discovery of the Province of Florida. Now newly set forth by a Gentleman of Elvas,* 2 vols. (DeLand, 1932-1933), II, 37.
42. Peterson, *Arms and Armor in Colonial America,* 124-25.
43. *Ibid.,* 125.

did more damage than the arrow itself. The arrow simply struck fast in the *escapil [sic].*"[44] Le Moyne's drawings do not portray the French wearing heavy armor, but they do appear to be wearing padded clothing.[45]

Horses arrived with the first explorers. On Ponce de León's second voyage to Florida, "he took with him mares, calves, swine, sheep, goats, and all manner of domestic animals useful to the service of man." There were "200 men and 50 horses" in the ships.[46] In 1528, Pánfilo de Narváez's expedition set sail with eighty horses, but only forty-two horses survived the voyage.[47] On the journey inland there were 300 men and forty horses. Later, when the Spaniards were in need of food, raids were made into Aute using all the horses available. Still later the animals were slaughtered and eaten.[48]

De Soto's 1539 expedition disembarked 213 horses near Tampa Bay.[49] According to Garcilaso, 350 horses sailed from Cuba with De Soto. Since some horses were left at Tampa Bay and others killed during the inland trek, Garcilaso probably exaggerated the number of horses.[50] After De Soto's death, his men built brigantines to carry them down the Mississippi to the Gulf. "They put twenty-two horses aboard– the best ones in camp– and the rest were made into salt meat."[51]

Tristán de Luna had 240 horses aboard in 1559 when he embarked for Pensacola Bay. Enroute 100 animals died; those remaining were used for exploring inland. Even though the Spanish faced famine and were reduced to boiling and eating the leather straps of their armor, their boots, and the lining of their shields, there is no mention that they ate their horses. Later, an Indian warrior in Alabama was permitted to ride one of the animals into battle.[52]

Ayllon's expedition in 1526 to Carolina included eighty-nine

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44. Lanning, *Spanish Missions of Georgia,* 117.
45. Bennett, *Settlement of Florida,* 29, 35, 39, 67, 71.
46. Lawson, *Discovery of Florida,* 53.
47. Cabeza de Vaca, *Adventures in the Unknown,* 30.
48. *Ibid.,* 43, 46.
49. Robertson, *True Relation,* II, 31.
50. Bonita Brunson Lewis and Warren H. Wilkinson, transls., *La Florida del Inca* (?, 1936), xxiii. These translators contend the actual sum of the numbers given is 250, not 350. *Ibid.*
51. Robertson, *True Relation,* II, 271.
52. Lowery, *Spanish Settlements,* I, 357, 358, 357-69.

horses.[53] No horses are mentioned in the Ribault, Laudonniére, Le Moyne, Menéndez, or Dominique de Gourgues accounts, nor does Le Moyne picture them in any of his drawings. Menéndez had planned to secure 200 horses from the West Indies for his operations against the French, but he was afraid that the delay would permit the enemy to better fortify themselves, so he headed straight for Florida from Spain.[54] Later when journeying from St. Augustine to Ays Indian territory after learning that Frenchmen were there and building a fort, he marched "for he had no horse."[55] Actually horses had been sent from Puerto Rico, but only one survived the stormy sea voyage. The fate of the remaining horse is not known.

Horses could be used for open field combat to run down the Indians– either to kill or capture them– and for transporting goods and men. But they also had to eat, and it was difficult to move them through dense forests and across waterways. An example is found in the Hernando de Soto narratives. Soon after landing on the west coast of Florida on May 30, 1539, Vasco Porallo with seven horsemen discovered six Indians who tried to resist their landing with arrows. The horsemen killed two Indians, but the other four escaped because the country was "obstructed by bushes and ponds, in which the horses bogged and fell."[56] As the settlement of Florida proceeded, horses and other livestock were owned by Indians and Spaniards. In some cases, horses were utilized along with Indians as pack animals. In areas where water transportation was convenient, horses were not as useful, particularly in the kind of warfare being instigated by the Indians.[57]

Ponce de León employed greyhounds which "proved such serviceable allies [against the Indians of Hispaniola] . . . that their use in war soon became general and even led to the coining of a new word, *aperrear,* to cast to the dogs."[58] Ponce apparently did not bring dogs with him to Bimini, but gruesome tales of the use of dogs to track down the Indians are

53. *Ibid.*. 164.
54. de Meras, *Pedro Menéndez de Aviles,* 72.
55. *Ibid.,* 128.
56. Edward Gaylord Bourne, ed., *Narratives of the Career of Hernando de Soto,* 2 vols. (London, 1905), I, 22.
57. Verne E. Chatelain, *The Defenses of Spanish Florida, 1565 to 1763* (Washington, 1941), 39, reaches the same conclusion.
58. Lowery, *Spanish Settlements,* I, 134.

to be found in narratives of De Soto's expedition.[59] One account attributed to a dog owned by De Soto and described by Garcilaso is almost identical to Herrera's story of a dog owned by Ponce de León![60] The use of dogs to subdue the Indians does not last or, at least the practice is not referred to often by later chroniclers. Cabeza de Vaca's account of the Narváez expedition does not mention dogs, but Garcilaso reported that the mother of the chief who held Juan Ortiz captive had been thrown to the dogs by an earlier group of explorers.[61] Perhaps this cruel tactic of the conquering nations ceased because of the efforts of Fray Bartolome de Las Casas, champion of the Indian.[62]

The Indians used watercraft and were probably better seamen than was generally believed, but they must have been amazed, frightened, and curious at their first sight of European ships anchored off their shores. Descriptions of preparations for exploring and colonizing expeditions mention the various types of vessels employed, and often include their sizes and weights. Ponce de León on his first voyage to Florida commanded a galleon, a caravel, and a brigantine.[63] In 1562, Jean Ribault had "two royal *roberges* resembling Dutch three-masters of one hundred and sixty and of sixty tons, one large sloop and two small ones which were kept on the large ships during the ocean crossing."[64] Laudonnière, in 1564, had three ships weighing sixty, 100, and 120 tons.[65] Large craft were not always the most serviceable in Florida waters. There was the fear that they might ground on some unknown bank or sandbar close to shore.[66] Le Moyne's drawings show the French leaving their ships in boats, one manned by oars and another rigged with a small sail.[67] Frequent mention is made of the difficulty in crossing the bar at St. Augustine.[68] There were many ships

59. Robertson, *True Relation,* II, 56, 250.
60. Lewis and Wilkinson, *La Florida del Inca,* 87.
61. *Ibid.*, 68.
62. Lewis Hanke, *Bartolome de Las Casas: An Interpretation of His Life and Writings* (The Hague, 1951), passim.
63. Lawson, *Discovery of Florida,* 20.
64. Ribault, *Whole & True Discouerye,* 4.
65. Laudonniére, *Three Voyages,* 53.
66. Lawson, *Discovery of Florida,* 32, says the large vessels kept near the eight fathom line and left the "seeking" to the brigantine.
67. Bennett, *Settlement of Florida,* 9, 11.
68. For example, see de Meras, *Pedro Menéndez de Aviles,* 90.

wrecked during this period with resultant loss of men and supplies. A frequent location of wrecks was near Jupiter Inlet, and the cruel treatment of surviving crews by the Indians in that area was the basis for conflict between the natives and the Europeans over a 200-year period. Menéndez requested permission to enslave the Ais, since they would not obey him.[69] In 1696, Jonathan Dickinson's party was harassed by Indians in this area.[70]

Animals died during Atlantic crossings and food supplies spoiled, navigational equipment was crude by today's standards, and there were no reliable charts to follow since many of the voyages were made to areas not yet known by people with written language. Nevertheless, men and equipment did arrive in the New World, and vessels were able to return time and again bringing in new forces and supplies. When Menéndez sailed for Florida in 1565, one of his galleons weighed 996 tons.[71] It possibly had six decks and may have been over 150 feet long.[72] Ribault mentions the ship.[73] A variety of provisions could be transported in such a vessel, including smaller boats to be used for special assignments. This aspect of European technology was probably the single most important factor empowering the explorers to reach and remain in the New World. Until the intruders learned to survive by utilizing the products of their new habitat, the vessels were their lifeline.

The Florida Indians did not wage war to subjugate their foes or to govern their lands. They were a "stone-age" people. They practiced horticulture, but they continued to rely on hunting and gathering for a substantial part of their food supply. The occupation of their villages, therefore, was only semi-permanent; nomadism varied from a few to many months depending upon the area in question and the account being consulted.[74] Juan Rogel wrote: "Nine out of the twelve months they wander about without any fixed abode. Even then, if they only went together, there would be some hope. . . . But each one takes his own road. [Even] . . .if they were willing, the

69. Connor, *Colonial Records of Spanish Florida,* I, 41.
70. Dickinson, *Jonathan Dickinson's Journal,* passim.
71. de Meras, *Pedro Menéndez de Aviles,* 75.
72. Landstrom, *Sailing Ships,* 95.
73. Ribault, *Whole & True Discouerye,* 18.
74. Wenhold, "17th Century Letter," 11-12.

nature of the soil would not permit it, as it is poor and barren and easily wears out."[75] It was difficult to wage war on the Indians because they were not sedentary: "Besides a war has no effect on the Indians, for in their towns they have neither buildings nor property that could be destroyed. Moreover, they change their abode from one place to another, a change of habitation to a distance of ten leagues is nothing, and since they are swift in flight and the land is forested, they would necessarily cause us more harm than we could cause them."[76] Most importantly, there was little division of labor. The man who tilled the fields (without the benefit of animals), also hunted, fished, manufactured weapons, and raided his enemy. Under these circumstances, individuals could not be released from the food quest long enough to maintain a standing army. There was institutionalized intertribal hostility which served as both an advantage and a disadvantage to the Indians. It prevented them from making a united effort to expel the Spaniards, but it also did not permit the Europeans to wage a conquer-one, conquer-all type of war as had been done in the Caribbean, Central America, and South America.

The Indians recognized a leader who seemed to have a great deal of power and, throughout the region, everyone knew who this person was.[77] There was different terminology denoting various ranks.[78] Leaders exacted tribute from their own people and from less prominent groups. Bishop Calderon observed, "they bring [the game] to the principal cacique, in order that he shall divide it, he keeping the skins which fall to his share."[79] Sometimes they gave prisoners as gifts to other caciques.[80] The coastal Indians, exalting in victory over the inland chiefs, their enemies, told them that the Spaniards were their slaves, and that for this reason the inland caciques must obey them.[81] The right to rule was probably inherited, and may have been con-

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75. Juan Rogel, "Rogel's Account of the Florida Mission (1569-70)," *Historical Magazine* (November 1861), 329.
76. Geiger, *Franciscan Conquest,* 244.
77. Bennett, *Settlement of Florida,* 24-35.
78. Albert Samuel Gatschet, *The Timucua Language* (New Haven, 1956), passim, microfilm roll 180-A, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville.
79. Wenhold, "17th Century Letter," 13.
80. Connor, *Colonial Records of Spanish Florida,* I, 41.
81. *Ibid.,* 80-81.

sidered semi-divine. The leader, however, was essentially only a first among equals. He had no authority to use force, and he maintained his exalted position through charismatic persuasion and by seeing to it that the rewards he provided his subjects exceeded the sacrifices they made.[82]

The Indians quit playing follow-the-leader on a number of occasions. They gained individual glory by counting coup in a way attributed much later to the tribes of the Plains. They carried home trophies of scalps, legs, or arms hacked from their victims.[83] The trophies proved that they had accomplished their goals. The prestige of the entire group was raised by the success of the warriors.

The Indians were not interested in mass slaughter of the enemy; victory to them was drawing the first blood. This system of warfare, as opposed to the annihilation method of the Spaniards, put the Indians at a disadvantage. Le Moyne recorded that "they never saw a regular battle; all the military operations were either secret forays or light skirmishes, with fresh men constantly replacing the fighters. Whichever side killed the first enemy claimed the victory, even though it had lost the greater number of soldiers."[84]

The tactics of the Indians were ambush and surprise. The Indians practiced a guerilla warfare that shook the stoutest nerves. Arrows would fall from nowhere, would suddenly stick quivering in a tree trunk by a man's head. To take the horses to water was a dangerous ordeal. A volley of arrows would fly from a clump of rushes; and when the soldiers had beaten their way to ambush, they would find no living soul. The marauders had swum away under water, or had slipped off through the impenetrable marshes. These tactics, described by a member of the Narváez expedition, were repeated eleven years later, in the same place, against the troops of De Soto, but with less success.[85] The Indians had advantages over the Spanish because of their nakedness, mobility, knowledge of the terrain, control of the food supply, and probably because they were

82. Romans, *Concise Natural History*, 39.
83. Bennett, *Settlement of Florida*, 92-93.
84. Seaberg, "Zetrouer Site," 91.
85. Cabeza de Vaca, *Adventures in the Unknown*, 41; Timothy Severin, "The Passion of Hernando De Soto," *American Heritage*, XVIII (April 1967), 30.

bigger. The enemy's horses, dogs, and guns frightened them, but they made rapid adjustment to the situation. Since the horses were of little use except in open field combat where they could charge the enemy, the Indians refused to fight under such conditions. Wherever possible they would hide under a tree or in the brush and were safe from mounted cavalrymen and their steeds. The natives aimed their arrows at the horses' necks rather than at the men because if the horse was downed, the heavy armor of its rider rendered him virtually helpless.[86] The Indians tried to hit the areas of the body unprotected by armor, and the armor itself was often not adequate protection.[87] Even though Spanish guns could penetrate where the arrows could not, the rapidity with which the arrows could be discharged was a decided advantage.

Often the Indians deceived the enemy by feigning friendship and then attacking when the Spaniards' guard was down. In 1513, Ponce de León was twice deceived into believing the Indians wanted to trade gold, and found himself the victim of savage attacks. An example of deceit occurred at the beginning of the Guale revolt. The Indians tricked the Spaniards into putting out the fuses for their arquebuses, and then attacked them.[88] De Soto had similar experiences during his journey. The Indians burned their own villages and food supplies to keep them from falling into the hands of the enemy.[89] Both groups were hurt, but the greater hardship was endured by the Spanish, who had no other way to provide shelter or procure food for themselves. Later, after the construction of forts or blockhouses, the Indians frequently attacked whites when they went out to search for food.[90] The result sometimes was near starvation, and at least once the crisis led to cannibalism.[91]

Captured Europeans were sometimes subjected to cruel torture. Ortiz told how the Spaniards were shot at with arrows as they were forced to run the length of the town square. He was saved from death, but often wished himself dead because

86. Lewis and Wilkinson, *La Florida del Inca,* 263-65.
87. Markham, *Hawkins' Voyages,* 56.
88. Lowery, *Spanish Settlements,* I, 142-43; Lanning, *Spanish Missions of Georgia,* 60.
89. Severin, "Passion of Hernando De Soto," 30.
90. Lowery, *Spanish Settlements,* II, 239-40.
91. Swanton, *Indians of the Southeastern United States,* 134.

of the harsh treatment he received.[92] Father Francisco de Avila was handled brutally during his captivity following the revolt of 1597.[93]

A tactic often employed by the Spanish was to take hostages to ensure their own safe conduct, and to procure interpreters.[94] They frequently resorted to cruelty to force the Indians to obey them. De Soto cut off noses and hands, and often kept hostages in chains.[95] Later the garrot was used at St. Augustine.[96] The Spaniard "was a child of his environment– exacting, cruel, and intolerant. He was not, however, unique; French and English leaders were also guilty of cruelty and bigotry. His was not an age of mercy for enemies or for minorities and his brutality is dwarfed by the inhumanity of many men of the so-called enlightened twentieth century."[97] Trade items were given to appease and impress. This practice worked against the Spaniards occasionally. When goods were not available for whatever reason, it was no longer expedient for the Indians to cater to the white man, so they quit supplying food and sometimes attacked him.[98] The Spaniards, like the Indians, destroyed food supplies and burned villages in an attempt to subdue the enemy.[99]

The Spanish employed a number of tactics to "pacify" and control the Indians: taking hostages to Spain or Havana to impress them; rewarding them with presents for complying, brutal retaliation for not complying, and establishing missions throughout the region to make Christians of them. The Spaniards were ethnocentric and assumed the Indians would consider them superior, although the Indians had no way of knowing of all the splendors in Europe. Menéndez took Carlos to Havana and the "Adelantado has taken Indians many times to Havana, caciques and special individuals, from this whole coast, to show them the fleets and the fortress of the Spaniards, and he clothed them many times and made them gifts; and in spite of all this, it has been of no use."[100] Laudonniére "decided

92. Lewis and Wilkinson. *La Florida del Inca,* 7.
93. Lanning, *Spanish Missions of Georgia,* 98-101; Geiger, *Franciscan Conquest of Florida,* 94-99.
94. Robertson, *True Relation,* II, 35.
95. *Ibid.,* II, 65, 241.
96. Lanning, *Spanish Missions of Georgia,* 208.
97. de Meras, *Pedro Menéndez de Aviles,* xi.
98. Lowery, *Spanish Settlements,* II, 224.
99. Lanning, *Spanish Missions of Georgia,* 95.
100. Connor, *Colonial Records of Spanish Florida,* I, 41.

that it would be good to take a few Indians, men and women, to France, so that if a return voyage were to be made, they could tell their kings of the grandeur of our king, . . . country, and the fashions of life in France."[101] When the Spanish were going to Tama, forty leagues from St. Augustine, they gave the Indians that accompanied them "Spanish blankets, knives, fish-hooks, scissors, elegant glass beads, sickles and hatchets in order to inject fear as well as to arouse admiration in the pagan Indians of the interior."[102]

The Spanish retaliated brutally on many occasions against native hostility. There were many reasons for Indian antagonism. They did not like the restrictions the priests placed on their ancient customs, and they resented giving part of their food supply as tribute to maintain the presidio. Revolts in the form of revitalization movements occurred among the Guale, Timucuans, Ais, and others. After the Timucuan uprising of 1656, the warriors claimed that "they sought only to improve their low state and relieve the continuous abuses."[103] The Indians sometimes became overconfident because there were no permanent Spanish forces except near St. Augustine, but they underestimated the abilities of their enemy. The Spaniards had adapted somewhat to their new environment. One writer noted that the success of the Spanish defense of Florida was the speed with which their mobile patrol units were organized and put into operation. The Spaniards took advantage of available water routes, and constructed small vessels called *piragues* (pirogues), hardly larger than canoes, but equipped with sails and oars. Traveling in these squadrons, and carrying light baggage, a detachment of soldiers could be transported rapidly through the inland waterways, or along the rivers into the interior.[104]

In 1579, Pedro Menéndez Márques, nephew of the Adelantado, wrote: "After his Majesty sent me the succor which I had entreated him to send, I set about overruning the country of the enemy who had done the damage in these provinces, and in forty-five leagues of their land which I overran, I burned

101. Laudonniére, *Three Voyages,* 146.
102. Geiger, *Franciscan Conquest of Florida,* 82-83.
103. Lanning, *Spanish Missions of Georgia,* 206.
104. Chatelain, *Defenses of Spanish Florida,* 40.

nineteen villages, and some Indians were killed, without my receiving any injury beyond two soldiers being slightly wounded. Great was the harm I did them in their food stores, for I burned a great quantity of maize and other supplies, . . . and for this I have need of the horses for which I am asking, because to think of overtaking these Indians on foot is impossible. . . . In this province of St. Augustine the people are peaceful, and although they were so previously, they are much more so now since they have seen the war I made on the other Indians."[105]

The Spanish were never able to subdue completely or to control the Indians; they "remained perpetually puzzled and irritated by the acts of what they called 'treachery' on the side of the Indians. All the Indians were doing was temporarily yielding ground when confronted by an immediate and present force of arms, and then returning to their ways when the threat was gone. . . . There never was any surrender."[106] The Spaniard and Indian remained apart in habit and environment, in traditions and conceptions of life.

The Spaniards were able, of course, to see the totality of Indian culture in a way that the natives could not view that of the Europeans. But the white men did not recognize the Indian way of life as a fully integrated, adequate, and satisfying adjustment to their environment given the socio-economic level they had reached. The invaders were aware of broader horizons, but they did not understand or care that the Indians' value system was different and one which they were unwilling to give up. Because of their superior, specialized technology, and their diversified social system, the Spanish could have conquered and dominated the Florida Indians, but they did not. Eventually, disease, warfare, and emigration depleted the native population. Of the thousands of Indians who were living in Florida when Europeans first arrived in the sixteenth century, only a scattered remnant remained 200 years later.

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105. Connor, *Colonial Records of Spanish Florida,* II, 225.
106. Lyon, "More Light," 11.

CUSTOM, LAW, AND HISTORY: THE ENDURING INFLUENCE OF FLORIDA'S "BLACK CODE"

by JERRELL H. SHOFNER*

IN OCTOBER 1956, Dr. Deborah Coggins, health officer for Madison, Jefferson, and Taylor counties, sat down to lunch in Madison, Florida, with a public health nurse to discuss a matter of mutual official concern. Because of their busy schedules the lunch hour was the only mutually available time for the meeting. But since the doctor was white and the nurse black, the business luncheon led to the dismissal of the doctor by indignant commissioners of the three counties. Her "breach of social tradition" had been so serious, according to the commissioners, that it rendered her unfit to continue in the office to which she had been appointed about six months earlier. While Governor LeRoy Collins disagreed, and incensed citizens of South Florida condemned the commissioners, most white North Floridians nodded approval. As they saw it, Dr. Coggins had violated one of the strictest taboos of her community when "she ate with the darkies." As a native of Tampa married to a descendant of an old Madison County family, she should have known better.[1]

Social intercourse between whites and blacks was forbidden by both law and custom in Florida in the 1950s. And it had been that way as long as most people then living could remember. The one brief period following the Civil War when things had been different had merely proved that segregation was the best way for all concerned. This belief was reinforced by all the myths and folk tales, social institutions, and statute laws with which Floridians of the 1950s were acquainted.

Those few years following the Civil War had been crucial

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1. Wilson T. Sowder to Deborah Coggins, October 4, 1956, Records of the Jefferson County Commission, Jefferson County Courthouse, Monticello, Florida; *Milwaukee* [Wisconsin] *Journal,* November 29, 1956.

ones for white Floridians, most of whom had sympathized with and supported the Confederate war effort. Defeated, disorganized, and bankrupt in 1865, they had taken heart when President Andrew Johnson announced his plans for reconstructing the nation. Guaranteeing former Confederates retention of all their property except slaves, he appointed William Marvin as provisional governor to oversee the formation of a new government. To gain readmission to the Union, Florida had only to repudiate slavery, secession, and debts incurred in support of the Confederacy, and recognize all laws enacted by Congress while the state was out of the Union. Marvin repeatedly told white audiences that if they would change the laws to provide civil rights to the newly freed blacks that he believed they would not be required to implement Negro suffrage. Retrospectively this implied promise seems to have been an unfortunate one. Radical congressmen had been contending with Abraham Lincoln and later Andrew Johnson for control of Reconstruction policy. What white Floridians regarded as major concessions to former slaves was far less than Radical congressmen believed necessary. The latter watched with growing concern as the southern state governments created by President Johnson enacted their "black codes" which distinguished between black and white citizens. And the final decision on Johnson's Reconstruction program rested with Congress.

The delegates to the 1865 constitutional convention and the members of the 1865-1866 legislature who enacted the Florida "black code" had spent their lives as members of the dominant white class in a society whose labor system was based on racial chattel slavery. They brought to their law-making sessions all their past experiences gained from a lifetime acquaintance with a comprehensive ideological and legal framework for racial slavery. They believed that blacks were so mentally inferior and incompetent to order their own affairs that subjection to the superior white race was their natural condition. Whites benefited from the labor of blacks, and they were in turn obligated to provide guidance and welfare for their workers. Now that slavery was abolished these men met to comply with Andrew Johnson's requirements, while, at the same time, trying to salvage as much as possible of that system under which whites with their

paternalistic responsibilities to blacks, and Negroes with their natural limitations, had lived peacefully.

Florida had a comprehensive slave code regulating almost every activity touching the lives of blacks. Because "free Negroes" had constituted an anomaly in a society where racial slavery was so central, there was also an extensive set of laws regulating their affairs. It was understandable that the lawmakers of 1865-1866 should draw on their past experiences and the codes regulating slaves and free blacks. But in doing so they invited criticism from suspicious Radicals in Congress who believed that the president had erred in his lenient requirements.

A three-member committee was named by the constitutional convention of 1865 to recommend to the first legislature, scheduled to meet the following year, changes in the old laws necessary to make them conform to the post-war situation. The committee's report did nothing to assuage congressional suspicions. It urged the legislature to preserve, insofar as possible, the beneficial features of that "benign, but much abused and greatly misunderstood institution of slavery." It strenuously asserted the legislature's power to discriminate. Such power had always been executed by all the states of the Union, including those of New England. Slavery had been abolished, but nothing had been done to the status of the "free negro." Certainly, therefore, "Freedmen" could not possibly occupy a higher position in the scale of rights than had the "free negro" before the war.[2]

Provisional Governor William Marvin, who had been appointed by President Johnson in 1865, warned that Congress was likely to intervene unless the state legislature accepted the concept of Negro freedom and extended to freedmen equal protection of the law.[3] Despite this warning, the legislature followed the committee's recommendations. It enacted laws dealing with crime and punishment, vagrancy, apprenticeship, marriages, taxation, labor contracts, and the judicial system which were collectively referred to as the "black code." The "code" clearly established a separate class of citizenship for blacks making them inferior to whites.

A long list of crimes was enumerated and penalties assigned. The death penalty was imposed for inciting insurrection, raping

2. Florida *House Journal,* 1865-1866, 60-62, 65.
3. Florida *Senate Journal,* 1865-1866, 20.

a white female, or administering poison. Burglary was punishable by death, a fine not exceeding $1,000, or a public whipping and the pillory. Malicious trespass, buying or selling cotton without evidence of ownership, defacement of public or private property, and other crimes of similar nature were punishable by fines, imprisonment, or whipping and the pillory. Whipping or the pillory was also the prescribed punishment for injuring someone else's livestock, hunting with a gun on another's property, or unauthorized use of a horse whether in the employ of the owner or not.[4] According to an antebellum statute continued in force by the 1865-1866 legislature, Negroes were specifically denied the right to carry firearms, bowie knives, dirks, or swords without a license from the probate judge. The punishment was forfeiture of the weapon and a whipping, the pillory, or both.[5] This provision reflected some concern among white Floridians at the time about a rumored Negro insurrection, which had no substantive basis.[6]

"AN ACT to punish Vagrants and Vagabonds" made all persons subject to arrest who could not demonstrate that they were gainfully employed. Aimed at preventing congregation of freedmen in the towns, this law was especially alarming to Radical congressmen. A convicted vagrant could post bond as a guarantee of good behavior for the following year, but if no bond was posted, he could be punished by the pillory, whipping, prison, or by being sold for his labor up to one year to pay his fine and costs.[7] "AN ACT in relation to Apprentices" allowed the courts to apprentice the children of vagrants or paupers to persons who could supervise their activities, provide for them, and teach them a trade.[8] It applied to both races, but in the aftermath of emancipation most of the children affected were black. This was only a slight extension of an antebellum law requiring that all free blacks over twelve years of age have a duly registered white guardian.

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4. *Laws of Florida,* 1865-1866, 23-25.
5. *Ibid.,* 37.
6. G. R. Hughes to Assistant Adjutant General, June 30, 1866; R. Hall to T. W. Osborn, December 30, 1865; E. C. Love to Osborn, January 8, 1865, Records of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, Florida, Record Group 105, National Archives, Washington, D.C.
7. *Laws of Florida,* 1865-1866, 28.
8. *Ibid.,* 34.

For the first time, a statute defined a Negro as any person with one-eighth Negro blood. Although that standard still left much to interpretation, some such ruling was necessary to the enforcement of several acts intended to separate the races. Both blacks and whites were enjoined from attending the meetings of the other race. They were also required to ride only in railroad cars designated for their respective races. Marriages between Negro men and white women were prohibited. White violators of the enactment could be fined $1,000, jailed for three months, or both. In addition to the fine, Negroes could be made to stand in the pillory for one hour, receive thirty-nine lashes, or both.[9]

One of the most controversial enactments was "AN ACT to establish and enforce the Marriage Relation between Persons of Color." Negro couples were given nine months to decide whether they wished to continue living together. After that time they had either to separate or be legally married.[10] This method of correcting a problem arising from slavery and its abolition caused so much criticism in the northern press that the legislature in November 1866 simply passed a law declaring all freedmen living as man and wife to be legally married.[11]

Even the revenue laws seemed discriminatory. There was a provision for a five-mill property tax on real property and a capitation tax of three dollars on every male between twenty-one and fifty-five. The Negroes often did not learn of the tax in time or did not have the money to pay it. If they were delinquent they could be arrested and sold for their labor for a period long enough to liquidate the obligations incurred.[12] Several cases of tax-delinquent blacks being sold for a year's labor soon caught the attention of the northern press.[13] Such an exorbitant punishment for failure to pay a three dollar tax seemed to some congressmen to be a substitute for the bonded servitude which had just been abolished.[14]

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9. *Ibid.,* 30, 38, 65.
10. *Ibid.,* 31.
11. Florida *House Journal,* 1866, 15-19; *Laws of Florida,* 1866, 22; Theodore Brantner Wilson, *The Black Codes of the South* (University, Alabama, 1965), 99.
12. *Laws of Florida,* 1865-1866, 65.
13. Reports of Sub-Assistant Commissioners J. A. Remley and J. H. Durkee, Florida, Record Group 105.
14. *Congressional Globe,* 39th Cong., 1st sess., 1865-1866, Part I, p. 313;

Although the legislators followed closely a system already established by the military commanders, their "ACT in relation to Contracts of Persons of Color" also distinguished between the races. Contracts were to be in writing and witnessed by two white persons. If Negroes broke their agreements, they could be punished as common vagrants by being whipped, put in the pillory, imprisoned, or sold for up to one year's labor. They could also be found in violation of their contract for "willful disobedience," "wanton impudence," "disrespect" to the employer, failure to perform assigned work, or "abandonment of the premises." If the employer broke the contract, the laborer could seek redress in the courts. Although the state attorney general ruled the law unconstitutional, the next legislature rewrote it so as to apply to both races in occupations limited almost entirely to Negroes.[15]

An early crop lien law was intended to keep tenants on the land. A landlord was empowered to seek a writ placing a lien against growing crops on rented land if the rent was not paid within ten days of the due date. If a tenant did not pay out at the end of the year, the lien could be extended to the next year and he could be legally held on the land.[16] Attracting little attention as part of the "black code" at the time, this statute, with subsequent additions, contributed largely to an agricultural system which kept many tenants in economic bondage for years after the Civil War.

Central features of the "black code" were "AN ACT to extend to all the inhabitants of the State the benefits of the Courts of Justice and the processes thereof" and another "prescribing additional penalties for the commission of offenses against the State, and for other purposes."[17] The convention-appointed committee in its recommendations to the legislature had bemoaned the loss of that highly efficient institution which had existed on the plantations for punishing those "minor offenses to which Negroes are addicted." Since those offenses were now under the jurisdiction of the judiciary, the committee declared that circuit courts would be unable to handle the increased volume of litiga-

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Joe M. Richardson, "Florida Black Codes," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XLVII (April 1969), 372.

15. *Laws of Florida*, 1865-1866, 32; *Laws of Florida*, 1866, 21-22.
16. *Laws of Florida*, 1865-1866, 62.
17. *Ibid.*, 37, 23-27.

tion. It accordingly proposed that criminal courts be established in each county and the legislative assembly complied.[18] These courts were soon handling cases, but the heritage of slavery days was too much for them. The legislators had permitted Negroes the right to testify only in cases involving blacks, and juries were made up of white men only. These whites had lived in a society where Negro slaves had had no standing in the courts, and they were now unwilling to accept the word of blacks. The courts were abject failures as legal remedies for freedmen accused of crimes or seeking redress of wrongs committed by whites.

The law "prescribing additional penalties" was a response to the special committee's recommendation that "whenever a crime be punishable by fine and imprisonment we add an alternative of the pillory for an hour or whipping up to thirty-nine lashes or both at the discretion of the jury." This discrimination was "founded upon the soundest principles of State policy, growing out of the difference that exists in social and political status of the two races. To degrade a white man by physical punishment is to make a bad member of society and a dangerous political agent. To fine and imprison a colored man . . . is to punish the State instead of the individual."[19]

The Floridians who enacted the "black code" were surprised and angered by the national reaction they caused. Thomas W. Osborn, assistant commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau in Florida, intervened to prevent the administration of corporal punishment.[20] Radicals in Congress pointed to the discriminatory legislation to show that Negroes could not expect equal treatment as long as the antebellum Florida leaders remained in power. With similar legislation in other former Confederate states, the Florida "black code" helped the Radicals convince their moderate colleagues that President Johnson's Reconstruction plan had failed to furnish necessary protection to newly-freed persons. In a mammoth executive-legislative struggle which lasted through most of 1866, Congress overturned the Johnson governments in the South and implemented Congressional Reconstruction in 1867-1868.

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18. *Ibid.*, 20-21.
19. Florida *House Journal*, 1865-1866, 59, 62-63.
20. Osborn to William Marvin, December 20, 1865; O. O. Howard to Osborn, January 12, 1866, Florida, Record Group 105.

Based on Negro suffrage– which Provisional Governor Marvin had said would not happen– and military supervision, the congressional plan seemed to Floridians to be a broken bargain. In late 1866 Governor Walker complained that the state had complied with President Johnson's Reconstruction requirements, but that Floridians were still being denied their rights.[21] The subsequent implementation of Negro suffrage, enactment of the 1868 constitution, and the election victory of the newly-founded Florida Republican party were considered by local whites as unwelcome and unwise invasions of the rights of the state.

These developments also embittered them toward their former slaves. When Negro suffrage was first announced, the planters assumed that they could control the freedman's vote. At assemblages throughout the black belt counties former owners competed with "carpetbaggers" for the allegiance of the new voters. When the blacks quite understandably ignored their former masters in favor of the new Republican leaders, the native whites lost most of their paternalistic sentiment toward the freedmen. They determined to resist Negro suffrage and Republican hegemony by every means they could muster.

Landowners and storekeepers applied economic pressures on black voters. Politicians resorted to ingenious political tactics. Conservatives in the legislature blocked action whenever possible by dilatory parliamentary maneuvers. But by far the most visible, and in the long run the costliest, method was violence. With black legislators sitting in the Capitol, black marshals advertising their tax-delinquent property for sale in the county seats, and white Republicans wielding power dependent on black voting majorities, white Floridians believed that destruction of Republican power was a goal which justified any successful means. According to one sympathetic historian who lived in post-Reconstruction Pensacola, "in this contest for a very necessary supremacy many a foul crime was committed by white against black."[22] According to their reasoning, Republican politicians in Washington had overpowered reasonable, well-meaning President Johnson and had implemented, over his

21. Florida *House Journal,* 1866, 9.
22. William Watson Davis, *The Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida* (New York, 1913; facsimile edition, Gainesville, 1964), 586.

vigorous vetoes and in violation of agreements already made with southern leaders, and contrary to sound constitutional theory, a policy of Negro suffrage. Although it was not the fault of the blacks, this policy had subjected an educated, property-owning class to the mismanagement and corruption of ignorant Negroes and their "carpetbagger" leaders. This wrong had to be corrected regardless of the methods necessary. But in permitting the use of violence for this purpose, the white leaders unleashed a force which was almost impossible to stop.

As soon as the military commander turned over control of the state to Republican Governor Harrison Reed in July 1868, and withdrew his troops to garrison duty, violence began increasing. At first night-riding bands of hooded horsemen attempted to frighten rural Negroes into submission. But partially because many blacks showed more courage than expected and partially because it was easy to commit excesses against helpless people while shrouded in the anonymity of darkness and disguise, the scare tactics soon degenerated into merciless beatings and murder. Threats were delivered and when they went unheeded, recipients were ambushed. Dozens of white Republicans and Negroes were assassinated throughout the Florida black belt from Jackson County on the Apalachicola River to Columbia County on the Suwannee and southward to Gainesville. In Jackson County alone between 1868 and 1871, more than 150 persons were killed.[23]

Congress responded with corrective legislation. A national elections law empowered the United States government to place supervisors at every polling place in Florida and the other southern states. Military guards were also to be deployed during elections to potentially dangerous locations. Two enforcement acts authorized President Grant to declare martial law and employ soldiers where disorder was beyond the ability of state governments to control. Before the 1872 election the worst of the violence had subsided in Florida, as much from the belief among native whites that it had achieved its purpose as from the presence of United States military forces. This episode nurtured

23. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian,* May 2, 1871; W. J. Purman to Commissioner of Internal Revenue, June 24, 1873, Applications for Collector, Department of the Treasury, Record Group 56, National Archives; Jerrell. H. Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet: Florida in the Era of Reconstruction, 1863-1877* (Gainesville, 1974), 233.

the growth of two important aspects of the evolving myth of the Lost Cause: the idea that helpless white Southerners were being mercilessly suppressed by the military power of a hostile central government, and that they were driven to the use of violence to correct an even greater wrong– dominance of the state by an ignorant Negro electorate.

After years of delay due to opposition from Conservative-Democrats and some of the white Republicans, the legislature of 1873 enacted a civil rights law calling for equal accommodations in public places, although it *permitted,* without requiring, integrated schools.[24] Within months of its enactment it was essentially nullified by a Leon County jurist. When several Negroes complained that they had been denied access to a skating rink in Tallahassee, the judge ruled that private owners or commercial establishments had the right to refuse service to anyone they chose.[25] Although it remained on the books for a time, the 1873 civil rights law was a dead letter. Because its principles were opposed by a majority of white Floridians, it did nothing to change social conduct.

During the four years following President Grant's reelection in 1872 the Reconstruction process continued with diminishing velocity. Most southern states were recaptured by native white Conservative-Democratic parties despite the efforts of the Grant administration. A national depression, repeated scandals in the administration, and other matters caused northern interest in the South to wane. As the 1876 presidential election approached, many Northerners were anxious for a settlement of "the southern question." The stage was set for the final episode in the growth of the myth of the Lost Cause. When the campaign of Samuel J. Tilden and Rutherford B. Hayes for president ended in an uncertain election, the nation was subjected to nearly four months of anxiety. Hayes was ultimately inaugurated after tacitly agreeing to withdraw United States soldiers from the South. This resolution of the disputed election became known as the "compromise of 1877." When he withdrew the troops, all remaining Republican administrations in the South collapsed, and Conservative-Democratic regimes took over in their places. The men who headed those new governments came to be called

24. *Laws* of *Florida,* 1873, 25; Florida *Senate Journal,* 1873, 52-53.
25. *Marianna Courier,* March 18, 1873.

"Redeemers" who had ousted the "carpetbaggers" and restored "home rule" in the southern states.

Left to their own devices white and black Republicans were unable to maintain themselves. During the next few years the southern Republican parties became permanent minorities and eventually almost disappeared. The United States Supreme Court's 1883 decision in the *Civil Rights Cases* was regarded as national acceptance of the failure of Reconstruction and restoration of white supremacy in the South. In that decision the court limited the civil rights guarantees of the fourteenth amendment so that they applied only against official discrimination. Thus, while it was unconstitutional for a state to pass a law discriminating on grounds of race, it was legal for private owners of hotels, restaurants, and theatres to refuse service to blacks.

Cautiously at first, but with increasing confidence, white Floridians began rewriting their laws with a view to establishing a society similar to that envisioned in the "black codes" of 1865-1866. The 1868 constitution was regarded as a "carpetbagger" document, imposed on the state by outsiders supported by a black electorate and military force. The demand for its replacement swelled in the early 1880s. Attended by a minority of Republicans, only seven of whom were Negroes, an 1885 convention wrote a constitution which prepared the way for disfranchisement of blacks and dissolution of the Republican Party. It authorized a poll tax as a condition for voting and required that all officeholders post bonds before assuming office. The latter was intended to make it difficult for blacks to qualify for office if they were able to win in the northern counties where there were overwhelming majorities of blacks. But the poll tax provision was most important. The 1889 poll tax law required that potential voters pay their tax for two years immediately prior to elections. If the county records did not show the tax paid, then the would-be voter was required to produce receipts to prove that he was eligible to vote. An accompanying statute required separate ballot boxes for each office.[26] These made it necessary that the voter be able to read the names on the boxes in order to place his ballots in the correct places and have them counted. The result was dramatic. Statewide

26. *Laws of Florida,* 1889, 13, 101-02.

Republican candidates received more than 26,000 votes in 1888; in 1892 they received fewer than 5,000.

The legal changes were accompanied by incessant racist rhetoric from public officials and the state press. School histories taught young children that the "Redeemers" had saved the state from the excesses of "Radical Reconstruction." When white Floridians divided on policy matters, Conservative-Democratic politicians reminded the voters that whites must stand together or risk a return to "Negro rule."

This tactic prevented the sundering of the paramount white man's party, but it also increased the gap between the races. Violence had declined after 1872, but it had never ceased As the possibility of United States intervention diminished in the 1880s and the doctrine of white supremacy became more firmly entrenched, violence as a means of repressing blacks increased. The brutal Savage-James lynching at Madison in 1882 went without serious investigation.[27] Another in Jefferson County in 1888 resulted in the arrest of five white men, but all of them were acquitted by all-white juries.[28] Two especially repugnant lynchings in the mid-1890s led Governor William D. Bloxham to deplore the practice in his 1897 inaugural address, but he offered no remedy.[29] The praise of white supremacy and persistent reminders of its alternatives from prominent men perpetuated a climate of tolerance for violence by whites against blacks.

Floridians were reinforced in their views by similar developments in other southern states. Worse yet, racial developments in the South coincided with a growing racial theory throughout the United States. Relying on Joseph Gobineau and other European racist writers, social theorists in the United States were preaching the idea of Anglo-Saxon superiority and the corresponding inferiority of blacks to a receptive audience. At the same time the United States acquired the Philippine Islands, and a little later Theodore Roosevelt added his "corollary" to the Monroe Doctrine. Our decision to uplift our "little brown brothers" in the Philippines and "protect" our Latin American

27. Edward C. Williamson, "Black Belt Political Crisis: The Savage-James Lynching, 1882," *Florida Historical Quarterly,* XLV (April 1967), 402-09.
28. Records of the Circuit Court, Order Book D, 208, 220, 237, Jefferson County Courthouse.
29. Florida *Senate Journal,* 1897, 28-29.

neighbors from European interference by intervening in their internal affairs added powerful impetus to the growing racial theories in our country.

By the turn of the century the Lost Cause myth was virtually beyond question in the South and was gaining adherents elsewhere. It placed little emphasis on the demise of slavery and the failure of secession. Rather it focused on the unsuccessful efforts at post-war Reconstruction. President Johnson had been willing to permit Southerners to reform their society along lines that allowed for the innate inferiority of blacks. But a misguided Radical-controlled Congress had taken direction of Reconstruction away from him. These crusading Northerners had attempted to change natural conditions by legislative fiat, causing immense difficulties for all involved in an experiment which was doomed by nature to failure. Finally seeing the errors of their ways, they had withdrawn from the struggle, leaving Southerners to solve their own racial problems. This was a powerful and satisfying rationale for a caste system which ultimately degraded Negroes to the point where they had absolutely no defense against the worst excesses of the most lawless elements of white society.

Beginning in 1889 a series of "Jim Crow" laws were passed which gave legal sanction to the segregation which already existed by custom. These laws went far beyond the earlier "black codes" in separating the races, but they did little more than legalize existing conditions. Racial segregation in Florida was more extensive in 1900 than it had been in 1865.

An 1895 statute prohibited anyone from conducting a school in which whites and Negroes attended the same classes, or separate classes in the same building, or classes taught by the same teachers. Fines and jail sentences were provided for violators.[30] Others soon followed. In 1903 intermarriage was forbidden between white persons and Negroes, including anyone with at least one-eighth Negro blood. Either or both parties to such a marriage could be punished by up to ten years imprisonment or $1,000 fine.[31] A 1905 enactment required separation of the races on street cars and required companies operating them to provide separate facilities. Failure of the company to do so was punishable by a $50 fine with each day constituting

30. *Laws of Florida,* 1895, 96.
31. *Ibid.,* 1903, 76.

a separate offense. Passengers violating the statute were subject to fines of $25 or up to thirty days in jail. Negro nurses travelling with white children or sick persons were exempt.[32] Since slavery days there had been almost unlimited contact between the races where the blacks were in a servant capacity, and this continued. Segregation was a class rather than a physical matter.

In 1905 constables, sheriffs, and others handling prisoners were forbidden to fasten white male or female prisoners to colored prisoners, subject to fines up to $100 or sentences up to six months.[33] The same legislature required terminal and railroad companies to provide separate waiting rooms and ticket windows for whites and Negroes. The penalty for failure was a fine up to $5,000.[34] A 1909 statute required "equal" and "separate" railroad cars or divisions of cars.[35]

These legal reinforcements of existing practices had great significance. Law and custom had been in harmony during antebellum slavery days. The 1865-1866 "black code" reflected the social experiences of those who enacted them. Then it was overturned by national legislation which ran counter to the beliefs of the dominant groups of Florida society. Because they disagreed with the Reconstruction legislation and the circumstances of its enactment, native white Floridians not only overturned the laws but also developed a rationale– the Lost Cause myth and its corollary of the necessity for white supremacy– which justified and reinforced their actions following the celebrated 1876 election dispute. The "Jim Crow" laws were the final necessary step. By the early twentieth century white Floridians were living in a society whose customs, ideology, and law code were once more in harmony.

The first third of the twentieth century was the nadir of race relations in Florida and the nation. Although segregation seemed to be permanently entrenched, whites did not let the matter rest. Politicians always referred to it in their campaigns. Newspapers carried editorials dealing with racism and news stories casting obliquy and odium on Negroes. Creative writers dealt with the subject in the same way. There was a widespread move-

32. *Ibid.*, 1905, 99.
33. *Ibid.*, 132.
34. *Ibid.*, 1907, 103.
35. *Ibid.*, 1909, 39.

ment to solve the race problem by sending the blacks to Africa. A strong advocate of the idea was Frank Clark, an influential Florida congressman who once declared that, "Mr. Lincoln said that this nation could not exist 'half slave and half free.' I think it is equally true that this nation can not exist half white and *half black.*"[36] Likewise, progressive Florida Governor Napoleon B. Broward went so far as to propose mass removal of Negroes from the United States in his 1907 message to the legislature.[37]

Without political rights, economic strength, or legal status, blacks had no defense. Their best hope was to keep away from whites unless they were fortunate enough to identify with someone who would assist them in legal and economic matters. Usually tied to the land by perpetual indebtedness and dependent on the good will of a white man for whatever security they had, blacks in the early twentieth century occupied a social position not significantly different from that of the antebellum "free Negro" who had been obliged by law to have a white guardian. But this unofficial paternalism was not available to all, and it was inadequate to prevent physical abuse on those occasions when blacks came into contact with unruly whites. Insults and petty violence could sometimes be borne in silence. But at other times it was impossible to avoid trouble. With no legal or social restraints, white ruffians and sometimes ordinary citizens angered by some incident assaulted blacks without fear of reprisal.

In 1911 Mark Norris and Jerry Guster of Wadesboro, Leon County, were arrested on a charge of stealing and resisting arrest. B. B. Smith, a sawmill owner who had been deputized especially to arrest them, had struck Norris with a pistol while doing so. In the justice of the peace court in Miccosukee, the two Negroes were acquitted. When they went to Smith's home to talk about the matter, a gun fight ensued, and Smith was killed. A group of blacks gathered to defend the two men against an anticipated mob, but they quietly surrendered when two deputies arrived to arrest them. Ultimately, ten Negroes were arrested, six of whom were charged with murder. A crowd gathered in Tallahassee, and talk of lynching increased. Six

36. Quoted in I. [Idus] A. Newby, *Jim Crow's Defense: Anti-Negro Thought in America, 1900-1930* (Baton Rouge, 1970), 169.
37. Samuel Proctor, *Napoleon Bonaparte Broward, Florida's Fighting Democrat* (Gainesville, 1950), 252.

of the men were smuggled out of Tallahassee and taken to Lake City for safekeeping. A few evenings later several men drove to Lake City and got the blacks out of jail on a forged release order, took them to the edge of town, and riddled all six with bullets for more than a half hour. No one in Lake City went to investigate the shooting until the assassins were driving away, thus there were no witnesses to the crime. Governor Albert Gilchrist offered a $250 reward for information about the lynching, but a cursory investigation was shortly abandoned without success.[38]

There was almost no provocation for an incident at Monticello in 1913. Sheriff's deputies went into Log Town, a black section, at about eleven o'clock one Saturday evening just "scouting around." Seeing a group of blacks walking down the road, the deputies called on them to stop to be searched. The Negroes ran. The deputies fired and three blacks were wounded; one of them permanently paralyzed by a shot in the back. No weapons were found on any of them.[39] Walking down the road on a Saturday night seemed to be sufficient cause for a presumption of guilt only in the case of blacks.

When J. A. McClellan shot and killed Charlie Perry, a black, in 1918, the coroner's jury found the shooting to have been in self-defense. It was true that an argument between them had been started by Perry. But the reason for the altercation was that McClellan and others had broken into Perry's house and had searched it without either a warrant or the owner's permission.[40] During the 1920 general election, July Perry of Ocoee, Orange County, caused a disturbance when he tried to vote without having paid his poll tax. He even threatened election officials, but it is inconceivable that the aftermath would have been the same had he been white. Whites followed Perry home and ordered him out of his house. He fired on them. When the altercation was over three days later, the entire Negro section of Ocoee had been burned and four innocent people consumed in the fire. The grisly episode ended only after a mutilated July Perry was finally put to death by the mob

38. Miami *Daily Metropolis,* May 13, 22, 1911; *Pensacola Journal,* May 14, 23, 1911; *Tallahassee True Democrat,* May 19, 26, 1911; *Jasper News,* May 26, 1911.
39. Monticello *News,* April 4, 1913.
40. *Ibid.,* August 16, 1918.

which had tired of torturing him.[41] Three years later at Rosewood, near Cedar Key, a white mob charged into the black community searching for an alleged rapist, burned six houses and a church, and killed five blacks. This time the blacks fought back and two whites also died.[42]

The lynching of Claude Neal in Jackson County in 1934 was so shocking that it stimulated a renewed effort in Congress to enact anti-lynching legislation. Neal was accused of murdering a white girl with whom it was charged he had had an illicit relationship. Transferred from jail to jail in West Florida and in southern Alabama he was finally overtaken by a mob in the latter state and brought back to Marianna. He was tortured and mutilated, dragged behind a car, and finally displayed on the streets before crowds, including school children, who attacked the then lifeless body. The corpse was hanged on the courthouse square. On the following day mobs threatened blacks on the streets of Marianna, and order was not restored until the militia was called in.[43] The NAACP published a report of the incident which aroused considerable ire across the nation, but nothing was done. The attorney general ruled that the recently enacted federal law against kidnapping across state lines did not apply because a monetary ransom had not been the purpose of the mob.[44] And as always there was no remedy under state law.

Violence was only the extreme and most visible surface of a racially segregated society. Many whites who deplored violence still obeyed the infinite daily reinforcements of their segregated system: separate dining facilities, theaters, restrooms, waiting rooms, railroad cars, and drinking fountains, as well as the customary racial divisions of labor. While blacks and whites often worked at comparable jobs at the lower end of the economic spectrum, nearly all the professional and white collar jobs were limited to whites and the most menial tasks were overwhelmingly filled by blacks. Even where employment of blacks and whites was comparable, compensation was disproportionate.

41. George Brown Tindall, *The Emergence of the New South, 1913-1945* (Baton Rouge, 1967), 165-66; David Chalmers, "The Ku Klux Klan in the Sunshine State: The 1920's," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XLII (January 1964), 210.
42. Tindall, *Emergence of the New South*, 155.
43. Howard Kester, "The Lynching of Claude Neal," NAACP pamphlet published in 1934, copy in author's possession.
44. Tindall, *Emergence of the New South*, 551.

For example, black school teachers in the 1930s in one north Florida county earned from $37.50 to $40 per month, slightly less than half the salaries of their white counterparts.[45] At that time Confederate veterans were drawing pensions of $37.50 per month. Even the New Deal programs of the national government, designed to relieve the poverty of the 1930s, were affected by racism. Relief administrations in Jacksonville established a formula which gave forty-five per cent of the available funds to Negroes and fifty-five per cent to whites, while black relief families outnumbered white by three to one.[46] Florida Negroes were often denied access to the work-relief programs of the Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Youth Administration on the grounds that they were unqualified to meet admission standards.[47]

By the time Claude Neal was lynched in 1934 forces outside the state were already undercutting the racial status quo. Negro migration into northern cities had created potential black political power. Breaking traditional ties with the Republican party, large numbers of urban blacks voted for Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1936, beginning an alliance with the national Democratic party which still exists. The NAACP had gained considerable attention by its publicity of lynching statistics and its lobbying for an anti-lynch law. It won its first school desegregation case at the graduate level in 1937. In World War II blacks made significant gains in the armed services and in defense jobs at home. Further migrations out of the South occurred. The Truman administration called for fair employment practices and the 1948 Democratic platform endorsed the idea. The military services were integrated in 1949.

Despite all these changes, the 1954 United States Supreme Court decision in *Brown* v. *Board of Education of Topeka* and its 1955 directive to integrate the public schools with "all deliberate speed" fell like a bombshell on Florida and the other southern states. The Florida attorney general sent to the court the results of a study by social scientists showing that attempts to integrate the state's schools would cause violence. On the basis of the report he asked for a stay of execution of the

45. *Monticello News,* June 3, 1932.
46. Tindall, *Emergence of the New South,* 547.
47. *Ibid.,* 547-48.

decision. Some public officials said the court decision was too soon; others said it was an invasion of state rights and a usurpation of legislative power by the courts. State Senator John Rawls of Marianna introduced a resolution in the legislature which emphasized that the constitution of Florida added "legal force to the time honored custom and native inclination of the people of Florida, both negro and white, to maintain . . . a segregated public school system . . . integration . . . in the public schools . . . would tend to encourage the . . . unnatural, . . . abhorrent, execrable, and revolting practice of miscegenation."[48]

White Floridians girded themselves to resist. With a full range of laws requiring segregation and the widespread belief in state rights, theirs was a formidable defensive arsenal. Because the segregation laws conformed so closely to the social values of white Floridians, they emphasized the primacy of state legislation and branded the United States Supreme Court a usurper. Opponents of integration eventually destroyed much of the creditability of the national court system by emphasizing the clash of state law with the court. It was at this point that the "Jim Crow" laws were crucial, Instead of having to face the basic question of how a state could distinguish between its citizens by law, segregationists were able to attack the integrity of the agency which raised the question. It was much more satisfying to defend the right of the state against invasions of the national court than to defend the "Jim Crow" system on its dubious merits.

Governor LeRoy Collins's unwillingness to defy the court was a setback, but he promised to use all lawful efforts to maintain segregation while at the same time calling on Floridians to obey the law of the land.[49] The legislature went beyond the governor's position, passed a resolution calling on him to interpose the authority of the state to protect Florida citizens from any effort of the national government to enforce the Brown decision, and enacted legislation providing for the closing of the schools if the United States used force to integrate them.[50] Representative Mallory Horne of Leon County led an effort to

48. Florida *Senate Journal,* 1955, 183.
49. Joseph A. Tomberlin, "Integration and Education in Florida: The First Decade, 1954-1964" (M.A. thesis, Florida State University, 1964), 58.
50. *Ibid.,* 78, 84.

restrict the authority of the court, and many Floridians prepared to *defend the law by resisting* the Brown decision.

The moderation of Governor Collins made an immense difference in Florida. Despite the attorney general's warnings of incipient violence, and amidst reports of disruptions in other states, Florida passed through this "Second Reconstruction" with markedly little actual violence. Although there was almost no progress toward school integration for years after the Brown decision, the civil rights movement broadened to other areas and accelerated. White Floridians retreated slowly, resisting each attack on their social system by referring to the state laws. Gradually the national court system negated those laws. With constant pressure from the courts, and belatedly from Congress and the president, the legal framework of segregation crumbled.

But the initiative came almost entirely from outside the state. Some Floridians, exasperated at the national government's interference, argued that they had been gradually working out solutions for the racial problem before the Brown decision. Some social scientists argue that as a rural, agricultural society becomes urban and industrialized that racial segregation breaks down because it cannot function in such a society. However that may be, there was little change in the racial caste system in Florida until the nation once more became interested in it. The hideous lynchings of the early twentieth century ceased when Congress started seriously considering anti-lynching legislation. Education funds went to Negro schools in larger quantity as the NAACP began winning its desegregation cases. New congressional legislation on civil rights, public accommodations, and voting spearheaded changes in these areas.

With assistance from the national courts and marshals, blacks moved from the back of the buses, sat down at public lunch counters, came down out of the theater balconies, attended previously all-white schools at least in small numbers, and moved into the mainstream of Florida society in countless ways which had been denied them by both law and custom in the past. It was still a piece-meal movement, and social approval of segregation was still strong among whites, but the "Jim Crow" legal system had been nullified by the late 1960s.

Florida society still retains some of its traditional segregation.

Negroes still live mostly in the less desirable sections of towns. Many white families have taken their children from the public schools and sent them to "Christian" schools which cropped up rapidly after 1968. But there is a significant difference. Supported by custom *and the law* only a few years ago, segregation and its correlative of white supremacy and black inferiority were taken for granted by most political and other opinion leaders. Some applauded it as beneficial and even necessary for the South. Gubernatorial candidate Bill Hendricks campaigned throughout Florida in the 1950s as the Ku Klux Klan candidate.[51] White supremacists rested confidently and comfortably with their views, knowing that they were supported by the laws of the state.

That has changed. Few Floridians now speak publicly against basic civil rights for blacks. Racial jokes have moved from most drawing rooms into the rest rooms. Denial of the legal sanction for segregation has reversed the burden of public approval. It is no longer popular to advocate segregation, at least directly. Those who believe in it are on the defensive. In the 1974 election, Jeff Latham, a candidate for statewide office ruined his creditability and his chances for election when he admitted appealing for support from a racist organization.[52]

It is difficult to change the values of society by law– or in the jargon of the capitol hallways "You can't legislate morality"– but it is possible to take away the legal basis for repugnant practices. "Jim Crow" legislation had provided an immense reinforcement of a segregated society and the rationale for it. Its repeal was difficult because it complemented the values of the most powerful groups of Florida society. But once that legislation was nullified, segregationists found themselves on the opposite side of the law. Interposition was a last-ditch effort to justify the system in terms of state sovereignty along lines enunciated by John C. Calhoun more than a century earlier and negated by the Civil War. The state rights defense was gradually discredited in the 1960s by repeated revelations of

51. Bill Hendricks campaigned as the Ku Klux Klan candidate for governor in 1952, 1956, and 1966.

52. Jeff Latham, candidate for the office of treasurer and insurance commissioner, sought and received support from the Ku Klux Klan. When challenged by newsmen, he refused to repudiate that organization's backing. Thomas O'Malley defeated Latham, despite serious charges of malfeasance pending against the former.

southern law enforcement officials using the color of law to commit criminal acts in defense of segregation.

Finally forced to the basic question of how to justify segregation on its merits in terms of mid-twentieth century America and without the support of "Jim Crow" laws– much as their ancestors had had to deal with the problem of converting slaves to freedmen in 1865-1866– white Floridians have exerted remarkable effort to overcome their segregationist views. They have come far from the time when violence was justified on the ground of the necessity for white supremacy. Many people who still prefer a segregated society restrain themselves from open advocacy of it. And most important of all, most Floridians are willing to accept recent changes, albeit sometimes reluctantly, because they are reinforced by the law.

Racial divisions of American society persist and have become a national problem, but they are no longer being dealt with at the level to which they had descended in the early twentieth century. Americans have probably gone as far toward an integrated society as legal changes will take them. Difficulties encountered with the Supreme Court's "busing" decisions reveal the limits on law as a positive force. Legal provisions cannot diverge too far from custom and belief without disruption. But the disparity is not as great in 1977 as in 1867-1868 when the "black code" was replaced by laws calling for equality. With time– history– and tolerance, custom and the law will once more coincide as they did for white Floridians before 1860.

"FLORIDA WHITE," SOUTHERN BELLE

by MARGARET ANDERSON UHLER*

THE LIFE OF ELLEN ADAIR WHITE BEATTY reads like a romantic novel. Born Eleanor Katherine Adair, June 5, 1801, near Harrodsburg, Kentucky, she was one of eleven children of General John Adair, veteran of the Revolution and the War of 1812 and eighth governor of Kentucky. During Florida's early years as an American territory, Ellen became one of her most fascinating figures. A keen mind and sparkling personality, together with a madonna-like beauty, combined to make her the idol of intellectual and fashionable circles in Europe as well as in America.[1]

Ellen married Joseph M. White of Franklin, Kentucky, a lawyer twenty years her senior, on June 7, 1820. When Florida was purchased by the United States from Spain, President Monroe appointed White one of the thirteen members of the Legislative Council of the newly-created Territory of Florida. In June 1822, the Whites arrived in Pensacola where Colonel White practiced law and became adjutant general of militia and district attorney for Pensacola. He also became an expert in international law, particularly as it applied to the transfer of Spanish deeds to American titles. In addition, he pursued a successful political career.[2] Since his election as territorial representative to Congress necessitated having a permanent residence in the territory, he purchased 6,000 acres of land with 250 slaves, and began construction of a palatial plantation home called "Casa Bianca" in Jefferson County.[3]

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* Ms. Uhler is a descendant of Florida White. She is a graduate of Georgia College in Milledgeville and a part-time English instructor at Georgia Military College and Georgia College.

1. An undated, unidentified newspaper clipping in the scrapbook of Etta Adair Anderson, located in the General James Patton Anderson Papers, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville. Hereinafter referred to as Anderson scrapbook.
2. *Tallahassee Democrat*, June 28, 1964. See also Dorothy E. Hill, "Joseph M. White, Florida's Territorial Delegate, 1825-1837" (M.A. thesis, University of Florida, 1950).
3. *Monticello News*, February 28, 1969.

Because there were two Whites in the United States Congress at the time, Ellen became known as "Florida White" to distinguish her from the other Mrs. White, Mrs. Barton White, whose husband was a representative from New York. She was a great social success in Washington; her intelligence and wit provided a perfect foil for her husbands legal brilliance. As she had accompanied her father to Washington frequently when he was senator from Kentucky, she was acquainted with the duties required of the wife of a prominent politician.[4]

Colonel White's career took the couple several times to Europe where they were received in the most eminent circles. On one occasion, they were invited to a ball given by a member of the Bonaparte family.[5] When the hostess suggested that Ellen wear a native American costume, she arrived at the ball dressed as an Indian girl, "gay with beads and feathers, with a quiver at her back and a bow in her hand. She was afterward known as 'La Belle Savage.' "[6]

On another occasion, Colonel White was sent to Spain in connection with some legal details of the Florida purchase. When Ellen hesitated to accompany him because of her health, he arranged for her to visit Rome and to stay with Commodore Biddle and his family.[7] Cardinal Mezzafonti, the Pope's grand chamberlain, was a frequent visitor at the Biddle household, and Ellen expressed a desire to meet His Holiness. The cardinal made the necessary arrangements and instructed Ellen to wait at the Sistine Chapel the next day until the Pope came along and she would be introduced to him. The following day, however, she received a more interesting invitation and failed to keep her appointment with the Pope. That evening, the cardinal called to point out that she had so offended the Pope that she should leave Rome immediately; her failure to honor the appointment was more serious than she had realized. Ellen apologized for her mistake, but informed the cardinal that she was interested in a private interview, not a public one. Mezzafonti, amazed at her effrontery, explained that the Pope never admitted any women to private audiences except wives, daughters, or sisters of

4. Obituary of Ellen Adair White Beatty, Anderson scrapbook.
5. Possibly Princess Caroline, sister of Napoleon.
6. "A Scrap of History," undated clipping in Anderson scrapbook.
7. The delicacy of Ellen's health is mentioned occasionally, but the nature of it is never identified or actually established.

sovereigns. Ellen retorted that she was the daughter of a sovereign; in her country the people were sovereign, and she was a daughter of the people. The cardinal, appreciating her wit, relayed the message to the Pope who, also amused, granted her the private audience as a "daughter of a sovereign." The following extract from a letter is Ellen's personal recollection of the incident: "On that day we went, as directed, in carriages to the Vatican, where we found the great gate of the Vatican had been opened during the day, that being opened only on days when the Pope was receiving some royal personage, and a very large crowd had gathered in the streets . . . to see what royalty was visiting the Pope that day. . . . When we entered the hall we found the servants had laid a large scarlet carpet . . . in the center of the hall, and placed three chairs upon it; and as we entered at one door, the Pope entered from a door at the other end. . . . I found the old gentleman very much interested in the gossips of the courts where I had been spending time (in Paris, Madrid, and Naples), and we had quite a pleasant conversation. . . . [After the interview] . . . His Holiness then arose with great dignity . . . and remarked to me: 'From this time on, as long as you remain in Rome, all my officials will treat you as a royal personage.' . . . A few evenings later, I went with some friends to the Sistine Chapel to hear the music . . . which was given every afternoon at four o'clock. As I entered St. Peter's, a high officer of the Pope walked up and saluted me as if I were of royal stock, and invited me and my suite into the gallery of the Sistine Chapel, which was reserved only for those of royal family. . . . When I came down, an officer walked to the door with me and called for the carriage of "Her Royal Highness," and my carriage came up. . . . And from that time forward, during my stay there, whenever I met an officer of the Pope I was saluted as if I were of royal stock."[8]

Before Ellen left Rome, the Pope sent her a parting gift of a bronze casket containing an item which was later erroneously reported. An article in the *New York Fashion Bazar [sic],* by Mary

8. This anecdote was the subject of a letter from Alex A. Hansell, Thomasville, Georgia, April 27, 1904, to Mrs. Korfoot. Mr. Hansell related the verbal account as he remembered it as it was told to him by Ellen in 1867, hence the quote in the first person. The letter was given to the author by the late Edwin C. Pugsley of New Haven, Connecticut, May 19, 1975.

E. Bryan, which appeared some time after Ellen's death, described it as a valuable "diamond cross," centered with an "exquisitely carved image of Christ in amethyst."[9] Ellen's niece, Etta Adair (Mrs. Patton) Anderson, who lived with her aunt for some years, stated that the casket contained a coral rosary that was not intrinsically valuable, though it was greatly cherished.[10] Bryan was also incorrect when she wrote that Ellen sold this "diamond cross" to help build the Southern Presbyterian Church in Washington, D.C.[11] The account of Ellen's actual gift to the church came to the author through a great-niece of Ellen and daughter of Etta; it therefore has the ring of authenticity. Ellen had purchased a dart-shaped diamond hair ornament to wear to Queen Victoria's coronation. It was this item that she donated to the Southern Presbyterian Church, but it was returned when the "diamonds" were discovered to be paste and the piece of jewelry worthless. As Ellen had paid for diamonds, she was chagrined to learn that she had been victimized. Nevertheless, she felt a gift was still in order, and she sent a silver service which the church accepted.[12]

Ellen was considerably more fortunate in her gifts than she was in her purchases. In 1834, Colonel White was retained by Prince Achille Murat, his neighbor in Jefferson County, to represent him in his claim to money and property that had been confiscated by the French government. Murat's mother, Princess Caroline, was Napoleon's sister. Colonel White was not successful in restoring Murat's fortunes, but his endeavor led him to Florence, where he and Ellen were entertained by Princess Caroline.[13] Wishing to present her guest with a souvenir, Princess Caroline asked Ellen what she could give her as a token of her regard. Ellen looked at the graceful hand of the aged princess and answered, "Your hand." When the Whites returned to America, Ellen received an affectionate letter and

9. James Barnett Adair, *Adair History and Genealogy* (Los Angeles, 1924), 85. The bronze casket is presently in possession of the family of Mr. Pugsley. His mother purchased it from a former Casa Bianca slave who had used it as a tobacco tin. The rosary has never been located.
10. Conversations with the late Miss Margaret Bybee Anderson, Palatka, Florida, between 1940 and 1960.
11. *Monticello News*, February 28, 1969.
12. Conversations with Margaret Bybee Anderson.
13. A. J. Hanna, *A Prince in Their Midst, The Adventurous Life of Achille Murat on the American Frontier* (Norman, 1946), 216-20.

Florida White. From Adair's *Adair History and Genealogy*.

Florida White. From *New York Fashion Bazar*. Reproduced by courtesy of P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History.

an ebony and pearl casket enclosing a bronze cast of Princess Caroline's hand.[14]

Colonel White was devoted to his beautiful wife and determined that she should have all the advantages, attendant upon wealth and prestige. He was justly proud of her accomplishments and made it possible for her to meet people of social and literary prominence in Europe and America. On one occasion, before sailing for Europe, the couple received letters of introduction from several influential Americans, including one from Washington Irving which opened the doors of England's literati to them. Sir Edward Bulwer-Lytton honored Ellen with a poem, inscribed to "Florida White– our truant member."

You have gone from us, lady, to shine
In the throng of the gay and the fair,
If you're happy, we will not repine,
But say, can you think of us there?
Circled round by the glittering crowd,
Who flatter, gaze, sigh, and adore,
I would ask, if I were not too proud,
Has your heart room for one image more?
Forgive us, sweet lady, ah, do,
We'll blot out these words from our song,
Though absent we know you are true,
Though jealous, we feel we are wrong.
Some millions of insects might pass
In your rays as those of the sun,
Then is not folly to ask
Your glances should beam here alone?[15]

Extravagant praise followed Ellen wherever she went. John Quincy Adams declared her the Tenth Muse, and he added a whimsical note to an album she had received as a birthday gift. Ellen dedicated the volume to "Folly" and painted the initial page with the symbolic cap and bells. Adams responded in light vein:

Come, bring the cap and bring the bells,
And banish sudden melancholy,
For who shall seek for Wisdom's cells
When Ellen summons him to folly?

14. *Monticello News,* February 28, 1969.
15. *Ibid.*

And if 'tis folly to be wise,
As bards of mighty fame have chanted,
Whoever looked in Ellen's eyes,
And then for sages' treasures panted!
Oh! take the cap and bells away;
The very thought my soul confuses
Like Jack between two stacks of hay,
Or Garrick's choice between the Muses.[16]

Colonel White died in 1839, leaving Ellen a sizable fortune. Five years later, she married Dr. Theophilus Beatty, a member of the English nobility. During their marriage, which ended with his death in 1847, they lived in New Orleans, but continued to spend half of each year at Casa Bianca. Ellen was singularly blessed in having two happy marriages, though both of them were childless.[17]

Ellen was still a relatively young woman when she became a widow for the second time. As she had no children, she turned her affections to her niece, Etta, the daughter of her brother, Dr. William Adair. Ellen sent her to school, took her on trips, and soon began to think of her as her daughter. In fact, she wanted to adopt Etta, but her brother would not agree to give up one of his children. He was happy, however, for Etta to have the advantages of education and travel that Ellen offered. Since Etta had spent her childhood on her father's farm and had been taught almost entirely by her mother, she was grateful for the opportunity to receive a "finished" education. She later paid dearly for Ellen's generosity.[18]

In the fall of 1849, Ellen took Etta to New York where she enrolled her in a fashionable private school. Etta was to remain there while Ellen travelled in Europe. Then, on the day of her departure, Ellen announced, "My daughter, I cannot cross the Atlantic alone; I have never intended to. I am lonely and need you. I knew if I asked your father he would never consent for you to go so far, and I could never take you against his positive commands. After it is done, it will be all right with him and your dear mother."[19] On arriving in Liverpool, Ellen wrote

16. Adair, *Adair History and Genealogy*, 81.
17. *Ibid.*, 76.
18. Etta Adair Anderson to E. S. Meany, Palatka, Florida, July 23, 1902, in possession of author.
19. *Ibid.*

her brother "and it was just as she said."[20] This trip was Etta's initiation into the sophisticated life of European society.

The tour lasted a year. After several months of travelling on the continent, Ellen decided to go to Palestine, leaving Etta behind in school in Paris. At the last minute, however, she impulsively changed her plans again. Etta recalled the incident many years later, "She at once decided that travel would do me more good than school; she might not be living when my school days were over (as far as I knew, she was in perfect health), and I was young enough to travel and go to school after."[21]

Just as they were leaving for the Middle East, Ellen received word that some of Colonel White's relatives were trying for the second time to break his will. This necessitated her immediate return to America. On arriving in New York, Ellen again deposited Etta in the same school she had attended the year before. After several months Ellen, again without notice, announced that they were going to New Orleans where Etta would study French and music. Arriving at Casa Bianca en route to New Orleans, Etta learned that her mother had died, and she returned to her home in Kentucky.[22]

The closeness of the relationship continued, and was further strengthened when Etta married her first cousin, Patton Anderson, the son of Ellen's sister, Margaret. Etta and Patton spent the first three years of their marriage in the Washington Territory where Patton was United States marshal and later territorial representative to Congress. In 1856, however, they accepted Ellen's invitation to live with her in Florida, as she needed Patton to manage Casa Bianca for her since her health had become frail.[23]

By this time, Ellen's fortunes had diminished, but not her extravagant habits. The White relatives had not been successful in their attempts to break Colonel White's will, but Ellen's, talents did not include managing her finances wisely. Shortly after Etta and Patton arrived, Ellen borrowed $20,000 from him. She did not repay the debt, but promised Etta that she was going to give all the slaves to her. Then, in 1860, without con-

20. *Ibid.*
21. *Ibid.*
22. *Ibid.*
23. *Ibid.*

sulting Etta or Patton, she sold all of them except the one family she intended to free. Patton, outraged at the cruelty of breaking up the slave families, bought back as many of them as he could; "he worked himself sick nearly trying to keep mothers from being separated from young children, etc."[24]

When Etta and Patton went to live with her, Ellen wrote a will leaving her entire estate to Etta. Within a short time, however, she needed money again, and sold Casa Bianca to Patton. He paid her in gold which she deposited in New York. During the Civil War, while she was unable to obtain her funds, she was supported completely by Patton. After the war, she again had access to this deposit, but it was all that remained of a once impressive estate.[25]

Before Patton went into the army in 1861, he sold Casa Bianca and was paid in Confederate money. When the war was over, his fortune was gone and his health broken from the results of a serious wound he had heceived at the Battle of Jonesboro. When he died in 1872, Etta and her five children were destitute. Ellen died in 1884 and left Etta nothing, although she was well aware of Etta's need. Ellen did not make a new will or suggest that her intentions concerning Etta's legacy had changed. Nevertheless, her actual beneficiaries claimed that before her death she had given them all her valuable personal items and the small residue of her capital.[26] There was therefore nothing in Ellen's estate for Etta to inherit. Though this treatment of Etta might well have been accidental on Ellen's part, she failed to exert any serious effort at making restitution to Etta, either during her life or after her death.[27]

It should also be pointed out that when Ellen herself became homeless through her own foolhardy extravagance, she did not lack for care and concern from her family. Etta's brother, Cromwell Adair, a prominent lawyer, banker, and farmer in

24. Portion of an undated letter from Etta Adair Anderson to an unidentified niece, in possession of the author.
25. *Ibid.*
26. *Ibid.* These personal items included the bronze cast of Princess Caroline's hand, the portrait by an Italian artist from which the photograph at the beginning of this article was made, and a Carrara marble bust of Ellen sculpted by Horation *[sic]* Greenough in Italy around 1830. The bust is presently in the Mary Buie Museum in Oxford, Mississippi. Brochure of the Mary Buie Museum and conversations with Margaret Bybee Anderson.
27. Letter from Etta Adair Anderson to a niece.

the small town of Morganfield, Kentucky, and already the entire support of Etta and her children, offered to take care of Ellen for the rest of her life, and even to build her a cottage close to his house. In this way, she would be free from the distractions of the children, and yet at the same time, under the constant attention of Etta. Ellen declined this invitation, for "she could not live where she was not [constantly] going, and where she was not admired and flattered."[28] Instead, she spent her final years paying visits of several months duration to different relatives. It was on one of these visits to Oxford, Mississippi, that she died, and there is where she was buried.[29]

Although mention of Florida White appeared in books, newspapers, and magazines, the only article that is presently available is the sketch by Mary E. Bryan, a newspaper woman who had a brief personal acquaintance with Ellen shortly before her death. While this article has some value, it contains a number of inaccuracies. Etta retained the original undated section from the *New York Fashion Bazar*. She also added enlightening marginal notes, both in support and in denial of Bryan's statements. Beside a paragraph mentioning Ellen's "single-hearted love for her husband [Colonel White] who always seemed to her 'the grandest man in any assembly,'" Etta wrote an emphatic "True!"[30]

The following paragraph, on the other hand, did not rate the same approval: "How firmly she adhered to the restrictions of her church– the old fashioned Presbyterian– can be seen from the fact that she refused to dance, though princes sought her hand, and she was inside a theater but once, although she was a Shakespeare worshiper and possessed extraordinary histrionic talent." The margin bears the cryptic reproof "Stuff!"[31] Etta's description of her first trip under the chaperonage of her aunt further negates that myth: "In Louisville I attended my first theater. . . . I found my father's family (as I had known) was prominent in society and politics. Of course, Aunt was dined and supped, etc., and I though a child was taken with her. Here I attended my first grand dining and was instructed by

28. *Ibid.*
29. *Ibid.*
30. The original article from the *New York Fashion Bazar* is in the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History.
31. *Ibid.*

my Aunt that I must take wine if invited to do so."[32] Nor was there any objection to dancing, a popular diversion for the entire family. Ellen was devout, not fanatic.

Another accolade to prompt an acerbic objection from Etta was the following: "She built a chapel for the slaves on the plantation. She assembled them in it every Sunday, and she herself superintended the Sunday School, prayed and sung with them, and explained the portions of the Bible she read to them in her rich, cultured voice. . . . For two of them– special favorites– she purchased a neat little home in Monticello."[33] The marginal annotation "All Stuff!" is treated more fully in a letter from Etta to a niece: "There is so much in this sketch that is positive falsehood that I hate to have you read it without I was there to tell you. She did build the church before we went there. Your *Uncle Patton* employed a Mr. Clisby to teach the negroes– gave him a regular sallary *[sic]* besides his board."[34] Etta further added that Ellen's favorite slave, her maid Rebecca, bought her "neat little home" with her own money; it was not a gift. It was true, however, that a few years before Ellen's death, Rebecca paid her former mistress a heartwarming tribute in a letter addressed to "My Dear Mistress." "We hear you now have no home, and we write to beg you to come and live in ours. We will move into the kitchen. It is plenty good and you can have the house, and we will wait on you and be so glad to do something to show you how we remember your goodness to us. Them old days at Casa Bianca was the happiest we have ever seen."[35]

Etta's conclusion about the Bryan article suggests a justified indignation, "There is so much in this that is true. Her talents and beauty and attractiveness could not be exaggerated. Then why not let that go and not tell so many horrid falsehoods. The devotion of both husbands and their admirations, especially Uncle White's, had certainly made her very, very selfish. I lived with her for years and this was as I saw and knew her, as I grew older and less devoted to her."[36]

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32. Etta Adair Anderson to Meany, July 23, 1902.
33. *New York Fashion Bazar.*
34. Etta Adair Anderson to niece.
35. *New York Fashion Bazar.*
36. Etta Adair Anderson to niece.

The Bryan article also appears in the *Adair History and Genealogy* by Dr. James B. Adair, published in 1924. Every passage which inspired Etta's comment "Stuff!" was omitted. Etta died in 1917, before the author had contacted various members of the Adair family for data to be included in the book; therefore, she could not have been responsible for the editing. The article was submitted to Dr. Adair by Annetta Scott Fox, who, as a child, had been acquainted with her great-aunt Ellen in Monticello. Her introduction to the article carries no mention of the deletions, but her discrete omissions supply ample reinforcement for Etta's views.[37]

Ellen Adair White Beatty was clearly a woman of many contradictions. The epitome of graciousness, beauty, and charm, she inspired the unreserved adulation of admirers on two continents. She dispensed largesse with profligate impetuosity, and nonchalantly took back gifts she had given. She abused the affections of those who loved her and made promises she never intended to keep. She was magnanimous and petty, democratic and haughty, ingenuous and artful. But no one who entered the orbit of this captivating personality ever forgot her.

37. Adair, *History and Genealogy*, 75-77.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE PEABODY FUND ON EDUCATION IN RECONSTRUCTION FLORIDA

by F. BRUCE ROSEN*

THE PEABODY EDUCATION FUND had an important impact on education in Florida, particularly during the post-Civil War years from 1869 to 1876. Through its emphasis on elementary education, its assistance to urban schools, and its support of segregated schooling, the Peabody Fund helped determine future patterns of education in the state.

The fund received its official impetus in 1867 when George Foster Peabody, merchant, financier, and philanthropist, announced a gift of $1,000,000 to be "held in trust, and the income thereof used and applied . . . for the promotion and encouragement of intellectual, moral, or industrial education among the young of the more destitute portions of the Southern and Southwestern States of our Union."[1] The trustees could allot up to forty per cent of the principal within two years of the fund's establishment.[2]

In June 1869, Peabody gave another $1,000,000, all but $875 in the form of securities, to the fund.[3] Peabody intended that the income from these grants "be distributed among the entire population, without other distinctions than their needs and the opportunities of usefulness to them."[4] In addition to the cash and securities, Peabody added two gifts of bonds issued by several southern states with a total face value of nearly $1,500,000. It included Florida state bonds valued at $384,000.[5] When, however, General Henry R. Jackson visited Florida to arrange for a settlement, he was advised that "no acts of the Legislature, no decisions of courts, or of any tribunal, had affirmed the validity

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1. *Proceedings of the Trustees of the Peabody Education Fund,* 3 vols. (Boston, 1875-1881), I, 3. Hereinafter cited as *Proceedings.*
2. *Ibid.,* 4.
3. *Ibid.,* 142-47.
4. *Ibid.,* 3.
5. *Ibid.,* 4, 146.

of the bonds; but the Territorial Council, the people, and the State had always denied their obligatoriness."[6] As a result, the fund provided no aid to Florida from 1886 to 1892.[7]

Peabody personally selected the board of trustees, and named his close friend, Robert C. Winthrop, former congressman and United States Senator from Massachusetts, as chairman.[8] One of Winthrop's main interests in his later years became the fund.[9] In fact, the fund had been created in the first place as a result of Winthrop's conversations with Peabody in October 1866.[10]

While no Floridian served as a trustee during the Reconstruction era, four Southerners were on the board: William C. Rives of Virginia, William Aiken of South Carolina, William A. Graham of North Carolina, and Edward A. Bradford of Louisiana. Bradford never attended an annual meeting and resigned in February 1871.[11] General Richard Taylor of Louisiana, the only son of Zachary Taylor, twelfth president of the United States, filled Bradford's place.[12] The remaining three Southerners– all moderates who, despite their Confederate loyalties during the war, had originally opposed secession– played active roles as trustees.[13] At the same 1871 meeting during which the board accepted Bradford's resignation and added Taylor, A. H. H. Stuart of Virginia was appointed, enlarging the southern contingent to five of the sixteen members. In 1875, when William A. Graham of North Carolina died, Henry R. Jackson of Savannah succeeded him.[14]

The fact that renowned Southerners were on the board and that Robert E. Lee, who met with George Peabody at White Sulphur Springs, West Virginia, in August 1869, approved of the fund, undoubtedly allayed any fears that may have been felt

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6. J. L. M. [Jabez Lamar Monroe] Curry, *A Brief Sketch of George Peabody and a History of the Peabody Education Fund Through Thirty Years* (Cambridge, 1898), 145.
7. *Ibid.,* 145-46.
8. *Proceedings,* I, 5.
9. Charles K. Bolton, "Robert Charles Winthrop," *Dictionary of American Biography,* 20 vols. (New York, 1928-1936), XX, 416-17.
10. *Proceedings,* II, 304.
11. *Ibid.,* 1, 226-27, 232.
12. *Ibid.,* 274,
13. J. H. Easterly, "William Aiken," *Dictionary of American Biography,* I, 128-29; Frank Nash, "William Alexander Graham," *Dictionary of American Biography,* VII, 480-81; Thomas P. Abernethy, "William Cabell Rives," *Dictionary of American Biography,* XV, 635-37.
14. *Proceedings,* II, 54.

by Southerners regarding its purpose.[15] The fund's general agent and the trustees opposed mixed schools, and the board agreed to leave that matter "entirely with the local authorities." It was agreed that "no portion of the fund can be expended on mixed schools except by the sanction of those authorities– a sanction which, so far as is known, has been uniformly withheld."[16] From the beginning, it was clear the promotion of primary or common school education would be emphasized first.[17] To this end, the Reverend Barnas Sears, president of Brown University, was appointed general agent, with the power to carry "out the designs of Mr. PEABODY in his great gift, under such resolutions and instructions as the board shall from time to time adopt."[18] Before becoming a university president in 1855, Sears had served as secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education where he strengthened many of the reforms begun by his predecessor, Horace Mann.[19] Described as a man of "administrative ability . . . imperturbable temper and genial personality," he was, however, not considered "an original thinker."[20]

Eschewing the shotgun approach to the distribution of funds, and recognizing that the interest on $2,000,000 would have to be used carefully if it was to have an impact on southern education, Sears supported aid for public schools "where large numbers can be gathered, and where a model system of schools can be organized."[21] In his report of January 20, 1868, he called for the adoption of a comprehensive plan "for the general improvement of the schools," rather than "doling out charitable aid to all who are in want of the means of education."[22]

Sears clearly reiterated this point of view when he responded to a letter from Florida Superintendant of Schools C.

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15. Franklin Parker, "George Peabody, 1795-1869: His Influence on Educational Philanthropy," *Peabody Journal of Education,* 49 (January 1972), 141-42.
16. "Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Florida," January 1, 1871, p. 27, in Florida *Senate Journal,* 1871, Appendix.
17. *Proceedings,* I, 16.
18. *Ibid.*
19. Harris Elwood Starr, "Barnas Sears," *Dictionary of American Biography,* XVI, 537-38.
20. *Ibid.*
21. *Proceedings,* I, 56.
22. *Ibid.,* 39.

Thurston Chase, who was inquiring as to the availability of aid. Sears wrote: "Our policy is to aid and encourage free public schools in those towns which are central and influential. . . . We cannot give charitable aid to all the feeble rural districts; our Fund would be insufficient for that. The amount divided among so many would be very insignificant, hardly worth asking for."[23]

The scale of grants established in 1870 gave eligible cities between $300 and $2,000. It was specified that at least 100 white children had to be aided if the community received any Peabody funds. This meant that black schools would be denied help unless their white counterparts, whose need was not quite as imperative, also received support. A white school with at least 100 pupils was eligible for $300; 150 pupils, $450; 200 pupils, $600; 250 pupils, $800; and 300 pupils, $1,000. All institutions had to be graded, with a teacher furnished for every fifty pupils.[24] Sears justified the policy with the argument that in many of the cities receiving Peabody dollars, there were already black schools which had been established by the Freedmen's Bureau and various charitable aid societies. The fund, he felt, should direct its efforts toward the needs of the white population.[25]

Sears apparently chose to ignore the appalling illiteracy among blacks, notwithstanding the existence of educational facilities that he mentioned. In Florida in 1870, 84.1 per cent of the black population ten years of age and over did not know how to read and write, as contrasted with 27.6 per cent of the comparable white population.[26] During the five year period, 1865-1870, among blacks ten to fourteen years of age-the group likely to be attending schools– illiteracy stood at 64.1 per cent, as compared to 37.6 per cent for whites.[27] The high percentage of illiterate young whites suggests that schooling became less readily available after the war than it had been in earlier years.

The emphasis on the education of blacks in Florida after the Civil War resulted in the reluctance of many white parents to send their children to the public schools. The 1870 census shows

23. *Ibid.,* 208.
24. *Ibid.,* 235-36.
25. *Ibid.,* 53-54, 91.
26. Charles Warren, *Illiteracy in the United States in 1870 and 1880* (Washington, 1884), 74.
27. *Ibid.,* 82.

at least fifty per cent of those whites attending school to be enrolled in private academies or similar institutions.[28]

Sears's policy towards Florida and the other southern states encouraged white rather than black public education. Negro schools received only two-thirds as much aid as white schools of comparable enrollments. The fund rationalized such differential treatment on the grounds that Negro schools cost less to operate and maintain.[29] On September 21, 1869, Sears informed Robert Winthrop that, "It costs less to maintain schools for colored children than for the white. Some will find fault with our making any distinction between the two races."[30] Sears was also not a proponent of integrated schools. When the fund was criticized for its support of a white private school system in Louisiana, Sears argued: "If the law requires mixed schools, and the children, whether white or black, generally attend them, we shall have no difficulty in our work. But if the State supports only mixed schools, and the white children do not attend them, we should naturally aid, *not* the colored children who enjoy, exclusively, the benefit of the public school money, but *the white children who are left to grow up in ignorance*. If it be said that the white children ought to attend the mixed schools, and that it is their own fault, or that of their parents, if they do not, we reply that we are not called on to pronounce judgment on that subject."[31]

Sears's statement pleased most conservative Southerners. If white students refused to attend integrated schools, Sears practically guaranteed that the Peabody fund would, as it did in Louisiana, support a white private school system and would terminate its already meager support of education for black children.

The Florida school law of 1869 did not specifically require separate school systems. An attempt had been made in the previous session of the legislature to enact such a bill, but it had been defeated, largely through the efforts State Senator Charles H. Pearce of Leon County, "bishop" in the African Methodist Church, and chairman of the Senate committee on

28. U. S. Census Office, *Ninth Census of the United States, 1870, Population*, I (Washington, 1872), 462.
29. Curry, *Brief Sketch*, 40.
30. *Ibid*.
31. *Ibid.*, 61.

education, Pearce announced that he would rather have no schools than a bill with such a proscription attached.[32] But the fact is that there had never existed any "danger" of mixed schools in Florida since the 1869 law permitted county school boards to separate the races by allowing "grading and classifying [of] the pupils."[33] These boards could also establish "separate schools for the different classes in such manner as will secure the largest attendance of pupils, promote harmony and advancement of the school, when required by the patrons."[34] Should there have been any misunderstanding of the implications of this particular specification, the Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian* hastened to explain "that with a Board composed of men who appreciate the importance of their position and are disposed to do what is right and proper, consulting the wishes and desires of the community, mixed schools . . . can be altogether avoided."[35]

There is no evidence that any integrated schools operated in Florida under the school law of 1869, and it is largely due to the lack of effective external pressure on the state's racially conservative educational policies that a dual school system emerged during Reconstruction. Sears lobbied effectively against federal civil rights legislation that would have required mixed schools. He argued that if too great a pressure for integration was placed on the South, a private school system would result, and the nascent state school systems would be destroyed.[36]

Insofar as he promulgated regulations which required white schools to be established first, provided lower funding for Negro schools, lobbied against mixed schools, and justified and tacitly supported segregated schools, Barnas Sears gave aid and comfort to the cause of a separate and unequal education for blacks in Florida and elsewhere. Sears's contention that the education of black children had been adequately provided for by the Freedmen's Bureau, charitable societies, and church groups, even if true, would still have been the case only in the earliest years after the Civil War. The Peabody fund's policy of differential

32. Dorothy Dodd, "'Bishop' Pearce and the Reconstruction of Leon County," *Apalachee*, II (1946), 8.
33. *Laws of Florida*, 1869, chapter 1686, section 19, p. 12.
34. *Ibid*.
35. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, September 14, 1869.
36. *Proceedings*, I, 405; Barnas Sears, "Education," *Atlantic Monthly*, 34 (September 1874), 381-82.

support continued throughout the Reconstruction period. In the thirteen years from 1867 to 1880, while Sears was general agent for, the fund, only six and one-half per cent of the $1,200,000 distributed for education went to schools specifically designated for blacks.[37]

Prior to the passage and implementation of the Florida school law of 1869, which laid the base for future educational legislation in the state and established the direction of education for the next century, Sears accurately described Florida as "very backward in education . . . [with] no schools in the rural districts."[38] The tenuous hold which public education had gained in Florida prior to the Civil War had been effectively destroyed by the conflict, and no legislative provision for the schooling of white children appeared until 1869. Education for blacks came from three sources working closely together: the Freedmen's Bureau, charitable and religious organizations, and the state. When the bureau drafted, and the state legislature passed, the "Act Concerning Schools for Freedmen" in 1866, Thomas W. Osborn, then assistant commissioner of the Florida Freedmen's Bureau, and later United States Senator from Florida, accurately described the legal status of education as "a thousand times better for the education of the blacks than for . . . [white] children."[39]

In reporting to the trustees on his July 1868 tour of Florida, Sears pointed out that despite Jacksonville's status as "the most flourishing town in Florida . . . there were no schools [in Jacksonville] of any account. In all the peninsula south of St. Augustine, there is no school of importance except at Gainesville." In St. Augustine, Sears found "no education except that given by Catholic priests and nuns."[40] Apparently, Sears was ignoring the state's schools for blacks. In 1867 there existed thirty-four day schools, twenty-two night schools, and twenty-nine Sabbath schools officially reported as freedmen's schools. Fifteen "unofficial" freedmen's schools also existed.[41] In 1868, thirty-three day,

37. Earle H. West, "The Peabody Education Fund and Negro Education, 1867-1880," *History of Education Quarterly,* 6 (Summer 1966), 4.
38. *Proceedings,* I, 104.
39. Osborn to O. O. Howard, January 19, 1866, "Records of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands," Record Group 105, National Archives, Washington, D.C.
40. *Proceedings,* I, 104-05.
41. U. S. Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands, *Semi-Annual Report on Schools for Freedmen,* 10 vols. in 9 (Washington, 1866-1870), IV, 18.

twenty-one night, and twenty-three Sabbath schools for freedmen operated in Florida.[42]

By 1870 Sears reported that as a result of the passage the previous year of the school law, Florida, despite inadequate funds, had "a very good system of public schools established by law."[43] Only after the passage of this 1869 law, and the improvement of educational opportunities for white children which followed, did the Peabody trustees begin to take an active role in providing educational support for Florida. From January 1, 1869, to December 31, 1876, the fund contributed a total of $41,950. During this period, contributions showed a pattern either of holding steady or of increasing until the end of 1874, when a sharp decline in the amount alloted took place.[44]

In 1869 the fund authorized $1,850 to Florida; grants the next year totalled $6,950. The fund distributed $6,550 in 1871; $6,200 in 1872; $7,700 in 1873; and $9,900 in 1874. The next year witnessed a reduction to $1,800, and in 1876 a further drop to $1,000 followed. The shrinkage in funds after 1874 did not affect only Florida, although between 1874 and 1876 Florida experienced the greatest reduction of any of the states receiving aid. The fund reduced grants from a high of $137,150 in 1873 to a low of $76,300 in 1876, a cut of approximately forty-five per cent.[45] Florida's educators, nonetheless, had little room for complaint. As early as 1869, Sears had written to Superintendent Chase pointing out that the "proper distributive share of Florida would be about $2,000 per annum; but as you are farther advanced than some of the other Southern States, I am willing to give Florida, by way of anticipation, more than double her share for this year."[46] In October 1877, Sears wrote to W. P. Haisley, Florida's newly-appointed superintendent of public instruction, to ask him if the state could make it through the year without aid, in view of the reduction of fund contributions by forty per cent. In his letter Sears reminded Haisley that "Florida has heretofore received much more than its share of the Fund."[47]

42. *Ibid.,* VI, 7.
43. *Proceedings,* I, 206.
44. *Ibid.,* II, 123.
45. *Ibid.*
46. "Report of the. Superintendent of Public Instruction," January 3, 1870, p. 66, in Florida *Senate Journal,* 1870, Appendix.
47. "Biennial Report of the Superintendent Public Instruction, for the

In Florida, as in the other southern states, the bulk of Peabody grants went to schools in more urban centers. The five Florida towns receiving the most aid during Reconstruction were St. Augustine, Key West, Tallahassee, Jacksonville, and Gainesville. Ocala, Apalachicola, Lake City, Quincy, Madison, and Pensacola also received small grants. In the larger communities, most of the money went to white schools. In 1868-1869, the only Peabody aid provided to Negro education in Florida consisted of $200 for an Apalachicola school with 100 pupils. During 1869-1870 black schools in Key West, Gainesville, Ocala, and Apalachicola received some help. In Gainesville a school with 200 black pupils received $300, while a similar amount went to the East Florida Seminary, a state-supported institution whose white student body numbered only about 100. Black schools in Ocala and Apalachicola each reported enrollments of 100 and received grants of $200, two-thirds the amount alloted to white schools with equal enrollments.[48]

In June 1872, Sears reported contributions to black schools in St. Augustine, Tallahassee, Gainesville, Key West, Monticello, Pensacola, Madison, Ocala, and Apalachicola.[49] After that year it is not possible to identify black institutions receiving Peabody aid, as extant records show only community totals. In the main, however, the bulk of disbursements from the fund continued to be spent on education for white children.

Although one Tallahassee newspaper referred to Peabody monetary aid for 1875 as a "mere pittance," it nonetheless constituted a significant contribution to public education in Florida.[50] In 1870, for example, Peabody spending equalled 11.3 per cent of public spending on education in the state.[51] In those counties receiving substantial grants, the Peabody fund often provided as much as twenty-five per cent of the annual school budget. During the 1871-1872 school year in Alachua County, the fund paid $1,000 of the estimated $6,000 expenses.[52]

School Years 1876-7 and 1878," December 31, 1878, p. 178, in Florida *Senate Journal*, 1879, Appendix.

48. *Proceedings*, I, 208, 253-56.
49. *Ibid.*, 306-10.
50. *Tallahassee Sentinel*, August 19, 1876.
51. Proceedings, II, 123; *Ninth Census, 1870, Population*, I, 462.
52. "Minutes of the Board of Public Instruction," II, 58, Alachua County Board of Public Instruction, Gainesville, Florida.

In St. Johns County during 1875-1876, of school operating expenses totalling $4,325, the Peabody fund contributed $l,000.[53]

Florida's educational spokesmen realized that the fund constituted a vital supplement to the state's resources. State Superintendent of Public Instruction Charles Beecher, in his 1872 report, pointed out that "aid derived from the Peabody Fund is of peculiar value, because it is so distributed as to sustain schools for about ten months in places where they become models of what good schools ought to be."[54] The chairman of the Jacksonville Board of Education wrote, in January 1873, that "for success [in education] we are dependent, in a large measure, on the aid received from the Peabody Fund."[55]

Through its support, the Peabody fund made many contributions to education in Florida and the South. It encouraged the newly-emerging state systems of education, emphasized the importance of the primary school as the base of the educational pyramid, and helped to establish models– in urban centers– of good primary schools. It is these contributions which led historians R. Freeman Butts and Lawrence Cremin to write: "The services of the Peabody Fund . . . cannot be over-estimated. Without its support it is doubtful that the South would have achieved even the limited advance evidenced by the turn of the century."[56]

Despite the fund's contributions to southern education, such an interpretation exaggerates the importance of the fund and fails to recognize the vitality of the South in the development of its own post-Civil War education. It also fails to come to grips with the second-class support given black schools or the conservatism of Barnas Sears and the board of trustees in racial matters. Someone once described Sears as "one of the veriest doughfaces in the whole Southern region." Although his successor as general agent, J. L. M. Curry, took exception to this description, there can be little doubt that Sears reflected the

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53. "Minutes and Letters of the Board of Public Instruction, 1875-79," p. 14, St. Johns County Board of Public Instruction, St. Augustine, Florida.
54. "Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, Of the State of Florida, for the Year ending Sept. 30, 1872," p. 16, in Florida *Senate Journal*, 1873, Appendix.
55. *Proceedings*, I, 373.
56. R. Freeman Butts and Lawrence A. Cremin, A *History of Education in American Culture* (New York, 1953), 412.

conservative viewpoint in the South.[57] As a result, the Peabody fund's most significant contribution to education in Florida may well have been its support and encouragement of the state's racially separate and unequal school system.

57. Curry, *Brief Sketch*, 60; *Tallahassee Sentinel*, August 19, 1876.

CAPTAIN HUGH YOUNG AND HIS 1818 TOPOGRAPHICAL MEMOIR TO ANDREW JACKSON

by ERNEST F. DIBBLE*

WHEN GENERAL ANDREW JACKSON campaigned through West Florida and took possession of Pensacola in 1818, he was traveling through territory not previously explored and mapped by an American. To traverse this territory with his army, he had to depend upon receiving extensive topographical information. For this he relied upon the surveys provided at the time by Captain Hugh Young, assistant topographical engineer and fellow Tennessean.

Not much is known of Young, but a little of his life can be pieced together from his several letters to his commanding officer. He worked under Jackson from 1816 through 1820, and perhaps until his death on January 3, 1822. His service to Jackson was perhaps even more extraordinary after Jackson left Pensacola than during the military campaign. The general came under attack and possible censorship for having exceeded his orders to defend the country's southern borders by pursuing Indians who were using Florida as a sanctuary and by trying to take over all of Florida. Young's embellished topographical report, written some time after the campaign, reflects the argument used later by James Parton, the historian, that Jackson was just innocently going to "scour the country west of the Appalachicola *[sic],*" on his way home to Tennessee.[1] Young's original topographical sketch, guiding Jackson mile by mile over land and fordable streams, was submitted May 5, 1818, for Jackson's May 7 march toward Pensacola. The sketch not only shows preplanning, but it also guides the American troops north around Pensacola directly to the Spanish forces at Fort San Carlos de

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1. James Parton, *Life of Andrew Jackson,* 3 vols. (New York, 1860), II, 489.

Barrancas. This certainly belies the Young-Parton innocent scouring argument.

It was Young himself who helped Jackson provide his other main defense against attacks from the Congress and from President James Monroe's cabinet. As Jackson was departing from Pensacola he told his troops that he had been forced to capture the town because Indians were being hosted there by the Spanish and that they were being stirred into action against Americans in Alabama and elsewhere on the frontier. But there was no proof for Jackson's argument, so Hugh Young returned to Pensacola in search of testimonials that might be used to support the general's activities in Florida. On September 1, 1818, over four months after Pensacola's fall, Young reported to him that he was going to return to Florida at once so that the "Business at Pensacola should be settled, as soon as possible."[2]

Young informed Jackson six weeks later: "I have succeeded in obtaining several valuable depositions, from respectable residents of Pensacola, fully proving the connection between the authorities of that place and the hostile Indians."[3] Young decided to convey orally all "the difficulties I encountered in procuring them, and the measures I was obliged to adopt before I succeeded."[4] Justice of the Peace M. McKenney provided special help to Young and later gathered more depositions to document Jackson's contention that he had to take Pensacola in order to curb Indian raids.[5] One scholar has concluded that Jackson's argument for taking Pensacola with use of these affidavits was "extremely flimsy."[6] However weak the documents as evidence, they were certainly gathered well after the fact.

Hugh Young's service to the nation might have been as important as his service to Andrew Jackson if he had lived

2. Hugh Young to Andrew Jackson, September 1, 1818, in Clarence Edwin Carter, comp. and ed., *The Territorial Papers of the United States,* 28 vols. to date (Washington, 1934-), *XVIII: The Territory of Alabama, 1817-1819,* 407.
3. Young to Jackson, October 12, 1818, Record Group 107, Old Army Section, National Archives, Washington, D.C.
4. *Ibid.*
5. The depositions given to Hugh Young and later to McKenney are found in *American State Papers: Foreign Relations,* 6 vols. (Washington, 1833-1859) IV, 570-72. Although the *American State Papers* contain the name "M. McKenney," Young referred to a justice of the peace named "McKenzie" in his letter of October 12, 1818 to Jackson.
6. John Spencer Bassett, *The Life of Andrew Jackson,* 2nd ed., 2 vols. in 1 (Hamden, Connecticut, 1967), 261.

beyond 1822 to carry out a farsighted vision he held for the future of the Gulf coast. He proposed to start on a complete coastal survey from New Orleans eastward, and explore inland areas to create a complete geographical, topographical, statistical, and natural history map and memoir of the South. This would provide a basis for planning internal improvement programs. Young's specific internal improvement suggestions included canals interspersed from Lake Pontchartrain through Apalachicola, and connecting the St. Mary and Suwannee rivers in East Florida. Of particular interest was his proposal to survey for roads to be constructed from Mobile Point across the width of Florida to St. Augustine, which he felt had both military and civil value for the future.[7] Young did begin his survey work with the "approbation" of General Jackson and the Secretary of War, but did not get further than Mobile Bay because of lack of ships, supplies, and financial support.[8] Several years passed after his death before any of his Florida plans were carried forth by others.

Hugh Young included a road plan not just east but also west of the Mississippi because he felt that "although the Mississippi will always be the great highway of the West, the rapid extension of our population beyond that stream, will soon render a land communication, in that quarter, as necessary as it is to the eastward of the river."[9] Young revealed his foresight when he espoused this grand vision of internal improvements for the entire South.

Back in 1818, Hugh Young had prepared a topographical, sketch for Jackson's campaign in East and West Florida, which he said he would use later for a "geographical memoir . . . as soon as the termination of the campaign affords sufficient leisure for such work." When the campaign ended, Young did rewrite and extensively embellish his sketch to satisfy a more general interest in the geography and Indian cultures of the region. This second version, published in 1934-1935 in the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, was based upon the assumption that although the original could not be found the revised version must be a faith-

7. Young to Jackson, September 23, 1819, Record Group 107.
8. Young to Jackson, November 17, 1819, July 19, 1820, Andrew Jackson Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
9. Young to Jackson, September 23, 1819, Record Group 107.

ful copy.[10] The second version was assumed to be a faithful copy because it was found among Records of Reports of the Office of Chief of Engineers in the National Archives. However, the original version was lying undiscovered among Reports on Fortifications and Surveys. With the refiling since the 1930s, the original has been found.

The differences between Young's original sketch and his later version are extensive and interesting. The original is less than one-fifth the length of the second version; it is a mile-by-mile description of the terrain to allow Jackson to recognize his way from. Fort Gadsden to Pensacola. In contrast, the second version divides the terrain into different districts by major topographical characteristics, and discusses the entire course and seasonal variations of flow for rivers and streams. For example, Young describes the 250-mile course of the Chattahoochie River and the whole network of inland waters flowing into the Apalachicola. In May 1818, Jackson wanted to know where and how to move his army across the rivers and streams, and that is the information he received instead of the more reflective, reorganized and thoughtful description written later. In like manner, Jackson could hardly have needed or wanted a dissertation on the domestic life and habits, customs and amusements of the Indians in the Muscogee Nation, which comprises almost one-third of the revised version.

Jackson did not need guidance to approach Pensacola from the north, since he had moved in from that direction in 1814. This perhaps explains why Young's original sketch does not describe how to go into Pensacola at all, but instead provides a northern route to circumvent the town and reach Fort San Carlos de Barrancas, where the Spanish forces were garrisoned. At that point the original sketch ends.

The later version provided two approaches into Pensacola, one from the north and the other from the beaches. Young then embellished with a description of the town's commerce, speculation on the question of retaining Florida, and a further journey to Fort Montgomery, Alabama. Such embellishments

10. Hugh Young, "A Topographical Memoir on East and West Florida With Itineraries of General Jackson's Army, 1818," edited by Mark F. Boyd and Gerald M. Panton, *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XIII (July 1934), 16. This document was published in Volume XIII of the *Quarterly* in three parts: July 1934, pp. 16-50; October 1934, pp. 82-104; January 1935, pp. 129-64.

provide a more thorough description of West Florida, but it was for the original that General Jackson praised Captain Young by name when he addressed his troops upon departure shortly after capturing Pensacola.

Fort Gadsden May 5, 1818

Major Gen'l. A. Jackson
Sir,

I submit a topographical sketch of the route from Fort Gadsden to Suwanney River *via* Mickasukey and St. Marks.

A geographical memoir, accompanied by a map, shall be prepared from the materials I have collected, as soon as the termination of the campaign affords sufficient leisure for such a work.

A report on the topography of the country between Hartford, Fort Early, and Fort Scott shall be annexed to the memoir.[11]

With great respect
Your obt. servt.
H. Young, Capt: To:Eng:

Topographical description of the route
From Fort Gadsden to Suwanney Towns.

To Oclocany River
N. 32½ E.– 38 miles

6½ miles to Big Creek. A branch of Apalachicola, entering the river 2 miles above Fort Gadsden– Country flat, with wet glades, and three small branches, with but little water in summer.

5½ miles to Juniper Creek. A branch of New River through a thickety, flat, and wet district, interspersed with bay galls. The path crosses in this distance, two branches; one in the first, another in the sixth mile-small but thickety– dry in summer.

11. Annexed to the described topographical sketch instead was the "Topographical Sketch of the route from Ochuse Bluff on Apalachicola River to Pensacola."

The creek is from fifty to sixty feet wide in winter but in summer is nearly without water. Bottom and banks a mixture of sand and mud.

4½ miles to New River. In this distance, the river is close on the right of the path– the soil similar to that just described; with six small thickety branches– dry in summer. New River is nearly dry in the warm months, but in winter, is sometimes swelled so as to be impassable. Bottom sandy– banks somewhat miry.

5½ miles to large branch. Of New River, with a bad thicket– Country like the last. Cross one bad branch with a thicket on the east side ¼ mile wide– dry at this season.

7½ miles to Tolsche Creek. Branch of Oclocany. Swamp ¼ mile wide on the west, and ½ mile on the east side. Banks and bottom sandy– width fifty feet– depth four feet. Country same as last; with numerous thickets which make the path, in places, extremely crooked. Two branches, one in the third, another in the fourth mile,. with bad thickets and somewhat miry– dry in summer.

8¾ miles to Okalokina River. Country rather higher than the last, presenting, in places, a little inequality of surface, with an occasional mixture of small oak with the pine. Several small miry and thickety branches; dry in summer. Okalokina fifty six yards wide with depth of six and nine feet in the warm season. Banks and bottom sandy. Bluff on each side- that on the east, of considerable height.

From Okalokina to Mickasukey
N. 68 E. 37 m.

6¼ miles to brunch of Okdokina. Country high and open. Cross three small branches different in character from those west of Okalokina, being clear running streams, with steep banks and hemmed in by hills of some height. Growth, a mixture of pine with scrubby oak. 5½ miles cross an indian path leading to *St. Marks.* The Branch at the end, exactly like the others with a bottom of soft rock and sandy banks. Hill on each side.

11½ miles to Pond– on the right of the path. Country assumes a less monotonous character. The surface becomes more uneven

and the growth more mixed. In the ninth mile, the ground becomes quite elevated, with a mixture of large oak, indicating a favorable change of soil. In the fifth mile, passed an open pond on the right with high banks. In the tenth mile, the soil becomes fertile with a growth of oak and hickory. Three branches– one in the second mile with a reedy thicket and sandy bottom; the others in the tenth– in all.

4 miles Tallehassa Town. Through an excellent body of land. The soil adapted to any kind of culture– growth oak and hickory. A small miry branch near the village, probably entering Okalokina. The town is handsomely situated on a hill– consisting of ten or twelve houses, with a large clearing, seemingly cultivated in common.

16 miles to Mickasukey T.S. Through land resembling, with little variation, that just described. In places, it assumes quite a broken appearance, but even on the higher hills, the soil is rich. In this distance, there are but two small branches– one in the seventh, the other in the twelfth mile. Of course, the country is badly watered, but no doubt, water may be had in it anywhere, by sinking wells. The path crosses four wet glades or *savannas*– in the third, fifth, fourteenth and fifteenth miles. That in the fourteenth, is the largest, extending south as far as the eye can reach. The Mickasukey Towns are situated on the margin of a large shallow pond extending N.N.W. and S.S.E. ten miles– filled in with high grass, and surrounded by high and mostly fertile land– particularly on the west side, where the soil is equal to any in the Southern country.

The Florida line will probably run very near this place.

From Mickasukey to St. Marks

11½ to Reedy Branch. Good land for one mile, then wet and thickety for the second, when the country rises with a growth of large oak and hickory, and a soil sandy but cultivable. This continues two miles– and thence, to the branch at the end of the flat pine land continues only interrupted at long intervals, by small spots of good land in the neighbourhood of thickety ponds. Four branches. One large, in the second mile– one in the fifth mile, with high open banks and sandy bottom– the others inconsiderable– no doubt dry in summer.

19 miles to St. Marks. Little variety in this distance– the soil, growth and branches similar, with little exception, to the low, flat country before described. Eight miles from the Fort the land rises, and presents some inequality of surface, with abundance of secondary limestone. In the second mile, passed the Suwanney path, coming in on the left. North of this path, there is good land, relieving a little the sameness of the pine country– one small branch in the fourth mile, open and a little miry. The Fort of St. Marks is situated at the junction of the Rivers St. Marks and Wakally, and nine miles from the Bay. The land about the Fort is open prairie for one mile, when the pine woods commence. The prairie is swampy and has a thin covering of rich mould on a base of firm white sand.

From St. Marks to Assilla Creek
N. 59 E. 34 m.

16 miles to Suwanney path. Described above.
18 miles to Assilla Creek. Eleven and a half miles through excellent land, with little interruption– tolerably well watered– sufficiently broken for beauty of aspect and not too much so for facility of culture. The branches are small but miry, with reedy thickets and without perceptible currents; probably feeding the ponds north of St. Marks, and uniting, subterraneously, with that River. At the end, the path from Mickasukey to Suwanney comes in on the left. Thence to Assilla, seven miles, through a flat, low, pine country with a number of small, miry and thickety branches, without current; and, in spots, a good deal of limestone on the surface.

From Assilla Cr. to Slippery Log Creek
S. 49 E. 18 miles

8¼ miles to Natural Bridge Creek. Low mud flat for three miles, with glades covered with water, and a mixture of Cabbage Palmetto among the swamp timber. At this point, the path crosses a large but shallow, thickety branch– thence, two miles to another similar branch, with abundance of cypress and vines– thence, through the same kind of country, three and a quarter miles, to the creek– which has high, open, sandy banks, a width of thirty five feet-depth of five feet and sandy bottom. Its

name is derived from a ledge of limestone rock which forms, on the creek, a dry and secure bridge of twenty five feet width. This curiosity is but a short distance above the path.

9¾ miles to Slippery Log Creek. Through a country with great sameness of character– flat, low and wet, with occasional cypress and bay thickets on either side; and with pine, wiregrass, low palmetto and some cabbage trees. In the fourth mile, cross a branch and bad thicket– and two others similar to the first, in the sixth mile. The Creek has open, high banks, width of fifty feet, depth of four feet and a rocky bottom.

From Slippery Log Creek to Live Oak Swamp
S. 49 E. 23½ m.

The same description applies to this part of the route as to the last– except that the country becomes still lower, and the wet glades are more frequent. In the seventh and eighth miles, these ponds assume the appearance of large prairies, and in very wet seasons, must be nearly impassable from depth of water. Four branches– in the ninth, nineteenth, twentieth and twenty fourth miles– The last the largest– on the edge of the swamp. The others are probably dry in summer, when they present no other obstructions, but their thickets. The live oak swamp is one half a mile wide, covered with water except in very dry seasons, and from the marks of inundation, must, after heavy rains, be past fording.

From Live Oak Swamp to Suwanney
S. 61 E. 29 m.

4¾ miles to Histen Hatche Creek. Through flat sandy, country, covered thickly with palmetto, and with intervals of small prairie, hemmed in by picturesque thickets of evergreens, among which, the live oak is conspicuous. Abundance of rock, curiously drilled by the action of water, is seen on the surface near Histen Hatche and through the prairies. The Creek is high open banks, a width of fifty feet, and a rocky bottom. The depth, on the rock, is from two to three feet, but immediately above, there is an abrupt change of depth to nine feet, and below, there is a considerable fall. The rock forming a narrow ford

or bridge, under, as well as over which, the current obviously runs, from the ebullition above the ford.

18 miles to Large Pond. The branches become more numerous and less accessible by the closeness of the thickets and the muddiness of their bottoms– there is rather more cypress in the thickets than seen heretofore; and the appearance of soil, timber, etc. is similar in other respects to that before described. The country begins to rise a little in the eleventh mile, with a mixture of scrubby oak, and towards the pond, it becomes quite elevated. The pond runs north and south. Cross-path in the seventeenth mile.

5½ miles to Suwanney Towns. Country a little rolling, with a large mixture of oak for three and a half miles, when the path enters the thicket bounding the towns on the West. Hence, to the first cabin is one half a mile, from which to Bowlegs Town– where the camp was established, is one mile and three quarters.

The soil about the Towns is sandy, both in the open and hammock land, and presents no advantages for settlements except its proximity to the river, which is here two hundred yards wide, and has several good landings. The accompanying sketch shows the relative positions of the Negro and Indian Towns. [No sketch was found attached.]

May– 1818

Topographical Sketch
of
The route from Ochuse Bluff on
Apalachicola River
to
Pensacola.

To Big Spring N., 45 W. 18 miles

The Ochuse Bluff is on the west bank of Apalachicola, seventeen miles from Fort Scott and has some second rate land. Some oak and hickory in the first mile– then a high pine flat for three miles– then a little uneven for six miles– then rolling to the Spring. Good pine land with reddish soil, in the sixth, seventh,

eighth, eleventh, twelfth & thirteenth miles: the path then enters an excellent body of land with a growth of oak and hickory– somewhat similar to the fine land in East Florida, and continues to the end.

Cross a path in the first and two in the seventh mile. One small branch at the end of the tenth mile.

In this distance there are no obstructions to the march of an army. The country even where flat, is high and dry and where it becomes hilly a mixture of sandstone gravel makes the route excellent. The Big Spring, which unites with Chapulle, is forty yards in diameter, and of considerable depth, with a bottom of limestone rock and a clear and rapid current.

From Big Spring to Choctawhatche River
N. 83 W. 45 miles

Natural Bridge of Chapulle br. 6¼ miles. Through the same body of good land, with soil and timber exactly similar. In the fourth mile the road runs on a gravelly ridge, but the hickory and oak continue. Some limestone in the second mile. In the sixth mile a path comes in on the right near a thicket and small branch. The Natural Bridge is in the center of a bad swamp; and appears to be a deposite *[sic]* of earth on a raft or some similar obstruction. The passage is narrow and the creek, with a rapid current is visible both above and below. The swamp is one mile wide. The Chapulle rises West of Fort Gaines and enters Apalachicola eight miles above Fort Gadsden. The good land extends down this creek six or eight miles below the Big Spring.

To Ock-chia-hathce Creek 21 miles. five miles through excellent land to *Rock Arch Spring,* with a mixed growth of oak, pine & hickory, & with several sinks, affording abundance of excellent water. Limestone visible in one or two places. The Spring is a rocky cavern in the middle of a thicket, and surrounded by excellent land. Three miles through good pine land a little rolling; then, after passing an oak and hickory plat, leaving a thickety pond on the right, in the ninth mile, the soil changes to a greyish mixture of sand and white clay: the surface becoming flat and glady, and the scrubby pine and wire grass indicating the worst kind of soil. This continues for five miles, the soil

then changes again to a deep yellow– rather better than the grey soil but scarcely cultivable. Same for three miles then flat with scrubby thickets for two miles then poor but a little higher the remaining two miles to the Creek. *Ock-chia-hatche* is a branch of *Choctawhatche*– is thirty feet wide at the crossing place with sandy bottom and banks, and a narrow swamp and thicket. A cross path in the fifth mile– a small branch in the thirteenth and one in the nineteenth mile. Glades on the tenth, eleventh; thirteenth, sixteenth and nineteenth miles.

Choctawhatche 17½ miles Through a country alternately flat and a little rolling; presenting reedy branches in the flatter, and pine and wire grass on the higher parts. Small reedy branch in the fourth mile– Creek in the fifth mile, twenty five feet wide with high open banks and sandy bottom– small open branch same mile. Small reedy branch sixth mile. Branch & Creek seventh mile– twenty five feet wide sandy bottom and miry on the west bank. Several miry spots in the eighth mile. Two branches in the ninth and abundance of fine reed in the tenth mile. Miry reed branch in the eleventh mile– same in the twelfth. Small creek in the fifteenth mile– twelve feet wide and open banks. The *Choctawhatche* is one hundred and fifty yards wide at the crossing place and not fordable. The bank is high and open on the east side and on the west, there is a thicket of three quarters of a mile, with a growth of cane, but sandy and dry.

To Red Ground trail S. 81½ W. 36 miles

Two and three fourth miles wet and flat. The guide then left the trail and piloted us through the woods.

Twenty miles through a rolling pine country with numerous little reedy branches between the hills, the heads of small streams entering *Choctawhatche.* The greater part of this distance on a ridge. In the last 4 miles, the hills are covered with scrubby oak bushes indicating the poorest kind of soil. Sand stone gravel on the hills; and on one or two of the higher ridges, the whole mass seems from indications at the surface to be ferruginous sandrock.

The reedy branches crossed are generally miry. One in the third, fifth, tenth, fifteenth, and twentieth miles. A large reed brake

on the left in the eighteenth mile. Next sixteen miles through a similar country. Two miles over a wide ridge with small pines– then flat for one mile, then rolling to the end. One has branch in the fourth, one in the seventh, two in the tenth, one in the thirteenth and one in the fourteenth mile.
Cross path in the twenty ninth mile– Entered a trail in the thirty fourth mile which gave out at a branch in the thirty sixth. Good pine land at the first cross path.

To Pensacola Bay
S 50 W. 53 miles

Yellow Water 11 miles. Along a high pine ridge dividing two of its tributary creeks. Near the river, the land improves, with a growth of pine, oak and small hickory. Yellowwater is twenty yards wide at the crossing place, has a bluff on the east side and a bad swamp of ¼ mile on the west side– the current rapid and the bank and bottom sandy– not fordable.
Two and a half miles to a small creek with steep banks and very miry on the west side. A miry branch in the first mile. The country is then rolling– the path on a ridge for five miles to a creek twelve feet, open high banks and sandy bottom. Four miles along another ridge to a creek thirty feet wide without swamp, with sandy bottom & banks and a glady flat on the west side. Two miles small miry branch. One quarter of a mile a larger branch: open– but miry banks– three fourths of a mile, large branch, open banks but many [blank]. Six and a half miles a large creek with high steep hills on the east side and palmetto flat on the west. One mile and a quarter, branch ten feet wide and sandy bottom. Five and a quarter miles a large creek sixty feet wide, open on the east side and with a narrow thicket on the west, good ford ¼ mile below the path. Two and a half miles, another creek, with low open banks & sandy bottom. The bottom uneven and somewhat obstructed at the ford by logs. Five and three quarter miles to a creek twenty feet wide, with high open banks, sandy bottom– a high hill with red sand stone on the east side and a flat with some palmetto on the west. Then four and a half miles to the *Bay of Pensacola.* over a flat district with a few miry spots. Second rate land near the Bay and a hammock one fourth of a mile wide– a settlement on the Bay shore.

The Bay here seven miles wide.
The *Yellow water Bay* is not far below; so that from the crossing place of that stream, the route runs nearly paralell *[sic]* with it to the Bay.
The soil on the hills in this distance is alternately yellow, white and reddish sand and clay. The hills are based on a reddish sand-rock, which, in many places, is seen at the surface in a semi-indurated state. West of Yellow Water, it appears to have an argillaceous mixture which renders it friable and when found pulverized on the surface mixed with a little vegetatite mould would probably be productive. Timber entirely pine, except in the swamps and thickets.

To Escambia R.
N. 50½ W. 13¾ miles

Three miles of this distance along the edge of the high ground– the remaining ten through the glady flats intervening between the hills and the river swamp.
Crossed twelve branches all with miry banks– but mostly with hard sandy bottoms. One in the seventh mile with a very close thicket on the north side– one very intricate in the twelfth mile. Here we struck a Bayou entering the Escambia one and a half mile below– forty yards wide and with a swampy island between it and the main stream one and a half mile wide. The Escambia eighty yards wide, steep banks, low bluff on the west side. The swamp of the island is covered for two thirds of the way from the Bayou with water to a depth of from two to five feet and obstructed by undergrowth and cypress knees.
Soil stiff white clay.

Pensacola
S. 17 E. 21 miles

Sixteen miles to a spring through a country rolling for 11 miles when it becomes gradually flatter till towards the end when it again becomes a little unequal. The spring is at the head of one of the thickety hollows so common in this country. From the river, the route is on a ridge 4 miles to the main road, then on the ridge between Perdido & Escambia to the end. Manuel's Plantation in the 8th mile– Boil's old place in the

10th mile. Hurricane in the fifteenth mile-five miles to Pensacola through a level but high sand and pine district.

Barancas 14 miles

Through a high country with scrubby pines & low oak bushes for four miles– then flat with glades and occasional miry spots to the end. Bayou and Bridge at the end of the fourth mile– plantation at the Bayou– old plantation in the sixth mile– branch with small bridge in the ninth mile.
Struck the Perdido road in the tenth mile. Miry branch with a bridge in the twelfth mile– swell of ground in the last mile forming a low ridge which nearly encircles the land side of Barancas at a distance of seven hundred yards.
This route to Barancas goes round, the heads of the Bayous entering the Bay below the town. The small branches are miry but may easily be bridged for temporary purposes.

From *Ochuse Bluff* to *Pensacola*
in *a straight* line
Course S. 79 W. distance 125 miles

CAPTAIN HUGH YOUNG'S MAP OF JACKSON'S 1818 SEMINOLE CAMPAIGN IN FLORIDA

by ALCIONE M. AMOS*

RECENTLY on a visit to the cartographic division of the National Archives in Washington, the author was shown the map drawn by Captain Hugh Young of the United States Army Corps of Topographical Engineers to accompany his "A Topographical Memoir of East and West Florida With Itineraries [of General Andrew Jackson's Army, 1818]." The "Memoir," written in 1818, was published in 1934-1935, in the *Florida Historical Quarterly*.[1] The map had become separated from the "Memoir," and previous efforts to locate it were not successful.[2] The map is a fragment of a topographical sketch captioned "Map of the Seat of War in East Florida during the Seminole Compaign, by H. Young, Top. Engineer."

In correspondence written by Jackson and Robert Butler, his adjutant-general, there are indications that Captain Young drew several sketch maps of the area covered by Jackson and his expeditionaries.[3] But, the fragment of the Young map re-

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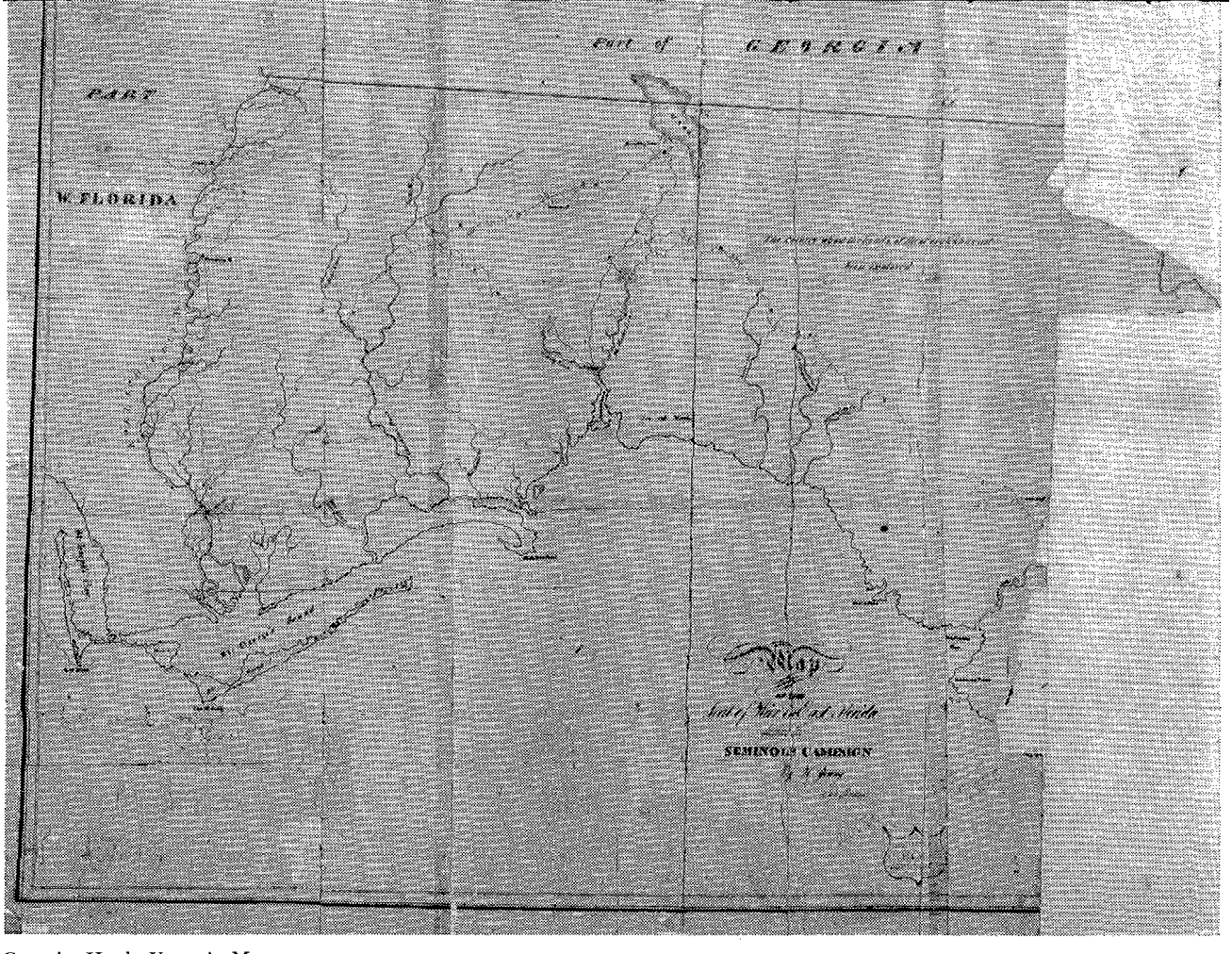
1. Hugh Young, "A Topographical Memoir on East and West Florida With Itineraries of General Jackson's Army, 1818," ed. Mark F. Boyd and Gerald M. Ponton, *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XIII (July 1934), 16-50; (October 1934), 82-104; (January 1935), 129-64. See also Ernest F. Dibble, "Captain Hugh Young and His 1818 Topographical Memoir to Andrew Jackson," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, LV (January 1977), 321-35.
2. *Ibid.*, 21; Alan K. Craig and Christopher S. Peebles, "Captain Young's Sketch Map, 1818," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XLVIII (October 1969), 176-79.
3. In a May 5, 1818, letter to Secretary of War John C. Calhoun, General Jackson wrote: "For a detailed account of my movements from that period [March 25, 1818] to this day, you are respectfully referred to the report prepared by my adjutant general, accompanied with Captain Hugh Young's topographical sketch of the route and distance performed." Jackson to Calhoun, May 5, 1818, *American State Papers: Military Affairs*, 7 vols. (Washington, 1832-1861), I, 701. Robert Butler, Jackson's adjutant-general, closed his detailed report of the campaign, dated May 3, 1818, with the statement: "The assistant topographical engineer will furnish a topographical report of the country through which the army operated; and I refer you to the enclosed sketches



Captain Hugh Young's Map.

produced here, is the "accompanying map" he mentioned in the first part of his "Memoir," which dealt with that area of Florida between the Apalachicola and the Suwannee rivers, known at the time as East Florida.[4] In the lower right corner of the fragment is a June, or January, 26, 1820, note stating that "this is the condition in which received it." The missing part, the note proves, disappeared over 150 years ago.

Prior to Jackson's invasion in 1818, little was known about Florida and its inhabitants. Young became the first American to examine its terrain in depth and to write a detailed account of the people. The difficulties encountered by Young in collecting data are noted at the beginning of the "Memoir": "The material from which the following report has been prepared were collected under all the disadvantages attending researches made during the operations of a very active campaign in an enemy's country. The author being engaged every day's march in surveying and measuring the route of the army, was unable to make many excursions, but every opportunity of examining the country was seized on and to his own observations, he was fortunately able to add much useful information obtained from a person who has long resided in the country."[5]

The person referred to by Young was probably William Hambly or Edward Doyle, both of whom had close but often unfriendly contact with the blacks and Indians while serving as agents for John Forbes and Company, the noted trading firm located on the banks of the Apalachicola River.

Little biographical information about Hugh Young has been uncovered. It is known that he was a native Tennessean who became an assistant topographical engineer with the rank of captain on February 19, 1817, a year before he accompanied Andrew Jackson and his Tennessee militia on their expedition into Florida. Probably, he returned to Tennessee following the

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for information of our order of movement." Butler to Brigadier General Daniel Parker, May 3, 1818, ibid., I, 704. In another letter to the secretary of war, Jackson informed him that "A topographical sketch of the country, from the Appalachicola [sic] to Pensacola Bay, accompanies this. Captain Young will prepare, as soon as practicable, a topographical memoir of that part of the Floridas on which my army has operated, with a map of the country." Jackson to Calhoun, June 2, 1818, *ibid.*, I, 708.

4. Young, "Topographical Memoir," 21.
5. *Ibid.*, 20.

First Seminole War and was living there when he died of unknown causes on January 3, 1822.[6]

Young's work was of little importance to Americans who came to Florida after the First Seminole War, despite the fact that they possessed only the vaguest knowledge of the topographical characteristics of the area. His report and map were filed away and never made public, despite the fact that Young had expressed the "hope that the information . . . will prove interesting and useful– this memoir containing the only correct account which has been given of a section of country now rising rapidly into political importance."[7]

The main importance of Young's work is, of course, historical. A comparison of his map with a modern one shows just how accurate he was in his calculations. Young for his time was an exceptional topographical engineer.

To place the Young map in its proper perspective, one must examine the First Seminole War and the steps leading up to it. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, Florida had been precariously held by Spain for approximately three centuries, with the exception of a brief period between 1763 and 1783, when the area was under British rule. But the territory was mainly inhabited by Indians and fugitive black slaves from plantations in American territory adjacent to Florida. Because of this, most Southerners considered the Spanish territory a threat to their well-being. Also at the time, American expansionist sentiment was mushrooming, and Florida was considered a logical objective for land-hungry settlers.

An attempt to annex Florida forcibly was made between 1812 and 1813 by a group of Americans, mainly Georgians, who styled themselves "patriots." However, the effort was unsuccessful, partly because of a timely alliance of blacks and Indians with the Spanish. The nonwhites fought several

6. Francis Bernard Heitman, *Historical Register of the United States Army From Its Organization, September 29, 1789, to September 29, 1889* (Washington, 1890), 717; *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army, From Its Organization, September 29, 1789, to March 2, 1903,* 2 vols. (Washington, 1903), I, 1067; Thomas H. S. Hamersly, comp. and ed., *Complete Regular Army Register of the United States For One Hundred Years, (1779 to 1879)* (Washington, 1880), 883. Although these sources suggest Young died on January 3, 1822, Craig and Peebles contend he lived on after that date. See "Captain Young's Sketch Map, 1818," 176, footnote three.

7. Young, "Topographical Memoir," 21.

skirmishes with the Americans, inflicting severe casualties, before they themselves were finally defeated and their villages plundered and burned.[8]

In late July 1816, American forces attacked a fort situated on the east bank of the Apalachicola River occupied by black fugitive slaves and a few Indians. Known as Negro Fort, the installation had been built by the British during the War of 1812. Abandoned after the war, the fort was occupied by blacks and Indian protectors. Then the Indians, with the exception of a very few, moved out, leaving the operation in control of the black runaways. Located as it was on the water route being used by supply boats going to Fort Scott, a new American outpost just across the Georgia border, Negro Fort was considered a threat. That the fort was in Spanish territory did not deter the American attack, during which a shell, fired from one of the gunboats, hit a powder magazine, causing an explosion which killed about 250 of the 300 men, women, and children inside the installation. The survivors went back into slavery.[9]

The situation along the frontier continued to deteriorate. Early in 1817 American authorities near the border began receiving intelligence that blacks living among the Indians in the settlements of Chief Bowlegs on the Suwannee River had been engaged in military drilling and were threatening to give the Americans "something more to do than they had at Appalachicola *[sic],"* alluding to the destruction of Negro Fort. At about the same time, Kenhagee, the leader of the Mikasuki Seminoles, refused to allow American troops to transit his lands in pursuit of fugitive slaves. In November of the same year Chief Neamathla of the Indian settlement of Fowl Town, in Georgia near the Florida border, warned American troops at Fort Scott to steer clear of his area and "not to cross or cut a stick of timber on the east side of the Flint [River]." When General Edmund B. Gaines, the commandant, heard the warn-

8. For detailed information about the attempt to annex Florida to the United States by force, see Rembert W. Patrick, *Florida Fiasco: Rampant Rebels on the Georgia-Florida Border, 1810-1815* (Athens, 1954).

9. For official reports about the destruction of the Negro Fort on the Apalachicola River, see Jairus Loomis to Commodore Daniel T. Patterson, August 13, 1816, in *American State* ***Papers:*** *Foreign Relations,* 6 vols. (Washington, 1833-1859), IV, 559-60.

ing, he requested that Neamathla come to the fort to discuss the issue. The chief refused, saying that his warning stood and that there was nothing else to discuss. Gaines responded by sending 250 men to arrest Neamathla and his warriors. The troops entered Fowl Town on the morning of November 21, engaged the Indians, and in short order killed and wounded a number of them and drove those remaining into the surrounding swamps.[10]

Retaliation was not long in coming. On November 30, an American transport boat carrying forty soldiers, seven army wives, and four children was attacked by a band of Indians and blacks as it slowly moved up the Apalachicola toward Fort Scott. All aboard were killed except six soldiers who plunged into the river and swam to safety and one woman who was captured. A few days later, a convoy of five American boats laden with military supplies and traveling up the same river came under attack -and suffered severe casualties. The convoy was forced to halt in midstream, where it remained under siege until troops from Fort Scott finally arrived days later to extricate it.

In addition to these attacks it was reported that groups of Indians were roaming the Georgia countryside, stealing livestock, abducting slaves, and killing indiscriminately. Hysteria and fear among Americans increased with every depredation committed by the rampaging hostiles.

As the year drew to a close, the war department concluded that the situation could not be allowed to continue unchecked. Consequently, in late December 1817, General Andrew Jackson was ordered to proceed from Tennessee to the frontier and to adopt the necessary measures to terminate the conflict. With him went more than 1,000 troops, including Captain Young. On arriving at Fort Scott the following March 9, the Jackson command was joined by several hundred regular troops, militia volunteers, and friendly Creek Indians. The expeditionary force of about 2,000 men moved out the next day, heading south into Florida. After five days of marching along the Apalachicola,

10. The account of the episodes that took place before Jackson's invasion of Florida in 1818, and the details of his campaign against the Indians and blacks are based on information obtained from volume one of *American State Papers: Military Affairs.* Whenever other sources were used, they were indicated in the notes.

the army reached the site of the destroyed Negro Fort. There Jackson ordered one of his aides, James Gadsden, lieutenant of engineers, to construct a temporary fortification to protect badly-needed supplies expected to come up the river any day from New Orleans. The installation was named Fort Gadsden.

On March 26 Jackson renewed his operations, heading northeast toward the settlements inhabited by the Mikasuki Seminoles. As Young indicated on his map, these villages were located on the west shore of the body of water designated "pond" (today's Lake Miccosuke). The force reached the Ochlockonee River (which Young identified in his map as Oklalokina River) on March 29, constructed nineteen canoes and began a crossing that was completed the next morning. On the evening of March 30, Jackson ordered a company of Tennessee volunteers and some 200 Creeks to attack an Indian village called Tallehassa. The settlement, described by Young as being "handsomely situated on a hill and consisted of ten or twelve houses with a large clearing cultivated in common" had been evacuated by all inhabitants except two who were taken as prisoners.[11] Later, one escaped before the detachment rejoined the main force.

As Jackson's army neared Kenhagee's town, the first of the Mikasuki villages, on April 1, it was joined by a detachment of nearly 400 Tennessee volunteers led by Lieutenant Edward Elliott and a party of friendly Creeks commanded by Chief William McIntosh. Shortly thereafter the force surprised a sizable number of Indians herding cattle near a pond about a mile and a half from Kenhagee's town. Before the outnumbered Indians could retreat into the nearby swamps, fourteen were killed, several others wounded, and four women captured. One soldier was killed, and four others wounded.

Jackson continued his advance but found Kenhagee's town abandoned. The Indians had left behind in the village square a number of scalps suspended on a red pole. They were recognized as those of the victims of the boat ambush on the Apalachicola the past November. In a nearby dwelling the soldiers found nearly 300 more scalps, all male, which, according to Adjutant-General Butler, "bore the appearance of having been the

11. Young, "Topographical Memoir," 143.

barbarous trophies of settled hostility for three or four years past."

The command moved out of Kenhagee's town the same day and continued its pursuit of the retreating Indians. It reached the shores of the "pond" as darkness approached, and Jackson ordered a halt for the night. The next morning a large detachment was sent to the other side of the lake to attack the villages situated there. But those settlements too were found abandoned. The Americans, led by General Gaines, burned dwellings and collected booty as they swept through the settlements. Another red pole filled with hanging scalps was discovered in one of the evacuated villages. And near the same locality a small unit engaged a party of hostiles, killing one black and taking three prisoners. By the time the Jackson command had completed its search-and-destroy sweep through the Mikasuki towns, less than a score of hostiles had been annihilated. But 300 dwellings had been burned to the ground and nearly 3,000 bushels of corn seized, along with other plunder.

When Jackson received intelligence that some of the Indians and blacks had fled to Fort St. Marks, a Spanish installation, he directed his march toward it on the morning of April 15, arriving there on the evening of the next day. Jackson demanded that the fort be surrendered without delay, but the Spanish commander rejected the ultimatum. Fort St. Marks was seized without resistance the next morning. Captured was Alexander Arbuthnot, a Scottish trader who had lived with the Indians for about a year and who, according to Jackson, was "suspected as an instigator of this savage war." Arbuthnot was arrested and held on charges of "exciting and stirring up the Creek Indians to war against the United States."

Within a day or two after taking over Fort St. Marks, Jackson, as an example to other Indians, ordered the summary hanging of two hostile Creek chiefs considered by him to be "the prime instigators of this war." The two Indians had been lured aboard the flagship of a fleet of American vessels carrying supplies for the force. The ship, flying the British flag to deceive the chiefs, had arrived in the vicinity of Fort St. Marks a few hours before Jackson arrived. Arrangements of the naval

force to rendezvous at Fort St. Marks had been made before the general left Fort Gadsden.

On April 9 Jackson, leaving a detachment at Fort St. Marks, headed east for the settlements of Seminole Chief Bowlegs on the Suwannee River. Part of the outline of the route taken by the command to the Suwannee settlements is missing from the Young map. According to Young's topographical description in his "Memoir," the missing part dealt with an area between a marsh identified as "live Oak Swamp" and the Suwannee Settlements.[12]

En route to their destination, elements of Jackson's command encountered on April 12 a group of rebellious Creek Indians. Thirty-seven Indians were killed and more than 100 others, mostly women and children, were captured, along with a number of horses and pigs, several hundred head of cattle, and a quantity of corn, which were divided among, the command's Indian allies. Jackson's loss was three killed and four wounded. Moreover, the white woman who had been captured by the Indians during the boat massacre the past November was rescued. The defeated Indians were remnants of the Red Stick faction of the Creek Nation, which, under the leadership of an Indian named Peter McQueen, had fled into Florida after suffering a decisive defeat at the Battle of Horseshoe Bend on March 6, 1814.

Continuing their march, the soldiers a few days later surprised a small party of Indians consisting of two men, one woman, and two children. The woman and one man were killed; the others were captured, the surviving man and one of the children having been wounded.

Jackson had hoped to launch a surprise attack against the Suwannee settlements. His troops were carrying rations for eight days, and he knew they would need corn and other supplies to sustain themselves and their mounts. He realized that the Indians would flee with the needed commodities if they had any inkling that he was approaching. Consequently, when six Indian reconnoiters were spotted just ahead of the site where he had intended to make camp on the afternoon of April 16, Jackson quickened the pace of the march. But what he did not

12. *Ibid.,* 147-49.

know was that the Suwannee Indians and blacks had long been aware of his impending arrival. They had been informed by Alexander Arbuthnot, who, several days before his capture, had sent a letter to his son aboard their schooner anchored in the Suwannee a few miles from Chief Bowleg's town. The letter warned that the Americans were well-armed and that their purpose was to destroy "the black population of the Suwany *[sic]."* At the same time, Arbuthnot asked his son to plead with Bowlegs not to resist Jackson; such resistance would be futile. In addition to Arbuthnot's warning, a woman refugee from the destroyed Mikasuki towns had fled to the Suwannee settlements where she recounted the devastation she had witnessed.

Once it became known that Jackson was advancing, a group of blacks set out from the Suwannee settlements to engage him, but they met so many panic-stricken Mikasuki refugees enroute that they became spiritless and returned to the Suwannee to reassess their situation. Since the black settlements were situated on the west bank of the river– the side the expeditionaries would reach first– the leaders ordered the women and children and as much property as possible into hiding in the swamps east of the Suwannee. Apparently Bowlegs and most of his Indian followers decided to join the blacks in the swamps because few of them participated in the upcoming encounter.

The last horses were being taken across the river when the six Indian reconnoiters returned with the news that an attack by the Jackson army was imminent. Accordingly, some 200 or 300 black warriors and a handful of Indians took up positions on the river's west bank. They hoped to delay the whites long enough to allow the women and children to reach the swamps.

The encounter on the Suwannee was brisk. Since Captain Young as a rule was not concerned with the military aspects of the Jackson expedition, he made no mention of the engagement in his "Memoir." But a black participant would remember years later that the outnumbered forces opposing the invading army fought as long as they had dared. The effort, however, was in vain because, as the black explained, the Americans and Creeks "came too hot upon them, and they all ran to save

their lives."[13] The blacks and Indians threw away their arms and plunged into the river, where they became difficult targets for the American and Indian sharpshooters, who were aiming at their slightly discernible heads popping out of the water in the dusk of the afternoon sunset. Meanwhile, on the battlefield lay the bodies of nine blacks and two Indians who had been killed in the combat. Two other blacks were taken prisoner.

The next days were filled with mopping-up operations on the east side of the Suwannee; three Indians were killed and five blacks and nine Indian women were captured. Several once-prosperous Suwannee villages were plundered and burned and a former British marine officer, Robert C. Ambrister, who had been living among the blacks on the Suwannee, was apprehended. Ambrister, who was elsewhere during the battle, was surprised when he returned to the settlement with two companions, a white man named Peter B. Cook, who had worked for Arbuthnot as a clerk, and a black slave.

On April 25 Jackson returned to Fort St. Marks, where Arbuthnot and Ambrister were executed after a court-martial found them guilty of inciting and aiding the Indians and blacks against the United States. Before leaving St. Marks for Fort Gadsden, Jackson discharged the Georgia militia and the Creek Indians under McIntosh and assigned a few troops to remain behind to garrison the Gulf coast settlement.

Jackson had every reason to believe that the will and the power of the Indians and blacks of Florida to wage war against the Americans had been crushed. But after his arrival at Fort Gadsden, he received word that the Spanish in Pensacola were welcoming Indians and providing them with arms and other supplies. Thus, instead of returning to Tennessee, Jackson headed for Pensacola. He reached there on May 24, and after a brief and futile resistance by the Spanish garrison, his troops occupied Fort San Carlos de Barrancas on May 28, 1818. Leaving behind a small force to garrison the fort, Jackson began his return to Tennessee.

Even though the occupied forts were returned to the Spanish a few months later and Jackson's activities in Florida were criticized by many, the fate of the Spanish province had been sealed. In February 1819 the United States and Spain con-

13. *House Reports*, 27th Cong., 2nd sess., no. 723, p. 4.

cluded a treaty which transferred Florida to the United States. The treaty was ratified in July 1821, and from that time on the Indians and blacks of the area came under the jurisdiction of the United States.

NEW NUMBERS FOR THE STETSON COLLECTION

by PAUL E. HOFFMAN*

EVER SINCE THE Archivo General de Indias (Archive of the Indies or AGI) was renumbered in 1929, users of the John B. Stetson, Jr. Collection of photostats in the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville, and of other pre-1929 collections of copies from the AGI have been at a disadvantage in citing those copies. Prior to 1929, the bundles (legajos) of the AGI were numbered according to a system of stack, shelf, bundle (estante, cajón, legajo) whose typical form was "54-2-1." These numbers were replaced with serial numbers within each ramo (literally "branch") of the various sections of the archive. The citation 54-2-1 became Santo Domingo 123, for the ramo of the Audiencia of Santo Domingo (in whose district Florida nominally fell) within Section V, Government.[1] The normal form of citation became a name and a serial number, the first usually abbreviated to the first letters of the name(s).

Until 1968, no table existed for converting the old, three-part numbers of the documents in the Stetson Collection to the new numbers. In that year the author obtained a copy of the legajo list in the James A. Robinson Calendar of the Stetson

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1. Roscoe R. Hill, "Reforms in Shelving and Numbering in the Archivo General de Indias," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, X (November 1930), 520-24. See also E. J. Burrus, "An Introduction to Bibliographical Tools in Spanish Archives and Manuscript Collections Relating to Hispanic America," *Hispanic American Historical Review,* XXXV (November 1955), 443-83. Burrus incorrectly states that one can call legajos by either set of numbers. The Guide to the AGI is Spain, Dirección General de Archivos y Bibliotecas, *Archivo General de Indias de Sevilla, Guia del Visitante,* por José María de la Peña y Cámara (Madrid, 1958). See also Spain, Dirección General de Archivos y Bibliotecas, *Guia de Fuentes Para la Historia de Ibero-America Conservadas en España,* 2 vols. (Madrid, 1966-1969), I, 28-61, which gives a summary of the contents of the AGI and selected bibliography of guides.

Collection from the P. K. Yonge Library. Working from the inventories in Seville, which contain both old and new numbers (the latter written in red ink), a conversion table was compiled, a copy of which is in the P. K. Yonge Library.

Recent publications indicate that the conversion table remains little known to scholars working in the field, with the result that communication is impeded somewhat because the old numbers continue to appear and cannot be compared with the new. In effect, there are two schools of historians working on Spanish Florida, those who have been to the AGI and use the new numbers (or know about the conversion table and use it) and those who use the Stetson Collection in its original form.

Publication costs prevent the presentation of the full table at this time. Instead, the headings of each section and the first few numbers are reproduced so that authors will know what the new Spanish forms of citation are. Those who wish to make use of the full table can copy the one in the P. K. Yonge Library. The standard form of citation from the Stetson Collection should be: *AGI: (or / or,) Santo Dominga (or the abbreviation given in the table) 123 (Stetson) . . . .*[2]

Table for Converting Pre-1929 to Post-1929 Numbers
Archivo General de Indias

Note: This table is based on the listing in the James A. Robinson Calendar of the John B. Stetson, Jr. Collection. Some numbers recorded by Robinson do not correspond to those in the inventories of the AGI, and are indicated by ?. The listing is done on the basis of the old number in ascending order for each of its three parts. Numbers following the "/" are usually document numbers within a legajo.

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2. Archivists are now assigning document numbers to every item in each legajo or subdivision. When this is completed, those numbers, like the legajo serial numbers, will need to be collated with the Stetson Collection documents and a new calendar prepared, along with new labels for the photostats, so that researchers using the collection will be able to employ the same form of citation as they would at Seville. At present, all of the sixteenth century documents have been given numbers. To the author's knowledge only Santo Domingo 99 has been collated (Griffin Calendar vis the legajo), and that remains in manuscript in his notes.

Old Number	Number of Cards	New Number
Patronato (usually abbreviated PAT)		
1-1-1/19	(1)	Patronato 19.
1-1-1/20	(1)	Patronato 20.
2-6-4	(?)	Patronato 278.
Contaduría (usually abbreviated CD)		

Also appearing in the Robinson Index, but not convertible into new legajo numbers due to errors in recording:

2-2-245/2	(34)	Would be Contaduría 245??
8-2-2	(1)	" " Contaduría ???
Contratación (usually abbreviated CT)		
20-1-1/284	(1)	Contratación 1462.

*Error. Should read 20-1-384/28

32-4-29/35	(37)	Contratación 3309.
40-1-1/28	(4)	Contratación 4738 (A & B)
45-2-1/4	(17)	Contratación 5544.

Additional Contratación Documents listed on card 12 of the microfilm calendar, and cited by both old and new legajo numbers.

32-3-11/30	(1)	Contratación 3259.
32-4-29/35	(1)	Contratación 3309.
45-5-2813	(1)	Contratación 5036.

Note: I did not check these equivalences. P.E.H.

Justicia (no abbreviation known, suggest JUST or J)		
47-2-23/18	(1)	Justicia 64.
50-2-55/10	(1)	Justicia 750. (A & B)
51-6-10/27	(1)	Justicia 1013.
51-5-2/12	(1)	Justicia 972.
51-6-16/12	(1)	Justicia 998.
51- -16/14	(1)	Justicia 1000.

Santo Domingo (usually abbreviated SD)

53-1-6	(86)	Santo Domingo 6.
53-1-11	(1)	Santa Domingo 11.
58-2-17	(37)	Santo Domingo 866.

Mexico (usually abbreviated MEX)

58-3-8	(1)	Mexico 19.
58-6-1	(1)	Mexico 87.
60-6-22	(62)	Mexico 618.

Santa Fe (usually abbreviated SF or StaF)

72-5-11	(1)	Santa Fe 82.
72-5-13	(1)	Santa Fe 84.
72-5-18	(2)	Santa Fe 89.

Santo Domingo (usually abbreviated SD)

79-42 / V	(1)	Santo Domingo 1122.
79-42 / VI	(1)	Santo Domingo 1122.
87-3-22	(7)	Santo Domingo 2668.

Mexico

87-62 / V	(1)	Mexico 1089.
87-7-6	(2)	Mexico 1117.
97-2-21	(1)	Mexico 2705.

Guadalajara (no common abbreviation)

104-6-13	(2)	Guadalajara 511.

Indiferente General (usually abbreviated IG)

139-1-5	(4)	Indiff. Gen. 419.
139-1-6	(1)	Indiff. Gen. 420.
154-7-20	(1)	Indiff. Gen. 2985.

Escribanía de Cámara (usually abbreviated EC)

Legajo 155	(2)	

	156	(6)
	157	(1)
	658	(1)

Papeles de Cuba (usually abbreviated PC)

Legajo	56	(16)
	85	(6)

FLORIDA HISTORY RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

This list shows the amount and variety of Florida history research and writing currently underway and as reported to the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. Doctoral dissertations and masters theses completed in 1976 are included. Research in Florida history, sociology, anthropology, political science, archeology, geography, and urban studies is included.

Auburn University

Gisela Dunlop– "Waldeck Regimental Records [West Florida, 1779-1781]" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Robin F. A. Fabel (faculty)– "Economic Aspects of British West Florida, 1763-1773" (continuing study).

Robert R. Rea (faculty)– "Governor John Eliot of British West Florida" (continuing study).

Howard M. Rew– "Papers of the British West Florida Council" (M.A. thesis in progress).

Castillo de San Marcos, National Monument, St. Augustine

Luis R. Arana– "Organization of Spanish Florida Garrison, 1671-1763"; "Spanish Florida Soldiers and their Careers, 1671-1763"; "Dress, Weapons, Accoutrements, Manual of Arms, Daily Routine of the Spanish Soldier, 1702-1763" (continuing studies).

Daytona Beach Community College

Peter D. Klingman (faculty)– "History of the Republican Party in Florida" (research completed).

Emory University

Elliott Mackle– "Utopian Colonies in Florida, 1894-1921" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Flagler College

Thomas Graham (faculty)– "Charles H. Jones, 1848-1913:

Editor and Progressive Democrat"; "The Andrew Anderson Family and St. Augustine, 1821-1924" (continuing studies).

Michael J. Sherman and Dawn Wiles (faculty)– "Mexico/St. Augustine Project: Data Gathered during the Summer of 1975" (continuing study).

Shellie Vaill– "Socio-Economic Status as Reflected by Material Possessions of Selected St. Augustine Residents during the Second Spanish Period" (research completed).

Florida Atlantic University

Donald W. Curl (faculty)– "History of Palm Beach County" (continuing study).

Harry A. Kersey, Jr. (faculty)– "Seminole Indians of Florida" (continuing study).

Florida State University

Kenneth E. Binkley– "1976 Final Report on Site Survey of Property Owned by F. E. Williams– Search for Fort Mosa, St. Augustine" (M.A. thesis in progress).

Shawn Bonath– "An Evaluation of the Mean Ceramic Date Formula as Applied to South's Majolica Formula" (M.A. thesis– completed).

John Bostwick– "The Use of Ceramics in the Construction of the Castillo de San Marcos" (continuing study).

William R. Brueckheimer (faculty)– "The Quail Plantations of the Thomasville-Tallahassee Region" (continuing study).

Robert F. Crider– "East Florida at the End of the Second Spanish Period" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Kathleen Deagan (faculty)– "The Apalachee in the Southeast" (continuing study).

Kathleen Deagan, John Bostwick, and Dale Benton– "A Sub-Surface Archeological Survey of the St. Augustine City Environs" (research completed).

Katherine Dinnel– "A Study of Historic Period Skeletal Remains from St. Augustine, Florida" (M.A. thesis in progress).

John E. Ehrenhard (Southeast Archeological Center, Talla-

hassee)– "Canaveral National Seashore: Archeological and Historic Resources" (continuing study).

Marilyn Mitsuo Feaver– "Florida Homesteads under the Southern Homestead Act [1866-1876]" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Marvin C. Frazier– "Slavery in Jefferson County" (M.A. thesis in progress).

Paul George (faculty)– "The Evolution of Miami and Dade County's Judiciary"; "The Increasing Complexities of Traffic Control in Early Miami"; "Policing Miami's Black Community, 1896-1930" (continuing studies).

Robert Hall and Marilyn Dantico– "A Rural Unemployment Survey: Suwannee, Hamilton, Lafayette, and Columbia counties" (continuing study).

Donorena Harris– "Abolitionist Sentiment in Florida" (M.A. thesis in progress).

M. Edward Hughes– "Florida and the Election of 1928" (Ph.D. dissertation– completed).

Judith Kenyon– "Spectrographic Analysis of Hispanic Lead Glazed Earthenwares" (M.A. thesis in progress).

Edward Keuchel (faculty)– "History of Columbia County" (continuing study).

Patricia Logan– "Analysis of Material Culture Remains from the Wreck of the *San José*, 1715" (M.A. thesis in progress).

Nick Lucetti– "Archeological Survey of the North St. Augustine Area" (M.A. thesis in progress).

Sharon T. Meredith– "Social Life in St. Augustine in the 1850s" (M.A. thesis in progress).

Don Merritt– "The Excavation and Analysis of a Contact Period Timucua Village: Fountain of Youth Park, St. Augustine" (M.A. thesis in progress).

Barbara E. Miller– "Yellow Fever in Territorial Florida" (M.A. thesis– completed).

Gregg Padgett– "C. K. Steele and the Tallahassee Bus Boycott, 1956-1960" (M.A. thesis in progress).

A. Wayne Prokopetz (Southeast Archeological Center, Tallahassee)– "Archeological Test Investigations at Sites on the Naval Live Oaks Reservation, Gulf Islands National Seashore, Florida" (continuing study).

Everett A. Rains– "Race Relations in Florida, 1865-1919" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

C. Peter Ripley (faculty)– "Southern Black Abolitionists" (continuing study).

William Warren Rogers (faculty)– "History of St. George's Island" (continuing study).

Michael G. Schene– "Hopes, Dreams and Promises: A History of Volusia County, Florida" (Ph.D. dissertation– completed, accepted for publication).

Stephen Shepard– "The Geronimo de Hita y Salazar Site: A Study of Criollo Culture in St. Augustine" (M.A. thesis– completed).

Fay Ann Sullivan– "The Florida and Georgia Frontier, 1763-1775" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

James W. Thomson and John Goldsborough (Southeast Archeological Center, Tallahassee)– "Excavations at Fort Pickens, Gulf Islands National Seashore" (continuing study).

Burke G. Vanderhill (faculty)– "The Alachua Trail: A Reconstruction"; "Florida's Fountains of Youth" (continuing studies).

Thomas R. Wagy– "The Administration of Governor LeRoy Collins: An Opened Door to a New Florida" (M.A. thesis in progress).

J. Leitch Wright, Jr. (faculty)– "Southern Indians in the Colonial Period"; "Southern Black Loyalists"; "British St. Augustine Ethnohistory"; "LeClerc Milfort" (continuing studies).

Florida Technological University

Thomas Greenhaw (faculty)– "Patrick Tonyn: Last Royal Governor of East Florida" (continuing study).

Jerrell H. Shofner (faculty)– "Negro Land Tenure in North Florida" (continuing study).

Jerrell H. Shofner (faculty) and José Fernandez– "Kidnapping of Freedmen for the Cuban Slave Trade after 1865" (continuing study).

Paul Wehr (faculty)– "History of Central Florida" (continuing study).

Georgia Southern College

George A. Rogers (faculty)– "William Bartram's Route through Southern Georgia and Northern Florida"; "Stephen Elliott in Florida" (continuing studies).

Guilford College

Alexander Stoesen (faculty)– "Biography of Claude Pepper" (continuing study).

Hillsborough Community College

Nancy Rachels (faculty)– "Biography of Peter O. Knight" (continuing study).

Historical Association of Southern Florida, Miami

Dorothy Jenkins Fields– "Florida Black Photographic Archives and Oral History Collection" (continuing project).

Arva M. Parks– "Nineteenth-Century South Florida" (continuing study).

Thelma Peters– "Lemon City: Pioneering on Biscayne Bay, 1850-1925" (accepted for publication, Banyan Books, Inc.).

Woodrow W. Wilkins– "Coral Gables, Florida" (continuing study).

Historic Pensacola Preservation Board

Linda V. Ellsworth– "Biography of Senator Charles W. Jones of Pensacola": "Pensacola's Creoles, 1860-1970" (continuing studies).

Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board

Overton G. Ganong– "Patterns of Residential Distribution in St. Augustine during the late First Spanish Period"; "Historic Material Culture in St. Augustine as Revealed in Documentary Sources" (continuing studies).

Jacksonville University

Frederick S. Aldridge (faculty)– "An Analysis of the Effect of Consolidation Upon the Productivity of City Employees, City of Jacksonville" (continuing study).

George E. Buker (faculty)– "History of the Jacksonville District U.S. Army Corps of Engineers" (continuing study).

Joan S. Carver (faculty)– "Analysis of the Policy Impacts of Consolidation of Jacksonville" (continuing study).

Louisiana State University

Brian E. Coutts– "Martin Navarro: Spain's First Louisiana Intendant, 1780-1788" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Margaret Fisher Dalrymple– "The Letterbooks of John Fitzpatrick, 1768-1790" (accepted for publication, Louisiana State University Press).

McNeese State *University*

Thomas D. Watson (faculty)– "Panton, Leslie and Company" (continuing study).

Pasco-Hernando Community College, Dade City

Richard J. Stanaback (faculty)– "History of Pasco and Hernando counties" (continuing study).

State University of New York at Stony Brook

Susan Forman Pickman– "Life on the Spanish Colonial Frontier– A Social History of Mid-Eighteenth Century St. Augustine, Florida" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Tallahassee Community College

Janice B. Miller (faculty)– "French Threats and Diplomatic Efforts to Maintain Peace on the Georgia-Spanish Florida Border" (continuing study).

Francis A. Rhodes (faculty) and Mary Margaret Rhodes– "History of the Catholic Church in North Florida from Settlement to the Present" (continuing study).

Tampa Hillsborough Preservation Board

M. C. Leonard– "Inventory of Historic Structures and Sites in Hillsborough County"; "Chronological History of Hillsborough County" (continuing studies).

Troy State University at Fort Rucker, Alabama

J. Barton Starr (faculty)– "Spanish Louisiana and West Florida Loyalists"; "'Left as a Gewgaw': The Impact of the American Revolution on British West Florida"; "A Case for the 'Loyal' Colonies: The West Florida Loyalists"; "Slave Regulations in British West Florida" (continuing studies).

University of Alabama in Birmingham

Jack D. L. Holmes (faculty)– "Colonial Settlers of Mobile District, 1780-1813"; "Colonial Settlers of Pensacola, 1781-1821"; "Spanish Conquest of British West Florida, 1779-1781"; "Biography of Bernardo de Gálvez"; "Biography of Philip Nolan"; "Biography of Alexander O'Reilly" (continuing studies).

David White (faculty)– "Vicente Folch, Governor in Spanish Florida, 1787-1810"; "Papers of Panton, Leslie and Company" (continuing studies).

University of Arizona

George R. Adams– "William Selby Harney: Frontier Soldier" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

University of Florida

Barbara Finlay Agresti– "Household and Family in the Postbellum South: Walton County, Florida, 1870-1885" [historical demography] (Ph.D. dissertation– completed).

Elizabeth Alexander and Bruce Chappell– "Calendar of the Spanish Holdings of the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History" (continuing project).

Robert Frederick Augustine– "Hospital Location and the Aged: An Analysis of Citrus County, Florida" (M.A. thesis– completed).

Dona Katherine Beidleman– "Ceramic Remains as Indicators of Socio-Economic Status in Colonial St. Augustine" (M.A. thesis in progress).

Amy Bushnell– "The Officials of the Royal Treasury in the Provinces of Florida, 1565 to 1702" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress); "The Spanish Governors [of Florida] from 1565 to 1700"; "'That Demonic Game': The Campaign to Stop Indian *Pelota* Playing in Spanish Florida"; "Spanish-Indian Relations in Apalache and Ustagua During the Mission Period, 1638-1701" (continuing studies).

Bruce Chappell– "A History of the Diego Plains in the Second Spanish Period" (continuing study).

William C. Childers (faculty)– "Garth Wilkinson and Robertson James: Abolitionists in Gainesville During Reconstruction" (continuing study).

David R. Colburn (faculty)– "St. Augustine, 1964: Racial Conflict and Community Change" (continuing study).

Caroline Johnson Commnenos– "Florida's Sponge Industry: A Cultural and Economic History" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Merlin G. Cox (faculty) and Richard Hildreth– "A History of Gainesville, Florida" (continuing study).

Charles H. Fairbanks (faculty)– "History of Florida Archeological Work"; "Indian Tribes of the Central Gulf Coast" (continuing studies).

Charles H. Fairbanks and Jerald T. Milanich (faculty)– "Florida Archeology" (continuing study).

Arlene Fradkin– "The Wightman Site: A Study of Prehistoric Culture and Environment on Sanibel Island, Lee County, Florida" (M.A. thesis– completed).

Michael V. Gannon (faculty)– "Documentary History of Florida, Volume I: The Colonial Period, 1513-1821" (continuing study).

William Tucker Gibbs– "Claude Pepper in the United States Senate" (M.A. thesis in progress).

E. Ashby Hammond (faculty)– "Biographical Register of Florida Medical Practitioners, 1821-1861" (continuing study).

Ellen Hodges– "The Stephens Family in Antebellum and

Civil War Florida: A Social and Economic History" (M.A. thesis in progress).

Nicholas Honerkamp– "Archeological Investigation of Spanish Colonial Mission Sites in North Florida" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

John Paul Jones (faculty)– "History of the Florida Press Association" (continuing study).

Stephen Kerber– "Park Trammell of Florida" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Robert Thomas King– "The Florida Seminoles in the Twentieth Century" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Timothy A. Kohler– "The Weeden Island Archeological Culture in North Florida" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Dick R. Laird– "The Northern Fringe of Rural Retirement Subdivisions Within Peninsular Florida" (Ph.D. dissertation– completed).

Lance David Limoges– "The Ecological Impact of Dredge and Fill in Tampa Bay, Florida" (Ph.D. dissertation– completed).

Joan Ling– "Spanish Colonial Technology in Northern Florida" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

L. Jill Loucks– "Early Alachua Tradition Burial Ceremonialism: The Henderson Mound, Alachua County, Florida" (M.A. thesis– completed).

Kevin M. McCarthy (faculty)– "Florida Authors"; "Florida in Literature" (continuing studies).

Jerald T. Milanich (faculty)– "Archeology and Ethnohistory of Aboriginal and Spanish Colonial Sites in North Florida" (continuing study).

Sue Mullins– "Archeological Inventory of the Paynes Prairie State Preserve" (grant project– continuing study).

Ralph L. Peek (faculty)– "Florida in World War II" (continuing study).

George Pozzetta (faculty)– "Florida's Ethnic Population: 1870-1920" (continuing study).

Samuel Proctor (faculty)– "Documentary History of Florida, Volume II: Modern Florida, 1821-Present"; "Florida Slave Interviews" (continuing studies).

Samuel Proctor and Jerald T. Milanich (faculty)– "TACA-

CHALE– Indians of Florida and Southeast Georgia during the Historic Period" (accepted for publication, *Contributions of the Florida State Museum, Anthropology and History).*

Daniel J. J. Ross– "West Florida under Arturo O'Neill, 1781-1793" (continuing study).

Peter Salvatore Segretto– "The Relationship Between Urbanization and Stream Flow in The Hillsborough River Basin, 1940-1970" (Ph.D. dissertation-completed).

Karl T. Steinen– "Weeden Island: Regionalism and Similarity" (Ph.D. dissertation– completed).

Marcia Steinhauer– "Technology Transfer Within a Government Organization: A Study of the Innovation Process in Florida's Social Services" (Ph.D. dissertation– completed).

Linda Vance– "May Mann Jennings: Florida's Genteel Activist" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Joseph Lacy Warner– "The Jacksonville Yellow Fever Epidemic of 1888: A Case Study of the Effect of Natural Disaster Upon Growth" (M.A. thesis– completed).

L. Glenn Westfall– "Ybor City: A Cultural and Social History of a Southern Immigrant Town" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

University of South Florida

Robert P. Ingalls (faculty)– "Anti-labor Vigilantism in Florida during the Depression" (continuing study).

Steven F. Lawson (faculty)– "Desegregation in Hillsborough County"; "The Chambers *v.* Florida case" (continuing studies).

University of West Florida

William S. Coker (faculty)– "Papers of Panton, Leslie and Company" (continuing study).

Lucius F. Ellsworth (faculty)– "Lumbering in Northwest Florida during the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries" (continuing study).

Janice R. Holmlund– "Living History Farm Museums: A Feasibility Study for Pensacola" (M.A. thesis in progress).

James R. McGovern (faculty)– "Pensacola: A City in the Modern South, 1900-1940" (continuing study).

H. Wesley Odom– "Captain Cayetano Perez and the Fall of Mobile, 1813" (M.A. thesis in progress).

George T. Pearce (faculty)– "The United States Navy in Pensacola" (continuing study).

William Bryan Sutton– "Colonel Diego Ortiz Parrilla" (M.A. thesis in progress).

Valdosta State College

Joseph Tomberlin (faculty)– "The *Brown* Case and Its Aftermath" (continuing study).

Lamar Pearson (faculty)– "Spanish-Indian Relations in First Spanish Period Florida"; "Anglo-Spanish Rivalry in First Spanish Period Florida" (continuing studies).

BOOK REVIEWS

Josiah Walls: Florida's Black Congressman of Reconstruction. By Peter D. Klingman. (Gainesville: The University Presses of Florida, 1976. xi, 157 pp. Acknowledgments, preface, notes, epilogue, bibliography of works cited, index. $7.50.)

At the end of the Civil War, Florida was still a frontier state, sparsely populated and undeveloped. Many Union soldiers serving there stayed on after the war to seek their fortunes and to enter politics. One of them was Josiah Walls, who apparently was born a slave in Virginia. His earlier career was typical of numerous other black political figures– service in the Union army, teaching, a member of the state constitutional convention, lower house of the state legislature, and the state senate. But Walls was unusual in being elected to the United States House of Representatives at a time when Florida had only one representative. He was elected to Congress three times. Two times the elections were contested, and much of his congressional career was consumed in fighting for his right to be a member. He was defeated for reelection in 1876. Wall's record in Congress showed that he understood that he represented more than a merely Negro electorate, but his principal interests were those of special concern to his race– education and civil rights. In 1876 he was elected again to the state senate, but by that time Republican power was greatly diminished. In 1884 he ran once more– unsuccessfully for Congress as an independent Republican. In his later years he became increasingly disillusioned with the Republican party and its racial policies. During his years in public office Walls acquired substantial amounts of farm land and also began to practice law. For a time he was one of the largest truck farmers in the state, but his last years were marked by financial reverses and personal tragedy.

In writing this book Klingman encountered problems similar to all authors who attempt to write biographies of black political figures during Reconstruction. In his preface Klingman emphasizes the limitations resulting from the lack of manuscript materials and personal records. Hence, he says, "It is not a

complete biography but only a public life." His purpose was to "gain new insight into black political participation during that era" (p. viii).

The author has done an impressive amount of research in newspaper sources, which, unfortunately, do not reveal much about Walls as a person. The book deals in great detail with the intricacies of the feuds, maneuvers, and power plays within the Republican party in Florida. Perhaps the author's absorption with these visible details obscures the larger issues of Reconstruction politics. In spite of the paucity of materials on Walls himself a better understanding of his career would probably have resulted if the author had treated in greater depth the context in which his political career developed.

Klingman concludes that, "within definite limits, Walls not only survived but succeeded in an age when neither survival nor success was guaranteed to a Negro" (p. viii). But even more strongly he emphasizes, without fully explaining it, the powerlessness of Walls and other black congressmen. "Apart from all questions as to his native ability," he says, "Josiah Walls lacked the basic strength to bring about significant changes for his race" (p. viii). He says: "One thing is clear: Apart from the question of ability, these men were powerless to effect change in a system stacked against them. While politics in that era may have seemed to exhibit a closer sense of association between blacks and whites interacting in new fashion, power remained securely in white hands" (p. 72).

Butler University EMMA LOU THORNBROUGH

Florida: A Bicentennial History. By Gloria Jahoda. (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1976. xi, 210 pp. Maps, illustrations, notes, suggestions for further reading, index. $8.95.)

Our country's federal system is a political phenomenon that historians long have sought to explain. Its emergence and growth have been as unpredictable as they have been unprecedented. As a part of the Bicentennial recordings, the American Association for State and Local History, with funding by the National Endowment for the Humanities, commissioned a

historian in each of the states and the District of Columbia to write a book "that will last in value far beyond the bicentennial fireworks." As Dr. James Morton Smith, general editor, explains, each author was called upon not for a comprehensive chronicle, but for a "summing up– interpretive, sensitive, thoughtful, individual, even personal– of what seems significant about his or her state's history."

Gloria Jahoda was chosen to write of Florida, and this book is her response to the mandate given her. She is a highly talented, sensitive author who loves. the state with a passion for its natural environment and for the uniqueness of its many cultures. A short book (200 pages), this is not a history that will stand with the works of Charlton Tebeau, Marjory Stoneman Douglas, and Kathryn Abbey and A. J. Hanna. Nor, in this reviewer's opinion, does it have the merits of Mrs. Jahoda's outstanding, *The Other Florida.* Many will deny that it is a summary of the most important facts and circumstances that brought Florida from its days of discovery up to the present. But what Mrs. Jahoda has written is a delightful potpourri of those events in the state's history that hold a special interest for her. She shares them with her readers with an excitement and a literary style that make for very good reading indeed.

Of surpassing excellence are Mrs. Jahoda's descriptions of the numerous tribes of Indians who were the state's earliest inhabitants; the exploits of the early Spanish explorers and their efforts to implant Christianity here; the French and British settlement failures; and Andrew Jackson's ruthless successes in setting the stage for United States acquisition. The long drawn-out Seminole wars are also described with great feeling and intensity. Coming down toward modern times the "boom and bust" periods are projected well. But I question the justification of as much space and print as is used to describe the Palm Beach influx of gamblers, dilettantes, and developers. This is mostly transient soapbox history, cosmetic to timely historical Florida events.

The book is short on the state's political history. The efforts of only a very few governors or other political leaders are mentioned. Fuller Warren receives more attention than any other governor. There is no doubt that he was a unique and popular speaker and deserves credit for getting the cows off state

highways, but the author appears more impressed by his flamboyance with words and clowning tactics than on how well he met the demands of service and statesmanship. Governor Spessard L. Holland had a very outstanding record of accomplishment in that office, and later, as a United States Senator. He successfully fought for more than a decade for an amendment to the United States Constitution abolishing the poll tax which had been such a serious bar to universal suffrage, and yet he is not even mentioned. There is also a chapter about the "pork choppers" and "lamb choppers" that makes interesting reading, but as one who lived and served through that period, I feel that there are serious overdramatizations and many variances from reality in terms of significant Florida history.

The book is short on the state's religious and educational history. There is not a single reference to the work of the Protestant churches beginning with the early circuit riders. There is no mention of the failures of the churches to stand for what they professed to believe in the desegregation dilemma. There is no reference to the University of Florida and its significant role in the state's history, or to what I have regarded as Florida's most important single public education achievement—the establishment of our strong community college program—which has not only served well here but has been widely copied throughout the nation. But, after all, the author had only 200 pages.

There is a series of interesting black and white photographs by Bruce Roberts. They have no relevancy to the text of the book, but they give an added attraction to it.

Tallahassee, Florida LEROY COLLINS

Florida Cowman, A History of Florida Cattle Raising. By Joe A. Akerman, Jr. (Kissimmee: Florida Cattlemen's Association, 1976. xiii, 280 pp. Preface, introduction, acknowledgments, illustrations, bibliography, notes. $10.00.)

The wonder is that this book was not written many years ago. No subject is more important in early, middle, and late Florida history; none is more full of drama and human interest.

The almost universal involvement in the early days can now easily be forgotten. The roles of Florida cowmen in the more romantic aspects have somehow been lost in the focus upon the western cowboy, cattle drives, Indians, rodeos, and all the color of westerns. It all happened right here also. The Florida Cattleman's Association is to be commended for sponsoring the book and for contributing so much of the material.

Florida Cowman is an appropriate title for the volume; it is the story of the activities of Floridians in all walks of life whose principal business was the raising and marketing of cattle. More specifically, it is the story of the open range cattle industry. There was a time when every farmer and planter was also a cowman with a few head of cattle shifting for themselves out on the range. Some of the animals wore the brand of persons who owned no land whatever. The book ends with the ending of the open range and the new era of improved breeds feeding on improved pastures which characterizes the modern cattle industry. There was awareness a century ago of the need to improve the quality of the Florida beef herds, but the effort was futile on the open range. The state and some individuals placed bulls of better grade on the range, but they were so outnumbered by run-of-the-mill types that the effect was difficult to measure. Not until cattle were kept in enclosures would real control of any kind be achieved. For all of the furor over cattle dipping to eradicate ticks, the pests were never really disposed of until the end of the open range.

The book is perhaps best reviewed as the first in a series of what must be written before the whole story is told. Florida Cowman emerges as too little about too much. All aspects of the full story are presented, but too little is written about some of them. This is also true of sources utilized by the author. Many sources were not checked, or if they were, there is no indication of that fact in the bibliography. Best are the accounts of living cowmen and their families, the last generation who can tell the stories first hand. The illustrations develop the story as eloquently as does the narrative. But the reader who hopes to find his favorite name or story quickly will be frustrated. He must read the entire volume, since there is no index. There is a regrettable misspelling of the names of some authors in the

notes, but these are usually corrected in the bibliography. Note Ousley for Owsley.

Springfield, Georgia CHARLTON W. TEBEAU

Eighteenth-century Florida and the Caribbean. Edited by Samuel Proctor. (Gainesville: The University Presses of Florida, 1976. xiii, 103 pp. Introduction, symposium participants, notes. $6.50.)

The seven papers presented at the Second Annual Bicentennial Symposium under the auspices of the American Revolution Bicentennial Commission of Florida, held at Florida International University, June 1-2, 1973, have been published under the title, *Eighteenth-Century Florida and the Caribbean,* with Dr. Samuel Proctor of the University of Florida as editor. The stated purpose of these conferences, five in number, including 1976, was to recall the role of Florida in the pre-Revolutionary and Revolutionary years. The participants, drawn from a wide spectrum of the social sciences, have adhered to the conference theme.

Relying on the Colonel Samuel Martin papers in the British Museum, Dr. Richard B. Sheridan of the University of Kansas, points out that there may not have been significant differences in the economic views of the planters of the Caribbean islands and those of the mainland. The former, fewer in number, lived in fear of the large black population and of numerous wars that resulted in change of island ownership, and often retired to England to enjoy security and comfort. There were numerous marriage and business connections between the island and mainland families. Dr. William S. Coker of the University of West Florida offers a detailed semi-biographical account of the partners in a series of English trading companies in the Floridas. The ease with which their businesses were reorganized under both English and Spanish control may be an indication of the economic importance of these entrepreneurs to the local authorities. Perhaps in a later study, Dr. Coker may care to analyze the methods and processes employed by these men in carrying out their business ventures.

Three papers deal with aspects of the social structure of

the slave population, especially after the influx of refugees in 1783. As Sir Philip Sherlock, an authority on Caribbean history and folklore, points out, island society "was molded by three institutions: colonialism, the plantation system, and slavery." Even today the first two dominate the social and economic structure of the islands, and a single crop economy results in minimal economic development on some of the islands. Dr. Orlando Patterson of Harvard University indicates that when the blacks were brought from Africa as kinship and social organization developed there were few roots in the past such as are found today among the Mayans and Incans. Sir Philip does approve of the current development of a study of the West Indian past from a West Indian point of view. Dr. Barry Higman of the University of the West Indies, presents a carefully documented study showing that after the abolition of the slave trade by the English in 1807, the natural increase (or decrease) of the black population on the sugar islands did not depend directly on any single factor but varied with local attitudes, situations, and state of the economy.

The final two papers by R. Duncan Mathewson, an archeologist, and Dr. Charles H. Fairbanks, an anthropologist at the University of Florida, are studies showing how a combination of history and archeology can be the basis for speculation on the socio-economic differentiation between classes. The former made his study of ceramic artifacts at the site of Old King's House in Jamaica, and the latter among the remains of two masonry houses in St. Augustine. From a study of these remains certain definite presumptions can be made about the people living there and about their racial, cultural, and economic status.

When the papers of all five symposia have been published, Florida can well be proud of the additional scholarly contributions to the knowledge of the past and to her role in the Revolutionary War period.

University of Georgia RICHARD K. MURDOCH

Gone With The Hickory Stick: School Days in Marion County, 1845-1960. By Broward Lovell. (Ocala: Green's Printing, Inc., 1975. 249 pp. Foreword, introduction, illustrations, bibliography, index, appendix. $6.95.)

The title of this book is from the old song "School days– reading and 'riting and 'rithmetic, taught with the tune of a hickory stick." Although it deals especially with Marion County, it contains much of interest to all of Florida.

This work was originally compiled in 1938 as a history of education in Marion for a master of arts degree at the University of Florida. There were many human interest stories which could not be included at the time, and Lovell now adds these to his work. His book has been published as a Bicentennial volume.

In 1849 Selah Hammond opened an academy in Ocala and was granted use of four town blocks. This school was later taken over by a colorful New Englander, Gilbert Dennis Kingsbury, who had come to Florida using an assumed name– S. S. Burton. In 1851 Florida voted to establish two seminaries of higher learning– one east, the other west of the Suwannee River. The state then invited communities to bid for the institution. Ocala's offer of four lots with three buildings thereon, which were valued at $8,600, plus $1,600 in cash, was accepted, and on January 6, 1853, the East Florida Seminary was established in Ocala. The Seminary of West Florida was opened in Tallahassee in 1857. It is to the East Florida Seminary that the present University of Florida traces its origin. The date 1853 is on the University's seal, signifying its founding.

The State Seminary, as it was commonly called, opened with Kingsbury as principal, and four instructors and sixty pupils. It had a broad curriculum, and tuition was charged according to the subjects taken. It was co-educational, and it was later remembered that more emphasis was placed on manners and morals than on scholarship.

By 1860 Marion had made a good beginning in establishing common, or public, schools for its students. But the Civil War disrupted all activity and the Seminary was closed while the conflict raged. Money that might have gone for education was expended on arms and ammunition.

An unexpected discouragement came to Ocala in 1866, when

the Seminary was reopened in Gainesville. Long envious, it is doubtful if the latter location was more advantageous, but it had one asset which Ocala lacked– railroad service. Stage coaches were Marion's only transportation; steamboats on the Oklawaha were not yet in service. In 1887 the state appropriated $5,400 to reimburse Ocala for the loss of the Seminary. Of this $5,000 was expended for a building for Howard Academy, a Negro school.

There are photographs of school officials and school buildings and lists of superintendents and school board members included in Mr. Lovell's book. An index makes possible an immediate recall of names of those who worked together during difficult days to promote education in north central Florida.

Lovell was a graduate of the Summerfield High School, and began his teaching career as principal of the East Marion High School in 1928. He holds degrees from the University of Florida. Before his retirement in 1961, he had served twenty years as superintendent of public instruction for Marion County.

Oklawaha, Florida ELOISE R. OTT

Archaeology at the National Greek Orthodox Shrine, St. Augustine, Florida: Microchange in Eighteenth-Century Spanish Colonial Material Culture. By Kathleen A. Deagan. (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1976. xiv, 114 pp. Foreword, preface, acknowledgments, illustrations, tables, glossary, bibliography, index. $7.50.)

Except for its title, this little book is a straightforward account of archeological doings at the Avero House, 39 St. George Street, in St. Augustine. Avero is the name of a creole family whose fecundity for 100 years after 1710 enlivened the neighborhood and built a complex of kinfolk housing. However, after 1777, 39 St. George underwent a brief but diametric change in function, It became a religious meeting place for Minorcan, Italian, and Greek settlers from the abandoned plantation at New Smyrna, shepherded by their Roman Catholic priest, Pedro Camps. Although the Greek presence was a minority, officials of the National Greek Orthodox Church recently bought the

property for development as a shrine, and thus inspired the book title.

Dr. Kathleen Deagan of Florida State University has been working in St. Augustine archeology for several years. Objectives for the Avero site were to obtain data on architectural evolution and to collect material useful for definition and illustration of Spanish culture– specifically, eighteenth-century creole culture. Four chapters cover background matters and excavation procedures, architectural findings, culture objects, and summary. They are followed by technical appendices, including expanded descriptions of Hispanic utility earthenwares. Numerous illustrations clarify the text.

Plumbers and plowmen frustrate archeologists just as manuscript mutilators enrage historians. Such treasured backlot resources as privies, trash pits, wells, and middens had suffered "severe prior disturbance." Dr. Deagan therefore dug only the inside of the house. She encountered sequential levels, each of which was, archeologically speaking, a time capsule. Since a documentary study by the St. Augustine Historical Society had pegged some of the construction years, the archeologist could date the floor levels rather precisely and thus greatly enhance the value of artifacts in each level as time indicators in comparable sites. Additionally, each "time capsule" had its own special pattern of artifacts, differing even within spans of less than a generation. Study of these patterns, as evidence of life the way a creole family lived it, led Dr. Deagan to conclude that (a) "Ethnic affiliation is reflected in material assemblages," which is to say that the Averos preferred Spanish ceramics to Indian ware; and (b) "Items . . . traditionally used as indices of eighteenth-century affluence– specifically porcelain and wine goblets– are not appropriate to Spanish St. Augustine." That is, yardsticks for English sites do not read right on Spanish ground.

Questions about original floor plans, the authenticity of certain parts of the house, and construction dates were architectural matters to be examined by archeological techniques. Unfortunately, the dig did not reveal any aspect of the Catholic chapel of 1777, but it did uncover the footings and floors of a two-room house built about 1712. That structure was replaced before 1740 by the existent stone building, with remodellings about 1760, 1802, and after 1946. Archeology not only con-

firmed historical data but added significantly to the store of structural information on St. Augustine architecture.

Dr. Deagan writes with a no-nonsense (if rather antiseptic) style, with only occasional lapses into technical jargon. Inasmuch as the book is written for professionals by a professional and published as volume fifteen in the Florida State University *Notes in Anthropology* series, her restraint is remarkable– and welcome.

St. Augustine, Florida ALBERT MANUCY

A New Age Now Begins: A People's History of the American Revolution. By Page Smith. 2 vols. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1976. 1,899 pp. Introduction, maps, bibliographical note, index, acknowledgments. $25.00.)

Books of such length designed for the general reader are pretty much out of fashion today, but *A New Age Now Begins* is written with such grace and charm that it will likely do well in the marketplace. Smith excels in old-fashioned narrative description, as did his Harvard mentor, the late Samuel Eliot Morison, who read Smith's manuscript before its publication, and who stated for the dust jacket that the prose style calls to mind the great Trevelyans and Parkman. If that praise is a bit strong, it is nonetheless true that Smith is a fine story-teller; he is skillful in employing little-known quotations and is diligent in uncovering obscure but interesting details to illustrate a major idea. Not only does he inform us of what happened, but he speculates on some of the fascinating might-have-beens, a legitimate and often-ignored prerogative of the historian. For example, what might have been the result if armed rebellion against England had occurred in 1765 instead of 1775, as was almost the case. Could the colonies at that time have united? Would England have been able once and for all to crush Americans' aspirations for self-determination in their own affairs?

The scope of these two volumes is formidable: from the founding of the colonies to the conclusion of the War of Independence in 1783. The first 165 pages deal with the growth

and maturation of the English provinces in the New World to 1763, when open controversy erupted between the colonists and the mother country over taxation, prohibition of western settlement, regular troops in America, customs procedures, and other matters. Those disputes cover another 300 or so pages, after which Smith focuses closely on the eight years of Revolutionary warfare. Here his pictorial talents are at their best. His canvas of battles and other military affairs is clear, fast-paced, and often exciting. His treatment of the doings of Congress, affairs in the West, and Revolutionary diplomacy also earns high marks.

What is curious and disturbing, however, is that in a so-called people's history there is surprisingly slight attention given to people, especially the loyalists, blacks, Indians, women, and the everyday lives of the patriots. Despite Smith's resort to soldiers' diaries and journals, the composition of the armies is scarcely analyzed in a meaningful way. In the last decade or so much good work has appeared in the field of social history, a more sophisticated area of our discipline than it once was. These advances in our craft are not reflected in Smith's pages.

In addition, there are more errors of fact and more questionable interpretations here than we should expect from a scholar of Mr. Smith's distinction. He has told us, in his introduction, that he has mainly eschewed the secondary monographs and returned to the original sources. That approach is fine up to a point. It does enable him to be somewhat fresh in his facts and interpretations, but by ignoring the work of others he has also been led astray on too many occasions.

Even so, the public will profit from reading *A New Age Now Begins,* but the relevance of Smith's story for our times (which he claims to set forth) never really emerges. Finally, one regrets that the publisher makes more out of these volumes than is warranted. For notwithstanding the claim that there is throughout "a revisionist interpretation" of the period, this is simply not so. Nor in any real respect can it be termed "the first major work on the American Revolution in almost a hundred years."

University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill DON HIGGINBOTHAM

The Character of John Adams. By Peter Shaw. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1976. ix, 324 pp. Preface, notes, illustrations, index. $14.95.)

George Mason: Gentleman Revolutionary. By Helen Hill Miller. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975. xi, 388 pp. Illustrations, foreword, appendixes, notes, references, index. $18.95.)

Peter Shaw's *John Adams* is a book that "works." Rather than writing just another narrative of Adams's life and times, Shaw has set himself more specific goals: "to recover Adams' personality"; "to view his character, thought, and acts as a whole"; "to intellectualize his behavior and to personalize his ideas." Believing that Adams's personality has been lost through preoccupation with his many "fragmented careers," Shaw has attempted to encompass his entire life in a single volume of modest proportions, and he has been remarkably successful in the attempt.

Shaw also has a clearly articulated thesis which he sustains fairly successfully throughout the book– that Adams's career was a "lifelong struggle with the temptations of popularity and fame," one that limited his popularity during his lifetime and kept him in relative obscurity until the Adams family papers were opened unconditionally in the early 1950s. Adams's struggle was essentially a moral one, and in a sense a vain one, for he was quixotically obsessed with the inequities of fortune and unable to accept popular assessments of the merits of many of his colleagues– particularly Franklin and Jefferson. The excessive veneration accorded Jefferson for authorship of the Declaration, which Adams considered a collective effort, and the great adulation directed at Franklin, not only rankled Adams but at times became a debilitating obsession. Still, Shaw argues that Adams "sought recognition rather than fame," because the latter can be undeserved while genuine achievement must precede the former– a distinction perceived essentially in moral terms.

However, what rescued Adams from the worst excesses of his obsession was his wife, Abigail, and she is what is generally missing from Shaw's analysis. At least Abigail's contributions to Adams's personality and character are consistently under-

estimated– much as Franklin's role in Adams's life has been exaggerated– a stunning omission considering what we know about that remarkable woman. Similarly, Shaw devotes too much space to Adams's ten-year career abroad, especially when compared with that allotted to his twelve years as vice-president and president of the United States. In such cases, it is not that the necessary ingredients for a satisfying assessment are missing but that they are combined in a way that would disturb a master chef.

Still, scholars must be grateful not only for Shaw's analysis but also for his painstaking examination of nearly the entire corpus of Adams's surviving work. More than any previous scholar, Shaw was concerned not only with what Adams wrote, but how he wrote it. Shaw almost always studied Adams's writings in original manuscript, scrutinizing them for slips of the pen, deletions, and tell-tale signs that they were written in anger or under stress; Adams's manuscript letterbooks contain materials especially suggestive for Shaw's examination. Similarly, Shaw correlates Adams's illnesses with some of the principal events of his career and key products of his pen, and in the process sheds new light on this complex man. If the work contains errors of both omission and commission, these are generally related to minor, subordinate matters, and detract only slightly from Shaw's overall impressive achievement.

Helen Hill Miller's *George Mason*, on the other hand, suffers by comparison by succeeding generally in relating the incidentals surrounding Mason's life, while failing to add much to our understanding of the man not already available. Rich in peripheral detail and handsomely illustrated, the work nevertheless provides the student of Mason's Virginia a splendid introduction to his "life and times." And perhaps it is enough to acknowledge that little more was attempted, and that most readers reaching for this volume will be adequately rewarded for the time spent browsing through its entertaining pages. If it adds little to her previous study– *George Mason, Constitutionalist* (Harvard University Press, 1938, by Helen Day Hill)– it is clearly a more quaint and charming work.

The Library of Congress PAUL H. SMITH

Britain and the American, Frontier, 1783-1815. By J. Leitch Wright, Jr. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1976. xii, 251 pp. Preface, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. $9.50.)

I have before me four books written by Professor Wright during the last nine years. They total 700 pages of text, and throughout they are centered on the rivalry of the European powers in North America. Professor Wright has built his work not only upon the printed scholarship produced by other persons, but upon an impressive use of manuscripts drawn from the several archives of Spain, the most important relevant collections in England and Scotland, and the Public Archives of Canada. Besides these out-of-country records, he has worked with those in the Clements Library at the University of Michigan, the Huntington Library, San Marino, California, the New York Public Library, the Library of Congress, the National Archives, and of course the indispensable collections here in Florida. Formed from such sources as these, Wright's books perforce push the history of the United States away from its native parochialism and out onto the world scene.

The theme of this particular book is the importance of the American frontier to Great Britain, and the reciprocal importance of Britain to the frontier. Indians, frontiersmen, land speculators, and United States armies, although more visible, were scarcely more significant than the British presence. That presence was in evidence because of the loyalists, who in the post-Revolutionary period needed a home under British jurisdiction, and who were clustered along the frontier. It was also there because the British governments were determined to contain the growth of the United States, or, if events moved that way, to aid in its disintegration.

The powers of Europe, following the American Revolution, all seemed to believe that the United States could not long maintain herself, that she would crumble away at the edges. The crumbling was obvious after the Revolution in Vermont, northern Maine, Kentucky, and Tennessee, and in the borderlands adjacent to the Floridas. The defeat of Generals Harmar and St. Clair by the Indians of the Old Northwest strengthened the conviction. Nevertheless, Britain never took very aggressive posi-

tions, but rather chose to act opportunistically, and hence erratically. During much of the 1780s her policy was to confine the United States east of the Alleghenies and to set up a buffer state for the Indians. West of the mountains, Britain would dominate the entire Mississippi Valley, which would mean taking New Orleans away from Spain. The British governments never went that far.

The American victory at Fallen Timbers in 1794 caused a shift toward a more conciliatory attitude, but in less than twelve months, there was yet another shift. This one was induced by the fear that France might be able to return to North America. France must be kept out. It was a set of circumstances and the purchase of Louisiana by the United States which finally excluded France, but in the process, the United States itself began to appear more dangerous. Once again it became the policy to contain American growth, and to contain at the same time the spread of Jacobin radicalism from the French Revolution.

Professor Wright hastens through these momentous lurches of policy in a lean 185 pages of text. The policy and problems of the War of 1812 are compressed into thirty pages. But he makes it clear that by 1815 the British attempt to shape the American frontier to suit Britain's needs had failed. Thereafter, the British governments, taking care to keep the United States placated in order not to endanger Canada, turned their attention elsewhere.

This book is useful to all scholars. With Professor Wright's other books, it places United States history where it belongs, in a world context.

University of Florida JOHN K. MAHON

The Trail of Tears. By Gloria Jahoda. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1975. xi, 356 pp. Foreword, introduction, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. $12.95.)

In the foreword Ms. Jahoda warns us that the book is not an impartial and dispassionate study of the removal of eastern tribesmen; and indeed it is not. A candid reviewer must advise

the reader that the book is not a wholly accurate or clear portrait of Indian removal either. Possibly the major fault of *The Trail of Tears* is that Jahoda is obsessed with viewing history as a massive struggle between the good and bad guys. She has predetermined that Native Americans are faultless and that white Americans– at least during the first fifty years of the nineteenth century– are incapable of desiring and seeking justice for Indians.

If history were truly two dimensional– and if race were the primary determinant of goodness and treachery– the study of American Indian history would surely be easier to comprehend; but such is not the case. While Jahoda contends that "when Americans had to choose between morals and their dreams of money, they invariably opted for money" (p. 210), she also admits, in passing, that the 1830 Indian Removal Act squeaked through the House of Representatives by a vote of 102-97. She failed to record a similarly close vote in the Senate. The truth of the matter is that white Americans were split right down the middle on Indian removal, as they were and are on almost every other subject. Even a Mississippi planter soon to benefit from the shameful Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek could write in 1830 that "attempts to accomplish the removal of the Indians by bribery and fraud, by intimidation or threats– are acts of oppression and therefore entirely unjustifiable."

Although this volume is mainly concerned with the anguished treks forced upon hapless eastern Indians, the removal policies that brought about these tragedies– through the forty years dominated by Washington, Jefferson, Monroe, Calhoun, and Jackson– are not developed clearly or fully by the author. Rather, we are asked to accept unsubstantiated generalities, such as "at Horseshoe Bend of the Tallapoosa River in Alabama, Andrew Jackson silently pledged himself to the policy of Indian Removal which in his presidency was to become law" (pp. 17-18). Such statements simply are not acceptable in a volume purportedly dedicated to recreating an accurate view of this nation's past, even if the author has forewarned us of her partiality.

Ms. Jahoda is a masterful stylist as she brings to life the environment of the early nineteenth century and its people. But style alone cannot serve in the stead of accuracy and documentation– both of which are lacking in this book. She will undoubtedly infuriate Oklahomans when they learn that their

state was the "Great American Desert"; and she will not please Chickasaw historians by suggesting that the British-Chickasaw alliance resulted from the fact that Britishers "knew how to harness the power of Chickasaw Spartanism" (p. 166). But throughout she saves her sharpest barbs for Andrew Jackson, even suggesting that he died "content that he had done his work with America's native race. He had torn down one people and raised up another, his own" (p. 159).

My major criticism is not that the author blames whites for fostering an indefensible Indian removal policy in the 1820s and 1830s– I have been a vocal critic of that policy for two decades– but that she did not support her overly critical thesis by reference to the primary and secondary sources available in libraries across the country. Removal is a subject that has captured the imagination of many historians. Excellent studies, supported by primary source materials, have been published on most of the treaties and "trails of tears" discussed in this book. Yet, she offers little documentation, suggesting that it is "neither necessary nor desirable to burden the reader with a quantity of footnotes" (p. xi); and she excuses the inadequacies of the bibliography by suggesting that "an inclusive bibliography would be unmanageable" (p. 323). This reviewer finds these statements unacceptable. Good history is born in the time-consuming and exhausting study of source material and not in the rages fueled by past injustices.

The University of Mississippi ARTHUR H. DEROSIER, JR.

Slaves Without Masters: The Free Negro in the Antebellum South. By Ira Berlin. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1974. xxi, 423 pp. Preface, prologue, notes, tables, appendixes, index. $15.00.)

At least until recently, southern race relations have required Negroes to be docile, submissive, and powerless. The presence of independent and self-sufficient free Negroes in a slave society, in "violation of the unerring laws of nature," as a Mississippi editor put it, was an embarrassing contradiction. Yet after

1810 the free Negro caste was the fastest growing element in the southeastern population. In the flush of liberality which accompanied the Revolution, manumission was popular and widespread. The first effect of freedom was a change in name; few Pompeys, Caesars, or Catos were found among the emancipated. Then followed the challenge of finding work. Many migrated to the cities that ringed the South where some became craftsmen and artisans– carpenters, bricklayers, plasterers, blacksmiths, and cobblers. A favored few became teachers or preachers; the most important trade for free blacks was barbering. Property ownership was not an easy matter, but it did happen.

Then, in frustration over rebuffs from a white society, many of the free Negroes turned inward to strengthen black community life. But their presence was an affront that disproved the precarious edifice of pro-slavery apologetics. The more the free Negro became like a white man the more enraged and fearful the whites became because for a black to succeed in freedom was frightening. The result was a wave of restrictive legislation against free black activities. Slave insurrections– whether real or imaginary– were hysterically blamed upon free black subversion. (With no sense of irony the South Carolina legislature rewarded with freedom the slaves who revealed the Denmark Vesey conspiracy.) Still the push to freedom continued as slaves ran away, "passed' as white, or were able to purchase their freedom. They worked at lower wages and performed jobs whites would not do ("nigger jobs") to maintain themselves upon the margin of poverty. Still they would not voluntarily return to slavery even if it meant food and shelter. They made a three-caste system in what many thought should be a clear-cut black-white society.

Such is the thesis of Professor Berlin's book. It is an important contribution to the understanding of the diversity of the antebellum South. For one thing, apart from a few state studies, little is known of free Negro life; for another, previous works have tended to deal with the subject as though there were no changes through a time-span, or from place to place. Berlin's book is therefore something new: a thorough treatment of free Negroes in the entire slave section, with some attempt to measure the changes that took place in a time sequence– the historian's primary task. It is in addition filled with informa-

tion from a wide variety of sources. Florida readers will find brief references to the free Negroes in the Sunshine State.

Wake Forest University DAVID L. SMILEY

Reckoning with Slavery: A Critical Study in the Quantitative History of American Negro Slavery. By Paul A. David, Herbert G. Gutman, Richard Sutch, Peter Temin, and Gavin Wright. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976. xvi, 398 pp. Authors' preface, introduction, notes, tables, bibliographical references, index. $15.00.)

A Documentary History of Slavery in North America. Edited with commentary by Willie Lee Rose. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976. xvi, 537 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, notes, a bibliographical introduction to the sources. $19.95.)

During the 1970s the American institution of slavery has been subjected to investigation by scholars as never before. At least two dozen major works published since 1969 have expanded or modified the interpretations advanced by Kenneth Stampp, who had superseded U. B. Phillips as the principal authority in the field. Richard C. Wade, Robert S. Starobin, John W. Blassingame and Claudia D. Goldin explored the formerly neglected urban and industrial experience of Southern slaves, and Starobin, Blassingame, Eugene D. Genovese, Leslie H. Owens, and Ronald Killion and Charles Waller examined the institution from the viewpoint of slaves. Winthrop D. Jordan, Stanley L. Engerman and Genovese, and Duncan J. MacLeod analysed the relationship between slavery and racism. In keeping with the national Bicentennial, Peter Wood, David Brion Davis, Gerald W. Mullin, and Edmund S. Morgan studied slavery during the colonial and Revolutionary eras. A study of the antebellum southern economy by two economists, Engerman and Robert W. Fogel, attracted the greatest attention and generated the most violent controversy. Their *Time on the Cross* (1974) was widely reviewed in newspapers and popular journals, and consequently awakened new interest in southern history among the general

public. At the same time, their extraordinarily favorable assessment of slavery aroused opposition among conventional historians and "cliometricians" as well as among social scientists and workers in the field of civil rights. *Perspectives and Irony in American Slavery* (1976), edited by Harry P. Owens, presented rebuttals by a wide range of historians, and Herbert G. Gutman's *Slavery and the Numbers Game* (1976) is a very effective counterattack by a quantitative historian.

Oxford University Press published many of the books on slavery appearing during the 1970s, and two of that press's most recent offerings, *A Documentary History of Slavery in North America,* edited by Willie Lee Rose, and *Reckoning with Slavery: A Critical Study in the Quantitative History of American Negro Slavery,* by Paul A. David, Herbert G. Gutman, Richard Sutch, Peter Temin, and Gavin Wright, are both worthy additions to the long list. Sharing the same general subject, the books are written for different readers. Professor Rose's *Documentary History of Slavery* is for undergraduate students and the general reading public, while *Reckoning with Slavery* is for professional historians.

Of all the many collections of contemporary source materials relating to American slavery, Dr. Rose's work is by far the best. Two chronological sections present materials on the colonial and Revolutionary periods, and eight topical divisions illustrate slave resistance, the domestic slave trade, laws regarding slaves, employment of slaves, management of slaves, slave life and beliefs, and amusements of slaves. The editor's most important contribution, however, has been her happy choice of selections to be published. In addition to presenting many excerpts from familiar travel accounts and memoirs, she also has included many more fascinating documents that have not previously appeared in print. The result is a book of documents that is at once instructive and delightful to read.

In *Reckoning with Slavery,* five leading quantitative historians subject Fogel's and Engerman's *Time on the Cross* to an exhaustive examination. Conventional historians also have doubted the accuracy of the two economists' assessment of slavery, but have been unable to check their use of statistics. Being themselves experts in quantitative methodology, David, Gutman, Sutch, Temin, and Wright have not been so handicapped. They, therefore,

have been able to evaluate Fogel's and Engerman's computations and basic assumptions, as well as their utilization of conventional historical sources. The effect of their combined efforts is devastating. In their conclusion these critics charge that *Time on the Cross* "embraces errors in mathematics, disregards standard principles of statistical inference, mis-cites sources, takes quotations out of context, distorts the views and findings of other historians and economists." Because of these errors, they maintain, Fogel and Engerman exaggerated the efficiency of the plantation system and painted the conditions of slaves in overly-bright colors.

Conventional historians will find in *Reckoning with Slavery* more than a convincing challenge to the principal theses of *Time on the Cross.* They will also encounter useful analyses of the southern economy explained in language that even the uninitiated can follow. They, incidentially, may also be heartened to learn that some quantitative historians admit that quantitative history should supplement rather than displace conventional history.

Florida State University JOHN HEBRON MOORE

The Papers of Andrew Johnson, Volume 4, 1860-1861. Edited by Leroy P. Graf, Ralph W. Haskins, and Patricia P. Clark. (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1976. 1, 745 pp. Introduction, acknowledgments, notes, illustrations, appendix, index. $20.00.)

Through the winter, spring, and summer of 1860-1861 the main concern of Senator Andrew Johnson of Tennessee, as of other Americans North and South, was the crisis that culminated in the Civil War. The role of Johnson, however, was hardly typical. He stood out as the most conspicuous, if not also the most vociferous, of Southerners resisting disunion. The fourth volume of his papers documents his stand and the response to it on the part of both prominent politicians and ordinary people in Tennessee and throughout the country. The volume consists principally of his anti-secession speeches, especially those he made in the Senate on December 18-19, 1860, and

February 5-6, 1861, and letters he received in response to them. It contains comparatively few letters written by Johnson himself, though it does include some interesting items of his correspondence in regard to financing and supplying Unionist forces in east Tennessee, particularly his "Amos and Andy" correspondence with the Massachusetts capitalist Amos Lawrence.

Like the previous volumes of the series, this one is fascinating for the light it throws on the thought and character of the president-to-be. Sometimes, to be sure, the light is rather uncertain. Consider the December 18-19 address, in which Johnson raised the question of the constitutional condition of a state that should attempt to secede. "When those States which were at first Territories cease their connection with this Government, do they pass back into the territorial condition?" (p. 28). Johnson implied an affirmative answer. Thus, in 1860, he anticipated, at least with reference to states other than the original thirteen, the conclusion that Charles Sumner and Thaddeus Stevens were later to reach– and he himself was to reject– in regard to all the seceded states.

Also ironical, in view of President Johnson's Negrophobic utterances, is the letter Senator Johnson received from John E. Patterson, a resident of Oberlin, Ohio, who had lived earlier in Raleigh, North Carolina. Patterson reminded Johnson of the boyhood days when the two had been playmates. "Many play of marbles & other amusements of youthful enjoyment we had in the yard of your mothers home . . . all of which is now fresh to my mind & I fondly look back at those days . . . & often review your march *upward & upward* with pleasure" (p. 537). Patterson was black.

Like the first three volumes, the fourth is full of human interest and good reading and is at the same time a model of careful and thorough editing. The editors have made strenuous efforts to clarify all obscure allusions and expressions and to identify every correspondent and every person mentioned in each document. Rare indeed is the fugitive from history who has evaded the editors' search.

University of North Carolina at Greensboro RICHARD N. CURRENT

The Booker T. Washington Papers, Volume 4: 1895-98. Edited by Louis R. Harlan, Stuart B. Kaufman, Barbara S. Kraft, and Raymond W. Smock. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1975. xxx, 593 pp. Introduction, chronology, notes, bibliography, index. $17.50.)

This volume of the Booker T. Washington papers gets into the heart of the famous Negro leader's career. The Atlanta speech attracted wide national attention, and correspondents from everywhere wrote their reactions to it. Beyond this the author received more invitations to speak than there were days in the year or the exacting cares of Tuskeege Institute permitted him to accept. Washington was now firmly cast in the role of spokesman for the Negro in American life generally, and in the South in particular. Wherever he went reporters were on hand to interview him. In their questioning there was reflected a sensibility of racial guilt about discriminations throughout the nation.

One of the leading questions asked the black leader was what it was like to be a Negro moving about the country on trains and eating and lodging in hotels? In this regard Washington could not be regarded as a thoroughly objective observer because he traveled aboard "palace" or Pullman cars and experienced neither inconvenience nor personal slight. In his opinion racial discriminations in this field rested with poorer whites toward poorer blacks, North and South. Two letters written in this era of the "separate but equal" formula growing out of the famous Supreme Court decision *Plessy* v. *Ferguson* are revealing. In one Mrs. Washington mentioned the philosophy behind the decision in a letter to Ednah D. L. Cheney. She described briefly the trauma of discriminatory practices on southern trains. The other is contained in a letter from Washington to Thomas McCants Stewart inviting him to come to Tuskeege as a commencement speaker. He assured the New York lawyer that he could ride directly into Tuskeege aboard a Pullman car without fear of being humiliated. In an article published in Our Day in June 1896, under the title "Who is Permanently Hurt," Washington concluded that such an unjust law (Jim Crow) "injures the white man, and inconveniences the

Negro." He concluded that no race could wrong another without permanently injuring its own morals and ideas of justice.

This theme of injured morals and sense of justice was continued in an open letter to the Louisiana Constitutional Convention in 1898. Washington told the delegates that the highest test of the civilization of any race was its willingness to extend help to a less advanced one. He reminded the delegates that it required little wisdom to crush out and retard the aspirations and hopes of a lesser people.

Two articles included in this volume contain the essence of Booker T. Washington's philosophy of racial relationships and educational advancement. In both he defined the challenges confronting the Negro. The first of these, prepared as a speech before the Brooklyn Arts and Sciences Institute in September 1896, appeared in the *Future of the American Negro.* The other article was published in the *Independent* in 1898. In both Washington dealt with the conditions of the Negro in southern society, reviewed his challenges, and analyzed his capacity to take varying degrees of training. In the course of training Washington advocated a gradual process extending up through the vocational sciences into the more sophisticated levels of arts and letters. Both articles contained revealing historical background and observations on the current conditions of the black in the New South.

The list of correspondents contained in this volume is both extensive and varied. It includes the names of leaders in most areas of American public social life, industry, the arts, race relations, education, and politics. None is more appealing or attractive than two of the communications from George Washington Carver. One deals with his personal background, revealing the confused condition of some Negro families in Reconstruction. The other document contains a pathetic plea from the scientist addressed to the financial committee of Tuskeege begging for more adequate space and facilities. Carver asked for an area in which he could unpack his books and specimens and the necessary safeguards to protect them from mice.

This is a heartland volume of papers not only pertaining to a major chapter in southern racial history, but to that of the nation as well. These documents bring into much clearer focus a basic understanding of the forces at work in the South

at the end of the nineteenth century. The editors have indeed lived up to their high scholarly commitments in the selection and presentation of these papers in most attractive published form.

Eastern Kentucky University THOMAS D. CLARK

A Yankee Guerrillero: Frederick Funston and The Cuban Insurrection, 1896-1897. By Thomas W. Crouch. (Memphis: Memphis State University Press, 1975. vii, 165 pp. Illustrations, preface, map, notes, bibliography, index. $8.95.)

Frederick Funston, a five-foot, four-inch Kansan, known as the "bantam of the army," belongs among the handful of authentic American military heroes produced in the era between the Civil War and World War I. A colorful, "Kiplingesque" figure whose feats included the capture of the Filipino chieftain, Aguinaldo, in 1901, Funston became one of the five highest ranking officers on active duty in the United States Army fourteen years later. This volume by Thomas W. Crouch, a freelance writer, focuses not on his career in the American army, but rather on his experience as a guerrilla fighter in the Cuban insurrection during 1896-1897, "the signal event" in his life which paved the way for his career as a professional soldier. Because of the contemporary interest in guerrilla warfare, mercenary soldiers, and counter-insurgency, this study has a peculiar relevance.

After attending the University of Kansas on and off for five years, Funston served for a time early in the 1890s as an explorer-botanist for the Department of Agriculture, first in Death Valley, California, and later in the interior of Alaska. A restless young man with an insatiable appetite for adventure, who was always anxious to "cut some ice in the world," he conceived the idea of establishing a coffee plantation in Central America. Following a trip to Mexico, he went to New York to seek financial support for his project. When New York bankers proved unreceptive to his scheme, he remained in the city and engaged in literary work. Ultimately, Funston made contact with the Cuban junta in New. York and volunteered to go to

Cuba to aid the rebels in their struggle against the Spaniards. According to the author, his decision was prompted not by any "ambition to get rich quick" but rather by his restlessness and incurable romanticism as well as by the fact that at the moment he was "at loose ends."

Imbued with enthusiam for the cause of *Cuba libre* and with a sense of high adventure, Funston joined the rebel forces of Maximo Gomez in August 1896, with the rank of captain of artillery. Under Gomez and later Calixto Garcia he demonstrated both physical courage and military resourcefulness during the most critical phase of the Cuban insurrection. His role was conspicuous in the battles at Guaimaro, Jiguani, the Bay of Banas, and Victoria de las Tunas. But if Funston learned about the tactics and strategy involved in guerrilla warfare, he also came to know the cruelty, deprivation, and loneliness of such warfare. Continually on the move, he rarely had sufficient food or ammunition and was constantly forced to do battle with the tropical climate and diseases as well as with the Spaniards. A witness to the death of several close friends, Funston himself was seriously wounded on three occasions. No longer so enamored of the glamour of military service in Cuba, he longed to return to the United States. One of the most fascinating portions of this book is the chapter entitled "The Clouded Departure," which describes the circumstances under which he left Cuba-circumstances which led to allegations that he "left the Cuban cause dishonorably and at a critical moment" (p. 148).

Sources for a study of Funston's career in the United States Army are, of course, far more abundant than those for his sojourn in Cuba as a "Yankee Guerrillero." But Mr. Crouch has distilled an intriguing and significant story from extant sources concerning his Cuban experiences and has related it in a lively prose altogether worthy of his colorful subject.

University of Arkansas WILLARD B. GATEWOOD, JR.

The Urban Ethos in the South, 1920-1930. By Blaine A. Brownell. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1975. xxi, 238 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, notes, tables, epilogue, bibliographical essay, index. $12.50.)

Professor Brownell has not written yet another "urban" history in the usual sense. Rather he has undertaken the much more difficult task of trying to determine and assess local beliefs concerning the nature and role of southern urban communities during the decade of the 1920s by reference to materials drawn largely from seven cities. The character of his sources predetermined that the views represented would be basically those promulgated by what he described as the urban white "commercial-civic elite." Once having identified those concepts or goals that could be considered as being held in common– the image of a city was complex, ill-defined, and continually shifting in emphasis and content– he concerned himself with why an ethos existed and how well it fitted the facts.

The existence of an urban ethos was not a uniquely southern trait. The one that he described was a product of the New South Creed of the 1870s and 1880s that took on special significance during the period under study because of the clear regional shift by 1920 from rural and agricultural to urban and industrial. The promoters of this ethos, the white commercial-civic elite, saw urban growth as being to their own advantage, yet at the same time feared actual or suspected changes that might be attendant to it. Thus, order, unity, and expansion became the principal tenets of their ethos. With a willingness to manipulate even history to serve their ends, city boosters used this ethos both as an abstract goal and as a means of social control: an attempt to retain the existing social order within a dynamic framework. Ironically, black leaders were supportive, although they were generally ignored other than their race being viewed as potential threats.

This monograph is important despite its restricted scope. In the first place, it contributes to a relatively new approach in urban history and is unique insofar as the study of southern cities is concerned. The research is impressive, and, despite the major emphasis on a limited number of cities, one senses that its findings probably hold true for other such centers. Further,

the author has been careful to relate southern attitudes to national ones, avoiding a feeling of provincialism. And finally, through their use as examples, considerable previously-scattered information concerning the history of Atlanta, Birmingham, Charleston, Knoxville, Memphis, Nashville, and New Orleans is made available.

While this work may have limited appeal for the general reader, it will be of importance to the specialist in recent southern history, and of great value to those interested in urban history and sociology, the history of ideas, and as a view of urban problems and leadership during this transitional period.

The University of Oklahoma JOHN S. EZELL

BOOK NOTES

A depopulated wilderness about which little was known was an apt way of describing Florida, the territory which Britain acquired from Spain at the end of the Seven Years' War in 1763. The Spanish had simply abandoned St. Augustine, Apalache, and Pensacola. Even the Indians had departed from Florida. Settlers would have to be brought in from England, Europe, and America, and to achieve that goal the government launched a publicity campaign. Books, pamphlets, and periodicals described with great eloquence Florida's many resources, its warm and salubrious climate, and the great economic opportunities which it offered. One of these publications was William Roberts's *An Account of the First Discovery and Natural History of Florida.* In 1763, it was the most reliable source of information then available on Florida. Long out of print, it is now available as a facsimile in the Bicentennial Floridiana Facsimile Series. It is published by the University of Florida Press for the American Revolution Bicentennial Commission of Florida. Robert L. Gold is editor of this facsimile. It includes six maps by Thomas Jefferys, the King's geographer. Professor Gold has written an introduction and has compiled an index. The book sells for $8.50.

Another volume in the Bicentennial Floridiana Facsimile Series is *Petals Plucked From Sunny Climes* by Silvia Sunshine, whose real name was Abbie M. Brooks. Richard A. Martin of Jacksonville is the editor of the volume for which he has written an introduction and compiled an index. *Petals* is one of the most delightful and unusual of the many travel books written about Florida after the Civil War. No one knows just when Miss Brooks traveled through the state or how. She kept all of this secret. She surrounded herself with mystery, and we know little of her background or her life. She knew Florida; that is obvious, and we can learn much about the state as it looked at the time as she conducts the reader from Fernandina to Key West, and then along the Gulf coast into the Florida Panhandle and Pensacola. Miss Brooks had an eye for the colorful and the unusual; she wrote well, and was able to communicate with a minimum of words. Martin ranks it "among the classics of its kind in Florida literature." Published by the University of Florida Press for the Florida Bicentennial Commission, the facsimile sells for $13.50.

Osceola, Seminole Chief: An Unredeemed Saga is the story of Osceola's life from his boyhood until the Second Seminole War when he was captured and imprisoned in Fort Moultrie, South Carolina. There he died on January 30, 1838. This history is recorded as an epic poem by Colonel O. Z. Tyler, a native of Jacksonville and an instructor of history at Florida Junior College. It carries a foreword by Professor John K. Mahon of the University of Florida. The pen and ink drawings are by Palmer Tyler, brother of the author. There is a bibliography and an index. Anna Publishing Company, 500 St. Andrews Boulevard, Winter Park, 32792, published the book. The hard-cover edition sells for $9.95; the paperback, $6.95.

A History of Hernando County, 1840-1976, by Richard J. Stanaback, was published by the Action '76 Steering Committee of Brooksville as a Bicentennial volume. Hernando County's beginnings stretch back to the Second Seminole War. The county was created in 1843, and was named in honor of Hernando De Soto, the Spanish conquistador. Professor Stanaback, of Pasco-Hernando Community College, has searched early

archival records for information of the first settlers. His book traces the history of Hernando County to the present, and includes data on communications, industrial and real estate development, education, community services, churches, governmental agencies, transportation, and entertainment. There are illustrations, a bibliography, and an index. *A History of Hernando County* sells for $10.00, and may be ordered from the Action '76 Steering Committee, Brooksville, 33512.

Tallahassee: Downtown Transitions describes the historic preservation activities that are aimed at revitalizing Tallahassee's downtown area. Some of the city's nineteenth-century business buildings and homes have survived the bulldozers; the fabric of Tallahassee's past is wrapped up in these structures. The Historic Tallahassee Preservation Board are leaders of the move "to restore the spirit and appeal of downtown Tallahassee as it existed at *some* previous times." It is hoped that many of the buildings can be returned to their original use. Gallie's Opera House, with its impressive location, might be utilized again as a community auditorium. Other structures might be rehabilitated and adapted to contemporary needs. With careful planning and intelligent preservation, Historic Tallahassee can become a viable economic asset. *Tallahassee: Downtown Transitions,* by Lee H. Warner and Mary B. Eastland, includes pictures of the surviving buildings, many of which are located on or near Adams and Monroe streets. It also includes some of the redevelopment concepts. Order the book for $4.75 from the Brokaw-McDougall House, 329 North Meridian Street, Tallahassee, 32304.

Red, White, and Bluebloods in Frontier Florida, by Malcolm B. Johnson, editor of the *Tallahassee Democrat,* was published by the Rotary Clubs of Florida as its contribution to the Bicentennial. Mr. Johnson, one of Florida's best-known newspapermen, identifies himself as "a spinner of historical yarns," and he does that very well. His "stories" are of Florida's colorful pioneers. Thomas Jefferson's grandson was Tallahassee's first reform mayor; Alexander Hamilton, Jr., was defeated in his effort to represent Territorial Florida in the Congress; Patrick Henry's grandson is buried at Quincy; and

George Washington's great-grandniece married Napoleon Bonaparte's nephew in Tallahassee. George Walton, Jr., a signer of the Declaration of Independence, was Florida's first secretary of state. Andrew Jackson was Florida's first territorial governor, and Peggy O'Neil Eaton, who caused such a stir in Washington society during the 1830s, became Florida's first lady. The Marquis de Lafayette owned land in frontier Florida, and George Proctor, a free black, built many of the great antebellum homes in Tallahassee before he joined the California gold rush in 1849. His son later became a member of the Florida House of Representatives. *Red, White, and Bluebloods* sells for $7.95, and it may be ordered from the Tallahassee Rotary Club, Box 3221, Tallahassee, 32302.

Yesterday's Palm Beach, by Stuart I. McIver, is another of the volumes in the E. A. Seemann pictorial Historic Cities series. Its 254 historical photographs, drawings, and engravings tell the story of fabulous Palm Beach from its beginnings in the nineteenth century to the 1950s. Palm Beach is one of the world's great resorts, and it has long attracted celebrities and millionaires to its hotels, gambling casinos, and great homes. They come during the winter months to see and be seen. Many of the rich estates, hotels, parks, and churches are pictured in *Yesterday's Palm Beach.* Published by E. A. Seemann of Miami, the book sells for $9.95.

The Saint Lucie Historical Society, in conjunction with the Sun Bank of Saint Lucie County, has published the *Pictorial History of Saint Lucie County, 1565-1910,* by Kyle S. VanLandingham, a Fort Pierce historian. The narrative details the founding of Fort Pierce in 1838, and the subsequent settlement of the area. Fort Pierce was incorporated in 1901, and the county was created four years later. Accompanying the text are many old pictures taken from the files of the Florida Photographic Concern of Fort Pierce. The book sells for $2.50, plus postage, and may be ordered from the Saint Lucie County Museum, 414 Seaway Drive, Fort Pierce, 33450.

From Beginnings to Boom, by Bernice More Barber, is the history of Haines City in Polk County. Mrs. Barber traces the

history of many of its first settlers, and interviewed scores of persons to secure needed information and data. Pictures of people and community scenes add to the books value. It sells for $10.90 from Cromer Printing, Box 1268, Haines City, 33844.

"Orlando, A Century Plus" is by Baynard H. Kendrick, one of Florida's best known writers. It was published by the Sentinel Star Company of Orlando as a contribution to the Bicentennial. Settlers began moving into the Orange County area after the Second Seminole War. Its growth has been continuous, and it has become one of America's fastest-growing cities. Millions of tourists annually visit Disney World and the other attractions there. It is in the great citrus belt, and is the home of Florida Technological University. Hardback copies of *"Orlando, A Century Plus"* have been given to schools, libraries, hospital reading rooms, and other public institutions. The softback edition is for sale from the *Sentinel Star* offices in Orlando.

Gertrude K. Stoughton was writing a history of Tarpon Springs at the time of her death in 1975. *Tarpon Springs, Florida: The Early Years* has now been published as a memorial by the Tarpon Springs Area Historical Society. Benjamin and Frederic Meyer settled near Tarpon Springs after the Civil War. Hamilton Disston, the Philadelphia saw manufacturer and Florida land developer, promoted the area, but the real founder of the town was Anson Safford, former governor of the Territory of Arizona. His sister, Dr. Mary Jane Safford, was Florida's first practicing woman physician. Tarpon Springs is probably best known as a sponge town and the home of the Greek sponge divers, and Mrs. Stoughton describes the development of this important industry. The hardback edition of her book sells for $10.00; the paperback, $6.00. It is available from the Society, Box 474, Tarpon Springs, 33589.

Center Street: Fernandina Historic District is a pictorial description of the preservation and restoration work going on in the thirty-block historic district in downtown Fernandina. The booklet sells for $3.00, and may be ordered from the Amelia Island-Fernandina Restoration Foundation, Inc., 102 Atlantic Avenue, Fernandina, 32034.

A History of Riviera Beach, Florida was issued by the Bicentennial Commission of Riviera Beach. Its editor, Lynn Brink, has compiled it with the cooperation of a local history committee. It is a brief description of Riviera Beach from its settlement in the nineteenth century. Judge Allen E. Heyser came to Lake Worth in 1881, and is credited with being the first to settle in what is now Riviera Beach. The booklet sells for $2.26. Order from Ms. Brink, 22 West 22nd Street, Riviera Beach, 33464.

The Watery Wilderness of Apalach, Florida, by Betty M. Watts, describes the great water area which stretches from the Apalachicola River to the Suwannee, and south from the Georgia border to the Barrier Islands in the Gulf of Mexico. These are some of the great "untouched" water areas of Florida– beaches, springs, swamps, and marshes. The author and her associates have labored to save these vital wetlands. There have been many attempts to exploit these important areas. The illustrations, even in black and white, show the distinctive beauty of Apalach. The book sells for $5.35, and may be ordered from Apalach Books, 729 Monticello Drive, Tallahassee, 32303.

Jose Marti Park: The Story of Cuban Property in Tampa was the result of a special directed research project which was published by the Department of Interdisciplinary Social Sciences, International Studies Program, University of South Florida. Its compilers were all undergraduate students working during a limited twelve-week period and with no funding. They set themselves to the task of verifying ownership of the park and recording its history. Mark I. Scheinbaum is editor, and the contributors are John Sellers, Barbara Hawkins, Charles Davis, and David Herzog.

Florida's Power Structure: Who's Part of It and Why lists those persons who, according to Lee Butcher, the author, wield economic and political power. Leading the list of politicians who influence the lives of Florida's 8,000,000 people is Governor Reubin Askew. The cabinet, members of the public service commission, and influential members of the legislature are also

included. A few persons holding appointed state jobs– the secretary of transportation, chancellor of the state university system, and secretary of the department of health and rehabilitative services– are also listed. But the real leaders in Florida, those who are the great power brokers, are the economic royalists– bankers, corporation lawyers, land developers, insurance executives, manufacturing representatives, and those who control Florida's phosphate, citrus, shipping, forestry, and agriculture. The men who operate Florida's major tourist attractions like Disney World are not neglected; their directors are also part of the power structure. Published by Trend Publishers, Tampa, this book sells for $9.00.

Visibility Unlimited, by Rafe Gibbs, describes the concept and the beginning years of Florida International University of Miami. The campus was built on the site of a deserted airport, but when the University opened in September 1972 it enrolled 5,667 students, probably the largest freshman class in the country. *Visibility Unlimited* was published by the Board of Trustees of Florida International University Foundation.

Biographical guides and directories are valuable sources for information on important and lesser known personalities of the past. Such a source is *Biographical Souvenir of the States of Georgia and Florida*, which was published first in 1889. It contains "Biographical Sketches of the Representative Public, and Many Early Settled Families." This volume, long out-of-print, will have value for the historian and the genealogist. It has been republished by the Southern Historical Press, Box 738, Easley, South Carolina 29640. This press specializes in the publication of biographical guides and genealogical data of the southern states. There are 880 pages of text, many illustrations, and an index. The price is $40.00.

Florida Old and New, by Frederick W. Dau, is one of the general histories of Florida that have been published over the years. It has been out of print for some time now. Gale Research Company has recently published a reprint of the 1934 edition. The price is $15.00; it may be ordered from Book Tower, Detroit, Michigan 48226.

Pensacola's Currency Issuing Banks and Their Bank Notes, 1833-1935 describes the history of banking in that community, beginning with the Bank of Pensacola which was established by the Territorial Council in 1833. Prior to 1936, several local banks issued their own bank notes. Philip A. Pfeiffer's book describes these operations. There are many illustrations of bank notes and the institutions which issued them. His book sells for $6.50, and it is available from the author, Box 2929, Pensacola, 32503.

Many Happy Returns is a Florida Bicentennial publication by the Florida Retired Teachers Association. The material was collected from teachers by the officers of the local units of the Association. Besides brief school histories for most Florida counties and many local communities, there are interviews with many teachers who have recounted their experiences. The book sells for $7.95. It is available from Wake-Brook House, 960 N.W. 53rd Street, Fort Lauderdale, 33309.

The Hanging at Bahia Mar is by Hal Caudle, who was a young Coast Guardsman at the time of the incident which he describes in this book. During the Prohibition era, the South Florida coast, with its many inlets and mangrove thickets, was a favorite landing place for shippers bringing in illegal cargo from the Bahamas. Horace Alderman was a rum-runner and a smuggler. He was convicted of killing three men and was hanged at Coast Guard Base Six at Fort Lauderdale. The book sells for $5.95, and was published by Wake-Brook House of Fort Lauderdale.

Bicentennial Guide to Florida was published by the Florida Publishing Company. Students in the University of Florida's College of Journalism and Communications gathered the material which includes historical sketches of Florida counties and many pictures. Order from Florida Publishing Company, Box 1949, Jacksonville, 32201.

Anthropological Bibliography of Aboriginal Florida was compiled by Thelma H. Bull. It is a brief survey of archeological reports and related data covering the history of Indian life in

Florida. Besides the author index, there is a very useful county index listing reports on local projects. The price is $4.00, and it may be ordered from the author, 1416 6th Avenue, Tarpon Springs, Florida 33589.

Banyan Books, Inc., of Miami is one of the more recently established Florida presses publishing books about the state. Several of the staff persons were formerly associated with the University of Miami Press and they are publishing some of the titles of that press. Its main thrust, however, will be new works. It will publish some out of print items also.

The Story of the Chokoloskee Bay County by Charlton W. Tebeau was first published by the University of Miami Press in 1955 and a new edition is now available from Banyan Books. The price is $1.95. *A Florida Kit: A Natural History Primer,* written and illustrated by Edwin W. Wimmers, is primarily for elementary school teachers as a supplemental reference for teaching about Florida's past and present. It sells for $7.95. Historical studies of several South Florida communities are planned, and a new edition of Marjorie Douglas's *River of Grass* will be released shortly.

Florida horticulture is a special interest of Banyan Books. Recent publications include *Ferns of Florida: An Illustrated Manual and Identification Guide* by Olga Lakela and Robert W. Long ($10.00); *Growing Food in South Florida,* by Felice Dickson ($5.95); *The Florida Gardener's Answer Book,* by Felice Dickson ($7.95); and, *A Flora of Tropical Florida, A Manual of the Sea Plants and Ferns of Southern Peninsula Florida,* by Robert W. Long and Olga Lakela ($29.50). Ellen Edelen is director of the press. The address is Box 431160, Miami, Florida 33143.

HISTORY NEWS

Florida Historical Quarterly Index

The *Index* to Volumes 36-53 of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* has been published. It was compiled by Dr. Karen Lee Singh of Tallahassee, under the supervision of an editorial committee with Dr. Jerrell Shofner, vice president of the Florida Historical Society, serving as chairman. Milton Jones, immediate past president of the Florida Historical Society, Audrey Broward of Jacksonville University, Elizabeth Alexander of the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, and Dr. Samuel Proctor were members of the committee. The volume is available for sale, and it may be ordered from the Florida Historical Society, University of South Florida Library, Tampa. The price is $12.50. The Index covering Volumes 1-35 was published earlier.

Florida Confederation of Historical Societies Workshop

Because of programming difficulties, the date of the Confederation workshop was changed from November 5-6, 1976, to January 21-22, 1977. It will be held in Tallahassee at the Holiday Inn and at the Interpretive Exhibits Office, Division of Recreation and Parks. Elizabeth Ehrbar is in charge of the program, and inquiries concerning it should be directed to her: Box 36, Saint Marks, Florida 32355. Several workshop demonstrations are planned, together with tours of the Tallahassee Junior Museum and the new Robert A. Gray Museum, Library, and Archives Building.

State and Local History Awards

The national awards committee of the American Association for State and Local History, meeting in Albany, New York, September 18-19, 1976, voted three Awards of Merit and two Certificates of Commendation to Floridians in recognition of superior achievement and quality in preserving and interpreting state and local history. Dr. Samuel Proctor and the American Revolution Bicentennial Commission of Florida received an

Award of Merit for the five Bicentennial symposia which were held at the University of Florida, Florida International University, Florida Technological University, Florida State University, and the University of West Florida in the period 1972-1976. The papers presented at each of these conferences have been published by the University of Florida Press. Mrs. Frederick W. Connolly of Monticello, Florida, was honored for "the many years she has served as the catalyst in inspiring an awareness of Monticello, Florida's rich and colorful history." Jessie Porter Newton of Key West received an award for her "more than forty years of dedication to saving, salvaging, preserving, and restoring Key West's architectural heritage." Leila Abercrombie of Pensacola, Florida, received a Certificate of Commendation for "her pioneering efforts to draw attention to, preserve, and interpret Pensacola's historic heritage." The Pensacola Home and Savings Association and the Appleyard Agency of Pensacola were also recognized with a Certificate of Commendation for the series of pamphlets on Pensacola history which these two companies have sponsored. The awards will be presented at the annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society in St. Augustine, May 6-7, 1977.

Orange County Historical Museum

Special ceremonies on Sunday, October 17, dedicated the Orange County Historical Museum in Loch Haven Park, Orlando. The museum had its origin in 1942, when Orlando celebrated the centennial of its charter. At that time the ladies of the Antiquarian Society prepared an exhibit of an old-fashioned kitchen. People loaned and then donated a variety of household items, books, firearms, photographs, farm implements, and other historical artifacts. The project was very successful, and the Antiquarians adopted the establishment of a permanent historical museum as a special project. In 1957, the 1892 courthouse, the site of the museum, was demolished, and it was necessary to store the historical collection in temporary quarters. The county commission then agreed to take over operation of the museum, and created the Orange County Historical Commission for this purpose.

In 1963, the museum was re-opened on the eighth floor

of the courthouse annex, and in 1970, it was moved to the second floor of the Christ Building on East Central Boulevard. A permanent home for the museum was needed, and the Orange County Historical Society was authorized in 1971 to develop a construction program. A building site was made available in Loch Haven Park through the John Young Museum and Planetarium. With funds contributed by private citizens and an appropriation from the county, a contract was signed in August 1975, and the building was completed the following January. Jean Yothers is curator of the museum. Judge Donald A. Cheney is chairman of the Orange County Historical Commission, and he was the major driving force that made the museum a reality.

Florida Conference of College Teachers

The annual meeting of the Florida Conference will be held at Hillsborough Community College, Dale Mabry Campus, Tampa, April 1-2, 1977. Dr. James Dunn is program chairman, and inquiries should be directed to him at the Dale Mabry Campus, Hillsborough Community College, Box 22127, Tampa, 33622.

Announcements and Activities

The editors of the Black Abolitionist Papers Editorial Project, funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities and the National Historical Publications and Records Commission, need correspondence, speeches, editorials, and other primary source materials of black abolitionists for the period 1830-1865. Write Black Abolitionist Papers, 100 Main Hall, University of Wisconsin-Lacrosse, Lacrosse, Wisconsin 54601. C. Peter Ripley of Florida State University and George E. Carter are editors of this project. Joe M. Richardson of Florida State University is a member of the board of editorial advisors.

The Johns Hopkins University Press is publishing *Reviews in American History,* edited by Stanley Kutler, University of Wisconsin. It is a collection of reviews of significant new books in the field of American history. The journal is issued four

times a year; individual rates are $14.00 per year. Write RAH, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland 21218.

The July number of "South Florida Pioneers" includes a sketch of the Stephen Hollingsworth family, pioneer settlers of Hillsborough County. There is also a history of Fort Meade and cemetery and marriage records. Subscription price for the quarterly is $8.00 a year. Write Richard M. Livingston, Box 166, Fort Ogden, Florida 33842.

Blanche E. Rinehart is editor of the Genealogical Society of Greater Miami Newsletter. The Society meets monthly. A genealogical club has recently been formed in Key West, and it will collect material about the early history of the community using oral history techniques.

The seventh Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference will be held in Pensacola, February 18-19, 1977. The theme is "The Military Presence on the Gulf Coast." For program information, write Dr. W. S. Coker, The Library, University of West Florida, Pensacola, Florida 32504.

The First Conference on Jacksonville History is scheduled for February 6-8, 1977. Sessions will be held at the University of North Florida, the Jacksonville Art Museum, and the Independent Life and Accident Insurance Company Building. Dr. James Crooks, Department of History, University of North Florida, is chairman of the conference, and inquiries about the program should be directed to him.

The Great Tide, by Ruby Lea Hall, a historical novel based on St. Joseph, where Florida's first constitution was drafted in 1838, is in its sixth printing. Copies are available from Mrs. Eunice Brinson, 216 6th Street, Port St. Joe, Florida, for $9.95.

The Florida Anthropological Society will hold its twenty-ninth annual meeting at the University of South Florida, March 19, 1977. The Tampa Bay Chapter will be the host for this meeting. Those wishing to present papers should write Dr. Raymond Williams, Department of Anthropology, University of South Florida, Tampa, 33620.

El Escribano will no longer be published by the St. Augustine Historical Society as a quarterly. In 1977, it becomes an annual publication, with a format similar to other historical society journals. Mark E. Fretwell is editor, and his editorial board includes Albert Manucy, Overton Ganong, Charles S. Coones, Luis Arana, W. W. Wilson, and Thomas S. Graham.

The Safety Harbor Area Historical Society has moved into new museum facilities provided by the Safety Harbor Spa. All the displays have been rearranged, and a number of new ones have been constructed and installed. The newly-located museum was formally opened September 18, 1976.

The Secretary of the United States Department of the Interior has designated the Tampa Bay Hotel in Tampa as a National Historic Landmark. This action was recommended by the advisory board for National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings, and Monuments at its spring (1976) meeting in Washington.

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GREAT EXPECTATIONS. 1977

Jan. 21-22	Florida Confederation of Historical Societies– Workshop	Tallahassee
Feb. 6-8	First Jacksonville History Conference	University of North Florida, Jacksonville
Feb. 18-19	Seventh Annual Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference	Pensacola
March 12	Florida Anthropological Society Meeting	University of South Florida, Tampa
April 1-2	Florida College Teachers of History Conference	Hillsborough Community College, Tampa
April 6-9	Organization of American Historians Meeting	Atlanta
May 5	Florida Confederation of Historical Societies– Workshop	St. Augustine
May 6-7	FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY– 75th ANNUAL MEETING	St. Augustine

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THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, incorporated, 1905

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All correspondence relating to membership and subscriptions should be addressed to Jay B. Dobkin, Executive Secretary, Florida Historical Society, University of South Florida Library, Tampa, Florida 33620. Inquiries concerning back numbers of the *Quarterly* should be directed also to Mr. Dobkin.