

*The
Florida
Historical
Quarterly*

October 1981

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COVER

“Saturday, September 18:

I have just come through hell.”

Thus L. F. Reardon begins his eyewitness account of the 1926 hurricane which destroyed Miami and signaled the end of Florida's Land Boom. This view depicts West Flagler Street at 12th Avenue, Miami, on Saturday morning, September 18, 1926. It is from Mr. Reardon's *The Florida Hurricane and Disaster* (Miami, 1926.)

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THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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FLORIDA SEMINOLES AND THE CENSUS OF 1900

by HARRY A. KERSEY, JR.

ONE of the most persistent problems confronting historians dealing with the Seminole Indians in Florida during the late-nineteenth century has been a paucity of reliable population data. In the first four decades of the modern tribal era, the years following cessation of the Third Seminole War in 1858, there was only one attempt at a comprehensive account of Florida Seminoles. That was a survey conducted in the winter of 1880-1881 by Clay MacCauley for the Smithsonian Institution, which yielded what has become the generally accepted base line population figures. He found 208 Seminoles residing in the state, the unhappy remnant of a tribe that had once numbered over 5,000 before the wars and removal to the West.¹

From time to time other observers had visited certain Seminole camps in Florida and produced accounts which, for the most part, varied greatly in their accuracy and conclusions regarding the Seminole population. The most widely used of these reports are Ober (1872), Pratt (1879), Wilson (1880), Brecht (1892-99), and Duncan (1898).² With the possible exception of Pratt, none

Harry A. Kersey, Jr., is professor of education at Florida Atlantic University, Boca Raton. He thanks Judge Donald A. Cheney for allowing the author to use his father's papers.

1. Clay MacCauley, "The Seminole Indians of Florida," *Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Fifth Annual Report, 1883-1884* (Washington, 1887).
2. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century there were a limited number of reports published on the Seminole Indians of Florida. Among the most useful and informative were: Fredrick A. Ober, "Ten Days with the Seminoles," *Appleton's Journal of Literature, Science and Art*, 14 (July-August 1875), 142-44, 171-71; U. S. Congress, Senate, *Message From the President of the United States Transmitting a Letter of the Secretary of the Interior Relative to Land upon Which to Locate Seminole Indians* [This contains both R. H. Pratt's report on the Seminoles in 1879, and A. M. Wilson's letters on his work as special agent to the Seminoles in 1887.] Exec. Doc. 139, 50th Cong., 1st sess., 1888, 1-15; James A. Henshall, *Camping and Cruising in Florida* (Cincinnati, 1888), passim; Charles B. Cory, *Hunting and Fishing in Florida, including a key to the water birds known to occur in the state* (Boston, 1896; Reprint ed., New York, 1970); U. S. Congress, House of Representatives, *Report of the*

of these approached the comprehensiveness of MacCauley's work in identifying population distribution. Thus by the turn of the twentieth century little more was known than that the Seminoles were separated sociopolitically and linguistically into three distinct groups, occupying areas north of Lake Okeechobee, in the Big Cypress Swamp, and along the southeast coast from New River to Biscayne Bay. The lack of systematic gathering and reporting of accurate population figures on the Seminoles has made it difficult to develop a complete historical picture of the growth or decline rate of the bands in those regional dispersements.

Unfortunately, the federal census apparatus was of limited usefulness when it came to identifying the Indian population in Florida. Of the five federal censuses conducted between 1860 and 1900, only two appear to yield reasonably accurate approximations of the Seminole population based on what is known of how the enumerations were conducted and reported. It is necessary to dismiss immediately the 1860 census report that there was but one Indian in Florida.³ This gross error may be attributed to a combination of factors. First, following so closely the conclusion of hostilities with the Indians, there was probably no serious effort to penetrate the Everglades wilderness to enumerate them. Also, since the 1860 census was the first to differentiate Indians from other classes of citizens, there were no doubt problems in handling the data effectively in Washington. Nevertheless, by the 1870 census the Indian population in Florida had unaccountably doubled, as two were reported.⁴ There was, however, a dutiful bureaucratic notation that this count corrected the error of the previous decennial count. Again in this census the official federal figures were greatly at variance with what was known to have been the case by those living on the Florida frontier; there were cer-

Commissioner of Indian Affairs [contains the report of Dr. J. E. Brecht, Indian agent at Immokalee, for the year 1897. Brecht submitted annual reports from 1892 to 1899, with estimates of Seminole population.] Exec. Doc. 5, 55th Cong., 2nd sess., 1897, 125-27; U. S. Department of the Interior, "Report of A. J. Duncan, United States Indian Inspector, to the Honorable Secretary of the Interior, in regard to the reservation of lands for the use of the Seminole Indians of Florida," *Annual Reports of the Department of the Interior for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1898*, Vol. I, cc-ccxxxviii.

3. U. S. Congress, Senate, *Preliminary Report of the Eighth Census, 1860*, 37th Cong., 2nd sess., 1862, 134.

4. U. S. Census Office, *Ninth Census, Volume I—The Statistics of the Population of the United States* (Washington, 1872), 8.

tainly more than two Seminoles hunting, trapping, and running livestock on the open prairie.

The 1880 enumeration of Indians in Florida became a tangled affair. The tenth census tabulations show only 144 Indians in the state, and although not identified as to tribe, all were located in Brevard, Manatee, Monroe, and Polk counties— the known habitat of the Seminoles.⁵ Because this figure was at such variance with the 208 reported by MacCauley in the same year, further investigation was called for. An examination of the enumerators' schedules for Florida counties yielded startling results. In June 1880, a regular enumerator, J. B. Bowen, had visited the Indian camps of Brevard County, which he identified as a "Portion of the tribe of Seminole Indians, not taxed, West of the St. Johns River."⁶ Further research revealed that Clay MacCauley had prepared schedules for Manatee, Monroe, Polk, and Dade counties, signing himself as acting special agent for the census.⁷ The assumption is that these delayed enumerations, which could have been made no earlier than six months after the regular census was concluded, were accepted through the efforts of Major J. W. Powell, head of the Bureau of American Ethnology at the Smithsonian Institution. Powell also functioned as head of the United States Census, Indian Division, for 1880.⁸

From the foregoing one would expect the census count to correspond with MacCauley's figure of 208, but such was not the

5. U. S. Census Office, *Statistics of the Population of the United States at the Tenth Census (June 1, 1880)* (Washington, 1883), 394.
6. U. S. Census Office, *Tenth Census of the United States, 1880* (Washington, National Archives Microfilm T9-126), "Schedule I— Inhabitants West of St. Johns River in the County of Brevard, State of Florida, Enumerated by me on the [blank] day of June, 1880. Page No. 13., Supervisor's Dist. No. 18; Enumeration Dist. No. 14."
7. U. S. Census Office, *Tenth Census of the United States, 1880* "Schedule I— Inhabitants at Miami River Settlement, in the County of Dade, State of Florida, Enumerated by me in the month of January, 1881. [form presented as altered by enumerator] Page No. 5, Enumeration Dist. No. 25." This sheet also contains the hand written notation "The Indians upon this sheet were enumerated by Clay MacCauley, Special Agent of this office, being a portion of the enumeration of the Seminole Indians remaining in Florida. Gen. [Amassa H.] Walker [director of the census] decides that these Indians are to be included as part of the Constitutional Population of the State and this schedule is therefore inserted as pages 5 and 6 of Enumeration District No. 25, the Miami River Settlement being situated in this district. [signed] G. W. Seaton, Chief Clerk."
8. U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Twenty Censuses: Population and Housing Questions, 1790-1980* (Washington, 1979), 23.

case. In Brevard County the enumerator Bowen had listed fifteen Seminoles, while MacCauley found but twelve.⁹ In Manatee, Monroe, and Polk counties the tabulation showed fewer Seminoles by four than MacCauley had enumerated. Why? Apparently the results were altered slightly by omitting the blacks living among the Seminoles, even though the schedule called for counting non-Indians who had been adopted into tribes. Most disconcerting of all, however, was the inexplicable omission of the Dade County schedules from the tabulation, as they comprised the second largest concentration of Seminoles in the state according to MacCauley.¹⁰ Allowing that the regular census enumeration of Brevard County Seminoles was correct, and that MacCauley's figures for the other four settlements stand minus the black members, the 1880 census still lists too few Seminoles by sixty, or some twenty-nine per cent of the population. This is a sizable error with such a finite group, particularly if one is trying to establish a viable genealogy. Fortunately in this case, MacCauley's report to the Smithsonian, as well as his extant enumeration schedules, provided valuable comparative data; such would not always be the case, as shall be seen. For example, there is no readily available information on how Florida Indians were enumerated in the 1890 census. It is known only that 171 were found, primarily in Brevard and Dade counties, with just one listed for Lee and Monroe counties which encompassed the Big Cypress Swamp region.¹¹

Perhaps just as significant as these disparities in population figures was the lack of any additional information on the Florida Indians emanating from the censuses through 1890. Although a special schedule had been prepared for enumerating the United States Indian population in 1880, it was not utilized by either MacCauley or Bowen in Brevard County. An expanded schedule would be employed again in 1900, with subsequent major enumerations in 1910 and 1930.¹² Thus, any social, economic, or linguistic information on the Seminoles came primarily from

9. MacCauley, "The Seminole Indians of Florida," 478.

10. Ibid.

11. U. S. Census Office, *Twelfth Census of the United States taken in the year 1900—Population, Part I* (Washington, 1901), 532-33.

12. U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930—The Indian Population of the United States and Alaska* (Washington, 1937), 1. See also, *Twenty Censuses*, 26, 38-39.

non-census related accounts. To the extent that MacCauley's report can be considered related to the census of 1880, however tangentially, it did flesh out the sterile figures with an account of the Seminole culture. It would be another twenty years before a census enumerator performed a similar function by leaving a written account to supplement the data.

The federal census of 1900 was the first in which a special agent was appointed to enumerate the Seminole Indians of Florida. This was primarily due to the efforts of John M. Cheney, supervisor of the census for the second district of Florida.¹³ Cheney, an attorney from Orlando and a prominent figure in state Republican party politics, was an ardent outdoor sportsman with a keen interest in the Seminoles. He was convinced that before any significant federal or state assistance could be rendered to the increasingly impoverished Indians, an accurate picture of their number and condition would have to be ascertained. This would require the services of unique individuals who were familiar with both the Seminoles and the terrain of South Florida, and were willing to undertake such an arduous assignment. In two telegrams dated May 31 and June 1, 1900, the director of the census, W. C. Merriam, informed Cheney that the "Enumerator for Seminole Indians will be allowed all time necessary to complete enumeration," and "Compensation special agents for Seminole Indians will be five dollars per day and actual and necessary travelling expenses. Wire names so appointments can be made."¹⁴

Apparently Cheney's initial choice for Seminole enumerator was Bishop William Crane Gray, head of the Episcopal Missionary Jurisdiction of Southern Florida.¹⁵ Bishop Gray had established the first permanent mission stations at Immokalee and Glades Cross deep in the Big Cypress Swamp, and he was knowledgeable about the Seminole situation. However, he knew neither

13. William F. Blackman, *History of Orange County, Florida, Narrative and Biographical* (DeLand, 1927; Reprint ed., Chuluota, 1973), 37-38.

14. W. C. Merriam to John M. Cheney (telegrams), May 31, June 1, 1900, John M. Cheney Collection, in possession of D. A. Cheney, Orlando, Florida (hereinafter cited as JMCC).

15. For an extended discussion of the Episcopal mission effort among the Seminoles see Harry A. Kersey, Jr., and Donald E. Pullease, "Bishop William Crane Gray's Mission to the Seminole Indians in Florida, 1893-1914," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, XLII (September 1973), 257-73.

the language nor the territory well enough to work alone. Therefore he contacted J. Otto Fries, the county surveyor in Brevard County, and solicited his assistance. Fries initially declined to serve on the grounds that, although he knew the territory as well as anyone, he did not know the Indians or their language. He, in turn, recommended Archibald A. Hendry for the job. "He is," Fries wrote, "well posted in the language, quite familiar with the Indians, knows the whole country; is honest sober and truthfull."¹⁶ At this point Bishop Gray removed himself from consideration, and the enumerator's position was proffered to Fries, with A. A. Hendry to serve as his assistant. On June 5, 1900, Fries accepted the conditions of employment and proposed to have the task completed within fifty days. It would soon become apparent that he was unduly optimistic.

The choice of J. Otto Fries to conduct the enumeration was an excellent one, in that he brought to the undertaking a rare combination of education, experience, integrity, and articulateness. A native of Sweden who had immigrated to Florida in 1871, Fries was a college graduate trained in geology and civil engineering.¹⁷ He initially settled on a homestead in the Orlando area and soon became county surveyor for Orange County. Over the years he also worked as a timber cruiser and came to know the vast unsettled wilderness of south Florida. After the freeze of 1895-1896, Fries relocated to Brevard County, settling in Titusville and assuming the position of county surveyor. His cohort in the census venture, Archibald A. Hendry, was the antithesis of Fries in education and training, but brought an invaluable knowledge of the Seminoles and frontier conditions to their work. Fries described him to Cheney as "a genuine cracker, born and raised near Fort Pierce; has hunted with and among the Indians since his young age and talks their language well. He is undoubtedly the best man I could get."¹⁸ Together these two would

16. John Otto Fries to Bishop William Crane Gray, May 26, 1900, JMCC.

17. Kena Fries, *Orlando in the Long Long Ago and Now* (Orlando, 1938), 105-07.

18. Fries to Cheney, July 1, 1900, JMCC. Actually, Fries was mistaken in some of his information concerning A. A. Hendry, especially when he wrote that "Mr. Hendry is no relation to the representative [Francis A. Hendry of Fort Myers]." Indeed, the famous cattleman and Indian fighter for whom Hendry County is named was the great uncle of Fries's companion. Also, A. A. Hendry was born in Hillsborough County in 1858, moving with his family to a homestead west of Fort Pierce in 1872.

traverse the pine flats and swamplands of Florida during the high water and sweltering heat of mid-summer, visiting all known Indian camps from north of Lake Okeechobee to Shark River in the Ten Thousand Islands.

In addition to the basic items on the special Indian census form for 1900, Fries compiled his own commentaries on the living conditions and social relationships of the Seminoles whom they visited.¹⁹ This was submitted with his enumeration schedules and acknowledged by the Bureau of the Census office in Washington, but unaccountably has been lost to posterity.²⁰ Fortunately, however, Fries maintained a steady correspondence with Cheney from June through October 1900, in which he detailed the difficulties that he and Hendry encountered, as well as some views on the Indian condition of that day. This correspondence has recently been made available to researchers by the Cheney family and provides an additional dimension to our knowledge of the Seminoles at the turn of the century. Five of these letters have been selected for inclusion here to give both the flavor of the enumerators' experiences, as well as some specific data on the Seminole camps which they visited.

Fries planned to initiate the enumeration with the Cow Creek band of Seminoles living north of Lake Okeechobee beginning early in July, a time selected to coincide with their annual celebration of the Green Corn Dance when most of the scattered camps would come together in one location. Leaving Fort Pierce

Although he had no formal schooling, young Hendry possessed an extensive knowledge of the Florida back country and Indians, and was renowned as a guide and interpreter. In 1900 he married Amy Ann Cone, and in 1903 their only child, a son, was born in Fort Pierce. Hendry continued in the cattle business well into this century, finally selling his registered brand and 15,000 head of cattle to Joe Bowers, the well known Seminole trader at Indian Town. A. A. Hendry died at Fort Pierce in 1945. (This biographical data was obtained in an interview with Archibald A. Hendry, Jr., Jensen Beach, March 25, 1980.)

19. *Twelfth Census of the United States. Schedule No. 1—Population. Indian Population. Sheets A and B.* Copies supplied to the author by Census History Staff, Bureau of the Census, January 2, 1980. Instructions to the enumerators are also found in U. S. Department of the Interior, Census Office, *Twelfth Census of the United States, June 1, 1900, Instructions to Enumerators* (Washington, 1900), 41-42.
20. W. C. Hunt to Cheney, October 5, 1900, JMCC. In this communication Hunt, chief statistician for population, noted, "I take pleasure in returning to you herewith, the explanatory notes of Mr. J. Otto Fries, special agent for Seminole Indians, concerning the details of his trip through the Everglades of Florida."

on July 6 and travelling by horse-drawn wagon, the census takers spent the next ten days among the Seminoles. The following letter was written by Fries while camped on Cowbone Creek in the western reaches of Brevard County.²¹

Cowbone Camp, Fla., July 9th 1900

J. M. Cheney, Esq

Supervisor of Census

Orlando

Sir

We, Arch. Hendry and I, left Fort Pierce last Friday early and travelled to night at Camp Cypress; next day continued our trip and arrived here about noon Saturday. The "Green Corn dance" was just about to end, but I found here about 60 Cow Creek Indians assembled. With the help of Hendry I succeeded well enough, and saved at least 2 or 3 days travelling in hunting them up.

I knew well before and was advised by people who know the Indians very well, that it would not do to let them suspicion any thing [*sic*] about out business, as they are very shay of all that has any thing [*sic*] to do with the U.S. Government. I succeeded to get their number [and] their property (as they always carry with them all their belongings, especially animals (except hogs) when they travel.) Arch. Hendry knew all the grown men by name; but the greatest difficulty is to get their ages, as they do not themselves know that, and often give one age and next day another. I think that I got their ages near enough for all purposes. I know I got their children right enough but the names of the children are impossible to get, by the reason that most of them never name their children; if any white man happens to go along and name them, they may keep that name or change it as they please, when they become grown. Rather than take anything uncertain I take down only a son or daughter in my list.

We finish here to day [*sic*] and I go this afternoon to an Indian camp 8 miles from Fort Pierce:²² to morrow [*sic*] we start

21. This site is located on the western edge of S. Lucie County, which was formed from Brevard County in 1905.

22. This probably was meant to be Fort Drum.

for Okeechobee and Indian City.²³ If all goes well we will reach Fort Lauderdale about Monday the 16th. I expect to finish up the East side about the 25th or 26th depending on the weather.

Here is a great deal of water in the woods, where most of our travelling is done. For 15 solid miles not less than 2 feet of water. We had to walk it all to save our horse.

Although the trip is very rough, I like it. I hope to get their total number *about* correct; but as I stated above names of children and ages will either be missing or somewhat uncertain.

Respectfully
J. O. Fries

Address: Fort Lauderdale until the 25th

Returning to Fort Pierce around noon on July 15th, the exhausted Fries and Hendry caught the evening train for Fort Lauderdale. The settlement on New River was to be their starting point in enumerating the Seminole camps on the eastern side of the Everglades. Before pushing off into the wilderness Fries notified Cheney of the sites he planned to visit.

Fort Lauderdale, Fla., July 16 1900

J. M. Cheney
Supervisor of Census 2nd District
Orlando

Sir

We arrived here yesterday evening and have to day [*sic*] made all preparations for our trip to the Everglades, starting to morrow [*sic*] morning very early. We must have two boats and one pilot and man to row us, it will cost \$3.50 per day. Our trip will be more extended than we first expected, owing to the scattered camps of the Indians; we will have to go to Arch Creek²⁴ and Little River,²⁵ coming out at Miami; we start in at New River,²⁶

23. This probably was meant to be Indian Town.

24. Arch Creek enters the north end of Biscayne Bay, and was named for a natural rock formation several miles from its mouth.

25. Little River is a waterway in northern Dade County. It enters Biscayne Bay at a point midway between the Miami River and Arch Creek.

26. New River is a major flowage from the Everglades basin which penetrates the coastal ridge at Fort Lauderdale. Originally the river's course was southeastward until it emptied into the Atlantic Ocean at a point several miles south of the present man-made inlet.

first, visiting Pine Island²⁷ and Long Key.²⁸

You will probably not hear from us anything before middle of next week, as we will not be able to send any message in the meantime.

I have to day [*sic*] made such good preparations that I hope the best results.

Yours very respectfully
J. O. Fries

It took the Fries party a full five days of hard travelling to cover the twenty-five miles from Fort Lauderdale to Miami, diverting often to find the secluded Indian camps in the wetlands west of the coastal ridge. When they emerged at Miami the ever conscientious Fries notified Cheney of both his success and impending problems in enumerating the Seminoles on the western side of the Glades.

-
27. Pine Island is located in Secs. 17, 18, 19, 20, T. 50 S., R. 41 E. in Broward County. It was often mentioned in accounts of the Second Seminole War as a major Indian encampment, and was the site of one engagement in that campaign. George E. Buker, *Swamp Sailors* (Gainesville, 1975), 65-66, 120 (map), 130 (map); Jacob Rhett Motte, *Journey into Wilderness, An Army Surgeon's Account of Life in Camp and Field During the Creek and Seminole Wars, 1836-1838*; James F. Sunderman, ed. (Gainesville, 1963), 235, 305-06. Pine Island was still a primary Seminole settlement at the turn of the century, and had been visited by whites a number of times prior to 1900. William C. Sturtevant, "A Seminole Personal Document," *Tequesta* XVI (1956), 57-59. This site is located approximately four miles northwest of the Hollywood Seminole Reservation.
28. Long Key is located in Secs. 23, 24, 25, 26, T. 50 S., R. 40 E. in Broward County. During the Second Seminole War this group of seven hammock islands was the home of the Seminole leaders Arepika (Sam Jones) and the Prophet. See John T. Sprague, *The Origin, Progress and Conclusion of the Florida War* (New York, 1848; facsimile ed., Gainesville, 1964), 382-84; Buker, *Swamp Sailors*, 120, 130. In 1898 this site and nearby Pine Island were visited by A. J. Duncan, U. S. Indian inspector, while seeking federal lands upon which to settle the Seminoles. He had the two hammock groups, as well as other known Indian settlements in the area, surveyed by J. O. Fries, acting examiner of surveys for the General Land Office. In his report Duncan unaccountably gave legal descriptions of Pine Island and Long Key which are at variance with their actual locations; moreover, he noted that Long Key was "... located about 4 miles southeast of Pine Island ..." while Fries reported that it was "... about 2 miles west of Pine Island." *A. J. Duncan's Report*, cxxi, ccxxxvii. The important point, however, is that J. O. Fries was quite familiar with the location of Seminole camps along the lower southeast coast of Florida well in advance of the 1900 census.

Miami, Fla., July 21st 1900

J. M. Cheney Esq
Supervisor Census
Orlando

Sir

We have just come in from the Everglades after a very hard and rough trip to this place and intend to leave to night [*sic*] again if the weather permits. We go from here to Arch Creek and Cypress Creek, where there are two or three families to look after.²⁹ I have so far succeeded very well, at least to find the number of people and their ages and names but their birth days [*sic*] is impossible to get at, because the Indians do not count their time in months and days, like we do, therefore, they do not know anything about dates; all that must be left blank. I have so far found more people, than people expected or believed.

We will probably be back to Lauderdale next Wednesday and Thursday to Fort Pierce; wherefrom we will forward our papers to you.

It would be of no use to go out at once to the West side of the Everglades, as the Indians are now hunting and hard to find. I propose to leave Titusville on August 7th for Lauderdale. I have made arrangements for two boats and men to handle them and pilot us across. The cost will be \$4.50 per day. We can cross in four days right to the place where the Indians are. Should we go around to Orlando, Tampa and Fort Myers, thence by team about 75 miles, it would cost a great deal more, and we should anyhow be compelled to hire boats to take us along the Indian villages, spaced over 75 miles along the shores of the Indian River.³⁰ From there it will be necessary to go to Shark River near Cape Sable, where a large settlement of Indians recently has been made. I hope you will authorize this cost and let me know as soon

29. Cypress Creek is located north of the New River in present day Broward County. It is unlikely that this was the waterway to which Fries was referring, since it lies well north of his route. Possibly he meant Snake Creek, or the Oleta River as it is now known, where Seminole camps were known to have existed around the turn of the century, Sturtevant, "A Seminole Personal Document," 67, 75.

30. Indian River referred to here was apparently the name given a waterway in the southwest portion of the state, and is not to be confused with the larger east coast waterway. It is possible that Fries was alluding to the flowage of the Everglades which ran about this distance on the west side.

as possible, because the man wishes to build new boats if he is employed.

You will probably receive this letter on Monday, and if you will write me, a letter mailed to Fort Lauderdale will meet me there Wednesday. If you have not already sent the blank sub vouchers, please do so at once, also the information if we can draw our pay for Sundays, as we have to work as hard as any other days on them.

Our trip has been very rough, but we have suffered less from insects than we expected.

Yours very respectfully
J. O. Fries

On August 10, 1900, J. O. Fries left Fort Lauderdale on the final and most arduous phase of his census work. His party was making a direct crossing of the Everglades, still a wild and virtually trackless wilderness known only to the Seminoles and a few white traders. Apparently there was some trepidation at the prospect of such an undertaking, for Fries wrote to Cheney on the eve of their departure: "We are in good health, ready to start and in good hope, although we have received many discouraging advices. I will telegraph to you as often as it will be possible for me to get a message to nearest office. If you receive any from me, you would do me a great favor by forwarding the news to my family, as they have been badly scared by numerous reports of snakes, high water, etc."³¹ The next time that Fries wrote it was from one of the most desolate spots on the Florida peninsula.

Big Cypress, Aug 20th 1900
5 miles East of Fort Shackleford³²

Hon. J. M. Cheney
Supervisor of Census 2nd district

Sir

After a long and tedious trip across the Everglades we at last arrived here yesterday. On the way we met a few Indians, whom we examined. The low water caused this slow trip, but I am sure

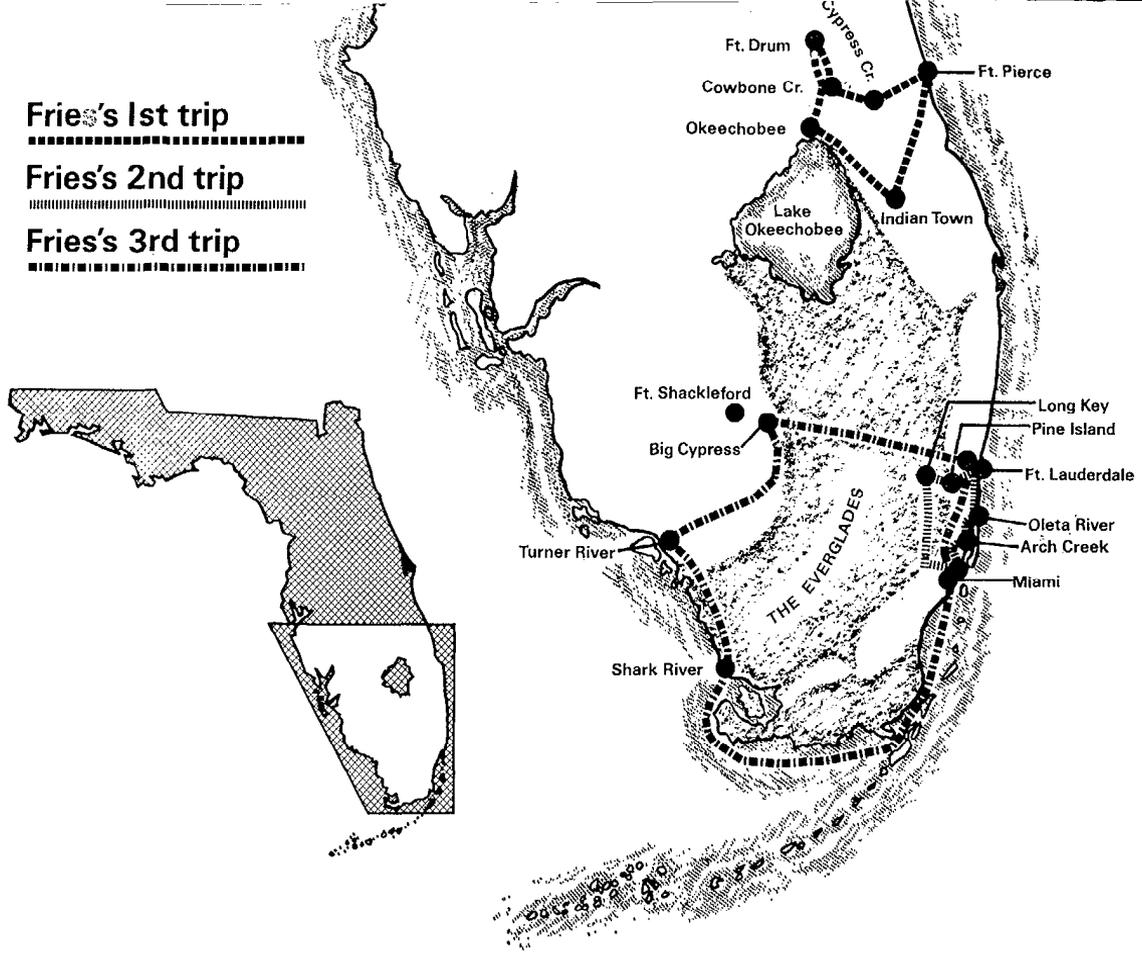
31. Fries to Cheney, August 9, 1900, JMCC.

32. Fort Shackleford was a temporary fortification erected during the Third Seminole War. This site is now a part of the Big Cypress Seminole Reservation and is located in Sec. 20. T. 48 S., R. 33 E.

Fries's 1st trip

Fries's 2nd trip

Fries's 3rd trip





J. Otto Fries

Photograph courtesy of the Orange County Historical Society.

we will gain by having come this way. If I had not engaged the extra man, I wrote to you about I hardly believe we could have come over, as in crossing the "backbone", we must continually get overboard and drag our boats across the nearly dry sawgrass.

I found that the Indians here are not so easy to get information from, but very suspicious about my doings. I believe that the merchants at Jupiter have sent them warnings, that I am after their lands. I have no proof, but believe so.

I expect to be around here 4 or 5 days, have one trip to make about 20 miles north, and one 10 miles west from here, before we leave for Chuckaluskee River and thence to Shark River.³³ While I hope to be able to make the trip in the allotted time, I still would ask you to get an extension of at most 10 days. You mentioned first that they would allow me 90 days, I think therefore it is not unfair to ask for 60 in all.

I am trying to get as correct count as can be done, and therefore take a little more time than other would do. I compare my notes carefully with storekeepers and hunters around the Everglades.

I send you to day [*sic*] a telegram, but am not at all sure if either that or this letter will reach you.

We all have good health, but have suffered a great deal from heat and bad water to drink. That we could cross the Glades in summertime has caused a great deal of astonishment.

I am getting a great deal of information, which I think will be of value for U.S. Government, when it soon will be compelled to take up the question of these poor Indians. I will of course submit these as an addition to my report.

Very respectfully

J. O. Fries

Sixteen days later a relieved Cheney received a telegram from Miami with the message: "Safely arrived here on road to Lauderdale. Thursday to Titusville. Hard trip, results fair, all well, in-

33. Chuckaluskee River and Shark River are waterways which enter Florida Bay in the Everglades and Ten Thousand Islands region. Chuckaluskee River was the old name of Turner River where a permanent Seminole camp was known to exist well into the present century. For further information on this region, see Charlton Tebeau, *Florida's Last Frontier* (Miami, revised ed., 1966), 45, 97.

form family, J. O. Fries"³⁴ This was followed the next day with another letter from Fries.

Lauderdale, Fla., Sept. 5 1900

J. M. Cheney, Esq
Orlando

Dear Sir

After a very hard and tough trip we have ended our long travel of about 400 miles. Mr Hendry leaves to day [*sic*] for his home, but I will not go before to morrow [*sic*] as I have all things to straighten up here.

I am absolutely sure that we have the numbers of the Indians *as near correct* as can be done under the circumstances. I do not know or have heard of a single one (either man, woman or child) omitted and hardly think there is one. I have I believe 346 on my list.

I am very tired and exhausted and do not write much to day [*sic*]. In the report I am going to send with my list (probably next Friday) I will give a full history of our travels also a report of all other circumstances that may be of interest.

Will wire you from Titusville.

Yours respectfully
J. O. Fries

In a subsequent communication Fries confirmed that the actual number of Seminoles enumerated was 339, which he felt represented practically all of them.³⁵ As with previous census tabulations there were minor discrepancies between the final published figures and those reported by the enumerators, perhaps owing to the elimination of Negroes living among the Indians—a question which Fries himself had raised when working among the Cow Creeks.³⁶ Nevertheless, the 1900 census tabulation of Seminoles appears to be the first accurate one in the modern era of the tribe.

On September 8, 1900, Fries wrote to Cheney submitting his final reports with explanatory notes and expense accounts, and his

34. Fries to Cheney (telegram), September 4, 1900, JMCC.

35. *Ibid.*, September 21, 1900, JMCC.

36. *Ibid.*, July 6, 1900, JMCC.

request that his appointment as special agent be cancelled.³⁷ Although it would take another month to clean up loose ends, such as making corrections requested by the Washington office, and securing approval for Sunday work compensation, the Seminole census of 1900 was at an end.

At this point it is appropriate to ask: What is the significance of the Fries-Cheney correspondence in the context of Florida history? There is a growing opinion that these documents, heretofore unknown to most scholars, add a valuable dimension to the limited literature on an important transitional area in Seminole history.³⁸ Primarily, the letters provide a rich personal account by dedicated individuals attempting to establish a precise figure on the Indian population. In the process they further confirmed the dispersion of the Seminole bands, as well as the location of some specific encampments at a particular point in time, i.e., 1900. Fries's observations about the Indians whom they encountered also affirmed certain Seminole cultural continuities, such as their child naming practices, mobility of camp life, hunting patterns, and the persistent significance of the Green Corn Dance. Furthermore, his comments concerning the relationships of blacks in the Cow Creek band were the most informative since MacCauley addressed that issue two decades earlier.³⁹ In fact, Fries may have been witnessing the last vestige of a century-old tie between blacks' and Indians in the state. These letters also document the existence of various historical personages, both white and Indian, through the roles they played in the census. If the original enumeration schedules had been preserved, they would have formed the basis for an interesting comparison with

37. *Ibid.*, September 8, 1900, JMCC.

38. The importance of this transitional period in Seminole history is discussed in several works, most notably: William C. Sturtevant, "Creek into Seminole," in *North American Indians in Historical Perspective*, E. B. Leacock and N. O. Lurie, eds. (New York, 1971), 111-17; Charles Fairbanks, "The Ethno-Archeology of the Florida Seminoles," in *TACACHALE: Essays on the Indians of Florida and Southeastern Georgia during the Historic Period*, Jerald T. Milanich and Samuel Proctor, eds. (Gainesville, 1978), 187-89; Harry A. Kersey, Jr., *Pelts, Plumes and Hides: White Traders Among the Seminole Indians, 1870-1930* (Gainesville, 1975); Charles H. Coe, *Red Patriots: The Story of the Seminoles* (Cincinnati, 1898).

39. MacCauley, "The Seminole Indians of Florida," 478, 490, 526.

the schedules gathered in 1880 by MacCauley, et al.⁴⁰ The same is true of Fries's explanatory notes accompanying the schedules which could have been compared with MacCauley's 1880 report to the Smithsonian Institution; historians can only mourn the loss of Fries's notes. Even so, the continued development of this collection leading to its eventual publication with maps and textual notes, will be a great service for scholars seeking to fill the voids in this period of Florida and Seminole history.

40. Bureau of the Census to H. A. Kersey, Jr., January 2, 1980. This communication co-ed the probable destruction of special enumeration schedules following the compilation of statistics for the 1900 census.

POSTSCRIPT TO
THE MARTIN TABERT CASE:
PEONAGE AS USUAL IN
THE FLORIDA TURPENTINE CAMPS

by JERRELL H. SHOFNER

IN 1923 NAACP Secretary James Weldon Johnson wrote the editor of the *New York World* thanking him for the paper's exposure of brutality in the Florida turpentine camps which had caused the state legislature to abolish the leasing of county convicts to private companies. Himself a product of the progressive era and a believer in man's ability to reform his society through positive legislation, Johnson wrote that "ending this evil" was "a long step toward the ending of peonage."¹ The state had already been prohibited in 1919 from leasing its prisoners to private firms, but counties had continued the practice until the *World* published a series of articles recounting the horrible death of Martin Tabert, a white South Dakota youth, after brutal beatings inflicted by Walter Higginbotham, a prison guard in one of the Putnam Lumber Company's turpentine camps. In the same progressive spirit as that embraced by Johnson, N. Gordon Carper recently wrote of the events leading to the legislature's 1923 action and the sentencing of Higginbotham to twenty years in prison for second degree murder.² Many who read Carper's article generally accepted the premise that society was capable of improvement by the discovery of wrongs and by correcting them through improved legislation. So believing, it was natural to infer that James Weldon Johnson was correct and that in 1923 the legislature ended a long-standing abuse. But a brief look beyond the 1923 enactment reveals the difference between enactment of a

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1. James Weldon Johnson to Editor, *The World*. Series C, Box 386, NAACP Papers, Library of Congress.
2. N. Gordon Carper, "Martin Tabert, Martyr of an Era," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, LII (October 1973), 115-31.

law and its implementation. It further raises serious doubt about the effectiveness of positive law when it runs counter to established customs.

Among the several individuals and firms involved in the Tabert case and the legislative investigation were Sheriff John R. Jones of Leon County; Thomas Walter Higginbotham, the so-called whipping boss; the Putnam Lumber Company, a Wisconsin firm with large timber interests in Florida; and State Senator T. J. Knabb, whose activities at and near Macclenny in Baker County were shown to be at least as reprehensible as those of the firm in whose camp Tabert had died.

As the records show, Higginbotham won a new trial when the state supreme court overturned his conviction on a legal technicality. Awaiting retrial, he was released on \$10,000 bail and immediately resumed his duties for the Putnam Lumber Company, this time at its Shamrock camp in Dixie County. On October 19, 1924, Lewis "Peanut" Barker, a Negro turpentine worker, was beaten and shot to death near Shamrock. Accused of the crime were Higginbotham, who was still under bond; John H. Winburn, a Dixie County deputy sheriff; E. G. Priest; D. A. Parker; W. G. McRaney; and Charlie Hart, a black man. All six were indicted for first degree murder in March 1925. The following August Higginbotham was retried in Dixie County for the Tabert murder and was found "not guilty." He was scheduled for trial in the Lewis Barker case in early 1926. In the meantime, he was seriously injured in an automobile accident in Jacksonville, and Dr. S. E. Driskell affirmed that he was physically unable to appear in court. There was no further attempt to punish him or his accomplices for the second murder.³ Sheriff Jones of Leon County was removed from office, but he was not otherwise punished although legislative investigators found evidence that he was arresting persons on vagrancy charges solely to fulfill an agreement he had with the Putnam Lumber Company to furnish it with workers.⁴

3. Dixie County Court Records, Criminal Bench Docket One, 17, 19, and Criminal Case Files for 1925; clipping from *New York World*, March 15, 1925, C-386, NAACP Papers.

4. Carper, "Martin Tabert," 122; Fred Cubberly to Attorney General, February 1, 1924, Mail and File Division, Department of Justice Records, Record Group 60, National Archives (hereinafter cited as NA); John N. Beffel to Herb, May 4, 1936, Box 142, Folder 1, Workers Defense League

Far more important than these individual miscarriages of justice was the uninterrupted practice of peonage and brutality in the turpentine camps even after the legislature prohibited convict leasing. What had once been legal was perpetuated through another Florida law, frequent collusion of local officials with turpentine operators, and the custom of white employers using force on reluctant black workers without interference from either authorities or peers. At the same time it ended the leasing of state convicts to private companies, the 1919 Florida legislature passed a law empowering employers— including turpentine operators— to hold workers for debt. Entitled “An Act to Provide a Penalty to be Imposed Upon any Person in This State Who Shall, With Intent to Injure and Defraud, Obtain or Procure Money or Other Thing of Value on a Contract or Promise to Perform Labor or Service and Prescribing a Rule of Evidence Governing Same,” the statute declared such persons “guilty of a misdemeanor” and subject to a fine of up to \$500 or imprisonment up to six months. It was the “rule of evidence” which was pernicious. If an individual accepted a consideration of value— such as transportation to the camp of the employer— under such circumstances, his subsequent failure to perform “shall be prima facie evidence of the intent to injure and defraud.” Thus, the burden of proof was placed on the laborer to disprove an employer’s allegations rather than the customary assumption of innocence until guilt was proven.⁵

Under this handy statute— enacted despite considerable argument that a similar Alabama law had already been declared unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court— turpentine operators and others requiring laborers could recruit individuals, furnish them transportation to the work site, assess an advance charge for the service, and subsequently hold the worker until he paid the debt. It was, however, often very difficult for the individual to pay up. Most of the camps operated their own commissaries from which workers drew their necessities on credit. The prices and interest rates in these monopolistic stores often kept workers in perpetual debt. In other cases, men were still picked up on vagrancy charges by local officials, fines were assessed, prospec-

Collection, Walter P. Reuther Library, Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan (hereinafter cited as WDL).

5. Laws of Florida (1919), Chapter 7917, 286.

tive employers paid the fines, and the individuals were suddenly peons obligated to work off the debt. Since most of the victims were uneducated, unfamiliar with the law, and without recourse, and since things had been the same way as long as anyone could remember, they often did not realize how they were being mistreated or know what to do about it even if they did. There were a few exceptions. An excellent example of the peonage trap was revealed in Calhoun County in 1924, not long after James Weldon Johnson had applauded the Florida legislature's "long step toward the ending of peonage."

Calhoun County was a sparsely settled area where the main available employment, particularly for blacks, was in the lumber or turpentine camps. Charles, and Alfred Land and Mood B. Davis operated the Naval Stores Company there. Workers chipped the trees, placed receptacles into which the sap could drain, and subsequently emptied the chips into heavy barrels which were taken to the camp for distillation. The laborers bought their supplies on credit at the company commissary managed by G. W. White. Carey Whitfield and Frank Daniels clerked in the commissary, and Will Proctor was the company bookkeeper. With the collusion of County Sheriff C. S. Clark and his deputies, Thomas Shuder and T. E. Cason, and County Judge W. I. Chafin, the company managers were virtually able to hold their workers as prisoners. The cooperation of these officials was made easier because Charles Land and Mood Davis were both county commissioners, the former serving as chairman of the board of commissioners.⁶

When Henry Sanders, a black woods worker, became dissatisfied with his situation, he was accused of stealing three dollars worth of chipping tools. He was taken before the county judge and was fined. Davis paid the fine and returned Sanders to the woods to work off the new indebtedness. Similarly, George Diamond worked for the company for several months, drew no pay, and yet found that he owed the commissary \$14.30 above his wages. Outraged, he protested that this could not be because he had received nothing since arriving in the camp. He was then

6. *Pensacola Journal*, May 19, 1925, in C-386, NAACP Papers; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, May 22, 24, 30, June 2, 1925; Tallahassee *Smith's Weekly*, May 29, 1925.

“arrested” and taken before Judge Chafin and urged to plead guilty to “stealing jumper coats from the commissary.” At first he refused to comply, but when he overheard Davis telling the judge to “give him eight months on the hard road,” Diamond decided it might be better to take his chances with the guilty plea.⁷ He was sentenced to ninety days and released to the custody of his employer.⁸

Unable to work themselves out of debt because of the unfair bookkeeping methods of the Naval Stores Company commissary, Sanders, Diamond, Dewitt Stonam, and Galvester Jackson decided to try escaping in September 1924. They were overtaken at the Wewahitchka Bridge about twenty-five miles from the turpentine camp. There, Stonam was forced to beat the other three men with a heavy whip. Diamond was told that if he tried to run away again, he would be made into “catfish bait.” Evidence of the whippings was still visible in May of the following year. When her husband left the camp, Lola Sanders had fled to the home of her father, Matthew Brown. While his partners and others were pursuing the runaways, Mood Davis and Carey Whitfield followed her. At gunpoint she was “arrested” and informed that she would be held until Henry Sanders was found and returned to work.⁹

About that time, rumors of peonage conditions in Calhoun County reached William B. Sheppard, United States judge for the Northern District of Florida, who had fought peonage as a United States attorney more than twenty years earlier.¹⁰ He urged the justice department to investigate the Naval Stores Company case in Calhoun County, and indictments were brought against Mood B. Davis, Charles Land, Alfred Land, Carey Whitfield, Frank Daniels, Will Proctor, Gadi White, Sheriff C. S. Clark, and Judge W. I. Chafin.¹¹

7. After convict leasing ended in 1923, counties sent their convicts to work on the public roads.

8. *Pensacola Journal*, May 19, 1925, in C-386, NAACP Papers; *New York Age*, May 30, 1925.

9. *New York Age*, May 30, 1925; clippings from *New York World*, May 20, 21, 1925, in C-386, NAACP Papers.

10. Pete Daniel, *The Shadow of Slavery: Peonage in the South, 1901-1969* (Urbana, 1972), 8-18, 34.

11. George E. Hoffman to Attorney General, November 29, 1924, Mail and File Division, RG 60, NA; *New York Age*, June 6, 1925; *Jacksonville Florida Times-Union*, May 19, 1925.

Since the witnesses against the turpentine operators and Calhoun County officials were all destitute and successful prosecution depended upon their testimony, it was a burden of the federal government to prepare and prosecute such a case to successful conclusion. The defendants secured able counsel and attempted to overturn the government's case by attacking on procedural grounds the validity of the grand jury indictment. A new grand jury was convened in late 1924, and the case was not completed until the following spring. In the interim of nearly eight months Henry Sanders, Galvester Jackson, George Diamond, Dewitt Stonam, and eight other black witnesses were detained in Pensacola at the expense of the government. The United States marshal kept them under surveillance to "forestall any prospective intimidation."¹²

After a five-day trial in May 1925, the two Lands, Davis, Whitfield, Daniels, and Proctor were all convicted on various counts of peonage. Charles Land was sentenced to one year in Atlanta Federal Penitentiary while the others received shorter sentences or fines. But that they were convicted at all was remarkable. Such cases were widespread in the turpentine belt, and rarely did they reach the courts of law. Alfred Land's conviction resulted from his having obtained a warrant for the arrest of Henry Sanders and for bringing him back to the camp to work out his debt. In sentencing him, Judge Sheppard delivered a blistering lecture in which he acknowledged that there may have been provocation to bring back the man who had quit while owing money. But, he added, "There is a marked inhibition in the law . . . against a man being brought back against his will to work out of debt. This law was not made particularly to protect the Negro, for all are included in its protection, and I know that in some sections white persons are in sore need of its aid."¹³

A more representative disposition of a peonage charge was a case reported by L. L. Fabasinski, a young Pensacola attorney. He wrote in behalf of Sallie Tolbert, a trusted Negro acquaintance, who had received a foreboding letter from her husband shortly after he had been recruited from Pensacola, along with his son-in-

12. Hoffman to Attorney General, November 29, 1924, Mail and File Division, RG 60, NA.

13. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, May 21, 1925; *New York Age*, June 6, 1925.

law, Anthony Hawthorne, to work in a turpentine camp in Osceola County. Asking if Hawthorne had managed to reach Pensacola after his escape from the camp, Tolbert complained that he was being held against his will by white people who “treat these colored people like they was dogs.” Unfortunately, another man from the same camp reached Pensacola about the same time and reported that Hawthorne had been killed by guards during the attempted escape. United States Attorney Fred Cubberly, a long-time foe of peonage in Florida, urged the attorney general to initiate an investigation into the situation since he believed that peonage was widespread in and around Osceola County where vast timber acreage had just recently been opened up. No further action was taken.¹⁴

Neither did the Putnam Lumber Company mend its ways. Responsible for the camp in which Martin Tabert met his death and having lied in attempting to cover up the truth about how he died, the company was sued by the Tabert family. An out-of-court settlement resulted in \$80,000 payment to the bereaved family. But things remained the same. Higginbotham continued to work for the company, and at least as late as 1937 it was still keeping several hundred of its workers at its Shamrock camp behind a fence complete with guarded gates. No one entered or left without approval of the guards. Nor were those who reported this condition moved by humanitarian impulses. Officials of Cross City complained that their merchant constituents were being deprived of a market because the Putnam Lumber Company guards would not let them in or the workers out. The merchants alleged that this was denying them a portion of the camp trade so that the company’s store would benefit. In any event, the United State Department of Justice saw no cause for action in this instance. Its investigator reported that the situation was being alleviated and that some merchants were being given permits to enter the “quarters” and “there does not appear to be any violations of the laws of the United States involved.”¹⁵

Conditions remained the same at Macclenny as well. Testi-

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14. L. L. Fabasinski to Department of Justice, June 3, 1925, Mail and File Division, RG 60, NA; Cubberly to Attorney General, May 30, 1925, *ibid.*
 15. H. L. Fleishel to W. L. Fisher, February 8, 1937, *ibid.*; W. B. Watson, Jr., to George E. Hoffman, February 12, 1937, *ibid.* See also Dan M. Sheppard to Department of Justice, May 11, 1930, in same file.

mony before the 1923 legislative investigating committee showed that Senator T. J. Knabb's turpentine works were about as bad in labor conditions as those of the Putnam Lumber Company. Some of Knabb's colleagues had tried unsuccessfully to have him removed from the senate because of the revelations of cruelty, brutality, and deprivation in his turpentine camps. Excitement abated in the years after the investigation, and Senator Knabb's notoriety faded. But his brother, William Knabb, was also a large scale naval stores farmer and distiller at Macclenny who practiced the same harsh labor policies as the senator. In the fall of 1936, Florida was once again thrust before the nation as a place where human beings were kept in virtual slavery. Newspapers across the nation carried grim stories describing the situation in Macclenny. It was charged that about 400 Negroes who worked in Knabb's turpentine distillery and lived in squalid huts owned by him were being kept by perpetual debt and a guard system in his employ. All roads leading from "the quarters" were watched closely, and no one was permitted to leave. Two informers lived among the workers, keeping close watch for dissidents. They had even crept under the cabins at night to listen for signs of discontent and possible escape attempts. Beatings were administered to those who tried to get away. The workers received from fifty cents to \$1.00 a day for toiling from dawn to dark. A few were paid \$1.25 per day for their labors. Everyone was forced to buy from Knabb's commissary where prices were nearly twice as high as in ordinary retail stores. This reduced the real wages of the lowest paid workers to little more than twenty-five cents a day.¹⁶

These disclosures occurred as the result of a series of events beginning in October 1936, when Alfred Smith, Arthur Smith, and Ed Baker tried to leave the employ of the Knabb Turpentine Company and go to work for William G. Boyd at Coleman, Florida. R. C. Boyd went to Macclenny in a truck to transport the men and their belongings. While the vehicle was being loaded, William Knabb, his son Earl, and Fred Jones, a woods rider, drove up and threatened the party with guns. They told the three workers who were trying to leave that they could not

16. A. Philip Randolph to Homer Cummings, March 5, 1937, File 50-18-12, Department of Justice Records, RG 60, NA; Frank McCallister to Senator Robert LaFollette investigating committee, 1936, Box 81, Folder 11, WDL.

since they owed Knabb money. Boyd offered to settle the indebtedness, but he was refused, and the Knabbs roughed him up at gunpoint. About a week later the three laborers started for Baldwin on foot, hoping to make their way to Coleman. They were overtaken deep in the swamp by Edwin S. Hall, Jr., another of Knabb's woods riders, who was armed with a shotgun. The three men were forcibly returned to Macclenny.¹⁷

Meanwhile, Boyd contacted the United States attorney and charged the Knabbs with peonage. Learning of the situation, the NAACP and the recently-organized Workers Defense League sent the Reverend C. F. Duncan, head of the Jacksonville branch of the NAACP, and Frank McCallister of St. Petersburg, southern secretary of the WDL, to investigate. In a communication to his New York office, McCallister described the situation in the Florida turpentine operations: "Peonage is nothing unusual in Florida. There are several sections in which it flourishes but these are veritable 'no-man's lands' where one must tread softly if wishing to live." He thought that a report could be obtained, but "the hardest job would be in getting the victims to talk."¹⁸ Accompanied by the Reverend Duncan, however, McCallister found several witnesses who made full statements, but the presence of a white man and a well-dressed Negro from outside the town were obvious to those in the "quarters." As soon as they had secured enough information to make a case, the two investigators "decided it would be safer to leave." According to McCallister, one of Knabb's informers "had notified the commissary of our presence and we could see a small cluster of white men gathering. Wisdom seemed to dictate departure and so we left after about two hours in the quarters." Elsewhere he remarked that "it would be easier for an enemy of Hitler to operate in Germany than for a union organizer to attempt to set foot in these camps."¹⁹ Told that a dispute between rival turpentine operators had caused the charges to be brought, McCallister said that sounded logical because "I cannot imagine a negro in one of these communities

17. W. G. Boyd to William Green, November 2, December 1, 1936, Division of Communications and Records, Department of Justice Records, RG 60, NA.

18. McCallister to Aron Gilmartin, November 7, 1936, Box 144, Folder 6, WDL.

19. Report of Frank McCallister, re peonage at Macclenny, Box 128, Folder 26, WDL; "Myth of Democracy in the South," mss. by Frank McCallister, Southern Secretary of Workers Defense League, Box 162, Folder 19, WDL.

voluntarily entering charges against one of the 'leading citizens of the community.' It is an open invitation to suicide by lynching."²⁰

It happened that the American Federation of Labor was holding its convention at Tampa at the time, and A. Philip Randolph, who had just obtained AFL affiliation for his Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, read the McCallister and Duncan report to the assembled delegates. AFL President William Green was induced to write Governor David Sholtz demanding an investigation. Affirming that "peonage is not to be countenanced in Florida," Sholtz assured the labor leader that he would pursue the matter vigorously. The governor did initiate an investigation, but he subsequently deferred to the federal authorities since peonage was a violation of national statutes.²¹ Walter White of the NAACP wrote United States Attorney General Homer Cummings, urging vigorous action.²² The Reverend Mr. Aron S. Gilmartin, head of the Workers Defense League, also contacted Cummings, noting that a preliminary investigation showed that "the entire Negro population of Macclenny . . . are held in . . . virtual peonage and slavery."²³

An FBI investigation led to the indictment of William Knabb, Earl Knabb, Fred Jones, and Edwin S. Hall, Jr., on charges that they had forcibly held Smith and Baker to labor until their debts were paid. Extensive publicity accompanied the indictment and trial. Stetson Kennedy, a Florida journalist, wrote a series on peonage, Workers Defense League news releases were carried in several newspapers, the *Nation* wrote on forced labor in Florida, and RKO pictures produced a movie, "The Boy Slaves," about it.²⁴

William Knabb, Jones, and Hall were tried in May 1937. Their defense was based on the premise that Boyd had bribed witnesses against them because he was a bitter business rival.

20. McCallister to Gilmartin, November 21, 1936, Box 144, Folder 6, WDL.

21. *Tampa Tribune*, November 29, December 1, 1936.

22. Walter White to Attorney General, December 8, 1936, Division of Communications and Records, Department of Justice Records, RG 60, NA.

23. Gilmartin to Homer T. Cummings, November 24, 1936, *ibid.*

24. Brian McMahon to J. Edgar Hoover, November 7, 1936, *ibid.*; clipping from *Nation*, August 21, 1937, in peonage files, A. A. Schomberg Collection, New York Public Library; Samuel Romer to McCallister, January 31, 1939, Box 26, Folder 29, WDL; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, May 25, 27, 28, 1937.

During the trial, William D. Strickland, a Gainesville attorney, produced a letter purportedly written by Ed Baker to another lawyer, asking him to handle a sum of money expected from his role in the trial. The government attorneys thought they had scored a victory when they promptly proved that Baker could neither read nor write. But they had underestimated the degree of proof required for a Florida jury to convict white men of holding blacks in peonage. In less than thirty minutes of deliberation the jury found the three men innocent of all charges. On the basis of that verdict, the government dropped its charges against Earl Knabb. Strickland was arrested in the courtroom and subsequently indicted for perjury, but he was apparently never tried.²⁵

Nearly 300 miles west of Jacksonville near Wewahitchka a bizarre case was unfolding about the same time which further demonstrated the force of custom and the difficulty of overcoming it with legislation. Both sides recognized it as an important contest for high stakes. The United States solicitor general declared that the department of justice was interested in the case "partly because conditions in the Florida turpentine camps . . . have been a fertile source of complaints of involuntary servitude and peonage." At the same time, the American Turpentine Farmers Association, whose headquarters were at Valdosta, Georgia, had sent its general counsel to join the defense attorney in the case because the organization's membership was concerned that it might lose its labor supply. Lige James Johnson, a black man, had worked for Charles A. Gaskins, a white turpentine operator, at a camp near Wewahitchka from 1935 until 1937. He left the job free of debt and went to Panama City for other employment. In 1938, Gaskins approached Johnson and said he still owed him \$35.00. After a lengthy protest, the latter was forced to return to Gaskin's turpentine works. He worked off the alleged debt in about four months, and the white man agreed that they were "square." Johnson worked from 1938 until 1940 at odd jobs in Panama City, during which time he met Gaskins several times on the streets. Then in July 1940, Gaskins said he had examined his

25. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, May 29, 1937; Herbert S. Phillips to Attorney General, June 2, 1937; McMahon to Thurgood Marshall, March 3, 1939, Division of Communications and Records, Department of Justice Records, RG 60, NA.

books again and found that Johnson still owed him \$22.00. In front of several disinterested witnesses, the two men fought, and Gaskins succeeded in forcing Johnson into his car. Sometime during the thirty-odd mile drive to the turpentine camp, Johnson jumped from the car and escaped into the woods.²⁶

Peonage charges were brought against Gaskins, but at his trial his lawyer argued that he could not be guilty of peonage since Johnson had escaped before reaching the camp. The prosecution countered that Johnson knew what to expect at the camp, that he had been held to forced labor there before, and that he had been forcefully brought from Panama City to the point where he managed to escape. The jury found Gaskins guilty, but on appeal the United States Supreme Court overturned the conviction. The high court's reversal of the decision was based on the original defense premise that Johnson had not been actually required to perform labor, but had only been transported against his will to a place near Wewahitchka. This did not constitute peonage according to the statutory definition of the term.²⁷

Turpentine operators were probably relieved by the decision. But in any case they continued to keep laborers in their camps by perpetual indebtedness and force. As late as 1949, the Workers Defense League found fourteen turpentine camps in Alachua County where "the practice of peonage is open and notorious."²⁸

Martin Tabert died a victim of a vicious system. The exposures resulting from his death ended the leasing of prisoners to private companies by governing bodies, but it did little to alter the conditions of laborers in the Florida turpentine camps, and it did not significantly diminish the numbers of people who worked there. Collusion of local officials such as those in Calhoun County, or more often, lack of concern on their part for what happened between employers and employees in the isolated pine forests kept the turpentine camps after 1923 much as they had

26. George E. Hoffman to Attorney General, October 9, 1942, Hoffman to Victor Rotnam, October 9, 1943, Marion B. Knight to Hoffman, October 7, 1943, File 50-802, Department of Justice Records, RG 60, NA.

27. *United States v. Charles Gaskins*, United States District Court Records, Record Group 21, Federal Records Center, East Point, Georgia. Presumably there were no complaints of justice being thwarted by "legal technicalities" at that time as there would be in later years.

28. Peonage and other forms of Forced Labor in the United States, Preliminary Report, April 1949, Box 97, Folder 15, WDL.

always been. The abuses uncovered in the aftermath of Tabert's death eventually ended when the extraction of turpentine gum ceased to be a major industry in Florida after World War II.

BILLY GRAHAM IN FLORIDA

by LOIS FERM

BILLY GRAHAM, who suffered periodic attacks of influenza when he was a young boy, first came to Florida because the doctors hoped that a warm climate would restore his health. However, in terms of his career in evangelism, his decision to move South seems almost providential, for as a student at the Florida Bible Institute in Tampa in the 1930s, he was exposed to a veritable "Who's Who" of evangelical giants. As a high school student, Billy had accepted the claims of Jesus Christ on his life and had surrendered his life to Christ in a revival service held in his home town of Charlotte, North Carolina. Yet his vocational plans were nebulous when he graduated in June 1936. At that time Billy thought he might become "a Christian baseball player or a farmer."¹

Graham's conversion caused him to be more serious and concerned about spiritual matters. This was somewhat opposite to his rather carefree attitude toward other things. His parents, hoping to conserve this religious commitment and yet to harness his restless energy toward satisfactory life goals, enrolled him in September 1936, in Bob Jones University, a fundamentalist religious college, in Cleveland, Tennessee. During his first semester Billy suffered from so many upper respiratory problems that he was forced to return home. He would have to change locations if he hoped to improve. His mother was disappointed when the doctor said Billy needed to get down into the Florida sunshine. She wanted him nearby, but the family realized the wisdom of the doctor's advice. Billy had heard about the Florida Bible Institute from his schoolmate, Wendell Phillips, who was already a student, and he wanted very much to attend.² The Grahams inquired about the Institute (now Trinity Bible College in Dune-din, Florida), from Mr. and Mrs. Osmer Taffner, St. Petersburg friends, who recommended it as "a good Christian school."

Lois Ferm is Resource Coordinator, Billy Graham Evangelistic Association Team Office, and directs the oral history program.

1. Interview with William Franklin Graham, January 18, 1980.
2. Interview with Morrow Graham (Mrs. William Franklin), June 3, 1977, tape (OH290) and transcript at Billy Graham Center, Wheaton College, Wheaton, Illinois.

In early January 1937, the Graham family drove from Charlotte to Tampa. The Reverend John Minder, acting dean of the school, recalled that they arrived while the students were still away on the holiday break: "I had just stepped outside the back door when a Chevrolet drove up and stopped; a young man got out and stretched. Then the father got out, came over to where I was and said, 'I'm Frank Graham. I came down to enter my son, Billy Frank, in School'."³ After unloading the luggage and eating lunch, Billy's parents left to spend the night with Mrs. Graham's sister and brother-in-law, Mr. and Mrs. Andrew Bailes, who operated a boarding house in downtown Orlando.

The Institute was the result of the dreams and hard work of Dr. William Thomas Watson, its founder and president. He had come to Florida with his friend, John Minder, following their graduation from Nyack Bible College (New York) in 1922. They worked together in evangelistic efforts in Florida for two years. On Easter Sunday, April 20, 1924, Watson went to St. Petersburg to establish the St. Petersburg Gospel Tabernacle. By Thanksgiving Day that same year, only seven months after the founding of the Tabernacle, a permanent building, complete with an auditorium seating 4,000 people, was standing at the corner of Fifth Avenue South and Seventh Street.⁴

Dr. Watson's work continued to expand. He next planned a combined conference and college that would allow students to be exposed to Bible teachers and preachers. At one point, Dr. Watson visited the Reverend J. W. Van De Venter in Temple Terrace, a residential suburb a few miles from downtown Tampa, situated in extensive orange groves. The area had been a winter retreat for wealthy Northerners. There, tucked among the palm trees, Dr. Watson found a large pink stucco building, that had been built as a hotel, flanked by a golf course and tennis courts. "Wouldn't that make a wonderful Bible College?" he remarked. Van De Venter, knowing the real estate situation in the area, thought that it might be possible to acquire the property.⁵ As one contemporary writer, Evanell Powell, later observed, "The

3. Interview with John Minder, February 14, 1977, tape (OH279) and transcript at Billy Graham Center.

4. Trinity Bible College banquet honoring Dr. Watson on his seventy-fifth birthday, Jack Tar Harrison Hotel, Clearwater, Florida, April 28, 1976, tape at Trinity Bible College, Dunedin, Florida.

5. *Ibid.*

Depression years were struggling ones for most Tampan. With so much speculative buying in the boom time [the Florida boom had collapsed in 1926] many people were left with land unable to be developed and no monies to pay the taxes.⁶ Within a year the dream had become a reality. A benefactor in New York agreed to sell to the Institute with no payments required for the first ten years, and no interest. The school opened in 1932, and the first class was graduated two years later.

An incident occurred some weeks after Billy arrived on campus. "A lady came out and asked: 'Are you the new student, Billy Graham?' I said, 'Yes.' She said, 'Do you know how to drive a car and do you have a driver's license?' I said, 'Yes.' She said, 'We have some tourists here and nobody to show them to the Gasparilla.' Well, I had never heard of the Gasparilla and I'd never been to Tampa. I got into the car and drove them on a guided tour of Tampa. Those people never came back to Florida Bible Institute again. Dr. Watson lost some potential givers to the school."⁷

Florida and the nation were still in the throes of the Depression when Billy Graham was a student at the Institute. Vera Resue, one of Billy's classmates, remembered that in those early days students had little money and had to create their own "good times." All were required to do what was called "practical work." They went into the nearby communities to speak and counsel prisoners in jail, to assist in church services, and to teach Sunday school.⁸ They usually traveled together by bus. The school needed revenue and it continued to operate the hotel, mainly for the Northerners; many had been coming regularly for years. During the winter months there were about 100 visitors, some remaining for several weeks, and they occupied the larger and more comfortable rooms in the building. Meals were served to the guests, either in their rooms or in the dining room, but not when the students were using the facilities. There were also approximately 100 students enrolled in the Institute, and they worked in the kitchen, served in the dining room, and did other work on

6. Evanell Klintworth Powell, *Tampa That Was* (Boynton Beach, Florida, 1973), 115.

7. Trinity Bible College banquet tape.

8. Interview with Vera Resue, April 18, 1980, tape (OH395) and transcript at Billy Graham Center.

campus. This helped to hold down the operating costs of the school and to maintain a low tuition.

Billy Graham's family, while not wealthy, could afford to support him in school, but since most of his friends worked, he wanted to also. His first job was washing dishes for which he was paid twenty cents an hour. He later became a waiter in the dining room. He also worked as a caddy at the adjacent golf course. Billy was personable, intelligent, and friendly, and he got along well with his classmates. He became president of his senior class, and he was managing editor of the 1940 yearbook, *The Beacon*. He particularly enjoyed outdoor activities, and his health improved in Florida. He played golf, tennis, and volleyball, and went canoeing with his friends on the Hillsborough River. The students also enjoyed oyster suppers and picnics at Indian Rocks. Billy especially liked baseball, and he watched the major teams which then (and now) held their spring practice in Tampa and the surrounding area.

Although he was handicapped by his relatively mediocre academic preparation, Billy worked hard to earn above-average grades. The present [1981] registrar of the school, Dr. Earl Collins, points out that Billy was at an academic disadvantage when he enrolled for the school's second semester on January 21, 1937, even with nine hours of transferred credit.⁹ His transcript shows that he took courses in Bible introduction, history, analysis, doctrine (homiletics), and geography. He also studied hermeneutics, prophecy, church history, comparative religions, ethics, and personal evangelism. Since the school was neither a college nor a seminary, only a few academic subjects were offered, including psychology, English, and history. Billy never took a course in public speaking at the Institute.¹⁰

One reason for Billy's academic success was the individual attention which he, and all the other students, received from the faculty. The late Reverend John Minder served as Billy's advisor and counselor. In addition to the faculty there were outstanding evangelical leaders who were speakers at a Bible conference each winter. The students heard these men during the morning chapel hour and at an evening service. There were other opportunities

9. Interview with Dr. Earl Collins, January 16, 1980.

10. Graham college records, office of the registrar, Trinity College.

to interact with them in the dining room and on the golf course. Billy gave close attention to the messages of these speakers. The conference bulletins from that period read like an evangelical hall of fame. Among the men were Dr. H. C. Morrison, president of Asbury College, Wilmore, Kentucky; Gypsy Smith, the well-known itinerant gypsy evangelist from England; Dr. E. J. Pace, a religious cartoonist with the *Sunday School Times*; Dr. William Evans, a teacher at Moody Bible Institute; B. D. Ackley, a composer of hymns; Mel Trotter, founder of the mission in Grand Rapids, Michigan, which carried his name; R. G. LeTourneau, the industrialist; the Reverend Clarence Jones, head of the missionary radio station, HCJB, in Quito, Ecuador; Dr. Oswald Smith of People's Church, Toronto, Canada; Dr. Albert Hughes, Toronto; Dr. William Ward Ayer of Calvary Baptist Church, New York City; Homer Rodeheaver, song leader for the evangelist, Billy Sunday; Dr. Arno C. Gabelein, author and headmaster of Stony Brook School in Long Island; the Reverend Vance Havner, the "Will Rogers of the Pulpit"; and Dr. William R. Newell of Moody Bible Institute.¹¹

Two men had a special impact on Billy Graham. One of these was Dr. W. B. Riley, president of Northwestern Schools in Minneapolis, Minnesota. In 1947, after Billy had acquired a reputation in evangelism circles, Dr. Riley in a death bed request persuaded Billy to become the next president of the schools. Billy acquiesced and assumed the presidency for a short period of time but he realized that his calling was to evangelism, not to education, and he soon resigned.

The other individual was John Mott of New York City, a Methodist layman who had worked, along with Dwight L. Moody, to develop the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions. Mott also organized the World's Student Christian Federation, and later was chairman of the International Missionary Council, now part of the World Council of Churches. Mott served as a model for many of Billy's later ventures.¹² In later years, Billy Graham in a commencement at the Florida Bible Institute, remembered that he "had spent three glorious, happy, character-building, life-changing years in the spiritual atmosphere of the

11. Conference bulletins of the Florida Bible Institute, 1938-1941.

12. Basil Matthews, *John R. Mott, World Citizen* (New York, 1934).

institution.”¹³

The Reverend John Minder served as Billy’s special advisor and counselor. In addition to his duties as a member of the faculty, Reverend Minder was serving as a pastor in Melrose, Florida, in 1922. It was during this period that Minder found a way to secure property on nearby Lake Swan in Putnam County for his Bible conference activities. The first conference was held on the grounds there in 1927, and it continued to expand its activities over the years. After his retirement, Minder and his wife lived part of each year at Lake Swan.

During Easter vacation, April 1938, the Reverend Minder invited Billy to the conference. On Easter Sunday, April 17, he and Billy drove to Palatka, some twenty-five miles away, to visit Cecil Underwood, a part-time Baptist preacher who lived there. When they arrived, Underwood announced that he was to be the guest minister that evening in the Baptist church at Bostwick, a town twelve miles north of Palatka. He invited Billy and Minder to accompany him, and they decided to go along.

As Minder recalled: “Just before we got to the church, Mr. Underwood turned to me and said, ‘Mr. Minder, will you preach for me tonight?’ I said, ‘No, Billy’s going to preach.’ Billy said, ‘No sir, I can’t.’ I said, ‘You go ahead, and when you run out, I’ll take over’.”¹⁴ Most of Billy’s speaking experiences so far had been on street corners, at the Tampa Trailer Park, and at the Tampa Rescue Mission. His repertoire included just four sermons which he practiced whenever he had the chance. The inattentiveness of some of his audiences, Billy’s own energy, plus his desire to communicate his message had resulted in a very rapid style of delivery.

When Underwood and his friends arrived in Bostwick, they found a small congregation—mainly cowboys from the area. Though it was spring, the weather was chilly as it sometimes is in Florida in April, but a large round stove in the middle of the white clapboard church provided warmth. Billy preached all four of his sermons that evening in Bostwick. He talked so rapidly, however, the service was too short, and Mr. Minder had to take over.

13. William Thomas Watson, *The Bible School Days of Billy Graham* (Dunedin, Florida, 1965), flyleaf.

14. Interview with John Minder, February 14, 1977.

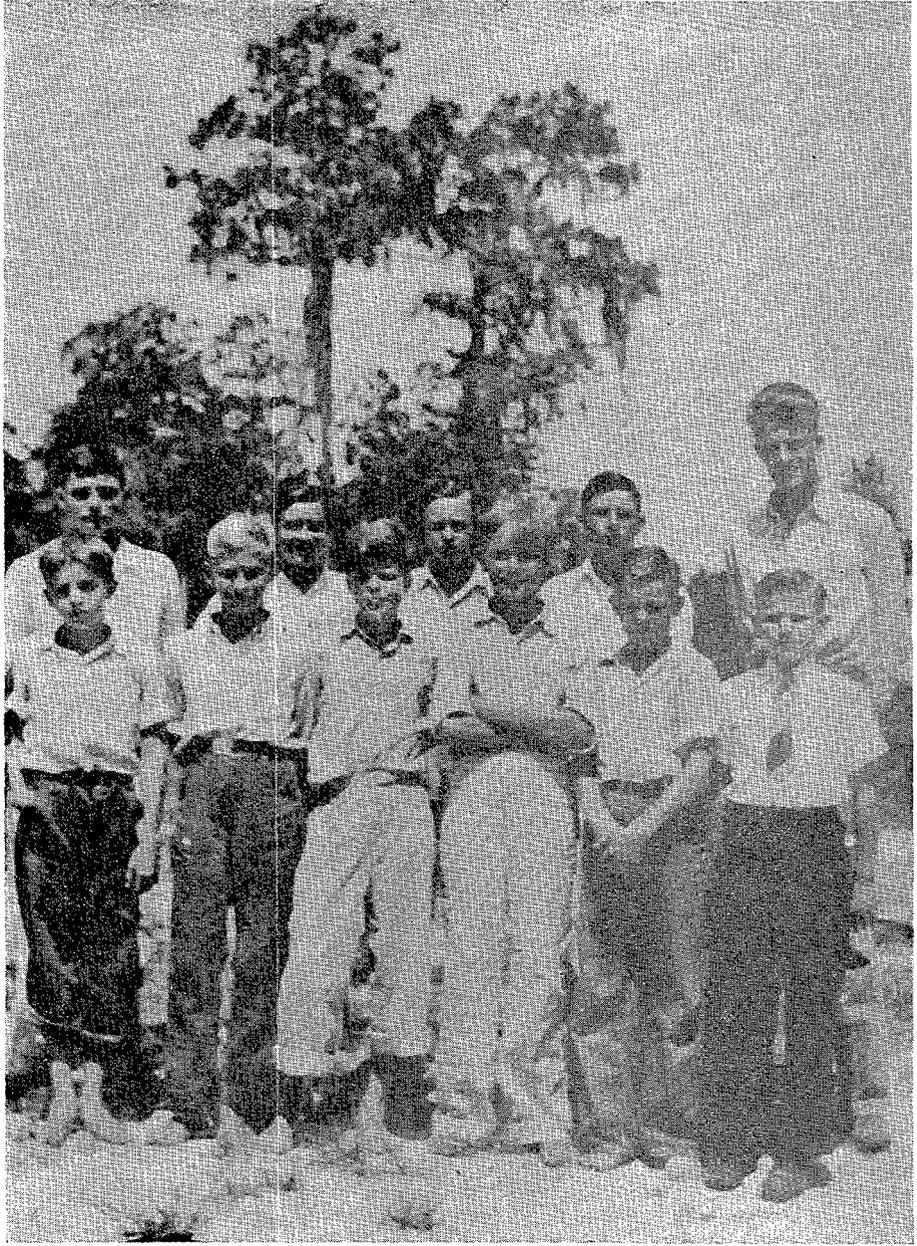
Billy was living at this time with the Minders in their home at 2310 Jefferson Street in Tampa. On the Saturday after the Bostwick experience, Minder asked Billy to speak the following evening at the Tampa Gospel Tabernacle at the corner of Jefferson and Amelia streets. Billy agreed, but he was fearful that he might preach too rapidly again and run out of material before the service was scheduled to end. He appealed to Woodrow Flynn, his roommate, for help. Flynn gave him a sermon on Belshazzar's feast (Daniel 5). Billy found the related scriptural passages, and he practiced and prayed throughout the night. He was apprehensive that he might fail again, but he did not. He performed very well, and by the end of the summer, he was asked to help with the youth work at the Tabernacle.

Emily Cavanaugh, an attractive young lady one year ahead of Billy in school, began to attract his attention. She possessed a charming personality, musical ability, and athletic skill. They enjoyed each other's company and did many things together, including working at the Tampa Tabernacle. It was obvious that Billy was getting serious, but Emily felt he had not thought deeply enough about his Christian commitment. She decided to sever the relationship with him. "Of course I felt loss and emptiness," Billy recalled, "but I had a peace that God was working out some plan for my life."¹⁵

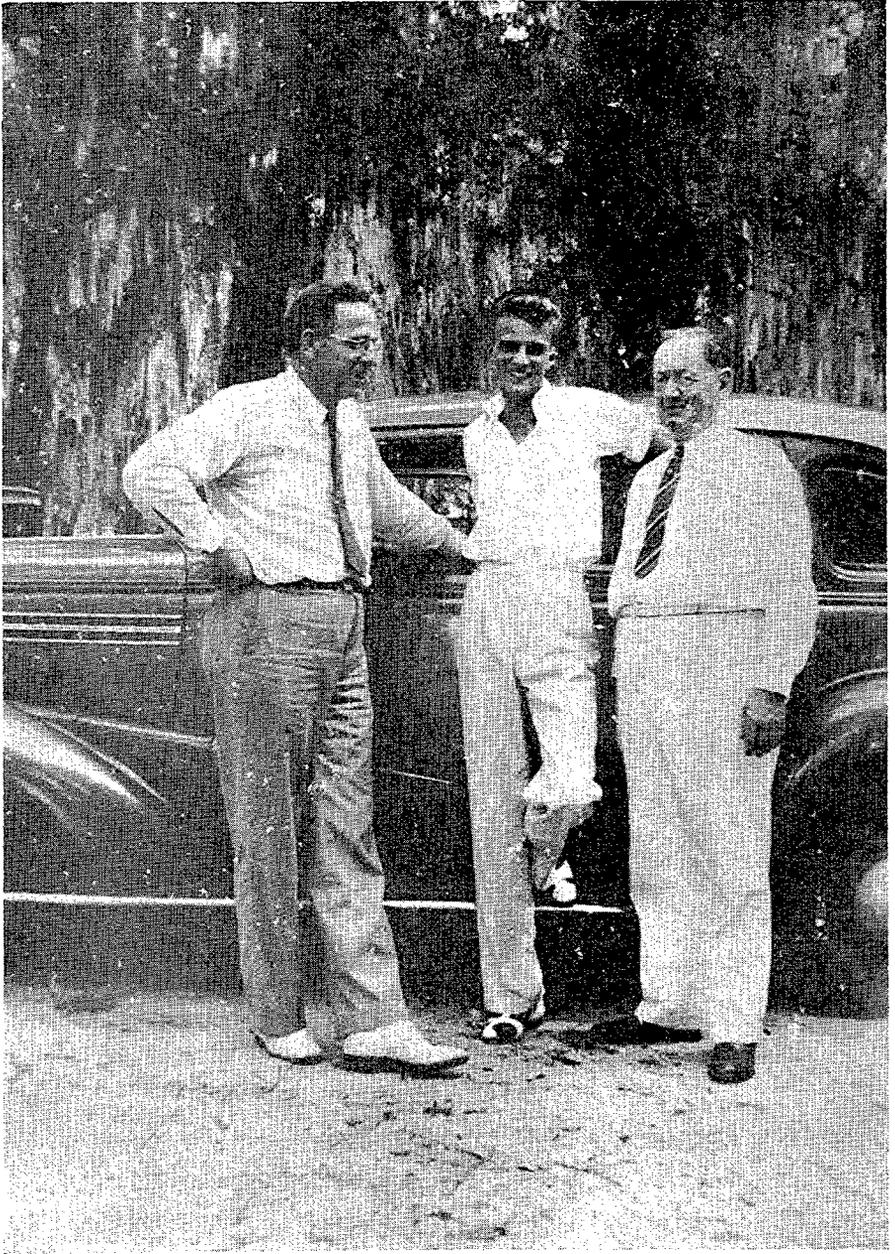
Members of the faculty and the president's secretary, Brunette Brock, were urging Billy to go into the ministry. He realized the time had come for him to make a decision about his future life. At night he would roam across the clipped lawns of the Temple Terrace golf course and along the unpaved streets around the school, trying to think through his problem. He later remembered that it was one moonlit night, just as he was standing near the eighteenth hole of the course, that he reached the conclusion that he would become a preacher.

He had made his commitment, but there were few opportunities for him to gain expertise as a pulpit speaker. The school operated a placement service, but Billy was still inexperienced, and he had not yet graduated. He decided to hold prayer meetings in the downtown area of Tampa. Once, at the corner of Franklin and Fortune streets, he was standing in the doorway of a bar,

15. Interview with William Franklin Graham, January 18, 1980.



Eighteen-year-old Billy with his Children's Bible Mission class. Photograph courtesy of Billy Graham Evangelistic Association.



John Minder, Billy Graham, and a professor at Florida Bible Institute, circa 1940. Photograph from *The Beacon*, FBI yearbook, 1940. Courtesy of Vera Resue.

8 GREAT DAYS of REVIVAL MEETINGS



will be conducted at the
Pomona Baptist Church
by the students of
**The Florida
Bible Institute**
of Tampa, Florida

and sponsored by the Peniel Baptist Church
The Young People of Peniel will
sing each evening accompanied
by Instrumental and Vocal Num-
bers by the Bible Institute Young
People.

BILLY GRAHAM WILL BE THE
EVANGELIST

and

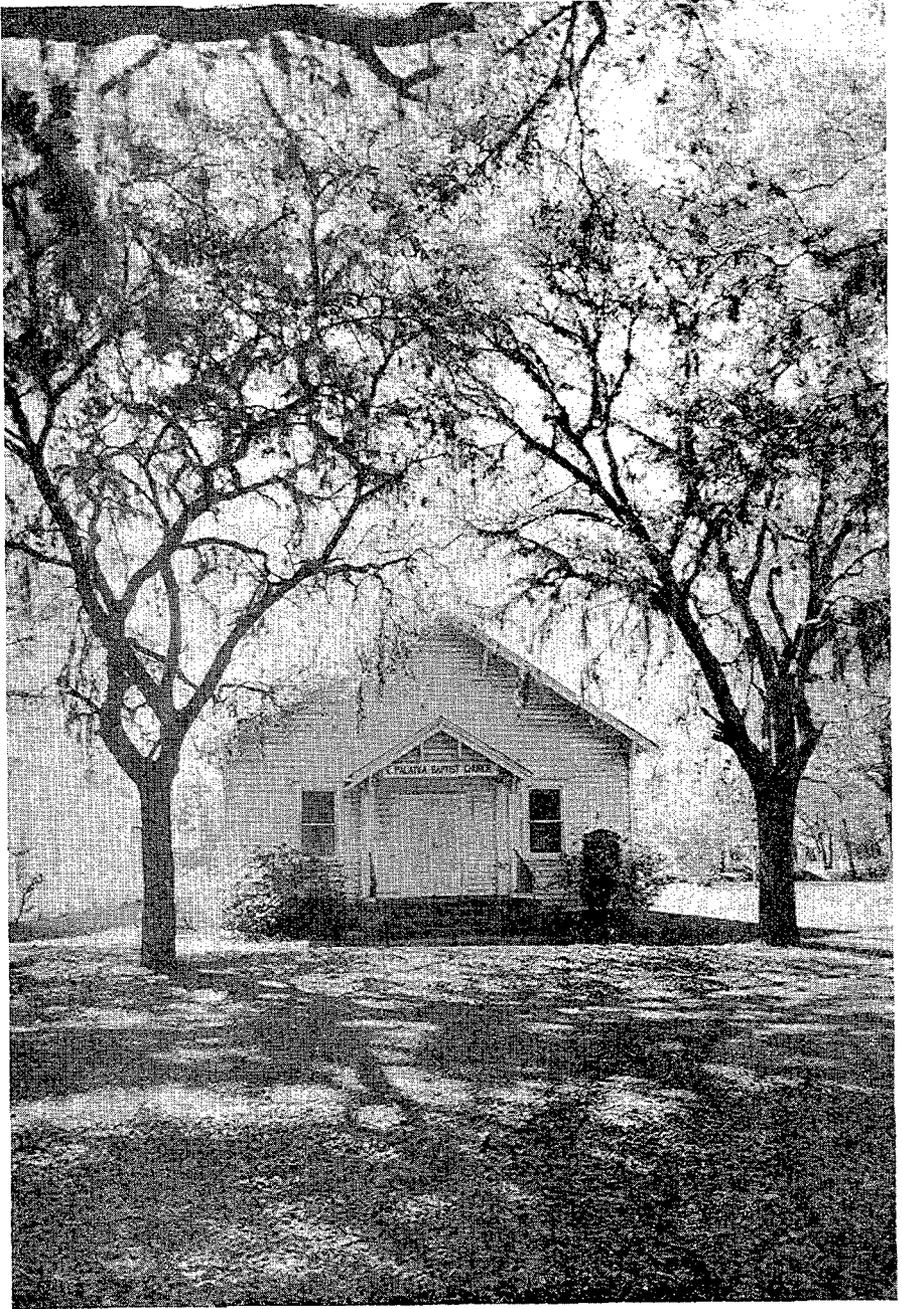
THE SONG LEADER
WILL BE **Ponzi Pennington**

Billy Graham, an outstanding 19 year old evangelist
who recently conducted a wonderful revival in East Pal-
atka is to preach each evening at 7:30.

A SPECIAL YOUNG PEOPLE'S SERVICE WILL BE
CONDUCTED FROM 7:00 TILL 7:30; AND A
CHILDREN'S MEETING AT 4:00.

EVERY EVENING AT 7:30

FLORIDA C.E. NEWS PRINT



East Palatka Baptist Church were Billy preached his first sermon. Photograph from *The Beacon*, FBI yearbook, 1940. Courtesy of Vera Resue.

preaching to the people inside. A bartender came out and asked him to leave, and when he refused, the man shoved him into the street, damaging Billy's clothes. He did not strike back, however, believing that he was "suffering for Christ's sake."¹⁶

Soon afterwards, John Minder invited Billy to become assistant pastor at the Tampa Gospel Tabernacle. His responsibilities included working with the people living in the trailer parks, particularly the Municipal Trailer Park on Columbus Drive. Trailer park living was popular in the area; it was cheap and comfortable in the mild Florida climate. Many tourists came into Tampa during the winter months and lived in the parks. Billy also visited the prisoners in the Tampa jail, and organized discussion groups with them. Billy's desire was not to be a preacher, but rather "a winner of souls." Trying to perfect his style, he rehearsed his sermons at isolated places along the Hillsborough River. He was reluctant to practice in the school chapel— someone might hear him, and he was "too unsure of himself to risk that."¹⁷ According to Minder it was this determination to learn, to practice, and to admit when he did not know the answers that was the key to Billy Graham's great success.

Perhaps the earliest photograph of Billy to appear in any newspaper was one in the *Tampa Daily Times* which was published May 28, 1938. It was captioned: "W. F. Graham, 19-year-old Florida Bible Institute student, is associate pastor of the Tampa Gospel Tabernacle and is preaching during the absence of the Rev. John Minder, pastor, who is attending the annual Christian and Missionary Alliance Council at Oakland, Cal. Mr. Graham is a native of Charlotte, N. C."¹⁸ Other invitations to speak in small churches in Hillsborough County and elsewhere in Florida began to arrive. There was a Baptist church in the little community of Venice on the Gulf coast of Florida, and the congregation held services in a converted meat market. Mr. Houser, the father of one of Billy's schoolmates, invited him to speak. Of the approximately eighty-five people in the congrega-

16. John Pollock, *Billy Graham* (Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1967), 19. During the 1979 Tampa Crusade, the Tampa Historical Society and the Tampa Ministerial Association placed a marker at Franklin and Fortune streets to commemorate the early meetings.

17. Hampton Dunn, "Tampa and Two Evangelists Named Billy," *Tampa Times*, October 23, 1965.

18. *Tampa Daily Times*, May 28 1938, 3.

tion, thirty-two responded to Billy's invitation "to commit their lives to Christ." Billy was stunned at the response which he received to his invitation. Billy did not believe it was his sermon, or the invitation, but rather the prayer during the afternoon preceding the service with Ponzi Pennington, his partner and song leader, that had produced the surprising results.

Late in 1938, after a summer spent working with children at the Lake Swan Conference with Mr. Minder, Billy was asked by Cecil Underwood to hold a week of evangelistic meetings in the East Palatka church. The congregation was without a pastor and had asked Underwood to secure the service of an evangelist for special meetings. The meetings were to start on Wednesday evening with the Reverend Minder preaching first. Billy spoke on the three following nights and on Sunday morning, and then returned to Tampa for a youth meeting Sunday night. Billy did not think the congregation had responded very enthusiastically to him and he did not want to return, but Minder insisted that he go back.¹⁹ Billy did return to Palatka the following evening and saw that there was a larger crowd in the church. The congregation continued to grow as the week progressed. Again he phoned Minder: "I don't know what to do. These people don't want me to stop. What shall I do?" Minder told his protégé, "Well, it's up to you now. You have come to the time when you must make decisions for yourself. The thing for you to do is pray and see what you feel the Lord wants you to do; then do it."²⁰ Billy followed this advice and the meetings were extended. When the Reverend Minder arrived the last night, he found the church so crowded that people were standing outside listening by loud speakers.

The news of Billy's success in East Palatka traveled into the small nearby communities, and in November 1938, Underwood invited him to hold services in his church at Peniel, about twenty-five miles south of Palatka.²¹ The Peniel church, according to Underwood, "thought so much of him that they were willing to ordain him when we asked them about it. There were a few old timers who didn't like the idea, but they finally agreed."²² Billy

19. Interview with John Minder, February 14, 1977.

20. *Ibid.*

21. This structure has been restored by the members of the Peniel Historical Society.

22. Interview with Cecil Underwood, March 14, 1977, tape (OH284) and transcript at Billy Graham Center.

was young and inexperienced, and he also had been brought up in the Reformed Presbyterian tradition, and so had not been baptized by immersion, an ordinance required for membership in a Baptist church. Consequently Billy was baptized on Sunday afternoon, December 4, 1938, by Reverend Underwood in Silver Lake, adjacent to the church.²³ On January 15, 1939, the St. John's Baptist Association, in conjunction with the Peniel Baptist Church, ordained Billy as an evangelist. According to Underwood, "it was the only way he could be ordained because he had no church. As a Baptist you must have a church or be ordained as an evangelist. Well his calling was to evangelism so that was the proper way to be ordained." As a result of these important milestones in his life, Florida was always a special place for Billy Graham, and he came back to the state many times over the years.

After his first tour of Europe with Youth for Christ following World War II, Billy returned to Florida in January 1949, to hold a crusade at the Bay Front Auditorium in Miami. Seventy-five churches in Dade County and South Florida cooperated, placing banners across the Miami streets and placards on all the buses. The meetings began in the Allapata Baptist Church where they continued for a week. By the second week the crowds were too large for the church, and it was necessary to move the services to the Miami Civic Auditorium at Bayfront Park.²⁴ It was estimated that approximately 35,000 attended the meetings, with about 950 "making decisions." During January and February 1953, Billy spent two months preaching in Tallahassee, St. Petersburg, Tampa, and Miami. On May 17-20, 1960, he addressed the 10,000 messengers to the Southern Baptist Convention in the Miami Beach Convention Hall.²⁵ On December 1, 1960, Billy was invited by newly-elected President John Kennedy to visit him in Palm Beach to play golf.²⁶ The death of Kennedy's son, however, postponed the visit until January 16, 1961.²⁷ These events produced a relationship between the two men that included discussions on religion.

23. This property has been donated to the Peniel Baptist Church by Mrs. Theo M. Livré and her sister, Mrs. Lilly L. Brinson.

24. Interview with Ira Eshelman, February 10, 1977, tape (OH280) and transcript at Billy Graham Center.

25. "Messengers" are delegates in the Southern Baptist Convention.

26. Des Moines, Iowa, *Tribune*, December 1, 1960.

27. *Lakeland Ledger*, January 17, 1961.

In 1961, Graham planned to spend four months in Florida, and moved his family to 2506 Ocean Drive, Vero Beach. Mrs. Graham remained in Vero Beach where the children attended school, while Billy traveled around the state holding meetings: the Jacksonville Coliseum, January 14-15; the Orlando Tangerine Bowl, January 21-22; at Clearwater in Pinellas Stadium, January 28; at Al Lang Field in St. Petersburg, January 29; Hawkins Stadium, Bradenton-Sarasota, February 4; Tampa, Phillips Field, February 5; Florida State University, February 11; and the University of Florida, February 12.²⁸ The family accompanied him to the major event of the tour— three weeks at the Miami Beach Auditorium, March 5-26, 1961. The crusade was held at the height of the tourist season, and thousands of visitors, native Floridians, Cuban refugees, and students attended.

The mayor of Fort Lauderdale urged Billy to come to his community and address the huge horde of students lolling along the beaches during their Easter holiday break. Billy agreed, and city officials waived restrictions and allowed sound trucks to ride through the streets announcing the meeting. High school students were dismissed from their classes so that they could attend also. At the beach a large flatbed truck was used as a platform. Anita Bryant sang, and Billy preached for more than an hour. He later said that he had never had such an attentive audience, “the only thing you could hear was the lapping of the sea behind. All I did was talk about Jesus.”²⁹

Billy attended ceremonies marking the twenty-fifth anniversary of his graduation from Florida Bible Institute held at the Jack Tar Harrison Hotel in Clearwater on January 23, 1965. A souvenir brochure, *The Bible School Days of Billy Graham*, was issued for the occasion. He addressed the Baptist World Alliance in Miami on June 26, 1965, and the National Council of Churches in Miami Beach on December 6, 1966. Three years later, he was the featured speaker at Bibletown, the Bible Conference Center, in Boca Raton, which had been established by his friend, Ira Eshelman. On December 28, 1969, he was a guest and spoke at the Miami Rock Festival, and on January 1, 1970, he offered a prayer at the Orange Bowl football game. He spoke at the Easter sunrise service on April 2, 1972, at the Miami Marine Stadium in

28. *St. Petersburg Times*, Florida, January 7, 1961.

29. John Pollock, *Billy Graham* (Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1967), 234.

Key Biscayne. In September of that year, Billy, Governor Reubin Askew, and other dignitaries gathered at the Lake Swan Conference to commemorate its fifty years of ministry in Florida and to honor the Reverend John Minder.

Jacksonville University honored Billy at its spring commencement, April 22, 1973, and he delivered the main address and received an honorary degree. His son-in-law was a member of the graduation class. The following year, on February 3, 1974, Billy preached at the Coral Ridge Presbyterian Church in Fort Lauderdale. On April 28, 1976 in St. Petersburg, at a banquet honoring Dr. Watson on his seventy-fifth birthday, Billy addressed some 1,200 people.³⁰ The occasion was sponsored by the entire constituency, including all the alumni.

Billy visited Florida on other occasions that did not include preaching or speaking. Richard Nixon invited Billy on several occasions to visit him at his home on Key Biscayne. On August 8, 1968, Billy attended the Republican party convention in Miami and offered the closing benediction. It was rumored that he was asked by Nixon for his opinion regarding the vice-presidential nominee, but his suggestion was not the one taken by the president-elect.³¹ On August 12, 1969, Billy led a private worship service for Nixon in his Key Biscayne home.³²

Beginning on March 21, 1979, Billy spoke on four successive occasions during the Tampa Crusade.³³ The average nightly attendance was 35,000, with 52,000 at the closing meeting on Sunday afternoon. The Reverend Earl Hartman, pastor of Tampa's Davis Islands Community Church, said, "This has been a great transformation of a football stadium into a sanctuary of God. The closing Sunday attendance of 52,000 was the largest crowd ever to participate in a religious event in the history of Florida."³⁴

Billy Graham continues to visit and to work in this state in which his career as a world-famous evangelist began.

30. Trinity Bible College banquet tape.

31. Greenfield, Massachusetts, *Recorder Gazette*, August 9, 1968. Billy also gave the invocation at the Democratic convention in Chicago on August 8, 1968.

32. *Evangelical Beacon*, XLII (August 12, 1969), 23.

33. *Tampa Times*, March 20, 1979.

34. Billy Graham Evangelistic Association press release, March 27, 1979.

FLORIDA AND THE ROYAL NAVY'S FLORIDAS

by ROBERT R. REA

THE naming of ships, like the naming of babies, may depend upon the most whimsical of circumstances, yet in both instances some significance is apt to lie behind the name. Just as the adoption of a long-hallowed family name displays a pride of ancestry, the attachment of a place-name to a ship reflects a certain territorial pride. So it was with the great battleships of the United States Navy that bore such names as *Florida* and *Alabama* – the latter now enshrined in Mobile Bay. It is a matter of considerable historical curiosity, however, to find the name of Florida among the ships of Great Britain's navy. Territorially, the connection between Britain and Florida was brief, 1763-1783, but that was time enough to christen a number of His Majesty's ships *Florida*, and just as the memory of a British Florida remained alive in the minds of ambitious empire-builders, so the Royal Navy retained the name until that much-contested land was clearly destined to become a part of the United States. Directly or indirectly, each of these British *Floridas* played a part in Florida's history. An account of the Royal Navy *Floridas* is, therefore, both an essay in British naval history and in the international aspects of Florida history.

The first *Florida* appeared in the British navy shortly after the cession of Florida by Spain in 1763. She was a humble store-ship whose name was intended to suggest her function: the conveyance of supplies to the two new colonies (for Britain had divided the Spanish lands into East and West Florida). In fact, both ship and name were part of a cloak-and-dagger operation designed to steal a march – and another colony – from France and Spain.

The Seven Years' War had been a world-wide conflict which touched every known continent. British and French fleets had clashed in Asian waters, and from India Britain had launched a

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successful assault upon the Spanish Philippines. Men of vision foresaw that the Pacific would be the scene of future rivalry, and European fleets might reach it most quickly by sailing west through the Straits of Magellan, rather than by following the old eastern route around Africa and across the Indian Ocean. The western route required a supply base, however, for sailing vessels could not cross both Atlantic and Pacific oceans without replenishing their stores of food and drink. The coast of South America was held by Spain, but there were islands off that coast, vaguely located, casually claimed by earlier explorers, certainly unoccupied at the moment, and possession was nine-tenths of the law of nations. With the coming of peace in 1763, the French and British governments prepared to probe the South Atlantic for a suitable base.

The British admiralty took action in the spring of 1764, and chose Captain John Byron for the mission. Byron was provided with two ships, *Dolphin* and *Tamar*, and secret orders to explore the South Atlantic and the Pacific with an eye to Britain's imperial interests. To cloak his purpose, Byron was elevated to the rank of commodore and given command of the East Indian Station. He sailed in June 1764, touched at Rio de Janeiro in September, and spent December and January cruising the South Atlantic. Hitting upon the Falkland Islands in the latter month, he formally claimed them for George III, left a small party to begin the construction of a base, and returned to the Argentine coast to rendezvous with his supply ship, the *Florida*.¹

The admiralty sent Byron on his way before it took the necessary steps to see that his expedition would be revictualled prior to entering the Pacific. Not until July 10 did their lordships authorize the Navy Board to purchase "a vessel of about 230 or 250 tons burthen . . . to carry stores & provisions to the *Gulph of Mexico & coast of Florida*" – the official cover-story.² At the end of the month, the Navy Board replied that it had negotiated the purchase of the *Glocester*, a 299-ton, seven-month old, Virginia-built merchant vessel. Ninety-five feet in length and twenty-eight

1. See Robert E. Gallagher, *Byron's Journal of his Circumnavigation, 1764-1766*, Hakluyt Society, 2nd ser., CXXII (Cambridge, 1964), passim.

2. Out-letters, British Admiralty Papers (hereinafter cited as ADM), 2/234, p. 258, author's italics. (Unless otherwise noted, Admiralty papers cited are in the Public Record Office, Kew; those located in the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, are identified by N.M.M.)

feet of beam, she cost £1,900. She had yet to unload her cargo, but it was expected that she would be cleared in six days. As the naval dockyard at Deptford was fully engaged at the moment, the Board suggested that she be fitted out in a private dock. The Board also proposed a complement of twenty-four men and asked the Admiralty to provide a name for their new ship.³ On August 6, the Admiralty accepted the vessel and directed that she be known as the storeship *Florida*.⁴

During the ensuing month, correspondence passed between the Admiralty and the Navy Board as *Glocester* was transformed into a naval vessel. Fitting, victualling, manning, and arming required the cooperation of the Victualling Board and the Ordnance, but the selection of a commander lay with the Navy Board. On August 10, the Board advised the Admiralty that it had named Robert Deans master and commander of *Florida*, and that day he began entering men aboard his ship.⁵

Deans was a twenty-four year-old Scot who had entered the navy as a midshipman in 1755, secured his passing certificate June 10, 1764, and came aboard *Florida* as master and commander without rank. In spite of his lack of status, Deans showed no hesitancy in asking for more than the Admiralty had intended to provide. At his request he was granted a personal servant and two extra crewmen for his ship.⁶ *Florida's* complement also included a master who received £6.6.0 per month, a master's mate at £3.10.0, one midshipman who was paid £2, a surgeon's mate at £3, boatswain and carpenter's mates at £1.12.0, and eighteen able-bodied seamen.⁷ The ship was victualled for six months with all types of provisions except beer, a shortage in that commodity being made up in brandy.⁸ Although technically an unarmed vessel, *Florida* was allowed ten swivel guns, and her crew was

3. Navy Board Out-letters, July 30, 1764, ADM/B/174 (N.M.M.); Admiralty to Navy Board, July 30, 1764, ADM/A/2562 (N.M.M.); J. J. Colledge, *Ships of the Royal Navy: An Historical Index*, 2 vols. (Newton Abbot, 1969), I, 213. Lieutenant Commander C. G. Pitcairn-Jones's manuscript list (N.M.M.) gives *Florida's* dimensions as 72' and 27'11".

4. ADM 2/234, pp. 270-71; ADM/A/2562 (N.M.M.).

5. ADM/B/174 (N.M.M.); Log, *Florida*, ADM 51/3838.

6. Admiralty to Navy Board, August 25, 1764, ADM/A/2562 (N.M.M.); Admiralty to Navy Board, August 25, September 26, 1764, ADM 2/234/316, 370; Admiralty to Robert Deans, September 26, 1764, ADM 2/724.

7. Admiralty to Navy Board, August 9, 1764, ADM/A/2562 (N.M.M.); Muster books, *Florida*, ADM 36/8523.

8. Admiralty to Navy Board, August 16, 1764, ADM/A/2562 (N.M.M.).

armed with muskets, pistols, and cutlasses provided by the ordnance department.⁹

While Deans readied his ship for sea— it did not leave the docks until August 25— the Admiralty prepared his secret orders, which were not to be opened until he reached the Cape Verde Islands. Throughout September, Deans saw his ship victualled, manned, and supplied with stores ostensibly intended for delivery to Captain Sir John Lindsay who was then in H.M.S. *Tartar* at Pensacola. Deans must have been appalled to receive a reprimand, at the beginning of October, expressing the Admiralty's dissatisfaction with his "not being further advanced" on his voyage and ordering him to sail without a moment's loss of time, but it was November 11 before he began the long voyage west.¹⁰

Arrived at the Cape Verde Islands, off the coast of North Africa, Deans opened the sealed orders that directed him to Pepys Island at 47° 30'S, eighty or ninety leagues off the coast of Patagonia, there to meet Commodore Byron. Should either Byron or Deans leave Pepys Island without contacting the other, word was to be left in "a Bottle [which was to be] buried Two feet deep, at a distance of Six feet on the South Side of a large Cross which you are to erect as a Mark of your having been there." A second rendezvous was designated at Port Desire (Puerto Deseado), far south of Buenos Aires on the Patagonian coast. Deans was ordered to keep his destination secret from his crew but to give them "strongest assurances" that their efforts would be rewarded: as for himself, "Your own diligence & perseverance in the execution of these Instructions will secure you Preference."¹¹

Florida made a rapid crossing of the Atlantic, but Deans wasted no time searching for the completely mythical Pepys Island. The storeship anchored at Port Desire January 23, 1765, and on February 5, *Dolphin* and *Tamar* appeared at the harbor

9. Philip Stephens to Navy Board, August 29, 1764, ADM/A/2562; September 1, 1764: ADM/A/2563; Navy Board to Admiralty, August 31, 1764: ADM/B/174 (N.M.M.); Admiralty to Lord Grandby at Ordnance, September 1, 1764: ADM 2/234, p. 326.

10. Admiralty to Deans, October 2, 1764, ADM 2/724; Log, *Florida*, ADM 51/3838. (Unless otherwise noted, Deans's log is the source of subsequent references to the ship's movements.)

11. Deans's orders, September 11, 1764, ADM 2/1332. See also Gallagher, *Byron's Journal*, 6-9.

mouth. Unhappily, Deans had to report that his foremast was badly sprung, and the commodore observed that *Florida* "was little better than a Wreck." Byron would have transferred *Florida's* supplies to *Dolphin* then and there, but strong tides and winds that nearly cast the storeship and *Tamar* ashore persuaded him to carry out a few hasty repairs and leave the treacherous waters of Port Desire. Providing Deans with extra crewmen and two boats, *Florida's* having been stove, Byron's little squadron headed south on February 13. *Florida* lagged far behind the others, and as the British captains looked back toward her, they sighted a strange sail following on her course. Inside the Straits of Magellan, Byron anchored, prepared to challenge the shadowing stranger, and signalled *Tamar* and *Florida* to join him. In attempting to do so, *Florida* went aground, whereupon the unidentified vessel closed, ran up French colors, and dispatched two boats toward the stricken storeship. The commodore quickly sent off his own boats to keep the Frenchman at a safe distance while *Florida* was floated free. The Frenchman, none other than the intrepid Louis-Antoine de Bougainville, founder of a rival colony in the Falklands, remained warily aloof. For a week, Deans transferred supplies to *Dolphin* and *Tamar*, and on February 25, it having been agreed that *Florida* was not fit to continue into the Pacific, Byron ordered Deans to return to England with dispatches.¹²

The commodore left Port Famine Bay February 25, and *Florida* began her lonely northward voyage March 5, through frozen seas dotted with icebergs. It was June 21 before Deans anchored in Portland Road on the south coast of England. He immediately went ashore with Byron's papers and delivered them to Lord Egmont at the Admiralty the next evening. The story they told of the British occupation of the Falkland Islands would lead to an international crisis that threatened a world war in 1770. No less interesting was Byron's report of encountering on the Patagonian coast a race of painted savages, clad in skins, whom he described as the "nearest to Giants of any People . . . in the World."¹³ Governments might tremble during the Falk-

12. Gallagher, *Byron's Journal*, 63-66. See also Julius Goebel, Jr., *The Struggle for the Falkland Islands* (New Haven, 1927), 221-40.

13. The original report carried by Deans is in ADM 1/162 and is printed in Gallagher *Byron's Journal*, 155-56.

land Islands crisis; it would soon be forgotten by all save scholars. The scientific world still wonders about the Patagonian giants. Whatever John Byron saw, Robert Deans and the crew of *Florida* probably observed as well.¹⁴ It was imperial policy rather than scientific discovery, however, that moved the Admiralty to order *Florida* far north to Moray Firth, Scotland, when Deans returned to his ship on June 26. There *Florida* remained, in virtual quarantine at Fort George, until November, when she was ordered back to Deptford for refitting. For Robert Deans there was, at least, the satisfaction of the promised commission, antedated to June 20, as third lieutenant of H.M.S. *Panther*, a ship on which Lieutenant Deans never set foot.¹⁵

In January 1766, *Florida* sailed again, ostensibly for Pensacola, but actually to the South Atlantic, but this time with rather more excitement and less expedition.¹⁶ On January 31, 100 leagues southwest of Cape Finisterre, Deans was intercepted by a large vessel flying Algerine colors. Undeterred by the sight of the Union Jack, the North African pirate fired at *Florida*, closed with her late in the afternoon, and Deans, seeing that "her Decks were full of Men arm'd for Boarding," hove to. The Algerian ordered the captain, master, and mate of *Florida* aboard his ship, and his unwilling guests watched helplessly as the pirate unsuccessfully attacked a second passing English vessel. At nine o'clock that evening, Deans and his officers were returned to *Florida*, but the surgeon and eight crewmen were taken as hostages, and

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14. The Admiralty succeeded in keeping secret any report of the Patagonian giants until May 1766; the story was then received with scorn by the scientific world. Horace Walpole remarked that the crew of *Florida* had said nothing about giants after returning to England in 1765, but when *Florida* returned from her second voyage in 1767, the newspapers reported that "the late accounts of a gigantic people inhabiting the shores of the Magellan straits" were confirmed by her crew. Gallagher, *Bryon's Journal*, 185-86; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, October 8, 1767 (I am indebted to Dr. Robin F. A. Fabel for this reference). Captain Samuel Wallis of *Dolphin* is said to have measured the Patagonian giants in 1766 and found them to be 6'4" to 7' tall. Richard Pickersgill's log, LOG/N/D/6 (N.M.M.).
 15. To make *Florida's* isolation more bearable, the government ordered the commandant of nearby Fort Arderseir to receive the crew ashore and provide them with any convenience they might desire. Earl of Sandwich to commanding officer, June 24, 1765, *Calendar of the Home Office Papers of the Reign of George III, 1760-1765* (London, 1878), 568; Commissions and Warrants, ADM 6/20.
 16. The cover-story is explicit in Admiralty to Captain John McBride, January 10, 1766, ADM 2/1332.

twenty-six "Turkish" soldiers were placed aboard the storeship to guarantee that Deans sailed directly for Algiers. *Florida* moored at the Mole in Algiers harbor on February 11. Three days later her captor returned both the men and equipment he had removed, and the effectiveness of diplomacy was celebrated by a formal visit from the resident British consul on February 16, just before *Florida* was released and sought refuge at Gibraltar.

When he resumed his voyage, Deans encountered great difficulties. Contrary winds and currents held him off the coast of Brazil for eighty-three days, and he was forced to put in at Rio de Janeiro in October for repairs.¹⁷ Not until late November did he reach bleak, windswept Port Egmont in the Falkland Islands. During the winter of 1766-1767, *Florida* was given a thorough over-hauling. Early in December, Deans accompanied Captain John McBride in H.M.S. *Jason* on a cruise around the islands that discovered the French settlement in Berkeley's Sound. Armed confrontation resulted in a graceful retreat by the French and their eventual withdrawal from the Falklands.¹⁸ By the beginning of May 1767, *Florida* was ready to sail for England, and Deans was home at the end of July. In August, *Florida* was paid off and laid up, though she would eventually be recommissioned for further service in the South Atlantic. At this late date, the Admiralty still maintained the fiction that *Florida* was engaged in transporting supplies to the Gulf of Mexico. The official admiralty Office List of Ships for 1767 described her as "gone to Pensacola" – which she never did!¹⁹ Robert Deans, on the other hand, won advancement for his service aboard *Florida*, and as captain of H.M.S. *Mentor* in 1780-1781, he was stationed at Pensacola where he lost his ship and his freedom when West Florida was conquered by Bernardo de Gálvez.²⁰

If the first *Florida* was so named as a subterfuge, the next three British *Floridas* enjoyed intimate associations with insular, peninsular, and continental Florida. They were all vessels assigned to the survey of the Gulf coast undertaken for the Ad-

17. An account of his disbursements is in AGC/28 (N.M.M.).

18. McBride to Admiralty, March 21, 1767, ADM 1/2116.

19. ADM 8/43. The storeship *Florida* was subsequently recommissioned and employed in the south Atlantic before she was broken up at Deptford in 1772. See ADM 51/3838 and Colledge, *Ships of the Royal Navy*, I, 213.

20. See the Introduction to Robert R. Rea and James A. Servies, *Log of H.M.S. Mentor* (Gainesville, 1981).

miralty by George Gauld. The vessels themselves have not heretofore been clearly identified or distinguished from one another, and Gauld's work, though known to contemporary navigators and cartographers, has yet to be fully appreciated.²¹

George Gauld sailed to the Gulf coast in 1764 with Captain John Lindsay— to whom the first *Florida* was officially said to be delivering supplies. The naval surveyor promptly began the preparation of a great series of charts that minutely and precisely described the Gulf coast and its bays, notably Tampa, Pensacola, and Mobile, from the Mississippi River to the Florida Cape. He worked out of Pensacola and utilized whatever naval vessel was temporarily made available to him by the admiral on the Jamaica Station at Port Royal. When Sir George Brydges Rodney assumed that post, he discovered that although the British had been in possession of Port Royal and Kingston harbor for over a century, the waters of their naval base had never been accurately sounded, its shallows charted, or its dangers marked with buoys. To do that work, Rodney summoned Gauld from Pensacola to Port Royal, and the surveyor was employed there from January 1772 until February 1773.

For Gauld, the Jamaican interlude was merely an interruption of his major task. He yearned to return to the yet uncharted Florida keys, and a grateful Rodney sent him on his way with a gift— a new surveying boat, large enough to mount two masts with sails, yet sufficiently compact to be maneuvered by oars when Gauld's work required it. This little craft was unofficially christened *Florida* by the surveying team. Although too small to warrant notice in any list of Royal Navy ships, she was referred to as a schooner by Lieutenant Nathaniel Phillips of the survey's mothership *Earl of Northampton*, and thereby young Phillips elevated himself, in his own mind, at least, to the status of commodore of a tiny squadron.

Presented to Gauld on February 23, 1773, the survey boat *Florida* was altered and fitted for his use in April and sailed in company with *Northampton* at the end of the month. From Jamaica, the surveying party made for Grand Cayman Island where Gauld drafted a fine chart during the first two weeks of

21. See the forthcoming book by Captain John D. Ware and Robert R. Rea, *George Gauld Surveyor and Cartographer of the Gulf Coast* (Gainesville, 1982).

May. The utility of the light, shallow-draft schooner was immediately evident as the surveyor worked his way around the island, sounding inside the reef and within the shallow harbor which *Northampton* could not enter.

The threat of bad weather sent the expedition scurrying to sea, headed for Cape Antonio, the western tip of Cuba. On May 22, there were nervous moments aboard *Northampton* when day-break brought no sight of the little *Florida*, but Lieutenant Phillips fired a signal gun, and hearing a musket shot in answer, he soon regained contact with the boat. At Cape Antonio, Gauld used *Florida* to chart the promontory and the nearby islands, and in June both vessels sailed to the Dry Tortugas for the next phase of the surveyor's work.

In addition to sounding the island waterways, *Florida* was repeatedly dispatched to Key West to secure water for the expedition. On such occasions she may have been commanded by John Payne, formerly a master in the Royal Navy and Gauld's valued assistant for many years. Gauld himself frequently used the schooner for exploration cruises among the keys when the expedition transferred its base to Key West. *Florida* led the way back to the Marquesas in October, and on to the Tortugas where an autumnal storm grounded *Northampton*, and *Florida's* assistance was necessary to haul her off. At the end of the month the expedition fought stormy seas and headwinds to reach Pensacola, and there *Florida* was turned over to the carpenters of H.M.S. *Ferret* for repairs.²² The schooner-rigged boat was employed again in 1774, when Gauld worked between Key West and Bahia Hondo, but she lost her name to another vessel that year and was very nearly lost herself in a November gale while returning to Pensacola.²³

The new *Florida* was a replacement for the *Earl of Northampton* and was purchased with an eye to the requirements of the Gulf coast survey. As he said farewell to his old ship, which was found to be "entirely unfit for further Service," Gauld asked for a vessel that would draw less than seven feet and at the same

22. Log, *Earl of Northampton*, ADM 51/4178; Log, *Ferret*, ADM/L/F/70A (N.M.M.). This *Florida* does not appear in any contemporary or modern navy list.

23. George Gauld to Admiral Clark Gayton, December 2, 1774, ADM 1/240. She seems to have been used as late as 1777, see Gauld to Gayton, December 30, 1777, ADM 1/240.

time would be "strong, roomy, and commodious." Appreciative of the naval surveyor's work, Admiral Rodney instructed the storekeeper at Port Royal "to be very Attentive in the purchase of another Surveying Vessel" that would fit Gauld's description. By March 1774, the storekeeper had located "a new sloop remarkably well found" that was purchased for £670 and named *Florida*. Lieutenant Charles Cobb took command of her, and in June, Gauld sailed from Pensacola for the Florida keys where *Florida* served as his base ship for the next five months.²⁴

During the early months of 1775, *Florida* returned to Port Royal for refitting; she was back at Pensacola in April, and Gauld took her to Key Largo that summer. Again in January 1776, the sloop *Florida* returned to Port Royal to be careened.²⁵ While that work was in hand, a new Floridian appeared on the naval scene. Aware of the need for increased strength on the Gulf coast in order to curb Spanish support of American rebels who ranged far and wide, in February 1776, the admiralty authorized the new Jamaican commandant, Admiral Clark Gayton, to purchase a vessel of no more than six-foot draft, mounting two four-pounders and three two-pound guns, to be employed on the lakes separating West Florida from Louisiana. She was to be named *Florida*. By June, Gayton had secured a suitable sloop of sixty tons which he "call'd the *West Florida* (to make a Distinction between her & the Florida Surveying Sloop)." Her command was given to Lieutenant George Burdon, formerly a midshipman aboard *Florida*.²⁶

Although Gayton employed *Florida* on patrol duty off Hispaniola in the spring of 1776, he returned her, grudgingly, to the coastal survey in May. Both Gauld and Lieutenant Cobb thought it "very imprudent to proceed among the Florida Kays" in view of the activity of American privateers in the Bahamas and adjacent waters, so in 1776, the surveying sloop operated in the Mississippi Sound area. She made the customary voyage to Port Royal that winter and returned in April 1777 under the com-

24. Sir George B. Rodney to Admiralty, January 4, March 14, 1774, ADM 1/239; Gauld to Rodney, November 8, 1773, ADM 1/239; Gauld to Gayton, December 2, 1774, ADM 1/240.

25. Gauld to Gayton, November 17, 1775, ADM 1/240; Gayton to Admiralty, January 21, 1776, *ibid.*

26. George Jackson to Gayton, February 17, 1776, *Naval Documents of the American Revolution*, 8 vols. (Washington, 1964-1980), IV, 919.

mand of Lieutenant John Osborn.²⁷ That spring *Florida* headed west again, and during the summer Gauld conducted a remarkable survey of the Gulf coast from the mouth of the Mississippi to Galveston Bay. While the surveyor, in a small boat, traced the coastal contours, the sloop, with John Payne in charge of technical operations, was used to take, offshore soundings. Returning to the Mississippi in September, *Florida* headed up the river, intending to secure supplies, and on the way, Gauld wrote, "We had like to have had a Scuffle with a Spanish Packet for their Insolence." The incident was reported to Governor Bernardo de Gálvez at New Orleans, and he promptly dispatched "an Armed Brig and a large Party of Soldiers on purpose to take or destroy us. Perhaps it was lucky for both them and us," said George Gauld, "that we were gone before they came, for Mr. Osborn never would have suffered with Impunity any Indignity to be offered to the Kings Sloop."²⁸

Florida returned to Pensacola, from whence Lieutenant Osborne reported that "the Sloop leaked much, & complained in every part"; she could scarce be kept free of water with the pumps. Indeed, when she was heaved down, it was discovered that her sheathing had been destroyed by worms or ripped off, and her bow timbers were so rotten "they might be pulled to pieces with one's fingers." The senior naval captain at Pensacola ordered her surveyed and found her "unfit to proceed to Sea" on January 18, 1778. By March she had been sold to the army ordnance department to be used as a barge and floating warehouse.²⁹

The replacement for the surveying sloop was a schooner, also named *Florida*, possessing a more desirable type of rigging thanks to Lieutenant Osborne's complaint that "a Sloop is a very improper Vessel for the Surveying service, as Accidents contin-

27. Gauld to Gayton, May 20, 1776, ADM 1/240; Muster book, *Florida*, ADM 36/7978. No log for this vessel has been located.

28. Gauld to Gayton, December 30, 1777, ADM 1/240.

29. Lt. John Osborn to Gayton, January 17, 1778, *ibid.*; Capt. Thomas Lloyd's report, January 18, 1778, *ibid.*; Colledge, *Ships of the Royal Navy*, I, 213, lists this vessel as a storeship of fourteen guns, 202 tons, 68' length, and 19' beam, but Colledge was not aware of a second survey ship named *Florida*. Pitcairn-Jones (N.M.M.) lists Osborne's ship as a sloop of twelve guns, 63' by 19'2", but he confuses her dates with those of the second survey ship of the same name. Pitcairn-Jones's description of the 1774 *Florida* as 56' x 17'6", depth 6', would appear to be correct; Colledge's 1774 vessel would appear to be the 1778 schooner *Florida*.

ually happen to the Boats in hoisting them in and out. In a Schooner . . . those operations are performed with more ease and safety." The new *Florida* was rigged fore-and-aft, rather than with square sails. Its crew of thirty men was commanded by Lieutenant James Kirkland, and it arrived at Pensacola, May 27, 1778. The *Florida* schooner was armed with twelve or fourteen light guns, and during its short life it was employed as a frigate, never as a surveying vessel. Kirkland took one prize en route from Port Royal to Pensacola, and he left in search of a rebel privateer just two days after he reached the capital of West Florida. He spent most of the summer cruising between Ship Island and the Rigolets. Returning to Pensacola in September, the schooner was careened at Deer Point where she suddenly filled and sank in shallow water. The senior officer at Pensacola, Captain Joseph Nunn of *Hound*, condemned her where she lay.³⁰

There remained the *West Florida*. Her past history had not been happy, and her future would prove disastrous. Lieutenant George Burdon took command of His Majesty's armed sloop *West Florida* at Port Royal on June 7, 1776. He got to sea on August 7, and reached Pensacola on the twenty-fourth. There he remained until October 20, when he cruised west along the coast, investigating shipping in the Mississippi Sound. In November *West Florida* entered Lake Pontchartrain and began patrolling in search of Spanish interlopers who regularly gathered pitch and tar on the British side of the lake. Lieutenant Burdon made himself very unpopular with the Spaniards by ostentatiously sailing close by their little post at Bayou St. John and flaunting the Union Jack.

Returning to Pensacola in January 1777, Burdon found his canvas much damaged by vermin; it was early April before he sailed west again. In the Pearl River he took two Spanish smugglers laden with wine and tobacco. By May, *West Florida* was showing ominous signs of wear and tear and making fifteen inches of water every two hours. Nevertheless, Burdon returned to Lake Pontchartrain to interrupt the illicit tar trade, and seizing a small coasting vessel as a prize, he manned and employed her as

30. Gayton to Admiralty, April 20, 1778, ADM 1/241; Admiral Peter Parker to Admiralty, April 19, June 21, September 23, 1778, January 12, 1779, *ibid.*; Nunn to Parker, December 4, 1778, *ibid.*; Log, *Sylph*, ADM 52/2025; Log, *Hound*, ADM 51/463.

an auxiliary patrol boat. The duty was dull, the weather miserable, though lively enough on July 5, when three water spouts were observed. *West Florida* put in to the Chefunka River to make repairs in August, and four crewmen who "went away in the night" escaped the search party sent after them. Burdon could ill afford to lose men. At the beginning of September he noted: "The fevour Ague so bad on Board that only the Lieutenant, Mate, and one Man well." Fortunately, Burdon fell in with surveyor George Gauld near the mouth of Lake Pontchartrain. "It was very lucky for him," Gauld reported, "that we happened to come that way, for he had so few hands, by the desertion of his people on the Lakes, that he could hardly have got to Pensacola, his sloop being very leaky." *Florida* provided *West Florida* with additional crewmen, and together they limped home.³¹

Not until January 1778, was *West Florida* ready for sea again, but only four of her men were then fit for duty. When Burdon finally got back to the lakes in February, he found the situation changed. On February 26, off Pass Manchac, Philip Livingston and Adam Chrystie, two prominent British West Floridians, came aboard and advised him that Manchac was in the hands of rebel Americans. Anticipating trouble, Burdon barricaded his ship with old sails and hammocks filled with Spanish moss, but he was disappointed of seeing any action against James Willing and his raiders. On March 20, *West Florida* encountered a British coasting vessel with a military detachment under Captain Richard Pearis aboard, and Burdon learned that this party had restored order at Manchac and taken a number of rebel prisoners. The two British ships triumphantly exchanged nine-gun salutes. Returning to the Mississippi Sound, Burdon heard that Willing's boat, the *Rattletrap*, was on its way down the Mississippi from New Orleans, intending to attack Mobile. As she was reported to carry sixteen swivel guns and forty men, Burdon, anticipating a fight, lightened ship and headed east to intercept the Americans. At Ship Island, March 28, he was told that the rebels had passed by, on their way to Mobile, but no sign of them could be found.

Back in Lake Pontchartrain in mid-April, Burdon touched at Tangipahoe where the American raiders had demolished a house

31. Log, *West Florida*, ADM 51/4390; Gauld to Gayton, December 30, 1777, ADM 1/240.

and destroyed the cattle of a British planter. This was the high-water mark of Willing's raid, but by that date British naval strength in western waters had also reached its peak. The sloops *Hound* and *Sylph* were in the Mississippi below New Orleans, and the survey ship *Florida* was posted at the mouth of the river. *West Florida* was joined in Lake Pontchartrain by a provincial schooner dispatched from Pensacola by Governor Peter Chester. Burdon anchored at Bayou St. John, maintained contact with the sloops in the Mississippi, and the British effected a naval encirclement of New Orleans. The best the Spaniards could put up against them was one schooner armed with two swivels and carrying an officer and seven privates. Smaller Spanish *guarda costas*, frequently encountered in Lake Pontchartrain, were stopped and investigated before they were allowed to proceed. In June, when *West Florida* was forced to put in at the Lacomble River in order to effect repairs, the British naval patrol was maintained by seizing a schooner from Manchac, arming her with two swivels, and stationing her at the Rigolets under the command of Midshipsman William Dixon. Both messages and supplies moved between Burdon's *West Florida* and H.M.S. *Sylph* in the Mississippi, and Captain John Fergusson's letters from New Orleans to Pensacola were relayed through the lakes in order to avoid the long route down the river and across the Gulf. On July 11, lightning struck and shattered *West Florida's* mainmast, damaging the mainsail at the same time. She limped along the shore of Lake Pontchartrain in a futile search for timber that might provide a replacement. Finally in August, Burdon was able to secure a spare mast from *Hound*. Refitted, he was able to run down a smuggler bound for Mobile with a profitable cargo of cordials, rum, and rice. *West Florida* returned to Pensacola for overhauling in November 1778.

In spite of sea-worms and wood-rot, ships could be maintained and patched up easier than men. On January 10, 1779, the naval officers at Pensacola were advised that Lieutenant George Burdon was suffering from "a long continuance of pulmonic complaints attended with a flux" and was unfit for active duty. Burdon was replaced by John Payne, whose experience and knowledge of Gulf coast waters was exceptional, and on February 1, Lieutenant Payne took *West Florida* to sea again. During the spring and summer of 1779, Payne cruised the sound and the lakes border-

ing Spanish Louisiana.³² He was in Pontchartrain on August 27 when Bernardo de Gálvez launched his surprise attack on British West Florida, and Payne's ship became the first victim of the Anglo-Spanish war. On August 29, Payne sent a yawl and eight men toward Manchac in order to contact the British forces under Lieutenant Colonel Alexander Dickson; the boat party was captured by the Spaniards that same day. Payne was still unaware of the outbreak of hostilities on September 10, when, at two o'clock in the afternoon, he sighted and gave chase to a strange sail. Coming along side, he hailed the vessel and was told that she was a merchant from Pensacola carrying supplies to Manchac. Suddenly the British colors she was flying were struck, and an American flag was raised. Grappling lines were thrown aboard *West Florida* and she began to receive small arms fire. Payne was ill-prepared for action; he had removed his boarding barricades the previous day, so his deck was exposed to musket fire, and of his crew of fifteen, several were sick. Nevertheless, he was twice able to push back the American boarding party; only on the third attempt did they succeed in gaining the deck of *West Florida* and overwhelming her defenders. Lieutenant Payne was mortally wounded, one seaman was killed, and Master's Mate Gerrald Savage was wounded. The victor proved to be the American privateer *Morris*, commanded by William Pickles, formerly a British merchant skipper trading at New Orleans, now turned American patriot. *Morris* mounted eight guns and carried sixty-five men, according to Master's Mate Savage, and she lost eight men, in addition to some wounded, in an action of twenty minutes that both Pickles and his second, Pierre Rousseau, described as "very violent."³³

32. Parker to Admiralty, April 2, 1779, ADM/241. In the absence of her log for this period, *West Florida's* movements must be followed through the logs of H.M.S. *Sylph*, ADM 51/918, and ADM 52/2025.

33. Gerrald Savage to Francis LeMontais, October 24, 1779, ADM 1/242; LeMontais to Parker, December 20, 1779, *ibid.*; Pierre Rousseau, "Account of the Battle of the Schooner Tender of the Frigate *Morris* Capt. William Pickles, American, Against the Boat the *West Florida* of Pensacola Captian Paine [*sic*]," *St. Tammany Historical Society Gazette*, I (September 1975), 20-21. Accounts of the engagement that concentrate attention upon the number of guns aboard the two ships are misleading, for it is obvious that no guns were fired; the action was essentially hand-to-hand. Pickles is sometimes said to have had only seven men; he may have had only seven Americans, but he had enough Spaniards (or Frenchmen) to smother *West Florida's* handful after Payne fell.

Twenty months later, to the day, Pensacola surrendered to Gálvez. British West Florida was lost, and East Florida was surrendered to Spain by the Treaty of Versailles in 1783. British merchants and adventurers did not lose interest in the Gulf coast, however, and Spanish authorities perforce accepted their commercial services and influence with neighboring Indian tribes. Florida and *Floridas* would reappear when Anglo-American hostilities were renewed in the War of 1812.

The next H.M.S. *Florida* began her career as an American ship, the *Frolic*, a new twenty-two gun sloop of war launched in February 1814, and commanded by Master Joseph Bainbridge. *Frolic* enjoyed a successful voyage until the morning of April 20, when, in the Florida Straits, she fell in with Captain Hugh Pigot in H.M.S. *Orpheus* (36) and Lieutenant David Hope in *Shelburne* (12). The British ships took up the chase and were within range at noon when *Orpheus* fired two guns to bring the American to. Outnumbered, outgunned, and outmaneuvered, Bainbridge struck at 12:20.³⁴ The prize was put under the command of *Orpheus's* first mate and taken to Nassau, where she remained until June. Pigot, meanwhile, sailed to the West Florida coast and delivered a shipment of arms to the Creek Indians at Apalachicola – a visit that resulted in the dispatch of ill-fated Major Edward Nicholls to the Gulf coast.³⁵ In mid-June, *Orpheus* and *Frolic* made their way to Bermuda, and there the American vessel was re-christened *Florida* before being taken on to the British naval base at Halifax, Nova Scotia, where she was formally commissioned in the Royal Navy, July 12, with Nathaniel Mitchell as her captain. There followed a period of refitting, from which H.M.S. *Florida* emerged as a twenty-gun sixth rate ship armed with eighteen thirty-two pound carronades, two nine-pound guns, and carrying a crew of 135 men.³⁶

The new *Florida* sailed to the West Indies late in the year and returned to Bermuda, where her people witnessed the arrival of

34. Log, *Orpheus*, ADM 51/2615. The account given by Theodore Roosevelt, *The Naval War of 1812* (New York, 1889), 311, is more creditable to Bainbridge, but it is not supported by Pigot's journal.

35. Robin Reilly, *The British at the Gates* (New York, 1974), 171.

36. Log, *Orpheus*, ADM 51/2615; Log, *Florida*, ADM 51/2372. As *Frolic*, she had carried twenty thirty-two pound carronades and two long eighteen-pounders, with a crew of 171 men. Her measurements were 119 1/2' length, 32' beam, 539 tons. See Colledge, *Ships of the Royal Navy*, I, 213; Pitcairn-Jones list (N.M.M.).

Commodore Stephen Decatur, U.S.N., and the U.S.S. President, captured in January 1815 while trying to escape the British blockade at New York. Early in February, *Florida* sailed for the Gulf coast, conveying Major General Manley Powers and his staff to the Mississippi, on whose banks American forces commanded by Andrew Jackson had recently won a most memorable victory. *Florida* found the British fleet anchored off Dauphin Island, and after landing provisions, she headed east. Off the Atlantic coast of Florida, March 9, Captain Mitchell learned that peace had been made between Britain and the United States. *Florida* returned to the fleet at Dauphin Island and was dispatched to the Balise, the mouth of the Mississippi, where she took aboard British wounded from the battle of New Orleans. The redcoats were carried to Havana and there transferred to hospital ships. *Florida* subsequently returned to England and was broken up in 1819.³⁷

Another *Florida* served the British navy during the War of 1812— an armed brig, hired into service at Nassau, December 12, 1814, and commanded by Lieutenant Edward Handfield. She sailed with a supply convoy bound for the Gulf of Mexico late in December, and joined the fleet in the Mississippi Sound, January 9, 1815, just after Pakenham's defeat at New Orleans. She was soon dispatched to the mouth of the Apalachicola River and on January 25, began "discharging Provisions, Arms &c for the use of the Indian Army." On the twenty-ninth, Handfield "supplied Colonel Nichols R.M. with 2 six pounders and other Ordnance Stores." *Florida* left the Gulf coast at the end of the month, and off Havana, February 9, she just missed taking an American privateer when her intended victim ran under the guns of Morro Castle. Three days later Handfield had the satisfaction of chasing another American vessel ashore on Cat Key. He returned to Nassau and hauled down his ensign on February 18, at which time the armed brig *Florida* was returned to her civilian owners.³⁸

After 1819, the name *Florida* disappeared from the Royal Navy; Anglo-American relations improved, and the disputed territory became an American state—no fit namesake for a Royal

37. Log, *Florida*, ADM 51/2372.

38. The log of the armed brig *Florida* is contained within that of the *Florida-ex-Frolic*, ADM 51/2372. She is not listed by either Colledge or Pitcairn-Jones.

Navy ship. During the two great wars of the twentieth century, however, the name reappeared as private vessels were utilized to swell the ranks of the British navy. From March 8, 1914, until July 10, 1916, the hired ship *Floridian* was employed as a naval supply vessel. Again, December 12, 1940, at a particularly dark moment in British history, a commercial whaling vessel was purchased by the Royal Navy, christened *Florida*, and served as a minesweeper throughout the Second World War. She was sold out on March 25, 1946.³⁹

None of the *Floridas* were great ships, but each, in its own way, was an interesting ship and, until the present century, enjoyed a direct link with the history of Florida. In that sense, modern Floridians may take pride in the Royal Navy's role in their history and in Florida's contributions to the Royal Navy.

39. Colledge, *Ships of the Royal Navy*, II, 134.

FLORIDA HISTORY IN PERIODICALS

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BOOK REVIEWS

Aboriginal Subsistence Technology on the Southeastern Coastal Plain during the Late Prehistoric Period. By Lewis H. Larson. (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1980. xii, 260 pp. Foreword, preface, photos, illustrations, maps, bibliography, index. \$20.00.)

Too many people have an image of pre-Columbian Indians in the southeast living a hand-to-hand existence, eating everything in sight, barely able to survive. Archeologists seldom have come forward to dispel that illusion so that *Aboriginal Subsistence Technology on the Southeastern Coastal Plain during the Late Prehistoric Period* is a welcome addition to the anthropological literature showing otherwise. What emerges from Lewis Larson's contribution is a discussion of southeastern subsistence patterns which directly reflected human adaptation to a variety of environmental conditions. Instead of uniformity, diversity was the rule; instead of starvation, a variety of finely developed subsistence technologies existed.

This work is a revision of the author's dissertation, originally written in 1969, and used extensively by archeologists working in the coastal plain ever since. The dissertation manuscript had several inconvenient features: poor reproduction and no index being the two that plagued many researchers over the years. Now reissued as the second Ripley P. Bullen Monograph in Anthropology and History, the work is more convenient to use. It has been updated to include recent archeological evidence, incorporating zooarcheological data made available through the work of Elizabeth S. Wing, and it has been indexed. With these changes the work becomes a valuable reference for which there is no convenient substitute. Since the text is also well-written it can be profitably used by non-anthropologists or people unfamiliar with the area being discussed. Larson, and series editor Jerald T. Milanich, did an admirable job of revision.

The author's purpose in the book was to identify the environmental zones of the southeast coastal plain, correlate these zones with resources of the area, and discuss subsistence technologies

used aboriginally in each sector. The temporal focus is the time period immediately preceding European contact and the geographical focus is primarily Georgia and Florida. After defining each sector and discussing resources typical of each, Larson summarizes the major invertebrate, vertebrate, and plant resources. In separate chapters the author reviews archeological evidence for the exploitation of invertebrates, fish, reptiles, mammals, and plants and the ethnohistoric documents about technologies used to obtain and process each as food. In these chapters, Larson synthesizes in a thorough manner information acquired from a number of technical zoological and botanical references which would take the reader much pains-taking labor to duplicate. The archeological data assembled here are likewise not readily available. The use of ethnohistoric sources in conjunction with the zoological data and archeological evidence is one of the strong points of the book. The historical accounts written by Europeans during the first years of contact do much to enlighten the reader about the archeological record and make this a valuable contribution in subsistence studies of interest to anthropologists, historians, and zoologists.

There are several interpretations with which some archeologists might take exception. Some researchers think that the pine barrens sector was not an area unoccupied aboriginally, but simply one unexplored archeologically. The author's interpretation of aboriginal shark utilization is not uniformly agreed upon either. While it is true that sharks are rarely major portions of aboriginal faunal inventories in Georgia, many sites from Georgia do contain a few shark vertebra from animals about two feet in length. Such small sharks could have been caught in nets or weirs. Not everyone agrees that there were no weirs in the Guale area, although there is so far no documentary or archeological evidence of them. Finally, the author's conclusion that oysters were a significant part of the diet is not universally accepted. *The Handbook of the Nutritional Contents of Foods*, prepared by the United States Department of Agriculture, shows substantial caloric difference between 100 grams of venison (126 calories) and 100 grams of raw oysters (sixty-six calories). These points, however, are matters of interpretation which do not interfere with Larson's review of aboriginal subsistence activities on the coastal plain.

As Larson points out, much more archeological work needs to be done before the questions raised by this compilation of data can be answered. Hopefully broader dissemination of this work will encourage efforts on the part of anthropologists and historians systematically to gather data on aboriginal subsistence activities during the late prehistoric and contact periods. Publication of this work brings that goal one step closer.

University of Georgia

ELIZABETH J. REITZ

This So Remote Frontier: The Chattahoochee Country of Alabama and Georgia. By Mark E. Fretwell (Eufaula, AL: Historic Chattahoochee Commission, 1980, xvii, 352 pp. List of maps and illustrations, foreword, introduction, maps, illustrations, bibliography, index. \$14.95.)

Mark Fretwell, who for thirty years made his home near West Point, Georgia, and served as first president of the Chattahoochee Valley Historical Society, provides a sweeping historical account of the Chattahoochee region. Indians, some of whom never saw a white man, Spanish conquistadors and missionaries, French soldiers and traders, Anglo-American frontiersmen, Union and Confederate troops in their blue and grey, Henry Grady exalting his New South, and many others vividly appear on the pages of this book. For the most part the author little concerns himself with the twentieth century.

Fundamental geographical problems, however, bedevil this work. Mr. Fretwell never consistently defines his Chattahoochee country, though apparently he has in mind the Apalachicola River and its tributaries— the Chattahoochee and Flint rivers— and the pertinent Georgia and Alabama hinterland. His justification for including the headwaters of the Alabama River (the Coosa and Tallapoosa rivers) is not clear. As the reader jumps from French Fort Toulouse (near Montgomery, Alabama) to St. Augustine, to Port Royal and Charleston in coastal South Carolina, to the West Indies, and elsewhere, he must continually wonder exactly what is meant by this Chattahoochee country. When the author in his introduction refers to the Chattahoochee

River as a boundary "between the young Republic and French, Spanish, and English," the reader is entirely confounded.

Nevertheless, history rather than the author must be blamed for part of this confusion, because more often than not the Apalachicola River system sustained no political and economic cohesiveness. There were exceptions. Before white contact Indians of the Mississippian cultural tradition lived up and down the river. In the seventeenth century Spain established numerous missions in the province of Apalachee and a few farther west near the juncture of the Chattahoochee and Flint rivers. While these missions flourished, the Apalachee port of St. Marks served as a port for the entire hinterland under Spanish influence. The author describes how Indians from the Chattahoochee River came to San Luis in Apalachee and how soldiers from there built a blockhouse at Apalachicola sixteen miles below Columbus. After the destruction of the missions in 1704, it was not until the expansion of the cotton kingdom in the black belt of the Old South that the Chattahoochee-Flint River system again enjoyed an economic unity. Steamboats, piled high with cotton bales, ploughed their way down to the Gulf, making Apalachicola the third most important port on the Gulf of Mexico, surpassed only by New Orleans and Mobile.

From DeSoto's day until western removal in Andrew Jackson's time, Indians played an important role. The strengths of this book are the author's utilization of archeological and ethnological sources, his appreciation of native culture, and his portrayal of the natives as they encountered Spaniards, Frenchmen, Englishmen, and ultimately Americans. The author's intimate knowledge of local history is apparent whether he is describing abandoned Indian villages, the site of the Spanish blockhouse at Apalachicola, or deserted steamboat landings on the Chattahoochee. Early in the nineteenth century the Chattahoochee country was thinly populated as the Indians were being removed and the whites had not arrived in full force. Mr. Fretwell's account of how the old Indian village of Standing Peachtree on the upper Chattahoochee evolved from a trading site and frontier military post into a rail junction and ultimately into the metropolis of Atlanta is fascinating.

The author has made extensive use of secondary material and occasionally draws on primary sources with effect. In many res-

spects, however, his book is frustrating because too often a scholarly, perceptive synthesis is followed by a factual error, failure to use the best secondary source, or a questionable interpretation. Nevertheless Mr. Fretwell has publicized the neglected development of this region, and the reader is in his debt for acquiring a greater appreciation and feel for the rich history of this remote frontier.

Florida State University

J. LEITCH WRIGHT, JR.

Prehistoric Architecture in the Eastern United States. By William N. Morgan. (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1980. xxxix, 197 pp. Preface, methodology, illustrations, bibliography, index. \$25.00.)

A casual glance through *Prehistoric Architecture* could leave the impression that it is simply another pretty coffee table book; the layout and production are that good. But once your guests pick up this volume and begin to read it, you will not be able to get them out of your living room until they are finished. William Morgan, the Jacksonville architect who has received many awards for his designs, including the Florida State Museum, has done it again. *Prehistoric Architecture* is a winner which breaks new ground and brings new perspectives to both architects and students of American Indians.

A twenty-five page introduction orients the reader and provides a crash course in architectural concepts and how they can be applied to the earthen mounds (and shell, in some cases) of the eastern United States aborigines. It is fascinating reading. The bulk of the book is a descriptive catalogue of eighty-two aboriginal earthwork sites. These entries are divided into three time periods, earliest to most recent (2,200-1,000 B.C., 500 B.C.-A.D. 200, and A.D. 800-1,500). The middle period contains three Florida entries, and the most recent, the period of greatest mound-building activity, contains a section on Florida with nine sites described.

For each entry, Morgan includes a brief description of the site, well referenced so that readers have the opportunity to learn more about each site. Also included for each entry is an archi-

tectural rendering, all drawn to the same scale and oriented in the same manner (except in a few cases where it was not feasible to do so), allowing comparisons between sites. Morgan also has included a section similarly describing and illustrating non-aboriginal sites, including Stonehenge, Acropolis, the White House, and a number of others. This adds valuable comparisons for the Indian sites which preceded. *Prehistoric Architecture* concludes with an observations section which summarizes the patterns Morgan has derived from his data.

The vast majority of the sites, including the Florida examples, have never been described or figured in popular publications. Florida readers will be amazed to learn about the architectural complexity of Big Tonys Mound near Clewiston or Big Mound City near Indiantown. Perhaps the greatest accomplishment of the volume is that it makes people aware that such sites exist in Florida and that they are worthy of preservation. William Morgan is to be commended for his excellent look at past architecture and his efforts in bringing some of those past accomplishments to help solve our present-day architectural and environmental problems.

Florida State Museum
Gainesville, Florida

JERALD T. MILANICH

The Spanish Crown and the Defense of the Caribbean, 1535-1585: Precedent, Patrimonialism, and Royal Parsimony. By Paul E. Hoffman. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1980. xiv, 312 pp. Preface, illustrations, tables, maps, appendices, glossary, a note on the citation of archival sources, notes, bibliography, index. \$30.00.)

Clearly the historiography of the Caribbean area in the sixteenth century has concentrated on the role of the English, French, and Portuguese interlopers in their successful challenge to Spanish domination of the region. Historians have placed emphasis upon the activities of corsairs; discussions of Spanish defense policies were included only to complement the activities of these foreigners.

This study by Paul Hoffman represents an important step

towards filling this gaping hole in the historiography of Latin America, namely the Spanish as subject rather than object in the Caribbean region in the post-conquest sixteenth century.

Hoffman skillfully analyzes the evolution of royal defense policy from haphazard and disjointed reactions to corsair attacks in the 1530s and 1540s, to a more well-defined, coordinated program by the end of the century. In accomplishing this end he utilized a wide variety of primary economic data from the Archivo General de Indias in Sevilla and the Archivo General de Simancas, including official correspondence and treasury records of the Casa de Contratación and nineteen other treasuries in the Indies. Seeking to present the scholarly reader with a clear picture of patterns of change over "time, space and topical categories," Hoffman examined the complex interrelationships between geographical, technological, political, financial, and international factors that determined Spanish defense policy.

Following a clear historiographical discussion justifying the need for his work, Hoffman offers a statistical analysis of corsair activity and royal defense spending. The succeeding chapters were organized according to four distinct chronological periods in which Hoffman perceived marked changes in the crown's policy. In each of these discussions he analyzes the impact of shifts in international politics, advances in military and navigational technology, problems of royal finances, and shifts in the pattern of corsairs' attacks on royal defense policy. He traces the evolution of the crown's attempts to counteract the effect of foreign incursions through each of these periods by increasing fortifications in strategic ports, establishing coastal patrols, augmenting militia forces, and evolving from a policy of privately financed trans-Atlantic shipping to a formal royal *flota* system by the end of the century. A clear picture emerges of a besieged Spanish government constantly placed in the position of desperately formulating policy on an ad-hoc basis in response to a barrage of external attacks.

Hoffman provides his readers with elaborate explanations of his quantitative methodology both in his introductory chapter and in a separate appendix. Not only does he clearly discuss what he did and how he did it, but, much to his credit, he takes great pains to explain what could *not* properly be quantified or analyzed in a statistical manner. He also cites a problem very

common to those who attempt to use quantification in colonial Latin American history: the inconsistency of data and the difficulty of handling large amounts of missing data. By advising his readers of the tentative nature of his findings Hoffman displays a sensitivity rarely found among quantitative historians. Perhaps Hoffman goes into a bit too much detail in his methodological discussion. Information surrounding the data preparation, such as the size of the forms utilized, geographical codes, and the number of columns used to record treasury payments (pp. 252-53) do not seem of sufficient instructional value to the reader to have merited inclusion.

While Hoffman examined a wide variety of official treasury records from Sevilla and Simancas and synthesized them well, one might wonder if other sources of documentation— principally local archives in the Caribbean— might have revealed even more insights into the implementation of royal defense policy. Also, the Holy Office of the Inquisition was used as part of the overall defense policy by the crown, particularly after the establishment of the Tribunal of Mexico in 1572, to combat French and English Protestant corsairs. Although Hoffman briefly alluded to the question of heresy (p. 111), an elaboration of this issue would have been enlightening.

Despite these minor observations, Hoffman's work serves to fill an important void in Caribbean history, and it stands as a valuable contribution to the historiography of colonial Latin America.

*Heritage Conservation and
Recreation Service
Albuquerque, New Mexico*

STANLEY M. HORDES

Firearms in Colonial America: The Impact on History and Technology, 1492-1792. By M. L. Brown. (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1980. xiv, 448 pp. Foreword, preface, photos, maps, illustrations, appendices, bibliography, acknowledgments, index. \$45.00.)

M. L. Brown set out to write an accurate "technomic" (i.e., technological and economic) history of firearms and people.

Given the 300-year variety of arms produced by the European powers, and the contrasts in human and material resources, the subject might seem impossibly complex. But with meticulous research, a logical outline, careful writing, and a fine selection of graphics, Brown has created a reference work that minutely describes firearm and materiel types of the period, and it makes very good reading indeed. There is much more to the book than the title suggests. The author includes all that goes along with firearms: materials, tools and techniques, powder and shot making, accouterments, and much more. The craftsmen innovators—Italian, Spanish, French, German, Dutch, Swiss, Swedish, English, Scottish, American, and others— all receive their due.

Chapter one introduces primitive metallurgy, gunpowder, and the invention of hand cannon and matchlocks. The second brings firearms to the Americas with Columbus and documents weapons used in Florida to 1600. The next four relate to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and the following pair deal with the period of the American Revolution. The final chapter is on United States weaponry to 1792. Within each chapter, Brown sketches the history backgrounds and deals separately and specifically with each colonial power, not neglecting the roles of the Indian nations. His topical organization displays the national weaponries in parallel and permits ready comparison. Statistical appendices include arms inventories which, upon the foundation of technical description that dominates the book, will have new significance for many historians. There is a long list of patriot armsmakers, and an exceptionally detailed, twenty-seven page index.

Except for such works as those of Lavin, Brinckerhoff, and Chamberlain, Spanish firearms in America have had small attention from English-writing authors. Four of Brown's chapters deal in good part with Spain and her northerly colonies, from Florida to the southwest. Probably the first gunpowder weapons to reach Florida were the ship's cannon of Ponce de León. At Pensacola in the sixteenth century, at French Charlesfort and Fort Caroline, St. Augustine, Santa Elena, and the early shortlived outposts in southern Florida and in the Guale (Georgia) country, matchlock arquebuses were a significant part of the weaponry. A heavier weapon, the matchlock musket, came into Florida service no later than 1573. By the end of the 1500s this gun was the

principal long arm in Spain's arsenal, and it remained so for some 200 years— long after most other powers had opted for flintlocks. The lag seriously disadvantaged Florida's military. An example is the night at St. Augustine in 1668, when the glowing matches of the defenders betrayed their positions to flintlock-armed pirates.

Other ignition types came slowly to Florida. In 1680 a shipment from Spain brought seventy-five Biscayan carbines, which Brown believes to have been the first martial wheel locks introduced into this province. Ten were issued to mounted infantry, and sixteen were stored in the St. Augustine armory, but the rest were unserviceable due to rust and termite-ridden stocks. For the later resettlement of Pensacola, there was a good percentage of flintlocks, including fifty pairs of pistols. But in the English-led Indian raids into Florida of the early 1700s, the invaders had flintlock muskets while the Spaniards still used matchlocks, but even these were in short supply. At the siege of St. Augustine, almost forty per cent of the defenders carried pikes. After 1702, however, the number of flintlocks in the Florida garrison gradually increased.

This handsome and well-illustrated volume is a boon for buffs, curators, and insatiably curious archeologists— and perhaps even Florida Historical Vol. LX, No. 2, Oct., 1981 13945 for desk-bound historians. Brown in writing the book, and the Smithsonian in publishing it, have served American historiography well.

St. Augustine

ALBERT MANUCY

The Papers of John C. Calhoun, Volume XIII, 1835-1837. Edited by Clyde N. Wilson. (Columbia, S. C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1980. xxii, 681 pp., Preface, introduction, symbols, bibliography, index. \$27.50.)

This latest well-edited and indexed volume of Calhoun papers covers two years of his service in the United States Senate in the last months of Andrew Jackson's presidency and the first months of that of Martin Van Buren. During this time he turned from a defender of slavery as a necessary evil to defending it as a posi-

tive good. From his earlier stance as a broad construction nationalist, here Calhoun is well down the road to strict construction sectionalism.

Though he collaborated with Whigs in the final months of the Jackson term and moved back toward Democrats during Van Buren's days, he saw himself as standing aloof from national parties, seeking to guide the South toward a role as balance wheel of the Union. His deadly fear of abolitionism emerges in these pages, buttressing his conviction that there could be no temporizing with it. Calhoun saw the Union as a bargain between gentlemen and believed that abolition was destructive of this confederation of patriarchs. To destroy slavery would be to destroy these patriarchal communities.

Except for his preoccupation with abolition and what he termed the "corruption" of politics, his concerns were narrowly focused in this period on his plantation, the promotion of a Charleston-Louisville railroad, and various nit-picking legislative concerns, e.g., opposing the government purchase of Madison's constitutional convention notes, opposing railroad mail contracts as tending to corrupt the Post Office, and worrying about treasury surpluses as corrupting in their tendency. The editor maintains that Calhoun's continuing appeal and importance lie in his concern for the moral consequences of public measures, but his blindness to the immorality of a slave society and his narrow conceptions of liberty and honor as restricted to his elite "gentleman" class make his moral concerns, in retrospect, narrow indeed.

Florida history scholars will find no primary sources here for their researches. The Second Seminole War, the most important event of the day to Floridians, was dismissed by Calhoun as not even "interrupting the peace of the Union." He opposed enlarging the army, telling the Senate that we were at peace with all the Indians "save a little branch of the Creeks [the Seminoles]." What problems existed with the Indians were laid at the feet of a corrupt Jackson administration. Treatment of the Indians by faithless federal agents and land speculators had "fixed a stain on human nature." Calhoun reproved the Senate, "Send them fit agents and you will hear no more of Indian Wars."

This series of publications is made possible by a grant from the National Historical Publications and Records Commission. The volume lives up to the high standards previously set by the

editor and the University of South Carolina Press. Unhappily, if the budget proposal of the present federal administration is adopted, all funds for the NHPRC will be eliminated and there may be no more of these volumes.

University of Florida

HERBERT J. DOHERTY, JR.

Jefferson Davis Gets His Citizenship Back. By Robert Penn Warren. (Lexington, Kentucky: The University Press of Kentucky, 1980. 144 pp. \$8.75.)

"The man and the hour have met," declaimed William Lowndes Yancey, when he introduced the newly-elected president of the Confederacy from the steps of the Exchange Hotel in Montgomery, Alabama, on February 17, 1861. The man was Jefferson Davis, "now past fifty, erect but . . . gaunt-cheeked, blind in one eye, racked by murderous neuralgia, certainly neurotic in some undiagnosable way [perhaps struggling from an inner struggle of values], given to irritability that could break through his iron mask of will." So Robert Penn Warren describes the man who was to lead the ill-fated Confederacy to a bloody defeat in the spring of 1865 that yet brought to it more honor and glory than even victory would have gained. With those words, too, the flamboyant Yancy sounded a knell of physical suffering and mental anguish for the man he sought to honor, plus a list of indignities in capture and imprisonment fully as heinous as those for which we lashed out at the Iranians for their treatment of the American hostages.

If any one of us would doubt this deplorable fact, let him read this compassionate, philosophical, and utterly delightful essay by one of America's most accomplished poets, novelists, and biographers. Much more than in the case of William Lowndes Yancey's introduction of Jefferson Davis, the decision of Robert Penn Warren to write this biographical essay on the act of the United States Congress in restoring citizenship to a nobly tragic leader of a lost cause and its enactment into law on October 17, 1978, by the signature of President Carter, was indeed a meeting, however belatedly, of the man and the literary hour.

When introducing before Congress the resolution restoring

citizenship to Jefferson Davis, Senator Mark Hatfield quoted the words of Chief Justice Salmon P. Chase, spoken at the height of the surge of Union anger after the Civil War: "If you bring these leaders to trial, it will condemn the North, for by the Constitution, secession is not rebellion." And in his own memoirs, Davis stated his purpose: to "keep the memory of our Southern heroes green, for they belong not to us alone; they belong to the whole country; they belong to America." To which Senator Hatfield added: "I seek to keep his memory green and to restore to him the rights due an outstanding American."

Robert Penn Warren's essay is much more than simply a celebration of the restoration of citizenship to Jefferson Davis; it is also a capsule biography of a man who, for all the faults of the cause he headed and of himself as its leader, had served his nation well. A hero during the Mexican War, a United States senator, and secretary of war under President Franklin Pierce, Davis was only reluctantly swept along by the tide of secession. In resigning from the Senate, he proclaimed, "If I thought that Mississippi was acting without sufficient provocation [in seceding] . . . I should still . . . because of my allegiance to the state of which I am a citizen, have been bound by her action." Warren reminds us that "Many men, most notably Robert E. Lee, staked their lives and their sacred honor on this point." This is a pertinent reminder, indeed, in this day of declining pride in our nation and its heritage.

The mark of the philosopher and poet can be found on every page of this charming little book, but never more so than in the author's description of the local celebrations of the event it commemorates, starting on May 31, 1979, in Todd County, Kentucky, where Jefferson Davis was born. Here is a bucolic and reverent picture of America's heart, the small town and its people, its celebrations and its sorrows, its heroes— with or without statues in the town square— its pulsing life, even in death and the monuments marking the inexorable passage of time and history. Only a great writer could capture this life and these moments. Thornton Wilder did it beautifully for the theater with *Our Town*. Robert Penn Warren has done it just as effectively in *Jefferson Davis Gets His Citizenship Back*.

The Imperilled Union: Essays on the Background of the Civil War. By Kenneth M. Stampp. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980. xv, 320 pp. Preface, notes, index. \$15.95.)

Recently someone estimated that an average of one book a week has been written about the Civil War since 1865. One hundred sixteen years have passed since Lee surrendered to Grant at Appomatox; one would think that the American public would at long last be tiring of studies dealing with the sectional conflict. Evidently not so, or Oxford Press would not be publishing this series of essays by Professor Stampp.

The titles of the eight essays are as follows: (1) The Concept of a Perpetual Union; (2) Rebels and Sambos: The Search for the Negro's Personality in Slavery; (3) *Time on the Cross: A Humanistic Persepective*; (4) Race, Slavery, and the Republican Party of the 1850s; (5) The Republican National Convention of 1860; (6) Lincoln and the Secession Crisis; (7) The Irrepressible Conflict; (8) The Southern Road to Appomatox. Six of them have been previously published, and one was delivered as a public lecture. All but two, according to the author, have been extensively revised and rewritten. Only "The Irrepressible Conflict," which readers will probably find the most provocative, is entirely new.

Stampp's justification for presenting this volume is that after many years of research, writing, teaching, and reading the works of other scholars, he has changed his mind on many of his original opinions. As a student he completely accepted Charles A. Beard's thesis about the causes of the Civil War, but now discards it. This reviewer went, through an identical process over the same span of years.

Obviously, trying to review this volume is like trying to evaluate eight separate books; each essay is so full of meat. They should be read one at a time, at least a week apart. They are tersely written, analytical, and extensively historiographical. Stampp gives full credit to dozens of other scholars, notably to C. Vann Woodward and the late David Potter. Stampp supports Seward who believed that the conflict was indeed irrepressible; though "I do not accept the conclusions of the economic determinists, or of the school known as revisionist, of those who stress profound cultural and ideological differences between North and South,

my interpretation is in part a synthesis of other strains of thought about the causes of the Civil War." He also contends that the South lost because many of its citizens did not have the will to win the war, and they accepted military defeat as a means of freeing the South from the burden of slavery and of restoring their section to the Union.

It is not enough to confine our attention to developments in the United States in the 1850s. The conflict must be placed in a much longer time and world perspective. When the colonies won their independence in 1783, many Europeans expected that three nations would be formed: New England, the Middle States, and the South. Somehow the Founding Fathers at Philadelphia four years later prevented that from happening and one nation arose. But when the Spanish colonies in Central and South American won their independence early in the nineteenth century, a number of different nations were created.

In view of the size and the rapid expansion of the new United States of America, it might have seemed likely that at some time a disgruntled section might attempt secession from the Union. The West considered it in the 1790s when the Federalist administrations failed to obtain from Spain the "right of deposit" at New Orleans. Certainly many of the delegates at the Hartford Convention in New England in 1814 favored this action. Finally in 1861 eleven of the slave states did secede, but their northern brethren refused to allow their "erring sisters to depart in peace."

Tulane University

GERALD M. CAPERS

Soldiers of Light and Love: Northern Teachers and Georgia Blacks, 1865-1873. By Jacqueline Jones. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980. xiii, 273 pp. Acknowledgments, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. \$17.50.)

This thoughtful and sensitive study of black education during Reconstruction describes "the aspirations, struggles, achievements, and missed opportunities" of the "gentle 'soldiers' who went south as teachers armed only with the weapons of romantic reform." The teachers' experiences illustrate both the "strength

of the neo-abolitionists impulse” and the “limits of liberal reform.”

The “typical” teacher in a freedmen’s school in Georgia was a young, white, well-educated female. She already had common-school teaching experience and probably lived in a small town or rural area. She came from the literate “self-conscious protestant middle class, the group primarily responsible for the creation and support of evangelical reform movements in the antebellum period.” Most of these women were financially secure and going south meant a sacrifice in money as well as personal comfort. They were motivated by a concern for blacks, religious fervor, restlessness, desire for adventure, and a wish to “do good.” They believed that they “had both the duty and the ability to rectify certain moral and institutional evils.” Moreover, their sacrifice corresponded with the nineteenth century call for self-abnegation of women.

These teachers attempted to transplant the goals and methods of the northern common school to southern soil. They intended to teach literacy and prepare students for work, and life. They assumed that teachers should supplement the family in citizenship training and moral instruction. Their long-range purpose “was the intellectual and moral growth of responsible individuals who recognized their duty to God, country, and family.” They wished to transform Georgia freedmen into black yankees.

Although blacks eagerly sought education, the yankee teacher-black relationship was often filled with tension. While most teachers talked about racial equality, the rhetoric “proved difficult to match with deeds.” Even more obvious than racial prejudice was the cultural conflict between northern teachers and blacks. The former had little understanding of or appreciation for black culture. They were offended by the freedmen’s religion. Former slaves were “fiery glad” in their religion while most teachers advocated quiet, somber services. No matter how radical their views, Northerners generally failed to understand the blacks’ desire to control their own lives as much as possible. Many blacks wanted at least some freedom from all whites, paternalistic teachers as well as former slaveholders. Teachers were both hurt and angered when blacks wished to control their own schools. They were stunned by evidences of black racial exclusivity. As a result of these misunderstandings the teachers, “sometimes worked

at cross-purposes" with blacks. The teachers assisted, made possible the impossible, provided food, clothing, sympathy and training. But most of them could not understand the black desire for independence.

Professor Jones claims to be ambivalent in her assessment of the common schools for freedmen, yet she obviously considers them failures. She suggests that the effort was too limited to be of value and that yankee views were not especially relevant to black needs. What type of education would have been more relevant and whether the schools would have been beneficial to blacks had they lasted longer and reached a larger number of pupils are questions that remain unanswered.

Professor Jones has written a sensitive, judicious account of the dedicated, courageous, and well-meaning, if sometimes short-sighted, missionary teachers who went to Georgia after the Civil War. In the process she has vividly illuminated the enormity of their tasks and the complexity of the period. Unfortunately, as the yankee teachers discovered, good intentions do not always bring positive results.

Florida State University

JOE M. RICHARDSON

Northern Schools, Southern Blacks, and Reconstruction: Freedmen's Education, 1862-1875. By Ronald E. Butchart. (Westport, Connecticut, and London: Greenwood Press, 1980. xiv, 309 pp. Acknowledgements, tables and figures, preface, notes, selected bibliography, index. \$25.00.)

Much hard work and sound scholarship has gone into the writing of this book. The author says he spent seven years on it. The bibliography is perhaps absolutely complete— I don't know anything at all that should have been included and is not. The text presents a wealth of factual information, names, agencies, events, relationships, dates, and places. Yet the reader is not overwhelmed with facts; they are so well organized, and the book is so well written, that the author's argument is easy to follow and to understand.

The book describes the efforts of freedmen's aid societies to provide schools and schooling for the recently-freed blacks during

Reconstruction. Dr. Butchart lists twenty-four secular and thirty-two church-supported freedmen's aid societies. He says, and clearly establishes, that there was intense rivalry both between the secular and ecclesiastical groups and the societies in each of these two groups. The freedmen's aid movement, writes Butchart, was "torn by dissension [vicious rivalry] between and even within the numerous groups." In Butchart's view this rivalry was unfortunate, but it was not a matter of major importance. What was important, he thinks, was the fact that "for every aid society, education was consistently the primary instrumentality to reform the former slaves, restructure the South, and protect the republic." Education should not have been the societies' primary instrument, says Butchart; their major thrust should have been on getting land for the former slaves. He criticizes the societies for "failing to use their agencies to agitate the land question, to assist blacks with the acquisition of land, to act in solidarity with them in obtaining land reform, and to keep before them the central imperative of economic power." But he also says that after Andrew Johnson's return of confiscated lands to southern whites, the aid societies "could conceive of no acceptable means of providing land."

Indeed, given the firm commitment of Anglo-Saxon Americans to property rights, the societies could not have secured land for the freedmen, not enough certainly to provide them as a group with a base for economic independence and political power. Then, should the societies have done nothing at all? Butchart states they "substituted" education for "the more basic reforms such as land and protection." In giving the school to the freedmen, he believes, "they all opted for the convenient institutions, the easy panacea." They gave "a placebo, not power." Their schools would bind, not liberate the black people; they would be "crippling rather than liberating agencies." They would become "a tool of oppression and degradation."

White Americans, not blacks, were the chief beneficiaries of the school system begun by the freedmen's aid societies, says Butchart, because education for blacks was often conceived as "a means of manipulating the black community, limiting aspirations and power, and maintaining a dependent status." The school could not effectively attack "the problems of racism, subordination, discrimination, and power . . . [or] achieve black liberation

or equality." It could and did, however, create a black elite, who in Butchart's opinion, "would function as an example of the mythical potential of the American dream, drawing off and deflecting criticism, agitation, and discontent." It would also "establish a modicum of general education," thereby "bolstering the chimera of opportunity."

These opinions about the purposes, functions, values, and results of schooling for the freedmen and their descendants are just that—opinions. They are not conclusions proven by argument based on materials provided in this book. Contradictory opinions may be just as valid.

In conclusion the book says that the freedmen's aid societies chose schooling rather than "more direct means to black power" because "other options required confiscation [of white southerners' land], expanded military protection, social planning, and an abandonment of laissez-faire social theory. . . . Concerns to reestablish an orderly, expanding economic system, to assure a stable, stratified society, to limit both black aspirations and mobility, to promote cultural dominance, and in other ways to preserve a class society resulted in a choice of the more racist, limiting view of educational purposes." I would suggest that the last sentence might come closer to reality with certain phrases and words omitted: "Concerns to reestablish an orderly, expanding economic system, [and] to assure a stable, stratified society . . . resulted in a choice of . . . educational purposes."

University of Florida

GEORGE R. BENTLEY

The South and the North in American Religion. By Samuel S. Hill, Jr. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1980. xvi, 152 pp. Foreword, preface, introduction, notes, index. \$12.50.)

This volume provides historical comparisons between religion in the South and religion elsewhere in the nation, with emphasis on three epochs: 1795-1810, 1835-1850, and 1885-1900. In the first interval, amidst movements away from eastern seaboard and European dominance, evangelism and democratization stand out as national trends; but there was little sectional polarization or interaction in religion at that time. It was during the second

epoch that drastic South-North contrasts arose. Impacted by non-Protestant immigration, industrialization, urbanization, geographic growth, and other propellants, religion in the North veered toward pluralism, less visceral proselytizing, new intellectual formulations, and social reform (especially with reference to slavery). In the South, however, the propellants and drift were otherwise. As the region expanded westward to the Rio Grande, its attachments to cotton, states' rights, and slavery deepened, but it remained frontierlike overall, populated almost exclusively by old-stock Protestants, and oriented toward traditional outlooks. Though evangelism remained a great obsession, the southern churches were by no means wholly "other-worldly"; following the schisms of the 1840s, they became pugnaciously anti-northern and stridently defensive of slavery. "Whatever one's interpretation," Hill concludes, "the Old South and the Confederate States of America could not have existed without the popular religion of the region" (p. 89). During the third of the epochs, from 1885 to 1900, the popular southern denominations remained defiantly sectional, still ecclesiastically separate from northern counterparts, still zealously committed to white supremacy, still hostile toward new intellectual trends, still focused on evangelism and individual redemption. In Hill's words, "Regional insulation, aberrant racial attitudes, economic backwardness, and religious orthodoxy were among those features which were changing very little [in the South], remaining constant until many decades later" (pp. 125-26). Essentially, Hill concurs with John Lee Eighmy's conclusion that southern churches have been cultural "captives" of their region; he emphasizes that, in style, social biases, and world view, they have identified to an extraordinary degree with the norms of the surrounding populace.

Of course, anti-Catholicism, racism, and irascible sectionalism have waned in recent decades, and southern religion has changed profoundly in other respects as well. Yet the South remains a setting where "born-again" Christians converse about their spiritual lives, where revivals thrive, where a distinct regional subculture is revered, and where the most popular religious group is an explicitly sectional entity (the Southern Baptists). "To this day," Hill asserts, Southerners continue to be "attached to the church and responsive to religious teachings, perhaps more so than anywhere else in Christendom" (p. xi).

Mercer University deserves the gratitude of the scholarly community for hosting the foremost authority on southern religion as its Lamar Memorial Lecturer in 1979. This published version of Professor Hill's presentation should not be ignored by any serious student of the American heritage.

University of Texas at El Paso

KENNETH K. BAILEY

Crackers. By Roy Blount, Jr. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1980. vi, 291 pp. Dedication, acknowledgments, a note on the type. \$10.95.)

Traditionally the fluid of southern literature, humor deliciously heightens this paradoxical search for and celebration of the Jimmy Carter mystique in Washington. With the first Georgian in the White House, transplanted Georgian Roy Blount, Jr. (he lives in Massachusetts) honed his sentences with rib-tickling precision in this comedic characterization: his personal journey back home, into the humanness of the people of Georgia.

Revealing mixed feelings about Georgia, being from Georgia and having the peanut farmer for president, Blount's peacock-proud with his "we-ain't-trash-no-more" scenes peppered with ribald language—richly rural southern, wittily unraveling the sorrowful, ironic Cracker sense of things. He doesn't bemoan the fact that the country missed the statesmanship of Carter— "A new creature, a Kennedyesque Baptist, a tight-fisted Democrat, a white Georgian who could race-relate better than broad-minded Northerners" — but transmutes the real Georgia in his imagined, dialectical Carter kinfolks; lean, earthy and simplistic Blount-styled lyrics of country music; affection for singers Willie Nelson and Jerry Jeff Walker; wisdom of Yazoo City, Mississippi, folk humorist Jerry Clower; honest southernism of governors Lester Maddox and Kissin' Jim Folsom; redneck ideology of "Possumism"; drugs in the White House; and prideful feeling of having to explain Georgia and Georgians in the wake of the Carter disappointment.

Hardly a Cracker, Blount (Vanderbilt graduate who studied English literature at Harvard) writes with a Cracker voice. He engulfs the stereotyped, uninhibited down-homeism with pithy,

salty language capturing the nuances of southern soul. Laughter is Blount's tonic for the southernness of Carter years gone awry. Not totally satisfied with real Georgians, he invents his own, "More Carters," sandwiched between chapters; and yet finds the heart of the Cracker-American Camelot in people nearest the president: unpredictability of Andrew Young; bluntness and affection of the president's mama, Miss Lillian; good ol' boy unorthodoxy of Hamilton Jordan; redneckery and raffishness of "Early" Billy and "Later" Billy.

Writing as one from Georgia but *outside* Georgia, Blount hungers for a bit of Maddox-Folsom frankness in Jimmy, recreates the Killer Rabbit episode in knee-slapping rhythm, and philosophizes about the world of juniors, from James Earl Carter, Jr., to Eugene L. (Gore) Vidal, Jr.

Not only is Crackers fun reading, its value is in its informal yet poignant social portraiture with a touch of Will Rogers's earthiness and Jimmie Rodgers's melancholy lyrics recast for today's New South. It stands not as hard history but as a slice of Americana in burlesque, flavored with farcical Redneck rhetoric typically enunciated on shady front porches and around symbolic cracker barrels of the Deep South.

A poetic writer and lyricist, Blount marches to the Carter cadence of pathos and idealism, laments the Georgian's failure to southernize Washington, and through his invented Carter kinsmen, speaks satirically about a region he left but obviously still understands and loves.

Pensacola News-Journal

J. EARLE BOWDEN

Dixie's Forgotten People: The South's Poor Whites. By J. Wayne Flynt. (Bloomington: The University of Indiana Press, 1979. xviii, 206 pp. Foreword, preface, photographs, bibliography, notes, index. \$12.95; \$5.95 paper.)

Dixie's Forgotten People should be required reading— for all southern apologists and militant defenders, for all yankee missionaries, for conservatives who care, for liberals who look on injections of federal largesse and massive education as perfect panaceae, for wistful agrarians, and for righteous industrialists

and civic boosters who think that another payroll will automatically solve the problems of the poor in their midst. Each group would find almost every page— certainly every chapter— a cathartic. Then, cleansed of that inhibiting shibboleth, *The Southern Way of Life*, we could all turn to and make the Sun Belt gleam the way it's advertised.

Included in *Dixie's* paragraphs are expositions, backed up with fact, or nearly everything I have felt for a lifetime. In most instances author Wayne Flynt now confirms why I have felt these ways. In his gentle but trenchant style he outlines the reasons that the southern poor white became poor in the first place, how the Forgotten Poor became in effect an ethnic minority because of their unrelenting poverty, and how they resisted the efforts of the prosperous to unlock their poorhouse. Even though aggressive yankee reformers brought their uplift programs to the South following the Civil War, the southern white poor remained stubbornly poor. Since they felt a psychological distaste for wallowing alone in their misery, they naturally kept the blacks down with them. They proved to be perfect pawns for the conservative courthouse crowd and the merchants around the town square who wanted to live in the past and present rather than in the future.

The New South arose, or at least its myth did. But it was the same old South, just moved to town. And the southern poor white who left his marginal land to labor in the mills and forests remained poor and illiterate. When outsiders charged the class with being shiftless and trashy, more affluent Southerners bought that myth too. Once in a while the poor whites tried to raise themselves through political radicalism, but they found that politics offered as little relief as their attempts at upward mobility in social and economic pursuits.

So the poor whites became as invisible in the South as the poor blacks in the North. If the whites tried to grasp the opportunities of the prospering North, they remained an outside people, with an alien culture, a speech as identifiable as a Polish immigrant's, and a stupefying bewilderment at their new world that made social and economic integration impossible. As one study showed, the comfortable residents of Indianapolis believed that they could absorb the southern black with less indigestion

than they could swallow these ignorant southern hillbillies with their strange speech and peculiar, intransigent customs.

Meanwhile the southern poor white, even today, resist the betterment programs of the federal government, sociologists, and non-understanding reformers. They cling to their accustomed ways, in which they feel comfortable; when they vote, they vote increasingly Republican, while allying with the Democratic establishment to perpetuate the vestiges of racism. They believe in their other-worldly religion (surely life in the next world will be better); and they tenant-farm their worn-out land, move frequently, and simply exchange one exploiter for another if they move off the land into the mills of the cities. Their schools are inadequate, their health care is poor, and their future is bleak.

This is a sad book, for all its delightful insights into the folkways of a people set aside by history. The author doesn't moralize or inveigh. He simply lays out the facts, spiced with revealing personal glimpses. Both facts and glimpses dismay. If all those purveyors of the Sun Belt religion would read this book, and if—a big if—they could see beyond today's dollar mark, they would cease chirping cheerily about the present and future greatness of the South and spend some of their enormous energy trying to rescue these beleaguered people from their ghettos of rural, mountain, or mill-town entrapment. Speaking personally, I know I haven't had a conscience-free moment since I began the book.

University of Texas at Austin

JOE B. FRANTZ

Nations Remembered: An Oral History of the Five Civilized Tribes. By Theda Perdue. (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1980. xxiv, 221 pp. List of illustrations, series foreword, preface, acknowledgments, introduction, photos, maps, illustrations, epilogue, bibliography, index. \$23.95.)

With the passage of the Indian Removal Act of 1830, the United States committed itself to the creation of a race of refugees. Native inhabitants of the land east of the Mississippi River were forced to quit their ancestral homes and take up residence in sparsely settled territory in the west. Pressure from railroad, mining, and cattle interests led to several changes in the location

and dimensions of the Indian Territory established by Congress as a reserve for these displaced peoples, and there followed a number of other adjustments growing out of the Civil War and its aftermath. By the end of Reconstruction most of the Indians of the Five Civilized Tribes (a non-Indian appellation applied to the Creek, Seminole, Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Cherokee tribes who had inhabited the American Southwest) were confined within the area which became the state of Oklahoma in 1907. These Muskogean-speaking people shared many cultural traits, including a semi-sedentary life based on the cultivation of corn, beans, and other crops. They were better able to adapt to the environment and to the imposed social and governmental relations of life in Indian Territory than the nomadic hunters of the Great Plains. Nevertheless, they were compelled to embark on a difficult process of cultural evolution which has yet to run its course. Arbitrarily sequestered in an alien land, stripped of some of their most cherished institutions, lumped together with traditional enemies, and subjected to the relentless attentions of missionaries and federal bureaucrats, the Five Civilized Tribes experienced the trauma of dislocation and adaptation; but they left no written record of it.

In *Nations Remembered* we have the first organized effort to put before the reading public an Indian account of life among the Five Civilized Tribes in the years between the Civil War and Oklahoma statehood. The work has much to recommend it. Given the character of the material with which she was working, Professor Perdue has succeeded admirably in her effort to produce an evocative account of Indian life in Oklahoma Territory, 1865-1907. *Nations Remembered* is a collage assembled from fragments of WPA Writers' Project interviews of elderly Oklahoma Indians conducted in the 1930s. In chapters arranged to cover the most important facets of their evolving society, Indians reminisce about topics as diverse as stomp dances and tribal elections, coal mining and inter-tribal warfare, subsistence agriculture and commercial cattle ranching; they recall the Civil War, education in missionary schools, and the effects of the Indian Allotment Act. Their words are seldom eloquent, but they offer a view of the past that is richer in texture than that which can be derived from traditional documentary sources alone. Professor Perdue provides an informative historical context for the "oral

histories” by introducing each chapter with a concise, knowledgeable account of the topic with which it deals and by including a wealth of footnotes, many of which are short narratives themselves.

If *Nations Remembered* has a weakness, it derives from the nature of the interviews around which the book is constructed. Oral history is a term which has been so broadly applied that it is in danger of losing all meaning. I will not argue that the WPA Writers’ Project interviews are not “oral history,” but it is demonstrable that they were not conducted in such a way as to produce an oral history. One is put in mind of the title to an article on the discipline by Ronald J. Grele— “Movement without Aim.” The interviewing of the Indians has no apparent direction, even after Perdue’s judicious editing. Important questions go unanswered; one can only assume that they were never asked. There are no themes to the collection, only topics. We are left with a series of descriptive vignettes, of anecdotes that provide texture but do not inform and which would be greatly reduced in value were it not for the causal relationships that are developed in the author’s accompanying text. That said, it must be reaffirmed that *Nations Remembered* greatly enhances our understanding of the subject which it examines. Though flawed, it is a book that has considerable impact. Its author is to be lauded for producing an excellent work from interviews that raise more questions than they answer.

Indiana University

R. T. KING

National Parks: The American Experience. By Alfred Runte. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979. xiv, 240 pp. Preface, prologue, maps, illustrations, notes, bibliographical note, index. \$16.50.)

The history Alfred Runte writes is more than just another chronological narration of the national parks. His is an interpretive examination of the attempts of America’s early conservationists and preservationists to sway Congress and the American people into developing and supporting a uniquely American

concept. When formulated this concept helped to offset European criticism of America's lack of its own distinctive culture.

"Scenic monumentalism" based on the modern discovery of Yosemite Valley and the Sierra redwoods in 1851 and 1852 provided America with the evidence that the United States had something of unique value to contribute to the world. This unequaled national feature, located in western America, had an influence on and contributed to the arts, personal correspondence, and popular history, all important aspects in the cultural competition with Europe.

Runte writes, however, that this originating impetus was only one of two concepts which helped to formulate the national park idea. The other was the availability of large land areas, all under public ownership, that had been considered by most to be economically worthless. The establishing of Yellowstone National Park in 1872 was the first such area officially given that designation, and brought the two concepts of "scenic monumentalism" and worthless land together and made them viable arguments for preservation.

Once created, the national parks movement languished until the full impact of the 1890 population census and the closing of the American frontier were made apparent to Congress. The preservationists were able to link what Runte describes as the "See America First" movement, which kept tourist dollars in America, with the need to preserve the country's remaining scenic monuments and generate support for additions to the national park system. Throughout this whole period, however, the author argues that total preservation of park areas was only a concept of a very few supporters. The development of a national park agency with the charge for protection and management in 1916 and the creation of the Everglades National Park in the wetlands of southern Florida in 1934 are noted as two key developments in directing the national park concept towards a preservation or a conservation philosophy. The Everglades National Park totally lacked the "scenic monumentalism" of Yellowstone National Park. Rather, it was established for its unique flora and fauna.

The question still remains to this day to what extent the national park system will embrace the preservation philosophy. The system, Runte warns, has failed in ecological preservation.

Too often park boundaries are structured by commercial pressures and not ecological or natural concerns. The future development and use of the national parks is still very much in question.

National Parks: The American Experience is a thoughtful, well-illustrated and engrossing book that offers readers a discussion of the forces which created the national park system as it exists today. Will the parks become areas of conservation and preservation or will they become exploited commercial playgrounds? Both the general reading audience and the preservation historians will enjoy exploring this question in Alfred Runte's book.

American West Center
University of Utah

GREGORY C. THOMPSON

Delta: The History of an Airline. By W. David Lewis and Wesley Phillips Newton. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1979. xiii, 504 pp. Preface, illustrations, maps, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. \$15.00.)

The rise of Delta Airlines closely parallels the burst of the Sun Belt into national prominence in the twentieth century. *Delta: The History of an Airline* recounts the transformation of a small aerial crop dusting company organized in the 1920s in Macon, Georgia, first into an important sectional carrier serving primarily Atlanta and the Deep South, and then into one of the country's major airlines during the past two decades. The authors, W. David Lewis and Wesley Phillips Newton, carefully describe the various factors which contributed to the growth of the firm.

One individual frequently proves the driving personality who establishes the specific policies and the general tone or style of a company in its formative stages. When C. E. Woolman abandoned his career as a county agricultural extension agent in Louisiana for one with Huff Daland Dusters, he quickly became the company's central figure in most key decisions. A workaholic and fiscal conservative, Woolman could communicate effectively with customers, governmental officials, or colleagues, and he had "an infectious enthusiasm for aviation." He also displayed an old-fashioned paternalism toward his employees. Woolman no

doubt played a key role in the move in 1925 of the company from Macon, Georgia, to Louisiana; in the reorganization in 1928 of Huff Daland into the independent company, Delta Air Service, Inc., and then in the decision to enter commercial aviation, first with the postal service and then with scheduled passenger operations.

As all aspiring companies learned, developing passenger revenues required routes into such prime markets as Atlanta, the Midwest, Florida, the West coast, and northeastern seaport cities; appropriate planes and well-trained crews; and adequate support services including marketing, baggage processing, in-air service, and land terminals. The authors skillfully analyze the various strategies which Woolman and his colleagues evolved for competing in each of these areas. That the budding airline executives had gained a measure of success even during the depression of the 1930s is reflected in the decision of the company to move into much larger headquarters in Atlanta just before Pearl Harbor.

Following World War II, Delta Airlines slowly passed many of its rivals in the quest to become a truly national airline. Fortuitous decisions about the type and supplier of planes (the company maintained an almost unique position with Douglas Aircraft Corporation for many years), stable labor relations, especially with the pilots (no prolonged strikes), a sound organizational structure, and successful route decisions by the Civil Aeronautics Board contributed to the competitiveness and profitability of the company. Throughout this expansionary era, evidence of the increasing bureaucratization of Delta mounted although the more personalized family style of Woolman remained in place until the 1960s. That the firm successfully made the transition following the leader's death in 1966 is further evidence of the managerial skill of this giant of the airline industry. By the early 1970s, the new leaders had negotiated the merger of Northeast Airlines which gave the parent company an important trunk line into the Northeast, laid the groundwork for becoming a trans-Atlantic carrier, greatly expanded the fleet of jets, and achieved one of the highest levels of efficiency and productivity in the industry. The modern corporation had not experienced an annual deficit for almost three decades. These sound business practices permitted Delta to survive far better than many of its

competitors the traumatic effects of the energy crisis beginning in 1974.

Although this book chronicles a business success story for almost a half century, the authors do not fail to mention some of the less fortunate events such as the unsavory clashes among early investors, tragic airline crashes, the sexist attitudes toward stewardesses until quite recently, and the lack of black employees. Despite the focus on organizational history, the authors carefully place their firm into the broader context of regional and national economic and social developments. Florida readers will discover the important role their state played in the major airlines' competition for markets and should enjoy observing the rise to national domination of a company deeply rooted in the traditions of the South.

With the endorsement of Delta Airlines, the authors had access to company records and employees, and the book reflects judicious use of these important sources. Maps clearly delineate the expansion of the route system. The many photographs illustrate the people and planes which made this company successful. Later parts of the book lack the clarity of focus of the early chapters; this characteristic could result from the increasingly complex nature of the subject. Business history is always more difficult to write when the fortunes of the firm are not tied to the strong personalities of one or two individuals. Professors Lewis and Newton are to be commended for their first-rate history of a major American corporation and for one of the first scholarly studies of an airline.

University of West Florida

LUCIUS F. ELLSWORTH

The Black Worker: A Documentary History from Colonial Times to the Present. Volume I. The Black Worker to 1869. Edited by Philip S. Foner and Ronald L. Lewis. (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1978. 451 pp. Acknowledgements, preface, tables, notes and index. \$15.00.)

The Black Worker: A Documentary History from Colonial Times to the Present. Volume II. The Black Worker During the Era of the National Labor Union. Edited by Philip S. Foner and Ronald L. Lewis. (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1978. 378 pp. Preface, notes, index. \$15.00.)

The Black Worker: A Documentary History from Colonial Times to the Present. Volume III. The Black Worker During the Era of the Knights of Labor. Edited by Philip S. Foner and Ronald L. Lewis. (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1978. 438 pp. Preface, notes, index. \$15.00.)

The Black Worker: A Documentary History from Colonial Times to the Present. Volume IV. The Black Worker During the Era of the American Federation of Labor and the Railroad Brotherhoods. Edited by Philip S. Foner and Ronald L. Lewis. (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1979. 402 pp. Preface, tables, notes, index. \$15.00.)

This four-volume work on black labor is a welcome addition to our knowledge of the black experience in America. Much of the previous literature has focused on slavery, family, and politics, so these volumes on the Negro worker are particularly valuable.

The first volume essentially describes the antebellum work experience. Although some of the material concerns field hands, a disproportionately large share deals with urban, free blacks. These skilled artisans enjoyed greater mobility than their country cousins; yet, the freedom they enjoyed made real liberty more desirable and any degree of restriction more obnoxious.

Because black slave labor was cheaper than employing free whites, white industrialists used slaves for coal mines and textile mills. This policy excited the angry reaction of white artisans, who objected to such job competition. Riots by sullen white

workers against blacks, especially in the North, occurred with increasing frequency. Job competition, the status of blacks in skilled trades, their admission to labor unions, the role of race in strikes (strike breakers might be whites imported to assume the jobs of black strikers, as well as the more common reverse situation), are central to all four volumes. In fact, I found myself observing a larger tragedy than the biracial strife between workers: poor people of both races, desperate to make a living, might join with the opposite race in a usually futile struggle for higher wages, or they might kill each other over a job paying \$1.00 a day in a coal mine. Obviously, the economic situation controlled to a considerable degree racial attitudes.

Volumes II, III, and IV focus more on organized labor than on unorganized. Covering the years from about 1870 to approximately 1900, they quickly put to rest the stereotype of submissive, passive blacks who meekly accepted their fate. The documents recounting the Louisiana sugar workers' strikes in 1880 and 1887, the Galveston longshoremen's strike of 1898, and the New Orleans General strike of 1892, demonstrate the courage, integrity, and in many cases the biracial bellicosity of black and white workers. There are, of course, many tragedies where working people of different races fought each other more fiercely than they did the economic injustice which deprived them all.

Although volumes I and IV contain hardly a reference to Florida, the middle two volumes are more useful for the state. The second volume contains correspondence regarding Canadian stevedores working in Pensacola, who were attacked in 1873 by angry blacks whose jobs they had taken. The same volume describes an 1873 meeting of a black Labor League in Jacksonville, which called for a ten-hour day and a daily wage of \$1.50. Their demands led to a strike at local sawmills. The third volume describes an 1880 sawmill strike, also near Jacksonville, and an 1887 Pensacola strike by poor white and black stevedores who unloaded guano boats (the workers were called, with considerable irony, "Guano Men"). Unfortunately, these are the only major references to black labor in Florida. Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Texas, and the Carolinas receive much more extensive attention.

Scattered throughout the volumes are gems that inform about a variety of matters. One learns a good deal about the way black religion influenced both labor rhetoric and the drive for union-

ism by black workers. Black leaders, appearing before an 1883 congressional committee investigating relations between labor and management, perceptively cast the labor problem in broad terms: blacks wanted jobs, but they also needed industrial schools, access to labor unions, longer school terms, federal aid to education, and temperance legislation. On many occasions, one also reads incisive letters from southern white industrial workers praising the solidarity of black colleagues or the organizing skills of black union officials. Although there are as many revelations of a mean and racist spirit by white workers, one is again struck by how complex and baffling the South has been.

Minor problems exist with this admirable undertaking. The chronology is weighted heavily to the nineteenth century, no doubt by the availability of sources. The first volume brings the story to the 1870s, and the next three volumes discuss the thirty years from 1870 to 1900. The student interested in the antebellum black worker will be disappointed, although students of black history during the Gilded Age will rejoice.

Also, the black worker is depicted almost always in crisis or protest. One sees little of pride or satisfaction in one's work (a la Studs Terkel in *Working*). Perhaps no such pride existed. But one suspects that there were thousands of black workers who took pride in their trades, even in a larger society that rewarded them with inadequate wages and racial hostility.

Such reservations should not detract from the importance of this series. As a documentary guide to the black worker's experience, especially that of industrial and agricultural laborers between 1870 and 1900, it is imperative reading.

Auburn University

WAYNE FLYNT

BOOK NOTES

Mario Sanchez, Painter of Key West Memories, by Kathryn, Hall Proby, author of *Audubon in Florida*, is the story of the Key West artist whose wood carvings and colorful paintings have brought him a national reputation. Sanchez was born in Key West; his grandfather and great-grandfather, both cigar makers, emigrated from Cuba to Florida in 1868. They moved into *El Barrio de Gato* in Key West. This was Eduardo Gato's village where his own large factory and others were located and where the cigar workers lived. The history and lore of Key West have always been a part of Sanchez's life, and in Mrs. Proby's book he spins his memories of people, places, and events of the past. Sanchez's works hang in museums and in private collections throughout the United States. Some of his best-known paintings are reproduced in color in this book which was published by Southernmost Press, Inc., P. O. Box 1614, Key West, Florida 33040. *Mario Sanchez, Painter of Key West Memories*, sells for \$14.95.

The Siege of Pensacola, 1781, and Maps with Data on Troop Strength, Military Units, Ships, Casualties, and Related Statistics is by William S. Coker and Hazel T. Coker. It is another in the series of important primary source materials on Florida being published by Perdido Bay Press of Pensacola. For a presentation for the Pensacola Historical Society on Bernardo de Gálvez and the Battle of Pensacola, Professor William Coker of the University of West Florida prepared a series of maps depicting the siege on virtually a day-to-day basis. As soon as Governor Gálvez of Spanish Louisiana learned that Spain had declared war against Britain in August 1779, he organized a campaign against forts along the lower Mississippi and the Gulf of Mexico to force the British to evacuate West Florida. The attack on Pensacola has been divided in *The Siege of Pensacola* into seven phases: the expedition to reinforce Mobile and for the Pensacola campaign, February 10-December 30, 1780, through the final action and fall of Pensacola, May 2-11, 1781. The appendices provide additional information about the troops (including the colored forces which

were involved), composition of the squadrons and convoys (March 7, 1780, and October 16, 1780), and other data. Appendix M lists the French forces that, with José de Salano's, were involved. A bibliography and index add to the value of this volume. Order from Perdido Bay Press, Route 2, Box 323, Pensacola, Florida 32506; the price is \$12.00.

A series of reprints of important and popular Florida books is being published by the Florida Classics Library, Box 777, Port Salerno, Florida 33492. Val Martin began publishing these reprints earlier under the name of Valentine Books. He is rendering a valuable service to the reading public since many of the volumes have long been out-of-print, and are often difficult and expensive to obtain. It is appropriate that in this year (1981), which marks the bicentennial of the attack by Bernardo de Gálvez on Pensacola, N. Orwin Rush's study, *Spain's Final Triumph Over Great Britain in the Gulf of Mexico, The Battle of Pensacola, March 9, May 8, 1781*, should become available again. The paperback reprint sells for \$6.95. Another Florida Classics Library reprint is *Jonathan Dickinson's Journal*, the narrative of the Quaker group which was shipwrecked along the Florida coast in 1696. The journal describing their sufferings was first published in Philadelphia in 1699. It has been reprinted several times, and is recognized as a primary source of early Florida history. Yale University Press published an edition, edited by Evangeline Walker Andrews and Charles McLean Andrews, in 1945, and it is this edition which has been reproduced by Florida Classics Library. It includes an introduction by Ernest Lyons, and the reprint sells for \$5.95. Two of Ernest Lyons's books, *My Florida* and *The Last Cracker Barrel*, are also in the reprint series. These are collections of some of his Florida columns which have appeared over the years in *The Stuart News* which he edited. *My Florida*, with illustrations by James Hutchinson, sells for \$4.95, *The Last Cracker Barrel* paperback reprint sells for \$3.95. *The Other Florida* by Gloria Jahoda is one of the most appealing and popular of all Florida books. It describes that part of north and panhandle Florida, off the usual tourist path, which contains the oldest recorded history in the state. The paperback reprint of Jahoda's book sells for \$6.95. Don Blanding's collection of *Flor-*

ida Poems, published first in 1941, is also reprinted in the Florida Classics Library series. It sells for \$4.95.

The Chimneys: An Archeological Investigation of a Slave Cabin on Stafford Plantation, Cumberland Island National Seashore, Georgia, by John E. Ehrenhard and Mary R. Bullard, was published by the United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Southeast Archeological Center, Box 2416, Tallahassee, Florida 32304. The chimney ruins are from the slave quarters on the Stafford Plantation. They are in various stages of deterioration and in need of preservation. During the summer of 1978 archeological excavations were made in the area around the chimneys so that data on structural details and the material culture of the Stafford slaves could be salvaged. Robert Stafford was a planter, exporter, and importer, and he played an important role on Cumberland Island for more than sixty years. He was the owner and manager of a large plantation that specialized in the production of Sea Island cotton. A larger study of Stafford and the Stafford Plantation would provide other important information and also make a valuable contribution to the history of the South.

A Comparative View of French Louisiana, 1699 and 1762: The Journals of Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville and Jean-Jacques-Blaise d'Abbadie, 1699-1762 was translated, edited, and annotated by Carl A. Breseaux. It was published by The Center for Louisiana Studies at the University of Southwestern Louisiana which has provided a number of important works dealing with the earliest history of the South. These journals describe French settlements in Louisiana and the settlement of Pensacola. The Spanish established a colony at Pensacola Bay to prevent possible French encroachment in that area. There are many references to Pensacola, Pensacola Bay, and West Florida in *A Comparative View of French Louisiana*. This volume sells for \$6.95; order from the Center, Box 40831, Lafayette, Louisiana 70504.

Naval Documents of the American Revolution, volume eight, published by the Naval History Division, Department of the Navy, Washington, covers the American and European theaters during the first half of 1777. The Florida colonies had been

British possessions since 1763, and their protection became a matter of grave concern with the outbreak of the Revolution. In a letter from Patrick Tonyn to Lord George Germain, written from St. Augustine, May 5, 1777, the governor notes information which he has of a planned invasion of East Florida from Georgia and a possible attack on St. Augustine. Tonyn enumerates his efforts to protect his province from a sea attack by stationing ships on the St. Johns River and on patrol off the Florida coast. He discusses his rearmament of the Provincial Militia and detailing of Rangers and their Indian allies to duty along the Georgia frontier. Another document in this volume reports on the British surveying sloop, the *Florida*, which put into Pensacola harbor for repairs. William James Morgan served as editor of volume eight, as he did for the previous three volumes, and they show his care for scholarly detail and accuracy. He used documents from many libraries and depositories, including the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida. Order from the U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. 20402. The price is \$24.00.

Rowdy Tales From Early Alabama, The Humor of John Gorman Barr was collected and annotated by G. Ward Hubbs. It provides samples of the rich and colorful stories told and retold on the southern frontier in the years prior to the Civil War. All are part of our oral tradition, and many were printed in local newspapers. Barr was a well-known contemporary humorist. He used his hometown, Tuscaloosa, Alabama, as the setting for his stories. His characters were his neighbors and friends, and because he used real places as settings for his stories, one secures a fine picture of a typical antebellum southern riverboat town. Barr was much like Mark Twain, another southern tale writer, who also grew up in a river town. *Rowdy Tales* was published by the University of Alabama Press, University, Alabama, and it sells for \$15.95.

Wouldn't Take Nothin' For My Journey Now is by Jock Lauterer who founded and edited for many years a weekly newspaper in Rutherford County, North Carolina. He roamed the countryside, meeting, photographing, and interviewing many people who talked to him about their lives and experiences.

While Lauterer did not use a tape recorder, his book is based upon the best tradition of oral history. He was able to talk to people as a friend, and they provided him with information about the past that they remembered, memories which were not likely to be documented in written or published form. Lauterer's interviews are with the common folk who enjoyed life and worked hard. As one, Ernest Murphy, noted: "Hard work's good for you. You can eat anything you want to— and you go right to sleep." Quintenna Boone Hampton is a sixth-generation descendant of Daniel Boone and the head of the Hampton clan. W. P. Ed Norville was the best watch and clock repairman in the area; if he could not fix a watch, everyone would agree that it was "plum busted." Hoyle Greene was known for his apple cider, and Carl Lawing for the old grist mill that he operated for many years. The Dycus brothers were photographers and worked in the area for ten dollars a week. Fiddle players, soapmakers, carpenters, shoemakers, hunters, fishermen, and mule skinnners are all included in Lauterer's book. It was published by the University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, and it sells for \$12.50.

Bernard M. Hermann, a French photojournalist, has published travel books and pictorial albums of San Francisco, Rio de Janeiro, New York, and Paris. His latest volume is *New Orleans*, published by Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge. It includes color photographs of plantation houses along the river and lush properties in the Garden District. There are also pictures of churches, cathedrals, wildlife, Mardi Gras, and many old and new buildings. People have also been photographed working, playing, doing business, laughing, crying, eating, enjoying themselves, and being buried. The text is by Charles "Pie" Dufour, the noted New Orleans journalist, historian, and author. The price is \$19.95.

Working Lives, The Southern Exposure; History of Labor in the South is a paperback book edited by Marc S. Miller with an introduction by Herbert Gutman. It is a collection of memoirs, poems, essays, ballads, and interviews covering the history of the southern labor movement from the beginning of this century to the present. Most of the articles first appeared in *Southern Exposure*, the quarterly journal that is published by the Institute

for Southern Studies, Chapel Hill, North Carolina. Pantheon Books of New York is the publisher, and the price is \$7.95.

The Louisiana State University Press has reprinted in its paperback series *Duel Between the First Ironclads* by William C. Davis, which recounts the historic duel between the U.S.S. *Monitor* and the C.S.S. *Virginia* (formerly the U.S.S. *Merrimack*). It sells for \$7.95. *Battle at Bull Run, A History of the First Major Campaign of the Civil War* is another paperback reprint, and it is also by William C. Davis. The price is \$7.95.

Researchers and scholars working in the Spanish colonial period in early American history will find *Northern New Spain, A Research Guide* a valuable book. Compiled by Thomas Barnes, Thomas H. Naylor, and Charles W. Polzer, it has been published by the University of Arizona Press, Tucson, Arizona, in its Documentary Relations of the Southwest series. The geographic area under study comprises all of northern Mexico, present-day Arizona and New Mexico, and parts of California, Nevada, Utah, Colorado, Kansas, Oklahoma, and Texas. Types of available documents, political and social organizations, paleography, and special terms are some of the topics included. There is also a listing of locations of archival material in the United States, Mexico, and Europe, together with a list of guides and aids to documentary collections.

HISTORY NEWS

Announcements and Activities

The Museum of Florida History in Tallahassee is expanding its presentation of the Florida story with the opening of a permanent exhibit detailing the history of the state's citrus industry. The focal point of the exhibit, entitled "Fruit of the Boom," is a recreated, fully operational citrus packing house from the 1920s. The exhibit also features photographs and other graphics tracing the evolution of the industry from the early Spaniards bringing seeds into Florida to modern mechanization. The museum is operated by the Florida Department of State's Division of Archives, History and Records Management, and is located in the R. A. Gray Building, Bronough at Pensacola streets. The hours are 9:00 a.m. to 4:30 p.m., Monday through Saturday, and 1:00 to 4:30 p.m. on Sunday.

James Hutchinson, the Stuart, Florida, artist who has gained a national reputation as a painter of the Florida Seminoles and Miccosukees, was commissioned in 1973 by the Arthur Vining Davis Foundation and other private agencies to create fifty canvases of the Florida Indians. The collection illustrates the early lifestyles of the Indians, colonization of Florida by white settlers, conflicts leading up to the Seminole Wars, and pivotal scenes from the Second Seminole War. There are also portraits of Seminole and Miccosukee leaders. The University of Miami's Lowe Art Museum is making the canvases available to the Museum of Florida History in Tallahassee for public exhibit beginning in November.

"Learned It In Back Days and Kept It: A Portrait of Lucreaty" is a thirty-minute video portrait of Lucreaty Clark, the well-known basketmaker, produced by the Florida Folklife Program and WJCT-TV. The film not only documents the basketmaking process, but it also explores Lucreaty Clark's views on family, foodways, and religion. It also gives historical perspectives to North Florida's black rural life through the eyes of her granddaughter. It will be aired on WJCT and other Florida PBS sta-

tions this fall. For information on rental or purchase write Florida Folklife Program, Box 265, White Springs, Florida 32096.

The Tampa Historical Society is continuing its program of placing historical markers at appropriate sites in the Tampa Bay area. In cooperation with the Ybor City Rotary Club, the Society dedicated a historical plaque on June 13 at the corners of Platt and Tampa streets in honor of Captain John Frye, first native son of Tampa. A marker dedication was held at the University of Tampa in June commemorating Babe Ruth's hitting the longest home run in history at Plant Park. A third dedication at the Ybor City State Museum will commemorate the Ferlita family and their bakery. This plaque is being donated by Cesar Gonzmart. The bakery building has been converted to a museum devoted to the ethnic communities and the cigar industry of Tampa.

A federal grant of \$75,000 has been awarded for the continuing restoration of Building One of the Old Miami City Hospital. First constructed in 1918, this property is on the National Register of Historic Places. It is often referred to as "The Alamo" because of its resemblance to the Texas fortress. The hospital building was the predecessor of Jackson Memorial Hospital. When restoration work is completed, it will serve as an information and welcoming center for the Jackson Memorial Hospital complex.

James N. Eaton, curator of the Florida Black Archives, Research Center and Museum, Florida A & M University, is collecting black school records. He is interested in papers, records, yearbooks, and programs. Persons who have such records are asked to contact Dr. Eaton or the Black Archives, Box 809, FAMU, Tallahassee, Florida 32307.

The latest issue (January/April 1981) of *South Florida Pioneers* includes genealogical data for De Soto, Manatee, Hardee, Hillsborough, Okeechobee, and Polk counties. For information on annual subscriptions and single issues write Richard M. Livingston, Box 166, Fort Ogden, Florida 33842.

The Oral History Association will hold its seventeenth nat-

ional colloquium in San Antonio, Texas, October 8-10, 1982. The program committee invites proposals for papers, thematic sessions, and media presentations. Interested individuals should submit an abstract of their paper and/or a proposal for a session, along with a brief vita, to John J. Fox, chairman, OHA program committee, Department of History, Salem State College, Salem, Massachusetts 01970.

The National Society of **Colonial** Dames of America, in the state of Florida, has awarded its Region III scholarship for the academic year 1981-1982, to Patricia R. Wickman, editorial assistant to the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. The annual award was given for work in the field of Florida history at the graduate level. Ms. Wickman is currently a master's student specializing in public history at the University of Florida, Gainesville.

FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY
SEVENTY-NINTH MEETING

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SEVENTH-NINTH
MEETING OF THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
AND
FLORIDA HISTORICAL CONFEDERATION WORKSHOP
1981

PROGRAM

Thursday, April 30

FLORIDA HISTORICAL CONFEDERATION
Committee Meeting, 10:00 A.M.

FLORIDA HISTORICAL CONFEDERATION
Registration: Heritage Park
Largo, Florida

Afternoon Session
Conservation Workshops:

Paper: Isabel B. Kirkwood, Tallahassee
Restoration Preservationist,
Florida State Archives

Textiles: Phyllis Kathryn Guy, Palm Beach
Curatorial Assistant,
The Henry Morrison Flagler Museum

Photographs: Rebecca S. Smith, Miami
Librarian,
Historical Museum of Southern Florida

Furnishings: Dr. Susan Reiling, Miami
former Curator of Collections,
Vizcaya Museum

Evening Session

Bayfront Concourse
St. Petersburg, Florida

"Tell Us About Your Society"

Chair: Mrs. Chris LaRoche, Niceville

FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
MEETING OF THE BOARD

Friday, May 1

FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY: Registration
Bayfront Concourse
St. Petersburg, Florida

Morning Session

FLORIDA HISTORICAL CONFEDERATION SESSION:

"Programs and Activities on the Environment for your Society"

Wit Ostrenko, Miami
Director of Education,
Historical Museum of Southern Florida

FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY SESSIONS:

Session I: *"Ecology and Environment of Florida"*

WELCOME: Mayor Corinne Freeman
Chair: John K. Mahon, President, Florida Historical Society

Tom Ankerson, Cape Canaveral
Environmental Specialist,
Stottler, Stagg & Associates

*"Coping with the Growth Explosion:
The Institutionalization of Environmentalism in Florida,
1970-1975"*

Catherine Puckett, Gainesville
University of Florida

"Images of the Suwannee River"

Comment: Nelson Manfred Blake
Professor Emeritus of History,
Syracuse University

Afternoon Session

Session II: *"Living with Florida Environment"*

Chair: Thelma Peters, Miami

George E. Buker, Jacksonville
Jacksonville University

“Engineers vs Florida’s Green Menace”

Daniel T. Hobby, Fort Lauderdale
Fort Lauderdale Historical Society

“Adaptation to Florida’s Environment: Living with Hurricanes”

Comment: Augustus M. Burns III, Gainesville
University of Florida

Evening Program

Reception: St. Petersburg Fine Arts Museum
Film Presentation– “History of St. Petersburg”
Sponsored by: St. Petersburg Historical Society
Bayfront Concourse
St. Petersburg, Florida

Saturday, May 2
Morning Session

Session III: *“A Cultural Resource Management Report”*

Chair: L. Ross Morrell, Tallahassee

Director: Division of Archives, History and Records
Management, State of Florida

Jim Miller, Tallahassee

Principal: Cultural Resource Management, Inc.

*“An Introduction to and Background for the Cultural
Resource Management Report”*

Mildred Fryman, Tallahassee
Consulting Historian

“The Role of the Historian in the CRM Process”

John Griffin, St. Augustine
Research Archeologist

“The Role of the Archeologist in the CRM Process”

Comment: Herschel E. Shepard, Jacksonville
Shepard Associates

LUNCH and ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING
OF THE SOCIETY

12:00 noon
Bayfront Concourse

St. Petersburg, Florida
 Bus Tour to Heritage Park, Largo

RECEPTION and BANQUET

Bayfront Concourse

St. Petersburg, Florida

Presiding: John K. Mahon, President

Florida Historical Society

Music about Florida and Its Environment by:

Dale and Linda Crider

Presentation of Awards

Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Award in Florida History
 Presented by Lucius Ellsworth to Thomas Graham

Rembert W. Patrick Memorial Book Award
 Presented by William M. Goza to Nelson Blake

Charlton W. Tebeau Junior Book Award
 Presented by Charlton W. Tebeau to Ben East

American Association for State and Local History Awards
 Presented by Linda V. Ellsworth,
 Historic Pensacola Preservation Board, to
 Dena Snodgrass, Jacksonville
 Hampton Dunn, Tampa
 Samuel Proctor, Florida Bicentennial Commission

MINUTES OF THE BOARD MEETING

Dr. John K. Mahon, president of the Florida Historical Society, called the annual meeting of the board of directors of the Florida Historical Society to order at 8:20 p.m., April 30, 1981, at the Bayfront Concourse Hotel, St. Petersburg, Florida. Present were William R. Adams, Paul E. Camp, Linda V. Ellsworth, Mildred L. Fryman, Paul S. George, Thomas Graham, Hayes L. Kennedy, W. Sperry Lee, Eugene Lyon, Randy Nimnicht, Vernon Peoples, Olive D. Peterson, Jerrell H. Shofner, Paul W. Wehr, Glenn Westfall, and Linda K. Williams. Also attending were William M. Goza (resolutions committee), and Nancy Dilley of the Society staff. Thomas Greenhaw, E. Ashby Hammond, Wright Langley, Thomas Mickler, and Samuel Proctor were absent.

The board unanimously approved the minutes of the December 6, 1980, directors' meeting in Tampa, as they were published in the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, LIX (April 1980), 526-31.

Paul Camp, executive secretary, presented the financial report for the period from January 1, 1981, through March 31, 1981. This report lists the Society's total assets as of March 31, 1981, as \$74,332.67, representing an increase of \$6,197.89 since December 31, 1980, and an increase of \$8,494.45 since the report to the membership at the 1980 annual meeting. Income from membership for the first quarter of 1981 was \$5,417; receipts from sales, interest, and dividends brought the total income for this period to \$9,402.74. Disbursements over the same period totaled \$3,740.65. Major expenses included the printing, mailing, and other publication costs for the *Florida Historical Quarterly* and office and administrative expenses. There was surplus of \$5,662.09 as of March 31, 1981. Mr. Camp noted that income and expenditures for the first quarter of 1981 were within budget estimates as prepared for the current fiscal year and as presented at the December 1980 board meeting. Hayes L. Kennedy moved that the board approve the financial report, and the motion carried.

A report on the *Florida Historical Quarterly* prepared by Dr. Samuel Proctor, editor, was presented to the board by Dr. Jerrell Shofner. Volume LIX (July 1980-April 1981) of the *Quarterly* contained nineteen articles and 174 book reviews and notes. While the quantity of articles submitted for consideration for publication has increased, the quality of these articles continues to be a matter of concern to the editor. Often they have not been researched thoroughly, and the quality of the writing is not satisfactory. He urged the directors to encourage the submission of more articles of high quality to the journal. The report expressed appreciation for the continued excellent services of the E. O. Painter Printing Company in producing the *Quarterly*, and the help and cooperation of his board of editors.

A report on the *Florida History Newsletter* prepared by Dr. Thomas Greenhaw, editor, also was presented by Dr. Shofner. The new format recently adopted for the *Newsletter* has proven satisfactory. The smaller size conforms visually to that of the *Quarterly*, the cost of production has been reduced, and increased flexibility in planning its contents has been achieved.

Randy Nimnicht brought to the board's attention questions

raised by a Society member regarding the publication in the *Quarterly* of book reviews and book notes not directly related to Florida history. The board discussed increasing the appeal of the journal and the possibility of publishing a note outlining the *Quarterly's* policy on these matters. Dr. Mahon appointed a committee consisting of Randy Nimnicht, Lucius Ellsworth, and Eugene Lyon to formulate and present to the board at its December 1981 meeting a recommendation regarding the publication in the *Florida Historical Quarterly* of an appropriate editorial policy statement.

Linda K. Williams, president of the Florida Historical Confederation, reported on the April 30, 1981 meeting of the Confederation board of directors and on the Confederation workshops in progress at Heritage Park, Largo, and the Bayfront Concourse Hotel, St. Petersburg. In response to suggestions made by the Society's directors at their December 1980 meeting, the Confederation board is considering an award or a number of awards to be given to local historical societies or museums in recognition of excellence in promoting community and state history. Reports on the results of these deliberations will be approved later. Dr. Mahon, on behalf of the board, congratulated Ms. Williams on the organization and outcome of the current Confederation workshops.

Linda Ellsworth reported that the inventory committee is continuing its locating and cataloging of the Society's historical and art objects.

Hayes L. Kennedy reported on behalf of the finance committee. Dividends accumulated for the last quarter of 1980 from the investment of \$40,000 of Society assets in money market funds totaled \$1,613; dividends paid for the first quarter of 1981 amount to \$1,766. In the fourteen months during which Society funds have been invested in this manner, an increase totaling \$6,576 (reinvested in shares) has accumulated at an annualized yield of 14.09 per cent. The finance committee recommended that no additional Society funds be transferred to money market funds at this time.

Dr. Mahon reported on behalf of the nominating committee: Jane Dysart, chair; George E. Buker; Thelma Peters; Milton Jones; and Robert Harris. The following slate of new directors will be recommended to the Society membership at its May 2,

1981, business meeting: District 2, Kendrick Ford, Largo, and Ernest Hall, Fort Myers; District 3, Samuel J. Boldrick, Miami; District 4, Marjorie Patterson, Fort Lauderdale; and at-large, Peter D. Klingman, Daytona Beach. Dr. Mahon appointed the following persons as members of the nominating committee for 1981-1982: Glen Dill, New Port Richey, and Mildred Fryman, Talahassee, co-chairs; James W. Covington, Tampa; Mrs. John D. Ware, Tampa; and Arva Moore Parks, Miami.

Dr. Paul George, chair of the membership committee, reported that the Society's membership level had remained steady during the last six months. Membership at the time of the meeting totaled 1,591 as compared to 1,583 December 3, 1980. A letter to current membership mailed in January 1981 by President Mahon generated some new members; but the loss of members continues to affect the overall membership situation.

Dr. Lucius Ellsworth reported on the activities of the junior historian committee. A successful History Fair for 2,000 fourth and fifth-grade students was held in Orange County in February 1981, under the supervision of Dr. Paul Wehr of the University of Central Florida. A report of this activity was published in the *Florida History Newsletter*, VII (March 1981). Orange County plans to repeat and expand the fair in 1982 to include sixth-grade students also. Dr. Ellsworth recommended that the board commend the work of Dr. Wehr, and the board adopted this recommendation. Dr. Ellsworth moved also that the board endorse the six History Fairs to be scheduled for 1982 for which planning is underway— Alachua, Escambia, Orange, St. Lucie, Volusia, and possibly Seminole counties. An increase in funds for these activities may be needed. The board approved this motion. Dr. Ellsworth then moved that the editors of the *Florida History Newsletter* and the *Florida Historical Quarterly* be asked to publish the names of all History Fair prize winners and their sponsoring teachers.

Dr. Mahon reported on the work of June Hurley Young who is preparing a series of biographical vignettes of early Floridians, a project being funded by the Florida Endowment for the Humanities. The Society, in its role as sponsor, is providing guidance for Young on the content of these sketches. Dr. Mahon also reported that the Society received in February 1981, a request from the Florida Endowment for the Humanities for as-

sistance in reviewing proposed history-oriented projects. The board recommended that the Society continue its past policy of suggesting the names of qualified persons.

The 1982 annual meeting will be held in Fort Lauderdale, Florida, on May 6-8. Dr. Mahon announced the following program committee: Jane Dysart, University of West Florida, chair; Bettye Smith, Sanford; and Ada Coates Williams, Fort Pierce. The program will focus on the role and activities of women in Florida history.

Dr. Mahon noted the recent death of Miss Margaret Chapman, former executive secretary of the Florida Historical Society. Mr. Nimnicht moved that a bookplate commemorating Miss Chapman be inserted in all books purchased for the Society's library during this fiscal year, and that a notice be published in the *Quarterly* asking for contributions for a special memorial fund to supplement the purchase of books for the Society's collection. The board unanimously approved these motions.

Dr. Mahon reported that he has taken the following actions since December 1980: written to pertinent authorities supporting the inclusion of fifty-one miles of the Suwannee River in Florida's Outstanding Waters Program; commended Senator Lawton Childs and Congressman Don Fuqua for their opposition to proposed mining activities in the Osceola National Forest; and expressed objections to drainage activities threatening the Florida black bear in the Pinhook Swamp area. He will express similar objections to drainage activities in the Santa Fe River region which would affect that river adversely. Dr. Mahon also requested that Ken Mulder, president of the Tampa Bay Historical Society, address the 1981 business meeting of the Society on membership solicitation activities.

The board approved the drafting by the resolution committee, chaired by William M. Goza, of resolutions to be presented to Society members at the business meeting on May 2, 1981 on the following topics: commemoration of the death of Miss Margaret Chapman and other Society members during the past year; support of efforts to continue preservation of the historic Union Bank building, Tallahassee; protestations to actions on the Federal level inhibiting the growth and threatening the survival of historic preservation activities, historical museums and societies, the Institute of Museum Services, the National Historical Pub-

lications and Records Commission, and other such federally-funded activities relating to history.

Mr. Camp asked the board for an amendment of the by-laws and charter of the Society to accommodate certain formalities relating to obtaining a sales tax exemption. Mr. Nimnicht moved that the Society's membership be asked at the May 2, 1981 business meeting to approve the insertion in both the by-laws and charter of the Society of a statement mandating that, should the Florida Historical Society cease to exist, its assets would pass to another organization with similar goals. The board approved this motion.

Dr. Ellsworth reported the offer by KBS Systems, Inc., Ormond Beach (convention planners), to work with the Society's local arrangements committees in future in order to facilitate annual meetings. There would be no charge to the Society for such services other than the costs of providing mailing labels. Dr. Shofner moved that the board notify the president of the host organizations for the 1983 annual meeting of the Society (to be held in Daytona Beach) of the availability of this service. This motion passed.

The board discussed various ways to increase membership, visibility, and the effectiveness of the Society. Current activities include the sponsorship of history fairs; sponsorship of the June Hurley Young biographies series; and the distribution of Society promotional leaflets at the Florida Division of Parks and Recreation's historic sites and museums and at all official Florida Welcome Stations. There is also active involvement by members and officers in a variety of other activities aimed at increasing the Society's impact in Florida.

Mr. Nimnicht moved the expenditure of \$600 for public relations purposes to be spent at the discretion of the president and executive secretary. The president will report to the directors at their December 1981 meeting on the results obtained through such efforts so that these methods can be evaluated for future use. This motion was passed by the board. Ms. Ellsworth agreed to canvass other state historical societies of similar size and organizational structure about membership and promotional activities in order to learn how the Florida Historical Society compares with such groups and how it can profit from their experiences. This information will be presented to the board at its December

1981 meeting, and will be used as the basis for continued discussions by the directors on such matters. Dr. Ellsworth proposed that a questionnaire be drafted which would poll the membership on its perceptions of current and future services and programs of the Society. The board asked Dr. Ellsworth to draw up a sample questionnaire for its consideration at the December 1981 directors meeting.

The Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Prize in Florida History for the best article to appear in Volume LIX of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* will be awarded to Thomas Graham, Flagler College, St. Augustine, for "Charles H. Jones: Florida's Gilded Age Editor-Politician," which appeared in the July 1980 issue. Members of the committee were David Colburn, University of Florida; Robert L. Hall, Tallahassee; and Paul Camp, Florida Historical Society, Tampa. The Rembert W. Patrick Memorial Book Award for the best book on Florida history will go to Nelson M. Blake, Deerfield Beach, Florida, for *Land Into Water—Water Into Land*. The Patrick committee included Paul S. George, Miami; John W. Griffin, St. Augustine; and Julia F. Smith, Georgia Southern College, Statesboro, Georgia. The Charlton W. Tebeau Junior Book Award will be received by Ben East, Holly, Michigan, for his book *Danger In The Air*. Committee members were Georgine J. Mickler, Chuluota, Florida; Linda K. Williams, Historical Association of Southern Florida, Miami; and Patricia R. Wickman, Florida State Museum, Gainesville.

The meeting was adjourned at 11:00 p.m.

Minutes of the Business Meeting

Dr. John Mahon, president, called the annual business meeting of the Florida Historical Society to order on Saturday, May 2, 1981, at 12:45 p.m., at the Bayfront Concourse Hotel in St. Petersburg, Florida. Past presidents of the Society in attendance were introduced. They included Dr. Thelma Peters, Miami; Milton Jones, Clearwater; William Goza, Gainesville and Madison; Dr. Charlton Tebeau, professor emeritus, University of Miami; and Dr. Frank Sessa, Orlando. Dr. Mahon thanked Mrs. Pauline Carter, Largo Garden Club, for the luncheon and banquet floral arrangements, and the local arrangements committee mem-

bers: Mr. and Mrs. Milton Jones, Jr., Mrs. Kenrick Ford, Hayes Kennedy, Everett Linhart, Millicent Seymour, and Don Williams. Dr. Mahon also thanked members of the board of directors whose terms expired with this meeting for their help and support: Hayes Kennedy, Vernon Peeples, Wright Langley, Thomas Mickler, and Dr. E. Ashby Hammond. Thanks were also extended to O. C. Peterson for constructing the two wooden exhibit stands displayed in the meeting room during the conference. The stands were presented by Mr. Peterson for the exhibit program.

Paul Camp, executive secretary, gave a report on the Society's financial status. Current assets include \$27,630.37 in checking and savings accounts. The sum of \$40,000 that was invested in the money market funds in February 1980, has yielded \$6,576 in dividends. Current total Society assets are \$74,332.67.

Mr. Camp recommended that the membership accept an amendment both to the charter and by-laws to the effect that if the Florida Historical Society should cease to exist, its assets would pass to a similar organization with similar goals. Such a statement is needed as a requisite for the Society to apply for sales tax exemption. This action was unanimously approved by the membership.

Dr. Mahon, on behalf of the Society, thanked the finance committee— William Goza, Milton Jones, and Hayes Kennedy—for its activities during the past year.

Dr. Jane Dysart, chair of the nominating committee, which included Dr. George E. Buker, Dr. Thelma Peters, and Dr. Robert Harris, recommended the following slate of directors to the membership: district 2; Kendrick Ford of Largo, and Ernest Hall of Fort Myers, to fill positions being vacated by Hayes Kennedy and Vernon Peeples; district 3, Sam Boldrick of Miami, to replace Wright Langley; district 4, Marjorie Patterson of Fort Lauderdale, replacing Thomas Mickler; and at large: Dr. Peter D. Klingman, Daytona Beach, to replace Dr. E. Ashby Hammond. There were no nominations from the floor, and the membership unanimously approved the slate.

Dr. Lucius Ellsworth reported on behalf of the junior historian committee on the progress of the Junior History Fairs projects. The board of directors in 1979-1980 authorized a pilot History Fair to interest more people in Florida history, to encourage the love and study of history among young people, and

to increase the visibility of the Florida Historical Society among the adult community. Under the leadership of Dr. Paul Wehr, the first project was organized for fourth and fifth graders in Orange County. This fair proved very successful and will be expanded next year to include sixth graders. Five other fairs will be undertaken in 1981-1982: Alachua County, organized by Patricia R. Wickman and Dr. E. Ashby Hammond; Escambia County, organized by Dr. Jane Dysart and Linda Ellsworth; St. Lucie County, organized by Mr. and Mrs. O. C. Peterson and a supporting committee of fifteen persons; and Volusia County, organized by Dr. Peter D. Klingman. There may be a fair also in Seminole County, organized by Dr. Paul Wehr and Bettye Smith. Dr. Ellsworth expressed the hope that this program will continue to expand, and he solicited new proposals for future fairs in other portions of the state.

Randy Nimmicht reported on the *Florida Historical Quarterly* on behalf of Dr. Samuel Proctor, editor. All issues of Volume LIX of the journal were mailed on schedule. The editor acknowledged in his report the cooperation of his editorial assistant, David Lawrence, and the support of his editorial board: Dr. J. Leitch Wright, Florida State University; Dr. John Mahon, University of Florida; Dr. Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., University of Florida; Dr. Jerrell Shofner, University of Central Florida; Dr. Michael Gannon, University of Florida; and Dr. Charlton W. Tebeau, emeritus, University of Miami. The editor expressed his appreciation to others who facilitated the responsibilities of editing and publishing the journal, including Joan Morris of the State Photographic Archives who supplied many of the pictures which appeared in the *Quarterly*, and the staff of the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida. Dr. Proctor expressed special gratitude to Mr. Dick Johnston of E. O. Painter Printing Company, who has published the journal since July 1969, for his cooperation and support. On behalf of the Society, the editor thanked the University of Florida and Florida State Museum for their support of the publication of the *Quarterly*. The editor urged the submission from the membership of articles dealing with all aspects of Florida history. The *Quarterly* also is interested in publishing reviews of all books (new or reprints), booklets, monographs, pamphlets, etc., dealing with any aspect of Florida history.

Dr. Mahon presented the program committee for the next annual meeting, which will be held in Fort Lauderdale on May 6-8: Bettye Smith, Sanford; Dr. Jane Dysart, Pensacola; and Mrs. Ada Coates Williams, Fort Pierce. The topic for next year's sessions will be "Women in Florida History." He also announced that the nominating committee for next year will include: Glen Dill, New Port Richey, and Mildred Fryman, Tallahassee, co-chairs; James Covington, Tampa; Mrs. John D. Ware, Tampa; and Arva Moore Parks, Miami.

Mr. William Goza presented a check for \$1,000 from the Wentworth Foundation, Inc., to President Mahon for support of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. Dr. Mahon expressed thanks to Mr. Goza and the Foundation for its continuing support of the Society and all of its activities.

Mr. Goza as chairman of the resolutions committee presented the following resolutions which were unanimously approved by the membership:

BE IT RESOLVED, that the Florida Historical Society deeply regrets the loss by death of Miss Margaret Chapman. Miss Chapman, a North Carolinian by birth and holder of a master's degree in library science from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, died at Tampa, Florida, on March 28, 1981. She had served as librarian at the University of Florida for the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, and as special collections librarian at the University of South Florida, where she also acted as executive secretary for the Florida Historical Society until her retirement in 1970. She then served as librarian at Queens College, Charlotte, North Carolina. Her death is noted with regret by the Society which she also served so well and faithfully.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the Society also notes with regret and a sense of loss the death of the following members since the last meeting:

Mrs. Lucy Haughton, Jacksonville
 Ms. Johnnie V. Judy, Sanford
 Mrs. F. R. Weedon, Chapel, North Carolina
 Mr. Rufus C. Wysong, Lake Panasoffkee

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the Society extend special appreciation to Linda Ellsworth and Peter Klingman who

formed the program committee for this the seventy-ninth meeting of the Society and to all the participants for contributing to the interest and success of this meeting.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the Society extend its appreciation to the area organizations which sponsored this meeting, including Central Gulf Coast Archaeological Society, Clearwater Historical Society, Dunedin Historical Society, Eckerd College, Florida Aviation Historical Society, Indian Rocks Beach Historical Society, Largo Area Historical Society, Pinellas County Historical Society, Piper Archaeological Research, Inc., Saftey Harbor Area Historical Society, St. Petersburg Historical Society, St. Petersburg Junior College, Suncoast Archaeological Society, Tarpon Springs Historical Society, University of South Florida, and Volunteers in Preservation. Thanks are also given to St. Petersburg Fine Arts Museum for providing such beautiful surroundings for the convention reception held on Friday evening, May 1, 1981.

WHEREAS the Union Bank Building in Tallahassee is one of the oldest surviving bank buildings in the South and a significant example of Florida Territorial Period commercial architecture, one of a select few remaining in the State of Florida; and

WHEREAS, although the building was relocated in 1971 in an initial effort to prevent its destruction, no financial support has since been provided for even the most elementary measures to preserve it, so that the structure is now seriously threatened by neglect and deterioration; and

WHEREAS Florida's First Lady, Mrs. Robert (Adele) Graham and Mrs. LeRoy (Mary Call) Collins, wife of former Governor Collins, are providing valiant leadership in further efforts to preserve this structure and ask for the support of all concerned Floridians in their efforts; and

WHEREAS the Union Bank Building is the property and responsibility of the State of Florida; therefore

BE IT RESOLVED, that the Florida Historical Society encourages the legislature of the State of Florida to appropriate funds to preserve and restore the Union Bank Building and urges

its members to request their state representatives to give strong support to such an appropriation.

WHEREAS the cultural and historical legacy of Florida is visably and tangibly reflected in its architectural and archeological resources; and

WHEREAS the buildings, structures, and neighborhoods that comprise Florida's cities, towns, and rural areas are a significant part of our social fabric; and

WHEREAS Florida's archeological resources, like its architectural resources, constitute valid and irreplaceable historical documents; and

WHEREAS developmental and population pressures are threatening the destruction of these resources at an alarming rate; and

WHEREAS the financial and administrative mechanisms for maintaining even a modest level of support for the preservation of these resources have been eliminated by proposed federal budget reductions; and

WHEREAS the federal government has a responsibility for assisting the states in supporting efforts to preserve and protect our cultural heritage; therefore

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the Florida Historical Society support the continuation of a federal preservation program that assists the states and local communities and that the Society urges its members to make the Society's concerns known to its representatives and to federal and state officials.

Dr. Ellsworth moved the adoption of the following resolution recommended by the board of directors at its April 29, 1981, meeting. This resolution was unanimously approved.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the Florida Historical Society encourages President Reagan, and other federal officials and leaders to recognize the necessity for perserving our nation's historical heritage and cultural resources, and that the federal government continue interest in and funding for programs such as the National Endowment for the Humanities, the National Endowment for the Arts, and Institute of Museum Services, the

National Historical Publications and Records Commission, and the state historic preservation program within the Department of Interior, which provide significant financial support and which encourage private philanthropic funding for history and history-related programs.

Dr. Ellsworth offered the following resolution, which the members unanimously approved: That the membership ratify the new dues structure adopted by the board at the 1980 annual director's meeting. The resolution was approved by the membership.

Dr. Mahon reminded the members of the available bus tour to Heritage Park, Largo, scheduled for 2:30 p.m. following this meeting and of the banquet to be held at 6:30 p.m. at the convention hotel with entertainment to be provided by Dale and Linda Crider in the form of music about Florida and its environment.

The following awards, it was announced, will be presented at the banquet:

Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Prize for 1980-1981 to Dr. Thomas Graham, Flagler College, St. Augustine, for his article "Charles H. Jones: Florida's Gilded Age Editor-Politician" which appeared in Volume LIX (July 1980) of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. The awards committee included: David Colburn, University of Florida; Robert L. Hall, Tallahassee; and Paul Camp, Florida Historical Society, Tampa.

Rembert W. Patrick Memorial Book Award to Nelson M. Blake, Professor Emeritus of History, Syracuse University and current resident of Deerfield Beach, Florida, for his book *Land Into Water—Water Into Land*. The judges were Julia F. Smith, Georgia Southern College, Statesboro, Georgia; Paul S. George, Miami; and John W. Griffin, St. Augustine.

Charlton W. Tebeau Junior Book Award to Ben East, Holly, Michigan, for his book, *Danger In The Air*. The judges were Linda K. Williams, Historical Association of Southern Florida, Miami; Georgine J. Mickler, Chuluota, Florida; and Patricia R. Wickman, Florida State Museum, Gainesville.

On behalf of the American Association for State and Local History, the following awards in honor of outstanding contribu-

tions to state and local history will also be presented: an Award of Merit to the Bicentennial Floridiana Facsimile Series, Samuel Proctor, General Editor, University Presses of Florida, for reprints of previously unavailable materials; a Certificate of Commendation to Dena Snodgrass, Jacksonville, for devotion to and creation of awareness in others of the history of Jacksonville and northeast Florida; and a Certificate of Commendation to Hampton Dunn, Tampa, for significant promotion of and wide dissemination of information about Tampa Bay area history.

Dr. Mahon announced that the 1982 annual meeting for the Society will be held May 6-8, in Fort Lauderdale, and that the 1983 annual meeting will be in Daytona Beach.

Randy Nimnicht brought to the attention of the membership the concern of the Society's directors over decreasing membership and asked for the continuing support of all members in helping to remedy this situation.

Linda Ellsworth announced to the members that the directors at their April 30, 1981 meeting had voted that all materials purchased for the Society's library in this year would be marked with bookplates commemorating Margaret Chapman and that members wishing to make donations in her memory should send them to Mr. Camp at the Society's office, University of South Florida Library, Tampa.

Mr. Camp reported that current membership totaled 1,591, that thirty-five members had joined since January 1981, four persons had been reinstated, eight had cancelled their memberships, and three members had passed away. Of the thirty-five new members, fourteen had joined in response to the membership appeal of January 28, 1981. For the last few months, membership has fluctuated around the figure 1,600.

The business meeting adjourned at 1:45 p.m.

Respectfully submitted,
Mildred Fryman
Recording Secretary

GIFTS TO THE SOCIETY

A collection of Florida postcards and a photograph was donated to the Society by Kristine T. Ellis of Brooklyn, New

York. A 1918 photograph of Camp Joseph E. Johnston near Jacksonville was given by the Museum of Science and Industry, Seattle, Washington. Elizabeth Fleming L'Engle, Jacksonville, presented a collection of manuscript letters relating to Governor Francis P. Fleming. Twenty-one postcards, from the years 1938-1953, were the gift of the St. Louis County Historical Society of Duluth, Minnesota. Arthur E. Francke, DeBary, donated a letter from Lieutenant Christopher Quarles Tompkins to Lieutenant Colonel Gates, dated "Camp Powell, E. F., August 7, 1839." Books, periodicals, and past issues of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* were presented to the Library by Nancy Hart, United States Senator Robert C. Byrd, Mary E. Leeuw, Clearwater Public Library, Mrs. Angus Williams, Sr., R. W. Casey, Earl M. Creel, Historic Tampa/Hillsborough County Preservation Board, Christian S. LaRoche, Mrs. Homer S. Brown, Tampa Historical Society, Daughters of the American Revolution National Society, and Russell V. Puzey.

NEW MEMBERS

April 1, 1980-December 31, 1980

Lester Archer, Stuart
 Clifford C. Armstrong, Jr., Tampa
 Manuel E. Benitez, Ormond Beach
 Jeane Berard, Key Largo
 *Jack C. Besosa, Orlando
 Jim Birchwood, Orlando
 Lora Blocker, Dade City
 Mary Jo Brecht, Jacksonville
 Captain Richard G. Bright, Jr., Miami
 Mrs. Ted Brower, West Palm Beach
 Mrs. C. E. Busby, Orange Park
 Richard D. Cardell, Jacksonville
 *Joseph Christinana, Orlando
 *Sandra Lee Clark, Orlando
 Alice Clopton, Omaha, NB
 Caroline Hill Coleman, Gainesville
 James W. Cortada, Orange, VA
 *F. P. Cremonese, Fern Park
 Howard W. Crews, Tallahassee
 Francena Culmer, Miami
 James K. Denissen, Fort Pierce
 Dr. Olle I. Elgert, Gainesville
 Edward Engelhard, Englewood
 Colonel William J. Flynn, (Ret.), Fort Lauderdale
 Miriam Freeman, Gainesville
 Alan Gantzhorn, Pensacola
 *Mary Garner, Orlando
 Marvin D. Geiger, Venice
 Judi Gorsuch, Miami

- James Mason Gray, Lutz
 Katherine Harrarty, Miami
 Robert Hall, Tallahassee
- **Mr. and Mrs. Charles Hamilton, Dunedin
 Charles M. Harbove, Orlando
 Walter S. Hardin, Bradenton
 Terry Heyns, Pompano Beach
 Sharon Lee Hiatt, Orlando
 Cheryl Higgins, Delray Beach
 R. H. Johnson, Zephyrhills
 Rayner S. Johnson, Gainesville
 Mrs. Robert Kennedy, Winter Haven
 Kristine Kiernan, Miami
 John R. King, Jr., Fort Pierce
 Peter Krug, Stone Mountain, GA
 Sandra Layman, West Palm Beach
 Mary A. Leeuw, St. Petersburg
 Ruth Linton, Perry
 Joel McEachin, Tallahassee
 John Marshall, Ocala
 Eugene L. Matthews, Starke
 Leoma B. Maxwell, Avon Park
 Edward K. Mellon, Tallahassee
 Joan Miller, Micanopy
- **Mr. and Mrs. Allen Mills, Ponte Verde Beach
 Joe D. Mills, Tallahassee
- **Charles C. Moore, Holmes Beach
 Celeste Hardee Muir, Coconut Grove
 John M. Murphy, Tallahassee
 Norma A. Nelson, New Port Richey
 Mrs. L. K. Nicholas, Miami
 Kevin J. O'Keefe, DeLand
 Prime Francis Osborn III, Jacksonville
- *Paul Ozone, Maitland
 Arthur G. Peterson, DeBary
 John B. Phelps, Tallahassee
 Danielle Pippin, Coral Gables
 Anthony Pizzimenti, Miramar
 Rolla L. Queen, Tallahassee
 Carlyle Ramsey, Douglas, GA
 Abe Rasnek, Deerfield
 Betty Ann Reed, Ocean Ridge
 Gifford Rhodes, Orange Park
 Sara K. Rhodes, Dade City
 Nelle M. Rinaldi, Tampa
- *Karen Robertson, Daytona Beach
 Bob Rohan, Hollywood
- **Mr. and Mrs. Larry Rohan, Miami
 Jeffrey Rosinek, Miami
 Marilyn Roy, Miami
 Oscar Louis Rumsey III, Panama City
 David Schumacher, Lake Worth
 Frank B. Sessa, Orlando
 Maurice P. Shuman, Jr., Jacksonville
 Susie Skipper, Lake Wales
 Marjorie Smither, Fort Pierce
 Edyth Harlow Southard, Miami
 Audrey Fussell Squire, Bushnell
 Priscilla A. Tarplee, Roanoke, VA

- *Virginia A. Vaughan, Cross City
 Hank Vinson, Tallahassee
 Doris L. Voelkel, Apopka
 Landon Walker, Jacksonville
 Mandi Warner, Decatur, GA
 Tissie Watson, Bradenton
 Carleton L. Weidemeyer, Clearwater
 William H. Weldon, Jr., Bell
 Ronald Williamson, DeLand
 Lynn Willoughby, Tallahassee
- **Edward B. and Judy C. Wilson, Gulf Stream
- **Mr. and Mrs. Dale Winsor, St. James City
 Gareth W. Wright, Crystal River
 June Hurley Young, St. Petersburg

Historical Societies

- Cedar Key Historical Society, Inc., Cedar Key
 Historic Key West Preservation Board, Key West
 Historical Preservation Society of the Upper Keys, Key Largo
 Leesburg Heritage Society, Inc., Leesburg
 St. Lucie Historical Society, Fort Pierce

Libraries

- Clay County Free Library System, Green Cove Springs
 Clewiston High School, Clewiston
 Clewiston Middle School, Clewiston
 Henry Shelton Sanford Memorial Library, Sanford
 Highlands Junior High School #224, Jacksonville
 LaBelle High School Library, LaBelle
 LaBelle Middle School Library, LaBelle
 Latt Maxcy Memorial Library, Frostproof
 Levi White School, B. Whigham Library, Augusta, GA
 Moore Haven School Library, Moore Haven
 Punta Gorda Public Library, Punta Gorda
 Universiteitsbibliotheek KUL, Leuven, Belgium
 University of Florida, Department of History, Gainesville
 Wildwood High School, Wildwood

- *Student Membership
 **Family Membership

TREASURER'S REPORT

April 1, 1980-December 31, 1980

Net Worth, December 31, 1980		\$68,134.78
Current Assets:		
University State Bank (Tampa)		
checking	\$ 3,258.47	
University of South Florida		
account 76-9902-000	238.72	
First Federal Savings & Loan Assn.		
Gainesville	975.75	
Fortune Federal Savings & Loan		
(Thompson)	3,565.17	
Tampa Federal Savings & Loan	4,277.19	
Fortune Federal Savings & Loan		
(Yonge)	316.28	
University State Bank (Tampa)	2,369.76	
Freedom Federal Savings & Loan		
(Tampa)	9,810.44	
E. F. Hutton	43,197.00	
Middle South Utilities (six shares).....	126.00	\$68,134.78
Receipts:		
Memberships:		
Annual	\$ 6,480.00	
Fellow	240.00	
Family	995.00	
Historical	495.00	
Library	4,713.75	
Student	110.00	
Contributing	200.00	
Life	350.00	\$13,583.75
Contributions:		
Wentworth, Inc.	\$ 1,000.00	
Jerome Book	50.00	\$ 1,050.00
Other Receipts:		
Quarterly Sales	\$ 759.26	
Microfilm	190.00	
Photographs	10.50	
Labels	38.50	
Index	37.50	
Duplicating	199.57	
Directory	5.00	
Annual Meeting	2,820.20	\$ 4,060.83
Interest:		
First Federal	\$ 39.50	
Guaranty Federal	144.32	
Tampa Federal	173.98	
University State Bank	91.66	
Freedom Federal	397.13	
Guaranty Federal	11.62	\$ 858.21
Dividends:		
E. F. Hutton	\$ 2,421.00	
Middle South Utilities	9.54	\$ 2,430.54
Disbursements:		
Florida Historical Quarterly		
Printing and Mailing	\$10,205.66	
Mailer Labels and Envelopes	334.75	
Editor's Expenses	1,000.00	

Stationary and Envelopes	58.97	
Copyrights	32.00	
University of Florida Teaching Resources Center (photographs) ...	30.60	
Post Office Box Rental	22.00	\$11,683.98
Annual Meeting:		
Hotel, Meal Tickets	\$ 2,938.63	
Dr. W. Flynt	300.00	
Century Typographer	89.50	
Plaque	28.65	
Postage	35.00	
Printing	130.22	
Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Prize	150.00	
Rembert W. Patrick Memorial Prize	150.00	
Charlton W. Tebeau Junior Award	150.00	\$ 3,968.40
Other Expenses:		
<i>Florida Historical Society Newsletter</i>	\$ 758.16	
Postage	898.98	
Telephone	36.60	
December Board Meeting	54.04	
Travel	14.40	
Duplicating	546.45	
Educational Resources	196.45	
Supplies	1,099.52	
Jerome Book Fund	53.10	
Insurance	49.00	
C.P.A. (preparing income tax)	75.00	
Other Book Expense	26.79	\$ 3,808.49
Net Income		\$ 2,523.46
Balance, December 31, 1980		\$68,134.78

FLORIDA HISTORICAL CONFEDERATION
EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETING
APRIL 30, 1981

The executive board meeting was called to order by Linda Williams at 11:00 a.m., April 30, 1981. Present were Marjorie Patterson, John Opdyke, Mrs. Christian LaRoche, Addie Emerson, Elizabeth Ehrbar, Shirley Boutwell, Paul Camp, and Randy Nimnicht.

Paul Camp, Linda Williams, and Nancy Dilley were appointed as a committee to determine how best to increase the size of the Confederation so as to secure better geographical representation. A recommendation will be made to change the by-laws based upon the committee's report. Ms. Dilley will send a copy of the Confederation by-laws to all board members. The format and procedure for conducting a Junior History Fair was discussed. It was proposed that a "how-to" booklet for organizing a fair be developed. The matter of presenting awards and special achievement certificates was discussed. These recognitions would go to organizations and individuals for outstanding work in promoting local and county history. The presentations will be made at the annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society.

Respectfully submitted,
Nancy Dilley
Ex-officio Recording Secretary

GREAT EXPECTATIONS.

1981

- | | | |
|------------|---|-----------------|
| Nov. 6-8 | Southern Jewish Historical Society | Mobile, AL |
| Nov. 11-14 | Southern Historical Association | Louisville, KY |
| Nov. 12-14 | Southeastern Archeological Conference | Asheville, NC |
| Dec. 4-5 | Southeastern Borderlands Association Conference | Atlanta, GA |
| Dec. 28-31 | American Historical Association | Los Angeles, CA |

1982

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|--------------------|---|---------------------|
| Mar. 31-
Apr. 3 | Organization of American Historians | Philadelphia, PA |
| Apr. 2-4 | Florida Anthropological Society | Tampa, FL |
| May 6-7 | Florida Historical Confederation | Fort Lauderdale, FL |
| May 7-8 | FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY—80th MEETING | Fort Lauderdale, FL |

A GIFT OF HISTORY

A MEMBERSHIP IN THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY IS AN EXCELLENT GIFT IDEA FOR BIRTHDAYS, GRADUATION, OR FOR ANYONE INTERESTED IN THE RICH AND COLORFUL STORY OF FLORIDA'S PAST.

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- Family membership— \$20
- Contributing membership— \$50
- Student membership— \$10
- Check or money order enclosed
- Cash enclosed

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FROM

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THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF FLORIDA, 1856
THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, successor, 1902
THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, incorporated, 1905

OFFICERS

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OLIVE PETERSON, *president-elect*
RANDY NIMNIGHT, *vice-president*
MILDRED I. FRYMAN, *recording secretary*
PAUL EUGEN CAMP, *executive secretary and librarian*
SAMUEL PROCTOR, *editor, The Quarterly*

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The Florida Historical Society supplies the *Quarterly* to its members. Annual membership is \$15; family membership is \$20; a contributing membership is \$50. In addition, a student membership is \$10, but proof of current status must be furnished.

All correspondence relating to membership and subscriptions should be addressed to Paul Eugen Camp, 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. Camp.

