

COVER

Looking west from Cobb's Dock on the Indian River down Palmetto Avenue in 1909. The bandstand on the left was the entertainment center for residents of Fort Pierce. The photograph was provided by the St. Lucie County Historical Museum.

The Florida Historical Quarterly



Volume LXIII, Number 3

January 1985

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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(ISSN 0015-4113)

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL OUARTERLY

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JUAN BARTISTA DE SEGURA AND THE FAILURE OF THE FLORIDA JESUIT MISSION. 1566-1572

by Frank Marotti. Jr.

 ${f E}^{\, {\scriptscriptstyle {\sf UGENE}}}$ Lyon in *The Enterprise of Florida* states that it is important not to ignore the "private side" of the Spanish conquest of the New World. Despite Lyon's admonition, the personal aspect of the attempted spiritual conquest of La Florida by the Society of Jesus between 1566 and 1572, particularly its relation to the failure of the apostolic enterprise, remains somewhat neglected.² The central hypothesis of this study is that the human frailties of Juan Baptista de Segura, the superior of the Jesuit undertaking, played a major role in an evangelical disaster. Segura, a fascinating idealist, after experiencing frustrating failures among the natives of modern South Florida, coastal Georgia. and South Carolina, led seven men to their deaths in the Virginia wilderness, while engaged in a quixotic quest for souls. In taking this action, Father Baptista was responding to a lifetime of recurrent personal pressures. That is, Segura's superiors, especially Father General Francis Borgia, consistently misjudged his leadership abilities. The result was a botched venture in Florida, which nevertheless provided valuable experience for the order's subsequent endeavors in Spain's overseas possessions.

In March 1565, Philip II of Spain and Pedro Menéndez de Avilés agreed upon a contract that culminated fifty years of

Frank Marotti, Jr. is a graduate of the University of Miami and teaches in the Pinellas County public schools.

Eugene Lyon, The Enterprise of Florida: Pedro Menéndez de Avilés and the Spanish Conquest of Florida (Gainesville, 1976), vi-vii.
 Many historians have recounted the story of the Florida Jesuit mission of 1566-1572. Biographical data concerning the Jesuits who comprised this apostolic enterprise may be found in most of the general works, including: Michael Kenny, The Romance of the Floridas: The Finding and the Founding (New York, 1934); Felix Zubillaga, "P. Pedro Martínez (1533-1566). La primera sengre leguitica en les mistores porteamericanes." (1533-1566), La primera sangre Jesuítica en las misiones norteamericanas," Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu, VII (1938), 30-53; ibid., La Florida, La mision Jesuitica (1566-1572) y la colonización Española (Rome, 1941); Rosemary Ring Griffin, "Rogel, Padre of the Ports," Mid-America (January 1948), 3-43; and Clifford M. Lewis and Albert J. Loomie, The Spanish Jesuit Mission in Virginia, 1570-1572 (Chapel Hill, 1958).

attempts to settle La Florida.3 This region was then defined as the land stretching from the northern boundaries of New Spain to the Atlantic coast and northward "as far as knowledge reached."4 Menéndez, named adelantado, decided to employ the Society of Jesus in the evangelization of his territory.⁵

The sixteenth-century Jesuits enjoyed a reputation for organizational efficiency. An examination of the order, however, will reveal internal cracks that could bring its bureaucratic machine to a grinding halt. For example, on June 28, 1566, the first missionary expedition of the Society of Jesus to Spanish America sailed for Florida. Over a year had passed since St. Francis Borgia, the father general, had issued orders for such an action. Father Pedro Martínez, the superior, Father Juan Rogel, and Brother Francisco de Villarreal formed the apostolic band. Upon their arrival in America, they met with tragedy. Martínez, a dynamic natural leader, died at the hands of hostile natives near the Spanish fort of San Mateo. An unprepared, troubled, and dissension-wracked Spanish assistancy of the Society had been responsible for the lengthy delay in the inauguration of the mission. Juan Baptista de Segura would find himself caught in this entangling web of conflict.

Segura was born in Toledo, "a son of noble parents and good Christians of that city," in 1529. He attended the University of Alcalá and eventually obtained a master's degree. He then studied four years of theology and two of Holy Scripture at the same institution. On April 10, 1566, Segura entered the Society of Jesus. From Alcalá he traveled to his novitiate at Simancas where he made friends with Francis Borgia, the future general

^{3.} Albert C. Manucy, Florida's Menéndez: Captain General of the Ocean

Albert C. Manucy, Florida's Menendez: Captain General of the Ocean Sea (St. Augustine, 1965), 96; Lyon, Enterprise of Florida, vi, 53, 208.
 William C. Sturtevant, "Spanish-Indian Relations in Southeastern North America," Ethnohistory, IX (Winter 1962), 43.
 Lyon, Enterprise of Florida, 43-44, 119; Zubillaga, La Florida, 181-83; Kenny, Romance of the Floridas, 131-32.
 Thomas J. Campbell, The Jesuits, 1534-1921: A History of the Society

of Jesus From Its Foundation to the Present Time, 2 vols. (New York, 1921), I, 95; René Fülöp-Miller, The Power and Secret of the Jesuits, trans. F. S. Flint and D. F. Tait (New York, 1930), 19-23; Zubillaga, La Florida, 216-17; Kenny, Romance of the Floridas, 154-59; Pedro Menéndez de Avilés to Diego de Avellaneda, St. Augustine, October 15, 1566, in Felix Zubillaga, ed., Monumenta Antiquae Floridae (1566-1572) (Rome, 1946), 95-96 (hereinafter MAF).

^{7.} Juan de la Carrera to Bartolomé Pérez, March 1, 1600, MAF, 538.

of the order. After teaching briefly at Medina del Campo and reviewing his theology in Valladolid, Segura received Holy Orders in 1557.8

While he was a novice, Segura seriously cultivated the virtue of humility. In fact, by the time of his ordination, he begged his superiors to allow him to remain a brother. Segura claimed that he was not worthy to perform the sacred duties of the priesthood. This was the first of a number of times that Father Baptista would hesitate and then obediently accept leadership roles within the Society of Jesus.

After becoming a priest, Segura performed mission work among the inhabitants of the mountains of Santander and at the city of Logroño. From 1560 to 1565, he served as rector at Villímar and Monterrey. At these posts he was prudent and gentle, unlike many superiors of his day. These traits seemed to permit success in the relatively minor administrative assignments of his early years as a Jesuit. Consequently, for a brief period in 1565, he was transferred to Salamanca, the site of Spain's most important university, where he served as vice-rector. Then, from early 1566 until June 1567, Segura was rector of the college of Valladolid.¹⁰

It was at Valladolid that the factional disputes which plagued the Spanish assistancy caught up with Segura. He became involved in a clash between Diego Carrillo, the provincial of Castile, and Antonio Araoz, an influential court Jesuit. Carrillo wrote numerous letters of complaint, probably exaggerated, to Rome concerning the worldly life and material comforts of Araoz. Evidently, Segura became associated with his provincial's opinions. As a result, the court Jesuit did not hold Father Baptista in high regard. Already, Segura's responsibilities were becoming burdensome. 11

Soon, however, the situation worsened. A wealthy female inhabitant of the city died after naming Araoz as her daughter's guardian. Father Antonio accepted this charge without consult-

Zubillaga, La Florida, 317-18; Lewis and Loomie, Spanish Jesuit Mission, 73-74

^{9.} Carrera to Pérez, March 1, 1600, MAF, 538-39.

Ibid., 539; Zubillaga, La Florida, 318-20; Kenny, Romance of the Floridas, 54-56, 205-06; James Brodrick, The Progress of the Jesuits (1566-79) (New York, 1947), 33-34, 147-49; Antonio Astraín, Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la Asistencia de España, vol. 2: Laínez-Borja, 1566-1572 (Madrid, 1914), 260-77, 283, 459-62.

^{11.} Zubillaga, La Florida, 321; Kenny, Romance of the Floridas, 206.

ing anybody. Litigation resulted, since the dead woman's relatives feared that the Society of Jesus coveted her estate. The whole town was scandalized. Segura found himself caught in the middle of an uproar: as rector he received criticism for the incident. Nevertheless, he exercised prudence by not favoring the opinions of hotheads on either side of the guarrel. In the process, both parties made him their scapegoat. Segura remained troubled by the affair. 12 It seems likely that his subordinates viewed him as an indecisive leader rather than a prudent one.

In January 1566, Segura asked his friend, Francis Borgia, father general since July 1565, to remove the burden of superior from his shoulders; he felt that he was not equal to the task. He had desired an Indies missionary assignment for nine years, and he constantly had informed his superiors of these longings. Now he asked to go to Florida, confessing that his wishes were based upon a need to rid himself of great spiritual sloth and tepidity. He also intimated more internal difficulties at Valladolid by stating that he and Carrillo disagreed about the suitability of certain personnel assignments.¹³

An easy-going leadership style and a scrupulous conscience had served Segura well in remote areas of northern Spain. This was not true in pressure-packed Valladolid, where vehement political disputes rocked his college. Segura was ambitious, but only in the spiritual sense; he desired a post in the Indies, where he believed he could demonstrate his love for Christ in a heroic manner. The Jesuit hierarchy, particularly Borgia, misjudged his leadership abilities.

On September 28, 1567, Segura was named vice-provincial of Florida, and he would sail for that territory as part of a second Jesuit expedition to the adelantamiento of Menéndez. The survivors of the first expedition, Juan Rogel and Francisco de Villarreal, already were laboring in southern Florida. Diego Carrillo, Segura's provincial, however, had seen himself as being deprived of a valuable asset. Therefore, in order to block Father Baptista's departure from Valladolid, he had accused his old foe, Antonio Araoz, whom Borgia had placed in charge of negotia-

^{12.} Zubillaga, La Florida, 321-23; Kenny, Romance of the Floridas, 206;

Astraín, *Historia*, 487-88. 13. Zubillaga, MAF, 24-25; Juan Baptista de Segura to Borja, January 29, 1566, ibid., 25-28.

tions with Philip II regarding the Indies, of attempting to banish one of his opponents from Spain. Carrillo's ploy did not succeed, for the father general personally intervened to expedite the removal of Segura to Seville to await his departure for *La Florida*. In this city, Segura subsequently received notification of his new responsibilities. ¹⁴

Conditions reminiscent of dissension-wracked Valladolid plagued Segura in Seville. When confusion developed over the names of the companions who were to accompany him to Florida, he traveled to Madrid to discuss the matter. Meanwhile, back in Andalusia, the rector of Seville was complaining that the mission-aries were flaunting their positions by disobedience and diverting alms that normally went to the local Jesuit residence. To make matters worse, Segura encountered numerous problems when he attempted to collect money from the royal treasury for his expedition's expenses. Familial responsibilities also burdened him. It seems that Segura's parents, realizing that he was leaving Spain forever, had asked him to arrange for the entailment to them of his portion of the family inheritance. His brothers evidently had squandered their own patrimonies, and in the process, had been reduced to poverty. ¹⁵

All of this turmoil and uncertainty made Segura wonder if perhaps the devil himself might not be obstructing his mission to Florida. He probed his woes for signs of God's favor. Nevertheless, he remained troubled by the irresolution of the apostolic enterprise. Holy obedience could not serve as a signal that the Lord's will was being done, since the personnel assignments for Florida seemed to Segura to have occurred accidentally, and not according to Borgia's instructions. Father Baptista felt haunted

15. Avellaneda to Borja, December 31, 1567, ibid., 219-21; Avellaneda to Borja, January 29, 1568, ibid., 241-43; Segura to Borja, February 8, 1568, ibid., 244-50; Segura to Borja, February 9, 1568, ibid., 250-52.

^{14. &}quot;Letters Patent of the Vice Provincial of Florida," Seville, September 28, 1567, in Rubén Vargas Ugarte, "The First Jesuit Mission in Florida," Historical Records and Studies, XXV (1935), 71-72; "Relatio anonyma de visitatione quam Petrus Menendez Hispali missionariis Floridae fecit," December 16, 1567, MAF, 214-16; Diego Carrillo to Borja, June 5, 1567, ibid., 174-79; Carrillo to Borja, June 15, 1567, ibid., 179-81; Borja to Carrillo, June 5, 1567, ibid., 173; ibid., August 13, 1567, 194; Borja to Carrillo, March 15, 1567, in San Francisco de Borja, Sanctus Franciscus Borgia Quartus Dux et Societatis Iesu Praepositus Generalis Tertius (5 vols.), vol. 4: Epistolae, 1565-1568 (Madrid, 1910), 442-43; Borja to Jerónimo Ruiz del Portillo, August 13, 1567, ibid., 514-15.

by the possibility that the father general's wishes somehow were being contradicted. Such a move against obedience surely would incur divine wrath. Therefore, the scrupulous vice-provincial proposed a plan to relocate some of his companions upon reaching Florida, if Rome so desired.¹⁶

On the eve of the departure of this second Jesuit expedition to Florida what can be conjectured about the mental state of Juan Baptista de Segura? He had long desired a foreign mission, and his frustrating assignment as rector of controversy-plagued Valladolid probably reinforced his yearnings for an overseas post. Special actions by Borgia had enabled Segura to escape the petty politics of Valladolid, but more internal squabbles, confusion, and delays confronted him in Seville. Furthermore, he entertained serious doubts concerning God's willingness to bless the upcoming expedition. Family conflicts also weighed on his mind. Hopefully, in the New World, such nagging difficulties would disappear, and he could achieve his spiritual ambitions.

On March 13, 1568, Father Baptista's party departed from Seville. This "heavy reinforcement" of the Society's previous trio of missionaries consisted of three priests, three brothers, and eight "young catechists." All of the latter were aspirants to membership in the religious order. Florida would be their proving ground. Segura served as superior of the expedition with the title of Father Vice-Provincial.¹⁷

At the port of Sanlúar de Barrameda, where the Jesuits found themselves delayed for a month, a favorable reception by the inhabitants surely raised Segura's spirits. The natives of the Canary Islands received the missionaries with similar enthusiasm. Although the voyage across the Atlantic was not without difficulties, suffering and its subsequent relief apparently consoled the apostolic workers. ¹⁸

After miraculously avoiding shipwreck on the shores of a cannibal-infested Caribbean isle, the missionaries sailed "among very beautiful islands" until they reached Puerto Rico. Father Antonio Sedeño, a companion of Segura, felt that Borinquén was

^{16.} Segura to Borja, February 8, 1568, ibid., 243-50; Segura to Borja, February 9, 1568, ibid., 250-52.

Antonio Sedeño to Borja, November 17, 1568, ibid., 348; Lyon, Enterpise of Florida, 195; Kenny, Romance of the Floridas, 216-17.

Sedeño to Borja, November 17, 1568, MAF, 348-51.

"very beautiful and rich, although very poor in what matters for going to heaven." The islands must have impressed the seaweary Jesuits greatly, for the preceding two quotations are the sole references to nature's beauty that the writer discovered in over 600 pages of their correspondence. The party spent four days in Puerto Rico and once again received a tremendous reception.¹⁹ All of these successes, combined with Menéndez's glowing accounts of the favorable disposition of the Florida natives toward Christianity did not adequately prepare the evangelists for the harsh realities of the mission responsibilities that awaited them. Soon they would face Indian chieftains who would toy with Catholicism in order to court the favor of powerful European allies

In late June 1568, the missionaries arrived at St. Augustine. a settlement that still felt the impact of the recent attack on nearby Fort San Mateo by the Frenchman, Dominique de Gourgues. Starving and exhausted inhabitants greeted them. Nevertheless, Segura's spiritual ministrations served to renew the colonists. Visits by neighboring Indians and Father Juan Rogel, who had just returned from a reconnaissance of the coastal areas of Guale (Georgia) and Santa Elena (South Carolina), inspired the newcomers. Therefore, Segura left three young catechists, along with Brother Domingo Agustín Váez, at St. Augustine. The remainder of the party then sailed to Havana, in order to hold a series of strategy meetings and to establish a missionary headquarters.²⁰

The Havana conferences took place twice a day for more than a month. At these talks the seeds were sowed for future disputes that would take Segura to the Virginia wilderness. Prior to the arrival of the second Jesuit expedition to Florida, Rogel and Brother Francisco de Villarreal had experienced numerous difficulties at their missionary posts. Rogel, who was stationed at the Calusa major town on Mound Key, in Estero Bay, found himself cast into a delicate political situation. The Indians were involved in a dynastic dispute concerning political expan-

Ibid., 351.
 Ibid., 351-53; Segura to Borja, July 9, 1568, ibid., 315-16; Juan Rogel to Borja, July 25, 1568, ibid., 324-28; David B. Quinn, North America from Earliest Discovery to First Settlement: The Norse Voyages to 1612 (New York, 1977). 277-79; Zubillaga, La Florida, 332.

sion, and the Spaniards were viewed as pawns whose assistance would ensure both chiefly status and a victory over rival tribes. To a lesser extent, Villarreal, who toiled at Tequesta, near the mouth of the Miami River, faced similar problems. Other problems also plagued both evangelists, and consequently, their efforts failed. The two missionaries, however, tended to place most of the blame for the unfortunate outcomes upon the soldiers who manned the garrisons at each site.²¹ As a result, the excuses of Rogel and Villarreal, internalized by Segura, later became a major justification for his voyage to Chesapeake Bay.

The strategy session at the Cuban port brought Segura into conflict with Father Gonzalo de Álamo, also a member of the second expedition. Born in 1540, Álamo had less experience than his companions, but he was an excellent moralist and theologian, as well as an exceptional preacher. At the same time, however, he was an individualist whose personality clashed with Segura.²² For a man of Alamo's training, the Havana conferences provided a stage where he could display flamboyantly his abilities. His actions, however, incurred the displeasure of his peers, notably Sedeño and Father Baptista. At the same time, however, Segura began to lose the esteem of his men. He was, in a sense, "shown up" by a rebellious, immature rival. Eventually, Álamo would be sent back to Spain.

At first, around mid-November 1568, Segura's plans for a successful mission system seemed to be materializing. Havana appeared to be a suitable site for both a base of operations and a school for Indian children from Florida. Furthermore, new opportunities presented themselves for the revival of the missions at Mound Key and Tequesta. By February 1569, Guale, Santa Elena, and Los Mártires (the Keys) also looked promising for future evangelization efforts. ²³ Nevertheless, just when it seemed that Segura's plan would succeed, problems developed.

Rogel to Borja, November 10, 1568, MAF, 335; Rogel to Ruiz del Portillo, April 25, 1568, ibid., 274-98, 302-11; Francisco de Villarreal to Rogel, January 23, 1568, ibid., 235-40: Sedeño to Borja, November 17, 1568, ibid., 355-56: Segura to Borja, November 18, 1568, ibid., 369-61; Rogel to Borja, July 25, 1568, ibid., 320-23; Stephen E. Reilly, "A Marriage of Expedience: The Calusa Indians and Their Relations with Pedro Menéndez de Avilés in Southwest Florida, 1566-1569," Florida Historical Quarterly, LIX (April 1981), 395-421.
 Kenny, Romance of the Floridas, 207-08; Zubillaga, La Florida, 327.
 Segura to Borja, November 18, 1568, MAF, 358-63; Rogel to Borja, No-

On Mound Key, Spanish efforts to manipulate a Calusa acceptance of Christianity backfired. Old problems also resurfaced at Tequesta. By mid-June 1569, the Jesuits had abandoned southern Florida. During these troubles. Segura had been traveling throughout Florida, in order to discover the best locations for missionary outposts. Still optimistic, he decided to concentrate his efforts on Guale and Santa Elena. 24

The dissension that had developed out of the Havana conferences continued and at the same time there was little success in converting large numbers of Indians. Segura insisted that Álamo be returned to Spain. His arguments were convincing. and Rome agreed. Yet actually removing Álamo would not be easy. Menéndez had worked hard to obtain Jesuits, and he would not view the departure of any of them lightly. Furthermore, Segura had received a reprimand from Borgia for not writing letters to Europe in his own hand. Stomach problems, perhaps stress-related, began to plague Segura soon afterward.²⁵

The missionaries at Santa Elena and Guale worked somewhat removed from the Spanish settlements and without a military escort. Segura evidently attributed the previous Florida failures to the cruelty of the soldiers located at each mission site. Food shortages, lack of converts, and cultural conflicts, however, led Segura to suggest in December 1569, that perhaps Florida should be abandoned by the Jesuits: other regions, particularly China. would offer better hopes for their work. A month previously, Brother Domingo Agustín Váez, a talented linguist, unexpectedly had perished in an epidemic. His passing has been termed the greatest catastrophe to the apostolic enterprise since the death of Pedro Martínez. Conditions continued to deteriorate so that by mid-July 1570, Guale and Santa Elena had been abandoned.²⁶

vember 10, 1568, ibid., 330-43; Segura to Juan de Hinistrosa, December 18, 1568, ibid., 370-71; Rogel to Borja, February 5, 1569, ibid., 382.

24. Rogel to Ruiz del Portillo, April 25, 1568, ibid., 306-11: Rogel to Borja, November 10, 1568, ibid., 337; Rogel to Borja, February 5, 1567, ibid., 380-81; Villarreal to Borja, March 5, 1570, ibid., 416; Sedeño to Rogel, December 19, 1568, ibid., 372-73; "A Letter of Juan Baptista de Segura," June 19, 1569, ibid., 385-86; Zubillaga, La Florida, 345, 347, 349-50.

25. Segura to Borja, June 19, 1569, MAF, 386-87; Borja to Segura, June 29, 1569, ibid., 391; Dionisio Vázquez to Segura, December 29, 1568, ibid., 373-75; Segura to Borja, July 5, 1569, ibid., 392-93.

26. Rogel to Hinistrosa, December 11, 1569, ibid., 393-404; Sedeño to Borja, March 6, 1570, ibid., 422; Sedeño to Borja, May 14, 1570, ibid., 429-31; Rogel to Menéndez, December 9, 1570, MAF, 471-77; Kenny, Romance of

To make matters worse, a new political problem developed in Florida. Segura leveled a series of denunciations against the absent Menéndez, charging that he would do "everything in his power" to prevent the return of Álamo to Spain and the departure of the Jesuits from Florida. As conditions deteriorated, Segura's image in the eyes of his men declined. Sedeño recommended the removal of both Segura and Álamo from Florida, and Menéndez made a similar request.²⁷

In the midst of turmoil, Segura remembered his earlier years at the University of Alcalá. He had dreamed of days when he could put them into practice at some exotic outpost. He had listened eagerly to tales of the missionary exploits of the Jesuit priest, St. Francis Xavier, in the Orient. Remote regions of Spain and island ports of call, far from the pressures of dissension, had given him peace and success. Therefore, he resolved to escape from Florida with all of its problems and turmoil and sail away to China.

At some time around 1560, Spanish sailors seized an Indian of the Chesapeake Bay area, whom they christened Don Luis, after his baptismal sponsor, Don Luis de Velasco, the viceroy of New Spain. According to the geographic concepts of the time, a water passage to New Spain and China existed in the land of Don Luis, or "Ajacán." In fact, in 1566, Pedro Menéndez made an unsuccessful attempt to settle in this strategically important region. The captured Ajacán native took part in this expedition and eventually ended up in Spain, where he lived for at least two years. Afterward, perhaps in 1569, Don Luis journeyed to Havana where he met and talked with Segura.²⁸

These conversations with Don Luis evoked in Segura's mind romantic thoughts of St. Francis Xavier. Don Luis seemed like another Paul of the Holy Faith, the convert who had sparked Xavier's interest in Japan, and whose valuable assistance frequently was described in letters sent back to Europe.²⁹ A tre-

the Floridas, 209; "Letter of Fr. Juan Baptista de Segura to St. Francis Borgia," December 18, 1569, in Vargas Ugarte, "First Jesuit Mission,"

Ibid., 109-10: Kenny, Romance of the Floridas, 230; Sedeño to Borja, March 6, 1570, MAF, 427; Menéndez to Borja, January 10, 1571, ibid.,

Lewis and Loomie, Spanish Jesuit Mission, 4-5, 12-20.
 Carrera to Pérez, March I, 1600, MAF, 552-53; Fülöp-Miller, Power and Secret, 209-10; Lewis and Loomie, Spanish Jesuit Mission, 140.

mendous opportunity seemed to be presenting itself to Segura. Guided by the Indian, accompanied by no troublesome soldiers, he would sail to the Chesapeake, to "another greater and more important Japan."30

Accordingly, Segura had a ship built for the long trip to Chesapeake Bay. In July 1570, he sailed for Santa Elena, where he called a meeting with his confreres. Despite the objections of Rogel, Sedeño, and his friend, Brother Juan de la Carrera, he was determined to proceed with his plan. Only the inexperienced Father Luis de Quirós, who, along with Brother Gabriel Gómez and Brother Sancho de Zaballos, had sailed from Spain with Menéndez on February 7, 1570, sided with Segura. This third expedition had been sent to replace Álamo, who finally had returned to Europe.³¹

Segura wanted no more problems or dissension. A handpicked group- men who would cause no trouble- would accompany him. Quirós, Gómez, and Zaballos, all newcomers, would sail to the Chesapeake territory. Brother Pedro de Linares would also make the voyage, along with an altar boy, Alonso de Olmos. The final three members of the expedition were lay catechists who sought entrance into the Society: Juan Baptista Méndez, Gabriel de Solís, and Cristóbal Redondo. Don Luis would serve as the party's guide and interpreter. On August 5, 1570, the expedition began its death trip.³²

The band reached Chesapeake Bay on September 10, 1570. Soon, the frigate in which they had sailed, their sole link to the outside world, departed. Shortly thereafter, Don Luis abandoned the missionaries, tempted by his former way of life, especially polygamy. Segura's efforts to persuade him to return failed. The party was panic-stricken, for they had no interpreter and no means of support. Consequently, they saw themselves forced to barter metal for corn. Meanwhile, they prepared for death by prayer and spiritual exercises.³³

^{30.} Carrera to Pérez, March 1, 1600, MAF, 553.

Ibid., 536-41, 552-53; "Relatio De Missione Floridae A Patre Ioanne Rogel," Inter Annos 1607-1611 Scripta, ibid., 611; Avellaneda to Borja,

<sup>Rogel, Intel Allios 1607-1011 Scripta, Ibid., 611, Avchancea to Borja, February 10, 1570, ibid., 412-13.
32. "Relatio De Missione Floridae A Patre Ioanne Rogel," ibid., 611; Carrera to Pérez, March 1, 1600, ibid., 553-54; Lewis and Loomie, Spanish Jesuit Mission, xvii-xviii; "Letter of Luis de Quirós and Juan Baptista de Segura to Juan de Hinistrosa," September 12, 1570, ibid., 89.
33. Ibid., 40, 89; Rogel to Borja, August 28, 1572, MAF, 527-28; Carrera to</sup>

Finally, in desperation, Segura sent Quirós, Solís, and Méndez on an embassy to Don Luis. The renegade and a group of braves killed these ambassadors on February 4, 1571. Several days later, on February 9 or 10, Don Luis visited the hut of the surviving Jesuits, which was some distance from the site of the recent massacre. There, the natives murdered everyone except young Alonso de Olmos. It was he who later would recount the gruesome tale. ³⁴ Juan Baptista de Segura, in a strange twist of fate, had achieved his lifetime ambition— the crown of martyrdom.

After the Virginia massacres, the Jesuits abandoned Florida. The remaining missionaries eventually moved to New Spain, which the Society of Jesus entered in 1572. Juan Rogel, Antonio Sedeño. Francisco de Villarreal, and other former Florida evangelists rendered distinguished service in Mexico and the Philippines. It was not until eighteen years after their entrance into Mexico City, however, that the Jesuits embarked upon missions among unpacified Indians. They had learned their lesson in Florida. A solid infrastructure was first established before advancing into hostile territory. In fact, only at the urging of Diego de Avellaneda, the official visitor sent by Father General Claudio Aquaviva to New Spain in 1590, and, ironically, the same priest who had prepared the groundwork for the Florida mission twenty-five years earlier, did the Society commence such perilous work. 35 Thus, the Florida experience greatly influenced the subsequent history of the order in New Spain.

Juan Baptista de Segura was totally out of place in the wilds of America. Francis Borgia's judgment of Segura's abilities was erroneous. Father Francis, after learning of Segura's decision to attempt the peaceful evangelization of Ajacán, supported the move. Despite criticisms of Segura by Álamo, Sedeño, and Menéndez, Borgia stood squarely behind his old friend. Elsewhere, some of Borgia's other personnel assignments had also proven unwise. For example, the provincials that he named for Spain

Pérez, March 1, 1600, ibid., 556.

^{34.} Rogel to Borja, August 28, 1572, ibid., 528; Carrera to Pérez, March 1, 1600, ibid., 557-59: "Relatio De Missione Floridae A Patre Ioanne Rogel," ibid., 612; Lewis and Loomie, Spanish Jesuit Mission, 450.

<sup>ibid., 612; Lewis and Loomie, Spanish Jesuit Mission, 450.
35. Zubillaga, La Florida, 421-24; Griffin, Rogel, 36-43; Kenny, Romance of the Floridas, 300-05; Lewis and Loomie, Spanish Jesuit Mission, 25, 101; Astraín, Historia, 69; William E. Shiels, Gonzalo de Tapia (1561-1594) Founder of the First Permanent Mission in North America (New York, 1934), 23, 28, 74-75, 81, 83, 98.</sup>

in 1565 caused him many problems. In 1568, when he appointed new provincials, things improved notably. In addition, Jerónimo Ruiz del Portillo, the provincial of Spanish America, Segura's immediate superior, had to be recalled from his post in Peru.³⁶ Incompetent superiors could hardly direct dangerous enterprises in remote New World locations. Thus, Juan Baptista de Segura's shortcomings were a major cause of the failure of the Florida Jesuit mission of 1566-1572.

^{36.} Borja to Segura, *aut Sedeño*, November 14, 1570, MAF, 458-61; Borja to Menéndez, November 15, 1570, MAF, 463-64; Astraín, *Historia*, 459-62; Campbell, *The Jesuits*, 54-55.

MASTER JAMES COOK AND GULF COAST CARTOGRAPHY

by Robert R. Rea

The acquisition by Great Britain of Florida and cis-Mississippi Louisiana in 1763 brought with it both the need and the opportunity for a significant expansion of cartographic knowledge of the shores of the newly-created colonies of East and West Florida. Spanish and French charts of the northern coast of the Gulf of Mexico were rather more artistic than scientific; indeed, the tools for exact surveying had yet to be developed when the Union Jack was raised at St. Augustine, Pensacola, and Mobile. Fishermen from Havana and the occasional merchant engaged in the coasting trade might know the safe anchorages and the entrances to the great bays, but no European navy possessed dependable charts of those waters. In 1763, the British Admiralty set out to rectify that situation as part of a general survey of the coasts and harbors of North America.¹

Officially, the task of charting the Gulf coast fell to George Gauld, who devoted the years 1764-1781 to that assignment; but the self-appointed cartographers of the Floridas were as numerous as their contributions were varying in extent and accuracy. The list would include such well-known names as Elias Durnford, Philip Pittman, Bernard Romans, and Thomas Hutchins, each of whom has received some degree of scholarly attention and appreciation. Less familiar is the work of several Royal Navy men who were often the first to establish the sightings and soundings necessary for safe operations along the Gulf coast. Their observations were frequently incorporated into those of the professional cartographers— hence Reid's Tree, the seamark chosen by Master Robert Reid of H.M.S. *Tartar*, became a part of every chart of

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John D. Ware and Robert R. Rea, George Gauld: Surveyor and Cartographer of the Gulf Coast (Gainesville, 1982), xv-xx.

Pensacola Bay. But ships' masters served captains, and Captain John Lindsay's name is most prominent upon the chart for which Reid provided sailing instructions. Indeed, Lindsay's superior, Admiral Sir William Burnaby, would take it amiss that a mere captain should seem to steal credit from the commander in chief of the Jamaica Station under whose orders he sailed. Rank had its powers as well as its privileges; when George Gauld surveyed Tampa Bay, he was careful to see that one of his manuscript charts carried the admiral's name back to England.²

Among those lesser lights who contributed to the charting of the Gulf coast was James Cook, sometime master in the Royal Navy. In spite of the fact that his was one of the earliest British charts of Pensacola Bay to be published and that he was a member of the first Tampa Bay surveying team, Cook has received as little attention from historians as he did from contemporaries. The reasons are sufficiently evident. Scholars have had considerable difficulty identifying Master James Cook and, from the sparse documentation available, coaxing him out from under the broad shadow of the great cartographer and explorer, Captain James Cook, an exact contemporary. Cook's naval companions, on the other hand, knew him all too well and, with a few exceptions, were content to let him slip into the darkness imposed by the court-martial which directed that he be "dismissed from his employment as Master in His Majesty's Navy, and render'd incapable of ever serving as an Officer in any of His Majesty's Ships or Vessels of War." That verdict cannot be reversed, but it is possible to trace a part of Cook's career in detail and to let him speak in his own defense. His story illustrates something of the manner of eighteenth-century British chartmaking, most particularly the tribulations of a cartographer on the Gulf coast.

Master James Cook first appears in British naval records on April 23, 1762, when he went aboard H.M.S. Mars, Captain Richard Spry, at Plymouth, England.⁴ It may be assumed that Cook was no newcomer to his trade. A ship's master bore responsibility for sailing and navigating the vessel, and Spry, an

Ibid., 29, 43ff.

There was at least a third James Cook, lieutenant, R.N., identified by Jeannette D. Black in her unpublished paper, "Too Many Cooks" (1974). Master's log, *Mars*, ADM 52/1349; muster book, *Mars*, ADM 36/6146; all manuscripts cited are located in the Public Record Office, Kew, England, unless otherwise indicated.

experienced senior captain, must have satisfied himself as to the competence of his new master between April 26 and August 18, during a cruise to Belle Isle off the coast of France. Shortly after returning to Spithead, Spry was named commodore of a squadron ordered to North American waters: he remained aboard Mars and was succeeded in command of Cook's ship by Captain John Luttrell. In September they sailed west, anchoring at Halifax, Nova Scotia, on October 28.5 There they would remain until the following June, a period brightened by the news received on February 19, that hostilities with France had been brought to an end.

The inactivity of the long winter enabled Master James Cook to undertake the first of his known cartographic projects. He did so by order of Commodore Spry, for Sir Richard had spent much time and seen much action in Canadian waters. Having served in the recent expeditions against Louisburg and Quebec, he would appreciate the value of a careful survey of Halifax harbor. On December 9, 1762, Master James Cook was suspended from his duties aboard Mars and did not return to the ship until April 29, 1763.6 Although that was hardly the ideal season for surveying, it was sufficient time for Cook to make those observations and sketches that were published as A Draught of the Harbour of Hallifax and the adjacent coast in Nova Scotia in 1766.

In June 1763, Mars sailed from Halifax, by way of Bermuda, to Jamaica, thence, back to England. On August 25, at Portsmouth, the ship was paid off, and Master James Cook was discharged. Three months later, on November 23, Cook was entered upon the muster book of H.M.S. Alarm, to act as master for Captain George Watson. He came aboard two days later, while Alarm was anchored in the Nore.8 Cook's new ship was a thirtytwo-gun fifth rater with a reduced complement of 130 men. She sailed in early December, stopped at Portsmouth and Falmouth on her way west, and reached Port Royal, Jamaica, March 18, 1764. There she remained until May. On the sixth of that month.

Captain's log, Mars, ADM 51/3899; master's log, Mars, ADM 52/1349.

Muster book, Mars, ADM 36/6146. Ibid.: captain's log, Mars, ADM 51/3899; master's log, Mars, ADM 52/

Muster book, Alarm, ADM 36/4950; master's log, Alarm, ADM 52/1127; captain's log, Alarm, ADM 51/3757.

H.M.S. *Druid* joined the ships of the Jamaica squadron anchored in the spacious harbor below Kingston, and on May 10, her captain, Rowland Cotton, superseded George Watson aboard *Alarm*. Rowland Cotton was a rising young man who had only begun his career as a scholar at the Naval Academy in 1753, and whose first commissioned appointment was as sixth lieutenant in H.M.S. *St. George* in 1762. As captain of *Druid*, he had visited the Gulf coast and was familiar with Pensacola and Mobile bays. He could not have been overjoyed at being assigned to a new ship, a new set of officers, an untried crew, and being ordered back to Pensacola just two weeks after returning to Port Royal.⁹

On May 22, 1764, *Alarm* set sail for Pensacola, arriving June 9. At the end of the month Captain Cotton left the bay, coasting westward and anchoring off Ship Island on July 4. *Alarm* spent over three weeks in that protected haven, securing wood and water, watching coastal shipping, and sounding the waters of what is now known as Mississippi Sound. On July 24 the ship's logs indicate that the yawl, working off neighboring Cat Island, was driven ashore by a sudden squall. The men were taken off the next day by a passing schooner from New Orleans and returned to *Alarm*, but the boat's gear was lost— a trifle that would loom large in the future.¹⁰

From Ship Island, *Alarm* struck a course east, then round-about the Florida peninsula and up the Atlantic coast to Port Royal, South Carolina, where she anchored August 16. It may be assumed that Master James Cook was involved in any exploratory operations around Ship and Cat islands. He certainly was busy during the two weeks *Alarm* was anchored at Port Royal, for he subsequently produced a chart of that harbor and sailing instructions for entering it. At the beginning of September, *Alarm* weighed anchor for Jamaica, where she was based until mid-November. ¹¹

H.M.S. *Alarm* returned to Pensacola on November 22, 1764, and was moored in the bay for almost seven months. Ashore, these were busy times. The arrival of Governor George Johnstone

ADM 6/18, 6/19; captain's log, Druid, ADM 51/270; captain's log, Alarm, ADM 51/3757, indicates that Cotton received his new command on May 8 1764

^{10.} Captain's log, *Alarm*, ADM 51/3757; master's log, *Alarm*, ADM 52/1127. 11. Ibid.

and a number of provincial officials and settlers began to transform the rude settlement, and with civil government, a town was laid out and lots were plotted and assigned to those who sought them. A number of *Alarm's* people were persuaded to invest in Pensacola's first land boom. Lieutenants William Prosser, John Blankett, and William Johnstone, boatswain Joseph Smith, carpenter James Crombye, and gunner Thomas Maistell all secured properties, and on February 7, 1765, Master James Cook was granted 1,000 acres on the coast between Bay St. Louis and Biloxi. Whereas the other officers of *Alarm* sought town lots which could be and were disposed of quite readily, Cook's interest in a distant coastal property may suggest that he was seriously contemplating settlement in the colony and had sighted a likely spot the previous summer.

While some dreamed of prospects and profits in Pensacola and West Florida, all was not well with the men aboard H.M.S. *Alarm.* An inactive crew always bred trouble, and though ship's boats were employed on various duties, boredom was bound to set in and with it displays of insolence that moved Captain Cotton to use the lash frequently in order to maintain discipline. Master James Cook, too, would have had little to do aboard ship. It was doubtless in the early spring of 1765 that he gathered the information that would appear in his chart of the harbor. It may be assumed that he had knowledge of, and probably access to, the charts that naval surveyor George Gauld had already prepared. He would certainly have been aware of Gauld's work and plans for the summer's surveying in which *Alarm* would be employed. ¹³ Before good weather returned to the Gulf, however, James Cook's relations with Captain Rowland Cotton took a turn for the worse.

In April 1765, the master and the captain of Alarm fell into a direct confrontation. The facts are unclear, but it seems that

^{12.} Clinton N. Howard, *The British Development of West Florida 1763-1769* (Berkeley, 1947), 58, passim. The documents do not identify Prosser, Blankett, and Johnstone as attached to *Alarm*, as they do with the warrant officers and seamen. My attribution of a grant to Lieutenant Johnstone is based on its proximity to those of his fellow officers. Captain Cotton seems only to have been interested in reserving property for the use of the navy.

Gauld was transferred to Alarm's muster book when his previous ship, H.M.S. Tartar, left Pensacola in January 1765, Ware and Rea, George Gauld, 39. For Gauld's early surveys of Pensacola Bay, see ibid., 29-32, 38-41.

Cook was suffering from a fever and near to being delirious. Captain Cotton observed that Cook had absented himself from his quarters for as much as three hours after the eight o'clock curfew, and he had had words with the master when Cook had refused to surrender his logbook in order that its entries might be utilized by other ship's officers. Cook, apparently delinquent in making his own entries when nothing was happening, claimed that he was "troubled with a delirious complaint in my head." but that could not excuse disrespectful behavior toward his captain. 14 On some particular occasion the master advanced on Captain Cotton, hands on hips, so close as to touch him and, according to Lieutenant Prosser who observed the scene, seemingly intent upon striking the captain. Cotton was able to avoid a violent exchange with the ailing master, and he ordered Prosser to confine him to quarters. Cook, who had no good opinion of Prosser, refused to accept his directions. It took a direct order from Cotton to secure Cook's acquiescence, and Midshipman John Burr thought Cook was even then readying himself to attack the captain.

Below decks, Cook was noisy and troublesome; the gunroom steward swore he was out of his head for two days. That Cook was indeed sick and delirious is strongly suggested by the steward's report that during his confinement he bled himself (a standard medical treatment), made a pudding with his blood, and "called for more Oatmeal to make it thicker." Assuming that Master Cook was not a lover of blood pudding, the old sailor's crude prank on a young man may simply indicate that Cook was recovering his senses. Recover he did, and after some days Lieutenant William Johnstone interceded for the master and effected a reconciliation with the captain. With Johnstone, Posser, and a sentry as witnesses in Cotton's cabin, Cook made his apologies, and Cotton agreed to forgive and forget the incident, not, however, without certain understandings and conditions. According to Lieutenant Prosser, it was agreed that when Alarm returned to Jamaica and Cook could be replaced, the master would leave the ship, as he had already talked of doing because of "some Estate that had fallen in to him." As for Captain Cotton, he laid down

^{14.} The court-martial record, ADM 1/5303, Pt. 2, reads "in my hand," but subsequent entries make it clear that that is a copyist's error.

the rules that Cook should stay off the quarterdeck, restrict himself to his cabin after eight o'clock at night, and refrain from messing with the other officers in the gunroom. Such exclusion from his own class aboard ship could only be intended to encourage the master's intention of leaving *Alarm* at the earliest opportunity. Cook outflanked Cotton on the last point, however. When Admiral Sir William Burnaby arrived in Pensacola harbor, the master secured his permission to mess with *Alarm's* other officers, and he did so, much to Lieutenant Prosser's disgust. ¹⁵

Good weather and the admiral's prodding soon provided the officers and crew of *Alarm* with proper employment. On May 29, Captain Cotton received instructions to "proceed to the Bay of Espiritu Santo on the Coast of Florida, and to take a compleat Survey of that Bay, and to examine if it is fit to receive Capital Ships. "16 Espiritu Santo- Tampa Bay- had long been noted as the most promising body of water on the western coast of the Florida peninsula, but it had not yet received extensive investigation. The British surveying expedition of 1765, led by George Gauld, included H.M.S. Alarm and the chartered schooner Betsey whose shallow draft assured her access to the unknown waters within the bay. On June 14, Alarm and Betsey cleared the bar at Pensacola and began working eastward, near the coast, as far as Cape San Blas, where they set a course southeastward. Soundings were taken every half hour, and when the two ships turned south along the peninsula, they anchored at nightfall as a further precaution. On June 21, they stood off the entrance to Tampa Bay, and Master James Cook went aboard Betsey to reconnoitre the bar. At noon he returned to Alarm, while the schooner made its way safely into Espiritu Santo Bay. During the next few days, Alarm cautiously worked her way across the bar, Cook sounding ahead in the ship's cutter. On June 24, she too was anchored in the great bay. Cook entered the latitude as 27°41', variation 4'38" - a reasonably accurate observation.

The first British survey of Tampa Bay began in the last week of June and continued until the end of August. For over two months *Alarm* was at her moorings while Gauld sounded the

^{15.} Ibid.

For the Tampa Bay survey, see Ware and Rea, George Gauld, 43-57. All references to Cook's activity derive from ADM 1/5303, Pt. 2, unless otherwise noted.

passes, investigated the adjacent coast, and charted Old Tampa Bay and Hillsborough Bay. The expedition enjoyed fair weather. occasional squalls, but generally moderate breezes, an average temperature of 83°. Fresh water was in short supply, and Alarm regularly dispatched boat crews to Mullet Key, where casks were sunk in the sand and allowed to fill with brackish but drinkable water. The crew's diet was supplemented by fish and ovsters. Spanish fishermen's huts and abandoned Indian dwellings were seen, but no inhabitants or visitors were encountered until August 14. when a Virginia coasting schooner bound for Pensacola sailed into the bay in order to replenish her water. For the crew of Alarm the long weeks in Tampa Bay were marked by boredom. occasional hard work in a hot sun, and debilitating fevers. If the drinking water was generally unpalatable, the ship's food was often absolutely inedible. At the end of July, 2,280 pounds of bread, the seaman's dietary staple, was condemned as "being unfit for men to eat." and twenty and one-half bushels of peas went over the side, being "mouldy, musty, & full of varmine." 17 Fourteen men- ten marines and four seamen- died while the ship lay at anchor. With the death toll passing ten per cent of the ship's company, it may be assumed that few escaped illness caused by exposure to a broiling sun and the inevitable fevers from which there was no escape.

For Master James Cook, *Alarm's* inactive role at Tampa Bay offered an opportunity to do some surveying on his own. During the voyage from Pensacola he had carefully noted soundings, bottom characteristics, currents, and bearings, and he had regretted his inability to continue following the coastline when *Alarm* headed southeast after passing Cape San Blas. At the entrance to Espiritu Santo, on June 21-22, he had been able to investigate the islands at the bar and had named one (Egmont) Alarm Island, another (Mullet Key) Muschetto Island, a third (Passage Key) Prosser's Island. On July 14, Rowland Cotton issued written orders to the master "to coast along shore to the Southward of this Bay seven days, and to the Northw^d six, in order to examine whether or not the Bay of Carlos [Charlotte Harbor] was capable of receiving Capital Ships," to make such other observations as might be appropriate, and to report his

^{17.} Master's log, *Alarm*, ADM 52/1127.

findings to the captain. Accordingly, Cook set out in a ship's boat on July 16 and proceeded south along the shore, past half a dozen inlets, until he reached 25°56' (by his calculations). "All this Coast," he noted, "is a low flat Beach." Finding nothing of interest, Cook returned to the ship. On July 22, his instructions from Captain Cotton were re-issued, and on the twenty-fifth he began working north of Espiritu Santo. "All this coast is full of Islands cover'd with mangrove Bushes and the Beach is Low & Sandy," he observed. More significantly he discovered that a mariner approaching Tampa Bay could easily distinguish whether he was north or south of the entrance by the different trenching of the coast. 18

Cook was back aboard *Alarm*, "drawing Draughts of the Coast he was sent to survey," between July 28 and August 15. On August 15, he supplied the captain with some "observations" which he described as incomplete. He had not had time to sound the two southern channels into Espiritu Santo, and his work had been interrupted because "my Eyes were burnt with the Sun, which made me very unwell and has occasioned a Disorder for which I have been Physick[ed] and bled since." Surgeon Richard Tatlock would verify Cook's excuse, observing that the master was "very ill sometime in August. I bled him & gave him Physick" when he complained of a dizziness which caused him to fall down. Cook later claimed that his disability was "owing to my losing my Hat & being three Days without one."

The captain seems to have been slightly mollified by Cook's assurance that one draught of the chart he was preparing (in lieu of a written report) was intended for him. In any case, the master was sufficiently recovered in health and in the captain's graces that on August 27, as Alarm prepared to take her departure from Tampa Bay, Cotton ordered Cook to "proceed tomorrow by day break in the Longboat . . . and Sound the Ship Channel to the Southward of Egmont Island taking care to return to the ship in the Afternoon." ¹⁹

Accordingly, on August 28, Cook, Master's Mate James Haley and a boat crew "went from the ship in the morning at daylight[,]

Ibid.; Remarks Book, Alarm, February 1764-February 5, 1766. Miscellaneous Papers. Vol. 2, Hydrographic Dept., Ministry of Defence, Taunton, England.

^{19.} Cotton's orders to Cook appear in ADM 1/5303, Pt. 2.

breeze about ENELL and steer'd to the S^o end of Egmont Island. Flood tide we rowed from there across the Channel to Burnaby Island [Passage Key]. We rowed round it within about 20 yards of it, and across the Channel at the S^o end of Egmont Island. Then we Sounded on the Bar, 'til about 2 o'clock in the afternoon, and proceeded to the Ship which we reached about half an hour past 5. "20 When Master James Cook came aboard H.M.S. Alarm he was confronted by an irate Captain Cotton.

It appears that Cotton had intended Cook to limit his investigation to Egmont Island, then to return to the ship. As all could see, the master had passed on around Burnaby Island and consequently returned to Alarm later than his captain expected. When Cook reached the ship's deck. Cotton demanded an explanation, accusing him of having exceeded his orders, whereupon Cook "turned very smartly round to the Captain and told him he had not." Had he proceeded otherwise than he did. he would not have been able to become fully acquainted with the soundings around Egmont Island. As Cotton felt that Cook was already sufficiently familiar with Egmont, he brusquely rejected the master's argument, swore he would see him court-martialed. and ordered Lieutenant William Johnstone to confine him to quarters. During this angry exchange. Cook kept his hat on his head and showed "great contempt" toward the captain- at least in the eyes of Lieutenant Prosser.²¹ Young Prosser was, however, no friendly witness. During Cook's subsequent confinement, Prosser took considerable abuse from the master, who refused to obey orders transmitted through him. When the captain sent for Cook's logbook, the master refused to give it up, declaring that, as a prisoner, he need obey no one. Cook referred to Prosser as "a puppy," pointed out that he was only acting lieutenant, merely "rated before the the mast," and referred to the captain as "a pretty fellow[,] a handsome clever Gentleman" who had "rated a tailor as a Carpenter's Mate," Cook vented his spleen on Prosser on many occasions. As Prosser put it, "He frequently . . . let me know I was a shitten fellow."

From Tampa Bay, Alarm returned to Pensacola, remaining

^{20.}

Ibid., Haley's testimony. Ibid., testimony of Lieutenant Prosser and Captain Cotton. Surgeon's Mate Thomas Stott, however, saw nothing disrespectful in Cook's demeanor.

there until October 5, when she weighed anchor for Port Royal, Jamaica. The return trip was extremely rough, aggravating tempers already badly frayed. No sooner was the harbor entrance in sight than both Cotton and Cook launched letters to Admiral Sir William Burnaby demanding that the other be brought before a court-martial.²² Action was delayed, however, by Cook's illness and hospitalization ashore from the end of November until January 24, 1766, and Cook claimed that he was not allowed to return to his ship when he recovered his health but was detained in custody at the hospital.23

Immediately upon the master's recovery, Admiral Burnaby issued orders for his court-martial to be held on Monday, January 27, aboard H.M.S. Tartar, whose captain, Sir John Lindsay, would serve as president. The other members of the court were Captains Thomas Lee, James Bremer, the Honorable William Cornwallis, and William Locker.²⁴ Cook stood charged with "Contempt and Disobedience of Orders, & having both before, and since his Confinement, been guilty of the like Crimes, which at times were tending to Mutiny."

The charges read, Captain Cotton's witnesses were paraded before the board. Acting Lieutenant Prosser was voluble and predictably hostile, as were Midshipmen Joseph Cotton and John Burr, Marine Sergeant John Clements, and Steward James Vieck. Surgeon Richard Tatlock indicated that Cook was indeed "very ill" while Alarm was at Tampa Bay, but rejected the court's suggestion that his feverish delirium might be equated with insanity. "At times he was a little flighty," said Tatlock, "but not anything tending to Insanity." Surgeon's Mate Thomas Stott was a more friendly witness and denied that Cook had been disrespectful toward Cotton on August 28. Lieutenant William Johnstone was Cook's best witness. Having mediated the quarrel between captain and master at Pensacola in April 1765, and achieved a reconciliation, Johnstone described Cook as temperate,

^{22.} Ibid., Rowland Cotton to William Burnaby, November 8, 1765; James

Cook to Burnaby, November 9, 1765.

23. Ibid., testimony of Cook; captain's log, Alarm, ADM 51/3757. Other evidence suggests that Cook returned to the ship on January 22, Admiralty to Navy Board, May 19, 1766, ADM/A/2583, National Maritime Museum, Greenwich (hereinatfer NMM).

^{24.} Lindsay's orders to Cornwallis in "Prince Edward's Letter Book," LBK/ 63, NMM.

respectful, and on a good footing with the captain thereafter. Johnstone verified the fact that, on August 28, Cook had surveyed the ship channel as ordered, but he was forced to agree that the master had little excuse for exceeding his instructions, as he had had "every opportunity of gaining a knowledge of the coast." Master's Mate James Haley, who had accompanied Cook on the fateful day, reiterated that the master had surveyed the channel as ordered, traced their course on a chart of the bay which Cook provided, and explained that their indirect route to the ship channel south of Egmont Island was the result of a strong flood tide which made it the most expeditious course to follow.

In his own defense, Master James Cook argued that he thought his first run-in with Cotton had been forgotten and he should not have to defend his actions at that time. Witnesses whom he might have called on that score were since dead; and because of his hospitalization, he had not had an opportunity to prepare his defense- nor permission to talk with any of the witnesses, even his mate James Haley. He insisted that he had indeed provided Cotton with his observations of Tampa Bay, but that he had not had time to sound the southern channels of Espiritu Santo prior to mid-August. There was no question that he had spent some time preparing a chart of the bay, of course. It was presented in evidence and its accuracy accepted by the court. Captain Cotton admitted that one copy of Cook's draught had been intended for him- clear evidence of his tacit approval; but he prejudiced Cook's case by adding that the master had not proposed to submit his chart to the Admiralty.

After all parties had been heard, the court was cleared; the captains deliberated and arrived at their verdict. They found that Captain Cotton's "Charge is proved" and adjudged James Cook "to be dismissed from his employment of Master in His Majesty's Navy, and render'd incapable of ever serving as an Officer in any of His Majesty's Ships or Vessels of War."

Rowland Cotton had won, but James Cook would have a sour revenge. Two days after Cook's trial, Admiral Burnaby ordered Sir John Lindsay to assemble a second court-martial, which sat on February 5. Captains Locker and Cornwallis returned to the task and were joined aboard *Tartar* by captains George Falconer and George Murray. They heard James Cook's lengthy and rambling complaint that Captain Cotton had appropriated naval

stores to his private purposes and profit and had falsified the ship's log.

According to the master, while moored off Cat Island in July 1764, Captain Cotton had transferred 106 fathoms of rope, four dead-eyes, eight blocks, and sundry carpenter's stores from *Alarm* to a schooner which was his own property. In late July or August, he sought to hide the transfer by inventing the loss of a yawl and her gear and recording the incident in the ship's log for July 25. Cotton asked Cook to revise the log accordingly, and when he refused to do so, the captain provided the entry which Cook duly copied into the ship's papers. Returned to Pensacola in November, Cotton sold the schooner's rigging to certain of *Alarm's* seamen and, through his servant, retained the profits for himself. As for the lost yawl, it was, claimed Cook, still aboard the ship.

Cook's charges were serious, and as the trial proceeded, his witnesses demonstrated that Captain Cotton was not above falsifying the log regarding other matters. Cook's staunchest friend, James Haley, swore that the log had been doctored on several occasions by Cotton, and by other officers, with reference to the required reading of the Articles of War and the firing of morning and evening guns at Tampa Bay. Robert Castelaw (who had been displaced by Haley as master's mate but was made master of *Alarm* when Cook was arrested August 28), Midshipman Joseph Cotton, and Gunner Thomas Weston all admitted to their connivance in such business on a fairly regular basis. Captain Cotton ignored that line of attack altogether and directed his evidence and that of the witnesses to the issue of the schooner and the "lost" yawl.

The story that the captain constructed went back to March 16, 1764, when he commanded H.M.S. *Druid*, anchored in Mobile Bay. On that foggy day, Druid's boat intercepted a schooner from New Orleans trying to smuggle a cargo of claret into Mobile. Ship and cargo were seized, and the schooner was sent to Pensacola when *Druid* returned to Jamaica, where Cotton was transferred to *Alarm*. When *Alarm* sailed from Pensacola in June, the schooner accompanied her to Ship Island, where repairs became necessary in order to make the smuggling vessel sea-worthy.

Captain's log, *Druid*, ADM 51/270. The testimony of George Gefferine, captain's clerk aboard both *Druid* and *Alarm*, is verified in ADM 1/5303. Pt. 2.

Boatswain Joseph Smith declared that the schooner was in need of rope to steady her masts, and Master's Mate Haley and four men were sent aboard to deck and fit her out. She was used by the captain to sail across to Cat Island for a few days, but she was not engaged in any surveying operations. The materials transferred on July 24 were indeed those listed as lost aboard the yawl, and on returning to Pensacola in November 1764, the schooner's rigging had been given to quartermaster Henry Edwards and yeoman Edward Beal who sold it for \$30.00, keeping \$10.00 or \$12.00 for themselves and giving the remainder to the captain's steward. Captain Cotton considered this only a fair distribution of spoils, as the stuff was worthless to Alarm and was given to the men who had served aboard the schooner as a prize crew. She was left with the customs collector at Pensacola who disposed of her for the crown. As for Alarm's yawl, it was never in any danger of being lost and was safely stored on board. On that, all parties— even Captain Cotton— were agreed. The captain simply wrote her off (with commendable elaboration) and had her fictitious fate inserted in the ship's records, with no protest from anyone except Master James Cook. And as Cotton observed, Cook might have voiced his concern to Admiral Burnaby on at least four different occasions before their falling out at Tampa Bay, but he did not.

In his own defense, Rowland Cotton noted that the Gulf coast survey operations ordered by Admiral Burnaby required more boats than could easily be secured, and by a bit of harmless finagling he had been able to acquire a second small craft for H.M.S. *Alarm.* Without it, the Espiritu Santo survey could not have been carried out. The extra yawl had been turned in to stores at Port Royal on January 22, 1766, when it became known that *Alarm* would return home to England. The smuggling schooner's profits went entirely to the crew, not to himself, and she had been used to sound the bar at Pensacola, on Sir John Lindsay's orders, thereby saving the expense of hiring a light vessel for that purpose. "Having seized her for the Crown, & delivered her up to the Collector of the Customs," he could only look on her as engaged in the king's service.

It was an unedifying story, and the five captains sitting in judgment on Rowland Cotton found that "the charges is partly proved, but . . . the expence of boat & stores though expended

not agreeable to the instructions of the Navy, yet it was done for His Majesty's service." As "the whole appears to be a litigious, infamous charge & done with an intent to hurt Capt. Cotton's Character," they acquitted him "in the most honourable manner." 26

No other result could have been expected. Whatever his reasons or excuses, James Cook had challenged his captain's authority, and that was not to be tolerated in the Royal Navy. Nor was it likely that a board of captains, several of whom had sailed the Gulf coast and were acquainted with Rowland Cotton, would condemn him for minor sins of omission, much less for petty irregularities that apparently advanced the mission to which he was assigned.²⁷

The trials did display a significant division of opinion among the witnesses. Captain Cotton was supported by men who were either much indebted to him or completely dependent on him for their present and future hopes. Boatswain, gunner, quartermaster, clerk, yeoman, and steward were the captain's men of necessity. Midshipmen Burr and Cotton (a relative?) and Acting Lieutenant William Prosser must secure the captain's future recommendation, and Prosser was obviously a favorite. Robert Castelaw had been displaced as master's mate by Cook, and James Haley set in his place. With Cook under arrest, Castelaw had acted as master of *Alarm* between August 30, 1765, and February 10, 1766. In this instance, however, Captain Cotton's power was limited. When Castelaw returned to England and attempted to secure pay as master, he was rebuffed by the Admiralty because Cook had retained his position on the ship's books until February 10, when he was officially succeeded by James Andrews.²⁸

The ship's surgeon and his mate might be considered neutral witnesses, but the one commissioned officer who testified at Cotton's trial, First Lieutenant William Johnstone, was distinctly cordial toward Master James Cook. One might imagine that the captain's advancement of Prosser, a mere able-bodied seaman when he joined the ship, whereas Johnstone had held his com-

^{26.} ADM 1/5303, Pt. 2.

The former Gulf coast captains were Lindsay, Cornwallis, Locker, and Murray.

^{28.} Admiralty to Navy Board, May 19, 1766, ADM/A/2583; Navy Board to Admiralty, and endorsement, August 22, 1766, ADM/B/178, NMM.

mission for more than a year, irked the senior lieutenant.²⁹

James Cook's naval career was at an end. Incapacitated by the decision of January 27, 1766, he was discharged on the twentyeighth. Alarm's muster book noting simply that he was "Broke at a Court Martial." Rather surprisingly, Cook retained the good opinion of Admiral Sir William Burnaby. Together with the court-martial record, the commander in chief on the Jamaica Station forwarded to the Admiralty his recommendation that "Mr. Cook has been of infinite service in Surveying & taking different plans of the Coast & harbours of West Florida, is a good Draughtsman & a good officer, I therefore hope their Lordships will restore him. & appoint him to some ship that comes out to this station, as he knows the Coast of Florida extreamly well. & will greatly contribute to the completion of the Survey of the Coast. "31 The Admiralty was not inclined to disturb the findings of the court-martial, however, and on July 28, 1766, accepted the incapacitation of James Cook as an officer in the Royal Navy. 32

The admiral's interest was perhaps spurred by the sight of various charts that Cook had sketched during the past year and a half, as is the historian's interest in the unfortunate cartographer. Indeed, little more of James Cook than those charts remains to be considered. He evidently returned to London and arranged to have his charts engraved by Emanuel Bowen and distributed by the well-known book and map seller Thomas Jeffreys. Publication costs were met by Cook, who doubtless hoped to recoup his expenses from Jeffreys's sales. It is doubtful that he did so, for Jeffreys had copies in stock when he died a few years later. 33 The charts were published in November and December 1766, and were accompanied by a thin volume of *Directions* for their use.

^{29.} Lieutenant John Blankett did not testify at either trial. Although he was absent and missed the clash between Cotton and Cook at Pensacola, he was apparently present at Tampa Bay. His detachment for duty aboard Nautilus may account for Prosser's promotion as acting lieutenant, see Robert R. Rea, "A Naval Visitor in British West Florida," Florida Historical Quarterly, XL (October 1961), 142-53, and muster book, Alarm, ADM 36/4951.

^{30.}

^{31.} 32.

Muster book, Alarm, ADM 36/4951.

Muster book, Alarm, ADM 36/4951.

Burnaby to Admiralty, February 22, 1766, ADM 1/238.

Admiralty to Navy Board, July 28, 1766, ADM/A/2585, NMM.

"Catalogue of Drawings & Engraved Maps, Charts & Plans; the Property of Mr. Thomas Jefferys," Map Room, British Library, London. The author consulted the Halifax, Port Royal, and West Florida charts in the Map Room of the British Library. 33.

Of Cook's whereabouts and activity, little can be said. He may have returned briefly to the sea as commander of a packet sailing between London and Philadelphia. In 1768, he was living on a farm near Camden, South Carolina, where he married, and by 1770 he was deeply engaged in map-making in that colony, developments that suggest the "estate" he boasted of may have lain there. In 1775, he placed his West Florida property in the hands of Alexander Moore, hoping to sell it, but in 1777, he applied to the provincial council at Pensacola for a survey of the tract, only to be advised that it had been granted to someone else and he must be satisfied with another. With that, James Cook disappears in the turmoil of the American Revolution. Only his charts and sailing directions survive.

His sojourn at Halifax, Nova Scotia, in 1762-1763, led to the publication of *A Draught of the Habour of Hallifax* which has frequently and erroneously been attributed to the more famous James Cook. *Alarm's* brief visit to South Carolina enabled Cook to produce *A Draught of Port Royal Harbour in South Carolina*, and his subsequent residence in that colony involved him in other surveying and map-making projects.³⁷

From his West Florida experiences came three items of present interest. The first is "A Draught of Spirito Sancto with the Coast Adjacent," dated 1765, "by I^a Cook." This is the record of Cook's observations between June 14 and September 4, 1765, while aboard H.M.S. *Alarm.* It tracks the ship from the bar of Pensacola Bay, roughly paralleling the coast, some fifteen miles off shore, as far as Cape Blaze (San Bias), then southeastwardly until landfall was made about fifty miles north of Tampa Bay, thence south and into "Spirito Sancto Bay." Frequent and regular soundings are recorded, along with bottom characteristics. Cook noted that in clear weather Cape Blaze could be identified from the deck of a ship when fifteen miles out at sea. The chart is

^{34.} Philadelphia Pennsylvania Gazette, December 17, 1767.

^{34.} Frinadelphia Feinsylvalia Gazette, December 17, 1707.
35. William P. Cumming, The Southeast in Early Maps (Princeton, 1958), 87, 238; Black, "Too Many Cooks," 8-9, 12-13. Assuming there was in fact an "estate," Black equated it with the West Florida land grant (p. 11). The author is inclined to differ on the ground that a land grant would not have been referred to as an estate that had "fallen in" to him, i.e., been inherited.

^{36.} Colonial Office 5/613, 413-14; council minutes, March 26, 1777, C.O. 5/631 and C.O. 5/634, 464.

^{37.} Cumming, The Southeast in Early Maps, 59, 87, 237-38, 243, 245, 254.

blank between Cape Blaze and Tampa Bay; as Cook explained, "Here I wanted to Survey but a Boat Could not be spar'd." His sketch of the coast between Pensacola and Cape Blaze is rather suggestive than accurate. He becomes usefully detailed when he charts the shores north and south of Tampa Bay, areas he actually surveyed.

James Cook's "Spirito Sancto" does not rival the "Survey of the Bay of Espiritu Santo" prepared by George Gauld, the expedition's official cartographer. Gauld restricted himself to the immediate shoreline on either side of the passes, the islands, and the outlines of the bay. It is evident that Cook had no opportunity to familiarize himself with the extensive upper reaches of Hillsborough and Old Tampa bays. He drew what an experienced eve might see from the deck of H.M.S. Alarm, at anchor off Mullet Key. He does fairly represent the islands at the entrance: Anna Maria. Passage. Egmont, and Mullet Keys (as they appeared in 1765). The logs kept by Alarm's officers, and George Gauld's fine charts, indicate that Anna Maria Kev was called "Long Island"; Passage Key was called "Burnaby Island"; Egmont was given the name it still retains: modern Mullet Kev also carries its eighteenth-century identity. These official designations were established, presumably by Captain Rowland Cotton and George Gauld, after Alarm entered the bay on June 23. Prior to that date. James Cook and the ship's people identified Egmont Island as "Alarm Island," Passage Key (which has markedly deteriorated in over 200 years) as "Prosser's Island," and Mullet Key as "Muschetto Island;"

From Cook's chart it is clear that he was chiefly engaged, in accordance with his orders, in surveying the coast north and south of Tampa Bay. Cook suggests that he worked some twenty leagues, roughly sixty miles, toward the south. It appears in fact that he went no more than about thirty-five miles from the northern tip of Anna Maria or Long Island-roughly as far as Venice-far short of Carlos Bay (Charlotte Harbor). His sketch is reasonably accurate to that distance. Sarasota and Little Sarasota bays can be identified. He shows, between the islands, passes that are suitable for canoes or longboats, as he does for the fifteen leagues (actually about forty miles) of coast north of Mullet Key. Along this stretch Cook defined St. Joseph Sound and gave the name of his mate to Anclote Island— "Halys Is." The "References" on the

manuscript chart declare that, "All the coast on this Draught is a low Sandy Barren Soil[.] here is great plenty of Deer & Wild Cattle[,] all sorts of Game & Fish[.] we found Indian Hutts but no person in them[.] Tides are Irreggular[,] Goverent by the Winds[,] Runs 12 Hours each way & Rises 4 or 5 Feet[.] Further of Spirito Sancto see Iournal of observations for the Alarm[.]"

In 1766, Cook refined his draught chart and published it as an inset, "A Draught of Spirito Sancto and Coast adjacent," on his general map of West Florida. The scale of the engraving allows for much more detail- two leagues to the inch, compared with five leagues to the inch on the manuscript chart. The printed chart carries soundings, different from but reasonably close to those reported by Gauld. More interestingly, this chart carries a set of place-names that may owe as much to the engraver as to the cartographer. Where before Cook had indicated a pass "for Longboats" at the south end of Anna Maria or Long Island, it appears here as "Longboat Inlet," now Longboat Pass. Passage Key has been named Egg Island, and Egmont has become Juno Island. Mullet or Mosquito Keys carry the name Muller Islands. To the north, a Bass Island (Sand Key today) is identified, and the name attached to Haley's Keys is properly spelled.³⁸ The brief "References" state: "Low Bushey Islands before the Main Land, one Ebb one Flood in 24 Hours, runs Rapid & Governed by the Winds, it rises 4 or 5 Feet. Latitude 27°41' & Longitude West from London 83°49' about 54 Leagues SE. of Cape Blaze. Variation 5°40 East." The delineation of both Hillsborough and Old Tampa bays suggests that Cook had had a good look at Gauld's charts of these areas, for they bear little resemblance to his first chart of Espiritu Santo.

James Cook's most ambitious project in 1766 was A Draught of West Florida, from Cape St. Blaze to the River Ibberville, with

^{38.} The names of the islands at the entrance to Tampa Bay arc almost illegible on Cook's 1765 manuscript: Long Island may be deciphered, but the naming of Longboat Inlet is unquestionably the result of misreading the manuscript chart. It may be guessed that "Egg Island" was a misapplication by Bowen of the abbreviation "Egt" (for Egmont), and "Muller" is clearly a misreading of Mullet. The reversal of the positions of the names given Egmont and Passage Keys is an error on the 1765 manuscript. Bowen's engraved "Juno" might be read as June on the manuscript—which would make sense—but no such name appears elsewhere. Where the name of Bass Island came from is not known. The manuscript chart is in the Public Record Office.

Part of the River Mississippi.³⁹ As the cartouche is "Humbly Inscribed by his Most obliged & obedient humble Servt. James Cook" to "John Ellis, Esq. F.R.S. King's Agent for the Province of West Florida," it may be assumed that the former Royal Navy master sought the acquaintance of the distinguished botanist when he returned to England after his court-martial. It would have been a logical step for Cook to take, and Ellis would have been delighted by the cartographic treasures that Cook offered, for no decent map of the new province had yet appeared, and Cook's Draught of West Florida included details of both Tampa and Pensacola bays. It is an impressive piece of mapmaking, but highly derivative in the western parts from earlier French sources and thereby inaccurate in many ways. Those sections which Cook had seen or partially charted—the coastal islands of the Mississippi Sound, Pensacola Bay to Cape San Blas, Tampa Bay- are the best and most interesting. The map carries one remarkable feature, the line of demarcation between British West Florida and the Spanish Isle of Orleans. It is quite uniquely and incorrectly shown as a straight line running due east from the juncture of the Mississippi and Iberville rivers to the open sea, completely ignoring the terms of the Treaty of Paris that the boundary should follow the rivers and lakes. It also locates Cook's land grant- in the center of the modern city of Biloxi.

The *Draught of West Florida* provides two representations of Pensacola Bay— one as it appears on the coastline, the other a more precise mariner's chart in the form of an inset in the lower left-hand corner of the large map. Cook's expanded (1" = 1 l/2 miles) "A Plan of Pensacola Harbour, with the Marks for going in," compares favorably with the first charts prepared by George Gauld. While Cook indicated that the western tip of Santa Rosa Island curved more abruptly northward than was the case, his distances, soundings, and sightings would guide the mariner safely. Reid's Tree and Tartar Point were the customary navigation marks for crossing the bar and turning into the bay. The limits which duty imposed on James Cook are suggested by his very ill-proportioned rendering of the Gulf Breeze peninsula. He located Deer Point (now Fair Point) and the proposed "Creening"

^{39.} James Cook, A Draught of West Florida, from Cape St. Blaze to the River Ibberville, with Part of the River Missisippi, "Published by the Author December 1776," British Library Map Room.

Wharff," even a house unknown to Gauld, but he obviously had no knowledge of the shape or extent of the land to the eastward. In contrast, on the western side of the bay he locates the fort and sketches in the outlines of the town as platted by Elias Durnford. He also indicates Governor Johnstone's, Blanchard's, and Satterthwaite's establishments; English (Emanuel), Stoney (Lora), and Gull (Devil) Points; and the tiny settlement of Campbell Town.

Considering its extent, general accuracy, and detail of both Pensacola and Tampa bays, Cook's *Draught of West Florida* must be deemed a major cartographic achievement, certainly superior to anything available to the general maritime public in 1766. Gauld's work surpassed Cook's in every way, but the Admiralty would not release it for publication for more than thirty years.

To accompany his charts, Cook published a fourteen-page pamphlet entitled *Directions for three charts, one* of *West-Florida, one* of *Port-Royal, in South-Carolina, and one of Halifax, in Nova-Scotia, carefully surveyed, and approved, by many <i>Gentlemen of Reputation*. The pamphlet sold for "10s. the whole, and separately, in proportion," and was advertised as available "at the Jamaica, Carolina, Hallifax and New-York Coffee-Houses." Among twenty-five listed subscribers were several with West Florida connections, notably John Ellis (king's agent), Edward [Edmund] Rush Wegg (attorney general), Jacob Blackwell (customs collector). A note indicating that the names of further subscribers would be "printed on the publication of the Charts" strongly suggests that the *Directions* was printed in 1766, rather than in 1768, the date pencilled on the title page of the only known copy.⁴⁰

Cook's *Directions* for "Pensacola, in West-Florida, with the Coast adjacent" describes the northerly sailing course from the west end of Cuba, warns of easterly currents, and advises an approaching navigator of underwater and shoreline features (indicated on his chart) that will help to determine his landfall, east or west of either Cape San Blas or Pensacola. He observes that "there is no house along shore from cape Blaze to Mobilepoint, but to the westward in every inlet are houses, and some people

^{40.} James Cook, Directions for three charts, one of West-Florida, one of Port-Royal, in South-Carolina, and one of Halifax, in Nova-Scotia, carefully surveyed, and approved, by many Gentlemen of Reputation (1766), John C. Pace Library, University of West Florida, Pensacola. The British Library holds only a photocopy.

of considerable property."41

Of "The Bay of Spirito Sancto" in East Florida he states: "It has a good harbour, but the land all about that coast is low land, and cannot be seen off a ship's deck, when in 7 fathom water. Many low sandy islands, and many marshes, covered with mangrove bushes, lay before the main land. Here is the greatest quantity of fish in the summer time I ever saw, to be catched with a sayne enough to load a ship, if the climate would admit of cureing them, even in a few days. Here is stone, proper for building, on this coast. Also great plenty of deer, and some wild cattle; but the main land, near the sea coast is generally sandy and barren."

The last five pages of the Directions contain "A General Description of West-Florida" in two parts: "The Island of New-Orleans," and "Of the Coast of Louisiana." Cook suggests that he has seen New Orleans. He describes sawmills built on the banks of the Mississippi, and two sugar factories "which produce as good sugar as ever I saw." He admits that his rendering of the mouths of the river is "taken by a French engineer, having no opportunity to sound them myself, "but he backs that authority with the experience of H.M.S. Nautilus in 1765.43 Cook's description of the Iberville and the shores of Lake Pontchartrain tends to an exuberance hardly justified by actual circumstances. It is difficult to see when he might have visited this country, and he provides some basis for thinking his information was derived from Captain Lieutenant James Campbell of the 34th Regiment, who was engaged in clearing the Iberville in 1764. His descriptions of the offshore islands is considerably more realistic. He notes that "Mobile bar cannot admit a vessel of above 14 feet and half of water, and when in the bay, they cannot lie near the town, but are exposed to a wild open bay." While likening the Mississippi Sound coast to that of Carolina, "producing stock, rice and corn," he bemoans the surroundings of Pensacola: "I may justly aver it to be the most barren place in the universe, especially near the water-side, which I think a great unhappiness, that Pensacola

^{41.} Ibid., 7.

^{42.} Ibid.

^{43.} Ibid., 10-11. This latter information Cook may have secured from Lieutenant John Blankett of *Alarm*, who accompanied *Nautilus* up the Mississippi, Rea, "A Naval Visitor," 142-53.

harbour, should be placed in such a deplorable, barren situation." 44

Like most commentators, Cook predicted the growth of a prosperous colony in the rich bottom lands of the Mississippi River if it were "settled with a public spirit, about Ibberville, and if supported by Government." "The great river Missisippi would bring all nations of indians to trade," Cook remarked, but "as a few families, which are scattered about without protection, are always in fear of the indians, and on the least rupture may Expect to be soon sacrified; Who would on such uncertainty, chuse to succeed them?" 45

It was a pertinent question and may help to explain why James Cook preferred to settle in South Carolina rather than take up his grant and be remembered as one of the founding fathers of Biloxi.

^{44.} Cook, Directions, 12-13.

^{45.} Ibid., 14.

"A TRIFLING AFFAIR:" LOOMIS LYMAN LANGDON AND THE THIRD SEMINOLE WAR

by Patricia R. Wickman

When, in 1899, Colonel Loomis Lyman Langdon, United States Army, Retired, penned the ironic statement which referred to "A Trifling Affair," he did so, at least, from the vantage point of forty years of active military service to his country. His had been a long and eventful carrer and, particularly as regards Florida history, one might even say that Colonel Langdon was a man who had been in all the "right" places at all the "right" times.

By his sixty-ninth year, however, the sobriety of age had somewhat obscured the exuberance of youth. The memory of his own first engagement was but one of many– and perhaps, indeed, a "trifling" one– but a fond one nonetheless. So, he could write dispassionately of his earliest campaign: "The regular . . . has come, in the process of time and experience to find, at last, in soldiering his natural life, and the events with a dramatic coloring that would drive a new volunteer into a hysterical condition of feeling, finding relief through a kind of safety valve of cheering, excite in a regular hardly a languid interest. Whatever is occurring now,' he says, 'has happened before, and will happen again.' 'There is no use getting excited about it. Keep cool.' 'Let the other fellows cheer.' 'It doesn't appear to hurt them and they rather seem to like it'."

What a fascinating contrast this statement offers to the excitement of the fresh young officer who went off to his first conflict in the Florida Everglades.

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Loomis L. Langdon to G. W. Langdon, April 9, 1856, in Loomis L. Langdon Papers, Private and Official Letters, 1856-1906, Florida State Archives, M74-06 (hereinafter Langdon Papers).

Loomis L. Langdon, "Campaigning in the Everglades," The Helping Hand, XXXI (July 1899), 62-63.

Loomis Lyman Langdon was born in Buffalo. New York on October 25, 1830, the son of George Washington Langdon and Sarah Williams Russell. In his name was drawn together the history of three families which had been in America since the latter part of the seventeenth century. The Langdons, in particular, numbered among their progenitors such early national formers as John Langdon, governor of New Hampshire and signer of the 1787 federal Constitution.³ After receiving his preliminary education at public and private schools, young Langdon obtained an appointment to the United States Military Academy at West Point in July 1850.

The West Point of the mid-nineteenth century still occupied a critical position relative to the national growth. For many vears it had been virtually America's only school of higher technical and scientific education. As a consequence, its graduates were often found among the leaders of national scientific, engineering, and industrial development. During those years, too, which were critical to the formation of a young state, Florida would become an invaluable "proving ground" for theoretical knowledge gained at the Point and a rare and unforeseen prelude to an entire century of American warfare. From 1835 to 1858, as the major Indian/white conflicts escalated and declined, significant proportions of the Academy's graduating classes would gain their first actual combat experience in Florida's Indian wars.

George L. Hartsuff, two years Langdon's senior, would step into Florida history as the survivor of a skirmish with the Seminoles on December 20, 1855 near Fort Drane, Hartsuff would go on to distinguish himself at the battles of Manassas and Antietam, to retire in 1871 as Major General Hartsuff, and to die in 1874 at only forty-four years of age from wounds received in battle.4

A classmate of Langdon, who would also serve in Florida, as chief of ordnance in 1857, was Oliver O. Howard, Howard's illustrious military and civil career would span the Civil War,

Biographical sketch of Loomis L. Langdon in Langdon Papers; National Cyclopedia of American Biography, 62 vols. (New York, 1893–), LII, 108; Biographical Directory of the Governors of the United States, 1789-1978, 4 vols. (Westport, CT, 1978), III, 942.
 George W. Cullum, Biographical Register of the Officers and Graduates of the U.S. Military Academy at West Point, N.Y. from its Establishment, in 1802, to 1890, 6 vols. (Boston, 1891), II, 484-90.

his service as head of the Freedmen's Bureau, the expedition against the Nez Percé Indians in 1877, and his appointment as superintendent of the United States Military Academy in 1881.⁵

At the head of Langdon's class, academically, was young G. W. Custis Lee, son of Captain Robert Edward Lee, United States Corps of Engineers. Robert E. Lee had already achieved a distinguished name for himself in his country's service, and in September 1852, he had been appointed superintendent of West Point. Custis Lee, upon his graduation in 1854, would follow his father's example and make a career in the Corps of Engineers until 1861, when personal loyalties would direct the Lee family otherwise. However, between 1854 and 1857, Lieutenant Lee would serve as assistant engineer for the construction of Fort Clinch at Amelia Island, Florida. Altogether, of a total of fortysix in Langdon's 1854 graduation class, eight of the new young officers—one-sixth of the class—would be posted to service in Florida during the Third Seminole War.

As a young brevet second lieutenant, Langdon took his place in an American military establishment which was in a transitional phase- organizationally, tactically, and especially technologically. Military requirements had never been of primary importance in a country which was wedded historically to the ideology of the citizen, as opposed to the professional, soldier, but brilliant minds were at work inside the establishment to supply the technology necessary to bring the United States military "up to date," particularly in the area of ordnance. The lessons of Napoleon were not wasted on the likes of Robert P. Parrott, John A. B. Dahlgren, Josiah Gorgas, and Thomas J. Rodman. Artillery types and tactics were slowly transforming that branch from what had been mainly an instrument of siege warfare into an important arm of field combat. 1 It was to this branch of the military then, the artillery, that Lieutenant Langdon was initially assigned, and in this branch that he would serve, with only brief interruptions, until his retirement, by reason of age, in October 1894 8

His first post was in garrison at Fortress Monroe, Virginia,

^{5.} Ibid., 576-77.

^{6.} Ibid., 572.

^{7.} Walter Millis, Arms and Men (New York, 1956), 67.

^{8.} Langdon sketch, Langdon Papers; National Cyclopedia of American Biography, LII, 108.

for artillery training. This massive work at Old Point Comfort had been begun only thirty-seven years prior but was one of the earliest of the series of coastal fortifications undertaken following the War of 1812. This assignment was only temporary, however, and in December 1854 Langdon, now Second Lieutenant Langdon, set sail with Companies L and M of the 1st Artillery Regiment, aboard the ship Ravenswood bound for Fort Dallas, Florida, and the Seminole wars.9 These two companies constituted the entire garrison at the recently-reactivated Fort Dallas and would continue to do so until their transfer to Texas in November of 1856. 10 Captain Samuel K. Dawson was in charge of Company L, of which Langdon was second in command, and Captain B. H. Hill of Company M was senior captain and post commander. The total garrison consisted of an aggregate of 180 men, of whom five were on furlough and three were detached to other duty, leaving an effective total strength of 172.¹¹

The military still maintained only a tenuous hold on Florida in 1854. The Second Seminole War had been a desultory conflict and the peace which followed had been uneasy at best. The United States government's official attitude toward the Florida situation was basically conciliatory during the interim between General William J. Worth's agreement with the remaining Seminoles in 1842 and 1855 when the incident of Billy Bowlegs's banana plants sparked the final conflict. 12 The federal government had attempted to restrain settlers from encroaching upon Seminole lands, to entice the Indians with offers of monetary remuneration to remove to western reserves, and to maintain a military show of strength in south Florida which might, by mere virtue of its presence, impress upon the dissidents the futility of

^{9.} William L. Haskin, comp., The History of the First Regiment of Artillery from its Organization in 1821, to January lst, 1876 (Portland, Maine,

Post Returns from Fort Dallas, Florida, February 1838-May 1858, Records of the Adjutant General's Office, Returns from U. S. Military Posts, 1800-1916, Record Group 94, Microcopy 617, roll 284, National Archives, Washington, at the Dorothy Dodd Collection, State Library of Florida, Tallahassee (hereinafter National Archives post returns are cited as M617 with appropriate roll number).

^{11.} Ibid.
12. Andrew P. Canova, Life and Adventures in South Florida (Palatka, 1885; 2nd ed., Tampa, 1906), 6; Ray B. Seley, Jr., "Lieutenant Hartsuff and the Banana Plants," *Tequesta*, XXIII (1963), 3-14; Kenneth W. Porter, "Billy Bowlegs (Holata Micco) in the Seminole Wars, Part I," Florida Historical Quarterly, XLV (January 1967), 219-42.

resistance. In other words, a policy of "humanity toward the Indians, and economy to the government. "13

This task of peaceful removal was far more easily decided upon than accomplished. Determination ran high among both settlers and Indians. "I have never lost sight." Secretary of War George W. Crawford wrote to General D. E. Twiggs, commander of the western district in Florida in 1850, "of what appeared to be a prominent wish of a portion of the inhabitants of Florida to engage in a war with a remnant of Indians in that State. Whilst another and. I believe a larger and more respectable part of the community has been inclined to an opposite purpose. "14

Under the administration of President Franklin Pierce, however, Jefferson Davis replaced Crawford as secretary of war, Davis promulgated a program designed to increase pressure on the Indians and step up troop concentrations in south Florida through the reopening of Second Seminole War fortifications across the peninsula.15

Fort Dallas, originally a naval base, was occupied on six separate occasions between its original designation in 1836, and 1858 when the United States Army abandoned its Seminole War forts in Florida. 16 During its final occupation, the location of the fort was on the north side of the Miami River where one Richard Fitzpatrick had begun a plantation in the 1840s. By Christmas 1854, when Lieutenant Langdon and two companies of the 1st Artillery were lightered the nine miles up the bay to the mouth of the Miami River, all that remained of the plantation was "a magnificent grove of cocoanut trees, the stone lower story of a storehouse, and three or four half-filled wells" to attest to "its former glories." The command at once began the task of building quarters preliminary to operations in the country.

In the spring of 1855, Langdon participated in his first forays into the Everglades, both of which he remembered uncomfortably. The expeditions were commanded by Captain Dawson with

George W. Crawford to D. E. Twiggs, March 20, 1850, U.S. Congress, 3lst Cong., 1st. sess., Senate, *Index to Executive Documents*, XIII, serial set 561, "Message from the President of the United States," 13.
 Ibid., 16.

 ^{14.} Ditt., 16.
 15. Tallahassee Floridian and Democrat, September 9, 1854; Tallahassee Floridian and Journal, October 8, 1853.
 16. Nathan D. Shappee, "Fort Dallas and the Naval Depot on Key Biscayne, 18361926," Tequesta, XXI (1961), 13-40.

^{17.} Ibid., 28; Haskin, First Regiment, 388.

the young Lieutenant Langdon on topographical duty. Large cypress canoes had been manufactured for the soldiers under the supervision of Lieutenant John T. Grebel, 2nd Artillery, Fort Myers, and sent around from the Caloosahatchee River to Fort Dallas.

In their "little fleet" seventy-five men set off for the "mysterious" Everglades. 18 Those troops left behind, as well as the wives and children who had followed husbands and fathers to share the rigors of military life, waved handkerchiefs in farewell and cheered their encouragement from the shore. It was one of those affairs, Langdon later recalled, where "a good send off in the way of cheering, even in a camp of regulars, seemed not only proper but very natural."19

The party soon found, however, that the depth of the water in the Everglades had been much exaggerated and the going was shallow and tortuous. The canoes had to be dragged through mud, tall grass, and rank vegetation, and frequently no dry place could be found for the night's bivouac. This was the season when much of this area of Florida was under water.²⁰ The second expedition which, after great difficulty, penetrated to within sight of the place where supplies awaited, was finally forced to return despite the presence of an Indian guide. The guide, named Chai, together with his wife Polly, had been captured some years earlier by General W. S. Harney and forced to aid the troops. Langdon spoke of him sadly as "a pariah of his kind." Coerced under threat of hanging (so tradition said) to aid the white man's cause. Chai lived in constant dread of falling into the hands of the Indians.

Little campaigning was conducted during the summer months in south Florida. The task of survival was, in itself, a campaign as mosquitoes, sand fleas, and unremitting heat and humidity taxed both physical and emotional endurance. At Fort Dallas, the numbers of present sick totalled 138 during 1855. Daily camp duties were purposely unrelaxed so that the men might focus on

Langdon, "Campaigning in the Everglades," 62; Haskin, First Regiment, 18.

Haskin, First Regiment, 389.
 Alexander S. Webb, "Campaigning in Florida in 1855," Journal of the Military Service Institution, XLV (November-December 1909), 413.
 Haskin, First Regiment, 390.

their soldiering rather than their tedium.²² Desertions were not unusual, however, and the general courts martial which were convened regularly tried to reinforce military discipline.²³

Only one incident stands out in Langdon's memories of his first Florida summer. Lieutenant George Bell, 1st Artillery, an "active and enterprising" officer who had just joined his unit, led a scouting party below Fort Dallas along the coast of the Hunting Grounds and the islands which fringed the mainland.²⁴ On one deserted beach the party discovered the remnants of the cargo of a wrecked vessel including a weather-bleached barrel still filled with wine. Langdon indicates no consideration of returning to the fort with this prize. "The wine," he says, "was passable, and rationed out made an agreeable addition to the daily gill of whiskey issued . . . to scouting parties." ²⁵

On October 30, Lieutenant Langdon left for Key West on detached service to a general court martial. He rejoined his unit fifteen days later. The days were becoming shorter and cooler. One encountered fewer mosquitoes during a winter campaign in south Florida than at any other time of the year but this was slight compensation. Steaming-hot muddy water turned to freezing-cold muddy water. The Everglades were as mysterious as ever, the enemy was no more visible than ever, and one cold tedious day was almost equally as dull as one hot tedious day.

With 1856 came new adventures, however, Early in January the Seminoles struck the mill of Peter Johnson three miles below the Pirate's Punch Bowl, or five miles below Fort Dallas.²⁶ Here, he and two employees, "Beck, a Vermonter, and a Key Wester named Ferrol," were engaged in the production of coontie or "arrowroot," which was used "not only as food for invalids but for making biscuit." ²⁷ The Indians killed Beck and Johnson and

Webb, "Campaigning in Florida," 409.

Post Returns from Fort Dallas, M617, roll 284.

Haskin, First Regiment, 389.

^{25.} Ibid. 26. Ibid., 390-91. There is some confusion here, perhaps occasioned by Langdon's distance from the event at the time of his writing. He recalls the attack as having taken place in the fall of 1855, while Covington fixes the date as January 6, 1856, see James W. Covington, The Billy Bowlegs War, 1855-1858: The Final Stand of the Seminoles Against the Whites (Chuluota, 1982), 41.

Haskin, First Regiment, 390-91; Langdon, "Campaigning in the Everglades," 63. Florida coontie, although frequently confused with the true West Indian starchy tuber commonly known as arrowroot (M.

put a ball through the clothes of Ferrol who escaped and paddled to the fort for help. Langdon, although on sick report, volunteered his services and with two boats full of troops went to bring in the few families who lived on the Miami River above the garrison. On the following day, Langdon returned to Johnson's place and buried the two victims.²⁸

On February 15, a schooner transferred Captain Dawson's company of four officers and seventy-eight enlisted men, along with Chai, Polly, and the canoes, around Cape Sable to the Caloosahatchee River. The original order detached the company to Punta Rassa and Malco Inlet and from thence they were to make incursions into the Everglades. ²⁹ However, new instructions from Colonel Harvey Brown, commander of troops in the Caloosahatchee, sent the unit immediately to report to Fort Myers with orders to reinvest abandoned Camp Daniels, about one-half mile west of there.

Their stay at Camp Daniels lasted only several weeks but during that time Langdon was placed in command of a scouting party of seven to search for a fisherman named Hudson and his companion who had been reported missing. A steamer towed their small craft the sixteen miles downriver to Punta Rassa from which point they rowed until sundown to reach Charlotte Harbor. The missing boat, a schooner-rigged craft, was spotted there, high and dry, among the reeds. On the deck lay the bodies of the missing men with bullet holes in their heads. All articles of value had been stripped from the craft and a Negro who had accompanied them was gone. The murders were attributed to "Esmarto" who, with his band of thirty warriors, was thought to be hovering in the area.³⁰

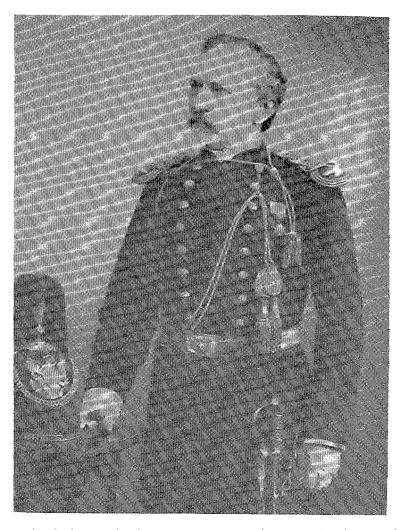
It was apparently while operating out of Punta Rassa that Langdon received information of the end of the tragic life of Chai. The Indian and Polly, his wife, had left Langdon's company a couple of weeks before and proceeded to Malco with a company of the 2nd Artillery. There, alone in his tent one

arundinacea), is a member of the Zamia family. The crushed stems yield an edible starch, after washing to extract an alkaloid.

^{28.} Haskin, First Regiment, 390-91.

Ibid., 391; Post Returns from Fort Dallas, M617, roll 284. Malco was thirteen miles northeast of Fort Myers, in present-day Collier County. In 1891 the name was changed to Marco.

^{30.} Haskin, First Regiment, 392.



Undated photograph of Loomis Lyman Langdon. Note "uniforms and acouterments" which Langdon wears, which suggests the date may have been al the time of his promotion to full colonel, January 25, 1889. Medal is the badge of the Loyal Legion.

evening with his wife, he informed her of his decision to put an end to his anxiety. Fixing a rifle to the tent pole, the unhappy man pointed the muzzle at his heart and shot himself in her presence. Polly was being sent back to Fort Myers when she made a stop at Punta Rassa and detailed the events to the sympathetic Lieutenant Langdon.

On March 3. Langdon's company was transferred once again, this time to Fort Devnaud, approximately twenty-nine miles (or about seven hours) upriver from Fort Myers. Devnaud was a palmetto-thatch and blockhouse fortification which was garrisoned by three companies of the 2nd Artillery (about 150 men)about "as small a detachment as could be charged with the care of the line from Fort Myers to Lake Okeechobee, about sixty miles. "32 Once there, the company was battalioned with Company C. 2nd Artillery, under the post commander brevet Major Lewis G. Arnold, captain, 2nd Artillery. On the next day, the battalion set out southward, in the direction of Big Cypress Swamp and Billy Bowlegs's village. Second Lieutenant Alexander Webb of the 2nd Artillery, who remained in garrison, remarked that the battalion's leaving gave the post "a deserted look" and that they carried off "everything" including all the food available "except some pork and beans." 38

Major Arnold was "a small and dignified officer . . . a brave soldier and a cultivated gentleman." He was also "a goodnatured commanding officer" – a decided virtue in the swamps and sand fleas of Florida. 34 On the third day out the command reached the site of old Fort Simon Drum (in present-day Collier County) and halted to cut cypress with which to build the fort. Ten days later a high stockade and two flanking blockhouses were completed. A detachment was left to garrison the position which was designated for use as a supply depot. 35 Shortly, the detachment was relieved by Lieutenant Grey of the 2nd Artillery. In the meantime, the battalion continued about ten miles down

^{31.} Ibid., 390; Post Returns from Fort Myers, February 1850-January 1865, M617, roll 827.

^{32.} Webb, "Campaigning in Florida," 407; Post Returns from Fort Deynaud, February 1838-April 1858, M617, roll 315.
33. Webb, "Campaigning in Florida," 414.

^{34.} Ibid., 405.

^{35,} Post Returns from Fort Simon Drum, March 1855-April 1856, M617, roll 1542.

country to the scene of "Hartsuff's Massacre." Soon after passing that site another temporary halt was called to build a small blockhouse for use as a subdepot. This site was designated Depot No. 1 and returns indicate that it was garrisoned throughout March and April of 1856. On March 31, while construction was still in progress, Lieutenant Langdon was detached with sixty men to reconnoiter Billy's town. The party found the town abandoned and encountered no Indians though many fresh trails were in evidence.

On April 2, Langdon's detachment rejoined the battalion and five days later the entire command, save only a small guard which was left at the depot, started out for Billy's town. Major Arnold was still in command, Lieutenant George Gibson Garner, 2nd Artillery, commanded Company C (Arnold's company), and Assistant Surgeon John Moore, United States Army (later surgeon-general of the United States Army), accompanied as medical officer.

Lieutenant Langdon had spent fifteen months on active duty in this Florida war without personally having been involved in an action. His later observations on this period are detached and calm. His frustration at being unable to meet an enemy which did not fight with traditional linear, or current open field, tactics may only be inferred inversely from his exuberance when his first "real" engagement finally took place. On Monday, April 7, the anxious young officer became a veteran and as soon as the men returned to the Camp Near Depot No. 1, Langdon sat down to chronicle his pride for his father:

Dear Father-

When you get this throw up your hat, give three cheers, hip hip hurra— your son has been in an engagement, yea verrily in

36. Haskin, First Regiment, 392.

^{37.} Post Returns from Depot No. I, April 1857, and Post Returns from Camp Near Depot No. I, March-April 1856, M617, roll 1507. The location given for Camp Near Depot No. 1 is "20 Miles SSE of Fort Simon Drum ... 60 Miles SE of Fort Myers ... 50 Miles S of Fort Devnaud."

^{38.} Post Returns from Depot No. 1, April 1857, M617, roll 150. This return indicates the troop aggregate to be 181. Of these, forty-six were absent and 112 were on the expedition to Billy's town. Therefore, the guard may have numbered twenty-three maximum. A discrepancy in the enumeration, however, makes the guard appear to have been only fifteen.

three engagements the same day— Now give three cheers once more, he led the advance twice and the second time the Indians stood their ground your son Loomis was nearest them and was made an especial mark for the Indians bullets— Though I say it who should not, (because I have no friend here to say it for me who knows you) Loomis did all that could be expected and although perhaps the country may call it a trifling affair I can tell the country that it is no joke to lead six or ten men up to a hammock to provoke an attack—

I am safe, praised be God, perfectly unharmed—though the bullets whistled over and around me like hail. And now to tell you how the thing [2] happened- Day before yesterday we left this place which is 55 miles from fort Myers, with Major Arnold in command- Capt Dawson my captain commanding "L" Company 1st Art and 2nd Lt Garner commanding "C" Company 2nd Art, which I having no command though ranking Garner was detailed on duty to make maps of the country and having been out from the 6th of March acting as Quarter master and commissary- was very well satisfied with the arrangement. Now a word in preface— It has been supposed by the old fogies that the Indians would not make a stand against regular troops. What a lamentable error- We had a hundred and eight non commissioned officers and privates, one surgeon Dr Marr *[sic]* U.S.A.-We went down the road and reached the Cypress swamp about nine o'clock- The disposition of the troops was this.- In front of the main body was the advance guard about fourteen strongfour of their number were on the flanks- We did [3] not expect an attack as I had been down to Billy Bowleg's village a few days before with 60 men and this was our destination now- we apprehended nothing- the Major, Capt Dawson, the Doctor and myself being rather tired with 4 hours walking had fallen to the rear having the rear guard behind us— We had passed through two patches of the Cypress and were then walking in the water up to our knees when I heard, or rather we all heard two cracks of a rifle- I at first supposed that the Major's servant was shooting birds, but then came a volley, the men began to fall back- and before many minutes I saw a man fall close by me. He had a hole clear through his stomach part [resting] under the skin of his back- Two or three men were limping around & the Indians whooping and yelling like devils in front of us- all among the

cypress trees- We formed and charged them but could see none, at least I have not seen an Indian yet- [4] We rushed through that place and came to a clear space beyond—In front of us and about a quarter of a mile off was Bowleg's village- not an Indian to be seen- The village by the way has been deserted for months-We halted an[d] I went back to get my blanket, haversack and canteen- and took a party of men with me to bring up Sims the poor fellow who died with a bullet through his body³⁹- we got him and brought him to the front, buried him, patched up the wounded- and then as Corporal Carson the man in command of the advance guard was wounded, I took command and led the way to Billy's town, Before I got there though at that time I could have thrown a stone into the house, I was ordered back as the Indians had been seen on the left- I led my little party about fourteen strong back to the main body and awaited orders- I saw there was some indecision and cut the [knot] by asking if I should not go on. Yes directly. I turned to my men and in [5] presence of the whole batallion told them "Come on we will bring on the fight," I led them along a trail and soon came to where it branched off- I took the largest one and soon met another branch Still keeping the largest I soon saw in front of me a smooth level place, (through which the trail led) and bounded by low bushes which edged the hammock— I was in front, two men about 5 yeard [sic] behind me and the rest scattered in rear as I walked very fast-I expected a fire as the trail (very fresh led directly into the hammock-) and sure enough it came- pop pop pop- not an Indian to be seen and we were not a hundred yards from the hammock- my men ran back to the main body except two who threw themselves behind some cabbage palmetto trees 15 or twenty yards in my rear- As for me I pulled out my gun and fired one shot at the bushes whence the fire came- and as the bullets were flying pretty thick, I [6] concluded to throw myself on the grass- The rifles cracked and the balls went over me, huwisht, huwisht, whit, while I was lying there in advance of

^{39.} John Simms was a private in Second Lieutenant Webb's Company L, 2nd Artillery, and apparently was with a small detachment which had joined Major Arnold late from Fort Simon Drum. Webb reported: "One fact in regard to Sim [sic] is that he told me to keep \$100 he gave me, in case he was killed; he said he had no one to send it to." See Webb, "Campaigning in Florida," 416, 419; Post Returns from Camp Near Depot No. 1, March-April 1856, M617, roll 1507.

all. I believe that the Indians thought I was hurt— and wanted to make sure work of it. I then got up and went back to the trees— We turned this place, gave them a few volley and charged the hammock— And after that I led the advance again— coming to a cluster of palmettos I told two of my men to fire from this into the hammock of live oak in front and if Indians were there we would draw their fire— and sure enough, as soon as the balls rushed there we got an answer— We charged this hammock and then came back to the place where we had buried Sims— We slept there that night and the Indians in the evening took the roofs off Bowlegs houses so that we could not fire them fired a volley, whooped and left. The next morning we returned to this place—four wounded [73 men were brought in One had to be carried in a blanket for 8 miles—

I am well and with God's help will keep so— Don't let mom see this letter till you hear from me, unless you think it safe—

Love to all
Your affectionate Son
Loomis

P.S.– Do write how you are doing and whether you are well–Direct to Fort Myers– Via Tampa– ${
m Fla}-{}^{40}$

The men of companies L and C remained in the Camp Near Depot No. 1 throughout the following week. Then, reinforced by two small companies of Florida Rangers, they went to Billy's town, burned it and a neighboring village, and destroyed what crops they found growing there but had no further encounters with the Indians.

Word of the battle "in the cypress" spread among the other south Florida troops, exaggerated by anxiety. At Fort Center, where the report was brought in by Lieutenant Hartsuff and his mounted party five days after the event, the number of Seminoles involved was supposed to have been 200!

Near the end of April, Company C was relieved at the camp by another company of the 2nd Artillery, but Langdon's unit and the new detachment remained in the Big Cypress throughout April and early May. Almost one-third of the men fell ill— a

^{40.} Loomis L. Langdon to & W. Langdon, April 9, 1856, Langdon Papers.

quite usual occurrence but one which would nevertheless "astonish anyone who had not served in Florida." 41

In early May the Camp Near Depot No. 1 was abandoned, marking the beginning of the summer hiatus in the south Florida campaign. Fort Simon Drum was also closed and abandoned and the garrisons were recalled to Fort Myers. Company L, 1st Artillery, with its aggregate reduced to ninety-one, arrived there on May 19, 1856. On June 2, Fort Center was also dismantled and evacuated.42

Second Lieutenant Langdon and Company L were recalled once more, to their primary duty station at Fort Dallas. They departed Fort Myers on June 16, on board "the old steamer Jasper," and reached Fort Dallas three days later. 43 The troop strength of Company L had been further reduced to seventy-nine. Langdon was granted sixty days of leave beginning September 28 but apparently used the time to rest and recuperate without leaving the area since orders had already been received which would terminate the 1st Artillery's involvement in Florida's Indian war.

Langdon's service in the state was not destined to end, however, when the two companies which had entered Florida together only two years before embarked on the transport steamer Suwannee on November 3, 1856, bound for Fort Brown, Texas. 44 The rising young officer would be posted to nine separate duty stations in Florida over the next thirty-one years, and his service record, in and out of the state, reads like a chronology of national history during that tumultuous period.

After four years spent dismantling the forts on the Rio Grande, First Lieutenant (soon captain) Langdon returned to Florida to participate in the opening gambits of the Civil War. In command of a battery of ten-inch mortars, he participated in the repulse of the Confederate attack on Santa Rosa Island and in the bombardments of the Navy Yard and Fort Barrancas. Today, Battery Langdon at Fort Pickens commemorates his action there. From Pensacola Captain Langdon proceeded to the garrison at Fort Jefferson in the Dry Tortugas and thence to

^{41.} Webb, "Campaigning in Florida," 407.

Veebb, Campaigning in Florida, 187.
 Post Returns from Fort Dallas, February 1838-May 1858, M617, roll 284.
 Haskin, First Regiment, 394.
 Post Returns from Fort Dallas, February 1838-May 1858, M617, roll 284.

operations against Charleston, South Carolina, but by February 1864 he returned once again to Florida. This time, as chief of artillery, he was breveted major for gallant and meritorious service at the Battle of Olustee. 45°

Six times more, between 1872 and 1889, major, lieutenant colonel, and finally Colonel Langdon would serve in Florida. At Forts Pickens and Jefferson he would command during dreaded yellow fever epidemics and during the captivity of Geronimo and the Apache prisoners of war. At St. Augustine barracks and in command of Fort Marion he would receive many of those same Indian prisoners and would bestow the name "Marion" upon a girl child who was born there to one of Geronimo's wives. 46

Fame is ephemeral. Many who have been involved in Florida's past to far lesser degrees are far better known than Loomis Lyman Langdon. Perhaps this is partially because he appears to have been a restrained and dignified man with varied interests but strong priorities: his nation and his regiment were the mainstays of his life. Promoted brigadier general on the retired list in 1904, General Langdon died on Friday, January 7, 1910. His remains were returned to the cemetery of his alma mater, the United States Military Academy at West Point. 47 As we hear him soberly eulogized by a military comrade, we can smile knowingly at the private excitement of a fresh young officer in Florida: "On the battlefield, in the calm and philosophical way of his nature, he resolutely confronted danger, and cooly and intelligently directed his forces to overcome it. His whole personality was a representative type of the modern soldier as well as of the Christian gentleman. "48

While brothers Loomis and Charles supported the Union, their eldest brother, George, served as an assistant engineer in the Confederate 45. States Navy. He was a member of the force which surrendered after the Battle of Mobile Bay to Admiral David Farragut. See Langdon sketch,

<sup>Battle of Mobile Bay to Admiral David Langdon Papers.
46. Omega G. East, "Apachee Prisoners in Fort Marion, 1886-1887, Part II," El Escribano, VI (April 1969), 14.
47. New York Times, January 8, 1910; Langdon sketch, Langdon Papers.
48. H. M. Lazelle, "Eulogy," in Forty-first Annual Reunion of the Association of the Graduates of the United States Military Academy at West Part New York Line 14, 1910 (Saginaw Mich. 1910), 144.</sup> Point, New York, June 14, 1910 (Saginaw, Mich., 1910), 144.

TOURISM WAS NOT THE ONLY PURPOSE: JACKSONVILLE REPUBLICANS AND NEWARK'S SENTINEL OF FREEDOM

by John T. Foster, Jr., Herbert B. Whitmer, Jr.,
AND SARAH W. FOSTER

FLORIDA tourism grew during the Reconstruction period, and it became a major force in the economy along the St. Johns River. Some of this development occurred as a result of stories about Florida published in northern newspapers and magazines. Among these articles are a series which appeared in a Newark, New Jersey, paper, the *Sentinel of Freedom*.

The interest of the paper in Florida can possibly be explained as part of its general policy. The *Sentinel of Freedom* frequently printed letters from New Jersey citizens traveling or residing in other locations throughout the world. Articles about London, Paris, Nevada, and parts of California appeared. Florida had also come to attention during the Civil War when Federal forces occupied areas along both the Atlantic and Gulf coasts, and after 1864 when northern papers sent writers south to report on conditions there. One correspondent, S., a native of New Jersey, began sending articles about the state which appeared in the *Sentinel of Freedom* and the Newark *Daily Advertiser* in 1865.

Correspondent S's four articles were followed by those of J.S.S. in 1866. Two more by other New Jersey correspondents were printed in 1866. Additional Florida articles appeared in the *Sentinel*: 1867 (2); 1868 (6); 1869 (6); 1870 (9); 1871 (2); 1872 (6); 1873 (2); 1874 (5); 1875 (13); and 1876 (3).

The authors of these articles were identified by initials, S., J.S.S., J.W.S., and M.A.C., or by pseudonyms, Beta, Kappa, and X. Despite the effort to keep these writers anonymous, something

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is known about their identities. They were people from New Jersey, either traveling for vacations or health, or who had moved to Florida to live. The identity of two authors is known. J.S.S. who wrote seven articles between January 1866, and the fall of 1868, was John Sanford Swaim, a northern Methodist minister living in Jacksonville. J.W.S. was his son, Jacob W. Swaim, treasurer of Duval County and later a cashier for the Bank of Jacksonville.²

The Swaims were social and political allies of prominent Jacksonville Republicans, including Governors Harrison Reed and Ossian Hart. John Swaim's diary of 1866 refers to Reed or to "Reed's place" on fourteen separate occasions.3 He also mentioned political activist Calvin L. Robinson on nineteen occasions. In 1866. Robinson served as a trustee in Swaim's black church, and later, after Swaim helped to found Trinity Methodist Episcopal Church in Jacksonville, both Robinson and Hart were listed as trustees.⁴ Swaim's relationship to Hart eventually led to his participation in Hart's funeral; he spoke at graveside.⁵ Swaim's social relationships are noteworthy since they offer clues for detecting a somewhat "hidden" agenda in the early articles published in the Sentinel.

Many of the articles describe Florida's mild winter climate and its beauty, topics which attracted tourists and people suffer-

^{1.} John Sanford Swaim was born in Chatham, New Jersey, May 1, 1806. In 1834 he was admitted on a "trial basis" as a minister in the Methodist Episcopal Church. After three decades as a pastor in New Jersey and New York, Swaim came to Florida. In 1864 and 1865 he ministered to Federal troops in Jacksonville and conducted regular services. Sporadic references to marriages performed by John Swaim appear in 1864 and 1865 issues of the Jacksonville Florida Union.

^{2.} Jacob W. Swaim arrived in Jacksonville in June 1867. He was the third and final cashier of the Jacksonville branch of the Freedman's Bank, and held that position in 1874. He later became the cashier for the Bank of Jacksonville, and was employed in that capacity at the time of a bank robbery on April 1, 1878. See Jacksonville *The New South: Semi-Weekly*, April 2, 1878; Jacksonville *Daily Sun and Press*, April 2, 1878; Carl R. Osthaus, *Freedmen, Philanthropy and Fraud: A History of the Freedman's Savings Bank* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1976), 231.

8. The discovery of the contents of the Sentinel of Freedom is the result of

transcribing John Sanford Swaim's diary for 1866, which is being prepared for publication by John and Sarah Foster.

"A History of Snyder Memorial Methodist Church, 1870-1944," (copy in Hayden Burns Library, Jacksonville); "A Brief History of Snyder Memorial United Methodist Church, 1870-1970."

^{5.} Jacksonville Tri-Weekly Florida Union, March 24, 1874.

ing from pulminary diseases such as consumption. Readers in January 1868, for instance, were told that while they were "battling with winter's sudden and rigorous advent" Floridians were "luxuriating with the thermometer at from 40° to 70° and sometimes 80°, eating oranges." ⁶ In February 1869, a letter from Florida urged, "Let the Northerner imagine to himself one of the loveliest days of early June. The foliage bursting into the freshest and liveliest green . . . the blossoms and happy birds in a genial atmosphere, contributing to new life, even in those wearied and wasted by long disease. Such a day of transcendental loveliness dawned on the 10th day of February, shedding light and gladness over this latitude." There were continuing reports about the climate in subsequent years. "On arriving here [Fernandina] yesterday morning, we found ourselves in a pleasant temperature of 70 degrees. Oranges, bananas, etc. are growing finely in open air."8 A Newarker noted in 1871: "We have the finest climate in the world- very pleasant in the winter, there rarely being more than a few frosts. "9

There were many references to the beauty of Florida's springs and rivers. In 1866, a description of Silver Springs appeared, "Within the center of this solemn surrounding, we come to the margin of the spring, covering a space of some ten or twelve rods width. A way down to the depth of sixty or eighty feet are the wide chasms of the limestone rock, out of which the abundant waters seem simply to flow with perfect naturalness; so pure and transparent that a sixpence could be seen distinctly. The fishes, the pebbles, even the sands appear, and there is just sulphur and magnesia enough in the water to tinge everything with a silver hue."10

The St. Johns River was described by a New Jersey traveler as "one of the most wonderful on this continent, if not the world."11 In 1869, another wrote: "The broad river with its luxuriant growth of trees- sombre drapery of moss upon the oak and cypress like vaulted caverns in the forest, present a fine con-

[&]quot;Letter from Florida," Newark (New Jersey) Sentinel of Freedom, January 7, 1868.

uary 1, 1808.
7. "Letters from Florida," ibid., March 2, 1869.
8. "A Trip to Florida," ibid., January 4, 1870.
9. "A Newarker in Florida," ibid., June 27, 1871.
10. "Letter from Florida," ibid., March 6, 1866.
11. "A Florida Letter," ibid., May 11, 1869.

trast to the fresh green of the maple and the orange, while the deep green of the palmetto and the pine give novelty and interest to the eye of the Northerner. The countless thousands of birds of every hue and kind lend sufficient life to the scene to forbid the mind or the eye to grow weary." 12 Northerners were intrigued by the luxuriant semi-tropical foliage, and by the birds, small animals, fish, and alligators that could be seen as the boats moved along the waterway.

While many articles in the Sentinel described Florida's climate and beauty, they also noted its agricultural potential. In 1865, correspondent S. observed: "It would not be a difficult thing for a man to so arrange his garden, as that there could not be one of the 365, that he could not gather vegetables appropriate to the season." ¹³ In the fall of 1867, opportunities were noted in cultivating peaches, oranges, and lemons. "The orange culture is destined to be a great interest here. The whole St. Johns River is admirably adapted to it, and one can get a grove of 100 trees or more growing for two hundred dollars, which in six years will produce 100,000 oranges which sell at our wharf for \$2 per 100." 14

Other agricultural possibilities received attention, too. "As soon as we can get a line of steamers direct from here to New York, general produce business will be the best one can undertake. We sent tomatoes to New York last May, realizing \$6 per bushel and this not withstanding our want of facilities." In the years that followed, there were many optimistic statements about the potential of marketing early vegetables in northern markets.

One New Jersey writer did not agree with these glowing accounts of the state's agricultural future. He stated, "The truth should be told. All of Florida is a vast sandy desert, where it is not a malarious marsh, or bushy swamp." 16 This sour judgement did not pass unchallenged; one retort appeared within months: "No one should come here expecting a farm ready made for them- oranges growing in golden profusion, grapes in rich clusters, strawberries in lucious ripeness, figs in sweetness, corn in taste- nor indeed, mosquitoes by the bushel. I have seen all these

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[&]quot;Letters from Florida," ibid., March 2, 1869. "Letter from Jacksonville, Florida," ibid., April 25, 1865. "The Land of Fruit and Flowers," ibid., November 26, 1867. 14.

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[&]quot;Impressions of Florida." 'ibid., February 15, 1870. 16.

except the last, but they were the result and reward of talent, skill and perseverance."17

The contemporary impact of these New Jersey articles is open to speculation. Tourism was growing rapidly in northeast Florida, and the Sentinel of Freedom's articles strongly, and on occasion, eloquently reinforced it. In the area of tourism the Sentinel's impact was probably the greatest. A lengthy article in July 1868, about St. Augustine helps to explain the presence of New Jersey residents in that location the following year. "At one time not less than ten [persons] from Newark were stopping at the Florida House." 18 "Throughout the State Jerseymen may be found at almost every hotel and boarding house." 193

In the same period, Jacksonville experienced rapid economic growth. One writer in the spring of 1869 expressed the belief that "real estate in this city has doubled in value within the last twelve months."20 John Swaim counted "two hundred and sixty" dwellings under construction "at one time." 21

Yet the Sentinel of Freedom did not limit its stories about Florida to merely a publicity campaign. Many articles were written by New Jersey men and women who had come to Florida to live, people who had concerns and insights different from tourists. The Sentinel published such works as well, and consequently the newspaper remains a repository of knowledge about Florida. The following excerpts about Florida towns and cities were written by correspondent S. and John Swaim.

At the end of the Civil War, Jacksonville appeared as a place of desolation. Four different Federal occupations had left scars: "Entire blocks were naught but piles of blackened bricks. The long avenues of evergreen shade trees that once arched the streets from end to end, were broken into sections, the vacant places showing only the charred trunks of the proud magnolia and live oak. The Protestant Episcopal and the Catholic churches were gone. The famous Judson House, the Buffington and Merchant's Hotels, the spacious warehouses and splendid stores were all swept away. Fences that enclosed gardens and court-yards have

[&]quot;Letter from Florida," ibid., August 16, 1870. "Letter from Florida," ibid., March 23, 1869.

^{19.} Ibid.

[&]quot;A Florida Letter," ibid., May 11, 1869. "Letter from Florida," ibid., July 6, 1869.

gone to kindle soldier's fires or to make a floor for his tent. It was ruin everywhere. The wooden pavements were either burned or had rotted away and heavy army wagons worked the streets up into heaps of sand."22

Palatka had also been hard hit by the war: "Palatka has suffered severely from the effects of the war. Many of its pleasant homes h ave been burned, some are falling down, despoiled of yard fences. In every part of the town we met with charred stumps or we see the heaps of blackened bricks indicating the site of residences. Desolation and ruin seem to be the order that prevails. Of the sawmills that were running before the war, two have been rebuilt and are just beginning business. There are two or three stores, besides some few candy shop looking affairs, one of which displayed upon an open window shutter, in chalk letters, 'Flour, salt and sirrip sold here.' "23

Sumterville, south of Ocala, was also visited by John Swaim: "The country, heretofore along our journey sufficiently wild, becomes emphatically so. The town stands right in the original forest. A few trees only are cut down, stumps and logs and long grass occupying the line of streets that are to be. The courthouse is unpainted and dilapidated; two stores and some five dwellings. without paint or even whitewash, constitute the town. One man, under constant protest of a feeble looking wife, undertakes to entertain the travelers occasionally journeying through the country. We fared better than we had reason to expect from the unpromising surroundings of the rudely constructed 'hotel.' "24

Some of the articles described the residents and their behavior. After emancipation, for instance, one observer believed that many planters "did not know how to direct free labor . . . The same old plantation slang phrases; the same imperious voice and manner are still used in giving orders, and the newly made freedman feels he has title to other treatment, resists the indignity."25 Conflicts began which resulted in calls to the provost marshal.

One article commented on the qualifications of blacks in the Florida legislature. "It would certainly be a mistake to suppose

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[&]quot;A Floral Town in Florida," ibid., May 2, 1865. "Observations in Florida," ibid., March 27, 1866.

^{&#}x27;Florida after the War," ibid., September 5, 1865.

there is no practical talent there. There may be very few polished experts in parlimentary practice, but there is a good deal of that which is an excellent substitute therefore- sound sterling common sense."26

There was a motive behind this observation and the early articles in the Sentinel. Of the sixteen articles published between early 1865 and the fall of 1868, ten conclude with John or Jacob Swaim's initials. In addition the four articles in 1865 signed by correspondent S. are probably the elder Swaim's as well. It is known that he was in Jacksonville, where they were written, and several phrases appearing in the 1865 articles reappear in Swaim's 1866 materials. The 1865 articles also reflect a knowledge of flowers, one of his preoccupations. ²⁷ A Jacksonville city directory listed Swaim owning a floriculture business in 1871.²⁸

The purpose of the articles seems to have included more than attracting tourists. Florida needed capital, and New Jersey had many monetary resources. Plus, if Northerners could have been added to Florida's large black electorate, it raised the possibility of being able to control the state. "We want a few thousand more Yankees to out vote them [traditional white Southerners] and hold them as a helpless minority, and we can manage things for the real advantage of the country." 29

It is in light of this statement that the Sentinel materials must be interpreted. They represented a direct attempt by a portion of Jacksonville's Republican community to encourage economic growth while furthering their own political and social objectives. "We want more men; active energetic, wide-awake men in order to hasten the work of Reconstruction and make more permanent its resultant civil and religious institutions." To interpret these letters and articles as the equivalent of modern advertisement is to miss part of Florida's history.

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^{28.}

[&]quot;Letter from Florida," ibid., July 7, 1868.

"A Floral Town in Florida," ibid., May 2, 1865.

Webbs Jacksonville Directory (New York, 1871), 38.

"Letter from Florida," Newark Sentinel of Freedom, September 29, 1868.

"Letter from Florida," ibid., January 7, 1868. A statement written by John Swaim.

FLORIDA HISTORY RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

This list shows the amount and variety of Florida history research and writing currently underway, as reported to the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. Doctoral dissertations and master's theses completed in 1984 are included. Research in Florida history, sociology, anthropology, political science, archeology, geography, and urban studies is listed.

Auburn University

- Robin F. A. Fabel (faculty)— "Economic Aspects of British West Florida" (continuing study).
- Millard D. Orem III— "Government in British West Florida" (master's thesis in progress).
- David J. Stanhope— "Trading in Colonial Mobile" (master's thesis in progress).

Brown University, John Carter Brown Library

Everett C. Wilkie, Jr.- "Memoria sucinta de lo operado por el exmo. s.d. Bernardo de Gálvez . . ." (translation of document in progress).

Bureau of State Historic Preservation, Division of Archives, History and Records Management, Tallahassee

Elizabeth B. Monroe (historian)— "History of San Luis Plantation and its Owners, 1820-1983" (continuing study).

Castillo de San Marcos National Monument, St. Augustine

- Luis R. Arana— "Construction and Repairs on the Castillo de San Marcos, 1672-1763"; "Construction and Repairs on the Castillo de San Marcos, 1784-1821" (publications forthcoming).
- Edwin C. Bearss— "Construction and Repairs of Castillo de San Marcos between 1821 and 1933" (publication forthcoming).

- Randall G. Copeland, C. Craig Frazier, and Terry Wong— "Architectural Data, Castillo de San Marcos" (research completed).
- John C. Paige— "British Construction and Repair at the Castillo de San Marcos, 1763-1784"; "National Park Service Construction and Repair Since 1933" (publications forthcoming).

Daytona Beach Community College

- Peter D. Klingman (faculty) *Neither Dies Nor Surrenders: A History of the Republican Party in Florida* (published 1984).
- Charles Polk (faculty) and Peter D. Klingman— "Essays on the State of Education in Florida" (continuing study).

Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University

- John T. Foster, Jr. (faculty) and Sarah W. Foster (faculty)— "The Diary of John Sanford Swaim" (publication forth-coming);
- Larry E. Rivers (faculty)— "James Hudson: Preacher and Civil Rights Activist, 1955-1965"; "Reconstruction in Leon County, Florida, 1865-1877"; "Slavery in Gadsden County, Florida: 1827-1860"; "Land and Slave Ownership in Middle Florida: 1830-1860"; "The Tallahassee Bus Boycott: 1957" (continuing studies).

Florida Atlantic University

- Joseph J. Ceros-Livingston— "The History of the Survival of an Elitist Black High School in South Florida from 1907-1981" (Ph.D. dissertation completed, 1982).
- Donald W. Curl *Mizner's Florida: American Resort Architecture* (published 1984).
- Donald W. Curl with Fred Eckel (faculty)— "Lost Palm Beach" (continuing study).
- Yetta Deckelbaum— "Little Haiti: The Evolution of a Community" (master's thesis in progress).
- Harry A. Kersey, Jr. (faculty)— "Seminole Indians of Florida" (continuing study).

Raymond A. Mohl (faculty)— "Metropolitan Growth and Political Change in Miami, 1940-1982" (continuing study).

Florida Southern College

- J. Larry Durrence (faculty)— "Role of the Southern Association of Women for the Prevention of Lynching in Florida" (continuing study).
- Paige Alan Parker (faculty)— "Participation of Blacks in Local Government in Florida" (continuing study).

Florida State Museum

- Kathleen Deagan (faculty)— "Historical Archeology and Ethno-History of Blacks and Indians in Spanish Colonial St. Augustine" (continuing study).
- William H. Marquardt (faculty) *The Josslyn Island Mound and its Role in the Investigation of Southwest Florida's Past* (published 1984); "The Development of Social and Cultural Complexity in Southwest Florida" (continuing study).
- Jerald T. Milanich, Marvin Smith, Robert Wilson, and William Goza— "The DeSoto Route in Florida" (continuing study).

Florida State University

- Frank W. Aldvino— "Prohibition in Tampa" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- Michelle M. Alexander— "The Paleoethnobotany of the Fort Walton Indians of Leon County, Florida: High Ridge, Velda and Lake Jackson Sites" (master's thesis completed).
- David J. Coles— "Florida Troops in the Union Army and Confederate Armies, 1861-1865" (continuing study); "Olustee, The 1864 Campaign for Florida" (master's thesis completed): "History of the Florida Militia and National Guard" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- R. C. Dailey (faculty) and Dan Morse The Sowell Mound, A Weeden Island Necropolis from Bay County, Northwest Florida (published 1984).

- James M. Denham— "Violence in Territorial Florida" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress); "The Chipola Country: A Study in Land Survey and Settlement in Territorial Florida"; "The Tallahassee Land Company and the Texas Enterprise" (continuing studies).
- Glen H. Doran (faculty) Plans for Investigations at the Windover Site, Brevard County, Florida (published 1984).
 - Charlotte Downey-Anderson— "Desegregation and Southern Mores in Madison County, 1956-1980" (master's thesis in progress).
 - Mary Louise Ellis— "Benjamin Chaires: Entrepreneur of Territorial Florida" (continuing study).
 - George R. Fischer, David Brewer, and Ken Wild— "Archeological Survey, Biscayne National Park" (continuing study).
 - Robert L. Hall— "Black Religion in Florida to 1890" (Ph.D. dissertation completed).
 - Donorena Harris— "Abolitionist Sentiment in Florida" (master's thesis in progress).
 - James P. Jones (faculty)— "History of Florida State College for Women" (continuing study).
 - Felix R. Masud— "The Cuban Refugees as Political Weapons, 1959-1965" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
 - Janet Snyder Matthews— "History of Sarasota and Manatee River, 16th-19th Centuries" (master's thesis in progress).
 - David B. Mock, Robert G. Stakenas, and Kenneth Eaddy— "History of Vocational Education in Florida" (publication forthcoming).
 - Glenda A. Rabby— "Out of the Past: The Civil Rights Movement in Tallahassee, Florida" (Ph.D. dissertation completed).
 - Joe M. Richardson (faculty) and Maxine D. Jones (faculty)— "Bibliography of Florida Blacks" (continuing study).
 - William Warren Rogers (faculty)— "A History of Saint George Island" (continuing study).
 - William Warren Rogers and Jerrell H. Shofner (faculty, University of Central Florida)— "Trouble in Paradise: A Pictorial History of Florida During the Depression" (publication forthcoming).

- Richard Vernon— "Regional Research Design for Northeast Florida" (master's thesis completed).
- Lynn Ware— "History of the Apalachicola River, 1800-1865" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- J. Leitch Wright, Jr. (faculty)— "Creeks and Seminoles: The Final Years, 1775-1840s"; "Black Seminoles" (continuing studies).

George Mason University

William S. Willis (faculty)— "Francis Philip Fatio (1724-1811): Pioneer Planter in East Florida" (continuing study).

Hillsborough Community College

L. Glenn Westfall (faculty)— "Lithographic Process used in Cigar Label and Poster Advertisement"; "Tampa's German Community and German Club"; "Acquisition of the Martinez Ybor y Agramonte Papers" (continuing studies).

Historical Association of Southern Florida

- Dorothy J. Fields— "Black Archives, History and Research Foundation of South Florida" (continuing study).
- Glenn Long— "Painting in Florida and the Caribbean" (continuing study).
- Arva Moore Parks— "Coconut Grove"; 'Coral Gables"; "Mary Barr Munroe, Resident of Coconut Grove" (continuing studies).
- Thelma Peters- "Miami, 1909" (publication forthcoming).
- Sandra Riley Homeward Bound: A History of the Bahama Islands to 1850 with a Definitive Study of Abaco in the American Loyalist Plantation Period (published 1984)
- Jean C. Taylor— "South Dade County" (continuing study).
- Patsy West— "Photographic History of the Seminoles and Miccosukees"; "Seminoles in Tourist Attractions" (continuing studies).
- Sharon Wells *Sloppy Joe's Bar: The First Fifty Years* (published 1984); "Tavernier: An Historical Survey" (research complete); "Stanley Papio—Florida Keys' Naive and Visionary Artist"; (continuing study).

L. Glenn Westfall— "Key West: Cigar City U.S.A." (publication forthcoming).

Historic Pensacola Preservation Board

Alan Gantzhorn- "The Socialist Party in Pensacola, 1900-1934" (continuing study).

Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board

Amy T. Bushnell— "Eighteenth-Century East Florida Ethnography"; "Biographical and Demographical Data Base for St. Augustine, 1565 to 1821"; "A Magic Lantern History of St. Augustine and East Florida from 1503 to 1845"; "The King's Standard: The Governor of the Spanish Florida Provinces, 1565-1702"; "Father Paiva's Demonic Game"; "Governor Fernández de Olivera's Letter to the Crown in 1612," transcribing and translating; "Women of the Parallel Politics: Spanish and Hispanized Indian, in Seventeenth-Century Florida" (continuing studies); "The Noble and Loyal City, 1565 to 1668" (publication forthcoming).

Robert H. Steinbach, Amy T. Bushnell, Jimmy Smith, and Stanley Bond— "St. Johns County Archaeological and Architectural Site Survey" (continuing study).

Historic Tallahassee Preservation Board

Linda V. Ellsworth– "Pensacola's Creoles, 1860-1970"; "Artists View West Florida, 1820-1920" (continuing studies).

Clara L. Wolfe— "Historical and Architectural Survey of Leon County Plantations" (continuing study).

Hong Kong Baptist College

Barton Starr (faculty)— "Loyalists in East Florida" (continuing study).

Jacksonville University

George E. Buker (faculty)— "Florida's Environmental Problems" (continuing study).

Joan S. Carver (faculty)- "The Consolidated Government of

Jacksonville" (continuing study).

Richard Miller (faculty)— "Elderly Abuse in Florida" (continuing study).

Louisiana Collection Series, Birmingham, Alabama

Jack D. L. Holmes— "Vicente Pintado: Spanish Surveyor General for Florida and Louisiana"; "Medical History of Pensacola and Fort San Carlos de Barrancas, 1781-1821" (continuing studies): "The Last Hurrah: Spain's 1805 Expedition through Louisiana and Texas"; "Harwich, the Iberville Canal, and British Plans to Link the Mississippi with the Gulf of Mexico, 1768-1779"; "Charles Blacker Vignoles and his Description of South Florida in 1822"; 'Spanish Laws for Florida and Louisiana: The Writings of Joseph White" (research completed).

Louisiana State University

Paul E. Hoffman (faculty)— "Spanish and French Exploration of the Southeastern Coast, 1521-1587"; "Cuban Papers Project, Spanish Louisiana" (continuing studies). "Spain and the Roanoke Voyages"; "New Light on the Documentation of the Voyage of Vicente Gonzalez, 1588" (essays completed).

Metropolitan Dade County, Office of Community and Economic Development, Historic Preservation Division

Robert Carr, Arva Moore Parks, Margot Ammidown, William Steele, Hermann Trappmann, George Guer, and Keith Root—"Lost and Found: 4,000 Years of Man in Dade County" (publication forthcoming).

Mississippi College, Clinton, Mississippi

Edward N. Akin (faculty)— "Henry M. Flagler, A Biography" (continuing study).

Museum of Florida History, Tallahassee. (Completed exhibits and research projects in progress.)

- Patricia P. Wickman (senior curator)— "Waterways: A History of Water Transportation in Florida"; "The Seminoles Nobody Knows"; "Osceola's Legacy: A Man and His Legend"; "Powderhorns: Two Centuries of Southern Tradition"; "Florida Symbols: Official and Unofficial Images of Our State."
- Robert McNeil (historian)— "History of the Union Bank, Tallahassee"; "Exploring Florida's Waterways"; "What Government Costs"; "How Government Changes."
- Dennis Pullen (curator)— "The Campaign Trail in Florida Politics"; "Cargo and People."
- Erik Robinson (historian)- "Political Cartooning."

Pensacola Junior College

Owen E. Farley, Jr. (faculty)— "Dixie Construction in Northwest Florida" (continuing study).

Rollins College

Jack C. Lane (faculty)— "History of Rollins College" (publication forthcoming).

Stetson University

Gilbert Lycan— "The Reserve Officers' Training Corps and Other Military Training Programs at Stetson University" (publication forthcoming).

University of Central Florida

- Thomas D. Greenhaw (faculty)— "Training of the RAF in Florida, 1941-1945"; "Governor Patrick Tonyn"; "German Prisoners of War in Florida During World War II,' (continuing studies).
- Edmund F. Kallina (faculty)– "Claude Kirk Administration" (continuing study).
- James D. Prahlow– "Lutheranism in Central Florida, 1870-1941" (continuing study).
- Jerrell H. Shofner (faculty)— "Naval Stores Industry in the Southeastern United States" (continuing study); "History of Jackson County, Florida" (publication forthcoming);

- Orlando: The City Beautiful (published 1984).
- Paul W. Wehr (faculty)— "History of Orange County"; "Will Wallace Harney"; "Exclusion of Hannibal Square from Corporate Limits of Winter Park,' (continuing studies).

University of Florida

- David P. Adams— "Medical Practice in Rural Florida: A Case Study of An Anomaly, 1929-1974"; "Pharmacy Practice in Rural Florida: A Comparative Analysis of Prescribing, 1933-1948" (continuing studies).
- David P. Adams and Eric W. Rise— "Illegitimate Pregnancy and 'Betty Gator': Contraception and the University of Florida Student Health Service, 1960-1970" (continuing study).
- Elizabeth Alexander, Bruce Chappell, and Paul Weaver— "Calendar of the Spanish Holdings of the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History" (continuing study).
- Jaimey D. Barry— "The Creation and Development of the Florida State Board of Health, 1889-1940" (master's thesis in progress).
- John Wallace Bird- "Mayan Refugees at Indiantown: The Sanctuary" (continuing study).
- Fred Blakey (faculty)— "A Biography of John Henry Winder"; "Alburtus Vogt"; "American Florida: The First Forty Years, 1821-1861" (continuing studies).
- James Button (faculty)— "Impact of the Civil Rights Movement in Six Florida Communities, 1960-1976" (continuing study).
- Bruce Chappell— "A History of the Diego Plains in the Second Spanish Period" (continuing study).
- Jeffry Charbonnet— "Reform Politics in Alachua County, Florida, 1927-1973" (master's thesis in progress).
- William C. Childers (faculty)— "Garth Wilkinson James and Robertson James: Abolitionists in Gainesville During Reconstruction" (continuing study).
- David Colburn— "St. Augustine, 1964: Community in Racial Crisis" (publication forthcoming).
- Herbert J. Doherty (faculty)— "Florida Rails in the Steamboat Era" (research completed); "Railroads in North Central

- Florida"; "Territorial Florida, Historiography"; "History of the Florida Historical Society" (continuing studies).
- Nancy E. Erwin– "The Importance of Neighborhoods for Cuban-Americans in Greater Miami" (Ph.D. dissertation completed).
- Michael Gannon (faculty)— "A Short History of Florida"; "Florida During the Second World War" (continuing studies).
- Lawrence Gordon– "Florida Blacks in the Depression Era: The Case of Palm Beach, Broward, and Dade Counties" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- Patricia C. Griffin— "Tourism and Festivals: St. Augustine, Florida, and Bala, Wales" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- Nancy Gustke- "Frank H. Taylor: Nineteenth-Century Art Journalist" (master's thesis completed).
- E. A. Hammond (faculty, emeritus)— "History of the Medical Profession in Florida, 1821-1875" (continuing study).
- Earl Ronald Hendry— "David Levy Yulee: A Biography of Florida's Railroad Pioneer-Politician, 1810-1886" (master's thesis in progress).
- Sidney Johnston— "History of E. O. Painter Printing Company" (master's thesis in progress).
- John Paul Jones (faculty)— "History of the Florida Press Association, 1879-1968" (continuing study).
- Stephen Kerber— "Park Trammell of Florida, A Political Biography"; "Ruth Bryan Owen: Florida's First Congresswoman" (continuing studies).
- Jane Landers— "Race Relations in Spanish St. Augustine" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- Wilma L'Engle- "Biography of Congressman Claude L'Engle" (master's thesis in progress).
- David Alan Lewis— "Microclimates and Human Comfort on a Subtropical Island" [Longboat Key] (master's thesis completed).
- Eugene Lyon (faculty)— "Pedro de Valdés and the Florida Indian Trade" (article published); "The Niña: Data From the Third Voyage of Colombus" (monograph completed); "The Hernando de Soto Papers" (translation completed); The Enterprise of Florida, II; The Spanish North American Conquest, 1513-1587 (published 1984).

- Robert B. Marcus (faculty) with Clarence Head (faculty, University of Central Florida) *The Face of Florida* (published 1984).
- Kevin M. McCarthy (faculty)— "A Cultural, Literary, and Historical Tour of Florida" (continuing study).
- Jerald T. Milanich (faculty), Ann S. Cordell, Brenda Sigler-Lavelle (faculty), Vernon J. Knight, Jr. (faculty, University of Alabama), and Tim A. Kohler (faculty, Washinton State University) *McKeithen Weeden Island-A Prehistoric People in North Florida* (published 1984).
- Jerald T. Milanich (faculty), Jefferson Chapman (faculty, University of Tennessee), Ann S. Cordell, Stephen Hale, and Rochelle Marrinan (faculty, Florida State University) Prehistoric Development of Calusa Society in Southwest Florida: Excavations on Useppa Island (published 1984).
- Jeffrey Mitchem— "The Safety Harbor Culture-Tampa Bay" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- Elizabeth B. Monroe— "Prosopographical Study of the Delegates to Florida's Constitutional Convention, 1838-39"; "Voyage of the Scottish Settlers from Glasgow, Scotland to Sarasota, Florida, 1885" (continuing studies).
- Steven Noll— "Feeble-Minded in our Midst: A Study of Florida Farm Colony, 1915-1940" (master's thesis completed).
- Bill Nulty— "Northeast Florida in the Civil War" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- George Pozzetta (faculty) with Gary R. Mormino (faculty, University of South Florida)— "Ethnic Interactions in Tampa, Florida, 1885-1935" (continuing study).
- Samuel Proctor (faculty)— "Florida Slave Interviews"; "History of the University of Florida, 1853-present" (continuing studies).
- Catherine Puckett— "Natural History and Folklore of the Suwannee River" (master's thesis in progress).
- Eric W. Rise— "Red Menaces and Drinking Buddies: Student Activism at the University of Florida, 1930-1941" (continuing study).
- Richard Scher (faculty)— "Towards the New South: The Persistence of Regionalism in America" (research completed).
- Helen Smith- "Immigrant Women in Ybor City: 1900"

(master's thesis in progress).

- Jeremy Stahl— "Jesuits and the Keys Indians, 1700-1750" (continuing study).
- Paul Weaver— "The History of Preservation in St. Augustine" (master's thesis in progress).
- Brent Weisman— "Cultural Ecology of the Seminole and the Prehistoric Peoples of the Withlacoochee Cove" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- Arthur O. White (faculty)— "William N. Sheats: A Biography, 1851-1922" (continuing study).
- Patricia R. Wickman— "Material Legacy of Osceola" (master's thesis in progress).

University of Georgia

Charles M. Hudson, Jr. (faculty), Chester B. DePratter, and Marvin T. Smith (University of Florida)— "The Explorations of Hernando de Soto, Tristan de Luna, and Juan Pardo in the Southeast" (continuing study).

University of Miami

- Thomas Fleischmann— "Housing Patterns Among Blacks and Whites in Dade County in the early 20th Century"; (continuing study).
- Paul George (faculty)— "Re-evaluating the 'Good Ol' Days in Dade County: Historical Trends in Dade County Homicides, 1917-1982"; "A History of Mount Sinai Medical Center (Miami Beach)"; "Florida Yesterday and Today" (publications forthcoming); Miami's City Marshal and Law Enforcement in a New Community" (research completed); "Miami and the Ku Klux Klan: The Depression Decade" (contining study).
- Paul George (faculty) with Greg Bush (faculty)— "Patriotic Parades: The Moral Consequences of War on Miami," a film (completed); "Miami and World War One" (continuing study).
- Paul George (faculty) with William Wilbanks *Murder in Miami, an Historical Perspective* (published 1984).
- Whittington B. Johnson (faculty), Gregory Bush (faculty), Robert M. Levine (faculty), Walter Kamphoefner, and

- Anthony Fraser— "Social History of Blacks in South Florida" (continuing study).
- Robert M. Levine (faculty)— "Patterns of Ethnic and Racial Segregation in the Settlement of the City of Miami" (continuing study).

University of Missouri

Antonio F. Holland— "Nathan B. Young: Black Educator" (Ph.D. dissertation completed).

University of North Florida

- James B. Crooks (faculty)— "Jacksonville: Government Response to Urban Growth" (continuing study).
- Daniel L. Schafer (faculty)– "History of British East Florida" (continuing study).

University of South Carolina

- George C. Rogers, Jr. (faculty) and Lawrence S. Rowland (faculty, University of South Carolina at Beaufort)— "History of Beaufort County, South Carolina" (continuing study).
- Michael C. Scardaville (faculty) and Karen Harvey— "St. Augustine Revisited: A New Look at Old Places" (continuing study).

University of South Florida

- Eirlys Barker— "Seasons of Pestilence: Tampa and Yellow Fever, 1824-1905" (master's thesis completed).
- Nancy Hewitt (faculty)— "Tampa's Working Women, 1880-1945" (continuing study).
- Robert Ingalls (faculty)— "Vigilantism in Tampa, 1880-1940" (continuing study).
- Steven Lawson (faculty) with Darryl Paulson and David Colburn— "The Groveland Rape Case" (continuing study).
- Gary Mormino (faculty)— "History of Ybor City" (continuing study).
- Robert Taylor— "Cattle and the Confederacy" (master's thesis in progress).

University of Tampa

James W. Covington (faculty)— "Federal and State Relations with the Seminoles of Florida since 1858"; "The Coming of the Chicago Cubs to Tampa in 1913" (continuing studies).

University of Texas, Austin

Linda D. Vance— "May Mann Jennings: Florida's Genteel Activist" (publication forthcoming).

University of West Florida

- Dean DeBolt (faculty)— "Florida Place Names and Postal History"; "Florida Chautauqua and History of De Funiak Springs, Florida" (continuing studies).
- William S. Coker (faculty)— "Peter Bryan Bruin"; "Indian Tribes of the Southeastern Borderlands: Panton Leslie and Company and John Forbes and Company, 1783-1847" (publications forthcoming).
- William S. Coker, Francisco de Borja Medina, and Lucien Delson— "The Battle Orders for the Siege of Pensacola, 1781" (publication forthcoming).
- James R. McGovern (faculty)— "Black Eagle: The Life of General Daniel 'Chappie' James, Jr." (publication forthcoming).
- George F. Pearce— "William Bainbridge— A Journal from City of Washington to Pensacola . . ." (publication forthcoming).
- James A. Servies (faculty)— "Bibliography of Florida, 1490-1945" (continuing study).

Valdosta State College

Fred Lamar Pearson, Jr. (faculty)— "Spanish-Indian Relations in Florida"; "The Guale Revolt of 1597 and the Restoration of the Missions" (continuing studies).

Consulting and/or Research Historians

American Jewish Committee, Miami Chapter- "Jewish

- Women of Achievement Oral History Project" (continuing study).
- Mildred L. Fryman— "Papers of the Florida Surveyor Generals to 1908" (continuing study).
- David J. Ginzl- "Structural Change in Florida Banking" (continuing study).
- Julia F. Smith— "Slavery in Florida" for inclusion in *Dictionary of Afro-American History*, edited by Randall M. Miller (publication forthcoming).
- Dena Snodgrass with Herschel Shepard— "Documentary and Architectural Investigation of the Kingsley Plantation House" (continuing study).
- Robert L. F. Sikes, "He-Coon: The Bob Sikes Story," edited by Bobbye Sikes Wicke (publication forthcoming).
- "Reminiscences in the Old South from 1834 to 1866: Things Noted not Found in History," reprint of 1897 work of John Williamson Crary, Sr. (publication forthcoming).

BOOK REVIEWS

Florida and the American Motion Picture Industry 1898-1980. By Richard Alan Nelson. (New York: Garland Publishing, 1982. xix, 798 pp., 2 vols. Preface, acknowledgments, maps, tables, appendixes, photographs, bibliography, glossary, index. \$105.00.)

In 1913 the optimistically named Worlds Best Film Company arrived in Tampa to make "authentic" jungle pictures. It was actually a logical decision. Florida could boast of warm breezes, great outdoor settings which were wondrously strange and new to audiences, affordable accomodations for production crews, and easy rail access to New York, still the major center for film processing and distribution.

The company's first location effort featured the renowned wild animal tamer "Captain Jack" Bonavita and his star lion, "Brutus." The resulting *Wizard of the Jungle* proved profitable, and on the heels of this first success production quickly began on yet another jungle thriller, *In the Sultan's Power*. During filming, however, one of the lions suddenly turned on "Captain Jack." Needless to say, production halted. Though not so literal, it was an often repeated storyline in Florida's role in the early motion picture business: the first enthusiasm, bounding initial success, and then abrupt and rude failure. It was not for want of effort though.

In the early 1900s most film companies maintained New York offices, shot many stories in lofts and warehouses, and for outdoor scenes traveled to New Jersey or Long Island. But as the industry grew, trade associations developed and technology improved; it was a less-than-satisfactory arrangement. Companies required sites which would provide new and exciting settings. For example, westerns filmed in New Jersey somehow did not ring true. And any new center of the film industry also had to provide far better weather conditions. Add to that the expense even then of New York, and it was small wonder that studios were looking about for an alternative.

Nelson surveys the period to 1929 when Florida and California were locked in a competition far closer than one would think for the economic benefits of the rapidly growing film industry. Florida had served as a film location before, but it was the Kalem Company which first came south during the winter of 1908-1909. Successfully and economically completing its shooting schedule in Jacksonville, Kalem was soon followed by other major film companies— Edison, Lubin, and Selig— as well as many small independents. No one could say that Florida was not fertile ground for scripts. Fascinating productions as *The Cracker's Bride* or *The Orange Grower's Daughter* were supplanted by films such as *Good For Evil*, "a story of love among the saw mills of Florida." So attractive did the area become that by 1914-1915 Jacksonville and Los Angeles were the two leading production centers

California, in fact, seemed to be doing its best to discourage continued growth. Despite California's better weather and more varied scenery, and especially its vast technical support facilities—still woefully absent in the southeast—the film producers were discouraged at every turn. The Los Angeles city government tried time and again to segregate the supposedly detrimental studios from decent neighborhoods, the merchants were caught repeatedly charging technicians and actors outrageous prices, and the film companies even faced attempts at local censorship. Finally, during the 1921 depression the New York banks holding most of the industry's loans encouraged a return to the east, and Florida had reason to be optimistic that victory was near.

But whereas film work in California was increasingly centered in Hollywood, in Florida several cities competed against one another with predictably disastrous results. When Jacksonville Mayor J. E. T. Bowden established a film office in city hall and utilized the city's facilities as props regardless of inconvenience to the citizens, the film industry became as much a political and moral issue as an economic one. In 1912 Jacksonville had been the "World's Winter Film Capital," but by the time of the mayoral election in 1917 the city faced a less-than-excited local populace and a change in government. With over-eager local backers and too many get-rich-quick small companies also entering the scene, Tampa and Miami had no chance, either. Hollywood would not worry again.

Here the main theme ends. Though there is a good adjunct essay on film for black audiences, the overwhelming emphasis of this lengthy study is on the era of silent film. Nelson provides information on the years since 1930 in a forty-page epilogue, and thus the title is somewhat misleading.

The marvelous detail, the interesting anecdotes, and the insights are presented in a difficult format which is not for the general reader or bookshop trade. Florida and the American Motion Picture Industry is actually a complete typescript copy of Nelson's 1980 doctoral dissertation from Florida State University and is part of the series "Dissertation on Film" by Garland Publishing, Inc. At least half the two volumes is made up of endnotes and appendixes. The text also suffers from an academic style not ordinarily Nelson's, given the readability of his earlier work on film. Add to all this the high price, and we have a volume of limited market appeal. The book is a good investment for any standard film reference collection and for Florida's libraries as well. It is a treasure trove of obscure film titles and little-known facts, but most importantly it explores one of Florida's many efforts to insure its image as "the sunshine state."

Virginia Historical Society

EDWARD D. C. CAMPBELL, JR.

Spanish Colonial Frontier Research. Compiled and edited by Henry F. Dobyns. (Albuquerque: Center for Anthropological Studies, 1980. ix, 113 pp. Preface, maps, charts, graphs, tables, illustrations, photographs, index. \$14.00.)

Anthropologists and ethnohistorians have long been interested in the interaction of Hispanic and Native American cultures in the Spanish borderlands. Increasingly this interest has spread to an attempt to understand the Hispanic culture itself on the New World frontier. The seven essays which form this volume are directed to that end.

The editor, Henry Dobyns, introduces the collection with an essay on the study of Spanish colonial frontier institutions, examining various theories and models which have been advanced by historians, geographers, and anthropologists. This is undoubtedly the most valuable chapter for the general historical

reader, particularly for one not deeply immersed in the details of Spanish borderlands history.

All but one of the remaining chapters utilize a combination of archeological and documentary data in what Dobyns identifies as an ethnohistorical approach. The exception, by John Van Ness, examines a large Spanish land grant in New Mexico in a more traditionally documentary-ethnohistorical manner, and in the process raises interesting points which may apply to Spanish land grants elsewhere.

The sixteenth-century pearl-fishing boomtown of Nueva Cadiz, on a barren island off the coast of Venezuela, is discussed by Raymond Willis, based upon the unpublished 1954-1955 field work of John Goggin and José Cruxent. The site was occupied from about 1509 until 1545, providing a closely dated context.

Three short essays relate to investigations carried out in St. Augustine, Florida. Charles Fairbanks outlines the history of archeological and ethnohistorical research in St. Augustine. Kathleen Deagan provides an overview of recent research, and Elizabeth Reitz discusses the evidence for diet and subsistence from an eighteenth-century house site. These useful summaries have been largely superseded by more recent publications, particularly Deagan's 1983 book, *Spanish St. Augustine*.

The sixteenth-century expeditions of Juan Pardo into the present southeastern United States, and the artifacts that may have been left behind, is the subject of the chapter by Chester DeBratter and Marvin Smith.

California is represented by an interesting paper on the history and archeology of the San Diego presidio, containing useful comparative material. The volume concludes with a valuable technical contribution by Mark Barnes on Mexican lead-glazed earthenwares which are found on sites in the Southwest and elsewhere.

The diverse segments of this volume do not provide an integrated look at the Spanish borderlands, nor was that the editor's intent. Dobyns himself provided a realistic evaluation: "Much remains to be done in order to truly understand the formation and persistence of the Spanish Borderlands. This volume explores some of the more productive lines of investigation."

St. Augustine, Florida

JOHN W. GRIFFIN

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Homeward Bound, A History of the Bahama Islands to 1850. By Sandra Riley. (Miami: Island Research, 1983. vi, 308 pp. Bicentennial message, foreword, preface, acknowledgments, photographs, maps, illustrations, notes, appendices, bibliography, index. \$15.95, paper.)

Bahamian Loyalists and Their Slaves. By Gail Saunders. (London: Macmillan, 1983. xii, 81 pp. Foreword, acknowledgments, preface, tables, graphs, illustrations, maps, photographs, epilogue, notes, glossary, bibliography. \$7.75, paper.)

With bicentennial celebrations of the evacuation of American Loyalists currently underway, two books which focus on the arrival of the Loyalists and their slaves in the Bahamas Islands are especially timely. Because so many of the Loyalists who evacuated from East Florida in the chaotic years 1783-1785 eventually located in the Bahamas, Gail Saunders's *Bahamian Loyalists and Their Slaves*, and Sandra Riley's *Homeward Bound*, should have special appeal to students of Florida history.

Gail Saunders's book is a slim and modest effort, yet satisfying in the concise and analytic discipline so evident throughout. Beginning with a brief introduction to the Bahama Islands prior to the American Revolution, Saunders deftly traces the evacuation of the Loyalists to the Bahamas, with emphasis on plantation settlements in the out islands. Concisely discussed are the immediate economic, social and political influences of the Loyalists and their slaves. An epilogue explores the revolution wrought in the Bahamas by these new residents. Particularly informative is the assertion that rigid color and caste barriers were erected as the mainland whites, often "energetic white merchants, planters and professionals," moved to separate themselves from their slaves, then a majority in the Bahamian population.

Drawing on little-known primary sources, Saunders presents case studies of three Bahamian plantations in her most interesting chapter, "The Slaves of the Loyalists." Most pertinent to readers of this journal is the study of the slaves of Denys Rolle following their removal from the St. Johns River in East Florida to Exuma Island. Eventually located at five settlements of 5,000 acres of land, the Rolle slaves unsuccessfully attempted to raise cotton. Living primarily in nuclear family units and increasing

their numbers steadily, they spent a goodly percentage of their time at work in their own gardens and achieved a surprising amount of practical independence and control over their own affairs.

Distressed by the failure of his Exuma settlements to produce profits, Baron Rolle of Stevenstone (Denys Rolle's son John inherited the Bahamian properties upon his father's death in 1797) decided in 1828 to move the slaves to Trinidad. Imagine his surprise when the slaves refused to leave their homes. Some ran away to the woods, others escaped to Nassau, while still others engaged in work stoppages. Exhibiting a remarkable spirit of independence, the Rolle slaves significantly shaped their own history. Saunders speculates that the Rolle slaves stayed on the Rolle lands, choosing to be independent farmers working for the self-sufficiency of the family units. By squatting on the land after emanacipation, the black peasants won rights to the land which are still honored today.

Sandra Riley's *Homeward Bound* is often interesting and will undoubtedly be helpful to certain readers, but it falls short of claims to be both a history of the entire Bahamas Islands to 1850 and a "definitive study" of Abaco. The first eight chapters comprise a general history of the Bahamas until the American Revolution, with the remaining chapters proceeding somewhat chronologically through the war-time experiences of the Loyalists and their subsequent adjustments in the Bahamas.

Riley has researched extensively and assembled an immense number of names, facts, and historical incidents, many of them compelling and of potential interest to persons tracing the paths of American Loyalists after 1785. Her method seems to be to stitch together an endless succession of episodes, or stories, letting these bear the burden of narrative history. The weakness of this technique is apparent when the stories are not interesting or relevant and seem to be included merely because the author collected them. More important, the episodes are uncritically presented, leaving the reader to wonder whether they are general occurrences or isolated incidents unconnected to larger issues. Particularly annoying are maddeningly uninformative chapter titles like "Old Rusty Guts," "Double, Double Toil and Trouble," "When the Hurly-Burly's Done," and "More Hurly-Burly."

One of the most interesting sections of the book traces the

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descendents of General Samuel Williams from North Carolina to East Florida, and from there to several islands in the Bahamas and to Trinidad. One of Samuel's sons returned to East Florida to establish a plantation in the vicinity of New Smyrna Beach. There is also a fascinating account of a ship from Virginia carrying slaves to New Orleans which wrecked near Abaco. Despite the protests of their American owners, the slaves were freed and permitted to settle in the Bahamas. Other interesting episodes discuss the fates of liberated Africans rescued from slavers ship wrecked while en route to slave ports in the Americas, and the emancipation of the Bahamian slave population.

The latter chapters, where the author concentrates on the historical experiences of the people of Abaco, are the best in the book. Well described are the unsuccessful efforts of the Loyalists and their slaves to establish a plantation economy and their subsequent involvement in woodcutting, wrecking, turtling, and fishing. There is a compelling account of emancipation at Green Turtle Cay, where whites, jealous of the rising conditions of blacks, attempted to segregate social functions by race. Frustrated in some of their efforts, and still motivated by prejudice, "hundreds of the whites" moved from Green Turtle Cay to Key West.

Although Gail Saunders and Sandra Riley have both written books which are primarily about Bahamian Loyalists and their slaves, the books differ so greatly in size and style that each should command a separate readership. *Homeward Bound*, with its help ful index and thousands of names and incidents, should be particularly helpful to readers with genealogical interests.

University of North Florida

Daniel L. Schafer

Slavery and Freedom in the Age of the American Revolution, ed. by Ira Berlin and Ronald Hoffman. (Published for the United States Capitol Historical Society by the University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va., 1983. xxvii, 314 pp. Preface, introduction, index. \$15.95.)

These ten essays arise out of a symposium sponsored by the United States Capitol Historical Society on the theme represented by the title of the volume. Ronald Hoffman in his "Preface"

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emphasizes "the failure of scholars until recently to focus attention on the black experience and the seminal role of slavery during the formative period of the American nation" (p. xi). The book is dedicated to four scholars who were exceptions to this statement: William Cooper Nell, George Washington Williams, Luther Porter Jackson, and Benjamin Quarles. Quarles, the only one of the four still living, was invited to write the "Epilogue," in which he argues that the American Revolution was "a black Declaration of Independence" in the sense that it spurred blacks to view the war "as an ongoing revolution in freedom's cause" (p. 301). Ira Berlin echoes Quarles when he writes in his "Introduction" that "the Revolution established a new mode of racial thought" which would influence thought and action into the twentieth century (p. xxvi). Berlin also calls attention to the most important contribution of the whole book, an explanation of why Maryland would stand with the Union and Virginia with the Confederacy.

Richard Dunn's essay, "Black Society in the Chesapeake, 1776-1810," is therefore to this reviewer the pivotal essay in the book, for he explains the "growing divergence between developments in the upper and lower Chesapeake" (p. 52). In 1810, forty per cent of American blacks lived in the Chesapeake region. The fact that the Maryland free black population "skyrocketed" after the war while Virginia's "only inched upward" (p. 62) represented the challenge to slavery in the Chesapeake region, but the challenge was limited to the coastal districts of Maryland. Thus Virginia remained with the largest slave population in the United States.

Gary Nash's discussion of the emancipation experience in the northern seaport cities (in which he explains why Philadelphia became more of a center for free blacks than New York) and Philip Morgan's very valuable discussion of black society in the low country of Carolina and Georgia provide the larger context to make Dunn's work even more meaningful. Morgan has successfully dealt with the paradox that while black slavery became ever more entrenched in the low country, there was an ever greater autonomy for the blacks themselves. The disruption of society during the Revolution gave black drivers an opportunity to exert more control, which combined with the task system worked to create greater autonomy. One might question whether there was

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as much planter absenteeism as this account assumes, but this and the two essays by Nash and Dunn are buttressed by exhaustive use of census figures and represent the new social history at its most convincing level.

Allan Kulikoff usefully extends the picture to the frontier by examining the figures available on the westward movement of slaves, but he admits that his work is only a beginning, and the addition of a four-page appendix on "Migration Estimates" serves as a cautionary note. Norton, Gutman, and Berlin examine different sets of inventories that list slaves and agree that Africans because Afro-Americans in the eighteenth century in mainland British North America. Albert J. Raboteau correctly alerts the reader to the fact that the Great Awakening of the 1740s had a continuing effect on slaves until the 1790s, but a few errors distort his theme when he discusses the black churches that emerged after the Revolution in the area of Savannah (pp. 208-11). Silver Bluff was not "a few miles from Savannah," but 150 miles up the Savannah River almost opposite Augusta (p. 209). Rather than emphasize the influence of the slaves who had belonged to George Galphin, he might have surveyed the lingering influence at the mouth of the Savannah that remained from the days of Wesley and Whitefield. I doubt that George Liele converted Andrew Bryan, as this slave had belonged to a family long associated with Whitefiled and greatly influenced by the evangelical impulses of the 1740s. (I wonder if there is any connection between the driver Andrew mentioned by Morgan on pages 109, 110, 120 and Andrew Bryan?)

driver Andrew mentioned by Morgan on pages 109, 110, 120 and Andrew Bryan?)

Duncan Macleod's "Toward Caste" is an amalgam of two of his earlier publications. David Brion Davis devotes himself to a "counterfactual scenario" (p. 269)— what would have happened to slavery if the British had won the Revolution? Of more interest than the Macleod and Davis contributions— and the latter portion of the book seems less planned and less rewarding than the first— is Franklin Knight's essay on the American Revolution and its impact on the Caribbean. The major connecting link between the British Caribbean colonies and the North American mainland colonies was the question of provisions, but more intriguing is the statement that the "American Revolution legitimized political protest and created disorder" (p. 260) which

brings the reader back to the themes of Berlin in the "Introduc-

tion" and Quarles in the "Epilogue."

This is a very valuable book which provides a feast of thought concerning themes that arise and flow from the American Revolution.

University of South Carolina

GEORGE C. ROGERS, JR.

Black Liberation on Cumberland Island in 1815. By Mary R. Bullard. (DeLeon Springs: E. O. Painter Printing Co., 1983. Preface, acknowledgments, maps, photographs, tables, appendices, introduction to sources, bibliography, index. \$11.95.) (Order copies from The Georgia Historical Society, 501 Whiteaker Street, Savannah, Ga., 31499.)

This is the story of the British occupation of Cumberland Island by Rear Admiral Sir George Cockburn at the end of the War of 1812– from January 10 to March 13, 1815. The Negro slaves from Georgia and Spanish Florida who received their freedom by repairing to the British forces are the main focus of the book. According to the author, between 702 (the figure of the United States commission to treat with Cockburn before he left Cumberland Island) and 1,483 (compiled from figures of black supernumeries on British vessels leaving the area) slaves were freed by the British. Some seventy-five of these belonged to John Forbes– a British subject then living in Spanish East Florida– and 200 more may have come from Spanish Florida. In their spoilation claims after the war, Georgians said 833 slaves were lost, and the author estimated that more than 288 died during the British occupation or in British hands.

Apparently the British forces used strong methods to entice slaves to leave their masters. One coastal resident, George Baille, a prisoner of the British while they occupied St. Simons Island, wrote after his release that the slaves were told that the Queen of England was a Negro and that English ladies and gentlemen preferred Negro mates. They were also told that the ex-slaves would be supported by the British government in lavish fashion for the rest of their lives.

The freed slaves joined the British armed forces or were taken

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to the British West Indies or Nova Scotia. In the author's statistics of ex-American slaves found in the Nova Scotia census of 1824, blacks taken there from several colonies are not mentioned.

The research for this book is considerable, and undoubtedly most pertinent sources have been found and used. For unknown reasons, there are a number of late-nineteenth century pictures of blacks in Florida and on Cumberland Island. Most of the maps reproduced in the book are so small that this reviewer was unable to read them, even with a magnifying glass. There is a complete bibliography of manuscript and printed works utilized.

It is good to have information available on this topic. The author could have done more with the information and woven it into a more integrated story, rather than give it essentially as found in the sources. At times it is difficult to know exactly what happened, and the motives of Cockburn and other British officers in doing what they did are not at all clear, not even in the chapter on "Cockburn as Humanitarian." Were they freeing slaves to hurt the Americans, or because they opposed slavery? If the author did not know the answer to this question, she should at least have given us an educated guess.

University of Georgia

KENNETH COLEMAN

The Calhoun Family and Thomas Green Clemson, Decline of a Southern Patriarchy. By Ernest M. Lander, Jr. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1983. xv, 275 pp. Preface and acknowledgments, abbreviations, list of names, a note on sources, illustrations, map, index. \$17.95.)

In *The Calhoun Family and Thomas Green Clemson, Decline of a Southern Patriarchy,* Ernest Lander has set out to write the family history of one of South Carolina's greatest public figures, John C. Calhoun, and to describe Calhoun's relationships with his adult children. Lander's goals are not modest. He defines the topical scope and the study as the marriages, unfulfilled hopes, feuds, trials and tribulations, and illnesses and deaths of his subjects. Tracing the family from the 1838 marriage of Calhoun's oldest daughter, Lander focuses on the conflicts between her husband, Thomas Green Clemson, and the Calhoun in-laws.

Clemson, a Northerner of some wealth at the time of his marriage, easily became embroiled in the financial difficulties of his in-laws. These financial problems are at the heart of Lander's narrative and are revealing of the attitudes and personalities of the family members

What emerges from Lander's book is a series of finely-etched portraits of how the individuals he studies were affected by the financial and personal hardships he describes. Calhoun was a devoted family man who struggled to provide for the economic welfare of his children and frequently mediated family disputes. His wife, Floride, was temperamental, demanding, and a hypochondriac. Clemson was a quarrelsome and insensitive man, alienating nearly everyone except his patient and loyal wife. The Calhoun sons were irresponsible and mismanaged their financial adventures. Plagued by great ambitions, little talent, and ill health, they were an annoyance to their father and became the source of great grievances for Clemson.

While we see how Lander's subjects react to life's crises we never understand why. Nor does Lander offer explanations for the types of relationships that developed between Calhoun, his sons, and Clemson. Instead he prefers to let the participants' words and actions "speak for themselves." which is a serious stylistic and interpretive error. Though Lander quotes copiously from the correspondence of Clemson and the Calhouns, we are left with only a partial view of the tone and content of the letters. Lander's subjects would have been better served had he quoted the letters and related correspondence at length, a technique that worked well for Carol Bleser in The Hammonds of Redcliffe. Furthermore, Lander's explanation for the conflicts in the Calhoun-Clemson family is poorly defined. He suggests that as a Northerner, Clemson could not understand the loyalties and code of honor that governed financial transactions, especially between kin. But Lander fails to analyze the code to which he alludes.

Like Bleser's study, this micro-analysis of the Calhoun-Clemson family suggests many avenues for further study of the southern family. Ill health and premature deaths figure prominently in the trials of the family. As Lander points out, "that Mrs. Calhoun outlived nine of her ten children was somewhat unusual" (p. vii), but not that uncommon. With the exception of Daniel Blake Smith's work on the Chesapeake, the impact of

high mortality rates on attitudes towards children, siblings, and spouses remains unexplored. Another issue demanding systematic analysis is parental and child expectations of marriage gifts, financial support for adult children, and inheritance practices. Lander describes a series of familial conflicts which stemmed from the inability of the Calhoun children to gain financial independence. These problems were increased by the ten-year depression in cotton prices during the 1840s. Nonetheless, the Calhoun sons expected the unconditional support of their father and brother-in-law in their financial adventures.

Lander presents his readers with a detailed description of the family life of the Calhouns and Clemsons, carefully documented by a large body of personal correspondence. As a piece of research, the book impresses. As an analysis of the dynamics of an antebellum southern family, the study disappoints.

University of Florida

CHERYLL ANN CODY

The Papers of John C. Calhoun, Volume XV, 1839-1841. Edited by Clyde N. Wilson. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1983. xxii, 880 pp. Preface, introduction, photograph, symbols, bibliography, index. \$34.95.)

This latest volume in the continuing publication of the papers of John C. Calhoun covers an important period in his life. It begins with the waning days of the administration of President Martin Van Buren, embraces the campaign and election of 1840, the early death of William Henry Harrison, and the first elevation of a vice president, John Tyler, to the White House. On the day after Christmas, 1839, Calhoun paid a social call on Van Buren at the White House, ending his alienation from the major Democratic party leaders that had lasted since his break with President Andrew Jackson in 1830. This marked recognition of the fact that Calhoun had in reality been the administration's defender in the Senate since 1837, and was public indication of his reconciliation with the Democratic party.

The "hoopla" election of 1840 saw the Whig candidate, Harrison, defeat Van Buren in a campaign viewed as "disreputable" in its character by Calhoun, but which is often viewed by his-

torians as evidence of the arrival of political democracy in the United States, Harrison was to preside over the administration but one month. Florida Governor Robert Raymond Reid viewed the president as "in a terrible fix — overrun by politicians and office-seekers." Calhoun met the president-elect before the inauguration and wrote that it was "distressing to see him. He is now in his 69th year, with the full share of infirmity belonging to that age, and very little of even the physical strength necessary to encounter the heavy responsibility belonging to his station; yet as unconscious as a child of his difficulties and those of his country."

Though the Whigs had no platform in 1840, their success in the presidential and congressional elections was seized upon by the leaders of the party in Congress as a mandate to enact their pet measures. In this circumstance Calhoun saw a perfect example of the evils of unbridled majority rule. Editor Wilson suggests that this experience may have been the chief catalyst for Calhoun's ideas on the concurrent majority which appeared in his *A Disquisition on Government*.

When John Tyler assumed the presidency Calhoun felt that an old friend was in office and looked forward to his break with a party whose principles and leaders were anathema to his traditional views. As Calhoun foresaw, the split came and Tyler was read out of the Whig party by its congressional and cabinet leaders. Though in accord with many of Calhoun's ideas, Tyler was unable to make himself acceptable to the Democrats. That party looked with anticipation to 1844, believing that the White House would again be theirs. Though many prominent Democrats were available. Calhoun believed that the time was ripe for his candidacy. In November of 1841, looking to the election, Calhoun wrote to Armistead Burt, "If my friends think my service ever will be of importance at the head of the Executive, now is the time. It has never come before, and will pass away forever, with the occasion." The editor of this series promises that the next volume will have this, Calhoun's last presidential campaign as its major theme.

For research in Florida history, as was the case with earlier volumes in the series, this one has little value in that there are almost no references to the Florida territory. Two pages devoted to Calhoun's support of the building of a dry dock for the navy in Pensacola are the most substantial reference to Florida. Yet as in the earlier volumes, this contains invaluable materials for a researcher into the economic and political history of the United States in the antebellum era. The same high quality editing, compiling, and printing which marked the previous volumes are continued in this one. This reviewer will cease predicting that this volume may be the last due to drastic government economies. Continued support from the National Historical Publications and Records Commission has occurred despite attempts of the federal executive to end such funding.

University of Florida

HERBERT J. DOHERTY. JR.

The Black Press in the South, 1865-1979. Edited by Henry Lewis Suggs. (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1983. xi, 468 pp. Preface, introduction, bibliographical essay, index. \$29.95.)

Although most white Americans probably never see a black newspaper, the black press is a significant expression of the views in the black community and in turn helps to mold those views. "The black press in the South is a fighting press; it is an advocate, crusader, and mirror, and practically all literate blacks are exposed to its influence" (p. x).

There was no black press in the South before the Civil War, but after Emancipation many small weeklies came into existence. They "functioned as an instrument to help the newly-freed slaves bridge the gap between slavery and freedom" (p. 424). In the early days, and later as well, publication was usually an uncertain and even a hazardous business because of the lack of financial resources and the anxiety of the dominant white community over expressions of dissent from the prevailing norm of race relations. For these reasons most of the papers were short-lived. In some cases even the names of the papers are lost, and many of the known publications have disappeared. Hence it is difficult, even impossible, to assemble a complete history.

The number of newspapers attempted reflects changing political and economic conditions and differences between the upper and lower South. For example, as the result of the Great Depression the number of publications declined. The repressive

racial atmosphere and rural nature of the state are probably responsible for the small number of newspapers in Mississippi before 1954. In contrast the *Atlanta Daily World* (a daily paper, not a weekly) had a history of success and wide circulation in urban centers from 1928 until the 1960s when its somewhat evasive position on civil rights caused it to be challenged successfully by a more militant organ. Circulation and size of some of the more enduring papers have fluctuated greatly at different periods.

The present volume is difficult to categorize. There is an introductory essay by Henry Louis Suggs and twelve chapters on each of the Confederate states plus Missouri, each written by a different author. The chapter on Florida was written by Jerrell Shofner. In each case there is an attempt to place the history of the press in the broader context of the political and racial atmosphere. The authors have conscientiously used the newspapers themselves, references to them in other newspapers, and a variety of primary and secondary materials. They have compiled the dates of publication and some biographical material about the publishers and editors as well as other personalities involved.

The volume concludes with a bibliographical essay which is a summary of significant works on the black press generally, not merely in the South. The editor says that an index and bibliography on the black press of the South is in progress. The present publication, while containing important information, will be of limited value to persons engaged in research. Its usefulness would be enhanced if it indicated which of the newspapers mentioned in the text are extant and their availability to scholars engaged in research. The book, which gives the appearance of having been published in haste, is flawed by numerous typographical errors.

Butler University

EMMA LOU THORNBROUGH

History of Black Americans: From the Emergence of the Cotton Kingdom to the Eve of the Compromise of 1850. By Philip S. Foner. (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1983. vii, 656 pp. Preface, bibliography and sources, index. \$45.00.)

History of Black Americans: From the Compromise of 1850 to the End of the Civil War. By Philip S. Foner. (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1983. viii, 539 pp. Preface, bibliography and sources, index. \$39.95.)

In the second and third volumes of a projected five, Philip S. Foner traces the black experience in both the North and the South between 1820 to 1865. More specifically, *History of Black Americans: From the Emergence of the Cotton Kingdom to the Eve of the Compromise of 1850,* focuses on recent and past historiography of slavery and anti-slavery, the nature of urban and industrial slavery, the slave community, slave resistance, the free black population in the North and South, the African colonization movement, the battle blacks waged for civil rights, the proslavery argument, and the traditional as well as more recent views of the abolitionist movement.

In this volume, Foner challenges recent interpretations that suggest the peculiar institution operated as an overall paternalistic system. He notes that the system was much more diverse than some historians would have us believe. Foner also takes issue with the view held by some historians that radical abolitionists were self-serving revolutionaries with little influence on the anti-slavery movement. For example, there is a detailed discussion of the influence William Lloyd Garrison had on the anti-slavery movement. While Garrison and Theodore Weld were instrumental to the crusade, Foner perceptively points out that black people were the original dynamic force behind the anti-slavery movement, although some historians still like to depict them merely as objects of this movement. He asserts that the "new abolitionists," those who pushed for the immediate, complete, and uncompensated liberation of slaves in the United States, are among the most misunderstood and misrepersented groups of reformers in American history. He further claims that they enjoyed a brief popularity during the period, but had little impact on the anti-slavery movement.

This volume complements other general studies that focus on the African-American experience, such as Benjamin Quarles's Negro in the Making of America, and John Hope Franklin's From Slavery to Freedom, yet it is more comprehensive than these books.

History of Black Americans: From the Compromise of 1850 to the End of the Civil War continues where the previous volume stopped. According to Foner, this study focuses on the "enactment of the Compromise, including one of the most vicious pieces of legislation in U. S. history, the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, and concludes with the victory of the Union in the Civil War and the abolition of slavery" (vii).

In the first one-quarter of the book, the author presents a detailed discussion of the Compromise and the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850. Foner analyzes black resistance to the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850. He points out that the emotional hysteria that erupted among blacks over the passage of the law was widespread throughout the North and South. The Garner case showed that the Act was very unpopular in the black community. Foner argues that the law was unenforceable because of resistance to it in the North. He takes issue with the recent interpretations of Stanley W. Campbell and David Potter concerning the effectiveness of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850.

The chapters that follow in the second quarter of the book focus on black emigration during the 1850s. Foner discusses the despair experienced by blacks over the passage of the Fugitive Slave Act, which renewed the idea of their mass immigration to other countries. He acknowledges that the visit of Hungarian patriot, Louis Kossuth, to the United States, as well as the battles waged by Europeans for independence within their own countries, were other factors which influenced the black emigration movement during the 1850s. Yet, the black community was not in total agreement over the issue of emigration. Black leaders disagreed over the countries to which they would go, who would be responsible for such a venture, and whether it was even a realistic goal that could be accomplished.

The third section of the book is devoted to black participation in the political struggles over slavery during the 1850s. Foner provides the reader with a detailed analysis of the role blacks played in the Dred Scott Case, the John Brown plan, and the election of 1860.

The rest of the book deals with the role blacks played in the Civil War. Foner asserts that their role in the war is perhaps the one subject of the period that needs more study. This section, indeed, has a wealth of information on black participation in the war effort. It is the best developed in terms of analyzing black reaction to southern secession and to the election of Abraham Lincoln. And finally, this section is also complemented by the addition of past and recent historiography of the "causes of the Civil War."

Volumes two and three indicate that the author has done an exhaustive amount of research on the black experience between 1820 and 1865. The numerous subjects discussed reflects the use of a variety of primary and secondary sources. Although these volumes come closer to extensive review essays than original research, they are, nonetheless, indispensable as reference sources for students of the African-American experience. With somewhat more originality, we can only expect the same high standard of scholarship in the final two volumes.

Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University

LARRY E. RIVERS

White Land, Black Labor: Caste and Class in Late Nineteenth-Century Georgia. By Charles L. Flynn, Jr. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1983. xi, 196 pp. Introduction, tables, maps, bibliography, index. \$20.00.)

In White Land, Black Labor, Flynn presents a well-reasoned, convincing thesis to guide his readers to a better understanding of the elusive essence of the American South. Flynn is dissatisfied with scholars' tendency to accept either race or class as the key for explaining the region's past. That modern dichotomy, he argues, slights the complex nature of the post-Civil War situation, for the two concepts were not mutually exclusive in their influence on Southerners. Rather, it was the interaction of caste and class that provided the South with its central theme. The dynamic relationship of those two important phenomena gen-

erated the South's peculiar problems, limited available solutions, and in the end left the land impoverished.

Flynn makes his case by focusing on the white view of black labor, violence, the black attempt to expand personal autonomy, the legal aggression of whites against blacks, the power of property, and the persistence of poverty. The activity of Georgia's Ku Klux Klan provides one of Flynn's better illustrations of the interwoven existence of racial unity and class awareness. Vigilantism, an expression of violence rooted in folk culture, had an appeal that cut across class lines because it had a greater purpose than simply controlling the planters' black labor. For the less prosperous whites, it was a means by which they could maintain the moral standards of their community as they defined them. At the same time, however, Klan activity revealed class tension among white Georgians. Whites not of the planter class were more willing than their wealthier neighbors to continue to enforce "proper" caste relations even after the planters began to worry about the adverse impact of violence on the productivity of their black hands.

Planters also pursued selfish interests at times disregarding the needs of their poorer cousins. Nevertheless, their effort to deprive the freedmen of the opportunity to earn a living independent of the plantation by curtailing with colorblind laws such traditional rights as open grazing and hunting—rights that poor white men would miss as much as the freedmen—did not disrupt caste loyalty. And when poor-to-middling property holders took up reform causes that were in their own best interests, they strained class relations but never challenged the legitimacy of herrenvolk democracy.

Flynn's work is an important contribution to the bibliogaphy of southern history. Still, he could have made an even stronger argument if he had expanded the range of his manuscript research. The author should have sampled the Freedmen's Bureau records, which are essential for understanding the expectations and actions of white and black Georgians at the crucial outset of Reconstruction. Also, there is no reason to use second-hand quotations from manuscript collections such as the Cobb family papers when they are readily available in their original and proper context. Finally, some readers may feel uncomfortable with Flynn's assumption that his findings for Georgia are valid

for the entire South. The challenge, however, is one that other historians will have to meet.

University of South Carolina at Aiken

PAUL A. CIMBALA

The Creation of Modern Georgia. By Numan V. Bartley. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1983. viii, 245 pp. Preface, maps, tables, notes, index. \$20.00, \$10.00 paper.)

Numan Bartley begins with the familiar story of Georgia's origins as a "noble experiment" that failed. He speculates that failure was inevitable "because Georgia stood in the path of the westward expansion from coastal slaveholding areas." The utopian vision of an Oglethorpe did not shape Georgia; rather the advent of cotton as a profitable crop because of Eli Whitney's cotton gin did. Cotton's profitability made slavery desirable. At the end of Georgia's first century, Bartley observes with fine irony, "white Georgians seemed to have arrived at a consensus that rested on the production of the white staple with black labor on land that had been taken from red men."

Cotton, with its foundation in slavery, produced "great wealth" for Georgia, and "Georgians paid dearly for it." Slave-owners failed to see the cost of their profits: educational deficiencies, non-mechanized agriculture, scarcity of industry, immigration or urbanization, and a social system based upon "patriarchy, paternalism, and deference." Georgia's promoters had counseled against a one-crop economy; their warnings had gone unheeded, and the dire consequences they had forecast "came to pass."

Bartley sees Reconstruction as an unsuccessful revolution with momentous implications. The Radical Republicans— Rufus Bullock *et al.* revolted against planter leadership, its iron grip on farm labor, its "paternalistic philosophy." The Republicans were too conventional in their politics, for, in Bartley's telling sentence, "The Democrats approached politics as a form of guerrilla warfare." Democrats foiled Republican efforts to promote "a political, social, and economic program of capitalist democracy." The fruit of Republican failure was planter persistence in power and survival of the pre-war social order.

Reconstruction Republicanism was not the last challenge to planter dominance. The Farmers' Alliance and the Populist party appeared late in the nineteenth century. The Populist party, especially, divided the Democrats and inspired the Democratic faithful to revert to guerrilla warfare. The "ideological gulf" between Populist and Democrat was wide enough to "produce partisan conflict of sufficient intensity to divide communities, churches, even families and to provoke violence and fraud."

Georgia remained poor and "backward" in the twentieth century and compensated for its problems through "religion, family, folk culture, Lost Cause mythology, and whatever else promised security or simply aided survival." The traditional paternalistic feeling of the elites disappeared, and the tendency increasingly was to defend the status quo through lynching, Jim Crow laws, and legislated public morality. Likewise, Bartley views Progressivism as "a program designed to sustain the established order." The "established order" survived until, under the crushing impact of the Great Depression, "it was no longer able to provide for or to govern its people." The forties and fifties revolutionized Georgia, which became an urban state and developed, finally, a diversified economy. The climax of Georgia's evolution came in 1971 when a new governor, Jimmy Carter, explicitly pronounced the end of racial segregation and moved the racial debate into the context of a desegregated society.

This is a welcome and valuable addition to the literature. It is a well-conceived and well-written narrative journey through Georgia history encompassed within a brief text. Bartley's insights are keen, his style is lucid and frequently tinged with irony, and he knows his sources. The narrative is not only densely packed with significant material, but it also features interpretive passages. The many biographical sketches are excellent. The volume is so filled with important information that a short review cannot do proper justice to its scope. Perhaps it is sufficient to say that this is a fresh look at Georgia history written with a facile pen, and it is a real contribution to historical scholarship that is well worth reading.

The Booker T. Washington Papers, Volume 11: 1911-12. Edited by Louis R. Harlan and Raymond W. Smock. (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1981. xxiv, 621 pp. Introduction, symbols and abbreviations, bibliography, index. \$27.50.)

The Booker T. Washington Papers, Volume 12: 1912-14. Edited by Louis R. Harlan and Raymond W. Smock. (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1983. xxiv, 520 pp. Introduction, errata, symbols and abbreviations, illustration, bibliography, index. \$32.50.)

These volumes cover four years of the peak of Booker T. Washington's leadership and influence in the white and black community. He exercised an impressive amount of influence during the years of the Taft administration in the appointment of blacks to federal office, in giving advice and insights to the administration, and in the interminable lectures and his travels across the country. Reflected in the correspondence is an almost frantic desire not only to keep blacks in the federal positions which they already held, but to secure additional appointments. In the latter part of volume 12 there appears a strong hint of the waning of Washington's power and influence in the federal area when Woodrow Wilson comes to the presidency.

A bothersome incident occurred in March 1911 which plagued Washington for months, and perhaps did some injury to his image. In New York City on Sunday evening, March 20, he went in search of Daniel Crawford Smith, a certified public accountant, who did some work for Tuskeegee Institute. Emmet J. Scott had given Washington vague information that Smith possibly could be found in an apartment at 11½ West 63rd Street. Washington was in the act of searching for the name of the apartment owner when he was assaulted by a bully named Albert Ulrich who claimed the Tuskeege principal was intoxicated and peeping into apartments through keyholes. Also, Ulrich's unwed apartment mate claimed that he was the Negro man who had attempted to kidnap her daughter, and that he had greeted her with "hello Sweetheart." Washington was seriously injured, and the incident attracted wide and embarrassing publicity, especially in light of the fact that a New York court subsequently acquitted Ulrich of assault and battery. The correspondence of this period indicates a strong support for Washington from influential people.

Included in these volumes are several highly interesting travelogues which were published in the *Outlook*. Washington described the conditions of life and labor of common people in England, Italy, Denmark, Bohemia, Hungary, and Austria. He was accompanied in his travels by Robert E. Park of Boston. In every country he compared the plight of the people who labored with that of the southern Negro, and concluded that the latter was better off in the agrarian South.

A theme running continuously through these volumes is that the southern black man's future and fortune were bound up with the land. The road to economic and racial independence lay on the land and in farm ownership. This belief was a major difference between the philosophy of Washington and W. E. B. DeBois. Nowhere did Washington set forth more clearly his views and the factual base on which he rested his concepts than in an article published in the *North American Review*, February 1912.

All but buried in the voluminous correspondence of the period is an insight into the operation and discipline of Tuskeegee Institute. In his letters to the institution's faculty and students Washington reveals his frugality in business matters and his puritanical attitude toward social and personal behavior. He seems to have had surrogate ears and eyes out in every place, especially those where liquor and beer were available. To him the social hope for racial betterment lay in areas of strict personal decorum and behavior, in religious commitment, and frugal ownership and operation of farms.

Included in these volumes is the correspondence between Washington and George Washington Carver. Washington revealed a remarkable shortsightedness in dealing with his budding scientist. No doubt Carver was impractical, and perhaps bumbling; he was too much a dreamer to function in such a highly regimented atmosphere. Washington failed to give more than bare token support to Carver's peanut and clay experiments.

As in earlier volumes there appears a veritable galaxy of communications to and from persons of almost every strata of American life. Clearly outlined was the process of both asking and granting favors, efforts to advance the black race, emphasizing moral and religious values, and a marked conservatism in all things. There is the evidence of the fundamental conflicts of philosophies and approaches within the Negro race itself. Graphically revealed are the points of view toward various issues by the moguls of American finance, industry, and American society. Running through the whole fabric of the correspondence like a brilliantly colored thread is the fundamental assumption that the Negro's brightest future lay with the southern land. Despite the darker aspects of his life in the region there was a solid base of mutual human understanding and tolerance which for the most part assured the Negro an ever-improving social and economic condition within the region which was also his native land.

University of Kentucky

THOMAS D. CLARK

Religion in the Southern States. Edited by Samuel S. Hill, Jr. (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1983. vii, 423 pp. Preface, introduction, footnotes, bibliography. \$19.95.)

This volume, excerpted from Mercer University Press's much larger *Encyclopedia of Religion in the South*, represents a novel method of telling the story of southern religion. It contains essays tracing the development of religion within each of the separate states of the old Confederacy as well as Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma, Kentucky, and West Virginia. Like virtually all collections of articles by diverse authors, this one contains materials of uneven quality (though most essays are good) and reflects differing methodological approaches. Some of the articles provide rather traditional accounts of the growth of ecclesiastical institutions while others use religious history to illumine larger cultural and social issues.

Perhaps the greatest contribution of the volume is that it underscores the fact that southern religion was characterized by greater diversity than some have supposed. The book does not, of course, deny overarching unities, and certain themes recur in essay after essay: growing evangelical dominance after the Great Awakenings, with Baptists, Methodists, and Presbyterians surging into an ascendant position; the churches' role in providing ideological legitimation for the southern way of life, its peculiar institution, and subsequently its practice of segregation; and

southern religion's relative imperviousness. well into the twentieth century, to new intellectual trends symbolized by biblical criticism, liberal theology, and Darwinism, Nevertheless, Religion in the Southern States warns against attempts to reduce the religion of Dixie to an undifferentiated mass. One learns, for example, that moderate antislavery views flourished in east Tennessee down to the Civil War or that the Social Gospel enjoyed a modest success in parts of Alabama and Georgia. One is reminded that urban and rural styles of religiosity often diverged. While the city churches were more prone to approve denominational boards and educational institutions, rural folk often railed against these innovations through such movements as Antimissionism. Old Landmarkism, and Campbellism, Moreover, the numerical preponderance of the major evangelical denominations was subject to regional variations: Catholicism flourished in parts of Kentucky and southern Louisiana, and elsewhere small colonies of German Lutherans, Quakers, Jews, and others influenced their local milieux. In an excellent concluding essay, editor Samuel Hill weaves these and numerous other diversities into the larger tapestry of southern religion.

One may, however, still harbor some minor reservations about this book. Because of certain constant themes in southern religion, the essays tend to become repetitive. This reviewer must confess to a considerable measure of tedium after reading for the fifth or sixth time about the Methodist and Baptist schisms. Also issues such as the role of women in the churches and black religion deserve further attention. The latter is usually treated only as it impinged upon the white churches. These lacunae, however, are not so much an impeachment of the essays as they are a sign of the need for more primary research in those fields. Finally, one may have the nagging question which the editor himself poses in the introduction: are states artificial units for the study of religion? This writer suspects that they are not the most useful foci of religious research inasmuch as many religious and cultural groupings defy state boundaries. The panhandle of Florida, for example, has much more in common with south Georgia than with Miami or St. Petersburg. Yet in spite of these limits, the book still deserves good marks as a heuristic device. By focusing upon discrete segments of the South, this volume warns against overly facile generalizations about that region and serves as an invitation to further research into its religious diversities.

North Carolina State University

JAMES H. MOORHEAD

On Jordan's Stormy Banks. By Samuel S. Hill, Jr. (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1983. 159 pp. Introduction, illustrations, photographs. \$17.50.)

For purposes of avoiding any false expectations and subsequent disappointments, one should know what *On Jordan's Stormy Banks* is not. It is not a book for the passive reader who prefers to remain distant rather than become involved with the subject matter. It is not a book that offers itself as the definitive statement on religion in the South. It is not an analytical book which tries to cut through the vexing question of just what is so "southern" about religion in the South. And finally, it is not a lofty theological treatise.

A true appreciation of this book cannot be acquired unless the reader heeds Dr. Hill's advice: "The reader should drop his guard, not work at it too hard, move with the flow of the human spirit." For this is a book of the heart, not of the mind, which must be experienced by a participating reader. It is an excursion into the hearts and minds of the people through whom the heart and soul of religion in the South is expressed. In fact, the strength of this new edition of *Southern Exposure's* 1976 issue (volume 4, number 3) lies in its informality, an informality which reinforces the highly personalized, individualized expression and function of southern religion.

Yet, behind the informality of the book there is a seriousness, for in the whole variety of glimpses at southern religion it provides a down-to-earth human side of religion. The collage of the humanity of religion is not drawn solely by historians, sociologists, theologians, or other professionals. To the contrary, the weak portions of this book are the few academic pieces. Instead, the sincerity, color, richness, contradiction, paradox, and all the strengths and foibles with which people are associated are graphically presented to the reader by "folk" themselves: by Will Campbell's remembrances of Thad Garner, an evangelist with

feet of clay; by the interviews of four black ministers in which they comment on the black church's nurturing role in the civil rights movement; by the photographs taken by Robert Yellin and the interviews done by Guy and Candy Carawan which animate worship on South Carolina's Johns Island at its most personal level: by the testimony of Granny Reed and the poetry of Beverly Asbury; by Claude Williams's People's Institute of Applied Religion; and, by the tunes and lyrics of southern religious folk music.

The book offers personalized insights into the role southern religion played in the sometimes quiet and private, and sometimes public and unsettling social movements of unionism, civil rights, and women's rights. And while this book heavily emphasizes the social benefits of "'applied piety," it does not ignore the dark side: the transformation of the "mighty fortress" of spirit to the "mighty fortress" of the dollar. The pieces dealing with the big business of religion are the less exciting statistical and academic writings. Nevertheless, they underline the contradiction of a church or individual proclaiming itself as the standard-bearer of a spiritual mission, and becoming involved and distracted by matters of the flesh.

If there is a major fault in this book, it is not that it offers a one-dimensional image of religion in the South. The section dealing with religious diversity— in which images of Catholic, Jewish, and Church of Christ experiences are presented— is important because it gives insights into the multi-cultural character of the South. The major defect lies in what is not in the book: How religion in the South was used on a personal level to promote and maintain prejudice, bigotry, and hatred.

No book is perfect. To expect otherwise would be unreasonable. In the editing of this sensory book, Dr. Hill's face must have rippled with similes of enjoyment and satisfaction. His work fulfilled the promise of the spiritual whose title is the namesake of the book. It offers a "rap'rous scene That rises to my sight! Sweet fields arrayed in living green, And rivers of delight."

American Women Writers: Bibliographical Essays. Edited by Maurice Duke, Jackson R. Bryer, and M. Thomas Inge. (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1983. xvi, 434 pp. Preface, abbreviations, index, contributors. \$29.95.)

Books of bibliography are the Rodney Dangerfields of scholarship. They get no respect, and only research libraries buy tickets to the performance. Many proclaim their value, then treat bibliographers with condescension.

Given such obstacles, we are fortunate that Maurice Duke, Jackson Bryer, and M. Thomas Inge still labor in the vineyard. We owe their book careful consideration, for they have drawn together a competent group of bibliographers who provide annotated essays on the following American women writers: Anne Bradstreet, Mary Rowlandson, Sarah Kemble Knight, Sara Orne Jewett, Mary E. Wilkins Freeman, Mary N. Murfee, Kate Chopin, Edith Wharton, Gertrude Stein, Djuna Barnes, Anais Nin, Ellen Glasgow, Katherine Anne Porter, Eudora Welty, Flannery O'Connor, Carson McCullers, Zora Neale Hurston, Constance Rourke, Pearl Buck, Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings, Margaret Mitchell, Marianne Moore, Anne Sexton, and Sylvia Plath.

When properly done a book of bibliographical essays can be interesting as well as informative, and this book is generally well done. A refreshing addition to a bibliographical wasteland— we are only beginning to compile adequate sources for most American women writers— the book earns respect in a number of ways.

Readers of this journal will be pleased to find information on two Floridians, one an adopted offspring, Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings, one a native daughter, Zora Neale Hurston. The Hurston essay by Daryl Dance, the best bibliographical account we have of a fascinating person, serves as a model of scholarly effort. Dance has even consulted repositories of primary materials, such as the University of Florida's Special Collections.

Samuel Bellman's essay on Rawlings is also useful, but not up to Dance's standard. He slights Gordon Bigelow's work on Rawlings, faintly praising him for "personal fondness for the Florida terrain." Bellman takes the opportunity to continue to push the psychological thesis of his Twayne biography of Rawlings, that her "most deeply-cherished but never-to-be-fulfilled wish" was "that she might have a son of her own." Feminist

critics have a right to raise questions about this thesis, especially when Bellman seems so bent on praising himself for his "carefully" developed argument.

Bellman's authorship apparently also explains the presence of an essay on Constance Rourke in this book, since he previously published a Twayne study of Rourke. Although an important cultural critic, Rourke would seem to be a less significant writer than the other authors included. When one tallies up the major authors left out, and notes the major black authors who might be included (is Hurston the token? what about Gwendolyn Brooks?), the inclusion of Rourke seems skewed to Bellman's private area of expertise.

The other essays are all competent and many are excellent. Edgar MacDonald's account of Ellen Glasgow, the subject of an aborted Rawlings biography, is especially good, as is the Carson McCullers section by Virginia Spencer Carr, a Florida State graduate.

In sum, this is an excellent collection of bibliographical essays which should please specialized scholars; generalists interested in American women writers should consult it. It is unquestionably the best book of its kind. And after reading it, why not take a local bibliographer to lunch. Sooner or later, specialist or generalist, you will need a friend in the library.

University of Kentucky

ROBERT HEMENWAY

The Percys of Mississippi: Politics and Literature in the New South. By Lewis Baker. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1983. xv, 237 pp. Preface, illustrations, photographs, notes, bibliography, index. \$20.00.)

Each state has its roster, imagined or real, of "First Families," and certainly Mississippi would have to include the Percy family in its first rank. Beginning in 1776, with Charles Percy in the Spanish territory south of Natchez, down through the best-known present member of the clan, the novelist, Walker Percy, Professor Baker has given an interesting and detailed account of the influence and position of one family in one state. The four generations of Percys who are the subjects of this book had, as common

ground, what they called "the good life": material and spiritual well-being, based upon an enjoyment of fine food and drink, travel, leisure, elegance, music, art, and literature.

Ancestor Charles Percy had left two wives, one in England and one in the Bahamas, when he came to the Mississippi area, where he married Susanna Collins, who gave him six children to add to his assorted brood. His son, Thomas George Percy, continued the proliferation. Thomas George's son, the first William Alexander Percy, advocated the cause of Unionism before the Civil War, but when that effort failed, he formed a company of volunteers for the Confederacy, in the valorous service of which he earned the sobriquet, "The Grey Eagle."

After the war, Thomas George Percy intensified the dedication of his family to the principle of *noblesse oblige* by entering politics to oppose corruption, to reorganize the Mississippi levee authority, and to organize railroads to carry cotton to the markets. He was elected to the state legislature and later became speaker of the house.

Before his death in 1888, Thomas George sired five children, including three sons. One, LeRoy Percy, graduated from the University of the South (Sewannee) and the University of Virginia law school. He continued the Percy tradition of service, not forgetting the old Spanish proverb which held that "living well is the best revenge." LeRoy was named to the United States Senate but failed in his bid for election upon the expiration of that term, largely because of his fearless advocacy of some causes deemed too liberal by the conservative state of Mississippi.

At this point in the family evolution, one notes a gradual subservience of the theme of public service and a strengthening of the literary trend in the family, barely submerged until this time. The marriage of LeRoy Percy to Camille Bourges, a blonde French woman with strong cultural affinities, produced a son, William Alexander Percy, who in his lifetime often felt and demonstrated the conflicting demands of public service and artistic expression. William Alexander is best known for his classic *Lanterns on the Levee*, but he had contributed valuable and lasting poetic expressions in the general field of southern literature.

After the death of William Alexander's parents, he assumed responsibility for the Alabama branch of the family, which in-

cluded Walker Percy, the son of a deceased cousin. Walker's literary talents reached a wider audience than that of his so-called "Uncle Will," but in all of his writings he echoes Uncle Will's statement that "we are the nomads of the world, without home fires, wandering by stars not fixed." A medical doctor turned novelist because of health problems, Walker Percy received instant acclaim with his first novel, *The Moviegoer*, and his name and reputation spread with subsequent novels, *The Last Gentleman* and *Love in the Ruins*, and his non-fiction works. In his novels, Walker Percy follows a double theme of story plot and parallels it with philosophic tradition—usually in the existentialist manner of Kierkegaard through ordeal, rotation, and repetition.

Though the meticulous detail of the political machinations of the elder LeRoy becomes a little tedious, and while the inner feelings of William Alexander Percy, author and poet, have not been probed truly and deeply, this book has much to commend it. The Percys of Mississippi are fortunately still on the scene, and as Professor Baker states, the family boasts enough eccentrics to fill Walker's novels so that he may find even greater resources in the Percy past. Let us hope that he does.

Florida State Museum Gainesville. Florida WILLIAM M. GOZA

Grace King, A Southern Destiny. By Robert Bush. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1983. xv, 317 pp. Acknowledgments, photographs, index. \$30.00.)

Students of southern history and literature know that an explosion of great southern literature occurred with the writings of William Faulkner and Thomas Wolfe in the late 1920s and 1930s. Also, they know that except for a few writers such as George Washington Cable, Thomas Nelson Page, and Joel Chandler Harris not many southern writers of note produced much of significance in the period between the end of the Civil War and the end of the First World War. With this book Robert Bush reminds us that among these lesser lights, Grace King deserves recognition.

Born before the Civil War into a financially-secure home of lawyers in New Orleans, Grace King was an intensely loyal daughter of the South. Indeed, she began her writing career in 1886 out of her sense of anger at George Washington Cable's disloyalty to the South when he deliberately falsified his portrayal of New Orleans's Creoles and blacks. A conservative in racial matters, King wrote a number of stories to celebrate the Loyalty that she observed freed slaves showing their former masters.

King was a part of the vast number of local colorists when that genre was in vogue in the South before the turn of the century. Interested in adding to the family income and tuned to the reading public's changing tastes, in the 1890s she turned to the so-called "balcony stories" in which she minimized the details of local background. By the beginning of the twentieth century she was directing her talents to writing Louisiana history, when she realized that publishers desired the kind of sound, colorful writing of which she was capable.

King's major accomplishments in fiction are a small number of first-rate stories and a quiet, realistic novel about life in New Orleans during Reconstruction entitled *The Pleasant Ways of St. Mèdard.* Her best historical work is *New Orleans, the Place and the People.* The significance of her life is not so much in what she wrote and published as in her role as a literary champion of the South as she carried her determined views from New Orleans to New York, New England, Canada, and Europe.

Bush's volume is a pleasant balance between biography and literary criticism. With this volume and as the editor of *Grace King of New Orleans: A Selection of Her Writings*, Bush is clearly trying to call the literary and historical world's attention to this neglected and almost-forgotten southern writer. While her talents prevent her ever being added to the Southern Book Shelf of Great Writers, nevertheless, we are in Bush's debt for calling Grace King to our attention.

New Mexico State University

MONROE BILLINGTON

BOOK NOTES

Oklawaha River Steamboats is by Edward A. Mueller of Jacksonville who for many years has researched and collected material about Florida rivers and river transportation. Mr. Mueller describes Oklawaha River Steamboats as "a definitive photo-oriented book," and readers will agree with that description. Steamboat activity probably began on the Oklawaha in the 1830s, but the records are sketchy. Even earlier loggers and lumbermen were drifting logs down the river or on barges powered by polling. These were the first commercial vessels on the river. In August 1854, a barge, the Oklawaha, was launched in Jacksonville to operate on the Oklawaha from Welaka to Silver Springs. The Fawn was launched the following year, but the author could find no official documents to reveal whether it was ever officially enrolled. The General (or General Sumter), a small steamboat built in Palatka in 1859, may have sailed on the lower part of the Oklawaha before and during the Civil War. Hubbard L. Hart, developer and proprietor of the Hart Line of Oklawaha vessels, played an important role in the history of the river, as did Captain Henry Alexander Gray, a pioneer in the Oklawaha trade. Mueller's book provides information on vessels, their builders, owners and operators, folklore, advertisements, and data on the river that has played such an important role in Florida history and which is nowhere else available. Many of the photographs are being published for the first time. It sells for \$15.95, and may be ordered from the author at 4734 Empire Avenue, Jacksonville, FL 32207.

While settlers were living in Destin before the Civil War, it was not until November 6, 1984, that the citizens voted to incorporate their village. The first local election to select a mayor and councilmen was held January 8, 1985. It is a growing community, new people are moving in, and Destin has become a fashionable tourist resort. There is a lot of Destin history, but little of it has been recorded. Some of the local families can trace their roots back several generations, and they have shared their reminiscences with Vivian Foster Mettee and her associates— Ida

Calhoun Buritt, Mattie M. Kelly, Zovak (Jerry) Najarian, and Katheryn Marler Waits. The memories gathered by Mrs. Mattee from descendents of these pioneer families is the core of the monograph, . . . and the Roots Run Deep. Information was gathered about Clement Edward Taylor and his family, who arrived in Destin from London by way of Canada; the Kent family who migrated from Georgia; the Melvins, most of whom are native Floridians: and Mrs. Cleo Marler, whose family came from the island of Aegina, Greece. There is also data on the early Indians of the area and civic and educational activities. A collection of favorite local recipes and photographs are also included. . . . and the Roots Run Deep is a community project. Mrs. Mettee and her colleagues are residents, community college personnel set the type, the First National Bank of Destin provided funds for publication, and income from sales go to the Old Destin Post Office Museum. The volume sells for \$17.95. plus postage. Order from Mrs. Vivian F. Mettee, Box 854, Destin, FL 32541

Sunbelt Cities, Politics and Growth Since World War II, is a collection of essays edited by Richard M. Bernard and Bradley R. Rice. The focus is on major cities— Atlanta, Miami, New Orleans, Tampa, Dallas, Houston, Oklahoma City, San Antonio, Albuquerque, Los Angeles, Phoenix, and San Diego. These twelve metropolitan areas were chosen for their size, regional importance, and historical significance. While the editors note that other communities, including Jacksonville, could have been included, these twelve exemplify the major characteristics of Sunbelt development. Each essay notes the causes of economic growth and reasons for political change, particularly during the past two decades. The term "Sunbelt" is a very recent term, and there is still a lack of a common definition of the American Sunbelt. It appears to be more of an idea than a specific geographic area, but there is the concept that the southeastern and southwestern sections of the country have been growing and prospering more than other areas in recent years. Raymond A. Mohl from Florida Atlantic University is the author of "Miami, the Ethnic Cauldron." He shows how the diversity of population, the impact of tourism, the emergence of banking as a major industry, the growth of light industry, and feverish real estate and building

development have helped to spark a regional boom that impacts the rest of Florida. Mohl also includes a historical sketch of Miami and notes the role played by developers Henry M. Flagler, Carl Fisher, and George Merrick. The other Florida essav. "Tampa: From Hell Hole to the Good Life," is by Gary R. Mormino of the University of South Florida. He also examines the historical roots of Tampa, tracing its recorded history to DeSoto's landing in 1539, through the establishment of Fort Brooke in 1824, and the railroad and hotel developments of Henry Plant. The establishment of the cigar factories, which brought many Cubans, Spaniards, and Italians into the area, the impact of the Spanish-American War, the land boom of the 1920s, and the growth and changes brought about by World War II and the period since 1945 have all been carefully examined. As Mormino also notes, Tampa politics had never been graced with purity. He describes some of the problems and situations that have smeared Tampa's reputation in the past, and emphasizes the community's determination and success in "cleaning up the mess." Tampa has emerged, as a result, as one of Florida and the South's fastest growing and most energetic cities. Sunbelt Cities was published by the University of Texas Press, Austin, and the paperback edition sells for \$9.95.

Sloppy Joe's: The First Fifty Years, by Sharon Wells, is the history of one of Key West's best known landmarks and hangouts. It has been for half a century a favorite watering place for military stationed in Key West, tourists, local folk, and many celebrities like Ernest Hemingway, John Dos Passos, and others. Many legends have grown up about Sloppy Joe's, its proprietor, Joe Russell, and Hemingway. Ms. Wells provides the reader not only with information on Sloppy Joe's and the people who frequented it, but also on the building which was erected in 1917 and the earlier structures that were on the site. Sloppy Joe's sells for \$6.95. Order from Sharon Wells, 1311 Catherine Street, Key West, FL 33040.

Art and Artists of the South is the catalogue of the paintings, watercolors, and prints from the Robert P. Coggins Collection which was organized for exhibit by the Columbia (South Carolina) Museum of Art. The show traveled to Nashville and San

Antonio in 1984, and during 1985-1986, it will be in Chattanooga, Richmond, Savannah, Columbia, Charlotte, Atlanta, Jackson: and Little Rock. One wonders why no arrangements have been made to bring this notable collection of southern art to a Florida community. Several of the artists represented in the collection lived, visited, and painted in Florida. These include George Washington Sully, who lived with his family between 1829 and 1833 on the St. Marks River south of Tallahassee; Xanthus R. Smith, who was on blockade duty along the east coast, in the Gulf of Mexico, and off Pensacola during the Civil War; William Aiken Walker; Hall Alexander Courtney Morrison, who visited Florida many times and lived for a time in Auburndale; George F. Higgins, whose first Florida paintings may date to the 1870s. and if so are among the earliest painted views of Florida pine woods and swamplands; Johannens Adam Simon Oerteel, an ordained Episcopal priest who held a Florida parish; Herman Herzog, who from 1888 to 1910 came annually to Gainesville to visit his son and who painted scenes of the surrounding area; Anthony Thiene, who was in St. Augustine in 1948; George Inness, Jr., who had a studio in Tarpon Springs and painted eight large canvases for the Church of the Good Shepherd in Tarpon Springs; and Aiden Lassell Rippley, who painted Florida plantations and hunting preserves. Art and Artists of the South was compiled by Bruce W. Chambers of the Berry-Hill Galleries of New York City. In addition to the reproductions, most of them in color, there is also biographical information on the artists and on southern art. Art and Artists of the South was published by the University of South Carolina Press, Columbia, and it sells for \$49.95.

Pineapple Press in Englewood, Florida, has published a number of books—fiction and non-fiction—relating to Florida. *Say These Names (Remember Them)* is the story of See-ho-kee, a young Miccosukee Indian woman caught up in the tragic events of the Second Seminole War. Both the American forces and the Indians suffered casualties, and only a handful of the Indians survived. Many died in battle and others were forcibly transported to the West. See-ho-kee led a group of children to safety in the Everglades, and there she assumed the responsibility of passing on the Miccosukee legends and history through the sing-

ing of songs and the recitation of village names. Betty Sue Cummings, who wrote *Let a River Be,* is the author of *Say These Names.* The book sells for \$14.95.

William Alexander Read, for many years head of the English department for Louisiana State University, was a pioneer in the study of American Indian languages, particularly those spoken in the southeastern states. He made Indian place names one of his special fields and wrote monographs on the names left by the aboriginal inhabitants of the region on the maps of Louisiana, Florida, and Alabama. He is recognized as one of the founders of the scholarly study of toponyny in the United States. His Indian Place Names in Alabama was published in 1937, and it remains a primary reference work. A revised edition with a foreword, appendix, and index by James B. McMillan is published by the University of Alabama Press. The appendix incorporates words which Read added after his study first appeared, comments of John R. Swanton who reviewed the book for American Speech. and information from sources that Read did not have available at the time that he was doing his research and writing. The two maps in the 1937 edition have been replaced by one showing the counties and principal rivers of Alabama. The paperback edition of Indian Place Names in Alahama sells for \$8.95

John White was the official artist for the 1585 Roanoke voyage sponsored by Sir Walter Raleigh. He probably took part in five Roanoke voyages, and in 1587 led the second venture to establish a permanent colony on Roanoke Island. The instructions that White received as to his specific duties as artist have been lost, but presumably he was directed to draw the people, birds, animals, fish, plants, herbs, trees, fruits, and maps of the coast and river estuaries that he saw and which would be of interest to people in Britain and the rest of Europe. He made the first drawings of that part of the New World that were later to be included in the states of North Carolina and Virginia. While many of the records connected with the 1585 voyage have been lost, some of the water colors which resulted from White's drawings survive and are in the British Museum. America 1585, The Complete Drawings of John White, reproduces all seventy-six of the water colors, the complete set of engravings as they appeared

in Thomas Harriot's work published in 1519, and the so-called Sloane copies of the drawings made in the early 1600s. The reproductions in *America 1585* are probably the best yet to appear. Paul Hulton, former deputy keeper in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum, is responsible for historical information on the colony and on John White. *American 1585* is co-published by the University of North Carolina Press and British Museum Publications in association with America's Four Hundredth Anniversary Committee, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, Raleigh. Order from the University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill; the price is \$24.95.

In 1929, Amos Aschbach Ettinger won the Beit Prize from Oxford University for his essay on James Oglethorpe the founder of the colony of Georgia. It emerged from his early research on Oglethorpe, which resulted in a biography published in 1936. The Ettinger work remains as the standard study on Oglethorpe. Ettinger's essay is published for the first time by Mercer University Press, Macon, Georgia. It carries an introduction by Phinizy Spalding, who first learned of its existence while working in the collections of the Georgia Historical Society. Spalding concentrates on Ettinger's first year at Brasenose College, Oxford. and is based on the diary that Ettinger kept during his stay there. After tracing Oglethorpe's family background and his early parliamentary career, Ettinger devotes most of this essay to Georgia, which, he argues was founded for the purpose of expanding the English frontier at the expense of the Spanish and French in Florida. Oglethorpe: A Brief Biography sells for \$19.95.

Cubans in the United States, A Bibliography for Research in the Social and Behavioral Sciences, 1960-1983, was compiled by Lyn MacCorkle, and was published by Greenwood Press. It lists the growing body of literature relating to Cubans living in the United States, mainly in New York-New Jersey area and Miami. It includes articles from academic journals and popular periodicals, books, theses, unpublished papers, and government documents completed after 1959. Only English-language materials are cited. Not included are creative literature and newspapers. It is noted, however, that the Miami Herald and its Spanish-language edition, El Miami Herald, provide rich sources

of information. Topics include economics, business, labor, education, language, public administration, public policy, psychology, social psychology, health, politics, sociology, anthropology, and demographics. There is a bibliography and an index to authors whose works are cited. The volume sells for \$35.00.

HISTORY NEWS

Because of increased costs of operation the board of directors at its meeting on December 7, 1984 voted to increase membership fees for the Florida Historical Society effective March 1, 1984. Student membership, \$15.00 (with proof of current status); annual membership, \$22.50; family membership, \$25.00; and contributing membership, \$50.00 and above.

Announcements and Activities

The newly-restored Union Bank in Tallahassee was dedicated October 23, 1984. Built in 1841 and formerly located on Adams Street, it is believed to be the oldest bank building in Florida. Now located on the Apalachee Parkway near the Old Capitol, it will serve as a museum and learning center operated by the Museum of Florida History, Department of State. It will be open Tuesday through Saturday, 10:00 a.m. to 1:00 p.m., and on Sunday from 12:00 p.m. to 4:00 p.m.

The University of Florida's Department of History will hold its annual one-week workshop on June 23-28, 1985. Twenty Florida teachers of history and social sciences, selected on a competitive basis, will work wih historians from the department. The workshop theme is "Ethnic and Race Relations in History." The objective is to enrich classroom teaching. For information write Dr. David Colburn, Department of History, 4131 GPA, University of Florida, Gainesville, FL 32611.

The Manatee County Heritage Week will be held from March 23 through March 30, 1985. The theme will be "Early Transportation in Manatee County." The communities of Bradenton, Cortez, Ellenton, Palmetto, and Parrish will participate together with local Manatee County historical agencies and organizations. For information contact the Manatee County Historical Commission, 604 15th Street East, Bradenton, FL 33508 (813) 747-9664.

The Opa-locka Historic Preservation Board has prepared a

self-guided tour to the historic buildings in the community, several of which are on the National Register of Historic Places. Fourteen sites are listed in the brochure together with a historic tour map. Opa-locka was developed by Glenn H. Curtiss, inventor and engineer, who also developed Miami Springs and Hialeah, Florida. Bernhardt E. Muller was the architect selected by Mr. Curtiss, who directed him to create a town with an Arabian theme. For copies of the tour brochure write to Arlene Commings, 1146 Sharar Avenue, Opa-locka, Florida 33054.

Southern Traditions, a periodical published in Dade City, Florida, relates to southern art, music, crafts, and folklore. In addition to interviews and feature stories, each issue includes a calendar of folklore-related activities and festivals, information on historical places and events, recipes, folktales, and words and music to old songs. It is published bi-monthly, and annual subscriptions are \$5.00. The editor is Dennis Devine. Address correspondence to Southern Traditions, Box 2278, Dade City, Florida 34297.

The Agricultural History Society will present its Theodore Salutos Award for 1984 to the author of the book on any aspect of the agricultural history of the United States, broadly interpreted, judged best by the award committee. To be eligible, the book must have "copyright 1984," be based on substantial primary research, and should represent a major new scholarly interpretation or reinterpretation of agricultural history scholarship. A book may be nominated by its author, publisher, or a member of the Society to the editor of *Agricultural History*, Agricultural History Center, University of California, at Davis, California 95616.

The Berkshire Conference of Women Historians will award its annual prizes for the best book and the best article in any field of history written by an American woman published during 1984. Submissions for the book award should be made to Anne Russ, Wells College, Aurora, New York 13026, and for the article award to Margaret Darrow, Department of History, Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire 03755. Two copies of the book or article are required. Deadline for submission is February 1, 1985.

The Florida Trust for Historic Preservation held its seventh annual conference in Sarasota in October. At the awards luncheon, an outstanding achievement recognition went to the Old Settler's House in Bradenton in the category of restoration of a residential structure. For outstanding achievement in the category of restoration of a non-residential structure, the Bedell Building (former Carnegie Public Library building) in Jacksonville was recognized. The city of Opa-locka and Michael Maxwell, Redevelopment Options, Inc., Miami, were jointly recognized for the development of a master plan for the historic restoration of the city of Opa-locka. Winning the outstanding preservation project for adaptive use award were John Howey, Dorothy Howey, and Peter Farago for the restoration of a warehouse in Tampa. The Old Tavernier Town Association was recognized for its development of a preservation organization. Professor Blair Reeves of the University of Florida's School of Architecture received the Distinguished Service Award for his outstanding leadership role over many years in the Florida preservation movement.

The United States Lighthouse Society is a newly-formed organization dedicated to the restoration and preservation of lighthouses throughout the country. The Society will publish a quarterly, *The Keeper's Log.* For information write United States Lighthouse Society, 130 St. Elmo Way, San Francisco, California 94127.

Great expectations							
1985							
Mar. 7-9	Florida College Teachers of History	Miami, FL					
Mar. 30	Florida Phi Alpha Theta Convention	Jacksonville, FL					
Apr. 11-13	Fourth Citadel Conference on the South	Charleston, SC					
Apr. 17-20	Organization of American Historians	Minneapolis, MN					
Apr. 18-20	Latin American Studies Association	Albuquerque, NM					
Apr. 18-21	Florida Anthropological Society	Daytona Beach, FL					
May 2	Florida Historical Confederation	Tallahassee, FL					
May 2	Society of Florida Archivists	Tallahassee, FL					
May 3-4	FLORIDA Historical Society– 83rd Meeting	Tallahassee, FL					
Sept. 10-13	American Association for State and Local History	Topeka, KS					
Oct. 31-Nov.	2 Oral History Association	Pensacola, FL					

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All correspondence relating to membership and subscriptions should be addressed to Dr. Gary R. Mormino, Executive Director, Florida Historical Society, University of South Florida Library, Tampa, Florida 33620. Inquiries concerning back numbers of the *Quarterly* should also be directed to Dr. Mormino.

