A black and white historical photograph of a construction site. In the foreground, a horse-drawn cart is partially visible, filled with earth or debris. Several men in period clothing are working around the site. One man stands on the left, another in the center, and a third on the right. The background shows a dense forest of tall, thin trees. The overall scene depicts manual labor in a historical setting.

*The
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COVER

Phosphate, after it was discovered in 1889, became a major Florida industry. The hard-rock phosphate region was centered around the Ocala-Dunnellon area. Land-pebble deposits were to the south in Polk, Hillsborough, Manatee, and Hardee counties. This photograph, circa 1890, is enlarged from a post card manufactured by the Valentine & Sons' Publishing Company, Ltd., New York.

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DEMOGRAPHIC PATTERNS AND CHANGES IN MID-SEVENTEENTH CENTURY TIMUCUA AND APALACHEE

by JOHN H. HANN

SURPRISINGLY little is known about the village patterns of northern Florida's natives prior to their missionization or about the settlement policy followed by the friars during the formation of the Florida mission chains. This is particularly true for the inland missions of Potano, Utina, Ustaca, and Apalachee. There is no evidence that the Florida Franciscans followed the "reduction"¹ approach of their Jesuit contemporaries in the South American mission provinces of Guaira, Itatin, Tape and Paraguay, whose people had a material culture roughly similar to that of North Florida's missionized tribes.² Thus, it is generally assumed that the friars adapted their mission organization in Florida to the aboriginal settlement pattern, setting up their mission centers in a principal village of the district. From there the friars went out to catechise the natives in nearby subordinate villages, which became known as *visitas*, rather than insisting that those natives move to the mission center, which was called a *doctrina*.³ Only after the establishment of these missions, when most of the natives of the mission zone had already been Christianized, are there indications that some of the Indians did change their domicile at the instigation of the Spaniards. But in those cases the moves were inspired by secular rather than reli-

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1. The "reduction" system was the concentration of scattered, often seasonally, nomadic native populations at mission centers located usually at sites chosen by the priests, at which the natives were expected to live year-round.
2. These missions spread over much of the Parana-Paraguay Basin of what is today southern and southwestern Brazil, Paraguay, and northeastern Argentina.
3. *Visitas*, however, were not always subordinate villages. And once the people of a *visita* had been Christianized, they were expected to come to the *doctrina* for Sunday mass when those *visitas* were reasonably close to the center.

gious authorities. One parallel, however, to the Jesuit's policy in the South American interior was the Franciscans' attempt at mid-century to isolate their charges in Apalachee from contact with any Spaniards other than themselves by excluding soldiers and settlers from that province.

In contrast to the prevailing paucity of information on settlement patterns, the record of Governor Diego de Rebolledo's 1657 visitation of Apalachee and Timucua provides information on this topic. Although that visitation record has been mined extensively during the last two decades for two dissertations and for a number of journal articles, a valuable aspect of that document's contents has not yet received much attention.⁴ This is its depiction of the settlement pattern in the two provinces and its indication of drastic decline and dislocation in western Timucua's population.

For Apalachee the village distribution pattern reflected in this 1657 document, and in other later ones, mirrors the less well defined one presented in the De Soto chronicles. The pattern is one of a considerable number of more or less autonomous principal villages surrounded by subordinate or satellite villages, hamlets, and individual farmsteads scattered through the countryside.⁵ Among the Timucuan, by contrast, many villages and their chiefs were united under a regional tribal chief who enjoyed considerable authority throughout the area.⁶ In the 1650s a friar referred to these Timucuan tribal chiefs as having been like emperors and absolute lords when they were pagans.⁷

4 . Fred Lamar Pearson, Jr., "Spanish-Indian Relations in Florida: A Study of Two Visitas, 1657-1678" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Alabama, 1968); Robert Allen Matter, "The Spanish Missions of Florida, the Friars Versus the Governors in the 'Golden Age', 1606-1690" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington, 1972).

5 . A caution is in order. There is no categorical description of the Apalachees political organization either during the De Soto intrusion or during the mission era such as there is for other groups in the southeast. In using such scantilla as is available, these limitations must be considered.

6 . Jerald T. Milanich, "The Western Timucua: Patterns of Acculturation and Change," in Jerald T. Milanich and Samuel Proctor: *Tacachale, Essays on the Indian of Florida and Southeastern Georgia during the Historical Period* (Gainesville, 1978), 67.

7 . Fray Juan Gómez de Engraba to Fray Francisco Martínez, March 13, 1657, Archivo General de Indias, Seville (hereinafter AGI) 54-5-10, in the Woodbury Lowery Collection (hereinafter WLC) mf. reel III. Most of the material cited from this collection was viewed on the microfilm copy held by the Florida State University, which is contained in four reels in contrast to the

But soon after the establishment of the missions, Timucuan political organization became decentralized as the tribal level organization declined in importance or disappeared entirely.⁸ For extraordinary situations some vestige of that tradition appears to have survived until the 1650s. The same friar who characterized the Timucuan tribal chiefs as having been absolute lords in pagan times and who seemingly implied that they had largely lost that position also noted that during the 1656 revolt, "while being Christian, they still recognized him as such an absolute lord, and as a result many other chiefs and leading-men and vassals followed him."⁹ This tribal leader was the Utinan chief of San Martín de Ayaocuto. In 1607 another friar had described him as the chief of more than twenty villages.¹⁰

The 1657 visitation record identifies twenty-nine western Timucuan villages and thirty-four or thirty-five Apalachee villages.¹¹ The completeness of that listing for western Timucua remains an unknown, as the assembling of the Timucuan chiefs took place soon after the 1656 rebellion during which eleven chiefs were hanged and a number of villages depopulated. And for Timucua there is no pre-rebellion estimate of the total number of either the missions or the native villages for comparison with the figure from 1657. For Apalachee, by contrast, it is evident that the 1657 identification of thirty-four or five separate villages represents most of the forty-some settlements the province was said to contain a decade earlier.¹² And for Apalachee, all the missions mentioned in 1657, along with a number of their satellites, appear on the various subsequent

P. K. Yonge Library's copy which is spread over seven reels. Whenever the writer has used transcriptions made from the P. K. Yonge Library's copy, he has changed the reel citation to conform to that of the Florida State University copy.

8. Milanich, "The Western Timucua," 67.
9. Gómez de Engraba to Martínez, March 13, 1657, AGI 54-5-10, WLC, reel III.
10. Luis Gerónimo de Oré, OFM, *The Martyrs of Florida* (1513-1616) trans., Maynard Geiger, OFM (New York, 1936), 114.
11. Diego de Rebilledo, Testimony from the Visitation That Was Made in the Provinces of Apalache and Timucua and Ustaca, 1657, AGI Escribanía de Cámara (hereinafter EC), leg. 155B, Stetson Collection (hereinafter SC). Inasmuch as this document and the pieces appended to it are the major source for this article, the material drawn from it will not be footnoted hereinafter when it is clear that this document is its source, in order to avoid a plethora of repetitious footnotes.
12. Royal Officials of Florida to king, March 18, 1647, AGI 54-5-14/105, SC.

mission lists for the rest of the century, whereas the roster for Timucua shrank steadily.

In Apalachee the governor himself, in the course of the visitation, traveled successively to all ten of the missions then in existence there. The chiefs and the leading-men of the twenty-four satellite villages identified were required to assemble in the principal council house of the mission village under whose jurisdiction they fell.¹³ Inasmuch as the governor began the inspection at the western end of the province in Cupaica, it is probable that he had already visited all or most of the missions on the royal road as he traveled westward to reach San Luis and Cupaica.¹⁴ In Timucua, however, Governor Rebolledo did not carry out an inspection of each mission village. Instead he instructed Matheo Luis de Florencia, a Spaniard from San Luis, to visit the Timucuan villages to summon those surviving chiefs who remained loyal and those who had been newly installed to a general visitation to be held by the governor at San Pedro de Potohixiba.¹⁵

The following Timucuan villages were represented at this meeting together with their respective native leaders.¹⁶

I- SAN PEDRO DE POTOHIXIBA— Diego Heba, principal chief

1. Santa Ana— María Meléndez, chieftainess.

II- CHAMILE AND SAN MARTÍN— Lázaro, principal chief

1. Cachipile— Francisco, chief

2. Chuaquin— Lorenzo, chief

III- AXAPAJA AND SANTA FÉE— Alonso Pastrana, principal chief

1. San Francisco Potano— Domingo, chief

13. There probably were more satellite villages than were identified here as the naming of such villages was consequent on the naming of the chief. In the chief's absence the settlement was not named.

14. Such a prior consultation with the native leaders is indicated by the governor's issuance of his regulations to deal with the province's problems and complaints at the completion of the visitation of Cupaica. Usually such regulations were issued only after all the villages had been heard formally.

15. The spelling of native names varies considerably from document to document. In quotations the spelling used by the source will be retained; otherwise a standard spelling based on one commonly found in the documents will be used. Potohiriba was here spelled Potohixiba. The 'x' here and elsewhere could be either an 'r' or a 'j'.

16. Upper case denotes the villages whose chiefs were identified as principal chiefs.

2. San Pablo– Francisco Alonso, chief
 3. San Juan– Juan Bautista, chief
- IV- SANTA ELENA DE MACHABA– Pedro Meléndez, principal chief
1. San Joseph– Sevastian, chief
 2. San Lorenço– Dionisio, chief
- V- SAN MATHEO– Sevastian, principal chief
1. San Francisco– Francisco, chief
 2. San Miguel– Francisco Alonso, chief
 3. Santa Lucia– Francisco, chief
 4. San Diego– Francisco, chief
 5. Santa Fé– Antonio, chief
 6. San Pablo– Bernabé, chief
 7. San Francisco– Francisco, chief
 8. San Lucas– Lucas, chief
 9. San Matheo– Santiago, chief
- VI- San Agustín [de Urica?]- Domingo, chief¹⁷
- VII- NIHAYCA– Lucia, principal chieftainess
- VIII- TARI– No leader in attendance¹⁸
1. San Pedro de Aqualiro– Martín, chief
- IX- Santa María-Alexo, chief, and Alonso, leading-man

Analysis of this listing and of the meager content of the visitation record for Timucua and other sources suggests several conclusions and raises many questions. Among the twenty-nine villages, Potohiriba, Potano, Santa Fé de Toloca, Machaba, Chuaquin, Tarihica, and San Matheo have been identified as having participated in the 1656 revolt. Guacara, not mentioned on this list, has also been identified as one of the rebellious settlements. Guacara's absence from the 1657 list, together with its identification as one of the vital communication links still in need of being resurrected at the end of 1659, suggests that by 1657 its people either had taken flight or had been obliterated during the fighting that accompanied the rebellion or during

17. The position of this village and its leader, as well as that of Santa María, is anomalous. Neither chief was given the title of principal chief, but neither were they said to belong to another's jurisdiction.

18. Tari was not mentioned during the main general visitation session, but Florencia was instructed to visit Tari to deliver the summons to the general visitation. The chiefs of Aqualiro and Santa María (IX) appear to have arrived late as they were given a separate interview.

the plagues that preceded and followed the revolt. Situated where one of the trails crossed the Suwannee, Guacara would have been particularly exposed to traveller-borne pathogens. San Francisco Potano, Santa Fé, and San Martín were other communication links identified as being in need of resurrection at the end of 1659.¹⁹ Tari's inclusion among those to be summoned to the general visitation seemingly indicates that the village had survived to some degree. But the absence of the leader of the principal village of Tari suggests that the leadership element and many of the people had taken to the woods. If apprehended, Tari's chief would likely have been executed. He had been the first to voice opposition to Governor Rebolledo's orders that would lead to revolt. But it was San Martín's chief who initiated the armed rebellion in protest of the governor's policy when Rebolledo spurned the native leaders' objections to his demand that leading-men, as well as ordinary Indians called to St. Augustine for labor details, should carry seventy-five pounds of corn with them. This seems to indicate that the chief of San Martín still held something of the leadership position attributed to that village's chief in 1607, when he was described as the head chief of twenty Timucuan, i.e. presumably Utinan settlements.²⁰ However, both this reference to San Martín's chief in 1607 and his role in the 1656 rebellion suggest that in wartime his leadership may have extended beyond Utina. It was this chief's war with Apalachee, which the friars viewed as a hindrance to their work in western Timucua, that moved Fray Martín Prieto to journey to Apalachee's Ivitachuco in 1608 to establish peace between the warring Apalachee and western Timucuan.²¹

The depopulation of San Martín, along with the disappearance of its leadership element is confirmed by the visitation record. The reason for the pairing of Chamile and San Martín on this list was Chief Lázaro Chamile's agreement to move with the inhabitants of his village almost 100 miles to the east to occupy

19. Gómez de Engraba to Martínez, March 13, 1657, and April 4, 1657; Domingo de Leturiondo (partial report on the service-record of Captain Juan Francisco de Florencia, January 29, 1671), AGI 54-5-10, WLC, reels III and IV.

20. Gómez de Engraba to Martínez, March 13, 1657, and April 4, 1657, AGI 54-5-10, WLC, reel III; Oré, *The Martyrs*, 114.

21. Oré, *The Martyrs*, 114-16.

the presumably deserted settlement of San Martín. In agreeing to the move, Chief Chamile asked the governor to prohibit any encroachment by other natives on the lands he was leaving behind. He wished to maintain control over them so that his people might hunt and gather fruit there. The visitation record does not make clear whether the people of Chamile's satellite villages of Cachipile and Chuaquin were to accompany him on this migration, but their denomination as satellites would seem to imply that. On the 1655 mission list both had been identified as mission centers under the names San Francisco de Chuaquin and Santa Cruz de Cachipile, located sixty and seventy leagues respectively from St. Augustine. Chamile, presumably, is the San Ildefonso de Chamini of the 1655 list, which also was seventy leagues from St. Augustine. In 1662 some friars noted that most of the transplanted Indians had fled to the woods to live with pagan natives. Observing that some had died there in apostasy, the friars requested that the survivors be returned to their former homes. Though the records do not indicate whether any of Chamile's people did return to their home villages, the lack of any further mention of Chamile, Chuaquin, or Cachipile suggests that they did not.²²

Nihayca's identity raises some questions. No village name with that spelling appears on any earlier or later mission list or in Swanton's catalogue, of Timucuan village names. Pearson's rendering of the name as Nihoica is similar enough to Ajoica to suggest that Nihayca could be Ajoica. This in turn would mean that Ajoica as a mission center goes back beyond the circa-1660 foundation date generally assigned to it.²³

The Potano region also experienced a desolation similar to that suffered by San Martín. That Arapaja and Santa Fé were being fused in a manner similar to the fusion of Chamile and San Martín is revealed by Chief Pastrana's request for the same rights as Chamile's to the lands he was abandoning. Although Pastrana's prior identification with Arapaja is not clearly delineated, this move also seems to have involved the migration southeastward of an Utinan people who had been living seventy leagues from St. Augustine to a site only thirty leagues distant

22. Charles W. Spellman, "The Golden Age of the Florida Missions 1632-1674," *Catholic Historical Review*, LI (October, 1963), 355.

23. Pearson, "Spanish Indian Relations," 109; Milanich, "The Western Timucua," 72.

from Spanish Florida's capital. Although San Francisco Potano had survived the debacle of 1656 and the preceding epidemics, its decline and/or its punishment is reflected in its reduction to the status of a village subordinate to the new Utinan principal chief of Santa Fé.

In an early August 1657 reply to charges by the friars, Governor Rebolledo attested to the sharp decrease in Timucua's population, noting that the opportunity for conversions and the number of people needing the services of the friars had diminished both there and in Guale. He observed that very few Indians were left in either province "because they have been wiped out with the sickness of the plague and small-pox which have overtaken them in the past years."²⁴ He said nothing about the losses he was responsible for, that resulted from the rebellion and from the flight from Timucua's villages by the survivors of the fighting. Rebolledo's use of the more remote northern Utinan villages as a population reservoir from which to replenish the depopulated mission centers on the royal road suggests that their location may have protected them to some degree from the worst ravages of the plagues of the 1649-1656 and the 1613-1617 periods or from direct involvement in the revolt and the subsequent fighting.

Potano continued to decline in population, and Rebolledo's efforts to revitalize Santa Fé and San Martín failed. On November 19, 1659, Juan Francisco de Florencia was ordered to go to Ustaca and to Timucua to repopulate and to resurrect the places of San Francisco, Santa Fé, and San Martín, as well as San Juan de Guacara. At this time these villages' depopulation was attributed to some of the natives having died from an epidemic and to others having fled to the woods. The resuscitation of these settlements was deemed necessary because they served as way-stations on the road from St. Augustine to Ustaca and Apalachee.²⁵ Inasmuch as none of the four sites designated for repopulation were in Ustaca, it is reasonable to assume that Florencia's mandated visit to Ustaca was to obtain colonists for the deserted sites. This pattern would be repeated on a smaller scale a generation later in 1678 when the visitador, Domingo de

24. Rebolledo (reply to the Franciscan's petition of August 4, 1657), August 5, 1657 (document appended to Rebolledo's visitation record), AGI, EC, leg. 155B, folios 40-50, SC.

25. Leturiondo (partial report, January 29, 1671), AGI 54-5-10, WLC, reel IV.

Leturiondo, would recruit another band of Ustacans drawn from Potohiriba, Machaba, and San Matheo for the establishment of an entirely new settlement at Ivitanayo, where it was felt that a way-station was needed.²⁶

This documentation of the Spaniards' method of moving about the various branches of the Timucuan polity from the west and north (and particularly toward Potano) offers an additional explanation for the ability of certain villages in this area to hold their own, or even to grow, despite the province's general secular trend toward sharp demographic decline. It provides an explanation as well for the early disappearance of the northernmost Utinan missions. And it supplies documentary corroboration in part for the findings of archeologists who have noted changes in ceramic types for these areas during this time period. Milanich, citing Kathleen Deagan, observed that circa 1660 at the Fig Springs-Santa Catalina-Ajohica site "there was an almost complete replacement of prehistoric pottery types by types of the Leon-Jefferson, historic, wooden paddle-stamped series." The Potano region, Milanich noted, also experienced an intrusion of non-Potano ceramics, one that was more diverse than that at Fig Springs. Archeological research, he commented, indicated that eastern Timucuan and Guale peoples, as well as Apalachee and/or Utina and Yustega, were moving into the area.²⁷ For the late-seventeenth century the Joaquín de Florencia visitation record documents the presence of significant numbers of Apalachee men in Timucua working as contract laborers. But, inasmuch as they were unaccompanied by women, it is not clear whether their presence would be reflected by a change in ceramic styles.²⁸

In this Apalachee migration, some of Florida's hispanicized Indians were following a classic pattern that prevailed elsewhere in Spanish America. The pattern consisted of an evolution from the repartimiento system's sporadic compulsory labor at pre-

26. Leturiondo, Inspection of the Provinces of Apalache and Timucua, 1677-1678, AGI, EC, leg. 156B, folios 596-598, SC.

27. Milanich, "The Western Timucua," 75, 79-80.

28. Joaquín de Florencia, General Inspection That the Captain, Joaquín de Florencia Made of the Provinces of Apalache and Timucua, Interim Treasurer of the Fort of St. Augustine of Florida, Judge Commissary and Inspector-general of Them by Title and Nomination of Don Laureano de Torres y Aiala, Knight of the Order of Santiago, Governor and Captain General of the Said *Presidio* and Provinces by His Majesty, November 5, 1694, AGI, EC, leg. 157A, cuaderno 1, folios 44-205, passim, SC.

scribed low wages, to freely undertaken regular long-term contract labor at more attractive wages, as employers sought to compensate for the shrinking of the available labor pool. In time the free contract-laborer would have been converted imperceptibly into a debt-peon in most cases had not the process been interrupted in the first decade of the eighteenth century by the English-inspired attacks that destroyed or dispersed most of Florida's surviving native population.

To date there is no precise indication of the relative impact of Timucua's various troubles on the reduction of the population there during the 1649 to 1659 period. Epidemic disease, hunger, overwork under harsh conditions, rebellion, and flight have all been mentioned as factors responsible for this calamity. But epidemic disease is clearly indicated as a major factor. In mid-1650 the governor reported that "the plague" had afflicted the presidio.²⁹ That it spread to the natives is suggested by a friar's report that during 1649 and 1650 many of the missionaries had died of the plague.³⁰ Late in October 1655 Rebolledo reported that since the start of that year there had been "a high mortality rate," resulting from a "series of small-pox plagues which have affected the country for the last ten months. Many have died," he added, "as a result of this and of the trials and hunger which these unfortunate people have suffered." So great was the decrease of the available labor force that the governor found it necessary to suspend his plans for the urgently-needed repair of St. Augustine's fort. He noted that the practice of having the Indians cut the wood and haul it on their shoulders over the considerable distance from the forest had been ruled out.³¹ Fifteen months later the governor commented once more on the impact of the recent epidemics. On this occasion he indicated that all three mission provinces had been affected. Noting that there was a loss of population even in Apalachee, he remarked that the loss had been less drastic there than in

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29. Benito Ruiz de Salazar to king, July 14, 1650, AGI 54-5-10, WLC, reel III. This ambiguous term, *presidio*, could signify either the garrison alone or St. Augustine alone or the entire region under St. Augustine's jurisdiction.
 30. Fray Pedro Moreno Ponce de León, memorial, September 7, 1651, AGI 54-5-10, WLC, reel III.
 31. Rebolledo to crown, October 24, 1655, AGI 58-2-2/2, North Carolina Collection, xerox copy of translation by Ruth Kuykendall made from P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History's microfilm copy, in the possession of the author.

Guale and Timucua. In the latter two, he observed, very few Indians were left because so many had died off in recent years "with the illnesses of the plague and of small pox."³² Modern authorities differ as to the nature of the disease the Spaniards spoke of in this instance as "the plague."³³ Still another epidemic struck the natives in the latter 1650s. In 1659 the incoming governor reported that a recent epidemic of measles had killed 10,000 Indians.³⁴

Data from Oré's work reveal the extent of Potano's decline in the mere half-century that had passed since Fray Prieto began his formal evangelization in 1607. Prieto mentioned the existence in that year of four Potano towns containing a total of 1,200 people. He gave their names as San Miguel, San Francisco (one and one-half leagues from the former), Santa Ana, and San Buenaventura. Initially the friar resided at San Miguel, visiting San Francisco and Santa Ana each day to offer catechetical instruction. By 1616, however, the convent was at San Francisco Potano, and another mission among the Potano, named Santa Fé de Teleco in Oré's work, had made its appearance.³⁵ By 1659, few if any Potanans were left in that area.

Several of Rebolledo's remarks during the visitation, coupled with the 1655 mission list, provide insight into the geographical distribution of the Utinan villages, few of which have yet been found by archeologists. Utina's reputed possession of the largest population among the various Timucuan provinces undoubtedly was a reason for the governor's turning to it for people to resurrect the above-mentioned depopulated villages.³⁶ But probably no less important in Spanish eyes was the unsuitability for Spanish purposes of the 1657 locations of a number of the Utinan villages. As one of his pretexts for not holding a regular

32. Rebolledo, reply to the Franciscans' petition, August 5, 1657, AGI, EC, leg. 155B, folio 43, SC.

33. John R. Swanton, *Early History of the Creek Indians and Their Neighbors* (Washington, D.C., 1922), 338; Amy Bushnell, "The Menéndez-Marquez Cattle Barony at La Chua and the Determinants of Economic Expansion in 17th Century Florida," *The Florida Historical Quarterly*, LVI (April 1978), 4-19; Henry F. Dobyns, *Their Number Become Thinned, Native American Population Dynamics in Eastern North America* (Knoxville, 1983), 279-80.

34. Alonso de Aranguiz y Cotes to king, November 1, 1659, AGI 58-2-2/4, SC.

35. Oré, *The Martyrs*, 112-14.

36. Milanich, "The Western Timucua," 69-70; Manuel Serrano y Sanz, *Documentos históricos de la Florida y la Luisiana, siglos XVI al XVIII* (Madrid, 1912), 132-33; B. Calvin Jones, conversation, June, 1985.

visitation in Timucua, Rebolledo remarked that the places in Timucua were "far apart from one another along crosswise paths, and not along the royal road," scattered in such a fashion that the personal visitation of all of them would put a serious drain on his time. This awkward dispersion for Spanish communications purposes is corroborated in the distances from St. Augustine given for the twelve inland Timucuan missions mentioned on the 1655 list. Classified by province they are the following:

- | | |
|--------|---|
| | 1-San Martín de Ayaocuto thirty-four leagues |
| | 2-Santa Cruz de Tarica fifty-four leagues |
| | 3-San Agustín de Urica sixty leagues |
| UTINA | 4-San Francisco de Chuaquin sixty leagues |
| | 5-Santa Cruz de Cachipili seventy leagues |
| | 6-San Ildefonso de Chamini seventy leagues |
| | 7-Santa María de los Angeles de Arapaja seventy leagues |
| | 8-San Pedro y San Pablo de Poturiba sixty leagues |
| USTACA | 9-Santa Elena de Machaba sixty-four leagues |
| | 10-San Miguel de Asile seventy-five leagues |
| | 11-San Francisco Potano twenty-five leagues |
| POTANO | 12-Santa Fé de Toloco thirty leagues |

Although Utina was east of Ustaca and thus, supposedly, closer to St. Augustine, three of its seven listed missions are farther away than two out of the three Ustacan villages mentioned. An additional two Utinan settlements, at sixty leagues from St. Augustine, are at the same distance from that center as is Ustaca's Poturiba. Inasmuch as the Santa Fé River is considered to be Utina's southern limit, this phenomenon can only be accounted for by angling a number of those villages off to the north somewhere along an arc swinging from the vicinity of present-day Moultrie and Tifton, Georgia, through the area just south of the Altamaha River. That Utina reached deep into southern Georgia is suggested as well by Father Oré's 1616 itinerary for his visitation of the Franciscan convents then in existence. From Santa Cruz de Tarihica, Oré recounted, "he determined to take a shortcut that was arduous by entering a desert and unpopulated district for fifty leagues in order to go

to the convent of Santa Isabel de Utinahica . . . [and on the way] he passed through some towns inhabited by pagan Indians . . . [and] arrived at Tarraco . . . [whose Indians] formed a fairly large district. Continuing our journey, we arrived at three or four small towns containing pagans." Before he reached Utinahica he traveled an unspecified, but likely considerable distance further, crossing various rivers too deep to ford. From Utinahica he descended to the land of Guale in canoes by a river that he described as larger than the Tagus.³⁷

This "splendid isolation" of the more northern Utinan settlements may have preserved them and the villages north of them along the Oconee from the ravages of the earlier epidemics. But when those who migrated from these remoter villages at the governor's behest began to perish soon after in the measles epidemic of the late 1650s, the surviving migrants likely fled to the woods as Juan Francisco de Florencia and the friars reported.

These are the points that are indicated or that can be inferred from the Timucua visitation record and the few other documents cited. Records suggest a massive depopulation as a result of the death or flight of the original inhabitants of a number of Timucuan villages, particularly those living inland near St. Augustine, and those of northern Utina. The records also indicate a significant shift in Utina's population southward and eastward, and the rapid disappearance (from the mission scene at least) of most of this migrant population.

Archeologists have found changes in the pottery types at these sites that coincide with these demographic developments recorded in the documents. They have suggested that they are reflective in part of a movement into these areas from Apalachee, Ustaca, or Utina. But, in addition to these migrants from within the Spanish ecumene, they have suggested that these changes in ceramic types (which they describe as originating with central Georgia Muskogean speakers), indicate that there was "some sort of population movement of Creeks into" these areas of northern Florida "during the middle of the seventeenth century."³⁸ The present writer is unaware of any

37. Oré, *The Martyrs*, 129-30.

38. Milanich, "The Western Timucua," 75.

documentary record for the intrusion of Creeks into these areas at so early a date. Indeed such an intrusion might seem to be ruled out by Rebolledo's remark that the drastic decline of the Timucuan population removed the need for as many friars as were then in Timucua. He suggested that this surplus might be better employed by being sent westward to launch the Christianization of the Apalachicolas (Creeks) and Chacatos. Had pagan Creeks been moving into the abandoned or depopulated Timucuan settlements, their evangelization would seem to have provided ample work for the friars and, accordingly, the governor would have been unlikely to advance such a proposal. The movement southward and eastward of the Utinans from the northernmost settlements, followed by the influx of Ustacans, seems to offer an adequate explanation that is solidly documented. The inhabitants of these northern Utinan villages would have been one of the "Florida" groups most ideally situated for receiving influences from that central Georgia area in the vicinity of Macon and for carrying them southward and eastward.

No definitive conclusions are presently possible in this matter. As Milanich noted, "The question of whether or not the adoption of Georgian pottery styles by Florida Indians represents diffusion of techniques or actual population mixing remains unanswered." The subject, he concluded, is one that needs more research.³⁹ B. Calvin Jones stated the problem most succinctly, observing that not enough is known about Utina ceramics to make a judgment concerning their nature either prior to or during the mission era. Baptizing Springs, he noted, is the only Utina mission site that has been explored to any significant degree. Lana Jill Loucks, who worked at that site, described its ceramic assemblage as predominantly Leon-Jefferson.⁴⁰ In his limited surface collecting at the Guacara site, Jones found a heavy Leon-Jefferson representation in it. Before solid judgments can be made as to the provenience of Leon-Jefferson type ceramics from sites such as Baptizing Springs or those in Potano, Jones concluded, a closer analysis of all the ceramics is

39. *Ibid.*

40. Jones, conversation, 1985; Lana Jill Loucks, "Political and Economic Interactions between Spaniards and Indians: Archaeological and Ethnohistorical Perspectives of the Mission System in Florida" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Florida, 1979), 302.

needed in order to identify traits within the widely diffused Leon-Jefferson ceramic complex that might distinguish the Leon-Jefferson-type ceramics found in Ustaca or Utina or Potano from the better-known Apalachee variety for which the style is named.⁴¹

Study of the 1657 visitation record and other documents of the period indicates that for Timucua the 1655 mission list is anything but a complete enumeration of the mission villages in existence at that date. It omitted the Guacara mission, which was in existence as early as 1616 and vital enough to take part in the revolt in 1656. The 1655 list also omitted San Matheo. The latter's identification in 1657 as having nine daughter-villages, all bearing saints' names, suggests that it had been a mission center for some time. This brings into question the practice of using absence from the 1655 list as a criterion for concluding that a mission was founded only after that date, as has been done, for example, with reference to both Santa Catalina and Ajoica.⁴²

For Apalachee, by contrast, the 1655 enumeration omitted only one of the pre-existing missions, San Antonio de Bacuqua. But the 1657 listing of the Apalachee missions is no less valuable for that than the one for Timucua, because it also lists most of the satellite villages under the jurisdiction of each mission center and, for the first time, it provides the native name of each of the Apalachee missions. The following is the data on the Apalachee settlements and on their leaders as recorded by Governor Rebolledo in the course of his visitation of each of those missions.

- I- SAN DAMIÁN DE CUPAICA— Baltasar, principal chief
 1-Nicapana— Bentura, chief
 2-Faltassa— Martín, chief
 3-San Cosme— Bentura, chief
 4-San Lucas— Lucas, chief

41. Jones, conversation, June, 1985.

42. These two sites are commonly identified conjointly as Santa Catalina de Ajoica (or Ajojica). By 1678 the two villages' people had indeed been merged as the surviving people of Ajoica moved to Santa Catalina, but prior to this the two settlements were distinct.

- II- SANTA MARÍA DE BACUCUA– Alonso, principal chief⁴³
 1-Guaco– Martín, chief
- III- SAN PEDRO DE PATALI– Baltasar, principal chief
 1-Ajamano– Francisco, chief
 2-Talpahique– Alonso, chief
- IV- SAN LUIS DE XINAYCA⁴⁴– Francisco Luis, principal chief
 Antonio García, its captain and cousin of the chief
 Antonio de Ynija, a leading man
 Pedro García, a leading man
 1-Abaslaco– Gerónimo, chief
 2-San Francisco– Francisco, chief
- V- SAN JUAN DE ASPALAGA– Alonso, principal chief
 1-Pansacola– Manuel, chief
 2-Sabe– Xpobal [Christobal], chief
 3-Jipe– Santiago, heir to the chieftainship
- VI- SAN MARTÍN DE THOMOLE– Antonio, the *hiniya*,⁴⁵
 representing the absent principal chief
 1-Ciban– Bernardo, chief
 2-San Diego– Diego, chief
 3-Samoche– Bernardo, chief
- VII- SAN JOSEPH DE OCUYA– Benito Ruiz, principal chief
 1-Sabacola– Gaspar, chief
 2-Ajapaxca– Santiago, chief
 3-Chali– Jerónimo, chief
- VIII- SAN FRANCISCO DE OCONE– Francisco Martín,
 principal chief
 1-San Miguel– Alonso Martín, chief
- IX- SANTA MARÍA DE AYUBALE– Martín, principal chief, and Alonso, a leading man and brother of the chief
 1-Cutachuba– Adrián, a leading man

43. Elsewhere the name was always given as San Antonio de Bacuqua.

44. Subsequently in this visitation record the name was given as San Luis de Nixaxipa.

45. This title, usually spelled *inija*, was given to the native official second-in-command to the chief.

- X- SAN LORENÇO DE YBITACHUCO– Don Luis
 Ybitachucu, principal chief
 Lourenço Moreno, captain of the place
 Francisco and Santiago, leading men
 1-San Juan– Andrés, chief and uncle of Don Luis
 2-San Pablo– Pedro Muñoz, chief
 3-San Nicolás– Thomás, chief
 4-Ayapasca– Fabian, chief
- XI- SAN MIGUEL DE AZILE⁴⁶– Gaspar, principal chief
 and uncle of Ybitachuco's Don Luis
 Lucas, identified as a chief, but no village mentioned
 Juan de Medina, principal heir to Lucas
 Lázaro, a leading man and father of the chief of Sabe

The Apalachee list requires little comment as the settlement pattern that it reflects does not appear to have altered much over the remaining half-century that these missions endured. No subsequent mission list furnishes as detailed a catalogue of the satellite villages. However, the mid-1670s Ball-game Manuscript states that each main village had three or four smaller satellite villages attached to it, and, using San Luis as an example, named its three satellites as San Francisco, San Bernardo, and San Agustín. One of the latter two is probably the Abaslaco mentioned by Rebolledo as there is evidence for Abaslaco's continued existence into the 1690s. A 1680s reference indicates that San Luis then had four subordinate villages.⁴⁷ For Aspalaga, the 1677-1678 visitation record identifies Culcuti as an additional satellite beyond those mentioned in 1657. On a later list a fifth satellite village, named San Pedro, is noted for Cupaica, and a 1657 letter written from there by a soldier also mentions a San Pedro. Cupaica's Nicopana and Faltassa reappear in 1677 as a consequence of a dispute over the chieftainship of the latter. Tomole's Samoche and San Diego also reappear in the Ball-game Manuscript. The same diffuse settlement pattern was depicted for Apalachee as late as October 1702, somewhat ob-

46. Normally Asile was considered to be a part of Ustaca. It is not clear why Rebolledo recorded it as being "of the jurisdiction of Apalachee."

47. Leturiondo, Inspection . . . 1677-1678; Florencia, General Inspection, November 5, 1694; Vi Ventura, testimony by, 1686; AGI, EC, leg. 156B, folio 575; EC, leg. 157A, cuaderno I, folios 71-73; EC, leg. 156C, pieza 25 (E. 20), folio 67, SC.

liquely, in a remark by the governor's deputy that "The villages of this province are very insecure as they are widely scattered, as the individual houses are likewise, inasmuch as the villages are distributed over a radius of three or four leagues."⁴⁸

The additional villages mentioned after 1657 bring the total of named Apalachee villages during the mission era to forty, just short of the forty-plus spoken of as existing in the 1640s. The 1657 listing, accordingly, would seem to be incomplete. It is probable that San Luis's four satellites of the 1680s and the satellites of other villages mentioned later already existed in 1657, as there seems to be a general correlation between the populations given for the missions in 1675 and 1689 and the number of satellites they were recorded as having.⁴⁹ Ayubale, with only one noted in 1657, is an exception. That suggests the possibility that one or more satellites of this sizeable mission were omitted on the 1657 list, probably because their leaders did not appear for the visitation.⁵⁰ Recent archeological research has revealed the existence of two presumably temporally distinct missions for Patale on sites that were little more than three miles apart.⁵¹ Patale's usual name of San Pedro y *San Pablo* de Patale suggests the possibility of a separate village of San Pablo. This was the case for Apalachee's other twin-patron mission, Cupaica. In 1657 it was identified only as San Damián de Cupaica, and San Cosme was named as a subordinate village. Ustaca's twin-patron site of Potohiriba had two temporally distinct mission centers.⁵² It is possible that either of Patale's subordinate villages, Ajamano and Talpahique, could also have borne the name San Pablo, but the early abandonment of one of the Patale sites seems to rule that out. To date no documentary evidence has

48. Leturiondo, Inspection . . . 1677-1678; Manuel Solana to Governor Joseph de Zúñiga y Cerda, October 22, 1702; AGI, EC, leg. 156B, folios 546-49, 555-56, 579; and 58-2-8, SC.

49. Pablo de Hita Salazar to queen, August 24, 1675; Bishop Diego Ebelino de Compostela to king, September 28, 1689; AGI 58-1-26/38 and 54-3-2/9, SC.

50. In 1675 it had about 800 inhabitants, and in 1689, it was the third largest mission, surpassed only by Cupaica and San Luis.

51. Jones, conversation, May 1985; Rochelle Marrinan, conversation, 1985. One of these sites has been explored sufficiently to indicate that it dates from the early mission period and that its existence as a mission site was short-lived. The other site has not been explored sufficiently to permit conclusions about the time of its occupation with such precision.

52. Andrés García, *Aulos* Made Officially against Santiago, Native to the Village of San Pedro, 1695, AGI, EC, leg. 157A, cuaderno I, folios 177-78, SC.

surfaced concerning the reason for the early abandonment of that site. Indeed, the only such evidence for the move is a reference in the year 1700 to the rancher Marcos Delgado's having moved his existing ranch, that lay between Bacuqua and Patale, to a *chicasa*⁵³ of Patale in response to the complaints of the natives of those two missions that the cattle from his Bacuqua ranch of Our Lady of the Rosary were destroying their crops.⁵⁴

This use of the lands of abandoned native villages was not unusual. In 1699 another Apalachee rancher, Diego Ximénez, moved his enterprise to a *chicasa* of Cupaica.⁵⁵ During the 1678 visitation of Utina's Santa (Catalina, Lucas, the chief of Ajoica, reported that "he had entered an agreement with Nicolás Suárez so that he might place a cattle ranch between the two (Ajoica and Santa Catalina) on the former site of Ajoica, which is depopulated."⁵⁶ And it is this writer's opinion that the original site of Delgado's ranch was probably the former site of the village of Bacuqua. In 1657 Bacuqua's chief received permission to move his village because the site's soil and firewood were exhausted. On reading this passage, the recollection that Delgado gave Bacuqua as his place of residence on a 1693 sales contract triggered the thought that an abandoned native village and its surrounding farmlands would make an ideal ranch site with their abundance of cleared land and nearby water source and that the high airy location of the typical Apalachee village would be attractive as a ranch headquarters.⁵⁷ It is known that Delgado's residence was on the ranch and not in the 1693-era village of Bacuqua. In 1695, on agreeing to move his ranch, Delgado asked to be allowed to keep his residence at the former ranch site.⁵⁸

There is evidence in the 1657 visitation record that some of the rebellious elements from Ustaca had sought refuge in

53. It is the Apalachee word for the site of an abandoned village and for the surrounding lands that belonged to the settlement.

54. Manuel Jacomé de Fuentes, testimony of, December 21, 1700 (residencia of Governor Laureano de Torres y Ayala, 1700), AGI, EC, leg. 157A, microfilm roll 27P in the residencia series, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History.

55. *Ibid.*

56. Leturiondo, Inspection . . . 1677-1678, AGI, EC, leg. 156B, folios 602-04.

57. Marcos Delgado, bill of sale by, 1693, in Irving Leonard, trans., *Spanish Approach to Pensacola, 1689-1693* (Albuquerque, 1939), 254, fn. 3.

58. Florencia, General Inspection, November 5, 1694, AGI, EC, leg. 157A, cuaderno I, folios 77-79, SC.

Apalachee and had attempted to foment revolt there. On completing his visitation of Apalachee with the session at Asile, Rebolledo issued a proclamation that the Timucuan and Ustacans who were then living in Apalachee were to return to their home village within fifteen days, unless they had been domiciled in that province for two years or more. The penalty for men caught in non-compliance of this order was 100 lashes and four years at forced labor. The women also were to receive 100 lashes and would be remanded to serve at the fort at St. Augustine. The record gave no indication of the number of Timucuan thought to be present in Apalachee as refugees from the governor's brutal repression of the rebels.

This proclamation is probably one of the sources of the oft-repeated misconception that Apalachee participated in the 1656 Timucuan revolt. Most of the secondary sources that mention the revolt speak of it as having spread to Apalachee in 1656 or in 1657.⁵⁹ This writer, however, is unaware of any primary sources to indicate that the revolt actually spread to Apalachee. On the contrary, a number of such sources state the opposite. The soldiers in Apalachee whom the governor commissioned to investigate the rumors of impending trouble there reported that those rumors were precisely that, characterizing them as merely inventions of the priests, designed to thwart the governor's plans to expand the military's presence there. One soldier observed, "This is the sum total of the uprising in Apalachee, because I do not find any other one," while another soldier, playing down even the threat of revolt, attributed the rumors to "Timucuan gossips who have assumed that Apalachee wishes to revolt because they asked it to."⁶⁰ In August 1657 the governor himself, writing to report his having twenty-six of the Apalachee leaders as house guests, affirmed unequivocally that their loyalty was the principal reason that Apalachee had not participated in the

59. Among the scholars who have worked with the primary sources for this period, Amy Bushnell is the only one whom this author is aware of who has avoided this pitfall.

60. Adrián de Canisaxes y Ossoxio to Rebolledo, May 8, 1657, and May 21, 1657; Pedro de la Puerta to Rebolledo, July 12, 1657; Antonio de Santucha to Rebolledo, July 18, 1657, AGI, EC, leg. 155B, no. 18, folios 50-57 in microfilm roll 27-G of the residencia series, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History. These documents are among those appended to the Rebolledo visitation record.

recent revolt in Timucua.⁶¹ Although misinterpretation of some of the earlier heated remarks of the more voluble of the friars appears to have been a major source of the misconception, the absence of revolt in Apalachee at this time is reflected equally clearly in a 1664 collective note to the king by a number of the friars.⁶² Doubtless there was unrest, but it does not seem to have passed beyond a threat of revolt. And possibly the threat consisted of little more than the friars' perception that there was such a threat.

In addition to the already noted request for the moving of the site of Bacuqua in 1657, there is evidence that during the preceding year San Luis's chief had moved his village to be where the soldiers were.⁶³ More directly expressed is the revelation of the continuity between that chief's 1657 mission village of San Luis and the native village of Anhayca Apalachee appropriated by Hernando de Soto for his winter quarters in 1539. The triad of Anhayca-Iviahica-Iniahico by which the De Soto chroniclers identified this village is similar enough to the Xinayca-Nixaxipa of 1657 to suggest that the earlier renditions are garbled versions of the latter as perceived by sixteenth-century Spanish ears unaccustomed to the Florida natives' tongues. A half century earlier an even more recognizable variant of Anhayca was similarly linked with one of Apalachee's leading chiefs. In 1608 Fray Prieto recorded that the Apalachee leaders assembled at Ivitachuco to meet him delegated the chief of Inihayca to go to St. Augustine to give obedience to the governor in their name. Noting this resemblance, Father Geiger observed that "Inihayca is probably the Anhayca Apalache mentioned by the Gentleman of Elvas."⁶⁴ The survival of these names from the early sixteenth century into the mission era in association with the head village of San Luis suggests that San Luis de Xinayca of 1657 represented the same corporate entity as De Soto's Anhayca, though the two probably did not occupy the same physical site. It is possible, however, that the Spanish came to

61. Rebolledo reply to the Franciscans' petition, August 5, 1657, AGI, EC, leg. 155B, no. 18, folios 40-50, in microfilm roll 27-G of the residencia series, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History.

62. Franciscan Friars to king, June 16, 1664, AGI 58-1-35, WLC, reel IV.

63. Canisaxes y Ossoxio to Rebolledo, May 8, 1657, and May 21, 1657, AGI, EC, leg. 155B, no. 18, folios 50-54, microfilm roll 27-G of the residencia series, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History.

64. Oré, *The Martyrs*, 117, 122, fn. 13.

the San Luis site because of its' historic associations as much as its' strategic qualities.

In conclusion, the 1657 visitation record and the other pertinent documents from the era give no indication that Apalachee was experiencing the calamitous demographic dislocation and decline that was manifest in Timucua. Whereas this trend would continue for Timucua, as the number of its missions shrank with each successive listing, one additional Apalachee mission was to emerge by the mid-1670s along with several other missions inhabited by non-Apalachees. Moreover, all the Apalachee missions existing in 1657 were to survive till the eve of the province's destruction in 1704.

Why there is so sharp a difference is a subject that needs further research. Similarly, the presence of non-western Timucuan and non-Timucuan in western Timucua merits further documentary research. While the Spaniards meticulously noted the presence of non-Apalachees in Apalachee territory, to this writer's knowledge, no one has cited documentary evidence that the Spaniards similarly identified the non-locals from coastal Timucua, and Guale, and Creek territory whose presence there archeologists have detected.

In view of the magnitude of Timucua's demographic disaster and dislocation, Father Spellman's remark concerning Timucua's troubles during this period is particularly apropos. He observed that this period of the mid-seventeenth century that has so often been hailed as the beginning of the missions' "Golden Age" was anything but that for Timucua.⁶⁵ In June 1657 the Council of the Indies was of a similar mind in recommending the immediate removal and imprisonment of Governor Rebolledo for "the cruelty and inhumanity" of his repression of the revolt that "his own actions had precipitated," and for having created a situation that seemed to threaten the total loss of the Florida missions whose natives' "conversion and conservation had cost so much wealth and effort."⁶⁶

65. Spellman, "The 'Golden Age'," 355.

66. Council of the Indies, Order for Governor Rebolledo's Removal and Imprisonment, WLC, reel III. As reproduced by Lowery, this document bears the heading "In the council on May 29," and the closing note, "Madrid, twelfth of June of sixteen hundred and fifty seven."

“THE NEST OF VILE FANATICS”: WILLIAM N. SHEATS AND THE ORANGE PARK SCHOOL

by JOE M. RICHARDSON

WHEN the Orange Park Normal and Industrial School opened October 7, 1891, probably none of the excited participants imagined that within three years the school would incur the wrath of Florida's superintendent of public instruction and would result in the passage of a state law prohibiting teaching blacks and whites under the same roof. Rather, the school began with enthusiastic community support and the expectation that its influence would reach throughout upper Florida and lower Georgia.¹ The Orange Park school was founded by the American Missionary Association of New York, the most significant benevolent society then engaged in educating blacks. The association had been canvassing Florida for a suitable school location when Orange Park offered to give it ample grounds in the center of town. An AMA visit revealed an attractive village on the St. Johns River with a nucleus of sympathetic Northerners, and an urgent need for a school for black youths. The AMA gratefully accepted the proffered land and in early 1891 began constructing school buildings.²

When classes began the campus consisted of ten lovely acres of oak and orange trees, several classrooms, two dormitories, and a two-story industrial building. Later a “handsome” chapel was added. Amos N. Farnham, previously principal at Atlanta and Claflin universities, directed an excellent faculty of experienced northern teachers. The AMA's stated aim for Orange Park was “to nourish a healthy growth, so far as we shall have means to do so, and to send out new influences from this . . .

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1. *American Missionary*, XLV (November 1891), 384, XLVI (February 1892), 46-47, XLVI (April 1892), 125; Orange Park *Clay Today*, February 13, 1979; Arch Fred Blakey, *Parade of Memories: A History of Clay County, Florida* (Green Cove Springs, 1976), 145-46.
2. *American Missionary*, XLVI (April 1892), 125, XLVI (May 1892), 52; *Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Florida for the Two Years Ending June 30, 1896* (Tallahassee, 1897), 184.

school which shall be educative and helpful for a large section of the country." It intended to offer education to all who wished to attend, but to focus on preparing black teachers. The AMA believed that "the only true ground to take—the only one sanctioned by the Constitution and by Christianity" was that blacks were entitled to equal rights in both church and state. They must be prepared for the exercise of those rights, thus the importance of training black teachers. The AMA, though non-sectarian, stressed religion as well as academics. The school was "a great deal more than a place for mental development," as youths were instructed in "all things essential to manhood and womanhood." It made "the spiritual force dominant."³

Orange Park Normal and Industrial opened in October 1891 with twenty-six students, sixteen of whom were boarders. Within four months the number had grown to seventy-eight, and the dormitories were almost full. In the fall of 1892 there were 116 students, including some from out of state. A number of the new pupils were in the higher grades which, the AMA thought, showed that the school was "attracting the attention of intelligent as well as appreciative patrons." Certainly the course offerings and faculty compared favorably with any of Florida's normal schools. In addition to the usual subjects taught in grammar and normal classes, Orange Park gave courses in stenography, typing, agriculture, horticulture, and printing.⁴

Closing exercises revealed the type of education offered. The 1892 exercises began with an educational sermon on Sunday night. On Monday evening the literary society presented recitations, essays, and a debate. Tuesday morning was spent with oral reviews. On Tuesday afternoon, among other class exercises, botany students analyzed the Spanish bayonet and the poison flower. One classroom was devoted to the display of needle work, maps, and drawings. During the evening, visitors were treated to an original colloquy on Florida farming. The 1893 closing exercises included entertainment by the girls' Longfellow Society and the boys' Lyceum, a concert, oral reviews,

3. *American Missionary*, XLVI (November 1892), 350, XLVII (October 1893), 309; *The Forty-Sixth Annual Report of the American Missionary Association and the Proceedings at the Annual Meeting held in Hartford, Conn., October 25th to 27th, 1892* (New York 1892), 25.

4. *Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1896*, 184; *American Missionary*, XLVI (April 1892), 125, XLVI (November 1892), 350.

rhetorical exercises, a presentation of Tennyson's *Enoch Arden*, and a manual instruction exhibit. The latter consisted of freehand and mechanical drawings, relief maps, classified botanical specimens, and entomological drawings. By 1894 the AMA could proudly and accurately claim that "this young school is doing a work of inestimable value. On the very spot, where less than a generation ago gangs of slaves toiled under the overseer's lash, and within rifle-shot of the plantation whipping post, their children are now developing into worthy" citizens, and "are growing up into an enlightened Christian manhood and womanhood."⁵

By 1894 the Orange Park Normal and Industrial School had an outstanding faculty of ten and a growing reputation for both normal and industrial training. Its students won more than thirty prizes and honorable mentions for exhibitions at the Southern Florida Fair at Orlando in 1894. One graduate was now an instructor of mechanical industries at "a prominent" Georgia school for black youths. The school had won "high commendation" from even prejudiced and unfriendly sources. Moreover, it was the only school for miles around that was conducted with any regularity and efficiency.⁶ As a result, even though it was a school for blacks, a few local whites began to send their children to Orange Park. As white confidence in the school increased so did white enrollment. The AMA did not solicit white students, but its schools had always been open to all races, and whites were warmly welcomed. Indeed, teachers paid tuition for some of the poorer white students, including two bright youngsters of a crippled father who lived in a tent with a large family, and the son of an invalid white washerwoman. By 1894 there were thirty-five white children in attendance. Unfortunately, Orange Park's excellence and accessibility which encouraged white patronage contributed to its eventual decline.⁷

In 1893 William N. Sheats, "Florida's little giant of educa-

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5. *American Missionary*, XLVI (July 1892), 234, XLVII (September 1893), 282-83, XLVIII (July 1894), 263.
 6. *Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1896*, 188-89; New York *Independent*, quoted in *American Missionary*, XLIX (September 1895), 287.
 7. Wali R. Kharif, "The Refinement of Racial Segregation in Florida After the Civil War" (Ph.D. dissertation, Florida State University, 1983), 183-84; *Jacksonville Florida Times-Union*, June 21, 1896; *American Missionary*, XLIX (September 1895), 287.

tion," became superintendent of public instruction.⁸ His wide experience as a teacher and as superintendent of education for Alachua County had properly prepared him for that position, and considerable progress was made in education during his tenure. He even displayed "the type of paternalistic racism that allowed blacks some opportunity," but he also personified the spirit of white supremacy that insisted upon strict segregation and no political rights for blacks. He quarrelled with President Thomas DeS. Tucker of the State Normal and Industrial College for Colored Students in Tallahassee because Sheats believed Tucker placed too much emphasis on academics. And Sheats was an implacable foe of interracial education. As a delegate to the Florida Constitutional Convention of 1885, he had written section 12 which declared that whites and blacks could not be taught together. It was only a matter of time before he attacked the Orange Park school.⁹

Sheats lost little time after his election in making his racial views public. In his first report he claimed that socially blacks were "different being[s]." This sentiment, he continued, "is right, philosophy and the . . . unwritten edict of God endorse it, and it will live, let others think and act to suit them best." Sheats added that "any effort to enforce mixed education of the races . . . would forever destroy the public school system at one swoop," and he warned northern benevolent societies against such activity. He even refused to employ anyone educated in mixed schools. In reply to an application from an Oberlin graduate he wrote, "let me be very frank with you. I have it

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8. For more on Sheats's career, see Elizabeth S. Davidson, "Family, Education, Religion, Politics, Birth, Philosophy of Life, Things Accomplished, Achievements, Disappointments, and Many Instances in the Life of William Nicholas Sheats, Superintendent of Education," in William N. Sheats Papers, Microfilm, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville; *Florida School Journal*, V (June 1892), 10-13, Oswald S. Parker, "William N. Sheats, Florida Educator" (Master's thesis, University of Florida, 1949).
 9. Arthur O. White, "State Leadership and Black Education in Florida, 1876-1976," *Phylon* XLII (June 1981), 170-71; Leedell W. Neyland and John W. Riley, *The History of Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University* (Gainesville, 1963) 35, 37-38, 43; *Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Florida for the Two Years Ending June 30, 1894* (Tallahassee, 1895), 44; W. N. Sheats to C. F. Kemp, September 11, 1897, Superintendent of Public Instruction Letterbook, February 25, 1895 to September 25, 1897, 400, Florida State Archives, Tallahassee, Florida (cited hereafter as SPI Letterbook).

from good authority that Oberlin College is a school where both the whites and negroes are educated. If this is true, I do not want any Oberlin graduates . . . as teachers in the schools of Florida."¹⁰ Still Sheats did not attack the Orange Park school until after Clay County residents brought it to his attention.

In January 1894 W. A. Benedict informed Sheats that white teachers were instructing blacks at the Orange Park Normal and Industrial School. Sheats hastened to reply that "I agree with you perfectly in the matter of leaving the education of the negro to the negroes, under the direction and assisted by the state. I am free to confess," he added, "that I want the A.M.A. to keep hands off in Florida." He reminded Benedict that as Alachua County superintendent he had prohibited whites teaching blacks. Ordinarily such teachers, Sheats said, were racial incendiaries attempting to indoctrinate blacks with ideas calculated to make them unfit for residence among whites. Apparently Sheats at first was unaware that Orange Park students were mixed and was concerned primarily with white teachers instructing black students. After hearing rumors to the contrary he wrote principal Amos W. Farnham, asking if "white and negro pupils eat, room, recite and associate together in your school without distinction as to race or color?" and if "in the boarding department white and negro girls room together without distinction as to race?" The letter did not appear particularly threatening. Sheats revealed none of his thoughts regarding mixed education, simply telling Farnham that he realized his school was a "private affair," but wished to be able either to deny or affirm the rumors. It is "for this reason, and this reason alone, I address my inquiry to you" Sheats wrote.¹¹

Farnham correctly perceived Sheats's inquiry as a threat and couched a cautious reply. Orange Park was a private school for blacks, Farnham said, but "we do not refuse anyone on account of race," our "latch-string is out to the public." Although the school was mixed, Farnham revealed that numerous concessions had been made to southern mores. All teachers and students ate in one dining room, teachers at tables separate from all, and

10. Parker, "William N. Sheats," 97; *Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction*, 1894, 70; Sheats to Mrs. A. S. Wilkerson, January 25, 1894, Sheats to M. M. Dinyman, March 16, 1894, SPI Letterbook, 232, 294.

11. Sheats to W. A. Benedict, January 23, 1894, Sheats to A. W. Farnham, February 9, 1894, SPI Letterbook, 225-27, 254.

black and white students at different tables. Teachers rooms were separate from all students, and whites "do not and have not in any instance roomed with Negro pupils. As a rule all white students room on separate floors." Students of the same grade were taught together, and they attended chapel collectively, but tended to segregate themselves by rows. Black and white girls, Farnham said, were uniformly kind to each other, but were not seen playing, walking, or sitting together. "Our boys are less exclusive especially in their sports. They play baseball, 'shinney,' marbles and other games together." Farnham reminded Sheats that the Orange Park institution had a fine corps of teachers, some of whom were connected with people of more than state reputation, and invited him to visit the school. Sheats did not accept Farnham's invitation to visit and took no immediate action, but he apparently was determined to destroy the school as it then existed.¹²

The bitterly cold winter of 1894-1895 destroyed many orange trees around Orange Park. A Jacksonville paper reported that "the beautiful, rich green leaves have turned a russet brown, while the grove has the appearance of a burned district." This disaster portended a calamitous year for Orange Park Normal and Industrial School. B. D. Rowlee, the new principal, had begun the fall session with trepidation; he feared the school had not heard the last of William N. Sheats. Then the ravaged orange crop took jobs away from numerous already impoverished families. Only northern benevolence kept many students, including several whites, in school. It was a winter fraught with self-sacrifice. Among those assisted were two black children of a hardworking, but disabled fisherman, who rowed across Lake Tulula every day to school even in rough, cold weather. Students, too poor to go home for Christmas vacation, were given a tree, presents, and dinner by the faculty. But the freeze, though serious, proved less damaging to the school than the plans of Superintendent Sheats.¹³

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12. Sheats to A. W. Farnham, February 9, 1894, A. W. Farnham to W. N. Sheats, February 28, 1894, SPI Letterbook, 254, 276-77.
 13. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, January 8, 1895; *The Forty-Ninth Annual Report of the American Missionary Association and the Proceedings at the Annual Meeting, Held in Detroit, Mich., October 22 to 24, 1895* (New York, 1895), 52; *American Missionary*, XLIX (August 1895), 263-64, XLIX (September 1895), 287.

Soon after his correspondence with Farnham, Sheats began to lobby for legislation to force Orange Park school to conform to his views. The Florida Constitution prohibited mixed public schools, but it was not illegal for whites to teach blacks. Sheats told the legislature it was time to protect educated blacks in the right to teach their own race. He asked for a law prohibiting "in both public and private schools, any but negroes teaching schools for negroes," except in state summer institutes. More significantly he asked for legislation against unsegregated schools. He reminded the legislature that blacks were prohibited by law and the Constitution from intermarrying or attending public schools with whites. He advised that the statute preventing amalgamation be fortified by making it "a penal offense to teach whites and negroes in the same schools in either public, private or benevolent institutions." The legislature ignored Sheats's first request, but in May 1895, it easily passed a law making it illegal "for any individual, body of individuals, corporation or association to conduct within this state any school of any grade, public, private or parochial wherein white persons and negroes shall be instructed or boarded within the same building, or taught in the same class, or at the same time by the same teachers." The penalty for violating the law was a fine of up to \$500 or imprisonment in the county jail for three to six months for every offense.¹⁴

In response to the Sheats's law the AMA printed an editorial in its journal entitled, "Poor Florida." "There was a 'cold spell in Florida last winter,'" the *American Missionary* read, "and the ice entered some peoples' hearts. When the Legislature assembled a fever had succeeded the chill." Under the influence of these mixed reactions the representatives had passed a disgraceful law. The association belittled the legislature by relating an incident "vouched for by the Florida *Times-Union*." A bill was introduced providing for the killing of rabid dogs. An older member rose and opposed the bill with great gravity on the ground that he saw no reason why "rabbit" dogs should be slaughtered any sooner than other types of dogs. He had a rabbit dog himself. His speech was followed by others detailing the glowing tributes

14. *Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1894*, 71; Florida, *Acts and Resolutions, 1895* (Tallahassee, 1895), 96-97; Sheats to J. C. Hartzwell, June 14, 1895, SPI Letterbook, 27.

of rabbit dogs and the bill was killed. The AMA blamed the law on ignorant and misguided legislators and professed to see opposition to the statute among some Florida whites: "a dark cloud of shame hovers over them, and the air is mephitic." Some Floridians were conscience-stricken, the AMA added. The association was engaging in wishful thinking; an overwhelming majority of Florida whites approved the law. The AMA did, however, receive sympathetic support from several liberal northern journals. The *Advance*, a Chicago journal, condemned "Florida's disgraceful Sheats' law" which had been "specifically designed for the teachers and supporters of Orange Park Academy." The New York *Independent* claimed that Sheats wished to destroy the Orange Park school in order to prevent the raising up of "Colored men and women who should in time be fit to compete with white teachers." The AMA quietly concluded to defy the Sheats's law.¹⁵

Northern criticism seemed only to make Sheats more aggressive in expressing his racial philosophy. When the secretary of the Woman's Home Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church wrote asking if the law was intended to affect any school except Orange Park, Sheats answered that he would not discuss the question with her if she was "a social equality addict" for he could not be "genteel and deferential" to such a woman. Rather he launched into a tirade against mixed schools. There was no doubt that he saw unsegregated schools as leading to interracial marriage. "The preservation of the Caucasian blood (the purity of it) should be the highest duty of every American," he wrote. Sheats could think "of no greater crime against nature than the forcing of minor children into school and necessarily into social relations with that [black] people." In another letter Sheats claimed that "those of us who love the Anglo-Saxon race and this great American republic are willing to do almost anything to preserve race purity." You must know, he added, "what must be the final result of your nefarious doctrine of co-education and of social equality."¹⁶

15. *American Missionary*, XLIX (August 1895), 251, XLIX (November 1895), 346-47, the *Advance*, quoted in *American Missionary*, L (June 1896), 180; New York *Independent*, quoted in *American Missionary*, XLIX (August 1895), 251.
16. Sheats to S. Y. Whetstone, September 18, 1895 quoted in Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, October 7, 1895, Sheats to J. C. Hartzwell, July 2, 1895, quoted in Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, September 5, 1895.

Since Orange Park was the only school in the state with mixed pupils, Sheats singled it out for special condemnation. It was a "social and moral blotch" and a "vile encroachment upon our social and moral system." "What can be the ulterior design of these fanatical equalitists," he raged, "unless it be miscegenation? That is their hope, or are they idiots, for any people educated and taught from infancy that they are equal will intermarry." Since the editor of the *American Missionary* was outraged by the law, Sheats suggested he "must have some hard old cases that he wishes to pair off into some respectable negro family." The AMA, Sheats charged, sought "to subvert the wisdom of the All wise God" who had failed to create the races equal "and no more designed that they should be so considered and treated in social and marital relations than he intended that the gorilla should be so esteemed and treated." At its best, Sheats claimed, "the AMA educated blacks into dreamy and impractical failures and filled them with notions and aspirations never to be realized, namely, wealth, position and white companionship."¹⁷

Sheats made it clear before school began in 1895 that the "antimiscegenation" law, as it was being called in Florida, would be enforced. He printed "several threatening manifestoes" detailing the terrors that would befall teachers if they roomed or ate with black students or taught them in classes with whites. He promised that he would prevent the continuing of the Orange Park school as it had been conducted, law or no law, even if the Supreme Court of the United States should pronounce "against it."¹⁸ The AMA ignored the threats, began classes, and waited for teachers to be arrested. It clearly intended to "test the question whether righteousness" was criminal. "We do not believe that such legislation as is the expression of human prejudice or human passion, when it sets its foot on the sanctities of justice is really law," the Association stated, "and we believe that such legislation, when it stands in the way of Christian work, is to be lawfully opposed. We have put our hand to the plow, and we shall plow the furrow through even though it takes us from Florida to Washington." The AMA was determined to maintain

17. Sheats's statement in Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, October 5, 1895.

18. Sheats also pledged that if the courts decided against his bill he would lead a movement to amend the State Constitution to cease all appropriations to black schools except from taxes paid by blacks.

its "Civil rights and Christian privileges." Initially attendance at Orange Park was small as some had been frightened away, but the faculty confidently said that new students with "new courage" were applying and the school would soon be full.¹⁹

Closing the school proved more difficult than Sheats had anticipated. The attorney general of the state advised that nothing could be done until a grand jury met to indict offenders. Dissatisfied with this, Sheats wrote the Clay County district attorney and other county officials urging them to initiate action against the school. It would take some time for the case to go to court, Sheats explained, and the situation was too serious to permit delay; the school must be closed immediately. Sheats claimed he did not so much object to whites teaching blacks, "if it suits their taste and olfactories," but he strenuously objected "to their injuring innocent" white children by enticing them into the school. It was criminal, he added, to teach young white girls in such circumstances, and he believed the state was obligated to prevent it. "Aside from the fact that some of them may intermarry with negroes a *social taint will attach*" to them which they could never overcome. "In the estimation of decent people, not under the spell of fanaticism, they would be under the law of society something akin to illegitimate." Sheats wished to break up "the nest of vile fanatics at Orange Park" by attacking now. Officials could "at least annoy" teachers and patrons so much they would close the school. "My idea," he continued, "is to prosecute every teacher and every patron *white* and colored separately until anyone would be afraid to violate the law."²⁰

Sheats managed to stir up further animosity among several already irate Clay countians, but there was more grumbling than action. Indictments were not handed down until April 6, 1896. Four days later Principal Rowlee, five teachers, three white patrons, and the local Congregational minister were arrested for violating the Sheats's law. The minister was not on the faculty, but he had conducted a Bible class in the school building with both black and white students. Those arrested were released on bail before ever being placed in jail. After the arrests the AMA

19. *American Missionary*, XLIX (November 1895), 346-47, XLIX (December 1895), 380; *New York Times*, September 29, 1895.

20. Sheats to W. E. Parmenter, Jr., November 22, 1895, Sheats to P. C. Fisher, November 25, 1895, SPI Letterbook, 52-53, 57; State Board of Education Minutes, January 6, 1896, 12, Florida State Archives, Tallahassee, Florida.

assumed its teachers would be safe until the law could be tested in court, and the Orange Park school continued as before. On May 4 State Attorney Augustus G. Hartridge instructed the sheriff to investigate, and if teachers were still in violation, to arrest and rearrest them as long as the school continued. Teachers were informed they would be arrested daily and new bail would be required each day. Since it was impossible for teachers and their patrons to raise that much bail money the school was closed for the remainder of the school term. Sheats had at last succeeded in closing the Orange Park school. The AMA declared, however, that the school would reopen the following year.²¹

Initially, Sheats seemed to have won a resounding victory over the hated “miscegenationist” school. The Orange Park school was closed, and the superintendent’s popularity, at least among some Floridians, had soared. The Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union* attributed his renomination for superintendent of public instruction in 1896 largely to the Sheats’s law. “The fanatics who aim ultimately at miscegenation in the South had as well make up their mind that they will have to submit to the law of the state,” the *Florida Times-Union* said after Sheats’s nomination. Moreover, national sentiment seemed to favor Sheats. Soon after the teachers had been arrested the United States Supreme Court accepted the policy of separate but equal accommodations in the *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision. After citing the case, the *Times-Union* gleefully proclaimed that “the religious fanatics” who were fighting the Sheats’s law were on “a wild goose chase. . . . We cannot see how the decision leaves a ray of hope for those who attack the law.” Nevertheless, the AMA engaged the Jacksonville attorneys Horatio Bisbee, a former Republican congressman from Florida, and Clement D. Rinehart, a recent graduate of Yale Law School to oppose the Sheats’s law. Attorney Rinehart vowed that the “case would be fought every inch” from start to finish. The AMA announced that many contribu-

21. Copy of Indictment, April 6, 1896, Records of the Fourth Judicial Circuit of Florida, Clay County Courthouse, Green Cove Springs, Florida; *American Missionary*, L (May 1896), 146, L (June 1896), 181; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, June 2 1, 1896; *The Fiftieth Annual Report of the American Missionary Association, and the Proceedings at the Annual Meeting Held in Boston, Mass., October 20th to 22d, 1896* (New York, 1896), 15; Clay County Circuit Court Minutes, No. 2, 293, Records of the Fourth Judicial Circuit of Florida, Clay County Courthouse.

tions were being received to assist in taking the case to the United States Supreme Court if necessary.²²

The Sheats's case produced no great courtroom drama. The Fourth Judicial Circuit Court of Florida convened in October 1896 at Green Cove Springs with Judge R. M. Call presiding. On October 21, Bisbee and Rinehart moved that the indictment against the Orange Park teachers be quashed. It should be voided, the attorneys claimed, because the title of the act was too narrow to cover its contents as it was restricted to black and white youths and the law included all blacks and whites; the law created a crime where none existed; it went beyond the police powers of the state; it abridged the natural laws of property, personal association, and contract, thus conflicting with the Fourteenth Amendment; it unlawfully discriminated against teachers, laying restrictions not placed on persons of other professions and businesses; and it was based solely on color and thereby infringed the Fourteenth Amendment. Judge Call accepted the contention that the title was not broad enough to cover the acts' contents and quashed the indictments. The case never went to jury. In the midst of the AMA annual meeting in Boston on October 22, a telegram arrived which read: "Sheats' law this day declared unconstitutional and void." The spontaneous outburst of clapping, cheering, and waving of handkerchiefs "made such a scene as is seldom witnessed in any audience." The Orange Park school was soon reopened without distinction to race or color. "This has been done in no aggressive spirit," the AMA said, "but as being simply in accordance with our privilege and under the advice of our attorney in Florida."²³

Sheats was obviously displeased with Judge Call's decision and made an impassioned plea to the 1897 legislature to close Orange Park school. He had facts, he said, to show that white attendance at the school was not confined to professors' children and the local population. White youth who were "coddled" into attending that institution needed "the protection of the strong arm of the state." No white Floridian aware that a white student

22. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, June 21, 1896; Rowland H. Rerick, *Memoirs of Florida*, 2 vols (Atlanta, Ga., 1902), I, 137-38, 441-442.

23. Copy of motion to quash indictment, October 21, 1896, in records of the Fourth Judicial Circuit of Florida, Clay County Courthouse; *New York Times*, October 23, 24, 1896; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, October 23, 1896; *American Missionary*, L (December 1896), 379, LI (February 1897), 38.

had been educated at Orange Park, Sheats added, would allow them to teach their children or become social equals. "So let us fail not to protect" white youths at Orange Park "against the social and business ostracism that await them." Just as the state had undertaken to prohibit whites from intermarriage and amalgamation "so let it act in this case." He asked the legislature to amend the 1895 act "so that this school can be compelled to close its doors to white patronage or disband."²⁴ Such a bill was passed by the house but surprisingly failed in the senate. The AMA in the *American Missionary* thanked the "many noble citizens of Florida" for this change of heart and added that it might also be under obligation to "the larger mind and longer sight" of Governor William D. Bloxham.²⁵

The legislature's failure to reenact the Sheats's law did not stop the superintendent's campaign against unsegregated education. In 1897 he reminded a supporter that the 1895 law was still in force "as no one had declared it unconstitutional but *one* circuit judge, possibly for political influence." Even without the law, he said, the Constitution prohibited mixing in public schools. The law was aimed at private and parochial schools. An 1897 trip to Milwaukee made Sheats "more determined than ever to protect the schools of Florida for all time, if it is possible, against the abominable mixed schools which I witnessed." He was especially appalled to find blacks in Milwaukee occasionally teaching white children.²⁶

Although Sheats was unable to destroy Orange Park Normal and Industrial School in 1895, he inflicted severe damage and it ultimately closed its doors. Orange Park continued to operate for a few years, but with few white students. The furor over the Sheats's law effectively intimidated most white parents. Then in 1906, Clay County began a high school at Green Cove Springs for white students, and soon thereafter a school was opened for whites at Orange Park. There was now less reason for white youths to attend the AMA school. In 1911 the Orange Park School Chapel was burned in what the AMA claimed was "a

24. *Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1896*, 51-52.

25. *American Missionary*, LI (September 1897), 213; *Florida House Journal, 1897*, 426-27, 1019.

26. Sheats to Mrs. V. P. Williams, July 17, 1897, Sheats to C. F. Kemp, September 11, 1897, Sheats to J. L. Boone, September 17, 1897, SPI Letterbook, 222-23, 400, 447-48.

vicious but unsuccessful attempt to destroy the whole plant." The main school buildings were saved, but the association was becoming discouraged about its future success at Orange Park.

In the meantime Sheats had been voted out of office. Ironically, the superintendent, who had used race prejudice so effectively to his advantage, lost the 1904 election on the same issue. In 1903 Booker T. Washington was invited to speak to a racially mixed audience at the Gainesville courthouse. Even though the crowd was segregated, Washington's presence angered many whites, and since Sheats apparently had approved the invitation, some of the venom was aimed at him. He lost the race for superintendent of public instruction in 1904.²⁷ He won again in 1912. The following year, with Sheats's support, the legislature passed a law prohibiting whites to teach "negroes in negro schools." The AMA declared the law "so shameful and vicious that no effort should be spared to have it declared unconstitutional and invalid." But national sentiment made a successful appeal unlikely. In December 1913 the AMA announced that the Orange Park Normal and Industrial School had been closed by adverse legislation, "appeal from which has not yet been made." It took eighteen years, but Sheats finally had rid Florida of the "miscegenationist school."²⁸

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27. *Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Florida for the Two Years Ending June 30, 1904* (Tallahassee, 1905), 263; *Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Florida for the Two Years Ending June 30, 1910* (Tallahassee, 1911), XLVI; *The Sixty-Fifth Annual Report of the American Missionary Association and the Proceedings at the Annual Meeting Held in Chicago, Illinois, October 17 to 19th, 1911* (New York, 1911), 16.
28. Arthur O. White, "Booker T. Washington's Florida Incident, 1903-1904," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, LI (January 1973), 230; W. N. Sheats [comp.] *Digest of the Laws of the State of Florida With the Regulations of the State Board of Education and the Instruction Forms of the Department of Education* (Tallahassee, 1915), LXXXVII; *American Missionary*, LXVII (October 1913), 409; *The Sixty-Eighth Annual Report of the American Missionary Association and the Proceedings at the Annual Meeting, Held in Providence, R. I., Oct. 20th to 22nd, 1914* (New York, 1914), 14.

STEAMBOAT ACTIVITY IN FLORIDA DURING THE SECOND SEMINOLE INDIAN WAR

by EDWARD A. MUELLER

A significant stimulus to the development of steamboat activity in Florida was the Second Seminole Indian War (1835-1842). The war was a difficult one for the United States to wage. Transportation by water played a key role. The conflict involved a substantial number of steamboats. Because of a lack of roads, they served as logical and logistical answers to military needs. Army facilities located on or near navigable waters, like the St. Johns River and its tributaries, could be supplied by steamboats. With few exceptions steamboats were primarily used for military purposes and usually did not cater to civilians. However, it was realized that there was potential for trade and transportation. Mainly the army was involved in the Indian war; the navy played only a limited role.

Military action against the Seminoles called for bases and forts from which to operate and which could also serve as places of retreat, replenishment, and rest. On the east coast, St. Augustine was a focus of military activity, and there were army posts at Fort Pierce, Fort Lauderdale, and Fort Dallas (Miami), and settlements at New Smyrna and Dunlawtown. In the interior, there were army units at Fort Brooks near Palatka and at Fort Heilman across from Garey's Ferry on Black Creek.¹ Other small settlements and military posts were at Volusia, Spring Garden, Picolata, and Mandarin.

The armed forces, in carrying out their operations against the Indians, explored about 100 miles of the St. Johns River south of (above) Lake Monroe. Bases were established at Fort Lane on Lake Harney, Fort Christmas, and Fort Taylor, the

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1. Garey's Ferry, in the vicinity of present-day Middleburg, is usually listed as Garey's Ferry, but is more correctly "Gary's Ferry." Garey's Ferry is used in this article.

latter about 100 river miles south on the St. Johns from Fort Mellon. Fort Mellon (originally located within the confines of present-day Sanford) was the main destination for steamboats traveling south of the St. Johns. Occasionally a light-draft vessel could get to Fort Lane, but travel further south required canoes, bateaux, or small craft that could be poled or rowed.

Most historical accounts of the Second Seminole War say little about the supply problems and the employment of steamboats for this purpose. Published government records provide few references. While newspapers seldom distinguished between chartered steamers on military business and "civilian" craft, they do offer important information on the role steamboats played in the war. Some contemporary accounts are also important.

In April 1834, the *Florida*, a vessel built in Savannah, began operating on the St. Johns River on a once-a-week basis.² Her upriver destination was Picolata, and from there passengers could journey overland to St. Augustine. The *Florida* continued this schedule through December 1835. As a forecasting of the future of Florida transportation, an engineer, William Parker, four assistant engineers, and fourteen laborers arrived in Jacksonville aboard the *Florida*, on December 23, 1835, to begin a survey for a railroad across the peninsula.³ Five army officers were also aboard, en route via Black Creek to Fort King near Ocala.

On January 11, 1836, the *Florida* passed the *Davenport* on the St. Johns River. The latter, from New York, was transporting fifty soldiers to Fort King. Aboard the *Florida* were Colonel J. H. McIntosh and General Duncan Clinch en route to St. Marys, Georgia, where they hoped to obtain volunteers for the defense against the Indians. On January 22, while the *Florida* was docked at Picolata, Captain Hubbard (or Hebbard) noted an Indian nearby. He fired at him and missed; he later saw three others.⁴

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2. The *Florida* was 104' by 20' by 7' 4" and of 144 tons. Data derived from extracts of newspaper entries contained in the Maritime file of the St. Augustine Historical Society, St. Augustine, Florida (hereinafter referred to as Maritime file).
 3. The railroad, running from Fernandina to Cedar Key, was completed in 1861.
 4. The war had already started on December 28, 1835, with the death of Seminole Indian agent Wiley Thompson at Fort King, and the massacre

On January 29, as the *Florida* sailed into Jacksonville, a company of soldiers on the upper deck were playing martial music. They were the Richmond (Virginia) Blues, a volunteer contingent headed for Picolata. That same day, the *John David Mongin*, Captain William Curry, master, was also in Jacksonville en route to Picolata with some 116 volunteers from Savannah aboard. The vessel had been chartered by citizens of Savannah, and the volunteers were to patrol the river and try to protect the inhabitants living along its banks.

In the meantime, the few available government maritime resources were being called into action. The survey steamer, *Essayons*, under Lieutenant Williams, was on a reconnaissance mission near Talbot Island. On January 3, 1836, responding to new orders, she picked up a flat (barge) and sailed to Amelia Island to await her new military destination.⁵

There were few available government steamers and the army sought to charter vessels rather than trying to buy or build them. Moreover, it was believed that the war would be of short duration and that this would be a more economical plan. Using steamboats would enable communications to reach Florida in less than a week from Washington. Savannah and Charleston were major points of charter for Florida-bound vessels; these ports were the intermediate transfer points for both troops and supplies. St. Augustine and posts on the St. Johns and its environs were the major destinations. Many of the vessels chartered out of Savannah had plied the Savannah River carrying cotton to Augusta.

The *Santee*, a vessel that would see much service during the war, was chartered for \$200 by a group of Charlestonians to carry their German Fusilers and Hamburg Volunteers as well as arms to St. Augustine in January 1836.⁶ Later that year General Winfield Scott evacuated sick soldiers using the *Santee*.⁷

The *George Washington* was chartered for \$1,300 in February 1836, to sail from Savannah to Picolata.⁸ Also in February, the

of Major Francis L. Dade and his command in another part of the territory. See Clarence Edwin Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers of Florida*, 26 vols. (Washington, 1934-1962), XXV, 338.

5. Ibid.

6. Arthur E. Francke, Jr., *Fort Mellon, 1837-42* (Miami, 1977), 57.

7. Ibid.

8. Ibid.

Tugalo, Captain W. D. Wray; the *Tomochichi*, Captain F. Burden; and the *Florida* were in the St. Johns area. All but the *Florida* were under charter. The *Tugalo's* charter was for a trip from Georgia to Jacksonville for \$1,800.⁹ Charter prices usually included the captain, officers, crew, and supplies for the voyage.

On February 26, 1836, General Scott and his retinue passed Jacksonville aboard the *Etiwan*, Captain John Sassard, en route to Picolata. Scott had just been appointed commander of the force against the Indians. In mid-May, the *Etiwan* arrived in St. Augustine from Charleston.¹⁰ The *Cherokee* was on the St. Johns in March, chartered for \$1,800 for a trip from Savannah to Picolata. On May 19, the *Cherokee*, under Captain Fenn Peck, arrived from Black Creek with Major Cooper's battalion of Georgia volunteers.¹¹ The *Florida* was also under charter by the army the next month for \$1,200.¹²

On May 12, the St. Augustine *Florida Herald* reported that three vessels had arrived from Charleston within one week's time: the *John Stoney*, Captain William Curry, via the St. Marys; the *Etiwan*, Captain John Sassard, via the St. Marys; and the *Dolphin*, Captain James Pennoyer. The *John Stoney* had been built in New York in 1830 by the firm of Westervelt and Mackey with the help of C. Bergh.¹³

In late June, the *Florida* was reported as having towed a dredge from Savannah to Amelia where she was to be employed along with several flats.¹⁴ The *Cherokee* made other charter ventures in May. For instance, she had been engaged at a rate of \$192 per day to make a trip between Savannah and Picolata.¹⁵ As part of the "shuttle service" offered by chartered steamboats, the *John Stoney* arrived at St. Augustine from Garey's Ferry in mid-July 1836.

The *Essayons*, Captain Peck, was involved in a rescue mission in mid-July. Sailing out of Black Creek, a Colonel Hallows,

9. *American State Papers*, 38 vols. (Washington, 1832-1861), *Military Affairs*, VII, 996.

10. Maritime file.

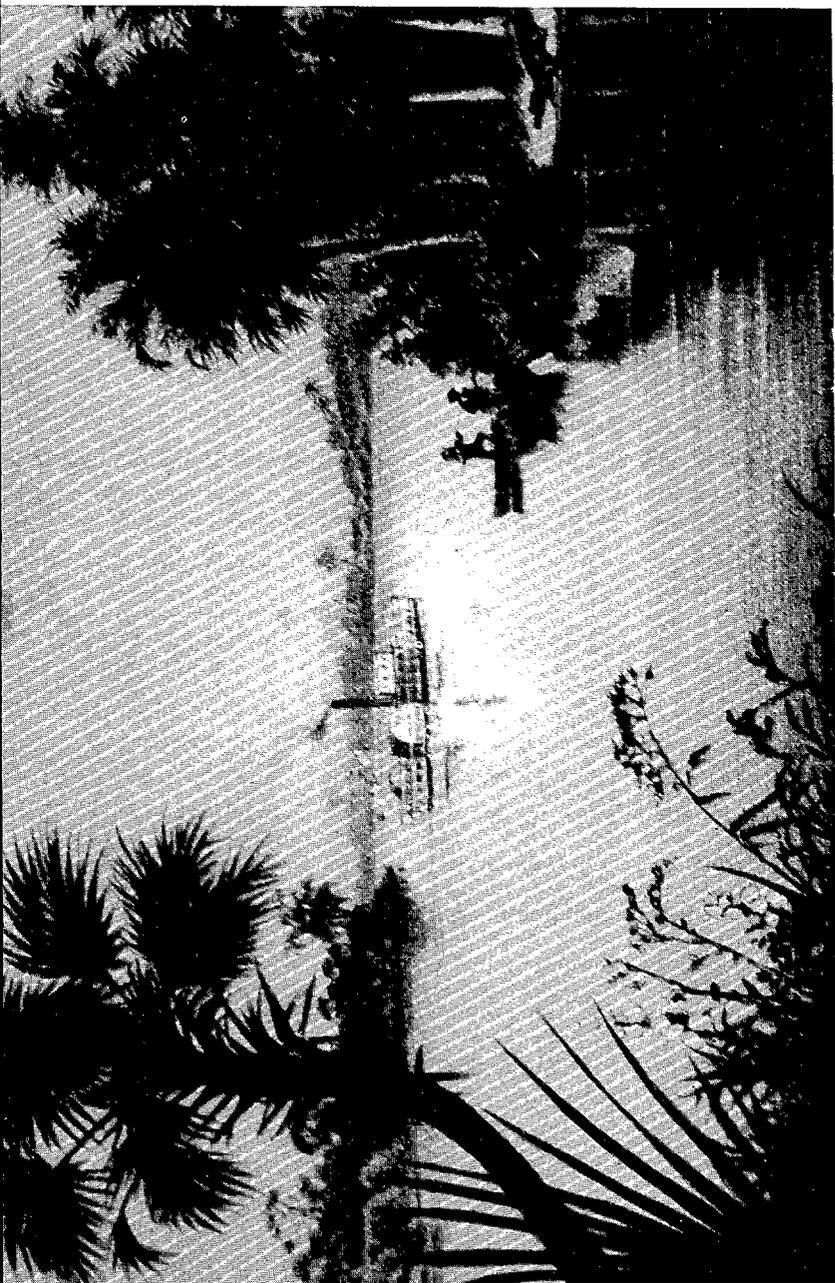
11. Ruby Rahn, *River Highway for Travel—The Savannah* (Savannah, 1969), A6.

12. *American State Papers*, VII, 996-97.

13. The *John Stoney* was 112' 9" by 22' 3" by 6' 7" and of 155 tons. Vessel dimension and tonnage data are derived from records in the National Archives, Washington, D.C., and from contemporary newspapers.

14. Carter, *Territorial Papers*, XXV, 337-38.

15. *American State Papers*, VII, 996.



This vessel is supposedly the *George Washington*, which visited Jacksonville in 1829. Photograph is courtesy of William Dreggors, Jr., DeLand, Florida.

whose plantation had been attacked by the Seminoles, came aboard. He had been wounded in the skull but, along with some of his slaves, had managed to escape in a small boat, crossing Black Creek amidst a shower of shot from the Indians. Later, Captain Peck returned with the *Essayons* to Hallowes's plantation where he loaded on the remaining slaves. The *Essayons* also touched at Picolata, and two weeks later, while en route to Black Creek sailed past Hallowes's plantation, which now was a smoking ruin. Captain Peck was proceeding toward Garey's Ferry and Fort Heilman when he discovered some Indians and fired at them. Shortly afterwards, while at Picolata, the *Essayons* towed a flat across the river to Bayard. It contained Lieutenant Herbert who, with fifteen men and horses, was going from St. Augustine to Garey's Ferry. The following evening the *Essayons* moved five miles further up Black Creek, wooded up, and remained until daylight, before moving towards the mouth of the creek. Meanwhile, Lieutenant Herbert's command, including some wounded, returned to the *Essayons*. Peck and his crew covered their boarding, firing on the Seminoles with six rifles. The Indians retaliated by firing some twenty rounds into the *Essayons*.¹⁶ The *Essayons* had been named after the motto of the United States Corps of Engineers; she was one of the few government steamers in the war. Her career is not well known; she may have been broken up as early as 1839, when, according to one source, "surplus" metal from her had been sold.¹⁷

In the spring of 1836, Captain James Pennoyer was running his *Dolphin* from Charleston to St. Augustine. She made at least one trip per month in March, April, July, October, and November. In November 1836, the *Dolphin* rescued the United States brig *Porpoise* and helped transport seventy-eight wounded and invalids of the Tennessee Brigade from the Garey's Ferry area. The previous month she had made frequent trips between St. Augustine and Garey's Ferry.¹⁸ The *Dolphin* was a copper-fastened two-masted steam schooner that utilized both sails and side-paddle wheels. She traveled between Charleston and St. Augustine until April 1835, then to Norfolk from Charleston, and to Havana, Cuba, in August 1835. The *Dolphin* could carry

16. John Lee Williams, *Territory of Florida* (New York, 1837; facsimile ed., Gainesville, 1962), 248-50.

17. Francke, *Fort Mellon*, 57.

18. Maritime file. The *Dolphin* was 115' by 16' by 7'.

some fifty passengers; she had a low pressure engine and a heavy copper boiler which had been built by James Allaire of New York.

In September 1835 the *Santee* was chartered for \$1,000 for a trip between Savannah and Garey's Ferry.¹⁹ The *Charleston*, starting in late October 1836, under Captains Bonnell and King, made several trips, most of them charters, to Black Creek, St. Augustine, and Volusia. Her activity seems to have continued for about a year.²⁰ In January 1837, the *Charleston* transported South Carolina militia to Florida, and on March 16, 1837, under Captain John Bonnell, she arrived in Savannah with the news that a treaty had been concluded with Chief Jumper and other Seminoles.²¹ In early May, the *Charleston* brought information from Black Creek concerning affairs at Lake Monroe.²² Later that month she made two trips to Volusia.²³ In July 1837, she made a round trip from Black Creek to St. Augustine.²⁴ There were also trips to Garey's Ferry—two in August, two in September, and one in October.²⁵ The *Charleston* had been built in 1836 in Charleston; her original owners were Captain Bonnell and Daniel G. Ioye.

The *James Boatwright* was chartered in October for a trip from Charleston to Garey's Ferry.²⁶ Early the following month, the *Forrester*, Captain J. E. Dillion, en route from Charleston and Savannah, delivered a cargo of some fifty horses to the military in Florida. During General Richard Keith Call's first campaign, he directed the commander at Fort Heilman to forward provisions to the head of Lake George. Accordingly, the *John Stoney* and the *Charleston*, loaded with stores and towing two schooners, were dispatched. They remained a week or so at the south end of Lake George, and when the army returned to Fort Drane the steamers travelled to Black Creek.²⁷

19. *American State Papers*, VII, 995.

20. Data typescript of vessel information compiled by Ruby Rahn, in the possession of the present author (hereinafter referred to as Rahn typescript).

21. *Savannah Georgian*, March 16, 1837.

22. *Daily National Intelligencer*, May 16, 1837, quoting the *Southern Patriot*, May 12, 1837. The *Charleston* was 120' by 24' by 8' 9" and of 205 tons, with one deck, one mast, and a scroll head.

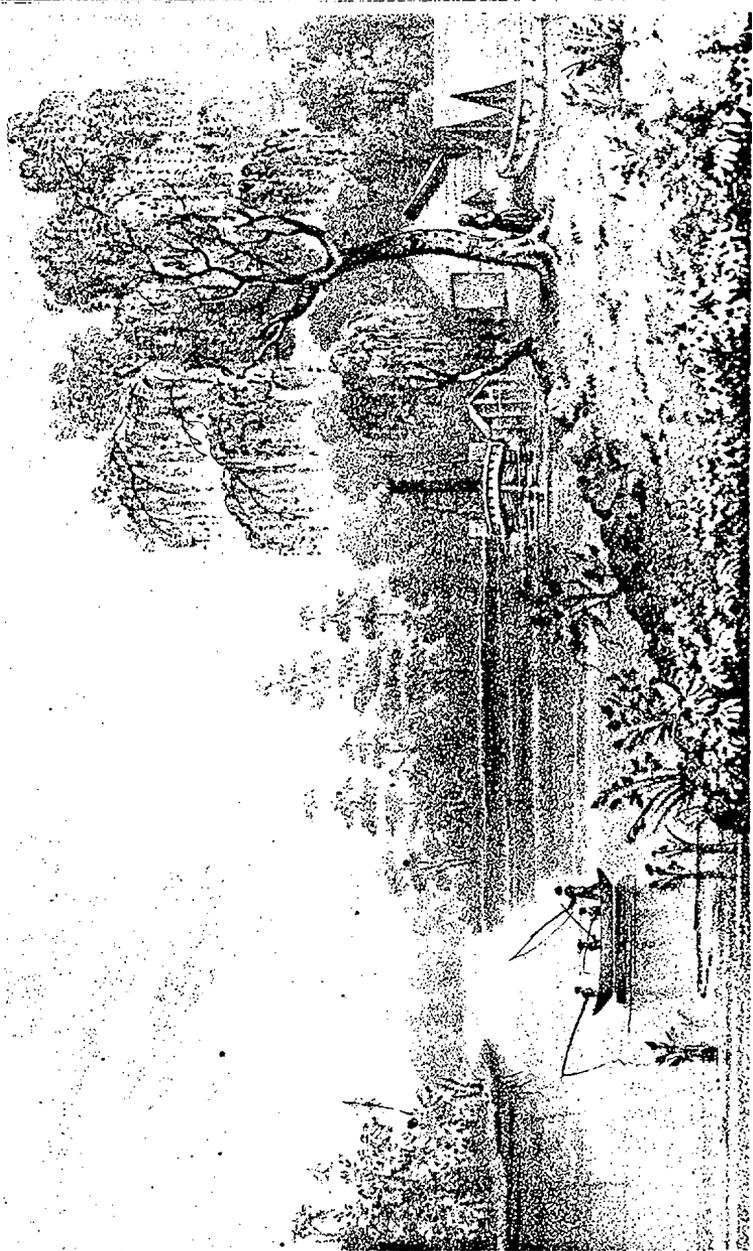
23. Rahn typescript.

24. Maritime file.

25. *Ibid.*

26. *Ibid.*

27. *American State Papers*, VII, 996; Rahn typescript. The *Dolphin* was 115' by



Early sidewheel steamboat at St. Johns River landing. Photograph from *Territory of Florida*, by John Lee Williams.

Descriptions of these early vessels and plans or drawings are relatively scarce. When the *Etiwan* was being sold in late 1836, she was described in a contemporary newspaper: "She is well and substantially built, coppered and copper fastened, her dimensions are 100 feet in length of deck, 18 feet beam and 6 feet 6 inches hold. She has heavy copper boilers, and a splendid low pressure engine of 90 horsepower from the celebrated house of Fawsett, Preston, and Company of Liverpool. Her cabin is mostly fitted up for passengers and amply supplied with furniture, bedding, etc. The bar and cooking utensils are also complete. She is likewise well found in anchors, cables, etc., a square sail and fore and aft awning, a copper riveted leather hose, with copper discharging pipe eminently useful in case of fire. There is also attached to her a Yawl and Quarter Boat, the last being copper fashioned. At the same time will be sold the hands that belong to her, viz., Jack the pilot; Dave, the fireman; Nat, a fireman who can work the engine; Joe and Ben, deck hands."²⁸

An accident in December 1836 at the St. Johns River bar ended the *Dolphin's* career. A report, published first in the *Charleston Mercury*, was quoted in a Tallahassee paper: "On Saturday last, 19th inst., about 4 o'clock in the afternoon, the Steam Packet *Dolphin*, Capt. Rudolph, off St. John's Bar, stopped to take a Pilot on board, and in the act of starting the engine the boiler burst, and unfortunately killed fifteen persons. The *Santee* was lying at anchor inside the bar, and saw the explosion take place, whereupon she raised steam and proceeded for the wreck. When within about a half mile of the wreck met a pilot boat off [the] Bar, having on board, Col. Brown, lady, three children and servant, Mrs. Gibbs and son, and Capt. Rudolph; at the same time picked up one of the *Dolphin's* boats, with three men belonging to her and one of the St. John's Pilots. On the arrival of the *Santee* at the wreck, she took off Dr. Martin, U.S.A., and Messrs, Waldron and Donaldson. The small boat of the *Santee* was then sent to a man who had drifted about a mile on a piece of timber, from the wreck, and while getting him on board the boat, another person was discovered about 150 yards from them, with his head just above water, who proved to be

16' by 7', and was built in New York in early 1835. Williams, *Territory of Florida*, 260.

28. Maritime file.

Colonel Dell of Jacksonville, slightly wounded, much exhausted, and succeeded in saving him. It getting dark, the *Santee* returned inside the bar with [the survivors]. . . . The *Dolphin* sunk in four fathoms of water.²⁹

Among those killed in the accident were a Colonel Brooks and a Lieutenant Alexander MacKay, a daughter of Colonel Brown, engineers Beauy and Eldree, mate Barnabas Luce (from Rochester, Massachusetts), the St. Johns bar pilot Kemory (noted in some accounts as Kimmy), two deck hands, three stewards, and three blacks. The survivors included Captain Rudolph, a stewardess, and four deck hands, one of whom was badly scalded. There were about thirty passengers aboard at the time. Captain James Pennoyer, the owner, valued the *Dolphin* at \$25,000, and noted that he had only \$5,000 insurance. On March 5, 1837, the bodies of two men, the pilot, Captain Kemory, and Lieutenant MacKay, were found on the beach, three or four miles south of the St. Johns bar. MacKay's gold watch was still in his pocket. It was believed that a strong wind blew over part of the *Dolphin's* wreckage which dislodged the two bodies. Lieutenant MacKay was buried at St. Augustine with military honors.³⁰

The *Florida* continued making trips to Florida in 1837, both on sporadic civilian ventures to Jacksonville, and on military assignments, mainly to St. Augustine. In the spring of 1837 the *Florida* ran to Mosquito Inlet (New Smyrna) with General Joseph Hernandez aboard. In May she made at least two voyages to Savannah from St. Augustine and may have also touched along the St. Johns. She was on a military charter from March 16 to August 21 at a rate of \$3,000 per month.³¹

Other steamers seeing service in Florida in 1837, usually on charters for the military, were the *Camden*, *Cherokee*, *Cincinnati*, *Duncan McRae*, *Forrester*, *Free Trade*, *James Adams*, *John McLean*, *Richmond*, and *Santee*. The *Camden's* first owner was F. I. Kerr.³² The *Cincinnati's* original owners were Oliver P. Hilliard, Jordan Brooks, and Jeremiah Smith. In 1837 she made at least two trips

29. *Tallahassee Floridian*, December 13, 1836.

30. *Jacksonville Courier*, March 23, 1837.

31. *American State Papers*, VII, 995.

32. Maritime file. The *Camden* was 113' by 16' 3" by 4' 10" and of 169 gross, 103 net tons, according to vessel enrollment data provided by the National Archives. Summary form courtesy of Forrest Holdcamper.

from Charleston and one from Savannah to St. Augustine, the latter under Captain William Curry.³³ In February 1838, Captain Horace Brooks sailed the *Cincinnati* to St. Augustine from Charleston.³⁴

The *Cherokee* (189 tons), built in Savannah in 1835, was chartered for \$1,125 per trip in August 1837, for travel between Jacksonville and Garey's Ferry.³⁵ The *Duncan McRae* (215 tons) was built in Wilmington, North Carolina, in 1837. In March she was chartered for \$2,500 to transport military horses from Augusta, Georgia, to Garey's Ferry. Another voyage was made for \$2,300, and there were trips in April and May. It was the *Duncan McRae* under Captain S. Philbrick which brought the news to Savannah from Black Creek of the negotiations with Seminole Chief Micanopy.³⁶ The *Free Trade* (195 tons) was built in 1833 in Charleston for G. B. Lamar, who also owned the Iron Steamboat Company. She made three trips— March, April, and May— under Captain Creswell from Black Creek to Savannah. The *John McLean*, built at Charleston in 1837, was chartered for the month of August for \$4,000.³⁷ The *Richmond* (226 tons), built in Baltimore by Gardner and Company, with an engine built by Charles Reeder, was chartered for \$2,400 in March 1837 for the voyage from Augusta to Garey's Ferry.³⁸

In addition to the charters, the *Santee*, *Camden*, and *Cincinnati* were frequently used by the military along the St. Johns. One incident was reported in the *St. Augustine Florida Herald*: "On Monday evening last a quarrel took place between the cook and steward of the *Santee* and a scuffle ensued which resulted in the steward being knocked overboard and drowned. Every effort was undertaken to save him. The cook is in custody."³⁹

The St. Augustine paper also reported on the aftermath of a gale: "At St. Marys we understand that much damage was done . . . the steamboat *Florida* which was lying at the wharf, had her side broken in. An iron steamboat was blown ashore at

33. Ibid. The *Cincinnati* was 12' 1" by 23' 6" by 8' and of 207 tons.

34. Maritime file.

35. Ibid. The *Cherokee* was of 189 tons.

36. *Savannah Georgian*, March 28, 1837.

37. The *John McLean* was 120' by 22' by 7' 4" and of 133 tons, according to vessel enrollment data provided by the National Archives.

38. The *Richmond* was 126' by 26' by 7' 11" and of 226 tons, according to vessel enrollment data provided by the National Archive, and *American State Papers*, VII, 995.

39. *St. Augustine Florida Herald*, June 29, 1837.

Amelia narrows. Another steamboat was blown ashore near Fernandina. . . the steamboat *Charleston* was blown ashore at the mouth of the St. Johns River but was afterward got off without injury.⁴⁰ Captain Nock took over as the new master of the *Florida* in the fall of 1837. In November 1837, the *Florida* made a voyage between Mosquito Inlet and St. Augustine. On December 18, she sailed under command of Captain Electus Backus for Black Creek with 194 recruits, arriving there December 22.⁴¹

In June 1837, the 169-ton *Camden* went aground at the Lake George bar on the St. Johns and had to transfer her troops to the *Essayons*, which had a more shallow draft.⁴² In November, the *Camden* was guarding a dredgeboat which was clearing the "bar" obstructing the head of Lake George.⁴³ In late 1837 the *Santee*, Captain Horace Brooks, and the *John McLean* were sent on an exploring expedition along the upper St. Johns. The *Santee* had heavy bulwarks around her deck and a six-pounder cannon on her bow to be ready in the event of any trouble with the Indians.⁴⁴ The *John Stoney* was often on the river on business for the military. In December 1837, the *Camden*, Captain Mills, and the *James Adams*, Captain Chase, arrived in Savannah from the St. Johns River with news of the surrender of several Seminoles.⁴⁵ The *Ocamulgee* also touched at St. Augustine from Savannah that same month.⁴⁶

The following year, 1838, was an active one for the military in their operations against the elusive Seminoles. As action moved south and west, the St. Johns area decreased in importance. St. Augustine, however, continued to be a principal base of operations. In January 1838, several vessels docked at St. Augustine: *Ocamulgee*, under military charter from Savannah; the steamer *Poinsett*, Captain James Trathen; *Cincinnati*, Captain Horace Brooks; and *Richmond*, Captain W. H. Jones, from Mos-

40. Ibid., August 12, 1837.

41. Electus Backus, "Diary of a Campaign in Florida in 1837-38," *Historical Magazine* (September 1866), 279.

42. Francke, *Fort Mellon*, 52.

43. *Savannah Georgian*, December 12, 1837.

44. Francke, *Fort Mellon*, 54. The *John McLean* was 120' by 22' by 7' 4" and of 133 tons, according to enrollment data provided by the National Archives.

45. Maritime file.

46. Ibid.

quito Inlet. The *Camden* arrived in March from Charleston; and *William Gaston*, Captain King; *Charleston*, Captain Hubbard; and *Poinsett* stopped en route from the Indian River. The *Giraffe*, Captain Swiler, a 337-ton New York-built vessel of 1838 vintage, also docked in May from Charleston. The *Charleston*, Captain Hubbard, sailed a Charleston-Savannah-Garey's Ferry or Black Creek circuit in 1838; between April and November she made at least nine such trips.⁴⁷ In December 1838, *William Gaston* visited St. Augustine, often sailing to and from Savannah, Black Creek, and the St. Johns.⁴⁸ The *Ocamulgee*, an 1836 Charleston-built vessel, was a 265-ton sidewheeler.⁴⁹ The federally-owned *Poinsett* was almost identical in basic dimensions to the *Ocamulgee*. She had been constructed in New York as *New Brighton* but had been sold to the war department before she was documented.⁵⁰

On January 17, 1838, the *Santee*, while proceeding in a thick fog from Savannah to Florida, collided with the *Darien* in St. Catherine's Sound. The *Darien* quickly sank and part of her deck was under water. There was no casualties, and the *Santee* was able to continue. When the sloop *Othello* arrived on the scene, she transferred 169 bales of cotton from the *Darien* which were carried to Savannah.⁵¹ In March 1838, the *Charleston* arrived in St. Augustine from the Indian River. Two weeks later she was listed as having arrived at St. Augustine from Savannah.⁵² In early May, *Forrester*, Captain M. H. Drake, transported three companies of new troops from Garey's Ferry north to Savannah.⁵³

The 113-ton steamboat *John McLean* was lost while on charter to the army. On November 15, 1838, she became stranded on the bar at the entrance to Mosquito Inlet. About sunset the tide and breakers pushed her ashore. The vessel was a total loss although all on board came ashore. The *Santee* several days later rescued the stranded crew and troops and took them to St. Augustine, arriving there on November 18, 1838. Some of the

47. Rahn typescript.

48. Maritime file.

49. Ibid. The *Ocamulgee* was 132' by 25' 10" by 8' 3" and of 265 tons.

50. Ibid. The *Poinsett* was 132' 10" by 22' 2" by 8' 2" and of 250 tons.

51. *Journal of Commerce*, January 11, 1838.

52. Maritime file.

53. Ibid.

ship's machinery was also salvaged and brought to St. Augustine by the *Santee*.

In December 1838, *William Gaston*, Captain John Freeland, was operating between Savannah, New Smyrna, and the St. Johns River area on military assignments. The *Charleston* arrived in St. Augustine on December 11 from Black Creek and Jacksonville and made a return trip two days later.⁵⁴ The *Florida*, Captain Nock, returned to her regular Savannah-St. Johns route around the first of December 1838. The *St. Augustine News*, December 1, reported: "We are grateful to learn that the steamer *Florida* has commenced running from Savannah to Picolata. This is to us a great benefit as the steamboats in governmental control are not allowed to afford any facilities to civilians."⁵⁵

The *Poinsett* and other privately-owned steamboats which were under charter to the military continued to be chartered throughout 1839. These included *Santee*; *William Gaston*; *Thomas Salmond*, Captain Frederick; *Southerner*, Captain A. Chase; *Forrester*, Captain M. H. Drake and Captain E. D. Wambersie; *Ivanhoe*, Captain Bailey; and *Isis*, Captain John Pearson. The 148-ton *Forrester* had been-built at Savannah in 1836; the *Ivanhoe*, 127 tons, was built in Savannah in 1839.

In January 1839, the *Santee*, Captain Josiah Poinsett, carried troops from Black Creek to St. Augustine. She made at least three trips between Key Biscayne, St. Augustine, and Black Creek in March; three voyages in May between Indian River, St. Augustine, and Black Creek; and in July she travelled between St. Augustine and Key Biscayne, Key West, and Tampa.⁵⁶ The *Poinsett*, Captain James Trathen, was in St. Augustine at least seven times during this period, going to and from Black Creek, Key Biscayne, and Savannah. She also made one trip to St. Augustine from Charleston in early March 1839.⁵⁷ In May 1839, *Thomas Salmond*, Captain Frederick, arrived in St. Augustine from Savannah carrying government stores and then continued on to Black Creek. In August she logged a trip from Black Creek to Key Biscayne.

The *William Gaston*, a sidewheeler built in 1837 by James Poyas in Charleston, had one deck, one mast, no galleries, a

54. Ibid.

55. *St. Augustine News*, December 1, 1838.

56. Maritime file.

57. Ibid.

sloop stern, and a manbust figurehead.⁵⁸ Her original owner was Oliver P. Hilliard, and her master was William Curry. The *William Gaston* was in St. Augustine often in 1839, docking there at least eleven times. She also stopped at Black Creek, New Smyrna, Indian River, Key Biscayne, Key West, and Havana.⁵⁹ In late October, under Captain Josiah Poinsett, she arrived in St. Augustine from Key Biscayne carrying army troops and passengers, one of whom was Colonel William Selby Harney. Captain Poinsett then returned to Key Biscayne for fuel and made a harbor entrance at Cape Canaveral because of severe weather.

The *Isis*, Captain Freeland, was built by Brown and Bell in New York and her engine was by James P. Allaire.⁶⁰ She arrived in St. Augustine on February 15, 1839, from Black Creek, and the following month, while en route from Key Biscayne to Black Creek, *Isis*, again touched at St. Augustine. In May of the previous year, the *Isis*, under Captain Craig, had visited Indian River.⁶¹

In January 1839, a St. Augustine paper reported: "*Florida*, Captain Nock, has started regular passage between Savannah and St. Augustine, alternating each week with Picolata. Persons at a distance may now be assured as well as invalids of a residence in our climate and of a speedy transit on their arrival in Savannah in a very comfortable and handsome boat and under the command of a gentlemanly Captain."⁶² Contemporary records indicate this schedule continued at least through March of 1839. Later that year, perhaps during the slack summer months, the *Florida* was lengthened by some eighteen feet and her tonnage was increased approximately twenty-eight tons.

The *Charleston* in 1839, sailing mainly out of Garey's Ferry, was extensively involved with the army. In mid-June she was in Savannah with a company of militia en route to New York. On a second trip that month she had two dragoon companies— 113 men— aboard under Captain Bryant. Captains Love and Hubbard served as masters during the year. At least thirteen trips were made between Savannah and Black Creek in 1839.⁶³ One

58. Ibid. The *William Gaston* was 120' by 18' by 7' and of 161 tons.

59. Ibid.

60. Ibid. The *Isis* was 100.3' by 7' and of 120 tons.

61. Ibid.

62. *St. Augustine News*, January 1839.

63. Rahn typescript.

St. Augustine newspaper reported: "The steamer *Florida* runs once a week from Savannah to Picolata . . . and returns touching at the intervening places of Brunswick, St. Marys, Jacksonville, and Black Creek. This boat gets high credit for . . . comfort and expedition."⁶⁴ The *Cincinnati*, Captain William Curry, touched at St. Augustine twice in August, once from the St. Johns and once from Biscayne Bay. She also put in at Black Creek. In December, the *Cincinnati*, Captain Smith, touched at St. Augustine en route to Savannah from Black Creek.⁶⁵

A problem of steamboats in sparsely populated areas, especially those chartered to the military, was "wooding up" (finding wood for fuel). In peacetime, civilians residing along the river sold wood fuel, and the boats loaded the logs as needed. Under wartime conditions fuel was scarce; many civilians had fled and the rest tried to keep under cover. Some soldiers at Fort Heilman tried to solve this problem while also earning some extra income. A court martial in June 1839 at Heilman revealed that men were cutting and hauling wood, selling it to the chartered steamboats, usually at a price less than the prevailing one, and pocketing the proceeds. The government-owned *Essayons* once brought a small quantity of wood paid for with quartermaster's draught. The court ruled that the fuel was necessary and cleared the men, ruling that there had been no improprieties since the work had occurred on off-duty time. Officials in Washington disagreed with the court's findings but did not order any further proceedings. The secretary of war was directed to forbid this activity in the future.⁶⁶

The *Forrester* was on army duty at least twice in June 1839. In mid-June she transported dragoons of Company K under Lieutenant Darling from Garey's Ferry to Savannah, and from there to New York. A week later, *Forrester*, Captain M. H. Drake, took a company of dragoons, sixty-two men under Lieutenant Saunders, from Garey's Ferry to Savannah where they were to proceed on to New York.⁶⁷

64. *St. Augustine Herald*, April 4, 1839.

65. Rahn typescript.

66. *Ibid.* See also Frank White, Jr., ed., "Macomb's Mission to the Seminoles: John T. Sprague's Journal Kept During April and May, 1839," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXXV (October 1956), 130-93.

67. Summary of court martial document dated November 1839, Colonel Gates, president, formerly in the possession of Dr. Mark Boyd, Tallahassee, Florida.

The following extract from an 1839 Florida paper provides information about one week's traffic between Savannah and Jacksonville: Arrived in Jacksonville from Savannah-October 7, *Forrester*, Wambersie; October 9, *Florida*, Nock; October 11, *Cincinnati*, Smith; October 12, *Ivanhoe*, Bailey. Departed Jacksonville for Savannah-October 8, *Forrester*, Wambersie; October 10, *Florida*, Nock.⁶⁸

In the fall of 1839, a group of St. Augustine citizens and Charleston merchants planned to run the *Southerner* regularly between the two communities. They felt that the few vessels sailing between the two ports would not be as satisfactory as a regularly-scheduled steamboat. A newspaper advertised, "Direct communication between St. Augustine and Charleston by steamboat once a week. Stops at Savannah as passengers offer. New and superior steamer *Southerner* having been purchased . . . for the purpose of running her regular. Invalids, visitors and the general public are notified she will commence trips October 15th regularly and continuously without stop through the year. Leaves Charleston, Tuesday 9 a.m. after the Wilmington boat arrives. Leaves St. Augustine Friday, 9 a.m. This is a new boat and for speed and safety as well as comfort in all her appointments will not be surpassed by any boat in the South and having been purchased expressly for this route, travelers may rely on permanence and punctuality of arrival."⁶⁹ Most steamboat advertisements stressed permanence and punctuality, yet nothing seemed more subject to change.

The passenger ticket on the *Southerner* from St. Augustine to Charleston was \$15.00 for adults, \$10.00 for servants, and \$7.50 for children under the age of ten. The *Southerner* had been completed in 1839 at Charleston, made her first run in late April 1839, and apparently was not in operation the rest of the summer.⁷⁰ Beginning in October 1839, Captain Budd ran her regularly until April 1840. There is record of at least one trip in December 1840, and a voyage to the Mobile (Alabama) area in November 1841 by Captain Wambersie.⁷¹

Competition to the *Southerner* came with the launching of the *Charles Downing* in St. Augustine, probably the first steamer

68. Rahn, *River Highway*, 12.

69. *East Florida Advocate*, Jacksonville, October 12, 1839.

70. *St. Augustine News*, August 17, 1839.

71. The *Southerner* was 120' by 20' 9" by 7' 7" and of 178 tons.

ever built in East Florida. In November 1838, it was reported that the keel of a small steamboat had been laid in "North City and a portion of the ribs are already in place." Two weeks later it was indicated that this vessel was named the *Mechanic*. Nothing further was reported on the *Mechanic*, however, and it is probable that she became the *Charles Downing*. It was also noted in November 1838, that "Captain Whiteman of Jacksonville contemplates building a vessel (there) of 120 tons. It is a matter of surprise that the effort was not made before, when all the advantages of location and facility of obtaining materials are considered."⁷²

On November 16, 1839, as the *Charles Downing* was being launched she became stuck on the ways.⁷³ Fortunately the *Poinsett* had just arrived and helped pull her off. Two months earlier the *Poinsett*, Commander Isaac Mayo, had helped get the *William Gaston*, Captain Poinsett, "off the beach" near Fort Lauderdale. Commander Mayo reported "[I] do believe but for our assistance she would have been lost."⁷⁴

The *Charles Downing*, under Captains Dent and Houston, began service from St. Augustine to Savannah in February 1840, and maintained regular service throughout that year. Several trips were also made to the St. Johns area. She may not have run for a period in the summer of 1840, but was operating again on a regular basis the remainder of 1840, and in 1841 until mid-September. Then she evidently was chartered by the military as the destinations changed to places such as "Southern Posts" and New Smyrna. She was back on the Savannah-St. Augustine route toward the end of 1841 and early 1842. On occasion she also went to Palatka and New Smyrna.⁷⁵ Captains for some of the voyages during this latter period were Pitcher, Allen, and Hitchcock.⁷⁶ The *Florida* was removed from her St.

72. Maritime file.

73. *St. Augustine News*, November 3, 17, 1838. The *Charles Downing* was 96' by 18' by 7' and of 112 tons. She was built by Henry Wharton and her first skipper was Captain James Dent. Charles Downing was a prominent territorial legislator who had emigrated to Florida from Virginia in 1826. He served as a registrar for the land office for several years and as a member of the Florida Legislative Council and as a delegate to Congress for the territory of Florida.

74. Maritime file.

75. *Ibid.*

76. *Ibid.*

Johns service in July 1840 for repairs, and it was announced that she would not resume regular trips until the fall. The *Charles Downing*, Captain Dent, took her place in the interim.⁷⁷

St. Augustine was served regularly in 1840, many of the vessels bringing in building supplies as the community experienced a period of prosperity. Army-chartered steamboats – *William Gaston*, Captain Poinsett; *Cincinnati*, Captain Smith; *St. Matthews*, Captain Frederick; *Santee*; and the *DeRosset*, Captain H. Lightburn – touched at St. Augustine from Garey's Ferry, Key Biscayne, Tampa, and "posts south."⁷⁸

The *DeRosset* was an iron steamboat, built in sections in England by John Laird, then taken apart and shipped to Baltimore for reassembly by Langley B. Culley, a shipbuilder. He was assisted by Watchman and Bratt who operated the Vulcan Iron Works. The boilers were also built in Baltimore, probably at the Vulcan Iron Works. The *DeRosset* was built for G. B. Lamar of Savannah.

The *St. Matthews*, Captain Frederick, made a May 1841 trip from Charleston to Tampa, touching also at St. Augustine.⁷⁹ In February and March 1841, the *Cincinnati*, Captains Frederick and Smith, touched at St. Augustine at least three times while going between ports such as Black Creek, "southern posts," Key Biscayne, and Jacksonville.⁸⁰ In May 1840, *William Gaston* arrived at St. Augustine with Lieutenant Colonel William Selby Harney aboard. He had been recuperating from "excessive fatigues, hardships and privations incident to the arduous duties entailed [during his service in Florida] by visiting Cuba."⁸¹

In 1840 *William Gaston* was on a regular schedule from Black Creek to "southern posts" touching at St. Augustine en route. There were three trips in January, one in February, one in March, three in April, two in May, one in July, one to Savannah in October 1840, and four in November and December.⁸² From January to June 1841, under Captain Barden, *William Gaston* was sailing between Savannah and points south, frequently touching at St. Augustine. Two trips were made in January, two

77. *Jacksonville Courier*, July 20, 1840.

78. Maritime file. The *DeRosset* was of 186 tons.

79. *Ibid.*

80. *Ibid.*

81. *Ibid.*

82. *Ibid.*

in February, three in March, and two each in April, May, and June.⁸³

In August, under Captain Gomez, *William Gaston* made two round trips between St. Augustine and points south. One voyage, under Captain Griffin was between South Florida, St. Augustine, and Savannah in September, and another trip under Captain Henry was made the following month. In November a voyage was made to Fort Pierce from St. Augustine and two from St. Augustine to southern posts; in December, two trips were recorded between St. Augustine and southern points.⁸⁴ On one of the May voyages Pinckney Simms, a fireman, fell overboard and was drowned.

In mid-August 1840, the *Forrester*, Captain Wray, made a trip to St. Augustine from Savannah and returned there a few days later.⁸⁵ In October 1840, the *Charleston* arrived in St. Augustine from Savannah with military personnel aboard.⁸⁶ In December 1840, on at least two occasions, she docked in Savannah with a small cargo of Sea Island cotton.⁸⁷ In October 1840, the *General Clinch*, Captain Horace Brooks, stopped first at St. Augustine with troops from Savannah, and then continued on to Palatka. In February 1841, the *General Clinch* made a round trip between Palatka, St. Augustine, and Savannah.⁸⁸ In June, July, and August 1840, the *Santee* made at least seven trips between Black Creek, St. Augustine, and southern posts.⁸⁹ In January, February, and March 1841, the *Charleston* made her monthly journeys to Florida from Savannah, usually returning with Sea Island cotton.⁹⁰ In November 1841, the *DeRosset*, Captain H. Lightburn, sailed from Black Creek to Tampa.⁹¹

Hazard, Florida, located at the mouth of the St. Johns River, was described in March 1841, as a "rapidly progressing town . . . It does bid fair . . . to hold a conspicuous place in East Florida." Local citizens petitioned the federal government to have the customs house moved from Jacksonville to their own community

83. Ibid.

84. *St. Augustine Herald and Southern Democrat*, May 22, 1840.

85. Maritime file.

86. Ibid.

87. Rahn typescript.

88. Maritime file. The *General Clinch* was 131' by 24' by 8' 8" and of 256 tons.

89. Ibid.

90. Rahn typescript.

91. Maritime file.

so that vessels could file the necessary papers and proceed directly to Palatka without further delay. The residents of Hazard claimed that "Jacksonville has no *back country* to contribute to her support and real estate [there] is rapidly decreasing in value."⁹² Their request to have the customs house moved was denied, but that did not deter the determined citizens of Hazard. They wanted to try again to move the customs house and persuaded some people in Palatka and Black Creek to support them. This request went forth in February 1842, but it was again turned down. Still undeterred they mobilized for a third attempt. A petition was sent to Congress asking not only for the customs house but also for a fort at the river mouth and a military hospital. Nothing, however, came of any of these requests.⁹³

Throughout 1841 *Charles Downing* traveled frequently between Savannah and St. Augustine, probably on civilian business. On April 9, she was in St. Augustine, her flags at half mast, because of the death of President William Henry Harrison. In March a new government steamer was in service. A Baltimore newspaper noted: "The United States steamer *Col. Harney*, built in this place, under the supervision of Captain D. S. Miles, Assistant Quarter Master, left yesterday for Pilatka [*sic*]. East Florida, via Norfolk, Charleston, and Savannah. The *Colonel H.* has been detained some days in consequence of the state of the weather; but the captain determined to proceed yesterday, notwithstanding this threatening appearance. This boat is commanded by Captain John Pearson, and crew consists of 1 mate, 2 engineers, 3 firemen, 1 cook and 5 deckhands; and from the powers which she exhibited when tried in our bay, it is supposed she will reach her destination, including stoppages, in 5 1/2 or 6 days. Captain D. S. Miles is a passenger on board for Florida."⁹⁴ The *Col. Harney* was *Col. William S. Harney*, built by Langley B. Culley for the quartermaster corps. Her paddlewheel engines had been manufactured by Amos and Charles Reeder who had an iron works adjacent to Watchman and Bratt's in Baltimore. The army planned to use the *Harney* to help protect Florida's live oak timber preserves.

92. Carter, *Territorial Papers*, XXV, 279-81.

93. *Ibid.*, 429.

94. *Baltimore American and Commercial Daily Advertiser*, March 20, 1841. The *Colonel William S. Harney* was of 250 tons.

In early September 1841, *Forrester*, Captain Clark, arrived in St. Augustine from Savannah, returning there a few days later. A similar trip was made in early November.⁹⁵ The *Cincinnati*, Captain Smith; *Isis*, Captain Hart; *Forrester*, Captain George Clark; *DeRosset*, Captain H. Lightburn; and *Richmond*, Captain W. C. Mendell, also made occasional charter trips for the military during this period. On July 18, 1841, the *Cincinnati* touched at St. Augustine while en route from Palatka. Three days later she revisited St. Augustine on a return voyage from Jacksonville.⁹⁶

In the spring of 1841, *DeRosset*, Captain Lightburn, sailed from Tampa to Savannah, touching at St. Augustine; in mid-November 1841, a reverse trip was made. In May 1842, *DeRosset* traveled from Tampa to Savannah via St. Augustine.⁹⁷ The *Charles Downing* was on army charter around September, mainly on a voyage from Savannah to southern army posts via St. Augustine. The *Isis* visited St. Augustine on September 9, 1841, en route from Savannah to Tampa. In November 1841, during a bad storm, she put in at Punta Rasa and was driven ashore in the vicinity of an army camp, but was able to get "off without damage but with much labor."⁹⁸ In November, the *Southerner* stopped at St. Augustine en route between Mobile and Charleston. This was apparently her last contact with St. Augustine.⁹⁹

There was considerable maritime activity at St. Augustine in 1842, the last year of the Indian war, as chartered army steamers were frequent callers. The *Cincinnati* touched there twice in January while sailing round trip from Palatka to New Smyrna. Later that month *Cincinnati* called again while on a voyage between Palatka and Tampa. Captain Chase, in command of *Forrester*, arrived from Savannah in February 1842, and departed a few days later on the return trip.¹⁰⁰ The *William Gaston* continued her semi-regular St. Augustine-southern posts voyages through March. Also in March, *William Gaston* went to Savannah from St. Augustine, and then in April several times to and from

95. Maritime file.

96. *Ibid.*

97. *Ibid.*

98. *Ibid.* See also, Carter, *Territorial Papers*, XXV, 386.

99. Maritime file.

100. *Ibid.*

Palatka. In October the *William Gaston* made a trip to Tampa from St. Augustine.¹⁰¹

The *William Gaston*, Captain Henry; *Cincinnati*, Captain Smith; and *Charles Downing*, Captain Pitcher, were sailing in January 1842, serving Savannah, Palatka, Tampa, and the southern posts. The *Richmond*, Captain Mendell, and *Forrester*, Captain Chase, were active also in February, as was the government steamer, *Col. William S. Harney*. In March and April *James Adams*, Captain Hart, sailed from Tampa to Palatka and returned. The *DeRosset*, Captain Lightburn, made a stopover in St. Augustine in May on her way to Savannah from Tampa. The *Charleston*, Captain Barden, arrived in St. Augustine in early April 1842, from Key West, and departed the following day for Savannah.¹⁰²

In 1842 *Charleston* was on a busy schedule between Charleston, Savannah, and Darien, with an occasional trip to Augusta on the Savannah River. However, she sailed under Captain Barden to Black Creek in late April and mid-May, and at the end of May she was in Palatka. In mid-June the *Charleston* returned to Savannah from Palatka, St. Marys, and Darien, with three bales of Sea Island cotton and 319 bales of upland cotton. At the end of August and again in September she made trips to Palatka for the quartermaster corps.¹⁰³ The *Charleston*, Captain Smith, traveled from Palatka to Tampa, touching St. Augustine on November 13.¹⁰⁴

In June the *Charles Downing* was libelled by the United States marshal, and thirty-four shares of her stock were sold publicly at auction in July. Her captain, James Dent, was one of the complainants. The results are unknown, but in July, *Charles Downing*, under a new master, Lyman Southwick, a local schooner captain at St. Augustine, made a passage to Havana. Southwick also made another trip to Cuba in September with the *Charles Downing*.¹⁰⁵ On December 7, 1842, *Charles Downing* sailed from St. Augustine for the last time; her destination was Charleston.¹⁰⁶ In late August the *Cincinnati*, Captain Smith, arrived from Fort Pierce in St. Augustine with two companies of

101. Ibid.

102. Ibid.

103. Rahn typescript.

104. Maritime file.

105. *St. Augustine News*, June 25, July 16, September 17, 1842.

106. Maritime file.

the Eighth Infantry and a friendly Indian guide and his family aboard.¹⁰⁷

During the summer of 1842, with the war winding down, the utilization of steamboats by the military declined. There was increasing use for civilian purposes, however, by the end of the year. For instance, the *St. Matthews* was placed on a once-a-week schedule between Savannah and Palatka, touching at the usual intermediate points of Darien, Brunswick, St. Mary's, Jacksonville, Garey's Ferry, and Picolata.¹⁰⁸ The *St. Matthews* was built in 1836 at New York by Brown and Bell. She was initially owned by a Charleston consortium of captains and merchants, and after 1842, by a similar consortium located in Savannah. Several Jacksonville citizens were occasionally listed as owners.¹⁰⁹

The *Florida* continued to run on the St. Johns route until late 1840, when she began traveling between Savannah and Augusta and other points in Georgia and South Carolina. She was also occasionally in Florida. On May 17, 1842, she was stranded at North Edisto, South Carolina, and was lost.

A few steamboats continued to visit Florida after the Seminole War. The *Cincinnati* was sailing from Savannah to the St. Johns in the early 1840s but was finally abandoned in 1848. The *Ocamulgee*, *William Gaston*, and *St. Matthews* also travelled on the Savannah and St. Johns rivers after 1842. The *Ocamulgee* was lost in Georgia waters in early 1850; the *St. Matthews* was stranded at Darien, Georgia, on December 6, 1851, and was lost; and the *William Gaston* was abandoned in 1858.

The records reveal the disposition of many of the vessels which once sailed in Florida waters: The *Camden* was sold abroad in 1839. The *Charles Downing* whose name had been officially changed to *Calhoun* on July 26, 1849, burned on June 22, 1855, at Wilmington, North Carolina, with no loss of life. The *Charleston* was captured as a Confederate steamer on July 11, 1863, and was redocumented on August 29, likely having been sold to northern interests. She was abandoned by 1876. The *Cherokee* was abandoned in 1844, after many voyages on the Savannah River between Savannah and Augusta. The *Col. William S. Har-*

107. *St. Augustine News*, August 27, 1842.

108. *Ibid.*, November 12, 1842.

109. Maritime file. The *St. Matthews* was 120' by 22' 2" by 7' and of 174 tons, according to vessel enrollment data furnished by the National Archives.

ney first served on coastal patrols in Florida waters. Then, in 1845, she was converted into a tug-type vessel and was stationed permanently at the Pensacola Navy Yard. The *DeRosset* was sold to the United States Quartermaster Corps on July 27, 1846. Her name was changed to *Liberty* on October 11, 1850, and her rig was changed to that of a barge on May 6, 1863. The *Duncan McRae* exploded at Johnson Landing, Georgia, June 8, 1841, with three lives lost. During the Civil War the *Etiwan* was captured as a Confederate steamer and was used by the United States Quartermaster Corps. On April 3, 1867, she was re-documented the *St. Helena* and was abandoned in 1894.

The *Forrester* was abandoned in 1842, and *Free Trade* in 1839. The *General Clinch* became a Confederate vessel in 1861, and was sunk at Charleston in 1864. The *Giraffe* was lost in 1847. The *Isis* burned January 5, 1842, at Tampa, with no lives lost. The *Ivanhoe* was stranded on December 23, 1850. The *James Adams* was abandoned in 1842. Supposedly the *John David Mongin* was abandoned in 1836, although according to another report she exploded at her Augusta, Georgia, dock in 1836. The *John Stoney* was abandoned in 1840. The United States steamer *Poinsett* was sold out of service and became the *Duncan C. Pell* in June 1845 and was abandoned in 1850. The *Richmond* was abandoned in 1853. The *Santee* was sold to foreigners in 1850. The *Southerner* was sold to foreign investors in 1844. The *Thomas Salmond* had her tonnage changed to 208 tons around 1851 and she was abandoned by 1861.

When the Second Seminole Indian War ended in 1842, it was recognized that the government's need to transport troops and supplies into the disaffected areas had greatly stimulated steamboat activity on Florida's navigable waterways. The records reveal that government-chartered steamboats successfully engaged in reconnaissance and rescue missions, as well as providing supplies for an increased military and civilian population. While many of the steamboats constructed during this period were lost or abandoned shortly after the war ended in 1842, enough survived and were returned to civilian service to provide mute testimony to the impact of the Indian wars on the development of steamboat activity in Florida.

**“FLORIDA IS A BLESSED COUNTRY”:
LETTERS TO IOWA FROM
A FLORIDA SETTLER**

by PAT SONQUIST LANE

LETTERS from settlers have provided information and insights into the early history of our country. The letters here are about Gainesville and Charlotte Harbor, Florida, between 1885 and 1887, and were written by J. Albert Erickson, who had moved from north central Iowa to Florida in 1874.¹ Erickson's letters were sent to John A. Lindberg, editor of the *Dayton (Iowa) Review*, who published them.

“America letters” to family and friends who stayed behind, are given partial credit for the large emigration from Sweden to the United States after 1855. Many of the settlers purchased public lands in the Midwest, and by 1875 a large Swedish community existed in and around Dayton.

Erickson's observations of weather and crops, of land and marketing in Florida were those of a typical mid-western farmer. They were exact and broad in scope. He was interested in alternatives and the future. Erickson's English and spelling are not commendable, and although Lindberg earned a law degree from the University of Iowa, he acknowledged being a poor speller. His typesetters at the paper were often worse. No changes have been made, either in spelling or typesetting; the letters appear exactly as they did in the *Dayton Review*.

Using Lindberg's words, “We print today an interesting letter from J. A. Erickson, a former resident of Hardin township

Pat Sonquist Lane has degrees in art history from New York University and The Johns Hopkins University. She is an independent researcher and lives in Baltimore. She would like to thank Paula Batten, reference librarian, DeLand Public Library, DeLand, Florida, for her assistance.

1. J. Albert Erickson's family is listed in the 1870 Iowa census: Webster County, Hardin Township, Post Office, Hook's point, p. 3. The Erickson family also appears in the 1880 Florida census, Alachua County, Supervisor's District 8, Enumeration District 7, page 108C in the volume, page 59, by enumerator W. H. Whitney (Room 400, National Archives, Washington, D.C.).

and now proprietor of The American House, Gainesville, Florida.”

Letters from Florida

Gainesville, Fla. Aug. 8th 1885

Ed. REVIEW: I will now fulfill my promise and write you a few lines about Florida. As I have been in this state about eleven years and have been nearly all through it I am pretty well acquainted with its characteristics.

The weather at present is very fine. It is cool and pleasant and seems more like fall. The thermometer has only been up to 90° yet this summer and it seldom gets to 100. We never have as warm weather here as in Iowa. The climate in Florida cannot be best[ed?] anywhere. That is my belief about it. We also have the most healthy state in this great country. There are places close to swamps here that are sickly, but we have plenty of lands away from the swamps. The soil here is not as good as in Iowa, though we have some that is very good. In the Gulf Hammock occasionally can be found some as good.² But these last are scarce and are taken up very fast. Florida is settling up as fast as any state. The principle crops with the farmers are cotton, corn, sugar cane, rice and potatoes. On pine lands corn does not do so well, and they plant only one grain in the hill which will average about 15 to 20 bu. per acre. Good Hammock will yield 40 to 50 per acre. Cane pays better I think.

Mr. J. Roberts whose farm is six miles west of town told me he planted last year one bushel Prolifio cotton seed from which he gathered 3,300 lbs. of seed cotton worth \$200. He also had ginned of the same cotton 1,378 lbs. which yielded 415 lbs. of lint and sold for \$103.75.

Sweet potatoes on cow penned land will average 400 to 500 bu. per acre. Irish potatoes about 125 bu., which we generally ship in Jany.³ Cabbages and in fact all kinds of vegetables grows well here, and we can always ship them very early and get the highest prices for them. The largest bunch of Bananas I have

2. Gulf Hammock refers here to a fertile area of land located on the Gulf near Cedar Key.

3. Cow-penned land referred to acreage formerly used for pasture. The manure greatly enriched the soil and made it good for the growing of vegetable crops.

seen here was brought in last winter to Cedar Keys from the Ten Thousand Islands and had 175 large luscious bananas to the bunch.⁴ John Furgeson has a fine grove on one of the island of about 20 acres. He says it pays nearly as well as an orange grove, as it takes only two years to get the trees or stalks to bearing, and it will take 6 to 10 years to get an orange tree to bear from the seed. Of course when an orange grove gets 10 years old it pays well if properly taken care of. Oranges commence to ripen in Oct., but the most are shipped in Nov. and Dec. We generally leave a few oranges on some trees for eating, and by so doing can have oranges in May. I have many times seen ripe and green oranges and blossoms on the same tree at the same time. We have plenty of vegetable all winter and some kind of fruit all the year. We have watermelons in April and they will last three months. Three years ago I cut watermelons on Christmas day which were raised at Clearwater Harbor.

I have bought land at Charlotte Harbor and will go there in a few months. I will write you again soon. Thanks for your valuable paper. It is very interesting to me, as I know many of your people. Excuse bad spelling. Do you remember when I went to your school and spelled cake k-a-k-e.

I am respectfully yours,

J. A. Erickson

(*Dayton Review*, August 21, 1885)

Gainsville, Fla., Aug. 31st

Editor REVIEW: We still have fine weather here. Crops are looking splendidly, and cotton especially will yeild a very large crop. Our town is improving very fast. We are expecting another railroad from Green Cove Springs from the St. Johns river to the Suwanne river, and town property is going up in price.⁵ We have now three railroads in this place. We have 40 dry goods and grocery stores, 4 bakerys, 5 saw mills, 1 tin shop, 4 millinerys, 1 paint shop, 4 barber shops, 2 furniture stores, 1 State

4. Ten Thousand Islands are below Cape Romano and west of Big Cypress Swamp.

5. The Green Cove and Midland Railway ran ten miles from Green Cove Springs to Sharon. Then, leased by the Western Railway Company of Florida, an additional six and one-half miles of track was built from Sharon west. Poor's *Manual of Railroads*, 1887, 1888.

normal and Military school, a U.S. land office and the finest and best court houses in the state now nearly completed at a cost of over \$50,000. We have 1 bank, 1 large cotton factory, 1 foundry and machine shop, 4 white and 3 nigger churches, 1 female college and other good schools, and it will not be very long before we will have the State capital moved to this town. My father bought eight years ago two lots in East Gainesville for \$20.00 each, which are to-day worth \$1000.

I was at Cedar Keys some 6 months engaged in the fish and oyster trade. The fish are caught in seines, gill nets and with hook and line. The principal kinds are Mulletts, Red Bass, Sheep-heads and Trout. I have seen as many as 10,000 pulled out at one time with a large seine. Muttets [mulletts?] sells for 5 cents apiece while other fish sells at 5 cents a pound.

The oysters grow in 3 to 12 feet of water and are taken up in boats with tongs. It is very hard work; I have tried it myself and know whereof I speak. We go out in small sail boats, generally two or three in a boat, and as one man tongs them up the others with a small iron knock them apart and puts the large ones in the boat and the rest goes over into the water. This we call culling oysters. One boat can get from 8 to 10 bbls per day. The oysters are sold to shippers at 60 to 85 cents per bbl. They are then shipped in barrells in the shell at \$1.50 per bbls, or opened and sent in large cans at \$1.00 per gallon. I have bought and shipped a good many. I also kept hotel 2 years at Cedar Keys. Yes, fish and oysters are plentiful in Florida. There are also turtles here. I have seen turtles that weighed 630 lbs. I have seen schooners and steamers loaded down with fresh fish packed in ice, from Clear Water Harbor and Manatee unload at Cedar Key, but now we have a R. R. from Tampa so we can ship by rail.⁶

But of course there are bitters as well as sweets in this country too. In the way of farming we have a kind of bastard cane that cannot be killed on account of its roots and a kind of grass that is full of spurs that we call sand spurs, but not like those in Iowa. Still it is my opinion that if a young man wants to make a change Florida is the place for him. There is a fortune in Florida

6. Manatee, on the south bank of Manatee River, was Manatee County's first county seat.

lands if he will take the right step and get some while they are cheap.

In Manatee Co. you can buy land for \$2.50 to \$10.00 per acre, and set out a grove of 8 to 10 acres of nice orange trees and in ten years if you should want to sell you can get \$1000 per acre. Or you can do like Mr. Walter Whitehurst who lives near Yellow Bluff who sold \$4,800 worth of oranges from 6 acres of land without fertilizing, and his grove is only 12 years old.⁷ Of course it need not be expected that everybody who comes to this state will make a fortune the first year, you must have patience and go to work, or have money to hire it, and it will grow. There are a great many old settlers here that cannot be moved with money. There is no price on their property, money cannot buy it. This is the only country I have seen but what money would buy everything. The other day the Watulla and Hacienda groves Panasoffkee were sold for \$100,000.⁸ It is on a fine lake. Capitalists in Ocala bought it. If anyone should want to buy lands in Manatee or Hernando counties, I can sell some. Write and let me know. Choice water fronts for residences. Fruit lands for Pears, Peaches, Coconut, Japan Plums, Persimmons, Bananas, Guavas, Pineapple, Figs and other tropical fruit.

Respectfully,

Albert Erickson

(*Dayton Review*, September 18, 1885)

On October 2, 1885, 4,000,000 acres of selected Florida lands were advertised in the *Dayton Review*. Ads for lands in Nebraska, Kansas, Wisconsin, and Minnesota appeared in earlier issues. People were beginning to investigate, and a few left the Dayton community to locate elsewhere. Lindberg frequently boosted the advantages of the Dayton area and expressed dismay and anxiety over the departure of friends and fellow residents. He had willingly edited and printed the first two Erickson letters from Florida. However, Erickson's enthusiasm for Florida was as strong as Lindberg's loyalties to Iowa. The letters

7. Allen Morris, *Florida Place Names* (Coral Gables, 1974), 118. Yellow Bluff, above Dunedin, is now known as Ozona.

8. Panasoffkee is a lake south of Ocala. There is also a town east of Homosassa with that name.

became a dilemma which he "tolerates" until August 4, 1887, and terminated finally on May 31, 1888.

Charlott Harbor, Fla., Oct. 10, 1885

I arrived here on the 8 inst and I like this country very much although it is not settled up very much [about two inches of newspaper type are damaged and illegible] . . . on the south bank of Charlott Harbor. It is most beautifully located and lots of [?] acre are selling for \$100.00, [with a] steamboat wharf on the property. My place is just two miles up the river. I have been very busy hauling lumber. I have lots of work to do but as it is raining today I have time to write to you. If some of you Iowa men with money would come down here and build a small Hotel, say with 25 rooms it would pay better than any thing I know of. I have been in that business for over 4 years, but it takes more money than I have to build a house large enough for a Hotel. This is the most beautiful place of the kind that I have seen. So many pretty streams of water and, Game is plentiful. Mr. W. F. Smallwood killed 15 deer here in one week. We never go out for a deer hunt unless we get one to five, and plenty of wild turkeys and quails. I never saw the like all over the woods. Ducks and wild gees are plenty in the winter. They come here by many thousands in Nov. Come and judge for yourself.. There would be no use for me to tell you any thing about the fish. But I do not think that there could be more any where in the U.S., and it is very stranae that although this beautiful land of sunshige and of Flowers and of health and prospec-ticted wealth was the earliest discovered it still seems to have been left until of late years. And I can say this that I have not seen any snow since I saw it in Swede bend in Nov. 1874. But I saw enough cold weather while I was there to never forget it again. Oh, Iowa is to cold, Florida suits me best in every respect, and if I was to leave Fla., I would do like others come back again.

On my way here to Charlott Harbor I stopped at Palmasala on the Manatee river 4 days and I saw Mr. John Williams, Allen Whitted and John Bass.⁹ They all used to live up in Iowa close

9. Palmasola lies a few miles west of Manatee on the south side of the Manatee River. John Williams, William Whitehead, Allen [Elbridge] Whitehead, and John Bass are listed in the 1870 Iowa census for Mineral Ridge post office

to Mineral Ridge. Mr. Williams has been sawyer at Warners mill for 4 years, but is now in the fishing business. He has a very nice orange grove. In fact all of them have valuable places. Bill Whitted went to Ala and died. John Bass told me that he was offered \$4000.00 for his place on the Caracata Bay.¹⁰ He raises sugar cane and makes plenty sugar and syrup. He sold from 2 acres last year, so he told me, \$460.00 worth of syrup and \$180.00 of sugar. So the Iowa boys seems to get along very well.

Mr. J. N. Young just now came in with 3 fine turkeys so we are going to have a nice dinner today. If any of my Iowa friends will come to see me you shall have the same, for we have plenty of game here.

As the Rail Road is coming to this place a small store would pay better than any thing I know of, and a newspaper would do well here if started in time. I do wish that Mr. P. A. Swanson would come here and start a store here is a good opening for any one with a small capital.¹¹

Along the rivers and borders of lakes the land is very productive. A large portion of the country is given up to stock raising which is a leading and profitable business. Over 200,000 head subsists at no cost what-ever except gathering to mark and brand or for sale and delivery at Key West, Cuba, and other Islands which affords a constant and good market. There is a long Wharf here where the steamers and schooners come and the cattle are loaded for shipments. With kind regards I am very respectfully yours.

Albert Erickson

(*Dayton Review*, November 6, 1855)

Charlotte Harbor, Fla., June 16, 1886

Editor REVIEW: I will again say a few words through your valuable paper. I have been down south on the Islands for a week and I must say that I was more than pleased with them; so much so that I bought me about 80 acres on the LaAcosta Island in township 44 south, range 21 east, on the Gulf of

(town of Ridgeport), Dodge Township, Boone County, Iowa. On June 12, 1885, *Dayton Review* reported that, "James Bass will go to Florida and other places south next week." His return to Iowa was noted on January 22, 1886.

10. Caracata Bay is likely a misspelling for Sarasota Bay.

11. P. A. Swanson was a merchant in Stratford, Iowa.

Mexico.¹² This island is seven miles long and some over a mile wide, and I was suprised to see so many different kinds of wild and tame fruits there. In the past two weeks there have been ten new settlers who have located there, so there are no more vacant lands to be had as more than half of the Island is reserved by the United States. A good many people will settle on some of this land and may get it some time, if the U.S. don't want to make use of it. There were 3 homesteads and the rest were State and U. S. lands. This is an outside Island and has a very beautiful beach, deep water and pretty shells. There are three long shell mounds on this Island. The longest is about 100 yards wide and 400 long and 30 feet high and must have been built by the natives many hundred years ago. We had plenty of clams and oysters and killed 2 deer and 4 coons. We had plenty turtle eggs while we stayed on the Island. We are expecting a rail road to this place (Charlotte Harbor) within 8 months and then this will be one of the grandest Winter Resorts in the United States. What can be nicer than the fresh pure breeze from the Gulf of Mexico and how nice and pleasant is not the bath in the surf. O! it is fine. I enjoyed myself while I was there and I shall go back there in Oct. and have a nice house built for the winter. Mr. W. B. Spearing has a fine nursery all ready on the Island. I shall mention some of the fruits; The French Bannana Dwarf, the many sotorta, this fruit is very sweet and juicy, the sapadila, cocoa plumb and mastick plumbs, ground apple and borch apple, the [?] grape, the Spanish paupa, the sugar apple, many apple, limes, lemmons, oranges, grape fruits, coconuts, mangos, gartus, alligator pear, the tropic fig, the 7 year apple, the honey mas grape, dates, coffee plants, and many other smaller fruits.

Well, I have sold my home-stead now for \$10,000.00 dollars for which I only payed \$2000.00 in May. A company in Louisville bought it and are laying it out in town lots, and its name is Louisville, Fla.¹³ The weather is very fine at present time. Will write more next time.

(*Dayton Review*, July 2, 1886)

Respectfully yours,
J. A. Erickson

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12. La Costa Island or Lacosta Island is an island on the south side of the entrance to Charlotte Harbor, now Cayo Costa Island.
 13. Louisville may have been a temporary name for an area, but it does not appear among old, local place-names, and there is no vestige of the name on geological survey maps (U.S. Department of Interior, Punta Gorda, Cleveland, and Fort Ogden, Florida, sections).

Charlotte Harbor, Fla., Dec. 13, 1886

Editor REVIEW: As I have been silent for some time I will again make my appearance in the columns of the REVIEW. I have been away for 5 months and spent the summer very pleasantly, but am now home again; and much building and improvement has been done since I was here. We have the nicest weather that can be had in any part of the United States at this time of the year. We had a nice watermelon the other day and have one vine on which they will be ripe for Christmas. Cabbages heading, turnips, rutabagas, onions, tomatoes half grown and we are eating new Irish potatoes, and catch all the fish that we can use and plenty game such as deer, turkeys, squirrels, quails and ducks and geese. The harbor is full. I am sure that I saw more ducks Friday than I ever saw blackbirds in Iowa in the spring. This is the place for sportsmen. Plenty of Hotels and Boarding houses and plenty of good things to eat. Board can be had from \$4.00 to \$10.00 per week. At the big hotels you may have to pay more. Oranges are fine and sweet now and plentiful. They are worth here now from \$1.50 to \$2.25 per crate. Bananas are worth 75¢ to \$1.00 per bunch, good lemons \$1.50 per 100, limes 50¢, sweet potatoes 50¢ per bushel, corn 90¢, oats 70¢, shipped hay \$1.50 per 100, lumber in the rough \$8.00 to \$10.50, dressed \$13.00 to \$18.00. We have 3 saw mills on the harbor and one large saw mill at Arcadia, 20 miles north from here on the R. R. It is owned by a Swede Co. from Ill. That town is growing very fast. I heard the other day that they expect to start a newspaper there and they also expect to get the court house as this county is to be divided soon. To you all who are not so immersed in business to such an extent that you cannot leave, Florida offers good investments for your money. The best climate we have, the most progressive state in the union. Our state is filling up with the brain of the union. We command the highest prices for our fruits and vegetables because we can plant at the season when you are bound up in ice and snow. Yes a good many of you are sitting at the fire now, and can scarcely leave the house long enough to look after your stock, while here I am in my shirt-sleeves and slippers. I very seldom wear my coat. We are not troubled with storms, cyclones, tidal waves and intensely cold blizzards, which have swept over the land in almost all other localities not to mention the terrible earthquakes that have al-

most ruined cities and neighborhoods and yet we are passed and untouched by them. Florida is a blessed country and should be profoundly thankful for the manifold mercies we enjoy. Thousands of homes with health and prosperity. Come to Florida if you would live long in the land, make fortunes quickly, and have time to enjoy it a long term before haveing your will probated. There are good chances for you all. If you don't come soon you will wish you had.

Very respectfully,
J. A. Erickson

(*Dayton Review*, December 23, 1886)

Charlotte Harbor, May 5th, '87

Ed. REVIEW: I am still here enjoying the fresh breeze from the Gulf of Mexico. We are having nice weather and rain plenty. Crops are fine, some of the corn is large enough for roasting ears, and cotton is looking well to be so young. I will have ripe watermelons within three weeks. The orange trees are loaded so we have a good prospect for a big crop. Fishing and hunting have been splendid, and all those have made money. My neighbor, Mr. Dave Yeoman, in company with a northern gentlemen, on one week's hunt killed seven deer and ninety-six alligators, for which they received 50¢ apiece for the alligator skins on an average. I caught 2 small alligators a few weeks ago with hook and line while fishing. They were about 18 inches long. Live alligators that size are worth from \$3.00 to \$5.00. I have seen some as large as 12 feet but those would be hard to hold with a line as they are very strong.

Building and improvements are still going on, but not as brisk as a few months ago, but we are now sure of 2 more railroads to Charlotte Harbor. One is from Plant City to Naples, by the way of Pine Level.¹⁴ The survey has actually commenced and the work of construction will soon follow. This will open up the best country in Florida and my place will be where this road will cross the Florida Southern. This is the Florida Railway and Navigation Co. and the other road to Charlotte Harbor, Boya [Boca] Grande and Ft. Myers R. R.¹⁵ So I think there will be

14. This railway was not built. Pine Level was north of Charlotte Harbor, west of Arcadia.

15. Poor's *Manual of Railroads*, 1882, 1887, 1888, and 1900, have no listing of a Boca Grande and Fort Myers Railway Company.

great attractions to this newly opened and fertile section next fall, as Charlotte Harbor has several advantages over any other place in the state. I confidently expect to see it rapidly become the rival of Jacksonville and St. Augustine as a health and pleasure resort and the public will not be slow to show appreciation of its many attractions and advantages.

The Florida Southern R. R. Co. will have a two hundred room Hotel finished and ready for the early fall, and will in self interest make this the most important point on their whole line. The South Florida road will soon extend its line from Bartow to Boca Granda Bay on the west side of the Harbor where that company will use their powerful influence and long purse to the rapid development of this point. The latter company will have 25 ft. of water on the north side of the entrance, and the former can reach about 18 feet on the south side in full view of the Government light house. Then the sportsmen may enjoy the finest hunting grounds on the continent, and the world affords no better fishing than is found on this great bay.

Oysters, clams, crabs and all the other kinds of meat obtained from the sea are here inexhaustable. The beaches of the Islands are strewn with beautiful shells and there is scarcely a day in the year when a sea bath may not be enjoyed. The tourist will soon be able to make quick trips from this point to Mexico and Central America and the West Indies in fine ocean steamers so tourists can obtain more winter comfort and pleasure than are to be found at any other place in Florida. Being the termini of 4 railroads, having the only good harbor on the coast and enjoying a superior climate, I predict that Charlotte Harbor will become the greatest winter resort in America. But here is room plenty and all who will come are welcome.

Respectfully Yours,
J. Albert Erickson

(Dayton Review, May 19, 1887)

Charlotte Harbor, Fla. July 26th '87

Ed. REVIEW: Again I will endeavor to say few words in your valuable paper. Since I wrote last the county has been divided, so this beautiful Charlotte Harbor is now in DeSoto Co.¹⁶ It was done by the present Legislative and the location of

16. DeSoto County was established May 19, 1887. Arcadia became its county seat.

the court House is creating quite a stir among the people. The choice will be between Arcadia and Ft. Ogden and the contest is getting hotter and hotter every day. I hope and trust that Ft. Ogden will de the lucky town.

We have also a new paper which made its appearance for the first time this month The name is the Charlotte Harbor Beacon, published at Traline, Fla.¹⁷ It is a handsome seven column weekly paper published all at home by R. S. Hanna and J. F. Marsh. I think it is a very good paper and just what we need in our new country; for a town with out a newspaper will never be of any consequences as the papers will build up the town and surrounded country. This time of the year is called the rainy season but we have had but very little this month. Last year it rained 40 days in July and August. The Thermometer registered 92 degrees three days this week. That is as warm as Fla. ever gets here. But still the nights are very cool and pleasant. I understand by good responsible men that all of the 240 rooms in Hotel Punta Gorda are engaged for the winter months and that much more room will be needed to accomodate all the tourists which will come to Charlotte Harbor the comming season. So this begins to look as though we might have a big boom but new Hotels are continually going up all along Charlotte Harbor so no one shall be allowed to go begging for lodging. Come and spend one winter with us and you will never regret it. I am busy getting land ready for an early fall garden. Fresh vegetables all the winter is something good. I have lots of fun by shooting white curlues of an eveings as they come in very large flocks going to there rookeries I killed two at one time and three at an another time. Those birds are nearly the size of chickens and are equally as good— Two schooners and 2 sharpies and several sail boats passed here going up Peace River and Capt Hull of steam boat shipman made the first trip that ever was made up Peace River to Fort Meade a distance of 150 miles.¹⁸ By spending some five Thousand dollars on this River it would be of great value to this country and I hope that it will convince the people

17. Trabue, Florida, can be the only possible "Traline" in Erickson's letter as the place of publication for the new paper called the *Charlotte Harbor Beacon*. The handwritten name could be transposed. Trabue is on the south bank of the Peace River, east of Punta Gorda.

18. Fort Meade is fifty to sixty miles (not 150, which may be a mistake on Lindberg's part) north of Charlotte Harbor on the Peace River.

of the usefulness as well as the known beauty of Peace River. Since I commenced writing it has set in for a big rain and we are all thankful it is needed. With kind regards I am Respectfully yours— J. A. Erickson.

(*Dayton Review*, August 4, 1887)

This was the last letter Lindberg printed from Erickson in Florida. On Thursday, October 13, 1887, there are two relevant items: "A Florida letter is laid over till next week," and "C. G. Seashore has some lilac bushes just blooming out, and strawberry plants budding. Ah, Florida and California, go and hide yourselves in the deep, deep sea." "Letters from Florida" did not appear in the paper again. On Thursday, May 31, 1888, however, the *Dayton Review* among its front page local items notes that "J. A. Erickson writes from Gainesville Fla. that peaches, oranges watermelons etc. are ripe. Peaches are ripe here and dry too, but we just planted our watermelons."

The Erickson letters are a young man's descriptions of late nineteenth-century Florida which express great optimism over growth and progress in the state, including the expansion of its railroad system.¹⁹ On April 12, 1891, James Albert Erickson married Sarah Jane Yelvington, daughter of the Aaron Yelvingtons who came from Georgia as one of the oldest pioneer families in DeLand. The Ericksons also lived permanently in DeLand, Volusia County, Florida, as noted in the 1900 and 1910 census records and in city directories of 1907 and 1924. The 1907 directory associates Erickson with a store selling pianos, music and harness goods. The three Erickson children were Emma (b. 1892), John S. (b. 1895), and Vivian (b. 1901).

James Albert Erickson and John A. Lindberg remained loyal to Florida and Iowa to the end. Erickson participated in the development of his state, and Lindberg was directly involved in

19. In 1886 the Granville map makers were equally over enthusiastic. It is customary for mapmakers to indicate sure projections of railroads and highways, but on the 1886 Granville map optimism outstrips reality. Other contemporary maps do not show railroad lines which have not even been projected as "completed." In 1886 the railroad systems in Florida were being converted from their various gauges to a standard width of four feet, eight and one-half inches, similar to other tracks throughout the century. It meant a better flow of traffic and the ability of Florida lines to run out of the state. See John F. Stover, *The Railroads of the South 1865-1900: A Study in Finance and Control* (Chapel Hill, 1955), 194-95.

shaping his community. Both lived long enough to see many of their young dreams become a reality. John A. Lindberg is buried in the Dayton Cemetery, Dayton, Iowa, and James Albert Erickson is buried in Oakdale Cemetery, DeLand, Florida. Both died in 1928.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

FLORIDA MANUSCRIPT ACQUISITIONS AND ACCESSIONS

The following are recent manuscript acquisitions and accessions as reported by Florida universities, colleges, public libraries, and other institutions. Those interested in using particular collections should correspond with the library or archives in question.

The P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville, has added scattered issues of the following Florida newspapers to its microfilm collection: *Fort Pierce News*, 1906-1917; *St. Lucie Tribune*, 1905-1917; *Macclenny Baker County Press*, 1931-1946; *Okeechobee News*, 1928-1962; *Punta Gorda Herald*, 1926-1945; *Brunswick (Georgia) Advocate*, 1837-1839; *Milledgeville (Georgia) Federal Union*, 1830-1862; *Milledgeville Georgia Journal*, 1809-1840; *Milledgeville Georgia Statesman*, 1825-1830; *Milledgeville Georgia Times & States Rights Advocate*, 1833-1834; *Milledgeville Republican*, 1816; *Milledgeville Reflector*, 1817-1819; *Milledgeville Southern Recorder*, 1820-1861; *Milledgeville Standard of Union*, 1834-1841; *Milledgeville Statesman & Patriot*, 1825-1830; *Manatee River Journal*, 1888-1921; *Manatee River Journal and Bradenton Herald*, 1922-1925; *Braidenton News*, 1897-1898; *Bradenton Herald*, 1927-1928; *Bradenton Evening Journal*, 1914-1916; and *Bradenton Evening Herald*, 1922-1926. The library has added the papers of Abram Ormsbee Blanding, covering the period 1845-1881, and the papers of General Albert Hazen Blanding, for the years 1890-1951, to its manuscript collection. The Blanding papers relate to family and business matters, the National Guard, and phosphate mining. The library has also accessioned 499 reels of microfilm of the legajos from the Papeles de Cuba section of the Archive of the Indies in Seville. An additional 143 reels of film of Reales Cajas (treasury accounts) pertaining to West and East Florida have also been accessioned.

The Robert Manning Strozier Library, Florida State University, Tallahassee, has added scattered issues of the following newspapers: *Micanopy Cotton States*, 1860; *Augusta (Georgia) Daily Constitutionalist*, 1863; *Ocala East Florida Banner*, 1868; *Fer-*

nandina Courier, 1867; Tallahassee *Floridian and Journal*, 1863; Macon (Georgia) *Journal and Messenger*, 1865; and Key West *South Floridian*, 1838. The library has added to its manuscript collection the Richard Alan Nelson material relating to the motion picture industry in Florida, 1898-1980; the Mildred and Claude Pepper Papers, which cover the period from the 1920s to the present; and the Mary Elizabeth Thomas collection of Civil War papers, 1862-1865. The library has acquired a holograph map by A. Huger, *Seat of War in Florida*, 1864, and a number of rare books relating to Florida and the South.

The John C. Pace Library, University of West Florida, Pensacola, has acquired the following manuscripts and papers: aviation research files of Paul Deschenes with photographs, 1900-1970; Dicy Bowman Villar papers, 1966-1969; Snodgrass family papers pertaining to the history of Bagdad, Florida, 1871-1985; diaries of Etta McGill's life in Selma, Alabama, 1899-1908; William George Bruce papers, 1881-1978; James K. Polk research files on Pensacola history, 1800-1960; and color photographs from the January 1985 Space Shuttle Discovery mission. It has also received the business records of T. T. Todd Company, 1937-1943; St. John's Cemetery Company, 1892-1985; files of the Cantonment Rotary Club, 1948-1982; and plaintiff exhibit files of *McMillan v. Escambia County*, 1977. Microfilm records of the Tallahassee land office and the land commissioners of East and West Florida (1821-1824), pertaining to Spanish and British land claims have been acquired. The Santa Rosa County poll books, 1914-1950 have been added to the Library's government records collections.

The DuPont-Ball Library, Stetson University, has acquired the William C. Emerson manuscripts and photographs.

The Florida Collection of the Florida State Library has added the following microfilm items: miscellaneous pre-1900 Florida newspapers; *Manatee River Journal*, 1888-1921; Bradenton *Evening Journal*, 1915-1916; Bradenton *Evening Herald*, 1922-1926; *Bradenton Herald*, 1927-1928; *Bradentown News*, 1897-1898; and the *Manatee River Journal and Bradenton Herald*, 1922-1925. The Library has also acquired eighty photoreproductions of Second Seminole War maps.

The St. Augustine Historical Society has added to its manuscript collection: Arthur Leslie Plimpton's 1889 photo album

and diary; Dorothy N. Reynolds 1932 diary; city of St. Augustine papers and documents 1821-1985; Louis and Harriet Ravenel McClain papers, 1868-1952; minutes and papers of the Women's Exchange of St. Augustine, 1838-1959; and the Historic Florida Militia papers, 1976-1985. Also accessioned are the scrapbooks of the St. Augustine Little Theater, 1941-1945, and the American Association of University Women Branch History, Book II, 1976-1979. A manuscript copy of Harvey Brown's letter book, 1828-1842 and 1855-1856, and a typescript of Henry R. Remsen's journal and memorandum book, 1835, have been added to the library's holdings.

The Pensacola Historical Society has acquired the following manuscript items: *Pensacola Gazette*, 1830-1843, 1845-1954; will and probate of Dr. Eugenio Antonio Sierra, 1849; record of births in the United States Navy Hospital, 1917-1927; record of deaths in the United States Navy Hospital, 1876-1918; register of bodies removed from the Naval Reservation, 1931-1935; diary and letters of Dr. Francis B. Renshaw, 1849-1859; marriage ledgers of St. John's Catholic Church, 1850-1950; diary of a Confederate soldier at "East River Camp" written in French, 1861; and the diary of A. E. Quigley, 1861-1864. The Society has also acquired the "Map of Pensacola, Florida," published by Hooton & Watson, 1906.

The Monroe County May Hill Russell Library has added the following documents to its Florida collection: the papers of Thomas J. Ferguson, 1849-1850; two volumes of notes by William A. Whitehead; and a microfilm of Monroe County marriage records, 1872-1977.

Manatee County Central Library has added the following microfilm to its newspaper collection: *Manatee River Journal*, 1888-1921; *Manatee River Journal* and *Bradenton Herald*, 1922-1925; *Braidenton News*, 1897-1898; *Bradenton Herald*, 1927-1928; *Bradenton Evening Journal*, 1914-1916; and *Bradenton Evening Herald*, 1922-1926.

The Special Collections Department, Florida International University, has accessioned the masters theses written at the University relating to Florida history and related topics.

The Charlton W. Tebeau Library of the Historical Association of Southern Florida has accessioned the following manuscripts and photographs: a transcription of the Florida section of Escobelo's 1500s poem, and the papers of Rocky Pomerance,

1963-1977. In addition the following prints have been acquired: John James Audubon's "Key West Dove"; Dade County structures from the *Miami News*, 1927-1960s; engraving from Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues, 1600s; and photoprints of structures in Dade and Palm Beach counties, 1920s-1930s, compiled by Skipton. The library has also obtained architectural drawings of the Charles Deering estate's gate lodge, and a number of Florida maps and books.

The Haydon Burns Public Library, Jacksonville, has added the following typescripts: Lee E. Bigelow's , St. Paul's Protestant Episcopal Church of South Arlington; Duval County and its history, 1937; Lillie C. Holden's St. Paul's Church, 1948; William M. Jones, A Report on the Ceder Point ruins, Black Hammock Island, 1985; Carolina Rawls, A City is Born, 1945. Accessioned also were two pamphlets published by the Bethel Baptist Institutional Church; Governor Harrison Reed's message to the Florida legislature, 1872; and a booklet of the Ladies Village Improvement Association, Green Cove Springs, dated 1902.

The Otto G. Richter Library, University of Miami, has added the following to its manuscripts collection: letter from Edward Bok to Mrs. A. J. Hopkins, 1908; Captain John Brown letter, 1774; correspondence of Brigadier Reynard Peter Dordin, 1763; letters of Joseph Finch, 1796; letters from Abner Lacock to President James Monroe, 1882; Log Book of H. M. S. Swan, 1694-1698; letter from London Bishop Mark to Monsieur de Ferbeaux, 1799; Samuel Sharpe letter, 1796; letter from James Shepherd to John Brown, 1762; letter from N. E. Young to H. E. Hoover, 1899; Harry W. Hunt letter, 1818; letter from John B. Hogan to Robert Brent, 1818; letter from W. W. Croom to his brother, 1836; letter describing the fort at St. Marks, 1831; a St. Augustine document detailing military appointments in 1838; a letter written in 1838 by an army officer from Garey's Ferry, East Florida, to Lieutenant Edwin A. Morgan; letter from Zachary Taylor to General R. Jones, 1839; letter from F. O. Wyce to his brother, 1839; two letters from Colonel William J. Worth to Major Hitchcock, 1841; letter from F. B. Richardson to family members, Fort Pleasant, 1841; letter from Colonel Vose to his wife, Cedar Key, 1842; letter from Anson Cooke to his wife, Fort Desolation, 1849; letter from George Payne, Indian trader from Tampa; letter from William Seward to S. Cameron, 1861; letter from M. Blair to Simon Cameron, 1861;

letter from a soldier addressed to Rowburg, Ohio, 1865; sailor's letter, USS *Powhatan*, 1845; naval order, Headquarters East Gulf Squadron/Key West, 1865; naval order from the flag ship, Western Gulf Blockading Squadron-Hartford, Pensacola, 1864; a legal document dated 1856, indenture conveying land at Fernandina from the Florida Railroad to Joseph Finegan; and a letter from Captain Maddy to Captain Williamson.

BOOK REVIEWS

Black Eagle: General Daniel "Chappie" James, Jr. By James R. McGovern. (University, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1985. 204 pp. Introduction, illustrations, conclusion, notes, bibliography, index. \$22.50.)

Daniel "Chappie" James, Jr., was the first black four-star general in the history of the United States, and, to date, the only one. James died in 1978 at the age of fifty-eight, and it is unlikely that his shoes will be filled by another black officer anytime soon. Chappie James is a hard act to follow. The seventeenth child of a sharecropper family in Pensacola, Florida, he lived the admonition that so many black children have heard over the last century: if you want to have an equal chance, you have to be ten times better.

From the time he entered the pilot training school for blacks established at Tuskegee Institute during World War II, James's career in the Air Force followed a steady, upward path. He distinguished himself in Korea, then in Vietnam. He was a superb leader, an "enlisted man's officer" with a marked facility at communicating with others. While he held some important field commands, among them commander at Wheelus Air Force Base in Libya and commander in chief at NORAD (North American Air Defense) at Cheyenne, Wyoming, it was during his years in the public affairs office of the Defense Department at the Pentagon that he earned his second and third stars and established strong claims for his fourth. This was during the period 1970-1974, when the military was at its lowest ebb in the public opinion polls and when the Black Power and anti-Vietnam War movements were at their height. A proud, patriotic black general with a gift for communicating with a variety of segments of the population was a definite plus for the Defense Department.

How James compared his various assignments is not discussed in this book, and, good soldier that James was, it is unlikely that he ever publicly commented on such matters. He was a "company man," and in fact, during his brief retirement was somewhat at a loss in the civilian world. Tragic as his early death

was for his family, it may have been a blessing for a man who had become so accustomed to a car and driver that he didn't know how to change a tire, or who, in civilian clothes, despite his commanding presence and dignified demeanor, was on more than one occasion mistaken for a custodian or airline baggage attendant.

McGovern does a workmanlike job in handling this biography of James, though to have telescoped such an exciting and varied career and over 100 interviews with family, friends, and fellow officers into such a slim volume seems rather dismissive. McGovern appears not to have been able to identify with James, perhaps because of the unfortunate, narrow perspective betrayed by such statements as "Although he was respected by black enlisted personnel, they found, perhaps to their discomfort, they could not count on his unconditional favor"; and by references to James's "ingratiating" and "sycophantic" demeanor when dealing with powerful men who could affect his chances for promotion. But this is a good source book for the biographer who will eventually produce a book worthy of its bigger-than-life subject.

University of Florida

JIM HASKINS

This Destructive War: The British Campaign in the Carolinas, 1780-1782. By John S. Pancake. (University, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1985. xv, 293 pp. Preface, prologue, conclusion, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$27.50.)

The southern campaign has been often neglected by writers detailing the American Revolution. Most military historians seem to feel that once the northern campaigns were over in 1777, little of importance occurred until the final victory at Yorktown. That assumption would be true if measured in terms of major battles prior to 1780. In fact, Professor Pancake admits that one of the surprises he encountered while writing this book was the violence and savagery of partisan activities in the Carolina backcountry. He finds that the "purity and nobility of our patriotic ancestors" has been greatly exaggerated in the past, and that they were just as brutal in their treatment of the Tories

as they claimed the loyalists were vengeful in their attitudes toward the Whigs.

The author also expresses surprise at the large number of Carolinians who switched sides. This included not only the plain folk of the backcountry, but also the so-called aristocrats of the low country.

In military affairs, it was not until Nathanael Greene came south in late 1780 that any kind of strategy or pattern of fighting evolved in the southern theater of the war. And then Greene fought a war of attrition, and he so depleted the British forces by defensive activities and retrograde movements, that fewer numbers played a role in the eventual surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown.

Professor Pancake, in approaching the war, asks not why the Americans won the war, but why did the British lose it? He argues that British failure was due to political shortsightedness as much as to military actions. For instance, orders from London stripped the army of Sir Henry Clinton of troops who were to be sent to such threatened areas as Canada and the West Indies. These manpower shortages did not allow commanders in the field to consolidate their gains once they made them. The field armies were something like a boat pushing through the water and creating a bow wave, but with the water closing in behind once they had passed.

Another reason for failure was the "flawed" leaders in the British army. For example, Sir Henry Clinton did not hold Lord Cornwallis on a tighter rein, and yet did not allow him the discretion or responsibility of an independent command. Indecision was another cause of British failure. The author points out that after France and Spain entered the war, England never had naval superiority, and naval commanders were generally inept. This became evident when, during the Yorktown campaign crisis, three admirals arrived in New York, none of whom had experience in independent command.

Professor Pancake has given us a well-researched and beautifully- and tightly- written book. If there is a criticism it could be that one might wish for more battle details. But that is only a minor fault and does not detract from the value of the book. This is a fine work and fills a void in the military history of the American Revolution.

The Slave's Narrative. Edited by Charles T. Davis and Henry Louis Gates, Jr. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985. xxxiv, 342 pp. Preface, introduction, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$27.95.)

The Slave's Narrative, edited by Charles T. Davis and Henry L. Gates, Jr., provides the reader with a sensitive explanation and analysis of the autobiographical narratives written or dictated by ex-slaves of African descent from 1750 to the twentieth century. Written in a very lucid manner, the editors carefully discuss the narratives in terms of their historical significance, as well as how scholars have used them to reconstruct and interpret the black experience in America. Conceptually organized, this volume is a welcome addition to the constantly growing body of scholarly literature on the institution of slavery as it was seen from the slave's point of view.

The introduction and three broad chapters that constitute this volume are an outgrowth of years of research. The introduction, for example, gives the reader a good overview of the various essays on and reviews of American slavery. The debate over the advantages and limitations of using slave narratives and autobiographies is also analyzed in the introduction. Chapter one focuses on the narratives as told or written by slaves explaining their own plight from 1750 to 1861. Chapter two focuses on the slave narratives as history, and how scholars such as Sterling A. Brown, Paul D. Escott, C. Vann Woodward, John E. Wideman, John W. Blassingame, Gerald Joyner, and Robin W. Winks have used them in reconstructing the history of slavery in America. The slave narratives as literature is discussed in the third and final chapter. This chapter includes essays written by James Olney, Paul Edwards, Susan Willis, Robert B. Stepto, Houston A. Baker, Jr., Jean F. Yellin, Charles H. Nichols, and Melvin Dixon.

The volume enriches our knowledge of the various ways slave narratives have been viewed and utilized over time by various scholars in analyzing the "peculiar institution." Perhaps the most important contribution of the volume lies in the remarkable grasp of its editors, who go to great lengths to point up the advantages and limitations of using slaves narratives in the study of slavery in America. The result is a splendid compilation of essays and recent works on slavery which the specialist will find

invaluable. For the general reader, the editors have compiled a bibliography that will prove to be helpful in further study of slave narratives.

The *Slave's Narrative* is a highly readable and well conceived book. It clearly indicates that the editors have done an exhaustive amount of work on compiling the slave narratives, making them more accessible to anyone who may want to use them in the study of American slavery.

Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University

LARRY E. RIVERS

White Society in the Antebellum South. By Bruce Collins. (New York: Longman Group, 1985. xiv, 216 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, introduction, conclusion, maps, notes, bibliography, index. \$12.95.)

Bruce Collins's *White Society in the Antebellum South* is a volume in a new series, *Studies in Modern History*, published by Longman and edited by John Morrill and David Cannadine. These are brief interpretive works based largely on secondary sources that are similar to the published volumes in the American series *New Perspectives on the South* edited by Charles P. Roland and published by the University Press of Kentucky. Both in scope and quality of research into the historical literature of the Old South, Collins's study of antebellum whites is on a par with John B. Boles's outstanding synthesis of recent scholarship on southern blacks during the Age of Slavery, *Black Southerners, 1619-1869* (1983). The two books complement one another so precisely that they might well be published together as a history of the people of the Old South.

Unlike Boles who is a native Southerner on the faculty of a southern university, Collins views southern history from afar, writing at the University of Glasgow. Although he did extensive research in southern libraries and archives, Collins obviously had access to a very extensive collection of monographs on the American South in libraries in the United Kingdom, the large number of these works reflecting the surprising interest in Great Britain in the American Civil War and the prewar South that gave birth to a Civil War Round Table in London.

Collins, a professor of American history, became intrigued like Winston Churchill by the southern white peoples' epic struggle against great odds during the Civil War, and he set out to determine what lay behind their military record. Upon examining the prewar Cotton Kingdom, Collins found a white agricultural society characterized by considerable disparity of wealth, ranging from the relative poverty of small non-slaveowning farmers to the opulence of owners of large slave-worked plantations, yet bound together by social ties and many common interests. Regardless of their varying degrees of prosperity, farmers and planters alike benefited from the availability of cheap land and generally favorable cotton prices. In a society that measured status by wealth not birth, successful farmers moved easily into the planter class, and this social mobility tended to minimize hostility between classes. Similarly, blood ties, common concepts of religion, family life, and respectability, as well as extremely democratic political institutions, tended to strengthen social bonds among the agricultural whites. The result of these consolidating influences, Collins concluded, was a distinctive folk, instantly recognizable to outsiders.

Collins's perceptive analysis of the nature of antebellum southern white society is a reminder that American history is not an exclusive preserve for American historians, and that distant vantagepoints can provide fresh and illuminating insights not visible from points closer to the scene. In this study scholars will find a thorough survey of recent literature relating to prewar southern whites, and stimulating analyses spiced with illustrations from original sources. Non-professional readers will savor a well-written and sympathetic description of a somewhat peculiar southern people, whose virtues were more apparent in time of war than in peace.

Florida State University

JOHN HEBRON MOORE

North Carolina Planters and Their Children, 1800-1860. By Jane Turner Censer. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1984. xxv, 191 pp. Preface, note on sources and methodology, maps, tables, appendix, bibliography, index. \$20.00.)

Unlike social historians of colonial America and the industrializing Northeast, scholars of the American South have been slow to produce family and community studies. This lag in research and publication has had but one exception, the work of historians of slavery, and it has produced the irony that we have a richer understanding of slave families and communities than we do of their theoretically more fully documented owners. Jane Turner Censer's study of the North Carolina planter elite is one effort to illuminate the dynamics of slaveowner family life.

Censer begins with her working definition of the family. She has chosen to emphasize the nuclear family and to focus on the relationships between parents and their children and only incidentally touches on interactions of husbands and wives or among children. The study is narrowed further by an absence of discussion of the role of multiple marriages and the impact of step-parents and step-siblings on a family. Both of these decisions were unfortunate in that they prevent the author from analyzing the role of extended kin in the southern family, a theme that has appeared in the historiography of white and black families alike.

With these limitations in mind, and arguing that the family is a "process rather than a fixed unchanging entity," Censer looks at the parent-child relationship in what she defines as its most important tasks: "the socialization and education of children, the creation of new families through courtship and marriage, and the intergenerational transfer of property in portioning and inheritance," (p. xiv). She concludes that southern planters, like the New England middle-class lived in child-centered families, and that the early socialization of children to parental values produced few crises during these potentially tense periods of decision. Children had a great deal of autonomy, earned their parents trust, and generally made wise decisions about their futures.

From a methodological perspective this study is seriously flawed. Censer constructs her "sample" from the 1830 manuscript census returns of North Carolina by defining all slaveholders who owned seventy or more slaves in a single county as the state's great planters. This group in effect becomes her cohort. After eliminating individuals who had no direct descendants or who migrated from the state, she reduces her pool from 181 to 124 families and proceeds to track these families both backward

and forward in time. Censer relies upon civil and religious records, which have become standard fare for social historians of colonial American communities. In addition Censer scours manuscript sources for diaries and correspondence to fill out her story. The initial decisions to define her study so narrowly pose serious problems for Censer in the analysis to come. Because she does not use the age of planters in 1830 to distinguish between generations, she repeatedly treats this group as a cohort that could expect to move through the life cycle at the same pace and whose children can be compared during their life course. The result is a surprisingly static and ahistorical study.

Furthermore, though Censer's efforts to integrate demographic arguments into her study are commendable, she lacks the methodological expertise necessary to avoid some of the pitfalls. She accepts arguments that are controversial. One case in point is her discussion of whether planters and their wives practiced some form of birth control. In this analysis she fails to consider the contributions of age at marriage and the length of birth intervals in projecting the expected family size. Censer repeatedly misuses demographic terminology, such as "reconstituted" families, and she fails to note the obvious differences of measures of total family size, family size, and "completed" family size. Most distressing, are her tables on age at marriage for the daughters and sons of the great planters, in which the traditional age categories are ignored and summary statistics miscalculated.

Despite these shortcomings, Censer's study makes several valuable contributions to our understanding of the parent-child dynamic in antebellum America, and among the North Carolina elite. Censer raises many of the important questions by her focus on socialization, education, marriage, and inheritance, and she successfully draws on a growing body of literature examining these issues in the United States and Europe to formulate her questions. Unfortunately, problems of evidence and interpretation prevent successful analysis of these issues and make this a very disappointing study.

Black Masters: A Free Family of Color in the Old South. By Michael P. Johnson and James L. Roark. (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1984. xvi, 422 pp. Maps and illustrations, preface, appendix, notes, acknowledgments, index. \$22.50.)

William Ellison, the principle subject of Michael P. Johnson and James L. Roark's *Black Masters*, lived a life touched by irony. As a slave, the mulatto Ellison served an apprenticeship with a cotton gin maker, an experience that allowed him to purchase his freedom in 1816. As a "free person of color," he lived comfortably among the white masters of Stateburg, South Carolina. There he earned his fortune manufacturing the gins that the area's slaveowners kept busy with the products of forced black labor. By 1820, the freeman held slaves of his own. By the time of his death in 1861, Ellison, the wealthiest free person of color in the state, owned sixty-three slaves and over 800 acres of land. Without question, William Ellison exploited black labor as readily as a white planter, and he secured his free, prosperous status by accepting the harsh side of a system he had escaped.

The authors succeed in making this extraordinary man's actions understandable, if not any less distasteful. In the process, they have done some impressive detective work. Granted, much is left to speculation, but Johnson and Roark's careful conclusions are always well-reasoned. For example, after examining their data and suggesting other explanations, the authors argue convincingly that Ellison supported the growth of his plantation by selling off young slave girls.

Johnson and Roark tell a fascinating story that moves beyond the environs of Stateburg and the concerns of one man by placing Ellison in the context of his times. More than biographers, they use Ellison's childrens' marriage ties with Charleston's free colored elite as an entree to that community's history. Examining white attitudes towards free blacks, they provide a first-rate analysis of Charleston's reenslavement crisis of the summer of 1860. In the process, they make a significant contribution to our understanding of the world view of South Carolina's free people of color.

William Ellison and his free colored acquaintances did not take their freedom for granted. They found it imperative to maintain their respectability in the eyes of their white neighbors. Plying useful trades and practicing proper racial etiquette, they

developed networks of personal relations with the white community. Distancing themselves as “free people of color” from black South Carolinians, they hoped to carve out a racial middle ground for themselves and to show white society that they posed no threat to peace or property. In Ellison’s case, owning slaves could be considered more than an economic necessity; it also emphasized his status and proved his willingness to play by the white man’s rules. In the end, these tactics mattered little. As the reenslavement crisis illustrated, personal relations broke down in the face of a racist political reality.

If Ellison’s life was touched by irony, so to was his estate. Ellison and his family remained in South Carolina despite secession. After the patriarch’s death, his heirs continued to follow his conservative course, becoming good Confederates, only to lose much of their economic and racial status with Union victory. Still, Stateburg remained their home, and the colored Ellison’s shunned the Republican party for the party of white supremacy.

University of South Carolina at Aiken

PAUL A. CIMBALA

Atlas of Antebellum Southern Agriculture. By Sam Bowers Hilliard. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1985. xi, 77 pp. Foreword, acknowledgements, introduction, maps. \$27.50; \$8.95 paper.)

Over a decade ago, geographer Sam Hilliard published *Hog Meat and Hoecake: Food Supply in the Old South* (1972), a book which has become a bible to students of southern agriculture. In addition to discussing the agriculture and foodways of the Old South, Hilliard lavishly illustrated *Hog Meat and Hoecake* with a series of maps depicting the production of various cash crops, food crops, and domestic animals in the southern states. Hilliard, however, focused on only eight southern states, overlooking the border states as well as Texas and Florida.

In his latest book, *Atlas of Antebellum Southern Agriculture*, Hilliard broadens his research to include fourteen states of the Old South, excluding only Delaware, western Texas, and southern Florida. Hilliard’s *Atlas* contains a brief text, but the heart of the work is a series of 111 elegant maps, portraying southern physiography, climate, population, land and labor systems, live-

stock, major crops, and minor crops. All are mapped on the same projection and at the same scale to facilitate comparison.

The serious reader will be rewarded by comparing a variety of maps within the *Atlas*. In his introduction, Hilliard urged readers "to make as many visual comparisons" of the maps as possible in order "to 'see' correlations that had hitherto gone unnoticed" (p. 4). As an example, a student could compare maps on major crops, physiographic regions, climate, slave populations, and livestock to find that most southern cotton was grown in the coastal plain below the 210 frostfree day line by slaves using mules as work animals

Despite its potential value for students of southern agriculture, the *Atlas* has some minor flaws. The maps on livestock, for example, fail to demonstrate the importance of stock-raising within certain regions of the Old South. Hilliard included dot maps depicting the areal distribution of hogs and cattle during the census years of 1840, 1850, and 1860. Yet, he failed to include maps portraying the ratios of livestock populations to human populations in the Old South. Such maps would have shown very high livestock to people ratios within the southern mountains and coastal pinewoods. Given their large livestock to people ratios, the mountains and pinewoods habitually produced surpluses of hogs and cattle, which were exported to plantations, cities, and overseas markets.

Although the livestock maps failed to meet the high standards set by the remaining maps, Hilliard's *Atlas* should prove an invaluable research tool for southern historians as well as for specialists in agricultural history. It should become as indispensable as his earlier *Hog Meat* and *Hoecake*.

Center for American Archeology
Hardin, Illinois

JOHN S. OTTO

The Confederate Governors. Edited by W. Buck Yearns. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1985. 295 pp. Introduction, notes, contributors, index. \$27.50.)

Any volume composed of separately authored essays poses organizational problems for the editor. He is the only person who could stitch together a common fabric of argument from

collected pieces which must inevitably be uneven in quality and disparate in focus. W. Buck Yearns's *The Confederate Governors* reveals the thorny troubles which can so limit success. In attempting to impose some interpretive order on the collection, Yearns's introduction creates a restrictive thematic unity for essays that differ markedly. As a result, the reader must mine an uneven and incompletely summarized set of contributions. Yet, the effort is rewarding, for within these surveys of gubernatorial experience lie several fascinating possibilities for speculation and interpretation.

To confine one's examination of these essays to the editor's suggested themes would be to miss much of value, for Yearns constricts the focus to how fully the governors supported the Confederate authorities, what quality of leadership each provided, and how effectively each addressed home-front problems. Accepting this framework forces the reader into analytical trouble. For example, as part of the definition of good leadership, Yearns discusses the governors' relationships with their people in terms of charisma: the ability to cultivate an aura of competence. As presented, this ability seems wholly divorced from the needs and judgments of constituents, and from the press of events; it is mere image-building. Secondly, Yearns evaluates the governors' relations with Richmond solely on the level of cooperativeness, ignoring the governors' political necessity to resist many of the Davis administration's demands, or risk turning their states over to the actively disloyal— a risk demonstrated by the contributors.

If readers place these difficulties aside, they will find that delving into the essays yields an interesting and suggestive detailing of the gubernatorial experience. The overriding impression is one of the impossibility of governing. We do not see men leading or failing to lead in a war effort. These governors were neither victims of their own ineptitude nor masterful conquerors of difficulties; they were trapped in the surging waves of impossible war in which no answer, no policy, no design was right. Successful performance was never a possibility, for they were attempting to survive what could not be survived. It is the aspects of impossibility of the governors' mission, the nature of the limits on their choices, that provide so much potential for discussion and interpretation.

These essays provide viewpoints and illuminating details that few students of the Civil War South are likely to encounter. Better articulation of the nature of southern nationalism or commitment may be possible from heightened awareness of the extreme vulnerability of such a vast portion of the Confederacy to Federal invasion by sea, river, or land. Almost every governor was poignantly aware of his commander-in-chief responsibility for the defense of his own state. It had been assumed before 1860 that a federal government was obligated to protect its several states against foreign invasion, but the Confederate government could not discharge this obligation. The resulting vulnerability haunted the governors, and their experiences reflect how keenly most of the Confederacy's people perceived the central government as excessively concerned with the Virginia theater. Moreover, the array of popular resentments about a far-away government's intrusions into local affairs may be a revelation of what southern nationalism actually meant to many: loyalty to a nation-state whose primary obligation was to preserve a highly-prized local autonomy— a theme examined intensively in David Donald's essay "Died of Democracy" in his edited collection *Why the North Won the Civil War* (1960) and J. Mills Thornton's *Politics and Power in a Slave Society* (1978). More than one embittered Confederate congressman exclaimed in debate that some of the proposed policies would be worse than anything ever feared under the prewar United States government.

The common, if not entirely uniform, wartime suffering of people all across the Confederacy appears vividly in the similar experiences of governors taking revolutionary steps to try to alleviate such conditions. It does not appear that political theory about the role of government was changing so much as consensus was emerging in support of disaster relief. At the same time, popular willingness to sacrifice further seems to have eroded at remarkably similar rates in all parts of the Confederacy, suggesting region-wide social, economic, and emotional concerns too intractable to yield to any leadership effort.

The structure of this volume overemphasizes fragmentation and lack of coordination. It would take a complementary view from Richmond, along the lines of Paul D. Escott's chapter on Jefferson Davis and Joseph E. Brown in his *After Secession* (1978), to rectify that bias. Perhaps an adequate assessment of the potential clarifications scattered through *The Confederate Governors*

must await a companion volume to William B. Hesseltine's *Lincoln and the War Governors* (1948).

University of Missouri-Columbia

THOMAS B. ALEXANDER
ROBERT E. HUNT

Iron Afloat: The Story of the Confederate Armorclads. By William N. Still, Jr. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1985. x, 262 pp. Acknowledgments, preface, prologue, conclusion, notes, bibliography, index, illustrations. \$17.95.)

Two years after the war ex-Secretary of the Navy Stephen R. Mallory wrote that the Confederate Navy had done more than was expected of it, yet few knew or appreciated its effort. A little over a hundred years later Professor Still agreed and set the record straight. Through painstaking scholarly research on a topic avoided by others because of the paucity of material, Still brings to light ample manuscript sources to flesh out the sparse material in the government's official records, and his narrative documentation should satisfy the most demanding scholar.

The author contends that the Confederate ironclads' defensive strategy not only tied down an inordinate number of Union ships on blockade, but delayed the North's offensive actions upon several key seaports. However, the southern public, spurred by the successes of the *Virginia* and *Arkansas* in 1861, expected an offensive role for its ironclads. Yet in the summer of 1862, the realization of the South's industrial inadequacy caused the planners of Confederate naval policy to shift to a defensive strategy. Unfortunately for the navy, the public still expected the ironclads to drive the Union ships from the sea. Therefore, when this did not happen, it was perceived as a naval failure. Later, the public's wartime concept became part of the Civil War legacy, until *Iron Afloat*.

The cursory explanation for the exaggerated caution displayed by some Union naval officers confronting ironclad rams is below the standards of this scholarly work. Still attributes this fear to the contemporary expression "ram fever." Had he expended his usual research vigor upon ram fever he would have

found that in the 1850s when warships first employed steam propulsion and armor protection, esteemed naval tacticians on both sides of the Atlantic turned to the ram. It was assumed that armor negated guns and steam provided maneuverability to return naval warfare to the tactics of the Greco-Roman oared galleys. The *Virginia's* ram, prior to the battle with the *Monitor*, seemed to confirm this expectation. Only the sum of the Civil War's naval engagements demonstrated that the ram was not the ultimate, or even a satisfactory, naval weapon.

Still details the development of ironclads at each of the Confederacy's maritime regions from the James River through the port areas of the Atlantic and Gulf coasts to the western waters. He discusses material shortages, political and interservice rivalries, and inadequate transportation systems only in relation to the ironclad. Other Confederate naval matters are not included in this tour de force of the Confederate armorclads.

Iron Afloat was first published in 1971. This second printing contains new illustrations, an addendum to the bibliography, and some minor corrections which should please those laymen and scholars interested in the Civil War or naval history. And Stephen R. Mallory would agree that Still's thesis needed to be told.

Jacksonville University

GEORGE E. BUKER

Breaking the Land: The Transformation of Cotton, Tobacco, and Rice Cultures Since 1880. By Pete Daniel. (Champaign: University of Illinois, 1985. xvi, 352 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, illustrations, notes, index. \$22.50.)

Breaking the Land traces the transformation of cotton, flue-cured tobacco, and prairie rice cultures in the South from primarily sharecropper operations in the 1880s to present-day agribusiness status. Pete Daniel, curator of the National Museum of American History in Washington, D. C., shows that these commodity cultures were neither monolithic nor stagnant. Each staple had different labor requirements and technological hurdles, utilized distinguishable cultivation, harvesting, and marketing techniques, responded variously to government intervention, and evolved distinctive community organizations.

The prairie rice culture that developed in Louisiana, Arkansas, and Texas, for example, was “unsouthern” in the respect that the staple was cultivated primarily by transplanted midwestern farmers who mechanized early and kept introducing innovations. Over the years, as progressive farmers, they invested in tractors, combines, threshers, irrigation pumping plants, and bulk storage facilities. They also practiced tenant arrangements that were different in land units, machinery, supervision, and rental patterns from tobacco and cotton farming, and which allowed for the cultivation of other crops and leisure and community commitments.

By the 1930s national disasters, insects and diseases, and fluctuating prices and depressions broke down southern resistance to government intrusion. New Deal relief programs supplanted local merchants and landlords as the furnishing agents of southern agriculture, and the federal government through acreage allotments and benefit payments assumed direction over agriculture that the region’s planter class had previously enjoyed. Federal programs, coupled with advances in science and technology, broke down the tenure system, drove labor off the land into cities and factories, and paved the way for agribusiness—a capital intense, highly mechanized, and government program-dependent commercial farming system.

Large farms and gigantic implements, prescription fertilizer and killer chemicals, government meddling and demeaning welfare programs were not, Daniel contends, inevitable. There were options that could have preserved some of the richest folk cultures in the nation, and still provide for agricultural prosperity. The Amish, Daniel points out, live a simple life, use few technological innovations, refuse federal relief, and work in harmony with natural cycles while neighboring agribusinesses go bankrupt.

Breaking the Land is a crisply written, conceptually innovative, and dynamically argued account. Among the many considerate professional touches that Daniel has provided are vintage photographs that depict features discussed, individual vignettes that highlight points made, and references culled from popular literature that compliment the thorough primary research in archival collections. Overall, *Breaking the Land* is a substantial contribution to southern agricultural history.

U. B. Phillips: A Southern Mind. By John Herbert Roper. (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1984. vi, 198 pp. Introduction, notes, epilogue, sources, bibliography, index. \$16.95.)

Four decades after his death, Ulrich Bonnell Phillips remains a major figure in the writing of southern history. While post-World War II historians of slavery continue to debate his impact, recent scholars have portrayed Phillips as a key figure in twentieth-century southern intellectual history. Now, in a new critical biography, John Herbert Roper has provided a new study of certain interest to students of slavery and the slave regime as well as of the culture and society of the early twentieth-century South.

Born in La Grange, Georgia, in 1877, the son of a patrician mother and a yeoman father, Phillips was graduated from the University of Georgia, and Columbia University where he earned the Ph.D. From his childhood in postbellum Georgia, Phillips acquired an "emotional heritage," according to Roper, of insecurity about his paternal and regional identity; the twin "intellectual dowries" of his years as student and young scholar were scientific and progressive history. Based upon German historical scholarship and the teaching and scholarship of Herbert Baxter Adams, scientism emphasized empirical research and eschewed the idealism and avocationalism of mid-nineteenth-century romantic historians. Phillips came under the tutelage of the Adams-trained scientific historian John T. McPherson at Georgia, and scientism continued to shape his graduate work under Columbia's William A. Dunning. After 1898, however, Phillips became a protege of Frederick Jackson Turner and a follower of progressive history, which stressed economic determinism and the influence of geography upon American history.

According to Roper, a succession of works blending scientific and progressive history followed the publication of his doctoral dissertation, *Georgia and State Rights* in 1901. Although the empiricism of scientism and the microcosmic emphasis of progressivism led Phillips toward regional history, he increasingly found that neither adequately explained the history of the South. Beginning about 1912, and most apparently in *American Negro Slavery* (1918), Roper contends, Phillips began a third and final stage in his intellectual development. He explicitly rejected the scientific-progressive system by advancing, as the basic components

of southern history, race relations and the determination of southern whites to maintain racial supremacy through an insular, self-sustaining social system. Subsequently, in "The Central Theme of Southern History," (1928), *Life and Labor in the Old South* (1929), and the posthumously published *The Slave Economy of the Old South*, Phillips developed themes of southern distinctiveness, continuity, and the primacy of race in southern history.

As the only book-length biography of Phillips, Roper's study fills a large void. While carefully mining the scattered and generally thin collections of Phillips papers, Roper also makes diligent use of a variety of oral sources. In his analysis, he is also bold and imaginative without losing balance and perspective; Roper wisely avoids defending or assaulting Phillips's racial views. Nonetheless, a few problems sometimes plague this otherwise line study. As a cross between intellectual and personal biography, it suffers from a persistent chronological confusion. More important, the lack of extensive documentation forces Roper to speculate, sometimes hazardously. The best example comes early in the biography when he explains Phillips's childhood and adolescence according to a strong maternal relationship. This interpretation may be valid, but it rests upon a flimsy evidential foundation and is subsequently almost completely undeveloped.

University of North Carolina at Greensboro

WILLIAM A. LINK

Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow: Black Women, Work, and the Family from Slavery to the Present. By Jacqueline Jones. (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1985. xiii, 432 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, epilogue, appendices, notes, selected bibliography, index. \$25.95.)

This is a brilliant book. *Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow* synthesizes two decades of scholarship on black women—much of it culled from studies the primary focus of which lies elsewhere—and provides innovative perspectives on the histories of blacks, women, and workers generally. While challenging traditional scholarship, historians of women and workers have begun to develop a consensus of their own. Emphasizing shopfloor solidarity among (skilled) workers and sisterhood among (bourgeoise) women, they have created idealized women and

workers who supposedly share common values and goals by virtue of their gender or class. Afro-American scholars have found a different type of consensus— internal to the black family and community— in which black women are portrayed as supporting the attitudes and actions of their male kin. Jones challenges each of these consensus frameworks, arguing that in general, class solidarity and sisterhood were laced with racism, and that the black family and community conjointly suffered from sexism. A strong cooperative ethos and the strident demands of survival created strong bonds among black women themselves, bonds which oftentimes created barriers between them and whites and them and black males. Still, their collective strength was most often wielded against whites and in support of black families, including the male members.

This study covers over a century and a half of history and presents fresh evidence, revealing anecdotes, and vivid images for each era within this broad sweep. Jones's use of slave narratives, oral histories, black literature, and letters allows her supposedly mute subjects to speak for themselves. Overall, they demonstrate an astounding degree of militancy in the face of various oppressors, though the security of the family and the community often demanded silence in the face of outrage.

The most moving sections of this prodigious study are those on slavery and the Great Depression. Jones's analyses of these two periods are in line with other recent interpretations, such as those of Deborah White, Lois Helmbold, and Gary Hunter. Her unique contribution is to bring together the newest arguments about black working women in such disparate eras and weave them into a coherent whole. In addition, Jones draws important parallels between the struggles of black working women and those of their poor rural white, immigrant, and frontier sisters, and thereby strengthens her challenge to interpretations of the past built mainly on the experiences of elite women. Her comparison of *Ebony's* images of black women with the "feminine mystique" is a prime example.

Finally, this is a book that combines clarity of analysis with complexity of evidence. The author defines work to include reproduction and production, paid and unpaid employment, forced and voluntary labor, public and private services, and she defines family as embracing fictive as well as blood kin. In examining this wide range of topics, Jones utilizes numerous quan-

titative as well as literary and oral sources, and she locates each of her arguments in the midst of both long-standing and current historiographical debates. Jones hoped to "open a wider discussion on the interrelationships among work, sex, race, and class." She has done that, and not by discussing abstract ideologies and arguments, but by providing concrete evidence on black women's labor which demands a rethinking of existing theoretical concepts, frameworks, and interpretations.

University of South Florida

NANCY A. HEWITT

The Transplanted: A History of Immigrants in Urban America. By John Bodnar. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985. xxi, 294 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, conclusion, illustrations, notes, selected bibliography, index. \$27.50.)

The state of Florida today is one of America's greatest immigration receiving areas. The irony is that while Floridians historically have expended substantial energy and resources to induce people to their state, many residents now view immigration as a major problem. The reasons for this are complex, having fundamentally to do with the economic, social, and political conditions underpinning the current inrush of foreign newcomers. Whatever the reasons, however, it is clear that the better Floridians can understand the phenomenon of immigration, the better they can confront the range of emotional debates presently swirling about this issue. It is from this perspective that the publication of John Bodnar's *The Transplanted* is a particularly welcome event.

The author has produced the best single volume interpretation of immigration to urban America now in existence. To be sure, he has placed limits to his coverage: he examines only the experience of immigrants settling in cities, and he isolates the century prior to 1930 for examination. Yet, these are generous boundaries, and this book will undoubtedly remain a standard text for years to come. So thorough is Bodnar's research, so pleasing is his writing style, so deft is his ability to draw effective generalizations from great masses of material, and so filled is this volume with insight and analysis that one is tempted merely

to list synonyms for "excellent" alongside each of the eight chapter titles.

What separates this book from others of its kind is the conceptual framework that Bodnar has utilized to organize his source materials and argument. At the center of his analysis rests the dynamics of industrial capitalism and the ways in which they forced adjustments in the lives of ordinary people. What must be examined, therefore, are "all the points where immigrant families met the challenges of capitalism and modernity" (xvi). Bodnar pursues his thesis consistently and convincingly throughout the volume, dealing with conditions in the homeland, the job site in America, the neighborhood, the church, the school, and so on. Ultimately, he finds no simple equation in which group cultures or American urban structures and lifestyles predominated in shaping immigrants, but rather a complex interaction of "classes, ideologies, and culture within and outside immigrant communities" (xvii). In an imaginative last chapter entitled "The Culture of Everyday Life," Bodnar ties together the main threads of his interpretation. For the great mass of immigrants who remained in the working class, this adaptive culture focused on the needs of the family and the proximate community. At this level, immigrants (the "children of capitalism") found meaning and a measure of control over their lives (p. 209). The culture, however, was not based exclusively on ethnicity, tradition, class, or notions of progress; it was a dynamic, mediating culture, grounded in pragmatism and mutual assistance, and composed partly of the past and the present (p. 212).

What this volume has given us is a view of immigrants that reveals the range of choices open to them in making their crucial life decisions. They emerge as active agents who influenced the resulting outcomes at every stage, not as helpless flotsam or as single-minded ideologues. What was true of these earlier waves of newcomers is assuredly true of contemporary immigrants. John Bodnar's careful assessments, therefore, have much relevance to today's thorny problems.

The New City: Urban America in the Industrial Age, 1860-1920. By Raymond A. Mohl. (Arlington Heights, IL: Harlan Davidson, 1985. xiii, 242 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, tables, map, bibliographical essay, index. \$8.95 paper.)

The publication of *The New City: Urban America in the Industrial Age, 1860-1920* fills an important need in the field of urban history. Raymond A. Mohl brings to his task impressive credentials: editorial moorings at the *Journal of Urban History*, the authorship of several important books, and recently, an inquiry into the growth of modern Miami.

Intelligently written, soundly outlined, and persuasively argued, *The New City* represents a sweeping synthesis of the extensive literature dealing with social and economic history. In attempting to explain the intricate relationships wrought by immigration, industrialization, and urbanization, Mohl has judiciously managed to distill an awesome amount of scholarship into a tightly written volume. Mohl's handling of the thorny interpretive questions associated with topics such as progressivism, educational reform, and communalism stands as an example of scholarly balance. The ability to synthesize such diverse issues as demographic patterns, modernization theory, and urban ecology, underscores Mohl's effectiveness as an author and analyst.

Mohl's decision to chronicle the period 1860-1920 distinguishes *The New City* from recent urban history texts. The period following the Civil War ushered in profound changes in the composition and character of American cities. Arthur M. Schlesinger, in his seminal 1933 volume for A History of American Life series, marked the period with the enduring title, *The Rise of the City, 1878-1978*. Mohl's choice of periodization, 1860-1920, is never fully explained and seems artificially contrived, considering recent scholarship by Hareven, Thernstrom, and Gutman.

Readers seeking insight into Florida cities will be disappointed, although the fault lies not with Mohl but with the scarcity of first-rate local studies. That so little scholarship exists focusing upon Florida's urban experience is unfortunate because many dramatic changes occurred in Florida during the period of 1860-1920. In 1860, fewer than five per cent of Floridians resided in urban areas; by 1920, more than one in three

residents lived in cities. In *Cotton Fields and Skyscrapers*, David Goldfield argued that southern cities, distinguished by agrarianism, a bi-racial code, and a colonial economy, were different from northern cities. Unfortunately, Mohl ignored this question, preferring to concentrate on prototypical northern and midwestern industrial cities.

Still, *The New City* succeeds in offering readers an integrated overview of the industrial city, 1860-1920. Mohl's study will likely become a standard text in urban history and general survey courses.

University of South Florida

GARY MORMINO

Sacred Groves and Ravaged Gardens: The Fiction of Eudora Welty, Carson McCullers, and Flannery O'Connor. By Louise Westling. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1985. xi, 217 pp. Preface, introduction, notes, bibliography, index. \$22.50.)

The idea of a distinctive southern culture does not die, no matter how much dirt gets shovelled on top of its grave, no matter how much common sense supports the notion of Southerners as Americans. Whether because of its manners or its mores, its race relations or its politics, its climate or its agronomy, something about the region requires that it be treated as a unit. Louise Westling's study of three recent southern writers contributes admirably to the uninterrupted discussion of the history of sectional particularism. In her secure hands, feminist criticism enlarges an appreciation of how the southern milieu shaped the character of its women and (though it was not Westling's official purpose) corroborates the impression of regional distinctiveness. By examining novelists who have meditated upon the fate of other southern women, *Sacred Groves and Ravaged Gardens* declines the persistent invitation of our culture to let us now praise famous men. The result is a demonstration of the sublime vigor of the southern literary mind that ought to elicit the interest of historians of the twentieth-century South.

Unlike some of her English department compatriots, Westling gives literary criticism some juice by injecting history into it. Not only does her book weave relevant biographical information about Welty, McCullers, and O'Connor into the formal analysis of their texts, but her two opening chapters in particular

provide the context for the feminist interpretation that follows. Drawing upon contemporary observers from Mary Chesnut to Lillian Smith, and from historians like Bertram Wyatt-Brown, Westling underscores the romantic illusions about white women that pervaded southern tradition and exacted so high a price in the deflation of their intellectual and moral powers. A culture which exalted female purity and innocence, which deemed women unfit for worldly affairs like business and politics, and which restricted their mental development could not legitimate the struggle of its most ambitious and sensitive daughters to achieve full human plenitude.

The broad outlines of this analysis are familiar enough. What is most fresh and valuable in *Sacred Groves and Ravaged Gardens* is Westling's attentiveness to the evidence: the fiction of Welty, McCullers, and O'Connor. Only Welty is still alive to protest her enlistment in such a cause, and perhaps none of these writers would have been entirely comfortable with the others sharing the bunk. O'Connor especially hated the work of her fellow Georgian, McCullers. But Westling does not make the mistake of confining them to a "school," and her text shows a reassuring awareness of the idiosyncrasies that make them worthy of extended literary judgment in the first place. Welty and O'Connor come off very well—the former for her skillful incorporation of ancient myth in the descriptions of Delta life and for her ease in the investigation of southern femininity, the latter for the depth charges she made to detonate the grotesqueries of rural Georgia, in the service of a rare but genuine religious vocation. Westling's lucid chapter on the poignant sexual ambiguities in *The Member of the Wedding* and *The Heart is a Lonely Hunter* implies that McCullers's fiction is less sophisticated—and therefore ultimately less satisfying, however personal her literary signature.

Cogently organized and argued, written with a passion and an exactitude that honor the three authors whom it treats, and handsomely designed as well, *Sacred Groves and Ravaged Gardens* should be inserted among other invaluable studies of the mind of the South.

Museum Public Relations. By G. Donald Adams. (Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1983. x, 237 pp. Preface, introduction, appendix, notes, bibliography, illustrations. \$21.00.)

Museum Public Relations is the second volume in a continuing series on museum and historical agency management by the American Association for State and Local History. The initial volume dealt with museums and the law. That public relations was chosen as one of the early topics in this series is indicative of the increased importance those who run museums place on their institution's image in the community.

Often public relations is viewed as little more than a sophisticated form of manipulation. G. Donald Adams, the author of this work, sees it as effective communications with a variety of specific audiences. In a little over 200 pages, Adams provides a clear and concise explanation of public relations, covering everything from communications theory to the technology of satellite television. This book does not, however, try to be a list of public relations techniques; Adams instructs the reader to consider the process of transmitting messages rather than focusing on the components of developing and sending the message.

Adams assumes that within the museum the public relations function must be ubiquitous. It should not be isolated from administration, education, or curatorial activities. The public relations department (be it staffed with paid professionals or self-taught volunteers) has the task of helping the museum staff to tell the public what they are doing and why it is significant beyond the confines of the institution. Whether a museum attempts to raise money for a new building, exhibit a valuable document, or publish a members newsletter, the staff must be made aware of what messages the public is receiving and whether or not they are what were intended.

Adams provides the tools for the evaluation of the messages. Even one with no knowledge of public relations should be able to do a credible job after reading this book. Especially useful are Adams's chapters on publications and the print and broadcast media. Other chapters deal with research and planning, differentiating audiences, fund-raising, promotional campaigns, and troubleshooting. A useful appendix offers a variety of sam-

ple press releases, questionnaires, calendars, and other tools of the public relations trade.

A minor criticism is that most of the examples used in the book are taken from major museums. It would have been a good idea to incorporate successful public relations activities of smaller museums as well. Still, this is a valuable book that every museum employee and volunteer should read.

Fort Lauderdale Historical Society

DANIEL T. HOBBY

The Care of Antiques and Historical Collections. Edited by A. Bruce MacLeish. 2nd ed. (Nashville: American Association for State and Local History Press, 1985. xiii, 248 pp. Prefaces, introduction, illustrations, appendices, index. \$14.95; \$13.45 for AASLH members.)

The American Association for State and Local History has a long and well-founded reputation for assistance to the small historical societies and agencies which make up the bulk of America's past-keeping force. With their re-edition of Per E. Guldbek's 1972 work, the tradition continues in a manner both timely and useful for the many Floridians who preserve our state's tangible heritage. This latest edition has been expanded (eighty-nine pages longer than the original), has had its contents reorganized in a more logical sequence, and now has an index which does the work heretofore assumed by an unwieldy table of contents. Many topics are addressed which have particular relevance for Floridians. Metal, skins, and leather preservation, for example, are always of primary concern in a state with salty air and high humidity; and, almost every collection, whether held by a museum, historical society, or private collector, contains photographs which are as easily harmed by improper storage methods as by no care. In addition, the book also addresses two other basic facets of collections care: storage requirements and identifying and documenting the artifacts.

The "director" of the revision is A. Bruce MacLeish, curator of collections for the New York State Historical Association. In his preface MacLeish indicates immediately that this version is not a refutation but, rather, an adaptation of the earlier information to the more conservative viewpoint prevailing today.

Museums in general, as well as the field of artifacts conservation in particular, have benefitted greatly from the technological strides made in other areas during the last decade. Curators, however, being a conservative lot by nature, have moved with much caution towards the acceptance of miracle-promising new chemical compounds, the effects of which might well be the irrevocable damage of irreplaceable objects. For example, in the case of ethylene oxide and some other fumigants, long-range physical damage to the user can result.

For the staff of small agencies, without curators or other specialized individuals to keep abreast of the changing field, and budgets which barely permit the necessities, the problems increase geometrically and the need for a practical guide becomes obvious. At the same time, however, the author and editors of this book are keenly aware that this is an area where, without doubt, a little knowledge can be a dangerous thing. Might not even the soundest advice, misdirected or overzealously applied, be worse than bad advice? Yes-but the responsible solution is not to withhold important information on these grounds. Rather, it is to make readable and useable works, such as this one, available to all those directly concerned with the care of collections.

Museum of Florida History

PATRICIA R. WICKMAN

BOOK NOTES

Our Story of Gulfport, Florida, was published by the Gulfport Historical Society to commemorate the seventy-fifth anniversary of the city. Archeological surveys indicate that there were humans living in the Boca Ciega Bay area perhaps as long as 10,000 years ago, and Spanish explorers made contact with the Indians there in the sixteenth century. Permanent white settlement did not begin until the 1830s and 1840s and by the Civil War there were some fifty families living on the Peninsula. James R. Hay built a home around present-day Lake View and Twentieth Street in 1856. The community began to grow after the Civil War, and it was hoped that Hamilton Disston's real estate developments in the 1880s would spur a boom to the area. There was a plan to settle Civil War veterans in the area, and for a while the community was called Veterans City. Gulfport was incorporated on October 12, 1910, and its settlement and development are the themes of this community history. There is also information on the establishment of area churches and the local synagogue, schools, Stetson University's College of Law, government services and private businesses, service organizations, hotels, the Gulfport Historical Museum, the public library, cemeteries, and many recreational activities. The Gulfport Historical Society was organized in 1981, for the purpose of compiling and publishing this book. It also organized a museum in 1983 to house its memorabilia. Many people throughout the community cooperated to make this publication possible. Frances Purdy and an editorial committee supervised the project. *Our Story of Gulfport, Florida*, sells for \$13.25, and it may be ordered from the Society whose offices are in the Catherine Hickman Realty Building, 3 134 Beach Blvd, Gulfport, FL 33707.

"The most conspicuous soldier Florida contributed to the Civil War" was the way one Florida newspaper described John J. Dickison, the subject of *Dickison and His Men*, written by his wife, Mary Elizabeth Dickison. No Confederate hero was held in higher regard by the people of Florida, and Dickison became a legend in his own lifetime. During the war years he led a mobile force that criss-crossed the state to challenge the Federal

raiders who were operating in north Florida. Twenty-five years after the war, Mrs. Dickison recorded and published the exploits of her husband, but whether she actually wrote *Dickison and His Men*, or whether it was dictated by her husband, is not known. In content and prose style *Dickison and His Men* closely resembles his earlier published *Military History of Florida*. Scholars and Civil War buffs have come to depend upon *Dickison and His Men* for detailed information on the war in Florida. It contains some documents which are unavailable anywhere else. *Dickison and His Men* was one of the volumes reprinted in the Floridiana Series published at the time of the Civil War Centennial. It included an introduction by Samuel Proctor. This out-of-print edition has been reprinted by the San Marco Bookstore, 1971 San Marco Boulevard, Jacksonville, Florida 32207. It sells for \$17.85.

Jack M. Holland is the author of *Rural Aint Necessarily Country*. The activities and experiences of his wife, Neva, his son, Martin (who did the illustrations for the book), his mother, Mama Ruby, his two daughters, family and friends, and his cat, Sir William Thomas Garfield, are the subjects in this collection of amusing anecdotes and sketches. Much of the action takes place in and around the Holland's home in Chiefland, their Suwannee River camp, and other places in Florida, Georgia, and North Carolina. *Rural Aint Necessarily County* was published by Country Publisher, Box 12153, Tallahassee, Florida 32308; the price is \$7.00.

The Florida Almanac, 1986-87, edited by Del Marth and Martha J. Marth, includes information and statistical data on many topics including weather, treasure hunting, festivals, gardening, tides, taxes, hunting, boating, fishing, voting, tourism, and population. The *Almanac* is a useful reference work on Florida. It includes photographs, graphs, charts, a copy of the Constitution of the state of Florida, and an index. Published by Pelican Publishing Company, Box 189, Gretna, LA 70053, *Florida Almanac* sells for \$10.95.

The Search for the Atocha, by Eugene Lyon, was reviewed in the *Florida Historical Quarterly* in the July 1980 issue when the

book was first published. The original edition has been reprinted as a paperback by Florida Classics Library, Box 1657, Port Salerano, FL 33492. The price is \$9.95.

Florida, Land of Many Dreams, is a coffee table volume filled with handsome color photographs of Florida's most popular tourist attractions. There are photographs of Miami, Key West, Orlando, Palm Beach, Daytona Beach, Tampa Bay area, Amelia Island, the Panhandle, and Pensacola. Included are photographs of beautiful flowers, handsome homes and hotels, opulent sailing vessels, birds, white sandy beaches, people at play, and blue skies— all the places and things that one associates with a tour of Florida. The text, by Bill Harris, provides a brief history of Florida from the time of Spanish settlement in the sixteenth century to the present. *Florida, Land of Many Dreams*, was produced by Ted Smart and David Gibbon. It was published by Crescent Books, New York, and it sells for \$14.98

Southern Indian Myths and Legends, compiled and edited by Virginia Pounds Brown and Laurella Owens, is a collection of folk tales associated with the Cherokees, Chickasaws, Choctaws, Creeks, Florida Seminoles, and other native Americans living in the Southeast area. Each story in this collection is identified with the tribe with which it is most closely related. Six stories are identified as Seminole. The volume was illustrated by Nathan H. Glick. *Southern Indian Myths and Legends* was published by Beechwood Books, Birmingham, and it sells for \$16.95.

Two recent publications will be of interest to Florida genealogists and local historians. *Glass, A Genealogist's Collection, Volume I*, is by Lucille Barco Coone of Gainesville. It is the record of Thomas Glass of Kentucky and his descendants, and the Seever Family of Virginia and Kentucky. Members of both families migrated to Florida. A subject index and a listing of geographic locations and proper names make this a useful reference volume. It was published by Gateway Press of Baltimore, and may be ordered from Mrs. Coone, 1228 S. W. 14th Avenue, Gainesville, FL 32601; the price is \$25.00. *Nathaniel Partridge of Charles Town, South Carolina and His Descendants: Three Centuries of an Anglo-American Family* is by Ethel Partridge Strangward. John Nathaniel Partridge settled in Florida in the 1820s and

built a plantation on Lake Miccosuki. He taught at a boys school in the area, served as judge of the Jefferson County Court, and was a delegate to Florida's first constitutional convention, representing Jefferson County, in 1838. Partridge descendants have continued to play active roles over the years in the business, educational, and religious life of Florida. Mrs. Strangward wrote the narrative sections, and with the assistance of John Nathaniel Partridge, III, compiled the genealogical data. A bibliography and an index are included in this study. Order from the author at Green Shutters Lane, Route 4, Sylvester, GA 31791; the price is \$25.00.

Love's Legacy: The Mobile Marriages Recorded in French, Transcribed, with Annotated Abstracts in English, 1724-1786, is one of the volumes being published by the Center for Louisiana Studies, University of Southwestern Louisiana, in the series of primary source documents relating to the history of West Florida and the Gulf coast area. The marriage records in the archives of Mobile were transcribed and edited by Jacqueline Olivier Vidrine. Each transcription includes a short abstract in English, noting the type of document and identifying the principals in each record. The documents include biographical data for the periods of French (1726-1763), British (1763-1780), and Spanish (1786) settlement. In addition, the 1786 Marriage Book I, twelve marriages (1724-1726) found in Baptism Book I, and one marriage (1734) have also been incorporated. In her introduction the author discusses her methodology. Order from the Center for Louisiana Studies, University of Southwestern Louisiana, Box 40831, Lafayette, LA 70504-0831; the price is \$20.00.

Your True Marcus, The Civil War Letters of a Jewish Colonel, was edited by Frank L. Byrne and Jean Powers Soman for publication by Kent State University Press. Mrs. Soman, who lives in Coral Gables, is a descendant of Marcus Spiegel, the author of the letters. He emigrated to the United States after the 1848 revolution in Germany, and moved to Chicago, where he became a peddler. He finally settled in Ohio. During the Civil War Marcus was mustered into the Union Army with the rank of captain, but soon rose to the rank of colonel. Marcus was probably the highest ranking Jewish officer under General Grant's

command in the Department of Tennessee, and one of only a handful of Jewish officers on either the Union or the Confederate side. Marcus was killed in battle just south of Alexandria, Louisiana, on May 4, 1864. Throughout the war he wrote many letters to his wife and to other relatives in which he described camp conditions, army food, the fighting that he participated in, and military politics. One hundred nineteen of his letters have been edited for this volume. Many of them contain Spiegel's ever-present reminders of his Judiasm. Since so many of the letters are signed "Yours True Marcus," that seemed to the editors an appropriate title for this book. The book sells for \$19.95; \$11.95 for paperback.

Oral History and the Law, by John N. Neuenschwander, is the first of a series of pamphlets being published by the Oral History Association. Professor Neuenschwander, former president of the Oral History Association, examines the legal issues which oral historians need to understand to avoid possible legal problems. He discusses such topics as invasion of privacy, protecting sealed interviews from subpoena, copyrighting, legal release agreements, and deed of gifts. Order *Oral History and the Law* from the Oral History Association, Box 926, University Station, Lexington, KY 40506; the price is \$4.00.

The Steamboat Era in Florida, edited by Edward A. Mueller and Barbara A. Purdy, was reviewed in the *Florida Historical Quarterly* (October 1985), when it was first published. The price has been reduced to \$10.00. Order from Dr. Purdy, Department of Anthropology, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida 32611, or Mr. Mueller, 4734 Empire Avenue, Jacksonville, Florida 32207.

HISTORY NEWS

The Annual Meeting

The Florida Historical Society will hold its eighty-fourth meeting and convention in Bradenton on May 2-3, 1986. The Holiday Riverfront Inn will serve as the convention hotel. Registration and coffee will be available at 8:00 A.M., Friday morning, followed at 9:00 A.M. with welcoming remarks by Randy Nimnicht, president of the Society, and Bill Evers, mayor of Bradenton. Amy Turner Bushnell of the St. Augustine Preservation Board will chair the first session, "Quest for De Soto." Papers will be given by Jerald T. Milanich and Jeffrey M. Mitchem, Florida State Museum. Kenneth Johnson, University of Florida, and Louis Tesser, Bureau of Historic Preservation, Division of Archives, History and Records Management, will also offer insights on De Soto's route in north Florida and Apalachee.

The Friday afternoon session will focus on the theme, "Race and Ethnicity in Florida." Larry Rivers, Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University, will serve as moderator. Papers will be presented by Raymond A. Mohl, Florida Atlantic University; Glenda Rabbi, Florida State University; David Colburn, University of Florida; and Steven Lawson, University of South Florida. James McGovern, University of West Florida, will be the commentator. Following the afternoon session members may tour the Gamble Mansion, the historic antebellum plantation.

The third session, to be held Saturday morning at the Manatee Village Historical Park, will be a round table discussion on "The Seminole War." The panel will include John K. Mahon, University of Florida, as moderator; Harry Kersey, Florida Atlantic University; James Covington, University of Tampa; Frank Laumer, Dade City; and George E. Buker, Jacksonville University. The session will be followed by a picnic on the grounds of the Historical Park.

Hampton Dunn of Tampa will be the speaker at the banquet Friday evening in the Holiday Inn. A wine and cheese reception at the South Florida Museum, hosted by the Historical Society of Sarasota and the First Commercial Bank of Bradenton, will precede the banquet. The History Fair awards, the Thompson,

Patrick, and Tebeau literary prizes, and the Florida Historical Confederation awards will be presented at the banquet. President Nimnicht will preside.

Members may wish to tour Bradenton's numerous historic sites. Exhibits submitted for the Florida History Fair awards will be on display throughout the conference. The Society's board of directors will hold its business meeting on Thursday evening, 6:00 P.M., in the Manatee County Historical Records Library (formerly the Carnegie Library).

Florida Historical Confederation

The Florida Historical Confederation will convene its annual meeting on May 1, 1986, in conjunction with the Florida Historical Society's convention. The Thursday program, also to be held at the Holiday Riverfront Inn, will highlight "Portable History: Exhibits that Remain to be Seen." Workshops focusing upon text, graphics, artifacts, and design will be held in the all-day sessions. Speakers and panelists include Donald W. Curl, Florida Atlantic University; Patti Bartlett, Fort Myers Historical Museum; Linda Williams, Spanish Point; Patricia Wickman, Museum of Florida History, Tallahassee; John LoCastro and Janet Driscoll, Kidd and Company Designers, Tallahassee; Lucille Rights, St. Lucie County Historical Commission; Patsy West, Seminole Photo Archive, Fort Lauderdale; Robert Cottrell, St. Petersburg Historical Society; Andrew Brian, Historical Museum of Southern Florida, Miami; and Edward Jonas, Museum of Florida History. The guest speaker at the luncheon will be Michael J. Carrigan, assistant director of the National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution. Ann Henderson, executive director, Florida Endowment for the Humanities, will welcome the workshop participants.

National Register of Historic Places

The Florida Department of State, Division of Archives, History and Records Management, reports the following Florida properties added to the National Register of Historic Places during the year 1985: Sarasota County—Sarasota Woman's Club and J. G. Whitfield Estate (Sarasota); Hillsborough County—Moseley Homestead (Brandon), Hyde Park Historic Districts and Tampania House (Tampa), and Upper Tampa Bay Ar-

chaeological District; Pinellas County— Casa De Muchas Flores and Studebaker Building (St. Petersburg); Dade County— Florida East Coast Railway Locomotive #153, Congress Building (Miami), Carl G. Adams House, Clune Building, Lua Curtiss House I, Lua Curtiss House II, Hequemourge House, and Osceola Apartment Hotel (Miami Springs), Homestead Public School—Neva King Cooper School (Homestead), and Grand Concourse Apartments (Miami Shores); Volusia County— Lippincott Mansion (Ormond Beach) and Merchant's Bank Building (Daytona Beach); Suwannee County— Bishop B. Blackwell House (Live Oak); Okeechobee County— Freedman-Raulerson House (Okeechobee); Palm Beach County— Journey's End and Administration Buildings (Boca Raton), Mickens House (West Palm Beach), Palm Beach Daily News Building (Palm Beach), and Jupiter Inlet Historic and Archaeological Site; Polk County — South Lake Morton Historic District (Lakeland) and El Retiro (vicinity of Lake Wales); Alachua County— Baird Hardware Company Warehouse, Boulware Spring Waterworks, and Star Garage (Gainesville); St. Lucie County— Cresthaven (Fort Pierce); Bradford County— Call Street Historic District (Starke); Santa Rosa County— Thomas Creek Archaeological District; Duval County— Riverside Historic District, houses at 3325, 3335, 3500, 3609, 3685, and 3703 Via De La Reina, 3764 Ponce De Leon Avenue, 7144 Madrid Avenue, 7207, 7117, and 7330 Ventura Avenue, 7227 and 7249 San Pedro, 7245, 7317, 7288, 7356, and 7400 San Jose Boulevard, 7246 San Carlos, 7247 and 7306 St. Augustine Road, and the San Jose Administration Building, San Jose Country Club, and San Jose Hotel (Jacksonville).

Consulting Services

The American Association for State and Local History provides consultation services to those museums or historical associations which are open to the public on a regular basis, offer active programs, and need assistance and/or advice on museum-related problems. Before contacting AASLH, agencies requesting this service should have already exhausted local or regional consulting sources, and have financial restrictions that prevent them from bringing in an expert. Organizations with annual operating budgets of less than \$50,000 need to cover the costs

of the consultants' lodging and meals during a two-day visit. Organizations with operating budgets of \$50,000 or more are expected to provide consultants with lodging and meals and one-half the cost of transportation. AASLH pays other expenses, including honoraria and remaining travel expenses. Following the visit, the consultant will submit a written report to the institution summarizing his or her recommendations. Write to the Education Division, AASLH, 1727 2nd Avenue North, Suite 102, Nashville, TN 37201, for an application packet, including a list of quarterly application deadlines. Applications are judged competitively on the basis of qualifications and demonstrated needs. Recipients will have final approval of the consultant offered by AASLH.

Conferences

The Gainesville Society of the Archaeological Institute of America and the University of Florida's Institute of Early Contact Studies co-sponsored a symposium, "Spanish and Native American Encounters in the Sixteenth-Century, Florida," at the Florida State Museum on February 6. Dr. Michael V. Gannon, University of Florida, gave the keynote address. He spoke on "Rethinking the Rediscovery: Some Perspectives on 1492-1542." Presenting papers were Dr. Amy Turner Bushnell, Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board, "Sedentism, Nomadism and Migration in the Spanish Florida Province"; Jonathan Leader, University of Florida, "Metalwork Among Florida Indians in the Early Contact Period"; Dr. Elizabeth S. Wing, Florida State Museum, "Evidence for the Impact of Traditional Spanish Animal Uses in Florida"; Jeffrey Mitchem, University of Florida, "Sixteenth-Century Spanish-Indian Contact in West Peninsula Florida: Archaeological Evidence from the Tatham Mound"; Dr. Barbara A. Purdy, University of Florida, "Changes in Indian Culture at Hontoon Island in the Early Contact Period"; Bonnie McEwan, University of Florida, "Sixteenth-Century St. Augustine: Archaeological Evidence of Spanish Acculturation"; and Henry F. Dobyns, Native American Historical Demography Project, "Pathogens and People in Early Florida."

"Marking the Route of the Hernando de Soto Expedition in the Southern United States, A Cooperative Effort," was the title

of the conference sponsored by the University of Florida's Institute for Early Contact Period Studies, and the Florida Department of Natural Resources, Division of Recreation and Parks, at the Florida State Museum on February 22, 1986. Presenting papers were Dr. Jeffrey P. Brain, Peabody Museum, Harvard University, "The 1935-39 De Soto Commission and Subsequent De Soto Research"; Dr. Vernon J. Knight, Jr., Office of Archaeological Research, University of Alabama, "Alabama's Celebration of the 450th De Soto Expedition Anniversary"; Dr. Eugene Lyon, St. Augustine Foundation, Inc., (paper read by Dr. William Goza, Florida State Museum), "The Canete Fragment— a New De Soto Narrative"; Dr. Marvin T. Smith, Garrow and Associates, Inc., Atlanta, Georgia, "The Artifact Evidence"; Dr. Jerald T. Milanich, Florida State Museum, "The Landing— De Soto Landed at Tampa Bay After All"; Jeffrey M. Mitchem, Florida State Museum, "De Soto Contact Sites in Florida?"; Dr. Chester B. DePratter, Department of Anthropology, University of South Carolina, "De Soto in the Wateree Valley, South Carolina"; Dr. David H. Dye (Memphis State University), Dr. Charles Hudson (University of Georgia), Dr. Dan F. Morse (Arkansas State University), and Phyllis A. Morse (Arkansas State University), "The Mississippi River Crossings"; Dr. Dan F. Morse and Phyllis A. Morse, "De Soto in Arkansas"; Dr. Charles Hudson, "De Soto in the Southeast"; and Ney C. Landrum, director of the Division of Recreation and Parks, "Marking the De Soto Trail— A Cooperative Effort." Dr. Michael V. Gannon, director of the Institute of Early Contact Period Studies presented the conference summary. He and Mr. Landrum welcomed the conference participants and a video taped message from Governor Bob Graham was shown.

"The Civil War and Reconstruction on the Gulf Coast" was the theme of the eleventh Florida Gulf Coast History and Humanities conference held March 6-8, 1986, in Pensacola. It was sponsored by the University of West Florida, the Escambia County School Board, Pensacola Junior College, and the Historic Pensacola Preservation Board. Grace E. Earnest, Pensacola Junior College, was general chairperson and program chair. Presenting papers on the first session, "Families and Other Participants on the Gulf Coast during the Civil War," were James H. O'Donnell, III, Marietta (Ohio) College; William S. Coker,

University of West Florida; and Russell E. Belous, Historic Pensacola Preservation Board. Robin Largue, Escambia High School, chaired this session, and Joe Gray Taylor, McNeese State University, was commentator. The second session, "Military Life and Developments on the Gulf Coast During the Civil War," had J. Earle Bowden, Pensacola, as chair, and William N. Still, Jr., East Carolina University, as commentator. Presenting papers were Frank L. Owsley, Jr., Auburn University; Edwin C. Bearss, National Parks Service, Washington, D.C.; and Dean DeBolt, University of West Florida, Ted Carageorge, Pensacola Junior College, served as chair for the third session, "Inside the Confederacy: Various Aspects," and Charles R. Wilson, University of Mississippi, was commentator. Presenting papers were J. F. Morgan, City Colleges of Chicago; Clarence L. Mohr, Tulane University; and Jack D. L. Holmes, Birmingham. The fourth session, "Reconstruction on the Gulf Coast," included papers by Jerrell H. Shofner, University of Central Florida; Harriet E. Amos, University of Alabama in Birmingham; and Joe M. Richardson, Florida State University. Glen Coston, Pensacola Junior College, was chair.

Announcements and Activities

The Zora Neale Hurston Society is being organized by a group of scholars, journalists, educators, folklorists, historians, and other interested persons who wish to promote an appreciation of the life, work, and legacy of Hurston, the black female anthropologist and novelist who was born and lived in Eatonville, Florida. For information write Annabel Hawkins, Zora Neale Hurston Society, Box 550, Morgan State University, Baltimore, MD 21239.

West Florida Footprints is published by the West Florida Genealogical Society of Pensacola. The recent issue includes the following articles: "West Florida Claims in Congress for 1814 and 1818," compiled by Dicy V. Bowman; "1870 Census Index, Walton County, Florida," compiled by Marla Drake Dooley; "Search for 'Pappy' Crews Ends at Confederate's Rest," compiled by Nadine Brassell; "Milligan Florida, Her Heritage," by Virginia Brown Wood; "Lathram Chapel Methodist Church Cemetery, Barrineau Park," compiled by Evan R. Strohl; "Spanish Land Grants in Escambia County," by Leora Sutton;

and "Index to the 1870 U. S. Census of Warrington, Escambia County, Florida," compiled by Sid Thomes. Dicy Bowman and Ann Krahn are the editors of *West Florida Footprints*. Address inquiries about the Society and its publications to the Society, P. O. Box 947, Pensacola, Florida 32594-0947.

"Prelude to Masterworks— the Oil Sketches of Martin Johnson Heade," is an exhibition at the Lightner Museum in St. Augustine of the collections of the American painter (1819-1904), who lived and worked in St. Augustine. The exhibition is on display through April 27. It was made possible through arrangements with the St. Augustine Historical Society.

Guy LaBree, is the 1986 recipient of the Peace River Valley Historical Society Florida History Award. Mr. LaBree, known as "Florida's Barefoot Artist," has been closely associated with the Florida Seminoles. The award was presented at a dinner at the Bentwood Country Club in Arcadia, March 14.

The Martin County Historical Society in Florida, in cooperation with local builders and developers, have restored Gilbert's Bar House of Refuge, the county's oldest building. The historic structure, built to provide temporary shelter for shipwrecked sailors and travelers, now operates as a nautical museum and as a nursery for endangered species of sea turtles. For more information, contact Janet Hutchinson, director, Martin County Historical Society, 825 North East Ocean Boulevard, Stuart, Florida 33494.

The *North Carolina Historical Review* announces a contest to select the best scholarly article dealing with North Carolina in the age of the ratification of the United States Constitution. In addition to being published in a future issue of the *North Carolina Historical Review*, the prize-winning article will receive \$250. The editors invite articles on any subject related to the political, economic, social, or cultural history of North Carolina in the period 1783 to 1800. Authors should submit two copies of their manuscripts. All articles should be submitted prior to March 31, 1987, to the editors, *North Carolina Historical Review*, Division of Archives and History, 109 East Jones Street, Raleigh, North Carolina 27611.

MINUTES OF THE DIRECTORS' MEETING FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Randy F. Nimnicht, president of the Florida Historical Society, called the mid-winter meeting of the Society's board of directors to order at 9:00 A.M., December 7, 1985, at the Florida Historical Society Library, University of South Florida, Tampa. Present were Lucius F. Ellsworth, Paul S. George, Linda K. Williams, Samuel Proctor, Thomas D. Greenhaw, Patricia R. Wickman, Gregory Bush, David Colburn, Alva L. Jones, Wright, Langley, Mary C. Linehan, Raymond Mohl, Owen North, Larry E. Rivers, Daniel L. Schafer, Michael Slicker, William M. Straight, Kyle VanLandingham, and Gary R. Mormino. Also attending were Hayes Kennedy and Jerrell H. Shofner. J. Earle Bowden, J. Richard Brooke, and George F. Pearce were absent. Mr. Nimnicht welcomed the directors and guests and thanked Dr. and Mrs. Mormino for hosting the board at the reception in their home Friday evening.

The board unanimously approved the minutes of the May 2, 1985, directors' meeting in Tallahassee as published in the *Florida Historical Quarterly* (October 1985), pp. 230-38.

Dr. Mormino, director of the Florida Historical Society, noted in his report that there had been important gains in the past year in three critical areas: finance, membership, and development. The Society's finances are in a stable condition. At the May 1985 meeting, the membership approved the increase in dues as recommended by the board, and noted there has been a growth in membership from 1,375 in December 1984, to 1,518 in December 1985. This will provide additional income. With sales of Society materials, a grant from the Florida Endowment for the Humanities, and gifts, Dr. Mormino expects a surplus revenue of \$4,000-\$6,000 for 1984-1985.

Membership had been declining in recent years, reaching a low of 1,300 in 1982. Losses resulting from attrition and cancellation had averaged 200 annually in recent years. Dr. Mormino addressed this problem in two ways. First, to show a new image for the Society—activism, dynamism, and professionalism—he spoke to many groups throughout the state and solicited memberships from his audience. Second, the Society designed a new brochure which was mailed to 5,000 prospective members. Mail-

ing lists were obtained from local and regional societies, including the Historical Association of Southern Florida, Gulf Coast Heritage Society, Tallahassee Historical Society, *Tampa Bay History*, St. Petersburg Historical Society, the University of Florida's Department of History, and the University of South Florida Alumni Association. Nearly 300 new members have been added to the roles in recent weeks. Additional brochures will be mailed in February and March 1986. The rate of attrition has also been reduced during the last three years. Dr. Mormino predicts a membership of at least 1,650 in 1986.

Mormino emphasized that if the Society expects to play a more activist role, it must plan for future development. A fund-raising campaign was begun in October. Some sixty members have responded with contributions of \$1,600 (an average of \$25 a pledge). The director recommended that \$1,000 of this amount be allocated to the Father Jerome Fund in order to purchase additional Florida books. The Society received a \$6,000 grant from the Florida Endowment for the Humanities to conduct a Florida history teacher workshop. The director asked the board to support two important items in the 1986 budget: the acquisition of a computer and the employment of a part-time assistant to help with the increasing duties of the office. Dr. Mormino noted that a computer is needed for producing labels and for word processing. He will investigate the possibility of contracting computer services to see if it is more economical than purchasing equipment. President Nimnicht asked the board members to review the budget during the meeting, and announced that he would defer action on the computer matter until a later point in the meeting.

Dr. Ellsworth noted the excellent press coverage that the Society has received this year, and thanked Dr. Mormino and other board members for their cooperation. He urged the board to support Dr. Mormino in his efforts to keep the office running efficiently.

Mr. Nimnicht reminded the board that the Society has made a commitment to the University of South Florida administration to begin supporting the secretarial position within three years and to try to fund some of the expenses now being paid by the University. Revenue from the membership campaign and annual appeal could be utilized for these purposes.

Dr. Samuel Proctor reported that thirty articles had been submitted for consideration for publication in the *Florida Historical Quarterly* in 1985. The majority were from professional historians, but several were submitted by non-professionals and graduate students. Sixteen articles were published this year (1985), covering a variety of historical events and persons important to Florida history. Forty-eight of the sixty-seven book reviews published this year were related to Florida topics, and twenty-five additional books on Florida were covered in Book Notes. The *Quarterly* is interested in reviewing books dealing with any aspect of Florida history, anthropology, geography, or government, and will also note the publication of novels, children's books, and reprints. A review copy of the book (hard cover) must be submitted to the editor together with full ordering information. This year six articles from the *Quarterly* are being reprinted in other books. The *Quarterly* retains copyright on all reprinted material.

Dr. Proctor also reported on the status of the Panton-Leslie project sponsored by the Florida Historical Society, the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, and the University of West Florida. The project is under the direction of Dr. William Coker of the University of West Florida. The papers of the Panton, Leslie Company and the Forbes Company are being collected for publication. The first volume will be published by the University of West Florida Press in April 1986.

Dr. Proctor noted that an index to the *Florida Historical Quarterly* has not been published since volume 53 (1974-1975), and a new index is needed. He recommended that the board consider compiling and publishing an index to the *Quarterlies* since volume 53. Dr. Proctor will report at the May board meeting on the costs involved in producing the third volume and in reprinting the first volume, which is now out-of-print. Dr. Proctor concluded his report by thanking his board of editors: David R. Colburn, Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., Michael V. Gannon, John K. Mahon, Jerrell H. Shofner, Charlton W. Tebeau, and J. Leitch Wright, Jr. He also expressed his appreciation to the University of Florida for the assistance it provides.

Dr. Thomas Greenhaw, editor of the *Florida Historical Newsletter*, announced that there will be a few changes made by the printer in the forthcoming issues. The Confederation committee, which will review the newsletter, will report at a later date.

Dr. Jerrell Shofner reported on the proposed readings book on Florida history. It will contain fifteen to twenty articles selected from the *Florida Historical Quarterly* and can be used as a supplementary text for high school, college, and university students. The volume will contain six sections, each with three or four pages of introduction written by Dr. Shofner. A 300-page book is planned with an initial run of 2,000 copies.

President Nimmicht asked the board to review the status of the various restricted funds maintained by the Society. Dr. Proctor prepared descriptions of each fund:

Rembert W. Patrick Memorial Book Prize was established by the Society after Dr. Patrick's death. At the time of his death, he was Research Professor in the Department of History, University of Georgia, and he had for many years served as the chairman of the Department of History, University of Florida. He had also served as editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. There is no endowment for this prize, and the award money comes from the Society's treasury. The annual prize is \$150.

Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Prize in Florida History was established in 1966 by Mrs. Arthur W. Thompson of Gainesville and her family with a gift of \$2,500. The prize recognizes the author of the best article published each year in the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. Dr. Thompson was a member of the history faculty at the University of Florida and a noted authority in southern and American history. Income from the endowment provides the \$150 prize.

Charlton W. Tebeau Book Prize recognizes the best book published annually for young readers. The endowment was established by Dr. Tebeau, former chairman of the Department of History, University of Miami, and former president of the Florida Historical Society. It was supplemented by contributions from other individuals. The annual prize is \$150.

The Julien Yonge Publication Fund was established after the death of Mr. Yonge in Pensacola. For many years he had been the director of the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History and editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. The endowment came from private gifts, and the purpose was to encourage the publications program of the Society. The fund was used to compile and publish the index for volumes 36-53 of the *Quarterly*. The board of directors voted to use the fund for this purpose, but

with the proviso that all income from the sale of the index would be returned to the fund to be utilized for future publications.

Father Jerome Book Fund was established with private contributions as a memorial to Father Jerome of St. Leo's Abby. The income is to be used to purchase books for the Florida Historical Society Library.

Wentworth Publication Fund was established in the early 1970s with a gift of \$7,500 from the Wentworth Foundation for the purpose of publishing and/or reprinting books dealing with Florida history. An editorial board composed of William M. Goza, Samuel Proctor, and Milton Jones was appointed. There was never any thought, proviso, or indication that the Fund or its income would be used for the publication of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, the Society's newsletter, or any other Society activity or operation.

President Nimmicht noted that none of the original paperwork dealing with these funds has been found. Dr. Proctor urged that the correct current value of the Yonge and Wentworth funds be established. Dr. Ellsworth moved that the board instruct Dr. Mormino, working with the finance committee, to determine the amounts needed to bring the Yonge and Wentworth funds to their correct balances, and that the board authorize the repayment to be made over the next three years. Dr. Schafer seconded the motion, which passed unanimously.

President Nimmicht returned the discussion to the Florida readings project. Mike Slicker asked about plans for distributing the book. President Nimmicht noted that distribution plans, as well as more information on the format and a financial analysis, are needed before final approval is given to the project. Dr. Shofner stated that he has done all that he can on the project until it is endorsed by the board. Dr. Colburn moved that Dr. Shofner be given authority to proceed with the project, and that a publications committee be appointed to review the work and look into its distribution. The motion carried. President Nimmicht asked Dr. Colburn, Dr. Proctor, and Dr. Mormino to work with Dr. Shofner on preparing the volume for publication.

Hayes Kennedy and Kyle VanLandingham presented the finance committee's report. Mr. Kennedy is a member of the special committee appointed by the board to oversee the Society's finances. The committee had invested \$40,000 with board approval in an E. F. Hutton money market account. This invest-

ment has now increased to \$75,558. The finance committee recommended that approximately \$25,000 be transferred to the Hutton Investment Series Government Securities portfolio, and the remaining balance be transferred to the Hutton government fund. Mr. VanLandingham moved that the board endorse the committee's recommendation, and his motion carried.

Dr. Ellsworth reported on the growing statewide interest in plans for the quincentenary of European contact with the New World. He stated that the Florida Endowment for the Humanities would be favorable to a grant proposal for a statewide conference on this topic, which would hopefully produce a strategy for obtaining legislative endorsement of a commission to plan for the 1992 activities. Dr. Proctor reported that the National Endowment for the Humanities has sponsored five national conferences, including one in Florida, and has funded the establishment of the Institute of Early Contact Studies at the University of Florida with Dr. Michael Gannon as director. These national and international activities would tie in with a Florida commission. Dr. Ellsworth moved that the Society participate in efforts to help the state plan for the quincentenary. The motion passed.

Dr. Proctor reported on the status of artifacts and other items owned by the Society that are stored at the Florida State Museum and other museums in the state. Ms. Wickman asked that the Museum of Florida History be considered in any discussions regarding the transfer of these materials. Mr. Nimmicht asked Greg Bush and David Colburn to serve on a committee to address the issue of what to do with the Society's collections.

Ms. Wickman reported on the Florida Historical Confederation. The resource roster is still in rough draft. Beginning this year the awards will also include one recognizing "Longevity of Service." It will honor Dr. Dorothy Dodd of Tallahassee. Award guidelines will be distributed to the judges in January. The *Florida Historical Society Directory* is being distributed to Confederation members. Three members of the Confederation board are retiring in May, and the nominating committee is asking for recommendations for candidates. There are sixty-nine Confederation members out of a potential membership of approximately 400. The by-laws of the Confederation are currently being reviewed. The Confederation has been seeking outside

funding for its May 1986 workshop. Ms. Wickman moved that the Society include \$1,000 in the 1986 budget to pay for the publication of a promotional brochure for the Confederation. Dr. Ellsworth expressed concern about the need for another brochure. Discussion followed about the recruitment of new members, and whether a brochure is the best method to achieve this goal. Ms. Wickman offered a substitute motion asking for authority to begin a membership recruitment campaign. The motion carried.

Michael Slicker reported for the library committee. Approximately 1,000 people a year use the Society's collections. Dr. Mormino said that many books and other materials have been donated to the library this past year.

President Nimnicht announced that the by-laws which were adopted by the Society at the May 1985 annual meeting will be distributed. Linda Williams and Kyle VanLandingham will continue to serve on this committee.

Dr. Paul George reported that eight counties are participating in the History Fair this year, and that the finalists will be invited to attend the Society's annual meeting. Gerald McSwiggan is providing the funding for this activity, and may contribute \$1,000 to help send the Florida winners to the national fair.

Dr. Mormino is planning a Society workshop to be held either in Tallahassee, Jacksonville, or Miami in 1986. He will produce a pamphlet for school children if grant support can be obtained.

Mr. Nimnicht reported that the Society is considering the establishment of an essay competition for Florida college students on the subject of "Florida's Past as the Foundation for her Future." President Nimnicht asked Dr. Rivers, Dr. Schafer, Dr. Bush, and Dr. Mohl to serve on a planning committee for this project.

Dr. Mormino reported on the plans for the 1986 annual meeting in Bradenton. Dr. Schafer, chair of the program committee, announced that three sessions are being planned, with the Saturday morning session devoted to topics of local interest. Hampton Dunn will be the banquet speaker.

St. Augustine has invited the Society to hold its 1987 meeting in that city. An invitation has also been received from Sanford. Mr. Nimnicht asked Mrs. Peterson to draft a description of the

procedure to be followed for site selection and report at the May meeting.

After discussion on the proposed budget for fiscal year 1986, Dr. Colburn moved that the budget be approved. The motion carried.

Dr. Mormino announced that the first "Adventures in History" tour will be held in December at the Dade Massacre site at Bushnell. A tour of Ybor City is being planned for spring 1986.

Dr. Ellsworth announced that the committee established to review the Florida Historical Confederation will be meeting shortly.

Ms. Williams requested that board members send suggestions of nominees for directors to her or to other members of the nominating committee.

The meeting was adjourned.

GREAT EXPECTATIONS.

1986

Apr. 30	Society of Florida Archivists	Bradenton, FL
May 1	Florida Historical Confederation	Bradenton, FL
May 1-3	FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY- 84th MEETING	Bradenton, FL
June 15-20	A. F. Wentworth History Teachers Workshop	Gainesville, FL
Aug. 26-30	Society of American Archivists	Chicago, IL
Sept. 30- Oct. 3	American Association for State and Local History	Oakland, CA
Oct. 15-19	National Trust for Historic Preservation	Kansas City, MO
Oct. 23-25	Oral History Association	Long Beach, CA
Nov. 7-9	Southern Jewish Historical Association	Ft. Lauderdale, FL
Nov. 12-15	Southern Historical Association	Charlotte, NC
Dec. 27-30	American Historical Association	Chicago, IL

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