

*The
Florida
Historical
Quarterly*

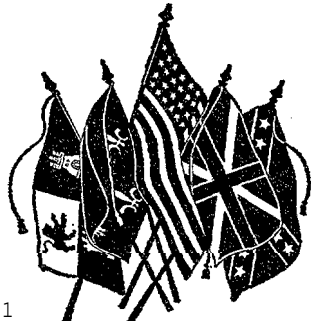
July 1987

**PUBLISHED BY THE FLORIDA
HISTORICAL SOCIETY**

COVER

The winning race car driven at Daytona Beach by Whitney and Ed Curry of Bradenton around 1911. The trophies in the picture are in the Eaton Florida History Room, Manatee County Central Library. The photograph is also from the Library's collection.

*The
Florida
Historical
Quarterly*



Volume LXVI, Number 1

July 1987

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

COPYRIGHT 1987

by the Florida Historical Society, Tampa, Florida. Second class postage paid at
Tampa and DeLeon Springs, Florida. Printed by E. O. Painter
Printing Co., DeLeon Springs, Florida.

(ISSN 0015-4113)

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

Samuel Proctor, *Editor*

Gordon J. Tapper, *Editorial Assistant*

M. Sherry Johnson, *Editorial Assistant*

EDITORIAL ADVISORY BOARD

David R. Colburn	University of Florida
Herbert J. Doherty, Jr.	University of Florida
Michael V. Gannon	University of Florida
John K. Mahon	University of Florida (Emeritus)
Jerrell H. Shofner	University of Central Florida
Charlton W. Tebeau	University of Miami (Emeritus)

Correspondence concerning contributions, books for review, and all editorial matters should be addressed to the Editor, *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Box 14045, University Station, Gainesville, Florida 32604-2045.

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

Table of Contents

TWILIGHT OF THE MOCAMO AND GUALE ABORIGINES AS PORTRAYED IN THE 1695 SPANISH VISITATION	<i>John H. Hann</i>	1
FLORIDA AND THE WORLD'S COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION OF 1893	<i>Stephen Kerber</i>	25
THE ALACHUA-ST. MARYS ROAD	<i>Burke G. Vanderhill</i>	50
CREATING A DIFFERENT PATTERN: FLORIDA'S WOMEN LEGISLATORS, 1928-1986	<i>Mary Carolyn Ellis and Joanne V. Hawks</i>	68
NOTES AND DOCUMENTS: FLORIDA HISTORY IN PERIODICALS, 1986		84
BOOK REVIEWS		91
BOOK NOTES		117
HISTORY NEWS		125

BOOK REVIEWS

KEY WEST: CIGAR CITY U.S.A., by L. Glenn Westfall

reviewed by Rodney E. Dillon, Jr.

FLORIDA'S PAST: PEOPLE AND EVENTS THAT SHAPED THE STATE, by Gene M. Burnett

reviewed by Jesse Earle Bowden

A HISTORY OF MADISON COUNTY, FLORIDA, by Elizabeth Hunter Sims

reviewed by Eloise Goza Allen

VOYAGERS TO THE WEST: A PASSAGE IN THE PEOPLING OF AMERICA ON THE EVE OF THE REVOLUTION, by Bernard Bailyn

reviewed by Robert R. Rea

CUBA, 1753-1815: CROWN, MILITARY, AND SOCIETY, by Allan J. Kuethe

reviewed by Kenneth F. Kiple

THE SOUTHERN INDIANS AND BENJAMIN HAWKINS, 1796-1816, by Florette Henri

reviewed by Bailey Thomson

NEW PERSPECTIVES ON RACE AND SLAVERY IN AMERICA: ESSAYS IN HONOR OF KENNETH M. STAMP, edited by Robert H. Abzug and Stephen E. Maizlish

reviewed by Herbert Aptheker

THE LEGAL FRATERNITY AND THE MAKING OF A NEW SOUTH COMMUNITY, 1848-1882, by Gail Williams O'Brien

reviewed by John W. Johnson

FARM TENANCY AND THE CENSUS IN ANTEBELLUM GEORGIA, by Frederick A. Bode and Donald E. Ginter

reviewed by Julia Floyd Smith

BOLD DRAGOON: THE LIFE OF J.E.B. STUART, by Emory M. Thomas

reviewed by James Lee McDonough

SLAVE EMANCIPATION IN CUBA: THE TRANSITION TO FREE LABOR, 1860-1899, by Rebecca J. Scott

reviewed by Louis A. Pérez, Jr.

FRUSTRATED FELLOWSHIP: THE BLACK BAPTIST QUEST FOR SOCIAL POWER, by James Melvin Washington

reviewed by Wayne Flynt

BLOOD JUSTICE: THE LYNCHING OF MACK CHARLES PARKER, by Howard Smead

reviewed by Glen Jeansonne

THE GREAT FATHER: THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT AND THE AMERICAN INDIANS, VOLUMES I AND II, by Francis Paul Prucha

reviewed by John K. Mahon

INDIAN SELF-RULE, edited by Kenneth R. Philp

reviewed by Harry A. Kersey, Jr.

TWILIGHT OF THE MOCAMO AND GUALE ABORIGINES AS PORTRAYED IN THE 1695 SPANISH VISITATION

by JOHN H. HANN

THE natives of Mocamo and Guale on the coasts of Georgia and northern Florida were the first with whom the French and then the Spaniards established steady contact in the 1560s and among the first to be missionized. Yet, as scholars have remarked, surprisingly little is known about these people during the historic period either archaeologically or historically.¹ Only for the years 1597-1606 are there detailed published accounts of events in the Guale and Mocamo missions in the works of John Tate Lanning, Maynard Geiger, OFM, and Manuel Serrano y Sanz, and in Kathleen Deagan's chapter on the eastern Timucua in *Tacachale*.² From 1606 until the 1702 destruction of the remnant of the coastal missions by English and native forces from South Carolina, only fragmentary details about developments in those missions are available. A potentially rich source for the end of this period, the record of the 1695 visitation conducted by Captain Juan de Pueyo, appears to have received little attention to date. The present article provides some of the

John H. Hann is historian and translator at the San Luis Archaeological and Historic Site, Division of Historical Resources, Department of State, Tallahassee.

1. Lewis H. Larson, Jr., "Historic Guale Indians of the Georgia Coast and the Impact of the Spanish Mission Effort," in Jerald T. Milanich and Samuel Proctor, eds., *Tacachale: Essays on the Indians of Florida and Southeastern Georgia During the Historical Period* (Gainesville, 1978), 121; Grant D. Jones, "The Ethnohistory of the Guale Coast through 1684," in David Hurst Thomas, Grant D. Jones, Roger S. Durham, and Clark Spencer Larsen, *The Anthropology of St. Catherines Island: I. Natural and Cultural History* 55, part 2, *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* (New York, 1978), 178-79, 208; Jerald T. Milanich, "Tacatacuru and the San Pedro de Mocamo Mission," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 50 (January 1972), 284.
2. John Tate Lanning, *The Spanish Missions of Georgia* (Chapel Hill, 1935); Maynard Geiger, *The Franciscan Conquest of Florida, 1573-1618* (Washington, 1937); Manuel Serrano y Sanz, *Documentos históricos de la Florida y la Luisiana, siglos XVI al XVIII* (Madrid, 1912); Kathleen Deagan, "Cultures in Transition: Fusion and Assimilation Among the Eastern Timucua," in Milanich and Proctor, eds., *Tacachale*, 89-119.

information contained in that document and conclusions that can be drawn from it and from other pertinent sources.

Deagan identified Mocamo as the dialect of Timucuan spoken by the natives who occupied Cumberland Island, the lower course of the St. Johns River, and the coast from the mouth of the St. Marys to below St. Augustine at the time of European contact. The Mocamo speakers included two culturally distinct tribal units, according to Deagan, the Tacatacuru on Cumberland Island and the Saturiwa, who occupied the rest of the Mocamo territory down to below St. Augustine. The pottery and the shell middens of the Tacatacuru differ from those of the Mocamo speakers of the St. Johns River area.³ Although Cumberland Island is generally considered to be the northern limit of Mocamo territory, Mocamo were found as far north as the mission of San Buenaventura de Guadalquini on Jekyll Island in the 1670s at least.⁴ This may have been true early in the mission period as well.

The Guale, by contrast, seem to have been more homogeneous culturally, even though they were scattered more widely over most of the Georgia coast and some of the coastal islands and possibly, according to some, on into South Carolina. The Guale spoke a Muskogean language and are believed to have had other affinities with the inland peoples known later as Creek. The Guale's territory usually is spoken of as extending from St. Andrews Sound to the Savannah River, but some authorities would expand or contract those limits.⁵ Grant D. Jones, apparently following Lanning, extended Guale territory at contact to the North Edisto River, well into South Carolina.⁶ Lewis

3 . Deagan, "Cultures in Transition," 90-91, 100-01.

4 . Antonio de Arguelles, record of the visitation of the province of Guale and Mocama, 1677-1678, Archivo General de Indias, Seville (hereinafter AGI), Escribanía de Cámara (hereinafter EC), leg. 156B, Stetson Collection (hereinafter SC), folio 527v.-528.

5 . Larson, "Historic Guale Indians," 120; John R. Swanton, *Early History of the Creek Indians and Their Neighbors* (Washington, 1922), 80-81; John R. Swanton, *The Indians of the Southeastern United States* (Washington, 1946), 135; Lanning, *Spanish Missions*, 10.

6 . Jones, "The Ethnohistory of the Guale Coast," 186-87; Lanning, *Spanish Missions*, 14. In contrast to Jones, Lanning accepted the sixteenth-century existence of the Cusabo as a distinct sub-group, but then took a stand approximating the one later espoused by Jones, stating, "There is apparently no reason, except the political divisions of the white man after the Indian had retired from the coast, to separate the Cusabo from the Gualeans."

H. Larson set Guale's northern boundary at St. Catherines Sound, maintaining that "there seems to have been no aboriginal occupation" between St. Catherines Sound and the Savannah River. Larson follows John R. Swanton in treating the Cusabo, who were in possession of the coast immediately north of the Savannah, as a people recognized as distinct from the Guale as early as the 1560s. Larson posited the Altamaha River as the southern limit of Guale territory, observing that "it may not be entirely coincidental that the boundary between the Guale and the Timucua, the Altamaha River, is also the southern boundary of the range of *Q. alba* on the Georgia coast."⁷ Deagan agrees more or less with Larson, extending the realm of the mainland Timucua (the Cascange and Icafui) northward to the coast opposite Jekyll Island.⁸

In the 1595-1606 period the coast opposite St. Simons Island appears to have been the southern limit of Guale settlement. And as late as 1606 the southernmost Guale mission was located at the mouth of the Altamaha on the mainland.⁹ The historical evidence for the northern limit of Guale is equivocal as Swanton has noted at some length.¹⁰ The natives of the Santa Elena region cooperated with the Guale both to assist and to oppose the Europeans, but the two native groups also were mutually hostile at times. Orista, the name of a paramount chief of the Santa Elena region in the 1560s appeared at the turn of the century as the name of a chief who was nephew and heir to the chief of Aluete in Guale.¹¹ But the linguistic distinction between the

-
7. Larson, "Historic Guale Indians," 120; Lewis H. Larson, Jr., *Aboriginal Subsistence Technology on the Southeastern Coastal Plain during the Late Prehistoric Period* (Gainesville, 1980), 195. The *Quercus alba* is the white oak.
 8. Deagan, "Cultures in Transition," 90.
 9. Genaro García, *Dos antiguas relaciones de la Florida* (Mexico, 1902), 185-99; Diego Dávila, report concerning the pastoral visitation which the Bishop of Cuba made to the provinces of Florida presented to H. M. in the Council of the Indies, June 27, 1606, St. Augustine, AGI, SD 235, Woodbury Lowery Collection (hereinafter WLC) reel 2. (Microfilm copy in the Robert Manning Strozier Library, Florida State University, Tallahassee), Serrano y Sanz, *Documentos históricos*, 177-83.
 10. Swanton, *Early History*, 16-20.
 11. Luis Gerónimo de Oré, *The Martyrs of Florida (1513-1616)*, trans., Maynard Geiger (New York, 1936), 33-34; Bartolomé Barrientes, *Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, Founder of Florida*, trans., Anthony Kerrigan (Gainesville, 1965), 97-105; Andrés González de Barcia Carballido y Zúñiga, *Ensayo cronológico, para la historia general de la Florida*, trans., Anthony Kerrigan (Gainesville, 1951), 115-16; Serrano y Sanz, *Documentos históricos*, 188-89, 191-92.

Guale and the Escamacu or Cusabo seems to have been greater than that posited by Lanning and Jones. Lanning stated positively that "their languages were the same, or, at the very widest possible divergence, mutually intelligible."¹² On his 1605 reconnaissance of the coast up to Cape Fear, Francisco Fernández de Ecija, on stopping at St. Catherines Island, asked the chief of Guale for an interpreter named Felipe Christian to serve that function at his next stop, Santa Elena. At Santa Elena he asked the Escamacu chief for yet another interpreter to serve at the bar of Orista (St. Helena Sound) and at Cayagua (Charleston harbor).¹³

In the 1560s and as late as the turn of the century, the Guale and the Mocama had a large number of settlements scattered among the coastal islands or on the neighboring mainland, particularly along the lower course of the numerous streams. As late as the first years of the seventeenth century most of the Guale settlements and missions were on the mainland rather than on the sea islands to which they migrated later.¹⁴ The Tacatacuru, on the other hand, appear to have been largely an island people. The Saturiwa, in turn, were largely mainlanders, exploiting both the coastal and the riverine environments of their peninsular-like territory between the lower St. Johns River and the sea.

By 1695, the once numerous missions and subordinate settlements of the Mocamo and the Guale were reduced to a mere five villages, all located within the limits of present-day Florida.¹⁵ Three were Guale and two were Mocamo speakers. In its 1695 twilight the shrunken province of Guale consisted of the mission villages of Santa Clara de Tupiqui, at the northern end of Amelia Island; Santa Maria de Guale, the head village, at the Harrison Creek site currently being excavated, located on the southern end of the island; and San Phelipe de Athulateca, between those two, a half league north of Santa María and three leagues south of Tupiqui.¹⁶ However, many of the earlier Guale

12. Lanning, *Spanish Missions*, 14.

13. John H. Hann, "Translation of the Ecija Voyages of 1605 and 1609 and the Gonzalez Derrotero of 1609," *Florida Archaeology* 2 (1986), 7-8.

14. García, *Dos antiguas relaciones*, 187-99; Serrano y Sanz, *Documentos históricos*, 177-93.

15. Or possibly six if evanescent Tolomato is counted.

16. Juan de Pueyo, general visitation of the provinces of Guale and Mocama made by the Captain Don Juan de Pueyo, 1695, AGI, EC, leg. 157A, SC,

settlements and missions were represented among the inhabitants of those three villages.

The surviving Mocamo missions were San Juan del Puerto, on Fort George Island at the mouth of the St. Johns River, and Santa Cruz de Guadalquini, on the mainland about three leagues north of St. Augustine. It is Jonathan Dickinson's Sta. Cruce. Dickinson, who stopped at Santa Cruz and San Juan, described Santa Cruz as two or three leagues north of St. Augustine, but a considerably greater distance south of San Juan. He recounted his passage from Sta. Cruce to St. Wans as taking him two leagues by canoe and nine leagues by land and then another two miles by water.¹⁷

The 1695 record does not indicate whether any of the leaders in the two Mocamo villages were drawn from other earlier Mocamo missions or visitas or that any of the natives who attended the visitation were other than Mocamo. Only Mocamo interpreters were used. That some of the residents of San Juan were drawn from the earlier Tacatacuru missions of Cumberland Island is indicated by Deagan's report that shell middens and ceramics typical of the Tacatacuru have been found at San Juan along with material typical of San Juan's native Saturiwa.¹⁸

The failure of both Pueyo and Dickinson to make even a passing reference to Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de Tolomato is most puzzling. Since the mid-1620s that mission occupied a site that must have been close to Santa Cruz.¹⁹ The 1655 mission list placed Tolomato three leagues north of St. Augustine.²⁰ In 1658, Tolomato's chief complained to the governor about the frequent demands on the village, in view of its proximity to St. Augustine, to assist in the unloading of ships as well as other tasks there, in addition to the ferrying duties to San Juan and points beyond assigned to the village when it relocated south-

trans., John H. Hann, on file at the Bureau of Archaeological Research and at the San Luis Archaeological and Historic Site, Tallahassee. As this document is the principal source for this article, in order to avoid a plethora of repetitious footnotes, hereinafter citations will not be made for material drawn from it when it is clear that the Pueyo visitation record is the font.

17. Jonathan Dickinson, *Jonathan Dickinson's Journal or God's Protecting Providence*. eds., Evangeline Walker Andrews and Charles McLean Andrews (Stuart, FL, 1981), 66.
18. Deagan, "Cultures in Transition," 104.
19. King of Spain, letter to the governor of Florida, February 26, 1660, AGI, SD 225, WLC, reel 3.
20. Serrano y Sanz, *Documentos históricos*, 132.

ward. Noting that the settlement's population had declined to less than thirty from the substantial numbers it had earlier, the chief asked the governor to limit his labor demands to the ferrying of passengers to San Juan.²¹ In 1675, Bishop Calderón placed Tolomato in the province of Guale at two leagues north of St. Augustine and ten south of San Juan.²² But Tolomato's absence from the other 1675 mission list prepared by Guale's lieutenant may indicate that Tolomato's position was anomalous. The lieutenant stated positively that his bailiwick extended only to San Juan, noting that to go from San Juan "to the Presidio, one crosses the bar of San Juan, and since this is the last place of the Province of Guale, one passes within by navigable rivers from there to the Presidio of San Agustín."²³ Yet, only three years later, in 1678, the visitor, Arguelles, was, like the bishop, able to find Tolomato, addressing its people through Diego Camuñas, the same Guale interpreter Pueyo was to employ almost a generation later.²⁴

The supposition that a dying Tolomato had lost its remaining population of Guale and/or Yamassee during the exodus northward and westward of the turbulent 1680s and that the Tolomato site was appropriated by the Mocamo who established Santa Cruz seems to be ruled out. Both Santa Cruz and Nuestra Señora de Tolomato appear on the 1689 mission list, the latter with a population of twenty-five families, about the same as it had in 1658. Santa Cruz had sixty families.²⁵ But only eight years later, in 1697, Santa Cruz had disappeared or become invisible as Tolomato replaced it as one of the province of Guale's five missions. Tolomato's location in that year was given as three leagues north of St. Augustine by sea and ten by land from the "island and place of San Juan."²⁶

21. King of Spain, February 26, 1660, AGI, SD 225, WLC, reel 3.

22. Lucy L. Wenholt, "A 17th Century Letter of Gabriel Díaz Vara Calderón, Bishop of Cuba, Describing the Indians and Indian Missions of Florida," trans., *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections*, xcv, no. 16 (Washington, 1936), 101; a 1657 letter some friars also placed Tolomato two leagues from St. Augustine, Francisco de San Antonio, Joan de Medina, Sebastian Martines, Jacinto Domingues, Alonso del Moral, Juan Caldera, letter to the king, September 10, 1657, St. Augustine, AGI, SD 235, WLC, reel 3.

23. Mark F. Boyd, "Enumeration of Florida Spanish Missions in 1675." *Florida Historical Quarterly* 27 (October 1948), 184.

24. Arguelles, record of the visitation, AGI, EC, leg. 156B, SC, folio 530.

25. Diego Ebelino de Compostela, letter to the king, September 28, 1689, Havana, AGI, SD 151, SC.

26. Thoms Menéndez Marques and Joaquín de Florencia, letter to the king,

Despite the relatively robust population of sixty families or 300 individuals attributed to Santa Cruz in 1689, the 1695 record leaves a distinct impression that Santa Cruz was a small village very much at risk in its exposed mainland location. Pueyo reminded the inhabitants that they had been ordered to move to San Juan del Puerto during the visitation conducted by the preceding governor, Diego de Quiroga y Losada, and asked why they had not obeyed the order. Santa Cruz's governing cacique observed that he had done his best to persuade his villagers to do so, even going so far as to build a council house for them at San Juan. Although the other leading Indians assured the visitor that they were amenable to the projected move once the current year's crops had been harvested, they had not done so almost two years later when Dickinson visited the settlement. Santa Cruz's absence from the 1697 list might indicate that they made the move soon after Dickinson's departure, however. Dickinson did not comment directly on the size of the town, but its relatively small size is reflected in his description of its council house. He characterized it as about half the size of the one at Santa Maria, describing it as a round structure about fifty feet in diameter containing sixteen painted "cabins" or compartments around the inside of its outer wall. Each compartment would hold two people. As was traditional among the natives throughout Spanish Florida, visitors were housed and fed in this structure. Fires were prepared near their compartments. Dickinson described the church as a large one with three bells. After evening services there, the friar and many of the Indian men and women repaired to the council house for the traditional native dance held in the open area in the center of the structure.²⁷

In addition to Cacique Lorenzo Santiago, who governed the village, the settlement housed five other caciques and two enijas.²⁸ One of the caciques was identified as cacique of Colon. In contrast to the other four missions, Santa Cruz presented no complaints to the visitor. This is rather surprising in view of its

April 15, 1697, St. Augustine, AGI, SD 230, Jeannette Thurber Connor Collection (hereinafter JTCC), reel 4, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History.

27. Dickinson, *Journal*, 65-67.

28. The enija was second in authority to the cacique and directed the work of the inhabitants.

proximity to St. Augustine and the labor demands that might have entailed.

The name Guadalquini attached to Santa Cruz would seem to indicate that many of the inhabitants had once lived at San Buenaventura de Guadalquini, a mission located on Jekyll Island as late as 1680.²⁹ That is questionable, however, as Guadalquini contained only about forty persons in 1675.³⁰ The traditional identification of San Buenaventura as Guale is questionable as well. No Spanish source identified the mission's inhabitants as Guale, but the 1677-1678 visitation record indicated clearly that San Buenaventura's residents then were Mocamo, and a 1648 document also linked the inhabitants with the Mocamo. In passing from Santo Domingo de Asao on St. Simons Island to San Buenaventura, the visitor replaced his Guale interpreter with a Mocamo interpreter. In 1648 one passed "on to the province of Guale" from Guadalquini.³¹ The Mocamo were sufficiently attached to the native component of the mission's name to take it with them on moving southward, even while changing the mission's Christian name to Santa Cruz.

There is no identification of the tribal affinity of San Buenaventura's inhabitants prior to 1648. The first mention of Guadalquini as a mission site, a list of convents supposedly existing in 1587 presented by Geiger, is very suspect.³² Geiger presented no evidence for the existence of the convents on that list and hard evidence negates its authenticity, indicating that the San Buenaventura convent at Guadalquini, along with those at Santa Catalina and Asao, existed only on paper at that date. Jones was also of this opinion, remarking that none of the 1587 friars risked working along the Guale coast.³³ Few among the 1587 band of friars remained long in Florida.³⁴ A young shipwrecked Spaniard, who landed on St. Simons Island in 1595

29. Swanton, *Early History*, 322.

30. Boyd, "Enumeration of Spanish Missions," 183.

31. Arguelles, record of the visitation, 1677-1678, AGI, EC, leg. 156B, SC, folios 527-28; Benito Ruiz de Salazar Vallesilla, order to Antonio de Arguelles, April 22, 1648, St. Augustine, AGI, SD 23. Eugene Lyon brought the latter document to the author's attention.

32. Maynard Geiger, *Biographical Dictionary of the Franciscans in Spanish Florida and Cuba (1528-1841)*, *Franciscan Studies* 21 (Paterson, NJ, 1940), 119.

33. Jones, "The Ethnohistory of the Guale Coast," 183.

34. John Gilmary Shea, *The History of the Catholic Church in the United States*, 4 vols. (New York, 1886-1892), I, 152; Barcia Carballido y Zúñiga, *Ensayo cronológico*, 177.

and visited Asao on the mainland, stated positively that the Santo Domingo de Asao mission had not then been established.³⁵ And Juan Menéndez Marquez noted that when he stopped at San Pedro Mocamo on Cumberland Island in 1588, that island was then the northern limit of the missions.³⁶

Equally suspect is Lanning's placement of one of the 1595-1597 Guale missions on Jekyll Island. The name Guadalquini does not appear in the accounts of the rebellion or the events subsequent to it down through 1606. The association of the Guale with Jekyll Island seems to have arisen from Herbert E. Bolton and Lanning's placement of Fray Francisco Dávila, the only friar in Guale to survive the 1597 massacre on Jekyll Island. Bolton and Lanning placed Dávila on the Island of Ospo, which they identified as Jekyll Island.³⁷ Lanning further specified the site of Dávila's mission as Tulapo, locating that village on the southern end of Jekyll Island in his text and on his map.³⁸ On the map he portrayed a village of Ospo as well, locating it on Jekyll Island's northern shore. Barcia, on the other hand, placed Dávila in the village of Ospo without indicating the village's location.³⁹ It is probable that Dávila's Tulapo and Ospo were farther north than Jekyll Island in 1597, and that Tulapo was possibly on the mainland among the coastal marshes rather than on an island.

Lanning's Tulapo is clearly the Talapo of other sources, which was in the northern constellation of Guale villages. Lanning himself acknowledged Tulapo's northern affiliations in 1606, during the visitation by Bishop Altamirano.⁴⁰ Talapo's chief was confirmed at the Santa Catalina mission rather than at one of the bishop's stops farther south in Guale.⁴¹ Talapo's northern ties appeared even more strongly two years earlier. During Governor Pedro de Ibarra's visitation of Santa Catalina the cacique of Aluete complained that the caciques of Talapo,

35. García, *Dos antiguas relaciones*, 187.

36. Eugenio Ruidíaz y Caravia, *La Florida su conquista y colonización por Pedro Menéndez de Avilés*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1893), II, 498.

37. Herbert E. Bolton, ed., *Arredondo's Historical Proof of Spain's Title to Georgia* (Berkeley, 1925), 15; Lanning, *Spanish Missions*, 90.

38. Lanning, *Spanish Missions*, 71.

39. Barcia Carballido y Zúñiga, *Ensayo cronológico*, 182.

40. Lanning, *Spanish Missions*, 90, 157.

41. Dávila, report concerning the pastoral visitation, June 26, 1606, AGI, SD 235, WLC, reel 2.

Ufalague, and Orista, who were his vassals (and Orista his heir as well), had thrown off their allegiance to him and withdrawn to the territory of the mico of Asao. When the governor returned to Asao, Talapo's chief informed him that he had merely transferred his allegiance to Orista because the cacique of Aluete was a bad Indian.⁴² A northern location is also suggested by Swanton's identification of several of these villages as Cusabo, namely, Aluete, Talapo, Ufalague, and Orista.⁴³

The route taken by the Spaniards in their first move against the rebels also suggests that Fray Dávila's Ospo mission was farther north than Jekyll Island. Vicente Gonçalves, from his base at San Pedro Mocamo, moved directly sixteen leagues to the north where he captured a lone Indian in a canoe two leagues from Tolomato.⁴⁴ If Jekyll Island were then the site of a mission, one would expect it to have been the first place visited because of its proximity to San Pedro. From their lone captive the Spaniards learned that the rebels had assembled at Ospo. When the Spaniards proceeded to Ospo the rebels fled after a brief encounter with the invaders.⁴⁵ Jekyll Island would seem too vulnerable to be chosen by the rebels as an assembly point. And the ease of the rebel withdrawal points to a mainland location, as does Fray Dávila's account of his travails while he was being carried into captivity at Tulufina, a village some distance inland. From the time of his capture he seems to have traveled all the way to Tulufina on foot, albeit the trek took him and his captors through a great deal of marshland in which the water was up to their waist at times. Ufalague was one of the towns through which Dávila passed on his way to confinement.⁴⁶

Although Lanning placed Fray Dávila's mission on Jekyll Island, he did not link the Tulapo mission with the later San Buenaventura de Guadalquini. Positing the establishment of the Guadalquini mission between 1606 and 1655, Lanning placed San Buenaventura on St. Simons Island in his textual reference to the Guadalquini mission, but located it on the mainland near

42. Serrano y Sanz, *Documentos históricos*, 188-89, 191.

43. Swanton, *Early History*, 82; Swanton, *Indians*, 128.

44. Vicente Gonçalves, report, October 22, 1597, San Pedro, in Gonçalo Méndez de Canzo, testimonio de lo sucedido en la lengua de Guale, 1598, AGI, SD 224, WLC, reel 2.

45. Geiger, *Franciscan Conquest*, 103.

46. Oré, *Martyrs of Florida*, 87-88.

Brunswick, Georgia, on his map.^{4 7} His citation for that textual reference, from Swanton's 1922 work, is not germane.

The Guadalquini mission seems to have been established by 1609, as it appears on three successive lists between 1609 and 1616. The lists for 1610 and 1616 name Fray Bartolomé Romero and Fray Alonso de Nabos respectively as the mission's friars in those years.⁴⁸ When next mentioned in 1655, the mission's name was given as San Buenaventura de Boadalquivi. The mission was noted as being thirty-two leagues from St. Augustine.⁴⁹ Until there is evidence identifying the mission's inhabitants as Guale for the 1609-1647 period, it is more logical to assume that they were Mocamo from the mission's earliest days.

Little is known about the Mocamo's abandonment of Jekyll Island. The name San Buenaventura de Guadalquini last appeared on the 1680 mission list. The inhabitants doubtless moved southward during the mid-1680s after the Spanish withdrawal from Santa Catalina that was followed shortly by the abandonment of all the establishments along the Georgia coast.⁵⁰ The name Santa Cruz appeared first in 1689 on Bishop Compostela's list of the missions.

During the 1695 visitation of the second Mocamo mission, San Juan del Puerto, Pueyo met two caciques and two cacas and one enija in addition to Cacique Andrés, the governor of the settlement. The record did not specify the people or place over which the others had been chief. San Juan's leaders' only complaint concerned the drain on their time for farming that resulted from continually providing ferry service. The chief noted that they had only nine common Indians to handle that work load and that five of them were set aside regularly for manning the canoes. This burden, he explained to the visitor, was "the reason why you see them naked, without being able to search for the wherewithal to clothe themselves." Here the visitation record seems to be very much at odds with Dickinson's portrayal of San Juan. Dickinson wrote that after he and his party landed on the island, "We went through a kirt of wood into the Indian plantations for a mile. In the middle of this island is the town of St. Wans, a large town and many people. . .

47. Lanning, *Spanish Missions*, 203.

48. Geiger, *Franciscan Conquest*, 234, 236, 247.

49. Serrano y Sanz, *Documentos históricos*, 132.

50. Bolton, *Arredondo's Historical Proof*, 36-39.

the people are very industrious, having plenty of hogs and fowls and large crops of corn, as we could tell by their corn-houses." He went on to observe that the council house "was larger than that at the other town" (Santa Cruz, presumably).⁵¹

GUALE

The three missions of 1695 that housed the loyal remnant of the Guale contained representatives from at least fifteen of the earlier missions and settlements that once extended from St. Simons Island north to Ospos and Aluete. The following is that array:

- I— at Santa Clara de Tupique, Bernabé, its mico
 - 1— Felipe, cacique of Sapala
 - 2— Jacinto, cacique of Santa Catalina
 - 3— ordinary Indians from Aspogue, whose chief was at San Phelipe
- II— at San Phelipe, Alonso, its cacique
 - 1— Diego, cacique of Ajiluste
 - 2— Benito, cacique of Taljapu
 - 3— Antonio, cacique Hospo
 - 4— Francisco, cacique of Aspogue
 - 5— Francisco de la Cruz, cacique Faxquis
 - 6— Santiago, enija of the cacique Ajiluste
 - 7— Gregorio, enija of Alonso, cacique of San Phelipe
- III— at Santa María
 - 1— María, cacica of Santa Catalina
 - 2— María, cacica of Tulafina
 - 3— Juan de Santiago, cacique Chicasle and governor
 - 4— Santiago, cacique of Azopo
 - 5— Diego, cacique Fustigu
 - 6— Antonio Chichimeco, cacique of Yfulo

It is probable that additional villages were represented among the other elite and ordinary Indians. Other enijas, alayguitas, and ibissaches were named without their village of origin being identified.⁵² As it was necessary for a chief to have vassals present over whom to exercise his chieftainship and through whom

51. Dickinson, *Journal*, 66.

52. In the sources this term was also spelled alaiquita, aliaguita, and aleiguita.

to fulfill his obligations in order that he might be recognized as chief and be installed, it is possible that there were some vassal-less chiefs or chief-less vassals present from former settlements other than the ones mentioned.

That the presence of vassals who would be under the would-be chiefs control and available to assist him in shouldering his responsibilities was a prerequisite for the effective recognition of a chiefs claim to his inheritance was illustrated in the treatment of the claim advanced by Francisco to be installed as cacique of Aspogue. At the general assembly, Pueyo submitted Francisco's claim to the leaders present. They acknowledged that his claim was legitimate, but demurred at his being given possession of the chieftainship in San Phelipe, where he was living, observing that he had no vassals in that village. They suggested that he be given possession of the chieftainship of Aspogue in Tupiqui where he had vassals. The mico, caciques, and alayguitas living in Tupiqui concurred on condition that the new chief assume the same obligations as had the other caciques. In contrast, Antonio Chichimeco's request to be installed as chief of Yfulo was approved by the general assembly without opposition "because he had vassals in the place in which he had asked to be installed."

The 1695 record throws additional light on the natives' political institutions and the ways they were intruded upon and respected by the Spaniards. Some time after the establishment of this new Tupiqui on Amelia Island, Bernabé was installed as the village's mico during the preceding governor's visitation of the province because he was the legitimate heir and, as the mico phrased it in his complaint to Pueyo, "with the consent, agreement, and accord of all the chiefs, enijas, leading men, and the rest of the vassals." But, he complained, after he had been "governing his vassals for some time, maintaining his rights (fueros), he was despoiled of the rule and government" by the same Governor Quiroga, who then placed Antonio, the alayguita, in control of the village. The change appears to have been made at the request of the village leaders and acquiesced to by the mico himself in exchange for a pledge that he would retain the title and status of mico and the psychic and material perquisites the position entailed. But, the deposed mico charged, the alayguita "was withholding all the assistances that are due to him as the natural lord. Neither is he lord of being able to dispose or order

anything for his vassals, with the said alayguita failing in his obligation that he has to give him an account of all the dispositions that have occurred, that, according to his privileges he is obliged to, both with respect to the government and to the rest." In conclusion the mico asked for an explanation of the reasons for his deposition, and he also requested that he be given what was due him in justice and even, seemingly, that he be restored to control of the village's affairs. Pueyo promised to bring the matter before the general assembly for the three Guale villages that was to be held at Santa María, and he pledged to inquire of the alayguita why he had been given control of the village and why he had failed to provide "the assistances to which he was obliged in accord with his [the mico's] renunciation."

When Pueyo submitted the dispute to the general assembly its resolution of the mico's claim was reported as follows: "And, in relation to the pretention of Bernabé, mico of the said village of Tupiqui concerning his being given the government and control of it as absolute lord, it was conferred upon at great length among all the said caciques, alayguitas, and leading men. And some were of the opinion that he was inactive (?) (*inactto*) and incapable for the said government and that the election of the said Antonio, alayguita, for governor was well done. To this the said mico replied that he was already aware of his incapacity and that it is well that the government is in the hands of the said alayguita and that he asks solely that they maintain his privileges according to their custom. At this his excellency ordered that they should assist him, honor him, and respect him as their natural lord, for he recognized him as such, because if they did otherwise, they would be punished as disobedient."

The 1695 record possibly throws light on the alayguita's place in the pecking order. The general assembly at Santa María was said to have begun its sessions "when all the caciques, micos, alayguitas, enijas, ybisaches, their heirs, leading men, and the rest of the vassals" had assembled. It is not certain, of course, that the order maintained in the listing was meant to reflect hierarchical ranking, but that is a definite possibility, especially as alayguitas were mentioned just after caciques and before enijas on all other occasions except one.

The importance of this official could be reflected also in the choice of Antonio, the alayguita, to govern Tupiqui, even though that mission housed two caciques, an enija, and an ibis-

sache, in addition to the deposed mico. But, that rank was not the major consideration is reflected in Antonio's remark that even though he was governing the village, he "was not the leading man" there. Age was possibly the determining factor. San Phelipe's chief, in opposing the projected merger of San Phelipe with Tupiqui at the Tupiqui site, characterized many of Tupiqui's caciques as "boys."

The ibissache was not mentioned in any other Spanish source. In 1695, each of the Guale missions possessed an ibissache. As the ibissache was mentioned last, both at the general assembly and in the rosters of those attending the visitation of the individual missions, it can probably be assumed that he was the lowest-ranking of the officers of the political elite but superior to the "also-ran" who were lumped together anonymously as "other leading men."

In contrast alayguitas were mentioned earlier in the 1604 visitation. At Espogache, Governor Ibarra noted the presence of alayguitas from Espogache and Tupiqui. And at Guale on St. Catherines Island he registered the presence of the alayguitas for that village.⁵³ In 1695 three alayguitas were mentioned by name, one in each of the Guale villages. The settlement to which they had belonged, however, was not identified, in contrast to the enijas, two of whom at San Phelipe were identified as enijas of the cacique Ajiluste and the cacique of San Phelipe. Two others, however, were simply identified generically as enijas.

Although there were enija in all three Guale villages in 1695, enija were not mentioned in the 1604 visitation nor was anyone identified as an enija in 1677. But enijas were mentioned by the governor in 1677 and in 1650 as among the Guale leaders to be summoned. Jones did not mention the enija in his comments on the Guale's political organization, however.⁵⁴ What this signifies is not clear. The institution was found among other Muskho-gean peoples such as the Apalachee and the Chacato and the Creek.⁵⁵

53. Serrano y Sanz, *Documentas históricas*, 183-87.

54. Jones, "The Ethnohistory of the Guale Coast," 200-01.

55. John H. Hann, *Apalachee, the Land Between the Rivers* (Gainesville, 1987) (in press); Pablo de Hita Salazar, autos concerning the tumult of the Chacato, in letter to the king, August 9, 1675, St. Augustine, AGI, EC, leg. 156A, folios 119-42, SC; Benjamin Hawkins, *Letters of Benjamin Hawkins*, 1796, 1806 (reprint ed., Spartanburg, SC, 1982), 15. To the author's knowledge the 1695 record is the first occasion when the term enija was applied to a

The political organization reflected in this 1695 record, and in earlier documents, indicates that the Guale, among all the natives of Spanish Florida, appear, in the records at least, as having the most complex roster of distinct officials. That elite included head micos and simple micos, head caciques and caciques who were vassals of other caciques, alayguitas, enijas, ibissaches, mandadores, and the anonymous "other leading men." As Jones has noted, yet another title appeared in the 1677 visitation at the San Joseph de Sapala mission.⁵⁶ The visitor listed those in attendance there as "Anastasia, mica and the caciques and tunaques and the remaining mandadores and Indians."⁵⁷ The record identified one of the tunaques later as a certain Alonso, nephew of the mica, Anastasia, when he claimed the barbacoa or seat that belonged to him.⁵⁸

The functions normally entrusted to many of these diverse officials remains unknown. One or more are possibly alternative names for the same official. Although mandadores were mentioned by the governor and Pueyo in the preliminary documents, no individual was identified as a mandador during the visitation. But Diego de Jaen, the Guale lieutenant, identified a leader at Santa María named Augustín as a mandador.⁵⁹ During the visitation Augustín was identified as an alayguita. The alayguita, mandador, enija, and ibissache together were possibly the Guale equivalent of the Creek "Second Men" who occupied one cabin of the square ground.

The 1695 record's portrayal of the "governor" as the man who ran the village, even though he was not the cacique, or mico or at least not its ranking cacique, resolves a problem that has puzzled researchers studying the Apalachee political scene. During the 1670s and 1680s several individuals, Juan Mendoza, Matheo Chuba, and the enija, Vi Ventura, were clearly the

Timucuan official. Milanich noted that Fray Pareja early in the seventeenth century used the term *inijama* for what seems to be the enija.

56. Jones, "The Ethnohistory of the Guale Coast," 201.

57. Elsewhere in the visitation record she was identified as mica of Tupiqui.

58. Arguelles, record of the visitation, 1677-1678, AGI, EC, leg. 156B, SC, folio 526v. Tunaque may be a title meaning heir. In the 1604 visitation record two leaders who were heirs were named Tumaque and Tunague.

59. Diego de Jaen, record of the response by Diego de Jaen to the charges lodged against his conduct as the lieutenant of Guale by the natives of that province during the 1695 visitation of Guale and Mocama made by don Juan de Pueyo, AGI, EC, leg. 157A, SC, folio 150.

people running San Luis de Talimali, even though San Luis had a nominal principal cacique, Francisco Luis. Chuba himself, on an occasion when he identified Francisco Luis as principal cacique, styled himself as governor of San Luis.⁶⁰ At times Chuba was dubbed by the Spaniards as "principal cacique" or simply "cacique."⁶¹ Possibly he was cacique of one of San Luis's satellite villages. In the 1695 record, Antonio, the governor at Tupiqui, never received any title except governor and alayguita.

In 1695 San Felipe also had a governor who was not the village's titular chief. In this case it seems to have been a matter of Diego, the cacique of Ajiluste outranking San Felipe's titular cacique. Diego was mentioned first in the roster and Alonso, the cacique of San Felipe, second. Similarly, Diego's enija, Santiago, was mentioned just prior to San Felipe's cacique's enija, Gregorio. And more convincingly, Diego was referred to later as "leading man and governor."

The institution of governor existed at Santa María as well. But there the reason for the resort to it is not so clear. For the visitation of Santa María itself the leaders were introduced in the following order: "María, cacica of Santa Catalina=María, cacica of Tulafina=Juan de Santiago, cacique chिकासle and governor of the said village =Santiago, cacique of Azopo," etc. This seems to imply that the two cacicas outranked Juan de Santiago. But at the general assembly the cacique of Chिकासle was referred to as "Juan Chिकासle, principal chief of this said place and governor of it."

Because so many of the Guale chiefs residing in the three missions were from northern Guale, or even possibly from Cusabo territory, no pattern is detectible in their 1695 choice of residence. Santa Catalina's cacique and cacica chose separate villages. Santa Clara held a northern mainlander (Tupiqui) and the northern islander cacique of Santa Catalina and the cacique of Sapala, whom Jones placed in the southern chiefdom of Asao-Talaje.⁶² Only six years earlier Asao-Talaje's loyal survivors were apparently at Tupiqui as the 1689 list has a mission characterized as "Asao or Tupiqui."⁶³ The Tupiqui-Sapala association

60. Matheo Chuba, testimony before Francisco de Fuentes, May 29, 1687, San Luis de Talimali, AGI, EC, leg. 156C, folio 31.

61. Pedro Luxán, testimony for Pedro de Aranda y Avellaneda, December 12, 1688, St. Augustine, AGI, EC, leg. 156C, SC, folios 111-13.

62. Jones, "Ethnohistory of the Guale Coast," 195.

63. Ebelino de Compostela, letter to the king, September 28, 1689, Havana, AGI, SD 151, SC.

went back at least to 1677, as the mica of Tupiqui was then living at the Sapala mission and apparently was the ranking leader there.

Among the three surviving Guale missions, Santa Clara de Tupiqui seems to have had the longest mission tradition, one that went back to the Jesuit effort. The Jesuit lay brother, Francisco Villareal, who had labored earlier among the Tequesta and Calusa, spent ten months in Tupiqui in 1569- 1570 just prior to the Jesuits' withdrawal from Florida.⁶⁴ The Franciscans reestablished the Tupiqui mission in 1595, and Fray Blas Rodriguez was killed there in 1597. Tupiqui was then located on the mainland opposite St. Catherines Island three leagues north of Tolomato. During his 1597 punitive expedition Governor Méndez de Canzo went to Tupiqui from the Asopo mission on St. Catherines Island. He found the church, council house, and friary burned.⁶⁵ Tupiqui was among the first Guale chieftains to seek reconciliation with the Spaniards.⁶⁶ In 1604 Governor Ibarra met the mico of Tupiqui and many other leaders from that village at Espogache.⁶⁷ The mico of Tupiqui was not among the leaders confirmed by Altamirano in 1606. Geiger and Jones's identification of Tuguepe, a Salchiche leader whom the bishop instructed hastily and baptized, with the mico of Tupiqui seems unfounded.⁶⁸

Little is known about Tupiqui for a dozen years after 1604 except that it was a visita served from Talaje on the Altamaha. In a confused account of the post-1597 developments, Lanning stated that the site that he believed to be that of the Tolomato mission "has sometimes been mistakenly identified as the Tupique mission" because the old Tupiqui mission of 1597 had not been rebuilt, "and the chief of Tupique, for want of a church in his own community, repaired to the new Tolomato mission

64. Felix J. Zubillaga, *Monumenta Antiquae Floridae* (Rome, 1946), 413-21, 471-79.

65. Oré, *Martyrs of Florida*, 75, 85, note 50; Geiger, *Franciscan Conquest*, 104.

66. Geiger, *Franciscan Conquest*, 116-17.

67. Serrano y Sanz, *Documentos históricos*, 183-85; Dávila, report concerning the pastoral visitation, June 26, 1606, AGI, SD 235, WLC, reel 2.

68. Geiger, *Franciscan Conquest*, 197; Jones, "Ethnohistory of the Guale Coast," 208. In Lowery's copy it is written Tuguepe. The Salchiche appear to have lived farther inland than is compatible with the location usually given for Tupiqui. In view of Tupiqui's long exposure to Christianization, its chief would not seem to have needed such a rush course in Christianity and hasty baptism. Tulufina's chief seems a more likely candidate.

in the village of Espogache.⁶⁹ Lanning gave no citation for that statement that one might verify. Espogache had no resident friar as late as 1606 and is not mentioned as a convent site in Geiger's lists for ca. 1609, 1610, or 1616. Tupiqui, however, reappeared on the 1616 list as an independent mission entity served by Fray Antonio de San Francisco.⁷⁰ Tupiqui was absent from the 1655 list, but that could mean no more than that it then lacked a friar. Tupiqui's survival was indicated only eight years earlier when the Spanish authorities noted that "the Mico in the Town of Topiqui had died." As already noted, Tupiqui's mica was at the Sapala mission by 1677 and seemingly in charge there.⁷¹ Bolton reported that during the turmoil of the early 1680s "many of the neophytes of Zapala, San Simon, Tupiqui and Asao fled with the heathen Yamassees to the Scotch colony of Santa Elena."⁷² That Santa Clara's 1695 population was small is reflected in the leaders' request to Pueyo that the village be moved to a more secure location or that Governor Quiroga's earlier plan be carried out that provided for moving San Phelipe's residents to Tupiqui.

Less is known about the origins of San Phelipe. Although the mission was not given a native name in the 1695 record, it was doubtless a descendant of San Felipe de Athuluteca located farther north earlier. Athuluteca first appeared on the 1616 list as San Pedro Atulteca. There is confusion among the traditional authorities as to the location of this mission and the identity of its inhabitants in its various incarnations. On his 1616 list Geiger placed it clearly in Guale thus: "Fray Juan de la Cruz, guardian of the convent of San Pedro de Atulteca in Guale."⁷³ The native name Atulteca seems to have escaped the attention of Bolton and Lanning, who, apparently influenced by Serrano y Sanz, seem to identify the early San Felipe with the fort of that name at Santa Elena. Serrano y Sanz placed the native pueblo and mission there as late as 1680, perceiving no problem in giving

69. Lanning, *Spanish Missions*, 3-4.

70. Geiger, *Franciscan Conquest*, 234-36, 248; Dávila, report concerning the pastoral visitation, June 26, 1606, AGI, SD 235, WLC, reel 2.

71. Arguelles, record of the visitation, 1677-1678, AGI, EC, leg. 156B, SC, folio 526. Francisco Menendez Marquez and Pedro Beneditt Horruytiner, order to Antonio de Arguelles, August 14, 1647, St. Augustine, AGI, SD 23. Translated by Eugene Lyon.

72. Bolton, *Arredondo's Historical Proof*, 39-40.

73. Geiger, *Franciscan Conquest*, 247.

Santa Elena's distance from St. Augustine as sixty leagues, while reproducing the 1655 list that placed San Felipe only fifty-four leagues from St. Augustine.⁷⁴ Bolton and Lanning's lapse is understandable as the name Athuluteca does not appear on the commonly available early lists such as those from the Ibarra and Altamirano visitations. And on the 1655 list the mission's name appeared simply as San Felipe rather than San Pedro. Nevertheless, the link between the two should have been clearly established for them, or at least suggested by Swanton's 1680 mission list where it appears thus: "Señor San Felipe de Athuluteca (given in 1643 as San Pedro Atuluteca)."⁷⁵ Even Swanton does not seem to have made the connection between those two Athulutecas and the San Felipe of the 1655 list because he identified Athuluteca as Timucua on the basis of its later location within what had been Timucua territory earlier.⁷⁶

Similarly, the two 1675 lists by Arcos and Calderón create confusion about San Phelipe's location vis-a-vis its neighbors. Pedro de Arcos, a soldier at St. Augustine, placed San Phelipe six leagues south of the Guadalquini mission on a route that passed the bars of Guadalquini (St. Simons Sound) and Ballenas (St. Andrews Sound) and three leagues north of the Isle of Mocama.⁷⁷ To reach that isle one crossed the bar of San Pedro (the mouth of the St. Marys River). Arcos's Santa María was the southernmost of four villages on that isle, three and one-half leagues from the first or northernmost of the four villages.⁷⁸ Bishop Calderón placed the Guadalquini mission and San Phelipe nine leagues apart, and San Phelipe and Santa María

74. Serrano y Sanz, *Documentos históricos*, 74, 87, 91, 95, 132; Bolton, *Arredondo's Historical Proof*, 21; Lanning, *Spanish Missions*, 203.

75. Swanton, *Early History*, 322.

76. *Ibid.*, 324.

77. Isle of Mocama was the usual name for Cumberland Island, but Arcos obviously had Amelia Island in mind in this case. His recall of geographical place names seems to have been faulty. One would not have passed the bar of Guadalquini in traveling south from the Guadalquini mission unless it were on St. Simons Island.

78. Boyd, "Enumeration of Spanish Missions," 183. The other three villages were an unnamed village of sixty pagan Yamasee three leagues from San Phelipe, the village of Ocotouque one league farther, and La Tama two leagues farther. Santa María was half a league south of it. Using Arcos and Dickinson as their guide, Ripley P. Bullen and John W. Griffin located sites for these settlements in 1952. See Bullen and Griffin, "An Archaeological Survey of Amelia Island, Florida," *Florida Anthropologist* 5 (December 1952), 37-64.

only three leagues apart.⁷⁹ Arcos and Calderón agreed only in positing a total distance of about twelve leagues between Guadalquini and Santa María. San Phelipe seems to have been on Cumberland Island in 1675.

When Arguelles visited San Phelipe during the first week of 1678, he used the same Guale interpreter Pueyo was to use in 1695.⁸⁰ San Phelipe doubtless moved to Amelia Island during the troubled 1680s. The 1689 list gave San Phelipe about 100 people compared to the thirty-six Arcos listed in 1675.⁸¹ Although Dickinson stopped at "St. Philips" for about an hour, he did not describe any of its features, noting only that two or three leagues on ahead from it they sighted another Indian town that he called Sappataw (probably Tupiqui), doubtless a corruption of Sapelo whose chief lived in Tupiqui.⁸²

Among the Guale missions of 1695, the head village, Santa María, had the shortest and most discontinuous pedigree. At the beginning of the seventeenth century a Mocamo village named Santa María de la Sena existed in the general area of the 1695 missions, probably at the southern tip of Cumberland Island. It was a visita in 1602, with a church that housed 112 Christians who were served from San Pedro Mocamo. A Franciscan lay brother was stationed at this Santa María in 1605.⁸³ There is no further mention of this Santa María except for a brief reference to it in the 1630s noted by Amy Bushnell.⁸⁴

When the name Santa María reappeared in 1675, it was attached to a village on Amelia Island inhabited largely by Yamasee driven southward by the Westo. Arcos described this Santa María as a village three leagues from San Juan del Puerto and six and one-half leagues from San Phelipe and as inhabited by forty pagans. The bishop's Santa María was six leagues from

79. Wenhold, "A 17th Century Letter," 10. The bishop mentioned only one of the Amelia Island settlements.

80. Arguelles, record of the visitation, 1677-1678, AGI, EC, leg. 156B, SC, folios 528v-529.

81. Ebelino de Compostela, letter to the king, September 28, 1689, Havana, AGI, SD 151, SC; Boyd, "Enumeration of Spanish Missions," 183.

82. Dickinson, *Journal*, 68.

83. Baltasar López, report to Fray Blas de Montes, September 15, 1602, St. Augustine, AGI, SD 235, WLC, reel 2; Mary Ross, "The Restoration of the Spanish Missions in Georgia, 1598-1606," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 10 (September 1926), 185.

84. Amy Turner Bushnell, "Santa Maria in the Written Record," Florida State Museum, Miscellaneous Project Report Series No. 21 (November 1986).

San Juan and three from San Phelipe. It is probable that the bishop's Santa María was Arcos's unnamed village of sixty pagan Yamasee at the island's northern end.⁸⁵ Three years later the visitor Arguelles described his Santa María as a Yamasee settlement. To speak to them he used his Guale interpreter, Diego Camurias.⁸⁶ Santa María did not appear on the 1680 list, but it reemerged on the 1689 list as "Santa Catalina or Santa María de Guale."⁸⁷ By that year most of its Yamasee population of the 1670s had been replaced by the loyal Guale who retreated southward in the 1680s before the Carolina-inspired onslaught by hostile natives and pirates and privateers. In 1695 a certain Santiago, a Christian Yamasee living at Santa María, described himself as the last of his nation living in the province. The following excerpt from his complaint against the governor's lieutenant illustrates the reason for the flight of the Yamasee and many of the Guale as well. "The said Santiago stated that, having gone to fish as he was accustomed to do in order to sustain the four little children that he has and to give fish to the soldiers' house, having caught a few small ones, he brought what seemed to him the better part to the said soldiery, and the rest that remained for him, he intended to roast for the occasion of his having invited one of the chiefs of this village to eat with him. And at the time [of preparing it] a soldier of this garrison entered [and] ate of it. And after the soldier had gone and some time had passed, orders to summon the one who is making the denunciation were sent by the said lieutenant and that he should bring the fish with him that he had in his house for the purpose of feeding his aforementioned children. That he obeyed at once on the instant. And when he had been brought to the said soldiery's house, as soon as the said lieutenant saw him, he aimed a kick at the said fish, telling him to carry it to his house. And as to what he had called him for, the one who is testifying said that the soldiers or the servants of the house ate it, at which the said lieutenant gave him some slaps and heavy blows to the face and chest and ordered that he be detained in the house of the

85. Boyd, "Enumeration of Spanish Missions," 183; Wenhold, "A 17th Century Letter," 10.

86. Arguelles, record of the visitation, 1677-1678, AGI, EC, leg. 156B, SC, folio 529.

87. Ebelino de Compostela, letter to the king, September 28, 1689, Havana, AGI, SD 151, SC.

said soldiery in order to punish him. And if the priest of the doctrina had not interposed himself, he would have done it. He feels very dispirited over this and with a bad heart when he considers that out of all his nation none have remained in this province except for him alone, because out of all of such a great number of his said nation that there were in them, both Christian and pagan, they have all gone to the English and he alone has remained, for the love that he has had for the Christians and for the king and for having been employed by many señores governors as loyal and to be trusted to carry various letters to the settlement of St. George [Charles Town] and to bring to and communicate with the chiefs of his nation so that they might come to this province. That he has given a good account in everything and satisfaction because he has been rewarded and warmly received by the señores governors and listened to by the lieutenants, religious, caciques, and leading men of this province as is well known." This was but one of a host of complaints against the incumbent lieutenant.

The "house of the soldiery" referred to the small garrison stationed at Santa María, which was also the residence of the lieutenant. Dickinson did not describe the barracks or the lieutenant's residence, but portrayed the council house as a round structure about eighty-one feet in diameter "with 32 squares, in each square a cabin about 8 foot long of a good height being painted and well matted. The center of this building is a quadrangle of 20 foot being open at top of the house." He also described Santa María as the largest town of all.⁸⁸ The village was palisaded in part at least. Pueyo chided its inhabitants for having left the stockade unfinished, urging them "to finish and close it." The natives expressed their readiness to complete the project, explaining that the work had lapsed "because the wood was far away, they were few, and the years ones when they were short of provisions." The current archaeological exploration of the site should reveal whether they completed it or not. That probably mattered little in view of the size of the forces that approached it on their way to attack St. Augustine in 1702. Although St. Augustine survived, all five mission outposts were abandoned and destroyed. With the destruction of the inland

88. Dickinson, *Journal*, 67.

missions several years later, the Spanish missions were to be confined to the environs of St. Augustine.⁸⁹

89. Except for the brief existence of two mission villages near St. Marks in Apalachee for a few years after 1718.

FLORIDA AND THE WORLD'S COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION OF 1893

by STEPHEN KERBER

IT is a common misconception that Chicago, Illinois, is known as “the Windy City” for its weather. Actually, the name originated during the nineteenth century as a derisive comment upon the often-exaggerated rhetoric employed by Chicagoans engaged in praising their community. This prideful attitude would find its finest and most enduring expression in the poetry of Carl Sandburg. It was this same spirit of aggressive boosterism which in the 1890s enabled Chicagoans to win congressional approval to host on behalf of the nation a great international exposition celebrating the four hundredth anniversary of Columbus’s discovery of the New World, and to create the most famous world’s fair in history— the World’s Columbian Exposition of 1893.¹

The act of Congress which created the exposition provided for a National Commission to work with and to supervise the local Chicago organization which would actually build the fair grounds and structures and operate the fair. The National Commission was to consist of two members from each state and territory (one Republican and one Democrat) and two alternate members to be nominated by the governors and then appointed by the president of the United States. Additionally, a Board of Lady Managers (consisting entirely of women to insure that their contributions to society would be represented fairly and comprehensively) was provided for in the act. The national commissioners appointed a total of 115 women to this board.²

Governor Francis P. Fleming nominated Richard Turnbull of Jefferson County (a Democrat) and Joseph Hirst of Tampa

Stephen Kerber is a graduate of the University of Florida, Gainesville, and the assistant to the director of the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida.

1. Reid Badger, *The Great American Fair: The World's Columbian Exposition & American Culture* (Chicago, 1979); David F. Burg, *Chicago's White City of 1893* (Lexington, 1976).
2. Badger, *Great American Fair*, 43-61; Burg, *Chicago's White City*, 1-113.

(a Republican) as Florida's two national commissioners; Jesse T. Bernard of Tallahassee and Dudley Warren Adams of Tangerine were alternates.³ Turnbull selected Miss E. Nellie Beck of Tampa as a member of the Board of Lady Managers and Mrs. Helen K. Ingram of Jacksonville as an alternate.⁴ Hirst picked Mrs. James (Mary C.) Bell of Gainesville as a member, and Mrs. Chloe M. Reed of Jacksonville, wife of former Governor Harrison Reed, as alternate.⁵ When Hirst subsequently was promoted to the position of secretary of installation for exhibits at the fair, Charles F. A. Bielby of Volusia County became his replacement.⁶ Although these prominent and politically-well-connected men and women were anxious for Florida to be represented in exhibits at the fair, their official duties were concerned with the planning and administration of the fair in its entirety rather than with persons and events in their home state. Of course, the appointment of these Floridians stimulated publicity about the fair and thereby prompted others to consider the potential benefits of participation.

It was in Orange County that the movement to secure a Florida presence at the exposition began. Mayor Willis L. Palmer of Orlando called a meeting on June 8, 1891, to discuss the possibilities of what might be attempted.⁷ At that meeting, Palmer proposed that a convention should be held in October 1891, to organize a state-wide movement. His suggestion was received enthusiastically, and a temporary executive committee was formed.⁸

A second meeting was called for June 18 at the Orange County courthouse. A seven-member committee was selected to plan and arrange for a state convention to be held in Orlando on the first Wednesday in October. Colonel George S. Foote of Zellwood, president of the county Farmers' Alliance, was named chairman of this committee, and Mahlon Gore, editor of the *Orange County Reporter*, secretary. It was hoped that each Florida county would send delegates to the convention and that industries and organizations would be represented also.⁹

3. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, June 22, 1890.

4. *Ibid.*, June 30, August 16, September 1, 1890.

5. *Ibid.*, August 8, September 1, 1890.

6. *Ibid.*, March 19, July 17, 1891.

7. *Ibid.*, June 9, 1891.

8. *Ibid.*, June 15, 1891.

9. *Ibid.*, June 19, 1891. See also, Titusville *Florida Star*, July 9, 1891; Pensacola

Another meeting was held in Orlando on July 16, 1891. The purpose was to designate the Orange County representatives for the October convention. A coalition of businessmen and farmers (approximately one-third of whom reportedly belonged to the Farmers' Alliance) met in the opera house to select the delegates. National Commissioner Richard Turnbull addressed the meeting and suggested the possibility of Florida joining with Nebraska, Arkansas, and Minnesota to construct a combination building in the section reserved for state buildings at the exposition. Turnbull estimated the cost would be \$20,000 per state.¹⁰

Thanks to the efforts of the planning committee members, many other residents of Orlando and Orange County, and the cooperation of newspapers, the Florida world's fair convention convened in Orlando on October 7, 1891. Judge James D. Beggs of Orlando presided. After a prayer by Reverend N. A. Bailey, Beggs summarized the history of the movement. Delegate George W. Wilson of Marion County then presented Governor Fleming, who urged Florida's representation at the fair. It would advertise the state and attract both people and capital to Florida. Patriotism, state pride, unity, and a love for the work would all be needed if an exhibit were to become a reality, Fleming noted.

After the governor's speech, a total of 111 delegates from fourteen of forty-five counties answered to the roll call. They included farmers, lawyers, doctors, merchants, newspaper men, real estate agents, and others. Each county was represented on the committee on plans and resolutions. The members included: Edward R. Gunby, Hillsborough County; G. P. Healy, Volusia; T. W. Anderson, Polk; George W. Wilson, Marion; Richard G. Robinson, Orange; Rufus E. Rose, Osceola; G. W. Idner, Brevard; L. C. Washburn, Lee; T. N. Gautier, Putnam; R. C. Hendry, DeSoto; Arthur T. Cornwell, Manatee; William N. Sheats, Alachua; Jonathan C. Greeley, Duval; and John Fabyan, Lake. The main charge of the committee was to decide on a scheme to raise money.

Daily News, July 4, 1891; *Savannah Evening News*, quoted in *Juno Tropical Sun*, July 15, 1891.

10. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, July 17, 1891; *Juno Tropical Sun*, July 29, 1891. See also, Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, August 15, 1891; Titusville *Florida Star*, August 20, 1891; Pensacola *Daily News*, August 26, 1891; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, August 26, 1891.

While the planning committee deliberated in private, the delegates listened to a series of speeches from the other representatives. Syd L. Carter of Alachua County bemoaned the failure of the 1891 legislature, in which he had served, to appropriate any funds for a fair exhibit. Duval County's James R. Challen proposed the creation of a stock company and the sale of shares as a means of raising funds. Tampa's Mrs. Lucie Vanevar promised Hillsborough County's support. John Fabyan of Lake County called upon Florida to raise at least \$200,000. California, he said, would likely raise \$1,000,000

A note of discord was sounded by C. L. Bittinger of Marion County. While his neighbors would do their share, he did not expect much support from the Farmers' Alliance, whose members he characterized as illiberal and unprogressive. His remarks prompted a reply in defense of the Alliance by Syd Carter. Matthew R. Marks of Orange County also disagreed with Bittinger's comments, noting the support in his own county for a Florida exhibit. E. D. Beggs of Osceola felt that each county should be free to raise funds by subscription or by taxation, so that the as-yet-unrepresented counties would cooperate. National Commissioner Charles Bielby concluded the discussion by urging that at least \$20,000 be raised for a joint building.

Since the opera house previously had been engaged for an illustrated lecture about Florida by promoter Arthur C. Jackson, the convention adjourned at 5:00 P.M.

The next day, the morning train brought twenty additional delegates from West Florida counties: Escambia, Washington, Jackson, Holmes, Santa Rosa, Walton, and Calhoun. The membership of the convention thereby rose to 131 delegates representing twenty-one counties. Each of the West Florida delegations selected a representative to join the planning committee: William Dudley Chipley, Escambia; L. M. Ware, Washington; William Hall Milton, Jackson; H. Evans, Holmes; Dr. A. C. Hoadley, Santa Rosa; J. T. Stubbs, Walton; and A. R. Higgins, Calhoun.

The committee on plans and resolutions presented its report through its secretary, William N. Sheats. It proposed the creation of a "directory," or executive committee, to raise \$100,000 to finance an exhibit. The thirteen-member directory included George W. Wilson, Marion County; W. D. Chipley, Escambia; George S. Foote, Orange; R. E. Rose, Osceola; Joseph H. Dur-

kee, Duval; David E. Maxwell, Nassau; W. H. Milton, Jackson; G. P. Healy, Volusia; Silas A. Jones, Hillsborough; B. R. Swope, Orange; Daniel Campbell, Walton; Gardner S. Hardee, Brevard; and Patrick Houstoun, Leon.¹¹ Chipley was named acting chairman, and he called the next meeting for Jacksonville at the Duval House Hotel on October 22.¹²

National Commissioners Charles Bielby and Richard Turnbull, and Nellie Beck of the Board of Lady Managers, met with the group in Jacksonville. Regular officers were then chosen: W. D. Chipley, president; Silas A. Jones, first vice-president; Joseph H. Durkee, second vice-president; George W. Wilson, secretary; and John F. Dunn, treasurer. A message of greeting was sent to the state Farmers' Alliance, then holding its convention in Dade City, asking for cooperation. Chipley also planned to appeal for support from the entire state. After listening to a proposal by promoter Arthur C. Jackson to erect a Florida state building at Chicago modeled on Fort Marion in St. Augustine (Castillo de San Marcos), the directory adopted the idea and authorized the employment of an architect to design the structure.¹³

The emergence of W. D. Chipley as leader of the directory illustrates the confusing and changing nature of Florida politics at the time. Chipley, a conservative Democrat and ex-confederate who represented Florida and Southern railroad interests, had vociferously opposed the reelection of United States Senator Wilkinson Call at the 1891 Florida legislative session at least partly because Call favored some Farmers' Alliance proposals such as railroad regulation. Despite this stormy political back-

11. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, October 8, 9, 11, 12, 1891; Pensacola *Daily News*, October 10, 11, 1891; Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, October 10, 17, 1891; Titusville *Florida Star*, October 15, 1891.

12. Pensacola *Daily News*, October 18, 1891; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, October 18, 1891.

13. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, October 23, November 7, 1891; Pensacola *Daily News*, October 23, November 7, 1891; Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, October 24, November 7, 14, 1891. Jackson had suggested a building copied after the Castillo de San Marcos as early as October 14, 1891. He may have conceived of his plan during the Orlando convention, or perhaps in anticipation of that gathering. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, October 15, 16, 1891; Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, October 24, November 7, 1891. For alternate suggestions regarding a Florida building, see Pensacola *Daily News*, May 22, November 12, 1891; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, March 22, 1892.

ground, there was little mention in the Florida press about whether Chipley's selection as leader of the directory might be offensive to some Call supporters or Alliance men. The *Pensacola Daily News* on October 24, 1891, ran an editorial supporting the fair exhibit movement which stated that: "At none of the great gatherings which have recently been held in the state, and which have for their object the advancement of Florida on material lines, have any of the prominent supporters of Mr. Call been present."¹⁴ In turn, the Jacksonville *Telegram* seemed to suggest that Chipley had become involved in the fair movement, at least partially, in order to further his political struggle against Call.¹⁵ Chipley sought to smooth things over. He wrote to the editor of the Pensacola paper, protesting the "spirit" of the editorial, and calling upon every Floridian to "do his best" in "the grand work before us."¹⁶ At least as far as the newspapers were concerned, Chipley seemed to have succeeded in keeping his politics out of the fair movement.

The directory's next meeting was in Jacksonville at the Everett House on November 25, 1891. At this gathering, Gardner S. Hardee resigned as a director and was replaced by Ziba King of DeSoto County. In addition, Joseph H. Durkee tendered his resignation, and Francis R. Osborne, of the Southern Express Company, was his replacement. Chipley reported that he had already made a trip to Chicago to check possible sites for a Florida building, and had been assisted by Joseph Hirst, secretary of installation, and Arthur C. Jackson. The site tentatively assigned to Florida was approximately ninety by 100 feet in size. Since the preliminary plans for the Fort Marion facsimile would require a 400-foot square space, Chipley had looked into the possibility of securing a larger plot situated along the proposed Midway Plaisance connecting Jackson and Washington parks, the two largely undeveloped city parks where the fair would be constructed. He suggested that other members of the board join him in another Chicago trip to consider that decision.

Chipley also read a communication from Governor Fleming which detailed the governor's belief that the county commissioners were authorized to levy a tax for county purposes. According to Fleming, a tax to advertise a county through an exhibit at

14. *Pensacola Daily News*, October 24, 1891.

15. *Jacksonville Telegram*, quoted in *ibid.*, October 28, 1891

16. *Pensacola Daily News*, October 25, 1891.

Chicago would be justified. Encouraged by the governor's message, the directory urged that a direct tax of one mill upon all taxable property be levied by each county commission. The directory sought publicity through the newspapers and through speakers in the several counties.¹⁷ An open letter released December 11, 1891, called on the people to support the one-mill tax formula.¹⁸

The third directory meeting took place January 11, 1892, in Pensacola's Hotel Escambia. Francis R. Osborne resigned for health reasons and was succeeded as a director by Austin S. Mann of Hernando County. Chipley reported on his second Chicago visit, December 9, and said that he had been impressed by the scope of the preparations he had found there. However, he had concluded that "the voluntary tax plan will not work." Comparing notes of what they had observed in the counties, the directors estimated that only \$32,000 seemed likely to be raised either by county donations or by the voluntary one-mill tax.

On January 12, six women were added to the directory: Fanny B. Chapman of Marianna, Mrs. Medicus A. (Ellen Call) Long of Tallahassee, Mrs. Henry L. Crane of Tampa, Mrs. James K. (Mary Kerr) Duke of Orlando, Mrs. William M. (Clara Boulter) Davidson of Jacksonville, and Mrs. J. J. Finley of Gainesville. In addition, the "lady alternate national commissioners," Mrs. Helen K. Ingram and Mrs. Harrison Reed, were recognized as members of the board. The directory then returned to its first priority— money. In an attempt to verify whether sufficient funding could ever be obtained from the counties, the county commissioners were requested to meet with the directory on February 17, 1892, in Tallahassee. Governor Fleming was asked to issue his own call endorsing such a meeting and urging the county officials to attend.¹⁹

17. *Chicago News*, quoted in *Juno Tropical Sun*, December 24, 1891; *Titusville Florida Star*, November 12, 1891; *Pensacola Daily News*, November 7, 18, 26, 1891; *Jacksonville Standard*, quoted in *Pensacola Daily News*, November 28, 1891; *Jacksonville Florida Times-Union*, November 26, 1891. See also, *Tallahassee Weekly Floridian*, January 2, 1892.

18. *Jacksonville Florida Times-Union*, December 13, 1891; *Pensacola Daily News*, December 15, 1891.

19. *Pensacola Daily News*, January 12, 13, 1892; *Jacksonville Florida Times-Union*, January 12, 14, 15, 1892; *Tallahassee Weekly Floridian*, January 16, 1892. It is possible that Mrs. M. Stockton Young of Jacksonville may have served in place of Mrs. Davidson. See *Jacksonville Florida Times-Union*, February 17, 1892.

The meeting of the directors and the commissioners began at 3:00 P.M., February 17, in the chamber of the Florida House of Representatives.²⁰ Ninety-two commissioners from twenty-nine counties were present. Chipley, in his welcome speech, summarized the thinking which had generated the fair movement in Florida: "That Florida needs more immigration will not be denied by any intelligent citizen of our state. That our resources need more capital to develop them is recognized by every person here today. To secure this there can be but one suggestion. Let us place our resources and the possibilities of our state before the people seeking new homes and before capitalists seeking investments. How shall we do this is the question which concerns us. . . . What does Florida's World's fair directory offer you? Simply this: An attractive illustration of Florida's resources and possibilities, which all who see it must stop and investigate."²¹ Chipley concluded his remarks by urging the commissioners to levy the one-mill tax in order to finance the exhibit.

After Chipley had spoken, the convention organized by selecting former Governor William D. Bloxham as its presiding officer. Next, Governor Fleming took the floor, and he exhorted the commissioners to adopt the county tax. Fleming contended that the Florida exhibit would benefit every citizen of the state and that the one-mill tax would be an equitable way to pay for it.

William B. Lamar, Florida's attorney general, took an opposite view. He contended that county commissioners could not levy a tax in concert "to supply the want of a state appropriation," but funds from individual counties could be used for individual county exhibits. Most commissioners questioned the legality of the tax, and several opposed it altogether. Only the commissioners from Orange and Osceola favored the tax idea. A few commissioners wanted the governor to convene a special legislative session in order to appropriate funds for the fair, but the majority did not go along. The commissioners also refused to follow the attorney general's recommendation to appropriate a sum equal to the one-mill tax to pay for individual county exhibits.

20. Pensacola *Daily News*, January 20, 1892; Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, January 23, 1892; Titusville *Florida Star*, January 28, 1892. A list of Florida's county commissioners is to be found in the Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, February 17, 1892.

21. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, February 18, 1892.

The Tallahassee convention had failed to secure any public funding for a Florida exhibit. At first, the directors and Chipley planned to resign, but they decided instead to wait upon the reports which were due to be presented at a meeting scheduled for March 23, 1892, in Tampa.²²

It was at the fifth directory meeting, held in the music room of the Tampa Bay Hotel, that the public effort to raise funds and to create a Florida state exhibit at Chicago expired officially. The situation had not improved since the Tallahassee convention, and the directors had to admit failure. All the funds which had been raised by subscription would be returned to the donors, and the directors agreed to pay for any operating expenses which had been incurred. They did decide, however, to maintain for the time being a paper existence in order that space reserved for a state building and for displays of exhibits in the great horticultural, agricultural, and mining halls at Chicago might not be immediately and permanently forfeited. The final communication of the directory announcing these moves was signed by W. D. Chipley, George W. Wilson, Silas A. Jones, B. R. Swope, George S. Foote, W. H. Milton, R. E. Rose, Albert W. Gilchrist, Mary Kerr Duke, Mrs. Henry L. Crane, Ellen Call Long, Fanny B. Chapman, and E. Nellie Beck.²³

Despite the enthusiastic efforts of many prominent men and women, and the support of several newspaper editors, the public movement for a Florida exhibit at the world's fair had come to nothing because neither the public, the state legislature, nor the county commissions wanted to pay for it. But the determination of one man was stirred rather than crushed by the disintegration of the directory. Almost nothing has been written about the life of Arthur Charles Jackson, but without his participation, Florida would never have been represented at the world's fair. Jackson was a promoter, showman, and entrepreneur whose travels took him to many sections of the United States. He was born in Waitsfield, Vermont, on June 29, 1858, the son of Alvin N. Jackson, a shoemaker, and Polly Schlagel Jackson. It is known that he attended the University of Illinois from 1875 to 1878, although he never received a degree. Jackson described himself

22. Ibid., February 17, 18, 19, 1892; Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, February 20, 1892; Titusville *Florida Star*, February 25, 1892.

23. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, March 24, 1892; Pensacola *Daily News*, March 26, 1892; Titusville *Florida Star*, March 31, 1892.



Arthur C. Jackson. Photograph from Hubert Howe Bancroft, *The Book of the Fair* (Bancroft Company, 1895), Volume 3.

as a traveler and lecturer who had attended the Boston Latin School, studied law under General Benjamin F. Butler, and taught in the Boston public schools. He married Isabella C. Stetson on March 14, 1882.²⁴

In 1889, railroad and hotel magnate Henry B. Plant had selected Jackson to manage a Florida exhibit at the Paris international exposition, a responsibility he carried through satisfactorily.²⁵ Thereafter, it appears that Jackson continued to make his living by promoting Florida. For example, on December 11 and 12, 1890, he presented illustrated lectures entitled "Florida Historic" and "Florida Picturesque" at the YMCA hall in Elgin, Illinois.²⁶ Jackson had been present during the Orlando meeting of October 7-8, 1891, when the directory was first organized.²⁷ It was Jackson who had the idea of constructing a Florida state building in the shape of Fort Marion and who had sold the plan to the directors. Further, Jackson had accompanied Chipley on the fact-finding visit in Chicago.²⁸ Whether he was at this time a free agent pursuing his own fortune, or the paid agent of someone anxious to see Florida represented at the fair, is uncertain.²⁹

Jackson left Florida and did a great deal of traveling during November and December 1891. He publicized himself by writing letters to newspaper editors. In a letter written in San Francisco, December 15, 1891, he mentioned the consultation he had with Chipley in Chicago. He was then planning to visit other

24. *Who Was Who in America*, 4 vols. (Chicago, 1960), III, 441; *New York Times*, October 4, 1949; Portland (Maine) *Press-Herald*, October 3, 1949; Matt Bushnell Jones, *History of the Town of Waitsfield, Vermont, 1782-1908, With Family Genealogies* (Boston, 1909), 351; Maynard Brichford, University archivist, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, to Kerber, December 3, 1986; Portland (Maine) *Express* June 17, 1937; February 26, 1957.

25. *Pensacola Daily News*, October 7, 1892.

26. Elgin (Illinois) *Daily News*, quoted in Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, December 20, 1890. See also, *Pensacola Daily News*, October 7, 1892.

27. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, October 8, 1891; *Pensacola Daily News*, October 10, 1891; Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, October 10, 1891.

28. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, October 15, 23, 1891; *Pensacola Daily News*, November 26, 1891. See also, Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, November 26, 1891.

29. An article in the *Florida Times-Union*, February 16, 1892, stated that Jackson had been appointed by Davis as an honorary commissioner of the fair in November 1891. It further stated that Jackson would tour the state after the Tallahassee convention giving illustrated lectures under the auspices of and for the benefit of the directory.

parts of California and also Mexico.³⁰ Evidently, Jackson changed his travel plans; on Christmas day he was in Denver. He passed through Chicago, and by January 11, 1892, he was in Montreal, Canada.³¹ It is possible that Jackson may have been sent on the cross-country journey by someone in Chicago eager to publicize the fair. When Jackson and his wife arrived in Jacksonville on February 15, 1892, he claimed to have been appointed by George R. Davis, the fair director general, as an honorary commissioner for the exhibition.³² Jackson had returned in time to attend the Tallahassee meeting, at which he may have shown photographs taken in Chicago a few days earlier.³³

On February 25, Jackson was once more in Jacksonville where he delivered an illustrated lecture on Chicago and the fair to 300 spectators in the Sub-Tropical Building.³⁴ Then, on March 6, 1892, he announced his second idea, the publication of a gazetteer which would advertise places, businesses, and opportunities in Florida and would generate the income needed for the construction of the Florida state building. His original gazetteer scheme involved the printing of 100,000 copies of a 1,000-page directory about Florida. For \$1.00, a donor would have his name listed, and for \$100, a purchaser would be entitled to one page of advertising. The goal was to raise \$100,000.³⁵ Thus, when the directory met at Tampa on March 23, with plans to abdicate, Jackson had already offered himself as the successor to that body.

Soon thereafter, possibly because of Jackson's merits or possibly because of the intervention of other persons, Governor Fleming appointed him and Joseph Hirst to be special Florida fair commissioners. They could use the gazetteer plan to raise money. Jackson's commission was issued on March 30, 1892.³⁶ One day later, it was announced that Henry M. Flagler had agreed conditionally to purchase \$20,000 worth of space in the

30. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, January 2, 1892.

31. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, December 31, 1891, January 17, 1892.

32. *Ibid.*, February 16, 1892.

33. *Ibid.* Jackson is listed as a member of the directory in a *Florida Times-Union* story, February 17, 1892. See also, *ibid.*, February 23, 1892.

34. *Ibid.*, February 26, 1892.

35. *Ibid.*, March 6, 1892. See also, *ibid.*, March 27, 1892.

36. Pensacola *Daily News*, April 2, 1892; Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, April 2, 1892. See also, Pensacola *Daily News*, April 1, 1892.

proposed gazetteer and had offered to donate that space for a descriptive sketch of the state's advantages. Flagler's commitment was contingent on the sale of the remainder of the pages in the gazetteer to other advertisers.³⁷ In 1892, Flagler was considering plans to extend his railroad and hotel system south along the east coast of Florida to New Smyrna, the Lake Worth area, or perhaps even farther south.³⁸ His offer to purchase space in the gazetteer was surely based upon his realization that a prominent Florida exhibit in Chicago might prove of value to his own future interests.

Despite Flagler's involvement, the gazetteer scheme failed to attract wide-spread support. Jackson traveled throughout the state during the spring and summer of 1892, explaining the plan to everyone who would listen, but without demonstrable results.³⁹ He then modified his appeal and asked the county commissioners to purchase pages in the gazetteer, promising them in return the use of floor and wall space for county displays in his projected Florida state building as a bonus.⁴⁰ In July 1892, Jackson won the endorsement of the state press association, meeting in Gainesville, for his appeal to the county commissions, but this endorsement did not help him either.⁴¹ Thus, Jackson was experiencing no more success than the directory had achieved, either in raising money by subscription or through taxation. Unwilling to concede defeat, Jackson took the only alternative available to him; he borrowed the money to construct a Florida state building.

37. Savannah *Morning News*, April 1, 1892; Juno *Tropical Sun*, April 14, 1892; Pensacola *Daily News*, April 5, 1892. See also, Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, April 30, 1892.

38. Edward Nelson Akin. "Southern Reflection of the Gilded Age: Henry M. Flagler's System, 1885-1913" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Florida, 1975), 49-93.

39. Pensacola *Daily News*, April 5, 1892; Juno *Tropical Sun*, April 7, 1892; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, April 11, 24, May 1, 11, 1892; Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, April 2, 23, 30, 1892; Titusville *Florida Star*, May 5, 1892.

40. See Jackson's appeal of July 2, 1892, to the county commissioners. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, July 3, 18, 1892; Pensacola *Daily News*, July 5, 1892; Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, July 16, 1892; Titusville *Florida Star*, July 21, 1892.

41. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, July 22, 1892; Titusville *Florida Star*, August 11, 1892; Juno *Tropical Sun*, August 4, 1892. See also, Jackson's appeal to the county commissioners of July 26, 1892. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, July 27, August 3, 1892; Juno *Tropical Sun*, August 4, 1892; Titusville *Florida Star*, August 11, 1892.

On September 6, 1892, Jackson announced that a large suitable space among the state building sites had been allocated for the Florida structure.⁴² Apparently work began on the Florida building in mid-September 1892.⁴³ A wooden framework would be covered by a coquina veneer to recreate the exterior finish of Fort Marion.⁴⁴ The foundation was completed by the end of the first week in October.⁴⁵ Some progress on the site was evident when the official dedication ceremonies for the fair were held on October 21, 1892, six months before the official opening. Governor Fleming demonstrated his continuing interest by attending the dedication activities, in company with members of his military staff, including Albert W. Gilchrist, David Lang, and H. T. Baya.⁴⁶

Jackson reported, December 4, 1892, that the building was substantially complete.⁴⁷ Only a few finishing touches and exterior decoration remained to be done. He said that he had borrowed the money to put up the building in anticipation of receiving approximately \$7,000 which had been promised by eight counties, plus whatever else might possibly be forthcoming.⁴⁸

The first news story identifying the source of Jackson's borrowed money appeared on December 18, 1892. In one of his many public appeals for support, Jackson referred to Henry M. Flagler and H. R. Duval as the sources of all "preliminary" funds.⁴⁹ H. Rieman Duval was receiver of the Florida Railroad and Navigation Company, and president of the Florida Central and Peninsular Railroad Company.⁵⁰ Jackson stated that the money expended on the building— which he now put at nearly \$10,000— had been advanced by Flagler.⁵¹

42. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, September 7, 1893.

43. *Ibid.*, September 11, 1892.

44. *Ibid.* Jackson initially had suggested that the exterior walls of the facsimile should be covered with a veneer of phosphate rock. *Ibid.*, October 15, 23, 1891.

45. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, October 8, 1892.

46. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, October 29, 1892. For a description of the state building by Guy Metcalf, see *ibid.*, November 7, 1892.

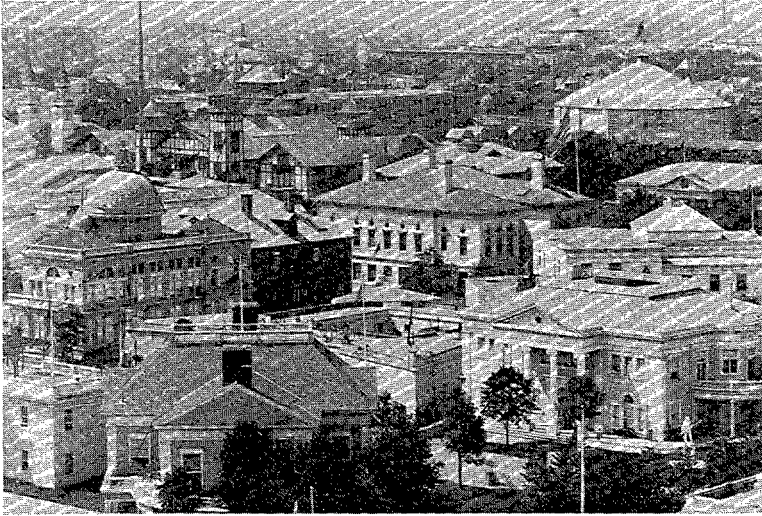
47. *Ibid.*, December 5, 1892. W. Mead Nalter of Chicago is mentioned in only one source as the architect of the Florida state building. J. B. McClure, *The World's Columbian Exposition* (Chicago, 1893), 238.

48. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, December 5, 1892.

49. See Jackson's circular letter dated December 17, 1892. *Ibid.*, December 18, 1892.

50. *Who Was Who in America*, I, 350.

51. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, December 18, 1892.



Panorama of state buildings at the Fair. The Florida building is in the center, with the Kentucky building to the right and Missouri to the left. Photograph from William Henry Jackson, *The White City (As It Was)* (White City Art Company, 1894).

With his Fort Marion facsimile a reality, Jackson continued to travel between Chicago and Florida, seeking to obtain additional funds and to arrange for the materials to be exhibited either in the Florida state building or in the other fair structures. He arrived in Jacksonville on January 2, 1893, displaying an official certificate indicating that the Florida building was complete and ready for occupancy. It was described as a square, 140 by 140 foot-building, on lot number seven (an area of 175 by 200 feet).⁵² The Florida building was surrounded by the buildings from the states of Kentucky, Arkansas, Minnesota, Louisiana, Missouri, West Virginia, and a building representing the territories of New Mexico, Arizona, and Oklahoma. Jackson was again in Jacksonville on January 21, 1893, with letters signed by Flagler, Duval, and Plant, authorizing free railroad transportation to Chicago for all Florida exhibits.⁵³

Presumably in order to formalize his position, Jackson arranged for the establishment of a new organization under his

52. *Ibid.*, January 3, 1893.

53. *Ibid.*, January 23, 1893; Titusville *Florida Star*, January 27, 1893.

leadership. This also may have been an attempt to give him the appearance of independence from Flagler in the eyes of fair officials in Chicago and of potential donors and exhibitors in Florida. The Florida World's Columbian Exposition Commission was established during a meeting at the St. James Hotel in Jacksonville on February 17, 1893. Jackson was elected president and executive commissioner, Guy Metcalf of Dade County was elected secretary, and John T. Talbott of Duval was chosen treasurer.⁵⁴

Since he had managed to construct his building and create his own organization, it began to appear that Jackson might be capable of achieving results beyond the reach of less-single-minded men. He announced on March 15 that within two weeks a trainload of Florida products and exhibits would depart for Chicago.⁵⁵ When another special fifteen-car freight train full of Florida materials reached Chicago on April 22, it did look as though Jackson's luck was continuing.⁵⁶ Cash Thomas, an employee of the Florida International and Semi-Tropical Exposition staged in Ocala during 1889-1890, was put in charge of the exhibits.⁵⁷ With opening day of the fair set for May 1, the components necessary for a successful Florida presence at the world's fair seemed to have been brought together primarily through Jackson's exertions.

Members of the Florida Press Association, who had been writing about the fair for years, decided to visit Chicago in 1893 as a group. The members first assembled on May 9 for their annual meeting in Tallahassee, at Munro's Opera House. The association dispatched an official delegation to urge the legislators, then in session, to appropriate public funds to finance the Florida exhibit. An assorted party of husbands, wives, and children embarked from Tallahassee by train on May 11. After

54. Titusville *Florida Star*, March 3, 1893; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, August 27, 1893; Juno *Tropical Sun*, March 2, 1893. Presumably, each of the eleven counties meriting representation had contributed funds to Jackson for the state building.

55. This announcement came during the second meeting of Jackson's organization. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, March 16, 1893. Passenger rates for rail travel to the fair from Florida were fixed during a meeting held in St. Augustine on March 10, 1893. See *ibid.*, March 11, 1893.

56. *Chicago Times*, quoted in *ibid.*, April 24, 1893.

57. *Ibid.* See also, Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, November 26, 1891, December 22, 1892.

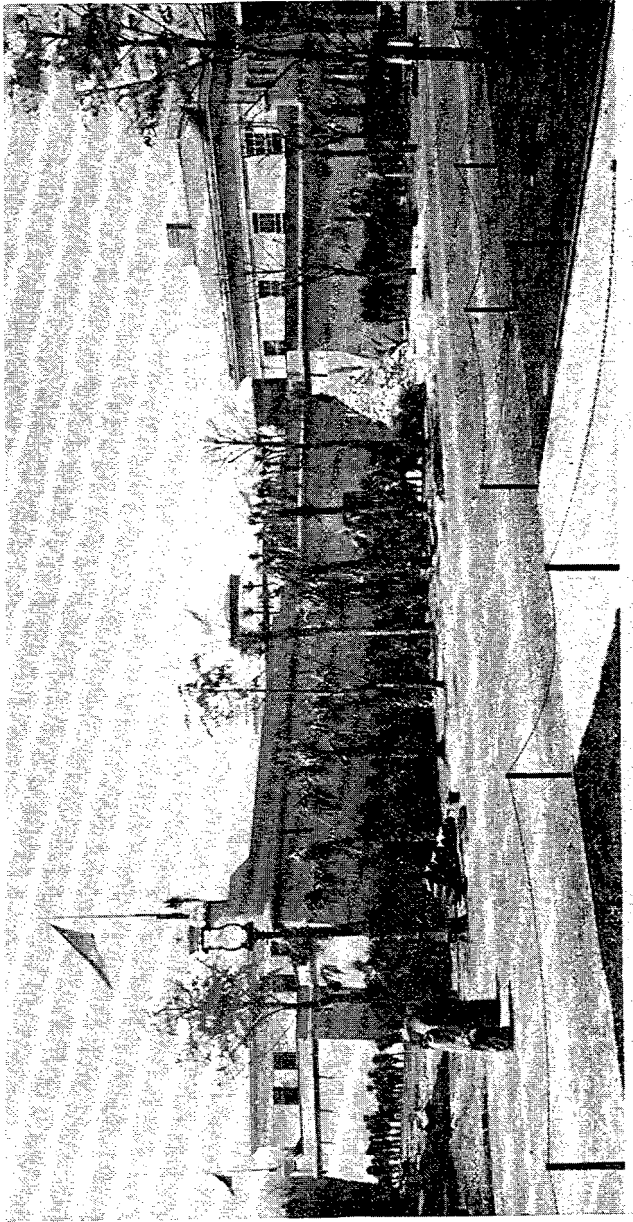
sightseeing at Mammoth Cave, Kentucky, the group arrived in Chicago three days later.⁵⁸

Very few of the Florida journalists who visited the fair subsequently wrote eyewitness accounts or even news stories about their impressions. Not many attempted to write about Florida's participation, and not one, so far as is known, attempted to present a comprehensive description of the physical and intellectual scope of the fair. The scattered news reports which did appear during May and June 1893, generally spoke well of what had been attempted by Florida but lamented that more had not been accomplished. Although Jackson's energy and his creation of the Fort Marion facsimile usually received favorable mention, the lack of outstanding Florida displays became a source of much discussion and frustration.

The following description of the Florida state building and the shortage of displays was typical: "Not far from the entrance and very nicely located are the gray walls of 'the Fort', as the Florida state building is called. From its turrets float four weather-beaten flags, Spanish, British, French, and United States, representing the countries who have at different times occupied it. It attracts universal attention and is concluded to be one of the most interesting and attractive buildings on the grounds. It is surrounded by thickly set rows of Spanish bayonets and in front tall palmettos rear their heads and greet the Floridian with a home welcome. In raised gilt letters 'Florida State Building' appears near the entrance upon the walls. In the court a large pyramid of phosphate is built up, also plants of all kinds. Just within the building are the various county spaces; here Mr. Cash Thomas and his assistants are busily engaged placing the exhibits and decorating. Very few have yet been received, comparatively— to our shame be it said. Here is a beautiful building, which is visited by every one who goes to the fair; space in abundance, transportation free; and yet our people will not accept the opportunity to make a record for themselves, and obtain all the wonderful benefits which would result from this way of advertising our state and her resources."⁵⁹

58. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, April 22, May 13, 1893; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, May 10, 11, 16, 18, 1893. For information about the activities of the Florida party in Chicago, see Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, May 21, 23, 25, 28, 30, June 3, 1893; Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, May 27, 1893; Juno *Tropical Sun*, June 1, 1893.

59. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, May 3, 1893; Titusville *Florida Star*, May 19, 1893.



FORT MARION REPRODUCED

Florida State Building, from Bancroft, *Book of the Fair*, Volume 3.

Samuel C. Boylston, a former Confederate cavalry officer and a railroad and steamboat agent from Jacksonville, commented: "The state building is a daisy— the most unique thing on the grounds in the way of a state building. Everybody stops to look at it and, if they didn't want to go in, it would be all right; for the old fort is a big Florida advertisement in itself. But Jackson can't keep the door locked, and so the crowds get inside to find an exhibit that so far does us very little credit. There are the woods exhibits of the Plant system— a very nice thing and the same one that went to the Paris exhibition— a very interesting exhibit from Monroe County, and some from Dade county and other places now being arranged. But, bless my soul, what a chance we have got and how we are throwing it away every day!"⁶⁰

A Michigan man who maintained a winter residence near Crescent City, Florida, remarked that he was "amazed, mortified and chagrined . . . to witness the very sorry exhibit which she [Florida] makes at the World's fair." This man had no complaint about the Florida state building, but "in the agricultural, horticultural and other buildings, where takes place the real competition of the states, Florida either has no part at all or is so poorly represented as to make her friends feel that it would be better were she without representation."⁶¹ Joseph Richardson, a passenger agent for Flagler's railroads, estimated that 20,000 people daily visited the Florida building. He believed that there were "some very creditable exhibits there; and, while the whole of them is not a thousandth part of what we ought to have there, it is really not so bad as it has been painted."⁶² Retired Justice Edwin M. Randall of the Florida Supreme Court was not so charitable in his estimate. "I have been to the Fair and am ashamed of Florida," he said. "With the opportunities for a creditable show, the neglect by the Legislature and the people of Florida is shameful."⁶³ One especially disappointed visitor said: "I think it would have been better not to have attempted anything than to have done what has been done." He thought it might be best "to put our exhibit into the garbage wagon and dump it outside the grounds."⁶⁴

60. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, May 26, 1893.

61. *Ibid.*, July 3, 1893.

62. *Ibid.*, July 7, 1893.

63. Jacksonville *Metropolis*, quoted in Titusville *Florida Star*, July 14, 1893.

64. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, June 9, 1893.

Ironically, the gibes which fair visitors initially directed at the Florida displays and exhibits, soon expanded into personal criticism of Arthur Jackson. Mahlon Gore recognized this evolution of criticism and denounced the tendency in a letter from Chicago: "I may say here incidentally that Florida has missed her golden opportunity. She had allotted to her one of the most favorable positions in the horticultural building. There she had ample space for a grand exhibit. It is now conspicuous for its emptiness. The Florida building is ready. It has cost the state nothing, although it represents a considerable outlay of money. So far as any mutual benefit to the state is concerned it might as well close its doors. It is discreditable to the state that it contains so little. Just here I want to say a word privately for Arthur C. Jackson. He has worked untiringly and without reward from the state. He has worked in the face of opposing sentiment, and in spite of slurs and accusations. Whatever is here from our state is due almost solely to his efforts. He is still working and declares his purpose to work to the end or starve in the effort. If he has been rewarded to the extent of a dollar, no one has discovered that fact. Yet he has been accused of having made thousands of dollars out of the enterprise. No one knows or can point to any contribution or appropriation of money, however, out of which he could have made a cent. Mr. H. M. Flagler is behind him. Jackson has simply represented that gentleman and has looked after the expenditure of Mr. Flagler's money. The state and the people of Florida are indebted to Mr. Jackson. They ought not to bring malicious accusations against him."⁶⁵

The Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union* – a Flagler interest – came to Jackson's defense, stressing the point that there would be no Florida presence at Chicago at all except for his efforts.⁶⁶ The *Times-Union* sharply criticized W. D. Chipley for failing to deliver on an early conditional pledge of \$2,500 to the fair movement.⁶⁷ To this, the Pensacola *Daily News* rejoined that the Florida directory had realized the futility of attempting to raise adequate funds and had been entirely correct in abandoning the dream.⁶⁸ In other words, too little had indeed turned out to

65. Orlando *Daily Reporter*, June 6, 1893, quoted in *ibid.*

66. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, June 9, 1893.

67. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, quoted in Pensacola *Daily News*, June 15, 1893. See also, Pensacola *Daily News*, September 16, 1891.

68. Pensacola *Daily News*, June 15, 1893.

be worse than nothing at all, at least as far as world's fair exhibits. According to the Pensacola paper, Jackson had been "attempting to run a private show at Chicago which has failed and has become a disgrace to our people— an abomination in the nostrils of the nations of the earth." The paper indicated that Flagler and Jackson were "running a private business at Chicago which scandalizes the state and directly works injury to her best interests."⁶⁹

While the personal criticism no doubt irritated Jackson, his greatest tribulations were only just about to commence. With no warning, Florida Governor Henry L. Mitchell arbitrarily issued a proclamation on July 15, 1893, stating that because of the complaints about Jackson, he was revoking all fair appointments.⁷⁰ This proclamation evidently was dispatched to Joseph Hirst, secretary of installation, in Chicago, rather than to George Davis, director general.⁷¹

Mitchell's proclamation proved to be a bombshell. Public interest in the fair as measured by newspaper coverage revived immediately. Although Jackson was in New York when word of Mitchell's action reached Chicago, his wife spoke to reporters on his behalf. Mrs. Jackson reminded the journalists that her husband held a commission from Governor Fleming, that the Fort Marion facsimile had been built with private money, that Flagler had advanced \$15,000, that approximately \$7,000 received from counties had been paid to Flagler, and that H. R. Duval had also contributed money. Mrs. Jackson also maintained that there were Florida displays in the forestry, agricultural, mining, liberal arts, and horticultural buildings, in addition to the Florida state building.⁷²

Director General Davis wrote a cautiously-worded and respectful reply to Governor Mitchell on July 18, 1893, expressing considerable surprise and asking the governor for additional, specific information. Davis informed the governor that he had heard no complaints of any kind against Jackson except by Secretary Hirst.⁷³ David Lang, Mitchell's private secretary, responded to Davis on July 22. Lang explained that Mitchell had

69. Ibid.

70. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, July 22, August 27, 1893.

71. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, July 29, 1893.

72. Chicago *Herald*, quoted in Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, July 22, 1893.

73. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, August 27, 1893.

intended to remove only Jackson by his proclamation. The vague charges listed by Lang against Jackson amounted to three general points: Jackson was misrepresenting Florida at the fair because no official Florida state exhibit existed and he was using the names of prominent Floridians on his stationery without proper authorization; Jackson had presumed to remove the sign on a private exhibit without authority; and Jackson was selling an orange cider drink falsely identified as a Florida product.⁷⁴

It would appear that Jackson had fallen victim to his own achievements. He had provoked the jealousy and envy of several men who disliked him and who perhaps coveted the role which he had carved out for himself. Chief among these enemies were Secretary of Installation Hirst, James M. Kreamer of the Hamilton Disston interests, Florida Commissioner of Agriculture Lucius B. Wombwell, Leon County vintner Emile DuBois, and National Commissioners Richard Turnbull and Jesse T. Bernard.⁷⁵ It was these men who had brought influence to bear on Governor Mitchell to remove Jackson.

Thus, at the very height of the fair, Jackson was forced to spend the rest of the Chicago summer fighting desperately to retain his position. There is some evidence to suggest that the fair authorities temporarily permitted James M. Kreamer to supervise the Florida space in the agricultural building and Alexander D. Roussel to oversee the Florida section in the horticultural building.⁷⁶

After denying Mitchell's charges and authority over him, Jackson prepared and eventually presented on August 14, a formal, written refutation of the charges.⁷⁷ Jackson rejected individually and as a whole all the complaints. Hirst, Jackson explained, previously had supported him, but he was very seriously ill now. Jackson attributed Hirst's recent hostility to the decline in his health.⁷⁸

As for the three points in Mitchell's message, Jackson cited

74. Ibid.

75. Tallahassee *Tallahasseean*, quoted in Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, July 29, 1893; Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, July 8, 29, August 18, 26, 1893; Titusville *Florida Star*, August 4, 11, 1893; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, August 27, 1893.

76. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, August 18, 1893.

77. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, August 27, 1893.

78. Ibid. In fact, Hirst was ill and he died in Chicago on the evening of September 3, 1893. Ibid., September 7, 1893.

the February 17, 1893, meeting in Jacksonville as the source of his authority to represent Florida at the fair. With respect to the reality of a Florida exhibit, he pointed to twenty-five carloads of Florida products which he had received for display in the Fort Marion facsimile and other structures. Several former governors and other prominent persons had been given courtesy titles by the Jacksonville meeting, but none had protested to Jackson that his name was being misused.⁷⁹

Secondly, Jackson admitted that he had argued with Kreamer, an employee of Hamilton Disston's Okeechobee Land Company, over use of Florida's space in the agriculture building. Jackson contended that although he had agreed to give Disston one-third of the space, Kreamer had attempted to monopolize the entire area and had interfered with the signs on several small county exhibits. Kreamer also had installed a wood exhibit in the space, which violated the rules of the fair, and officials had made Jackson remove it. Moreover, Kreamer improperly had moved a Marion County exhibit and in its place installed a wine exhibit by Emile DuBois of Tallahassee, a pioneer of Florida grape culture and wine production.⁸⁰

According to Jackson, DuBois was responsible for the third Mitchell complaint. He had requested permission to display and sell his Leon County wines in the Florida state building. He planned to have the wine dispensed by two Negro women in costume. When Jackson refused permission for such an arrangement, DuBois began spreading the rumors about the sale of a spurious orange cider drink. Jackson insisted that the identical drink was being sold at more than sixty locations throughout the fair grounds, including within the California building. The beverage was neither being marketed as a genuine Florida product nor as a Florida citrus drink.⁸¹

The dispute was assigned to a committee of the fair's executive officers to mediate. That committee ruled, on August 16, that Jackson had been elected properly by a private body of citizens and that his role could not be contested by an elected official of the state of Florida.⁸² The dispute was settled by Davis in Jackson's favor on August 28, 1893.⁸³ With the conclusion of

79. *Ibid.*, August 27, 1893.

80. *Ibid.*

81. *Ibid.*

82. *Ibid.*

83. *Ibid.*, August 29, 1893.

this spiteful episode, newspaper coverage of Florida happenings at the fair virtually ceased.

Much of the explanation for Mitchell's abrupt behavior toward Jackson is to be found in his peculiar personality and his intense jealousy of Henry M. Flagler. Mitchell envied the immense economic power and prestige which Flagler was gaining in Florida. There seems to be little doubt that when Mitchell, urged on by others, attacked Jackson, he was striking out also at Flagler. Mitchell's basic antipathy revealed itself again in December 1894, when he announced his intention to honor a Texas request for the arrest and extradition of Flagler over an alleged anti-trust law violation. The governor backed down after a few weeks under pressure from Flagler's friends.⁸⁴

It is impossible to evaluate precisely the impact of the Florida presence at the World's Columbian Exposition. It seems plausible that some potential tourists were encouraged to visit the state, but it is doubtful that many individuals saw anything at the fair to tempt them to invest their money in Florida. The long, fruitless preliminary struggle to provide for some type of Florida representation at the fair, however, both reveals the political conservatism within the state at the time and foreshadows the pivotal role which corporate power would play in Florida during the twentieth century.

The World's Columbian Exposition officially came to an end at sunset on October 30, 1893. Formal and elaborate closing ceremonies had been planned, but these were disrupted on the evening of October 28, when a disgruntled office seeker shot and killed Chicago Mayor Carter Henry Harrison. The murder turned the final ceremonies into a funeral gathering.⁸⁵ Harrison's expressed wish that Congress might fund the fair for another season in 1894 came to nothing.⁸⁶ During the winter of 1893-1894, poor people, vagrants, and tramps occupied the vacant fair buildings.⁸⁷ Despite suggestions that many of the structures should be preserved, only a few of the fair buildings survived for very long. The fate of the Florida building is unknown.

84. Sidney Walter Martin, *Florida's Flagler* (Athens, 1949), 253-54; David Leon Chandler, *Henry Flagler: The Astonishing Life and Times of the Visionary Robber Baron Who Founded Florida* (New York, 1986), 302, footnote 4.

85. Badger, *Great American Fair*, 129; Burg, *Chicago's White City*, 286-87.

86. Burg, *Chicago's White City*, 287-88.

87. Badger, *Great American Fair*, 130.

In January, and again in July 1894, fires consumed many structures.⁸⁸ The World's Columbian Exposition Salvage Company finally completed the disassembling of the fair buildings by 1896.⁸⁹ La Rabida (the facsimile Spanish monastery which had held several Columbus relics) ultimately became a hospital for children, the Art Palace eventually was incorporated into Chicago's Museum of Science and Industry, and the Midway (without the famed Ferris Wheel, which was moved to Coney Island) finally evolved into the tree-lined entrance to the University of Chicago.⁹⁰

Arthur Charles Jackson lived to the age of ninety-one, but he never again played a major role in the history of Florida. He continued to travel and to involve himself in adventure and promotional activities throughout his life. Jackson later became enthused over the beauties and riches of Seattle and Alaska. He claimed to have helped to establish the first libraries in Alaska, and he lectured in the United States and abroad about the area.

In his later years, Jackson founded the International Longfellow Society in Portland, Maine, where he finally settled. He became custodian of the Longfellow birthplace in that city and waged an extended but unsuccessful campaign to secure funds to restore and to preserve the structure. A widower since the turn of the century, Jackson lived alone in the decaying old Longfellow house for many years. So great was his admiration for the poet that he tried to model his very clothes and appearance after him, even to the extent of growing a long beard. Jackson died in poverty in Portland in 1949, and the dilapidated building was razed six years after his death.⁹¹

88. Ibid.; Burg, *Chicago's White City*, 287-88.

89. Burg, *Chicago's White City*, 288.

90. Badger, *Great American Fair*, 130.

91. Seattle Chamber of Commerce, *A Few Facts About Seattle, Queen City of the Pacific* (Seattle, 1898); Sitka (Alaska) *Alaskan*, December 17, 1898; *New York Times*, October 4, 1949; Portland (Maine) *Press-Herald*, October 3, 1949.

THE ALACHUA-ST. MARYS ROAD

by BURKE G. VANDERHILL

THE foot trails and rough cart roads of early nineteenth-century Florida reflected the needs for communication and trade which were changed significantly as the territory was organized and development began under American administration. Nevertheless, there was a tendency for continued local use of these old routes long after the original functions had been lost. Not only was it easier to improve or modify an existing trace than to cut an entirely new one through the Florida forests, but the early routes were relatively felicitous, following the drainage divides, skirting the extensive swampland tracts, and avoiding more difficult river crossings. Numerous stretches of the historical routes remain in use today, nearly two centuries later, ranging from faintly marked forest paths and jeep trails to city streets and super highways. Such route segments constitute landscape features which may be described as "relict," for they represent elements of the past now serving different purposes. Further, when the various segments are viewed collectively, they often reveal much, if not all, of the former routes of which they are detached portions. Thus, many of the old trails and historic roads have been "imprinted" on the Florida landscape, although this phenomenon may not be immediately obvious.

One example is the cart road, about 120 miles in length, which for a period of nearly four decades linked the Alachua country of interior Florida with the small Georgia port of St. Marys on the lower St. Marys River. Referred to as the "St. Marys Road," or the "road to St. Marys," or the "road to Alachua," according to one's orientation, it was most appropriately called the "Alachua-St. Marys Road" (Fig. 1). Investigation has shown that the route was in use during much of the second Spanish period and the early years of the American territorial period, and was of particular importance to those who wished to avoid the main areas of Spanish authority east of the

Burke G. Vanderhill is University Service Professor of Geography, Florida State University.

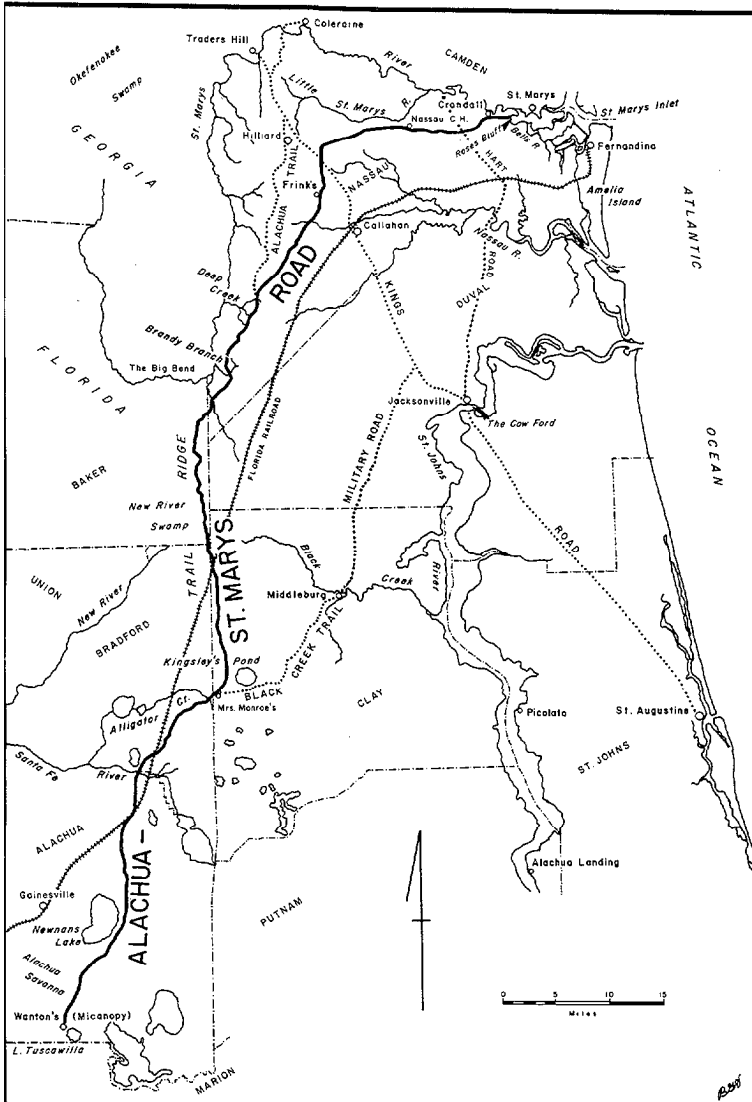


Fig. 1. The Alachua-St. Marys Road and significant intersecting routes.

St. Johns River. With the transfer of Florida to American hands, the chief *raison d'être* for a connection between Alachua and St. Marys was removed. Sections of the cart road were abandoned and eventually obliterated as memory of the route gradually faded.

No record of the initial opening of the Alachua-St. Marys Road has been discovered, but it is clear that it was developed in response to the founding of St. Marys town. A number of long-used and much shorter crossings of the St. Marys River were available upstream, including that of the Kings Road, constructed by the British in 1765. The St. Marys, however, had become a boundary between the Spanish province of East Florida and the American state of Georgia in 1783, when, in the wake of the American Revolution, the Floridas reverted from British to Spanish sovereignty. By 1788, a frontier outpost named St. Patrick was platted on the left bank of the river near its juncture with Cumberland Sound, about six miles from the open Atlantic.¹ The new town, renamed St. Marys in 1792, occupied a low bluff overlooking what was considered the best deepwater anchorage on the Atlantic coast south of Chesapeake Bay.² Intended as a port-of-entry for southeastern Georgia, St. Marys soon began to provide a similar, though largely un-sanctioned, service for East Florida as well.

It was possible to reach the town from Florida by means of a water passage of three to four miles from landings along the south side of Bells River, the chief tributary channel of the St. Marys River. The most commonly used landing was at the base of Roses Bluff (Barranca de las Rosas), a prominent landmark easily seen from the waterfront of St. Marys town. It was from there that the Alachua-St. Marys Road developed, probably about 1790 or shortly thereafter. There was no such route at the time of the De Brahm map, published in 1770, which depicts only a trail "from Mills Ferry" roughly following the southern banks of the St. Marys and Bells rivers, undoubtedly linking

1. The site is believed to be that of the former Indian village, Tlathlothaguphta, visited by Jean Ribault in 1562, and is near the position of mission Santa Maria de Guadeloupe, founded in 1568 by Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, in what was then Spanish Guale. Kenneth K. Krakow, *Georgia Place-Names* (Macon, 1975), 199.

2. William Darby, *View of the United States: Historical, Geographical and Statistical* (Baltimore, 1828), 89.

homesteads established during the British period.³ The Alachua-St Marys Road must have been in place well before 1800, however, for a series of eight early nineteenth-century Spanish land grants straddle it west of Roses Bluff, in what is now eastern Nassau County. Documents associated with these tracts indicate that the road had been there for a number of years prior to the date of the grants.⁴ Settlement obviously was drawn out along an existing route of travel (Fig. 2).

Those unknown individuals who pioneered the road from Roses Bluff chose their route well, taking advantage of an almost perfectly level watershed between the St. Marys River and the lower reach of the St. Johns, described in its natural state by William Stork as an open and easily-traversed pine barrens.⁵ Only an occasional small feeder stream had to be forded. After crossing the Kings Road, at a point within the Sparkman grant a short distance north of the present community of Dyal, the route bore to the southwest, toward the great southern bend of the St. Marys and, just north of a small tributary of the St. Marys called Deep Creek, joined an ancient Indian pathway leading to the Alachua country. The Alachua Trail had for centuries linked the Altamaha River area of interior Georgia with important aboriginal centers in the Alachua Savanna of Florida.⁶ It offered a well-beaten, easily followed trace, and for much of the distance south of the St. Marys bend it lay along the crest of what is still today called "Trail Ridge," a broad and continuous zone of sandhills which by-pass the numerous wetland tracts characteristic of Florida's physical landscape. The most difficult stretch of the Alachua-St. Marys route was that between the Kings Road and Trail Ridge, where during high water periods travel became hazardous.⁷

3. William Gerard De Brahm, *Plan of St. Marys Inlet* (London, 1770).

4. For example, the grant confirmed to Eugenia Brant, Sec. 45, T3N, R27E; originally issued to Stephen Brant in 1803. A landing at Roses Bluff is also mentioned. Archives of Bureau of State Lands, Tallahassee, Florida.

5. William Stork. *An Account of East Florida*, reprint of 1765 edition (Fernandina, 1881), 10.

6. Burke G. Vanderhill, "The Alachua Trail: A Reconstruction," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 55 (April 1977), 423-38.

7. Early in the American period it was termed a "difficult and precarious route— crossing the overflowing creeks forming the head branches of St. Mary's River." Daniel E. Burch to Isaac Clark, July 20, 1826, in Clarence Edwin Carter, comp. and ed., *The Territorial Papers of the United States*, 26 vols (Washington, 1934-1962), XXIII: *The Territory of Florida, 1824-1828*, 616.

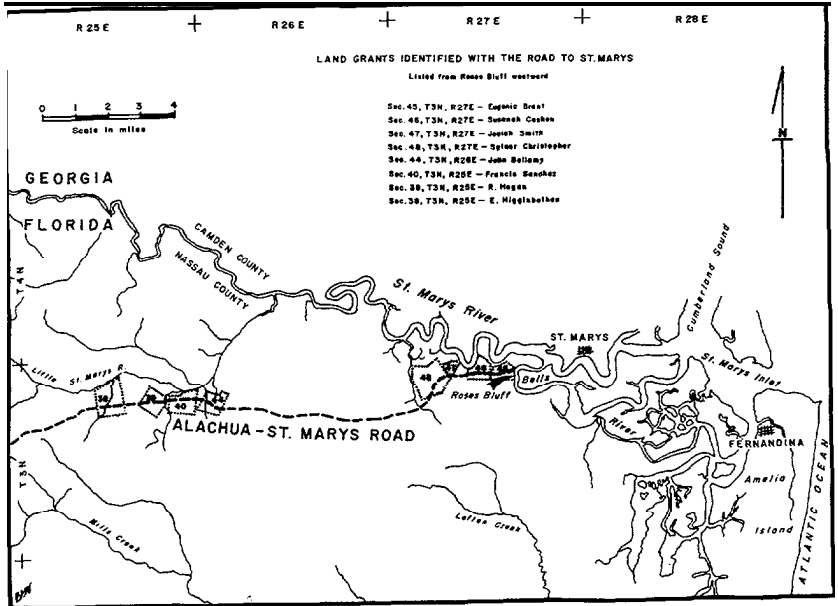


Fig. 2. The relationship between Spanish land grants in eastern Nassau County and the Alachua-St. Marys Road.

The need for a cart road connecting the back country of East Florida with the port of St. Marys arose from conditions peculiar to the second Spanish period. The transfer of sovereignty from Great Britain to Spain generated an exodus of British colonials and refugee American loyalists, leaving only a small number of people in East Florida, including a few hundred in St. Augustine and the nearby area. A scattering of families remained along the St. Marys River, but the interior, including the Alachua country, was virtually empty of white inhabitants.⁸ Into this population vacuum came people from southeastern Georgia and the Carolinas, responding to one of several invitations issued by the Spanish between 1788 and 1804, in their attempt to increase the population and thus to strengthen their hold on the Floridas at a time of almost no immigration from Europe.

East Florida was attractive to Americans for several reasons. There were extensive and largely untouched stands of timber within a short distance of the St. Marys River, and some developed or partially-developed properties lay abandoned after the flight of the loyalists. Little desirable land remained unclaimed in coastal sections of Georgia and the Carolinas by this time, while expansion westward across Georgia was restricted until 1802 by the Indian Boundary, and further discouraged by the physical barriers of the Okefenokee and Satilla River swamps. Many Georgians were familiar with areas south of the St. Marys, which during the British period had been part of a sister province. There were numerous instances of slave-hunting expeditions deep into East Florida, and raids on Indian settlements for the purpose of spirited away cattle, horses, and hogs.⁹ Following the American Revolution, there was a belief that the annexation of Florida by the United States was inevitable, another example of the idea of "manifest destiny."¹⁰ Oppor-

8. Spanish Governor Zéspedes, in the course of a fact-gathering journey through East Florida in 1787, found twenty-two loyalist families living on the south side of the St. Marys downstream from the Kings Road ferry, totalling 123 whites and twenty-six blacks. Helen Hornbeck Tanner, *Zéspedes in East Florida, 1784-1790* (Coral Gables, 1963), 129.

9. Joshua R. Giddings, *The Exiles of Florida* (Columbus, 1858; facsimile ed., Gainesville, 1964), 12; Hurbert B. Fuller, *The Purchase of Florida: Its History and Diplomacy* (Cleveland, 1906; facsimile ed., Gainesville, 1964, 192-93).

10. Richard K. Murdoch. *The Georgia-Florida Frontier, 1793-1796* (Berkeley, 1951), 142.

tunists crossed the St. Marys River boundary at will, occupying land as squatters, or joining the lawless groups which plagued both the Spanish authorities and the settlers and their families. So many Americans moved into East Florida that the Spanish in 1804, declared its borders closed to further entry from the United States, but enforcement of this edict was difficult.

Due to its proximity to Georgia and the Carolinas, the impact of settlers was felt initially in the area between the St. Marys and the St. Johns, presently Nassau County. By 1812, the so-called "Patriots" were bold enough to proclaim a "Republic of East Florida" at Roses Bluff, supported eventually by a contingent of United States troops, although these were withdrawn in 1813.¹² After a long period of chaotic conditions, a group of local residents in 1816 drew up a constitution for a kind of republic in the area south of the St. Marys. Called the "Northern Division" of East Florida, it functioned as a largely self-governing entity grudgingly tolerated by the Spanish.¹³ By the time of the American take-over of Florida, the area east of the Kings Road and north of the St. Johns could be described by Vignoles as "entirely covered by grants in occupancy and cultivation."¹⁴

Americans had been infiltrating the Alachua country for many years, either as freebooters or as squatters. A military force was dispatched there from Georgia in 1812, in response to continued Indian attacks on the Americans, and in 1813, a Georgia survey party arrived in defiance of Spanish regulations for the purpose of laying out land for organized settlement. By January of 1814, a petition for a "District of Elotchaway, Republic of East Florida," was able to muster 105 signatures locally, nearly all of them non-Spanish names.¹⁵ Following an ambush of the Georgia surveyors, reportedly by a band of blacks who shared the Alachua area with the Indians, most of the early

-
11. Bolton A. Copp to John Quincy Adams, April 1, 1818; "The Patriot War—A Contemporaneous Letter," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 5 (January 1927) 163-66.
 12. Rembert W. Patrick, *Florida Fiasco: Rampant Rebels on the Georgia-Florida Border, 1810-1815* (Athens, 1954), 121.
 13. T. Frederick Davis, "MacGregor's Invasion of Florida, 1817," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, 7 (July 1928), 9-10.
 14. Charles Vignoles, *Observations upon the Floridas* (New York, 1823; facsimile ed., Gainesville, 1977), 146.
 15. T. Frederick Davis, "Elotchaway, East Florida, 1814," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 8 (January 1930), 145.

settlers fled north.¹⁶ The farming and grazing lands they had encountered, however, drew renewed colonization over the years, notably to the area south of the Santa Fe River within what is now northern Alachua County, and to tracts south and east of the Alachua Savanna in present-day Alachua and Marion counties. Pioneers in Florida's interior were predominantly Georgian well into the American territorial period.¹⁷

The influx of people into Spanish East Florida from beyond the St. Marys River was channeled along several routes. The fords and ferry crossings upstream from St. Marys town gave easy access to nearby areas, while those in the vicinity of the Georgia outposts of Traders Hill and Coleraine had the added virtue of feeding into the Kings Road. This route could be followed to the Cow Ford at the bend of the St. Johns, later the site of Jacksonville, and the Alachua area could be reached by overland marches from landings along the middle course of that river.¹⁸ Alternatively, the Alachua Trail, which branched off from the Kings Road about ten miles south of the St. Marys, at present-day Hilliard, provided a more sheltered inland route to the Alachua country. The Alachua-St. Marys Road combined the advantages of the relatively secure route of the old Alachua Trail with more direct access to the deepwater port of St. Marys.

The St. Marys hinterland included the area along the Georgia coast, the most highly developed and densely populated section of the state and the principal source of migrants into Spanish East Florida. Frequently, settlers were actively recruited at St. Marys.¹⁹ Many of the newcomers must have felt a special affinity for St. Marys town and Camden County in which it was located. Roses Bluff served as a convenient jumping-off place for various Florida adventures, and trade carried along the Alachua-St. Marys Road avoided the narrow and winding upstream channel of the St. Marys River which, despite the regula-

16. Rowland H. Rerick, *Memoirs of Florida*, 2 vols. (Atlanta, 1902), I, 122.

17. *Ibid.*, 163.

18. The military expedition to Alachua in 1812, under the command of Colonel Daniel Newnan, inspector general of Georgia, arrived via the St. Johns and a landing opposite Picolata, through which it later retreated as well, despite the possibility of Spanish intervention. George R. Fairbanks, *History of Florida* (Philadelphia, 1871), 258-59.

19. George I. F. Clarke to Alexander O'Reilly, March 19, 1812, in "The Surrender of Amelia," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 4 (October 1925), 90-91.

tory effect of the Okefenokee Swamp, was hazardous for navigation at times of high or low water. The much older port of Fernandina, south of St. Marys Inlet, was of limited use to East Florida, for it was situated on Amelia Island, not linked to the mainland by causeway until 1853. As a Spanish outpost it held little attraction for the Georgian settlers.

Use of the Alachua-St. Marys Road was suggested in the materials associated with the several land grants west of Roses Bluff, and was made clear in those connected with the Sanchez grant of 1815 in the Alachua area. However, in the absence of specific documentation, the nature of the traffic over the route must be inferred from the general character of the East Florida frontier.²⁰ Areas contiguous to or near the Alachua-St. Marys route chiefly supported subsistence-level activities, but even subsistence producers would require an array of items beyond local capabilities. These would have included guns and ammunition, certain tools and equipment, types of cloth and cordage, spices and flour, perhaps tea and coffee, and very likely rum and other spirits. Once established in East Florida, the frontiersmen would send to market whatever was available to them in exchange for the desired supplies. Nature provided several products, such as deerskins, the pelts of fur-bearing animals, and beeswax. Cowhides could be obtained from animals pilfered from the Indians or from the wild cattle, or "heretics," which roamed the deep interior, and later from their own herds, and livestock could be driven to market. Thus, in addition to the movement of people into Florida there was a continuous flow of trade between these areas for many years.

Formal transfer of the Floridas to the United States in 1821 set new forces in motion with significant implications for the Alachua-St. Marys Road. In that year, before effective American control could be extended to the interior, a trading post called Wanton's was established south of the Alachua Savanna on Lake Tuscawilla, within the 293,000-acre Arredondo tract granted in 1817 by the Spanish crown. Wanton's, later named Micanopy, became the terminus of the route to the St. Marys. Edward M.

20. A grant was made in 1815 to Francisco Sanchez of 4,000 acres on the south side of the Santa Fe River "about ten miles west of the road from Alachua to St. Marys." Historical Records Survey, Florida, Division of Professional and Service Projects, Work Projects Administration, *Spanish Land Grants in Florida, Confirmed Claims*, 5 vols. (Tallahassee, 1940-1941), V, 22.

Wanton had been an Indian trader in St. Augustine during the British regime, and he had no links with the Georgia port of St. Marys.²¹ He began immediately to organize a settlement in the vicinity of Lake Tuscahulla, and in 1822 additional settlers, among them some thirty German immigrants, were moving onto the Moses Elias Levy tract, a 20,000-acre block of land north of Wanton's, which was also located within the Arredondo grant. By 1823, these newcomers had completed a road, including bridging work, along the old trail to the St. Johns opposite Picolata, the landing nearest to St. Augustine, thus reducing the need for the route to St. Marys.²²

The Georgians, who for a number of years had lived southeast of the Alachua Savanna, probably maintained some linkage with St. Marys, and the growing settlements in northern Alachua lying beyond the Arredondo lands were not located convenient to the new Picolata road and had to depend upon access to the Alachua-St. Marys Road.²³ However, having gained the St. Marys Road by means of cart roads on either side of the Santa Fe River, the pioneer settlers were then faced with two alternatives: to trade with the St. Marys via the long inland route, or to trade along Black Creek, a navigable tributary of the St. Johns. The trail to Black Creek departed the St. Marys Road at "Mrs. Monroe's," undoubtedly a roadhouse, which was located southwest of Kingsley's Pond, now Kingsley Lake, a few miles east of present-day Starke. The choice was between a distant area with which many of the settlers had strong ties and one closer that was now freely open to them.

The decisive factor in the decline of the Alachua-St. Marys Road as a through route was the completion in late 1826 of a

21. Wanton was described by Andrew Jackson in 1821 as a "profligate," in reference to his unsanctioned activities in the Alachua area. Carter, *Territorial Papers*, XXII, 208.
22. Fritz W. Buchholz, *History of Alachua County, Florida* (St. Augustine, 1929), 48. This road later became the eastern anchor of the famous Bellamy Road. See also, Caroline B. Watkins, *The Story of Historic Micanopy* (Gainesville, 1976), 26-35.
23. "The inhabitants at and below Sanfalaski fall into the 'St. Marys Road' by cart paths, south of where it crosses the St. Fe; & those of Dills' Settlement to the northward of same, by a cart path which crosses the St. Fe at a fording place lower down." Burch to Clark, July 20, 1826, in Carter, *Territorial Papers*, XXIII, 616. Sanfalaski was within what is now known as San Felasco Hammock, a few miles northwest of Gainesville, while Dills' Settlement became Dells Post Office in 1826, later renamed Newnansville, and now near the town of Alachua.

military road from Tampa Bay to Coleraine on the St. Marys River, the northern division of which utilized only that portion of the St. Marys Road from Wanton's to Mrs. Monroe's near Kingsley's Pond. After evaluating the alternatives and consulting with the settlers in the interior districts, the Army Corps of Engineers decided to improve the Black Creek Trail and link it with the Kings Road near Jacksonville so as to take advantage of this long-established road to the St. Marys crossing opposite Coleraine, Georgia. The decision was based upon two major suppositions: that the old route along Trail Ridge would serve very few people, given the low productivity of its sandy lands, and that the stretch between Trail Ridge and the Kings Road would require more costly engineering work in the form of causewaying and bridging.²⁴ From this time on, the Alachua-St. Marys Road would carry only local or short-distance traffic, and sections were apparently soon abandoned.

Evidence of the deterioration of the route to St. Marys is more circumstantial than direct. Maps of the period do not clarify the situation. The Swift map of 1829, for example, shows the military road from Wanton's to the St. Marys River, and a stub of the Alachua Trail south of the Kings Road, but the Alachua-St. Marys Road is entirely missing.²⁵ Whether this indicates abandonment of the Trail Ridge portion of the route or the cartographer's ignorance of its existence is unclear. Nearly all of the St. Marys Road that appears on the manuscript maps of the General Land Office surveys of 1831 are identified either in terms of the Alachua or St. Marys terminuses. There are occasional gaps in the route, which might be construed as signs of disuse, but simply may have reflected the fact that individual surveyors sometimes chose not to extrapolate from what was immediately observable along their survey lines. The route seems to have been generally intact, whether used or not, and was still recognizable.²⁶ The map accompanying the Williams report of

24. Confirmation of the route decision and authorization to let construction contracts, along with a statement of general engineering specifications, are found in OMG (Thomas S. Jesup) to Burch, April 5, 1826, in Carter, *Territorial Papers*, XXIII, 595.

25. H. W. Swift, *Map of the Territory of Florida* (Washington, 1829).

26. Manuscript records, Archives of Bureau of State Lands, Tallahassee. The original General Land Office surveys were not extended to eastern Nassau County, which was already in private hands in the form of numerous land grants of the Spanish era, thus the last few miles of the St. Marys Road to Roses Bluff lay beyond the limits of the surveys and were not recorded.

1837 portrays the St. Marys Road terminating west of Kingsley's Pond, while there is no sign of a road from Mrs. Monroe's north on a military map commissioned in 1838 at the time of the Seminole War.²⁷ In contrast, the Burr map of 1839 and military maps from 1861-1865 show the St. Marys route in its entirety from Micanopy to Roses Bluff.²⁸ The "Jefferson Davis map" of 1856, however, which is quite detailed, depicts the Alachua Trail rather than the Alachua-St. Marys Road, for the leg from Deep Creek east to Roses Bluff is missing.²⁹ There is a strong suggestion in this seemingly contradictory map material that the trace of the St. Marys route remained clearly visible on the landscape long after traffic had virtually ceased over sections of it. This is borne out by the fact that several county boundaries were drawn along "the old Alachua Trail" in 1844, while there is no reference in the legislative enactments to an Alachua-St. Marys Road.³⁰

The approximately thirty-five mile stretch of the Alachua-St. Marys Road from Micanopy to Kingsley's Pond continued in use for many years, chiefly because it linked the population clusters of northern and southern Alachua County with the Black Creek Trail. The country immediately contiguous to the route was thinly settled and produced little traffic. This route had special significance during the Seminole War, when military posts were established at Micanopy and at the crossing of the Santa Fe River (Fort Harlee), as well as at Black River (Fort Heileman). The journal of Lieutenant Sprague, written in 1839, provides a rare first-hand account of the route during the war period. The road from Black Creek to Micanopy was described as traversing "pine barrens with a deep sandy soil," making cultivation difficult for any length of time. The few inhabitants

27. John Lee Williams, *The Territory of Florida* (New York, 1837; facsimile ed., Gainesville, 1962), map in pocket, endpiece; United States War Department, Bureau of Topographic Engineers, *Map of the Seat of the War in Florida* (Washington, 1838).

28. Daniel H. Burr, *Map of Florida* (Washington, 1839); United States War Department, Bureau of Topographic Engineers, *General Topographic Map of Florida* (Washington, 1861-1865), sheets X and XI; United States Coast Survey Office, *North Part of Florida* (Washington, 1864).

29. United States War Department, Bureau of Topographic Engineers, *State of Florida* (Washington, 1856). Issued under the authority of Jefferson Davis as secretary of war, the map has been commonly identified with him.

30. *Acts and Resolutions of the Legislative Council of the Territory of Florida, 22nd Session, 1844* (Tallahassee, 1844), Act 13, Section I.

were said to have sought "safety in the more thickly settled parts of the country," while their properties were ravaged and burned by Indians.³¹ With the end of hostilities, traffic again began to flow to and from Black Creek, where Middleburg functioned as one of antebellum Florida's leading cotton-shipping ports, serving interior agricultural districts including the Alachua country.³² At the same time, an elaboration of the state's transportation pattern was reducing the role of the southern reach of the St. Marys Road and the Black Creek Trail. A wagon road from St. Augustine to Micanopy via the "Alachua Ferry" across the St. Johns had been developed during the decade of the 1830s and in 1845 a mail route was established to the Paynes Prairie area (earlier known as the Alachua Savanna) utilizing the navigable Oklawaha River and a stage line from Orange Springs.³³ By 1859, the pioneering Florida Railroad had been constructed from Fernandina as far as Gainesville in central Alachua County, and soon the town of Starke was founded upon the new rail line.³⁴ Cotton ceased to move to Middleburg, and areas along the St. Marys Road became little more than backwaters by the time of the Civil War.

The northeastern segment of the Alachua-St. Marys Road, from the Big Bend of the St. Marys River to Roses Bluff, was throughout the territorial period a significant corridor across Nassau County that had been carved out of northern Duval County in 1824. The road's central location contributed to its continued use well into the latter part of the nineteenth century, despite a reduction in traffic resulting from new transportation alignments. The early importance of the St. Marys Road is shown by the fact that in 1834, a mail route was established along it from St. Marys via Roses Bluff to Frink's Post Office, later called Kirkland, a few miles southwest of the Kings Road junction, before bearing south to Jacksonville.³⁵ The site was

31. Frank F. White, Jr., ed., "Macomb's Mission to the Seminoles: Lt. John T. Sprague's Journal Kept During April and May, 1839," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 35 (October 1956), 157-58.

32. Rerick, *Memoirs of Florida*, II, 329.

33. See the Burr map of 1839; Rerick, *Memoirs of Florida*, II, 171.

34. George W. Pettengill, Jr., *The Story of the Florida Railroads, 1834-1903* (Boston, 1952), 22.

35. From Frink's, the route rejoined the Kings Road near modern Callahan, then to Jacksonville. Carter, *Territorial Papers*, XXV, 35. The mail route is depicted on the Burr map, cited above.

adjacent to that of Dyal, founded later. Frink's was a frontier trading post which had been awarded a post office the preceding year.³⁶ The St. Marys Road also attracted the seat of county government when, not long after the establishment of Nassau County, Fernandina was deemed too isolated to reach from distant parts of the new county. A site was selected along the road within the land grant of John Bellamy, and in 1835 this was designated "Nassau Court House."³⁷ The county seat remained there until 1862, when, for security reasons, it was moved to a point on the Kings Road near its juncture with the St. Marys Road.³⁸ Fernandina, however, regained the county seat following the Civil War—its accessibility having been greatly improved. The small community which had developed around Nassau Court House was renamed Evergreen about 1880, early in the lumber boom era.

The role of St. Marys, Georgia, as a port-of-entry for northern Florida was sharply reduced after the late 1830s as the port functions of Jacksonville were undergoing development.³⁹ Roads, including those of Nassau County, began to focus upon the new port. The Hart Road, built in 1839, is a notable example, its route essentially that of modern U. S. Highway 17.⁴⁰ Even more important in its impact upon the St. Marys Road was the construction of the Florida Railroad from Fernandina, completed across Nassau County during 1856. The town of Callahan was established in 1860, where the new rail line crossed the Kings Road, thus leaving the old route to Roses Bluff some distance from the growth areas of that period. Lastly, the lumber era, beginning about 1880, spawned a number of new towns, including Hilliard on the Kings Road, and Crandall on the St. Marys River a few miles upstream from Roses Bluff, further diminishing the traffic flow along the St. Marys Road. Most of its alignment west of Evergreen was soon superseded

36. S. H. Dike, *The Territorial Post Offices of Florida* (Albuquerque, 1963), n.p.

37. Jan H. Johannes, Sr., *Yesterday's Reflections: Nassau County, Florida* (Callahan, 1976), 337.

38. Apparently the site in the Bellamy grant was considered a temporary location, for in 1851 the State Assembly authorized the selection of a more central site for the county seat, although this authorization was never implemented. Carter, *Territorial Papers*, XXV, 146.

39. T. Frederick Davis, *History of Jacksonville, Florida, and Vicinity, 1513-1924* (St. Augustine, 1925; facsimile ed., Gainesville, 1964), 74-75.

40. Johannes, *Yesterday's Reflections*, 173.

by a more direct approach to Hilliard, while many sections southwest of the Kings Road were abandoned by the turn of the century.

Eventually, portions of the Alachua-St. Marys route were obscured or completely obliterated. In thinly-settled areas it was sometimes shielded from view by regenerating forests, and in places its surface was scarified in the course of agricultural development or, more recently, in the process of tree-planting. Several towns were superimposed upon the old roadway, creating new patterns on the land and effectively erasing signs of the old. Conversely, within certain large tracts of land now in corporate ownership, traces of the route have been preserved in the form of forest roads closed to public entry.⁴¹ Likewise, a length of it remains as a jeep trail within the Camp Blanding Military Reservation surrounding Kingsley Lake.⁴² Residual fragments of the route to St. Marys are numerous enough to make their identification possible through their orientation and sequential arrangement (Fig. 3).

The longest segment of the historic route enjoying continued use is a fifteen-mile stretch in Alachua County from Micanopy northward, through the villages of Rochelle and Windsor, to an intersection with east-west Highway 26, northeast of Newnans Lake. Denominated State Highway 234 as far as Windsor and 325 from there to its terminus, this paved secondary road adheres closely to the alignment of its predecessor, save for a recent by-pass around Rochelle. The principal residential street of the community, however, is developed along a long curve in the original Alachua-St. Marys Road.

The old route continues north of Highway 26 as a gated, private woods road, which after about five miles, becomes lost in the outskirts of Waldo. From the center of town, the St. Marys route is followed by four-laned U.S. Highway 301 for a distance of four miles before the latter leaves it just north of the crossing of the Santa Fe River, near the village of Hampton in Bradford County. From that point, there is no clear sign of the former St.

41. Such forest roads and jeep trails appear on the highway maps of the various counties issued by the Florida Department of Transportation; these are updated from time to time.
42. While this section of the old road does not appear on the general highway map of Clay County, it is shown on the Starke Quadrangle of the U.S. Geological Survey 15" Series of 1949, and on the Starke Sheet (#478) of the Mark Hurd Aerial Surveys of the State of Florida, 1973.

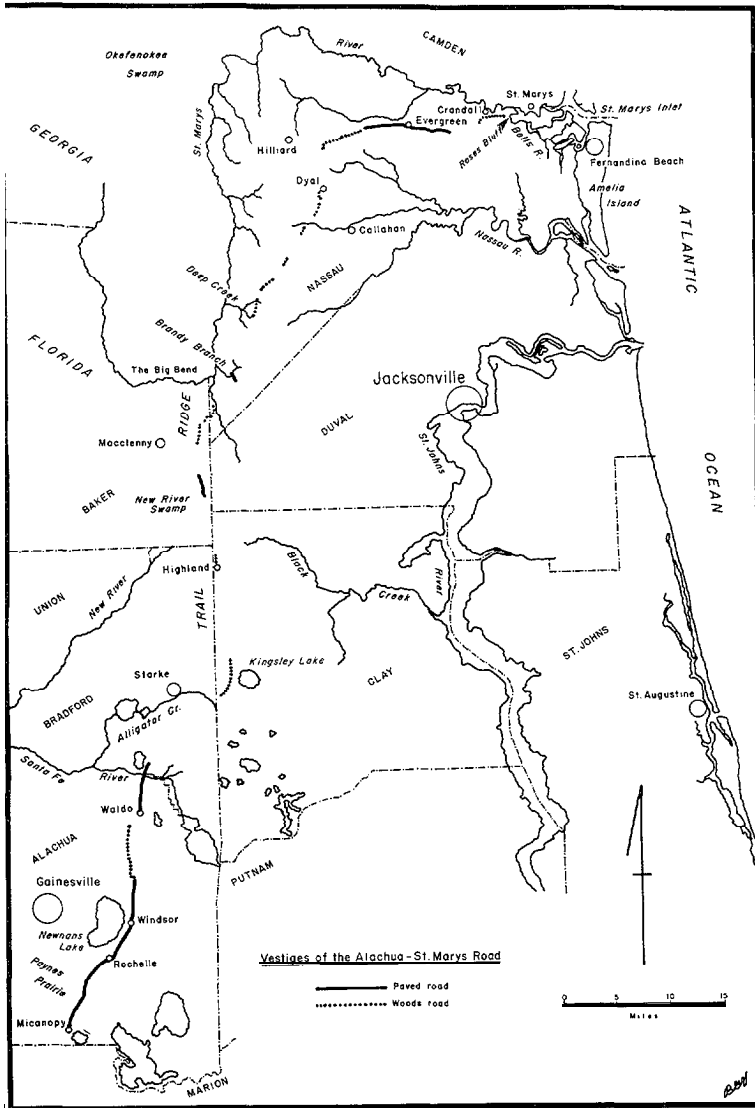


Fig. 3. Portions of the Alachua-St. Marys Road presently in use.

Marys Road until the Camp Blanding Reservation is reached, inside Clay County. A jeep trail within the military reserve preserves a sweeping arc of the former cart road as it ascends Trail Ridge. It becomes evident at or near the site of Mrs. Monroe's of territorial days, and can be traced to a point northwest of Kingsley Lake, where it is obscured by more recent roads leading from Starke to the north shore of the lake.

Despite a long history as a pathway, heavily-forested Trail Ridge reveals only a few segments of the Alachua-St. Marys route. The hamlet of Highland, at the Bradford-Clay county line, lies along the trace, and there are a few short pieces of county road north of that community which appear to represent its alignment. A two-mile stretch of State Highway 228 in Baker County, south of Interstate 10, must have been built upon the old route, while an unpaved country road, which departs U.S. Highway 90 about three miles east of Macclenny and descends the eastern flank of Trail Ridge toward the big bend of the St. Marys River, follows the path of the St. Marys Road and its predecessor, the Alachua Trail, for several miles along the boundary between Baker and Nassau counties.

The crossing of Brandy Branch, a minor tributary of the St. Marys in southwestern Nassau County, has been fixed for centuries. A fording place of the "Camino para Alachua" was shown at this point on the map accompanying the Mizell grant of 1818.⁴³ Presently, paved State Highway 121 bridges the creek here, and utilizes a bit of the historic route in its southern approach to the crossing. North of Brandy Branch, however, only a cut in the creek bank, a few yards west of the present grade, remains of the former alignment.

Between Brandy Branch and the community of Dyal, near the Kings Road, there are a half-dozen fragments of the St. Marys Road of varying lengths, all of them private woods roads today, located within large corporate holdings. The historic route is lost on either side of the Kings Road, although a pasture footpath north of Dyal, visible on aerial photos, strongly suggests the southern approach to the former crossing.

Northeast of the Kings Road, a stretch of private forest road over three miles in length preserves the sharp bend of the

43. Grant to John Mizell, 1818; 200 acres in Section 33, T 1 S, R 23 E. Archives of Bureau of State Lands, Tallahassee. The English language copy of the map labelled the route the "Alotchua Trail."

former St. Marys Road and finally intersects with paved State Highway 108 about six miles east of Hilliard. That highway utilizes the alignment of the old cart road for a distance of about eight or nine miles, passing through the small community of Evergreen which is sprawled along the highway. In the vicinity of Interstate 95 and the roughly parallel railroad right-of-way to the east of it, the trace of the old route to the Bells River landing is lost. Gated forest roads south of the St. Marys River, however, both southwest and southeast of the river-bank community of Crandall, represent the historic approach to Roses Bluff. While the woods road veers away from Bells River and by-passes the summit of the bluff, recent aerial photos reveal a footpath leading down to the river bank, presumably following the old track to the landing opposite St. Marys, Georgia.

A number of remnants of the Alachua-St. Marys route remain in existence, some of them in public use but even more in private, restricted use. There is no apparent local identification with the historic cart road which these various segments represent. They have undergone grading, bridges and culverts have been installed, some have been paved, and their original meanderings have been modified, yet they continue to bear witness to the former alignment, thus impressed upon the contemporary Florida landscape.

CREATING A DIFFERENT PATTERN: FLORIDA'S WOMEN LEGISLATORS, 1928-1986

by MARY CAROLYN ELLIS AND JOANNE V. HAWKS

FLORIDA in the nineteenth century was a traditional southern state. The legacy from the Civil War and Reconstruction lingered into the early decades of the twentieth century, principally with regard to cultural expectations, racial prejudice, and one-party Democratic politics.¹ Women's roles in the society were carefully defined, and there was not much divergence from cultural expectations.² Florida Congressman Frank Clark expressed this traditional attitude in 1915: "Let us then leave woman where she is— the loveliest of all creation, queen of the household."³

The Nineteenth Amendment guaranteeing women the right to vote was ratified in 1920 without the support of Florida.⁴ It was another half century before Florida took positive action. In the aftermath of enfranchisement, the first woman, Edna Giles Fuller, was elected to the state legislature in 1928.⁵ The same year, Ruth Bryan Owen of Miami, daughter of William Jennings Bryan, was elected to Congress.⁶

As the twentieth century progressed, Florida evolved from a fairly typical southern state into one more akin demographi-

Mary Carolyn Ellis is professor of law and Joanne V. Hawks is director of the Sarah Isom Center for Women's Studies and assistant professor of history, University of Mississippi, Oxford. Research funds for this study were provided by a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities.

1. David Colburn and Richard Scher, "Florida Politics in the Twentieth Century," *Florida's Politics and Government*, Manning J. Dauer, ed. (Gainesville, 1984), 35-36.
2. Anne Firor Scott described the image of the southern lady in *The Southern Lady: From Pedestal to Politics, 1830-1930* (Chicago, 1970), 4-21.
3. Kenneth R. Johnson, "Florida Women Get the Vote," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 48 (January 1970), 301.
4. A. Elizabeth Taylor, "The Woman Suffrage Movement in Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 36 (July 1957), 42-60.
5. Allen Morris, "Florida's First Women Candidates," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 63 (April 1985), 414.
6. Joan S. Carver, "Women in Florida," *Journal of Politics* 41 (August 1979), 945.

tally and economically to the sunbelt states of the southwest.⁷ During this time the profiles of Florida's legislative women reveal a different pattern from those of the other states of the Old Confederacy, including other southern rim states such as Texas, Tennessee, Virginia, and North Carolina.⁸ Those variances, the reasons for them, and the story of the women involved are the focus of this study.

As in other states such as Tennessee and North Carolina, geography has affected the political balance in Florida. For decades, when south Florida was largely undeveloped, north Florida's so-called "pork-chop gang" dominated state politics. This phrase was used by a Florida journalist to describe "a group of northern Florida legislators . . . who flaunted their rural backgrounds and preferences and were remarkably unsympathetic to the needs of Florida's growing urban population."⁹ During this period, the political climate was not conducive to an influx of women into state-level politics. The few women who entered the legislature came not from the rural northern counties but from central Florida. The first woman in the Florida legislature, Edna Giles Fuller, was from Orange County, and the second, Mary Lou Baker, was from Pinellas County.

In 1963 following *Baker v. Carr*, the Supreme Court's 1962 one-man-one-vote decision, reapportionment occurred in Florida.¹⁰ That year Dade County voters elected two women—Maxine Baker and Mary Ann Mackenzie—to the legislature. But it was only after the 1967 United States Supreme Court decision, *Swan v. Adams*, concerning reapportionment of the Florida legislature, that a significant number of new districts were created, providing increased opportunities for women candidates.¹¹ During the next decade most of the women elected came from central and south Florida, regions where many of the new districts lay. A picture emerged over time which showed few women legislators from the west Florida panhandle but a larger group from the more recently-developed areas, a phenomenon brought about in part by Florida's economic growth.

7. Colburn and Scher, "Florida Politics in the Twentieth Century," 35.

8. Alexander P. Lamis, *The Two-Party South* (New York, 1984), 10.

9. Colburn and Scher, "Florida Politics in the Twentieth Century," 51.

10. 369 U.S. 186 (1962).

11. Manning J. Dauer, "Florida's Legislature," *Florida's Politics and Government*, 141; 385 U.S. 440 (1967).

After World War II, non-Floridians flocked to central and South Florida, creating a population explosion which has not yet abated. Areas such as Brevard County (Cocoa Beach) and the Miami satellite localities attracted highly-educated, highly-motivated non-Floridians. These non-natives, many from the northeast United States and other cold climate areas, brought with them ideas about women's roles which were sometimes different from traditional Southerners' ideas. The newcomers did not seem reluctant to elect women to public office.¹²

Two ethnic groups entered the legislature, bringing a wider diversity than was generally seen in the rest of the South's legislatures. Jewish women, originally from the northeastern states, began to win elective offices in districts where there was a large Jewish constituency, mainly in south Florida. They brought to the legislature educational and philosophical diversity. Much later, in 1982 and 1984, two Hispanic women from Dade County, Ileana Ros and Arnhilda Gonzales-Quevedo, entered the legislature. They were representatives of the Cuban middle class, a group whose views regarding women's roles were similar to the traditional southern view. In 1982 as Miami elected its first Hispanic woman to the legislature, Pensacola, in the most tradition-bound section of the state, elected its first woman, Virginia Bass.

The women elected from what Professor Manning Dauer of the University of Florida described as an urban horseshoe were very often not only Republicans but also transplants.¹³ Many were not Goldwater Republicans or recruits to Nixon's "southern strategy" but, like Jane Robinson of the Brevard County area, were more oriented to Eisenhower Republicanism. Many were deeply motivated by a desire to see a real two-party system in Florida.

Women legislators as a group tended to be more educated than the state's general female population. Even before the post-war migration into Florida, the few women serving in the legislature were well-educated. Of the five women who served in the

12. Carver, "Women in Florida," 941.

13. According to Dauer's description, one leg begins at Fort Lauderdale and Palm Beach, runs up the east coast to Daytona Beach, then inland to Orlando, curves to St. Petersburg on the west coast, and descends to Fort Meyers and Naples. Jack Bass and Walter De Vries, *The Transformation of Southern Politics: Social Change and Political Consequence Since 1945* (New York, 1976), 117.

first four decades after the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment, four were college graduates. The fifth, the only one of the early group to become a candidate after her husband's death, had some college background. The arrival of many non-Floridians in the state has not diminished the high educational level of women legislators; it has merely diversified it.

The women had used their education in a myriad of endeavors prior to their legislative service. For many of them, political service was simply the next logical step. For example, the first woman in the Florida legislature, Edna Giles Fuller, elected in 1928, had been heavily involved in leadership roles in public service, notably welfare and education, for twenty years before she was elected to office.¹⁴ A member of several women's clubs and community boards, she had also worked as assistant food administrator for Florida during World War I. She demonstrated her interest in woman suffrage and a broader public role for women by serving as president of the Florida Woman Suffrage Association. Fuller exemplified a certain type of legislator, an educated woman who devoted many productive years to public service before moving into electoral politics. A fifty-four year old Orlando widow, Fuller campaigned in 1928 on her long record of public service. She shared a background with other pioneer southern women legislators, like Nellie Nugent Somerville of Mississippi and Hattie Hooker Wilkins of Alabama, who were well respected, known for their concern for public improvement, and interested in using the legislature as another forum to continue work begun earlier in churches, women's clubs, and civic organizations.¹⁵ Also, like most of the earlier legislators, Fuller served only a short tenure. She was reelected in 1930 for a second two-year term, and was defeated in 1932 in a depression-year election that unseated many incumbents in Florida. For some women getting elected seemed to be its own reward. After the election, the mundane aspects of the legislative process, the fact that freshmen, and particularly women freshmen, had little clout, and the frustrations of political maneuvering probably dampened their enthusiasm for serv-

14. Morris, "Florida's First Women Candidates," 414.

15. Joanne V. Hawks, M. Carolyn Ellis, and J. Byron Morris, "Women in the Mississippi Legislature (1924-1981)," *Journal of Mississippi History* 43 (November 1981), 267, 274; Joanne Varner Hawks, "A Select Few: Alabama's Women Legislators, 1922-1983," *Alabama Review* 38 (July 1985), 177-78.

ing longer terms of office. Of course, some served a short time because, like Fuller, they were defeated. Another possible reason for short-term service was the relatively advanced age of some of the women at the beginning of their first terms.

One particular profession, law, has traditionally been a useful background for legislative service. The second woman elected to the Florida legislature, Mary Lou Baker, was an attorney. Baker, who retained her maiden name professionally, has worked extensively indexing house journals before her election, and had, therefore, acquired a working knowledge of legislative procedures. While in office she identified herself closely with women's issues, sponsoring bills to allow jury service for women, granting married women property and contractual rights, and giving wives the right to exercise power of attorney. Her major triumph was the passage of a married woman's rights law in 1943. It was later upheld by the Florida Supreme Court. An editorial in the *Florida Law Journal* credited Mrs. Baker for "accomplishing the most historic change which has occurred in the State of Florida in the past generation."¹⁶

Three female lawyers followed Baker in the legislature in the next forty years. This number is lower in Florida than in some of the other southern states. Given the relatively large percentage of women in the Florida legislature and their high level of education, it is surprising that so few have been attorneys. Of course, only a small number of women attended law schools before the early 1970s.¹⁷ This explains in part why only a handful of women legislators have been attorneys, but it does not tell the whole story. Attending law school and practicing the law enables a person to establish contacts. The women in the Florida legislature, many of whom were non-Floridians, apparently operated without the benefit of these Florida connections.

While there were relatively few women attorneys in the Florida legislature, other professions were represented, education in particular. Women with a background in business also served in the legislature. Mary Grizzle and Toni Jennings are

16. Morris, "Florida's First Women Candidates," 418, citing *Florida Law Journal* 17 (July 1943), 191-93.

17. Joan Carver, "'Women in Florida,'" *Florida's Politics and Government*, 298. Carver notes a "sharp increase in women law students in the decade of the 1970s; in 1966 there were only 16 women in Florida's two state law schools, or 2 percent of the total number of law students; by 1978 there were 418 women students, or 37 percent."

examples of businesswomen legislators. Jennings, a Republican from Orlando, served in the house for two terms before being elected to the senate in 1980. In 1984 she was chosen minority leader pro-tempore. A partner in a family construction firm, Jennings has focused particularly on issues relating to business, insurance, banking, and finance.

In examining the backgrounds of women legislators, one notes the frequent presence of the so-called clubwoman in politics. The woman who spends a significant amount of time and energy on civic matters is usually able to gain valuable insight about societal and political needs. Participation in clubs has often been a factor in women's decisions to run for office.¹⁸ Florida has been no exception. The clubs from which these women came were the usual assortment of Business and Professional Women, General Federation of Women's Clubs, League of Women Voters, and the American Association of University Women. Where Florida seems exceptional is in the number of women who were heavily involved in the League of Women Voters. Eight of the forty-nine women in the legislature had served as president of a state or local League chapter prior to their legislative service; eleven others also were members. When one considers the League's influence since 1970, the figures are even more striking.¹⁹ The post-1970 League became more activist in its lobbying efforts, particularly in Florida on the Equal Rights Amendment. This political activity provided a training ground for women who believed that the best way to effect change was by getting elected rather than through lobbying efforts.

A forceful personality with a club background was Maxine Baker from Dade County, seated in the special 1963 reapportionment election. Baker's desire to enter the legislature grew out of her work as a member and president of the Florida League of Women Voters. During her ten years of legislative service (1963-1972) she helped to draft and pass a new state constitution which guaranteed home rule for Florida counties. She expressed concern about "state help for all the 'little people'

18. Ethel Klein, *Gender Politics: From Consciousness to Mass Politics* (Cambridge, 1984), 9-31.

19. At least fifteen of the post-1970 women legislators have been members of the League and six have been state or local presidents.

who had no high-priced lobbyists helping them."²⁰ She focused most of her attention on health and welfare matters. Her most notable legislation, which carried her name, strengthened the legal and civil rights of mental patients, required the provision of community clinical services for most mentally-ill persons, and provided confinement only for patients considered dangerous to themselves or others.²¹

The challenges of political life may be either eased or exacerbated by an officeholder's marriage. A married male officeholder usually has the support of his wife; for the married female the situation is sometimes more problematic. Oftentimes, her spouse will be supportive. For other women the demands of family life may be oppressive. Children, particularly young children, invariably present difficult choices for the mother, who is also an office holder.

A spouse can provide support in several ways, physically, emotionally, and monetarily. Some husbands have urged their wives to run for office. Mary Grizzle's husband, Ben, was such a man. Grizzle was the first Republican woman elected to the legislature. Involvement in the local PTA and the Florida Federation of Republican Women whetted her political appetite, motivating her to run for the county commission and later the legislature. Wife of a wealthy petroleum executive, Grizzle was a forty-one year old mother of six children ranging in ages from five to twelve when she was elected to the house in 1963 as a representative of Pinellas County. With her husband's financial assistance she was able to maintain a full-time housekeeper and a Tallahassee residence. Ben later urged Mary to run for Congress, but she declined. After eight terms in the lower house, Grizzle ran successfully for the state senate in 1978 and was reelected to a second term in 1982.²²

Some husbands, and often the entire family, will be actively involved in the campaigns.²³ Some families will absorb many of

20. Questionnaire completed by Maxine E. Baker, January 21, 1986 (copy in possession of authors).

21. Unidentified newspaper clipping, May 10, 1971.

22. Lake City *Floridian*, October 19, 1980; interview with Lila Henley, aide to Senator Mary Grizzle, May 8, 1986.

23. Interviews with Helen Gordon Davis and Betty Easley, May 7, 1986 (All oral interviews used in this article were conducted by the authors and copies are in their possession).

the household tasks, thereby freeing the wife and mother for the campaign and political office.²⁴ Husbands can also provide emotional support for their politician wives.

Many women candidates do not have the financial assets to mount aggressive campaigns. If a husband helps provide financial support, it can be invaluable. Grizzle, Helen Gordon Davis of Tampa, and Lori Wilson of Merritt Island, all had access to family funds in running their campaigns. In one of Grizzle's races for the legislature, she spent \$34,000, something that might have been impossible without her wealthy husband's help.²⁵ Lori Wilson expended \$54,652 on an election, a large portion of which may have come from her husband, Al Neuharth of the Gannett newspaper chain.²⁶ Helen Gordon Davis had access to family money which was helpful in her campaigns. The easing of financial worries allowed some women to run who otherwise might not have had the opportunity. As is generally the case for male legislators, women who are financially comfortable are more likely to be in the legislature than women who are not. Some legislators, both male and female, having embarked on a political career, may have to abandon it because of their economic situation. Beth Johnson (Mrs. Peter Johnson) from Cocoa Beach, widowed while in office, cited financial reasons for leaving politics: "As a widow, I could not raise my family on \$12,000 a year."²⁷

For some Florida women, family support has not been present or it has been ambivalent. The wife has either stayed in politics at the cost of her marriage or has abandoned elective office to devote more time to family life. When there are children located in a distant district, the strain may be too difficult for the mother-politician.²⁸

While the incidence of divorce among women in the Florida legislature may not be unrepresentative of the general Florida population or of women in the South, it appears to be uncharacteristically high in comparison with women legislators in other southern states. In some cases in which the divorce occurred

24. Interview with Elaine Gordon, May 7, 1986.

25. Lake City *Floridian*, October 19, 1980.

26. Opponents spent \$12,557 and \$3,424. *Miami Herald*, May 23, 1976. Wilson and Neuharth were later divorced.

27. Interview with Beth Johnson, May 7, 1986.

28. Questionnaire completed by Jane W. Robinson, September 21, 1985 (copy in possession of authors); interview with Robinson, May 7, 1986.

during the woman's legislative service, she has attributed the breakdown of the marriage to its inability to survive her career. The demands of political life were not compatible with the demands of family life. A husband might feel he needed more time with or attention from his wife. While some of the women were divorced prior to their political involvement, it does not appear to have interfered with their careers.

Whatever the legislator's marital status, there are some women who can maximize it. One married woman, Mary Grizzle, was able to utilize a familial support system; Carrie Meek and Beverly Burnsed exemplify divorced women who devoted themselves extensively to their jobs. For Toni Jennings, a single woman, the freedom from domestic responsibilities, coupled with her family business interests, allows her to pursue a legislative career and also manage a business. In this respect, Jennings more closely fits the mold of a male legislator.

With the exception of Mary Patton of Appalachicola, who succeeded her husband, all of Florida's women legislators were elected in their own right. The so-called widow's route, considered by some to be a usual means of access for women, has been a negligible factor in Florida.

As a rule, women enter politics at a later age than men.²⁹ There are various reasons for this, but generally, women have spent their twenties and thirties rearing a family. As they get older and familial responsibilities decrease, they are able to focus on careers and other interests. Some women who earlier showed little interest in politics were motivated by involvement with the League of Women Voters and other organizations. In Florida, seventeen of the forty-nine women legislators to serve began their terms after age forty-five. Twenty began their service between the ages of thirty-five and forty-five. Only three had entered the legislature by age thirty. (The ages of five women are not readily available.)

Women entered Florida politics relatively late in their lives. Ordinarily a late start in elective politics limits upward political mobility. However, the experience of some Florida women has been different. Most women generally began their state political careers in the house; only five have been elected to the senate

29. Jeane J. Kirkpatrick, *Political Woman* (New York, 1974), 55.

without any legislative experience.³⁰ Furthermore, their political ambitions have sometimes stretched across the state. The widespread news coverage of women legislators suggests the voters' acceptance of them as public officials.

Two women—Betty Castor and Mary Singleton—have run for lieutenant governor; others have been candidates for education commissioner, public service commissioner, and various judgeships. Only a few have been elected. The point is that Florida women have sought office beyond the legislature. When Betty Castor of Tampa was elected to the state senate, she was one of only five women serving in that chamber without previous experience in the house. A former county commissioner and president of the Florida League of Women Voters, Castor was elected to her first term in the senate in 1976. Two years later, she ran unsuccessfully for lieutenant governor on the Democratic ticket. During the next few years, she held several administrative positions. In 1982 she was elected to the senate again; two years later she became the first woman president pro-tempore. In 1986 she ran successfully for education commissioner and assumed that office in January 1987. Castor advocated a more participatory, consensus-oriented leadership style. Cool and competent, she was considered detached— even something of a “queen bee”— by some of her colleagues.

Serving as a chair of an important legislative committee can also provide a means of upward political mobility. Historically, women were not appointed committee chairs. In fact, many of the early women politicians in Florida were not even appointed to serve on important legislative committees. This situation has changed in recent years; women have achieved committee leadership roles in the Florida legislature. Almost twenty per cent of women legislators have served as chair of committees, including Beverly Burnsed of Lakeland who chaired the House Commerce Committee, a post usually regarded as a “male” assignment.

A former high school government teacher who was encouraged by her students to run for the legislature, Burnsed was seated in 1976 in her second race. She said she had no

30. Dauer, “Florida’s Legislature,” 144. The five were Beth Johnson (Mrs. Peter Johnson), Lori Wilson, Betty Castor, Jeanne Malchon, and Karen Thurman.

paramount causes and no particular legislative interests; rather she tried to become an expert on the issues considered by the committees on which she served. Burnsed did not want to be regarded as a woman legislator but as a legislator who happened to be a woman. She has attributed her success in the legislature to her cooperation with "the leadership." She chaired three significant committees: Higher Education (1978-1980), Health and Rehabilitative Services (1980-1984), and Commerce (1984-1986).³¹

Florida women have also risen to leadership roles within their respective chambers. In 1984 Elaine Gordon of North Miami was appointed by James Harold Thompson as speaker pro-tempore of the House. Gordon played an activist role. She did not passively wait for a leadership appointment. Rather, she told the speaker that she wanted the job, and he responded favorably. As speaker pro-tem, she has been a staunch and vocal advocate of women's rights. She has, as a result, been subjected to abuse by some of her colleagues. A newspaper reported: "Rep. Elaine Gordon. . . was standing on the House floor a few sessions ago. She had just suggested an amendment to a bill. When legislators want to kill someone's amendment, it is common for them to make a motion to 'Lay So-and-so's amendment on the table.' But Rep. Ray Mattox. . . saw a perfect opportunity to put Gordon in what he thought was her proper place. He grabbed a microphone and made a motion to 'Lay Miss Gordon on the table.' The room exploded with male laughter. Gordon, usually brash and aggressive, was stunned speechless."³² Gordon's new status made her less vulnerable to such attacks.

Concurrent with Gordon's leadership in the house, Betty Castor became the first woman elected president pro-tempore in the senate. The combination of women in both chambers in such high leadership roles was unparalleled in the South. Betty Easley, a Republican from Largo elected in 1972, is another woman who held a leadership position. After serving as vice chairman of her party's county committee for several years, Easley decided to run for public office. She thought first of the local school boards, but determined that the state made the "real" decisions. Her particular areas of interest have been ad

31. Interview with Beverly Burnsed, May 7, 1986.

32. Cocoa Today, May 29, 1984.

valorem taxation and education funding.³³ A 1977 newspaper profile observed that Easley “has never passed a major bill or dazzled the house with brilliant oratory. . . . Her bailiwick is behind the scenes and in committee. . . and there she has become one of the House’s most respected Republicans.”³⁴ In 1982 her colleagues voted her an award for most effective legislator in committee. In 1986 she became minority leader pro-tempore.³⁵ A 1982 article offered the opinion that she “would be speaker, if only she were a Democrat.”³⁶

The vast majority of women in the Florida legislature have been white: forty-three of the forty-nine were white, four black, and two Hispanic. Black women made their first appearance in the legislature in 1970 when Gwendolyn Cherry was elected. All the black women legislators have come from urban districts. Three entered the legislature in the 1970s. The first, Cherry, was a lawyer and former teacher from Miami. Considered “a fighter for the rights of the people” and a champion of the “downtrodden,” Cherry earned the respect of her colleagues.³⁷ Her career ended in 1979 when she died at the age of fifty-five as the result of an automobile accident.

The second black woman was Mary L. Singleton of Jacksonville, elected in 1972. Her background was similar to that of many other legislative women. A former teacher and business woman, she had participated in a variety of organizations, including the Florida Women’s Political Caucus, the Urban League, and several Democratic organizations. In 1967 she was elected vice president of the Jacksonville City Council. Singleton served almost two terms in the house before resigning to become state director of elections under Secretary of State Bruce Smathers. In 1978 former Republican governor Claude Kirk chose her as his running mate in his unsuccessful Democratic gubernatorial race. In 1979 she was appointed director of the Division of Administration in the Department of Banking and Finance, a post she was holding at the time of her death in 1980.³⁸

33. Questionnaire completed by Betty Easley, February 20, 1985.

34. Tallahassee *Challenger*, March 1983, citing *St. Petersburg Times*, 1977.

35. Tallahassee *Challenger*, March 1983.

36. Lake City *Floridian*, February 21, 1982.

37. Tallahassee *Democrat*, February 9, 1979.

38. *Capitol Outlook*, December 10-16, 1980; resumé of Mary Littlejohn Singleton, in vertical file at State Library of Florida, Tallahassee.

The third black woman is Carrie P. Meek, elected in 1979 to fill Gwen Cherry's unexpired term. Meek, an educational administrator, has been called "the most powerful black politician in Florida." A former speaker of the house described her as one of the five or six people who could turn votes. While in the house, she successfully sponsored several important measures including the Community Revitalization Act, the Hospice Act, and the Performance Bond Exemption Amendment. In 1982 she helped to shape the legislation which created a predominantly black senatorial district in Dade County. Later that year she was elected to fill that seat.³⁹

The first of two Hispanic women, Ileana Ros, was elected in 1982 twelve years after the first black woman. Both Hispanic women who served in the legislature have been Republicans from Dade County. Redistricting probably made their elections easier, but their victories were notable nonetheless because of the relatively traditional views of women held by a large segment of the Hispanic community.

A few women in earlier years were interested in women's issues. Mary Lou Baker, for instance, in the 1940s sought to improve the legal status of women. In the early 1970s several women who were directly involved in the women's movement, or at least affected by it, were elected. Elaine Gordon and Helen Gordon Davis, both Democrats, were encouraged to run by women's groups with which they had worked, and they continued to push women's and children's issues in the legislature. Gordon admitted to being considered a "women's libber," and both have been criticized for their strong advocacy of women's rights.⁴⁰ Nonetheless, Gordon has risen to a position of leadership in the house.

These women have urged the passage of legislation that they felt was important, including measures dealing with day-care, abortion, domestic violence, and most particularly the Equal Rights amendment. Many of their proposals were successful, such as women serving on juries, maternity leave for teachers, spousal abuse and child care legislation. Others, such as the proposed Equal Rights amendment, were not successful.

Most of the women who served in the legislature in the

39. *Orlando Sentinel*, December 12, 1982.

40. *Cocoa Today*, May 29, 1984; interview with Elaine Gordon, May 7, 1986.

1970s, whether Democrats or Republicans, were supporters of the federal Equal Rights Amendment, although Republican opposition, both male and female, had increased by the end of the decade. In her article on "The Equal Rights Amendment and the Florida Legislature," Joan Carver found that all six women in the house at the time of the 1973 vote were pro-ERA. Most of them participated in the debate. Six years later when the amendment came up for another vote, twelve women supported and three opposed it. Three women in the senate, all supporters of the measure, were unable to swing the vote in their favor.⁴¹

After the final defeat of the ERA, the loosely-knit and informal network of women members suffered a collapse. In 1986 it was difficult to find a real women's caucus. When a notice went out during the 1986 session that women members were invited to breakfast together, only a few attended. Many who received the notices showed varying degrees of disinterest. If any network existed in 1986, it was loose.

As the number of women entering the legislature increased in the 1970s the group became more diverse: Of the twenty-four women elected for the first time during the 1970s nineteen were Democrats and five were Republicans, twenty-one were white and three black, and about one-fourth were Jewish.⁴² Several factors contributed to the increased number of women in politics: legislative reapportionment as the result of a growth in population, increased civil rights activity, and a burgeoning of the Republican party vote. That women were the beneficiaries of "Florida's uncrystallized social structure" was first noted by V. O. Key in 1949: "In politics loyalties have not been built up, traditional habits of action with respect to local personages, leaders, parties, and issues have not been acquired. Social structure, to use a phrase of perhaps ambiguous meaning, has not taken on definite form in the sense of well-recognized and obeyed centers of political leadership and of power. Flux, fluidity, uncertainty in human relations are the rule. Whether it can be proved, there is plausibly a relation between a diverse, recently

41. Joan S. Carver, "The Equal Rights Amendment and the Florida Legislature," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 60 (April 1982), 455-81.

42. Two women were elected to the lower house in 1970; three in 1972; six in 1974; eight in 1976; two in 1978; and one in 1979. Four women were elected to the senate, including two who had previously served in the house.

transplanted population and a mutable politics."⁴³ In addition, the women's movement stimulated political organizations to sponsor candidates and lobby for issues.

By the 1980s the Florida legislature contained a strong bloc of women with seniority. At the beginning of the decade, nine of those elected in the 1970s were no longer in office, but seventeen remained. Beginning in 1982 their numbers swelled with each election. Twelve new women entered in 1982, ten in the house and two in the senate. Four more entered in 1983, two in special elections and two in the regular election. By 1985 after the reentry of Elaine Bloom of North Miami Beach in a special election victory, thirty-two women held legislative seats, twenty-three in the house and nine in the senate.⁴⁴

The proportion of Republican women increased in the 1980s. Four of the ten elected to the house in 1982 were Republicans as were three of the four elected in 1984.⁴⁵ The effect of generally more conservative women will be an interesting phenomenon to observe.

In 1982 reappointment of the legislature into single member districts opened up some new seats, especially in south Florida, and discouraged a few incumbents from seeking reelection to existing seats. Both of these trends provided openings for women. Several of the candidates, especially Democrats, were supported by the League of Women Voters. Others came out of a background of work in their political party, local office, and various women's organizations.

By the mid-1980s women seemed more firmly ensconced than previously in the Florida legislature, serving effectively and, in some cases, moving into leadership positions. In 1986

43. V. O. Key, Jr., *Southern Politics in State and Nation* (New York, 1949), 86.

44. Women elected to the house of representatives in 1982 included Elizabeth Metcalf, Ileana Ros, Deborah P. Sanderson, Peggy Simone and in 1984, Irma S. Rochlin, Dixie N. Sansom, Arnhilda Gonzalez-Quevedo, and Frances L. Irvine. Serving in the senate were Elizabeth J. Johnson (1966), Lori Wilson (1972), Elizabeth B. Castor (1976), Jeanne Malchon (1982), and Karen Thurman (1982). Beth Johnson (1962), Pat Collier Frank (1978), Mary R. Grizzle (1978), Toni Jennings (1980), Gwen Margolis (1980), Roberta Fox (1982), and Carrie P. Meek (1982) served in the house of representatives before their terms in the senate.

45. In 1982 Republican women elected were Carol Hanson (Boca Raton), Ileana Ros (Miami), Deborah Sanderson (Fort Lauderdale), and Peggy Simone (Bradenton); in 1984, Dixie Sansom (Satellite Beach), Arnhilda Gonzalez-Quevedo (Coral Gables), and Frances L. Irvine (Orange Park).

women held the majority and minority leader pro-tempore positions in both houses, a situation which had never existed before in Florida and had not been duplicated in any other southern state.⁴⁶ They also held more chairmanships than ever before. The women in these leadership roles illustrated in microcosm the diversity among all the legislative women. They differed markedly in focus and style, ranging from ultra-conservative to liberal. Many insisted that there was no such thing as a woman's voice or vote in the legislature. Some of the women consciously avoided informal women's agenda meetings, because they felt that too close an identification with women's issues was detrimental to their ability to function effectively. Nevertheless, many women and men acknowledge that the presence of women has changed the way the legislature functions and the issues that are considered.

46. In the senate Elizabeth B. "Betty" Castor was president pro tempore, and Toni Jennings was Republican leader pro tempore; in the house of representatives Elaine Gordon was speaker pro tempore, and Betty Easley was minority leader pro tempore.

FLORIDA HISTORY IN PERIODICALS

This selected bibliography includes scholarly articles in the field of Florida history, archaeology, geography, and anthropology published in state, regional, and national periodicals in 1986. Articles, notes, and documents which have appeared in the *Florida Historical Quarterly* are not included in this listing since they appear in the annual index of each volume. The present listing also includes articles appearing in journals not published on schedule and which were not included in the list published in the July 1986 issue of the *Quarterly*.

- ALTMAN, JENNIFER, AND SEBASTIAN TEUNISSEN, "Seasonal Residents [Crystal River's Manatees]," *Florida Living* 6 (January 1986), 69-71.
- ARANA, LUIS RAFAEL, "Fort Marion in Civil War Times," *El Escribano* [St. Augustine Historical Society] 23 (1986), 47-63.
- BABB, ELLEN, AND MILLY ST. JULIEN, "Public and Private Lives: Women in St. Petersburg at the Turn of the Century," *Tampa Bay History* 8 (Spring/Summer 1986), 4-27.
- BAKER, EIRLYS, "'A Sneaky, Cowardly Enemy': Tampa's Yellow Fever Epidemic of 1887-1888," *Tampa Bay History* 8 (Fall/Winter 1986), 4-22.
- BEGGS, E. DIXIE, "A History of the Pensacola Law Firm of Beggs and Lane," *Review* [journal of the Florida Supreme Court Historical Society] 2 (1986), 5-10.
- BELLAMY, JEANNE, "Marti's Voice Still Strong [Cuban patriot in Florida]," *Update* [Historical Association of Southern Florida] 13 (February 1986), 12-13.
- BLANKENSHIP, GARY, "Rosemary Burkett: Florida's First Woman Justice," *Florida Bar Journal* 60 (January 1986), 21-25.
- BREEZE, ELIZABETH DUBOSE PRICE, "In the Land of Cotton [Henry Choice Price in Marion County]," *Update* 13 (August 1986), 10-13.
- BUKER, GEORGE E., "St. Augustine and the Union Blockade," *El Escribano* 23 (1986), 1-18.

- CARR, ROBERT S., "Historical Use Interpreted from a Conch Shell Feature in Southern Florida," *Florida Anthropologist* 39 (July 1986), 164-70.
-, "Preliminary Report on Excavation at the Cutler Fossil Site in Southern Florida," *Florida Anthropologist* 39 (September 1986), 231-32.
- COLES, DAVID J., "Ancient City Defenders: The St. Augustine Blues," *El Escribano* 23 (1986), 65-89.
- COVINGTON, JAMES W., "The Chicago Cubs Come to Tampa," *Tampa Bay History* 8 (Spring/Summer 1986), 38-46.
-, "Some Observations Concerning the July 1913 Seminole Census Taken by Agent Lucien Spencer [Florida Seminoles]," *Florida Anthropologist* 39 (September 1986), 221-23.
-, "The State of Florida and the Florida Indians, 1954-1961," *Tequesta* [journal of the Historical Association of Southern Florida] 46 (1986), 35-47.
- COWART, JOHN W., "The Big Fight Before the Prizefight: Gentleman Jim Corbett's 1894 Bout Created Furor Throughout Florida," *Jacksonville Magazine* 23 (May/June 1986), 7-13.
-, "Moncrief's Lost Treasure: Pawnbroker Kept His Head But Not His Scalp [eighteenth-century French emigré in Duval County]," *Jacksonville Magazine* 23 (February 1986), 6-12.
-, "Yellow Jack: The Monster Who Controlled the City [1888 epidemic in Jacksonville]," *Jacksonville Magazine* 23 (July/August 1986), 11-16.
- CURL, DONALD N., "Boca Raton and the Florida Land Boom of the 1920s" *Tequesta* 46 (1986), 20-34.
- DANIEL, RANDOLF, JR., MICHAEL WISENBAKER, AND GEORGE BALLO, "Organization of a Suwannee Technology: The View from Harney Flats," *Florida Anthropologist* 39 (March-June 1986), 24-56.
- DEFOOR, J. ALLISON, II, "Odette Philippe in South Florida," *Tampa Bay History* 8 (Spring/Summer 1986), 28-37.
-, "Here's to Jeff Browne [nineteenth-century Florida Supreme Court justice]," *Review* 2 (1986), 1-4.
- DILLON, RODNEY E., JR., "Blockade Runners and Lighthouses [Florida during the Civil War]," *Update* 13 (August 1986), 3-9.

-, AND DANIEL T. HOBBY, "The Riparian Rights Lawsuit [*Town of Fort Lauderdale v. Mary Brickell*]," *New River News* 24 (Summer/Fall 1986), 4-8.
- DIN, GILBERT C., "The Canary Islander Settlements of Spanish Louisiana: An Overview [Florida references]," *Louisiana History* 27 (Fall 1986), 353-73.
- DOBSON, NANCY, "Taking the Oath of Office: 1917-1985 [oath taking in Florida Supreme Court]," *Review* 2 (1986), 7-13.
- DRANE, HANK, "Florida's Future [politicians discuss Florida's problems and potential]," *Jacksonville Magazine* 23 (April 1986), 20-26.
-, "Mayor's Race: Transportation, An Ongoing Issue [Haydon Burns' 1949 Election]," *Jacksonville Magazine* (April 1986), 27-31.
- FAIRCLOUGH, ADAM, "The Preachers and the People: The Origins and Early Years of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, 1955-1959 [Florida references]," *Journal of Southern History* 52 (August 1986), 403-40.
- FIRESTONE, GEORGE, "Main Street Comes to Florida," *Florida History Newsletter* 11 (December 1985), 1-4.
- FORRESTER, MARY LOIS, "Peggy [Starke Locomotive]," *Florida Living* 6 (January 1986), 82-83.
- GABY, DONALD C., "Historic Hurricanes of South Florida," *Update* 13 (May 1986), 6-9.
- GILDER, GEORGE, "Miami: Making It," *Wilson Quarterly* 9 (Winter 1985), 70-75.
- GRAHAM, THOMAS, "The Home Front: Civil War Times in St. Augustine," *El Escribano* 23 (1986), 19-45.
- GREEN, VICTOR E., JR., "Agronomic Researcher at the Florida Agricultural College at Lake City, 1884-1906: A Summary of the First Fifty Bulletins of the Nineteenth Century, 1888-1899," *Soil and Crop Science of Florida Proceedings* 44 (1985), 187-92.
- GREENBAUM, SUSAN D., "Afro-Cubans in Exile: Tampa, Florida, 1886-1984," *Cuban Studies* 15 (Winter 1985), 59-72.
- GRIFFIN, GEORGE, "Distinguishing Between Snow Birds and Cracker Birds [Florida breeding bird atlas]," *Florida Living* 6 (May 1986), 40-41.
- HARDIN, KENNETH, "The Santa Maria Mission Project [Amelia Island]," *Florida Anthropologist* 39 (March-June 1986), 75-83.

- HAYS, HOLLY M., "Crossing the Great Savannah [Paynes Prairie]," *Florida Living* 6 (May 1986), 42-44.
-, "Hawthorne: When Sea Island Cotton and Lima Beans Were King and Queen," *Florida Living* 6 (July 1986), 14-18.
- HEWITT, NANCY A., "Women in Ybor City: An Interview with a Woman Cigar Worker," *Tampa Bay History* 7 (Fall/Winter 1985), 161-65.
- HOFFMAN, PAUL E., "New Light on Vicente Gonzalez's 1588 Voyage in Search of Raleigh's English Colonies [Gonzalez's travels throughout Florida]," *North Carolina Historical Review* 63 (April 1986), 199-223.
- HOLMES, JACK D. L., "Benjamin Hawkins and United Attempts to Teach Farming to Southeastern Indians [Florida references]," *Agricultural History* 60 (Spring 1986), 215-31.
- HOPKINS, ALICE, "The Development of the Overseas Highway [references to Flagler's Florida East Coast Railway]," *Tequesta* 46 (1986), 48-58.
- INGALLS, ROBERT P., "Vanquished But Not Convinced [cigar industry in Tampa]," *Southern Exposure* 14 (January/February 1986), 51-58.
- JACKSON, JOHN, "A Student Aviator Discovers Pensacola," *Pensacola History Illustrated* 2 (Spring 1986), 26-31.
- JOHNSON, HENRY E., III, "The Many Faces of Guy I. Metcalf [Florida real estate developer]," *Broward Legacy* 9 (Summer/Fall 1986), 2-11.
- JONES, JOHN PAUL, "City on the St. Johns [Sanford, Florida]," *Florida Living* 6 (May 1986), 6-13.
-, "Florida's Cavern City [Marianna]," *Florida Living* 6 (July 1986), 6-13.
-, "Jasper: Picture Postcard Town," *Florida Living* 6 (January 1986), 72-76.
- KALISZ, PAUL J., ALAN W. DORIAN, AND EARL STONE, "Pre-historic Land-Use and the Distribution of Longleaf Pine on the Ocala National Forest, Florida," *Florida Anthropologist* 39 (September 1986), 183-92.
- KERBER, STEPHEN, "Florida Newspaper Project [microfilm holdings in P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History]," *Florida Living* 6 (May 1986), 27-28.
-, "The P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History," *Tampa Bay History* 8 (Fall/Winter 1986), 36-42.

- LEVINE, BARRY B., "Miami: The Capital of Latin America," *Wilson Quarterly* 9 (Winter 1985), 47-69.
- LUER, GEORGE M., "Some Interesting Archaeological Occurrences of Quahog Shells on the Gulf Coast of Central and Southern Florida," *Florida Anthropologist* 39 (July 1986), 125-59.
-, DAVID ALLERTON, DAN HAZELTINE, RON HATFIELD, AND DARDEN HOOD, "Whelk Shell Tool Blanks from Big Mound Key, Charlotte County, Florida: With Notes on Certain Whelk Shell Tools," *Florida Anthropologist* 39 (July 1986), 92-124.
- MCCREDIE, RANDOLF, "Pegleg's Town' [Fernandina Beach]," *Florida Living* 6 (January 1986), 45-53.
- MILLER, JAMES J. "Florida's Unmarked Human Burial Bill," *Florida Anthropologist* 39 (September 1986), 226-30.
- MITCHELL, DOUGLASS R., "Adaptations on the Georgia Coast During the Early Prehistoric Period [Florida references]," *Florida Anthropologist* 39 (March-June 1986), 57-67.
- MITCHEM, JEFFREY M., "Comments on Some Ceramic Pastes of the Central Penninsular Gulf Coast," *Florida Anthropologist* 39 (March-June 1986), 68-74.
-, "Radiocarbon Dates from the Tatham Mound," *Florida Anthropologist* 39 (September 1986), 233-34.
- MOORE, JACK B., AND ROBERT E. SNYDER, "Pioneer Commercial Photographers: The Burgert Brothers of Tampa, Florida," *Journal of American Culture* 8 (Fall 1985), 11-26.
- NEWTON, JENNIFER, "Hernando de Soto in Florida," *Humanities* 6 (December 1985), 18-19.
- O'CONNOR, THOMAS J., "Forty Years of the Tampa Port Authority," *Sunland Tribune* [journal of the Tampa Historical Society] 12 (November 1986), 36-41.
- OTTO, JOHN SOLOMON, "Open-Range Cattle-Ranching in the Florida Pinewoods: A Problem in Comparative Agricultural History," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 130 (September 1986), 312-24.
-, "Open-Range Cattle-Ranching in South Florida: An Oral History," *Tampa Bay History* 8 (Fall/Winter 1986), 23-35.
- PEARCE, GEORGE F., "Pensacola Naval Air Station," *Pensacola History Illustrated* 2 (Spring 1986), 2-9.
- PETERS, THELMA, "The Log of the Biscayne House of Refuge," *Tequesta* 46 (1986), 59-69.

-, "Thousands Watched the Resinking of the Battleship Maine [U. S. battleship sunk outside of Havana harbor]," *Update* 13 (November 1986), 8-9.
- PORTER, CHARLOTTE M., "The Lifework of Titian Ramsay Peale [Florida references]," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 129 (1985), 300-12.
- POYO, GERALD E., "The Impact of Cuban and Spanish Workers on Labor Organizing in Florida, 1870-1900," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 5 (Spring 1986), 47-63.
- RABY, JAMES J., "Naval Aviation Training in the 1920s [Pensacola Naval Air Station]," *Pensacola History Illustrated* 2 (Spring 1986), 11-14.
- RANDISI, JENNIFER L., "The Scene of the Crime: The Automobile in the Fiction of Harry Crews [Florida writer]," *Southern Studies* 25 (Fall 1986), 213-19.
- RATHBUN, FRANK, "From Home to Bank in Historic Melrose," *Florida Living* 6 (January 1986), 14-15.
- REINERTSEN, GAIL, AND KEN VINSON, "Florida's School Prayer Statute: *Wallace v. Jaffree* and a Crumbling Wall of Separation," *Florida Bar Journal* 60 (March 1986), 9-14.
- RIBBLETT, DAVID L., "From Cross Creek to Richmond: Margorie Kinnan Rawlings Researches Ellen Glasgow," *Virginia Cavalcade* 36 (Summer 1986), 4-15.
- RICHARDS, ROSE CONNETT, "Life in Cutler with Mrs. Deering as a Neighbor [community near Homestead]," *Update* 13 (May 1986), 3-5.
- RISE, ERIC W., "Red Menaces and Drinking Buddies: Student Activism at the University of Florida, 1936-1939," *Historian* 48 (August 1986), 559-71.
- ROSENZWEIG, DAPHNE LANGE, "Japanese Ceramics at the Henry B. Plant Museum," *Sunland Tribune* 12 (November 1986), 3-7.
- RUNYON, ALAN, "Lochloosa Fish House," *Florida Living* 6 (July 1986), 34-36.
- ST. JULIEN, MILLY, "Public Schols in Southwest Florida, Part 1: A Photographic Essay," *Tampa Bay History* 8 (Fall/Winter 1986), 43-55.
- SCHAFER, DANIEL L., "Freedom Was as Close as the River: The Blacks of Northeast Florida and the Civil War," *El Escribano* 23 (1986), 91-116.
- SMILEY, NIXON, "Hoosier Frank Shutts Brewed Miami's Magic," *Update* 13 (May 1986), 12-14.

- SMITH, EVERARD, "Researching the Civil War in Florida: An Introduction to the Southern Historical Collection," *El Escribano* 23 (1986), 117-22.
- SPICOLA, ROSE F., "The Son of an Italian Immigrant Tells of Boyhood in Ybor City," *Sunland Tribune* 12 (November 1986), 21-24.
- SPONHOLTZ, ANNE H., "Santa Fe Swamp," *Florida Living* 6 (May 1986), 34-35.
- STARK, JACK, "Water Birds [Florida outdoors]," *Florida Living* 6 (July 1986), 32-33.
- STEELE, W. S., "Last Command: The Dade Massacre," *Tequesta* 46 (1986), 5-19.
- TAYLOR, ROBERT A., "The Great War: A Photo Essay [Florida during World War II]," *Tampa Bay History* 8 (Spring/Summer 1986), 47-64.
- TEUNISSEN, SEBASTIAN, AND JENNIFER ALTMAN, "Seasonal Residents [Crystal River's Manatees]," *Florida Living* 6 (January 1986), 69-71.
- WEISMAN, BRENT, "The Cove of the Withlacoochee: A First Look at the Archaeology of an Interior Florida Wetland," *Florida Anthropologist* 39 (March-June 1986), 4-23.
-, "Newman's Garden: A Seminole Indian Site Near Lake Tsala Apopka, Florida," *Florida Anthropologist* 39 (September 1986), 208-20.
- WESTFALL, L. GLENN, "The Evolution and Development of Ybor City," *Sunland Tribune* 12 (November 1986), 10-18.
- WHITNEY, THEODORE, "The Blackwater Pond Site, Hernando County, Florida," *Florida Anthropologist* 39 (September 1986), 194-207.
- WILLIAMS, RON, "The Old and New DeLand," *Florida Living* 6 (January 1986), 6-13.

BOOK REVIEWS

Key West: Cigar City U.S.A. By L. Glenn Westfall. (Key West: Historic Key West Preservation Board, 1984. 71 pp. Foreword, notes, illustrations, bibliography. \$11.95.)

Key West: Cigar City U.S.A. fills a large gap in the literature of the island city's colorful past. Drawing upon a wide variety of sources, this slim but fact-filled volume traces the development of the industry which dominated Key West's economy for nearly a half century. Its chronological format is punctuated with in-depth discussions of a number of significant topics, including the industry's roots in both Cuba and Key West, labor organization and unrest, the impact of cigar labels on lithographic art, and the influence of Cuba's revolutionary struggles on Key West cigarmakers.

This book is richly illustrated. Numerous cigar labels, many from the author's collection, add both beauty and flavor, although they are reproduced in black and white.

If there is an overall theme to this book, it is the reliance of Key West's cigar industry on clear Havana tobacco, a mild, aromatic, light-colored leaf grown in the Vuelta Abajo region of western Cuba. Demand for expensive, hand-rolled clear Havana cigars—status symbols in nineteenth century America—elevated Cuba cigar making to a major industry in Key West. Reliance on both Cuban tobacco and Cuban workers tied the industry to Cuba's checkered political and economic fortunes.

Within this framework, Dr. Westfall corrects a number of common misconceptions. He points out, for instance, that Key West cigar manufacturing did not originate with the great wave of immigration following Cuba's 1868 civil war. Although that event certainly revolutionized the character of the city and the industry, cigars had been produced in Key West since the 1830s. Furthermore, the factory system had been introduced in 1867, not by Cuban emigrés, but by a German immigrant, Samuel Seidenberg, who imported both tobacco and laborers from Cuba to avoid the high import duty on finished Cuban cigars.

Westfall also offers persuasive evidence that the exodus of several leading cigar companies to the Tampa area in the mid-

1880s and mid-1890s was not fatal to the industry in Key West. Although Key West slipped to second place in Florida cigar production by 1900, it again outranked Tampa in production of clear Havana cigars in 1917. By the 1910s, however, the clear Havana trade itself was in serious decline.

Westfall points to three outstanding causes for this decline. The assimilation of Key West's Cuban population weakened the traditional prestige of the cigar-making craft, and helped establish a more diverse economy by the turn of the century. Then, in the 1910s the growing popularity of cigarettes and machine-rolled cigars cut deeply into the demand for hand-rolled cigars. The Great Depression reinforced this trend toward inexpensive, mass-produced tobacco products. In the final analysis, Key West's position as a leading cigar city crumbled when the market for hand-rolled clear Havana cigars evaporated. Ironically, the industry dissolved during a period when age-old transportation and packaging problems were being solved.

A few questions which emerge from this book remain unanswered. Why, for instance, did Key West cigar manufacturers fail to adopt new machine production techniques, as did their counterparts in Tampa, when the market for hand-rolled cigars dwindled? A more detailed analysis of the relation of Key West's Cuban cigar manufacturers to the American tobacco industry as a whole would have been enlightening. These are minor omissions in an otherwise comprehensive study.

*Broward County Historical
Commission*

RODNEY E. DILLON, JR

Florida's Past: People and Events that Shaped the State. By Gene M. Burnett. (Englewood, FL: Pineapple Press, 1986. xi, 268 pp. Preface by LeRoy Collins, introduction, bibliography, index. \$16.95, plus \$1.25 postage and handling.)

With verve and journalistic form, Tampa writer Gene M. Burnett used an unusual platform to resurrect the people and events of Florida's long past. For fourteen years his essays had enlivened the business and financial magazine *Florida Trend* with delightful story telling. Burnett's popular monthly feature deserved preservation in book form for casual readers seeking

introduction to early Floridians. His free-wheeling narratives have life, and together they are compelling stories that form the fabric of early Florida.

This collection of sixty-three essays, covering the years 1972 to 1986, and beginning with his first article, the story of George H. (Dad) Gandy and his Tampa Bay Bridge, provides an easygoing avenue to a gallery of Florida notables which he categorizes as "Achievers and Pioneers, Villians and Characters, Heroes and Heroines." His scenes show Florida in war and peace. He chronicles calamities and social turbulence. In sum, Burnett distilled his subjects and mini-dramas, discarded academic qualifications, and shaped narratives that he sees as the "lifeblood of history."

Believing history belongs to human beings, Burnett said, "One should strive to unite literary and scholarly qualities in a manner producing sound readable history." Certainly lively and readable, his articles are followed by a partial yet creditable bibliography. He admits that if his presentation demanded a massive and exhaustive list of sources, the bibliography might entail a third as many pages as the book itself.

Here we see Florida black novelist, Zora Neale Hurston, rising from poverty to literary success and finally tragedy; Julia Tuttle, envisioning Miami emerging from swamp, palmettos, and mosquitoes; "dark horse" Dave Sholtz, racing to the Florida governorship; Dr. John Gorrie, inventing air conditioning amid yellow fever victims of Apalachicola; poet Sidney Lanier, turning huskster for a Florida railroad; Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings portraying Cross Creek in the world of books; and Peter Demens, a Russian prince, founding another St. Petersburg.

He profiles Florida cowboy Napoleon Bonaparte (Bone) Mizelle riding hard, drinking hard, living hard; a young Union private sweeping the reader into the Battle of Olustee; the demonic presence of mobster Al Capone, nurturing seeds of gambling and corruption that marked later generations in south Florida; Giuseppe Zangara, trying to kill President Roosevelt; Napoleon's nephew, the eccentric Prince Murat, dazzling pioneer Tallahassee; Florida's Porkchop Gang, a feudal Tallahassee patronage system turning lawmaking into a futile business; and Lewis Powell of Live Oak, known as Lewis Payne, working with John Wilkes Booth in the conspiracy to kidnap President Lincoln.

He features Peggy O'Neale, who may have been Florida's First Lady, but scandal soiled her reputation in two cities; William Bartram describing Florida's wilderness beauty in poetic phrases; Jacqueline Cochran, rising from north Florida poverty to become one of the nation's most famous woman pilots; tragic Civil War Governor John Milton, who chose suicide in the shadow of Appomattox; and the Seminole patriot, Osceola, who fought to his death to keep his people from the Trail of Tears.

More than anything, Burnett shows the journalist sniffing out real dramas of history: the monster 1928 hurricane that killed 2,000 near Lake Okeechobee; Nazi U-boats skirting Florida's Atlantic coast; William Bartram poetically preserving Florida's unspoiled natural beauty; Pensacola abolitionist Jonathan Walker branded as slave stealer and immortalized by poet John Greenleaf Whittier; and the "repulsively medieval" turpentine industry with workers enslaved by debts to the company store.

In his preface, former Florida Governor LeRoy Collins said the author "genuinely loves Florida and its past. He has what some would call a 'bird-dog nose' for a good story and gets all the nubs of truth that careful, determined research can produce before he writes about it." Gene Burnett's entertaining sketches should whet readers' interest for the larger body of recorded Florida history from which he mined his human assessment.

Pensacola News-Journal

JESSE EARLE BOWDEN

A History of Madison County, Florida. By Elizabeth Hunter Sims. (Madison: Madison County Historical Society, 1986. xv, 234 pp. Foreword, acknowledgments, appendix, bibliography, index. \$25.00.)

Anyone picking up this book will at once be attracted to the 229 clearly printed pictures. These cover a wide variety of subjects, ranging from the silhouette of a doctor who died in the yellow fever epidemic of 1841, to a 1950 snapshot of a popular legless Negro in the driver's seat of his peanut vending vehicle, a homemade goat wagon. The photographs have been chosen not merely to please the descendants of Old Aunt Anachronism and Old Uncle Ubiquitous. In most pictures there appear fine

period details of costume, furniture, and settings of commercial and agricultural operations. There is a double-page plat of an extensive sawmill plant, and there are excellent graphics of cane-grinding mills, cotton gins, shade tobacco barns, and livestock. Modern technology is hinted at in a 1901 photograph of a farm family taken by remote control, with the photographer sitting on the front row coyly clutching the camera's shutter.

Besides the photographs there are copies of many other items. A letter dated April 30, 1863, from the Finance Bureau of the Confederate States of America was directed to the mother of a soldier killed in the war and which refers to the \$89.00 due him "for services rendered." The Oath of Allegiance to the United States taken by a soldier after the end of the war allowed his release from a Federal P.O.W. camp. As an offset to these grim reminders there are delightfully frivolous contributions, such as a theater program of the 1880s, and an invitation to an evening formal party on August 19, 1884, given by the S.V.S. Club. Even the author's careful research never found the significance of the initials, but the names of the officers shown assure the respectability of the occasion.

One should not conclude that once the illustrations have been devoured the remainder of the book is not equally worthwhile. The author has written satisfactorily for two audiences with differing demands: The local reader whose interest is confined to recognition of family names and locations and who wants a lively anecdotal style, and the academic historian who requires information plus an analysis of social and economic conditions.

Mrs. Sims's success in pleasing both the natives and the historians is illustrated in her relation of a happening in 1896 when a question arose as to why a certain spinster had not paid taxes for several years. The state and county tax assessor answered that Miss Edmondson's property had never been assessed because the county commission "said as she had a family of sisters to provide for they thought it right and proper" to forego taxes, as did the town council. Thus, the author has pleased local readers by telling the story, including the name of the family, and has lifted the matter above the gossip level for historians by supplying names, date, and circumstance (and has also given pleasure to William Faulkner fans by citing a story similar to his plot for *A Rose for Emily*).

The author was fortunate in having access to the papers of four Madison County residents. Judge Enoch Vann's pamphlet entitled *Reminiscences of a Georgia-Florida Pinewoods Cracker Lawyer* began with his recollections of coming to Madison with his family in 1840, and extended into the twentieth century. Edwin B. Browning, Miss Whittie Dickinson, and Carlton Smith, all founders of the Madison County Historical Society, also left voluminous writings. Had Mrs. Sims done no more than put these records into a complete and cohesive whole, her book would be worth reading. She has done more by giving scholarly treatment to all her sources, whether relying on the ample bibliography, searching courthouse records, sifting through family recollections, records and relics, or depending on her own observations.

The book is a continuing picture of life in Madison County written within a regional frame extending from sixteenth-century Spanish exploration, through territorial and antebellum days, the War Between the States, Reconstruction and recovery, and down to 1950.

There is a carefully prepared index of all places and subjects mentioned. In addition, the author has made an exhaustive effort at indexing the names of every individual shown in the photographs and mentioned in the text. The appendix is choked with enough names to gorge a gaggle of genealogists, with its list of names of elected county officials (1888-1932), marriage records (1831-1845), rosters of Indian Wars and C.S.A. soldiers, 1830 and 1840 heads of households from census records, 1845 statehood election returns, et al.

Madison, Florida

ELOISE GOZA ALLEN

Voyagers to the West: A Passage in the Peopling of America on the Eve of the Revolution. By Bernard Bailyn. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1986. xxvii, 668 pp. Preface, introduction, index, \$30.00.)

American history offers nothing more fascinating than the exploration and discovery of who we are, why we came, how we got here. The subject is open-ended, personal to each of us, involving our own lives, for we are still engaged in peopling

America. Not surprising that the distinguished American colonialist Bernard Bailyn should take up the topic. Having introduced it in a slender collection of essays, *The Peopling of British North America*, he has now expanded upon it mightily in the first of several promised volumes.

As Bailyn recognizes, much recent and important research by many scholars underlies his work and contributes to his synthesis. Drawing that scattered material together is a major contribution in itself. More notably, Bailyn has computerized and analyzed the British treasury's Register of Emigration (1774-1776), ferreted out its individual voyagers to the west in local British records, and described their origins, their reasons for migrating, their experiences en route, and their fortunes in America in rich detail. That is a tour de force that will amaze and delight historians and lay readers alike.

The Register of Emigration records departures from English and Scottish ports over a two-and-one-quarter-year period and lists almost 10,000 names of emigrants (perhaps a third more left unnoticed). Englishmen outnumbered Scotsmen five to four; men outnumbered women two to one, though the Scots included a higher proportion of women. Departures were most numerous from London, the center of population and shipping, and from Yorkshire and the Scottish highlands, areas of rural dislocation and uncertainty. Migrants most frequently came from the twenty to twenty-four-year-old age group, yet one-third of all voyagers travelled as families—two-thirds of them in the case of the Scots. Craftsmen slightly outnumbered farmers and simple laborers, and nearly half of all who sailed were indentured for service at the end of their voyages. Economic considerations provided the overwhelming motivation for their leaving, but that did not imply a universal poverty. In fact, one of the reasons why the government began the Register of Emigration was concern over the amount of money emigrants were taking with them out of Britain.

Most of the 1774-1776 voyagers went to Maryland, Pennsylvania, and New York; few headed for the newer colonies of the lower South. Bailyn notes only four out of 9,364 emigrants as bound for "Florida" (p. 207), although elsewhere (p. 479) he mentions five persons sailing to West Florida. The normal shipping routes did not, after all, approach either St. Augustine or Pensacola directly from Britain. But the British Floridas do re-

ceive attention from Bailyn, and that distinguishes him above most American colonialists. Not altogether inappropriately, he sees the Floridas as “a dark backdrop for the successful transatlantic transfers of Europeans which took place elsewhere” in the northern colonies, yet the peopling of the Floridas also shows “something of the entrepreneurial effort and the complex filiations of influence and interest that lay behind the peopling of America” (p. 431). This obviously points toward Rollestown, New Smyrna, and the Military Adventurers (who were internal colonial voyagers, of course). For these, Bailyn draws upon the recent work of Daniel Schafer and George Rogers; Robin Fabel’s study of the Military Adventurers appeared too late to be consulted. West Florida historians will either regret or rejoice that Bailyn’s reliance upon printed materials left several aspects of the peopling of that sprawling province untouched: the New York connections, the Scottish connections, and the recruitment of settlers from the provincial military population, transient though it was. Nor does the growing slave population receive much attention. Bailyn is eloquent regarding the movement of settlers to the valley of the Mississippi, but the details of that migration remain vague.

But why cavil over details? Accounts of individual voyagers and their adventures in the New World— even their portraits as they might be conceived to have appeared— fill a considerable part of the book and make wonderful reading, even though none among these thousands was more than “an infinitesimally small speck in the great galactic blur of human movements” (p. 545): over-stated perhaps, but true and all the more interesting for it. Good history is better than fiction, and this history is good enough to win a Pulitzer Prize. It would be Bailyn’s second.

Auburn University

ROBERT R. REA

Cuba, 1753-1815: Crown, Military, and Society. By Allan J. Kuethe. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1986. xiv, 213 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, conclusion, abbreviations, bibliography, index, \$23.95.)

In Cuba the year 1753 marked a reorganization of the regular army stationed there, while 1815 saw a restored Ferdinand

VII begin a new series of concessions to Cuban planter interests in compensation for their bearing some of the costs of and their service in the island's militia. In the sixty years or so separating these two dates, the burden of defending Cuba had been shifted from mother country to colony, yet despite the ability to control its own destiny militarily, the colony remained loyal to a crown that was witnessing the disintegration of the rest of its New World empire. We are presented, then, with both a process and a paradox to be examined, and Professor Kuethe accepts both challenges with verve.

The process was rooted in the British occupation of Havana in 1762, for it was this "Humiliation" as Professor Kuethe entitles his first chapter that led to "the momentous decision . . . to involve Cuban subjects directly in their own defense by introducing the Spanish disciplined militia system into the island" (p. 24). The resulting force that was created consisted of nine regiments and battalions totalling some 7,500 men, among them two battalions of mulattos and one of free blacks.

The crown well understood the risks of transferring military power from metropolis to colony, just as it understood that the problem of transferring some of the financial burden of maintaining that military power to the Cubans could accentuate those risks. The strategy it employed was to tie the island's elite to the militia system by involving them at the highest levels of command. With these offices, along with titles and privileges including the *fuero militar*, Madrid fed the vanity of the elite. With economic concessions that gradually loosened restrictions on Cuban trade, protected sugar, and stimulated the slave trade, Madrid fed its pocketbook. In the succinct words of Professor Kuethe, "a process of mutual co-optation had occurred" (p. 74).

The policy of Americanizing Cuba's defense bore fruit on May 10, 1781, when the forces of Charles III captured Pensacola and regained West Florida, a victory made possible because of the ability of the Cuban militia to replace troops garrisoned in Havana who were thus freed for the offensive.

In the years that followed Spanish troops ceased to be used to reinforce the fixed garrisons of the island, the militia served as a regular army of sorts for Cuba's defense as Spain became caught up in the struggle between England and France, and even the regular army was Americanized so that in 1808, when Napoleon marched into Spain, "Cubans firmly controlled their own destiny" (p. 154).

Kuethe has no quarrel with the usual explanations for why Cuba remained "ever faithful." One of these was fear of a slave revolt in the wake of any disturbance of the status quo, while the other has to do with a reasonably satisfactory relationship with the Spanish imperial system in which Cubans had enjoyed a pampered position compared with the more remote mainland colonies. Nonetheless, Kuethe finds these explanations incomplete, for there was a movement on the island led by Francisco Arango y Parreño and others of the elite that did seek a reorganization of the government with independence a conceivable consequence of such a move. Yet the overwhelming majority of the elite refused to support Arango, and this, Kuethe argues convincingly, was because the Arango faction had failed to identify with the planter-officer corps of the militia, and in fact had gravely offended its members by opposing their enjoyment of the *fuero militar*. In short, Arango lacked military support for his program, whatever that might have been.

Such a brief sketch does not do justice to this study that presents the story of military reform in Cuba within the wider context of the Bourbon Reforms in which the island frequently served as a laboratory for those reforms. The book rests on impressive and exhaustive archival research, and is well indexed and equipped with appendices that further document the arguments. *Cuba, 1753-1815: Crown, Military, and Society* is an important book that will prove of much use for Latin Americanists as well as students of the Caribbean and Cuba.

Bowling Green State University

KENNETH F. KIPLE

The Southern Indians and Benjamin Hawkins, 1796-1816. By Florette Henri. (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1986. xiii, 378 pp. Preface, notes, bibliography, index. \$24.95.)

In 1796 President George Washington sent Benjamin Hawkins as principal agent to the Indians south of the Ohio. Son of a prosperous tobacco grower in North Carolina, Hawkins had attended Princeton before leaving to fight for American independence. He had represented his state in the Continental Congress and later in the United States Senate. Well-read, logical,

and committed to justice, Hawkins saw in his appointment an opportunity to bring civilization to the 60,000 or so southern Indians.

Unlike his predecessor, Hawkins actually lived among his charges, defying his bad health to travel incessantly from village to village. And true to his rational nature, he studied the Indians' languages and championed their rights. As agent, he acted upon his belief that the Indians' character could be changed so that they gradually would abandon their hunting economy, which required enormous amounts of lands, to take up farming and cottage industries.

Yet the policy he pursued clashed with the intense land hunger of white speculators and frontiersmen, eager to grab ever larger chunks of fertile Indian lands. And ultimately, Hawkins's attempts to persuade the southern Indians to settle into a pastoral existence conflicted with his government's policies, which increasingly leaned toward removing the tribes westward beyond the Mississippi.

Article 3 of the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 promised Indians that they would never lose their lands "without their consent," unless "in just and lawful wars." Hawkins served long enough at his post to see the southern Indians, including those who remained faithful to the American government, devastated by what whites believed to be a "just war" to subdue the rebellious Red Sticks among the Creeks. The brutal peace settlement that General Andrew Jackson, himself a land speculator, imposed in 1814 upon all the tribes fulfilled the dreams of land-hungry whites.

For poor Hawkins, however, who died at the Creek agency in 1816, the war destroyed his long work among the Indians. The harsh ambitions of men such as Jackson and earlier, William Blount, prevailed to push the Indians westward. Yet ironically, the culture shock that the tribes encountered there among the "wild Indians" of that inhospitable land bore testimony to Blount's efficacy as a civilizer.

Florette Henri's account of Hawkins's struggle to preserve some place for the Indian in southern life was her last major work before her death in 1985. The author's sympathy clearly belonged with the Indians, though curiously she avoided making direct judgments of Hawkins's work among the tribes. Instead, she cited other scholars' conclusions that his efforts were

well-meaning but unwise and disruptive to traditional Indian life.

Her well-documented book describes the inexorable pressure that whites' land hunger placed upon the Indians who insisted on preserving their communal ownership to vast hunting grounds. Ms. Henri concluded that the "just war" concept invited whites to provoke Indians—mainly nationalistic young Creeks—into bloody reprisals. After 1807, the refusal of any Indians to cede more lands largely doomed the federal government's hopes for peaceful resettlement. War waited only for some spark along the frontier.

Hawkins died just as Jackson and members of Blount's old faction triumphed on the Indian question. Thus, in retrospect, the efforts of this gentle son of the eighteenth century appear to have been futile. Yet the tragedy of his end does not detract from the nobility of his intentions.

Orlando Sentinel

BAILEY THOMSON

New Perspectives on Race and Slavery in America: Essays in Honor of Kenneth M. Stampp. Edited by Robert H. Abzug and Stephen E. Maizlish. (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1986. ix, 206 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, contributors, index. \$19.00.)

This is a first-rate collection of ten essays, together with a discerning appreciation of the work of Kenneth M. Stampp.

Within the limits of a brief review one can only note the main content of each contribution and add a word or two of comment. Robert McColley's opening effort on slavery in colonial Virginia shows it to have existed some thirty years before it received statutory institutionalization. William W. Freehling demonstrates the reality of Vesey's slave conspiracy in South Carolina in 1822, despite Richard C. Wade's 1964 effort to deny it.

Noteworthy is William E. Gienapp's study of "The Republican Party and the Slave Power" where some mild corrective is offered to views expressed by Eric Foner and Michael Holt. He concludes that the fear that the Slave Power meant to inhibit the freedom of white people and to nationalize slavery was based upon reality.

Stephen E. Maizlish finds, in a study of leading Democratic newspapers in New York, Ohio, and Illinois, that from 1854 to 1860, racism played less of a role in their propaganda than had hitherto been believed.

Reid Mitchell studies the creation of Confederate loyalty after the Civil War and finds it infused with the feelings of common suffering. This helped forge a union with Union veterans that had an impact on Farmers' and Populist movements.

Leon Litwack, analyzing "The Ordeal of Black Freedom" in the generation after the Civil War and Reconstruction, finds it to have been onerous indeed. In my view, the picture painted omits important resistance movements culminating in the Niagara Movement. In this neglect, Du Bois is presented in a one-sided way. Arthur Zilversmit offers a positive- and persuasive-view of Ulysses Grant's administration and black people.

The final three essays on "Past in Present" include James Oakes's study of the emergence of a "landlord-merchant class" to dominance in southern agriculture; John Sproat's study of South Carolina's "pragmatic accommodationism" in the face of the 1954 *Brown* decision; and Joel Williamson's somewhat elusive essay on "The Soul Is Fled" – meaning from "the South"; still, he does conclude of this "South" that "we are still alive."

The collection is stimulating and does honor Professor Stamp.

San Jose, California

HERBERT APTHEKER

The Legal Fraternity and the Making of a New South Community, 1848-1882. By Gail Williams O'Brien. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1986. 231 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, conclusion, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. \$23.50.)

American historians have generally maintained that the Civil War was a major dividing point in southern social and political history. They have treated the antebellum and postbellum periods as if they were self-contained eras with little in common. Recently, however, a new generation of historians has explicitly put to a test the assumption that the Civil War effected significant changes in southern life.

One such attempt is Gail O'Brien's case study of Guilford County, North Carolina. O'Brien finds that the Civil War led to alterations in surprisingly few aspects of community life in this Piedmont county and its principal city, Greensboro. *The Legal Fraternity* is divided into two sections. The first provides an analysis of just who held power in Guilford County during a thirty-four year period in the middle of the nineteenth century. The second analyzes Guilford County's attorneys, the group possessing and maintaining the most influence in the county throughout the period.

Much of O'Brien's discussion in the first section of her book is dependent upon a model of power relationships. She has numerically coded occupations and activities of virtually all residents of Guilford County in order to determine which individuals had the most influence and which individuals maintained influence from one decade to the next. O'Brien's most important finding here is that, despite the Civil War, there was remarkable continuity among those possessing power in this southern county during the period under investigation. Although the war led to a decrease in the fortunes and political influence of some pre-war leaders, most of the antebellum leaders continued to maintain power after the war. Although Reconstruction saw the arrival of some Northerners who came to assume positions of power, most of the county's leaders after 1870 were the same men who had led the community before the war or who came from the same social circumstances as the antebellum leaders.

The second section of *The Legal Fraternity* offers a composite profile of Greensboro lawyers, the most important power-holders of the period, and an explanation of how these individuals gained and maintained their influence. The legal community in Guilford County, O'Brien maintains, smoothed over differences created by the war, race relations, and Reconstruction. Even as legal adversaries and political partisans, they were members of the same social class, observed the same legal norms, and participated in the same professional rituals. An implicit point of *The Legal Fraternity* is that the violence and bitterness of Reconstruction would have been much worse if not for the social cohesion provided by attorneys in places like Guilford County.

The thoughtful reader will notice that O'Brien does not question the dollar-chasing of the attorneys of the period or pay

much attention to the racial strife of Reconstruction. Although her paean to the legal profession in nineteenth-century Guilford County is excessive, her short book should take its place as a useful study of the upper South in the nineteenth century. Of no small consequence is that it offers a welcome corrective to "the War changed everything" view of southern history.

Clemson University

JOHN W. JOHNSON

Farm Tenancy and the Census in Antebellum Georgia. By Frederick A. Bode and Donald E. Ginter. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1987. xix, 278 pp. List of appendices, tables, maps, preface, notes, bibliography, index. \$27.50.)

This study, based on a critical analysis of the census returns for 1860, presents evidence to demonstrate that various patterns of farm tenancy existed prior to the Civil War; also that post-bellum practices, though more complex, were rooted in the antebellum patterns. Such terms as sharecropping, cash renting, share renting, and renting on thirds and fourths were used to refer to tenancy arrangements. The authors use the term "tenant" to include renters as tenants who maintained control of the crops, and croppers as laborers whose share of the crop constituted their wage payment.

Late antebellum tenancy rates were high and were regionally distributed. Spatial variations indicate that tenancy in 1860 was highest on the worst staple lands and lowest on the best; even within the regions of best staple soils tenancy was low on the oldest and most exhausted lands, but increased in newer regions of high productivity, recently opened for staple cultivation. It is suggested that proprietors were making a rational economic choice: tenancy was a preferred choice on those lands that were less desirable for staple production or that required substantial new clearance, since capital investment was low when compared with slave or free white-hired labor under direct management.

The Frank L. Owsley school of historians who have written on the nonplanter South have shown the extent to which the small yeoman farmer characterized the culture of regions on the fringe of the staple economy. They refer to a dual economy, one created by tenant farmers and the other by slaveholders.

The authors of this book refute the dual economy thesis and claim instead that population densities were high in the upland regions and were characterized by poor tenant farmers, also in some counties, by a class of landless miners. The upland regions stand in sharp contrast to the wiregrass region where tenancy and population densities were sparse. The wiregrass region was inhabited by the backwoodsman who owned his holding.

The majority of tenants were men of little or no means. A few are classed as wealthy; these were located mostly in Houston County, a prime cotton producing area, and in the older cotton counties of the lower Piedmont, especially Wilkes County. The poorest group of tenants within the cotton counties were located in Gwinnett County on the fringe of the cotton belt in the upper Piedmont. The overwhelming majority of Georgia tenants in 1860 were men and women operating small holdings with little or no personal capital. They grew small amounts of cotton; their output was small, but their participation was high.

Tenancy rates in Georgia on the eve of the Civil War were sufficiently high to refute the interpretation that white landholders were forced into tenancy during Reconstruction. Postbellum tenancy did increase after the war, but it was not a postbellum invention devised hurriedly as a structural alternative to slavery. The spectacular change that did occur concerned land, that valuable resource formally monopolized by whites, and now opened to black competition. The authors identify this phenomenon as an additional economic basis for postbellum racism.

The book contains eight appendices, twenty-five tables, and twenty-one maps, all designed to present statistical evidence to support findings. The sheer volume of these statistics is overwhelming for the reader. Nonetheless, the authors have produced a scholarly study and have presented fresh interpretations concerning the status of the yeoman farmer. Thus their work is a distinct contribution as historical literature.

Bold Dragoon: The Life of J.E.B. Stuart. By Emory M. Thomas. (New York: Harper and Row, 1986. xi, 354 pp. Preface, notes, selected bibliography, index. \$19.95.)

Nineteen-eighty-six was a very good year for biographies of Confederate generals. Earlier I had the pleasure of reviewing James A. Ramage's excellent *Rebel Raider: The Life of General John Hunt Morgan*. Now comes Emory M. Thomas's equally impressive study of the famous James Ewell Brown Stuart. One would have to go back a number of years, before the 1980s to find a biography of a Confederate general that measures up to either of these outstanding works. Between Morgan and Stuart there are striking similarities— finding pleasure in war, disliking camp life, assembling unusual characters at their headquarters, becoming patron saints of Confederate mythology— not the least of which is that both were killed the same year. It seems fitting that the best biography of each should appear in the same year.

Bold Dragoon incisively traces Stuart's life from his birth at Laurel Hill, Virginia, in 1833, to his early death at Yellow Tavern in 1864. Long before his fatal wound, Stuart was a legend, famed for leading a cavalry charge in the first major battle at Bull Run, making daring raids around the Union army, and participating in all the major battles of the East until his death (shifting from cavalry to command infantry at Chancellorsville when Stonewall Jackson was mortally wounded). Also, Stuart nourished and propagated his own legend in many ways. Playing the role of romantic cavalier, he sometimes held reviews reminiscent of medieval tournaments, relished the attention of adoring women, but in the chaste manner of courtly love, and, while faithful to his wife, kept her and the children at arms length during the war, refusing to leave the fighting to visit five-year-old Flora when she was dying. Even keeping the vow of total abstinence made to his mother contributed to fulfilling the vision which Stuart held of himself.

In portraying Stuart's intriguing life, Thomas carefully examines the weaknesses and controversies of his career. Foremost perhaps is Stuart's losing touch with Lee in the critical days before Gettysburg. In depriving Lee of his eyes before that battle, Thomas concludes that Stuart was selfish, timid, and careless. Basically, Stuart was acting, once again, to reinforce his vision of himself as the Bold Dragoon.

Unquestionably, Stuart was a superb commander at times. But he was also handicapped as fame went to his head. In a perceptive summary statement, Thomas says that Stuart “confused fame with greatness because he lacked the depth and experience to discern the difference” (p. 300). Thoroughly researched (spiced with some previously unpublished material), well-balanced, judiciously interpreted to convey Stuart’s faults as well as his virtues, engagingly written in a straightforward manner, and long enough to give a full portrait, *Bold Dragoon* should be recognized as THE biography of J.E.B. Stuart.

Pepperdine University

JAMES LEE McDONOUGH

Slave Emancipation in Cuba: The Transition to Free Labor, 1860-1899. By Rebecca J. Scott. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986. xviii, 319 pp. List of illustrations, list of tables, preface, acknowledgments, abbreviations, conclusion and epilogue, bibliography, index. \$44.00; \$13.95 paper.)

Every now and again— not often— appears a work of scholarship that addresses simultaneously points small and large, that structures questions around local issues but supplies answers with universal implications, that provides at once insight into the experience of a people of another place at another time, on their own terms, while enhancing an appreciation of the human condition everywhere at all times, on our terms. Rebecca Scott’s *Slave Emancipation in Cuba* is such a work. The intent of the study is to examine the complicated means through which slavery in Cuba came to an end and the process by which former slaves joined Cuban society as free men and women. Scott’s emphasis is given more to the former than the latter, and it is the dynamics of abolition that serve as the principal focus of the study. Specifically, she is concerned with the varieties of pressures— “links” she calls them— that converged in the second half of the nineteenth century, producing over time one suppression of the slave labor system. In this process, the motives and intent of the principal protagonists of this drama— slaves and slave-owners, government officials and government opponents— no less than the larger forces of the market place, technology, and ideology, all combined to transform the character and structure of the Cuban labor system, and with it all of Cuba.

The account is told with poise, with sensitivity but without sentimentality. Based on archival sources and manuscript collections located in the United States, Spain, and Cuba—some of which were previously unworked—the study employs methodologies of the social sciences tempered by the grace of the humanities. The book, further, stands as a heartening example of the type of scholarship that is possible, under the best of circumstances, when Cuban and North American scholars are permitted to collaborate, unimpeded and unhampered.

Scott concludes in the final chapters with an account of the fate of former slaves as wage laborers and free farmers, more in the form of a summary than by way of detailed exposition. It reads the way an introduction to the study of the Afro-Cuban community in the Republic should. We know what has to be done next.

University of South Florida

LOUIS A. PÉREZ, JR.

Frustrated Fellowship: The Black Baptist Quest for Social Power. By James Melvin Washington. (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1986. xvii, 226 pp. Preface, epilogue, bibliographical essay, index. \$29.95; \$12.95 paper.)

Between 1866 and 1961, black Baptists formed many separate organizations. The twelve which remained in the 1960s contained 50,000 congregations and nearly 12,000,000 members. They produced figures as diverse as Joseph H. Jackson, who as president of the National Baptist Convention refused to endorse the Civil Rights Movement led by his fellow minister Martin Luther King, Jr. In fact, many young blacks believed the church to be irrelevant at the same moment a host of black Baptist ministers were altering American life more profoundly than at any other time in the century. How could such contradictory patterns coexist? James M. Washington has taken a major step explaining that contradiction in the first of two projected volumes on black Baptists in America. This volume takes the story as far as 1900.

The central theme of the volume is the struggle between blacks whose Christian vision was essentially separatist and those who saw the gospel in cooperative terms. Although the idea is

not stated by Washington, the reader of this important narrative might well conclude that white racism created the separatist tradition. That tradition appeared early. Black Baptists formed independent self-governing congregations in Savannah, Richmond, Boston, and Brooklyn in the late eighteenth century. As decades passed, black churches within the region had to proclaim the gospel cautiously, but those in the North developed a strong abolitionist impulse. Supported by many white northern Baptists, they contributed to the growing abolitionist sentiment which divided churches and nation.

During Reconstruction, various Baptist groups contested for the soul of the freedmen. Northern mission boards believed they should direct the work, perhaps with the assistance of black missionaries. Black Baptist groups insisted on their right to direct the work. Although black ties to the Southern Baptist Convention were impossible because of white racism, black Baptists had no better luck with their northern brethren. With the exception of the small, integrated Free Mission Society, the major black and white Baptist organizations developed no organic connections until 1970. Washington attributes the growth of black separatism to four factors: the refusal of the American Baptist Home Mission Society to consult black Baptist leaders when naming a black to their board; white refusal to help establish a national black Baptist university and seminary; refusal to appropriate money designed to evangelize freedmen to the black Baptist mission society; and the refusal of the American Baptist Publication Society to allow blacks to write Sunday School materials.

Cooperationists who sought continued white funding and literature were gradually swept aside because of hardening racial lines and rapidly growing racism in both the South and North. As a consequence most black Baptists joined to form the National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., Inc., in 1895. Washington attributes the division among black Baptists to a growing belief that cooperation with white Baptists, whether northern or southern, meant subordination. Rooted in sociology, class divisions, and rejection of ecclesiastical dominance, black religious separatism thrived in an environment of white racism.

Although Washington's narrative sometimes obscures his themes, this volume is an important contribution to religious history. The book is rooted in the sociology of religion. I regret

that I did not read the conclusion first for there the author sets forth better than elsewhere both the book's theme and its methodology. As the author suggests, the only explanation why so important a topic has waited so long for study is the amazing complexity of the material. All who are interested in southern religion, black history, or American culture will profit from this book and look forward to its sequel.

Auburn University

WAYNE FLYNT

Blood Justice: The Lynching of Mack Charles Parker. By Howard Smead. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986. xiv, 248 pp. Introduction, epilogue, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. \$19.95.)

Gripping in detail, meticulous in research, fair in analysis, *Blood Justice* is the story of a 1959 lynching in Poplarville, Mississippi, which is largely forgotten. Mack Charles Parker, a twenty-three-year-old black man who almost certainly had raped a pregnant white woman while her child watched, was seized from a jail cell, brutally beaten, shot in the heart, weighed down with chains, and tossed into the Pearl River.

The FBI, state police, and the local sheriff conducted intensive investigations in the glare of publicity, while townspeople bitterly resented the rape, the abduction and murder, and the unwelcome attention. Although some members of the lynch mob were generally known, no indictments were returned because of obstruction by local officials and intransigence of an all-white grand jury, and because a federal grand jury could find no violation of federal law.

The case had regional and national significance. Governor James P. Coleman, a racial moderate, was condemned by Mississippians for summoning the FBI, particularly while Congress was considering a civil rights bill. Backlash against the case helped to elect racist Ross Barnett governor of Mississippi in 1960, and led to Coleman's defeat by segregationist Paul Johnson in 1964. President Eisenhower refused to condemn the murder.

Smead pulls no punches in his condemnation of racist whites, the national media, and law enforcement officials, in-

cluding the FBI. Parker was no model citizen. FBI officials harassed innocent people. And the press, which sensationalized the case, quickly forgot it when the furor subsided.

Writing with vigor, clarity, and pungency, the author utilizes FBI records obtained under the Freedom of Information Act, interviews with local people, and contemporary journalistic accounts. He combines objectivity with insight into the hearts and minds of the people of Mississippi and the United States and intimate knowledge of the time and setting. My one reservation is his reconstruction of verbatim conversations.

Smead's research is irrefutable. Otherwise, he might be sued for libel, because he names specifically participants in the lynch mob who were never brought to justice. By the time he began his interviews in 1977, passions had cooled but memories were still fresh.

Blood Justice is the best book this reviewer has read in the genre of lynch histories. Smead is neither apologetic nor moralistic, and permits the drama to carry the story. His writing is clear, logical, objective, and pithy. It should be read by students of southern history, black history, and the history of the United States during the civil rights movement of the 1960s.

University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

GLEN JEANSONNE

The Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indians, Volumes I and II. By Francis Paul Prucha. (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1984. xxxii, 1302 pp. List of maps, illustrations, tables, preface, acknowledgments, abbreviations, prologue, appendixes, bibliographical essay, index. \$60.00 cloth.)

Father Prucha, since earning his Ph.D. degree from Harvard in 1950, has steadily published scholarly books and articles, many of them relating to Indian relations with the colonies and with the United States. These two monumental volumes distill thirty-five years of research and writing. They could qualify as the capstone of a life's work, but Dr. Prucha is far from done.

His narrative develops, among other themes, the story of the white conviction that the Indians as hunters and gatherers occupied too much land, that they must be turned into farmers,

thus placed on the path toward becoming civilized, and freeing the excess land for white yeomen. Christian philosophy demanded maximum use of land. It included, too, the right of full users to take land away from lesser users, by force if need be.

Another theme is that white America could not accept Indian cultures. To the whites those cultures were barbaric, immoral, and heathenish. This attitude produced in the 1820s and 1830s the policy of Indian Removal, that is the transfer of all Indians living east of the Mississippi River to the west of it. There they would be out of the way of the ineluctable white advance, saved from extermination, and settled on ground the white people would never want. Before long, however, the white tide crossed the Great River, leaving no place to relocate the red people.

The removal policy gave way to the reservation policy. This slowly failed because it was difficult to keep the Indians on the reservations, and because the policy segregated them from the American life into which they were supposed to disappear. In addition, communal relationships flourished on reservations. These were not acceptable to the white society which drew its strength from individualism and the private ownership of property.

The next turn in policy was, therefore, to break up the reservations, and allot the land to their residents. Policy makers believed that the Indians as owners of real estate and dwellers in single family units would give up hunting, and take up farming. Education, private property, and liberation from communal relationships would slowly but surely render the Indian indistinguishable from other Americans. The dynamic policy, pursued both by government and by reformers late in the nineteenth century was to help the Indians disappear into white America. Its highest legal form was the Dawes Act of 1887.

All Indian policies so far discussed rested on lack of appreciation for Indian cultures. Those cultures would die as Indians merged into the dominant society, and the bureaucracy to watch over them would also fade away. In fact, the reverse was true; the bureaucracy enlarged, involving itself more and more in the control of Indian lives. Like all previous policies, this one was paternalistic and saturated with a conviction of white superiority.

The Great Depression discredited many time-honored white

concepts. An appreciation of Indian cultures gradually grew and became part of the New Deal Indian policy. With John Collier as Indian commissioner, Indian language, art, and institutions commanded respect and gained protection. Almost at once, fierce resistance to the new program developed, forcing Collier's resignation in 1945. But the Indian New Deal left permanent alterations in policy.

Reaction to the Collier system revived briefly the old allotment policy during the Eisenhower administration. The policy, now known as termination, was to end tribal organizations, allot the reservation land to individuals, and distribute the trust funds to tribal members. Termination in fact destroyed twelve tribes. The Menominee were so reduced that they were reconstituted as a tribe and returned to the reservation.

In the 1960s and 1970s, interest in Indian affairs surged, as it had done during the era of Indian Removal and during the evangelical reform movement of the late nineteenth century. This interest killed termination and allotment and stressed the right of Indians to determine their own affairs. The issue of sovereignty arose of course. During the earliest years of the Republic the government had seemed to affirm Indian sovereignty by making treaties with the tribes, but it denied sovereignty when disposed to do so. In the 1970s the Supreme Court ruled that Indian groups were sovereign within their reservations (except over non-members), but that Congress had the power to modify their sovereignty.

What exists today is a trust relationship between the Indians and the United States government, resting on the paternalism that has always been present. Although the Indians no longer refer to the president as the Great Father, in fact he, together with the Congress, still is.

These two volumes are a permanent monument to the scholarship of their author. They contain maps not published elsewhere as a group, and many unique tables. There are three signatures of relevant pictures in each volume. The footnotes and bibliographical essay constitute the best reference list available anywhere. Finally, the 1,200 pages of text are an unparalleled source of detailed information and insights.

Indian Self-Rule. Edited by Kenneth R. Philp. (Salt Lake City: Howe Brothers, 1986. 343 pp. Preface, introduction, list of contributors, bibliography, index. \$2 1.50.)

In 1984 the American Indian community and the scholars who chronicle it recognized— but without necessarily celebrating— the fiftieth anniversary of the Wheeler-Howard Act of 1934, commonly known as the Indian Reorganization Act. This piece of legislation has generally been heralded by historians as the fundamental document of the New Deal which turned federal Indian policy from an intransigent, assimilationist orientation, to one embracing the philosophy of Indian self-determination to guide future relationships between the tribes and the federal government. John Collier, the volatile and out-spoken commissioner of Indian Affairs and his staff of New Deal reformers are generally credited with bringing this transformation to pass for the unquestioned benefit of the Indian people.

In recent decades, however, there has been a steady increase in critical reappraisals by scholars and many contemporary Indian leaders of John Collier and the Indian Reorganization Act, and the course which was set for subsequent Indian policies. Therefore, it was important that a conference be held which would bring together those Indians and non-Indians still living who were most active in American Indian affairs over the last fifty years. This work, edited by Kenneth R. Philp, the eminent Collier biographer, has made a valuable contribution in eliciting and recording their first-hand accounts and perspectives on events surrounding the Indian New Deal and beyond.

There is little in these accounts of Indian leaders and the historians of the American Indian which pertains directly to the Seminole and Miccosukee Indians of Florida. It should be remembered that the Florida Indians were well out of the main stream of tribal politics at the time when the Indian Reorganization Act was being ratified, although they formed their governments under its provisions in the 1950s and 1960s. The only new piece of useful information to emerge, for example, was that the Seminoles had not been included on the original list of tribes to be terminated from federal services in the 1950s but were later added through congressional action.

This volume is an excellent addition to the growing literature on modern Indian-white relationships, and offers a u-

nique insight into such concepts as tribal sovereignty, and the trust obligation which exists between the United States government and the Indian tribes. Because it combines oral history, public policy discussion, and cultural revelation in one volume, *Indian Self-Rule* should become an invaluable research tool for students of twentieth-century American Indian history.

Florida Atlantic University

HARRY A. KERSEY, JR

BOOK NOTES

The first *Florida Handbook*, compiled by Allen Morris, was published in 1947. From the beginning it was recognized as an authoritative Florida reference book. The most recent volume, the twenty-first biennial edition, covering the years 1987-1988, provides information on almost everything of interest on Florida government. This volume includes biographical sketches of Governor and Mrs. Bob Martinez, Attorney General Bob Butterworth, and Commissioner of Education Betty Castor. Included also are biographies of all of Florida's governors since 1821, and the names and periods of service of lieutenant governors, members of the cabinet, presidents of the state Senate, and speakers of the House of Representatives. There is also information on women, blacks, and Hispanics in the state legislature, Floridians in federal office, our senators and congressmen, Tallahassee as Florida's capital, the state's flags, seals and other symbols, the Governor's Mansion, Indians, preservation of cultural resources, counties, writers and poets, the Florida Keys, celebrations and festivals, climate, forests, industry, wildlife, agriculture, education, highways, population, business statistics, and the legislative budget process. State agencies and their addresses and telephone numbers are included. A copy of the state's constitution, as revised in 1868, and subsequently amended, together with an index, is an informative and useful addition. There is also an index for the full volume, and a number of photographs, maps, charts, and statistical tables. *The Florida Handbook* has something for nearly everybody interested in Florida history and government. It sells for \$21.95, and may be ordered from Peninsular Publishing Company, Box 5078, Tallahassee, FL 32314.

The First 50 Years of the Florida Citrus Commission is based on the minutes of the meetings of the Commission and some of its committees. While citrus has been an important factor in Florida's economy since the eighteenth century, it was not until 1935 that the state legislature established an agency with the authority to regulate the industry. Headquartered in Lakeland, the purpose of the Commission was to stabilize the citrus industry and promote the interest of the growers. The first commis-

sioners were sworn in September 10, 1935. L. P. Kirkland of Auburndale was elected the first chairman, and F. E. Brigman of Winter Haven became secretary. The first committee established was advertising, and a publicity director, Marvin E. Walker was appointed. Members represent the major growers and concentrate manufacturers. The first woman on the Commission was Margaret Lowry who took her seat in 1977. This volume indicates how successful the Commission has been in achieving its goals. This success has been the result of cooperation between growers, agents, associations, corporations, and others engaged in the sale and marketing of Florida citrus. In 1934-1935, the Florida citrus crop was 32,800 boxes; today the crop is many times larger. A major concern of the Commission has been the treatment of diseases and pests which periodically threaten the crop. The establishment of quality standards, standardizing packing and canning, labeling, advertising, labor problems, and the development of foreign markets are all concerns reported on in the volume. The World's Fair Tower, Anita Bryant's campaign against homosexuals, and the problems of periodic freezes are other matters described. The book is being advertised and marketed under the supervision of the Commission. A paperback edition is available for \$3.50, plus \$1.00 postage, from the Florida Citrus Commission, 1115 E. Memorial Boulevard, Lakeland, FL 33802.

The Singing River is an entertaining history of the Manatee River about which there are many stories and myths. It is one of Florida's most important rivers, flowing through one of the most highly populated areas along the Gulf Coast. In earlier years it was a vital transportation route for settlers of the area. As a child, Joe Warner, the author of *The Singing River*, played along the banks of the river and listened to the stories recounted by the older members of his family. The book describes events covering almost 500 years of Florida history. The Indians were the only human inhabitants until the Spanish explorers arrived in the sixteenth century. Warner describes the lives of the later settlers and the history of the river and its tributaries. The history of the larger communities—Bradenton, Palma Sola, and Ellenton—are included, along with that of the smaller towns and settlements—Shaw's Point, Erie, Rye, Mitchellville, Keen-town, Duette, Albritton, and Maydell. Both the historian and

the genealogist will find this volume useful. There are many photographs, a number from private collections. Mr. Warner's collaborator on the book is Libby Warner. The cover painting is by Roy Nichols. Paperback copies cost \$14.00. Order from Joe Warner, Route 2, Box 325, Bradenton, FL 34202.

For some thirteen years, Glen Dill wrote a newspaper column— 938 in all. Most of them appeared weekly in the *Suncoast News* and the *New Port Richey Chronicle*. Sixty-eight of these columns have been collected into a book, *The Suncoast Past* edited by Mr. Dill. Although he is not a professional historian, Dill researched his material carefully to present an accurate portrait of Florida history. He covers a wide variety of topics— wildlife, birds, trees, fish, Indians, and organizations like the Florida Historical Society and the Florida Audubon Society. Many of the columns concern Florida communities— New Port Richey, St. Petersburg, Brooksville, Tampa, Tarpon Springs, and Lake Wales. Mr. Dill is an avid golfer, so it is not surprising that some of his columns deal with golf and famous golfers like Gene Sarazen, who once lived in New Port Richey. *The Suncoast Past* sells for \$10.00 and may be ordered from the author, Box 1014, New Port Richey, FL 33552.

Homesteading, The History of Holmes County Florida is by E. W. Carswell, former staff writer for the *Pensacola News-Journal* and the author of several books dealing with the Panhandle area of Florida. The volume was edited by Ray Reynolds, and the illustrations are the work of Frank Roberts. When Holmes County was established in 1848, there were fewer than 250 families living in the area, and there was not a single post office. The county was named for Holmes Creek, which, in turn, had apparently been named for Indian Chief Holmes, whose father was white and his mother Indian. The county's tax roll in 1848, showing assets totaling \$172.93, was based on properties including land, cattle, watches, merchandise held for resale, carriages, money loaned or kept at interest, and 123 slaves, for which the owners were taxed sixty cents per slave. The 1850 Federal census, the first for Holmes County, recorded a population of 1,205: 1,037 whites, 163 slaves, and five free blacks. The latter were listed as mulattos (all children, living with a white mother). There were two churches: Sandy Creek Baptist Church, estab-

lished in 1844, and Mt. Zion Methodist Church, established in 1845. Thomas Hutchins, the geographer, visited in 1781, and Andrew Jackson and his army passed through the area in May 1818 as they moved from Fort Gadsden to Pensacola. There is information on the Indians— Chatots, Yuchis, Okchais— who lived there before the Creeks. During the Civil War, Holmes County provided grain and cattle for the Confederate armies, and at least three military units identified with the county were organized. There was also support for the Union cause, and the First Florida Cavalry, a Federal group, commanded by Brigadier General Alexander Asboth, attacked Marianna in September 1864. The building of the railroad in 1881-1882 stimulated economic growth and helped increase population. Carswell's book provides information on agriculture (pecan production, tobacco, sugar cane, potatoes, vegetables, naval stores, and peanuts), health, education, religion, recreation, transportation, steamboating, lumbering, and milling. There is also information on moonshining, lynching, and other lawless and criminal events occurring in Holmes County. References listed after each chapter reveal Carswell's reliance on interviews, court records, school board minutes, newspapers, church archives, and other primary and secondary sources. The book sells for \$25.00, in addition to postage. Order from Carswell Publications, 200 Forrest Avenue, Chipley, FL 32428.

The Long Road with God . . . a "living" history of Ancient City Baptist Church, 1887-1987 is a narrative of the history of one of St. Augustine's most active congregations. The work was compiled by the church's history committee and was edited by Paul D. Mitchell, the committee's chairman. Joseph D. Williams, Albert C. Hess, Shirley Cooksey, Roy J. Dorsett, Fleta D. Payne, and Walters Miller were also involved in the project. The church was founded on January 20, 1887 with eighteen members. Early services were held either in the armory of the Genovar Opera House or the St. Johns County Courthouse, and converts were baptized in the waters just north of the Castillo de San Marcos. A church building was constructed in 1895 on land donated by Henry M. Flagler, who lived across from the church. Perhaps that is why he forbade officials from ever hanging a bell in the church tower. As a result of his support, the building, when it was dedicated, was debt-free. H. M. King, the first minister, left

St. Augustine during the yellow fever epidemic in 1888, and the new pastor, Dr. G. J. Johnson, did not arrive until 1894. This centennial history of the Ancient City Baptist Church provides data on the church, its congregants, and St. Augustine. There are also photographs and a membership list. *The Long Road with God* sells for \$10.00, plus \$1.25 for postage. Order from the Ancient City Baptist Church, Carrena and Sevilla Streets, St. Augustine, FL 32084.

British Burials and Births on the Gulf Coast: Records of the Church of England in West Florida, 1768-1770 is especially valuable for genealogical research. Winston De Ville compiled this work from copies of the original documents collected by Nathaniel Cotton of Pensacola during the British period. Burial notations are listed by date beginning July 5, 1768. The first birth listed is that of Thomas Simpson, son of John and Laurie Simpson, July 14, 1768. *British Burials and Births* may be ordered from Ramona Smith, Box 894, Ville Platte, LA 70586; the price is \$4.50.

Florida Trivia, compiled by Ernie and Jill Couch, is divided into six categories: geography, entertainment, history, arts and literature, sports and leisure, and science and nature. It is a "who, what, when, where, and how" book on Florida. Published by Rutledge Hill Press, Box 140483, Nashville, TN 37214; it sells for \$5.95.

Historical Times Illustrated Encyclopedia of the Civil War, edited by Patricia L. Faust, was published by Harper & Row Publishers, New York. It includes 2,000 entries written by sixty-two authors. There are also some 1,000 photographs and illustrations and sixty-seven maps. Included within the 850 pages of this voluminous work are descriptions of most of the important battles, campaigns, incidents, and short biographies of political and military leaders. Many of these entries relate to Florida, including the Battle of Olustee, Governor John Milton, Confederate Generals J. J. Finley, William Wing Loring, Edmund Kirby-Smith, James McQueen McIntosh, Joseph Finegan, and James Patton Anderson, Union General James B. McIntosh, Senators Stephen R. Mallory and David Levy Yulee, Forts Pickens and Brooke, the Union Department of Key West, and the Union Department of Florida. This volume sells for \$39.95.

Naval Documents of the American Revolution, Volume 9, covers the American Theatre, June 1, 1777-July 31, 1777; European Theatre, June 1, 1777-September 30, 1777; and American Theatre, August 1, 1777-September 30, 1777. William James Morgan is the editor. The series is published by the Naval Historical Center, Department of the Navy, Washington, DC. There are references in the documents to the sloop *Florida*, other ships stationed or visiting at Pensacola and St. Augustine, prisoners held in St. Augustine, and to the Straits of Florida. There is correspondence of Patrick Tonyn, the governor of British East Florida. The volume sells for \$44.00, and may be ordered from the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, DC 20402.

When *National Parks: The American Experience* was published in 1979, the author, Alfred Runte, realized that it would need periodic updating and revision. The National Park system, he noted, "was still in the process of change and evolution." This revised edition of Runte's important work, published by the University of Nebraska Press, provides a comprehensive history of the National Park idea. It includes four new chapters and an epilogue which discuss the environmental battles of the last quarter century. All of the material from the first edition on the Everglades National Park remains. It includes a history of the Park's establishment, the costs, land acquisitions, and the major problems associated with its development. The continuing threat to the Everglades is also noted, as its surrounding buffer zones are disappearing as external development encroaches on the area. There are descriptions of Big Cypress National Preserve and Big Cypress Swamp. There is also brief mention of Lake Okeechobee and Gulf Island National Seashore. *National Parks: The American Experience* sells for \$23.95; \$9.95, paper.

Black History and the Historical Profession, 1915-1980, by August Meier and Elliott Rudwick, is one of the volumes in Blacks in the New World series, published by the University of Illinois Press. There are five essays: "Carter G. Woodson as Entrepreneur: Laying the Foundation of a Historical Specialty," "Generational Change and the Shaping of a Scholarly Specialty, Part I, 1915-60," and "Part II, 1960-80," "The Historiography of Slav-

ery: An Inquiry into Paradigm-Making and Scholarly Interaction," and "On the Dilemmas of Scholarship in Afro-American History." The paperback edition sells for \$15.95. Order from the University of Illinois Press, Champaign, IL 61820.

Promised Land, The South Since 1945, by David R. Goldfield, begins with a description of the South in 1940 and an examination of the impact that World War II had upon the region. Economic growth, urbanization, industrialization, the growth of the Republican party, religion, southern lifestyles, literature, and music are among the subjects discussed in this volume. A large portion of the book is on the civil rights revolution and the changes which it brought about in the South during the last half century. Politics and race, reaction to the *Brown* decision, the Montgomery bus boycott, sit-ins, the Freedom Riders, integration, black voting, and political participation are other topics discussed. A foreword by John Hope Franklin and Abraham S. Eisenstadt and a biographical essay and index are included. The paperback edition sells for \$9.95. *Promised Land, The South Since 1945* is in the American History series, published by Harlan Davidson, Inc., Arlington Heights, IL 60004,

Weymouth T. Jordan, for many years a member of the history faculty at Florida State University, published his *Antebellum Alabama, Town and County*, in 1957. First published by Florida State University, the University of Alabama Press has printed a paperback edition of the original. It includes an introduction by Kenneth R. Johnson of the University of North Alabama, and sells for \$10.95.

For the bicentennial of the Constitution, the Birmingham Public Library has republished *The Secret Proceedings and Debates of the Convention Assembled at Philadelphia, in the Year 1787, for the Purpose of Forming the Constitution of the United States of America*. It was first published in 1821. The new edition includes an introduction by John C. Armor, a staff member with the National Bicentennial Commission on the Constitution. Indexes are included to the new introduction, the original work, and the Constitution citations in the original work. The price is \$17.00. Order from the Birmingham Public Library, 2100 Park Place, Birmingham, AL 35203.

Southern Honor: Ethics and Behavior in the Old South by Bertram Wyatt-Brown, was reviewed in the *Florida Historical Quarterly* 62 (January 1984). An abridgment of that study has been published by Oxford University Press, New York. Professor Wyatt-Brown has eliminated some chapters and footnotes and reduced other material. The paperback edition sells for \$7.95.

HISTORY NEWS

The Annual Meeting

Miami will be the site for the eighty-sixth meeting of the Florida Historical Society, May 12-14, 1988. The Columbus Hotel, the famed 1920s Boom hotel (now completely restored), on Biscayne Boulevard will be the convention hotel. Gerald McSwiggan is in charge of local arrangements, and his committee includes Ava Barnes, Rebecca Smith, Patricia Wickman, and Marcia Kanner. The Historical Association of Southern Florida, Dade Heritage Trust, Barnacle Society, and the City of Miami's Heritage Conservation Board will serve as host organizations. Dr. John Mahon (Department of History, University of Florida, Gainesville 32611) is chairman of the program committee. Other members of the committee are Dr. Eugene Lyon (Flagler College, St. Augustine, FL 32084); Dr. William R. Adams (1128 Crystal Highway, Vilano Beach, St. Augustine, FL 32084); Arva Moore Parks (1006 South Greenway Drive, Coral Gables, FL 33143); and Dr. Robert L. Gold (Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board, Government House, St. Augustine, FL 32084). Anyone wanting to present a paper or organize a panel should communicate with Dr. Mahon or a member of the program committee.

The Florida Historical Confederation will hold a workshop in conjunction with the annual meeting beginning May 13, 1988.

Wentworth Foundation Grant

A check for \$1,000 was presented to the Society at the annual meeting on behalf of the Wentworth Foundation, Inc., by Dr. William M. Goza, executive director of the Foundation. This gift goes to support the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. The Wentworth Foundation has supported a number of the Society's activities, including its publications program. It has also contributed to the educational, historical, and cultural programs of many organizations, including archaeological projects sponsored by the Florida State Museum, the calendaring of Spanish borderland documents, manuscripts, and microfilm by the P. K.

Yonge Library of Florida History, and the acquisition of prints relating to Florida and the Caribbean by the University of Florida Gallery.

Awards

Dr. Harry Kersey, Jr., professor of history, Florida Atlantic University, Boca Raton, received the Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Prize for 1986-1987 for his article, "Florida Seminoles in the Depression and New Deal, 1933-1942: A Indian Perspective." It appeared in the October 1986 issue of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. The prize is given annually for the best article appearing in the *Quarterly*. It was presented at the annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society in St. Augustine, May, 1987. The judges for this year's award were Dr. Thomas Graham, Flagler College; Dr. Larry E. Rivers, Florida A & M University; and Dr. Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., University of Florida. The prize was made possible by an endowment established by Mrs. Arthur W. Thompson of Gainesville.

Indian Traders of the Southeastern Spanish Borderlands: Panton, Leslie & Company and John Forbes & Company, 1783-1847, published by the University of West Florida Press, was selected as the best book published in 1986 on a Florida subject. The authors, Dr. William S. Coker, University of West Florida, and Dr. Thomas D. Watson, McNeese State University, received the Rembert W. Patrick memorial Book Award. The judges were Dr. Jane Dysart, University of West Florida; Dr. Donald W. Curl, Florida Atlantic University; and Sam Boldrick, Miami-Dade Public Library. The award memorializes Professor Patrick, former editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* and secretary of the Florida Historical Society.

The Charlton W. Tebeau Book Award for 1986 was presented to Dorothy Francis of Marshalltown, IA, for her book, *The Tomorrow Star*, published by Weekly Reader Books, Middletown, CT. The award honors Dr. Charlton W. Tebeau, emeritus professor, University of Miami, editor of *Tequesta*, and former president of the Florida Historical Society. It is given annually to the author of the best book for young and young adult readers on a Florida subject. The judges were Owen U. North, Clearwater; Mrs. May C. Linehan, Lantana; and Michael Slicker, St. Petersburg.

The Pensacola Historical Society presented its annual Heritage Award to Jesse Earle Bowden in recognition of his many contributions to the history of Pensacola, Escambia County, and the state of Florida. Mr. Bowden is immediate past president of the Pensacola Historical Society, a former member of the Board of Directors of the Florida Historical Society, and a former chairman of the Historic Pensacola Preservation Board. He is editor of the *Pensacola News-Journal* and author of *Always the Rivers Flow*.

International Spanish Conference

The University of Florida and the Instituto de Cooperación Iberoamericana will hold an international conference at the University of Florida, December 9-11, 1987. The focus of the conference will be on early sixteenth-century exploration, discovery, and settlement in the Florida-Caribbean area. Dr. Samuel Proctor is serving as the American coordinator together with Professor Francisco de Solano of the Center for Historical Studies, and Professor Carmen Varela of the University of Sevilla. The sessions are open to the public. For information, write to Dr. Proctor, 126 Florida State Museum, University of Florida, Gainesville, FL 32611.

Announcements and Activities

To commemorate its tenth year, the Genealogical Society of Okaloosa County is compiling a biographical and historical record of early settlers. It is interested in receiving information about these pioneers. Anyone having such information is asked to contact Martha Rogers, Laurel Hill (904-652-4165), or Eileen McCall, Fort Walton Beach (904-862-8388).

Joe A. Akerman is collecting material for a biography of Jacob Summerlin, the nineteenth-century Florida cattleman, who became a major supplier of beef to the Confederate military. Anyone having material relating to Summerlin is asked to contact Mr. Ackerman, Route 4, Box 1810, Madison, FL 32340.

The P. K. Yonge Library of History, University of Florida, Gainesville, has accessioned the papers of former United States Senator George A. Smathers, which are now open to researchers. The papers include ninety-five manuscript boxes of materials and deal with all aspects of Senator Smathers' political career. A finding guide is also available. The P. K. Yonge Li-

brary is open Monday through Friday, 8:00 A.M. to 12:00 P.M. and 1:00 P.M. to 4:45 P.M.

"The Military and Militia in Colonial Spanish America," was the theme of the conference held in St. Augustine, June 18-21, 1987, by the Department of Military Affairs, Florida National Guard, with support from the Florida Endowment of the Humanities and the Spanish Embassy in Washington. The St. Augustine Historical Society, National Parks Service (Castillo de San Marcos), city of St. Augustine, Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board, Florida National Guard Historical Foundation, St. Augustine Garrison, and St. Augustine and St. Johns County Chamber of Commerce were co-sponsors of the Conference.

The Florida Anthropological Society held its annual meeting May 8-10, 1987, at Clearwater Beach. Harold Cardwell, Sr., was elected president. He is a founding member and past-president of the Volusia Anthropological Society, president of the Halifax Historical Society, and curator of the Southeast Volusia Historical Society.

The Historic Palm Beach County Preservation Board was the host for a Preservation and Planning Symposium, April 10-11, 1987, in Boca Raton. It focused on the architecture of Addison Mizner and was held in conjunction with the city's month-long Mizner Festival. Sessions dealt with "The Architectural Legacy of Addison Mizner," "Restoration of Mizner Sites," and "Mizner's Influence on Modern Architecture and Planning." The keynote speaker was Charles W. Moore, of the University of Texas and former dean of the Yale School of Architecture. He discussed "Mediterranean Architecture Across the Sunbelt." There was an exhibit of Mizner sketches and drawings at the Boca Raton Town Hall.

The University of Illinois Press announces three literary prizes: the Herbert G. Gutman Award (\$1,000.00) for a book in social history published annually by University of Illinois Press; the Elliott Rudwick Award (\$1,500.00) for a manuscript accepted by the Press dealing with black history and/or race relations; and a \$500.00 award for books selected for publication in the Ellis Island-Statue of Liberty Centennial series. For information write the Press, 54 East Gregory Drive, Champaign, IL 61820.

The Southeastern American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies will jointly sponsor a meeting with the American Society

for Eighteenth-Century Studies at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, April 20-24, 1988. The theme will be "The Ethnic South in the Eighteenth Century." The presentations will deal with history, languages, literature, arts, music, and medicine. For information, contact Dean John Dowling, Graduate School, University of Georgia, Athens, GA 30602.

The Southeastern American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies invites submissions for its annual competition. An award of \$250 will be given for the best article on an eighteenth-century subject published in a scholarly journal, annual, or collection between December 1, 1986, and August 31, 1987, by a member of the Society or a person living or working in the SASECS area (Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee). The interdisciplinary orientation of the article will be considered, but it will not be the sole determinate of the award. An individual may submit their own work or the work of others. Submissions must be in triplicate, postmarked no later than November 7, 1987, and directed to Dr. Barbara Brandon-Schnorrberg, 2834 11 Avenue South, Birmingham, AL 35222. The 1986 award was presented to Robert T. McCubbin, Department of English, William and Mary College, for his essay, "The Ironies of Dryden's 'Alexanders Feast or The Power of Musique': Text and Context," which was published in the fall 1985 issue of *Mosaic*.

Papers are invited for the annual meeting of the International Society for the Comparative Studies of Civilization, May 27-30, 1988, Hampton University, Hampton, Virginia. The themes are "The Discovery and Colonization of the Americas," "Translation of Cross Civilizations," and "Comparative Perspectives on First Intercivilizational Encounters." Abstracts and inquiries should be sent to Professor Matthew Melko, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Wright State University, Dayton, Ohio 45435.

The Southern Association for Women Historians invites proposals for the first Southern Conference on Women's History to be held June 10-12, 1988, at Converse College, Spartanburg, South Carolina. The conference will provide a forum for the presentation of scholarly papers and the exchange of ideas relating to all aspects of women's history. The conference presentations may include panel discussions, round tables, and

media productions, as well as sessions focusing on the scholarly papers. Proposals for papers and/or complete sessions should be submitted by November 1, 1987, to Constance B. Schulz, program chair, Department of History, University of South Carolina, Columbia, SC 29208. Each proposal should be two to three pages in length describing the topic, discussing primary and secondary sources, and including a brief vita for each participant. Those interested in serving as chairs or commentators are also invited to apply. Proposals should include a stamped, self-addressed envelope.

GREAT EXPECTATIONS. . .

1987

Sept. 17- 19	Florida Trust for Historic Preservation	Gainesville, FL
Oct. 4-7	American Association for State and Local History	Raleigh, NC
Oct. 15-18	Oral History Association	St. Paul, MN
Nov. 6-8	Southern Jewish Historical Society	Durham, NC
Nov. 11- 14	Southern Historical Association	New Orleans, LA
Dec. 9-11	Florida-Spain Alliance International Conference	Gainesville, FL
Dec. 28-30	American Historical Association	Washington, DC

1988

Mar. 30- Apr. 2	Organization of American Historians	Reno, NV
May 12-14	FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY- 86th MEETING	Miami, FL
May 13	FLORIDA HISTORICAL CONFEDERATION	Miami, FL

A GIFT OF HISTORY

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

A one-year membership costs only \$20.00, and it includes four issues of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, the *Florida History Newsletter*, as well as all other privileges of membership. A personal letter from the Executive Director of the Society will notify the recipient of your gift of your generosity and consideration. Convey your respect for that special person's dignity and uniqueness. What better way to express your faith in the lessons of the past and to celebrate old friendships?

Send to: Florida Historical Society
University of South Florida Library
Tampa, Florida 33620

Please send as a special gift:

- Annual membership– \$20.00
- Family membership– \$25.00
- Library membership– \$25.00
- Contributing membership– \$50 and above
- Student membership– \$15.00
- Check or money order enclosed
- Cash enclosed

TO

FROM

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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

OFFICERS

PAUL S. GEORGE, *president*
HAMPTON DUNN, *vice-president*
MICHAEL SLICKER, *recording secretary*
GARY R. MORMINO, *executive director*
SAMUEL PROCTOR, *editor, The Quarterly*

DIRECTORS

WILLIAM R. ADAMS <i>St. Augustine</i>	ROBERT C. HARRIS <i>Largo</i>
KATHLEEN H. ARSENAULT <i>St. Petersburg</i>	WRIGHT LANGLEY <i>Key West</i>
JO BIGELOW <i>Estero</i>	MARINUS H. LATOUR <i>Gainesville</i>
J. EARLE BOWDEN <i>Pensacola</i>	GERALD W. MCSWIGGAN <i>Coral Gables</i>
J. ANDREW BRIAN <i>Coral Gables</i>	RAYMOND A. MOHL <i>Boca Raton</i>
GREGORY BUSH <i>Miami</i>	RANDY F. NIMNIGHT, <i>Ex-officio</i> <i>Miami</i>
DAVID R. COLBURN <i>Gainesville</i>	NILES F. SCHUH <i>Panama City</i>
RODNEY E. DILLON <i>West Palm Beach</i>	GWENDOLYN WALDORF <i>Tallahassee</i>
	PATSY WEST <i>Fort Lauderdale</i>

The Florida Historical Society supplies the *Quarterly* to its members. Annual membership is \$20.00; family membership is \$25.00; library membership is \$25.00; a contributing membership is \$50.00 and above. In addition, a student membership is \$15.00, but proof of current status must be furnished.

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

