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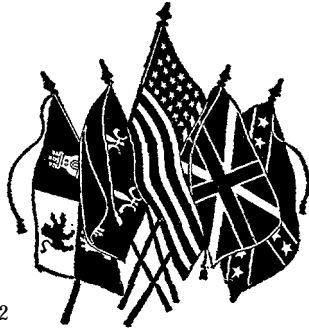
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COVER

Drying sponges on the dock, Key West circa 1920. Photograph in the Monroe County Public Library Archives.

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# THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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## A "NEW RED ATLANTIS": JOHN COLLIER'S ENCOUNTER WITH THE FLORIDA SEMINOLES IN 1935

by HARRY A. KERSEY, JR.

**I**N March 1935, some two years following his appointment as commissioner of Indian Affairs by President Franklin D. Roosevelt, John Collier paid his first official visit to the Seminole Tribe in Florida. Although recognized as one of the nation's leading Indian Rights advocates throughout the 1920s Collier's work had been focused almost exclusively among the western tribes. As secretary of the American Indian Defense Association, he frequently appeared before various congressional committees, testifying on such issues as tribal water and mineral rights, control of reservation lands, and Indian religious freedom. His name had become synonymous with a progressive commitment to the advancement of native peoples, so it was only appropriate that Roosevelt would tap the charismatic Collier to create a New Deal for American Indians.

The most significant legislative achievement during Collier's long tenure as commissioner was the enactment of the Wheeler-Howard Act of 1934, known as the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA), which became the fundamental document guiding the Indian New Deal. Essentially, it provided for ending the sale of Indian lands, allowed the tribes to organize themselves to achieve economic independence, and guaranteed their political self-determination. One stipulation in the legislation required that within twelve months of its passage the Indian tribes were to vote on whether they would be covered by the provisions of the act. Commissioner Collier spent the ensuing year in a grueling round of meetings with Indian tribal leaders and their constituents on the reservations, urging their support for the Indian

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Harry A. Kersey, Jr. is professor of history at Florida Atlantic University, Boca Raton. A grant from the American Philosophical Society provided funding for the research for this article. A version of this article was presented as a paper at an ethnohistory conference, "From Big Game to Bingo: Native Peoples of the Southeastern United States," Florida State University, March 7, 1987.

Reorganization Act which he believed provided the best hope for the tribes to control their own destinies. A philosophical progressive, he was greatly enamored of Indian cultural values, especially the consensual decision-making process. In 1922 he had written an article entitled "The Red Atlantis," which suggested that Pueblo Indian patterns of social integration could provide a model to be emulated by the hectic, materialistic, strife-torn industrialized societies of that day.<sup>1</sup> However, after months of wrangling with Indian leaders who were reluctant to subordinate their own political influence to tribal reorganization, and listening to the petty, often petulant complaints of tribal councils, Collier was beginning to despair that Indian politicians—be they Navajo headmen or Pueblo governors—were as self-serving and self-indulgent as their non-Indian counterparts. Moreover, the tribal polities were themselves split over numerous matters ranging from grazing rights to the production of handicrafts for the tourist trade. By this time, Collier was distressed that his idealized version of Indian life had been politically tested and found wanting. It is against this background of disappointment in the apathy and occasional negativism encountered among the western tribes that the Florida excursion must be viewed.

In December 1934, Collier's office initiated an exchange of IRA-related correspondence with James L. Glenn, the chief financial clerk and acting superintendent of the Seminole Agency at Dania, Florida. The commissioner alerted Glenn to the necessity of adhering to the congressional guidelines for conducting the vote: "You have received information and material regarding the Indian Reorganization Act and are, no doubt, familiar with its scope and purposes. Under Section 18, the Indians must vote within one year from the date of the passage of the act, June 18, 1934, to exclude themselves if such be their wish. We must, therefore, plan to extend to the Indians of your jurisdiction the privilege of voting on this important question. We want to know what work you have done among your people to discuss this legislation with them, to advise them of its purposes and advantages, etc., and whether you feel that a date should be set to give them the opportunity to express themselves in accor-

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1. John Collier, "The Red Atlantis," *Survey* 49 (October 1, 1922), 15-20, 63, 66.



dance with the requirements of the act.”<sup>2</sup> Agent Glenn replied to Collier, informing him of the steps taken and adding his own observations about the impact which the IRA might have on the Florida Seminoles. He believed that the provision for the consolidation of Indian lands could easily be accomplished as none of the Seminole reservation had been allotted. Furthermore, he noted, “The Seminoles of Florida do not even receive leasing benefits from their land. To put this land or any other land to work for the support of this racial group is the largest feature of the Florida program. The new Act makes this possible. And it is not a ‘re-organization’ in Florida. It is rather an organization. There is nothing to tear down— no established methods of either occupation or ownership. The territory is virgin.”<sup>3</sup> Glenn concluded by suggesting that an election should be held in either March or April 1935, and that additional time was needed for the purpose of informing the Indians as to the character of the election. He also requested and was granted permission to visit Washington to discuss the Florida situation. Following this meeting Commissioner Collier apparently determined to make his trip to Florida prior to the balloting.

Although the primary thrust of the commissioner’s visit to Florida was to enlist Seminole support in the upcoming vote on the Indian Reorganization Act, there were several other factors which compelled an inspection. Not least of these were the reports which he had received from anti-Glenn elements, including some Indians protesting what they considered to be inadequate services for the tribe. In the fall of 1934 the *Miami Daily News* published an expose depicting federal efforts on behalf of the Seminoles as a failure and presenting Glenn quite unfavorably.<sup>4</sup> There was also correspondence from prominent citizens in south Florida attacking various policy interpretations which Glenn made. The most critical letters came from Mrs. Frank Stranahan of Fort Lauderdale, chairman of the Indian

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2. John Collier to James L. Glenn, December 24, 1934. Record Group 75 (cited hereafter as RG 75), File 9735, Seminole 066, National Archives, Washington, DC.

3. Glenn to Collier, December 28, 1934. RG 75, File 9735, Seminole 066.

4. Cecil R. Warren, “Florida’s Seminoles. An eye-witness story of Indian want and privation, with affidavits and accompanying comment,” *Miami Daily News*, September 15, 1934.

committee for the Florida Federation of Women's Clubs.<sup>5</sup> Her complaint was that Glenn had attempted to collect rent from the Seminoles living in government housing while working on the Indian Emergency Conservation Work project at the Dania reservation. She not only wrote to Collier, but also to her old friend Senator Duncan U. Fletcher of Florida, who in turn voiced concern to the commissioner. While this issue was easily resolved, such negative publicity did not endear the outspoken Glenn to Collier's administration. James L. Glenn, an ordained minister, typified the old-line assimilationist sentiment which prevailed among the Bureau of Indian Affairs field staff. He was extremely skeptical and openly critical of Collier's Indian self-determination policies, especially those which de-emphasized the importance of compulsory schooling for Indian youngsters. In later years Glenn wrote in a memoir: "I have often told the men of this tribe that there were many things that the white men had that they did not want their people to have, but education was one thing that they needed most of all. Because we are disgusted with ourselves and with the wars that curse the higher educated communities of the world, we have elevated men to high positions who are so misdirected in their convictions that, as John Collier said to me, they are afraid to teach these Indians to read, for they then will read the newspapers and get in the awful world in which we live. In spite of his ecstasy over the glory and goodness of primitive life, I think I have seen enough of it to be assured that it too has its 'sweat, blood and tears'."<sup>6</sup> Evidently the rift between Collier and Glenn widened to a point where there was an open confrontation. "I made the mistake," Glenn later recalled, "I went to Washington and he called me in his office. He said 'Glenn, there's been a lot of criticism of you. What have you got to say?' I didn't say anything. I should have defended myself. I think that he had an open mind in the matter, but we had these politicians."<sup>7</sup> Pressures continued to mount for Glenn's removal, so it was not surprising when the *Fort*

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5. Mrs. Frank Stranahan to Collier, May 1, 1934. RG 75. File 24298, Seminole 344.

6. James L. Glenn, *My Work Among the Florida Seminoles* (Gainesville, 1982), 32-33.

7. Interview with James L. Glenn by Harry Kersey, January 12, 1978, SEM 172A, University of Florida Oral History Archives (cited hereafter as UFHA), Florida State Museum, Gainesville.

*Lauderdale News* of March 1, 1935, announced the arrival of a new Seminole agent, Miss Agnes Fitzgerald, who reportedly had worked with the Indians of Wisconsin.<sup>8</sup>

Nevertheless, Glenn remained in charge at Dania, for he was soon notified by the Indian Service that Commissioner Collier would be traveling to Florida accompanied by Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes, his wife, Anna Ickes, and their son, Raymond.<sup>9</sup> Washington requested an itinerary which would allow the commissioner and secretary to meet with as many Seminoles as possible during a two-day visit, and preferably in their natural Everglades habitat. Accordingly, Glenn and Ms. Fitzgerald met the Collier party which arrived by train in West Palm Beach on the evening of March 18, and took accommodations at the Royal Worth Hotel. The following day the group motored westward through the agricultural area around the southern shore of Lake Okeechobee, and from there southward to the vicinity of Deep Lake. There they visited the secluded camp of a Mikasuki-speaking Seminole, Johnny Buster. It was about one-half-mile away from the paved road, and Glenn had promised, “We will have to do a bit of ‘log walking’, but I was in there yesterday and there is no water to wade. It can be reached in ten minutes’ walk from the automobile, and yet is so completely ‘lost’ to the white man that few knew its location.”<sup>10</sup> This was just the type of setting that Collier and the Ickes family had hoped to find, and it made a lasting impression that would be recalled in subsequent writings by the commissioner. The party then continued to Everglades City which was to be their overnight stop. There they met with a large number of Mikasuki-Seminoles who were visiting the small mission run by Deaconess Harriet Bedell. She was an Episcopal missionary who had virtually no success in achieving religious conversions, but was instrumental in reviving the production of authentic

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8. *Fort Lauderdale News*, March 1, 1935. Evidently Fitzgerald remained in Florida only a short time, and there remains some question whether she ever officially served in the capacity of Seminole superintendent. In 1936 Francis J. Scott was appointed superintendent of the Seminole Agency; that same year Glenn resigned his post as financial clerk and re-entered the ministry. UFHA, SEM 172A.

9. A. C. Monahan to Glenn, March 1, 1935. RG 75, Office File of Commissioner John Collier, 1935-45, T-W, Box 17, Entry 178 (cited hereafter as Commissioner’s Office File).

10. Glenn to Monahan, March 2, 1935. RG 75, Commissioner’s Office File.

Seminole handicrafts during the Depression era of the 1930s. Later during this visit Commissioner Collier was offered a young fresh water otter as a gift from the Indians. He declined, but subsequently wrote several letters to Bedell and others inquiring as to the animal's fate.<sup>11</sup>

On March 20 the Collier-Ickes group returned over the Tamiami Trail to Miami, and then went on to West Palm Beach. There is no evidence that they visited any of the commercial "tourist villages" as had been originally suggested by the Washington office. It is likely that Glenn was anxious to get the party back to West Palm Beach in a timely fashion, as Collier and Ickes were scheduled to meet with a delegation of Indians during a tourist-oriented affair known as the "Sun Dance." Unfortunately, the meeting was staged in such a manner— including martial music and the presence of three companies of National Guardsmen— that it gave the impression of being a quasi-peace conference. Moreover, the *New York Times* had already proclaimed: "Florida's Seminole Indians, after 100 years of technical warfare with the United States, plan to offer the pipe of peace."<sup>12</sup> This was misleading, however, for neither Collier nor Ickes had any intention of engaging in spurious treaty making— a process which, as Collier had earlier pointed out in a memo to Ickes, had been discontinued by the Congress in 1871.<sup>13</sup>

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11. Collier to Harriet Bedell, April 6, 1936; Collier to Glenn, April 6, 1935; Collier to Arthur C. Black, April 6, 1935. John Collier Papers, Stirling Library, Yale University, New Haven, CT.
  12. *New York Times*, March 17, 1935.
  13. Collier to Harold Ickes, March 13, 1935. Presented as Exhibit 8 in Indian Law Resource Center, "Report To Congress: Seminole Land Rights in Florida and the award of the Indian Claims Commission," May 9, 1978. See United States Senate Select Committee on Indian Affairs, Ninety-Fifth Congress, Hearings on S. 2000 and S. 2188, *Distribution of Seminole Judgment Funds* (Washington, 1978), 147. Collier's memorandum was prepared in response to Ickes's request for advice concerning disposition of a document titled "Petition for Peace Treaty," which the Seminole Indians of Florida had addressed to President Franklin D. Roosevelt. It remains unclear who originated the idea for this treaty petition and drafted it. After specifying particular remedies the petition ended with the plea, "NOW, THEREFORE, we, the Seminole Indians of Florida, on the one hundredth anniversary of the war between our fathers and the Great Government of the United States of America, do hereby petition the United States of America for a treaty of peace and beg that our people be given reparation for the losses that they have sustained." Collier saw no reason why the petition should not be passed on to President Roosevelt, but noted that by an act of Congress, approved March 31, 1871, no Indian nation or tribe could

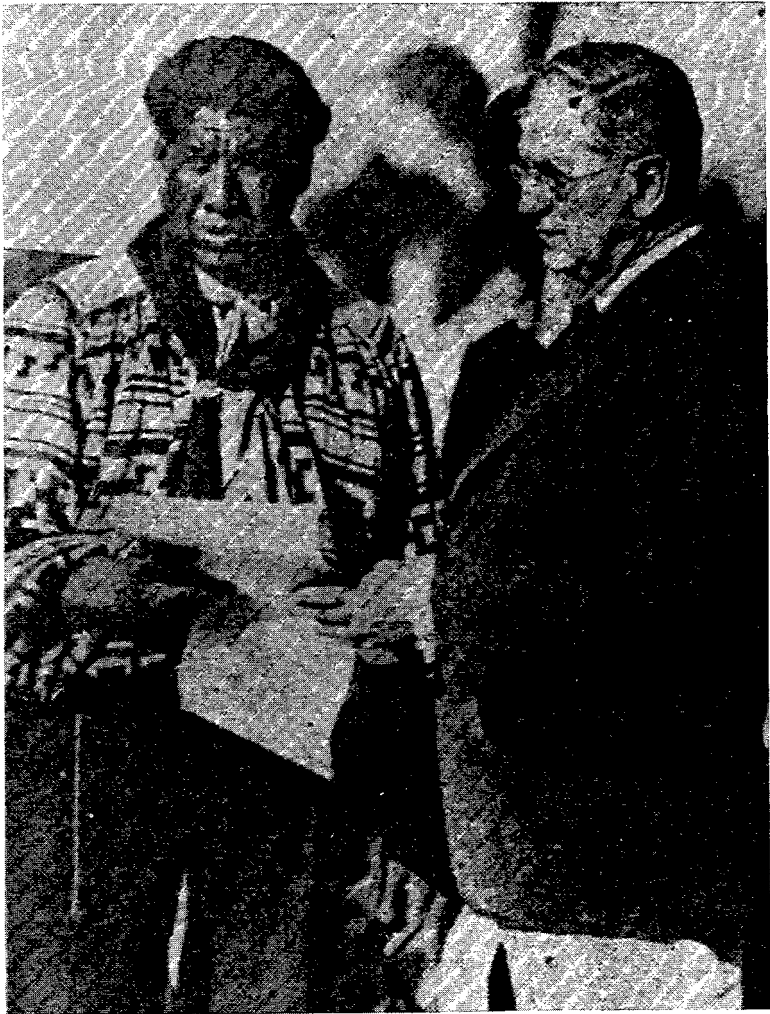
Therefore, the two government leaders agreed only to hear statements and accept a petition from a delegation of Seminoles who were requesting assistance in securing more land and financial aid. They could not foresee that even this seemingly innocuous action would later bring stinging protests from various Indian advocacy interests in Florida.

Approximately 160 Indians were assembled at West Palm Beach, virtually all of them Muskogee-speaking members of the Cow Creek band of Seminoles who lived north of Lake Okeechobee. The interpreter-spokesman for this group was Sam Tommie, a member of a prominent Indian family. He interpreted as the Seminole men spoke and was a signatory of the petition which they presented to Ickes and Collier. The petition essentially recognized that the Seminole Indians had been at peace with the United States for 100 years, lived in peace and happiness in the Everglades, and had pleasant relations with the government. However, many white men had come into their land, drained the lakes, cultivated fields, killed the game, and generally made life more difficult. Therefore, they wrote, “we request and petition you to use your influence with the Congress and the President of the great Government of the United States to obtain for us the following lands and benefits.”<sup>14</sup> These included lands in south Florida counties amounting to approximately 3,000,000 acres, an annuity of \$15 per capita per month, and a full-time nursing service by trained Indian nurses.

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be acknowledged as an independent unit with whom the United States could contract a treaty, and that the Indians were now citizens of the United States. Furthermore, the land they were seeking was deemed unsuitable for their use.

14. Petition to Honorable Harold L. Ickes, Secretary of the Interior, United States of America, March 20, 1935. RG 75, Commissioner's Office File. The petition presented to Ickes and Collier bore the unmistakable influence of Glenn. On March 2, 1935, he had written Assistant Commissioner Monahan concerning the upcoming West Palm Beach meeting, noting, “I have advised against ‘negotiations’ for a treaty status with the United States on the part of our Indians. They are embittered at ‘treaties’. They are already citizens of Florida, and must be citizens of the United States. I suggested that any move that should come from the Seminoles should be in the form of a petition to the Secretary of Interior and the Commissioner that they use their influence with Congress to obtain for the Florida Seminoles the same status with the Government that is enjoyed by the Oklahoma Seminoles. The content of such a position would follow along the line as suggested under the three numerals of my letter of the 20th.” The final wording of the petition was almost verbatim of that proposed by Glenn.



Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes and Sam Tommie at the Sun Dance festivities in West Palm Beach. Photographs from the *Palm Beach Post*, March 21, 1935.

Secretary Ickes accepted the document presented by the Seminoles, saying, "I receive your petition in the spirit in which it is offered. The Seminoles are a brave and independent people and should be able to live their own lives and sustain themselves and their families if given a proper opportunity. Whether or

not it is possible for the United States government to give you all the lands you ask for, it is only fair to say that I think that you should have more land for your own. I promise to do what I can in cooperation with the State of Florida to provide you with lands adequate to your needs.”<sup>15</sup> Commissioner Collier also spoke briefly, heaping praise on the Seminoles as a heroic people who had defended their homeland in the past and had never surrendered to superior forces. Continuing on, Collier rapturously recalled, “Yesterday we went to a remote Seminole camp and met and shook hands with the Indians. This camp was a place of beauty, gentleness, hospitality and true aristocracy. The handclasp of those Indians was the handclasp of an aristocratic people. Their demeanor was the demeanor of kings and queens. You have maintained back in the Everglades a life of singular chastity, temperance, and humility. Surely the United States ought to make restitution for what it has taken from your people. I know Secretary Ickes will do that which he promises. His heart is with you and he has great power. I hope you will not consider this as a surrender. Rather it is the beginning of your golden age and a new life in the wild country that you love.”<sup>16</sup> The gathering reportedly concluded in an aura of good feeling; Mrs. Anna Ickes was presented with a gift of two Seminole Indian dolls, and Commissioner Collier was offered the live otter, while the assembled Seminoles performed their “peace dance.”

Shortly after Collier’s entourage returned to Washington, the Department of the Interior issued a press release which reiterated the pledges made to the Seminoles. It particularly emphasized that “Secretary Ickes, in replying to the petition of the Seminole leaders, explained the plan for the creation of a National Park in the southern extremity of the Everglades, and stated that for a considerable time to come, in any event, he believed the Seminoles ought to have the right of subsistence hunting and fishing within the proposed Park, and that they should always have the labor preference.”<sup>17</sup> However, Commis-

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15. *Palm Beach Post*, March 21, 1935; *Fort Lauderdale News*, March 21, 1935.

16. *Ibid.*

17. Department of the Interior Memorandum for the Press, For Release in Afternoon Papers of Tuesday, April 2, 1935. RG 75, Commissioner’s Office File. On the day following issuance of this press release six of the

sioner Collier then cautioned that “three million acres probably never can be bought by the Government for the Seminoles. A part of the land they have petitioned for— land which they regard as morally theirs already— is highly developed truck and citrus fruit land. The Seminoles’ request must be weighed with the land requirements of Indians in other parts of the country, which are great as there are more than 100,000 of totally landless Indians.”<sup>18</sup> More optimistically, though, he noted, “Already the Government is negotiating for the purchase of three tracts for the Seminoles, and cattle should be supplied which they can herd upon their little reservation already established south of Lake Okeechobee. In exchange for their 100,000 acres of relatively worthless land and water within the proposed park area, we hope that Florida will supply them with 100,000 acres north of the Tamiami Trail, close to the park area. Altogether, acreage of a quarter of a million probably can be supplied these Indians for a permanent reservation. Then if the Federal Government and the State of Florida cooperate energetically, wild life protection and restoration can be set in motion through the whole park area and in a million acres, at least, of the Everglades north of the park area. With land for planting, and land for stock grazing, and with greatly increased game supply, and with a proper development and marketing of their crafts, the Seminoles undoubtedly will be able to develop a successful life of the kind they want, which is the life of Wild Indians living in the fastness.”<sup>19</sup>

John Collier was fascinated with the Florida Seminoles who appeared to manifest all those qualities of social integration which he had so admired in the Pueblos over a decade earlier. Had he found a “New Red Atlantis” in the Everglades? Certainly his ambivalence about introducing New Deal programs to the Florida Indians emerged clearly in an article which he penned for *Indians At Work*, a monthly journal of the Indian Office which publicized federal efforts to rehabilitate American Indian

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traditional leaders and medicine men of the Mikasuki-Seminoles submitted an affidavit prepared by their attorneys, White & Colson, denouncing the West Palm Beach meeting and reaffirming their opposition to the Indian Reorganization Act. This action was reported in the *Miami Herald*, April 4, as well as other south Florida newspapers.

18. *Ibid.*

19. *Ibid.*



tribes during the Depression era. Titled “With Secretary Ickes and the Seminoles,” the article extolled the virtues of the Seminoles’ unique life-style in the wilderness and suggested a few programs which should be implemented to assist them.<sup>20</sup> However, in this case the commissioner expressed a reluctance to pursue economic and educational development policies which he had consistently advocated for other tribes. In essence, he proposed an agenda to ensure cultural encapsulization. Collier began with the question, “Is it our duty to ‘civilize’ the Seminoles? They have bad teeth (apparently, bad in the measure of their contact with civilized foods). Probably they have too many enteric disorders, and there are sanitary and health habits which perhaps, they well might learn. They are now too poor. Added to more of wild range, and greater security on the widened range, they need cattle; and they need to farm more extensively (subsistence farming). Their religious custom directs that the man shall always cultivate a field. Somewhat their craft output might be improved, and better marketed. But cautiously. Possibly— it might be— a very few of their young people should be chosen to receive an education most carefully planned— in English, in buying and selling, in modern health science, in biology, zoology, ecology and anthropology. These young people might mediate between the tribe and the white world; particularly they might work to lead their people to become wild life conservationists. For now, though they do not kill for ‘sport,’ the Seminoles are not conservationists. Personally, I hesitate at one step more than the above. I deeply doubt the wisdom of schooling the Seminoles. Let English come, and the newspaper, and that kingly confidence, that radiant reality, which is their life in the wild, might grow less, might fade away. And what worth would be the exchange?”<sup>21</sup>

Ironically, the fact that the Seminoles lacked any semblance of a tribal government to uphold their interests did not appear to faze Collier at all— this at the very time that the IRA vote was hanging in the balance. His justification was, “Possibly the Seminoles’ position is unique among that of all Indians. An almost unique history within an environment unexampled in the

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20. John Collier, “With Secretary Ickes and the Seminoles,” *Indians At Work* 2 (April 1, 1935), 1-5.

21. *Ibid.*, 3-4.

United States has created an adaptation— a physical and social structure— most delicate, yet ample, and life sustaining. It may be that no other structure would uphold their spiritual life at all. And it is by the spirit that they live. Hence, beyond restoring those equilibriums of the natural environment which the white man has destroyed, and thus making possible a better life within their own social structure and their own unhesitant and powerful and sane instinct— beyond that point, we should go with extreme caution in Seminole matters, and perhaps we had better not go at all.”<sup>22</sup> Was Collier actually advocating that the Seminoles should not participate in the organizational aspects of the Indian Reorganization Act? Was this intended as a means for preserving his “New Red Atlantis?”

Collier’s visit among the Seminoles appears to have left him with a dilemma. On one hand he sincerely believed that acceptance of the Indian Reorganization Act by the tribes provided their only assurance of ever achieving a degree of self-determination in managing their affairs. On the other, he feared that the political and economic organization fostered by the act might bring to an end what he perceived to be a relatively pristine culture. However, Collier soon learned that he would not have to concern himself with this issue; the Seminoles displayed no great exuberance for organization. On March 30, the acting Seminole agent, J. L. Glenn, telegraphed the following message to Commissioner Collier: “Balloting at Florida Seminole Jurisdiction on Indian Reorganization Act tabulates twenty one for the act and none against it.”<sup>23</sup> The Florida Seminole population at that time was reported to be slightly over 500.<sup>24</sup> Several days later Glenn sent a follow-up letter explaining the difficulties encountered in getting the Seminoles to participate in the balloting. “I suppose there will be a lot of fuss,” he wrote defensively, “about our election in Florida. Our Indians have never used the ballot to determine their affairs. To educate them in a few months to cast an intelligent ballot is not possible. The matter was administered as justly as I was able to administer it under the conditions.”<sup>25</sup> The low voter turnout was due primarily to

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22. *Ibid.*, 5.

23. Glenn to Collier, March 20, 1935. RG 75, File 9735, Seminole 066.

24. James L. Glenn, *Annual Report of the Seminole Agency, 1934: Narrative Section*. RG 75, Narrative Reports, Seminole.

25. Glenn to F. H. Daiker, April 4, 1935. RG 75, File 9735, Seminole 066.

Indian apathy. However, many of the problems could be attributed to the obstructionism of the new agent, Agnes Fitzgerald. "When Miss Fitzgerald came down she told me she planned to have the election postponed. I had already posted the notice of the election at the Reservation, and had visited Indian leaders where I thought a pole [ *sic* ] should be established. For six months or more I had talked with the Indians about the provisions of the Act. But I thought Miss Fitzgerald might gladly have the responsibility. About a week before the election she asked me if I could postpone it. I told her I thought I had no such authority. We then agreed upon the plan of conducting the poles [ *sic* ] at Dania, and providing means for absentee voters to vote. Miss Fitzgerald gave her time to the Health Clinic, and the election was left to me."<sup>26</sup> Collier's reply of April 9 seemed to express a sympathetic understanding of his field officer's situation in Florida: "I have read carefully your letter of April 4. The very small Seminole vote was to be expected in view of their traditional detachment from the Government. I am sure that you did everything that you could have done."<sup>27</sup>

In 1935 the Congress amended the Indian Reorganization Act requiring a favorable vote by a majority of each tribe for acceptance of the act, with at least thirty percent of the eligible members voting. However, Collier and his solicitor, Nathan Margold, had developed procedural means to circumvent these congressional mandates. Therefore when, in 1936, a new superintendent of the Seminole Agency requested information regarding the exact status of the tribe vis-à-vis the Indian Reorganization Act, Assistant Commissioner William Zimmerman sent the following reply: "Our records show that while a majority of the votes cast at the referendum held for the Seminole Indians was favorable to the acceptance of the Indian Reorganization Act, the total number of votes cast was less than 30%. The Act of June 15, 1935, amending the Indian Reorganization Act of June 18, 1934, declared, 'That in each instance the total vote cast shall not be less than 30 per centum of those entitled to vote'. The Solicitor for the Department has passed on the question of the validity of such elections and has ruled that it is discretionary with the Secretary as to whether another election

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26. *Ibid.*

27. Collier to Glenn, April 9, 1935. RG 75, File 9735, Seminole 066.

shall be called. He says 'In the discretion of the Secretary, therefore, a second election may be called within the time prescribed for holding elections, irrespective of whether the majority of votes cast at the previous election was in favor of or against the act'. Since in the case of the Indians mentioned herein a majority of the votes cast was in favor of the act, the Office shall hold officially that they have not voted to exclude themselves and therefore, another election will not be authorized or called for these Indians. You may furnish this information to the group of Indians concerned."<sup>28</sup>

The decision at the Washington level to declare that the Florida Seminoles had voted to accept the provisions of the Indian Reorganization Act would have no immediate impact on the Indian people. As evidenced by the miniscule number who participated in the IRA balloting, there was little understanding of or interest in the measure. By the account of Agent Glenn, only those Indians living at the Dania reservation, and perhaps eight or nine in the Okeechobee area, cast ballots.<sup>29</sup> There was no involvement at all among the very conservative and reclusive Mikasuki-speaking Seminoles who lived in the lower Big Cypress region or in the Everglades near the Tamiami Trail.<sup>30</sup>) This large group still followed their traditional leaders, the medicine men, and busk councils who remained unalterably opposed to any dealings with the federal government.

Nevertheless, the inclusion of the Florida tribe among those accepting the IRA would have long-range beneficial results. One ironclad provision of the Wheeler-Howard Act was that the tribes had only one opportunity to vote either acceptance or rejection of the bill; they could not revisit the vote at a future date.<sup>31</sup> Even though the Seminoles were too ethnolinguistically, socially, and politically fragmented in the 1930s either to seek or accept organization under the IRA— a fact which seems to have eluded the commissioner's staff— they retained the eligibility to do so at a later date. When the time came some twenty years later that the reservation populations felt the need to protect themselves by establishing a tribal government and business

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28. William Zimmerman, Jr., to Francis J. Scott, April 22, 1936. RG 75, File 9735, Seminole 066.

29. Glenn to Daiker, April 4, 1935.

30. Ibid.

31. 48 *U. S. Stat.* 988 (1934).

corporation, they were merely exercising their rights under section 16 of the Indian Reorganization Act.<sup>32</sup>

If Collier mistakenly assumed that a socio-political homogeneity existed among the Seminoles, it did not take long for him to become disabused of that notion. Certainly, he understood that the Seminoles spoke two languages and were separated into several ceremonial busk groups. These should have been telltale signs. Moreover, each of the major Seminole factions had its dedicated and vocal advocates in the non-Indian community who were quick to respond to the Collier-Ickes visit. The most outspoken critic was W. Stanley Hanson of Fort Myers, the long-time secretary of the Seminole Indian Association.<sup>33</sup> On March 21, the day following the West Palm Beach celebration, Hanson wrote a caustic letter to Collier: "It has come to the attention of the Seminole Indian Association of Florida that irresponsible parties have been recently heralding to the world the signing of a so-called treaty at West Palm Beach, Florida, between the Seminole Indians of this state and the Federal Government, with whom it is claimed they are still technically at war, owing to the fact that the Florida Seminoles never surrendered."<sup>34</sup> Hanson then launched into a discourse on the differences between the Seminole groups: "The Florida Seminoles are not a 'tribe' as ordinarily supposed, being composed of two distinct groups who strayed away or seceded from other tribes more than a century ago, and hence the term 'Seminole,' meaning renegades or wanderers. These two groups live entirely apart, speaking different dialects, the Muskogee living north and east of Lake Okeechobee and the Miccosoukees mainly in the Big Cypress country to the south and west, the latter group being by far the larger as to numbers. There being no chief of the Florida Seminoles, their government is vested in a supreme council of Medicine Men who correspond to a board of directors in the white man's corporate organizations. Hence it is obvious that no individual or group of Seminoles can pledge the Seminole population to any treaty or agreement of any kind whatsoever without such is first sanctioned and endorsed by the

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32. *Ibid.*, 987.

33. W. Stanley Hanson to Collier, March 21, 1935. RG 75, Commissioner's Office File.

34. *Ibid.*

Supreme Council of Medicine Men."<sup>35</sup> He also bitterly denounced the participation of both Collier and Secretary Ickes, saying, "While it is not exactly plain to the white friends of the Florida Seminoles whether the recent ceremonial at West Palm Beach was merely a burlesque for entertainment of the tourists, or whether it was not, the fact remains that the presence of the Secretary of the Interior and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs lends to the ceremonial a touch of serious reality."<sup>36</sup> The letter concluded with a call for an investigation of unidentified designing individuals who were exploiting the Florida Indians.

Even before the Collier-Ickes party departed for Florida, O. B. White of Miami, a lawyer representing various Mikasuki-speaking Seminoles who resided in the Everglades west of Miami, had written to protest that the secretary and commissioner would be meeting with a selected group of Indians who did not represent the views of the entire tribe. When his clients requested a special meeting with Ickes and Collier, White noted in a letter to Florida Congressman J. Mark Wilcox: "I feel certain that in this way the Secretary will be better informed as to their necessities. The Big Cypress Indians, as they usually term themselves, do not feel that they will be able to fairly present their plight through this Indian known as Sam Tommy [ *sic* ]."<sup>37</sup> When he received the letter, Congressman Wilcox forwarded it to Ickes's office where it arrived after the secretary had departed for Florida. Upon his return Ickes replied, dismissing White's complaints: "I should have been glad to have had the information prior to my trip, but I believe that my contacts with the Indians were fairly representative, and that I am now in possession of a true picture of the situation. I was able to visit one of the Seminole camps in the Immokalee district, and I believe that the Indians who spoke at West Palm Beach voiced the real wishes of most of the Seminoles."<sup>38</sup>

Collier also produced an immediate, characteristically acerbic response to the accusations levelled by Hanson. He wrote: "Secretary Ickes and I will welcome every bit of true information, and every relevant suggestion respecting the Seminoles.

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35. Ibid.

36. Ibid.

37. O. B. White to J. Mark Wilcox, March 13, 1935. RG 75, Commissioner's Office File.

38. Ickes to O. B. White, March 26, 1935. RG 75, Commissioner's Office File.

However, I am compelled to raise the question why you did not ascertain the facts as to what did take place at West Palm Beach, before you released a newspaper criticism and wrote your letter. You refer to a so-called treaty adopted at West Palm Beach by 'irresponsible parties.' This matter is pure fiction; no treaty, real or so-called, was or could be adopted at Palm Beach or anywhere. A number of the Seminoles at Palm Beach voiced the desire for secure land titles and a reservation of adequate size. I have no knowledge as to whether they were the most representative Seminoles, but I have no doubt that all the Seminoles do desire this advantage, and I share with Secretary Ickes the view that it is the government's duty to supply it to them. The incident was so simple and so large a number of people are acquainted with what actually transpired, that I must treat as a remark not made in good faith but for political or publicity purposes, the following words: 'The Seminole Indian Association of Florida herewith registers official protest with you against this buffoonery of signing treaties with irresponsible Seminoles'.<sup>39</sup>

Collier was aware of Hanson's great influence among the Mikasuki-speaking Seminoles, as well as his deep-seated animosity toward federal agents L. A. Spencer and J. L. Glenn who together had served the Seminoles since 1913. Warming to his attack, the commissioner questioned the legitimacy and basic integrity of Hanson and his organization: "You are not a Seminole Indian. So far as I can make out from your letterhead, there is not a Seminole on your directorate. Your organization is not The Seminole Association of Florida, as its name evidently seeks to convey and as your letter assumes. You have been for years a candidate for a position in the Seminole work of the Indian Office. That is your inalienable right. But it is not your right to conduct a white organization which pretends to be an organization of Seminole Indians, and it is foolish to make vociferous protest against an alleged incident which as a matter of common knowledge and of fact never took place."<sup>40</sup>

This slashing rebuttal by Collier was strongly supported by Mrs. Stranahan of Fort Lauderdale, who was noted for her long years of work with the Seminoles residing at the Dania reserva-

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39. Collier to Hanson, March 26, 1935. RG 75, Commissioner's Office File.

40. *Ibid.*

tion. She, too, had written to the commissioner, but had responded positively to the West Palm Beach meeting with the Seminoles. As for the critics she noted: "I have just picked up the paper and read the 'outburst' of our old enemy, W. Stanley Hanson, Fort Myers— this is the same old tirade he has been carrying on for years & years. Please pay no attention to him. The Indians who met you and Secretary Ickes Wednesday represent a group of Indians who want the things they petitioned for. Those Indians who do not want that recognition will never be compelled to accept it. Stanley Hanson has always kept the Indians at enmity with any friendly feelings toward the Government (I mean the Indians he holds contact with). I never meet or speak with him but I know how he made Mr. Spencer's life miserable by his faulse [ sic ] accusations and Mr. Spencer had not yet been buried when he was flying over the state politicking for the position."<sup>41</sup>

Even the Deaconess Bedell, who had written to Commissioner Collier primarily in response to his inquiry concerning the fate of the otter presented to him by the Indians at West Palm Beach, took the opportunity to express still another viewpoint on the concerns of the Seminoles.<sup>42</sup> No doubt by this time Commissioner Collier and Secretary Ickes, having fended off this limited but intense flurry of complaints, were questioning the wisdom of their public meeting with the Seminoles. Nevertheless, they appear to have followed through with their pledges to support efforts to secure more land for the tribe and to protect its economic interests within the Everglades National Park which had been approved by Congress in 1934.<sup>43</sup>

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41. Stranahan to Collier, March 23, 1935. RG 75, Commissioner's Office File.
  42. Bedell to Collier, April 12, 1935. Collier Papers. Bedell assured Collier, "You will be glad to know that the Indians here feel that you are their friend but with the National Park, the meeting in West Palm Beach, and now doctors trying to assemble the Indians for a clinic they are more than ever suspicious. These Indians resent the Palm Beach gathering and very few of the leading Cypress Indians were present."
  43. 48 *U. S. Stat.* 8 16 ( 1934). Section 3 of this legislation provided that "nothing in this Act shall be construed to lessen any existing rights of the Seminole Indians which are not in conflict with the purposes for which the Everglades National Park is created." However, it soon became obvious that the camp sites and hunting grounds of traditional Seminoles would be adversely impacted, while there would be few jobs available to Indians in the park proper.



What then were the lasting results of this encounter between John Collier and the Florida Seminoles— an interlude so fleeting that it does not even rate a footnote in most accounts of Collier and the Indian New Deal? Surprisingly, there were several very substantial outcomes affecting the Seminole people. First and most immediate was the acquisition by the Department of Agriculture and the Resettlement Administration of some 30,000 acres of land in the "Indian Prairie" region northwest of Lake Okeechobee. These purchases were already under way in 1935, but they were no doubt expedited when the Collier-Ickes position became widely known. By 1936 this tract was opened as the Brighton Indian reservation for the Muskogee-speaking band of Cow Creek Seminoles.<sup>44</sup> The government supplied these Seminoles with a herd of beef cattle, and the Indians developed into excellent cattlemen.<sup>45</sup> In 1939 they selected their own Cattle Trustees, and were so successful that Commissioner Collier once advocated that they should be organized separately from the other Seminoles and granted their own corporate charter.<sup>46</sup>

Second, at the urging of Ickes and Collier, in 1935 the state of Florida exchanged the Seminole lands situated in the Everglades National Park for a 104,000-acre reservation in present-day Broward and Palm Beach counties.<sup>47</sup> The restrictions which were to be placed on Indian hunting and trapping in the park area, some employment opportunities as guides, as well as their inevitable transition to a more sedentary agricultural lifestyle, made this a good trade. Today, the drained areas of this reservation are highly cultivated and also provide prime grazing lands for Seminole cattle interests.

Third, the consolidation of a Seminole land base provided an isolated, secure haven in which the Indian people could determine their own rate and extent of acculturation. It would take the better part of a generation before most of the Florida Indians accepted reservation life. However, a significant group of tribal-traditional people living near the Tamiami Trail never

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44. James W. Covington, "The Brighton Reservation, Florida, 1935-1943," *Tequesta* 36 (1976), 54-64.

45. Merwyn S. Garbarino, *Big Cypress: A Changing Seminole Community* (New York, 1972). This work contains a brief but thorough study of the Seminole cattle enterprise.

46. *Memorandum: "Indian Organization,"* March 4, 1941. Dictated by DMcN [Darcy McNickle?]. RG 75, File 9735, Seminole 066.

47. Chapter 285.06, Fla. Stats. 1985.

did, and ultimately formed a new tribal polity. Nevertheless, this period of reservation organization may still be viewed as an integral element in what one specialist has identified as a “New Ethnogenesis” of the modern Seminoles.<sup>48</sup>

As for Commissioner Collier himself, it was an experience which seems to have heightened his awareness that tribal groups could experience differential rates of acculturation, yet retain their essential Indianness. Almost thirty years after his initial visit to the Florida Seminoles— he came among them only twice in his twelve-year tenure<sup>49</sup>— Collier reflected upon the experience: “There are those who have experienced these primitive societies, disciplined yet possessed by joy, and see no hope that their life can be saved. I myself was one of these, my first wild happiness overcome by a desolating sadness, believing that these societies had to die. For the center of their life is spirit— they walk with the gods on every road of man— and what place have our times for such a life? Even in the early days of the New Deal when we were moving night and day to open the channels of modern life to the Indian societies, I was often gripped in anxiety that this spiritual center of Indian life might be lost if we carried the Indians too far along with us. This anxiety was sharpest when I first visited the Seminoles. . . . Possibly the Seminoles’ situation was unique among that of all Indians. An almost unique history within an environment unique in the United States had created an adaptation— a physical and social structure— most delicate, yet ample, and life sustaining. It might be, we then thought, that no other structure would uphold their spiritual life at all. And it was by the spirit that they lived. Hence, beyond restoring those equilibriums of the natural environment which the white man had destroyed, and thus making possible a better life within their own social structure and their own

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48. William C. Sturtevant, “Creek Into Seminole,” in Eleanor B. Leacock and Nancy O. Lurie, eds., *North American Indians in Historical Perspective* (New York, 1971), 117-23.

49. Collier’s account of his second official visit among the Seminoles in 1940, including several photographs of the Florida reservations, is found in *Indians At Work* 5 (February 1940), 2, and (March 1940), 9-10. Collier had come to investigate the Seminoles’ opposition to a United States Department of Agriculture and state of Florida plan for exterminating the Everglades deer population as part of a cattle tick eradication program. An analysis of Collier’s support for the Seminole is found in Kenneth R. Philp, “Turmoil At Big Cypress: Seminole Deer and the Florida Cattle Tick Controversy,” *Florida Historical Quarterly* 56 (July 1977), 28-44.

unhesitant and powerful sane instinct— beyond that point we knew that we had to go with extreme caution, and it seemed that perhaps beyond that point we should not go at all. . . . As time went on, and they came to want them, we established schools for the Seminoles, and gave aid to their agriculture and stock, and they borrowed from the revolving fund for economic enterprises, and paid back the loans from the returns of the enterprises. And we joined with them in a prolonged struggle . . . to save their deer from slaughter by the State and Federal Bureaus of Animal Industry. Indeed, the way the Seminole future first appeared to us in 1935 was neither necessary in their case nor representative of the Indian outlook in general. Tribes and cultures more ancient and more complex than that of the Seminoles were challenged by the Indian Reorganization Act to give themselves with all their powers to the world’s main stream. And they did give themselves, deepening their ancient powers while thus giving themselves to the world.”<sup>50</sup>

At last, John Collier had perceived that a true “Red Atlantis” lay not in merely preserving traditional cultural forms, but through facilitating that dynamic process by which the Seminole and all Indian people shape their own destiny.

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50. John Collier, *From Every Zenith* (Denver, 1963), 203-04, 213.

## ON THE LAND FOR LIFE: BLACK TENANT FARMERS ON TALL TIMBERS PLANTATION

by SUSAN HAMBURGER

Since the 1830s the Tall Timbers Research Station land in northern Leon County, Florida, supported agricultural pursuits ranging from antebellum cotton plantations to twentieth-century quail hunting to fire management studies. The continual thread from the 1830s to the 1940s is the black worker, who evolved from slave to tenant farmer. This study will concentrate on the continuity of occupancy on this land of selected black families from 1865 to 1900.

The property now known as Tall Timbers consists of nearly 3,000 acres of rolling red hills on the north shore of Lake Lamonia. It offers a variety of plant life, such as cypress and black gum swamps, grassland, pineland, and beech-magnolia hammock. Scattered among this vegetation are abandoned corn, cotton, and cane fields, which are remnants of earlier tenant farming.<sup>1</sup> In 1860 the major portion of this land was owned by Griffin W. Holland, a fifty-three-year-old Virginia-born planter who had 105 slaves (fifty-one males, fifty-four females) and twenty slave houses on his Woodlawn Plantation.<sup>2</sup> By 1880 the land passed to Eugene H. Smith who renamed it Hickory Hill

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1. E. V. Komarek, Sr., "A Quest for Ecological Understanding, The Secretary's Review," *Tall Timbers Research Station, Miscellaneous Publication no. 5*, 1977, 22; interviews with Henry Vickers by Bobby Crawford and Betty Ashler, October 8 and 22, 1971, and July 28, 1972 (hereinafter Vickers interview). Tapes and transcriptions are on file at the Tall Timbers Research Station Library, Tallahassee, Florida.
2. United States Bureau of the Census, Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, unpublished slave schedules of Florida, 277; Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, unpublished population schedules, Leon County, 42. Census schedules are in the Florida Collection, State Library of Florida, Tallahassee.



Typical tenant cabin near the Basin, 1913. Photos courtesy of Tall Timbers Research Station, H. L. Beadel photo album no. 1.

Plantation. Edward Beadel bought the property in 1895, which he then called Tall Timbers.<sup>3</sup>

Little is known about the specific agreements Holland and Smith had with the ex-slaves on the plantation. The blacks, many of whom stayed in their former homes after the Civil War, began making working arrangements with Leon County planters as early as May 1865.<sup>4</sup> In addition to those freedmen living and working on their former plantations, nearly 5,000 blacks, mainly from the Carolinas and Georgia, migrated to Florida between 1865 and 1867. Most were attracted by homesteads, but others found work on the plantations.<sup>5</sup>

In tracing the continuity of five black families (Fisher, Nix, Stratton, Vickers, and Wyche) on the Tall Timbers property, the 1870 unpublished census schedules show that Gilbert Nix,

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3. Tall Timbers Research Station Map, July 1969, Land Ownership 1860 and 1870, 1880 and 1890, 1900. Tall Timbers Research Station Map is in the Tall Timbers Research Station Library.

4. Joe M. Richardson, *The Negro in the Reconstruction of Florida, 1865-1877* (Tallahassee, 1965), 55-56.

5. *Ibid.*, 75-76; Jerrell H. Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet: Florida in the Era of Reconstruction, 1863-1877* (Gainesville, 1974), 125.

twenty-three, and John Wyche, twenty-one, both illiterate farm laborers, were the earliest recorded members of these families living on that land.<sup>6</sup> By 1880 all of the families appeared in the census.<sup>7</sup> An examination of their birthplaces reveals that Gilbert Nix, his wife, Eliza, and John Fisher were born in Florida. John Wyche, his wife, Delilah, Hester Stratton, and Richmond Vickers were born in Georgia. Hampton Stratton was born in Virginia. Rachel Williams Fisher (John's first wife) was born in South Carolina. Richmond Vickers's wife was not listed in the 1880 census; he later married John Fisher's daughter, Lizzie.<sup>8</sup>

Although there is no record of when the non-native people emigrated to Florida, it is known where their parents were born. Only Eliza Nix's parents were native to Florida; unfortunately neither her maiden name nor her marriage license is recorded to trace her family line. She was born c. 1857 and may have been a slave on Griffin Holland's plantation. The 1860 slave schedules show he owned four slaves— three mulattos and one black three-year-old female.<sup>9</sup> Gilbert Nix's parents and John Wyche's parents were born in the Carolinas. Hampton Stratton's parents were born in Virginia. The parents of Delilah Wyche, Hester Stratton, and Richmond Vickers were born in Georgia. The birthplace of Rachel Fisher's parents was not listed in the 1880 census. The 1880 census enumerator listed John Fisher's father's birthplace as Virginia and his mother's as *Mard*. In 1900, both were listed as being born in *Mysaland*. (*Mard* could be Maryland and *Mysaland* may be *Nyasaland*, Africa.)<sup>10</sup> Of these nine people, three were living in Florida during the 1865-1867 influx or later. John Wyche was in Florida by 1870, and the rest of the group by 1880.

From 1870 to 1900, and in some cases into the 1930s these five families lived on the Tall Timbers land as farmers and farm laborers, not as owners. During the period when sharecropping was increasing in the South, at least four families (Fisher, Nix, Stratton, and Wyche) rented rather than sharecropped. Renters

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6. Ninth Census, 1870, unpublished population schedules, Leon County, 602.

7. Tenth Census, 1880, unpublished population schedules, Leon County, 6, 7, 11, 12.

8. *Ibid.*; Ninth Census, 1870, unpublished population schedules, Leon County, 602.

9. Eighth Census, 1860, unpublished slave schedules, 277.

10. *Ibid.*; Twelfth Census, 1900, unpublished population schedules, Leon County, Enumeration District 77, sheet 5.



Bill Jones and Jim Bob Fisher (John Fisher's son), 1914.

leased a parcel of land for a fixed rent rate; sharecroppers received a share (usually one-third) of the produce. The renter was an independent farmer who controlled the quantity and variety of crops to maximize his returns. The sharecropper's landlord determined the inputs and outputs and size of the plot leaving no control to the cropper. However, in a bad year the renter bore the brunt of financial loss if the prices for his harvest did not meet or exceed his rent. The landlord and sharecropper shared the risk.<sup>11</sup> Black farmers rented and sharecropped for a variety of reasons. Many white landowners refused to sell to blacks; others did not need to dispose of their land. Generally when blacks worked the land as tenants, they preferred sharecropping to renting because it offered more freedom than day or gang labor, more autonomy from a scrutinous landlord, and a reward for their effort.<sup>12</sup>

11. Roger Ransom and Richard Sutch, *The Rise of Sharecropping in the American South—1865-1900, A Preliminary Report*, Southern Economic History Project Working Paper 1 (Berkeley, July 1969), 24-25; Richardson, *Negro in the Reconstruction of Florida*, 171.

12. Gilbert C. Fite, "Southern Agriculture Since the Civil War: An Overview," *Agricultural History* 3 (January 1979), 5; Ransom and Sutch, *Rise of Sharecropping*, 27.

In Leon County, there were no public lands which could be settled under the Homestead Act.<sup>13</sup> The number of farms in Leon County decreased from 319 to 191 between 1860 and 1870, however, by 1880 they increased to 1,789, and in 1890 to 1,975. Between 1880 and 1890 the number of owner-operated farms increased from 378 to 465, the fixed-rate rentals decreased from 613 to 234, and the sharecropped farms increased from 798 to 1,276.<sup>14</sup> More farmers were turning from renting to sharecropping.

The predominant crops grown in Leon County after the Civil War were cotton, corn, and sugar cane.<sup>15</sup> In 1879, on approximately ninety-one rented acres, Hampton Stratton produced fifteen bales of cotton on forty-five acres, 200 bushels of corn on forty-five acres, fifty-five gallons of molasses from one-quarter of an acre of sugar cane, 150 bushels of sweet potatoes on one-half acre, and ten dozen eggs from ten hens. That same year John Wyche, on approximately thirty-six rented acres, produced five bales of cotton on fifteen acres, 200 bushels of corn on fifteen acres, fifty gallons of molasses from one-half acre of sugar cane, 150 bushels of sweet potatoes from one acre, forty bushels of oats from four acres, thirty-five dozen eggs from thirty hens, and twenty swine. Stratton's estimated value of farm production was \$1,035, Wyche's was \$600.<sup>16</sup> Both Stratton and Wyche devoted only half of their major crops to cotton. The price of cotton, in particular, declined from \$0.2398 in 1870 to \$0.1153 in 1890, continuing the average decline of prices since 1864 when they peaked at \$1.015 per pound.<sup>17</sup> With the consistently declining prices they were wise, intentionally or not, not to rely on one cash crop.

Wages paid to farm laborers in Florida declined from an average of \$145 in 1866 to \$97 in 1868.<sup>18</sup> There is no record of the cash or credit earnings of the other Tall Timbers renters,

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13. A. A. Robinson, *The Resources and Natural Advantages of Florida* (Tallahassee, 1882), 143.

14. Clifton Paisley, *From Cotton to Quail: An Agricultural Chronicle of Leon County, Florida, 1860-1967* (Gainesville, 1968), 34; *Eleventh Census, 1890, Agriculture*, 128-29.

15. Robinson, *Resources and Natural Advantages*, 143.

16. Tenth Census, 1880, unpublished agricultural schedules, Leon County, ED 81, 3-4.

17. M. B. Hammond, *The Cotton Industry* (New York, 1897), 359.

18. Paisley, *From Cotton to Quail*, 25-27.



but they likely fared no better than most Leon County tenant farmers which was barely above the subsistence level.

As part of their tenancy, workers rented houses provided by the landowner. The typical structure was a "rudely built log cabin with its leaning chimney of sticks and mud."<sup>19</sup> John Wyche lived in such a log house.<sup>20</sup> Wood-frame, double-pen weather-board houses later replaced the log cabins. These too were roughly constructed and lacked cooking facilities and indoor plumbing. The small size (roughly twenty-seven by twenty-eight feet) added to the overcrowding of the large families.<sup>21</sup> Although the families stayed on the same plantation, they moved to different homesites during their tenure.<sup>22</sup>

Family size in the late nineteenth century was necessarily large because of the high death rate and the opinion that each child would become a work hand. Farm laborers not only included male heads of households but also their wives and children. Richmond Vickers and his fourteen-year-old son, Richmond; John and Rachel Fisher and their children, Lizzie, sixteen, and Prince, ten; Delilah Wyche; Hester Stratton and her ten-year-old son, James; and Gilbert and Eliza Nix and their eleven-year-old daughter, Peggy, were farm laborers in 1880.<sup>23</sup> These five families averaged 6.2 people. The usual family consisted of nine to ten people at that time. By 1900 some families had added new members through birth and marriage and buried others. There were some instances of extended families. Richard Stratton and his recent bride, Hattie, lived with his parents, and Gilbert Nix's four grandchildren resided with him and his family.<sup>24</sup>

Not all of the children worked on the farm; some attended school. Public education in Leon County began with the Freedmen's Bureau schools and the Constitution of 1868.<sup>25</sup> After 1869 schools for blacks and whites began to be organized

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19. *His Letters from Tallahassee*, October 4, 1885 (Tallahassee, 1885), 5.

20. Vickers interview, October 22, 1971.

21. *Ibid.*

22. *Ibid.*, October 8, 1971, and July 28, 1972.

23. Tenth Census, 1880, unpublished population schedules, Leon County, ED 81, 6, 7, 11, 12.

24. Twelfth Census, 1900, unpublished population schedules, Leon County, ED 71, sheets 1, 5.

25. Richardson, *Negro in the Reconstruction of Florida*, 114.

throughout the county.<sup>26</sup> The only evidence of a school at Tall Timbers is a listing of appropriations for the 1880 school year naming Hickory Hill as the recipient. This black school received \$18 per month for operations while the white school at Iamonia was allotted \$30.<sup>27</sup> These country schools held classes from 9:00 A.M. to noon and from 1:00 to 4:00 P.M., while the city schools in Tallahassee operated from 9:00 A.M. to 2:30 P.M. with a half-hour recess.<sup>28</sup> The school term usually lasted six months, but often the county superintendent of public instruction ordered schools to close as much as one month early because of lack of funds to continue to the end of the term.<sup>29</sup> The fate of the school at Hickory Hill is not known. Schools were closed due to poor attendance, loss of interest, and shifts in population. However, by 1890 there were thirty-four black schools in Leon County with an average attendance of 3,249 pupils (95.5 pupils per school).<sup>30</sup>

The individual school registers, required to be kept by the teachers, are not extant.<sup>31</sup> It is not known whether any members of the Tall Timbers families attended Hickory Hill school since the 1880 census does not indicate education or literacy. None of the parents could read or write.<sup>32</sup> However, by 1900 six of the ten school-age children attended school (Henry and Corine Vickers, Gilbert, Jr., George, June, and Ella Nix). Hampton Stratton's twenty-five-year-old daughter-in-law, Hattie, and John Wyche's son, John, and his wife, Mary, could read and write.<sup>33</sup> Each successive generation in this community appeared to become more literate.

Along with a strong interest in education came an enthusiasm for independent black churches. They served not only as houses of worship, but also as the social and political centers

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26. Francis A. Rhodes, "A History of Education in Leon County, Florida" (master's thesis, University of Florida, 1946), 40.

27. Minutes, July 3, 1879, Leon County Board of Public Instruction, Leon County Board of Education Office, Tallahassee, Florida.

28. *Ibid.*, September 4, 1879.

29. *Ibid.*, June 7, 1858.

30. Rhodes, "History of Education in Leon County," 52.

31. Minutes, September 4, 1879, Leon County Board of Public Instruction.

32. Tenth Census, 1880, unpublished population schedules, Leon County, ED 81, 6, 7, 11, 12; Twelfth Census, 1906, unpublished population schedules, Leon County, ED 77, sheets 1, 3, 5.

33. Twelfth Census, 1900, unpublished population schedules, Leon County, ED 77, sheets 1, 3, 5.

of black life.<sup>34</sup> To celebrate Emancipation Day on May 20 each year, workers halted farming operations to have picnics at the churches. One of the largest was held at Hickory Hill Church.<sup>35</sup> Some time after Edward Beadel's 1895 purchase of the land, his wife had a church built on the north side of State Road 12 for the tenants. There are no remains of that building.<sup>36</sup> It is not known whether an earlier church existed on the property. The Hickory Hill Primitive Baptist Church on the south side of State Road 12 replaced Mrs. Beadel's church. The people buried near the new church represent families who worked on Tall Timbers since the turn of the century although thirty of them were born in or before 1900. As far as can be determined, one descendant of the five selected families— John Fisher's great-grandson, Jim— is interred in the church cemetery. Others are buried in scattered, small, private burial grounds throughout the property. Instead of using tombstones, mourners marked graves with boards at the heads. None of the gravesites are now marked.<sup>37</sup>

After 1900 these five families continued to live on Tall Timbers plantation with the other tenant families, an estimated total of twenty families of approximately 200 people.<sup>38</sup> At least for this one plantation, the tenant workers were a continuing presence. Further research on tenant farmers on Leon County plantations between 1865 and 1900 may reveal whether the Tall Timbers tenants were unique in their longevity on this property or if theirs was typical behavior. In any case, they were an integral part of Tall Timbers both in life and in death.<sup>39</sup>

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34. Richardson, *Negro in the Reconstruction of Florida*, 83.

35. Clifton L. Paisley, "Van Brunt's Store, Iamonia, Florida, 1902-1911." *Florida Historical Quarterly* 48 (April 1970), 362.

36. Vickers interview, July 28, 1972.

37. *Ibid.*, October 8 and 22, 1971.

38. *Ibid.*, October 22, 1971.

39. From 1895 to 1918 Edward Beadel owned Tall Timbers Plantation. Upon his death, Beadel's nephew, Henry L. Beadel, inherited the property where he lived until his death in 1963. Ownership then passed to Tall Timbers Research, Inc., a nonprofit scientific and educational corporation dedicated to studying fire ecology and wildlife management. Henry Beadel gave the research station thirty-four acres in 1958 to begin its studies. With the 1963 inheritance and subsequent purchases of adjacent land, Tall Timbers Research Station now exceeds 3,000 acres. Paisley, *From Cotton to Quail*, 79, 108; Komarek, "A Quest for Ecological Understanding, The Secretary's Review," 19-22.

## THE MINORCAN POPULATION OF ST. AUGUSTINE IN THE SPANISH CENSUS OF 1786

by PHILIP D. RASICO

**N**EARLY half a century ago the noted historian of Spanish colonial Florida, Joseph Byrne Lockey published a transcription, accompanied by a preface and notes, of the Spanish census of St. Augustine and its vicinity which was prepared in December 1786 by the Salamanca-educated Irish priest, Thomas Hassett.<sup>1</sup> An incomplete draft of this document is in the *East Florida Papers* in the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress.<sup>2</sup> Lockey's translation of the draft is also incomplete; he omits the lengthy section which contains the largest and most ethnically-diverse sector of St. Augustine's civilian population during the early years of the second Spanish period in Florida. This article, in which this section of the census draft is translated into English, is offered as a complement to Lockey's earlier article and as a contribution to the study of St. Augustine's Minorcans as this group of Minorcan Islanders, Italians, Greeks, Corsicans, their Florida-born descendants, and others have come to be known.

The ethnohistorical significance of the 1786 census hardly needs to be stated. Upon the withdrawal of the British from Florida under the terms of the treaty signed at Versailles in 1783, Spain regained its former Florida colonies. The Spanish were faced with the need to determine the number and the nature of those inhabitants who had chosen to remain in Florida rather than to depart with most of the British population. In an

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1. Joseph B. Lockey "The St. Augustine Census of 1786, Translated from the Spanish with an Introduction and Notes," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 18 (July 1939), 11-31.
2. Census Returns, 1784-1814, reel 148, bundle 323A, East Florida Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, microfilm copies in the St. Augustine Historical Society Collection (hereinafter cited as EFP with appropriate reel and bundle number).

initial effort to realize this task, Governor Vicente Manuel de Zéspedes ordered a preliminary census be taken of East Florida in 1784, of which only the partial draft has survived.<sup>3</sup> A more detailed account of St. Augustine's population, which included remnants from the British period, returning former Floridanos, and other Spanish subjects, was soon required by a number of practical concerns, including establishment of a school for the education of the local population. Consequently a census was conducted in late 1786 by Father Hassett, who had arrived in the city in the fall of 1784 via Philadelphia and Havana, after having experienced unexpected delays and shipwreck.<sup>4</sup>

The exact number of inhabitants in the St. Augustine vicinity (to a distance of five leagues or about fifteen miles) is difficult to determine based upon Hassett's computations. Indeed, the numbers which he cites do not agree with estimates of the population made by Governor Zéspedes in 1787 and again by Hassett himself in 1788.<sup>5</sup> Lockey's summary of the 1786 census gives the following breakdown of the civilian population of St. Augustine within the five-league limit: *Foreigners*: white males, forty-eight; white females, thirty-eight; Negro males, seventy-two; Negro females, fifty-five; total, 213; *Minorcans, Italians, Greeks*: white males, 241; white females, 228; Negro males, thirty-three; Negro females, thirty-seven; total, 539; *Floridanos*: white males, twenty-nine; white females, twenty-one; Negro males, forty-two; Negro females, forty; total, 132; *Spaniards*: white males, twenty-seven; white females, nineteen; Negro males, eight; Negro females, four; total, fifty-nine.

According to Lockey the total population consisted of 943 persons— 652 whites and 291 Negroes. However, Hassett's calculations were somewhat flawed since, in reality, the group labeled Spaniards included forty-seven whites, one Christian Indian, and twelve Negroes. To the total of 943 inhabitants desig-

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3. Joseph B. Lockey, *East Florida, 1783-1785: A File of Documents Assembled, and Many of Them Translated* (Berkeley, 1949), 11; Census Returns 1784-1814, reel 148, bundle 323A, EFP.
  4. Joseph B. Lockey "Public Education in Spanish St. Augustine," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 15 (January 1937), 147-68; Lockey, *East Florida*, 292-96.
  5. Arthur Preston Whitaker, ed., *Documents Relating to the Commercial Policy of Spain in the Floridas* (Deland, 1931), 54; Michael J. Curley, *Church and State in the Spanish Floridas (1783-1822)* (Washington, 1940), 112; Helen Hornbeck Tanner, *Zéspedes in East Florida, 1784-1790* (Coral Gables, 1963), 134-36.

nated by Hassett, Lockey added an estimated suburban population, including 130 whites and 170 Negroes, and counted the members of the local garrison, 450 officers and men. All together, these figures suggest a total of some 1,693 inhabitants residing in the St. Augustine area in late 1786.<sup>6</sup>

What is apparent in Hassett's survey of the white civilian inhabitants of St. Augustine (651 or 652) is that the group of Minorcans, Italians, Greeks, etc. constituted 71.93 percent of the population. Helen Hornbeck Tanner thus concluded that during Governor Zéspedes's administration, "Spanish East Florida was characterized by a Minorcan capital, and a British population located in the northern section near the Georgia border and the Indian hunting grounds."<sup>7</sup>

Although the history of the Minorcan colony of Florida has been examined from various perspectives in several recent studies, it is a subject which is still relatively unfamiliar to many scholars and students. Even less known is the Minorcan cultural heritage of St. Augustine, the legacy of many of those inhabitants who appear in the Spanish census of 1786 under the rubric Minorcans, Italians, Greeks, and Others Considered as Such.<sup>8</sup>

In late 1767 and early 1768, while Florida was under British sovereignty, Andrew Turnbull, a Scottish physician turned plantation developer, recruited some 1,403 natives from various parts of the Mediterranean to work under indentured contracts

6. Lockey, "The St. Augustine Census of 1786," 31.

7. Tanner, *Zéspedes in East Florida*, 136.

8. See William W. Dewhurst, *The History of Saint Augustine, Florida* (New York, 1881); Carita Doggett, *Dr. Andrew Turnbull and the New Smyrna Colony of Florida* (1919; reprint ed., St. Petersburg, 1967); E. P. Panagopoulos, "The Background of the Greek Settlers in the New Smyrna Colony," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 35 (October 1956), 95-115; E. P. Panagopoulos, *New Smyrna: An Eighteenth Century Greek Odyssey* (Gainesville, 1966); Kenneth H. Beeson, Jr., "Janas in British East Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 44 (July-October 1965), 121-32; Jane Quinn, *Minorcans in Florida: Their History and Heritage* (St. Augustine, 1975); Kenneth H. Beeson, Jr., "Fromajadas and Indiaio: The Minorcan Colony in Florida" (master's thesis, University of Florida, 1960); Patricia C. Griffin, "Mullet on the Beach: The Minorcans of Florida, 1768-1788" (master's thesis, University of Florida, 1977). See also the following by Philip D. Rasico, "Notices Historiques, Linguistiques i Culturals dels Menorquins Floridencs," *Randa* 15 (1983), 9-50; "The Spanish and Minorcan Linguistic Heritage of St. Augustine, Florida," *El Escribano* 20 (1983), 1-25; "A Complementary Annotated Lexicon of the St. Augustine Minorcan Dialect," *El Escribano* 22 (1985), 31-41; and "The Spanish Lexical Base of Old St. Augustine *Mahonese*: A Missing Link in Florida Spanish," *Hispania* 69 (May 1986), 267-77.

at a plantation established by Turnbull and several associates at Mosquito Inlet (now New Smyrna). The place chosen to assemble the colonists and to prepare the expedition to Florida was the port city of Mahón on the British-held island of Minorca. The first colonists enlisted were from Leghorn, Italy, and these were subsequently joined by others from Greece, Corsica, and other Mediterranean islands. The number of colonists increased rapidly by an influx of Minorcan islanders who soon constituted the majority of the emigrants. Turnbull's fleet left Mahón in late March, 1768, and, after a brief stop in Gibraltar where an eighth vessel was added, sailed for the eastern coast of Florida. All eight ships safely arrived at St. Augustine during the months of June and July. The colonists then continued their journey to New Smyrna, some on foot and others by sea.

Of the original 1,403 colonists who had sailed with Turnbull, 148 died in transit, leaving 1,255 who settled at New Smyrna. Life on the plantation was extremely difficult due to inadequate food and shelter, unsanitary living conditions, disease, and harsh, often inhuman, treatment by Turnbull and his overseers. Personal and political feuds between Turnbull and British Governor Patrick Tonyn eventually led to an official investigation of conditions at New Smyrna and resulted in the eventual release of the colonists from their labor contracts by executive order. According to a report filed by the governor in January, 1778, 964 colonists had died in Florida between the years 1768 and 1777. Including the 148 persons who perished enroute to Florida, a total of 1,112 deaths occurred among the original 1,403 colonists recruited by Turnbull. The immigrants and their offspring who managed to survive the New Smyrna ordeal—approximately 450 to 500—fled north to St. Augustine in the summer of 1777, where Governor Tonyn assigned them small plots of land in the northern sector of the city.<sup>9</sup>

The 1786 Spanish census confirmed that the majority of the inhabitants were native Minorcan islanders and their Florida-born descendants. However, fourteen years earlier Father Pedro Camps Janer, one of two Minorcan priests who had accompanied Turnbull's colonists to Florida, observed, in a letter sent to the bishop of Havana, via Cuban fishermen, that while

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9. Beeson, "Janas in British East Florida"; Panagopoulos, *New Smyrna*; Quinn, *Minorcans in Florida*, 14-85.

almost all of the inhabitants were Minorcans, there were also a few Italians and Corsicans. All of these men had Minorcan wives.<sup>10</sup> Various nineteenth-century sources indicate that the Minorcan population formed one of St. Augustine's biggest elements until about the time of the American Civil War in the 1860s.<sup>11</sup> Descendants of the New Smyrna colonists still live in the St. Augustine area where they maintain many of the linguistic and cultural traditions handed down by their Mediterranean ancestors.<sup>12</sup>

Hassett's 1786 copy or draft of the census is incomplete. Since it provides no indication of the location of the dwellings surveyed, it consequently may omit some members of the Minorcan community who lived along the North River and beyond the geographical limits of the census, as well as others who may have had no fixed residence.<sup>13</sup> Furthermore, Hassett included six Minorcans in three other groups of inhabitants: two in the section Foreigners of Different Religions and Nationalities, three in Floridanos, and one in Spaniards.<sup>14</sup> Not counted among the local residents were the husbands of five Minorcan women, since they were absent when the census was conducted. It may be assumed, therefore, that these men, if alive, were also Minorcans.<sup>15</sup>

10. Quinn, *Minorcans in Florida*, 56-57.

11. John Lee Williams, *The Territory of Florida* (New York, 1837; facsimile ed., Gainesville, 1962), 115; Michael V. Gannon, introduction to George R. Fairbanks, *The History and Antiquities of the City of St. Augustine, Florida* (Gainesville, 1975), xxi (facsimile reproduction of the 1858 edition); William Cullen Bryant, *Letters of a Traveller; or, Notes of Things Seen in Europe and America* (New York, 1851), 113.

12. On the modern vestiges of the Minorcan dialect and culture in St. Augustine, see references cited in footnote 8.

13. Griffin, "Mullet on the Beach," 116-19, indicates that some 127 Minorcans lived in the North River area during the years 1784-1787. She believes that many of these were not included in the 1786 census. According to Tanner, *Zéspedes in East Florida*, 135, this census did include the population along the North River and south along the Matanzas River.

14. Lockey, "The St. Augustine Census of 1786," 19, 23, 26, 30. Members of the Minorcan community listed in these sections include: (Foreigners...) Jorge Stefanopoly from Corsica and Leonora Genopley from America (presumably from Mosquitos); (Floridanos) Paula de Torres from Minorca and her two children from Mosquitos, Mateo Lorenzo [sic] and Juana Lorenz; (Spaniards) Ygnacio Ortegaz from Minorca.

15. Census Returns, 1784-1814, reel 148, bundle 323A, EFP. The women whose husbands are listed as absent are Francisca Poncella (No. 27), Antonia Pretos (No. 37), Ysabela Pras y Pepod (No. 47), Juana Perpal (No. 48), and Margarita Guibarnau (No. 77).



The section Minorcans, Italians, Greeks, and Others Considered as Such lists 114 families, i.e. domiciles. According to Hassett's calculations this group was composed of 539 persons, including 241 white males, 228 white females: thirty-three Negro males, and thirty-seven Negro females. Two free mulattoes living with different families, Nos. 2 and 30, were not included among these numbers. A reanalysis of Hassett's document, however, reveals not 539 members of the Minorcan group (including mulattoes and Negroes), but rather 546 individuals: *Minorcans, Italians, Greeks, etc.*: white males, 243; white females, 232; mulatto males, two; Negro males, thirty-three; Negro females, thirty-six; total, 546.

Of the 475 whites in this section, the most numerous subgroups consist of natives of Minorca and Florida (St. Augustine and Mosquitos).<sup>16</sup> *Origin of Minorcans, Italians, Greeks, etc.*: Minorca, 189; St. Augustine, 153; Mosquitos, seventy-nine; Italy, eighteen; Corsica, nine; France, six; Majorca, four; North America, three; Ireland, two; Greece, two; Spain, two; Catalonia, one; Canary Islands, one; Portugal, one; Mile, one; Santurin, one; Candia, one; Turkey, one; Cuba, one.<sup>17</sup>

Hassett's tabulations are again in error regarding the number of residents listed under Spaniards. A reexamination of this section of the census shows sixty individuals: forty-seven whites (twenty-eight males and nineteen females), twelve Negroes (eight males and four females), and one male Indian. Thus, if all other calculations by Hassett are correct, then the revised

16. Hassett's census is inaccurate in its description of the place of birth of some Florida-born Minorcans (most often Mosquitos rather than St. Augustine). In most cases this problem can be resolved by consulting the baptismal register of Father Pedro Camps Janer which is preserved at the archive of the Diocese of St. Augustine ("White Baptisms: St. Peter of New Smyrna").

17. If the six Minorcans listed elsewhere in the census were added to the number of white persons recorded in the section of Minorcans, Italians, Greeks, etc., it would provide a total of 481 white members of the local Minorcan group, and 486, if five absent husbands were included (see footnotes 14 and 15). An interesting question is why three white North Americans and two Irish were living among the Minorcan community. One plausible answer is that they associated themselves with the Minorcans during the British period for religious and possibly also economic reasons. However, some North Americans or Irish may have been among the colonists at New Smyrna, since one, Christopher Flemming, is known to have given a deposition to the British authorities in St. Augustine on May 9, 1777, concerning grievances against Andrew Turnbull. London, Public Record Office, CO 5/577, 464.

summary of the civilian population of St. Augustine according to the 1786 census would be as follows: whites, 658 (348 males, 310 females); Negroes, 290 (155 males, 135 females); mulattoes, two (two males); Indians, one (one male); total, 951 (versus Hassett's 943).

The Minorcans, together with their associated Negroes and mulattoes, constituted 57.413 percent of the local population. White members of the group alone represented 49.947 percent of the civilian inhabitants and 72.188 percent of all white civilian residents of St. Augustine. Within the Minorcan community surveyed by Hassett, the most numerous constituent elements were Minorcan islanders (39.789 percent), natives of Florida (48.841 percent— St. Augustine 32.21 percent and Mosquitos 16.631 percent), Italians (3.789 percent), Corsicans (1.894 percent), and French (1.263 percent).

Among other characteristics of the Minorcan group, slightly over one-half of its members (238 or 50.105 percent) were under twenty-one years of age, 40.631 percent (193) consisted of those between twenty-one and forty years, and 9.263 percent (forty-four) were over age forty-one. Of the 114 households designated Minorcan, twenty-eight (24.56 percent) held slaves.<sup>18</sup> The greatest number of slaves associated with one domicile was nine, although the average number per household was 2.14. However, in some cases it is difficult to ascertain whether all of the Negroes who lived at a specific residence were in fact slaves; the census is unclear in this regard. Some free Negroes are listed as living among the Minorcans.

Hassett's census records the occupations of 141 persons belonging to the Minorcan community. Of the nineteen different occupations given, the most common are those of farmer, sailor, and carpenter. Together these categories account for 73.757 percent of the total number of occupations mentioned: Farmers, fifty-four (38.297 percent); sailors, thirty-four (24.113 percent); carpenters, sixteen (11.347 percent); fishermen, five (3.546 percent); traders, five (3.546 percent); tailors, four (2.836 percent);

18. Worthy of note is that nearly one quarter of the Minorcan families were slave owners, since they themselves had been reduced to a virtual condition of slavery at New Smyrna less than one decade earlier. The Minorcans' acquisition of Negro slaves in St. Augustine, therefore, probably should be viewed as an indicator of an improved economic situation among some of the former New Smyrna colonists during the initial years of the second Spanish period.

tavernkeepers, four (2.836 percent); apprentices, three (2.127 percent); caulkers, three (2.127 percent); coopers, two (1.418 percent); bakers, two (1.418 percent); shoemakers, two (1.418 percent); masons, two (1.418 percent); shopclerks, one (.709 percent); hatmakers, one (.709 percent); jailors, one (.709 percent); sacristans, one (.709 percent); weavers, one (.709 percent).<sup>19</sup>

In the following translation of the Minorcan, Italian, Greek, etc., section of the St. Augustine census of 1786, all given names and surnames of the inhabitants listed are transcribed as they appear in Hassett's draft. As in Lockey's earlier article, the entries are punctuated for the purpose of greater clarity. A translation of Hassett's general preface to the census is also provided.<sup>20</sup>

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An individual account, exclusive of the troops and employees of the Royal Treasury, of the number of foreigners, Minorcans, Italians, Greeks, old Floridians and Spaniards who reside and are found to be living today, the nineteenth of December, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-six, in this city of St. Augustine in East Florida, and in its surrounding area to a distance of five leagues, with an indication of their names, native country, religion, trade or occupation, age, number of children and dependents, whether White or Colored, based upon the draft of the present, and of the other particulars to the effect that I, Thomas Hassett, parish priest, vicar and ecclesiastical judge, have made this day, the stated day, month and year in this the city aforesaid. To wit: (...)

*MINORCANS, ITALIANS, GREEKS, AND OTHERS CONSIDERED AS SUCH*

Families:

No. 1: Joseph Pons, from Minorca, farmer, 33 years of age. Mariana Rugiera, his wife, Minorcan, 50 years of age. Antonia Vens, daughter of the said Mariana and another husband, from

19. Among those residents whose occupation is listed as sailor is included one designated as a ship's captain.

20. Hassett's preface is also translated by Lockey "The St. Augustine Census of 1786," 18-19. Some differences are noted between Lockey's translation of it and that provided here.

Mosquitos, unmarried, 14 years of age. Geronimo Alvarez, Spanish, baker, agregado, 27 years of age.<sup>21</sup> Juan Taylor, native of America, Protestant, farmer, agregado, 21 years of age. Two unbaptized male Negro slaves of the said Alvarez. White males, 3; white females, 2; Negro males, 2; total 7.

No. 2: Ferdinando Falany, Italian, farmer, 42 years of age. Margarita Velory, his wife, Mahonese, 34 years of age. Maria, daughter of the aforesaid, from Mosquitos, 9 years of age. Santiago, son of the aforesaid, from this city, 6 years of age. Theresa, daughter of the aforesaid, from this city, 1 year of age. Guillermo, free mulatto, American, Protestant, agregado, 20 years of age. White males, 2; white females, 3; free male mulatto, 1; total, 6.

No. 3: Lucia Peso de Burga, widow, from Corsica, 40 years of age. Pedro, her son, from Mosquitos, 12 years of age. White male, 1; white female, 1; total, 2.

No. 4: Pablo Villa, native of France, baker, unmarried, 35 years of age. White male, 1.

No. 5: Joseph Rosy, native of Italy, farmer, 45 years of age. Francisca, his wife, from Minorca, 40 years of age. Margarita, daughter of the aforesaid, from Mosquitos, unmarried, 16 years of age. Angela, daughter of the aforesaid, from Mosquitos, 10 years of age. Francisca, daughter of the aforesaid, from this city, 7 years of age. Gaspar, son of the aforesaid, from this city, 4 years of age. Joseph, son of the aforesaid, three months of age. White males, 3; white females, 4; total, 7.

No 6: Magdalena Rugera, widow, from Minorca, 46 years of age. Bartholomeo Sientes, her son, from Minorca, unmarried, tailor, 23 years of age. White male, 1; white female, 1; total, 2.

No. 7: Martin Hernandez, from Minorca, carpenter, 30 years of age. Dorotea Gomilla, his wife, from Minorca, 24 years of age. Margarita, daughter of the aforesaid, from this city, 3 years of age. Catarina, daughter of the aforesaid, from this city, 1 year of age. Francisco Marin, white apprentice, carpenter, from Mosquitos, 15 years of age. Juan Alcina, white apprentice,

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21. As in Lockey's article, the Spanish term *agregado* is retained in the present translation of the census, since it has no precise English equivalent. In some cases the *agregado* or *agregada* would have been a true dependent; in others, however, he or she simply could have been someone living under the same roof as part of a family and financially independent. See Lockey "The St. Augustine Census of 1786," 19.

from Minorca, 22 years of age. Joseph Gomilla, widower, father of the said Dorotea, from Minorca, fisherman, agregado, 50 years of age. Juan Hernandez, from Minorca, carpenter, unmarried, 24 years of age. Gaspar Hernandez, from Minorca, caulker, unmarried, 22 years of age. Joseph Hernandez, from Minorca, carpenter, unmarried, 20 years of age. White males, 7; white females, 3; male slaves, one Christian, 2; female slave, 1; total, 13.

No. 8: Bartolomeo Lopez, from Minorca, farmer, 30 years of age. Mariana Albarti, his wife, from Minorca, 30 years of age. Cristoval, son of the aforesaid, from this city, 5 years of age. Andres, son of the aforesaid, from this city, 3 years of age. Juan Reyes, from Mosquitos, agregado, 10 years of age. Andres Lopez, from Minorca, farmer, agregado, unmarried, 23 years of age. Juana, daughter of the said Bartolomeo and Mariana, from this city, 10 months of age. White males, 5; white females, 2; unbaptized female slave, 1; total, 8.

No. 9: Diego Hernandez, from Minorca, farmer, 45 years of age. Victoria Vivas, his wife, from Minorca, 46 years of age. Diego, son of the aforesaid, from Minorca, sailor, unmarried, 26 years of age. Antonio, son of the aforesaid, from Mosquitos, unmarried, cooper, 15 years of age. Agueda, daughter of the aforesaid, from Mosquitos, 11 years of age. White males, 3; white females, 2; total, 5.

No. 10: Antonio Joseph Alberti, from Minorca, farmer, 37 years of age. Catarina Oliber, his wife, from Minorca, 33 years of age. Cristoval, son of the aforesaid, from Mosquitos, unmarried, 14 years of age. Maria, daughter of the aforesaid, 11 years of age. Juan, son of the aforesaid, from this city, 7 years of age. Francisca, daughter of the aforesaid, from this city, 4 years of age. Juana Maria, daughter of the aforesaid, from this city, one month of age. Maria Magdalena Gavardy, daughter of the said Catarina and another husband, from Mosquitos, 15 years of age. White males, 3; white females, 5; total, 8.

No. 11: Antonio Andres, from Minorca, carpenter, 36 years of age. Agueda Pons, his wife, from Minorca, 34 years of age. Juan, son of the aforesaid, from Mosquitos, 12 years of age. Antonio, son of the aforesaid, from this city, 6 years of age. Magdalena, daughter of the aforesaid, from this city, 1 year of age. Juana Pons, from Minorca, unmarried, agregada, 21 years of age. Domingo Bals, from Mosquitos, apprentice, white, un-

married, carpenter, 15 years of age. White males, 4; white females, 3; total, 7.

No. 12: Antonio Alcina, from Minorca, farmer, 40 years of age. Rafaela Capo, his wife, from Minorca, 33 years of age. Miguel, son of the said Antonio and his first wife, from Mosquitos, unmarried, farmer, 14 years of age. Catarina, daughter of the aforesaid, from this city, 6 years of age. Rafaela, daughter of the aforesaid, from this city, 4 years of age. Antonia, daughter of the aforesaid, from this city, 1 year of age. White males, 2; white females, 4; unbaptized male slaves, 2; unbaptized female slave, 1; total, 9.

No. 13: Pasqual Sans, from Naples, sailor, 40 years of age. Antonia Fornaris, his wife, from Minorca, 32 years of age. Juana, daughter of the aforesaid, from Mosquitos, unmarried, 14 years of age. Catarina, daughter of the aforesaid, from this city, 4 years of age. White males, 1; white females, 3; total, 4.

No. 14: Domingo Escercopory, from Mani, carpenter, 30 years of age. Geronima Ybarnau, his wife, from Minorca, 40 years of age. White males, 1; white females, 1; total, 2.

No. 15: Pedro Rodriguez, from the Canary Islands, tavernkeeper, unmarried, 30 years of age. White male, 1.

No. 16: Diego Seguy, from Minorca, farmer, 40 years of age. Juana Castell, his wife, from Minorca, 31 years of age. Maria, daughter of the aforesaid, from this city, 9 years of age. Juana, daughter of the aforesaid, from this city, 18 months of age. White males, 1; white females, 3; total, 4.

No. 17: Bartolomeo Fillera, from Minorca, farmer, 36 years of age. Juana Hernau, his wife, from Minorca, 34 years of age. Miguel, son of the aforesaid, from this city, 8 years of age. Diego, son of the aforesaid, from this city, 5 years of age. Juana, daughter of the aforesaid, from this city, 2 years of age. White males, 3; white females, 2; total, 5.

No. 18: Joseph Agles, from Minorca, farmer, 56 years of age. Maria Fons, his wife, from Minorca, 50 years of age. Francisco Fons, farmer, agregado, 32 years of age. White males, 2; white females, 1; total, 3.

No. 19: Vizente Bandoror, from France, sailor, unmarried, 26 years of age. Joseph Tordo, from Italy, sailor, unmarried, 25 years of age. White males, 2.

No. 20: Joseph Peso de Burgo, from Corsica, shopclerk, unmarried, 30 years of age. Francisco Pras, employee of the

aforesaid, from Mosquitos, unmarried, 14 years of age. White males, 2; unbaptized male Negro slave, 1; unbaptized female Negro slave, 1; total, 4.

No. 21: Juan Glodo Bodlam, hatmaker, unmarried, from France, 25 years of age. White male, 1.

No. 22: Joseph Pons y Triay, from Minorca, farmer, 52 years of age. Margarita Triay, his wife, from Minorca, 50 years of age. Dimas, son of the aforesaid, from this city, 4 years of age. Antonio Ledo, unmarried, agregado, farmer, from Portugal, 55 years of age. White males, 3; white females, 1; baptized female Negro slave, 1; total, 5.

No. 23: Antonio Cantar, from Minorca, ship's captain, 32 years of age. Catarina Acosta, his wife, from Corsica, 26 years of age. Agustin, son of the aforesaid, from Mosquitos, 11 years of age. Domingo, son of the aforesaid, from this city, 6 years of age. Maria, daughter of the aforesaid, from this city, 2 years of age. Patricia, son of the aforesaid, from this city, 6 months of age. White males, 4; white females, 2; unbaptized female slaves, 2; unbaptized free Negro agregado, 1; total, 9.

No. 24: Juan Baptista Payeres, from Majorca, sailor, 31 years of age. Ysabela Ridabet, his wife, from Minorca, 28 years of age. Juana, daughter of the aforesaid, from this city, 18 months of age. Juan Josef Echavarria, agregado, tailor, from Spain, 32 years of age. White males, 2; white females, 2; total, 4.

No. 25: Juan Francisco Arnau, sailor, from France, 28 years of age. Ysabela Mula, his wife, from Minorca, 32 years of age. Juana Margo, daughter of the said Ysabela and her first husband, from this city, 7 years of age. Ysabela, daughter of the aforesaid, from this city, 2 years and 2 months of age. White males, 1; white females, 3; total, 4.

No. 26: Antonio Canobas, native of Minorca, farmer, 30 years of age. Catarina Maestre, his wife, from Minorca, 26 years of age. Antonio, son of the aforesaid, from this city, 4 years of age. White males, 2; white females, 1; total, 3.

No. 27: Francisco Bausa, sailor, from Majorca, 28 years of age. Eulalia Olivas, his wife, from Minorca, 46 years of age. Peregry Grymaldy, unmarried, son of the said Eulalia and another husband, from Mosquitos, 15 years of age. Spirion Grymaldy, son of the aforesaid and another husband, 9 years of age. Francisca Poncella, married with her husband absent, from Minorca, agregada, 25 years of age. Maria Magdalena,

daughter of the aforesaid, from this city, 5 years of age. White males, 3; white females, 3; total, 6.

No. 28: Francisco Stacoly, sailor, from Leghorn, 26 years of age. Maria Petros, his wife, from Minorca, 37 years of age. Domingo, son of the aforesaid, from Mosquitos, unmarried, 13 years of age. Bartolomeo, son of the aforesaid, from Mosquitos, 11 years of age. Barbara, daughter of the aforesaid, from this city, 4 years of age. White males, 3; white females, 2; total, 5.

No. 29: Juan Balum, tavernkeeper, unmarried, from Minorca, 29 years of age. Lorenzo Coll, sailor, unmarried, from Majorca, 40 years of age. White males, 2.

No. 30: Juliana Collens, from New Orleans, Catholic, 43 years of age. Juan Bautista, free mulatto, from New Orleans, Catholic, trader, 23 years of age. Juliana Garbyt, native of America, Anglican, unmarried, crippled, 26 years of age. Rosa, Negro slave of the said Juliana, unbaptized, 14 years of age. White female, 1; female Negroes, 2; male mulatto, 1; total, 4.

No. 31: Antonia Rogier, widow, from Minorca, 60 years of age. Antonio Mestre, son of the aforesaid, from Minorca, widower, farmer, 36 years of age. White male, 1; white female, 1; total, 2.

No. 32: Roque Leonardi, farmer, from Italy, 44 years of age. Agueda Coll, his wife, from Minorca, 36 years of age. Josepha Carolinda, daughter of the aforesaid, from Mosquitos, 11 years of age. Juan, son of the aforesaid, from this city, 7 years of age. Bartolomeo, son of the aforesaid, from this city, 5 years of age. Jacoba, daughter of the aforesaid, from this city, 5 months of age. Juan Chato, son of the said Agueda and another husband, 15 years of age. White males, 4; white females, 3; Catechumen female Negro slave, 1; unbaptized free male Negro, 1; total, 9.

No. 33: Luis Buchentiny, farmer, from Leghorn, 39 years of age. Catarina Coll, his wife, from Minorca, 24 years of age. Joseph Bateliny, unmarried, farmer, from Italy, 40 years of age. White males, 2; white females, 1; total, 3.

No. 34: Sevastian Esteve, from France, jailor, 50 years of age. Juana Salom, his wife, from Minorca, 33 years of age. Francisco, son of the aforesaid, from this city, 7 years of age. Juan, son of the same, from this city, 3 years of age. Catarina, daughter of the same, from this city, 6 years of age. Juana, daughter of the same, from this city, 10 months of age. White males, 3; white females, 3; total, 6.



No. 35: Bernardo Seguy, from Minorca, trader, 44 years of age. Agueda Villalonga, his wife, from Minorca, 33 years of age. Agueda, daughter of the aforesaid, from Mosquitos, 11 years of age. Antonia, daughter of the same, from this city, 9 years of age. Clara, daughter of the same, from this city, 7 years of age. Bartolomeo, son of the same, from this city, 6 years of age. Blanca, daughter of the same, from this city, 4 years of age. Bernardo, son of the same, from this city, 2 years of age. White males, 3; white females, 5; unbaptized male Negro, 1; unbaptized female Negroes, 2; total, 11.

No. 36: Juan Solon, from Minorca, farmer, 35 years of age. Margarita Neto, his wife, from Minorca, 29 years of age. Juan, son of the aforesaid, from this city, 7 years of age. Clara, daughter of the same, from this city, 4 years of age. White males, 2; white females, 2; unbaptized male Negroes, 1; unbaptized female Negroes, 2; total, 7.

No. 37: Antonia Petros, from Minorca, married with her husband absent, 28 years of age. White female, 1.

No. 38: Vizente Caselli, from Minorca, carpenter, 36 years of age. Catarina Rita Vens, his wife, from Minorca, 50 years of age. Agueda, daughter of the aforesaid, from Mosquitos, unmarried, 14 years of age. Pedro, son of the same, from Mosquitos, 11 years of age. White males, 2; white females, 2; unbaptized female Negro, 1; total, 5.

No. 39: Gaspar Pape, from Smyrna, farmer, 36 years of age. Ana Pons, his wife, from Minorca, 24 years of age. White males, 1; white females, 1; total, 2.

No. 40: Nicolas Estevanopoly, from Corsica, carpenter, 38 years of age. Juana Marin, his wife, from Minorca, 31 years of age. Malta, daughter of the aforesaid, from Mosquitos, 11 years of age. Juana, daughter of the same, from this city, 4 years of age. Francisco, son of the same, from this city, 6 months of age. White males, 2; white females, 3; total, 5.

No. 41: Juan Jeonada, from Minorca, farmer, 36 years of age. Magdalena Marin, his wife, from Minorca, 28 years of age. Magdalena, daughter of the aforesaid, from this city, 4 years of age. Francisco, son of the aforesaid, from this city, 1 year of age. White males, 2; white females, 2; total, 4.

No. 42: Angelino Bacheri, from Leghorn, sailor, 34 years of age. Josefa Castell, his wife, from Minorca, 36 years of age. Bartolomeo, son of the aforesaid, from Mosquitos, 12 years of

age. Pedro, son of the same, from Mosquitos, 10 years of age. Catarina, daughter of the same, from this city, 1 year of age. White males, 3; white females, 2; total, 5.

No. 43: Juan Quevedo, from Minorca, tailor, 24 years of age. Juana Seguy, his wife, from Mosquitos, 15 years of age. Ygnes Victori, widow, from Minorca, agregada, 56 years of age. Francisco Puello, from Havana, apprentice, unmarried, white, tailor, 14 years of age. White males, 2; white females, 2; unbaptized female Negro, 1; total, 5.

No. 44: Sevastian Ortegás, from Minorca, sailor, 33 years of age. Ana Maria Quevedo, his wife, from Minorca, 37 years of age. Sevastian, son of the aforesaid, from Mosquitos, 12 years of age. Santiago, son of the same, from Mosquitos, 9 years of age. Bernardo, son of the same, from this city, 6 months of age. Ana Maria, daughter of the same, from this city, 3 years of age. White males, 4; white females, 2; total, 6.

No. 45: Juan Fesua, from Minorca, sailor, 36 years of age. Agueda, his wife, from Minorca, 30 years of age. White males, 1; white females, 1; total, 2.

No. 46: Lorenzo Capot, widower, from Minorca, sacristan, 40 years of age. Rafaela, daughter of the same, from this city, 5 years of age. Antonio, son of the same, from this city, 3 years of age. White males, 2; white female, 1; unbaptized free male Negroes, 3; unbaptized free female Negroes, 4; total, 10.

No. 47: Ysabel Pras y Pepod, married with her husband absent, from Minorca, 40 years of age. Juan Pepoll, son of the aforesaid, unmarried, trader, from Minorca, 24 years of age. Gabriel, son of the aforesaid, unmarried, trader, from Minorca, 20 years of age. Maria Gracia, unmarried, daughter of the same, from this city, 15 years of age. White males, 2; white females, 2; unbaptized male slaves, 4; unbaptized female Negro slaves, 5; total, 13.

No. 48: Juana Perpal, married with her husband absent, from Minorca, 22 years of age. Domingo, son of the aforesaid, from this city, 7 years of age. White male, 1; white female, 1; unbaptized female slave, 1; total, 3.

No. 49: Agueda Villalonga, widow, from Minorca, 50 years of age. Martina, granddaughter of the aforesaid, from this city, 6 years of age. White females, 2.

No. 50: Bartolomeo Laufrio, from Minorca, farmer, 33 years of age. Antonia Maestre, his wife, from Minorca, 30 years of

age. Bartolomeo, son of the aforesaid, from this city, 5 years of age. Ursula, daughter of the same, from this city, 2 years of age. White males, 2; white females, 2; total, 4.

No. 51: Domingo Martinoly, from Italy, sailor, 30 years of age. Mariana Quevedo, his wife, from Minorca, 21 years of age. Juan, son of the aforesaid, from this city, 5 years of age. Santiago, son of the same, from this city, 3 years of age. Petrona, daughter of the same, from this city, 1 year of age. White males, 3; white females, 2; unbaptized male Negro slave, 1; Catholic female Negro slave, 1; total, 7.

No. 52: Juana Hernandez, widow, from Minorca, 50 years of age. Rafael Hernandez, unmarried, son of the aforesaid, from Minorca, tailor, 24 years of age. White male, 1; white female, 1; total, 2.

No. 53: Bartholome Peligri, native of Minorca, sailor, 22 years of age. Juana Hernandez, his wife, from Minorca, 22 years of age. Antonia, daughter of the aforesaid, from this city, 3 years of age. White males, 1; white females, 2; total, 3.

No. 54: Sebastian Coll, from Minorca, carpenter, 29 years of age. Margarita Villa, his wife, from Minorca, 23 years of age. Sevastian Coll, son of the aforesaid, from this city, 5 years of age. Pedro Coll, son of the aforesaid, from this city, 1 year of age. White males, 3; white female, 1; total, 4.

No. 55: Andres Paceti, native of Leghorn, farmer, 36 years of age. Maria Castell, his wife, from Minorca, 26 years of age. Clara Maria, daughter of the said Andres and his first wife, native of this city, 14 years of age. Thomas, son of the said Andres and his first wife, from this city, 12 years of age. Magdalena, daughter of the aforesaid and his first wife, from this city, 8 years of age. Gertrudis Rosa, daughter of the aforesaid and his first wife, from this city, 5 years of age. Agata Seguy, daughter of the said Maria Castell and her first husband, from this city, 3 years of age. Andres Paceti, son of the aforesaid spouses, from this city, six months of age. White males, 3; white females, 5; unbaptized male Negro slave, 1; total, 9.

No. 56: Pedro Cocifaci, native of Corsica, trader, 36 years of age. Ynes Quevedo, his wife, from Minorca, 36 years of age. Maria Rosa Ginerini, daughter of the said Ynes and her first husband, from this city, 11 years of age. Ynes Ginerini, daughter of the said Ynes and her first husband, from this city, 10 years of age. Maria, daughter of the aforesaid spouses, from this city,

6 years of age, Paredis, daughter of the aforesaid, from this city, 4 years of age. White males, 1; white females, 5; unbaptized male Negro slaves, 2; unbaptized female Negro slaves, 2; total, 10.

No. 57: Francisco Segui, from Minorca, sailor, 36 years of age. Ysabela Mora, his wife, from Minorca, 32 years of age. Juana Maria, daughter of the aforesaid, from Mosquitos, 12 years of age. Agata Maria, daughter of the aforesaid, from Mosquitos, 9 years of age. White males, 1; white females, 3; total, 4.

No. 58: Juan Villa, from Minorca, weaver, 40 years of age. Maria Anna Cardona, from Minorca, his wife, 35 years of age. Margarita, daughter of the aforesaid, from Mosquitos, 11 years of age. Agata, daughter of the aforesaid, from this city, 6 years of age. Maria Ana, daughter of the aforesaid, from this city, 1 year of age. White males, 2; white females, 4; two baptized male Negro slaves, 2; two baptized female Negro slaves, 2; total, 9.

No. 59: Marcial Pons, from Minorca, tavernkeeper and farmer, 36 years of age. Juana Villa, his wife, from Minorca, 30 years of age. Antonia, daughter of the aforesaid, from this city, 5 years of age. Agata, daughter of the aforesaid, from this city, 3 years of age. Francisco, son of the aforesaid, from this city, 9 months of age. White males, 2; white females, 3; Maria, catechumen slave, 1; total, 6.

No. 60: Antonio Berta, from Italy, tavernkeeper, 25 years of age. Mariana Zans, his wife, from Minorca, 20 years of age. Catarina Mir, daughter of the said Mariana and her first husband, from this city, 3 years of age. Michaela Mir, daughter of the aforesaid and her first husband, from this city, 9 months of age. White males, 1; white females, 3; Catholic female Negro slave, 1; total, 5.

No. 61: Miguel Segui, from Minorca, carpenter, 36 years of age. Clara Rosario, his wife, from Minorca, 37 years of age. Margarita, daughter of the aforesaid, from Mosquitos, unmarried, 13 years of age. Magdalena, daughter of the same, from Mosquitos, 11 years of age. Clara, daughter of the same, from Mosquitos, 9 years of age. Juana, daughter of the same, from this city, 6 years of age. Nicolas, son of the same, from this city, 3 years of age. White males, 2; white females, 5; total, 7.

No. 62: Joseph Buchoni, from Italy, sailor, 39 years of age. Maria Costa, his wife, from Minorca, 30 years of age. Maria Mauriry, daughter of the said Maria and her first husband, from

Mosquitos, 11 years of age. Miguel Mauriri, son of the same and her first husband, from this city, 7 years of age. White males, 2; white females, 2; total, 4.

No. 63: Nicolas Nicolik, from Italy, sailor, 40 years of age. Josepha Coll, his wife, from Minorca, 30 years of age. Josepha Femanias, daughter of the aforesaid and her first husband, 11 years of age. Martin, son of the said spouses, from this city, 2 years of age. Juan Barber, native of Minorca, unmarried, sailor, agregado, 25 years of age. White males, 3; white females, 2; total, 5.

No. 64: Marcos Andres, from Minorca, sailor, 26 years of age. Mariana Fuceliny, his wife, from Minorca, 28 years of age. Antonio Posill, son of the said Mariana and her first husband, from this city, 7 years of age. Marcos, son of the said spouses, from this city, 4 years of age. Antonia, daughter of the aforesaid, from this city, 2 years of age. Rafael, son of the aforesaid, from this city, 6 months of age. White males, 4; white females, 2; total, 6.

No. 65: Francisco Pellicer, from Minorca, carpenter, 39 years of age. Juana Villa, his wife, from Minorca, 22 years of age. Antonio Pellicer, son of the said Francisco and his first wife, from Mosquitos, 12 years of age. Juana Pellicer, daughter of the said Francisco and his first wife, from Mosquitos, 10 years of age. Maria, daughter of the said spouses, from this city, 2 years of age. White males, 2; white females, 3; unbaptized female Negro slave, 1; total, 6.

No. 66: Santiago Prast, from Minorca, farmer, 50 years of age. Margarita Vivas, native of Minorca, his wife, 37 years of age. Benedita Alcina, daughter of Bartolomeo, agregada, 14 years of age. White males, 1; white females, 2; total, 3.

No. 67: Maria Triay, widow, from Minorca, 50 years of age. Francisco Triay, widower, from Minorca, farmer, 36 years of age. White males, 1; white females, 1; male Negro slaves, 2; two baptized female Negro slaves, 2; total, 6.

No. 68: Juan Triay, from Minorca, farmer, 32 years of age. Juana Ximenes, his wife, from Minorca, 35 years of age. Joseph Baya, son of the said Juana and her first husband, from this city, 9 years of age. Juan Triay, son of the said spouses, from this city, 5 years of age. Francisco, son of the aforesaid, from this city, 4 years of age. Guillermo, son of the aforesaid, from this city, 2 years of age. White males, 5; white females, 1; unbaptized male Negro slave, 1; total, 7.

No. 69: Joseph Carreres, from Minorca, farmer, 31 years of age. Juana Andrea, his wife, from Minorca, 40 years of age. Maria, daughter of the aforesaid, from this city, 5 years of age. Juan, son of the aforesaid, from this city, 7 months of age. Domingo Vals, son of the said Juana and her first husband, from Mosquitos, cooper, unmarried, 15 years of age. Diego Carreras, from Minorca, unmarried, caulker, agregado, 25 years of age. White males, 4; white females, 2; total, 6.

No. 70: Rafael Ximenes, from Minorca, farmer, 50 years of age. Maria Ramalera, his wife, from Minorca, 35 years of age. Maria, daughter of the aforesaid, from this city, 7 years of age. Esperanza, daughter of the same, from this city, 4 years of age. Catarina, daughter of the same, from this city, 2 years of age. White males, 1; white females, 4; unbaptized male Negro slave, 1; total, 6.

No. 71: Antonio Tudidicho, from Italy, sailor, unmarried, 40 years of age. Ana Yacens, married with her husband absent, Catholic, from Ireland, 32 years of age. White males, 1; white female, 1; total, 2.

No. 72: Demetrio Tudelache, sailor, from Candia, 40 years of age. Maria Braus, his wife, from Santurin, 50 years of age. Miguel Costa, son of the said Maria and another husband, from Corsica, 24 years of age. Jorge Costa, son of the aforesaid and another husband, from Corsica, sailor, 20 years of age. Nicolas, son of the said spouses, from Mosquitos, sailor, 14 years of age. White males, 4; white females, 1; total, 5.

No. 73: Joseph Espinete, from Minorca, fisherman, 40 years of age. Maria Treal, his wife, from Minorca, 48 years of age. Francisco, son of the aforesaid, from Mosquitos, 13 years of age. White males, 2; white female, 1; total, 3.

No. 74: Francisco Marin, shoemaker, from Catalonia, 63 years of age. Magdalena Escudero, his wife, from Minorca, 53 years of age. Antonio Lambias, carpenter, agregado, from Minorca, 25 years of age. Jorge Medechy, grandson of the said Marin, unmarried, from Mosquitos, 13 years of age. Magdalena Medechy, granddaughter of the aforesaid, from Mosquitos, 9 years of age. Francisco, grandson of the same, from this city, 5 years of age. Elias Medechy, widower, from Corsica, shoemaker, 36 years of age. White males, 5; white females, 2; total, 7.

No. 75: Juan Jenovardy, farmer, from Minorca, 46 years of age. Antonia Morillo, his wife, from Minorca, 36 years of age.

Francisco, son of the said Juan and his first wife, sailor, unmarried, from Majorca, 22 years of age. Martin Pellicer, son of the said Antonia and her first husband, from Minorca, 20 years of age. Margarita, daughter of the said spouses, from this city, 5 years of age. Juana, daughter of the aforesaid, from this city, 3 years of age. Maria Antonia, daughter of the same, from this city, 2 months of age. White males, 3; white females, 4; total, 7.

No. 76: Juan Yenocly, widower, carpenter, from Mani, 36 years of age. Pedro Dimalachy, carpenter, widower, from Corsica, 38 years of age. Maria, daughter of the said Pedro, unmarried, from Mosquitos, 13 years of age. Nicolas, son of the said Pedro, from this city, 7 years of age. White males, 3; white females, 1; unbaptized male Negro slaves, 2; unbaptized female Negro slaves, 1; total, 7.

No. 77: Margarita Guibarnau, married with her husband absent, from Minorca, 38 years of age. Ana Capele, daughter of the aforesaid, from Mosquitos, 12 years of age. Francisco, son of the same, from this city, 6 years of age. White males, 1; white females, 2; total, 3.

No. 78: Francisco Arnau, sailor, from Minorca, 40 years of age. Clara Preto, his wife, from Minorca, 36 years of age. Francisca, unmarried, daughter of the aforesaid, from Mosquitos, 14 years of age. Antonia, unmarried, daughter of the same, from Mosquitos, 12 years of age. Santiago, son of the same, from Mosquitos, 10 years of age. Francisca, daughter of the same, from this city, 6 years of age. White males, 2; white females, 4; total, 6.

No. 79: Miguel Villalonga, farmer, from Minorca, 29 years of age. Rafaela Mercadal, his wife, from Minorca, 26 years of age. Agueda, daughter of the aforesaid, from this city, 5 years of age. Rafaela, daughter of the same, from this city, 2 years of age. Francisca, daughter of the same, from this city, 3 months of age. White males, 1; white females, 4; total, 5.

No. 80: Juan Careras, carpenter, from Minorca, 40 years of age. Maria Triay, his wife, from Minorca, 21 years of age. Margarita, daughter of the aforesaid, from this city, 1 and a half years of age. White males, 1; white females, 2; total, 3.

No. 81: Juan Seguy, farmer, from Minorca, 30 years of age. Agueda Enrique, his wife, from Minorca, 24 years of age. Benito, son of the aforesaid, from this city, 2 years of age. Matheo, son of the same, from this city, 3 months of age. White males, 3; white females, 1; total, 4.

No. 82: Pedro Fezua, farmer, from Minorca, 30 years of age. Francisca Pretos, his wife, from Minorca, 29 years of age. White males, 1; white females, 1; total, 2.

No. 83: Juan Lorenzo, mason, from Minorca, 31 years of age. Maria Villa, his wife, from Minorca, 28 years of age. Mariana, daughter of the aforesaid, from this city, 7 years of age. Juan, son of the same, from this city, 5 years of age. Francisco, son of the same, from this city, 3 years of age. Antonia, daughter of the same, from this city, 1 year of age. White males, 3; white females, 3; total, 6.

No. 84: Juana Maria Albertiny, married to a soldier, from Minorca, 33 years of age. Cristoval Reyes, son of the aforesaid and her first husband, unmarried, from Mosquitos, 14 years of age. Juan Reyes, son of the same and her first husband, from Mosquitos, 10 years of age. Mariana, daughter of the same and her first husband, from this city, 8 years of age. Catarina, daughter of the same and her first husband, from this city, 6 years of age. White males, 2; white females, 3; total, 5.

No. 85: Francisco Del Medo, sailor, from Minorca, 36 years of age. Juana Vens, his wife, from Minorca, 26 years of age. Pedro, son of the aforesaid, from this city, 2 years of age. Ana Maria, daughter of the aforesaid, from this city, 6 days of age. White males, 2; white females, 2; total, 4.

No. 86: Ana Ferrer, widow, from Minorca, 60 years of age. Pedro Luel, nephew of the aforesaid, widower, sailor, from Minorca, 40 years of age. White males, 1; white females, 1; total, 2.

No. 87: Joseph Arnau, farmer, from Minorca, 24 years of age. Ana Agornes, his wife, from Mosquitos, 17 years of age. White males, 1; white female, 1; total, 2.

No. 88: Pablo Sabate, farmer, from Minorca, 25 years of age. Antonia Ortegas, his wife, from Minorca, 23 years of age. Miguel, son of the aforesaid, from this city, 2 years of age. Catarina, daughter of the aforesaid, from this city, 3 months of age. Ana Ceres Gonzales, widow, from Minorca, agregada, 47 years of age. Pedro Esua, unmarried, farmer, from Minorca, agregado, 36 years of age. White males, 3; white females, 3; unbaptized male Negro slave, 1; total, 7.

No. 89: Juan Triay Pons, fisherman, from Minorca, 40 years of age. Antonia Tray, his wife, from Minorca, 38 years of age. Juana, daughter of the said Antonia and another husband, from



Mosquitos, 11 years of age. Antonio, son of the same and her first husband, unmarried, from Mosquitos, 13 years of age. White males, 2; white females, 2; total, 4.

No. 90: Pedro Osias, sailor, from France, 36 years of age. Maria Ortegas, his wife, from Minorca, 26 years of age. Pedro, son of the aforesaid, from this city, 4 years of age. Ana, daughter of the aforesaid, from this city, 1 year of age. White males, 2; white females, 2; total, 4.

No. 91: Joseph Hernandez, mason, from Minorca, 40 years of age. Maria Mier, his wife, from Minorca, 27 years of age. Martina, daughter of the aforesaid, from Mosquitos, unmarried, 12 years of age. Catarina, daughter of the aforesaid, from this city, 7 years of age. Joseph, son of the aforesaid, from this city, 4 years of age. Maria, daughter of the aforesaid, from this city, 1 and a half years of age. Gabriel, son of the aforesaid, from this city, 1 month of age. White males, 3; white females, 4; total, 7.

No. 92: Lorenzo Capela, fisherman, from Minorca, 23 years of age. Catarina Duran, his wife, from Mosquitos, 15 years of age. Geronima, daughter of the aforesaid, from this city, 4 months of age. White males, 1; white females, 2; total, 3.

No. 93: Joseph Hernandez Cardona, farmer, from Minorca, 40 years of age. Juana Llina, his wife, from Minorca, 50 years of age. Juan Puma, son of the aforesaid and her first husband, unmarried, fisherman, from Minorca, 21 years of age. White males, 2; white females, 1; total, 3.

No. 94: Jorge Clak, sailor, from Minorca, 30 years of age. Ynes Pablo, his wife, from Minorca, 38 years of age. Pedro Durante, son of the aforesaid and her first husband, from Mosquitos, 11 years of age. Andres Bron, son of the said spouses, from this city, 4 years of age. Jorge Clak, son of the aforesaid, from this city, 10 months of age. Antonia Clak, unmarried, native of Minorca, agregada, 50 years of age. White males, 4; white females, 2; total, 6.

No. 95: Luis Soche, sailor, from Italy, 48 years of age. Antonia Tremol, his wife, from Minorca, 28 years of age. Francisco Tremol, sailor, unmarried, agregado, from Minorca, 24 years of age. White males, 2; white females, 1; total, 3.

No. 96: Gabriel Triay, carpenter, from Minorca, 30 years of age. Margarita Sans, his wife, from Minorca, 25 years of age. Antonio, son of the aforesaid, from this city, 4 years of age.

Gabriel, son of the aforesaid, from this city, 6 months of age. White males, 3; white females, 1; total, 4.

No. 97: Alberto Ruger, caulker, from Minorca, 31 years of age. Antonia Villa, his wife, from Minorca, 26 years of age. Catalina, daughter of the aforesaid, from this city, 3 years of age. Ramon, son of the aforesaid, from this city, 1 year of age. White males, 2; white females, 2; total, 4.

No. 98: Antonio Rey, farmer, from Minorca, widower, 35 years of age. Antonia, daughter of the aforesaid, from Mosquitos, 12 years of age. White males, 1; white females, 1; total, 2.

No. 99: Mateo Pelegrino, farmer, from Leghorn, 36 years of age. Ana Maria, his wife, from Minorca, 30 years of age. Fernando, son of the said Mateo and his first wife, from Mosquitos, 11 years of age. Maria, daughter of the said spouses, from this city, 2 years of age. White males, 2; white females, 2; total, 4.

No. 100: Joachin Macheochi, sailor, from Italy, 32 years of age. Magdalena, his wife, from Minorca, 26 years of age. Juan, son of the aforesaid, from Mosquitos, 12 years of age. Juan Pons, from Mosquitos, agregado, 14 years of age. Margarita, from Mosquitos, also agregada, 11 years of age. White males, 3; white females, 2; total, 5.

No. 101: Juan Pons, farmer, from Minorca, 25 years of age. Juana Andreu, his wife, from Mosquitos, 14 years of age. White males, 1; white females, 1; total, 2.

No. 102: Guillermo McPrery, widower, from Ireland (widower), considered a Minorcan, trader, 47 years of age. White male, 1.

No. 103: Pedro Estopa, from Minorca, farmer, 36 years of age. Ana Quintana, his wife, from Minorca, 42 years of age. Margarita, daughter of the said Pedro and his first wife, unmarried, from Mosquitos, 12 years of age. White males, 1; white females, 2; total, 3.

No. 104: Ana Turan, widow from Minorca, 60 years of age. Pedro Triay, son of the aforesaid, farmer, from Minorca, 37 years of age. Gabriel Turan, brother of the aforesaid, sailor, from Minorca, 46 years of age. White males, 2; white female, 1; total, 3.

No. 105: Juan Capo, farmer, from Minorca, 54 years of age. Agueda Siguera, his wife, from Minorca, 50 years of age. Pedro, son of the said Juan and his first wife, from Mosquitos, 14 years of age. Juan, son of the said Juan and his second wife, from

Mosquitos, 6 years of age. Gabriel, son of the same and his second wife, from this city, 4 years of age. Margarita Castell, daughter of the said Agueda and her first husband, unmarried, from Mosquitos, 14 years of age. White males, 4; white females, 2; total, 6.

No. 106: Anastacio Mabrunati, farmer, from Milo, 35 years of age. Francisca Llabres, his wife, from Minorca, 25 years of age. Antonio, son of the aforesaid, native of this city, 9 years of age. Maria, daughter of the aforesaid, from this city, 4 years of age. Catarina, daughter of the aforesaid, from this city, 1 year of age. White males, 2; white females, 3; unbaptized male Negro slave, 1; total, 6.

No. 107: Bernardo Arnau, farmer, from Minorca, 36 years of age. Maria Sans, his wife, from Minorca, 28 years of age. Pedro Llambris, son of the said Maria and her first husband, from this city, 5 years of age. White males, 2; white females, 1; total, 3.

No. 108: Lazaro Hortegas, farmer, from Minorca, 30 years of age. Catarina Llabres, his wife, from Minorca, 25 years of age. Catarina, daughter of the aforesaid, from this city, 5 years of age. Francisca, daughter of the aforesaid, from this city, 1 year of age. White males, 1; white females, 3; total, 4.

No. 109: Bartolomeo Alcina, farmer, from Minorca, 46 years of age. Maria, his wife, from Minorca, 38 years of age. Maria, daughter of the aforesaid, from this city, 2 years of age. White males, 1; white females, 2; total, 3.

No. 110: Miguel Gracias, farmer, from Minorca, 30 years of age. Antonia Espineta, his wife, from Minorca, 27 years of age. Miguel Gracias, from this city, son of the aforesaid, 2 years of age. Margarita, daughter of the aforesaid, from this city, 6 months of age. White males, 2; white females, 2; total, 4.

No. 111: Pedro Mestre, farmer, from Minorca, 38 years of age. Maria Andreu, his wife, from Minorca, 30 years of age. Juan, son of the aforesaid, from this city, 6 years of age. Angela, daughter of the aforesaid, from this city, 4 years of age. Maria, daughter of the aforesaid, from this city, 11 months of age. White males, 2; white females, 3; total, 5.

No. 112: Tomas Andreu, farmer, from Minorca, 26 years of age. Margarita Pretos, his wife, from Minorca, 22 years of age. Juan, son of the said Tomas and his first wife, from this city, 5 years of age. Francisca, daughter of the said spouses, from this city, 1 year of age. White males, 2; white females, 2; total, 4.

No. 113: Juan Andreu, farmer, from Minorca, 42 years of age. Catarina Pons, his wife, from Minorca, 43 years of age. Juan, son of the aforesaid, from Mosquitos, 16 years of age. Miguel, son of the aforesaid, from Mosquitos, also unmarried, 13 years of age. Antonio, son of the aforesaid, from the same, 10 years of age. Francisca, daughter of the aforesaid, from this city, 7 years of age. White males, 4; white females, 2; total, 6.

No. 114: Domingo Segui, farmer, from Minorca, 23 years of age. Margarita Segui, his wife, from the same, 26 years of age. Domingo Segui, son of the aforesaid, from this city, 3 years of age. White males, 2; white female, 1; total, 3.

Married couples in this section of Minorcans, etc., 97. White males, 241; white females, 228; male Negroes, 33; female Negroes, 37; total, 539.

## BOOK REVIEWS

*Indian Traders of the Southeastern Spanish Borderlands: Pantón, Leslie & Company and John Forbes & Company, 1783-1847.* By William S. Coker and Thomas D. Watson. (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1986. xix, 428 pp. Maps and illustrations, table, foreword, acknowledgments, abbreviations used, introduction, summary and conclusions, appendix, bibliography, index. \$30.00.)

As that eminent scholar of the Florida frontier, the late J. Leitch Wright, points out in his foreword, students of borderlands history welcome this volume delineating the complicated operations of Pantón, Leslie & Company. Because of the key role which these traders played in the diplomacy of the Old Southwest, Coker and Watson's research illuminates the dim corners of a documentary labyrinth. Through their analysis of company operations across the northeastern Gulf rim, the authors give color, detail, and shape to scenes of international intrigue and entrepreneurial enterprise.

For almost forty years the partnerships bought and sold, imported and exported, begged and blustered, sued and were sued, and profited and lost, in striving to keep their business alive. Several of the firm's members had operated in South Carolina and Georgia before the American Revolution, but as citizens they found disloyalty to the king unpalatable. William Pantón, one of those who saw more credits posted on the British ledger than in the American columns, moved to the Floridas.

Headquartered first in East Florida, and later in West Florida at Pensacola, Pantón's new firm not only backed the struggling English government, but also became the principal supplier for the Indian trade. Possessing two essentials for business success—credit and supply—Pantón, Leslie survived against all odds. When the Floridas were returned to Spain in 1783, the opportunistic firm scrambled to retain their painstakingly-built network of exchange. Because there was no Spanish firm prepared to supplant them, and because Pantón had transportation, sources of supply, long-term credit, and skillful traders, Spain reluctantly accepted a foreign business within its bor-

derlands. As the authors carefully explain, the company's cause was assisted by assigning a fractional partnership share to the charismatic Alexander McGillivray, who dominated Creek affairs and international diplomacy on the southern frontier from 1783 until his death, probably at William Panton's home in Pensacola, in 1793.

From 1793 until the United States obtained the Floridas, the firm's activities represent an early lesson in multinational business. Despite constantly juggling capital, credit, supply, transportation, real estate, marketing, sales, and litigation, Panton, Leslie remained solvent. One suspects the company would have been at home in the modern corporate world.

Clearly revealed is the role of the Gulf coast as an international frontier in the last decades of the eighteenth century, a theater which hosted such diplomatic players as Spain, the United States, France, and Great Britain, the Creek leader Alexander McGillivray and his rivals, business entrepreneurs such as Panton and his competitors, and adventurers like William Augustus Bowles and Louis Milfort. So central was the role of Panton, Leslie that its operations are fundamental to our understanding of the larger contests.

All those who have pursued research topics in the Old Southwest applaud the exhaustive mining of the sources reflected both in this historical narrative and in the mass of Panton, Leslie papers now gathered at the University of West Florida under the direction of Professor Coker. An exceedingly complex story was unraveled in this well-told tale solving the mystery behind the numerous roles played by the firm. Coker and Watson should be congratulated for their indefatigable perseverance in bringing this study to fruition. Certainly they richly deserve the Rembert W. Patrick Prize for 1986 recently awarded their book by the Florida Historical Society. As they willingly admit, they have told the story only in part; others should follow the paths they have opened. Fortunately, their publication has closed another gap in the early history of Florida and the southern frontier.

*Gator History: A Pictorial History of the University of Florida.* By Samuel Proctor and Wright Langley. (Gainesville: South Star Publishing Company, 1986. 272 pp. Foreword, sponsors, index, photo credits, authors' acknowledgments, publisher's acknowledgments. \$37.95.)

The authors have produced a very attractive pictorial history which ought to be of interest to anyone who has been associated with the University of Florida or its hometown, Gainesville. The book boasts an impressive collection of both color and black and white pictures, illustrating not only the University but also its predecessors and a number of early Gainesville scenes. The pictorial section, compiled by Wright Langley, is the larger portion of the book, some 194 pages being devoted to it. Pictures of the earliest days are understandably scarce, but the authors did discover a portrait of 1853 East Florida Seminary (Ocala) founder Gilbert Kingsbury and photographs of the school when it was located in Gainesville soon after the Civil War. Early scenes from the Lake City Florida Agricultural College and the Bartow Florida Military College are also included.

In 1905 the Legislature abolished the earlier institutions and consolidated their functions in the University of Florida and Florida Female College. In 1906, the University of Florida opened in Gainesville. Of the nine "chapters" of pictures in this volume, eight graphically represent the years since 1905. They provide glimpses into residence life, sports events and figures, social activities, classroom studies, administrators and faculty members, and the gradual physical growth of the campus to its present huge size.

The narrative portion of the volume was written by Samuel Proctor. It details many aspects of campus life in a Victorian age which will seem incredible to recent graduates. It also tells a tale of state economic support for the infant institution which was niggardly at best. In 1908 the first president and his students themselves built a small engineering lab after selling firewood to the people of Gainesville to get money for building materials. When funds for the first gymnasium ran out, the New York Giants paid for its completion in exchange for holding their spring training in Gainesville. "Dutch" Stanley, named football coach in 1932 at \$3,600, supplemented his salary as a WPA bricklayer. The 1906 football coach had also been required to play fullback.

Salaries of the first faculty were lower than in any other southern state university. The highest salary in 1910 was \$1,600 for twelve months. In addition to teaching three times as many classes as do today's faculty, professors were expected to advise students, supervise clubs, coach athletic teams, and serve on committees. The dean of Arts and Sciences taught four classes of Latin and three of Greek in addition to being dean and also director of the Graduate School.

The modern University clearly begins to emerge after the appointment of John J. Tigert in 1928. Promised \$10,000 per year when he was appointed president, Tigert never received that much, and was being paid only \$8,600 when he retired in 1947. During his long tenure, however, authoritarian rule of the University gave way to faculty participation, a general education program was established, academic quality and student admission standards were raised, a reputable graduate program was instituted, a Phi Beta Kappa chapter was chartered, the football stadium was built, and in Tigert's last year coeducation came to the University. Tigert was also instrumental in founding the Southeastern Conference in 1932.

Tigert's successor, J. Hillis Miller, inherited the great expansion era of the University as World War II veterans swarmed into the school. Enrollment tripled, the physical plant expanded tremendously, the size of the faculty grew rapidly as new colleges and departments were created, and the medical complex was begun which was to bear Miller's name after his sudden death in 1953. J. Wayne Reitz followed Miller and confronted problems of a somewhat different nature. Continued growth, with all its problems, became a permanent feature of the University. Social changes came, too, with the racial integration of the school, the disappearance of the old "in loco parentis" philosophy, and the emergence of coed dormitories. The Reitz years also saw the founding of new state universities and the organization of a State University System under a chancellor. Population shifts, a reapportioned legislature, and the financial demands of new state universities brought economic problems to this formerly dominant state institution.

The late 1960s and early 1970s were tumultuous times during the Stephen C. O'Connell administration. Militant black students and equally militant anti-war protestors brought disturbances of a new sort to the campus. In athletics, however, the



University was fielding bowl-class football teams under Coaches Graves and Dickey and in academics the University was emerging as a nationally-ranked educational institution with important research missions in numbers of fields.

Robert Q. Marston who followed O'Connell recognized state problems in financing a University System and made a major contribution in enlarging the University's base of private financial support. From private endowments of about \$15,000,000 in 1974, Marston set in motion initiatives which increased that sum to \$150,000,000 by 1986. During his tenure new efforts were emphasized to attract top-flight students from Florida and the nation to the University, and Eminent Scholar Chairs were created to lure top-flight professors. Largely as a consequence of Marston's programs, early in the presidency of Marshall Criser the University was admitted into the academically exclusive Association of American Universities. Though he also inherited "the great football scandal," Criser assumed the leadership in 1983 of an economically stable University with a most promising future.

Though this is not a definitive history, it is an attractive book which is well-written and illustrated and should prove to be widely popular. Many of the excellent photographs are rare and never before published. Though the narrative portion numbers only forty-five double columned pages, it is remarkably detailed and balanced despite its brevity. There are very few typographical errors, and it is too bad many of them occur in proper names. This blemish has been corrected in a second printing of *Gator History*.

*University of Florida*

HERBERT J. DOHERTY, JR.

*Palm Beach County: An Illustrated History.* By Donald W. Curl. (Northridge, CA: Windsor Publications, Inc., 1986. 223 pp. Acknowledgments, bibliography, index, \$24.95.)

The lure of this book is immediate: the romantic old Royal Poinciana Hotel in full color on its cover, a flip-through showing splendid photographs. But it is far more than a coffee table charmer. The author, Donald W. Curl, has written a clear narrative about one of the world's great resort areas. Palm Beach

County is his adopted turf— he is a history professor at Florida Atlantic University. An earlier book by Dr. Curl, and a valuable contribution to Florida history, is *Mizner's Florida: American Resort Architecture*.

Florida's lower east coast slowly developed during the nineteenth century around two nuclei, Lake Worth and Biscayne Bay. Dade County, created in 1836, embraced them both. They were to share the Indian wars, homesteading, the barefoot mailman, and Henry Flagler's railroad. From 1889 to 1899 Dade County's seat was Juno near Lake Worth, a circumstance resented by Bay folks who got it back in 1899. In 1909 Palm Beach County was created.

"Playground for the Elite" the author calls Palm Beach where, at the turn of the century, the short and extravagant winter season had a theatrical setting. The two great Flagler hotels, the Royal Poinciana and The Breakers, were so "social" that a proper lady found it necessary to have seven changes of costume per day. The dining room of the Royal Poinciana seated 1,600 and required the services of 400 waiters.

After World War I and after a fresh batch of American millionaires had emerged, many great private homes were built at Palm Beach. Several of these were designed by Addison Mizner who adapted elements of Mediterranean architecture to resort living— exemplified in estates such as El Mirasol of the Edward Stotesburys. Another of the palatial homes was Maralago built by Marjorie Merriweather Post. Now the very elite no longer needed to spend their social hours at the hotels; they entertained in their homes, sometimes with as many as 500 guests at a time. They also joined private clubs to dine, dance, play polo, or gamble. Colonel Edward Bradley's casino operated for almost fifty years despite the illegality of gambling in Florida.

The Boom of the 1920s was a sizzler. For example, a company headed by Mizner undertook a grandiose scheme to make Boca Raton into a great resort. The company claimed that the stockholders represented one-third of the wealth of the United States. Maybe so, but by 1927 it was bankrupt.

For the most part the author renders unto the Lake the events and people of the Lake, but he seems to go overboard in claiming the Sam Lewis murders. True, it was at Lake Worth that a mob hanged Lewis to a telegraph pole, but in 1895 Lewis

was operating a saloon in Lemon City, then the location of the railroad construction camp. It was there that he committed his murders— three— all within a niblick shot of Biscayne Bay.

*Palm Beach County* is enhanced by a century of historic photographs collected and identified by Fred L. Eckel. The volume also includes a section, "Partners in Progress," by John P. Johnson, giving the history and achievements of about fifty organizations and businesses in the county, including hospitals, colleges, and a very important one, the Historical Society of Palm Beach County, which cooperated to make this book a record of which all can be proud.

*Coral Gables, Florida*

THELMA PETERS

*Outposts on the Gulf: Saint George Island & Apalachicola from Early Exploration to World War II.* By William Warren Rogers. (Pensacola: University of West Florida Press, 1987. xxv, 297 pp. Illustrations, acknowledgments, introduction, bibliography, index. \$28.95.)

This first volume of a proposed two-volume work traces the history of Saint George Island and Apalachicola, Florida, from the time Florida became a possession of the United States in 1821 to 1941.

In 1821 there were only two communities of any significance (St. Augustine and Pensacola) in Florida. Upon acquiring territorial status, however, new communities sprang up on this new American frontier. One such community was Apalachicola located where the Apalachicola River empties into Apalachicola Bay which is separated from the Gulf of Mexico by Saint George Island. The Chattahoochee River and the Flint River converge to form the Apalachicola River at the Georgia-Florida border. Apalachicola became a major port for farmers and planters along this river system in Alabama, Georgia, and Florida. It also provided goods to merchants in the developing river towns. Ships arrived with their holds filled with goods from American and foreign ports, and cleared Apalachicola Bay laden with cotton. By 1850 Apalachicola was the third largest cotton port on the Gulf of Mexico (behind New Orleans and Mobile). However,

by the end of the decade it had fallen on hard times because of a deteriorating river system, competition for traffic from railroads, and from mills in Georgia which used the area's cotton.

Apalachicola and Saint George Island played a minor role in the Civil War, but the author gives lively accounts of forays by personnel of the East Gulf Blockading Squadron, the exploits of the blockade runners, the naval activity on the river system, and the guerrilla actions by the Confederates. As in other parts of the South, the populace suffered considerable deprivation.

Apalachicola was unable to revitalize itself in the post-war period. The antebellum problems of a deteriorating river system and port facilities and competition from railroads north of Florida which carried the cotton of Georgia and Alabama north and east to the textile mills, continued to plague the town. Lumber and seafood eventually became the mainstays of Apalachicola's economy, but these industries could not sustain the growth that had been anticipated for this once-thriving community.

The last ten of the sixteen chapters are devoted largely to tracing the ownership of Saint George Island, to describing promotional schemes for its development, and to outlining the growth of Apalachicola's seafood industry. William Lee Popham emerges in these chapters as the prime motivator for the development in Apalachicola during the 1920s and 1930s. The activities of this poet, writer, lecturer, minister, promoter, and businessman make an intriguing and fascinating story of one whose crafty promotional ventures initially brought him success, but eventually defeat and a prison term.

Warren succeeded in producing a solid narrative account of the history of Apalachicola and Saint George Island up to 1941. The work reflects prodigious research which uncovered a surprising amount of primary and secondary sources that enabled the author to cover his subject adequately. One possibly could question devoting half of the book to the struggle over the ownership of Saint George Island. Perhaps his original intention of writing a history of the island and its various owners explains that choice (p. xv). Although the promotional machinations of Popham to gain and maintain control of the island are fascinating, the reading became somewhat tedious to this reviewer because of the legal terminology explaining the frequent transactions dealing with the island's ownership. However, Warren's

vivid descriptions of the disastrous fire of 1900, the damage from intermittent hurricanes, the construction of lighthouses, the planting and harvesting of oysters, and so on more than offset this minor criticism. This book represents the best in local history and deserves a wide audience.

*University of West Florida*

GEORGE F. PEARCE

*Victorian Florida: America's Last Frontier.* By Floyd and Marion Reinhart. (Atlanta: Peachtree Publishers, Ltd., 1986. 224 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, notes, selected bibliography, index. \$29.95.)

This handsome volume combines a thoroughly researched and well-written history of nineteenth-century Florida tourism with a mass of carefully identified and documented rare contemporary photographs. Taking the period between 1842, when a timetable trip using scheduled trains and steamships became possible between New York City and Palatka, and the end of the nineteenth century, the authors detail the experiences of travelers to the various areas of the state. Through the use of diaries, letters, and travel articles, the reader receives a first-hand impression of what the visitors saw, did, and thought about frontier Florida.

In an overview of Florida tourism, the Rinharts tell how tourists traveled to the state, what advice they received from various guides and articles about the trip, and what they could expect in the way of climate and accommodations once they arrived. Until the 1881-1882 season when railroads began advertising their "Florida routes," the visitor most often combined travel on various rail and steamship lines, breaking their trip in either Charleston or Savannah, the northern ports of steamers from Fernandina or Jacksonville. While both the Clyde and Malory steamship lines continued to offer service to Florida throughout the nineteenth century, improved equipment and faster time schedules meant that by the 1890s most visitors found the railroads more convenient.

Visitors bound for what they saw as a strange and exotic land also sought advice on clothing, equipment, and climate from a number of travel guides. The Rinharts mention that as

early as the 1860s visitors were warned to bring "tinted spectacles" and to leave their dog at home as "he will feed the first alligator you meet in fording a stream" (p. 22). Above all the guide books recommended that the visitors bring mosquito nets and insect repellent.

Although invalids and consumptives found Florida first, sportsmen looking for adventure, and the well-to-do seeking a "winter Newport" soon followed. The Rinharts say that many New Englanders invested in Florida in the period following the Civil War, building boarding houses and small hotels for the winter visitor. While tourists claimed that Vermonters kept the best hotels, like later tourists they also complained about outrageous rates and poor service. In remote regions of the state visitors depended upon the settlers for their hospitality. The authors tell of a horrified tourist who after a night on the floor of a small room and a breakfast of "something fried," found a flea-covered pig circling the breakfast table. The host hastened to reassure: "that yer pig had been brought up just like the children" (p. 29). In contrast to these primitive accommodations, the 1880s saw new and modern hotels built in many areas of the state.

Although the authors ignore no section of the state, nine out of the fourteen chapters cover the east coast and probably accurately gage nineteenth-century tourist interest. Individual chapters treat tourism in St. Augustine, the Halifax and Indian rivers areas, Palm Beach, Miami, and Key West with the story of Henry M. Flagler and his hotels and railroad serving as a focus.

On first glance this volume seemed destined for the coffee table. Certainly in pure visual attractiveness it can compete in this category. At the same time, it is the first serious work on nineteenth-century Florida tourism and as such, makes a major contribution to the field.

*Henry Flagler: The Astonishing Life and Times of the Visionary Robber Baron Who Founded Florida.* By David Leon Chandler. (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1986. x, 324 pp. Acknowledgments, epilogue, appendices, notes, index. \$22.50.)

Florida owes Henry Morrison Flagler so much and yet, amazingly, in the sixty-four years since the great developer's death in 1913, only two full-length biographies of the famous oil tycoon and Florida builder have been published. They are Sidney Martin's scholarly but stodgy *Florida's Flagler*, produced in 1949 and recently reprinted by the University of Georgia Press, and Chandler's hyperbolically titled and immensely readable, *Henry Flagler: The Astonishing Life and Times of the Visionary Robber Baron Who Founded Florida*. A third biography, by Edward N. Akin, published by Kent State University Press will be released shortly.

Chandler, like Martin before him, covers the most salient and well-known facts and events in Flagler's life— his birth and boyhood in upstate New York, his move to Ohio at the age of fourteen in 1854, his connections with the well-heeled Harkness family, his early mercantile successes and failures in the Midwest, his association with John D. Rockefeller and the buildup of the Standard Oil Company, his marriages and family life, and, finally, his great economic venture in Florida with the development of the Florida East Coast Railway, and its resort cities and hotels, farmlands, and citrus industry. But while Chandler treads over old ground, this book is unique, for it provides Florida scholars and Flaglerphiles a new and provocative point of view, one offering a decidedly psycho-historical dimension, one which opens Flagler's closets and rattles skeletons. One must ask, did Flagler really undertake his great Florida enterprise because of a guilty conscience about his first wife's death? (quote page 252: "By transforming a streak of rust and right-of-way through a wilderness into an efficient railway; by developing sandy wastes, sparsely settled, into a productive country with a self-supporting population, Flagler had found a way not only to pacify his guilts but also to satisfy his dormant creative needs.") Was Flagler at one time a womanizer, debouché, and a man who carried grudges? Was Mary Kenan Flagler an opium addict? Chandler scrutinizes everything, personal and public, leaving

no stone unturned. Yet somehow one feels that he is right on track, or at least timely, in his use of modern research methods to ferret out the real Henry Flagler.

The book, while offering an insider's look at Flagler's personal life and lifestyle, is especially good in the sections on the Standard Oil Company and the chapters describing the building of the Key West extension. In addition, the book is chocked full of wonderful anecdotes and interesting facts. Flagler was the sole architect of that nineteenth-century economic nemesis, the monopolistic trust; Flagler's hobby was trotting horses; when the Ponce de Leon Hotel was built in St. Augustine, Flagler brought in black workers who "tamped the liquid coquina gravel into the wooden construction forms with their bare feet while musicians played lively music"; Flagler once owned the Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, the Miami *Herald*, *Metropolis*, and *News*, the St. Augustine *Record*, and the Palm Beach *Daily News*; and that Flagler often travelled incognito. Of such trivia is readable and entertaining history made. In addition, Chandler offers an epilogue and an extensive section on Flagler's genealogy and on America as it was when the Flagler clan moved to the New World. Too, there are comprehensive notes and a splendid index. And, there are photographs, some new, but curiously, not a single one of Mary Kenan. It is obvious that much research and scholarship were expended by the author, and no doubt this work will be, for some time to come, or at least until Dr. Akin's work appears, the definitive biography of Henry M. Flagler, and thereby a research tool of which all Florida scholars should be aware.

Austin, Texas

LINDA VANCE

*Six Galleons for the King of Spain: Imperial Defense in the Early Seventeenth Century.* By Carla Rahn Phillips. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986. 318 pp. Plates, figures, maps, tables, notes, appendixes, bibliography, index. \$37.50.)

An excellent and innovative study, *Six Galleons for the King of Spain* provides the reader with a good overview of the maritime problems facing the Spanish crown in the decades after the



1609-1621 period of truce with the recalcitrant Dutch rebels. The opening chapter— one of the best summaries of the imperial fleet system that connected Sevilla with the principal New World ports— sets the stage for what is, essentially, a prosopographical-like examination of the careers of six galleons built by Miguel de Arana between 1625 and 1628. The author treats not only the ships' construction, launching, and provisioning, but also examines each of the yearly trips they made to the New World as vessels in the Carrera de Indias. This study is well-researched and is an invaluable source for the student of early modern naval history. Indeed, the discussion of provisioning— almost a venture into social history— is unparalleled in its treatment. Prices of various food items which constituted the daily fare of the Spanish seaman, together with their respective nutritional values are provided in one of several useful appendixes.

Phillips's study has both tactical and strategic historical implications. On the imperial level, the author convincingly argues that an effective program of naval reform aimed at correcting the downward turn in Spanish (Basque) ship construction was implemented during the reign of Philip III. This, of course, dovetails with J. I. Israel's argument that Spanish withdrawal from northern European military entanglements after 1609 signified a reorientation of Spanish imperial energy towards maritime— and especially Mediterranean— concerns rather than an indication of Hapsburg weakness and inaction. On the tactical level, Phillips makes numerous observations, explaining ship construction regulations, problems with provisioning the fleet for the Indies run, and so forth. For example, she demonstrates that the costs of preparing a fleet for a trip to the New World could cost over twice the amount required to build the ships in the first place.

The preparation of this book took the author to each of the various Spanish archives usually exploited by colonial historians, most of the work being undertaken at the Archivo General de Indias in Sevilla. Phillips's thorough research is balanced by a better than usual narrative ability reflecting crafty imagination. This book should be placed on the same shelf that holds the studies of Professors Eugene Lyon and Paul Hoffman.

*Liberty and Power, 1600-1760.* By Oscar and Lilian Handlin. (New York: Harper and Row, 1986. xix, 280 pp. Preface, the issue, notes, index. \$16.95.)

*Liberty and Power* is the first of an anticipated multi-volume series by the Handlins on the general subject of *Liberty in America, 1600 to the Present*. It is not an auspicious beginning. On the one hand, the general reader will find the style difficult, the eschewal of narrative and chronology confusing, and the points too frequently obtuse. On the other, the specialist in the field picking up the book in the expectation of the freshness of some of Handlin's earlier work— his classic study of *Boston's Immigrants* of 1941, for example, or the 1951 *The Uprooted*, works which inspired a generation of scholarship— will be disappointed at best and affronted at worst. Simply put, the book is blunt caricature, entirely devoid of the subtle texture which we have come to expect in contemporary social history.

The thesis of the work is quickly stated. In the Europe from which the first Americans came the unmitigated and violent exercise of power— presumably during the millennium following the fall of Rome, though, like the eighteenth-century philosophers who lodged social theory on an imagined and undated primeval time, the Handlins are not exact— led individuals eventually to seek “the shelter of a group,” gladly yielding “obedience in exchange for protection” (p. 6). The result was, by 1600, an overriding sense of order and a near-stultifying corporate communalism. In the spaciousness of an American wilderness, however, notions of order and community were sloughed aside. Restless, mobile, “adrift in space,” the settlers “found novel means of association.” A “spontaneous” reformulation of government based upon “consent” took place. Power came to be “dispersed and exercised locally.” “Voluntary associations of individuals” replaced the compulsive commonwealth. Rather than commanded by the state, religious “faith . . . sprang from the voluntary decisions of individuals.” And “no longer contained within an encompassing community, the family lost cohesive power and set its members loose to fly or to fall.” Class lines collapsed in the face of the freedom to succeed or fail on one's merits and abilities. “Scrambling about, the individual found it less useful to clutch at privileges attached to a particular status than to reach toward generalized rights useful wherever

he or she might be" (pp. 53, 61, 111, 146, 176, 204). Well before the Revolution, therefore, the Bill of Rights, experientially perceived, was written on the minds and in the hearts of Americans.

In none of this, however, is there a sense of process, evolution, change over time, narrative; the Pilgrims, it seems, stepped from dinghy, to rock, to a new social order all in an instant. To make any given point, moreover, the Handlins draw together context-free quotations and two-sentence vignettes from times and places as far apart as the Maine coast of the 1630s and mid-eighteenth century Georgia. Contradictions abound. On one page colonial Virginia is marked by early marriages, "a rising birthrate, and declining mortality"; eight pages later "the high death rate, the low life expectancy, and the shortage of childbearing women heightened the sense of the sparsity of population in contrast to the abundance of land" (pp. 31, 39). Above all, the scholarship of the last two decades— on both sides of the Atlantic— is consistently ignored or set aside. Where, for example, early American historians have tended to accentuate the strength of English communal life in America, to the Handlins it is merely a matter of the settlers "wistfully" dragging "with them the trappings and restraints from which they flee"; spacious America quickly overcomes such backward glances at the "weary old continent" and infuses all with a healthy individualism (pp. xviii, 113). For their part, contemporary English historians such as Peter Laslett, Alan Macfarlane, or Keith Wrightson simply would not recognize Old England in Handlinarian guise.

In sum, the subject of "liberty in America"— or at least in early America— is still a subject in search of an author.

*University of Florida*

DARRETT B. RUTMAN

*Crown and Calumet: British-Indian Relations, 1783-1815.* By Colin G. Calloway. (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987. xiv, 345 pp. Preface, introduction, conclusion, notes, selected bibliography, index. \$2 1.95.)

Narrative accounts of Indian-white relations usually assign the principal roles to the whites while the Indians appear as

walk-ons or shadowy figures in the background. For about the past two decades ethnohistorical studies have attempted to reverse that pattern by focusing on the Indian viewpoint. In this account of British-Indian relations from 1783 to 1815, Colin C. Calloway has effected a balance between the Indians' and the whites' perspective. Instead of taking the reader through the intricate maze of British policy-making and endless details of its implementation in native America, the author examines attitudes. What did the British and Indians think of each other, he asks, and how did those attitudes influence their relationships with each other? He concludes that racial stereotypes seemed less important in shaping opinions and forming relationships than experience. The British and Indians judged each other primarily on their performance as allies and their effectiveness as trading partners.

Calloway organizes his study topically. Surveying first the momentous changes in Indian society initiated by contact with Europeans, he then looks at British bureaucracy developed to manage Indian relations. The Indian agents were ultimately responsible for implementing and adjusting policy made in London to suit conditions in Indian country. Those agents, he maintains, faced an impossible task of supplying the Indians with arms and ammunition while at the same time restraining them from hostile acts which might bring on war. In analyzing British attitudes towards Indians, the author concludes that most Britons had little interest in how Indians lived and tended to describe Indian societies in negative terms judging them by alien standards. In the absence of testimony from the Indians themselves, Calloway infers their attitudes from British observations of Indian behavior. For example, he notes the numerous comments referring to Indian hauteur and indifference and argues convincingly that Indians refused to regard white civilization as superior to their own and apparently were just as "liable as Europeans to regard themselves as the highest form of existence."

Commercial and military endeavors constituted the basis of British-Indian relationships. Calloway points out that mutual exploitation characterized the fur trade with the Indians using traders to secure credit, goods, guns, and alcohol, while traders used Indians to obtain furs, food, and horses. The generally negative opinions that the British and Indians had of each other

owed largely to the fact that neither had extensive dealings with the best representatives of either culture. The more acculturated and dependent Indians who hung around the trading posts often presented an impression of native Americans as being indolent, drunken, and troublesome. The traders, on the other hand, were notoriously lacking in refinement and virtue. British soldiers had no better opinion of their Indian allies than the traders. In fact, according to the soldiers, the chief advantage of the Indians as allies was negative; as allies they were a dubious asset, but as enemies they were decidedly dangerous. Indians, in turn, considered the British faithless allies with good reason. When the Indians were no longer essential to British commercial or military purposes, the British abandoned them. The Indians reportedly compared the English and the Americans to the blades of a pair of scissors, which did not destroy each other but only the Indians caught between.

A revision of the author's doctoral dissertation, the chief strength of this work is its prodigious research base. Calloway, presently editor and assistant director in the D'Arcy McNickle Center for the History of the American Indian at the Newberry Library in Chicago, has done a masterful job of researching British government and military records, as well as journals of fur traders and travelers. While no startling new conclusions or new information are introduced, the work is valuable for its presentation of both British and Indian attitudes. The author has not allowed his obvious sympathy for the Indian side of this story to paint over Indian faults and prejudices. The work is readable and enhanced by well-chosen illustrations and two excellent maps. Readers of Florida and southern history will find that Calloway focuses on the old Northwest, but his conclusions about the nature of British-Indian relations will generally hold true for the southern frontier.

*University of West Florida*

JANE DYSART

*Zachary Taylor: Soldier, Planter, Statesman of the Old Southwest.* By K. Jack Bauer. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1985. xxiv, 348 pp. Acknowledgments, abbreviations, preface, essay on sources, index. \$29.95.)

K. Jack Bauer's goal is to trace "those parts of Taylor's life that shaped his later actions." Aside from questioning the assumption that there are events in a life that do *not* affect the years to come, no one can fault Bauer on the breadth and depth of his research. His Essay on Sources (in lieu of a bibliography) appears to include every extant document that makes any reference to Taylor. The date of every event in Taylor's life has been found, comprising a virtual biographical diary of his life. True to his goal, Bauer has connected cause to effect with (perhaps) simplistic clarity. For instance, an ineffective militia expedition against Indians along the Wabash in 1812 gave Taylor a "bitter taste" regarding militia that "never left him."

The reader wishing to pursue Bauer's sources will find his essay frustrating. Equally irritating is the selective index. On page 65 alone there are three names that are not listed in the index. Many others share the anonymity of Anderson (of Fort Sumter fame), Gardiner (brother of Captain G. W. Gardiner who fell with Dade), and Wilson. This editorial failure is perhaps also to blame for other problems: an exact repetition of the statement "Taylor kept a close watch on the activities of his plantations" (pp. 107, 108); a mention of "Butler" on page 175 and nine subsequent mentions without giving his rank or first name except in the index; a mention of "his wound" (Butler's) on page 194 without specifying the nature and circumstances of the wound. The patient reader can certainly overcome these problems, but they do not make the reading any easier.

A few of the author's statements will surprise students of the Second Seminole War— "Chief" Osceola "freed 700 Indians" (p. 75); the Okeechobee fight was "the only time the Indians chose to stand and fight" (p. 82). This last would be a surprise to the men of Francis Dade's command.

To write of the past is to attempt a trip back in time. The author of a history or biography can provide a guided tour through rooms or streets or battlefields crowded with the sights, the sounds, and the smells of men and women of the past. Or, he can show us through empty rooms, vacant streets, and silent

fields. Dates and places provide the skeletons of events or people, but to flesh them out, to make them live again, one needs blood, sweat, and tears. Research can provide one as well as the other. Unfortunately Bauer did not find, or at least did not include, the latter.

*Dade City, Florida*

FRANK LAUMER

*The Republican Party and the South, 1855-1877.* By Richard H. Abbott. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986. xiv, 303 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, conclusion, notes, bibliography, index. \$25.00.)

For years, Richard Abbott suggests, scholars have made the wrong assumptions and asked the wrong questions about the Republican party in the South after the Civil War. Assuming that national Republican leaders welcomed the opportunity after 1865 to extend their organization southward and to build a base in the former Confederate states that would help perpetuate Republican hegemony nationwide, we have long sought answers to the question: why were their efforts so dismal a failure?

Republicans failed to build their party in the former Confederacy, Abbott argues, precisely because they did not define a strong southern branch of the party as essential to national success. Far from rejoicing in the opportunities for party-building presented by the Confederate surrender, Republican leaders found the dual problems of reconstruction and party-building decidedly vexing and, occasionally, downright unwelcome.

Despite expedient wartime efforts to organize the party in the border states, Abbott contends, Republicans viewed their party primarily as a (white) northern organization. The party was built in the North, its established leadership was northern, its roots lay in the antislavery, abolitionist, and reform traditions of the prewar period. It lacked both the fiscal resources and the organizational strength to move quickly into the South at the end of the hostilities in 1865. Moreover, its leaders were unsure that a strong southern party, built as it must in large part be on black support, was compatible with the preferences of northern

voters, whose support was essential if Republicans were to control the Congress and the presidency. Southern "traitors" must be punished and southern Democrats prevented from joining with northern Democrats to wrest national control from Republicans. But the corollary scholars have always read into this position— that the southern Democrats could best be contained by a strong southern Republican organization— seems to Abbott not to have been part of national Republican leaders' planning in the early years of Reconstruction. Even the Fourteenth Amendment and the Reconstruction Acts, he argues, offered less a blueprint for Republican party-building in the South than a vehicle for containing and limiting former rebels, an opportunity, in fact, for northern Republicans to leave Southerners to their own devices, rather than an excuse to intervene more decisively.

Those who have plodded through the papers of Republican leaders can scarcely fail to notice the "negative" sorts of evidence which, of necessity, form much of Abbott's case. Plea after plea for intervention by northern party leaders to settle internecine disputes among southern Republicans, to enrich empty southern party coffers, to send speakers, flyers, and other evidences of support, fell into unreceptive hands. Where conscious decisions had to be made, those decisions as often hurt the cause of Republicans (especially, black Republicans) in the South as they aided it. By the mid-1870s the southern party organizations were so clearly an embarrassment to the northern leadership that correspondents could openly discuss the sacrifice of southern state regimes to the needs of the national organization.

Motivation and prior planning, of course, are critical. Here, Abbott gives us less than we would like and less, perhaps, than his evidence would have allowed. The ambivalence of northern Republicans toward a predominantly black southern party has long been recognized. So, too, has the need of northern Republicans to retain control of their own states and of the Congress in the face of strong Democratic challenges in 1866, 1868, and after. That the Republican party's roots were in the North, that its very foundation had been laid in a climate of sectionalism, may have played more of a role than has hitherto been recognized in preventing the transition from a sectional to a truly national organization. What Abbott clearly demonstrates is that Northerners did not concentrate their efforts on building a



strongly national party during Reconstruction and that, given necessary choices between strengthening party organizations in the South and preserving those already established in the North, they consistently favored the northern interests. What he shows less conclusively is that all this occurred by design. There is much evidence that northern Republican leaders attended first, as they always had, to their own organizations. There is perhaps less to suggest that from the first they consciously sacrificed the party's interests and leadership in the South. That Abbott has asked the question and raised the issue, however— even if he has not provided the final answers— represents a genuine contribution.

*Duke University*

ELIZABETH STUDLEY NATHANS

*Old South, New South: Revolutions in the Southern Economy Since the Civil War.* By Gavin Wright. (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1986. x, 321 pp. Preface, notes, suggested readings, index. \$19.95.)

Continuing the study of the American South begun in *The Political Economy of the Cotton South* (1978), Gavin Wright, professor of economics at Stanford University, now focuses on the post-Civil War era. In doing so he adds another to the already long list of "central themes" with his thesis that "the defining feature of this economy in the post-Civil War era was that the South constituted a separate regional labor market, outside the scope of national and international labor markets that were active and effective during the same era" (p. 7). Moreover, he argues that this was not primarily the conscious creation of human agents but a continuation of the traditional pattern of agricultural migration along east-west lines because of familiarity with soil, climate, and crops. Long after 1865 and the demise of slavery, the pattern persisted, not because of oppressive legal barriers or debt peonage, but because people moved to places they knew about and where they had family or friends who could help them settle and find work. As relative southern wages fell in the late nineteenth century and European immigrants flooded into northern factories, Wright suggests that both the economic and

cultural gaps between North and South widened and in many ways were greater in the 1920s and 1930s than at any time since the Civil War.

Emphasizing the point that the major economic discontinuity caused by emancipation was that planters, who had previously been "laborlords more than landlords" (p. 49), became a great landowning class only after the war, Wright adds that the most important continuity was the fact of the South's separateness. Stripped of its antebellum peculiar institution, it became a low-wage region in a high-wage nation. While there was plenty of racial discrimination in the economic sphere also, wages for unskilled southern whites were almost as low as those paid to blacks.

The institutional bases for the separate labor market were, according to Wright, undermined by New Deal legislation in the 1930s. Various farm programs, harsh though they were on the landless, undercut tenancy and turned sharecroppers into wage laborers. Concurrently, labor policies, first under the National Recovery Administration and then under the Fair Labor Standards Act, raised the level of base wage rates in the South. Thus the stage was set for the rapid transformation that began during World War II. Though Wright suggests that the term "colonial economy" has been used polemically and mistakenly more often than not, he sees it in one sense as precisely correct for the South's condition: "a distant economy located within the political jurisdiction of a larger country, subject to laws, markets, policies, and technologies that it would not have chosen had it been independent." But the story's ironic conclusion, Wright adds, is that "the only major act of conscious economic suppression by northern forces, the imposition of a national wage and labor standards beginning in the 1930s was the decisive step" in the abolition of the separate southern economy (p. 270).

Generously sprinkled with graphs and statistical tables, Wright's text, with only a few scattered exceptions, is written in prose that is at least comprehensible to those who are not economists.

*Why ERA Failed: Politics, Women's Rights and the Amending Process of the Constitution.* By Mary Frances Berry. (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1986. ix, 147 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, introduction, appendices, notes, index. \$17.95.)

The Equal Rights Amendment, adopted by the House of Representatives 354-23 and by the Senate 84-8, was sent to the states for ratification on March 22, 1972. In the next twelve months, thirty states, including Florida, ratified the amendment, most by overwhelming majorities. Then as the opposition mobilized, the momentum halted, and, despite a three-year extension in the time limit for ratification, the amendment died in 1982, three states short of the thirty-eight required for ratification. This book joins a number of recent works which attempt to explain why that defeat occurred.

Emphasis is placed in this study on understanding the ERA's defeat in the context of the history of the amending process. The focus is not on the details of the state ratification battles, but on the historical patterns which are recurrent in the efforts to adopt controversial amendments. Thus, in the first half of the book which is devoted to a brief description of the amending process and of the struggles over the Civil War, woman suffrage, prohibition, and child labor amendments, a theory of why amendments pass is developed. The last half of the study applies that theory to the ERA, describing the actions in Congress, the campaigns over state ratification and rescission, and legal developments in the courts and the states relating to the status of women during the ERA years.

Mary Frances Berry, professor of law and history at Howard University and a member of the United States Commission on Civil Rights, argues that the ERA proponents, ignoring the lessons which could be drawn from the history of earlier amendments, "did too little, too late of what is required for ratification of a substantive proposal." Lulled into a false sense of security by their overwhelming victory in the Congress, they failed to recognize the need to demonstrate the amendment's necessity, to develop several separate consensuses in the various and diverse states, and to foresee and counter the arguments that would be posed by opponents. Nor did they take into account the potentially negative impact women and family issues could have, particularly in the South, or recognize that legislative and

judicial gains for women, for which they also worked, could undermine the arguments about the urgent need for the ERA.

Berry draws heavily on congressional debate and court decisions in her analysis. While the author recognizes the issues other scholars have isolated as critical to the ERA's fate, most notably traditional family values, women in combat, the funding of abortions, and the role of the states and of the Supreme Court in the federal system, Berry's primary emphasis is on the preparation and handling of the ERA campaign, not on the substantive issues. In her estimation it is not a particular issue that explains the defeat of the ERA, but the broader failure of the amendment's proponents to understand the nature of the struggle and prepare for it.

The value of this study is not in its presentation of original research or new interpretations of the substantive reasons for the defeat of the ERA, for it does little of either. Rather its contribution rests in putting the ERA struggle into historical perspective and in giving a useful overview of the issue from 1923, the date of the original introduction in Congress, through 1985, by which time the consensus in Congress on the ERA had vanished. The book includes notes, an index, the text of the proposed and ratified amendments discussed, but no bibliography. Compact, clearly written, and non-polemical, it should be of value both to the general reader and to the scholar.

*Jacksonville University*

JOAN S. CARVER

*Lillian Smith: A Southerner Confronting the South, A Biography.*

By Anne C. Loveland. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1986. xii, 298 pp. Acknowledgments, prologue, epilogue, notes, index. \$22.50.)

The Lillian Smith who emerges from Anne C. Loveland's new biography, *Lillian Smith: A Southerner Confronting the South*, little resembles what now seem to be the idealizations of her rendered by earlier writers. Until now, she has been for many a southern heroine. An early modernist (1897-1966), she opposed segregation earlier and more radically than almost anyone else in the South. With her friend, Paula Snelling, she pub-

lished an important journal of southern writing. Born and raised in Jasper, Florida, Lillian Smith wrote, in her novels and non-fiction, her own analyses of the South, her perceptions shaped by her self-education in psychoanalysis, and by her insight into the southern family romance. Loveland gives us—almost despite herself, it sometimes seems—a more credible Smith. This Lillian, as Loveland calls her, must have been taxing to know. At once intimidating and easily hurt, isolated on Old Screamer mountain in Georgia with the admiring but uncritical Paula, blaming Ralph McGill, or her publisher, or the reviewers, or southern liberals for going about the race problem wrong, or silencing her, or even taking away her creativity, indulging in repeated bouts of self-pity, whining at Flannery O'Connor's success—such a Lillian Smith must have presented problems to a biographer of Loveland's cautious and careful turn of mind.

Loveland's initial strategy seems to have been a scrupulous, indeed an overscrupulous objectivity. Although she uses her resources (mainly materials in library collections such as the Lillian Smith Collection at the University of Georgia) with admirable thoroughness, Loveland withholds judgment, evaluation, and even at some points useful contextual information. Ironically, Loveland thus becomes complicit in the isolation of her subject—not a surprise, since Smith apparently was quite good at this form of manipulation. In a chapter called "The Conspiracy of Silence," for instance, Loveland discusses the period in the late 1950s when Smith saw herself being "smothered" by a concerted effort of media men to silence her. Was this Smith's paranoia? Did it happen? What would either mean for an understanding of Smith and her historical moment? One wants Loveland's reflections on the issue. A related disappointment is the paucity of material used from interviews; although she thanks such contemporaries as Virginia Durr and Rollo May, Loveland apparently made little use of their impressions of Smith.

Yet by the later chapters, Loveland writes with far more assurance and structure. The chapters on woman as a theme ("Woman Born of Man," IX), on "Relationships" (X), and on Smith's connections to the emerging civil rights movement and Vietnam policy (XI and XII) are excellent. They are well-organized and well-written with a directness and candor worthy of her subject, and they offer solid contextual material and

Loveland's considered and persuasive judgments. Thanks to Loveland, some of the ironies of the life of this remarkable and prophetic woman are clearer. The Lillian Smith who understood so well the psychodynamics of her culture clung to her own simultaneously idealized and degraded self-image for much of her life. The Lillian Smith who could be so insightful about the politics of race was naively impolitic in her own life. She who could be so open about her desire to reconstruct society without fear or guilt about sex was obsessively secretive about her own sexuality. She who was so eager to be acknowledged and acclaimed remained resistant to being known, defiant in response to honest criticism.

Loveland concludes that as a thinker and a writer, Smith was "generally derivative" and "unexceptional." From her evidence that seems to be the case. Smith had a few clearly articulated and deeply felt ideas which she repeated with courage, but eventually a certain monotony entered into much of her publishing life. Segregation harmed whites as much as blacks; its source was psychological and cultural rather than economic; it serves as a metaphor, like sexism, for the larger human problem of fragmentation; its passing represents the larger human hope of coherence and wholeness through spiritual evolution. Loveland astutely notes that Smith's thinking "rested on a paradox: while emphasizing the role of irrational fears and anxieties in maintaining segregation, she nevertheless insisted that whites would abolish it out of a rational concern for their own interest and general welfare." Yet even though her ideas were paradoxical and derivative—Smith was deeply influenced by the time she spent in China, by Freud, Gandhi, Tillich, and Chardin—they were certainly progressive and even shocking for her time and place. Thus Loveland rightly concludes that Smith is remarkable both for opening herself to "a broader range of thought and experience than most white women of her generation" and for the "role she played in the southern civil rights movement of the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s." Loveland's is a serious, sound, scholarly, and welcome biography of interest to anyone studying race, women, the South, or American modernism. Marred by an initial diffidence, the book's later chapters offer a sensible and persuasive reading of this complicated southern woman.

*The Tombigbee Watershed in Southeastern Prehistory.* By Ned J. Jenkins and Richard A. Krause. (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1986. Preface, introduction, conclusions and interpretations, references cited, index. \$18.95.)

The Tombigbee River is a section of the major river system draining western Alabama. It rises in northwestern Alabama, joins the Blackwarrior River and the Alabama River, and finally flows into the Gulf of Mexico as the Mobile River. During the past decade, this river system has been subjected to various projects conceived and directed by the United States Corps of Engineers. The most ambitious of these has been linkage of the Tombigbee with the Tennessee River. As a result, considerable archaeological work has been required along the watershed to salvage cultural resources threatened by construction or changing water levels.

This book presents the results of fieldwork conducted by the University of Alabama through its Office of Archaeological Research. Central to the presentation of data is a highly refined chronological taxonomy. Initially, the authors discuss the evolution of chronological and taxonomic constructions used by anthropologists and archaeologists. Next, they present a construct for the Tombigbee watershed comprised of stages, traditions, horizons, periods, and variants. In general, this presentation follows the Alabama chronology presented by John A. Walthall in his Paleo-Indian, Archaic, Gulf Formational, Woodland, and Mississippian. The emphasis of the text is on the latter three stages. The authors conclude with a discussion of social organization and its changing structure in the watershed through time.

The emphasis of this book is clearly on material culture, specifically ceramics. The authors present an in-depth ceramic typology tied to a particularizing taxonomy of traditions, horizons, and variants. With this focus, the book only weakly develops other subjects which have become major considerations for archaeologists, particularly geomorphology, environment, and subsistence. The reader has a sense of myriad pottery types which obscures the human element. While considerations of typology are needed, today's standards in archaeology tend to strive from the particular toward a general synthesis of human groups in the natural and cultural environment.

This book should serve as a point of discussion against which

to frame problems of chronology in Alabama. The discussion of chronological problems and the taxonomic devices developed for coping with them is valuable for new and old students who use these constructs without examining their origins or evaluating their biases. The concluding examination of social organization, while not typical of essays on this subject in the present day, is certainly worthwhile reading.

Studies of individual watersheds, such as this one, are needed to develop an awareness of regional growth and variation among prehistoric groups in the southeastern United States. Because riverine environments are a locus for human settlement throughout time, they are excellent points of reference for the study of culture change. The dearth of environmental information makes the presentation less helpful to researchers outside the community of Alabama scholars familiar with the particulars of this area. An overview of the Tombigbee watershed, focused on its geography, geology, and natural resources, would help the reader better appreciate the variety of sites, locales, and findings presented in the chapters detailing cultural stages.

The book is written for the professional. The non-professional reader, trying to gain an understanding of Alabama Indians from this book, will find it difficult to relate his or her knowledge of Alabama groups to the basic presentation.

*Florida State University*

ROCHELLE A. MARRINAN



## BOOK NOTES

With the Columbus Quincentenary approaching in 1992, there has been growing interest in sixteenth-century activities relating to exploration, discovery, and settlement in the Caribbean, Florida, and the Spanish borderlands. *Boldly Onward*, by Lindsey Wilger Williams of Charlotte Harbor, Florida, discusses the three great conquistadores of early Florida— Ponce de Leon, Panfilo de Narvaez, and Hernando de Soto. Williams uses the writings of surviving members of these expeditions and others who were in some way involved with the expeditions. For information on the Florida Indians, for instance, he quotes from Hernando Escalante Fontenada's "Memoir," and refers to the sketches of Jacques LeMoyne, the artist who came to Florida with Jean Ribault in 1562. Several of LeMoyne's drawings are reprinted. In the section on Ponce de Leon, Williams again notes the questions raised by many scholars of his exact landfall. Williams believes that it was south of St. Augustine, probably at Ormond-by-the-Sea. Herrera's documents provided many of the details describing Ponce de Leon's second voyage. Narvaez's expedition, made up of 400 men and eighty horses, landed on the west coast of Florida in 1528. Only a handful of those who came to Florida survived. One of these was Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, and he wrote an account which Williams describes as "one of the great sagas of American history." Scholars have also raised questions about Narvaez's landing place. Was it Pinellas Peninsula? Tampa Bay? Haze at Charlotte Harbor? Cabeza de Vaca's stories about the New World supposedly stimulated the desire of other Spanish adventurers, including Hernando de Soto, to search for gold and glory in Florida. When de Soto arrived in 1539, he headed a huge and well supplied expedition that included horses, pigs, and foodstuffs able to sustain a force of approximately 500 men for a year or more. It was financed with treasure that he had acquired in Peru. Again there is a question of de Soto's landing in Florida— Tampa Bay, Charlotte Harbor, or the Fort Myers area? Using narratives of the expedition, archaeological evidence, and other sources, the Florida de Soto Trail Committee has marked his route through this state all the way to the Georgia border. Ar-

chaeologists have recently discovered what is believed to be de Soto's first winter campsite in Tallahassee. Committees in the other southeastern states are using the same kind of archaeological data and information extracted from historical documents to mark de Soto's trail through Georgia, the Carolinas, Tennessee, Alabama, and Mississippi. *Boldly Onward* includes sixty-eight maps and engravings, a bibliography, and index. Order from Mr. Williams, 1318 San Mateo Drive, Punta Gorda, FL 33950; the price is \$19.90.

*English Land Grants in West Florida: A Register for the States of Alabama, Mississippi, and Parts of Florida and Louisiana, 1766-1776*, by Winston De Ville, is based on a transcribed document in the National Archives. The index which is also provided makes the document a useful tool both for historians and those doing genealogical research. The document lists the full name of the grantee (and information relating to military status or social position), date of grant, amount of land, "purchased money" (usually none), and the year that "quit" rents commence. All the properties listed were located in the area between the Mississippi and Apalachicola rivers. The price is \$12.50. Order from Smith Books, Box 894, Ville Platte, LA 70586.

One of the best of the many novels recently published using Florida's rich and colorful history as background, is *American Tropic* by David A. Kaufelt of Key West. The author used the well-known libraries and archives throughout Florida to provide accurate historical detail. Kaufelt's story begins in 1498 with John Cabot's voyage along the coast of North America as far south as Cape Florida. Many of Florida's greatest historical personalities are introduced in the story: Ponce de Leon, Panfilo de Narvaez, de Soto, Pedro Menéndez, Andrew Jackson and his wife, Rachel, Edmund Pendleton Gaines, David Levy Yulee, Julia Tuttle, Henry Flagler, Carl Fisher, and others. It is mainly the story, however, of two families—Cordoba and Levi—whose lives crisscross and intertwine. This account covering 500 years of the state's history is filled with intrigue, mystery, adventure, and excitement. Indian attacks, hurricanes, and political chicanery all play a role in *American Tropic*. The story begins with discovery in the Spanish colonial era and ends with the great Cuban migration into Florida as a result of Castro's takeover.

Published by Poseidon Press, New York; *American Tropic* sells for \$17.95.

*Historical Archaeology of Plantations at Kings Bay, Camden County, Georgia* is edited by William Hampton Adams. Archaeological explorations and excavations at the Kings Bay Plantation site in 1981 and 1983 uncovered evidence of at least six buildings— the house, kitchen, and four slave cabins— a privy, possibly a well, and a number of artifacts. These remains are significant since they are the only such data for early nineteenth-century middle-size coastal plantations recovered in the Southeast. The John King site represents one of the few early nineteenth-century tenant houses excavated anywhere in the country, and it provides important field material for the period 1801-1806. Work at the James King site on Cherry Point Plantation revealed the location of the big house, two kitchens, a well, and a slave cabin. Artifacts from these sites provided a number of material cultural items— buttons, glass beads, a bone-backed tooth brush, two medicine bottles, tableware, and decorated pipe-bowls. Harmony Hall is the least documented historically of the plantations studied at Kings Bay. Excavation there in 1985 revealed the site of a kitchen building, a slave cabin, and evidence of two other structures near the kitchen. Adams's voluminous report describes the archaeological work at these sites and the results. All the research evolved from a contract between the United States Navy and the University of Florida. The sites had been discovered in 1977 with an earlier survey of Kings Bay. Adams's report, submitted in July 1987, describes those earlier excavations, but its main focus is on the work as outlined in the contract. The report provides data that will be valuable both to anthropologists and historians. Also contributing to the volume were Richard B. Adams, William R. Adams, Sarah Jane Boling, Lee Newsome, Carolyn Rock, Jeanne A. Ward, and Janis Kearney-Williams. An extensive bibliography and subject index are included in the published report, together with two historical documents (Thomas King's will and an 1884 advertisement of the sale of Marianna Plantation), tables, lists of figures, descriptions of artifacts, maps, and a number of graphics. This volume is part of the Investigations Series published by the Department of Anthropology, University of Florida, Gainesville, FL 32611. Mr. Adams serves as series

editor. Order from the Department. The price is \$20.00, plus \$1.50 for postage and handling.

*Flagler's Folly: The Railroad That Went to Sea and Was Blown Away*, by Rodman Bethel, is the story of the construction of the Florida East Coast Railroad to Key West. The survey line for the extension was driven in the fall of 1904, but a storm damaged the work. The first real construction was begun in April the following year and was completed in January 1912. Bridges connected the keys. The largest, on the great Flagler viaduct, was seven miles in length. Many of the photographs in Bethel's booklet are copies of originals, including those showing the destruction caused by the tragic hurricane of 1935. More than 400 persons died during that storm, and the railroad line was so badly damaged that it was never rebuilt. Order *Flagler's Folly* from the author, 2812 Fogarty Avenue, Key West, FL 33040; the price is \$12.95.

*A Slumbering Giant of the Past, Fort Jefferson, U.S.A. in the Dry Tortugas*, also by Rodman Bethel, is the history of Fort Jefferson which lies some sixty miles due west of Key West. Started in 1846, Fort Jefferson was never completed; it was last used as a coaling station in 1908. During the Civil War it was a Federal prison. Dr. Samuel Mudd was incarcerated there after his conviction of complicity in the assassination of Abraham Lincoln. He was at Fort Jefferson until he was pardoned by Andrew Johnson in 1869. Mr. Bethel includes many photographs in his monograph. Order from the author; the price is \$16.39.

*The U.S. Army War College Guide to the Battle of Gettysburg* is no ordinary guide book, nor is it just "another history of the Battle of Gettysburg." These are assurances made by its two editors, Jay Luvaas and Harold W. Nelson. This paperback presents accounts, nearly all written by officers who commanded units at the battle ranging from the size of batteries and regiments to corps level and above. Confederate troops from Florida were involved in the battle. One such report was submitted by Colonel David Lang commanding Perry's brigade, R. H. Anderson's Division, Ambrose P. Hill's Corps. Lang's report was dated July 2, 1863, the second day of the battle. The brigade included the Second Florida, Fifth Florida, and Eighth Florida. They all sus-

tained heavy losses. This Guide may also be used as a reference for those visiting the battlefield. It includes maps and photographs, a listing of Union and Confederate military units involved in the fighting, casualty statistics, and an index. It was published by Harper & Row and sells for \$8.95.

*Travels to Hallowed Ground*, by Emory M. Thomas, is a collection of stories and vignettes about ten of the thirty sites which the National Parks Service lists as Civil War historic sites. There are 1860s photographs of several of the places described by Professor Thomas. The University of South Carolina Press, Columbia, published *Travels to Hallowed Ground*, and the price is \$19.95.

*Afro-Cubans in Ybor City*, by Susan Greenbaum of the University of South Florida, provides important information on the ethnic history of Ybor City. In April 1886, fifty Cuban cigar workers arrived in Tampa where Martinez Ybor and his partners were laying the foundations for a cigar-manufacturing colony and a whole new community at Ybor City. Other Cuban and Spanish families followed, and by the end of the year more than 3,000 were living there. Within a decade the Cubans outnumbered the natives, and they were making a major impact on the cultural, economic, political, religious, and educational life of their own community and the entire area. An important part of this ethnic and racially-mixed group were the Afro-Cubans about which Professor Greenbaum writes. She has also completed a number of oral history interviews with descendants of these early settlers, and the tapes and transcripts are in the University of Florida Oral History Archives. The blacks constituted about fifteen percent of the Ybor City-Tampa work force. Life was not always easy for the blacks, particularly when they had to contend with the problems of segregation and white supremacy, although these were not major factors in Ybor City. Among the topics that Dr. Greenbaum covers in her study are racial conflicts, black support for the Cuban revolutionary cause, involvement in labor union activities, and Afro-Cuban integration into American society. To order, checks for \$5.00 should be made payable to La Union Marti-Maceo and sent to Dr. Susan Greenbaum, Department of Anthropology, University of South Florida, Tampa, FL 33620.

*Confederate Shipbuilding*, by William N. Still, Jr., was published in 1969 (reviewed, *Florida Historical Quarterly*, April 1970). Dr. Still discussed the problems involving facilities, materials, and labor which prevented the Confederacy from building the kind of navy it needed. During four years of the war the Confederacy converted, contracted, or laid down within its borders at least 150 war ships. Approximately one-third of the steamers were converted into gunboats, one-third were wooden gunboats, and one-third were ironclads. Not all the vessels under construction were completed; military action often interfered with the work. This was the case in Jacksonville in 1862 when the Federals launched its first attack on the city. There are several Florida references in this monograph, and a fuller description of the controversy which erupted when the Confederate military tried to persuade the Florida Railroad Company to allow their rails to be used by the Navy. General Joseph Finegan, Confederate commander in East Florida, opposed. He considered the road indispensable to the defense of the state. Senator David Levy Yulee, president of the railroad company, also strongly fought the request. Eventually, some of the rails were used to construct a line from Lake City to the Georgia border, and an undetermined amount was shipped to Atlanta to be rolled into plate for the *Jackson*, then under construction at Columbus, Georgia. *Confederate Shipbuilding* has been reprinted by the University of South Carolina Press, Columbia, in its Maritime History Series for which Dr. Still serves as editor. The price is \$17.95.

*Houses and Homes, Exploring Their History*, by Barbara J. Howe, Dolores A. Fleming, Emory L. Kemp, and Ruth Ann Overbeck, provides a guide to the resources needed to examine the design and history of residential structures. This monograph shows how to relate the buildings to their environment. How research techniques can be blended with knowledge of historical trends to document a building is another matter discussed. This is in The Nearby History Series for which David E. Kyvig serves as editor. Published by the American Association for State and Local History, Nashville, TN; the price is \$13.95 (\$11.95 for AASLH members).

In 1962 the National Archives and Records Services, General

Service Administration, published *A Guide to Federal Archives Relating to the Civil War* that had been compiled by Kenneth W. Munden and Henry Putney Beers. In 1965 *A Guide to the Archives of the Government of the Confederate States of America* was published with Henry Putney Beers as the compiler. Both volumes list source material from the vast collection in the National Archives on almost any topic dealing with the Civil War. There is considerable Florida material in the Archives, and these items are listed in these volumes. There are listings for such related topics as the Florida Hospital in Richmond, VA, and the gunboat, C.S.S. Florida. The price for each book is \$25.00, add \$3.00 for shipping and handling. A check or money order (payable to the National Archives Trust Fund) should be sent to National Archives Trust Fund Board, Box 100793, Atlanta, GA. Visa and Mastercard are accepted (include credit card number, expiration date, and signature).

The Benson car explosion in Naples, Florida, in 1985, which resulted in the tragic death of two members of a prominent Florida family and a third person being severely burned, is the subject of several recently-published books. Two of them are *Blood Relations, The Exclusive Inside Story of the Benson Family Murders* by John Greenya, and *The Serpent's Tooth, A Family Story of Greed, Betrayal, Vengeance and Multiple Murder* by Christopher P. Andersen. A tobacco business founded in Pennsylvania was the basis for the Benson family fortune. When the Bensons moved from Pennsylvania they settled in Naples near the Gulf of Mexico. Other than the fact that the tragedy occurred in Florida and the trial convicting Steven Benson was held in Florida, neither of these two books have much to do with the state. *Blood Relations* was published by Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Orlando, FL 32887, it sells for \$17.95. *The Serpent's Tooth* was published by Harper & Row; the price is \$16.95.

*Quarrels That Have Shaped The Constitution*, edited by John A. Garraty, was first published in 1962. A revised and expanded edition, in paperback, has been published by Harper & Row. The essay, "The Case of the Florida Drifter" by Anthony Lewis (*Gideon v. Wainwright*, 372 U. S. 335), is included. In his essay, "The Case of the Louisiana Traveler," C. Vann Woodward notes that Florida was the first state to require railroads to carry blacks

in separate cars or behind partitions. This Jim Crow law, adopted by the Florida legislature in 1887, was quickly duplicated by the other southern states. The price of this volume is \$10.95.

*The History of American Wars from 1745 to 1918*, by T. Harry Williams, was first published in 1981. It traces American involvement in the French and Indian War, American Revolution, War of 1812, First and Second Seminole Wars, Mexican War, Civil War, Spanish-American War, and World War I. This volume has been republished as a paperback by the Louisiana State University Press; it sells for \$9.95.

*To Redeem the Soul of America: The Southern Christian Leadership Conference and Martin Luther King, Jr.* is by Adam Fairclough. The Conference first began with the protest movement in Birmingham, Alabama. Dr. King was its key figure from the start, but the organization was not just a reflection or extension of his personality. This volume points out that the SCLC was created *for* him, but not *by* him. While most of its executive staff and governing board were Baptist ministers, an examination of the organization shows that it embraced a variety of groups and individuals. For instance, a small group of New York intellectuals, working quietly in the background, provided King with advice and with the assistance that he so desperately needed. This group also gave the Conference organizational cohesion, financial stability, and political direction. A number of Florida events relating to the SCLC are described in this volume. They include the efforts to integrate St. Augustine and the bus boycott in Jacksonville. Fairclough understandably gives much of the credit for the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the 1965 Voting Rights Act to the SCLC. The Conference and Martin Luther King had great talent in merging grassroots protests with diplomacy of the highest levels of government. *To Redeem the Soul of America* was published by the University of Georgia Press, Athens, and the paperback edition sells for \$17.95.



## HISTORY NEWS

### *Florida History Fair*

Final competition for the sixth annual Florida History Fair exhibit was held at the May 1987 meeting of the Florida Historical Society in St. Augustine. A group project, "Rights and Responsibilities of American and Soviet Citizens," submitted by Lillian Rieham and Margaret E. Gaertner of Washington High School, Pensacola, was selected as the "best of the state." This project was also selected to represent Florida at the National History Day meeting. The teacher supervising the project was Leslie Carlin. The two winners in the senior division for Florida were Lauren Rictchie of Pensacola High School, and Paul Sullivan of Sandalwood Jr.-Sr. High School, Jacksonville. Rictchie's teacher was Jackie Young, and Sullivan's teacher was Jo Alice Fain. In the junior division, there were also two winners: Carrie McPherson, Mims Middle School, Tallahassee (teacher, Brenda Harris), and Eva Jenkins, Landon Junior High School, Jacksonville (teacher, Denise Carney). Other project winners were Leigh Eubanks, Goodham High School, Pensacola (teacher, Pearl Curtis), and James Marcus Jones, Jackson Heights Middle School, Winter Springs (teacher, Jean Rumsey). Gwendolyn B. Waldorf, Tallahassee, served as chair of the Florida History Fair. It was sponsored by the Florida Historical Society with support from Gerald W. McSwiggan, a member of the Society's board of directors.

### *Conferences*

The Southern Jewish Historical Society will hold its twelfth annual conference in Durham, NC, November 6-8, 1987. The theme of the conference is "Southern Jews and their Legacy." The convention hotel is the Sheraton University Center, Durham, NC. For information call or write Dr. Samuel Proctor, president of the Society, 126 Florida State Museum, University of Florida, Gainesville, FL 32611 (904-392-1721).

The University of Florida's College of Liberal Arts and Sciences and the Instituto de Cooperación Iberoamericana of Madrid, Spain, will cosponsor an international conference to be

held at the University of Florida, Gainesville, December 9-12, 1987. Papers presented by scholars from Spain and the United States will relate to the period of Spanish exploration, discovery, and settlement in Florida, the Spanish borderlands, and the Caribbean in the sixteenth century. All the sessions, which will be held in the J. Wayne Reitz Student Union at the University of Florida, will be open to the public. For information call or write Dr. Samuel Proctor, University of Florida, Gainesville, FL 32611.

The University of Florida's Institute of Early Contact Period Studies will hold a conference at the University, April 17-25, 1988. The title is "Rethinking the Encounter: New Perspectives on Conquest and Colonization, 1450-1550." Scholars from the United States, Britain, Spain, Cuba, and Canada will present papers. Professors James Amelang, Kathleen Deagan, Michael V. Gannon, and William Goza, all of the University of Florida, are conference organizers. For information, contact Dr. Michael V. Gannon, 2014 Turlington Hall, University of Florida, Gainesville, FL 32611.

The St. Augustine Historical Society, with support from the Florida Endowment for the Humanities, will sponsor a symposium May 7-9, 1988, in St. Augustine. The title of the conference is "Clash between Cultures," and papers and discussion will focus on the mixture of ethnic, racial, and national groups in East Florida during the second Spanish period (1783-1821). Papers will be presented by Dr. Helen Hornbeck Tanner, Dr. L. David Norris, Bruce Chappell, Jane Landers, and Susan B. Parker. For information write St. Augustine Historical Society, 271 Charlotte Street, St. Augustine, FL 32084.

A conference on "Archives and Records for Studying the Hispanic Experience in the United States, 1492-1852," was held at the Library of Congress, September 22-25, 1987. Dr. Michael V. Gannon, director of the University of Florida's Institute for Early Contact Studies, served as the moderator for the session, "Research Scholars and the Spanish Borderlands." Dr. Eugene Lyon, St. Augustine Foundation, discussed "Sources in Private and Little-Used Archives in Spain," and Dr. Charles Hudson, University of Georgia, presented a paper on "Research in the Eastern Spanish Borderlands." Other papers relating to Florida and the Spanish Borderlands were presented by Dr. William Coker, University of West Florida (Panton, Leslie & Company),

and Michael Scardaville, University of South Carolina (South-east Columbus Quincentennial Project).

The International Society for the Comparative Study of Civilization is inviting papers for a conference to be held at Hampton University, Hampton, VA, May 27-30, 1988. The conference title is "Africa: Image and Reality in Western Civilization." The themes will relate to the opening up of Africa, the concept of colonialism as reflected in African literature and history, and African religions vis-a-vis Christianity and Islam. Abstracts, due by November 15, 1987, are to be sent to Matthew Nowlko, program chair, ISCSC, Wright State University, Dayton, Ohio 45435.

#### *Announcements and Activities*

The Southern Genealogists Exchange Society of Jacksonville is seeking information on individuals or families who resided in Baker, Clay, Duval, Nassau, and St. Johns counties through the year 1875. Names, life dates, and county of residence, together with as much biographical information as possible, should be submitted to Perry Medlock, First Coast chairman, SGESJ, Box 2801, Jacksonville, FL 32203. Information should be sent by November 1, 1987. The data will be compiled into a volume under the title of "Pioneers of Florida's First Coast."

The Florida Genealogical Society is publishing a compilation of Santa Rosa cemeteries with inscriptions from every gravestone in the country through 1985. The editor of the volume is Richard E. Jernigan; the price is \$33.34, which includes shipping and tax. Also available is volume one of the *Escambia County Cemeteries Register*, edited by Evan Strohl. The price is \$8.95, including tax and shipping. Order from the Society, Box 9472, Pensacola, FL 32594.

*Hillsborough County Cemetery Books*, volumes I and II, may be ordered from John H. Baxley, 1909 West Hanna Avenue, Tampa, FL 33604. The price for each volume is \$35.00.

The University of Florida's Gamma-Eta Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta received a Special Commendation Award for 1986-1987 from the national organization. The award recognizes the outstanding activities of the chapter. Merlin G. Cox, Department of History, is faculty adviser for the chapter.

The Library of Congress has produced a compressed audio disk which contains nearly every spoken word recording manufactured before 1910 in the Library's collection. The disk, which contains sixty-eight selections, will help mark the centennial of the invention of the first audio disk in 1887 by Emile Berliner. The disk, with thirty-three hours of sound, is about the size of a forty-five rpm record and uses technology in which audio signals are digitized, compressed, and stored on single frames on one side of an analog videodisk. The disk is not for sale, but it is available for listening by the public in the Sound Reference Center of the Library of Congress, Performing Arts Reading Room LM 113, James Madison Memorial Building, Washington, DC. The disk is indexed by title, performer, genre, and subject.

The Kentucky Historical Society presented its Governor's Award to Professor John A. Lamage, Northern Kentucky University, for his book, *Rebel Raider: The Life of General John Hunt Morgan*, and to George C. Wright, University of Texas, for his book, *Life Behind a Veil: Blacks from Louisville, Kentucky, 1865-1930*. Professor William E. Ellis, Eastern Kentucky University, received the Richard H. Collins Award for his article, "The Harvest Moon is Shinin' on the Streets of Shelbyville': Southern Honor and the Death of General Henry H. Denhardt, 1937," which appeared in the autumn 1986 issue of *The Register of the Kentucky Historical Society*.

John C. Fredrickson announces an agreement with Edwin Mellen Press for publication of a reference volume, *The War of 1812: An Illustrated Encyclopedia*. This comprehensive text will encompass all aspects of the war—military, political, diplomatic, Native American, social, archival, and economic. Interested contributors are invited to contact Dr. Fredrickson, 7810 Jordan Avenue, #5, Canoga Park, CA 91303 (818-710-8823).

### *Obituary*

Frank Bowman Sessa, former president of the Florida Historical Society, died of cancer in Orlando in July 1987. Dr. Sessa was elected to the Society's Board of Directors in 1955, he served as recording secretary for one term (1959-1960), first vice president (1960-1962), and as president (1962-1964). He was also book review editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. He was

actively involved in the affairs of the Society throughout his long residency in Florida.

Dr. Sessa held his Ph.D. from the University of Pittsburgh; his dissertation title was "Real Estate Expansion and Boom in Miami and its Environs during the 1920s." He was considered an authority on this period of history as well as on the history of Miami and south Florida. Dr. Sessa was professor of history at the University of Miami, and in 1951 was appointed director of the Miami-Dade Public Library, one of the largest libraries in the state. In 1966 he became professor of Library Sciences at the University of Pittsburgh and held that position until his retirement to Orlando. Dr. Sessa served as a consultant on planning for the Miami-Dade County Public Library.

**ANNUAL MEETING  
EIGHTY-FIFTH MEETING**

**PROCEEDINGS OF THE EIGHTY-FIFTH  
MEETING OF THE  
FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
AND  
FLORIDA HISTORICAL CONFEDERATION  
WORKSHOPS 1987**

**PROGRAM**

Thursday, May 7

FLORIDA HISTORICAL CONFEDERATION  
Government House, St. Augustine, Florida

Morning Sessions

*City, State, and National, Building a Preservation Team*

*Minority History for the Majority, Interpreting Florida's  
Rich Minority Cultural Heritage*

Afternoon Sessions

*Preserving History, Long Range Requirements  
The Law, and Historic Districting*

Evening Sessions

FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
MEETING OF THE DIRECTORS

Llambias House

Friday, May 8

FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY SESSIONS

Session I: *The Flagler Heritage*

Chair: Milton D. Jones (president, 1974-1976)

- Papers: Seth Bramson, Miami  
 "Speedway to Sunshine: The Florida East Coast Railroad"  
 Edward N. Akin, Mississippi College  
 "Saint or Sinner? Henry Flagler and St. Augustine"

Session II: *Investigations of Colonial Days*

- Chair: Luis R. Arana, Castillo de San Marcos and Fort Matanzas
- Papers: John Marron and Kathleen Deagan, Florida State Museum  
 "Preliminary Archaeological Investigations of Fort Mose"  
 Jane Landers, University of Florida  
 "Fort Mose: The Historical Perspective"

Session III: *A Legacy of St. Augustine: The Florida Historical Society*

- Presiding: James R. Knott (president, 1964-1966)
- Chair: Herbert J. Doherty, Jr. (president, 1968-1970)
- Panel: Dena Snodgrass (president, 1956-1958)  
 Gilbert L. Lycan (president, 1960-1962)  
 William M. Goza (president, 1966-1968)  
 Jerrell H. Shofner (president, 1978-1980)
- Respondents: John E. Johns (president, 1972-1974)  
 Olive D. Peterson (president, 1982-1984)  
 Randy F. Nimnicht (president, 1984-1986)

FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY BANQUET

- Presiding: Paul S. George, president
- Speakers: Charlton W. Tebeau (president, 1949-1951)  
 Albert C. Manucy (president, 1958-1960)  
 "What Happened to Florida History?"

Presentation of Awards

Florida History Fair Awards  
 Presented by Gwendolyn B. Waldorf

Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Prize in Florida History  
Presented by Samuel Proctor to Harry A. Kersey, Jr.

Rembert W. Patrick Memorial Book Prize  
Presented by George E. Pozzetta to William S. Coker  
and Thomas D. Watson

Charlton W. Tebeau Book Prize  
Presented by Charlton W. Tebeau to Dorothy B. Francis

Florida Historical Confederation Awards  
Presented by Patricia Wickman to Madison County Historical  
Society, Dr. Paul S. George, and Dr. Thelma Peters

Saturday, May 9

Session IV: *Civil War on the St. Johns River*

Presiding: Olive Peterson (president, 1982-1984)  
Paper: Dr. Keith Holland, Jacksonville, Florida  
"Excavating the *Maple Leaf*"

FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING

FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
MINUTES OF THE BOARD MEETING

May 7, 1987

Paul S. George, president of the Society, called the meeting to order at 8:00 P.M., in the Llambias House on St. Francis Street. Present were Hampton Dunn, vice-president, Gary R. Mormino, executive director, Samuel Proctor, editor, *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Michael Slicker, secretary, Gerald W. McSwiggan, Randy F. Nimnicht, Larry E. Rivers, David R. Colburn, Patricia Wickman, Owen U. North, Robert C. Harris, Patricia Bartlett, Kyle S. VanLandingham, Gwendolyn B. Waldorf, Wright Langley, and William M. Straight. Also present were Milly St. Julien, William M. Goza, former president of the Society, and Thomas D. Greenhaw, editor of the *Newsletter*. Absent were J. Earle Bowden, Gregory Bush, Amy Turner Bushnell, Raymond A. Mohl, and Patsy West.



In his financial report, Dr. Mormino reported a \$2,000 deficit in the past year's budget. He attributed this to four expenditures: \$3,000 in matching funds allocated for the Saunders grant, funds used to pay for training and equipment for the Society's word processor and computer; purchase of a photocopy machine at a cost of \$1,300; \$4,308.43 paid to Milly St. Julien, assistant director; and additional expenses incurred because of an increase in membership. Dr. Mormino reported growth of approximately 250 members in 1986, which increased the total membership to more than 2,000. For the past three years, the Society has experienced annual increases in membership of approximately twenty percent.

Dr. Harris called for a comparison of the Society's membership with that of other state historical societies. Dr. Proctor responded that the Society's membership did not compare with that of several midwestern organizations which are state-supported, and until recently, the membership of our Society did not compare favorably with other southern historical societies. The Florida situation, however, has improved greatly, and he predicted that the membership growth will likely continue.

The subject of a membership development program was discussed, with the idea of issuing joint memberships with selected local and regional organizations. The board opposed the concept of joint memberships. Dr. Mormino noted that the best way to obtain new members is by direct-mail solicitation using lists furnished by local and county historical societies and agencies and other professional organizations.

The Florida Endowment for the Humanities has awarded the Society a grant for \$10,000 to conduct a teachers' workshop which will train elementary school teachers in the field of Florida history. Paul George and Gary Mormino will supervise the workshops. In addition, gifts valued at approximately \$12,000 were received during 1986. The largest donations were funds to support the President's Prize.

With Milly St. Julien's resignation as assistant director, the need for additional secretarial and clerical help is even more critical. Dr. Mormino also announced his intention to resign his position as executive director shortly, and the Society will need to consider the problem of replacing him. There was discussion of the possibility and, perhaps necessity, of the Society paying the salary of a director. Dr. Colburn and his committee have

been discussing with representatives of the University of South Florida the present and future relationship with the Florida Historical Society. Dr. Colburn felt that a member of the Society residing in the Tampa area might be in a stronger position to continue discussions with the university. President George appointed additional representatives to the committee and urged the members to continue discussion with the university, and to examine the various alternatives if an agreement cannot be concluded with the University of South Florida. The committee will include Milton Jones, chairman, Hampton Dunn, Randy Nimnicht, David Colburn, and Jerrell Shofner.

Dr. Proctor delivered the annual report on the status of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. He expressed his appreciation of the continued support of the University of Florida for the journal. He noted the increased number and quality of articles being submitted for consideration for publication. He encouraged additional submissions, particularly in the field of twentieth-century Florida history, and emphasized that the *Quarterly* will review all books having to do with Florida. A hardbound copy of the publication, if available, is requested, together with complete publication information and the price. Dr. Karen Singh is indexing the *Quarterly* beginning with volume 54 (1975-1985). Her manuscript will be completed by September 1987. After editing it will be ready for publication.

Dr. Proctor announced the recipients of this year's literary prizes. The Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Prize in Florida History will be awarded to Harry Kersey, Jr., for his article, "Florida Seminoles in the Depression and New Deal, 1933-1942: An Indian Perspective," which appeared in the October 1986 issue of the *Quarterly*. The judges were Dr. Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., Dr. Larry E. Rivers, and Dr. Thomas Graham. The Rembert W. Patrick Memorial Book Prize will be presented to William S. Coker and Thomas D. Watson for their book, *Indian Traders of the Southeastern Spanish Borderlands: Panton, Leslie & Company and John Forbes & Company, 1783-1847*, published by the University Presses of Florida. Judges for the Patrick Prize were Sam Boldrick, Dr. Donald W. Curl, and Dr. Jane Dysart. The Charlton W. Tebeau Book Award was won by Dorothy B. Francis for her book, *The Tomorrow Star*, published by Weekly Reader Books. Judges were Owen U. North, Mary C. Linehan, and Michael Slicker. The awards will be presented at the banquet.

Dr. Thomas Greenhaw reported that the *Florida History Newsletter* will have a new format and lay-out in future issues. The cover illustration of the five flags was borrowed from a cut used in earlier years by the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. Additional photographs will be a regular feature of the *Newsletter*.

On behalf of the finance committee Mr. VanLandingham reported that efforts to consolidate the Society's various accounts is continuing. He summarized the financial resources for the year ending December 31, 1986; Hutton government fund money market, \$54,825 (average annual yield for 1986 was 6.01 percent); H.I.S. government securities series, 2773.631 SHS at \$10.41 per share—\$28,873.49 (value, December 31, 1986). The total return for 1986 was 13.57 percent.

Patricia Wickman gave the report for the Florida Historical Confederation. For the second year the Florida Endowment for the Humanities has supported the Confederation workshops. The Confederation's executive committee met May 6, 1987. The Confederation Orientation Packet, produced under the guidance of Ms. Wickman and Robert Burke, was distributed. The Confederation's review of its articles and a resource notebook for use by small museums will be distributed at a later date.

The nominating committee proposed the following for the executive committee: Betty Camp, Ellen Babb, Pam Gibson, Scott Loehr, Miguel Bretos, and Merri Belland. The slate was adopted at the annual meeting. The following officers were installed: Andy Brian, Robert Burke, and Merri Belland. Ms. Wickman announced that her term of office as chair of the Confederation is now ending.

Gwendolyn Waldorf reported on the progress of the History Fair. The number of entries increased this past year and interest is growing among the county school districts throughout Florida. Fifty-eight students are displaying projects focusing on the theme "Liberty: Rights and Responsibilities," at this meeting. Approximately ten projects will be in the national competition in Washington, DC. History Fair awards will be presented at a reception on Friday, May 8, at Government House. All of the entrants will receive a tee-shirt and a certificate; those selected for national competition will receive a ribbon and monetary support. Patricia Bartlett will serve as chairperson for the 1988 History Fair competition.

In 1985 the Society received a proposal to set up a competition that would recognize graduate and undergraduate student scholarship in Florida history. A gift of \$5,000 was offered with the proviso that an equal amount be raised for an endowment to provide prize money. The Society has matched those funds, and the money has been placed in an interest-bearing trust fund. The first President's Prize will be announced at the 1988 annual meeting. The Prize committee includes Dr. Mormino, chairman, Raymond Mohl, Robert Pittman of Hillsborough Community College, and Daniel Schafer. Two prizes will be awarded for essays written in any field of Florida history.

The Society has completed its part of the production work for the pictorial history of Florida, which is being published by Continental Heritage Press. Dr. Jerrell Shofner is writing the narrative, and publication is scheduled for December 1987.

The three slide-presentations ("Florida's Gilded Age," "Women in Florida's History," and "The Afro-American Experience") produced with the National Middle School Foundation, have been completed. Milly St. Julien was in charge of this activity. The Society is receiving \$4,000 and fifty percent of all future profits.

Dr. Shofner has completed his selection of articles from the *Florida Historical Quarterly* for the Society's *Reader*. The editorial committee, Samuel Proctor, David Colburn, and Gary Mormino, will evaluate the manuscript and arrange for publication.

Several years ago, the Society entered into an agreement with the University of West Florida and the University of Florida to sponsor the collection and publication of papers of the Pantton, Leslie & Company and John Forbes & Company. Funding for the project was underwritten mainly by the University of West Florida, but was also supported by federal funds and a grant from the Florida Bicentennial Commission. Pertinent collections of papers were made available by the Florida Historical Society from its research library. The project has been completed, and the authors of the narrative volume will receive the Rembert W. Patrick Memorial Book Prize for 1986. A microfilm set of the papers (valued at \$1,600) has been added to the Society's library.

Dr. Mormino noted that more than 210 people will attend Friday evening's banquet, a record attendance. Much of the credit for the success of this meeting goes to the local arrangement

committee, under the leadership of Page Smith and Susan Clark. The program committee included Dr. William M. Goza, Dr. Herbert J. Doherty, Linda Williams, and Dr. David Colburn. Many of the past-presidents will be attending the meeting and will participate in the program.

The 1988 annual meeting will be in Miami on May 12-14, 1988. Gerald McSwiggan will chair the arrangements committee. Dr. John Mahon is chairman of the program committee.

Mr. McSwiggan read the report of Milton Jones, chairman of the nomination committee. The following will be presented to the membership at the business meeting: Paul S. George, president (for the unexpired term of Dr. Ellsworth 1987-1988); Jo Bigelow (Estero), director, district 2; Kathy Arsenault (St. Petersburg), director, district 2; Rodney Dillon (Fort Lauderdale), director, district 3; M. H. Latour (Gainesville), director, at-large; and Niles Schuh (Panama City), director, at-large.

Dr. Harris urged the board to consider returning the annual banquet to Saturday evening, but this was not approved. The board unanimously approved the recommendation that a J. Leitch Wright, Jr. Run be an annual event at each of the Society's annual meetings.

William Goza will chair the nominating committee for 1988, with Olive Peterson, Dan Hobby, and Jan Matthews as members of the committee. Gregory Bush submitted his video committee report, which recommended the Society "create a series of films or videotapes . . . to vitalize interest in the understanding of Florida history." Discussion of the report was tabled until the December 1987 board meeting. The mid-winter board of directors meeting will be held December 5, 1987, at the Society library and office, University of South Florida, Tampa.

President George adjourned the meeting at 10:30 P.M.

*Minutes of the Business Meeting*  
May 2, 1986

The meeting was called to order at 10:35 A.M., in the Government House auditorium, by President Paul George. After his opening comments and announcements, George announced the likelihood that Dr. Gary Mormino will be resigning his position as executive director. He stated that much of the Society's current success and prosperous condition were attributable to

Dr. Mormino's work. A replacement will be needed as soon as possible.

Dr. Mormino expressed his appreciation to the membership and the board for their contributions to the activities of the annual meeting, and to the St. Augustine Historical Society, the Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board, the Lightner Museum, Flagler College, and the other organizations responsible for the arrangements and the gracious hospitality extended to the members and their guests.

In his financial report, Dr. Mormino noted the deficit for 1986 after two years of surpluses totaling more than \$6,000. He explained the reasons for the deficit. Reimbursement and profit from several projects will appear in the financial report for 1988. Dr. Mormino also explained that dues notices were mailed late in 1986, and many of the checks and money were not deposited until January 1987. All restricted funds are being used in accordance with the way the accounts were designated. The membership is approximately 2,100, and the cost of providing twelve mailings per year and other amenities has increased the costs of operation.

The Society received approximately \$12,000 in gifts and interest in 1986, in addition to income from dues. The Society secured \$5,000 to match the President's Prizes grant. The President's Prizes will be initiated in 1988, and will be awarded to a graduate student and an undergraduate student attending a Florida college or university for the best essay written on some aspect of Florida history.

Membership continues to increase. In the past five years, the overall membership has doubled despite the fact that annual dues were increased in that same period by about a third. Several membership categories—family, contributing, and student—have shown particularly large increases. There has also been a decline in the percentage of membership non-renewals for the same period of time. The best way to secure new members and to encourage renewals is through personal contact or through mail solicitation. Dr. Mormino thanked the local and county societies that have provided their mailing lists, and he urged other organizations to supply their lists. He also requested that Society members encourage their public libraries to join the Society and receive the *Florida Historical Quarterly*.

Dr. Samuel Proctor summed up his "state of the *Quarterly*"

report with the word "flourishing." The *Quarterly* continues to solicit articles, both from professionals and non-professionals. The *Quarterly* also needs interesting photographs for its covers. The journal will review all books relating to Florida and the South for its Book Review and Book Notes sections. Needed is a hardbound, if available, copy of each title, along with its price and all necessary ordering information. Publication of the *Index* for the *Quarterly*, which is being compiled by Dr. Karen Singh of Tallahassee, for the period 1975-1985, will be completed in 1988.

Dr. Proctor thanked the members of his editorial board: Dr. David R. Colburn, Dr. Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., Dr. Michael V. Gannon, Dr. John K. Mahon, Dr. Jerrell H. Shofner, and Dr. Charlton W. Tebeau, and gave special mention to the support and cooperation of the late Dr. J. Leitch Wright, Jr. He also thanked his editorial staff, Gordon J. Tapper, M. Sherry Johnson, and Roberta Young; the University of Florida's College of Liberal Arts and Sciences and Department of History; the Florida State Museum, and the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History. He also thanked Joan Morris of the State Photographic Archives and the staff of the E. O. Painter Printing Company of DeLeon Springs, Florida.

The Wentworth Foundation presented the *Quarterly* with a gift of \$1,000, and Dr. Proctor expressed his own appreciation and the thanks of the Society to Dr. William M. Goza. On behalf of the *Florida Historical Newsletter*, Dr. Proctor urged local and regional organizations in Florida to add Dr. Thomas Greenhaw (Department of History, University of Central Florida, Orlando, FL 32816), editor of the *Newsletter*, to their mailing lists. Information on local events and activities will be available in the *Newsletter* to all members of the Society.

Milton Jones, chair of the Nominating Committee, presented the following slate for consideration: Paul S. George, president for the remainder of the 1987-1988 term; and directors, Jo Bigelow, district 2; Kathy Arsenault, district 2; Rodney Dillon, district 3; M. H. Latour, at-large; and Niles Schuh, at-large. There were no other nominations, and the report was unanimously accepted by the membership.

Kyle VanLandingham offered the following resolutions:

BE IT RESOLVED, that the Florida Historical Society at its eighty-fifth annual meeting and convention, held in St. Augus-

tine, the city of its founding in 1856, hereby unanimously expresses its appreciation for the hospitality of the city of St. Augustine and its residents.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that special thanks be extended to Professors David Colburn, Herbert J. Doherty, William M. Goza, and Linda Williams for the excellent and enlightening program which they arranged.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that a special expression of gratitude be extended to Page Edwards and Susan Clark, chairs of the host committee, respectively representing the St. Augustine Historical Society and the Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board. The Society's appreciation is further extended to St. Augustine, Inc., the United States National Park Service, Flagler College, the Lightner Museum, and the Florida Endowment for the Humanities for additional help and support.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that members of the Florida Historical Society express their sorrow and sense of loss for the deaths of those members who have died since the last annual meeting, including:

F. W. Crestman, Jr., Cross City

Tom J. Lomass, Tavernier

Professor John I. McCullum, Jr., Coral Gables

C. Francis Osborne III, Jacksonville

C. Adley Shaw, Dade City

Dr. J. Leitch Wright, Jr., Tallahassee

BE IT RESOLVED, that a resolution be adopted in memory of the late Dr. J. Leitch Wright, Jr., of Florida State University, and that said resolution be appropriately drafted based upon the memorial obituary that appeared in the January 1987 issue of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*; and further, that said resolution be spread upon the minutes of the May 9 annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society and also be transmitted to Mrs. Wright and her family.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that because of the long and significant history of Atsena Otie Key, and because the owner of the Key has presented to Levy County a petition to allow the building of residences on twenty acres of the Key, the Florida Historical Society strongly endorses the position taken by the Cedar Key Historical Society, to wit: The Cedar Key Historical Society is concerned and determines to support all appropriate measures aimed toward ensuring the protection



and preservation of the historical and archaeological resources of Atsena Otie Key, the barrier island lying beyond the City of Cedar Key.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that, because of the long and significant history of Atsena Otie Key, and because the owner of the Key has presented to Levy County a petition to allow the building of residences on twenty acres of the Key, the Florida Historical Society strongly urges that Atsena Otie Key be placed on the CARL List for purchase by the State of Florida at the earliest practicable moment.

BE IT RESOLVED, that the Florida Historical Society endorses the creation of a state William Bartram Day on the fourth Saturday each April, as recommended by the Alachua County Historical Society, the Alachua County Historical Commission, and the Florida Federation of Garden Clubs.

Miami has been selected as the site of the Florida Historical Society's annual meeting, May 12-14, 1988. Gerald W. McSwiggan is chairman of the local arrangements committee. Many activities are being planned for the meeting. Dr. John Mahon is chair of the program committee.

The meeting was adjourned at 11:40 A.M.

## FLORIDA HISTORICAL CONFEDERATION

*Executive Committee Meeting*

May 6, 1987

The meeting was called to order by Patricia Wickman at 3:15 P.M., in the Government House auditorium, St. Augustine, May 6, 1987. The minutes of the executive committee meeting, December 5, 1986 were accepted as read.

Dr. Thomas Greenhaw reported on the *Florida History Newsletter*. A statement of purpose of the Confederation will be printed in future newsletters.

Dr. Gary Mormino presented the financial and membership reports. The Confederation has \$1,960 and eighty-six members. There has not been a deposit of dues since May 1986. The grant of \$2,938.80 from the Florida Endowment for the Humanities is to be deposited. No dues notices were sent this year, and the number of members has declined. Dr. Mormino announced that he has tendered his resignation as Executive Director of the Florida Historical Society, but he will remain until the position is filled.

Merri Belland will replace Susan Clark on the Confederation Executive Committee beginning with this meeting and will complete the remainder of the term. Ms. Belland will be eligible to be reelected.

Patricia Bartlett reported that three awards will be presented this year: publications to Madison County Historical Society and Elizabeth Sims for her book, *The History of Madison County*; education to Dr. Paul S. George for his fourth grade history book, *Florida Yesterday and Today*; and the Dorothy Dodd Distinguished Service Award to Dr. Thelma Peters. Ms. Bartlett stressed the need for promoting these awards so that more entries are submitted, and suggested the creation of a standing committee to oversee the awards program and establish guidelines. Dr. Curl and Ms. Bartlett will serve on the committee for one year. Mr. Burke and Ms. Wickman distributed packets that were prepared for new members of the Executive Committee and Florida Historical Society board members. Ms. Wickman reported that there had been no progress or preparation of the articles of the Confederation. Ms. Wickman and Terri Horrow will work on the changes and report to the executive committee in December.

Ms. Wickman noted that four sections of the Resources Notebook have been completed: collections, education, physical plant, and publications. The sections on exhibits, research, administration, and development will be ready shortly. Ms. Wickman will continue as editor of the project.

Andy Brian, chairman of the nominating committee, presented the following slate: Betty Camp, district 1; Ellen Babb and Pam Gibson, district 2; and Miguel Bretos and Scott Loehr, district 3. Dr. Curl moved that the report be accepted. The motion carried. Pat Wickman nominated the following officers: Andy Brian, chairman; Bob Burke, vice-chairman; and Merri Belland, secretary. The nominations were approved.

The meeting was adjourned at 6:20 P.M.

#### *Minutes of the General Meeting*

The general membership meeting of the Florida Historical Confederation was called to order by Chairman Pat Wickman at 1:15 P.M., May 6, 1987, at the Ponce de Leon Motor Lodge, St. Augustine. Terri Horrow read the minutes of the last general meeting, May 1, 1986, in Bradenton. They were accepted as read.

Dr. Gary Mormino reported a balance of almost \$2,000, with a check from the Florida Endowment for the Humanities for \$2,938.80 to be deposited. The Confederation has a membership of eighty-six societies and associations.

Thomas Greenhaw reported on the new format and cover of the *Florida History Newsletter*. He asked that news and photographs be sent to him for inclusion in the publication.

Patricia Bartlett reported on the awards for 1987: publications, Madison County Historical Society and Elizabeth Sims for her book, *The History of Madison County*; education, Dr. Paul S. George for his fourth grade Florida history textbook, *Florida Yesterday and Today*; and the Dorothy Dodd Distinguished Service Award was given to Thelma Peters of Coral Gables. Ms. Wickman announced that orientation packets had been prepared for Confederation executive committee members and for Florida Historical Society board members.

Ms. Wickman delivered a brief state of the Confederation address recounting the organization's accomplishments this past year and in the previous three years. These include the publication of the Confederation's *Florida Historical Directory*, the creation of the awards program, increased membership, specifying the purpose of the organization, and the receipt of two grants from the Florida Endowment for the Humanities.

Andy Brian, chairman of the nominating committee, announced the following slate: Betty Camp, district 1; Ellen Babb and Pam Gibson, district 2; and Scott Loehr and Dr. Miguel Bretos, district 3. The report was accepted, and the nominations were accepted.

Ms. Wickman announced the following officers as voted by the executive committee: chairman, Andy Brian; vice-chairman, Bob Burke; and secretary, Merri Belland.

The meeting was adjourned at 2:15 P.M.

## GIFTS TO THE SOCIETY 1986-1987

The Wentworth Foundation, Inc., presented a check for \$1,000 to help support the activities of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. Books, periodicals, and photographs were received from Marc Dixon (photographs of Plant City Strawberry Schools); from Shawn L. Briese (*American Motorist*, twelve is-

sues); from the University Presses of Florida; from the Pinellas Historical Commission (*Spanish Land Grants*, five volumes); from the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History; and from the St. Augustine Historical Society. A set of microfilm (twenty-six reels) of Panton, Leslie & Company papers were presented by Dr. William Coker of the University of West Florida, director of the project.

## TREASURER'S REPORT

January 1, 1986-December 31, 1986

|   |              |
|---|--------------|
| Net Worth, December 31, 1986 .....  | \$117,585.16 |
| <i>Current Assets:</i>  |              |
| University State Bank (Tampa, FHS checking) .....                             | 4,409.87     |
| University State Bank (Florida Historical Confederation<br>checking) .....    | 2,071.39     |
| First Federal Savings & Loan, Gainesville .....                               | 1,357.17     |
| Florida Federal Savings & Loan (Thompson Fund,<br>Gainesville) .....          | 4,961.86     |
| Glendale Federal Savings & Loan, Tampa .....                                  | 5,007.74     |
| Florida Federal Savings & Loan (Yonge Publication Fund,<br>Gainesville) ..... | 1,606.11     |
| University State Bank, Tampa .....  | 4,358.19     |
| Freedom Federal Savings & Loan, Tampa .....                                   | 9,988.34     |
| E. F. Hutton .....  | 54,825.00    |
| Government Securities Series (2,773.61 shares) .....                          | 28,873.49    |
| Middle South Utilities (126 shares) .....                                     | 126.00       |
| Total Assets .....  | 117,585.16   |
| <i>Receipts:</i>  |              |
| <i>Memberships:</i>   |              |
| Annual .....  | 15,730.44    |
| Family .....  | 4,875.00     |
| Contributing .....  | 1,525.00     |
| Library .....   | 7,893.75     |
| Historical Societies .....  | 507.50       |
| Student .....   | 455.00       |
| Florida Historical Confederation (annual) .....                               | 825.00       |
| <i>Contributions:</i>   |              |
| Transfer .....  | 11,065.00    |
| <i>Other Receipts:</i>  |              |
| Quarterly sales .....   | 638.81       |
| Index .....   | 79.46        |
| Duplicating .....   | 396.45       |
| Labels .....  | 45.00        |
| Photographs .....   | 276.05       |
| Microfilm .....   | 202.50       |
| Directory .....   | 12.50        |
| Adventures in History (tours) .....   | 71.60        |
| Royalties (Yonge account) .....   | 500.00       |

ANNUAL MEETING

241

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|--|---------------------|
| <i>Interest Income:</i>  |                     |
| First Federal .....  | 72.63               |
| Florida Federal .....  | 265.52              |
| Glendale Federal .....   | 267.07              |
| Florida Federal .....  | 52.27               |
| University State Bank .....                                    | 203.23              |
| Freedom Federal .....  | 47 1.60             |
| <i>Dividends Income:</i>                                       |                     |
| E. F. Hutton .....   | 3,109.00            |
| Government Securities Series .....                             | 3,373.49            |
| Middle South Utilities .....                                   | 2.67                |
| <i>Annual Meeting:</i>   |                     |
| Expenses .....   | 719.29              |
| <b>Total Receipts .....</b>                                    | <b>54,135.83</b>    |
| <i>Disbursements:</i>  |                     |
| <i>Florida Historical Quarterly:</i>                           |                     |
| Printing and mailing .....                                     | 17,247.22           |
| Mailer labels and envelopes .....                              | 643.40              |
| Post Office box rental .....                                   | 29.00               |
| Editor .....   | 1,000.00            |
| <i>Annual Meeting:</i>   |                     |
| Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Prize .....                        | 200.00              |
| Charlton W. Tebeau Award .....                                 | 200.00              |
| <i>Other Expenses:</i>   |                     |
| Florida Historical Society Newsletter .....                    | 3,054.27            |
| Postage .....  | 3,821.80            |
| Telephone .....  | 940.64              |
| Duplicating and labels .....                                   | 645.21              |
| Educational resources .....                                    | 279.40              |
| Supplies .....   | 3,206.16            |
| Taxes .....  | 23.00               |
| History Fair .....   | 2,689.01            |
| Florida Historical Confederation administrative expenses ..... | 50.88               |
| Books .....  | 550.51              |
| Florida Historical Society bank charges .....                  | 12.00               |
| Florida Historical Confederation bank charges .....            | 6.82                |
| Florida Historical Society-Saunders Grant-Computer .....       | 2,523.60            |
| Book binding .....   | 60.79               |
| Repair/maintenance .....                                       | 856.34              |
| Advertising .....  | 250.00              |
| Minolta Copy machine .....                                     | 1,338.64            |
| Director's expense .....                                       | 1,918.58            |
| Associate Director's expense .....                             | 4,308.43            |
| December board meeting .....                                   | 17.25               |
| Petty cash .....   | 35.00               |
| <b>Total Disbursements .....</b>                               | <b>\$45,908.01</b>  |
| <b>Net Income .....</b>  | <b>\$8,227.82</b>   |
| <b>Balance, December 31, 1986 .....</b>                        | <b>\$117,585.16</b> |



## **G**REAT EXPECTATIONS. . .

1987

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|------------|---|---------------------|
| Nov. 6-7   | Florida State Genealogical Society  | Fort Lauderdale, FL |
| Nov. 6-8   | Southern Jewish Historical Society  | Durham, NC          |
| Nov. 11-13 | Southeastern Archaeological Conference and Eastern States Archaeological Federation | Charleston, SC      |
| 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

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|--------------------|--|-----------------|
| Jan. 13-16         | Society for Historical Archaeology                             | Reno, NV        |
| Mar. 30-<br>Apr. 2 | Organization of American Historians                            | Reno, NV        |
| April 7-9          | Southeastern Nineteenth-Century Studies Association Conference | Washington, DC  |
| April 17-25        | Institute for Early Contact Period Studies Conference          | Gainesville, FL |
| May 12-14          | FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY- 86th MEETING                       | Miami, FL       |
| May 13             | FLORIDA HISTORICAL CONFEDERATION                               | Miami, FL       |





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FROM

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# THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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

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## OFFICERS

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

## DIRECTORS

|  |  |
|--|--|
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| KATHLEEN H. ARSENAULT<br><i>St. Petersburg</i> | WRIGHT LANGLEY<br><i>Key West</i>                    |
| JO BIGELOW<br><i>Estero</i>                    | MARINUS H. LATOUR<br><i>Gainesville</i>              |
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|  | PATSY WEST<br><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.

