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AGENT  
ROGERS & HONES  
FERTILIZERS

MAY GRAIN  
&  
FERTILIZERS

FREIGHT OF VAILS  
TRANSFER

# FLORIDA

F.H.S. HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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COVER

Downtown DeLand, ca. 1890s. Miller's Feed & Hardware, corner New York Avenue and the Boulevard. Reproduced from *A Pictorial History of West Volusia County, 1870-1940*, by William J. Dreggors, Jr., and John Stephen Hess.

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# THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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## **MEN WITHOUT GOD OR KING: RURAL SETTLERS OF EAST FLORIDA, 1784-1790**

by Susan R. Parker

IN 1784 Spanish colonists returned to the Florida peninsula after a twenty-year hiatus of British rule. In St. Augustine troops from Cuba walked the streets talking in Spanish, former émigré residents or their relatives moved in to reclaim old homes, and mass was sung again in the parish church. Out in the countryside the settlers debated in English what their fate might be under the new regime. The few Spanish that they saw were the military detachments assigned to the frontier posts or the sailors bringing supplies.

Two decades before, in peace negotiations ending the Seven Years War, Spain had traded its Florida territory to ransom British-held Havana. Florida's cession to Great Britain ended 200 years of Spanish occupation. Soldiers from the Iberian peninsula and Floridian creole inhabitants evacuated the province rather than remain to live under British rule. In the middle of the 1770s subjects loyal to the British crown began immigrating to East Florida, and by the end of the American Revolution its population had increased fivefold.<sup>1</sup> Peace parleys in 1783 again transferred Florida's ownership-this time, back to Spain. In 1784 and 1785 British transports arrived to evacuate officials, troops, residents, and their belongings from Florida. A number of British subjects, however, chose to stay to seek their fortunes as subjects of Carlos III.

In St. Augustine the former British subjects lived among a mixture of recent arrivals from other parts of the Spanish em-

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Susan Parker is a historian for the Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board and a doctoral student, University of Florida. The author wishes to express her appreciation to Darrett B. Rutman, University of Florida, for his assistance with this study.

1. Robert L. Gold, *Borderland Empires in Transition: The Triple-Nation Transfer of Florida* (Carbondale & Edwardsville, 1969); J. Leitch Wright, Jr., *Florida in the American Revolution* (Gainesville, 1975), 21.

pire, but the settled rural region—the basins of the St. Johns and St. Marys rivers—remained exclusively Anglo. When Spanish policy eventually allowed new settlers to enter the region in 1790, the presence of an already established Anglo population ensured continuity and stability on East Florida's vulnerable northern border.<sup>2</sup>

As used in this essay, the term “Anglo” means those individuals who immigrated into East Florida from the American colonies to the north or from the British Isles (and a few from other northern European countries) and who remained in Florida after 1784. Their accents may have differed, but they had in common their northern European origin and the fact that they were not Roman Catholics in a colony where Roman Catholicism was the official religion. Spanish immigration policy in 1784 required adherence to Roman Catholicism, although it allowed already settled Protestants to remain in the province. The term, “Protestant,” applies more to Anglo settlers in default than it does as an indication of allegiance to a formal set of religious tenets. One typically priestly description referred to the resident as being “of religion, if any, Lutheran.”<sup>3</sup>

Anglo attitudes and goals often differed from those of Spanish officials in St. Augustine. The cultural background of the Anglos, as well as their nationality, was alien to the men who governed East Florida. Those officials expected obedience, loyalty, and sacrifice from settlers who were vulnerable to attack by Americans and Indians on a frontier that Spain could not really defend. One Spanish officer describing East Florida's northern river region in 1784 thought that the attributes of the area surpassed the qualities of its inhabitants. Although there were “probably some of good reputation,” Spanish navy officer Nicolás Grenier stated that most of the settlers were “men without God or king.”<sup>4</sup> They were, in fact, men and women in the act of exchanging their kings, for the question had been put to

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2. Among those who arrived subsequent to the 1790 royal order inviting settlers were John McQueen, Andrew Atkinson, and, several years later, Zephaniah Kingsley.
  3. White baptisms, Book I, 208. St. Augustine Cathedral Parish Records (CPR), Diocesan Center, Mandarin, Florida (microfilm copies at St. Augustine Historical Society).
  4. Nicolás Grenier, November 10, 1784, in Joseph Byrne Lackey, *East Florida, 1783-1785: A File of Documents Assembled and Many of them Translated* (Berkeley & Los Angeles, 1949), 307.

them whether to remain and live under Spanish control or to depart for other parts of the British Empire.

Those individuals unfettered by sizeable families and those who possessed a marketable craft were the ones most likely to relocate to other colonies. Many bachelors and other spouseless persons moved on to Nova Scotia, the Bahamas, and Central America. Some relocated to England, and still others, perhaps with some trepidations, returned to their former homes in the new United States. With St. Augustine as its only urban area, East Florida needed few of the tanners, bakers, and cobblers who had fled into Florida during the American Revolution. The Minorcan community already filled those trades in St. Augustine.<sup>5</sup>

On July 14, 1784, two days after assuming office, Governor Vicente Manuel de Zéspedes authorized "a comprehensive census of the inhabitants . . . with indication of their intentions [whether to remain in or depart East Florida], families, slaves, occupation, and estates." The censustakers segregated St. Augustine residents and rural dwellers (*vecinos del campo*) into separate lists. The "gentlefolk" (*personas decentes*) were special groups, as were free blacks.<sup>6</sup>

Spanish officials made two other enumerations of rural residents before the inception of the expanded settlement policy in 1790. Father Michael O'Reilly took the census gathered during the governor's tour of the backcountry in 1787. In November 1789 a third list of the settlers living along the St. Marys and Nassau rivers was compiled.<sup>7</sup> This study includes any head of

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5. Census Returns, bundle 323A, roll 148; Petition of William Pengree, November 30, 1786, bundle 41B4, roll 16, East Florida Papers (EFP), Library of Congress (microfilm copies at St. Augustine Historical Society); Philip D. Rasico, "The Minorcan Population of St. Augustine in the Spanish Census of 1786," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 66 (October 1987), 167-84.
  6. Vincente Manuel de Zéspedes to Bernardo de Gálvez, July 16, 1784, in Lackey, *East Florida*, 231; Census Returns, bundle 323A, roll 148, EFP. Recent studies of the contemporary population of East Florida are Sherry Johnson, "The Spanish St. Augustine Community, 1784-1795: A Reevaluation," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 68 (July 1989), 27-54 (focusing on the town's Hispanic population); Rasico, "Minorcan Population of St. Augustine" (translates the 1786 census of the Mediterranean-born residents); and, for a review of the urban black population, Jane Landers, "Black Society in Spanish St. Augustine, 1784-1821," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Florida, 1988).
  7. Census Returns, bundle 323A, roll 148; Pablo Catajal to Zéspedes, November 15, 1789; Pablo Catajal "Report Affirming the Number of

the household who listed the St. Johns, Nassau, or St. Marys rivers, or the coastal islands at their mouths, as a place of residence. Excluded were residents of the estuaries of the North or Matanzas rivers or of the coastal areas south of Matanzas Inlet. Those riverbanks soon evolved into a "Minorcan littoral" with only a few leftover British residents interspersed.<sup>8</sup>

No personal documents reveal the reasons for settlers' decisions to stay in Florida. A comparison of the censuses discloses that, between the time that the questions were asked and the day of the final embarkation, families changed their minds, probably several times. Of those who elected to remain on the northern rivers, seventy-one heads of household stated their intentions in the 1784 census. Of the twenty-nine who by the time of the census had decided to stay only the carpenter Robert Gilbert stated his reason— an elderly and infirm parent "about 100 years old" who could not be moved.<sup>9</sup>

Indecision or plans to move elsewhere concerned more than one-half of the seventy-one respondents. Twenty-four families, one-third of the remaining households, did not determine their option when asked. Some hoped to move to West Florida or Louisiana, where richer soil was reported. Even Henry O'Neill, who later served as the governor's appointed magistrate on the St. Marys, answered "undecided" about his plans. Eighteen households who reached the decisions to depart reversed their thinking before the evacuation ended. Samuel Harrison of Amelia Island and Spicer Christopher of Talbot Island both declared their intentions to depart the province, but changed

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Families Who Have Taken the Oath of Allegiance to His Majesty and Inhabit the Southern Bank of the St. Marys River, Nassau [River], Amelia and Talbot Islands with Expression of the Total of Individuals in Each One, Their Religions, Property, Etc.," December 10, 1789, bundle 120C10, roll 46, EFP.

8. Census Returns, bundle 323A, roll 148, EFP. For the settlement patterns of North and Matanzas rivers, see Kathleen Deagan, *Phase I Background Research and Assessment of Historic and Prehistoric Archeological Resources in St. Johns County, Florida* (St. Augustine, 1981), 117-21, and Susan R. Parker, "Developmental History of St. Johns County," in Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board (HSAPB), *St. Johns County Historical, Architectural and Archaeological Survey* (St. Augustine, 1987), 162, mss. on file at HSAPB. "Minorcan" became a generic term applied to the Mediterranean refugees (or their descendants) from Andrew Turnbull's New Smyrna enterprise.
9. Census Returns, bundle 323A, roll 148, EFP.

their minds. Their descendants occupied the same acreage when Florida became an American territory in 1821.<sup>10</sup>

Historian Helen Tanner attributed the last-minute changes in plans by those who originally had intended to leave to incoming reports of inhospitable attitudes toward the immigrants displayed by officials in the Bahama Islands. The Bahamians' lack of assistance to the evacuees led to a high death rate among the arrivals. Professor J. Leitch Wright, Jr., noted that the Tories, who had immigrated to Florida, distrusted and doubted the ability of the newly created United States to control its vast geographic area. The Loyalists predicted that the government would either fail or its territory would be reduced, and those who remained on the edge of frontiers wanted to be on hand to take advantage of the restoration of "British liberty and dominion."<sup>11</sup>

A few evacuees discovered that their decisions to leave Florida had not been the wiser choice, and within two or three years they reappeared at the Florida border requesting permission to return to become Spanish subjects. Wealthy William Pengree had moved into Georgia, only fifty miles from the Florida border. In 1786 Pengree's overseer, with a portion of his employer's slaves and a cache of corn, presented himself to the commander of the Amelia Island post and requested permission to resettle in Florida. Pengree's wealth and numerous black laborers were a welcome addition to the region. Thomas Cryer, his son, daughter-in-law, and her parents, also afraid for their safety in Georgia, returned to Florida. The elder Cryer and his son Morgan's father-in-law recently had voted in Camden County's (Georgia) first election as new United States citizens. Reddin Blunt, who had chosen to evacuate to an alternative British territory, moved back to East Florida from Nova Scotia three years later. Instead of returning to his former residence near New Smyrna, Blunt settled on Nassau River.<sup>12</sup>

Professor Wright also observed that Florida's white, English-speaking settlers were not transplanted Britishers happy to re-

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10. *Ibid.*; Work Projects Administration (W.P.A.), *Spanish Land Grants in Florida*, 5 vols. (Tallahassee, 1941), II, 41, III, 16.

11. Helen Hornbeck Tanner, *Zéspedes in East Florida, 1784-1790* (Coral Gables, 1963), 65; Wright, *Florida in the American Revolution*, 145.

12. Census Returns, bundle 323A, roll 148; Zéspedes to Richard Lang, May 2, 1789, bundle 120C10, roll 46, EFP; Marguerite Reddick, *Camden's Challenge: A History of Camden County, Georgia* (Jacksonville, 1976), 4-5.

turn to the mother country, but regarded themselves as Americans.<sup>13</sup> Americans they were indeed. Based on the Spanish documents, 83 percent of the group who chose to remain in Spanish East Florida (or returned after a short absence) were born in America, in colonies that had become the new United States. The Anglo rural settlers of East Florida hailed from all the former colonies south of New York, except New Jersey.

This extension of British America into Spanish Florida fits the pattern discerned by John J. McCusker and Russell R. Menard that, in the lower South, migration was from other colonies rather than via direct passage from Europe. Although the exotic schemes of the early years of East Florida's British period brought in a hodge-podge of immigrants from the British Isles and other parts of Europe, they were no longer settled in the rural areas in 1784. Those living along the northern riverbanks of Spanish East Florida were overwhelmingly of American birth. Among the eleven heads of households born in the Old World, all but two settlers from the Mediterranean were natives of northern Europe. Four were from England, two from Switzerland, and one each from Scotland, Ireland, and the Alsace region of France. Both southern Europeans— Manuel Marshall

**TABLE 1**  
BIRTHPLACE OF AMERICAN-BORN, RURAL SETTLERS  
(HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD) OF NORTHERN RIVER REGION,  
EAST FLORIDA, 1784-1790

Colony	Number	%
America (no colony)	13	25.5
South Carolina	11	21.5
North Carolina	8	15.7
Virginia	8	15.7
Pennsylvania	4	7.8
Georgia	3	5.9
Maryland	3	5.9
Florida	1	2.0
Total	51	100.0

Source: Census Returns, Bundle 323A, East Florida Papers.

13. Tanner, *Zéspedes*, 65; Wright, *Florida in the American Revolution*, 145.

from Malta and the Italian, Joseph Savy— were Roman Catholics.<sup>14</sup>

While European birth was exceptional among the rural settlers, Catholicism was even more unusual. Only five heads of families declared themselves to be of the “Roman Catholic Apostolic” church, and four of them were European born. William Kane from Pennsylvania was the lone American-born Catholic. Catholicism was not a unifying force among the few settlers who were its adherents. The Catholic families were scattered along the rivers, not clustered together. George Aarons, the Alsatian, lived about four miles up from the St. Marys harbor; Kane, much further upriver. Joseph Savy had his home on Fort George Island near the mouth of the St. Johns River. Manuel Marshall and an Irish Catholic bachelor, Thomas Pemberton, lived about six miles upriver from St. Johns Bluff.<sup>15</sup>

In East Florida, where Roman Catholicism was the state religion, more than 90 percent of the Anglo river households were Protestant. Already distant from the capital, their religion further excluded them from national festivals and rituals. In Spanish colonies such events, whether festive or funereal, always included a commemorative mass as part of any observance. No church existed in East Florida outside of St. Augustine, although in 1786 Carlos III had ordered special parishes to be erected for the Anglo-American settlers to be manned by English-speaking priests. Likewise, no provision was made for marriage between non-Catholics, hence many crossed into Georgia for the ceremony, while others just exchanged vows before witnesses. In doing so, they followed the examples of important Protestants in the province. In 1789, John Leslie, a partner in the Indian trading firm, Panton, Leslie and Company, and a Protestant, crossed the border to Cumberland Island in Georgia to wed William Pengree’s step-daughter.<sup>16</sup>

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14. John J. McCusker and Russell R. Menard, *The Economy of British America, 1706-1789* (Chapel Hill, 1985), 169-70; for the settlement schemes, see Bernard Bailyn, *Voyagers to the West: A Passage in the Peopling of America on the Eve of the Revolution* (New York, 1986), 430-74; Census Returns, bundle 323A, roll 148, EFP.
  15. Census Returns, bundle 323A, roll 148, EFP.
  16. Michael V. Gannon, *The Cross in the Sand: The Early Catholic Church in Florida, 1513-1870* (Gainesville, 1965), 95, 103; Catajal to Zéspedes, November 6, 1789, bundle 120C10, roll 46, EFP.

Attempting to integrate their children into the province's official culture, Protestant families submitted their children to baptism when priests visited the rivers in 1787 and 1790. Settlers also presented their slaves for the sacrament and encouraged free blacks attached to their households to do the same. In the early years of the second Spanish period, Catholic priests and the Anglo rural population still were hopeful about plans to establish parishes for the Anglo population and to inaugurate church-sponsored schools for their children.<sup>17</sup>

This rural population, so overwhelmingly American and Protestant, was composed mainly of farmers (*labradores*), with a few who called themselves by the grander term, "planter" (*plantor*); 80 percent of the settlers listed agriculture as their only occupation. Many named their plantations. Some individuals incorporated Old-World locations in the titles, like Isaac Rivas's "Mesopotamia" or Fatio's "New Switzerland." Other names expressed ideals, such as Henry O'Neill's "New Hope" or Angus Clark's "Liberty Hall." A few Protestant planters, in imitation of the Catholic Spanish, placed "San" (saint in Spanish) before their own given names to create titles. Spicer Christopher dubbed his place "San Cristóbal" and Frederick Hartley called his farm "San Federico."<sup>18</sup>

The livelihood of most settlers came from the land, either from the flora or the animals that foraged upon its scrub. A few residents possessed skills that could be used on the region's timber supply. Except for two blacksmiths, the craftsmen who lived along the rivers were carpenters and boatbuilders. Cypress trees, abundant and ideal for canoes, supplied John Houston of the St. Marys and Robert Gilbert on the St. Johns, both builders of small boats and canoes, with material. The St. Augustine government contracted with the residents to perform construction and repairs at the defense posts in the area. Wielding axes, drawknives, and planes did not preclude handling a plow. Several of the woodworkers claimed to be farmers in addition to their carpentry work. Houston, who planted twelve acres, and

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17. White Baptisms, Book I; Colored Baptisms, Book I, CPR; Michael Curley, *Church and State in the Spanish Floridas (1783-1822)* (Washington, DC, 1940), 93.

18. Census Returns, bundle 323A, roll 148, EFP; W.P.A., *Spanish Land Grants*, III, 79, 271-72.

Gilbert, with eight acres, referred to themselves only as farmers in 1787, although they had cited their boatbuilding skills three years before.<sup>19</sup>

A majority of the farmsteads were maintained by small families, usually consisting of only three or four persons. However, a number of households were more extensive. In determining household size and character, this study employed the same definitions and categories for household members as did the Spanish censustakers. Free persons in the household not part of the nuclear family (*agregados*), whatever their relationship, were considered as part of the household.

In addition to parents and their children, a household might include grandparents, grandchildren, widowed in-laws or siblings, white or free-black servants and workers, boarders, and visitors. Orphans with no explanation of their relationship to the host family appeared in the censuses. Itinerant laborers and tradesmen lived where they worked. Any of these *agregados* might be accompanied by their own spouses, in-laws, or stepchildren, and their respective slaves and livestock. Of the sev-

**TABLE 2**  
SIZE OF HOUSEHOLDS IN NORTHERN RIVER REGION,  
EAST FLORIDA, 1784-1790

Number in Household	Number of Households	%
1	5	6.6
2	9	11.9
3	12	15.8
4	13	17.1
5	9	11.9
6	9	11.9
7	5	6.6
8	6	7.9
9	5	6.6
10 or more	3	3.9
Total	76	100.5

Source: Census Returns, bundle 323A; "Report Affirming the Number of Families . . . of St. Marys and Nassau rivers, Amelia and Talbot islands," December 10, 1789, bundle 120C10, document 211, East Florida Papers.

19. Census Returns, bundle 323A, roll 148; Francisco Huet to Zéspedes, September 11, 1788, bundle 119B10, roll 45; Lang to Quesada, September 15, 1791, bundle 121D10, roll 47, EFP.

enty-six families for which there is household information, thirty-two of them (42 percent) included agregados. For at least nine of the thirty-two families, the agregado was listed as a relative. Free blacks lived with five of these thirty-two families.

Agregados of various affinity, status, and function were associated simultaneously with the affluent households. With so many slaves, employees, and guests, the households changed complexion constantly. Although the affluent Anglo families left information of a sort that was usually lacking for the less prosperous, the fluid nature of the well-to-do households makes it difficult to sketch any portrait for them that endured for more than a few days. In addition, their wily patresfamilias often gave evasive answers to the authorities' questions about their holdings and households. Perhaps Francis Philip Fatio truly owned so much livestock that he could not give a number, but he made no effort to do so— and did not concern himself over any potential official displeasure from the omission.

Fatio was the most affluent resident in East Florida. He alternated living in St. Augustine and at his St. Johns River plantation. His son, Lewis (counted as part of his father's rural household), had his own town house in St. Augustine. Lewis supervised New Switzerland as well as other property on the St. Johns, frequently appeared at Amelia Island to await family ships, and often traveled to Charleston and Havana on business. At any given time any combination of the three young male servants, the steward and two single overseers, the orphan Jane Cross, or sons- or daughters-in-law and grandchildren might be at either of the Fatio houses in town or at New Switzerland. Augmenting the plantation's kaleidoscopic population, ailing Spanish officers often recuperated at the plantation. A detachment of soldiers was stationed there, ships arrived with their crews to take on lumber and oranges at the Fatio dock, and sometimes hungry, traveling Indians found food and rest.<sup>20</sup>

Until its destruction by Indians in 1812, New Switzerland was the premier plantation of East Florida. There Fatio surrounded himself with the trappings of wealth and gentility— Chinese vases, a library, household silver, a piano, a gold-

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20. Susan R. Parker, "I am neither your subject nor your subordinate," *El Escribano* 25 (1988), 54-56.

headed cane. The Swiss-born planter commanded wealth sufficient to pledge a dowry for his daughter that surpassed Governor Zéspedes's annual salary. At Sophia Fatio's betrothal to George Fleming, her father pledged 1,000 pounds sterling (or 4,445 pesos) in cash or kind to be delivered in two equal payments, the first half immediately, the second installment, two years hence. Governor Zéspedes's salary was 4,000 pesos (sporadically received).<sup>21</sup>

By virtue of his relative longevity in Florida, Fatio had been able to expand his plantation and commercial interests. He arrived in British East Florida in 1771. The following year Governor James Grant conferred 10,000 acres to him on the east bank of the St. Johns River. The grant was triangular in shape, with twelve miles of riverfront for its base. Unlike many contemporary British entrepreneurs in East Florida, Fatio was not an absentee investor, and he resided in the province to supervise and protect his investments. Although raiders during the American Revolution had plundered as close as Doctor's Lake on the west side of the St. Johns, the width of the river at that point provided effective protection for Fatio's property at New Switzerland.<sup>22</sup>

Across the St. Johns from New Switzerland lived William Pengree, the second most affluent resident of the river region. When he returned to the province, William Pengree established "Laurel Grove" on Doctor's Lake. Like Fatio's, but on a smaller scale, the composition of Pengree's household was changeable. It included his wife and her children, a widower, the overseer (whose wife lived in a household on the St. Marys) and his sister, another foreman with a wife, child, and his own slaves, and still another family waiting for the governor to assign them some land to farm. Pengree was as likely to be in the Bahama Islands conducting business as he was to be found on the St. Johns River. Like Fatio, Pengree furnished his home with fine implements, such as the six silver-plated (*hoja de plata*) sugar contain-

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21. Francis Fatio, Sr., died in 1811. *Ibid.*, 56; Francis Philip Fatio and Maria Magdalena Crespel, August 12, 1788, bundle 369, roll 170, EFP; Lackey, *East Florida*, 447, n. 1.

22. Gertrude N. L'Engle, *A Collection of Letters, Information and Data on Our Family*, 2 vols. (Jacksonville, 1951), II, 17-26; W.P.A., *Spanish Land Grants*, III, 13, IV, 65; Wilbur Henry Siebert, *Loyalists in East Florida, 1774-1785*, 2 vols. (DeLand, 1929), II, 68.

ers and crystal bottles inventoried upon his death in 1793. His wardrobe included a silk waistcoat and silk stockings.<sup>23</sup>

It was not a coincidence that the successful plantations of the region were situated close to each other. In addition to Fatio and Pengree, who did not report the size of their plantings, two of the three plantation owners with the largest reported cultivated acreage in 1787, that of forty acres, were near New Switzerland. Hannah Moore lived on Fatio's northern boundary, and Angus Clark, to the north of her. Timothy Hollingsworth of Talbot Island was the remaining planter along the rivers to report so much cultivated land. Within a few years Hollingsworth chose to move to the same preferred vicinity as the three above, but he developed the more vulnerable west bank of the St. Johns.<sup>24</sup>

Here the enterprises were many miles from the forays and disruptions that had long plagued the region nearer the border. Not only was their more secure location an asset, but the availability of Fatio's markets and equipment contributed to their success. Neighboring farmers could use New Switzerland's turpentine still. Angus Clark and Fatio both profited when Clark supplied lumber that Fatio needed to complete a government contract. Through his influence Fatio (and two other East Florida residents) acquired special trading licenses from the count of Gálvez before the nobleman's death. This authority to import and export was not available to the other residents of East Florida.<sup>25</sup>

Planting on this scale required supervisory personnel in addition to the laborers. Fatio and Pengree employed several men as foremen. Both Moore and Hollingsworth, each owning nine slaves, reported hired *agregados* as part of their households. Free blacks and mulattoes frequently were employed as overseers. John Gray, a free mulatto, worked as an overseer for Fatio, Clark, and Moore at different times. When Gray worked

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23. When the pre-evacuation census was taken, Pengree was cultivating Mount Tucker, upriver from the site of Laurel Grove; Census Returns, bundle 323A, roll 148; Estate of William Pengree, bundle 303, roll 136, EFP.

24. Census Returns, bundle 323A, roll 148, EFP; W.P.A., *Spanish Land Grants*, III, 222-23, IV, 8-11, 229.

25. Estate of Angus Clark, bundle 303, roll 136; Francis Philip Fatio to Joseph del Rio Cossa, June 26, 1787, bundle 98G8, roll 37, EFP.

as an *agregado* at Widow Moore's he brought along his two horses and two head of cattle.<sup>26</sup>

The widow, Hannah Moore, made a particularly good showing for herself. In 1784 she was "squatting" on a farm abandoned by British evacuees. The next year she erected her own house on the land and had acquired one slave. By 1787 she had increased her slaveholdings to nine. In the summer of 1790 John Gray traveled to the "Indian nation" as her agent to purchase cattle. For extra funds she sewed. For making "four fine shirts, two ruffled and two plain," she charged four dollars.<sup>27</sup>

In more than one-half of the river households there were no slaves. Of the eighteen farmers who planted ten or fewer acres in 1787, only one reported owning a slave. Farmers who owned no slaves could rent or board them, however. Correspondence reporting the theft or flight of slaves "deposited" with someone other than their owner suggests the frequency of such arrangements. For the most part the river residents relied upon the family to sow, hoe, weed, and harvest the crops, or they reciprocated services with their neighbors.

The most common size of plot under cultivation was ten acres, but three-fifths of the settlers planted more than ten acres. On farms where planting size reached twenty-five acres,

**TABLE 3**  
ACREAGE UNDER CULTIVATION IN THE NORTHERN  
RIVER REGION, EAST FLORIDA, 1787

Acres	Number of farms	%
1-5	5	11.4
6-10	13	29.5
11-15	7	15.9
16-20	9	20.5
21-25	3	6.8
26-30	2	4.8
31-35	2	4.8
36-40	3	6.8
Total	44	100.9

Source: Census Returns, bundle 323A, East Florida Papers.

26. Census Returns, bundle 323A, roll 148, EFP.

27. *Ibid.*; Lang to Zéspedes, June 19, 1790, bundle 120C10, roll 46; John McIntosh to Quesada, April 22, 1792, bundle 122E10, roll 47; Francis Philip Fatio to Quesada, September 28, 1794, bundle 127J10, roll 50, EFP.

at least six slaves provided the labor. Henry O'Neill was an exception, but only in the kind of labor he utilized. Although he owned no slaves, O'Neill, with nine children in his house, had one of the largest families along the rivers. In 1787 when he reported cultivating thirty-five acres, he had six boys and a daughter over the age of ten to assist on the farm. James, at age twenty-two, and Eber, seventeen, could perform men's work. A white male and a white female servant were also part of the household.<sup>28</sup>

Slaves were the real measure of wealth. Again the Anglo Floridians mirrored the states immediately north of them, although this reflected something of a change for Spanish Florida as a whole. In 1763, when the Spanish government prepared to hand over Florida to Britain, the emphasis in property had been on buildings. In the second Spanish period, Anglo river residents appraised the main houses of neighbors who had died with no more detail than the outbuildings in St. Augustine received. Even William Pengree's buildings merited only a summary description and broad valuations. In St. Augustine building tradesmen still evaluated structures for estate proceedings with minute descriptions of materials and dimensions. Slaves were listed and assessed with equal care in country and city, but the treatment of buildings reflected the relative importance of real property and slave property for the two cultures.<sup>29</sup>

The public notary books (*escrituras*) provide information on the prices paid for slaves in St. Augustine. During the evacuation period Penny, a fourteen-year old, was sold for 270 pesos and eighteen-year-old Jane with her child, for 300 pesos. The next spring, after the loyalists had departed, a purchaser paid 280 pesos for James, age twenty, a bozal (recently brought from Africa and possibly untrained), while the price for the aging Amy, forty, was 110 pesos. No separate set of books was available for the river region, and rural parties had no convenient

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28. Census Returns, bundle 323A, roll 148; Pablo Catajal, "Report Affirming the Number of Families," December 10, 1789, bundle 120C10, roll 46, EFP.
  29. Lois Green Carr and Lorena S. Walsh, "The Standard of Living in the Colonial Chesapeake," *William and Mary Quarterly* 45 (1988), 142; Charles W. Arnade, "The Architecture of Spanish St. Augustine," *Americas* 18 (1961), 149-86; Testamentary Proceedings, bundle 301-08, rolls 134-40, EFP.

solution but to prepare their own bills of sale (or have one of their literate neighbors do so), leaving few records of their transactions. From time to time the magistrates for the rivers reported to the governor slave sales made in the interior, but they were not subsequently recorded in the escrituras.<sup>30</sup>

Of the river residents, Fatio and Pengree owned the largest number of slaves. In the pre-evacuation census Fatio claimed seventy-nine slaves, and Pengree reported sixty-three "employed in preparing fields." The next largest slaveholders along the rivers were Samuel Harrison with twenty-six and George Aarons with fourteen. In 1787 Fatio, with eighty-two, and Pengree, with forty-eight, owned more slaves than all other residents reporting slaves combined.<sup>31</sup>

Although reports of slave stealing reached the governor in 1785, the census two years later reveals no major change in the numbers of slaves owned by the Anglo settlers. In fact, the slave population between 1784 and 1787, before and after the evacuation, appeared to be static for the region as a whole. Although the number of reported small slaveholders (one to three slaves) doubled during the three-year period, the slaves were merely dispersed among more households. Even Francis Fatio owned only three more slaves in the second census than in the first. Pengree, who reported a net loss of one-fourth of his slaves during the same period, had relocated twice, unintentionally providing opportunities for escape.<sup>32</sup>

For the more than one-half of the population that owned no slaves, livestock served as an evidence of wealth. Settlers raised cattle from their own herds, and purchased stock from the Americans in Georgia and from Indians on both sides of the St. Marys River. Five head of cattle per fifty acres was considered the most profitable arrangement. Fatio, one of the government contractors who provided fresh meat for the garrison, sold cattle purchased from other residents as well as from his own stock.

The inclusion of slaves and livestock in the censuses reflected the officials' assessment of their importance in the economy.

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30. Slave sales in bundle 366, roll 169, pp. 107, 261, 493, 494; Lang to Zéspedes, October 15, 1788, bundle 119B10, roll 45, EFP.

31. Census Returns, bundle 323A, roll 148, EFP; W.P.A., *Spanish Land Grants*, IV, 9.

32. Census Returns, bundle 323A, roll 148; Loyalty Oaths, bundle 350U4, roll 163, EFP.

TABLE 4  
 SIZE OF SLAVEHOLDINGS IN THE NORTHERN  
 RIVER REGION, EAST FLORIDA, 1784 AND 1787

Numbers of Slaves	Numbers of Households			
	1784	%	1787	%
1-3	5	25.0	11	52.4
4-6	7	35.0	5	23.8
7-9	2	10.0	4	19.0
10-12	3	15.0		
More than 13	3	15.0	1	4.8
Total	20	100.0	21	100.0

Source: Census Returns, bundle 323A, East Florida Papers.

The importance of these possessions to the residents is echoed in the settlers' transactions and, more often, their dickering over livestock. Few kinds of property were included in official reports or records, other than larger boats (such as schooners and bilanders), land, and slaves. Settlers bought and sold or bartered cattle, swine, and horses and deposited them as collateral. They also used them as a medium of exchange in the absence of coin in both friendly negotiations and as satisfaction in disputes. For example, the O'Neills, with no hard cash, arranged to use one of their horses as payment for needed corn. Mary Ann Clatworthy, who lived not far from Fatio, illustrated the place of cattle in the economy when she bequeathed to Mrs. Summerall a one-year-old steer, to Mrs. Loftin two choice cows and calves, to Mrs. Hambly a three-year-old steer, and to Mrs. Jennings, one cow and one calf.<sup>33</sup>

The settlers demanded compensation for damages inflicted upon their animals. Magistrate Henry O'Neill considered the matter of restitution to Mr. Hendricks for his pigs shot by Mrs. Savy important enough to be reported to the governor. When Spicer Christopher's dogs killed some of the pigs belonging to his free black sharecropper "Judge" Lewis Fatio, who was magistrate for the St. Johns River region, reported that he had to intervene to negotiate a workable solution between the two men. Determination of ownership of slaves and livestock took the

33. Margaret O'Neill to Carlos Howard, May 30, 1790, bundle 121D10, roll 46, EFP; W.P.A., *Spanish Land Grants*, V, 132.

judges through a labyrinth of claims and counter-claims by residents. The problems frequently surpassed their legal ability or exceeded their jurisdiction and required input from the governor, especially when third or even fourth parties to the argument lived north of the St. Marys.<sup>34</sup>

Slaves, horses, and cattle owned by settlers were equally desirable to the Indians and to Georgians, and Floridians formed posses to pursue these possessions across the St. Marys into Indian country, and into the nearby white settlements. Despite the governor's admonitions to take thieves alive inside East Florida's boundaries, settlers eager for blood and a part of the booty pursued the bandits with little caution in aiming their weapons.

Fear of Indian atrocities drew residents together to act as a unit. In the fall of 1787 the "inhabitants settled on Saint Marys River in great dread" of both Americans and Indians sent a petition to Governor Zéspedes, informing him of their plight and asking for his guidance and assistance. Two years later the St. Johns River settlers also jointly turned to the governor to express their fear following depredations by an Indian named Young Warrior.<sup>35</sup>

Whether or not the residents truly acted in concert to oust Henry O'Neill as magistrate for the St. Marys is difficult to discern. Richard Lang, jealous of O'Neill's post, authored the complaining document to be signed by mostly illiterate neighbors. It accused O'Neill of neglecting to keep the residents informed of important correspondence from the governor. Lang might well have misled some of the inhabitants about the content of the document. A statement made later by John Houston, who had signed Lang's complaining letter with an X, indicated his disagreement with the allegations in the petition on which his mark appeared. But this coalition of Anglo settlers exercising what they believed to be their right to redress and to a voice in decisions effecting their welfare got Zéspedes's attention. After O'Neill's death a few months later, the governor ordered a

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34. Henry O'Neill to Zéspedes, April 29, 1787; Petition of John Pileston with Report by Lewis Fatio, August 22 and 30, 1787, bundle 119B10, roll 45, EFP.

35. Residents of St. Marys River to Zéspedes, October 24, 1787, bundle 119B10, roll 45; Residents of St. Johns River, October 8, 1789, bundle 120C10, roll 46, EFP.

Spanish army officer to poll the residents about their preferences before Zéspedes chose a new magistrate.<sup>36</sup>

The provincial records concerned themselves more with the prevention of smuggling and other illegalities in the northern region than with how and where the settlers had acquired items that they did not produce. Spain's restrictive commercial policy combined with the absence of stores in East Florida's rural area left the inhabitants few legal options. Nearby lay Cumberland Island, literally a free port, where ships of all nations docked, and stores sold their cargoes.<sup>37</sup> The United States did not yet have trade laws—restrictions that Georgia might well have chosen to ignore anyway.

Submerged in the reports and depositions arising from the strife of the evacuation of the British in 1784 and 1785 were a few statements about the settlers' means of supporting themselves. Henry O'Neill wrote to the governor that he was working "to convert the shingles and barrel staves [he had cut] into bread for his family." Both O'Neill and George Aarons were felling trees in the fall of 1785, when Zéspedes forbade the sale of the mastpoles and smaller products they had honed. A sympathetic Spanish captain at Amelia Island allowed O'Neill to take his wood into Georgia where he exchanged it for food and clothing.<sup>38</sup>

According to Helen Tanner, "barrels of flour and salt meat, and the money to pay for them, constituted Governor Zéspedes' most fundamental problem throughout his administration." Like his predecessors in the earlier part of the century, Zéspedes had to rely on ports up the Atlantic coast for food and other supplies. Ocean currents made the voyage to New York or Philadelphia quicker and safer than the journey to Havana or Mexico. Food was cheaper in the United States and less subject to spoilage than provisions that were exposed to tropical heat and humidity. Spain maintained its mercantilistic policy with its

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36. Residents to Zéspedes, December 29, 1787, and April 29, 1788; Jaime McTernan to Zéspedes, May 11 and 18, 1788, bundle 119B10, roll 45, EFP.

37. Fernando Hernández to Zéspedes, April 5, 1787, bundle 119B10, roll 45, EFP.

38. Deposition of Jesse Youngblood, October 20, 1785; Nicolás Valderas to Zéspedes, October 20, 1785; Zéspedes to Valderas, October 23, 1785; Manuel de los Reyes to Zéspedes, November 2, 1785, bundle 118A10, roll 44, EFP.

colonies despite economic trends developing in the colonies. National policy ran counter to sound economics, and was costly for the small-time settler as well as for the imperial budget.<sup>39</sup>

The commander of the Amelia Island military post continually reported problems with securing provisions. During the Christmas season of 1785 Captain Manuel de los Reyes informed Zéspedes that the troops were “making do” for meals. His men had only beans to eat, while flour was available for purchase across the river in Georgia. By his own example Zéspedes gave tacit acceptance of the necessity to ignore the rules. The governor’s need for the foodstuffs carried in the holds of ships arriving in East Florida forced him to ignore his own regulations. When soldier Juan Francisco Garzes informed Zéspedes that two of Fatio’s vessels were leaving from Amelia Island with unlicensed exports, the governor replied that Garzes should let them proceed to Charleston because they would return with supplies “which were worth more than money.”<sup>40</sup>

The settlers in north Florida also had to turn to the United States for supplies. No stores or trading posts existed along the East Florida rivers for the settlers. The Panton, Leslie trading firm operated two stores on the upper St. Johns (in present-day Putnam and Volusia counties), but they catered exclusively to the Indian trade.<sup>41</sup> The necessity to travel to another nation to purchase goods required, in addition to expenditure of time, the acquisition of a passport if the trip was to be legal. “Anyone, black or white, male or female, who trie[d] to enter or leave the province without a pass” could be charged six pesos fine. Potential unpleasantness between former British Loyalists now residing in Spanish Florida and the citizens of the United States awaited them at Cumberland Island. The wounds of a war fought only a few years before still were raw, and fights and

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39. Tanner, *Zéspedes*, 105-08.

40. Juan Francisco Garzes to Zéspedes, October 1, 1785; Manuel de los Reyes to Zéspedes, December 27, 1785; bundle 118A10, roll 44, EFP.

41. Manuel de los Reyes to Zéspedes, December 27, 1785; Pedro Vásquez, “Description,” July 5, 1785, bundle 118A10, roll 44, EFP. After 1790 the mercantile company opened a store on the St. Marys near the ferry for a short time, and one on the St. Johns at Picolata. When the latter closed, the store was relocated across the river at the former site of Fort Pupo. William S. Coker and Thomas D. Watson, *Indian Traders of the Southeastern Borderlands: Panton, Leslie & Company and John Forbes & Company, 1783-1847* (Pensacola, 1986), 365.

injuries resulted from shopping trips. The Spanish fugitive slave policy sometimes caused altercations, as demonstrated by the two Americans who tried to replace their own missing slaves with those found riding in George Aarons's canoe.<sup>42</sup>

Only a short canoe trip across the St. Marys harbor into Georgia was required to visit Alexander Semple's store (*almacén de efectos y víveres*) on the north point of Georgia's Cumberland Island. Semple's patrons were as likely to see Spanish military uniforms as the homespun garb of the Anglo settlers who lived on the south side of the St. Marys River. The Amelia Island post commander and captains of Spanish ships anchored at the St. Marys often were forced to purchase Mr. Semple's merchandise: almost-fresh meat, salted meat, ham, flour, potatoes, butter, English crackers, small crackers, and rice. From other merchants on Cumberland Island the Florida residents purchased "beautiful guns," powder, gunflints, and riding saddles for both men and women.<sup>43</sup>

Settlers implored the governor to relieve the stifling economic situation that forced almost all of them at some time into illegal activity. Petitioning in the fall of 1789, they reported that they found themselves "inconveniently situated far from St. Augustine and without proper clothing to buy . . . [nor with] a convenient port for their harvests." They requested "indulgences in their dealing and traffic" allowing them to "cut and sell lumber to any purchaser if it [was] not against His Catholic Majesty's interest." The investigative commission sent by Zéspedes two weeks after this plea confirmed the "Memorialists'" situation, adding that the settlers did "not have a detachment nor a cannonboat nor even a small boat to guard their plantations . . . [nor] a store to provide them with necessities." Although the area was "fertile, beautiful," and therefore, promising, the settlers were "exposed to be victims of the many ambitious characters that infest the major part of the United States, particularly Georgia."<sup>44</sup>

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42. Fernando del Postigo to Zéspedes, March 17, 1787; Howard to Henry O'Neill, September 15, 1787, bundle 119B10, roll 45, EFP.

43. Pedro Vásquez to Zéspedes, January 30, 1785; Reyes to Zéspedes, November 22, 1785; Nicolás Valderas to Zéspedes, December 28, 1785, bundle 118A10, roll 44; Francisco Huet to Zéspedes, July 21, 1788, bundle 119B10, roll 45; "Observations of the Three Commissioners," December 10, 1789, bundle 120C10, roll 46, EFP.

44. Petition of Richard Lang, November 14, 1789; "Observations of the Three Commissioners," December 10, 1789, bundle 120C10, roll 46, EFP.

Such was the state of the “foreigners” along the St. Marys and St. Johns rivers in the early years of Spanish East Florida. This northern rural region of the Spanish province was truly an “Anglo suburb,” home to its most homogeneous population. Its freshwater rivers and their connecting estuaries served as the thoroughfares for the inhabitants. Birth in the American southern and middle colonies, the Protestant religion, and reliance on farming and forest products for a livelihood were their self-declared affinities.

Spain had little to offer the rural settlers except the land itself— a place for their cabins and crops. In the early years of the second Spanish period that “offer” was merely permission to continue to occupy plots that they were working even before the transfer of flags. In spite of the lack of military protection and the governor’s decrees neutralizing the settlers’ capacity to defend themselves, the ownership of land was enough to sustain the residents and to attract more in the future.

This study, in addition to sketching a picture of the rural residents of Spanish East Florida, has sought to accomplish an even more elementary end: the recognition that this area was indeed continuously settled in spite of the departure from East Florida by the British government and many of its supporters. For years the presence of these persevering settlers has remained obscured behind an Anglophile intellectual thicket that has long held that without British rule, civilization vanished, plantations “sank back into the wilderness,” and the riverine area became dark and forbidding as “rank weeds . . . grew about the empty houses of the planters and the quarters of the slaves, where only savages and wild beasts roamed.”<sup>45</sup>

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45. Thomas Frederick Davis, *History of Jacksonville, Florida, and Vicinity*, (St. Augustine, 1925), 51.

## **“TELL THEM I DIED LIKE A CONFEDERATE SOLDIER”: FINEGAN’S FLORIDA BRIGADE AT COLD HARBOR**

by ZACK C. WATERS

**G**ENERAL Robert E. Lee’s Army of Northern Virginia, by the middle of May 1864, was in serious trouble. The army still was a dangerous and effective fighting force, but major problems were beginning to surface. Casualties and command failures had crippled the officer corps, and three years of hard fighting had slowly sapped the strength of the southern army. Now it was facing an opponent in Lieutenant General Ulysses S. Grant who would neither retreat following defeat, nor give them the time necessary to recuperate. To solve his manpower problems, Lee’s only choice was to find replacement troops. That meant shifting troops from other commands to Virginia and scraping the bottom of the barrel to see if some garrison troops could be located.

On May 16, 1864, Major General James Patton Anderson, the newly-appointed commander of the Military District of Florida, was ordered to send “one good brigade of infantry” to reinforce the Army of Northern Virginia. This order meant that Florida would be stripped of virtually all of its fighting force to meet the crisis in Virginia. Only two cavalry battalions and three artillery companies would remain to protect the state and safeguard the vital flow of beef and other food supplies to the Confederate military.<sup>1</sup>

Florida already had contributed much to the southern cause and had been consistently treated as the stepchild of the Confederacy. By the spring of 1862 the state virtually had been aban-

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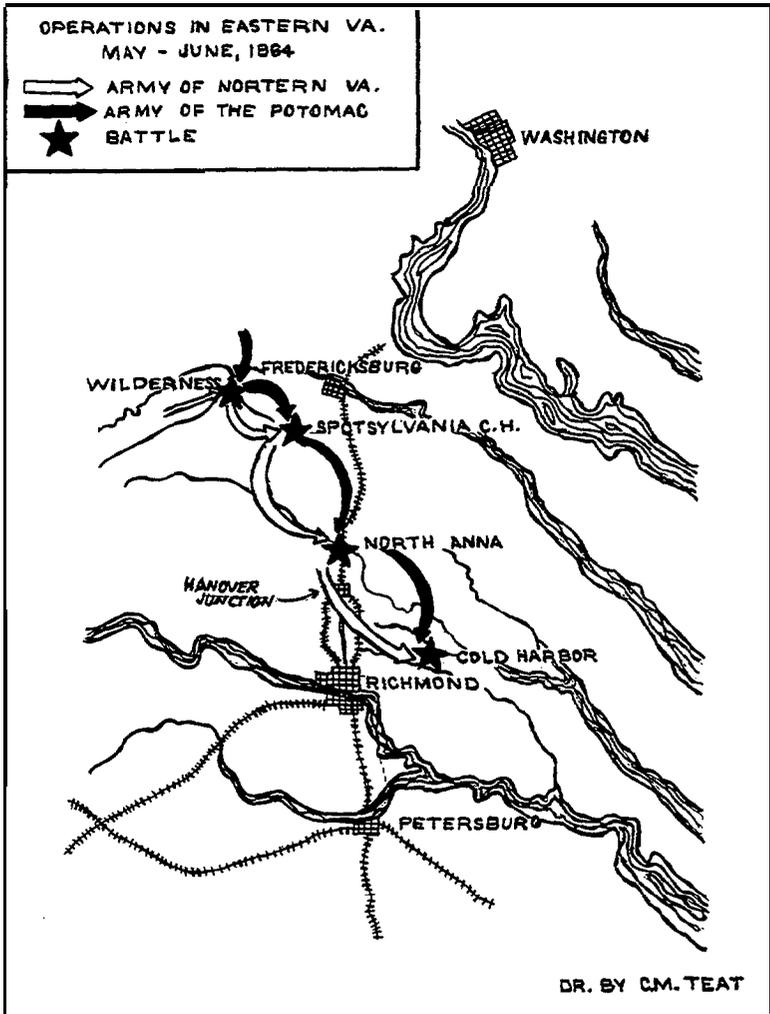
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1. United States War Department, *War of Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, 128 vols. (Washington, DC, 1880-1901), series 1, XXXV, part II, 485, 488 (hereinafter cited as *OR*).

done by the central government in Richmond; but not before nine infantry regiments and an artillery company raised in Florida, totalling approximately 12,000 men, had been dispatched for service outside the state. A small number of troops had been left to guard the mouth of the Apalachicola River, but only because the waterway provided a possible springboard for an invasion of Georgia. Now even that small contingent, as well as later enlistees and infantry raised by the conscript laws, was demanded for Lee's army.<sup>2</sup>

The Florida units to be dispatched to Virginia were the First, Second, Fourth, and Sixth battalions. The Second, Fourth, and Sixth battalions essentially were composed of independent companies that had been scattered throughout the state until consolidated early in 1864. Although the battalions existed on paper prior to 1864, the companies rarely had served together. The commander of the Second Florida Battalion was Lieutenant-Colonel Theodore W. Brevard, a Tallahassee attorney who once had served with the Second Florida Regiment in Virginia. The commander of the Fourth Florida Battalion was Lieutenant-Colonel James McClellan, and the leader of the Sixth Florida Battalion was Lieutenant-Colonel John M. Martin. The First (Special) Battalion had been mustered into Confederate service in 1861 at Amelia Island and was commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Hopkins. The unit and Hopkins had provided a special target for Governor John Milton's wrath since its inception. Hopkins was the nephew of Edward A. Hopkins, Milton's opponent in the 1860 gubernatorial race, and the battalion's lackluster military record included participation in the evacuation of Amelia Island and abandonment of the St. Johns Bluff fortifications in 1862.<sup>3</sup>

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2. *OR*, series 1, VI, 402-03. For a fuller description of the abandonment of Florida by the Confederacy, see John F. Reiger, "Florida After Secession: Abandonment by the Confederacy and Its Consequences," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 50 (October 1971), 128-42. Florida contributed an estimated 15,000 men to Confederate service from a voting population that never exceeded 12,000. John E. Johns, *Florida During The Civil War* (Gainesville, 1963; reprint ed., Macclenny, 1989), 213-42.
  3. Richard S. Nichols, "Florida's Fighting Rebels: A Military History of Florida's Civil War Troops" (master's thesis, Florida State University, 1967), 166. See also Fred L. Robertson, comp., *Soldiers of Florida in the Seminole Indian - Civil - and Spanish-American Wars* (Live Oak, 1903; reprint ed., Macclenny, 1983), 206.



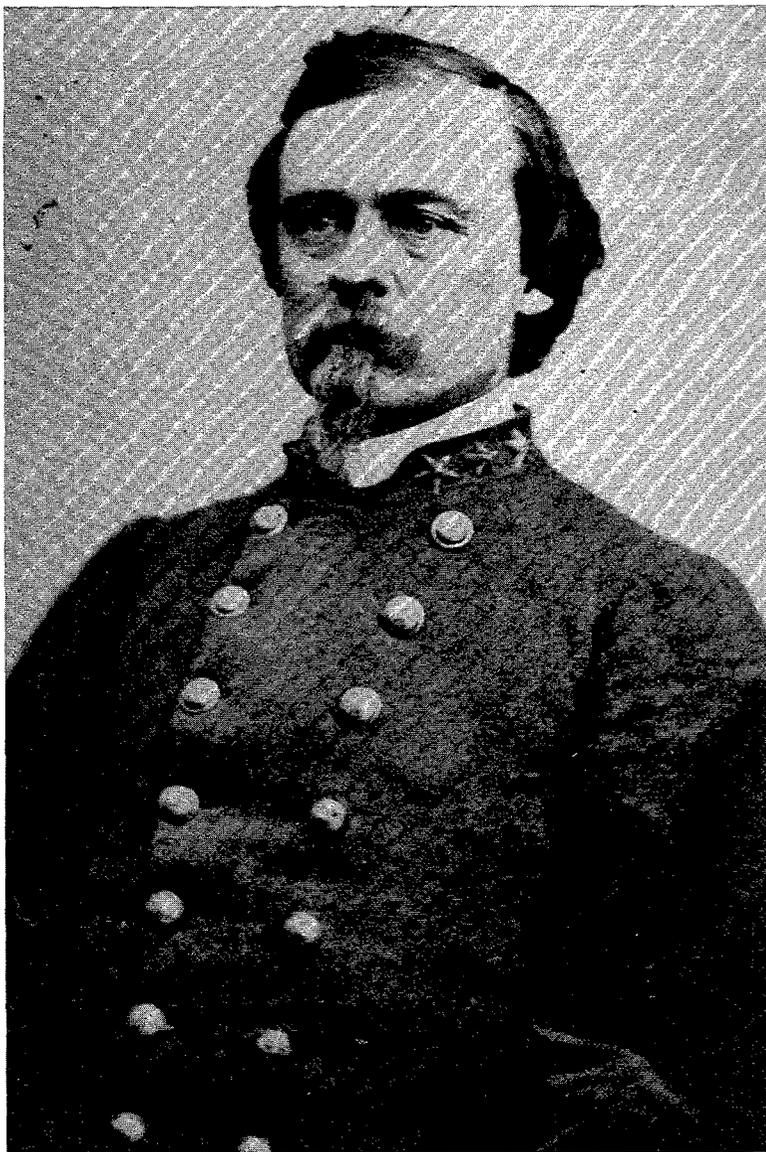
In April, the Sixth Battalion and the independent companies of Captains Jacob C. Eichelberger, John McNeil, and Benjamin L. Reynolds were combined to form the Ninth Florida Regiment. The other battalions eventually were reorganized as follows: six companies of the First Florida (Special) Battalion and the companies of Captains Samuel W. Mays, John Q. Stewart, George C. Powers, and Marion J. Clark (of the Second Florida

Battalion) formed the Tenth Florida Regiment; and the seven companies of the Fourth Battalion, the remaining companies of the Second Battalion, and the unattached company of Captain Cullens were combined to form the Eleventh Florida Regiment. Martin commanded the Ninth, Hopkins the Tenth, and Brevard the Eleventh.<sup>4</sup>

Questions regarding the quality and patriotism of this hodgepodge brigade surfaced almost immediately. Major General Sam Jones, commanding the Department of South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida, informed Richmond that the movement of troops would lead to disorganization. He further stated that many of the troops might desert rather than leave their families and homes in Florida. The Confederate government had asked for "one good brigade"; it was getting 1,100 men of doubtful quality. By the middle of 1864 Florida had little else to offer.<sup>5</sup>

Jones had several reasons to question the reliability of the new troops. His primary concern was the high desertion rate of some of the units; a problem that continued to plague these units throughout the war. A second reason for skepticism was that several of the companies were composed of conscripts, overage or underage soldiers, and those who already had found the rigors of campaigning in the Virginia and Tennessee armies too demanding. Additionally, the military responsibilities of most of these soldiers had been confined largely to garrison duties such as guarding railroad bridges and river fords. This was hardly vigorous training for combat.<sup>6</sup>

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4. Nichols, "Florida's Fighting Rebels," 170-72; *Soldiers of Florida*, 206. Special Orders No. 133, June 8, 1864, consolidated the various battalions and companies into the Tenth and Eleventh Florida regiments. *OR*, series 1, XXXV, part III, 883. The companies of the Ninth Florida Regiment were raised in Marion (all or part of four companies), Alachua, Levy, Columbia, Hernando, and Citrus counties. The companies of the Tenth Florida Regiment were composed of men from Columbia, Putnam, Clay, Hamilton, Duval, St. Johns, Jefferson, Alachua, Sumter, Suwannee, and Bradford counties. At least one company of the Eleventh Florida Regiment was from Hillsborough County, and one source states that many "of the men [of the Eleventh Florida] were recruited in Hendry, Jackson, and Bradford counties." Joseph H. Crute, Jr., *Units of the Confederate States Army* (Midlothian, VA, 1987), 78.
  5. *OR*; series 1, XXXVI, part II, 1013. Anderson's estimate of 1,100 troops was probably low. See Gary Loderhose, "A History of the 9th Florida Regiment" (master's thesis, University of Richmond, 1988), 61-62.
  6. *OR*, series 1, XL, part III, 127, 208-09, 226, 555-56, 592, 693; Loderhose,



Joseph Finegan. *Photograph courtesy of Library of Congress.*

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"9th Florida," 119-24; OR, series 1, XLII, part II, 1188-89. Dispersing Florida troops in small companies throughout the state was a policy set by the Confederate government. See OR, series 1, XIV, 737-38.

Another unknown factor was the effectiveness of the leader of the new troops, Brigadier General Joseph Finegan. Born in Ireland in 1814, Finegan had moved to Florida while still a young man. Before the Civil War, he had been a prominent planter, mill owner, and a "moving spirit" in the construction of David Levy Yulee's Florida Railroad that ran from Fernandina to Cedar Key. After serving as a Nassau County representative to the secession convention in January 1861, Finegan was appointed by Governor Madison Starke Perry as head of military affairs in the state. On April 5, 1862, he was designated a brigadier general in Confederate service and served as commander of the Department of Eastern and Middle Florida until replaced by Anderson in 1864.<sup>7</sup>

In May 1864, Finegan still was basking in the glory of his victory in the Battle of Olustee. Following the landing of a Union invasion force at Jacksonville in early 1864, Finegan had assembled a scratch force of approximately 5,500 Georgia and Florida troops and then soundly defeated Brigadier General Truman Seymour's Union troops in a bloody battle in the piney woods east of Lake City. This battle saved the interior of east Florida from Union control and brought Finegan a degree of fame.<sup>8</sup> Southern newspapers had praised him, and the Confederate Congress had passed a joint resolution of thanks to the general and his men. Nasty rumors, however, were beginning to circulate that Finegan's role at Olustee may have been somewhat less than heroic. Luther Rice Mills, a soldier with the Twenty-sixth Virginia Regiment (temporarily assigned to Florida), reported the feelings of the non-Florida troops: "[Brigadier] Gen. [Alfred H.] Colquitt deserves all the credit in the fight [at Olustee]. Finegan was at Lake City. He sent Colquitt

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7. Ezra J. Warner, *Generals in Gray: Lives of Confederate Commanders* (Baton Rouge, 1959), 88; *OR*, series 1, XVI, 477; and Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, October 30, 1885. *Soldiers of Florida*, 328, indicates that Finegan was appointed to state service in April 1861 by Governor John Milton, but this is an obvious error as Milton was not inaugurated governor until October 1861.

8. J. J. Dickison, "Florida" in *Confederate Military History*, XI (Atlanta, 1899; reprint ed., New York, 1962), 59-74 (hereinafter cited as *CMH*). See also, David James Coles, "A Fight, A Licking, and A Footrace: The 1864 Florida Campaign and the Battle of Olustee" (master's thesis, Florida State University, 1985). For the most recent book on this subject see, William H. Nulty, *Confederate Florida: The Road to Olustee* (Tuscaloosa, AL, 1990).

with his own Brigade[,] the Brigade of Cavalry & several Florida Battalions from Finegan's Brigade to reconnoitre the position of the enemy. Colquitt found them in that condition and pitched into them. Finegan ordered him to fall back. He [Colquitt] refused to do it. Finegan stopped the ordnance train and came near spoiling the whole affair. He ought to be cashiered."<sup>9</sup> Whatever the truth of Finegan's role in the battle, he generally had performed well in the difficult Florida Military District.

Despite concerns over their experience and leadership, the new Florida troops possessed some military assets. In their first major action, two of the battalions had performed ably at the Battle of Olustee. Additionally, some of the highest ranking officers— particularly Brevard and Martin— had combat experience and could be expected to behave well in battle. Finally, many of the individual companies were composed of sound material. For example, Captain John W. Pearson's company of the Ninth Florida Regiment was a pre-war militia unit and had shown ability in defending Tampa and the St. Johns River system in central Florida.<sup>10</sup>

Whatever his concerns regarding the military abilities of these troops, General Anderson moved promptly to comply with his orders. Due to the scattered location of the troops and the inadequate transportation system of the South, a slight delay was incurred in sending the men north to Richmond. Additional delays were met when some of the troops were detained in Petersburg to meet an anticipated Federal attack that never materialized. By May 28, though, most of the Florida soldiers were assembled for duty with Lee's army at Hanover Junction, Virginia.<sup>11</sup>

9 . Luther Rice Mills to "Brother John," March 25, 1864, in George D. Harmon, "Letters of Luther Rice Mills— A Confederate Soldier," *North Carolina Historical Review* 4 (1927), 297. For a similar report by a Florida soldier, see Winston Stephens to Octavia Stephens, February 27, 1864, Stephens-Bryant Papers, box 4, folder 1, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville.

10. Dickison, *CMH*, XI, 50-51, 142-45; Loderhose, "9th Florida," 25-30. See also, "The Oklawaha Rangers," unpublished mss., Eleanor S. Brockenbrough Library, The Museum of the Confederacy, Richmond, Virginia.

11. *OR*, series 1, XXXVI, part III, 834, 843. See also, Francis P. Fleming, *Memoir of Capt. C. Seton Fleming, of the Second Florida Infantry, CSA, Illustrative of the Florida Troops in Virginia During the War Between the States* (Jacksonville, 1884; facsimile ed., Alexandria, VA, 1985), 98. Fleming indicates that the troops of the Fourth Battalion may not have joined the Florida Brigade until after the Battle of Cold Harbor.

Shortly after their arrival some of the Florida troops received a grisly introduction to the realities of the war. As Private George H. Dorman, a member of Company A (Captain Edwin West's company) of the First Florida (Special) Battalion, later related: "We stopped in an old field to rest and eat some hardtack and a mouthful of raw bacon. A beautiful spring of cold water was boiling up just down the hill. Of course, that was something appreciated by the Florida boys especially, and we were enjoying the cold water, together with our little rest. Just up the hill a little way from where we were enjoying the beautiful cold freestone Virginia spring, some of the boys got to kicking what they thought were gourds about. Upon examination it was discovered that the supposed gourds were the skulls of men, and behold we were drinking from a spring just below a graveyard— where a battle had been fought two years before."<sup>12</sup> Within a week some of these Floridians found a similar rest in the blood-soaked soil of Virginia.

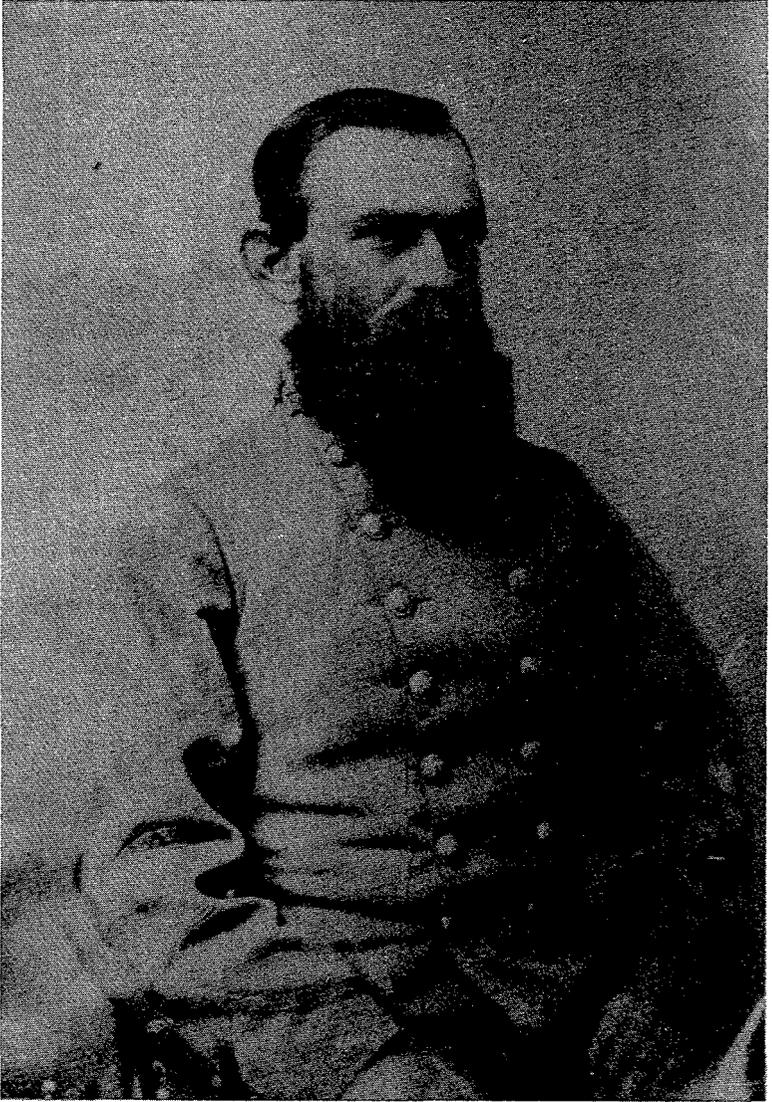
The arrival at Hanover Junction was something of a reunion for Finegan's troops. They immediately were consolidated with the remnants of Brigadier General Edward A. Perry's Florida Brigade, in the Division of Brigadier General William Mahone.<sup>13</sup> Perry's veterans composed the Second, Fifth, and Eighth Florida regiments. The Second Florida had been mustered into Confederate service in 1861 and immediately dispatched to Virginia. It received its baptism of fire in the Battle of Williamsburg, where its commander, Colonel George Ward of Tallahassee, was mortally wounded. Colonel Edward A. Perry, a native of Massachusetts and a Pensacola attorney, replaced Ward and was promoted to brigadier general in August 1862. The same month the Fifth and Eighth Florida regiments joined the Second Florida and fought their first action as a unit at the Second Battle of Bull Run. The Fifth Florida was commanded by Colonel Thompson B. Lamar (following the disabling of Colonel John C. Hatley at Sharpsburg) until his death in 1864, and the Eighth Florida was commanded by Colonel David Lang.<sup>14</sup>

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12. G. H. Dorman, *Fifty Years Ago, Reminiscences of 61-65* (Tallahassee, n.d.), 6.

13. *OR*, series 1, XXXVI, part III, 843.

14. Nichols, "Florida's Fighting Rebels," 66-78; Dickison, *CMH*, XI, 142-48. Lang was a graduate of Georgia Military Institute and a veteran of the western army before raising a company for the Eighth Florida Regiment in 1862. He fought with distinction at Fredericksburg and Gettysburg and



David Lang. *Collection of the author.*

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commanded the Florida Brigade at Appomattox. For more on Lang, see Bertram H. Groene, "Civil War Letters of Colonel David Lang," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 54 (January 1976), 340-66.

The performance of Perry's Brigade had been uneven, but in the recent battles at Gettysburg and the Wilderness it had fought well and had taken enormous casualties. The force, totaling at most 275 men, had been so decimated in recent battles that there was serious concern that the Florida regiments would be combined with units from other states and deprived of their state identity. The arrival of Finegan's troops allayed that fear and provided them with a brigade commander to replace Perry, who had been severely wounded at the Battle of the Wilderness. As part of Finegan's Brigade, the Second, Fifth, and Eighth Florida regiments would struggle for the Confederate cause to the bitter end, surrendering less than 150 officers and men at Appomattox.<sup>15</sup>

Finegan's new troops did not look very impressive. Their appearance had drawn hoots of derision from the citizens of Richmond. Some were overweight— a marked contrast to Lee's lean and hungry veterans— and others looked sickly. David L. Geer, a member of the Fifth Florida Regiment, described them years later: "Now, here was a hard-looking lot of soldiers. They were all smoked from the lightwood knots and had not washed or worn it off yet; and being so far down south, they had not received many clothes— only what their mothers and wives had spun or woven for them, and to see their little homespun jackets and the most of them with bed quilts instead of blankets. They carried the Florida trademark. One looked like he had eaten a few grindstones and a good many of them looked like they had a pure case of 'mail-green' sickness."<sup>16</sup>

Finegan's Floridians arrived in Virginia in the middle of the 1864 campaign. General Grant, the newly appointed supreme commander of all Union armies, had devised a simple yet effective strategy to defeat the southern armies. He planned to rely on the seemingly unlimited manpower of the North, and relentless pressure, to crush the Confederacy. To accomplish his goal, Grant ordered simultaneous offensives by all Union armies, which were designed to exacerbate Confederate manpower

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15. Nichols, "Florida's Fighting Rebels," 163-68; Dickison, *CMH*, XI, 156-57. The number of troops from Perry's Brigade at the surrender undoubtedly would have been larger, but most of the Fifth, Eighth, and Eleventh Florida regiments were captured by Union cavalry on April 6, 1865, near Saylor's Creek.

16. D. L. Geer, "Memoir of the War," *Lake City Florida Index*, February 2, 1906.

shortages and destroy the South's ability to equip and feed her armies.

Grant's Army of the Potomac began its offensive the first week in May with a hellish two-day battle fought in a tangled forest called the Wilderness. The Union army suffered more than 17,000 casualties, and Lee lost more than 8,000 men. Rather than retreating as Federal commanders had so often done in the past, Grant shrugged off the pounding in the Wilderness and pushed his forces south, attempting to get between the Army of Northern Virginia and the Confederate capital at Richmond. Lee's army barely won the race to Spotsylvania where it blocked the Union advance. A series of bloody clashes thereafter saw a combined casualty list in excess of 20,000 men.

From Spotsylvania the two armies swung south and east as Grant sought an unprotected spot in Lee's defenses. Describing this phase of the campaign, historian Frances Trevelyan Miller wrote: "The two armies were stretched like two live wires along the swampy bottom-lands of Eastern Virginia, and as they came in contact, here and there along the line, there were the inevitable sputterings of flame and considerable destruction."<sup>17</sup> Finegan's troops arrived from Florida at that point.

Grant's troops moved forward on May 29, 1864, to test the strength of Lee's position along Totopotomoy Creek. Mahone's division was forwarded to meet the Union thrust, and the new troops from Florida were ordered to the firing line. A member of Finegan's Brigade later wrote a friend describing their initiation to Virginia warfare: "On the 29th [of May] we were formed in line of battle, and Capt. [Samuel W.] May's Company, 2nd Battalion, deployed as skirmishers in front of the Battalion supported on the left by the Virginia Sharpshooters and on the right by the 6th Battalion [actually the Ninth Florida [Regiment]], and 5th [Florida] Regiment. Here we got our first taste of sulphur, the enemy advance soon appearing on our front. For the new troops (at least new on Virginia soil) our skirmishers were conceded to have acted exceedingly well, but they owed much to the experience of the Virginia Sharpshooters and a small detail of the old 2nd Florida [Regiment]. We engaged the enemy skirmishers for 24 hours. . . . I ought to mention just

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17. Frances Trevelyan Miller, ed., *The Photographic History of the Civil War in Ten Volumes* (New York, 1912), III, 82.

here that during this time the 6th Battalion did fine service, and won for themselves credit by charging, with the 8th [Florida] Regiment, the enemy line which had driven back the advance in front of [Major General John C.] Breckinridge's Division, and reestablishing the line."<sup>18</sup>

After this auspicious beginning Finegan's Brigade hustled south, arriving at the Confederate position near Cold Harbor in mid-afternoon of June 2, where it was placed in line of battle. The position occupied by the Floridians should have been safe and easy; they remained in reserve, acting as support for Breckinridge's Division.

Breckinridge, a former vice president of the United States and a battle tested veteran of the Confederacy's western army, recently had arrived from the Shenandoah Valley with a small division (consisting of two brigades). The performance of these troops since rejoining Lee's army had been poor. On the afternoon of June 2, Breckinridge's Division arrived late, leaving a wide gap in the Confederate front line. Lee, expecting a Union attack at any moment, personally had sought out Breckinridge to hurry his troops into line.<sup>19</sup>

The Floridians, located 300 to 400 yards behind the breastworks thrown up by Breckinridge's Division, immediately began entrenching. The red clay of Virginia made the task of building breastworks difficult, and the lack of shovels and trenching tools increased the difficulty. Private Dorman remembered: "We found out there was trouble ahead of us, so we went to work with our bayonets digging up the old Virginia soil, soon striking into red clay. We would throw it up in front of us with tin plates. We worked all night to get us a little breastworks."<sup>20</sup>

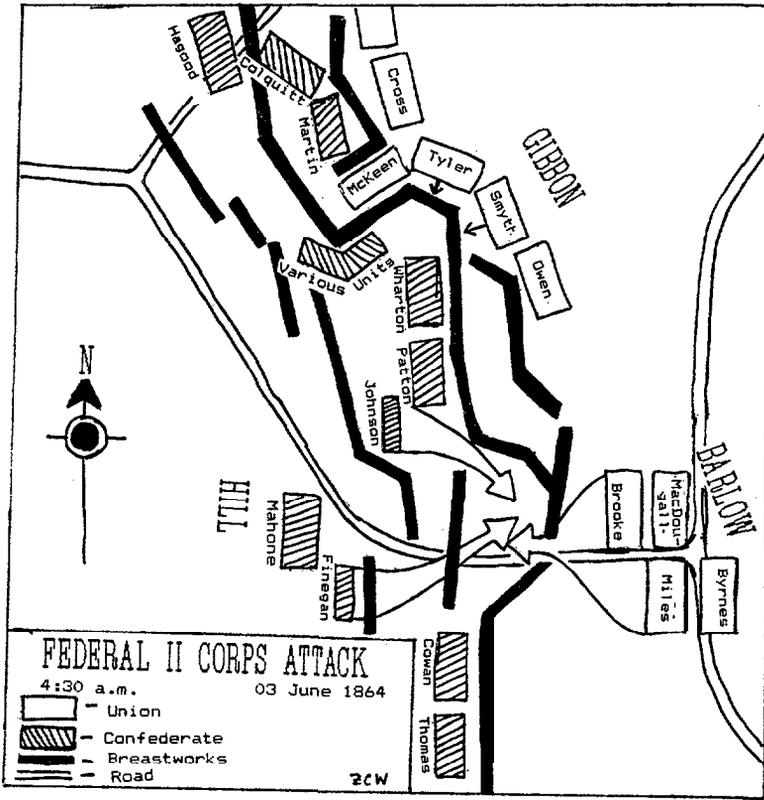
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18. A. F. G.[omellion] to "Dear Friend Roger," June 7, 1864, mss. box 79, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History. The author of this letter has been catalogued as Private A. F. Gomellion of the Tenth Florida Regiment. This author believes a more likely candidate is A. F. Gould, May's Company, Second Florida Battalion.
  19. Clifford Dowdey, *Lee's Last Campaign, The Story of Lee and His Men Against Grant - 1864* (New York, n.d.; reprint ed., Wilmington, NC, 1988), 284. The Floridians apparently had no respect for Breckinridge's Division, even though it had recently won an important battle in the Shenandoah Valley at New Market. D. L. Geer states, "Breckinridge's division . . . never did hold a position if the enemy came in any force." Geer, "Memoirs of the War."
  20. Dorman, *Fifty Years Ago*, 7.

The work was completed none too soon. Promptly at first light (4:30 a.m.) on June 3, more than 60,000 Union troops rushed the Confederate line. Three Federal corps spearheaded the charge. Major General Winfield S. Hancock's Second Corps (described as "probably the [Union] army's best fighters") was on the left, facing Breckinridge's Division; Major General Horatio G. Wright's Sixth Corps attacked the center; and Major General W. F. "Baldy" Smith's Eighteenth Corps attacked on the right.<sup>21</sup> The corps of Major Generals Gouverneur K. Warren and Ambrose Burnside were further to the right, but did not participate in the early morning attack.<sup>22</sup>

The attackers made no attempt at surprise. The Union troops charged shouting their distinctive "huzzah," and all along the breastworks the Confederates were ready and waiting. For the defenders the attack was like shooting fish in a barrel. Brigadier General Evander M. Law, whose Alabama troops occupied a position near the center of the Confederate breastworks, found his soldiers "in fine spirits, laughing and talking as they fired." Law's main concern was that his troops not deplete their ammunition supply. For the attackers, there was no laughter. In less than thirty minutes the Federals suffered more than 7,000 casualties. Even veterans such as Law were shocked by the magnitude of the carnage. "It was not war; it was murder," he later wrote.<sup>23</sup>

Only in front of Breckinridge's line was the question ever in doubt. The attack of Hancock's Second Corps was made by the divisions of Brigadier Generals Francis C. Barlow and John Gibbon. Both Barlow and Gibbon formed their attack in two lines. The attack of Gibbon's Division was easily repulsed by the defen-

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21. Jeffrey Wert, "One Great Regret: Cold Harbor." *Civil War Times Illustrated* 17 (February 1979), 30. General W. F. Smith was involved in Florida affairs in the early post-war era as president of the International Ocean Telegraph Company. Canter Brown, Jr., "The International Ocean Telegraph Company," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 68 (October 1989), 135-59.
  22. Robert Underwood Johnson and Clarence Clough Buel, *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War, Being for the Most Part Contributions by Union and Confederate Officers*, Grant-Lee Edition, 4 vols. (New York, 1884), IV, part 1, 215.
  23. *Ibid.*, 141. In 1893 General Law moved to Bartow, Florida. In the following year he organized the South Florida Military Institute. See Samuel Proctor, "The South Florida Military Institute: A Parent of the University of Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 32 (July 1953), 29.



ders, and his division suffered heavy casualties.<sup>24</sup> Barlow's troops came forward with their usual dash and determination and found an unprotected part of the line. That gap of approximately fifty feet, bisected by a sunken road, had been left unguarded when Lee hurried Breckinridge's troops into line. Colonel George S. Patton, in command of that portion of Breckinridge's line, allowed his tired troops to withdraw to high ground to rest and left only a picket line to man the works.<sup>25</sup>

Barlow's men hit this soft spot in the Confederate line and plowed over the southern pickets. While a member of Breckinridge's Division later described the resistance of the overrun pickets as "a furious hand-to-hand fight with pistols and clubbed

24. *OR*, series 1, XXXVI, part I, 345.

25. Dowdey, *Lee's Last Campaign*, 297.

muskets," the delay to the attackers was only momentary.<sup>26</sup> Barlow's first line captured between 200 and 300 prisoners, a stand of colors, and three cannons.

Finegan responded quickly to the crisis. The Florida Brigade immediately was formed in line of battle. Dorman recalled: "The 'Yanks' didn't stop, but came right on. By this time it was getting light so we could see them coming. They were about seventy-five to eighty yards from us."<sup>27</sup> The Floridians, led by Colonel Lang, promptly charged the oncoming Federals. They were joined on the right by a superb fighting unit, the Second Maryland Infantry Battalion (CSA), commanded by Colonel Bradley T. Johnson. Artillery support was provided by the First Maryland Battery.<sup>28</sup> Captain Council Bryan, commanding Company "C" of the Fifth Florida Regiment, reported to his wife: "The enemy advanced in five lines of battle against Breckinridge - whose whole line fled panic stricken over our breastworks and far to the rear - hatless, leaving their guns and every thing that impeded their flight - as soon as they had passed out of our way our boys rose with a yell - poured two volleys into the advancing droves of yankees then jumped the breastworks and charged them - Five to one but each one a hero. They advanced to within fifty yards of each other[.] The yankees halt waver - and run. One more volley and Breckinridge's breastworks so ingloriously lost are ours - the breastworks recaptured the battle is won. The yankee dead and wounded cover the field - while strange to say twenty will cover the loss of the whole Florida force. The new troops fought like 'tigers' and we feel proud of them."<sup>29</sup>

Union losses in the assault and repulse were heavy. Hancock asserted that the slowness of the second line to offer support had prevented exploitation of the break in the Confederate

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26. *Confederate Veteran*, 12 (February 1904), 71.

27. Dorman, *Fifty Years Ago*, 7.

28. For a further account of the Maryland units in this action see, Bradley T. Johnson, *CMH*, II, 109-10. See also, Rob H. Welch, "The Heroes of Cold Harbor," *Confederate Veteran*, 11 (September 1903), 389. Note, however, that Welch's assertion that the Maryland troops drove the Union troops from the breastworks, and that the Florida troops only occupied the breastworks after the fighting was done, appears to be based more upon state pride than a strict adherence to the facts. A multitude of contemporary and post-war accounts credit both the Florida and Maryland troops with recapturing the works. See OR, series 1, XXXVI, part I, 1032.

29. Captain Council Bryan to "My Dear Wife," June 3, 1864. Council Bryan Papers, M87-035, folder 7, Florida State Archives, Tallahassee.

lines.<sup>30</sup> During the retaking of the works, instances of individual heroism by the Floridians were commonplace. For example, the color bearer of the Ninth Florida Regiment was shot in the charge. Lieutenant James Owens (adjutant of the Ninth Florida) grabbed the fallen flag and immediately was killed. Private D. H. Causey then picked up the banner and carried it forward to the breastworks.<sup>31</sup> Barlow's Division also acted with great determination and valor. After being driven from the breastworks by the Floridians and Marylanders, the Federals "showed a persistence rarely seen, and taking advantage of a slight crest, held a position within 30 to 75 yards of the enemy line; covering themselves in an astonishingly short time by rifle pits."<sup>32</sup>

Probably in an effort to cover construction of the rifle pits, the Union troops made a second assault shortly after the initial charge. A Floridian remembered: "In about fifteen minutes, the enemy made a charge to recover their lost ground, but they were repulsed by our men with heavy loss. The ground in front was covered with dead and wounded Yankees, and they were glad to retire."<sup>33</sup> The Floridians occupied the original breastworks constructed by Breckinridge's troops. The position was in the shape of an inverted "U," or, as the soldiers called it, a mule shoe, which jutted away from the Confederate lines toward the Union position. The Federals, in their pits and entrenchments, surrounded the bulge and kept the Floridians in a steady crossfire. Captain James F. Tucker, commanding Company "D" of the Ninth Florida Regiment, described the situation: "In the bloody angle or death trap it was almost as much as a man's life to show his head even for moment. . . . The fire was galling, and came so thick and fast that our colors were riddled, and the flagstaff perforated in a number of places. The

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30. *OR*, series 1, XXXVI, part I, 345.

31. L. E. Causey to F. P. Fleming, July 23, 1907, in Thea Harrell Wells, comp., *The Confederate Soldier and Sailors Home, Jacksonville, Florida*, 3 vols. (Jacksonville, 1985), III, 35.

32. *OR*, series 1, XXXVI, part I, 245. The bravery of some of the Union troops may have been motivated by "Dutch courage" for Colonel David Lang reported following the battle: "Many of the prisoners captured in their latest assaults were under the 'majic influence of old rye.'" David Lang to "Dear Anne," June 7, 1864, in Groene, "Civil War Letters of Colonel David Lang," 364.

33. A. F. G. to "Dear Friend Rogers."

feeling was that by holding up an open hand Minie balls could be caught as if hailstones.<sup>34</sup>

The exposed position of the Florida Brigade presented substantial dangers. Brigadier General E. Porter Alexander, an artillery officer and member of Lee's staff, gave a graphic account of "the misery" of life in the trenches: "Our average ditches did not exceed 3 feet wide & 2 feet deep, with parapet two & a half feet high. They would answer fairly well for the men to kneel on the berm & load & fire from. But when two ranks of men had to occupy them day & night, in rain & shine, for days at a time it is hard to exaggerate the weary discomfort of it."<sup>35</sup> Not only were the trenches crowded and uncomfortable—rendered even more so by the summer heat—but the accurate fire of the Union sharpshooters began to take a frightful toll. Communication with the rest of the army was almost non-existent. Additionally, a third Federal attack that might dislodge the Floridians was feared.

After several hours in the mule shoe, Finegan sent out a skirmish line to drive off the Federal sharpshooters. Major Pickens Bird, commanding the Ninth Florida Regiment, led the attack force. Company commanders detailed every fifth man for the skirmish line. The men in the trenches realized instinctively that the order was suicidal. A mere skirmish line in plain sight of the Union forces was to make the charge across an open field and into the teeth of the Federal defenses. Even with the battering they had taken earlier in the morning charge, Hancock's corps still had plenty of men to handle a skirmish line.<sup>36</sup>

Henry W. Long, one of many Marion countians in the Ninth Florida Regiment, recalled the futile charge: "A few moments later the voice of that patriotic soldier, and gallant officer [Major

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34 J. F. T., "Some Florida Heroes," *Confederate Veteran* 11 (August 1903), 363. The author of this account of the Battle of Cold Harbor is undoubtedly Captain James F. Tucker, Co. D, Ninth Florida Regiment. There is a Confederate battle flag in the possession of the Museum of Florida History in Tallahassee bearing the single battle honor of Olustee, with wood splinters imbedded in the flag material.

35. Edward Porter Alexander, *Fighting for the Confederacy, The Personal Recollections of General Edward Porter Alexander*, Gary W. Gallagher, ed. (Chapel Hill, 1989), 409.

36. H. W. Long, "Reminiscence of the Battle of Cold Harbor," unpublished mss., United Daughters of the Confederacy Scrapbooks, 12 vols., I, n.p. Florida Collection, Florida State Library, Tallahassee.

Bird] rang out for the last time, clear and distinct, which was heard above the rattle of musketry, and was of common, 'Attention Skirmishers: Forward March'. It being self evident that obeying that fool hardy order, by whom issued is not known, would result in the certain death, many of the men detailed refused to respond to the order. Captain Robert D. Harrison, Co. B of the 9th Florida Regiment, when his detail refused to go forward, by way of encouragement to them mounted the breastworks, waiving his sword to enthuse them to obedience, was immediately shot down by a federal bullet, which disabled him for active service for months to come. Major Pickens Bird had advanced perhaps thirty yards, when he was shot down. The gallant officer Captain James Tucker seeing his major shot down, leaped over the breast works, ran to him, and as he rose with the Major in his arms, was himself shot down, his wound disabling him from further service during the war. Lieutenant [Benjamin] Lane of Company A seeing Captain Tucker shot down, leaped over the breast works and ran to these wounded officers, picked up Major Bird, and as he mounted the breastworks with him, was mortally wounded, from which he died. The Major and Captain Tucker lay there the balance of the day in the hot sun in a small trench in front of the breast works.<sup>37</sup>

In fact, the rescue of Tucker and Bird began within the hour. As soon as the firing slackened, Sergeant Peter N. Bryan, of Company D of the Ninth Florida Regiment, crawled out to Tucker, who was paralyzed by his wound, and dragged the officer into the trenches. Bird was recovered in a similar manner. There Tucker and Bird lay "like so many sardines in a box," without benefit of medical assistance. At about nine o'clock that night they began an arduous trip to a Confederate military hospital.<sup>38</sup> Later that night, Bird and Tucker, along with some of the other Florida wounded, were forwarded to the Howard Grove Hospital in Richmond. The Floridians in Virginia were fortunate to have a dedicated medical staff at their disposal, which included Dr. Thomas Palmer and Mrs. Mary Martha Reid, the widow of former Florida territorial Governor Robert Raymond Reid. This medical team worked tirelessly to save Bird

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37. *Ibid.*

38. J. F. T., "Some Florida Heroes," 365.

and Tucker, but despite their best efforts, Bird died four days later.<sup>39</sup> Bird's final words were: "Tell them I died like a Confederate soldier." To Major Bird, that was the highest possible tribute.

A final tragedy yet awaited the Floridians in a day already too full of agony and death. Late in the afternoon verbal orders were issued for Captain C. Seton Fleming to form a skirmish line and again charge the Union rifle pits. A preliminary barrage softened the Union lines, but even the greenest of soldiers could observe that the advance had little chance of success.

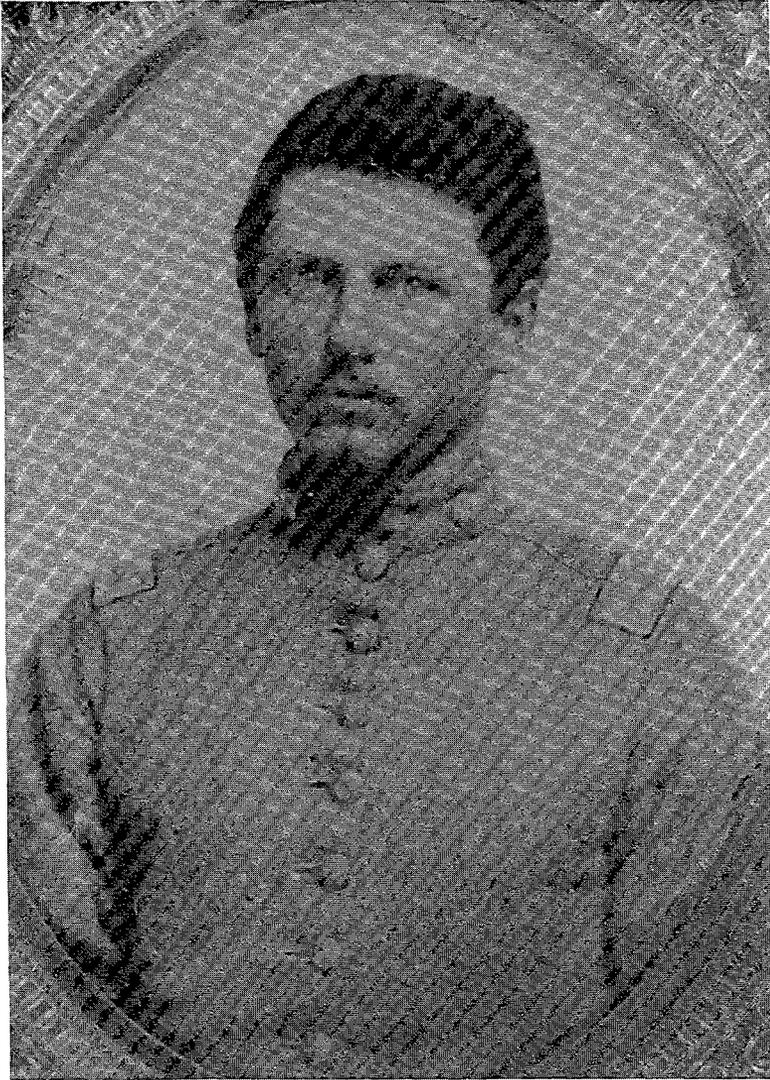
Seton Fleming, the brother of future Florida Governor Francis P. Fleming, was a bright and courageous young man and apparently well liked by all of his comrades. He was a member of the Second Florida Regiment and had been among the first Florida soldiers to arrive in Virginia. Wounded at Yorktown in 1862, Fleming had participated in most of the subsequent battles of the Army of Northern Virginia. Less than a month before at the Battle of the Wilderness, he had received two slight wounds but then returned to duty for the fight at Cold Harbor.<sup>40</sup>

The attempt to drive the Federals from their rifle pits was scheduled for dusk, 6:00 p.m., with an assault force composed of the remnants of Perry's old brigade. Fleming immediately recognized the futility of the attack, but he was determined to obey his orders. Tucker, who observed Fleming from his position in the trenches, stated: "Could our brigade commander [Finegan] have seen the situation as we did from our plainer p[o]int of view, he would never have permitted a second sacrifice of so many brave soldiers. I have been told that the order was all a mistake and was not intended. . . . However that may have been, Capt. Fleming made his disposition to obey it."<sup>41</sup> Fleming said farewell to his troops, and at the appointed time leapt over the breastwork followed by his brave comrades. The young captain fell within thirty yards of the breastworks, "a martyr to the cause he loved so well." Benjamin L. Reynolds, commanding Company H of the Ninth Florida, also was shot to

39. Dr. Thomas M. Palmer of Monticello was surgeon for the Second Florida Infantry before becoming supervisor of the Florida Hospital in Richmond. Samuel Proctor, "Mary Martha Reid— Florence Nightingale of Florida," in *Florida A Hundred Years Ago* (Coral Gables, 1960-1965), September 1962; J. F. T., "Some Florida Heroes," 365; *Soldiers of Florida*, 79.

40. Fleming, *Memoir of Seton Fleming*, 95.

41. J. F. T., "Some Florida Heroes," 364.



Charles Seton Fleming. *Photograph courtesy of Museum of the Confederacy, Richmond, Virginia.*

death “while cheering his men to acts of heroism . . . as was every soldier who attempted to obey that fatal order.”<sup>42</sup>

42. Long, “Reminiscence.”

As with Bird's earlier charge, the second assault accomplished nothing save the sacrifice of more brave Floridians. No definitive figures are available regarding the exact losses. Aaron Geiger of the Second Florida Battalion reported casualties among the new troops during the first month in Virginia: "The First Florida Battalion lost 75 to 80 killed, wounded and missing. The Second Battalion lost from 85 to 90; and the Sixth Battalion [Ninth Florida Regiment] lost 105."<sup>43</sup> Statistics on losses sustained by Perry's old brigade are unavailable, but they must have been substantial. The Army of Northern Virginia slowly was being bled white, and these were losses the southern cause could ill afford.

When darkness finally arrived on the night of June 3, the armies began the difficult task of recovering the wounded. During the daylight hours, some of the Florida wounded were removed from the battlefield, and during the evening more of the Confederate wounded were rescued. The Union forces were equally busy, and the risk was considerably greater for the Federals as they were moving within yards of the Confederate lines. Sixth Corps Chief of Staff Martin T. McMahon explained the Union predicament: "When night came on, the groans and moanings of the wounded, all our own, who were lying between the lines, was heartrending. Some were brought in by volunteers from our entrenchments, but many remained for three days uncared for. . . . The men in the works grew impatient, yet it was against orders and almost certain death to go beyond our earthworks."<sup>44</sup>

Fleming's charge on the evening of June 3 essentially ended fighting in the Battle of Cold Harbor. For the next nine days, the two armies attempted to rest and recover from the previous month's bloodletting. Almost nightly, however, the Confederates sortied onto the killing ground, and Lee also ordered frequent artillery barrages to prevent Grant from slipping away unobserved under cover of night. The only major change of position occurred on the evening of June 5, when the Floridians abandoned the "mule shoe" and fell back to a new defensive line. Long reported: "On the early morning of the 5th, the

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43. Aaron Geiger to "Dear Wife," June 17, 1864, History/Civil War to 1876 clippings file, Florida Collection, Florida State Library.

44. Johnson and Buel, *Battles and Leaders*, IV, part 1, 219-20.

brigade retired to the rear, and took its position as a reserve, and entrenched itself as a safeguard from the Minie balls fired by long range guns.<sup>45</sup> Before abandoning the advanced position, dirt from the earthworks hastily was thrown over the bodies of the dead Floridians. The ground they had fought so hard to recover and hold now became their grave.

The new Florida troops, so lightly regarded a few weeks earlier, had fought well at Cold Harbor. By their quick response on the morning of June 3, they won the grudging respect of the Florida veterans and the rest of Mahone's Division. D. L. Geer, who earlier had smirked at the appearance of Finegan's troops, stated with obvious pride: "They [Finegan's troops] played their part as good as the oldest veteran in General Lee's army. . . . If they did have on bed quilts and homespun jackets, they made a reputation that morning that proved that they were as good as the best we had in our army."<sup>46</sup> Now regarded as an integral part of Lee's "shock troops," they continued to fight well in battles such as Reams' Station, Weldon Railroad, and Hatcher's Run, but the Battle of Cold Harbor proved to be the most notable moment of glory for Finegan's Florida Brigade.

Finegan's performance left a number of unanswered questions. His prompt response to the early morning breakthrough was handled with admirable skill, but the two later attacks by the skirmish lines were not the actions of an experienced, prudent officer. Until his transfer back to Florida in March 1865, Finegan proved to be an adequate, though hardly inspired, brigade commander.

In the short term, the results of retaking the southern lines at Cold Harbor were very important. Confederate Brigadier General Bradley Johnson later wrote of the recapture of the works: "It was a most brilliant exploit, for it saved Lee's line and probably a serious disaster[,] for Grant had massed troops to pour them through the opening made by Hancock."<sup>47</sup> In effect, the Floridians and Marylanders may have saved Richmond.

Ultimately, the Florida Brigade's heroics served only to prolong the war. The death throes of the dream of southern independence lasted another ten months, but the final outcome already had been decided.

45. Long, "Reminiscence."

46. Geer "Memoir."

47. Johnson, *CMH*; II, 101.

## APALACHICOLA AWEIGH: SHIPPING AND SEAMEN AT FLORIDA'S PREMIER COTTON PORT

by LYNN WILLOUGHBY

**A**PALACHICOLA in the 1840s was Florida's busiest port. It also was a town that cotton built. To its north lay the Apalachicola, Chipola, Flint, and Chattahoochee rivers which together comprised the longest riverine system east of the Mississippi. Along those waterways lay thousands of cotton fields, and from as far away as Columbus, Georgia, planters dispatched their crops in steamers and pole boats to the Gulf of Mexico by way of Apalachicola.

Visitors to the town, including officers and crewmen of the vessels that serviced the cotton trade, described it as beautiful. The city wharf rested on the west bank of the Apalachicola River just north of its juncture with the bay. To the east, away from the town's commercial district, steamboats crowded the dock, and past them lay the wide Apalachicola estuary. To the south was Apalachicola Bay, or St. George Sound, which measures seven miles at its widest point and thirty-eight miles from east to west. Beyond the bay St. George Island, with Dog Island to its east and St. Vincent Island to the west, protected the bay and port from turbulent gulf seas.

Nineteenth-century sailors passed from gulf to sound either through West Pass between St. Vincent and St. George islands or East Pass between St. George and Dog islands. Lighthouses located at the western ends of St. George and Dog islands marked the passages. The westernmost of the two burned intermittently in a yellow hue while the red beacon at East Pass beamed continuously.<sup>1</sup> With their aid, seamen had little trouble

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1. In addition to the two lights at Apalachicola, other north Florida lighthouses were located at St. Marks, St. Joseph's, and Pensacola. E. Blunt and G. W. Blunt, "The North Coast of the Gulf of Mexico from St. Marks to Galveston" (New York, 1844). A copy of the map is in the Phillips Library, Peabody Museum, Salem, MA.

distinguishing the passes after dark, but larger vessels still required a harbor pilot to steer a craft safely to moorings several miles from town.<sup>2</sup> Only shallow-draft boats could pass over the sand bar near the mouth of the river in order to reach the municipal wharf.

Sailors who pulled shore leave found Apalachicola a lively place, particularly considering the size of its population.<sup>3</sup> There were a number of bars, hotels, oyster bars, a bowling alley, a Masonic lodge, a library, four churches, and a private school.<sup>4</sup> The heart of the port, though, was its commercial district. By 1840 forty-three identical brick and granite warehouses, each thirty feet wide and three stories tall, faced the city wharf.<sup>5</sup> During the business season which peaked between December and May, the streets were cluttered with cotton bales, draymen, stevedores, cotton merchants, and sailors. By the end of the 1844 business season, for example, sixty-two craft had entered Apalachicola Bay from New York alone. Other American boats had arrived from Mobile; Point Petre, Georgia; Key West and St. Marks, Florida; Charleston; New Orleans; Boston; Baltimore; Providence, Rhode Island; Galveston; Portsmouth, Massachusetts; and Portland and Waldboro, Maine. Foreign vessels arriving in Apalachicola that season hailed from Havana and Matanzas, Cuba; Puerto Rico; Liverpool, England; Le Havre and Marseilles, France; St. Thomas, Virgin Islands; Turk Is-

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- 2 . *Gleaner* ship log, February 4, 1843-April 3, 1844; *Moro Castle* ship log, February 23, 1860-January 17, 1861; Journal of Mrs. Henry Moulton aboard the bark *Kepler*, October 14, 1859-March 20, 1860; *Sarah Parker* ship log, January 28, 1837-January 31, 1840; *Henry Ware* ship log, March 11, 1851-November 29, 1851. All of the above are in the Phillips Library.
  - 3 . Apalachicola's year-round residents in 1840 numbered just over 1,000, but during the cotton marketing season the population usually doubled. Manuscript returns of the Sixth United States Census, 1840, Franklin County, FL, schedule I (population).
  - 4 . Harry P. Owens, "Apalachicola Before 1861" (Ph.D. dissertation, Florida State University, 1966), 165-67, 173; Apalachicola *Star of the West*, October 25, 1848. See also Owens, "Apalachicola: The Beginning," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 47 (January 1969), 276-91, and "Port of Apalachicola," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 48 (July 1969), 1-25.
  - 5 . George L. Chapel, "Walking and Driving Tour of Historic Apalachicola," brochure, Apalachicola Chamber of Commerce (n.d.). Generally, boats calling at Apalachicola departed by July each year and did not return until mid-December when the rivers again were high enough to transport cotton to the port.

land, West Indies; and Jamaica.<sup>6</sup> The previous season had brought 398 boats into the harbor, and 244 vessels arrived in the 1844-1845 season.<sup>7</sup>

Vessels often found the journey to Apalachicola a hazardous one. The passage from a domestic port such as New York was riskier than making a transatlantic voyage since danger usually lay, not on the open sea, but with hazards near the shoreline.<sup>8</sup> The trip from a northern port to the Gulf of Mexico was more dangerous than the return voyage. When sailing northward, the captain had only to ride the Gulf Stream while the southbound course required following a weaker shoreline current that brought boats perilously close to the shoals off Cape Hatteras, North Carolina.<sup>9</sup> The most danger, however, involved rounding the tip of Florida. There, in proximity of the Bahamas and the Florida Keys, seamen painstakingly had to guide their way among dangerous reefs and islands often against strong conflicting currents and without the aid of sufficient navigational markers.<sup>10</sup> Between the years 1844 and 1851, 279 vessels were wrecked in the area.<sup>11</sup>

The ship *Moro Castle* sailed through these waters early in 1860, and its log describes a typical coastwise voyage. Had Captain W. L. Knowles believed in omens, he might never have sailed for Apalachicola. As the tow boat came alongside his ship in New York harbor, the captain found that both his mates were drunk and only four of his sailors were on board. For five hours he attempted to round up his crew. Meanwhile, a gale blew up. Since the tow boat could not make headway against the storm

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6. "Marine Intelligence" column in *Apalachicola Commercial Advertiser*, January 1-June 30, 1844. The extant Apalachicola papers are scattered, and the only shipping season for which a continuous run of newspapers exists is January through July 1844.
  7. *Apalachicola Commercial Advertiser*, January 8, 1844; Rose Gibbons Lovett, "Excerpts and Articles Relating to Apalachicola and Area," 16, in Lovett Family Papers, M77-156, Florida State Archives, Tallahassee. Lovett quotes from *Niles' Weekly Register*, February 7, 1846.
  8. Robert G. Albion, *Square-Riggers on Schedule: The New York Sailing Packets to England, France, and the Cotton Ports* (Princeton, NJ, 1938; reprint ed., Hamden, CT, 1965), 11.
  9. Robert G. Albion, *The Rise of New York Port, 1815-1860* (New York, 1939), 271, 412.
  10. Albion, *Square-Riggers*, 11; *Apalachicola Commercial Advertiser*, December 14, 1844.
  11. *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine* 28 (January-June 1853), 247.

the ship was compelled to anchor until it subsided, and Knowles was unable to commence his voyage until the following day.<sup>12</sup>

Once underway, Knowles's ship averaged about 150 miles per day on its way south. By March 4, 1860, it had passed safely through the "Hole in the Wall," an often perilous channel between the Abacos and the Eleutheras in the Bahama Islands, and was heading eastward toward the Berry Islands. The following day the captain sighted the lighthouse on Great Isaac Island, north of Bimini. The course among these islands and around the Florida Keys was so narrow that it created a bottleneck for traffic in and out of the Gulf of Mexico. The captain saw many vessels in these waters, some of which he knew on sight. Gentle breezes and the lighthouses at Sombrero Key, Key West, Sand Cay, and the Tortugas aided him in passing safely into the gulf.<sup>13</sup>

The *Moro Castle* fortunately experienced good weather during the trickiest part of its passage. The captain traveled with his wife and daughter, a fairly common practice by 1860, and he noted that they were "quite well and able to do their duty at the table."<sup>14</sup> As the ship rounded Tortugas and turned northward toward Apalachicola, Knowles towed a fishing line astern and caught a Spanish mackerel. After a "fine supper" of fresh fish he wrote: "The day ends very pleasantly. Wife ironing."<sup>15</sup> By morning, though, the ship had encountered a strong north wind and heavy seas. The captain ordered the top gallant sails down. When the winds increased in velocity, he had the top sails double reefed and the mainsail and outer jib taken in. An hour later the crew close reefed the top sails and took in the foresail jib. The captain's family became seasick, and even he admitted the seas were "quite rough." All was not unpleasant, however; he caught another fish.<sup>16</sup>

For the next three days deckhands struggled to lower the ship's many sails as the winds continued to howl, and the captain confided to his journal: "I have not a doubt but what we should have been safely at anchor in the harbor of Apalachicola ere this a few days ago. I did not dream of a gale here."<sup>17</sup> After fighting

12. *Moro Castle* ship log, entry of February 23, 1860.

13. *Ibid.*, March 4-7, 1860.

14. *Ibid.*, March 6, 1860.

15. *Ibid.*, March 8, 1860.

16. *Ibid.*, March 9, 1860.

17. *Ibid.*, March 10, 1860. Apalachicola often was spelled with two "p"s in the nineteenth century.

the storm for five days the captain finally sighted Dog Island light and, with the aid of the harbor pilot, soon was safely moored inside St. George Sound. After the business of entering the vessel had been attended to, Knowles and his family went into town.<sup>18</sup>

While in port, the Knowles family likely met Mrs. Henry Moulton, another seafarer's wife who kept her own journal of travels aboard the bark *Kepler*.<sup>19</sup> Once a vessel had anchored in the bay, captains and their families usually stayed in a hotel while their crews were unloading freight or ballast and reloading another cargo. During that time the wives socialized with one another. Mrs. Moulton enjoyed walks with the other women "out to the store and into the cotton press" and "beyond the wind mill some ways, and round by the beach back to Mr. Hancock's."<sup>20</sup> She also visited every church in town, even the black church which was popular among the visitors because of its vibrant music. Almost daily she paid a social call on the wife of one of her husband's associates, and she recorded the comings and goings of other captains and their wives in her journal. "Mrs. Chandler expects to go down to their vessel today," she wrote on March 6, 1860. The next day she noted, "Mrs. Willis went back to their Ship." A week later she mentioned that "Capt. Curtis & wife went down to their vessel."<sup>21</sup>

While the captains and their families socialized, there was much activity back at the ship. The *Sarah Parker* arrived from Liverpool in 1838 with a load of salt. While the captain was ashore, the crew unloaded the cargo via several schooners to be lightered into town. The process of unloading 2,500 sacks of salt was no simple task; averaging 200 units per day, the crew required almost a month to complete the job. Once the ship's hold was cleared a stevedore stowed a new cargo of cotton, and another month was consumed.<sup>22</sup>

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18. *Ibid.*, March 10-16, 1860.

19. The Moultons were in Apalachicola from January 26 to March 21, 1860. The vessel was wrecked in St. George Sound, and, after salvaging what they could and selling the rest, the couple left the port for the North by river steamboat. Journal kept by Mrs. Henry Moulton, October 14, 1859-March 20, 1860.

20. *Ibid.*, February 3 and March 3, 1860.

21. *Ibid.*, March 6, 7, and 13, 1860.

22. *Henry Ware and Sarah Parker ship logs.*

The sea craft that sailed into Apalachicola Bay were of five types, depending on their size, the number of their masts, and their rigging.<sup>23</sup> Sloops were the smallest of all the merchant vessels. They were rigged with a single mast which supported a fore-and-aft sail (the sails ran in a line parallel to the length of the vessel). Sloops skirted the coastline on their way between New York, Apalachicola, and Mobile, but also occasionally carried cotton and passengers between Apalachicola and St. Marks, the closest Florida port to the east.

Schooners had two or more masts that also were fore-and-aft rigged. They were the workhorses of the coasting trade because, even though they had great storage capacity, the sail configuration only required a small crew and their relatively shallow draft allowed them to pass over the sand bars that blocked the bigger vessels from entry into most gulf harbors.<sup>24</sup> For these reasons they often were employed as lighters in loading and unloading the larger craft. The average schooner calling at Apalachicola in 1844 was eighty-eight tons, although they ranged in size from the forty-nine-ton *Cape Cod* to the 149-ton *Octavia*.<sup>25</sup> Between January and July of that year, eighty-six schooners docked at the town. About one-half (49. percent) ran between Apalachicola and New Orleans, and 18 percent came from Havana, Cuba. Fourteen percent of all schooners leaving Apalachicola cleared for New York.<sup>26</sup>

Brigs, which generally were larger in tonnage than the schooners, had two masts but were square-rigged (their sails ran in a link perpendicular to the length of the boat). Brigs calling on Apalachicola in 1844 averaged 211 tons burthen. Seventy percent of the Apalachicola brig trade ran between Apalachicola and New York.

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23. Few steam-powered vessels came into Apalachicola before the Civil War; the Apalachicola newspaper noted only four ocean-going steamers entering the port in 1844. During the 1850s at various times three steamers made regular stops at Apalachicola and other gulf ports.

24. John Durant and Alice Durant, *Pictorial History of American Ships on the High Seas and Inland Waters* (New York, 1953), 42.

25. "Vessels in Port," in Apalachicola *Commercial Advertiser*, January 1-June 30, 1844.

26. Statistics on arrivals and departures of all types of vessels were compiled from the "Marine Intelligence" column in the weekly Apalachicola *Commercial Advertiser*, January 1-June 30, 1844.

Next largest in size came the bark, which had three masts with the forward two masts square-rigged and the third mast fore-and-aft rigged.<sup>27</sup> About one-half of the barks touching at Apalachicola in 1844 came from and were destined to New York. The next most common destinations for barks clearing Apalachicola were Boston and Liverpool.<sup>28</sup>

The queen of the sailing fleet was the full-rigged ship which had three masts, all of which bore square-rigging.<sup>29</sup> As was the case with the barks, about one-half of the ships that touched at Apalachicola during the 1843-1844 season were en route to or from New York. Only 12 percent of the ships leaving Apalachicola in 1844 cleared directly for Liverpool. If all the larger craft (brigs, barks, and ships) that departed Apalachicola between January and July 1844 are combined, the dominance of the port of New York in Apalachicola's cotton trade is evident. Fifty-nine percent of the departures were to New York compared with only 11 percent to Liverpool. Sixty percent of those larger vessels entering Apalachicola had also come from New York.<sup>30</sup>

New York's dominance over Apalachicola's trade is curious since Apalachicola's exports almost exclusively were cotton, and New York had no textile industry. From New York, however, the cotton was transshipped to New England or European mills. The city had been the first American port to establish transatlantic shipping on a regular basis. As early as 1818 the Black Ball Line sailed between New York and Liverpool, keeping to an advertised schedule that was a welcome innovation. The certainty of their arrival and departure dates made these line ships popular, and their success inspired competitors to enter the lucrative trade as well.<sup>31</sup> Operators of these packet lines found their east-bound cargoes unprofitable because Europe did not need or want New York's local products. They soon came to depend on southern cotton to fill their vessels. Southerners also relied

27. Durant and Durant, *Pictorial History*, 43. The average bark that served Apalachicola in 1844 was 364 tons.

28. Nineteen percent of the barks departing from Apalachicola in that season cleared for Liverpool, and 17 percent went to Boston.

29. The term "ship" technically can be applied only to this type of vessel. Schooners, barks, and brigs are not "ships."

30. When other European ports are included with the Liverpool figures, 14 percent of the brigs, barks, and ships leaving Apalachicola in 1844 sailed directly to European ports.

31. Albion, *Square-Riggers*, 20, 38.

on New York as a financial center. Marine insurance and commercial financing, for instance, were arranged more easily there than in any other port. Southern cotton destined for the mills of Manchester or Massachusetts thus was detoured through New York by fleets of coasting vessels.

Reliance solely upon shipping figures to determine where Apalachicola cotton was exported can be misleading. Though only 14 percent of the bigger vessels sailed directly to Europe in 1844, the volume of cotton destined there probably was much greater since the largest vessels with superior cargo capacity dominated the transatlantic trade. Tables One and Two tabulate where Apalachicola cotton was exported in the years for which statistics are available. On average about 40 percent of Apalachicola cotton went directly to Europe in the 1840s and 1850s, while New York receipts from the Florida port averaged 24 percent.<sup>32</sup>

Since 60 percent of the larger boats that sailed into Apalachicola either had come from or were destined to New York and one-quarter of Apalachicola's cotton was shipped directly to New York, the bonds between these two ports obviously were strong. The neighboring gulf port of Mobile did not share this association with New York. An early scholar of the New York packet lines concluded that Mobile's cotton "did not travel to any extent by the way of New York."<sup>33</sup> Instead, during the 1850s Mobile sent between 35 and 50 percent of its cotton directly to New Orleans.<sup>34</sup> Apalachicola and Mobile, given their proximity to each other, had different trade patterns. Also, there was little contact between the two ports.

While Mobile was a strong trading partner of New Orleans, Apalachicola contributed very little to the Crescent City's receipts. New Orleans received less than 7 percent of Apalachicola's exports on average during the fifteen years prior to the Civil War. This amount is even more remarkable considering the number of vessels that sailed between the two ports. During the 1844 commercial season, thirty-nine schooners (46 percent of all schooners entering Apalachicola that year) arrived from New Orleans and forty-two (49 percent) cleared

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32. Direct shipments to Liverpool averaged 31 percent.

33. Albion, *Square-Riggers*, 60.

34. Harriet E. Amos, *Cotton City: Urban Development in Antebellum Mobile* (Tuscaloosa, 1985), 24.

TABLE 1. APALACHICOLA FOREIGN EXPORTS\*  
Percentage of Total Bales of Cotton Exported

Year	Liverpool	Havre	Antwerp	Other	Total Europe
1843					46%
1845	31%	2%		8%	41%
1846	35%	5%		1%	41%
1847	27%	2%		4%	33%
1848	34%			6%	40%
1850	23%		7%		32%
1851	32%	7%	5%	2%	46%
1852	28%	1%	6%	6%	41%
1853	29%	3%	3%	3%	38%
1857	35%		4%		39%
1858	37%				37%

\*Percentages were tabulated based upon a statistical year, August to July. See *Apalachicola Commercial Advertiser*, January 8, 1844; July 21, 1846; October 6, 1847; July 22, 1848; and March 10, 1858; *Apalachicola Commercial Advertiser Prices Current*, April 14, 1851; May 9, 1853.

Apalachicola for New Orleans.<sup>35</sup> Since so many boats were engaged in the New Orleans to Apalachicola shuttle, and so little of Apalachicola's exports moved to New Orleans, the east-bound leg of this round trip likely was so lucrative that it compensated for meager returns on the west-bound trip.<sup>36</sup> In fact, the account books of one schooner captain who sailed regularly between the two towns during two different seasons demonstrate that at least one vessel often lost money on the Florida to Louisiana run.<sup>37</sup>

Between January and June 1851, Captain Robert Norris's schooner *General Clinch* ran between Apalachicola and New Orleans eight times. On each trip Norris tallied both his expenses and his income on freight. By season's end the vessel had made \$2,170.62 on the four east-bound runs, but had lost a total of \$145.88 on the voyages out of Apalachicola. The next year the deficits on the Apalachicola to New Orleans run were greater; he lost \$457.51 on the west-bound leg of his journeys. On one voyage to New Orleans Norris found no freight at all in

35. "Marine Intelligence" column, *Apalachicola Commercial Advertiser*, January 1-June 30, 1844.

36. The only other Apalachicola exports to New Orleans during the 1843-1844 commercial season amounted to 150 sacks of cotton seed, sixteen bales of cotton fabric, three bales of gunny bags, 238 sacks of coffee, and twenty-five cords of firewood. The piece goods undoubtedly were manufactured in Columbus, Georgia, at the head of river navigation. *Apalachicola Commercial Advertiser*, January 1-June 30, 1844.

37. Robert Norris Accounts, Manuscript Department, Perkins Library, Duke University.

Apalachicola, so he bought 150 bags of salt there for fifty cents each, transported them to New Orleans, and resold them for sixty-five cents. Even with the captain's enterprising efforts, the profit on the trip after lighterage and commissions amounted only to \$7.57.<sup>38</sup>

As far as exports from Apalachicola were concerned, the port of Boston was a more significant trade partner than was New Orleans. Boston received an average of 20 percent of the cotton exported from Apalachicola in the years for which data exist. Francis Cabot Lowell, the Massachusetts textile pioneer, bought a large portion of the raw cotton he needed for his Boston factory from agents in Apalachicola.<sup>39</sup> A good deal of cotton moved northward from Apalachicola in the holds of Boston-based vessels. Ten percent of the larger vessels clearing the town in 1844 ran to the New England port. According to Samuel Eliot Morison, New Englanders also had an interest in cotton bound for New York, either by virtue of owning the cotton or the vessels.<sup>40</sup> The port of Providence, Rhode Island, also received a substantial amount of Apalachicola cotton. During seven of the ten years for which export figures exist, that port received more Apalachicola cotton than did New Orleans.

Apalachicola truly was a cotton port. It exported little else other than a few items used to fill vessels when enough cotton was unavailable. During the 1843-1844 shipping season, cotton exports totaled 105,934 bales.<sup>41</sup> Other than the approximately 54,000 bales exported to New York in those months, vessels clearing Apalachicola for the northern port carried twenty-nine boxes of tobacco, several barrels of beeswax, one box of tallow, ten tons of iron, 4,806 "sticks" of cedar, 4,114 feet of cedar, sixty-two mahogany logs, and thirty-one cords of firewood. The iron and mahogany likely were being transshipped from another port as the river's hinterland did not produce them.

38. Norris began and ended each shipping season in New York. Cotton cargoes from Apalachicola to New York were so profitable that together with the proceeds from the New Orleans to Apalachicola runs, the vessel earned \$2,834.98 in 1851.

39. Charles Rogers to Francis C. Lowell, April 6, 1839, and Thomas L. Mitchell to C. H. Dabney, February 23, 1843, Niles Schuh private collection, Panama City, FL.

40. Samuel Eliot Morison, *Maritime History of Massachusetts, 1783-1860* (Boston, 1941), 228.

41. This figure was derived by adding all the cotton exports listed by vessel in the Apalachicola *Commercial Advertiser* between January 1-June 30, 1844.

TABLE 2. APALACHICOLA COASTWISE EXPORTS\*  
Percentage of Total Bales of Cotton Exported

Year	New York	Boston	Providence	New Orleans	Other	Total
1845	26%	17%	6%	6%	4%	59%
1846	32%	12%	7%	2%	6%	59%
1847	22%	17%	7%	15%	6%	67%
1848	32%	19%	5%	2%	2%	60%
1850	22%	24%	10%	7%	5%	68%
1851	24%	16%	4%	8%	2%	54%
1852	27%	20%	4%	1%	5%	59%
1853	16%	35%	6%	2%	3%	62%
1857	14%	34%	6%	1%	6%	61%
1858	25.5%	9.5%		24%	4%	63%

\*Percentages were tabulated based upon a statistical year, August to July. See Apalachicola *Commercial Advertiser*, July 21, 1846; October 6, 1847; July 22, 1848; and March 10, 1858; Apalachicola *Commercial Advertiser Prices Current*, April 14, 1851; May 9, 1853.

Coasting schooners that year transported 150 sacks of cotton seed, sixteen bales of cotton fabric, three bales of gunny bags, 238 sacks of coffee, and twenty-five cords of firewood to New Orleans. Ships bound for Liverpool carried 154 "sticks" of cedar. Vessels sailing to Boston hauled 4,001 pipe staves, in addition to the usual cargo of cotton. Firewood and a few head of cattle went to Key West, and Havana received 525 empty barrels, thirty-one empty casks, and 5,000 staves.<sup>42</sup> All the remaining cargo leaving Apalachicola was cotton.

If Apalachicola was an important cotton export center, it was a relatively insignificant port of entry. For example, the cotton that was exported from there during the 1842-1843 season had a value of \$3,068,500, while the value of imports totaled only \$44,771.<sup>43</sup> The exported cotton was worth about sixty-nine times the value of Apalachicola's incoming freight.

42. No cotton was exported to Havana during the period under study. The Cuban port supplied groceries to Apalachicola, and return vessels from Florida carried only empty containers. In 1844 Havana exported to Apalachicola 233,400 pounds of coffee; 69,646.5 gallons of molasses; 237,000 and twenty-two boxes of cigars; eight boxes, one barrel, and forty-three hogsheads of sugar; twenty-five cases of sweetmeats; five cases of cheese; and unspecified amounts of fruit and merchandise. These statistics were compiled using the 1844 season of the Apalachicola *Commercial Advertiser* which recorded the contents of most of the vessels clearing and entering port.

43. Apalachicola *Commercial Advertiser*, January 3, 1844.

Antebellum economic historians debate the degree of self-sufficiency attained on southern farms and plantations and the dimensions of the trade in foodstuffs and provisions flowing from the West to the Cotton South.<sup>44</sup> Some authorities have noted that southern plantations were so specialized in the production of cotton that the planters were compelled to import most of their food, a factor considered an important impetus to the development of the West.<sup>45</sup> Other scholars have concluded that the rural South was largely self-sufficient, and its imports of food really were negligible.<sup>46</sup>

While Apalachicola imported quite a lot of western products, the river valley virtually was self-sufficient. For example, during the 1844 shipping season when the entire river valley received its supplies through Apalachicola, 117,488 pounds of corn were imported from New Orleans.<sup>47</sup> This sum seems rather large until one considers the size of the population, 146,000, of the river valley in that year.<sup>48</sup> If the importation figures are accurate, the per capita importation of corn in 1844 amounted to only .8 pounds. Even if the data published in the local newspaper were incomplete or inaccurate, the same conclusion can be reached by quadrupling the estimate of corn importation. The same was true for the importation of meat into the river valley. During

44. The term "western" included goods also raised in the border states. Although economic historians are interested in whether "western" products actually were grown in the western states, that issue is beyond the scope of this inquiry and, therefore, when used in this context the term refers to any commodities raised or made outside the Cotton South but which passed through New Orleans.

45. Louis Schmidt, "Internal Commerce and the Development of the National Economy," *Journal of Political Economy* 47 (December 1939), 798-822; Douglass C. North, *The Economic Growth of the United States, 1790-1860* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1961), 101-03.

46. Robert E. Gallman, "Self-Sufficiency in the Cotton Economy of the Antebellum South," in William N. Parker, ed., *The Structure of the Cotton Economy of the Antebellum South* (Washington, DC, 1970), 5-24; Diane Lindstrom, "Southern Dependence Upon Interregional Grain Supplies: A Review of the Trade Flows, 1840-1860," in *ibid.*, 101-13; Albert Fishlow, *American Railroads and the Transformation of the Antebellum Economy* (Cambridge, 1965), reprinted in part in Stuart Bruchey, ed., *Cotton and the Growth of the American Economy: 1790-1860* (New York, 1967), 98-107.

47. This figure was compiled using ships' manifests recorded weekly in the Apalachicola *Commercial Advertiser*, January 1-June 30, 1844. Calculations were made using the following equivalencies: one bushel of corn equals fifty-six pounds; one sack of corn equals three bushels.

48. The Florida counties that relied on the river for transportation included Jackson, Washington, Calhoun, Franklin, and Gadsden. Alabama counties

the 1844 season, the per capita importation of pork and beef collectively amounted to less than one quarter of a pound.<sup>49</sup>

More than any other commodity, salt was the cargo of incoming vessels. From January through June 1844, 2,197.3 tons of salt were landed at the Apalachicola wharf.<sup>50</sup> Salt and other bulky commodities such as hay, potatoes, and lime were used as ballast by vessels destined for Apalachicola and other southern ports.<sup>51</sup> Ship captains preferred to carry these commodities at cheap rates rather than to procure other ballast that paid them nothing.<sup>52</sup>

Depending on their itineraries and their punctuality, the vessels calling at Apalachicola could be categorized as either "transients," "regular traders," or "packets." The "transient" boats moved from port to port at the whim of their captains. They picked up a cargo wherever one could be found and carried it to whatever port was required. Often the officers corresponded with each other in care of their home ports. Two letters written from Apalachicola describe the spontaneity required of such vessels. Captain Edward B. Jenkins in 1840 wrote a fellow seaman: "I had the opportunity of loading for this place soon after you left and took in Eleven hundred barrels . . . had a fine

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bordering the river included Henry, Barbour, and Russell. The Georgia counties were Baker, Decatur, Dooly, Early, Harris, Lee, Marion, Muscogee, Stewart, Sumter, and Talbot. Altogether, the population of the river valley in 1840, including slaves, equaled 146,160. Manuscript returns of the Sixth United States Census, 1840, Alabama, Georgia, and Florida, Schedules I (population) and II (slaves).

49. Apalachicola imported 31,600 pounds of pork and 2,000 pounds of beef during the 1844 season. This calculation assumes that a barrel of meat weighed 200 pounds. Bacon, listed separately in ships' manifests, was not included in the above calculation because it often was shipped in casks which were of varying measure. Apalachicola imported only 214 casks and fourteen hogsheads of bacon in that season.
50. About one-half of this amount came from Mobile.
51. The Irish potato, which eventually became a southern staple, originally was grown only in New England because it was believed the crop could only be cultivated in cold climates. After 1850 the potato commonly was grown in Georgia, but the southern variety had a tendency to rot and, therefore, was not marketable. James C. Bonner, *A History of Georgia Agriculture, 1732-1860* (Athens, 1964), 168. In the 1844 season more than 68,000 pounds of potatoes were imported into Apalachicola.
52. Albion, *Square-Riggers*, 71; George Rogers Taylor, *The Transportation Revolution, 1815-1860* (New York, 1951), 170. Near the western end of Dog Island is Ballast Cove where ballast rocks once were unloaded after coming into St. George Sound. The author found a pile of rocks not native to Florida half-buried in the sand when anchored there in the early 1980s.

passage of two days only from N. O."<sup>53</sup> Captain Edmond B. Mallet in 1852 wrote a letter from Apalachicola reporting on his and others' whereabouts: "I am all ready for Sea bound to Boston with a Six thousand dollar freight in the Ship— rather better than I could of don [sic] in New Orleans. . . . tell [Captain Strickland] that Old Crowell is hear [sic] landing for Boston tell Capt. S. I arrived here the Same day Crowell did thirty one days from Havre."<sup>54</sup>

The life of a transient sailor was anything but idyllic. Black sailors were arrested and jailed for the duration of their stay in Apalachicola.<sup>55</sup> Even white crewmen sometimes were treated little better than slaves. Captain Edward Marshall wrote from Apalachicola in 1843 that he had picked up three crewmen in Boston who had caused him nothing but trouble. The trio refused to work, whereupon Marshall went to town and had them jailed. The captain then discovered that two other crew members had been "stolen out of the Ship by some Boat from Town."<sup>56</sup>

Contrasted with the transient vessels were the "regular traders" that generally sailed between two or more specific ports. Robert Norris's movements aboard the schooner *General Clinch* during the 1851 season are characteristic of a regular trader. He began and ended the cotton season in New York, but during the shipping season he made eight passages between New Orleans and Apalachicola.<sup>57</sup> Once the cotton season had ended, Norris and other captains found there was no freight to be had at Apalachicola, and for that reason they found work for their vessels elsewhere during the summer. During the 1844 season, the schooners *Lion*, *Seminole*, and *Textor* all ran between New

53. Edward B. Jenkins to Thomas C. Lennan, June 3, 1840, in mss. box 37, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville.

54. E. B. Mallet to "Friend Thomas," March 15, 1852, mss. box 15, P. K. Yonge Library.

55. Since it was unlawful for free blacks to enter Florida, the captain of any boat that had black crew members was required to post bond and pay any expenses incurred in jailing them. Because this was bad for Apalachicola business, local merchants petitioned the state assembly in 1849 to amend the law. The resulting legislation provided that boats having free blacks aboard must anchor no nearer to Apalachicola than five miles. No communication between them and the crews of other vessels was allowed. *Apalachicola Commercial Advertiser*, January 4 and 25, 1849.

56. Edward Marshall to William Rice, March 1, 1843, in Niles Schuh private collection.

57. Robert Norris Accounts.

Orleans and Apalachicola but cleared for New York at season's end.<sup>58</sup>

Packet liners were the third category of vessel that served Apalachicola. Packets could be of any type of boat from sloop to ship so long as they ran on an advertised schedule. The smallest packet boat to serve Apalachicola was the sloop *Ellen* which left weekly for St. Marks in 1840. It carried up to six, passengers and twenty barrels.<sup>59</sup> Packet schooners, such as the *Octavia* which ran between New Orleans and Apalachicola in 1844, also were available.<sup>60</sup> Sailing ships and steam-propelled sternwheelers advertised they would make regular trips between the two points. One steam propeller boat ran between New Orleans and Apalachicola in 1844.<sup>61</sup>

Packet service between these two ports continued throughout the 1850s. The steamship *America* made regular trips during the season beginning in 1852.<sup>62</sup> Ship operations were suspended in January 1854, "in consequence of the high price of coal," but the company promised to resume trade again when the price of fuel had declined "to a living price."<sup>63</sup> The ship was back in service in the fall, advertising it would leave New Orleans "about every ten days."<sup>64</sup> The *America* continued its service to New Orleans for at least four more years.<sup>65</sup> The Southern Steamship Company also called bimonthly at Apalachicola during the 1857 and 1858 seasons. The Southern line ships *Atlantic* and *Calhoun* sailed from New Orleans and called each day at another port beginning with Pensacola, then Apalachicola, St. Marks, Cedar Key, and Tampa, before reaching Key West and reversing the order.<sup>66</sup> Another packet line to run between New Orleans and Apalachicola applied for a Florida charter in 1858.<sup>67</sup>

58. The movements of vessels calling on Apalachicola were noted in the *Apalachicola Commercial Advertiser*, January 1, 1844-June 30, 1844.

59. Lovett, "Excerpts and Articles," 56, quoting the *Apalachicola Gazette*, March 21, 1840.

60. *Apalachicola Commercial Advertiser*, November 23, 1844.

61. The steam propeller *Florida* arrived from New York in 1844. *Apalachicola Commercial Advertiser*, December 21, 1844.

62. *Columbus (Georgia) Enquirer*, November 9, 1852.

63. *Columbus (Georgia) Times and Sentinel*, January 31, 1854.

64. *Columbus (Georgia) Enquirer*, October 24, 1854.

65. *Apalachicola Commercial Advertiser*, March 10, 1858.

66. *Albany (Georgia) Patriot*, May 28, 1857; *Apalachicola Commercial Advertiser*, March 10, 1858.

67. *Columbus (Georgia) Enquirer*, June 22, 1858. Whether the "Apalachicola and New Orleans Steam Navigation Company" ever began operations is unknown.

Apalachicola had a bimonthly packet service to Charleston during two business seasons, but New York packet lines were the most numerous of all.<sup>68</sup> Elisha Hurlbut, a New Yorker, originated the first New York to Apalachicola packet line in 1825. Service was irregular during the first five years of its existence, but in 1830 Hurlbut announced a bimonthly schedule for the line.<sup>69</sup> By 1843 the Hurlbut line employed three ships and three brigs and promised to “sail punctually as advertised” during the season.<sup>70</sup> The following season Hurlbut added a fourth ship to the line, but two of his vessels did not call at Apalachicola.<sup>71</sup>

The vessels of the Hurlbut line that shuttled between New York and Apalachicola in 1844 did not follow the “cotton triangle” attributed to its New York/Mobile packet line.<sup>72</sup> Robert Albion concluded that since Mobile had only cotton to offer as out-going freight, the vessels could find no cargo during the summer months before the new crop of cotton was harvested. Therefore, Hurlbut sent his vessels from Mobile to Liverpool at the end of the season. The ship transported general freight and passengers from Europe to New York, then sailed southward during the cotton marketing season for another cargo of cotton. According to historians, the Mobile packets eventually began to sail the “triangle” twice a year, and direct trips from Mobile to New York became scarce by 1850.<sup>73</sup> Hurlbut’s Apalachicola liners did not follow this shipping pattern, however, even though that port had nothing to offer as out-going freight at the end of the cotton season. None of Hurlbut’s Apalachicola liners cleared for Europe in 1844.<sup>74</sup>

A rival packet service, the Star Line, also served as a New York to Apalachicola shuttle service in 1844 without making the triangle. This line advertised that it would use two ships and six

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68. *Columbus* (Georgia) *Enquirer*, April 14 and September 28, 1842.

69. Amos, *Cotton City*, 22.

70. Lovett, “Excerpts and Articles,” 22. The price of passage was \$40, excluding liquors, and all the vessels were coppered and copper fastened.

71. Apalachicola *Commercial Advertiser*, September 9, 1844. The ships *Uncas* and *Emblem* never were mentioned in the *Commercial Advertiser’s* marine intelligence.

72. Albion, *Square-Riggers*, 59, 70; Amos, *Cotton City*, 22.

73. Albion, *Square-Riggers*, 60.

74. The only exception was the ship *Tuskina* that was owned by Hurlbut, but not advertised as being a line ship. It formerly had been a New York/Mobile packet, but sailed the “cotton triangle” after 1839. In the fall of 1844, it arrived in Apalachicola from New York and cleared for Liverpool.

brigs but, like the Hurlbut line, two of the vessels never entered Apalachicola Bay.<sup>75</sup> The vessels of both lines made one or two round trips between the American ports during January and July 1844, and most were back in operation as the new season began in the fall of that year.

Most of the vessels calling at Apalachicola in 1844 were not packets, nor did they generally follow the "triangle." Of the 14 percent of all the larger vessels leaving Apalachicola that sailed directly for Europe in that year, only one-half of those on which complete information exists made the classic triangular voyage by arriving from a northern American port and clearing Apalachicola for Europe.<sup>76</sup> Instead, most of the large vessels that called on Apalachicola in 1844 came from and were destined to New York.

The saltwater craft that arrived at antebellum Apalachicola, whether diminutive sloops or tall ships, whether packets that sailed on schedule or transients that followed only fortune, all relied on cotton as their mainstay. They arrived in Florida's premier cotton port at the opening of every commercial season, and they returned there as long as they could count on making a cargo.

Unfortunately for Apalachicola, its golden years were numbered. It thrived during the steamboat era when the people of the southern interior relied exclusively on rivers for transporting their crops to market. But the vagaries of southern rivers made them unreliable for year-round transportation, and they proved no match for the more dependable railroad. Soon, up-river cotton traveled directly by rail to Atlantic ports, such as Savannah, rather than make the circuitous maritime journey around the expanse of the Florida peninsula. Without a healthy cotton market, Apalachicola soon was abandoned by the fleet that once filled its harbor.

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75. Apalachicola *Commercial Advertiser*, November 9, 1844.

76. Albion, *Square-Riggers*, 20, 38. These were the barks *Alabama*, *Colossus*, and *Mersey*, and the ships *Blanchard*, *Charlemagne*, and *Manco*. "Marine Intelligence," in *Apalachicola Commercial Advertiser*, January 1-June 30, 1844.

## WILLIAM POPE DUVAL: AN EXTRAORDINARY FOLKLORIST

by FRANK L. SNYDER

WILLIAM POPE DUVAL, who served four terms as territorial governor of Florida, was a natural storyteller.<sup>1</sup> His tales were crafted and fabricated with so much skill that his listeners believed every word as the absolute truth. DuVal never hesitated to shade the truth or to embellish his stories so that they became fictionalized accounts bordering on the fringes of reality. He wove a web of drama as he spoke and completely captured the attention of his audience. The stations in life they, the members of his audience, occupied did not matter—raw frontiersmen, uneducated workingmen, intellectuals, literary geniuses, or sophisticated former royalty.

Governor DuVal was a jovial and convivial companion, fond of good eating and drinking. His home was the social center of Tallahassee where he welcomed guests, friends, and political adversaries alike.<sup>2</sup> Many of the stories told at social gatherings there became legendary. Ralph Waldo Emerson described Governor DuVal, in terms of Tallahassee society, as “the button on which all things are hung.” At the time, the infant settlement’s social scene could boast the presence of only eight women. It was a rugged frontier society, described by the poet as conform-

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1. William Pope DuVal was born in 1784 in Virginia; migrated to Kentucky in 1800; became a member of the Bardstown bar in 1804; served as a captain in the Kentucky Mounted Rangers in the War of 1812; was elected a member of the United States House of Representatives in the 13th Congress; was appointed territorial judge of East Florida in 1821; and subsequently the following year, after Andrew Jackson resigned as the governor of the Floridas, became territorial governor by appointment of President James Monroe. Upon the expiration of his first term as governor, he was reappointed for two additional terms by President John Quincy Adams. President Andrew Jackson appointed Governor DuVal to his last term of office.
2. Ellen Call Long, *Florida Breezes; or, Florida, New and Old* (Jacksonville, 1883; facsimile ed., Gainesville, 1962), 109-16.

ing to “club law and little else” and populated by “public officers, land speculators, and desperadoes.”<sup>3</sup>

Governor DuVal’s social charms included an ability to entertain his guests in song and story— a talent for which he had developed an earlier reputation in Kentucky. He had a melodious tenor voice, and his drinking companions and friends enjoyed his singing of ballads and popular songs. DuVal’s talent as a raconteur captivated his family as well. His son, John Crittenden DuVal, left an account of his father’s storytelling that he experienced while traveling on a stage coach with him.

Governor DuVal had but few equals in the art of story telling. . . . [He] even could tell a “twice told tale,” in such a way as to rivet the attention of his audience more by the manner than anything humorous in the story itself. I fully appreciate[d] his talent for “story telling,” when some years ago I traveled with him from Tallahassee to Richmond, Virginia. It was before the days of Rail Roads, when most of traveling was in Stage Coaches. Whenever one stopped, if it was only for a change of horses, the Governor would invariably get out and in a few minutes, every man, woman and child on the premises, would be gathered about him listening eagerly to his yarns, and when the driver “blew his horn,” they would follow him to the stage, and gaze after him when it drove off, as much to say, “Well! Who in the Devil are you anyhow?” On one occasion I remember that the horn blew just as the Governor was in the middle of an interesting yarn. The crowd followed him to the Stage, and actually compelled the driver to hold on until his story was finished, when they gave a “hurra” and we went off with a grand flourish.<sup>4</sup>

The biographer of Ben Hardin, who practiced law with DuVal in Kentucky before the governor settled in Florida, wrote a similar account.

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3. Ralph Waldo Emerson, *Journals of Ralph Waldo Emerson with Annotations*, 10 vols., ed. by Edward Waldo Emerson and Waldo Emerson Forbes (Boston, 1909-1914), II, 161.
  4. Call Papers, box 4, 1801-1911, Addenda, 267-69, Florida Historical Society Library, University of South Florida, Tampa.

Governor DuVal was, as already intimated, a fascinating and fluent talker. One informant relates that whenever or wherever he stopped, on the street or elsewhere, a crowd gathered to listen. During his residence in Florida he was accustomed to send to his old Nelson [County, Kentucky] friends graphic accounts of his residence in the land of flowers, and of the Indian hostilities then pending. Another venerable gentleman thus speaks of him: "I knew Governor DuVal and saw him frequently at Hartford. I never knew a more charming conversationalist. It is impossible to exaggerate his powers in this respect. If he emerged from his lodgings the public seemed to have its eye upon him. The moment he paused an admiring company would gather around. He did all the talking, and his hearers never wearied."<sup>5</sup>

DuVal was born into an aristocratic Virginian family. His father, Major William DuVal, was a Revolutionary soldier, practicing attorney, active politician in Richmond, and friend of Thomas Jefferson and George Wythe. William Pope DuVal bridged the gap between the common man and his aristocratic upbringing. In fact, many of Governor DuVal's stories emphasize his frontier life and belong to the genre of American folklore popularized by the yarns of Daniel Boone and Davy Crockett.

Prince Achilles Murat, the son of Napoleon's brilliant cavalry leader, Joachim Murat, provided a description of Governor DuVal in a letter written to a European friend.

What would you say if you saw a man wearing a tattered straw hat, deerskin trousers, blue stockings, shoes covered with mud, riding a raw-boned horse, arriving to consult another man dressed in much the same way about a treaty with the Indians?

One account based upon the letter added,

"As it was invariably too late for the Governor to return fifteen miles to the Executive 'Mansion'— also made of

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5. Lucius P. Little, *Ben Hardin: His Times and Contemporaries, with Selections from His Speeches* (Louisville, 1887), 193.

logs— DuVal curled up in a blanket on the floor, Indian fashion, and went to sleep. The Chief Executive was an ‘excellent man’; he had the ‘prettiest daughter and the best applejack in the whole countryside’.<sup>6</sup>

Murat was a favorite friend of DuVal’s, and they shared many a meal and bottle together. Murat fascinated the governor who, in turn, enjoyed the company of the prince and found him a source of anecdotal material. On one occasion, DuVal, while visiting Murat, asked the prince if he had found much game lately. “No,” answered Murat, “I not much understan’ the hunt— bote my people sometime kill ze big bird— how you call heem— fly so,” imitating with his arms the slow wheeling motion of a turkey buzzard. “Turkey Buzzard, I reckon,” answered the governor. “Yaas, Turkey Boozard. I roast heem, I fry heem, I stew heem, bote by Gar, soir, he ees not good.”<sup>7</sup>

Often in the early territorial period there were times when food was a precious commodity. Fortunately Florida abounded with game, and pioneers were able to supplement their food supply by trading with the Indians and hunting. A contemporary of DuVal’s recorded this humorous incident as an example of the governor’s storytelling ability.

As Prince Murat was a genuine off shoot of Royalty, and one of the first settlers in middle Florida, where he was well known for his accentricities [ *sic* ] and peculiarities, I will venture to relate the following account given by Governor DuVal of a “State Dinner” to which he was invited by the Prince. . . .

At one time not long after the first settlement at Tallahassee, when supplies ran very low and it was very difficult to get anything to eat, and when one morning I was trying to solve the problem, a negro man rode up to my “quarters” and handed me a note. It proved to be an invitation from the Prince, requesting the pleasure of my company to dinner that day, at his Plantation sixteen miles away.

I was well aware of the Prince’s indiscriminate taste in regard to eatables, consequently I had some doubts as to

6. A. J. Hanna, *A Prince in Their Midst* (Norman, OK, 1947), 112.

7. Ellen Call Long, “Sketches of Well-Known Floridians,” mss. in Call Papers.

the character of the dinner to which I was invited, but I was very hungry, so I accepted the invitation, mounted my horse at once and started for the Prince's plantation, to get my dinner. I was welcomed by the Prince, with the genial self-satisfied air of a host who knows he has a good dinner prepared for his guests, and in a little while to my great satisfaction (for my appetite was sharpened by my ride), dinner was announced. The Prince led the way to the dining room, and on entering it, I saw a table handsomely laid out with silver and gold plate, and in the center of it three covered dishes. Seated, the Prince proceeded to uncover one of these dishes, which disclosed to view a large owl baked, with his head on, from which the big round eyes were staring without a sign of speculation in them.

"Let me help you, Governair, to a piece of ze fowl; what part you will take, eh?"

"Any part" I replied, "except the head— I don't fancy the stony stare of those big eyes."

"All right" (with a grand flourish of the carving knife and fork) "den I geef you my favorite piece," and the Prince made an attempt to sever a leg from the carcass, but the tough hide and legatures [ *sic* ] defied the steel and after many fruitless efforts he was compelled to admit that he was worsted, and shoved the dish to one side, saying apologetically, "He was not quite ripe, bote in a few days ze gout and den hees leg come quick."

The next dish the Prince uncovered was filled with fried frog stools.

"You like a ze musherroom?"

"Well! I can't say, as I have never eaten any, but I will try a few anyhow," I replied, so he scooped a half dozen into a plate, which he handed to me; but I found them as lively and active as india rubber balls, so that they bounced out of my plate before I succeeded in gigging one of them with my fork.

Finally one got jammed in the crevice of the rough pine table, and while in that helpless condition I managed to impale it with my fork and conveyed it quickly to my mouth. The miserable fungus tasted well enough, but that it crackled between my teeth like a caoutchouc, and the more I chewed it the bigger it got, until at last I could

neither swallow it nor spit it out; and finally I was compelled to prize it out of my mouth by inserting my forefinger behind it, from which it flew like a wad out of a pop gun, and stuck to the wall on the opposite side of the room. All this time the Prince had been struggling himself with a fried frog stool, but he too finally gave up, saying "Ze Musheroom like ze fowl" (without the "f") "was not yet ripe—bettair lucke, next time."

Uncovering the third dish, he said "It contains le piece de resistance" and I thought it would have been appropriate to have applied this to the fowl and also to the mushroom.

I was trembling in my boots for fear the last chance for dinner would prove no better than the first, but as Murat lifted the cover, a most appetizing odor saluted us, and I was hopeful.

The Prince confessed to have been "marking" a large herd of cattle and hogs, and the stew before us was composed of the "over bits" and "undercrops" that had been cut from their ears. On that dish I made a most satisfactory dinner.<sup>8</sup>

Washington Irving was introduced to DuVal by a member of Congress from Kentucky. The writer became enamored of the governor's tales and, in 1833, traveled to Philadelphia to meet with him.<sup>9</sup> There, Irving recorded several of DuVal's stories and, seven years later, published three of them.<sup>10</sup> Irving wrote a fourth story, currently unpublished, covering DuVal's experiences as a captain in the Kentucky mounted volunteers

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8. Ibid.

9. William P. DuVal and Charles Anderson Wickliffe, a United States representative from Kentucky, related to Irving some of DuVal's stories. Mattingly Spaulding, *Biography of a Kentucky Town: An Historical, Cultural and Literary Study of Bardstown* (Baltimore, 1942), 72; Pierre M. Irving, *The Life and Letters of Washington Irving*, 3 vols. (New York, 1857), II, 265. Philadelphia is mentioned as the location of their meeting and the year 1833 is provided by Stanley T. Williams, *The Life of Washington Irving*, 2 vols. (New York, 1935), II, 324.

10. Irving's first publication of "The Early Experiences of Ralph Ringwood" was in *Knickerbocker* 16 (August 1840), 152-65, and (September 1840), 258-66. See also Irving, "The Seminoles," *Knickerbocker* 16 (October 1840), 339-47; William R. Langfeld and Philip C. Blackburn, *Washington Irving, A Bibliography* (New York, 1933), 57-58.

on the Indian frontier during the War of 1812.<sup>11</sup> He gave DuVal credit for the stories with a footnote documenting his source of material and acknowledged DuVal as the “real personage” represented in the story as Ralph Ringwood.<sup>12</sup>

The first and longest story Irving used based upon DuVal’s yarns was titled, “The Early Experiences of Ralph Ringwood. Noted down from His Conversations: by Geoffrey Crayon, Gent.” In Irving’s account DuVal became disenchanted with his father in Virginia. His uncle punished DuVal severely for a boyhood prank that unnerved a kitchen servant in his father’s household. Young DuVal, about sixteen years of age, proposed to go to Kentucky to become a hunter. His father agreed but denied him a horse or a servant, although he gave him a purse of money. DuVal started walking and, after many adventures, arrived in Kentucky. There he became a hunter, sharing his solitary life with various frontiersmen who taught him how to survive in the wilderness. After several years DuVal realized hunting had an uncertain future. He turned reluctantly to the study of law and had a romantic experience with the girl he eventually married. He became one of the state’s successful practicing attorneys.<sup>13</sup>

This story became a legend in its time and remains one today— if one uses the definition of a legend to be “a story or narrative, set in the recent or historical past, that is believed to be true by those by whom and to whom it is communicated.”<sup>14</sup> Biographers and historians read the story of Ringwood and used it as a biographical sketch of DuVal’s early beginnings without questioning its authenticity.<sup>15</sup> Some literary critics, however,

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11. Washington Irving’s autograph, “Relief of Fort Harrison,” HM 31501, 1-66, Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California.
  12. In 1824 while in England, Washington Irving at dinner one evening heard a story of an “old curmudgeon of the name of Tunk who lived at Ringwood.” Stanley T. Williams suggests this village’s name was used in Irving’s later sketch, “The Experiences of Ralph Ringwood.” Stanley T. Williams, ed., *Journal of Washington Irving (1823-1824)* (Cambridge, MA, 1931; reprint ed., New York, 1968), 201.
  13. Irving, “Early Experiences of Ralph Ringwood,” 152-65, 258-66.
  14. Robert A. Georges, “The General Concept of Legend,” in Wayland D. Hand, ed., *American Folk Legend: A Symposium* (Berkeley, 1971), 5.
  15. Among the biographers and historians who have accepted as factual Irving’s heroic legend concerning Governor DuVal’s Kentucky immigration are: Charles Linman, *Biographical Annals of Civil Government of the United States* (Washington, DC, 1876), 130; Roland H. Rerick, *Memoirs of Florida*, 2 vols. (Atlanta, 1902), I, 148; Caroline Mays Brevard, *A History of Florida*:

have questioned the validity of Irving's statement that he had "given some anecdotes of his [DuVal's] early and eccentric career, in, as nearly as I can recollect, the very words in which he related them."<sup>16</sup>

In 1855, fifteen years after its first publication, the Ringwood story was reissued. The previous year, DuVal had died in Washington, DC, and Irving corrected his footnote to attribute his source as "the late Governor DuVal of Florida."<sup>17</sup> Although Irving had the opportunity to make other changes in his documentation, he continued to assert that the story was in the "very words" of the governor "as nearly as I can recollect." Irving did provide further light on the origin of the material. "They certainly afford strong temptations to embellishments of fiction," he wrote, "but I thought them so strikingly characteristic of the individual and of the scenes and society into which his peculiar humors carried him, that I preferred giving them in their original simplicity."<sup>18</sup> Washington Irving, a master storyteller of renown, recognized in William Pope DuVal a kindred soul and a skillful craftsman of the folklore of his day.

The Ringwood story already had been embellished, modified, and amplified by DuVal before Irving first heard it. The governor had spent thirty years elaborating and developing several different versions of his early migration to Kentucky from Virginia. Each of his versions was plausible and reminiscent of popular frontier heroic folklore about such notables as John Smith, George Washington, Davy Crockett, Daniel Boone, and

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*From the Treaty of 1763 to Our Own Times*, 2 vols. (Deland, 1924), I, 73; W. T. Cash, "William Pope Duval," *Tallahassee Historical Society Annual* (February 1934), 9-13; *Biographical Directory of the American Congress: 1774-1961* (Washington, DC, 1961), 839; *Pensacola Gazette*, May 13, 1848.

16. Washington Irving, *The Complete Tales of Washington Irving*, edited by Charles Neider (New York, 1975), 732. Neider footnotes Irving's footnote: "We can take with a large grain of salt Irving's disclaimer of fictionalizing here. He would have had to have a phonographic memory to support his assertion that he has produced the very words in which Duval related his experiences. I have removed the awkward quotation marks from the original version. They were not always characteristic of his method.—C.N."
17. Washington Irving, *Wolfert's Roost*, ed. by Roberta Rosenberg (Boston, 1979), 157.
18. Rosenberg states, "The events and situations described in 'Ralph Ringwood' are unembellished because Irving found them, 'so strikingly characteristic of the individual, and of the scenes and society into which his peculiar humors carried him.'" *Ibid.*, xxxii-xxxiii.

James Bowie. DuVal's stories were also in the style of fictional folklore such as Irving's Rip Van Winkle; John Chapman, known as Johnny Appleseed; James Fenimore Cooper's Natty Bumppo (or Leather-Stocking or Hawkeye); Herman Melville's Billy Budd and Captain Ahab; and James K. Paulding's stories of the American frontier.

DuVal's son, John Crittenden DuVal, a survivor of the Goliad Massacre, provided yet another account of the governor's migration to Kentucky from Virginia.<sup>19</sup> Colonel DuVal recounted:

I do not remember now whether or not W. Irving in his "Sketch Book" makes any mention of the Governor's abrupt departure from the paternal mansion, and the causes [that] led to it. I will therefore relate the incident, just as I have heard the Governor tell it himself. As I have said, his Father was a very wealthy man for those times, and with his other possessions was the owner of a large number of slaves, but it seems his "boys" were not materially benefited by this for in carrying out his peculiar ideas of "training" he required them to perform the most menial tasks, and as much bodily labor as any negro on the premises.

The Governor could not see the rationale of this, and consequently a coolness grew up between the "Governor" and his Father which finally resulted in open rebellion on the part of the former.

One very cold day when the family, as well as some of the neighbors, were all collected around the fire in the sitting room, the "old man" ordered the "Governor," in a very preemptory manner to go to the woodpile and bring in a "back log" although at that very moment there were three or four strapping negro fellows lounging about the house doing nothing. The Governor rose, as if he intended obeying the order— but his heart was filled with shame and mortification at being compelled to perform such a menial task before visitors and by the time he reached the

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19. William Corner, "John Crittenden DuVal: The Last Survivor of the Goliad Massacre," *The Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association* 1 (1898), 47-67; Bardstown (Kentucky) *Herald*, May 12, 1836.

“woodpile” he had made up his mind to desert the paternal mansion, and instead of shouldering the back log he kept straight on and never made a permanent halt until he got to Kentucky where he began life as a ranger and a hunter. Many years afterwards, when he had become a successful lawyer the “Governor” determined to pay his Father a visit. At that time (which was long before the advent of Rail Roads and Steam boats) nearly all travelling was done on horseback and after many days, the Governor dismounted at his father’s gate. Just inside it was the well remembered “woodpile” and as he passed it he shouldered a large “back log” and proceeded to the house. His father and family were sitting around the fire pretty much as they were when he left for Kentucky, without a word of greeting he passed between them, deposited the log on the fire and, turning, said, “There is the ‘back log’ you sent me for.”

“Yes, I see,” said the old man, “and a precious time you have taken to bring it.”<sup>20</sup>

John Crittenden DuVal, a storyteller and author in his own right, may have embellished this legend.<sup>21</sup> Governor DuVal liked people, enjoyed entertaining, and wanted to be the center of attention. He told his stories with the relish of an accomplished storyteller who sometimes considered facts to be superfluous. These legends, Irving’s or John C. DuVal’s, are accepted by most authorities—biographers and historians—as being factual accounts of Governor DuVal’s early beginnings in spite of their being in the romantic, heroic style that characterized the legends of the American frontier. The historical facts are as bizarre as his several recorded legends and were disclosed in an interesting fashion.

Several years ago, in Bardstown, Kentucky, the building housing the nineteenth-century records of Nelson County’s

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20. John Crittenden DuVal was called “The Father of Texas Literature” by the late Professor J. Frank Dobie, a renowned Texas folklorist of the University of Texas. Call Papers, box 4, 1801-1911, Addenda, 345-47; John C. DuVal, *The Adventures of Big Foot Wallace*, edited by Mabel Major and Rebecca W. Smith (Lincoln, NE, 1966), xxx; John Q. Anderson, *John C. Duval: First Texas Man of Letters* (Austin, 1967), 1.
21. John Crittenden DuVal, *The Adventures of Big Foot Wallace: The Texas Ranger and Hunter* (Philadelphia, 1871); John Crittenden DuVal, *Early Times in Texas or the Adventures of Jack Dobell* (Austin, 1892).

clerk of court caught fire. During the later cleaning up process, laborers shoveled partially burnt records out of a second floor window into a dump truck parked in the street. The husband of a prominent city councilwoman and local historical society member happened to pass by. He asked the workers how they intended to dispose of the debris. "We are going to take the load to the land fill," they replied. "Don't do that," he responded, "just take it out to my farm." The man and his wife then sorted out all the salvageable records and dried the watersoaked and charred pieces. Later the wife, with the help of assistants from the local historical society and the county clerk's office, boxed the records and classified a major portion of them.<sup>22</sup> The actual account of William Pope DuVal's early beginnings and his migration from Kentucky to Virginia in the summer of 1800 at sixteen years of age was found by good fortune among those records.<sup>23</sup>

As revealed by the salvaged documents, William's older brother Samuel had migrated to Kentucky prior to the nineteenth century to join relatives who had secured Revolutionary War land grants. Samuel returned to Richmond, Virginia, to obtain financing for a frontier store. His father, who also held Kentucky lands, was the source to whom he turned. An indenture executed between the two men on May 4, 1800, contained the following provisions:

William DuVal lent his son, Samuel Pope DuVal, £700 [about \$3,150] in bond as well as provided security for Samuel in the amount of four thousand dollars. Samuel, provided a mortgage to his father upon 200 acres of land in Kentucky, one house and two city lots in Danville, Kentucky, houses and lots in Town of Harrodsburg, and mortgaged the slaves named, Jacob, Seipis, Cuffee, Isabel, Sally, Betty, Milly, Patty, Iliad, Monah, and a child of

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22. Dixie Hibbs and her husband retrieved and salvaged the burnt Chancery records. They presently are stored in the Nelson County Clerk's Office, Bardstown, Kentucky. Interview with Mary Ellen Moore; Nelson County Historical Society, Bardstown, May 1988.
23. *John Cowan v. William Duvall, heir-at-law of Samuel P. Duval, desc.*, and *William P. Duvall v. William Duvall, heir-at-large of Samuel P. Duval, desc.*, January 1805, Nelson County Circuit Court, Burnt Chancery Cases (hereinafter cited as Chancery Cases).

Isabel's Further, Sam agreed to be a guardian of his younger brother, William Pope DuVal, who was under age, pledging to keep as a trustee £100 [about \$450] of his younger's brother's monies and to add surplus as gained to the monies. The mortgage was to stay in force unless Samuel Pope DuVal paid within 12 months the debt incurred with his father and brother.<sup>24</sup>

Samuel used the bond and his father's securities to purchase goods, medicines, and horses in Richmond for the mercantile business he hoped to establish in Kentucky.

William Pope Duval, however, was a restless and rebellious teenager who practiced pranks such as those described by Irving. Furthermore, he was eager to leave home and start upon his career. Contrary to the legendary tales of Irving and John Crittenden DuVal, though, William's father gave him permission to migrate to Kentucky with his older brother. With the assistance of his father and following his advice, William contracted with his brother Samuel. Three weeks after the father and brother made their agreement, the brothers contracted between themselves as follows:

Samuel agrees to lease from his brother, William, a waggon [ sic ], two horses, and the hire of his brother's slaves, Frank, George, and Charlotte for the amount of £120 [about \$540] to be paid upon arrival at Rough Creek, Kentucky, and to provide food, lodging, at no charge until arrival, and to treat them with humanity. This contract between the brothers was witnessed by the father, Major William DuVal.<sup>25</sup>

Upon arrival in Kentucky, however, Samuel sold the horses, wagon, and slaves belonging to William. He also sold £700 (about \$3,150) of the goods his father had given to William for a small amount of cash and the balance in whiskey.<sup>26</sup> Further, Samuel converted a bond owed to his father in the amount of

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24. Ibid.

25. Agreement between William P. Duval and Samuel P. Duval, May 23, 1800, *John Cowan v. William Duvall*, January 1805, Chancery Cases.

26. William P. DuVal ads John Cowan, answer received November 10, 1805, Chancery Cases.

£195 (about \$875) and sold, in May 1801, 400 acres of his father's lands in Beech Fork, Kentucky. The sale was made without the approval of Major DuVal, and the monies (about \$7,988) were converted to Samuel's own use. Major DuVal wrote a letter of reproof to his elder son, requesting the misapplied proceeds of the sale. Samuel responded by begging his father's forgiveness and mortgaging to his father in October 1802 substantial parcels of Kentucky land. A few months later Samuel died with his affairs left in a tangle of confusion.<sup>27</sup>

These historical facts are greatly at odds with the several different legends William Pope DuVal told about his early beginnings and migration to Kentucky from Virginia. The contradictions in the two different stories told by Governor DuVal were not brought to public notice during his lifetime, nor were the facts of his traveling to Kentucky with his older brother ever used to question the governor's veracity. Typical of other politicians of the day DuVal embellished his account for Washington Irving to establish for himself the romantic frontiersman character so admired by the early American public.

DuVal not only told legendary stories but also created stories of mythology— if one defines a myth as “the poignant sacred stories of primitive peoples.”<sup>28</sup> The most famous myth he related stemmed from his responsibilities as Florida's superintendent of Indian Affairs which, by statute, were assigned as part of the functions of the territorial governor. The dual responsibilities placed an unusually heavy work burden upon DuVal. He necessarily was involved both in organizing and administering the territorial government and also in supervising agents appointed to assist in the execution of the government's Indian policy.

The governor's exertions in meeting the dual responsibilities of his office took a toll upon his health, wealth, and welfare. He finally wrote to President John Q. Adams in 1825, asking for a clerk to assist him with his duties. DuVal pointed out to the president the amount of work, the long hours that often required him to be in his office until after midnight, and the

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27. William DuVal ads John Cowan, answer received September 25, 1805, Chancery Cases; Will Book no. 8, 159, Nelson Circuit Court, Nelson County Clerk of Court Office.

28. Albert B. Friedman, “The Usable Myth: The Legends of Modern Mythmakers,” in *American Folk Legend: A Symposium*, ed. by Wayland D. Hand (Berkeley, 1971), 37.

damage to his vision caused by having to write at night under candlelight. On the president's behalf, though, then Secretary of State Henry Clay denied the request.<sup>29</sup>

DuVal also served as one of three commissioners who in 1823 negotiated with the Seminole Indians the Treaty of Moultrie Creek.<sup>30</sup> One of the treaty's provisions was to "pay \$1000 a year for twenty years to maintain a school on the [new Florida] reservation."<sup>31</sup> The Reverend Horatio N. Gray, an Episcopalian missionary, who arrived in Tallahassee in December 1828, heard about the treaty provision and quickly recognized an opportunity to evangelize converts without the burden of cost to the Episcopal church. Early in April 1829 he conversed with Governor DuVal concerning possible missionary work among the Seminoles and inquired particularly into the treaty provision. Gray wrote a letter on April 21, 1829, recounting the discussion.

I have lately had a conversation with Governor DuVal upon the subject, who informed me that, in a council which they had called for the purpose of debating upon the subject, they declined receiving one, [a missionary] giving as one, among several reasons, that learning had, as far as their observation extended, made those Indians who received it "greater rascals," having enabled them to sign away the lands of the rest without their knowledge or consent. They have also religious scruples about it. They say the Great Spirit intended them for warriors and hunters and give as a proof of that fact a tradition which is current among them.

"The Great Spirit," they say, "first made the black man, but did not like him; He then made the red man; was better pleased with him, but not entirely satisfied; He then made the white man and was very much pleased with him. He then summoned all three in His presence. Near Him were three great boxes, one containing hoes, axes and

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29. William P. DuVal to John Quincy Adams, December 16, 1825, in Clarence E. Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers of the United States*, 28 vols. (Washington, DC, 1934-1969), *Florida Territory*, XXIII, 389; Henry Clay to William P. DuVal, January 9, 1826, *ibid.*, 408.
  30. John C. Calhoun to William P. DuVal, August 28, 1822, *Territorial Papers*, XXII, 518; *ibid.*, 747, fn. 54.
  31. John K. Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War* (Gainesville, 1967), 47.

other agricultural implements. In another were spears, arrows, tomahawks, etc; and in the third[,] book[s], maps, charts, etc. He called the white man first and bid him choose. He advanced, attentively surveyed each of the boxes, passed by and chose that in which were the books, maps, etc. Then they say the Indian's heart leaped for joy; the red man was next summoned to make his choice. He advanced and, without any hesitation, chose the box containing the war and hunting implements. The other box was, therefore, left for the black man. The destinies of each were thus fixed and it was impossible to change them. They inferred, therefore that learning was for the white man, war and hunting for the Indian and labor for the poor negro."<sup>32</sup>

This myth, as recounted by the Reverend Gray, is strikingly similar to the story published in 1840 by Washington Irving entitled "Origins of the White, the Red, and the Black Man: A Seminole Tradition." Irving attributes his source to Governor DuVal. How much of the myth was told to DuVal by the Seminoles and how much the governor embellished is a matter of conjecture.

Governor DuVal exhibited a sensitivity towards the Indians and considered himself a governor of all the peoples in the Florida Territory. He recognized the distress of the Seminoles and out of his own pocket bought supplies and food for them. After he left office the governor won a lawsuit against the government that allowed him to recoup some of his financial loss.<sup>33</sup> He also repeatedly requested the government to give the Indians better land. The acreage provided them by the treaty was of poor quality, he asserted.<sup>34</sup> One historian made the following assessment of the record of Governor DuVal's administration: "His record for twelve years was one of unselfish devotion to the interests of the people he was chosen to care for, red as well as white, and he seems to have ably met every emergency as it arose. The greatest woes of the young Territory followed the

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32. James Jaqueline Daniels, "Historical Sketch of the Church in Florida," *Historical Papers and Journal of Semi-Centennial of the Church*, Appendix B (January 1888), 20-21.

33. Call Papers, box 4, 1801-1911, Addenda, 271.

34. *Territorial Papers*, XXIII, 445.

close of his prudent administration. . . . He knew the Indian, and great evils might have been prevented by the promptness, firmness, fair treatment, and wise display of military strength, which he often took occasion to urge upon the government at Washington."<sup>35</sup>

Beyond his role as creator of legends and myths, DuVal also was thought to be the main character in a play written in 1830 by James Kirke Paulding. The piece was composed for a competition sponsored by James H. Hackett, an actor-producer who offered a prize of \$300 for "an original comedy whereof an American should be the leading character."<sup>36</sup> The play, entitled *The Lion of the West*, was selected as the winner of the competition by a committee of three men including William Cullen Bryant.<sup>37</sup>

Hackett produced the play on April 25, 1831, at the Park Theatre in New York from a script rewritten by John Augustus Stone. This version of *The Lion of the West* ran in Manhattan from the fall of 1831 to the spring of 1833. Then Hackett took the company to London. There an English playwright, William Bayle Bernard, rewrote the play for English audiences and retitled it *The Kentuckian, or a Trip to New York in 1815*. Beginning in March 1833, it ran for several weeks in London, and performances also were given in Edinburgh and Dublin. After Hackett's return to the United States he produced the play for over twenty years, appearing as the leading character, Nimrod Wildfire. American audiences associated Nimrod Wildfire with a characterization of Davy Crockett. Crockett was enamored with the play and, at his request, Hackett performed the role in Washington, DC, with Crockett in a seat of honor.<sup>38</sup>

The association in the public mind of Paulding's character and the living, legendary hero, Davy Crockett created a popular demand for the play. Paulding denied, however, that the role of Nimrod Wildfire was designed with Crockett in mind. He did not disclose, though, if he had any one person in mind as a character type for the part, and the popularity of the play fuel-

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35. Rerick, *Memoirs of Florida*, I, 148.

36. James Kirke Paulding, *The Lion of the West*, revised by John Augustus Stone and William Bernard, ed. by James N. Tidwell, and retitled *The Kentuckian or A Trip to New York* (Stanford, 1954), 8.

37. Amos L. Herold, *James Kirke Paulding: Versatile American* (New York, 1966), 98.

38. Paulding, *The Lion of the West*, 7-9.

led conjecture about the character's model. DuVal fit the likeness of Nimrod Wildfire so well that he often was identified as the model, particularly after the playwright denied a connection between Nimrod and Crockett.<sup>39</sup> The characterization of Wildfire and the image of Governor DuVal are similar. An English critic commented about Wildfire: "His whimsical extravagance of speech arises from a mere exuberance of animal spirits; and his ignorance of the conventional restraints of society he overbalances by a heart that would scorn to do a mean or dishonest action."<sup>40</sup>

William P. DuVal and Davy Crockett both were members of Congress. Wildfire was presented as the same in this bit of dialogue from the play:

FREEMAN. But before you leave us, you expect to be returned to Congress, Nimrod. What will be your sentiments upon the Tariff question?"

WILDFIRE. The Tariff? What the cause of this row in south Carolina? Oh, I'm clear for reducing all duties. Only let me gain my election and I'll settle the whole in a single speech.<sup>41</sup>

The "tariff question" deals with the Tariff of 1828, called by Southerners the "tariff of abominations." As a congressman, DuVal coauthored with two of his fellow representatives from Kentucky a twenty-four-page pamphlet written "with a view to our justification for having voted against the passage of the [1813] embargo bill."<sup>42</sup> DuVal's position on the 1813 embargo bill indicates he would have been opposed to the "tariff of abominations" in 1828. Additionally, DuVal accepted and advocated the radical southern political philosophies of his friend John C. Calhoun, who opposed the tariff of 1828.

The play also makes fun of lawyers:

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39. Ibid.

40. Herold, *James Kirke Paulding*, 99.

41. Paulding, *Lion of the West*, 25.

42. Y. Samuel McKee, William P. DuVal, and Thomas Montgomery, *Reflections on the Law of 1813, for laying an Embargo on all Ships and Vessels in The Ports and Harbors of the United States* (n.p., 1814).

- WILDFIRE. Yes, I was chuckle head enough to go down the Mississippi fishing for lawyers one day.
- FREEMAN. Lawyers! I've found them more apt to catch than to be caught.
- WILDFIRE. Why, look here. I call catfish lawyers— 'cause you see they're all head, and they're head all mouth.
- FREEMAN. Well, did they come to your bait, or lawyer-like, were they too deep for you?
- WILDFIRE. Why, I'll tell you. I was fishing for lawyers, and knowing what whappers some um are, I tied my line in a hard knot right around my middle for fear the devils might twitch it out of my hands afore I know's it.
- FREEMAN. A good legal precaution.<sup>43</sup>

Governor DuVal was a member of the bar, but likely would have enjoyed jesting about lawyers.

Whether DuVal and Paulding were acquainted before the play was written is unknown. Paulding was well acquainted with Washington Irving as a result of their English collaboration in the production of *Salmagundi*. The play was written by Paulding, however, before Irving's and DuVal's 1833 meeting in Philadelphia. Nevertheless, some authorities have accepted DuVal as the model for Paulding's Nimrod Wildfire.<sup>44</sup>

Governor DuVal lived in an age when storytelling was the art of conversation. Entertainment in his day did not have the broad range of choices later available, and conversation was an important factor of social intercourse. In the legends of Irving's Ralph Ringwood, John Crittenden DuVal's account of his father's immigration to Kentucky, the anecdotes about Prince Murat, and the Seminole creation myth, the storytelling ability of Governor William Pope DuVal, an extraordinary folklorist, may well be observed.

43. Paulding, *Lion of the West*, 24.

44. Among the biographers and historians who have accepted DuVal as the model for Paulding's Nimrod are: Rerick, *Memoirs of Florida*, I, 148; Lanman, *Biographical Annals*, 130; *Biographical Directory of the American Congress: 1774-1961*, 839.

## BOOK REVIEWS

*Venice: Journey from Horse and Chaise.* By Janet Snyder Matthews. (Sarasota, FL: Pine Level Press, Inc., 1989. 394 pp. Preface, illustrations, photographs, notes, bibliography, index. \$21.20.)

Janet Snyder Matthews has produced a “city book” that expands admirably into the regional-Florida category, well beyond the municipal limits of modern Venice. Her latest volume is almost a sequel to her earlier *Edge of Wilderness— A Settlement History of Manatee River and Sarasota Bay*. A whole new range of research, focused further south on the Gulf coast, makes Venice a valuable contribution to the chronicling of change in Florida.

Matthews humanizes history with an impressive narrative that illuminates the lives of people who participated in the events she is relating. Letters, diaries, and oral interviews provide rich detail that bolsters considerable original-source research.

The pinelands that American surveyors noted in Seminole War days provided the basis later on for the name “Horse and Chaise” or the colloquial “Horse ‘n’ Shay.” It was chosen by Jesse Knight in 1868 because of a cluster of timber on the shoreline that took the shape of a horse and high-top buggy.

Jesse Knight and his wife, Caroline Rebecca Varn Knight, proved to be the first permanent white settlers in the immediate vicinity of present-day Venice. In the unsettled aftermath of the Civil War, they decided to pull up stakes in Hillsborough County and find a new coastal homesite from which to raise cattle and crops. Matthews carries the Knights and their children through the move and past the turn of the century, from almost total isolation in the woods to residents in a developing countryside.

When Darwin Curry applied for a post office in 1888, he had to pick a one-word name, thus eliminating Horse and Chaise. He first tried “Guava,” evidently had second thoughts, then went with a suggestion for “Venice,” the name that stuck. Horse and Chaise continued as identification for the area school as late as 1897.

Jesse Knight died in 1911 at the age of ninety-four. Matthews notes that the newspaper telling of Knight's final illness also reported the first railroad passenger train leaving Venice. By then, the larger-than-life Bertha Honore Palmer had arrived in the area and had begun investing widely in farm and ranch land. Internationally renowned as Chicago's wealthy benefactress, "Mrs. Potter Palmer," as she was identified in print, brought immense and lasting influence to the area. With an opulent home estate at adjacent Osprey, Palmer and members of her family acquired more than 90,000 acres of land in what was to become Sarasota County and northward as far as Tampa.

By 1918, the year of Bertha Palmer's death, another major figure had appeared on the scene. Dr. Fred H. Albee, an innovative New Jersey orthopedic surgeon, visited the area with his wife and soon built an inn on the nine-foot-wide highway at nearby Nokomis. In 1923, the Albees moved into an Italian revival home in a subdivision he and a partner started. Dr. Albee became a key player in the boom-time period and in the aftermath with a nationally known sanitarium.

Despite the prominence provided Venice by its "big names," Matthews attributes its development as a city to the "international kingdom of rails in the United States and Canada." The ignition came from an affluent railroad union, when its officers sought to cash in on the Florida real-estate hysteria of 1925 by pouring millions of pension dollars into Venice. Unfortunately for its members, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers entered the speculative spasm in its final phases. Euphoric when they should have been cautious, officials bought 53,000 acres in Venice and its environs, then hired eminent architects and a city planner to put together a Mediterranean-style metropolis. Thousands of laborers were draining and reshaping the land for the newly incorporated city when buying slowed and the hurricane of 1926 put a damper on land sales generally.

Matthews recounts the rise and fall of the union's development dreams. When the "big thud" occurred, the town boasted five hotels, eighty-three stores, 141 apartment buildings and 188 houses. In addition, forty miles of drainage canals, ten and one-half miles of paved streets, and fifteen miles of sidewalks stretched through and around Venice. But a peak population of 4,000 had dwindled to several hundred.

Matthews's Venice journeys only into the early 1940s culminating with the resolution of some of the lawsuits that followed the financial "bust." Her book certainly fulfills its aim to provide a scholarly yet readable look at the area's beginnings.

*Tampa, Florida*

LELAND M. HAWES, JR.

*The Episcopal Diocese of Florida, 1892-1975.* By George R. Bentley. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1989. x, 318 pp. Foreword, preface, photographs, notes, bibliographic essay, bibliography of parish and mission histories, index. \$29.95.)

George R. Bentley, an authority on the history of the Freedmen's Bureau, has now happily established himself as an ecclesiastical historian as well. His book on the diocese of Florida begins with its division in 1892, when the Missionary Jurisdiction of Southern Florida was created from its boundaries. Bentley chronicles and ties the great events of the Edwin G. Weed episcopate (1886-1925) into the fabric of his diocesan history: the railroad boom and the subsequent population explosion of the 1880s; the terrifying yellow fever epidemic of 1888; the devastating freezes of 1894-1895 that wiped out the citrus industry in northern Florida; the division of the diocese in 1892; and the catastrophic Jacksonville fire of 1901 that left 10,000 people homeless and destroyed the premier parish of the diocese. The effects of the Spanish-American War and World War I on the state and the church are also described. Having dealt with so many misfortunes, it is no wonder that the Job-like prelate characterized the first two decades of his episcopate as a "succession of hopes and crushed hopes."

Bentley particularly admires Bishop Weed's courage and devotion during the yellow fever plague, which endeared him to the people of north Florida. When the plague broke out, Weed was in Augusta, Georgia, vacationing with his family. Leaving them in safety, he rushed back to Jacksonville to help his people. Bentley quotes the bishop's reflections on the epidemic written in his old age. "It is impossible to describe the gloom of a city, quarantined against the world. The only subject of conversation, morning, noon, and night, was such an one has died, or such

an one has the fever. We took up the paper in the morning to count the dead." Among the dead, Bentley tells us, were two priests, the chancellor of the diocese, Louis I. Fleming, and Weed's "chief lay-supporter," Colonel Jacquelin Daniel. In fact, in his efforts to minister to his people the bishop himself caught the fever and nearly died.

The author portrays Frank A. Juhan, Bishop Weed's successor, as a muscular Christian, an outdoorsman, and a vigorous missionary. Juhan's episcopate (1924-1956) began at the start of the great Florida Boom, but by the end of the decade, the Depression had begun and the state had declined into a condition of poverty. Juhan, a native of Macon, Georgia, and a product of both the College and the School of Theology of the University of the South, was the youngest diocesan in the American church. While at Sewanee, the bishop did not make his mark as a scholar, but as an athlete. He lettered in baseball, track, and boxing, and played center on the famous football team of 1909 that won the Southern Championship. The long episcopate of Juhan not only embraced the contrasting years of boom and bust, but the hectic years of World War II and the subsequent period of population growth and prosperity as well.

It is interesting to contrast Bentley's description of the two prelates. The learned Weed, a Confederate veteran who did graduate work at the University of Berlin, was more cosmopolitan, more catholic and intellectual in his approach to religion, while his successor was more physical and evangelical. Both, however, were energetic missionaries. Weed began his episcopate in the thriving 1880s of railroad construction and expanding citrus culture, while Juhan began his in the roaring twenties of the Florida Boom. The prosperity of Weed's early years was shattered by the Panic of 1893 and the disastrous freezes of 1894-1895, while the healthy growth of the Church under Juhan was disrupted by the collapse of the Boom followed by the Great Depression. Both men were much admired— Juhan for his vigor, his warmth, and his good looks, and Weed for his quiet courage, his scholarship, and his approachableness. Bentley apparently agrees with the diocesan memorial passed after Weed's death that declared, "The American Church has never before known a more approachable bishop."

The last decade of the Juhan episcopate reflected the remarkable growth of the national church: church membership in

the diocese almost doubled, the number of parishes and missions showed an extraordinary increase, and the financial support for the mission program outside the diocese more than tripled. In addition, the cathedral in Jacksonville was created, a program of housing and care for the aged initiated, a ministry to both prisoners and the insane instituted, and the foundations of the future Episcopal High School laid. Catholic sacramentalism and protestant evangelism both found strong expression in these movements.

Bentley's handling of the 1963 integration crisis in St. Augustine is balanced and unpolemical. Hamilton West, successor to Bishop Juhan, after some hesitation came down firmly on the side of the integrationists and the courts. The author gives an equally fair assessment of the liberal and conservative positions, and seems to conclude (as most of the conservatives eventually did) that equality and integration were the only positions that a conscious Christian could take in the controversy. Bentley is sympathetic also with the movements that gave women the vote in parochial elections and made them eligible to be vestry members and diocesan convention delegates. However, he avoids (perhaps wisely) the stormy controversies over radical prayer-book revision and female ordination that were brewing in the closing years of the West episcopate. Bentley ends his book with the partition of the diocese, when those parishes and missions west of the Apalachicola were ceded to the new Diocese of the Central Gulf Coast, and with the elevation of Frank S. Cerveny to the office of diocesan in 1975.

Professor Bentley's history is readable, balanced and well-researched. He makes good use of the *Diocesan Journals* as well as the diocesan periodicals of the era. He is discriminating and sensible in his use of parish records. He might, however, have made better use of local newspapers that were available to him in the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History at the University of Florida, but that is only a minor criticism. Florida Episcopalians should welcome the publication of this book, while Floridians in general should manifest considerable interest in reading it.

*The Journal of Don Francisco Saavedra de Sangronis, 1780-1783*, Edited and introduced by Francisco Morales Padrón. Translated by Aileen Moore Topping. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1989. lxxv, 380 pp. Editor's introduction, maps, notes, glossary, index. \$28.00.)

The journal of Francisco Saavedra de Sangronis spans only a brief three years, but it offers the reader a fascinating account of the critical years during which Spain lent assistance to the American Revolution, while placing this effort in the context of Spain's larger imperial goals. As the special agent of Charles III in America, Saavedra traveled widely through Europe and the Caribbean and made the acquaintance of some of the most important figures of his day. From a privileged viewpoint, Saavedra chronicled the political intrigues of the late eighteenth century and the military responses of Spain, England, and France in their American contest for empire. But his journal does more than recount another version of these well-known events. Influenced by the Enlightenment and the wide variety of reforms attempted by Spain's Bourbon rulers, Saavedra made detailed observations of the areas he toured and commented on their resources as well as their deficiencies. He remarked on almost everything: the state of roads, natural resources, geography, architecture, society, weather, disease, and local entertainments all were worthy of entries. These remarkable notes are what distinguish the account and make it a valuable resource for social as well as military and diplomatic historians.

From the introduction by Francisco Morales Padrón, the distinguished Spanish historian, we learn that Saavedra was born in Seville and received a classic education in Granada. He entertained ideas of an ecclesiastic career in Cadiz, but found himself drawn instead to the military life that would take him from Andalusia to the cosmopolitan world of Madrid, and later, beyond. It was Saavedra's perception that chance encounters with influential men such as Alejandro O'Reilly, who was on his way to put down the insurrection against Spanish rule in Louisiana and who later became his commander at the Battle of Algiers, and Bernardo de Gálvez, with whom he also served in Algiers, were the result of providence and that they propelled him to the "New World." Bernardo Gálvez did, in fact, introduce young Saavedra to his illustrious family, and José de Gálvez

recommended Saavedra for a post in the Ministry of the Indies. Several years later, in 1780, José de Gálvez arranged the special commission that sent Saavedra to America.

Saavedra's charge was to promote the king's objectives: an expedition against Pensacola to drive the English from the Gulf of Mexico; the remission of monies to Spain; assistance to the president of Guatemala, who was under attack by the English; and the joint conquest with France of Jamaica or other appropriate English sites. After much delay, Saavedra departed. His first reports about America describe Cumana, Venezuela. Shortly after his ship passed Santo Domingo, however, it was attacked and captured by the English, and Saavedra was taken prisoner to Jamaica. Although kept from his mission, Saavedra did not suffer in captivity. As the protocols of the day dictated for one of his class, he was entertained in fine homes, and balls were held in his honor. To pass the time, Saavedra wrote a geographical, military, and political account of the island. He was released in 1781 and resumed his journey toward Havana where he took charge of military preparations for the attack on Pensacola. He found a depleted treasury, unfit ships, troops decimated by disease, and a lack of agreement among the Spanish and French officers on how to proceed. After numerous war councils, Saavedra was able to bring the king's influence to bear on officials in Mexico and Havana and to coordinate Spain's Caribbean strategy.

Gálvez's victory at Pensacola is well known, but Saavedra was also able to accomplish most of the crown's other goals. He travelled to Mexico and although treasury funds there were almost as low as Cuba's, he managed to arrange shipments of specie to Spain. Saavedra's observations on the Mexican economy, particularly descriptions of silver mining and processing and of society, including visits to slums, are interesting. Saavedra arranged an escort convoy to safeguard the money on its way to Spain and sent remaining ships and troops to assist the president in Guatemala. Although the French fleet met with disaster, upsetting the plans to take Jamaica, the Spanish were eventually successful in the capture of Providence, in the Bahamas, fulfilling the last of the king's requirements.

This volume makes an important contribution to the literature on Spain's role in the Caribbean in the late eighteenth century and should be of interest to scholars and lay historians

alike. Its significance to Florida history is that it encourages the reader to consider Florida in its circum-Caribbean perspective and avoids a parochial view of the state's history. Its weakness lies in the introduction and editing. Morales Padrón accepts and reiterates Saavedra's gossipy tone and elite judgments without comment or analysis. His footnotes provide genealogical information, but offer little in the way of critical thinking. One devotes a lengthy paragraph to the life and technique of a bull-fighter Saavedra once watched. The few comparative references are dated. The volume could also have used more judicious editing. Too many entries are simply "Nothing notable happened." These minor flaws do not detract from the strength of the journal itself, however, and Morales Padrón does guide interested readers to the other journals written by Saavedra, as well as to several master's theses written on his life and times. The manuscript was translated for publication by the late Aileen Moore Topping.

*University of Florida*

JANE LANDERS

*The Minorcans of Florida: Their History, Language, and Culture.* By Philip D. Rasico (New Smyrna Beach, FL: Luthers, 1990. vii, 191 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, maps, illustrations, photographs, tables, notes, appendices, bibliography, index. \$45.00.)

Minorca, the small Balearic island in the Mediterranean, was under English control when hundreds of its native families sailed for Florida in the eighteenth century. Dr. Andrew Turnbull, a Scot, engaged and transported some 1,400 persons (mainly Minorcans) to work under contracts to him on his new plantation in British East Florida. East Florida became in effect a Spanish province after 1783, with a Minorcan capital, St. Augustine. The Minorcans are unique as an ethnolinguistic group in North America.

Philip D. Rasico, currently an associate professor of Spanish and Portuguese at Vanderbilt University, Nashville, reviews literature already published about America's Minorcans. Earlier historians mined essentially the same manuscript and printed sources on the Minorcans of Florida. Rasico, however, adds a well-documented body of new material.

*The Minorcans of Florida* opens with the words of Governor James Grant of British East Florida. "This is the largest importation of white inhabitants that ever was brought into America at a time." Turnbull's ships first arrived in St. Augustine before the settlers made their way eighty miles farther south. Turnbull named his settlement, previously called the Mosquitoes, New Smyrna for the Smyrna home of his wife, Maria Gracia.

Rasico covers the Minorcans of Florida in detail, showing how downtrodden they were in New Smyrna for nine years. The Minorcans abandoned the plantation in 1777, to make a living as best they could in St. Augustine. Rasico stresses that Turnbull had only prepared for 500 workers. When 1,400 arrived, there was never enough food, shelter, and necessities to make life worth living for them in New Smyrna. He confirms Turnbull's responsibility for mistreating the colonists, and determined that only 500 survived at New Smyrna to move on to St. Augustine, instead of 600 as estimated by previous historians.

There is nothing especially new in Rasico's chapter on the Minorcan culture in Florida, at least to English-speaking students of the subject. However, it might have been revealing to those who read his book when it was published in Catalan in Barcelona, Spain, in 1986. Rasico earned two prestigious awards in 1988 for research in Catalan language and literature.

Catalan, the original language of the Florida Minorcans, receives more attention here than in other histories. Words of Catalan origin are listed by modern Minorcans, such as St. Augustine's historian-mayor, Kenneth H. Beeson, Jr. Until the end of the nineteenth century, Catalan was the principal language of St. Augustine Minorcans. Rasico uses phonetics, giving pronunciations of the Catalan speech sounds. The traces of Florida Minorcan words listed consist of epithets and "mental and emotional qualities or states," among others.

Rasico lists, in Appendix Three, known Minorcan pioneers in New Smyrna and St. Augustine, material that is published in book form for the first time. The names, and some occupations, are taken from two Roman Catholic manuscript sources, "the Golden Book of the Minorcans" (New Smyrna parish records), and subsequent church registers entitled "White Baptisms, St. Augustine," both of which are in the Archive of the Diocese of St. Augustine, Florida.

Rasico acknowledges the support of Xavier L. Pellicer, St. Augustine, and Dr. Fernando A. Rubió i Tudurí, Mahón,

Minorca, in both his Catalan book and in this English translation. The Volusia County Historical Commission sponsored the translation.

Rasico's is a new spin on the Minorcans in Florida. His book, limited to 500 printed copies, became a collector's item with its 1990 publication. It is a valuable, scholarly treatment of the Minorcans who still are distinguishable in St. Augustine's citizenry

*Orlando, Florida*

JANE QUINN

*Big Sugar: Seasons in the Cane Fields of Florida.* By Alec Wilkinson. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1989. 263 pp. Author's note. \$18.95.)

*Big Sugar* is part muckraking exposé and part documentary. Relying largely on interviews that he conducted with cane cutters during the years 1984-1988, Wilkinson vividly depicts the harsh and lonely lives of the men who annually came to the Lake Okeechobee area from Jamaica. These accounts amply document the low wages, incomprehensible payment schemes, arbitrary discipline, and squalid and dangerous living and working conditions that these men endure, as well as the collusion between sugar growers and public authorities that enforces the subordination of the workers. Wilkinson's cutters, however, are not only victims. They are also full-blooded human beings who speak with pride of their skills and with candor of their mistakes and regrets, even as they detail their mistreatment.

In addition to bringing the plight of these migrants to light, *Big Sugar* describes the workings of the sugar industry. Brief essays on soil, climate, work processes, agronomy, and marketing add to the book's usefulness. Wilkinson also briefly outlines the means by which the small but powerful sugar lobby manipulates Congress and state, federal, and Jamaican regulatory agencies to create rich, protected domestic markets and to perpetuate exploitative labor policies.

For all Wilkinson's sympathy for the cane cutters, *Big Sugar* never quite slips into overt advocacy. True, the author tellingly contrasts the lavish living arrangements of the Fanjul family, south Florida's sugar barons *par excellence*, with those of im-

poverished cane cutters. And he closes the book with a poignant and disturbing account of the cover-up by the Florida Highway Patrol of the 1972 death of a student, killed on a picketline by a Talisman Sugar Company truck. But Wilkinson's central goal seems to be documentation rather than reform or even consciousness raising. Repeatedly, the book pulls back from accounts of injustice and exploitation to refocus on the lives of the cutters and the details of the industry, letting the principals speak for themselves.

Brief historical vignettes intersperse the main narrative. Wilkinson uses FBI peonage files and interviews with elderly former cutters to recount the victimization of American blacks by the U.S. Sugar Corporation in the 1940s and the origins of the present system of migratory labor. Department of Labor records serve to document the problems of achieving reform of the cutters' working conditions and the sugar companies' arcane payment schemes. The heart of the book, though, is Wilkinson's interviews with cutters, employers, and other inhabitants of the Clewiston-Belle Glade area. The richly detailed descriptions of the cutters' hard work, physical danger, and economic precariousness; the carefully rendered accounts of the process of sugar planting and harvesting; and the vivid depictions of the area's rough and volatile social and commercial life bespeak *Big Sugar's* origins as a two-part series in the *New Yorker*.

*Big Sugar* does not conform to the requirements of scholarly inquiry. Wilkinson apparently did not record his interviews and seems to have relied on notes and memory when reproducing even lengthy statements. Jerrell H. Shofner's work on the peonage case of the 1940s remains the standard account of early years of Florida's sugar industry. Still, if taken as a vivid and honest first-hand observation rather than as an authoritative treatise, *Big Sugar* has a legitimate place in the basic bibliography of Florida social, labor, and agricultural history.

*Pioneer College: The Centennial History of Saint Leo College, Saint Leo Abbey, and Holy Name Priory.* By James J. Horgan. (Saint Leo, FL: Saint Leo College Press, 1989. x, 640 pp. Introduction, photographs, tables, illustrations, appendices, sources and acknowledgments, notes, index. \$24.95.)

Histories of single institutions tend not to be of broad interest, and often they lack a balanced view. The Horgan book, on the centennial of Saint Leo College in Pasco County, does not fall into this category. It is a fine contribution to local and Florida history. This is because the author is a dedicated and competent historian who writes well. The founding and growth of Saint Leo is a fascinating pioneer history that encompasses far more than the institution itself. Excellent primary records are available, carefully collected and maintained by the Benedictine monks of Saint Leo, and were available to the author.

The founding of the Catholic colony of San Antonio in 1882 by the ex-chief justice of Arizona, Edmund F. Dunne, was the start of the unique and colorful history of Saint Leo Abbey and College, the towns of San Antonio and Saint Leo, and Holy Name Priory and Academy. Judge Dunne, fiercely Catholic, was a temperamental man of strong character and forceful personality. Dunne was closely associated with the famous Hamilton Disston venture. In lieu of a fee as a lawyer for Disston, he received the right to 100,000 acres of his choice. When he founded San Antonio, he envisioned several all-Catholic communities with strict Catholic education. In 1886, the first Benedictine monk arrived. This led three years later to the establishment of the College and Abbey. Benedictine nuns came in 1889— the beginning of the Holy Name Academy and Priory.

While the title of the book is *A Pioneer College*, its subtitle is more accurate, to which must be added that there is much information of the incorporated twin towns (1891) of San Antonio and Saint Leo. The complex relationship of the college, abbey, priory, academy, and towns, all sharing a common historical source, is explained but requires careful reading. Better editing might have made it clearer. The author reminds us that a college in 1889 was different from what one understands a college to be today. Eventually in 1917, the college became the Saint Leo Preparatory School, which was closed in 1964 and replaced with a modern accredited liberal arts college that also has extensive off-campus programs.

The author has certainly accomplished his task and given us a scholarly yet readable account of local history that needed to be told. To my mind, he has done more by making us aware that it is also of interest to pioneer Florida, church, and higher education history. And he also notes the tensions, conflicts, and bigotries, of which there were many. One also becomes acquainted with the personalities of the several abbots and college presidents, as well as many other individuals. There is no doubt that the word "pioneer" in the title is most appropriate. One is struck by the many interesting facts of daily life, such as the high mortality rate of young adults from tuberculosis in the early days, or the popularity of baseball.

Organization, documentation, and illustrations are well done. Although the more than 600 pages of text might have been edited into a more compact volume that would have enhanced its readability, I strongly recommend this study to anyone interested in Florida history.

*Universtiy of South Florida*

CHARLES W. ARNADE

*He Included Me: The Autobiography of Sarah Rice.* Transcribed and edited by Louise Westling. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1989. xvi, 181 pp. Preface, chronology, photographs. \$19.95.)

Throughout this book, Sarah Rice's voice is in command. The stories she recorded with Louise Westling pull the reader into the life of an impoverished but remarkably strong family struggling to survive on a sharecropper's pittance in rural Alabama. With their preacher-father mainly working away from home, the family was directed by a strong-willed mother who worked with the children in the fields and creatively stretched their meager food supplies from harvest to harvest. Still there was time to teach the tired and often hungry children school lessons along with morals and the values of sharing and love.

Following a constant pattern of "work and scuffle and work and scuffle to get what little bit you did get," Sarah's mother would turn Papa's worn out pants into trousers for his sons; hand-me-down clothes from white families were patched and refitted for the daughters. Sarah's only dress was starched and

worn fresh to church on Sunday, then to school each day for the remainder of the week.

The oral narrative is so effectively edited that this reader felt he was with Sarah when, at age eleven, she loaded the family cow with sacks of corn and rode it to town to have the corn ground at the mill. And again at age seventeen when she passed the Alabama teacher certification test and began a brief teaching career. The book explores the dreary story of education in segregated Alabama where black schools stayed open only three months each year, and these were frequently interrupted while the children worked in the fields. Sarah's reminiscences poignantly document the inequities of a racist society where illiterate black sharecroppers were tricked and abused by white store owners and landlords and remained trapped in an enduring web of debt peonage.

After the depression-plagued Alabama schools closed in 1933, Sarah, by then a divorced single parent, moved to Panama City, Florida, to work in the home of a white family. Her second marriage brought her to Jacksonville, Florida, where urban life meant a continuation of poverty and struggle. Cleaning and cooking for white families seven days a week she somehow managed to stretch her \$14 monthly salary to cover rent, insurance, clothes, food, and emergency bills. By working a second job on Saturday and babysitting evenings, Sarah and her son survived the Depression.

In 1947, Sarah bought a home in the Moncrief section of Jacksonville. By scrounging wood from old railroad cars and clever subcontracting, she was able to erect a home nearby for her mother. The subdivision soon included her sister and brother and a church and a community spirit. Parents that Sarah called "poor scrufflers, scrambling for what they could get for their children," organized a Parent Teachers Association to boost their elementary school.

The book's last chapter is the least compelling. It follows an older Sarah through a rewarding third marriage to Andrew Rice, substantial volunteer work for church and women's groups, and the deaths of her aging loved ones.

There is much of value in this book. It is an enlightening counter to the demeaning images of impoverished blacks in Alabama that Booker T. Washington presented in his autobiography, *Up From Slavery*. It is also useful to compare it to Harry

Crews's *A Childhood*, especially his memories of poor white families moving from rural Georgia to Jacksonville to work in cigar factories. Louise Westling accurately assesses the book as a feminine counterpart to Ned Cobb, the black Alabama sharecropper whose life was recreated in Theodore Rosengarten's *All God's Dangers*. Most importantly, Sarah Rice's narrative continues a verbal tradition of vital importance to African American history. Sarah speaks authentically for millions of black women who survived segregation and sharecropping and the endless rows of "shotgun shacks" of central cities, and whose indomitable spirit and values endure.

*University of North Florida*

DANIEL L. SCHAFER

*America's Historic Landscapes: Community Power and the Preservation of Four National Historic Sites.* By Ary J. Lamme III. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1989. xiv, 213 pp. Preface, introduction, photographs, illustrations, appendices, bibliography, index. \$24.95.)

Geographer Ary J. Lamme credits one of his Principia College mentors, Charles B. Hosmer, Jr., respected historian of the preservation movement, with pointing out that the nation's oldest city, St. Augustine, Florida, passed up the opportunity to become America's preservation model decades ago. Instead of providing a cooperative climate where all levels of government and private enterprise could flourish, the fragile urban historic landscape of the resort city was compromised by conflicting agendas, petty politics, and limited vision.

St. Augustine is one of four historic landscapes chosen by Lamme for their association with important historical events, attractive physical settings, and recreational components. Colonial National Historical Park in Virginia (Jamestown linked by a scenic road to Yorktown), Sackets Harbor, New York (site of several battles during the War of 1812), Gettysburg, Pennsylvania (a small town virtually surrounded by Civil War battlefields), and St. Augustine (the oldest continuously occupied city in the United States) provide a sufficiently broad range of features and problems for the author to make his point

that the United States lacks a strong national policy in preserving historic landscapes.

It comes as no surprise to learn that St. Augustine, with its matchless historic heritage and natural advantages, also lacked a strong preservation policy. The author turns his focus on the period of the 1920s and 1930s when the National Park Service stepped in to take charge of the Castillo de San Marcos, bringing qualified experts and federal resources to deal with its preservation and interpretation. Many citizens hoped St. Augustine would become another Williamsburg, but lack of funding and the advent of World War II dashed those aspirations. However, it was absence of a common goal among the townspeople and their leaders, Lamme suggests, that was the ultimate problem, one he believes still stands in the way of St. Augustine becoming a first-class, "authentic" historic landscape.

Lamme refers often to the notion of community power, which he says implies the capacity to influence others. The case of the village of Cross Creek, Florida, home of author Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings, is used as a contemporary example of the way that planning and zoning conflicts are dealt with in this context. The legal rights of property owners to develop their lands with no density limitations versus the legitimate public rights to preserve natural and historic landscapes by limiting development were submitted to the judicial processes. If the Constitution recognizes both individual and collective property rights, and if Americans continue their tradition of using constitutional processes to resolve differences, only by building broad-based support will successful preservation of historic landscapes be accomplished.

Those concerned about the long-term management and preservation of historic landscapes will find no quick answers or step-by-step formula here. Each symbolic place has its own meaning, its own history, its own problems. Lamme's work reminds us that historic landscapes can no longer be taken for granted or used merely as backdrops for private enterprise and government agencies with limited vision and perspective.

*Two Worlds: The Indian Encounter with the European, 1492-1509.*

By S. Lyman Tyler. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1988. ix, 258 pp. Preface, introduction, map, notes, epilogue, appendix, index. \$25.00.)

For at least a decade, historians have recognized that contact-period documents must be subjected to critical analysis, even deconstruction, before their contents can be proposed as historical fact. It is no longer appropriate simply to select those aspects of an historical text that seem most accurate. It is important that the entire document be evaluated to re-create the context of descriptions, and every document should additionally be evaluated in the larger context of works that define a historical literary genre.

It is in the sense of a contact-period literature that *Two Worlds* should be important to Florida history. Spain's first encounters in the West Indies provided a template for encounters with the native peoples of Florida, the rest of the circum-caribbean, and even the Pacific islands. European concepts of environment, wealth, slavery, social organization, politics— the New World in general— were based largely on West Indian referents. Thus, an understanding of contact-period descriptions of Florida's native peoples requires an understanding of the contact-period record of native West Indians.

Unfortunately, *Two Worlds* is an anachronism. It is not a description of "The Indian Encounter with the European"; it is Tyler's reading of a dissatisfied cleric's (Bartolomé de las Casas) view of the Spanish conquest. Tyler assumes that he can accurately dissect historical fact from the polemic fabric in which it is woven to provide a historical account of the "Encounter." He is willing to trust las Casas as an accurate observer to the degree that the book is largely an English translation of selections from the *History of the Indies*. In fact, Tyler contributed fewer than forty pages of original text, 15 percent of the book, with these largely devoted to introducing the extensive abstractions.

A new English version of the *History of the Indies* is not such a bad idea, especially since the last was published twenty years ago. What is unacceptable is the perpetuation of misinformation. Tyler reports that Columbus's first-island landfall, called Guanahani by the native Lucayans, has been identified as San Salvador/Watling Island (p. 37). While that may be true, an

often heated debate concerning which island is Guanahaní has been raging for nearly ten years. Tyler erroneously equates the Taino island of Matinino with Martinique (p. 93), when the former is actually a mythical place. He calls the aceramic peoples of the West Indies Ciboney at a time when that name is being expunged from our vocabularies (pp. 35, 69, 147). As las Casas reported, and Carl Sauer reminded us in 1966, the Ciboney were Arawak-speaking horticulturalists whose name was misapplied to a people who may or may not have survived in western Cuba. Part of the problem stems from Tyler's use of a forty-year-old summary as his sole source of anthropological information about the native peoples (Irving Rouse's contributions to the *Handbook of South American Indians*, 1948). Although he may believe that he knows the difference between truth (Carib cannibals, Ciboney) and fiction (Amazons), recent re-readings of the historical documents have called such truths into question.

Although *Two Worlds* may have been up to the standards of the day when it was first written 400 years ago, it stands out today as an anachronism that perpetuates the Spanish image of native West Indians along with outmoded and recanted anthropological hypotheses. It is not up to the standards we should set for the Quincentenary.

*Florida Museum of Natural History*

WILLIAM F. KEEGAN

*Powhatan's Mantle: Indians in the Colonial Southeast*. Edited by Peter H. Wood, Gregory A. Waselkov, and M. Thomas Hatley. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989. xvii, 355 pp. Series editors' introduction, general introduction, maps, illustrations, notes, the contributors, index. \$50.00.)

*Powhatan's Mantle* examines the world of the Indians of the Southeast during the period between the entry of Europeans into the region and the American Revolution. That world was unlike the European world the early explorers and colonists left behind, and the Indian societies were unlike those of Europe. The failure of the explorers and colonists to recognize those differences played a profound role in shaping the course of history in the Southeast. The failure of too many of our histories to recognize the nature of the Native American societies and the

importance of their roles in the development of the southeastern United States has made them a forgotten and neglected people. *Powhatan's Mantle*, intended to serve as an introduction to the native peoples of the Southeast and the changes their world went through during the colonial period, addresses that problem.

The essays in *Powhatan's Mantle* are divided into three sections. The first deals with geography and demography. It contains chapters on native communication routes, aboriginal population movements during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, differences in broad-scale regional demographic trends among ethnic groups and areas, and the details of Native American life in colonial New Orleans. The second section addresses questions of politics and economics. It includes essays examining the Spanish use of native elite to control native polities in Florida, the impact English colonies had on exchange system and political economies among the native groups of the Potomac, the political structure (and weaknesses) of the native chiefdoms of Virginia, patterns of English-native trade in the Carolina Piedmont, and the course of changes in Cherokee economic systems as revealed in the history of a single community. The third section contains papers that treat questions of symbolism and world view. The chapters in this section discuss how the differences in the kinship systems of the French and Choctaw, and French misunderstanding of those differences, colored relationships between them; the symbolism of the earthen mounds constructed by the native peoples of the Southeast; and aboriginal views of the world as they are revealed in maps drawn by Indians.

Over all, I think the contributors succeeded in achieving the goal of introducing Native Americans into the colonial history of the Southeast. The essays cover a wide variety of topics, the book as a whole is well organized, and the topics addressed are important. *Powhatan's Mantle* is not the definitive study of Native Americans in the colonial Southeast, but it is a valuable contribution. I recommend this book for anyone interested in the colonial period history of the Southeast.

When I was young, the history of the United States that I learned began with Christopher Columbus's discovery of the New World and Juan Ponce de León's discovery of Florida. These events were followed by the English settlement of Vir-

ginia and Massachusetts. Of course, there were other Europeans— French and Spaniards— and the Indians were already here, but they contributed little to our history. Indeed, we now know better. But still the history of these native peoples of the Americas often receives less attention and less emphasis than it merits. *Powhatan's Mantle* is a step towards correcting that inequity.

*Florida Bureau of Archaeological Research*

JOHN F. SCARRY

*The Loyalist Perception and Other Essays.* By Robert M. Calhoun. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1989. xix, 234 pp. Preface, introduction, notes, bibliographical essay, index. \$29.95.)

In a masterful use of the understatement, Robert M. Calhoun asserts, "The nature of loyalism in the American Revolution is an intractable historical problem." For over twenty-five years, Calhoun has attempted to explain this elusive topic, and although he has branched out into other areas of research in recent years, he clearly remains one of the leading scholars in the field of Loyalist studies.

*The Loyalist Perception and Other Essays* brings together eleven articles that Calhoun published between 1965 and 1967. These articles cover three main areas: the "beliefs and experiences of individual loyalists"; "the inner connections, assumptions, and implications of loyalist ideology"; and an attempt "to integrate loyalist insights into an overall conceptualization of the period."

It is impossible in a brief review to do justice to such broad-ranging research. But as one would expect from Professor Calhoun, his research is thorough, his documentation impeccable, and his writing concise. While clearly a series of valuable essays, as is frequently true of such collections, they do not hold together well as a book. The author has attempted to give coherence to the volume by grouping the articles into three parts labelled "Ideas," "Action," and "Practice." While there is logic in such an arrangement, the result remains a series of excellent but rather disconnected essays. As the title of the book indicates— whether discussing Joseph Galloway, William Smith, or West Florida— the articles all deal with ideological issues. It is in

this area of ideas that Calhoun is most comfortable, and it is this strand of perception (from various vantage points) that provides some unity to the work.

Chapter nine of the work will be of particular interest to readers of Florida history for, in this essay, Calhoun deals briefly with the "Hinterland Loyalists." While there are scattered references to the Floridas throughout the book, only in this very brief chapter (which includes both Floridas, Vermont, and the western frontier) does Calhoun attempt to integrate the Loyalist experience in the Floridas with that of the "original thirteen" colonies. A continuing weakness in Loyalist historiography is a concentration on the thirteen colonies that rebelled while basically ignoring those colonies that remained loyal.

Scholars of the American Loyalist experience will be grateful to the University of South Carolina Press for bringing together this convenient collection. There is also a brief but excellent bibliographical essay. While one can point to a number of typographical errors in the endnotes, or could complain about the inconsiderate use of endnotes instead of footnotes in such a heavily documented work (particularly in a day of computerized typesetting), it is perhaps better to hope that the press sees this work as the first step toward publishing a new synthesis on the Loyalists. Calhoun correctly points out that William H. Nelson's *The American Tory* is still "the best introduction to the loyalists." Nelson's book was published nearly thirty years ago. In the intervening years, there has been a prodigious amount of new scholarship on the Loyalists, much of it engendered by the Bicentennial of the 1770s, but there has been no satisfactory attempt to incorporate that knowledge into a new synthesis. Few other people are as well qualified as Calhoun, and one can only hope that he will take up the challenge to produce a new introduction to the American Loyalists.

*The Edge of the Swamp: A Study in the Literature and Society of the Old South.* By Louis D. Rubin, Jr. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1989. x, 234 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, notes, index. \$25.00.)

In this volume, the distinguished literary critic Louis D. Rubin, Jr., maintains that the antebellum South's most famous writers did not participate in the nation's mid-century cultural and literary Renaissance. In separate but linked essays on the lives and works of the southeastern authors William Gilmore Simms, Edgar Allan Poe, and Henry Timrod, he explores why those men were unable to confront the tensions between individual freedom and the new industrial order that so influenced their northern peers' literary efforts. Rubin's answer to the failure of their literary imagination is that those authors were inhibited by their support for and fears of undermining the institution of chattel slavery.

To understand the regional prejudices of those men of letters, Rubin crosses the boundaries of criticism into historical analysis and attempts to re-create the structure of southern society. He dismisses the traditional paternalist master class theme and instead describes a large middle class similar to that of the North. Rubin uses this quite accurate reading of southern society to show that each of the writers under review was from the middle class yet loyal to the cultural ideals of an elite slaveowner-dominated society. But he fails to grasp the meaning of freedom for those middling folk in that class-bound region. Perhaps if he had examined such recent historical works as James Oakes's *The Ruling Race*, Rubin might better have understood that multi-class and multi-regional society.

Although Rubin's essays on the formation and the works of Poe and Timrod contribute to his overall thesis, he concentrates on the life and the writings of that enormous but flawed talent, William Gilmore Simms. Here, specifically, his study betrays a particular weakness in historical context and analysis. For in order to fit Simms into his middle-class theme of the artist under the influence of a slaveowner ideal, he ignores much recent research that places that writer in the mainstream of South Carolina's elite culture. Rubin also maintains that Simms's novel *The Yemassee* reveals a middle-class talent devoted to an upper-class society. If only he had explored Simms's studies of the

financial decline of the south Atlantic coast, Rubin would have discovered a critic of the excessive planter preoccupation with the slave economy. If he had looked at Simms's border romances, Rubin might have uncovered the tension between nature and progress in Simms's use of the wilderness as a haven for individual freedom. Because of his confusion over the historical record, Rubin ignores pertinent material and contrives a literary dilemma, when in fact many southern writers actually did describe the tensions over freedom and order.

But just because Rubin misuses history does not negate his contribution to the study of antebellum southern culture. Use of his sensitive reading of literary texts, his ability to uncover hidden meaning in a story, and his aesthetic judgements on style assist the historian to evaluate the past. Rubin's brilliant analysis of the life of that aspiring parvenu Thomas Sutpen from *Absalom, Absalom* to show the dangers in a status-conscious and culturally ambivalent Old South also leads historians of that region to the source of their craft, the genius of William Faulkner.

*The Catholic University of America*

JON L. WAKELYN

*Natchez Before 1830*. Edited by Noel Polk. (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 1989. xii, 165 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, chronology, illustrations, maps, photographs, tables, notes on contributors, index. \$27.50.)

Nine essays originally presented as the second L. O. Crosby, Jr., Memorial Lectures in Mississippi Culture constitute this slender volume on the early history of the Natchez District. By restricting themselves to the region's formative years—the century or so between its initial colonization by the French, its brief term as part of British West Florida before its capture by the Spanish, and into its first decades as part of the United States—the authors seek to redirect some of the attention scholars and interested readers are traditionally more inclined to give to the period immediately preceding the Civil War. Collectively, they approach their task from several disciplines, a charge given them by the organizers of the Crosby Lectures. The essays range

from a survey of local Indian archaeological sites to a discussion of the architectural styles typical of the early nineteenth century.

The best essays are those by Ian Brown, a curator at Harvard University's Peabody Museum; geographer Milton Newton, Jr., and historian Morton Rothstein. Brown examines the physical remains of the Natchez Indian civilization, the mounds and village sites of which attest to the complexity and sophistication of their culture, and to the catastrophe wrought by European incursion. Newton demonstrates how maps, and in particular the map drawn by colonial engineer and surveyor William Wilton, offer important insights into European attitudes toward the New World environment. Through their meticulous surveying, plotting and record keeping, the English, Newton concludes, established a lasting order and gave a sense of predictability to an otherwise chaotic landscape. Rothstein turns his attention to the economic development of colonial and early national Natchez, emphasizing the crucial role played by local businessmen and their Philadelphia connections. Perhaps the most useful essays are those by Alfred Lemmon, on sources of Natchez history in Spanish archives, and by Don Carleton on the Natchez Trace Collection at the University of Texas, although the latter is a rehashing of pamphlets already published and widely circulated. The remaining contributions— a discussion of Chateaubriand's epic poem *The Natchez*, as well as essays on education, architecture, portraiture and material culture— are less successful, and they, unfortunately, set the tone for the book as a whole.

By comparison to Virginia and the Carolinas, the history of Natchez, and of the Old Southwest in general, is grossly understudied. This is reason enough to make *Natchez Before 1830* a welcome publication. However, it may also be the only reason, for in failing to target a particular audience, the editor and publisher have left us with a disappointing volume. On the one hand, if the book sounds formal and academic, it is in fact not that at all. Professional scholars will find the essays superficial. On the other hand, the nontraditional and interdisciplinary format of *Natchez Before 1830* might turn away lay readers who prefer a good narrative history.

*Fighting for the Confederacy: The Personal Recollections of General Edward Porter Alexander.* Edited by Gary W. Gallagher. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989. xxvii, 664 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, editor's note, maps, tables, illustrations, notes, index. \$34.95.)

In 1907 former Confederate Brigadier General Edward Porter Alexander published *Military Memoirs of a Confederate*. Historians have regarded the book as an important source on the war in Virginia. Despite its title, *Military Memoirs* is more a historical account of the Army of Northern Virginia than a personal narrative. Douglas Southall Freeman and T. Harry Williams, among others, bemoaned the fact that Alexander did not write a personal account of his experiences. After all, he had served with Robert E. Lee and other prominent Rebels, and he doubtless knew far more than he told in *Military Memoirs*.

In fact, Alexander did pen his personal recollections of the war, and now— thanks to Gary (and Eileen) Gallagher— they are available to students of the conflict. In 1897, President Grover Cleveland sent Alexander to Nicaragua to arbitrate a boundary dispute between that country and Costa Rica. Absent from his family and with large blocks of free time, Alexander began work on his reminiscences, intending the account only for his relatives. When he left Nicaragua in October 1899, he had completed his long narrative.

In 1900, Alexander began to revise his recollections. Soon concluding that the narrative could not be altered enough to become the book he then envisioned— a general treatment of the war in Virginia— Alexander began a new, parallel account. This second manuscript became *Military Memoirs of a Confederate*. It is a sanitized, more “scholarly” account with little of the fascinating personal material that was in Alexander’s original manuscript.

Unaware that Alexander had written two different manuscripts, archivists at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, where the Alexander Papers are housed, assumed that the account written in Nicaragua was an early draft of *Military Memoirs*. Maury Klein, Alexander’s biographer, was the first to understand the true nature of the papers. Now the Gallaghers have made the first manuscript available to all.

*Fighting for the Confederacy* includes much general campaign history (even of battles in which Alexander did not participate) interspersed with interesting and provocative observations and anecdotes of men and events and sometimes biting critiques of Confederate leaders. Even Lee and “Stonewall” Jackson are not immune from Alexander’s usually well-reasoned criticisms of their conduct. Alexander, for example, has some rather harsh things to say about both of these Rebel icons regarding their roles at Antietam and Gettysburg (Lee) and in the Seven Days’ Battle (Jackson).

Alexander was a professional soldier, and his attention was often focused on the technical side of an army’s operations. His discussions of such subjects as codes, signals, tactics, strategy, fortifications, and weapons are full of interest. Alexander peppered his manuscript with a number of sketches, maps, and diagrams. Fortunately the University of North Carolina Press has reproduced them in the book, and they add much to the narrative.

*Fighting for the Confederacy* is an important addition to the body of Civil War generals’ memoirs. Anyone concerned with the military events and personalities of the Confederacy will find it of great value.

*North Carolina State University*

RICHARD M. MCMURRY

*An Uncertain Tradition: Constitutionalism and the History of the South.* Edited by Kermit L. Hall and James W. Ely, Jr. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1989. ix, 403 pp. Acknowledgments, notes, select bibliography, contributors, index. \$40.00 cloth; \$17.95 paper.)

This collection of thirteen essays grew out of a symposium, “The South and the American Constitutional Tradition,” held at the University of Florida in 1987. The editors conclude that the constitutionalism of the South is “uncertain” because of the interaction between beliefs in states’ rights, nationalism, and equality and the practices of racial and gender discrimination. Yet it was this very interaction which also gives the South a distinctive place in the American constitutional tradition.

Chronologically the essays range from colonial, pre-constitutional times to 1970. Many are general essays on broad aspects of southern history (Hall and Ely, Beltz, Wiecek, Benedict, and Tachau), but others are studies of specific aspects of southern legal history (Konig: country justice in Colonial Virginia; Johnson: South Carolina law and constitutional development, 1670-1800; Newmyer: John Marshall and southern constitutional theory; Finkelman: states rights, North and South; Nieman: the Confederate Constitution; Fish: Judge John J. Parker; Lawson: The Florida Legislative Investigation Committee; and Colburn: Florida governors and the *Brown* decision).

Except for Mary Kay Bonsteel Tachau's call for the gathering of empirical evidence on the role of women, all of the general essays suffer from a failure to come to terms with a fundamental question identified by the editors in their own opening essay: "Who best represents the southern constitutional tradition?" (p. 7) Is it James Madison and John Marshall, or Spencer Roane and John C. Calhoun? Martin L. King, Jr. or George C. Wallace?

For example, at one point Wiecek writes of "Southern leaders without exception" (p. 164) and then refers to Denmark Vesey and, on the next page, Gabriel Prosser and Nat Turner. It is at this point that one's impression catches up with one's intellect: notwithstanding Tachau's essay on southern women, this is a book about the views and thoughts of a small elite of white males. Vesey Prosser, and Turner obviously do not "count" as Southerners. While it may not be possible to consider their theories of constitutional law, those of articulate southern-born African-American spokesmen such as Congressmen Joseph H. Rainey, Alonzo J. Ransier, and James T. Rapier are preserved in the *Congressional Globe*. No consideration of the constitutional traditions of "The" South can be complete without an examination of those views as well.

With this general criticism in mind, four of the essays merit special comment because they illustrate the value of the further study that Hall and Ely hope to inspire. Ken Newmyer's analysis of the dialectic between John Marshall and other southern constitutional theorists is one of the strongest. He views *McCullough v. Maryland*, 17 U.S. 316 (1819) as the breaking point between the chief justice and other theorists, and contrasts the constitutional views of Marshall and Taney. In Newmyer's interpreta-

tion, *McCulloch* recognized powers of Congress that threatened slavery and slave states, while *Dred Scott* attempted to deprive Congress of the ability to use those powers to restrict or abolish slavery (p. 118).

William Wiecek's essay on the distinctiveness of the southern constitutional experience is excellent. He takes into account the ebb and flow of constitutional thought. He acknowledges the role of African-Americans and offers insight into the ways in which race and slavery played important roles in the choices that certain white southern leaders made from the time of the formation of the Constitution until the beginning of the twentieth century. His analysis of race, class, and economic questions can lead to the conclusion that a portion of the South's distinctiveness is a direct result of individual and group choices.

One of the strongest essays is Paul Finkelman's comparison of the use of states' rights doctrine by northern and southern state governments prior to the Civil War. Finkelman traces controversies between northern and southern states over Article IV matters such as the privileges and immunities of free African-Americans, the extradition of fugitive slaves, and the extradition of those accused of assisting slaves to escape and of those accused of kidnapping free African-Americans. By these comparisons Finkelman takes into account the nation-wide use of states' rights doctrine and, at the same time, demonstrates the distinctiveness of the constitutional approach of southern governments.

David R. Colburn traces the response of Florida governors to *Brown v. Board*, 347 U.S. 483 (1954) from 1954 until 1970. While concluding that Florida's "moderation had been built upon the state's population growth and economic development" (p. 347), Colburn also presents a picture of a state in which the choices made by political leaders made a difference. The force of this view is highlighted by the occasional comparison between those actions taken by the governors of Florida and those of the governors of other southern states.

By the conclusion of this volume, it becomes clear that Hall and Ely have accomplished their stated purpose. The quality of the articles suggests that there is much to be gained from studying the constitutional traditions of the South.

*A Death in the Delta: The Story of Emmett Till.* By Stephen J. Whitfield. (New York: The Free Press, 1988. xiii, 193 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, photographs, map, notes, bibliography, index. \$19.95.)

Stephen J. Whitfield, Max Richter Professor in American Civilization at Brandeis University, describes the abduction and murder of Emmett Till by two white half-brothers, Roy Bryant and John Milam, in the Mississippi Delta in 1955. Till, a teenager from Chicago, was murdered in retribution for allegedly making suggestive remarks and wolf-whistling at Bryant's wife while she tended a rural store. The white killers were acquitted by an all-white jury in a trial that attracted international attention. Free from further prosecution by the constitutional guarantee against double jeopardy, they admitted their murder to journalist William Bradford Huie, who paid them for interviews several years later. Ostracized by their neighbors, they moved to Texas, were divorced, and later resettled in Mississippi. Whitfield, a native Southerner, claims the killing stung the conscience of America and helped stimulate the civil rights movement.

This study includes little new information about the murder itself, which is covered in the first forty pages. Much of the rest of the book is an extended essay on race relations in the South. The author is a sensitive observer of civil rights and effectively describes the context in which the Till murder occurred, including the fear of miscegenation and the paranoia of Mississippi's closed society. He is even-handed in distributing blame and praise and correctly views the incident as one of the turning points in the quest for racial justice.

Whitfield is less effective in adding to what is known about the Till case because of an absence of extensive primary research, failure to conduct interviews, and lack of court records. He spent only a week in Mississippi and failed to win the cooperation of the principal participants. The court documents were not available, nor were letters or other personal materials. Most of the research is based upon newspapers and secondary accounts, many of them written long after the affair. Furthermore, Whitfield describes the atrocity as a lynching, but fails to either define the term or explain in what way it could be considered a mob action, since only two killers were involved. This

impreciseness negates his lengthy discussion of the history of lynchings, because it is not clear that Till's death belongs in that category.

Whitfield's meditations contain insight, his writing is lucid, and his reasoning cogent. General readers will find the book moving and enlightening, as well as entertaining and fast-paced. Scholars, however, will find little new in either data or interpretation. The author's failure to add detail limits the value of his gleanings from secondary sources. His account of the influence of the affair on prominent Americans is peripheral and of limited significance. Students of Florida history will find his description of the racial climate of the twentieth-century South interesting, but there is little about Florida specifically. The chief asset of the book is its interpretive insight and clear, crisp writing, but more detailed, specific information about the central characters would have augmented its value.

*University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee*

GLEN JEANSONNE

*A Turn in the South.* By V. S. Naipaul. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1989. 307 pp. Prologue. \$18.95.)

V. S. Naipaul is described in this book's dust jacket as "an outsider and as one of the most astute thinkers of our time." He may not quite be all that, but he is a perceptive observer, a fine writer, and as an Oxford-educated Trinidadian of East Indian ancestry, he certainly qualifies as an outsider when describing the American South.

This book is essentially a travel account. It is reminiscent of some of the best old narrations by British travelers, such as Basil Hall and James Silk Buckingham, who wrote of their tours across the antebellum South. The exact date of Naipaul's journey is not mentioned, but evidently it occurred in a spring and summer during the mid-to-late 1980s. His southern visit began in Atlanta. From Atlanta he went to Charleston, South Carolina, and from there to Florida, Alabama, and Mississippi. Leaving Mississippi, Naipaul journeyed to Nashville, Tennessee, and ended his tour at Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

Probing but fair-minded, Naipaul talked to both whites and blacks, and tried to understand their different views of the

South and of each other. In Atlanta, he sought an interview with Mayor Andrew Young, but had to settle for Hosea Williams. While in Georgia, he visited Forsyth County, recently notorious for its Ku Klux Klan activity. Naipaul was pleasantly surprised to find Forsyth's sheriff to be an impressive, educated man who was working hard to improve the county's bad reputation. In South Carolina, Naipaul's chief impressions were those of sadness and decay.

His visit to Florida was brief and consisted of a few unpleasant days in Tallahassee, which he called "an artificial administrative center." Naipaul's dislike of Tallahassee and its "heat and humidity" (worse, he seemed to think, than that of his native Trinidad) probably had much to do with the asthma attack he suffered while in Florida. His asthmatic condition improved as he traveled to Alabama and Mississippi, and so did his disposition.

But Tuskegee University in Alabama, the black college founded by one of Naipaul's heroes, Booker T. Washington, proved to be a disappointment. As in Charleston, he sensed decay and a loss of purpose. He also received the impression that although Tuskegee had once been a necessary sanctuary or oasis for oppressed blacks, now, in the age of desegregation, it had become a place for certain black students who sought the security of not having to compete academically with whites. "At home," one student told him, "I used to be a C-D student. Here I'm an A-B student." Tuskegee, Naipaul implies to the reader, is a prison of the spirit.

Mississippi offered more of the kind of South Naipaul had assumed he would find. Since in Georgia, Florida, and Alabama he had spent most of his time with blacks, in Mississippi he was determined to explore the white mentality, especially of the "redneck" variety with which Mississippi was well supplied. The cult of Elvis Presley particularly fascinated him, and he visited the tiny house Presley was born in at Tupelo, Mississippi. He also stopped at a catfish farm and processing plant in the town of Indianola and watched the fish being "de-headed" and "degutted." Some of Naipaul's observations and quotations are hilarious; others are sad or disturbing. In Nashville, he attended a performance of the "Grand Ole Opry," and realized he was witnessing a tribal rite—the expression of a distinctive culture.

*A Turn in the South* is sometimes blunt but never supercilious.

Naipaul endeavored to understand all that he saw of the South, and some of it may have been beyond his ken, but he came away with a realization that the South was and is a region apart from the rest of the United States—made so by its climate, its music, its religion, and its melancholy past.

*Georgia College*

WILLIAM I. HAIR

*Looking South: Chapters in the Story of an American Region.* Edited by Winfred B. Moore, Jr., and Joseph F. Tripp. (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, Inc. 1989. xxvi 276 pp. Illustrations, acknowledgments, introduction, tables, notes, bibliographical essay, index, about the editors and contributors. \$39.95.)

The sixteen essays in this volume, selected from over eighty papers presented at The Citadel Conference on the South in 1987, focus on five themes: Reconstruction, changing racial attitudes, Unionist sentiment and secession, economic development, and diverse approaches to the southern story and the uses to which that story has been put. The texts of most essays rarely run more than a dozen pages, but the concluding one—Bertram Wyatt-Brown's masterful analysis of the roots of Walker Percy's fiction, which he locates in the Percy family history, emotional disorder, and an ethical code of honor—is twice that length. Ranging chronologically from the colonial era to the present, the essays exhibit a variety of methodologies in addressing questions of how the South coped with changes that challenged its dominant beliefs and institutions. But regardless of length or methodology, they significantly enhance our understanding of what editors describe as the "most distinct and complex of American regions" (p. xv).

In the opening essay, Eric Foner reflects on the writing of his much acclaimed history of Reconstruction. Foner pursued five inter-related themes in his work, the first and most important of which was "the centrality of the black experience" (p. 6). Reconstruction, he argues, relates not so much to a specific chronological period as to "an extended historical process: the adjustment of American society to the end of slavery" (p. 11). Fully aware of the dangers of presentism, he nonetheless concludes that our contemporary experience with issues that agitate race relations, precisely the same ones debated during Recon-

struction, enables us to understand more clearly the post-Civil War era.

Space limitations obviously preclude a consideration of each essay in this volume, but several others deserve special mention. One is William D. Pierson's intriguing essay that suggests the costume and strategy of the original Ku Klux Klan were heavily influenced by African-American beliefs and attitudes rooted in experiences with secret societies in the forest belt of west and central Africa. Another is Melton McLaurin's astute observations on "Southern Autobiography and the Problems of Race" in which he explains how white liberal Southerners of the post-World War II era viewed blacks, not as individuals with whom they had personal relations, but rather as a social problem, an approach that stood in sharp contrast to that of earlier autobiographers and that contributed to the failure of the liberals' racial policies. The emotional honesty evident in several recent autobiographies, according to McLaurin, raises the "possibility of a future South in which class replaces race as the most significant factor in relationships between and among Southerners" (p. 75). No less noteworthy are two essays that treat southern women. In analyzing the role of women in colonial society, Paula Treckel focuses on the "tobacco brides" of colonial Virginia and persuasively demolishes the view that the scarcity of women resulted in something of a "golden age" for females. Wayne Mixon rescues the fiction of Amelia Rives from oblivion and suggests that her war on prudery and forthright portrayal of sexual passion contributed significantly to the "liberation of the caged bird" that was woman" (p. 213).

Finally, three essays that have much to commend them are John Inscoe's explanation of the disparate responses to secession by two remarkably similar regions, east Tennessee and western North Carolina; J. William Harris's analysis of postbellum developments affecting agricultural labor that goes beyond the Marxist or market explanations; and Morton Sosna's provocative discussion of the varied uses made of the Civil War during World War II, a four-year period that began by glorifying southern virtues and ended in condemning southern vices.

The contents of this volume, derived largely from research on larger topics, enrich and expand the meaning of the southern experience.

*University of Arkansas, Fayetteville* WILLARD B. GATEWOOD, JR.

*Storytellers: Folktales and Legends from the South*. Edited by John A. Burrison. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1989. vii, 261 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, photographs, notes, bibliography, about the photographers, index. \$29.95.)

"I've never found any pleasure on the pavements of a city," said William Ralph Jordon, a former textile worker, as he recounted tales collected over a lifetime that began in 1906. For those in need of a respite from city pavements, opening the cover of *Storytellers* is an invitation to enjoy narratives of the rural South. Sometimes new, sometimes familiar, each story is enhanced with retelling just as a fine antique increases in value with each repolishing.

*Storytellers* confirms the oral tradition of the South through a rich collection of more than 250 authentic folktales. Editor John A. Burrison is a professor of English and director of the folklore curriculum at Georgia State University where in 1966 he established the Georgia Folklore Archives that now contain an estimated 8,000 tales. The editor explains that the key to assembling a comprehensive regional collection that is more than an anthology of previously published materials is access to a vast repository holding the efforts of many collectors.

The book focuses on the older, rural-based narratives that characterize the region as it once was and that are in danger of disappearing. It brings together a variety of tales from African-American, Native American, and Anglo Saxon culture, including Cherokee Indian myths, trickster tales, jests, instructive tales, anecdotes, and legends.

Some parts of the book approach classical literature, while other sections such as "A Joke Session by Deer Hunters in Middle Georgia" simply recount tall tales and masculine oriented bawdy humor. The editor's criteria for material included a consideration that the selection should be a well-developed narrative that was readable in an entertaining way; an attempt to achieve geographic balance by representing various sections of Georgia as well as six states of the lower Southeast; and an emphasis on older, rural narratives. All aspects of the book tend to capture the color, flavor, and excitement of southern culture.

The editor has thoroughly documented the origin and motif of each of the tales. One story called "Lay There, You've Slayed Many," collected in 1967 on the porch of a store in rural Geor-

gia, was a repetition of “Beranger Longbottom” originally found in a thirteenth-century French collection of fabliaux, narrative poems recited largely by medieval entertainers called jongleurs. In oral tradition, stories that cannot hold the hearer’s interest fall by the wayside. Those tales that have survived for centuries are practically guaranteed to fascinate.

Although the tone of the book is much more lighthearted, the black and white photographs by six highly experienced and talented artists contribute to the spirit of the narrative in much the same way as those by James Agee and Walker Evans in *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men*.

This charming and entertaining book will be valuable to folklore scholars, historians who focus on southern culture, public speakers in search of anecdotes, and anyone who enjoys a good story.

*Institute for Southern Studies,  
University of South Carolina*

SUZANNE C. LINDER

## BOOK NOTES

*Jacksonville's Architectural Heritage, Landmarks for the Future* was written and designed by Wayne W. Wood. The photography is by Judy Davis and David Vedas. Work on this book began in 1974 as an American Bicentennial Project sponsored by the Jacksonville Historic Landmarks Commission (formerly the Jacksonville Historical and Conservation Commission). The original concept was to inventory the historic and architecturally significant buildings in Jacksonville to increase public awareness of the existence and value of these structures and perhaps to promote their preservation. However, even before the survey was completed many of the original buildings had been demolished or changed significantly. Other important sites, perhaps through oversight, had not been included on the list, and further research clearly was needed. Out of this relatively modest beginning has emerged a monumental volume documenting Jacksonville and Duval County's historical and architectural heritage. Mr. Wood not only has listed scores of properties, but he has provided an architectural description of each site, showing its location, date of construction, and, when known, the names of architects and builders. Included in addition to great houses and important commercial buildings are representative structures in almost every Jacksonville neighborhood—black and white, poor and affluent, urban and rural. The author has explored buildings in the context of the surrounding neighborhood and the people who have lived there. The result is a monumental history of the community, one of the best compiled in recent years in the United States. The book is arranged so that it can be used as a walking or driving tour of the city's neighborhoods. The fact that it contains over 1,000 photographs and drawings adds to its interest and value. Not much is left out. Included are pictures and descriptions of the elephant house at the zoo, gas stations, garages, a lighthouse, beach houses, brothels, forts, movie studios, slave cabins, a wine cellar, a doghouse, bridges, locomotives, clocks, steamwhistles, statues, trees, parks, brick streets, and cemeteries. *Jacksonville's Architec-*

*tural History* was published by the University of North Florida Press, and it sells for \$42.95, cloth; \$22.95, paperback.

Judge James R. Knott, former president of the Florida Historical Society and a founder and former president of the Palm Beach County Historical Society, is a recognized authority on the history and folklore of his home community. *The Mansion Builders* is the third volume in his Palm Beach Revisted series. It includes the articles that originally appeared in the Brown Wrapper section of the Sunday edition of the *Palm Beach Post*. The articles were immensely popular, and Judge Knott was persuaded to make them available to a wider audience. *The Mansion Builders* are some of his fascinating stories about the great houses of Palm Beach, and the architects and contractors who designed and built them, and the people who lived and entertained in them. Almost everybody who was anybody in the history of American finance, politics, and social life has lived or visited in Palm Beach at one time or another. Judge Knott is both a serious historian and a great storyteller. Order *The Mansion Builders* from the author, 125 4th Avenue, West Palm Beach, FL 33408; the price is \$7.95, plus \$1.00 postage.

*Tampa Bay, Days of Long Ago*, by Kenneth W. Mulder, is an interesting and informative short history of the early inhabitants of the Tampa Bay area. It covers the period from prehistoric Indians to the Spanish explorers and the settlers who followed them. The attractive photographs and art work are by Gene Packwood, and the artifacts are from the Don Gray Collection. Sandra Mulder served as editor. The price is \$2, and it may be ordered from the author, P. O. Box 1348, Tampa, FL 33601.

*Coral Gables in Postcards, Scenes from Florida's Yesterday* is by Samuel D. LaRoue, Jr., and Ellen J. Uguccioni. The founder of Coral Gables was George Merrick, who settled with his family in Dade County in 1898. His father, a Congregational minister, had purchased 160 acres of land southwest of Miami, and planted orange, grapefruit, and avocado groves. George Merrick's earliest desire was to be a poet, but when his father died he left college to take over the family business. He quickly moved into real estate, and by 1921, he had acquired enough land to begin the development of Coral Gables. He named it for his boyhood

home and advertised it as the "City Beautiful." He hired nationally known architects to design the estates, more modest bungalows, schools, and public, community, and religious buildings. Frank M. Button, the creator of Lincoln Park in Chicago, was in charge of landscaping, and thousands of trees and flowers were planted along the streets, boulevards, and parkways. Millions of dollars worth of property had been sold in Coral Gables by the time the boom collapsed in 1926, and the hurricane that year ravaged the area. Coral Gables and George Merrick were bankrupt. Later Merrick served as postmaster for the city of Miami until his death in 1942. Beautifully illustrated with reproductions of colored postcards, this monograph describes all of the important facilities in Coral Gables, including the four major entrances and the fourteen plazas that were designed by Denman Fink, Merrick's artistic adviser and uncle. Shown also are the Miami Biltmore Hotel, the Coral Gables Golf and Country Club, the golf courses, the Coral Gables Inn, hotels and apartments, and the famous Venetian Pool, advertised as the most beautiful outdoor swimming pool in the world. There are pictures of Coral Gables City Hall, Ponce de Leon High School, and the Anastasia Hotel that became the first classroom building for the University of Miami. *Coral Gables in Postcards* won a 1989 award from the Florida Trust for Historic Preservation in the category of communication, and it received a Certificate of Commendation in 1990 from the American Association for State and Local History for its contributions to local history. It is available for \$12.95 from the Dade Heritage Trust, Inc., 190 S. E. 12th Terrace, Miami, FL 33131.

The late prehistoric native American cultures of the interior Southeast United States are the focus of *The Mississippian Emergence*, edited by Bruce D. Smith, Smithsonian Institution archaeologist. Eleven essays by various authors analyze the appearance and nature of these politically and socially complex agricultural societies, which evolved A.D. 700-1200 and are collectively labeled Mississippian cultures. John F. Scarry's chapter examines the Fort Walton culture, which was located between the Aucilla and Chipola rivers in Northwest Florida, extending north to the fall line in western Georgia and eastern Alabama. Anthropological models are used to explain the initial development of Fort Walton in the Apalachicola River Valley and its subsequent spread into the Tallahassee Hill region and beyond.

The Fort Walton peoples were the ancestors of the Apalachee and other Northwest Florida native groups encountered by the Spanish. Published by the Smithsonian Institution Press (1990), the 280-page cloth-bound volume may be ordered for \$39.95. [Reviewed by Jerald T. Milanich, Florida Museum of Natural History.]

*Hialeah Park, A Racing Legend*, by John Crittenden, is the history of the most famous race track in Florida and one of the best known in the world. Hialeah opened on January 15, 1925, with 7,000 people in attendance. Among the celebrities were Mayor Jimmy Walker of New York, Al Jolson, John Philip Sousa, Will Rogers, and Joseph P. Kennedy, the father of the future president. Kennedy was in the company of the beautiful actress, Gloria Swanson. The Florida real estate boom was at its peak and the Hialeah community was being developed and boosted by Glenn Curtiss of Miami Springs and James H. Bright. Bright's original purchase in 1907 was a square mile of land which might have as much as four feet of water on it during the rainy season. After the land was drained, Curtiss and Bright established a cattle ranch, and then began selling lots. They knew that a horse track would focus attention on their development. Racing at Hialeah, and elsewhere in the state, however, seemed doomed in 1927 when the Florida Supreme Court announced that betting on horses, dogs, and jai-alai was illegal. The collapse of the boom and the September 1926 south Florida hurricane had also badly damaged the tourist industry. But by 1929 the Miami Jockey Club was back in operation with Joseph E. Widener, a millionaire from Philadelphia, in charge. Widener raised Hialeah into the top rank of race tracks. In 1931 the Florida legislature legalized pari-mutuel betting. Widener's major partner at Hialeah was the legendary Colonel Edward R. Bradley, operator of Bradley's Beach Club in Palm Beach. It was the most famous casino in the country. With its flowers, palm trees, and pink flamingos, Hialeah became one of the most beautiful tracks in the world. Crittenden's history is the story of the people, horses, trainers, and jockeys who were associated with Hialeah Park. For many years Crittenden was sports columnist for the *Miami News*, and he writes about horse racing for the *Palm Beach Post*. His history includes many photographs. Published by the Pickering Press of Miami, it sells for \$24.95, cloth, and \$12.95, paper.

*The Rivers of Florida* was edited by Dell Marth, former senior editor of the *Tampa Tribune*, and Martha J. Marth, a well-known Florida writer. The Marths are also the editors of the *Florida Almanac*. *The Rivers of Florida* is a compilation of impressions and images from a variety of writers describing the state's major rivers. It includes data listing the length of the waterway, the drainage area it covers, its tributaries, the course of its flow, origin of its name, and the main cities and communities along its route. Sites to be visited in the area are listed, along with a short statement as to the rivers' significance. In addition to many photographs in color, there is also a listing of springs, a map showing their location, and information on Florida's aquifers and its water management districts. *The Rivers of Florida* was published by Pineapple Press, P. O. Drawer 16008, Sarasota, FL 34239; it sells for \$24.95.

*Season of Innocence, The Munroes at the Barnacle in Early Coconut Grove*, by Deborah A. Coulombe and Herbert L. Hiller, was published by Pickering Press, Miami, Florida. The Barnacle, one of south Florida's oldest properties, was home for the Munroe family for many decades. Ralph Munroe, boat builder and expert photographer, settled in Coconut Grove in 1888, and his family lived in the Barnacle until 1973 when the property was sold to the state of Florida. It is now operated as a historic museum and park. This volume is based largely on the memories of Ralph's daughter, Patty. It provides information and insight into the lives and activities of many of the pioneers of Miami and Dade County who were friends and associates of the Munroe family. *Season of Innocence* sells for \$18.95, cloth, and \$11.95, paper.

Helen Muir's *Miami U.S.A.* was warmly received by historians and the general public when it was published in 1953. Marjory Stoneman Douglas, in her review of the book, described it as "vigorous, colorful, and dramatic." Muir begins her history in the 1870s when Dade County's population consisted of fishermen and a few Seminoles who came in from the Everglades to trade animal skins and bird plumes for cloth, sugar, sewing machines, and other goods. The white settlers included the William Brickell family from Ohio. Even in the early years there were visitors who had to live in boats and tents until the Peacock

Inn came into existence. It was the first "hotel" in Coconut Grove. On the Inn's porch, Ralph Middleton Munroe and Kirk Munroe, the latter a writer of adventure stories for boys, established the Biscayne Bay Yacht Club. The men were good friends, but were not related. Julia Tuttle arrived in 1891 to make her home on a tract of land near the Miami River. She later persuaded Henry Flagler to extend his Florida East Coast Railroad south from West Palm Beach by offering him one-half of her 640 acres. The railroad opened Miami and all of south Florida to phenomenal growth and settlement. Some 300 people, almost the whole population, gathered to welcome the arrival of the first train on April 15, 1896. Flagler built a hotel, the Royal Palm, to accommodate his guests, including some of America's wealthiest families. Muir's book is filled with the stories of colorful personalities—land developers, speculators, socialites, businessmen of every persuasion, gamblers, sportsmen, law abiding citizens, and many others who were willing to brave the heat and bugs to carve a fashionable resort out of a wilderness. The rich came in the winter to escape ice and snow and to have a good time. Most of the permanent residents saw Miami as a land of opportunity—land was available and money could be made. In the earlier edition of *Miami U.S.A.*, Mrs. Muir carried her history through World War II. This new edition brings the story up to 1990, and describes the many changes that have taken place during the past half-century. The arrival of huge numbers of Cubans and Haitians have had a major impact on the economic and political life of Miami. Miami is one of America's major cities, but there still are many problems—political, economic, and social—that remain unsolved. Crime, drugs, and racial tensions are difficulties that threaten the well-being of the community. Mrs. Muir develops her history with a sense of optimism, however. Miami will continue to grow and flourish, and it will remain an exotic land for most people. *Miami U.S.A.* was published by the Pickering Press, 2575 South Bayshore Drive, Miami, FL 33133; it sells for \$39.95.

The first publication of Patheonia Press of Milton, Florida, is *Jackson Morton: West Florida Soldier, Senator, and Secessionist* by Brian R. Rucker. Morton was an antebellum Pensacola politician and businessman. His brickyard on Black Water River, known locally as "Mortonia," employed some 100 slaves, and supplied

the bricks for Forts Pickens and McRee. Morton was also involved in various internal improvements, including the construction of railroads in West Florida. He served in the Second Seminole War, was a delegate from Escambia County in the 1838 Florida Constitutional Convention, and was elected in 1848 on the Whig ticket to the United States Senate. He left the Senate in 1855, but continued to play an active role in Florida and southern politics. He served as one of Florida's delegates to the Provisional Congress of the Confederate States of America in 1861. Like many others, he was financially ruined by the war. His sawmill, lumber, and flat boats were torched by the Confederates so they would not fall into enemy hands, and Union raiders ransacked his remaining properties. He died in 1874, and is buried in the Mortonia Cemetery in a tomb lined with bricks from his Black Water brickyard. Patheonia Press plans a series of publications devoted exclusively to West Florida history. These will include essays, descriptions, documents, and other materials. *Jackson Morton* may be ordered from the Press, Route 4, Box 126, Milton, FL 32583; the price is \$5.95, plus \$1.50 for postage and handling.

*Florida State Parks* is a guide published by the Florida Department of Natural Resources, Office of Communications. It lists the 113 parks, historic sites, state gardens, preserves, recreation areas, archaeological sites, botanical sites, wildlife parks, geological sites, museums, battlefield sites, and culture centers that are supervised by the Division of Recreation and Parks. The parks are listed by region. Historical information, facilities, location, and information on how to contact the facility is included. The guide is available without charge from the Florida Department of Natural Resources, Division of Recreation and Parks, Mail Station 500, 3900 Commonwealth Boulevard, Tallahassee, FL 32399.

*Fort McRee, "A Castle Built on Sand,"* by James C. Coleman, was published by the Pensacola Historical Society. The fort, named for Colonel William McRee, was built, along with Forts Pickens and Barrancas, after Florida became an American territory. It was to protect Pensacola and the Pensacola navy yard. Today its ruins lie under the western tip of Perdido Key and are accessible only by water. Mr. Coleman provides biographical

information on McRee and traces the role it played in Pensacola before and during the Civil War. In an exchange of artillery fire between the Confederates and the Federals, McRee was seriously damaged. A 1863 letter described it as "destroyed and defenseless." It remained virtually unchanged throughout the century. *Fort McRee* may be ordered from the Pensacola Historical Society, 405 South Adams Street, Pensacola, FL 32501, and the price is \$7.95, plus \$1.90 postage.

*The Rawlings Journal* is published annually by the Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings Society. This initial volume includes four essays, all of which were presented at the first annual Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings Conference, held in the spring of 1988 at the University of Florida. The essays are by Peggy Whitman Preshaw, "Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings: Woman, Writer, and Resident of Cross Creek"; Elizabeth Silverthorne, "Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings: The Early Years"; Patricia Nassif Acton, "The Author in the Classroom: The 'Cross Creek' Trial of Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings"; and Rodger Tarr, "Observations on the Bibliographic and Textual World of Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings." An interview with Jake Glisson and Idella Parker, moderated by Gordon Bigelow and edited by Dr. Anne G. Jones, *The Rawlings Journal* editor, also is included, as is the play by Barbara Speisman, "A Tea With Zora and Marjorie," that was performed on the first night of the conference on the back porch of Mrs. Rawlings's home in Cross Creek. Members of the Society receive the journal as part of their membership. Copies are available for \$5.00 and may be ordered from the Society's office, Department of English, 4008 Turlington Hall, University of Florida, Gainesville, FL 32611.

The history of Florida and the American South has been closely intertwined since the sixteenth century with that of the Caribbean, particularly the Spanish and British islands. From the earliest days trade and immigration were important factors to Florida's economy, but the inadequacy of historical sources—in some cases the total lack of them—has hindered the efforts of historians working on these questions as they relate to the early history of the Caribbean. Newspapers, though, have provided important information about day-to-day lives in the areas where they were published and/or circulated. The first news-

paper in the Caribbean islands, *The Weekly Jamaica Courant*, appeared in 1718. Subsequently, 677 newspapers were published in the seventeen islands listed in a new bibliography and directory, *Colonial British Caribbean Newspapers*. This important work was compiled by Howard S. Pactor, a professor in the College of Journalism and Communication at the University of Florida. In his introduction, Pactor notes the different kinds of audiences who were interested in the newspapers. Included were papers for children, papers directed to different ethnic groups (Chinese, Hispanics) written in their own languages, and ones that have emphasized everything from agriculture to sports. While there are some collections of Caribbean newspapers, both originals and on microfilm, in libraries in the Caribbean (Institute of Jamaica) and the United States (University of Florida and the American Antiquarian Society), many have disappeared. By checking extinct newspapers, either from microfilm or from references in other printed sources— particularly from the Bahamas, Dominica, St. Lucia, Barbados, and Trinidad— Pactor was able to find pertinent information about these “lost” newspapers. He notes that in many instances, the few smaller collections— sometimes only a few issues— are at risk of being destroyed through poor storage or exposure to the tropical environment of the region. Pactor’s carefully compiled bibliography, the most extensive available, lists the name of each paper, dates of publication, editor or editors, and where extant copies are available. This will be a useful volume for anyone doing research in early Caribbean history. Published by Greenwood Press, New York, *Colonial British Caribbean Newspapers* sells for \$45.

James McLendon’s *Papa, Hemingway in Key West* is based upon interviews with people who knew and worked with the author for many years in Key West. These included Toby and Betty Bruce, active members of the Florida Historical Society. Mrs. Bruce was director of the Monroe County Library and the library’s historian. She organized the Hemingway Collection at the library which was a major source for McLendon’s biography. It provides information on Hemingway that is not included in other accounts of his life. *Papa* as originally published in 1972. The Langley Press of Key West now has published a revised edition of *Papa* which includes thirty-two photographs, many

being published for the first time. The paperback edition sells for \$12.95, and it may be ordered from Langley Press, 821 Georgia Street, Key West, FL 33040.

*Georgia: The WPA Guide to Its Towns and Countryside* is a reprint of the original WPA guide to Georgia, a product of the Federal Writers' Program. The Georgia guide was part of the American Guide Series, a very ambitious and historically important project. Book-length publications about the existing forty-eight states were commissioned, not only as a means of offering work relief for writers, but to produce concise and up-to-date guides for tourists and other travellers. Georgia researchers and writers compiled this 1940 guide that touched on many facets of the state. It includes information on agriculture, history and government, industry, labor, religion, education, literature, sports and recreation, music, art, architecture, and other areas. Six Georgia cities are highlighted. The University of South Carolina Press, Columbia, South Carolina, has reprinted the volume with a new introduction written by and a new appendix compiled by Professor Phinizy Spalding of the University of Georgia. It sells for \$34.95, cloth, \$16.95, paper.

*At the Moon's Inn* provides a fictional account of Hernando De Soto's expedition between 1539 and 1543 throughout what is now the southeastern United States. The narrative follows the Spanish explorers on their voyage from Spain to Cuba, their landing at Tampa Bay, and their search for treasure in *La Florida*. Andrew Lytle, the author of this novel, is one of the South's major writers. He was for many years editor of the *Sewanee Review*; from 1948 to 1961 he was a member of the English faculty at the University of Florida; and then professor at the University of the South at Sewanee, Tennessee. He drew his facts from the 1939 United States De Soto Commission Report and from many primary sources. *At the Moon's Inn* has been reprinted (first published in 1941) by the University of Alabama Press as a part of its Library of Alabama Classics series. This new edition carries an introduction by Douglas E. Jones, director of the Alabama State Museum of Natural History and chairman of the De Soto Trail Commission. *At the Moon's Inn* sells for \$9.95, plus \$1.50 postage.

## HISTORY NEWS

### *Call for Papers*

Papers and panel sessions on any aspect of Florida history, but particularly popular culture, are being solicited for the annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society to be held at the Harley Hotel, Orlando, Florida, May 9-11, 1991. The program committee welcomes proposals on theme parks, tourism, advertising, architecture, film, photography, ethnicity, history, and literature. Proposals should be submitted by January 1, 1991, to Dr. Robert Snyder, Department of American Studies, University of South Florida, Tampa, FL 33620 (telephone: 813-974-2857).

For the Fourth Annual Rawlings Conference, the Marjory Kinnan Rawlings Society invites papers relating to Mrs. Rawlings's life and work, the place and time in which she worked, and her affinity with other southern women writers. The conference will be held in Jacksonville, April 11-13, 1991. Papers and abstracts, together with a curriculum vita, should be sent to Dr. Kevin M. McCarthy, Department of English, 4008 Turlington Hall, University of Florida, Gainesville, FL 32611. The Rawlings Society was founded in 1987 and invites new members. Conference proceedings are published in *The Rawlings Journal*, which is available with membership or by subscription. For membership information contact the Rawlings Society, Department of English, 4008 Turlington Hall, University of Florida.

### *Society Writing Awards*

The Florida Historical Society announces the 1991 Historical Writing Prizes. The Governor LeRoy Collins Prize will be presented for the best paper written by a graduate student on any period or topic relating to Florida history. The Caroline Mays Brevard Prize will be presented for the best paper by an undergraduate student. Each prize carries a cash award of \$500. Only papers written during the 1990-1991 year are eligible. Papers must be accompanied by a letter from the professor or instructor for whom the paper was written. The deadline for entries is March 15, 1991. Five copies of the paper should be submitted

either to Dr. Charles Arnade, Department of History, University of South Florida, Tampa, FL 33620, or to Dr. Nick Wynne, Florida Historical Society, P. O. Box 290197, Tampa, FL 33687.

*Florida History Fair*

Final competition for the ninth annual Florida History Fair exhibit was held at the May 1990 meeting of the Florida Historical Society in Tampa. The winners in the senior division were: Christopher Bowman, "History of Soviet Exploration of Space" (Lincoln High School, Tallahassee; teacher, Kathleen McCarron); Robert Palmore, "The Bombing of the U. S. (World War II)" (Amos P. Godby High School, Tallahassee; teacher, George K. Groot); Donna Apostol, Benjamin Chi, and Kristin Cronemeyer, "Dr. John Gorrie: The Dawning of a New Ice Age— The Technological Impact of a Man and His Machine" (Pensacola High School; teacher, Kent Rettig); Deborah Brown and Lauren Pasquarella, "Behind Closed Doors" (Lincoln High School, Tallahassee; teacher, Kathleen McCarron); Kavitha Ramachandran, "The London Crystal Palace" (Penascola High School; teacher, Jacqueline Young); Grant Kuchan, "Op- penheimer and His Toy" (Stanton College Preparatory School, Jacksonville; teacher, G. Allen Rushing); Jason Ware and Melody Douglas, "The Inspiration that was Hot! Hot! Hot!" (Stanton College Preparatory School, Jacksonville; teacher, G. Allen Rushing); Jennifer Hoyles, "Ballooning" (Stanton College Preparatory School, Jacksonville; teacher, G. Allen Rushing); and Greg Gajus, Monte Samuels, Rosa Padron, and Liana Korytowski, "High Bridge: An Oral and Pictorial History" (Miami Beach Senior High School; teacher, Charlotte Christensen). The winners in the junior division were: Emily Gaskin, "DDT— A Pesticide Set Aside" (Griffin Middle School, Tallahassee; teacher, Patricia Gaskin); Katie Goodlett, "You've Come a Long Way Baby: A History of the Birth Control Movement" (Howard Middle School, Monticello; teacher, Marguerite Bulloch); Amanda Wise, "The Eagle Has Landed" (Griffin Middle School, Tallahassee; teacher, Patricia Gaskin); Hettie Spooner, "Archaeology at San Luis" (Griffin Middle School, Tallahassee; teacher, Patricia Gaskin); Peter Werdesheim and Jason Pilkenton, "Technology and the History of Communication for the Deaf" (Trinity Catholic School, Tallahassee; teacher, Fred

Twomey); Andrea Boccanfuso, Kimberly Moring, and Kimberly Shilling, "The Man of the Space Frontier" (Brown Middle School, Pensacola; teacher, Helen Ruth Towns); Tracie Manucy, "X-Ray through the Years" (Griffin Middle School, Tallahassee; teacher, Patricia Gaskin); Valerie Liebold, Sara Houston, Elizabeth Botcher, and Alesha Williams, "Clocks: Early and Modern" (Howard Middle School, Monticello; teacher, Marguerite Bulloch); Kristen Marshall, "An Interview with Marie Curie" (Augusta Raa Middle School, Tallahassee; teacher, Russ Landry); and Maurice Cafiero, Ian Caccam, and Troy Klyber, "The Atom Bomb: 1943-45" (Sandalwood Jr/Sr High School, Jacksonville; teacher, Joanne Ragans).

The winners received cash awards. Judges were Patricia Bartlett, Fort Myers Historical Museum; Andrew Brian, Historical Museum of Southern Florida; Michael Brothers, Museum of Florida History; Beverly Churchill, Leon County; James Eaton, Florida A & M University; Jennifer Hamilton, South Florida Museum; Joe Knetsch, Florida Department of Natural Resources; Jane Landers, University of Florida; Ney Landrum, Florida State Parks; Diana Lenartiene, Martin County; Janice Mahaffey, Putnam County Archives and History Commission; Jean McNary, Pasco County; Anthony Pizzo, Hillsborough County; Randall Reed, New Frontiers Publishing, Inc.; and Nancy Tierney, *Lakeland Ledger*.

The Florida state winners competed in the National History Day event held June 14, 1990, at the University of Maryland. Donna Apostol, Benjamin Chi, and Kristin Cronemeyer (Pensacola High School) and Greg Gajus, Rosa Padron, Monte Samuels, and Liana Korytowski (Miami Beach Senior High School) won prizes in the national judging. The Best of State Award was given to Robert Palmore (Amos P. Godby High School, Tallahassee) for his project, "The Bombing of the U. S. (World War II)."

#### *Prizes and Awards*

The American Association for State and Local History Awards Committee conferred Certificates of Commendation to two Floridians for their outstanding contributions to the advancement of Florida and local history. The awards were presented at an AASLH luncheon meeting in Washington on September 8, 1990. Certificates of Commendation went to Alan C.

Alter, of Sebring, for collecting and organizing the Sebring Historical Society's Archives. Also recognized for contributions to local history were Samuel D. LaRoue, Jr., and Ellen J. Uguccioni of Miami for their publication, *Coral Gables in Postcards, Scenes from Florida's Yesterday*. (Reviewed in this issue, p. 249).

The Kentucky Historical Society has presented its annual Richard H. Collins Award to Dr. John M. Glen, Department of History, Ball State University. The award, designed to recognize outstanding research and writing, was given for Dr. Glen's article, "The War on Poverty in Appalachia: A Preliminary Report," which appeared in the winter 1989 issue of *The Register of the Kentucky Historical Society*.

#### *Florida Historical Quarterly Microfilm or Microfiche*

The Florida Historical Society has available on microfilm or microfiche the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Volumes 1 through 68. A complete set of microfilm copies sells for \$595; each set of microfiche is \$495. A 10 percent discount is available for multiple orders. Order from the Florida Historical Society, P. O. Box 290197, Tampa, FL 33687-0097. Allow six weeks for delivery.

#### *Announcements and Activities*

The Division of Historical Resources, Florida Department of State, announces the opening of a new permanent exhibit at the Old Capitol entitled, "This House is Now in Session!" Using graphics, original artifacts, and contemporary political cartoons, the exhibit provides insight into the Florida legislature of 1902, the lawmaking process, and issues of that period. The exhibit is located in the House of Representatives Chamber of the Old Capitol, 400 South Monroe Street, Tallahassee.

Puzzles' & Such, Inc., has prepared a jigsaw puzzle of the state of Florida. It is designed to help children learn the geography of the state. It sells for \$9.95. A United States puzzle also is available for \$12.95. Add \$1.00 for handling costs. Order from S. Austin, 19 Prairie Dunes, Hutchinson, KS 67502.

In recognition of the contributions of the Pensacola Historical Society to the community's historic preservation, the city of Pensacola deeded to the Society the Beacon Building. It will be

used as an archives and research center, and it will provide space for meetings, workshops, and special exhibits.

The International Society for the Comparative Study of Civilizations will celebrate its twentieth annual meeting, May 30-June 2, 1991, in Santa Domingo, Dominican Republic. Several sessions will relate to the history of pre-Columbian empires and civilizations, and events and activities in America in the sixteenth century. Papers are invited on these or other related themes. Deadline for abstracts is November 1, 1990. Send inquiries and abstracts to Professor Elpidio Laguna-Diaz, Hispanic Civilization and Language Studies Program, Rutgers University, Conklin Hall, 175 University Avenue, Newark, NJ 07102.

The Louisiana Historical Association announces the Hugh F. Rankin Award in Louisiana History for the outstanding essay in Louisiana history or a related field by an enrolled graduate student. The award will consist of a plaque and a check for \$250. The winning essay will be published in *Louisiana History*. Send submissions and inquiries to Professor Michael L. Kurtz, Department of History, Southeastern Louisiana University, Hammond, LA 70402, or Professor F. Haas, Department of History, Wright State University, Dayton, OH 45435. The deadline for submissions is November 1, 1991. The award will be made at the 1992 meeting of the Louisiana Historical Association.

The Historical Museum of Southern Florida in Miami will serve as the launch site for "Mosaic: Jewish Life in Florida." The exhibit, five years in the making, will be on display from October 19, 1990, through January 6, 1991. The exhibit is a celebration of the Jewish experience in Florida from 1763 to the present day. Highlighting ethnicity as part of America's multicultural experience, various aspects of Jewish life are explored. Four hundred photographs and 100 artifacts have been borrowed from families throughout the state. Much of the text for the exhibit was taken from oral histories recorded during the past three years. Mosaic is an official project of the Christopher Columbus Quincentenary Jubilee Commission and Sepharad 1992 and will travel to seven other Florida cities. In 1991 these include: Sarasota Art Association, Sarasota (January 21-March 3); Museum of Science and History, Jacksonville (March 17-May

31); T. T. Wentworth Museum, Pensacola (June 16-September 29); and Orange County Historical Museum, Orlando (October 10-January 20). The exhibit's 1992 schedule is Henry Morrison Flagler Museum, Palm Beach (March 17-April 26); Museum of Florida History, Tallahassee (May 8-August 23); and Broward County Main Library, Fort Lauderdale (September 17-December 31).

An error appeared on p. 448, fn. 5 (April 1990), of Edward C. Coker and Daniel L. Schafer's article, "A West Point Graduate in the Second Seminole War: William Warren Chapman and the View From Fort Foster." Although the text indicates otherwise, Chief Neamathla and John Hicks were different persons. The Seminoles called the latter individual Tuckose Emathla, while white Floridians referred to him as John Hicks. In 1824 Hicks replaced Neamathla as head chief of the Seminoles located west of the Suwannee River. John K. Mahon's *History of the Second Seminole War* contains references to both Seminole leaders.

ANNUAL MEETING

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EIGHTY-EIGHTH  
MEETING OF THE  
FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
AND FLORIDA HISTORICAL CONFEDERATION  
WORKSHOPS 1990

Busch Gardens Holiday Inn  
Tampa, Florida

PROGRAM

Thursday, May 10

FLORIDA HISTORICAL CONFEDERATION

Session I: *Public Funding for Public Organizations*

Chair: Nick Wynne, Florida Historical Society  
Panel: Ronald Cooper, Florida Endowment for the  
Humanities  
Michael Brothers, Museum of Florida History

Session II: *Volunteers and Outreach Program— Three Profiles*

Chair: Ellen Babb, Heritage Park  
Panel: Gail Conner, Museum of Florida History  
John Abendroth, MOSI

Session III: *Collections Use and Management— Three Profiles*

Chair: Paul E. Camp, University of South Florida  
Panel: Robert Taylor, Lightner Museum  
David Brown, Pioneer Museum, Dade City

Special Session: *Realism, Romanticism, and Southern Literature:*  
*Lillian Smith and Margaret Mitchell*

- Chair: Raymond O. Arsenault, University of South Florida– St. Petersburg
- Papers: “Lillian Smith: A Southern Writer”  
Pat Brewer, University of Georgia  
“Margaret Mitchell”  
Darden A. Pyron, Florida International University

Friday, May 11

FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY SESSIONS

Session I: *Tampa in the 1920s*

- Chair: Edward F. Keuchel, Florida State University
- Panel: Raymond Vickers, Florida State University  
“The Banking Crash of ‘26 and Its Impact on Tampa Bay”  
Frank Alduino, Anne Arundel Community College  
“The Damnest Town This Side of Hell: Tampa, 1920-29”  
Robert Snyder, University of South Florida  
“The Burgert Brothers: Pioneer Florida Photographers”

Session II: *War and Peace: Florida in the '40s*

- Chair: Glenda Alvin, St. Petersburg Junior College
- Panel: Jack E. Davis, Brandeis University  
“The Lynching of Jesse James Payne (1945)”  
Melody Bailey, University of South Florida– St. Petersburg  
“The Yellow Peril in St. Petersburg”  
Lawrence Cottrell, University of South Florida– St. Petersburg  
“The Development of Roebing’s ‘Alligator’”

Session III: *Man Made Florida*

- Chair: Timothy Clemmons, AIA, Rowe, Holmes & Associates
- Panel: Christian Warren, University of South Florida– St. Petersburg

“Booms, Busts, and Bungalows: Development  
Patterns in St. Petersburg, 1888-1926”

Ron Haase, University of Florida

“My Personal Search for Cracker Florida”

Steven Branch, University of South Florida

“The World of Cypress Gardens”

Session IV: *West Florida in the 19th Century*

Chair: James W. Covington, University of Tampa

Panel: Lynn Willoughby, Winthrop College

“The Port of Apalachicola in the 19th Century”

Diana Jarvis Godwin, Historic Pensacola Preser-  
vation Board

“Deer Point and Sabine Island: Quarantine and  
Yellow Fever in West Florida, 1876-1929”

William S. Coker, University of West Florida

“Poetry and Politics in Pensacola in 1821”

Session V: *Regionalism in Florida: Recent Studies*

Chair: Paul George, University of Miami

Panel: Canter Brown, Jr., University of Florida

“The Peace River Region”

Jack D. L. Holmes, Birmingham, Alabama

“Billy Bowlegs in New York”

Clifton Paisley, Florida State University

“The Red Hills of Florida”

Session VI: *The Civil War in Florida*

Chair: Mitchell Snay, Denison University

Panel: M. Edward Hughes, Tampa

“Governor John Milton”

Brian R. Rucker, Florida State University

“The Unionists of West Florida”

Tracy J. Revels, Florida State University

“Lest Other Hearts Bleed: Tallahassee Women  
in the Civil War”

Session VII: *Race, Religion and Ethnicity in Modern Florida*

Chair: Gregory Padgett, Eckerd College

Panel: Stephen Whitfield, Brandeis University  
 “The Jews of South Florida”  
 Jack McTague, Saint Leo College  
 “The Muslims of Tampa”  
 James O. Horton, George Washington University  
 and the Smithsonian Institution  
 “Getting Beyond the Dark Continent: African-  
 Americans and the Preservation of American  
 History”

Session VIII: *Pasco County: Origins and Early Life*

Chair: Joseph Cernik, Saint Leo College  
 Panel: Peter Arnade, SUNY-Binghamton  
 “The Establishment of the San Antonio Colony”  
 William Dayton, Attorney  
 “Fort Dade Country: The Origins of Eastern  
 Pasco”

FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY BANQUET

Presiding: Hampton Dunn, president  
 Speaker: Stetson Kennedy, Green Cove Springs, Florida

Presentation of Awards

Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Prize in Florida History  
 presented by Samuel Proctor to George Klos

Rembert W. Patrick Book Prize  
 presented by David Colburn to James W. Button

Charlton W. Tebeau Book Prize  
 presented by Jerrell Shofner to Raymond Arsenault

LeRoy Collins Prize  
 presented by Nick Wynne to  
 Canter Brown, Jr., University of Florida

Caroline Mays Brevard Prize  
 presented by Nick Wynne to  
 Lawrence Cottrell, University of South Florida

Saturday, May 12

FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETINGSession IX: *Journalists and the Writing of Florida History*

- Chair: David Shedden, The Poynter Institute for Media Studies
- Panel: Leland Hawes, *Tampa Tribune*  
Jim Clark, *Orlando Sentinel*  
Elliot Kleinberg, *Palm Beach Post*  
Joan Morris, *Tallahassee Democrat*

Session X: *The Seminole Wars*

- Chair: Jackson Waller, president, Dade Battlefield Society
- Panel: James Michael Denham, Limestone College  
"Some Prefer the Seminoles: Violence Among Soldiers and Settlers in the Second Seminole War"  
David Coles, Florida Department of Archives and History  
"The Moods of War: Officers' and Soldiers' Attitudes toward the Third Seminole War"  
Joseph Knetsch, Florida Department of Natural Resources  
"John Westcott and the Coming of the Third Seminole War: Perspectives from Within"

FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING

May 10, 1990

The semi-annual meeting of the officers and board of directors of the Florida Historical Society was convened at 2:00 p.m. at the Busch Gardens Holiday Inn, Tampa, May 10, 1990, by Hampton Dunn, president. Those attending included Kathleen H. Arsenault, David R. Colburn, Rodney E. Dillon, J. Larry Durrence, Joe Knetsch, Marinus H. Latour, Eugene Lyon, Stuart B. McIver, Joan P. Morris, John W. Partin, Eugene W.

Roach, Rebecca Smith, and executive director Lewis N. Wynne. Also present were Ann Prentice and Pat Riggins.

The minutes for the December 1989 board of directors meeting, as published in the *Florida Historical Quarterly* (April 1989), and the March 17, 1990, executive committee meeting were approved.

Dr. Nick Wynne began his director's annual report by introducing Pat Riggins, the Society's new secretary, who assumed her position on April 6. Mrs. Riggins is updating records on membership and support services. The computer database program also is being replaced with a more reliable system. Dr. Wynne reported that membership has increased to 2,010 members, and he thanked the board, and particularly Stuart McIver and Sam Proctor for recruiting new members.

Dr. Wynne introduced Dr. Ann Prentice, University of South Florida vice-president of Information Services, who is the University's liaison with the Society. Board members thanked Dr. Prentice for her assistance with the personnel change, and emphasized the desire for closer supervision. Dr. Prentice understands the need to satisfy both the Florida Historical Society and the University of South Florida's administration, and Dr. Wynne mentioned several steps that he is taking to help strengthen this relationship.

Dr. Wynne and Paul Camp are considering ways to inventory the Society's holdings in the University of South Florida Special Collections. Dr. Prentice expressed her interest in working with the Future of the Society Oversight Committee on long-range planning. Within two years the University of South Florida Library will have exceeded its capacity, and Dr. Prentice is seeking ways to ensure the Society's space needs for collections and offices will be considered by the University facilities committee over the next five years. Dr. Wynne commented on the Society's strong and pleasant relationship with the University.

A new agreement will be signed between the Society and the University. The University provides the Society \$17,500 annually. In return the Society's collections are available to students and faculty, and the Society publishes the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. Although not specified in the formal contract, the University also pays for the secretary and processes the Society's collections. The estimated cash value of the University's total contribution, including space, exceeded \$67,000 in 1988. The contract

with the University specifies that the Society will provide monthly reports, an inventory of University equipment and furniture being used, and an audit prepared by a CPA. Dr. Prentice asked that she also receive monthly financial statements and urged the Society to inventory its collections.

Dr. Wynne also noted that a more user-friendly software has been introduced for Society staff; that a time schedule and operating procedures for financial matters have been developed; that Mrs. Riggins was employed subject to a six-month probation period; that periodic reviews of management will be conducted more frequently; that extra activities and services will be reduced; and that a more simplified file system is being established.

Dr. Wynne reported that the Society's book, *Florida Portrait*, is expected to be published by Pineapple Press by September 1. The sum of \$9,200 in outstanding commitments from two sponsors will not be honored, and, of the original thirty-eight sponsors, only thirty-two remain. The Society is accepting pre-publication orders with a 20 percent discount. Dr. Jerrell Shofner is the author, and Leland Hawes is writing the jacket notes.

Dr. Wynne reported on the progress and preliminary bids received by Dr. Proctor on the publication of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* index. He recommended that publication be delayed until the *Florida Portrait* investment has been replaced. After discussion, a motion was made and seconded to delay further work on the project for six months. The motion was amended to obtain the input of Dr. Proctor, editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, and the publications committee in the decision-making process. The motion, as amended, was passed.

The status of the Golden Quill awards was noted. Dr. Wynne reported that thirty-four entries had been received for print media and three entries for electronic media. Awards will be presented at the banquet to Stuart McIver for print media and to Hampton Dunn for electronic media.

The financial statement was reviewed and discussed, Revenue shortfalls were noted: \$9,200 was not received for the *Florida Portrait*, and the tour to Spain and Portugal netted about \$1,500 instead of the anticipated \$9,000. Expenditures consequently are being readjusted. The toll-free telephone number, for example, will be discontinued on June 30. Pursuant to accountant and finance committee recommendations, employees

are now bonded. About \$5,000 may be received from the state of Florida by the Society within three weeks for a summer teachers institute.

Dr. Wynne noted the existence of a list of the Society's materials, and indicated he has sent a letter asking for verification of their location. The list was compiled from listings in the *Florida Historical Quarterly* in 1979 by Marcia Kanner and Linda Ellsworth. Dr. Wynne recommended that the Society locate these materials and negotiate new loan contracts. Dr. Colburn reported that he and Dr. Proctor have catalogued the materials at the Florida Museum of Natural History, Gainesville. Most of the items are stored at the Museum. A motion was passed supporting Dr. Wynne's recommendation.

Mrs. Helen Cubberly Ellerbee of Gainesville has donated 312 shares of Goodyear stock to the Society to underwrite an essay contest for high school students. Mrs. Ellerbee, whose father Judge Fred Cubberly was a former president of the Society, will make a formal presentation of the stock at the banquet. Mr. Dunn thanked Marinus Latour for his work with Mrs. Ellerbee. Board members discussed the gift and the award. The rules and regulations for the prize will be distributed at the Summer Teacher Institutes.

Stuart McIver, chair of the nominating committee, presented his committee's report, which will be acted upon by the membership at the business meeting. Other committee members were Eugene Roach, Joe Knetsch, Larry Durrence, and Olive Peterson. Nominations include: Marinus Latour, vice-president; and for directors, Niles Schuh, District 1; John Partin, District 2; Sam Davis, District 2; Kathleen Arsenault, At Large; and Lester May, At Large. Dr. Colburn moved that Randy Nimmicht be added to the slate as an At Large member. Becky Smith observed that she had been appointed last year to fill out Michael Slicker's term, with possible election in this year. After discussion, the motion was approved.

The *Florida Historical Quarterly* report is being mailed to the Society office for distribution to the board. According to Dr. Proctor the color of the cover of the journal will be changed beginning with the July 1990 issue.

Dr. Wynne reported on plans for the 1991 meeting of the Society in Orlando. Mr. Dunn, Dr. Robert Snyder, Dr. Wynne, and Sara Van Arsdale, local arrangements chair, have selected

the Harley Hotel as the first choice location, and the Radisson Hotel as the back-up site. The theme of the program will be twentieth century cultural and social history. The meeting is scheduled for May 10-11, 1991.

Dr Wynne reported that the May 7-9, 1992, meeting of the Society is scheduled for St. Augustine. The Ponce de Leon Motor Lodge is the convention hotel. The first Tri-State (Florida, Georgia, and Alabama) biennial meeting will convene in St. Augustine, October 4-6, 1990. The program will include sessions on the environment, ethnicity, and on Stetson Kennedy's book, *Palmetto Country*. In 1992 a conference on the War of Jenkins Ear is scheduled for St. Simons Island, Georgia, and St. Augustine. Page Edwards of the St. Augustine Historical Society is coordinating that meeting.

The board discussed the financial report and the proposed budget. The CPA's financial statement for the previous fiscal year should be received by the end of May. Dr. Colburn urged the finance committee to review the budget and the CPA's statement as soon as possible. The CPA has recommended some changes in the financial reports.

Dr. Lyon announced that a house bill embodying changes in the structure of the St. Augustine Historic Preservation Board is before the state legislature. The bill recommends that one of the board members be appointed by the Florida Historical Society. Dr. Colburn asked that the process of making a written evaluation of the executive director, begun last year, be completed.

The meeting was adjourned at 4:25 p.m.

#### Minutes of the Business Meeting May 12, 1990

The meeting was called to order at 9:15 a.m. at the Busch Gardens Holiday Inn, Tampa, by Hampton Dunn, president of the Florida Historical Society. Mr. Dunn noted that this is the eighty-eighth meeting of the Society. He thanked the officers and members of the Tampa Historical Society for their work on arrangements for the convention.

Nominations committee chairman Stuart McIver recognized the other members of the committee, and submitted the following slate of officers and directors: Marinus Latour, vice-presi-

dent; Niles Schuh, District 1 director; John Partin, District 2 director; Sam Davis, District 2 director; Kathleen Arsenault, At Large director; and Lester May, At Large director. The recommended slate was elected unanimously.

Dr. William Adams moved that the Florida Historical Society resolve to support Florida House bill 777 and the equivalent senate bill that will assist historic preservation activities in Florida. The house bill provides a source of revenue for historic preservation by dedicating income from the registration of fictitious names to the Historic Preservation Trust Fund. The motion was approved.

Dr. Paul George moved that the Florida Historical Society support the preservation of Florida's historic preservation boards. Dr. Adams moved that the motion be amended to exclude the St. Augustine Historic Preservation Board, and specifically name the other boards. The motion, as amended, was approved.

Dr. Adams moved approval of a resolution supporting the House Regulatory Reform Committee plan to reauthorize the Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board. The proposed measure would change the method of selecting board members so that nominees would come from professional and scholarly organizations. After discussion, Dr. Colburn moved that the motion be amended to a general motion supporting the concept and that Dr. Adams be requested to add more specific information. The motion, as amended, passed.

Dr. Wynne asked approval of a resolution recognizing the centennial celebration of Plant Hall at the University of Tampa. The motion was approved.

Dr. Wynne noted that Hillsborough County has passed a resolution proclaiming the Florida Historical Society as the state's oldest cultural organization and congratulating the Society upon its meeting in Tampa.

Joe Knetsch submitted the following resolution:

WHEREAS, the Florida Historical Society is built upon a foundation of scholarship, friendship, and moral and financial support by its faithful members, and

WHEREAS the Society strives to retain the heritage and history of all Floridians, and

WHEREAS the Society grows and prospers by the willing and loyal support of all its members,

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, that the Florida Historical Society deeply regrets and mourns the passing of the following members: Anthony L. Carrad, C. A. Clopton, John J. Crews, L. G. Gramling, and T. T. Wentworth, Jr. President Dunn asked all present to stand for a moment of silence.

Mr. Knetsch presented a second resolution:

WHEREAS the Florida Historical Society strives to promote the history and heritage of all Floridians, and

WHEREAS the Society urges all Floridians to retain and build upon their history and heritage, and

WHEREAS the Society vigorously opposes attempts to destroy or deface any site which has historical significance, be it buildings, burial places, or natural sites.

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that the Florida Historical Society opposes the attempts of certain parties to destroy and physically abuse the site of historic Fort Drane in northwestern Marion County, Florida.

A motion was made and seconded to amend the resolution to add: And would urge the support of the Department of State and/or local interests and recognize this as an important historic site deserving preservation. In the ensuing discussion, it was explained that the site is being mined for kitty litter and is being used as a toxic waste dump. A motion was made and seconded to add: And that copies of this resolution be sent to appropriate national, state, and local authorities and private interests involved. The motion, as twice amended, was approved.

The membership approved Dr. Wynne's request to write a resolution recognizing Marjory Stoneman Douglas on her 100th birthday, and her contributions to Florida historical and conservation movements.

On behalf of Dr. Colburn, Dr. Wynne moved that the Society authorize the executive committee to work with those individuals and groups that support the Society's position relating to the matter of the Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board. The motion was approved.

Dr. Wynne presented the executive director's report. He asked members to submit information about local activities and issues for the Society's newsletter. He also urged members to recruit at least one new member each during the coming year.

Dr. Proctor, editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, thanked all who have supported the journal during the past year and in

previous years. He also expressed appreciation to the University of Florida for its support. He thanked the staff of the Florida State Archives, particularly Joan Morris and David Coles, for their assistance. Dr. Proctor asked members to provide photographs for use on the cover of the journal, as well as new books dealing with any aspect of Florida history for book notes or reviews. He expressed thanks for the work of the editorial board, his office staff, and the *Quarterly's* editorial assistant, Everett Caudle. Canter Brown, Jr., is the newly appointed editorial assistant, beginning August 1. Dr. Proctor encouraged members to submit articles to the journal and announced that the *Quarterly* will have a new color cover beginning with the July issue.

Dr. Wynne noted that Greenwood Press has published a guide to Florida history sources, edited by Paul George. Many of the articles were written by members of the Society.

Mr. Dunn thanked Dr. Ray Arsenault for arranging the program for the meeting.

The meeting was adjourned at 10:10 a.m.

#### GIFTS TO THE SOCIETY 1989-1990

During the calendar year 1989, the Florida Historical Society received the following items as gifts: the records of the Hillsborough County Democratic Party for the years 1970-1988; from Allison Kelley, Department of Defense, Menwith AFB, England, a collection of fifty-four Florida postcards; from Central Michigan University, twenty-five Florida roadmaps from the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s; from Jackson Walker, president, Dade Battlefield Commission, Dade City, his lithograph, "The Forlorn Hope of Ft. King Road"; from Richard Rowe, six lithographic prints of Florida scenes; and a total of forty-three books. During the annual appeal for 1989, the Society received \$8,200. The Saunders Foundation awarded the Society a grant of \$1,600 for the purchase of new computer equipment.

**G**REAT EXPECTATIONS . . .

1990

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|--------------------|---|------------------|
| Oct. 17-21         | National Trust for<br>Historic Preservation   | Charleston, SC   |
| Oct. 19            | Opening of "Mosaic:<br>Jewish Life in Florida | Miami, FL        |
| Oct. 31-<br>Nov. 3 | Southern Historical<br>Association            | New Orleans, LA  |
| Nov. 2-3           | Florida State<br>Genealogical Society         | Jacksonville, FL |
| Nov, 2-4           | Southern Jewish Historical<br>Association     | Jackson, MS      |
| Nov. 8- 11         | Oral History Association                      | Cambridge, MA    |
| Dec. 27-30         | American Historical<br>Association            | New York, NY     |

1991

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| Apr. 18-19 | Society of Florida<br>Archivists                | Miami, FL        |
| May9-11    | FLORIDA HISTORICAL<br>SOCIETY-<br>89th MEETING  | Orlando, FL      |
| May 9      | FLORIDA HISTORICAL<br>CONFEDERATION             | Orlando, FL      |
| Oct. 3-5   | Gulf Coast History and<br>Humanities Conference | Pensacola, FL SC |

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Detach Along This Line



# 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

HAMPTON DUNN, *president*  
DAVID R. COLBURN, *president-elect*  
MARINUS H. LATOUR, *vice president*  
REBECCA SMITH, *recording secretary*  
LEWIS N. WYNNE, *executive director*  
SAMUEL PROCTOR, *editor, The Quarterly*

## DIRECTORS

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WILLIAM S. COKER <i>Pensacola</i>	LESTER N. MAY <i>Gainesville</i>
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The Florida Historical Society supplies the *Quarterly* to its members. Annual membership is \$25; family membership is \$30; library membership is \$35; a contributing membership is \$50 and above; and a corporate membership is \$100. In addition, a student membership is \$15, but proof of current status must be furnished.

All correspondence relating to membership and subscriptions should be addressed to Dr. Lewis N. Wynne, Executive Director, Florida Historical Society, University of South Florida Library, Post Office Box 290197, Tampa, FL 33687-0197. Telephone: 813-974-3815 or 974-5204; FAX: 813-932-9332. Inquiries concerning back numbers of the *Quarterly* should also be directed to Dr. Wynne.

