

FLORIDAE AMERICA: PRINCIPAL
LOCUS & MACHINA DEI REPTO
ANNO 1565 LUDOVICUS DE MOYNE
COMMISSIONARIUS DE MEXICO, QUA LUDOVICUS
MEXICUS ALIQUA GALLIARUM IN EAM
PRINCIPALIA MEXICANA REPTO
ALTIQUE ADIUTUS: ADIUTUS
OB PERSONA MEXICANA ALIIS
REPTO & MEXICANA ALIIS
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THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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COVER

Jacques le Moyne de Morgues accompanied the Jean Ribaut expedition to Florida in 1564 as official artist. Théodore de Bry engraved le Moyne's maps and drawings for his *Grands Voyages*.

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THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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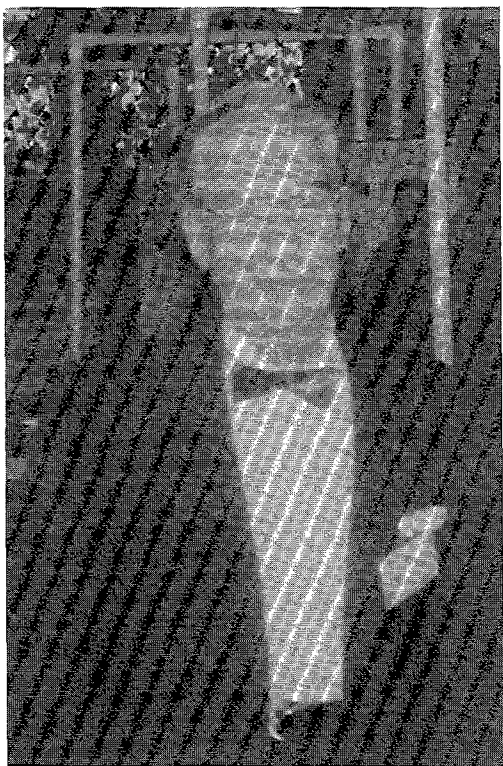
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This special Columbus Quincentenary issue of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* is dedicated to Hector C. Borghetty, of Clearwater, Florida, who provided the financial support for its publication. Mr. Borghetty, a retired chemical engineer, is a native of Wellington, New Zealand. In his travels, he has followed the sea and land routes of the early Spanish explorers. Mr. Borghetty is historian at Safety Harbor Museum and is an active member of the Florida Historical Society.

RECONSTRUCTION AND ANALYSIS OF THE 1513 DISCOVERY VOYAGE OF JUAN PONCE DE LEON

by DOUGLAS T. PECK

THE long and eventful discovery voyage of Juan Ponce de León, the Spanish conquistador and explorer, has not received the amount of in-depth study and analysis that this historically significant voyage so richly deserves. Perhaps a reason for this can be found in the fact that sixteenth-century (and later) historians, in dwelling on the fact that the largely apocryphal purpose of the voyage was to find a fountain of youth, perverted the factual reporting of the real purpose of the voyage and its several significant discoveries. This distorted version continues in many contemporary history books because of the proclivity of writers simply to paraphrase previous authors. To avoid this I have examined original source documents wherever possible for information and data untainted by unsubstantiated conjecture and fiction.

This study documents and answers four primary questions: (1) Which island did Ponce de León visit and identify as Guanahani, the landfall of Columbus? (2) Where on the coast of Florida did Ponce de León first land? (3) Where is the Florida west coast harbor—discovered, explored, and charted by Ponce de León—that was used as a landing and departure point by later Spanish explorers? (4) Sailing southwesterly from the Tortugas, what land did Ponce de León sight and briefly explore?

The answers to these questions can be found by a reconstruction of the track of Ponce de León's voyage to determine where he made landfall on his several discoveries. This study documents such a reconstruction. A sailing vessel was used as a research test vehicle to determine the track of those segments of the voyage where the problem was one of open ocean navigation from a known departure point. The remainder of the track along the shore was determined primarily by viewing and con-

Douglas T. Peck, of Bradenton, Florida, is a historian of the Spanish period of exploration and discovery in America.

firming the log's description of the geographical landforms encountered.

The only extant source giving details of Ponce de León's voyage is Antonio de Herrera's *Historia General de los hechos de los Castellanos en las Islas tierra firme del Mar Oceano*, published around 1601. Philip II appointed Herrera as Spain's official historiographer of the Indies in 1592. His position gave Herrera access to both official and secret archives, and soon after Ponce de León's voyage, he must have summarized and paraphrased from the explorer's original holograph log or a copy that has since disappeared.

Used were three English translations of Herrera's chapter on Ponce de León's voyage by Florence P. Spofford, L. D. Scisco, and James E. Kelley, Jr.¹ The Kelley work includes the English translation adjacent to the Spanish text. The latter is from the original 1601 publication and contains copious footnotes explaining possible differences in interpretation of sixteenth-century word definitions.

Some scholars question the validity of using the navigation data in Herrera's account obtained directly from the original log. Herrera summarized and abridged Ponce de León's log in the same manner that Las Casas summarized and abridged Columbus's log. Both were done from the original holograph document or a scribe's copy. Unfortunately, Herrera added numerous comments that were based on knowledge obtained after 1513, and were missing from the original log. Thus some scholars believe that Herrera authored the entire account and that the navigational data are his and not extracted from the log. These additions by Herrera are easily identified, however, and when they are removed the original log entries of compass headings, times, distances, descriptions of landfalls, latitudes, identification of known islands with Indian names, sea conditions, and weather—all of which are elements of a navigator's log—come through with clarity. Why should they lose their value just because they come to us by a second person?

1. The Spofford translation is contained in T. Frederick Davis, "History of Juan Ponce de León's Voyages to Florida: Source Records," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 14 (July 1935), passim. L. D. Scisco's translation, "The Track of Ponce de León in 1513," can be found in *Bulletin of the American Geographical Society* 45 (no. 10, 1913), 721-35. Kelley's translation is from a working draft, April 15, June 7, 1990, and a final edition from July 26, 1990.

But what of the accuracy of the data contained in Ponce de León's log? Here there are several stumbling blocks. The latitudes for the islands and shore features do not agree with known facts. His compass courses would have put him ashore in some places, and, in others, he would have been far at sea when he reported land. There will be answers to these questions as the voyage is reconstructed, but first one must examine the purpose and goal of the voyage and determine where Juan Ponce intended to sail.

Juan Ponce de León was relieved as governor of Puerto Rico in 1511, when Don Diego Colon asserted his right to appoint governors of the Indies islands according to the crown's contract with Columbus. Already a very wealthy aristocrat and on good terms with the court, Juan Ponce had the insatiable urge of the Spanish conquistador to obtain more wealth and more prestige. Thus, when "he had news that they found lands to the north," he resolved to go there.² He applied to the king for permission to seek new lands to discover, to be named adelantado of those he conquered, and to receive the honor and wealth from his successful ventures.

The Spanish crown closely controlled permission to explore. Open-ended charters or patents were not issued, and documents spelled out specific terms, including naming the destination or goal of the planned exploration. The capitulation or patent that Ponce de León received in February 1512 detailed his authority and mission.³ He was authorized to seek and claim the Islands of Beniny.⁴ There was no mention of a fountain of youth, but the patent included detailed accounting procedures for the immense wealth that, according to Indian rumor, was present in Beniny and the surrounding islands.

The "lands to the north" and the Islands of Beniny are indicated in Peter Martyr's map of the New World published in 1511.⁵ Peter Martyr, a learned historian and cosmographer in the Spanish court, undoubtedly had access to all the knowledge

2. David O. True, in "Some Early Maps Relating to Florida," *Imago Mundi* 11 (1954), 73-84, gives a comprehensive review of the lands known or suspected to exist north of Cuba prior to 1512.

3. Vicente Murga Sanz, *Juan Ponce de León* (San Juan, 1971), 100-03.

4. There are various spellings for the island: Beniny, Beimendi, Bimenei, Beimeni, and the modern term Bimini.

5. Peter Martyr's map was issued in his *Legatio Babylonica, Oceani Decas, Poemata, Epigramata* (Seville, 1511).

and reports from the Spanish discoveries, from spies, and from Portuguese, French, and English expeditions. Ponce de León probably did not have a copy of this map, but, as an aristocratic conquistador, he had access to the same sources of information used by Martyr to draw his map. The Martyr map was among the latest knowledge available at the time of Ponce de León's planned voyage, and it became a graphic picture of the "news" of which he spoke. The large land mass north of Cuba, labeled on the Martyr map as the "Isla de Beimeni parte," was the Islands of Beniny and was Ponce de León's goal according to his patent. While most of the map is greatly distorted (particularly the shore of Honduras and Nicaragua), the eastern end of Cuba, Espanola, Puerto Rico, and the Lucayos (Bahamas) are fairly accurately portrayed since this was the area of most intensive occupation, exploration, and charting at the time. The charts and rutters of the Lucayos Islands and adjacent waters were available to Anton de Alaminos, the professional pilot of Ponce de León's voyage. Ponce de León likely understood what he had to do to reach his goal. He would sail seaward up the chain of the Lucayos to the northernmost charted island of Guanahani and then travel across the uncharted sea in a northwesterly direction to his Islands of Beniny.

In the reconstruction of the voyage, one finds the latitudes reported by Ponce de León troublesome—particularly the latitudes of Guanahani and the landfall on the Florida coast—and they have provoked controversy concerning their accuracy. Some scholars insist that the latitudes reported in the log must be reasonably accurate because they were taken with a quadrant or astrolabe. This, however, does not square with the knowledge that we have of early sixteenth-century Spanish navigation.

Ponce de León was neither a seaman nor a navigator. He was an aristocratic conquistador, trained from early childhood as a warrior, and he spent most of his adult life fighting the Moors in Africa, the rebellious Tainos on Espanola, and the Caribs on Puerto Rico and adjacent islands. The king's patent required him to keep a log to establish his claim to the islands he discovered. He no doubt wrote the narrative portion of that log, but he likely turned to Alaminos for the navigational data of latitudes and compass courses. Anton de Alaminos was an "up from the ranks" Spanish pilot who had served as a young apprentice seaman with Columbus on one of his early voyages

and had stayed in the Caribbean to become the most experienced and sought-after pilot in the Indies. And like all Spanish pilots of his time, his simple, unlettered trade consisted of navigation by dead reckoning (compass course and distance) from a known departure point. Yet some scholars picture him as proficient in celestial navigation and taking sights on the meridian of the sun. Edward Lawson argues that Alaminos must have used an obsolete edition of the tables of declination, but there is no indication in the log that either Alaminos or Juan Ponce used celestial navigation. This required expertise in the use of an astrolabe and the complicated tables of declination in a current Regiomontanus Ephemerides or Kalendarium, both of which were written in Latin.⁶

After intensive research into the subject, Samuel Eliot Morison notes: "Celestial navigation formed no part of the professional pilot's or master's training in Columbus' day or for long after his death. It was practiced only by men of learning such as mathematicians, astrologers, physicians, or by gentlemen of education."⁷ Alaminos was none of these, so it can be concluded that he used only dead reckoning to determine his azimuth position and latitude. Alaminos's use of dead reckoning to establish his latitudes will be further developed in the reconstruction to follow.

The compass courses given in the log are also troublesome, and for this one needs to examine the magnetic variation of the area in question and the variation correction, if any, set into the compass being used.⁸ In developing both plotted and sailed courses, I used the magnetic variation for the early sixteenth century, projected by James E. Kelley, Jr., from a computer analysis of early charts, maps, rutters, and other documents.⁹ Compasses of the time were made in various European cities, and it was common practice for the compass to be set to true north when manufactured, thus building into the compass the variation correction for that particular city. Kelley also deduces

6. Edward W. Lawson, *The First Landing Place of Juan Ponce de León on the North American Continent in the Year 1513* (St. Augustine, 1956).

7. Samuel Eliot Morison, *Admiral of the Ocean Sea: A Life of Christopher Columbus* (Boston, 1942), 183-96.

8. Magnetic variation is the difference in degrees between magnetic north and true (geographical) north.

9. James E. Kelley, Jr., letter to author, April 22, 1990.

from a study of early maritime navigation that the Spanish explorers of the period used a compass made in Seville with a one-half point (5.63 degrees) easterly correction built in. This correction (I should say error), built in by the manufacturer, shifted the north arrow on the card point to the left, or counterclockwise, 5.6 degrees from magnetic north. On a voyage, then, when magnetic north is moved farther to the left (as in a westerly variation zone), the north arrow on the card will be rotated to the left from true north to the degree of the westerly variation. Accordingly, I applied this 5.6 degree correction of the Seville compass to my navigational computations.

After outfitting three vessels at his own expense, as spelled out in the patent, Ponce de León departed from Anasco Bay the afternoon of March 3, 1513, in search of the Islands of Beniny. His pilot, Alaminos, without a doubt had with him a chart of the Lucayos Islands, at least as far north as Guanahani. Beyond that point lay unexplored islands. Passing Point Borinquen (then called Point Aguada), Ponce de León took his departure for navigational purposes sometime after midnight, March 5. He reported sailing a heading of northwest by north to his first landfall in the Turks and Caicos islands. It is this northwest-by-north heading that must now be corrected so the track can be accurately sailed to identify the reported island landfalls.

The compass heading of northwest by north on the thirty-two-point compass then in use comes out to 326.25 degrees. When computed for the built-in Seville variation correction, it is $326.25 - 5.63 = 320.62$ degrees. By rounding off the decimals to 321 degrees, one has the compass (or magnetic) heading that Juan Ponce sailed.¹⁰

But the compass heading that Ponce de León traveled was not the actual, true heading that I needed to compute for the compass heading I should sail for my reconstruction. This basic 321 degree compass heading had to be further corrected for the westerly variation on each leg, and since the first leg had a westerly variation of five degrees, the computation is $321 - 5 = 316$ degrees. This 316 degrees is the true heading (from true north)

10. Unlike our present compass rose, or card, which is divided into 360 degrees, the early sixteenth-century compass rose was divided into 32 points, or segments, equalling 11.25 degrees.

of the first leg to be sailed to arrive at the true course or track over the bottom as influenced by the currents. This computation was repeated for each leg as the basic compass headings and/or variation changes.

I sailed the first leg for three and one-half days, or eighty-four hours, to an island on the Banks of the Babueca, named El Viejo, which can be positively identified as Grand Turk Island. It is the only island on a large bank near the end of both the sailed and reconstructed track. The distance to Grand Turk is 288 nautical miles. The time of eighty-four hours computes to a speed of 3.4 knots over the bottom. With the help of the Antilles current (around 0.8 knots), this computes to a speed of 2.6 knots through the water— a reasonable speed for Ponce de León's heavy-laden vessels.

The chart in figure 1 shows the plotted track from Puerto Rico with each individual plot between the islands that Ponce de León either sighted or at which he anchored. The track shown is that sailed on the corrected true heading as influenced by the Antilles current.

My sailed track was bent considerably to the west of the 316 degree heading by the branch of the Antilles current that flows westerly past Hispaniola and Cuba, and I ended three nautical miles northeast of Grand Turk Island. I believe that Ponce de León reached the bank five to seven miles east of my position, since he reported anchoring on the bank (Banks of Babueca) that stretches almost twenty miles in a southwesterly direction from Grand Turk. On such a long leg, and considering all the variables, my track verifies not only Ponce de León's reported compass heading and distance but also verifies the correction factors that I used to correct the heading for sixteenth-century conditions.

Juan Ponce's log gives the latitude of El Viejo as 22 degrees, 30 minutes N., while the actual latitude of Grand Turk is 21 degrees, 25 minutes N. (from the anchorage on the bank, south). Placement of the latitude a little over one degree too far north will be reflected slightly differently in all later latitude reports in the log. This is because Alaminos started his dead reckoning from Point Aguada with a northerly error on his chart, and early sixteenth-century charts and rutters consistently

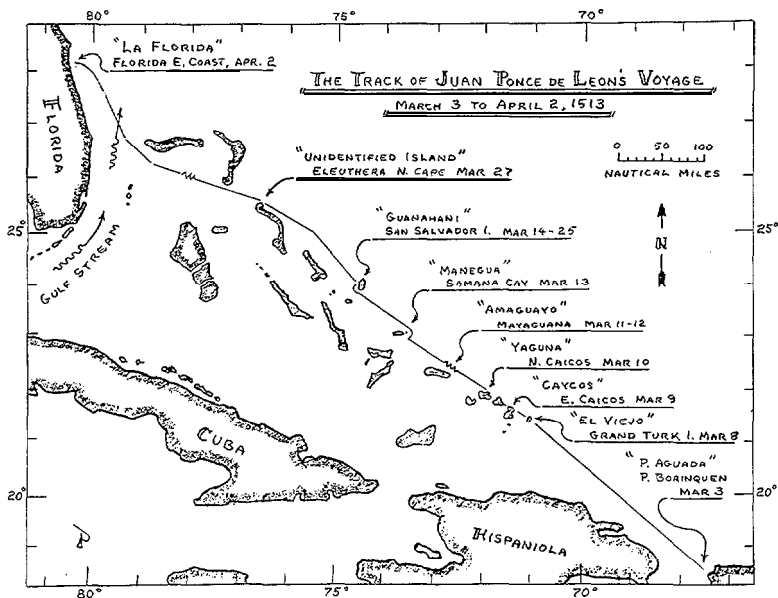


Figure 1

show known landmarks in the New World as several degrees too far north. The Rotz chart, as late as 1542, shows the Puerto Rico latitude nearly three degrees too far north.¹¹

After the sail to El Viejo, Juan Ponce passed the next several islands to reach his immediate destination of Guanahani, from which he then moved into unknown waters in search of the Islands of Beniny. Precise navigation is not required here, and the islands are identified primarily by their being a day's sailing distance in a northwesterly direction.

Juan Ponce's log then reads: "The next day they anchored at an islet of the Lucayos, called Caycos." This is East Caicos, one of the few islands that retained its Indian name. The following day's entry notes: "Soon they anchored at another called Yaguna in 24 degrees." This is identified as North Caicos— an easy day's sail of about thirty-five miles, as indicated by the expression "soon they anchored." The north shore of North

11. Jean Rotz, *The Boke of Idrography* (London, 1542; reprint edited by Helen Wallis, New York, 1981).

Caicos is at latitude 21 degrees, 58 minutes N., indicating that Alaminos carried forward the northerly error from his departure point, with the error gradually increasing. This increase in error can be explained in part by the fact that Alaminos was unaware of the increasing westerly variation bending his compass heading to the south. He likely thought he was traveling on a more northerly course.

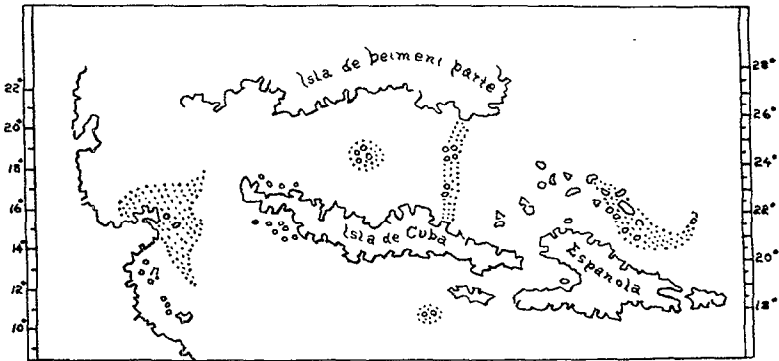
The log continues: "At the 11th of the same [month] they came to another island called Amaguayo, and there they stayed al reparo." As the chart shows, sailing the corrected compass heading for about forty-eight nautical miles— an overnight sail at 2.6 knots— brought Juan Ponce to Mayaguana. Most scholars in previous translations conclude that they anchored here for "repairs," but Kelley correctly shows that "al reparo" means hove-to, or as in Columbus's diario, "jogging on and off."

From here Ponce de León sailed to an island called "Manegua," which he apparently passed without stopping, locating it at 24 degrees, 30 minutes N. latitude. As the chart shows, this is Samana Cay, whose latitude is 23 degrees, 03 minutes N. Once again the location shows that Alaminos, by the dead reckoning, retained the northerly error. Samana is the small cay that the National Geographic Society named Guanahani— the landfall of Columbus— but the Ponce de León log has him arriving at Guanahani the next day and about sixty-five nautical miles farther on the northwesterly course. The Jean Rotz chart also shows Manegua (Samana Cay) as being southeast of Guanahani.

The next leg carried Ponce de León to the island of San Salvador, and the log entry contains several significant facts: "At the 14th they came to Guanahani, which lies in 25 degrees, 40 minutes, where they trimmed up one ship in order to cross the windward sea of those islands of the Lucayos." Ponce de León identified the island as the one that "Admiral Don Christoval Colon discovered."

At a later date the log calls out the latitude of Key West as 1 degree, 40 minutes too far north, which is about the average of the northerly errors from dead reckoning. If this 1 degree, 40 minute northerly error is subtracted from the 25 degrees, 40 minutes reported for Guanahani, the result is 24 degrees latitude, which locates it through the middle of San Salvador. This revelation enters Ponce de León into the current contro-

PETER MARTYR'S MAP OF THE NEW WORLD



This is a scaled reproduction of the northeast portion of Peter Martyr's map issued in his *"Legatio Babylonica, Oceani Decas, Poemata, Epigrammata,"* at Seville in 1511.

Projected latitudes not present on original map are added, and the label "Isla de Beimeni" printed right side up for clarity

Figure 2

versy over the landfall of Columbus by identifying it as the island of San Salvador.

Another fact at this point is that Ponce de León changed his course to the northwest, prepared the ships for an ocean crossing (the "windward sea") from the Lucayos, and was ready to move into unknown seas in search of his Islands of Beniny. This scenario can be seen in the Peter Martyr map (figure 2), where the landmass titled "Isla de Beimeni" lies in a northwest direction over open water from the northernmost charted island (Guanahani) of the Lucayos.

At this point my reconstruction returns to using my sailing vessel to duplicate the track over open water from Guanahani to Ponce de León's landfall on the shore of Florida. The party departed Guanahani probably on March 25 and ran northwest until March 27. At this point Juan Ponce and his pilot saw an island that they could not identify—no doubt because it was not on their chart. The northwest heading of 315 degrees when corrected for the 5.6 degree Seville compass factor and the 9 degree westerly variation becomes 300 degrees true.

My track, pushed north by the strong Antilles current in this area, ran about fifteen nautical miles east of Cat Island and into the northwest trending coast of northern Eleuthera. This track

shows that Eleuthera was the island “they could not identify,” and they probably rounded it to the north at Bridge Point and resumed their northwest heading.

Nearly all previous research has Ponce de León sailing around Great Abaco, indicating it as the island the Spaniards saw but could not identify. This is a natural conclusion because of the long chain of Bahamas Islands lying in a generally north-westerly direction, and Great Abaco is the last island before open waters across to the east coast of Florida. I had assumed my track would follow this same route, so when my sailed track from San Salvador ran into Eleuthera, far from the cape I had assumed I would round before sailing to Florida, I thought my project was in trouble because of bad course correction factors.

But my calculations had worked for over 700 miles and had pinpointed six of the islands scattered through the Bahamas. Why would they fail now? I soon realized that Great Abaco was not the turning point toward Florida; it had to be Bridge Point on Eleuthera.

On Monday, March 28, Ponce de León left Bridge Point on Eleuthera astern and continued sailing on a northwest heading. His log reads: “They ran 15 leagues by the same course, and Wednesday they proceeded in the same way.”¹² This means that for two twenty-four-hour sailing days they ran northwest fifteen leagues (about forty-five miles) each day. The speed computes to less than two knots (1.87) per day.

I believe this reduced speed was deliberate. Alaminos and Ponce de León were sailing into unknown, uncharted waters. They had already been surprised to see an unknown and uncharted island. This was not the time to rush headlong and perhaps end up on a reef. I believe they intentionally slowed their progress, constantly sounded with the lead, and probably hove-to at night or in times of restricted visibility, especially in view of the fact that they were sailing into a period of dark nights with a waning moon.¹³ This track from Eleuthera to the coast of Florida is shown in figure 3.

12. Interpretations of the length of one Spanish league vary from 2.82 to 3.40 nautical miles. For my computations, I used an arbitrary factor of 3.0 nautical miles for each league.

13. Herman H. Goldstine, *New and Full Moons 1001 B.C. to A.D. 1651* (Philadelphia, 1973).

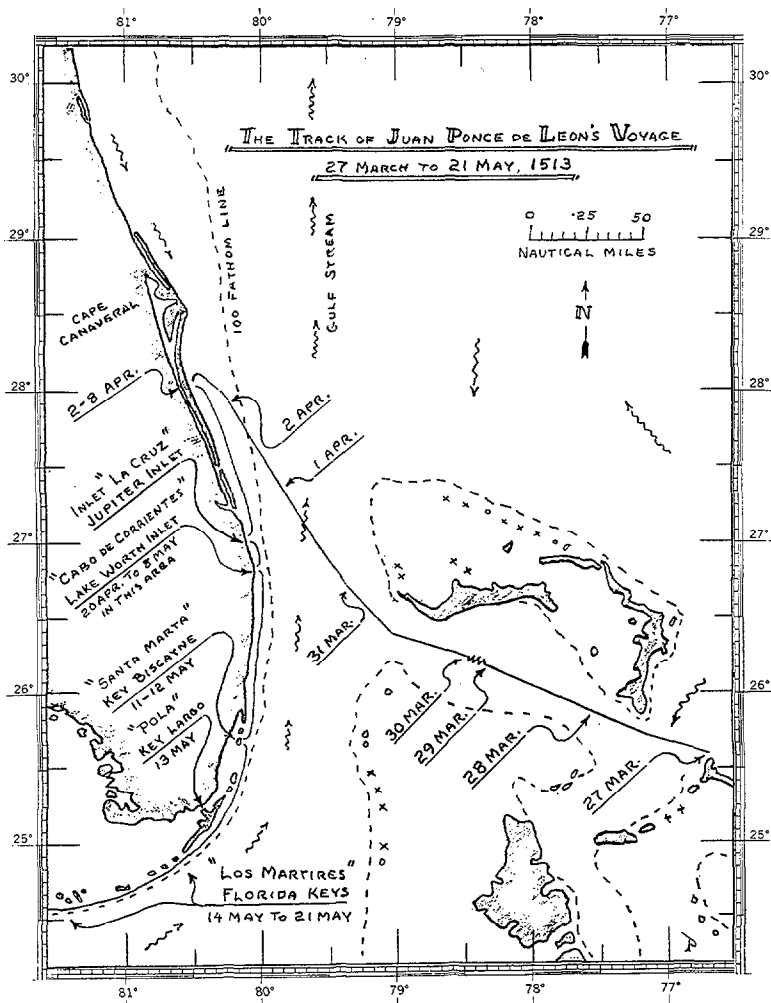


Figure 3

To maintain the reduced speed, I sailed the corrected heading of 297 degrees true with drastically reduced sails for ninety miles, and I found that on this heading the strong Antilles current, which turns and flows through New Providence channel, carried me right through this wide channel about ten miles south of the southern cape of Great Abaco. Since Juan Ponce

had seen Eleuthera in daylight, he would have passed Great Abaco after dark, although he could not have seen it at ten miles distance even in daylight.

My reconstructed track passed within the theoretical sighting range of both Cat Island and Great Abaco, but I did not see either landmass, and neither did Ponce de León. The theoretical sighting range is based upon a viewer's line of sight passing just inches over the curvature of the earth's horizon and picking up the top few inches of the highest elevation on an island in unlimited visibility. Far more than the top few inches of an island must be above the horizon for the naked eye to see it, and unlimited visibility never exists in the Bahamas, especially in the summer months when a heavy sea haze is present. For this reason, even though my chart appeared to have Ponce de León sailing through a maze of several islands, he was unable to see them and thought he was in the open sea headed for Beniny.

At this point (March 29) the log reads: "And afterwards, with bad weather, up to 2 April, running west-northwest, the water [depth] decreased to 9 brazas, at one league from shore." Here Juan Ponce and his party obviously ran into a cold front, with the accompanying storms and wind shift to the northerly quadrant, forcing them to change course to west-northwest. During the initial passage of the front on March 29-March 30, when the wind came out strong from the northwest and north, he likely did what any prudent sailor would do. He hove-to, or jogged along, barely moving under reduced sail. After about twenty-four hours, when the winds shifted to the northeast and the storms abated, Ponce de León was able to pick up that west-northwest heading. With this heading he probably was hard on the wind rather than running with the wind as before, and since a square-rigged vessel of that era simply did not respond well to windward work, his forward progress was likely reduced to a crawl. This, combined with cautious jogging at night, likely reduced Ponce de León's forward progress to about thirty miles a day or less.

The Spanish probably crossed the Gulf Stream at its strongest point where it is squeezed between the lower bulge of Florida and the protruding Great Bahamas Bank, and, in this venturi, the current can and does pick up speeds of over three knots. During my sailing of this track I experienced a 3.8 knot current for over twelve hours between Grand Bahamas and

Florida, with the current averaging 1.5-2.5 knots on either side of that point. With the slow progress of the vessels, they probably were swept north faster than their progress west, and this is reflected in the track.

On April 1 Ponce de León and his crew were in the strongest part of the Gulf Stream, being swept north. Then early on April 2, as they reached the 100 fathom line and moved out of the strongest current, the course began to veer more westerly, and they reached their landfall and subsequent anchorage later that day.

From my reconstructed track I found that Ponce de León's anchorage and landing after discovering Florida and the North American continent were about 28 degrees N. latitude and 80 degrees, 29 minutes W. longitude, which is below Cape Canaveral and a short distance south of Melbourne Beach. I do not say that this is the exact spot, but I place the accuracy within five to eight nautical miles either side of this fix.

After landfall Ponce de León ran along the coast looking for an inlet or harbor, and, not finding one, he anchored in eight brazas of water.¹⁴ The log is ambiguous as to whether he ran along the coast in a northerly or southerly direction, but the question is moot since he could not have gone far before nightfall forced him to anchor. At my projected site, based on the log, the description of the coastline fits, and the depth of water for the anchorage is within a few feet of that reported.

Alaminos placed this point at 30 degrees, 08 minutes latitude or 2 degrees, 05 minutes north of my position. This northerly error is consistent with Alaminos's gradually increasing northerly errors in reporting the latitudes of the islands to this point in the northwesterly track.

If one accepts the logical, reasonable, rational, and indeed proven point that Alaminos's dead reckoning, as influenced by the unknown currents and magnetic variation, was not an exact science, then it can be shown that Alaminos's latitudes, with their ever-increasing northerly errors, explain why once again he reported his latitude a considerable distance north of his actual landfall. Advocates of a St. Augustine landing site, with

14. Spofford and Scisco both translate braza as fathom (six feet). Kelley identifies a Spanish braza as equivalent to 5.5 English feet. This means that Juan Ponce anchored in about forty-four feet of water. Researchers who use the standard six-foot fathom calculate the depth at fifty-four feet.

strained and incongruous reasoning, insist that of the ten latitudes given by Alaminos, containing northerly errors, it was the only one with an accurate celestial navigation position without the northerly error.

After finding nothing of interest ashore, or perhaps waiting for a favorable wind, Ponce de León left the anchorage on April 8 and sailed slowly south along the coast, no doubt anchoring each night. For twelve days he reported no inlets, capes, or Indian villages, which is consistent with the smooth and relatively barren coast south of the landfall at twenty-eight degrees latitude. On April 21 he ran into the strong Gulf Stream current near shore. At this location, which I have identified as a point just north of Lake Worth Inlet, the stream pushed him back faster than he could sail forward, although he reported that he had good winds. Ponce de León managed to anchor his ship and one other, but the third ship was caught offshore in water too deep to anchor and was carried back north out of sight.

This action could only have taken place at the bulge (or cape) of the coast just north of Lake Worth Inlet. I experienced a 2.3 knot current when sailing past this point, and it could be greater if influenced by tidal flow, surface air temperature, and pressure gradients. At this point, the twenty-fathom line (too deep for anchoring) comes within one and one-half miles of shore, and the shallow shelf for anchoring falls off rapidly rather than gradually, as it does farther north. The third ship could have been within a few hundred feet of the two that anchored, but, unable to anchor, it was carried north by the current.

This scenario cannot be repeated north of Cape Canaveral as the bottom there gets deeper only gradually, providing ample anchoring depths as far as twenty miles offshore. This rules out a landfall above that point since Ponce de León likely stayed inshore in sight of land. In following the coast south, the first cape he would have reached was Cape Canaveral, and these conditions do not exist there.

At this point Juan Ponce landed ashore and, after a fight with the Indians, "departed from there to a river, where he took on water and firewood." The river was Jupiter Inlet, which he no doubt had seen when he passed it earlier. He named this river "La Cruz" and left a stone cross with an inscription. He must have stayed here for some time waiting for the return of

the third ship and for enough wind to fight the strong current, as the next entry is May 8. It reads: "Sunday, 8 May they doubled the cape of La Florida, which they called Cabo de Corrientes." This is the cape below Jupiter Inlet where the Spaniards had previously experienced the strong currents carrying away the third ship, so naturally they called it "Cabo de Corrientes." Herrera muddled the water here by inserting his own interpretation that they were doubling the "cape of La Florida," which was on maps of his time (usually at Biscayne Bay), but in fact they were still north of this point.

The log entry continues: "All this coast, from Punta de Arracifes, to Cabo de Corrientes, runs north by northwest and south by southeast and is clean, and of depth of 6 brazas and the cape lies in 28 degrees, 15 minutes." The coast to "Cabo de Corrientes" does run north by northwest and south by southeast and is clean, but where is "Punta de Arracifes?" Ponce de León had not mentioned this landmark before. This is another insertion by Herrera from a later map and should be disregarded; he may have it incorrectly located, as he did cape La Florida.

Alaminos reports this cape at latitude 28 degrees, 15 minutes while it is actually at 26 degrees, 48 minutes. Alaminos was now shortening his northerly error to 1 degree, 27 minutes, and that is understandable since his calculations were based upon his estimate of speed and distance from fifteen different, short, slow-moving legs in unknown currents.

From this point, "they navigated until they found two islands to the south in 27 degrees, to one which had a league of unimpaired shoreline, they assigned the name Santa Marta, they took on water at her." Santa Marta is Key Biscayne, which has a little over a league (three and one-half miles) of unimpaired shoreline, and the other island is Virginia Key. These are the first two islands south of Lake Worth Inlet (Cabo de Corrientes).

Alaminos reports the latitude of Santa Marta at 27 degrees when it actually lies at 25 degrees, 42 minutes, which indicates that he was now calculating his latitude 1 degree, 18 minutes too far north. The errors in his last two calculated latitudes were probably due to his inability to estimate these strong and changing currents since the variation would not have been as great a factor on this southerly course as it was on the northwesterly course.

The next entry reads: "Friday 13 May, they made sail, running along the edge of a sandbank, and reef of islands, as far as an island they call Pola, which lies in 26 degrees, 30 minutes and between the shoal and the reef of islands, and the mainland it extends toward the great sea like a bay." Pola is probably Key Largo. Ponce de León was running down Hawk Channel between the outer reef and the Keys, and through the several inlets he could see the eastern extremity of Florida Bay, which Herrera knew extended into the "Great Sea," or Gulf of Mexico. The latitude here is meaningless since Key Largo is such a long island, extending north-northeast and south-southwest, and the latitude could vary by over one-half a degree depending upon where it was measured.

Starting here, the log is vague as to specific islands, but it is apparent that Ponce de León continued down Hawk Channel to the Tortugas, naming the string of keys "Los Martires." Alaminos reported the keys at latitude 26 degrees, 15 minutes, and Key West and the adjacent keys at 24 degrees, 35 minutes. His northerly error now became 1 degree, 40 minutes—about the midpoint of the range of his northerly errors.

The log at this point is unclear and is obviously missing some lines, but it implies that on May 21 the party turned "sometimes to the north and at others to the northeast," and, although the departure point is not mentioned, this turn was made at the Tortugas. This is when Ponce de León turned north and east to explore the backside of his island, and since one cannot pinpoint his place of landing by a reconstruction of the track from such vague compass headings, one must rely on the geographical description of that landfall.

On May 23 the log reads: "They ran along the coast, to the south (not caring to see what was Mainland) as far as some islets, which were running out to sea, and because it seemed there was an entrance, between them, and the coast, for the ships, in order to take on water and firewood, they stayed there until 3 June, and careened one ship." The obvious landfall here is on the mainland just north of Gasparilla Island where Ponce de León sailed south past the islands of La Costa, Captiva, and Sanibel to the wide and deep entrance to San Carlos Bay at the mouth of the Caloosahatchee River. This landfall fits the north and northeasterly sailing directions and the geographical description of the islands.

The Spaniards found the harbor (San Carlos Bay), which they later reconnoitered. There was ample anchorage with nearby protected shelving beaches upon which the boats could be careened. Charlotte Harbor has been proposed as the harbor they explored, but that location is a large, shallow, almost land-locked inland bay with only a tortuous, winding, dredged entrance through nearly three miles of offshore shoals. It hardly justifies the name harbor.

Ponce de León remained in the harbor for nine days. There were skirmishes with well-organized Indians who put up fierce resistance. He captured four of the natives, released two, and kept the others as guides. The Spanish departed on June 14, stopping by a nearby island (probably Sanibel) for firewood and water.

Ponce de León seemingly had gained little, but Alaminos, in one of his responsibilities as pilot, charted the harbor. It became a key issue in later exploration of the mainland. During the reconnoiter of the harbor on June 5, Alaminos likely noted that the wide, deep mouth of the Caloosahatchee River, where it empties into San Carlos Bay, could accommodate many deep-draft vessels. He also found on the south side of the river, at what is now Punta Rassa, a deep spot right at the shore where the vessels could tie up as at a wharf and unload heavy equipment and horses.

While Spanish pilots were ordered to keep their charts secret from the French and the English, after 1513 the Alaminos chart was common knowledge to other Spanish pilots operating in the area. This deep-water port was utilized by Alonzo Alvarez de Pineda in 1518, by the re-supply ship of Panfilo Narváez in 1527, and is the most logical known deep-water port for the large expeditionary force of Hernando de Soto in 1539.

Leaving San Carlos Bay, Ponce de León reached the Tortugas on June 21, where he provisioned his ships with fresh meat and took aboard 160 loggerhead turtles that were nesting there. Three days later, on June 24, he decided to sail on a course southwest by west.

At this point one must question why he had abandoned his search to the north and selected the southwest-by-west route. All his other courses across unknown waters in search of Beniny had been to the north, so why now sail such a finite course and

in a direction contrary to his belief that Beniny lay somewhere north of the Lucayos?

One can only conclude that the Indians convinced him that the rich lands that he sought were not to the north. They pointed southwest by west, straight to the Yucatan. The two Indian guides he captured in San Carlos Bay may have been a factor in this change of course.

This leg of the voyage is critical in determining exactly where Ponce de León landed after sailing this new course for two and one-half days. Also this is one of the legs where use of a sailing vessel to arrive at the true track over the bottom is superior to attempting to plot the track using non-empirical estimates for the influence of the currents.

The following is the computation of my compass heading: on the thirty-two-point compass, southwest by west is 236.25 degrees. After subtracting the Seville compass error, it becomes $236.25 - 5.63 = 230.62$ degrees. Adding the two degree easterly variation, it becomes $230.62 + 2 = 232.62$, or 233 degrees for the true heading sailed. I sailed on this heading at a speed of 2.6 knots. By computing the time and distance of previous legs, I determined that this was Ponce de León's average speed with favorable wind conditions. He may have sailed slower and more cautiously at night and faster during the day, but use of this average speed, while affecting the enroute track slightly, would have put him in the same location.

My recorded track over the bottom is illustrated in figure 4. I recorded a Sat Nav and a Loran C fix every four hours.¹⁵ The fixes are numbered for convenience of analysis. One will notice that the loop current from the northwest began almost immediately, pushing my vessel south of the sailed heading. In fixes seven through eleven I reached the axis of the Gulf Stream, the track actually was pushed back east, and the four-hour distance over the bottom was cut nearly in half. Beginning at fix eleven and through fix thirteen, the current diminished, the course picked up a more westerly vector, and the distance

15. Sat Nav (Satellite Navigation System) supplies an accurate latitude/longitude fix upon passage of any one of twelve orbiting satellites. Loran C (Long Range Navigation System) is based on shore-transmitted signals. It gives a continuous, accurate latitude/longitude fix and computerized log and speed over the bottom.

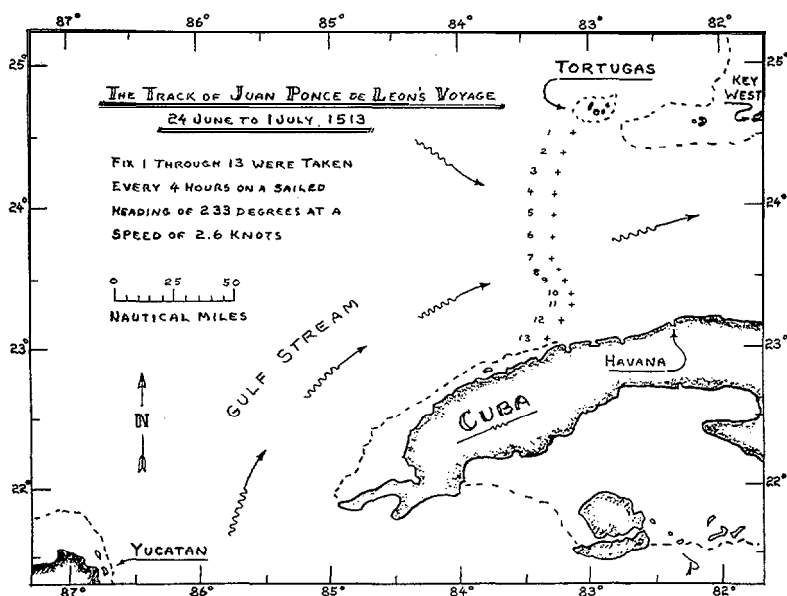


Figure 4

over the bottom increased. I terminated my sailed track twelve miles from the coast of Cuba as required by State Department regulation.

I determined that Ponce de León's track probably ended fifty-eight nautical miles west of Havana, just west of a harbor at Bahia Hondu and on the ten-fathom shelf where there would have been ample anchorage sites for his brief exploration of the coast. At this spot Ponce de León could not decide whether this was Cuba or some new, unknown land. While the Spanish occupied the extreme eastern end of Cuba, the central and western area was an unknown and unexplored wilderness, and Ponce de León likely could not identify it. The Spanish do mention Cuba, but only with a confusing and ambiguous statement: "They found themselves 18 full leagues abaft the beam for it to be Cuba."¹⁶ Does this mean it was not Cuba because it was located eighteen leagues (about fifty-four nautical miles) in the wrong direction? This seems a small error in view of their extensive voyage from any known landmark. We will probably never

16. This is Kelley's translation. Spofford translates the phrase as "off course," which is equally ambiguous.

know what was meant by this remark, and esoteric conjecture about it serves no useful purpose.

Some historians contend that Ponce de León did reach the Yucatan on this leg and so became the discoverer of Mexico.¹⁷ They overlook the fact, however, that Ponce de León would have had to sail at a speed of 6.76 knots to make the 300 miles against an average current of 1.5 knots. This speed was not only quite unattainable for their vessels, but rather than the south-west-by-west heading reported, he would have been forced to sail a heading of 260 degrees for the first half of the leg— to avoid being swept down to Cuba— then, about midway, change to a heading of 205 degrees to make the Yucatan. This is a highly unlikely scenario.

Ponce de León, after briefly exploring the coast of Cuba, no doubt deciding it was not Beniny, and probably running short of both provisions and patience, left Cuba on July 1 for the return to Puerto Rico. He elected to retrace his route through the northern Lucayos because of his obsession that Beniny was located there. As a last desperate effort before returning to Puerto Rico, he sent one ship with Juan Perez de Ortubio as captain and Anton de Alaminos as pilot to search again the northern Lucayos for Beniny.

Ponce de León reached Puerto Rico around the middle of October without finding his island. Ortubio and Alaminos returned a short time later and, after discovering a large wooded island (probably Andros), announced that it was Beniny. Everyone concerned must have realized that it was just another of the primitive, windswept Lucayos islands inhabited by a few poor and frightened Taino Indians. Nevertheless, this pronouncement resulted in cartographers introducing the island's name into the northeastern section of the Bahamas where it was changed often. Eventually, they designated it as the present island of Bimini east of Miami.

17. The most prominent of these works is Samuel Eliot Morison's *European Discovery of America: The Southern Voyages, A.D. 1492-1616* (New York, 1974), 499-536. See also Aurelio Tio, "Historia del descubrimiento de la Florida y Beimeni o Yucatan," *Historia Boletín* 2 (no. 8, 1972). Both authors base their opinions on depositions in court records many years after the fact in which petitioners (probably Ponce de León's surviving relatives) tried to establish land grants in the Yucatan. This is hardly a valid source for establishing a historical event involving landfall of a sailing vessel for which the navigation log exists.

Juan Ponce de León failed to find his Islands of Beniny. He died in 1521 at the age of forty-seven without realizing that he had contributed much to future Spanish exploration and conquest of the mainland. He had discovered the Gulf Stream—vital in carrying the treasure-laden Spanish galleons back to Spain— and he had also discovered the first good, deep-water harbor on the mainland, which would be used to advantage by later explorers. Finally, he gave the name La Florida to the Florida peninsula, and this became the basis for the claim of Spanish sovereignty over most of North America.

THE SEARCH FOR THE SEVEN CITIES AND EARLY AMERICAN EXPLORATION

by GEORGE E. BUKER

WHEN the Moors overran the Iberian peninsula at the opening of the eighth century, legend has it that the bishop of Oporto in Portugal led six other bishops and their followers westward across the Atlantic. He settled upon an island farther west than any sailor from Europe had ever been before, and he named it Antilla (which has had a variety of spellings). He allegedly burned his ships so that no one could return with news of his refuge. He assigned each bishop a portion of the island, and soon there were seven flourishing Christian communities established on Antilla. In the generations that followed, these people prospered in their remote hideaway cut off from Europe.

In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, sailors from western Europe began to venture out into the Atlantic. One of the inducements for their exploration was the riches of the Seven Cities of Antilla. In the sixteenth century, after Spanish exploration failed to find the Seven Cities on any of the Caribbean islands, some cartographers placed them on the mainland of North America. As the Spaniards moved into Mexico, stories of seven Indian cities to the north began to reach the conquistadores. The Indian province of Cibola replaced the island of Antilla as the believed locale of the cities and thus provided part of the impetus for the Spanish exploration of what is now the southeast and southwest portions of the United States. The Seven Cities legend has been associated with the exploits of Columbus, Cabot, Coronado, Hernando de Soto, and others, yet its historical presentation has been ancillary information to one or another of these expeditions.

Most medieval chroniclers state in their writings that a belief in islands and lands west of Europe goes back to the legend of the lost Atlantis found in Plato's *Timaeus* and *Critias*, yet the Siete Ciudades is of medieval Iberian origin. A 1424 portolan chart

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is the oldest extant portrayal of Antilla. The island appears as an oblong land mass running almost north and south in the western Atlantic, extending from the latitude of Morocco, a little south of the Strait of Gibraltar, northward almost to the northern boundary of Portugal. It was one of four, islands arranged to form two groups, each with a larger and a smaller island. "Antyllia" had seven cities on it.¹

G. R. Crone offers a plausible explanation for the portrayal of Antilla by noting an earlier map by Franciscus Pizigano in 1367 that contains, out in the Atlantic in an area west of Portugal, the map legend adjacent to a figure with one arm upraised. The caption reads: "Here are statues which stand before the shores of Atullia (ante ripas Atulliae) and which have been set up for the safety of sailors; for beyond is the vile sea, which sailors cannot navigate."² Within twenty years of Pizigano's map, others were made placing the island of Antilla in the area previously occupied by the legend. Unfortunately, the only knowledge of these maps is contained in Pedro de Medina's *Libra de grandezas de España* published in 1548. Medina notes that he found the island of Antilla drawn on an ancient marine chart and on a Ptolemy that had been sent to Pope Urban VI, who had died in 1389.⁵ Thus for Crone it appears that the island could be traced to an unknown cartographer who first drew a border around the legend; possibly other cartographers left out the legend, thus creating the island of Antilla.⁴

On the other hand, the basis for Antilla may have derived from reports of sailors. Between 1431 and 1460 there were actual discoveries, or rediscoveries, of the Canaries, Cape Verdes, and the Azores. On the map by Battista Beccario (1435), Antilla is one of a group of four islands collectively designated "Insulle a Novo Repte" (Newly Reported Islands). Martin Behaim's world globe of 1492 indicates that a ship from Spain drew near to Antilla and the Seven Cities in 1414. William Babcock, in *Legendary Islands of the Atlantic*, suggests that Antilla may be the geo-

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1. Armando Cortesao, "The North Atlantic Nautical Chart of 1424," *Imago Mundi* 10 (1953), 2, 4.
 2. G. R. Crone, "The Origin of the Name Antilla," *Geographical Journal* 41 (March 1938), 260.
 3. Pedro de Medina, *Obras de Pedro de Medina*, Angel Gonzalez Palencia, ed. (Madrid, 1944), 70; Cortesao, "The North Atlantic Nautical Chart," 8.
 4. Crone, "Origin of the Name Antilla," 261.

graphic representation of that voyage.⁵ Certainly the 1414 event occurred prior to the chart of 1424.

E. G. R. Taylor provides an interesting hypothesis dealing specifically with Antilla and its companion island, Salvaga. According to Taylor, these islands represent information received by cartographers from ships' logs concerning one or more voyages from south to north along the coasts of Newfoundland and Labrador. Because the cartographers' information consisted of figures for two east-facing coastlines, the conventional drawing of four square islands was made. This was the same procedure used for the Canaries, Madeira, and the Azores when they were first reported. Taylor substantiates her hypothesis by redrawing Newfoundland and Labrador as they would have appeared to sailors coasting from south to north. Because the local compass varied two points (22½ degrees), the two coasts lay in the magnetic meridian. This is the same relative position portrayed by the G. Benincasa 1470 map and the A. Canepo map of 1480. Taylor's results are tabulated as follows:

Section name	Modern map	1470	1480
Newfoundland (Antillia)	230 miles	240 miles	240 miles
Labrador (salvga)	180 miles	180 miles	190 miles
Total miles covered S to N ⁶	560 miles	580 miles	580 miles

Taylor also explains how vessels could be forced to the Newfoundland and Labrador shores when the prevailing winds in the Atlantic at that latitude blow west and southwesterly. She points to the unusual weather conditions during the winter of 1962-1963 when, because of a strong high pressure area far to the north of the Azores, strong east winds persisted for weeks

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5. William H. Babcock, *Legendary Islands of the Atlantic: A Study in Medieval Geography*, American Geographical Society Research Series, no. 8 (New York, 1922), 70, 151-53.
 6. E. G. R. Taylor, "Imaginary Islands: A Problem Solved," *Geographical Journal* 130 (March 1964), 105-09.

about the latitude 50°N.⁷ Her theory corroborates with Bartolomé de las Casas's account of a sailor who said that on a trip to Ireland the crew saw land they believed to be Tartaria. Although they did not sail towards it, the land stretched westward as far as they could see. Las Casas also stated that Pedro de Velasco told Columbus of a voyage on which he saw land to the west of Ireland.⁸

Most authorities studying medieval islands in the Atlantic treat the Lost Island, Antilla, and St. Brandon's Island as separate entities, but there is reason to believe that they were the same place. Honorius's *Imago Mundi* (ca. 1100) tells of the "lost" island that "though as a general rule unknown to man . . . was sometimes to be found by hazard, though never found when looked for. Hence it was called 'Perdita,' or 'Lost.'" Honorius also mentions that Saint Brandon visited that island.⁹ The *Semeiança del mundo* (ca. 1223), the earliest extant geography of the world in the Spanish language, briefly discusses the Lost Island (Pardita en latin) that some had come upon accidentally but were unable to find when searching for it. This early text also states that Saint Brandon reached that island.¹⁰ The English work, *Caxton's Mirrour of the World*, published in 1480 but based upon a Latin text of 1245, repeats the theme that some stumbled upon it but could never find it when looking for it and that "this yle fonde seynt Brandon the whiche, beyng therin on ferme londe, sawe & fonde many meruailles lyke as his legende conteyneth."¹¹ Pedro de Medina, in his *Libro de grandezas de España*, writes: "Not very far from this island of Madera is another island which is called Antilla, which is no longer seen. . . . This island Antilla, in other times was found by the Portuguese, but now when it is searched for, it is not found. . . . It is said that sailing at a distance one sees this island and on approaching near it one can not find it."¹²

7. Ibid., 106, 108.

8. Bartolomé de las Casas, *Historia de las Indias*, 113 vols., Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España (Madrid, 1875), LXII, 100-01.

9. John K. Wright, *The Geographical Lore of the Time of the Crusades*, American Geographical Society Research Series, no. 15 (New York, 1925), 351.

10. William E. Bull and Harry F. Williams, *Semeiança del mundo: A Medieval Description of the World* (Berkeley, 1959), 96.

11. Oliver H. Prior, ed., *Caxton's Mirrour of the World* (London, 1913), 94-96.

12. Medina, *Obras de Pedro de Medina*, 70.

Medina states that his information came from a fourteenth-century map. According to him, Antilla and the Lost Island were one.

Columbus's son, in his history, wrote of the Lost Island, saying that "some Portuguese have written, that the pilots of their nation who have reached this island, have never been able to return to it, and that nevertheless, in the time of the Infanta Don Enrique some sailors were blown to this island." He further relates that when they returned to Portugal they were not willing to lead an expedition back to the island; therefore, they had to flee the kingdom.¹³

The usual answer given by modern historians for the phenomenon of the Lost Island is that sailors probably saw low-lying clouds on the horizon that appeared to be an island. In sailing towards the island, it disappeared. This theory, however, does not grant much ability to medieval seamen. It is unlikely that they were confused by clouds on the horizon. A more plausible explanation notes the effect of hot, dust-laden sirocco winds that occasionally blow off the Libyan deserts and across the Mediterranean Sea. Sirocco winds cause several atmospheric disturbances, including radio interference, radar ducting (the bending of normal line-of-sight radar waves over the horizon), and the creation of mirages at sea. It is possible that sirocco-like conditions appeared in the Atlantic causing sailors to see land on the horizon that was in fact many miles beyond the visual horizon. Under these conditions, seamen could have seen islands that disappeared as they sailed toward them.

According to the legend, the Seven Cities were founded in the early years of the eighth century. Yet the earliest mention of them occurred when Pedro de Medina reported finding them on a map and a Ptolemy (ca. 1380); neither source is presently extant. Medina writes: "There are on [Antilla] people who speak the language of Spain, that of the king don Rodrigo last of the Gothic kings of Spain, when the barbarians entered Spain, it is believed that to this island he fled. This island has an Archbishop and six bishops, where each one has his own city, because of so many it was called the island of Seven Cities."¹⁴

13. Fernando Colón, *Historia del almirante don Cristóbal Colón en la cual se da particular y verdadera relación de su vida y sus hechos, y del descubrimiento de las Indias occidentales, llamadas nuevo-mundo*, 22 vols., Colección de libros raros ó curiosos que tratan de América (Madrid, 1892), V, 45.

14. Medina, *Obras de Pedro de Medina*, 70.

The earliest extant recorded reference to the Seven Cities per se is the charter granted by King Alfonso V of Portugal to Fernao Teles in 1475.¹⁵ Martin Behaim's 1492 globe is the earliest record of the actual legend of the Seven Cities still in existence. He relates that "in the year 734 of Christ, when the whole of Spain had been won by the heathen [Moors] of Africa, the above island Antilia, called Septe citade [Seven Cities], was inhabited by an archbishop from Porto in Portugal, with six other bishops, and other Christians, men and women, who had fled thither from Spain, by ship, together with their cattle, belongings, and goods. [In] 1414 a ship from Spain got nighest it without being endangered."¹⁶ From the preceding discussion of the origins of Antilla and the Seven Cities it is apparent that the island was an amalgamation of earlier legends, possible copying errors, and actual voyages.

As for the impact of the Seven Cities of Antilla upon explorations in the Atlantic, Las Casas recorded that Diego Detiene left Portugal looking for Antilla forty years before Columbus discovered the Indies.¹⁷ There are also records of patents granted by the Portuguese kings during the fifteenth century to seek out the Seven Cities. In 1462, Guomcallo Fernandez petitioned King Alfonso V of Portugal for permission to search for an island he had sighted earlier but had not explored because of adverse weather. On January 28, 1474, the king granted Fernao Telles the right to investigate new islands and to settle such places as he desired, provided they were not in the region of Guinea.¹⁸

Prior to June 1474, a churchman from Lisbon, visiting Italy, met Paolo Toscanelli of Florence. Toscanelli had a theory that contact with Asia could be established by a westward voyage into the Atlantic. When the Portuguese traveler brought this view back to the court of Alfonso V, the king requested more information. Toscanelli sent a map and a letter explaining that Quinsay in China was at the same latitude as Lisbon and about 5,000 sea miles away. By deviating from a direct route, it would be possible to refresh a ship and crew at Antilla, 1,500 miles from

15. J. A. Williamson, *The Cabot Voyages and Bristol Discovery Under Henry VII* (Cambridge, England, 1962), 184-86.

16. E. G. Ravenstein, *Martin Behaim, His Life and His Globe* (London, 1908), 77.

17. Las Casas, *Historia de las Indias*, 100.

18. Williamson, *The Cabot Voyages*, 183-84; Samuel E. Morison, *Portuguese Voyages to America in the Fifteenth Century* (Cambridge, MA, 1940), 32.

Europe, and again at Cipango (Japan), about 3,500 miles away.¹⁹ Evidently the Portuguese were not interested in sailing such distances across open seas, for they did not organize any expeditions to reach Asia via the West. The Portuguese continued their efforts to coast around Africa.

If unwilling to make the long voyage to Asia by a westward journey, the Portuguese were at least willing to search for Antilla. The Toscanelli letter, however, raised questions about the right of conquest over an island peopled by Christians. On November 10, 1475, Alfonso V amplified his earlier charter saying that if the Seven Cities should be found, Telles was granted the right of "lordship and jurisdiction and power over the inhabitants."²⁰

The Portuguese were not alone in exploring the Atlantic. English sailors from Bristol also sailed into the western sea. The voyages of the Bristolmen during the reign of Edward IV are not well documented; however, there are records indicating that in the early 1480s Bristol merchants outfitted vessels to search for the island of Brasil. Ship's master Thloyde set sail on July 15, 1480, and again the following year. On January 20, 1483, Thomas Croft of Bristol sought the same destination. The first document to demonstrate that Bristolmen sought the Seven Cities was the 1498 report of the Spanish representative in London, Pedro de Ayala. He reported that "for the last seven years the people of Bristol have equipped two, three, [and] four caravels to go in search of the Island of Brasil and the Seven Cities according to the fancy of this Genoese [John Cabot]."²¹

The Treaty of Alcaçovas (1479) gave the Canaries to Spain and Madeira to Portugal. When the aborigines of the Canaries resisted Spanish authority, Englishmen served the Spanish crown in the conquest of the Canaries and received land grants for their efforts. Thus, there was intercourse between the English and Spanish seafarers during this period. Las Casas wrote of the Seven Cities "whose fame and wealth has even reached to us, causing many to [attempt to] become conquerors of the country, and to spend enormous amounts of money without any practical purpose."²² It appears that expeditions from Portugal, Bristol, and Spain only sought riches, trade, and conquest. The charters

19. Williamson, *The Cabot Voyages*, 7-8.

20. *Ibid.*, 184-86.

21. *Ibid.*, 23.

22. Las Casas, *Historia de las Indias*, 99.

and patents of these adventures show little concern with opening a route to Asia, and their goal was limited to finding the Seven Cities of Antilla.

In contrast to those goals, Columbus concerned himself with finding a route to Asia. While in Portugal, he heard about Toscanelli. Columbus wrote to him and asked for a copy of the letter and map that Toscanelli had earlier sent to the court in Lisbon. According to Columbus's son, Toscanelli answered his request. None of the original documents have survived, but the son possessed copies that he included in his history.²³ In his letter, Toscanelli refers to the globe as the best method of demonstrating his hypothesis as to the small distance separating Europe from Asia on a westward route.

Columbus must have used the existence of Antilla and Cipango to reassure his crew before their first voyage. On the eighteenth day out of the Canaries, the captain of the *Pinta* talked with Columbus about "certain islands" that should be in the vicinity, according to the chart Columbus had sent over three days before. Columbus agreed and offered the explanation that currents must have carried them northwestward. This would explain why they did not sight the islands. Later, when Columbus arrived in the Bahamas, his information led him to believe that he was in the longitude of Cipango. The Indians told him of a large island (Cuba) where merchants traded gold and spices using great ships. Columbus, of course, obtained this information by means of signs since he did not know the language. Yet he wrote that Cuba must be "the island of Cipango, of which marvellous things are recounted and in the spheres which I have seen and in the drawings of mappemondes, it is in this region."²⁴ He was not aware of a new world between Europe and Asia.

John Cabot was another explorer determined to use the Seven Cities as a way station en route to Asia. He concluded that the islands found by the Spanish were in the mid Atlantic and that Columbus had not yet reached Asia. By sailing westward in the northern latitudes, he hoped to find Antilla, refresh his crew, and continue westward to Cipango, which he thought was west of the Spanish Indies. The final leg of the journey would carry

23. Colón, *Historia*, 38-39.

24. Christopher Columbus, *The Journal of Christopher Columbus*, Cecil Jane, trans. (New York, 1960), 14-15, 42-43.

Cabot to the Asian mainland. (The world map by G. M. Contarini, 1506, is an excellent graphic presentation of Cabot's view.) When Cabot returned to England after his first voyage in 1497, he evidently thought that he had discovered the Seven Cities. On August 24, 1497, Raimondo de Soncino sent a dispatch to the Duke of Milan stating that Cabot had found two new islands "and also discovered the Seven Cities, 400 leagues from the island of England, on the western passage." He also wrote that the king intended to send out fifteen or twenty ships the next year.²⁵

When early explorers failed to find the Seven Cities on the islands of the Indies, the cities became disassociated from newly discovered Spanish islands. The La Cosa map of 1500 includes the caption "mar descubierta por inglese" (sea discoveries by the English) just off the northeastern portion of the mainland. The coastline runs almost east and west, and on the eastern portion are place names. The map has deteriorated in the past 130 years, and the rendering of place names by earlier investigators is probably more accurate than later readings. Written over the land discovered by the English "there was formerly visible a fragment of inscription naming the Seven Cities, apparently in Spanish, and an inconclusive vestige of it is still detectable."²⁶ In addition, there is a manuscript world map (ca. 1508) that is similar. It has Septem ciuitates written on the northern land mass, and there are seven miters drawn along the coast.²⁷

The Cantino map of 1502 represents the Portuguese view. It situates the demarcation line between Castille and Portugal, 370 leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands, and misplaces the Portuguese discoveries near Newfoundland well to the east of the demarcation line. The islands about Hispaniola are titled "Has antilhas del ray de castilla" (the Antilles of the king of Castille). Beyond the Antilles a section of coastline is marked "Parte de Assia" (part of Asia).²⁸ The La Cosa, Cantino, and the manuscript world map all convey the separation of the Seven Cities from the island of Antilla.

25. H. P. Bigger, *The Precursors of Jacques Cartier, 1497-1534*, publications of the Canadian Archives, no. 5 (Ottawa, 1911), 15-16.

26. Williamson, *The Cabot Voyages*, 77.

27. For a reproduction of the map see R. A. Skelton, *Explorers' Maps: Chapters in the Cartographic Record of Geographical Discovery* (London, 1958; revised, New York, 1970), 63, 72.

28. *Ibid.*, 58, 71-72.

This changed view of Antilla and the Seven Cities reached Turkey in the eastern Mediterranean. About 1513 the Turkish Admiral Piri Re'is created a world map drawing upon Spanish and Portuguese discoveries. In addition to his map, Re'is wrote *Kitabi Bahriye (On Seas)* in which he stated that Columbus had discovered the Antilles and that "his map has reached down to us." He also mentioned that in one of the Turkish sea battles with the Spanish, about 1501, a seaman was captured who had made three voyages with "Colon-bo" to America.²⁹ Re'is's map does not portray the Seven Cities; however, there is a north-south oriented island similar in shape to the Antilla of earlier maps located east of the curved archipelago of the Lesser Antilles. The inscription states: "And this island is called Antilia Island. There are a great many living creatures and parrots and logwood, but [the island] is not inhabited."³⁰

The discovery of a more advanced civilization on the Yucatan peninsula called forth a new discussion by the Spanish on the possible existence of the Seven Cities. During this period it appears to have been an academic endeavor to explain how the Indians of the Yucatan achieved an advanced culture. Thus, the chroniclers mention many theories to explain this new Indian society in terms of a European or Mediterranean background. Bernal Díaz del Castillo thought that the Indian figures and idols were antiques from an earlier Jewish colony, probably a remnant from Jerusalem after its destruction by Titus and Vespasian.³¹ The chaplain of the second Spanish expedition to the Yucatan wrote that the practice of circumcision among the Indians indicated that Moors and Jews might be nearby. The Indians told him that "people were near who used ships, clothes and arms like the Spaniards, and that a canoe could go where they are in ten days, a voyage perhaps of 300 miles."³²

Finding the symbol of the cross among the Indians of the Yucatan led many Spaniards to wonder if the region was indeed the Seven Cities founded by the Christian bishops in the eighth century. Both Gómara and Oviedo mentioned this in their his-

29. Inan Afet, *Bir Türk Amirali* (Istanbul, 1937), 344.

30. Paul Kahle, "A Lost Map of Columbus," *Geographical Review* 23 (October 1933), 635.

31. Bernal Díaz del Castillo, *The True History of the Conquest of Mexico*, Maurice Keatinge, trans. (New York, 1938), 37.

32. Henry R. Wagner, ed. and trans., *The Discovery of New Spain in 1518 by Juan de Grijalva* (Berkeley, CA, 1942), 83.

tories, although neither supported the connection.³³ It is a valid assumption that the quest for the Seven Cities played a slight, if any, role in prompting a third expedition led by Hernán Cortés in 1519. In the case of the Yucatan, the Spaniards made their discovery and found wealth before rumors of the Seven Cities became a popular topic for speculation. In fact, the discovery occurred during a time when the legend was in disfavor because of previous failures to find the Seven Cities in the Caribbean.

It was not until the Nuño de Guzmán expedition in Mexico in 1530 that the Seven Cities again provided an impetus for further explorations. Guzmán sought the seven large towns that his Indian slave Tejo claimed to have visited as a boy. Tejo's father had taken him along on a journey to these cities to trade feathers for ornaments of gold and silver. The towns were so large that certain streets were devoted entirely to silver workers.³⁴ Guzmán ended his search abruptly when Cortés returned to Mexico. The rivalry between the two men put the expedition on hold. The arrival of Álvaro Núñez Cabeza de Vaca a few years later supplied the necessary stimulant to seek the Seven Cities once again.

Late in April 1536, Álvaro Núñez Cabeza de Vaca led four companions, three Spaniards, and a black slave named Estevan from the wilderness to a frontier settlement in Mexico. They were the only survivors of an expedition that had set out from Cuba in 1528 to explore Florida. The group had met with one disaster after another. After failing to meet their ships at a rendezvous point on Florida's west coast, they killed their horses to make horsehide boats hoping to sail along the coast to Mexico. Cabeza de Vaca and some of the others survived shipwrecks off the coast of Texas and became slaves to the Indians. Later, Cabeza de Vaca became renowned as a medicine man and walked across the continent with a large following of Indians, emerging on the west coast of Mexico at Culiacán. From his own writings, Cabeza de Vaca appeared to have purposely created an enigma

33. Francisco Lopez de Gómara, *Historia general de las Indias*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1941), I, 113-16, 118-19; Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés Gonzalez, *Historia general y natural de las Indias, islas y tierra firme del mar océano*, 3 vols. (Madrid, 1851-1855), I, 497.

34. George Parker Winship, "The Coronado Expedition, 1540-1542," *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, 1892-93* (Washington, 1896), 473.

concerning his wanderings. While he wrote of the poverty of the Indians he met and of the bleakness of the land through which he traveled, he continually implied that there was more that he was not telling.

When Cabeza de Vaca visited Mexico City, he told Antonio de Mendoza, the viceroy, stories about the wealth of Indian villages with four- and five-story buildings. Mendoza tried to induce him to lead an expedition into the interior, but Cabeza de Vaca preferred to return to Spain. He arrived at the court in Spain in 1538, shortly after Hernando de Soto obtained concessions to Florida. The Gentleman of Elvas, an anonymous hidalgo who accompanied the Soto expedition, wrote that Cabeza de Vaca spoke of poverty in the Indian country and of the hardships he had endured, but he hinted of much more. "Here I have seen this; and the rest which I saw I leave to confer of with His Majesty."³⁵ From his stories, Cabeza de Vaca implied that the rich Indian cities were north of his route, and he had gleaned his information from Indians he had met in his wanderings.

Hernando de Soto was anxious to have Cabeza de Vaca accompany him to Florida. For a time Cabeza de Vaca planned to go, but a rift developed between the two men, and he withdrew from the expedition. Cabeza de Vaca continued to imply that the venture was desirable. He said, however, that he did not want to serve under another and that he would seek a different post from the crown rather than go with Soto to Florida. He told his own kinsmen that though he could not reveal all to them, "he would advise them to sell their estates and go-that in so doing they would act wisely."³⁶

Cabeza de Vaca succeeded well. Both Soto and Mendoza prepared expeditions to explore the interior. In addition, Pedro de Alvarado, who had returned to Spain in 1536, must have met Cabeza de Vaca at court. At about this time, Alvarado changed his plans for voyaging into the South Seas and petitioned the crown for permission to build a fleet and explore the Pacific toward the west or the north. Alvarado's request was granted,

35. The Gentleman of Elvas, "The Narrative of the Expedition of Hernando de Soto by the Gentleman of Elvas," *Spanish Explorers in the Southern United States 1528-1543*, Theodore H. Lewis, ed. (New York, 1907), 136.

36. *Ibid.*, 137.

and he returned to America at the beginning of 1539 with the necessary equipment to outfit a large fleet.³⁷

A race developed between Mendoza in Mexico and Soto in Spain to see who could reach the Seven Cities first. The viceroy in Mexico ordered Fray Marcos de Niza to explore the interior, north of Culiacán, using Estevan as his guide. Thus, in the early months of 1539, Fray Marcos sent Estevan into the northern wilderness ahead of the main body. He was instructed to send back reports of his progress and to send a cross, the size of which would indicate his success. Four days after he left, Estevan returned a cross as large as a man. He also dispatched an Indian who had been to the Seven Cities. Fray Marcos reported that the Indian told him so many wonderful things about the Seven Cities that he would not believe it until he had visited the place for himself. The messenger also reported that Estevan was thirty days from the first of the towns, the one called Cibola. This was the first mention of the Indian name for one of the cities, and thereafter the search continued for the "Seven Cities of Cibola."

Estevan, contrary to Fray Marcos's instructions, hurried on, hoping for a reward if he alone found the Seven Cities. At the first city, Indians captured him and held him for questioning for three days. Estevan told of two white men who were behind him who were to teach the natives of the "God in the sky." The Indians thought "he was a spy because he was black and said the people were white in the country he came from. They killed him and let his Indians go. They fled and met the friars sixty leagues distant from the city."³⁸

When news of Estevan's death reached Fray Marcos, he determined to push on and at least see the city. He persuaded two of the principal men from Estevan's party to accompany him, and with his own Indians and interpreters continued on. Finally, he sighted the city in the distance. "The houses are, as the Indians had told me, all of stone, with their stories and flat roofs. As far as I could see from a height where I placed myself to observe, the settlement is larger than the city of Mexico." After taking possession of all the land for the king of Spain, the friar turned

37. Winship, "The Coronado Expedition," 352.

38. Ibid., 475; Adolph F. Bandelier, *Hemenway Southwestern Archaeological Expedition*, Papers of the Archaeological Institute of America, Amerian Series V (Cambridge, MA, 1890), 129-31, 161.

back "with much more fright than food."³⁹ When the friars returned, they told Francisco Vázquez de Coronado, the acting governor, of the discoveries of Estevan and Fray Marcos. Coronado took them to Mexico City so the viceroy might hear about the Seven Cities of Cíbola. In a short time, 300 Spaniards and 800 natives were collected for the proposed conquest.

Fray Marcos's first exploration occurred at the same time that Soto, now in Havana, prepared for his landing in Florida. Later, Soto brought his nine vessels into Tampa Bay and anchored there because of the shoal waters. On May 30, 1539, he landed his force, including 213 horses, so that he might lighten his ships and bring them closer to the land. This was the beginning of a trek that would last four years and cover more than 350,000 square miles of the southeastern part of the present-day United States. Soto and his party spent their first winter in Florida at Apalache (present-day Tallahassee). Then began his inland travels. Soto followed the basic route of Cabeza de Vaca but traveled much farther inland. It was as though he was seeking the riches that Cabeza de Vaca believed could be found to the north of his own wanderings.

Almost a year after Soto arrived in Florida, February 23, 1540, Coronado led his army out to conquer the Seven Cities of Cibola with high hopes; after all, Fray Marcos had seen Cíbola, and he was accompanying them! The trek was difficult, but the men were buoyant with prospects of conquest. At last, on July 7, they arrived at Cibola and found not a European-like city with great wealth, but a poor Zuñi Indian pueblo. Pedro de Castañeda, who accompanied Coronado, reported that "such were the curses that some hurled at Friar Marcos that I pray God may protect him from them."⁴⁰ Coronado's report to the viceroy ended the legend of the Seven Cities when he said: "The Seven Cities are seven little villages. . . . They are all within a radius of 5 leagues."⁴¹ As myth and reality met, the dreams of wealth crumbled. From the first, the Seven Cities had been a frontier legend just beyond the next island, over the next mountain, across the next river, always on the uncharted areas of the map. Now they had been found.

39. Bandelier, *Hemenway Southwestern Archaeological Expedition*, 161.

40. Winship, "The Coronado Expedition," 483.

41. *Ibid.*

BEYOND THE MARTYRS OF FLORIDA: THE VERSATILE CAREER OF LUIS GERÓNIMO DE ORÉ

by NOBLE DAVID COOK

THE general commissioner for the Franciscan missions in Florida, Friar Luis Gerónimo de Oré, arrived in St. Augustine in 1614 where he conducted a brief ecclesiastical inspection before returning to Cuba. Oré came again to Florida in late 1616, reaching St. Augustine on November 6. Armed with powers of visitation and confirmation, he inspected the Franciscan missions in the area and confirmed hundreds of converts. He also presided over the First General Chapter Meeting of the Franciscan Order in the province. During his Florida travels, Oré collected reports on earlier attempts of conversion, and before returning to Europe he compiled a survey of the church's work in Florida. That history, *The Martyrs of Florida, 1513-1616*, remains a basic primary source for the early religious experience in the southeastern part of the present-day United States.¹ Little known are Oré's youth and religious activities in the Andean heartland of the viceroyalty of Peru, his role as a Renaissance linguist and stirring preacher in the languages of Quechua and Aymara, his diplomatic missions in Spain and Rome, and his

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1. Maynard Geiger translated and edited Oré's history, with a biographical sketch, under the title *The Martyrs of Florida, 1513-1616* (New York, 1936). The earlier Spanish version, edited by Atanasio Lopez, was *Relación histórica de la Florida, escrito en el siglo XVII*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1931-1933). See also John Tate Lanning, *The Spanish Missions of Georgia* (Chapel Hill, 1935; reprint, St. Clair Shores, MI, 1971); and Michael V. Gannon, *The Cross in the Sand: The Early Catholic Church in Florida, 1513-1870* (Gainesville, 1965).

experiences as bishop of La Imperial (Concepción) on the Araucanian frontier of Chile.²

Oré was born in the central Andean highlands of Peru in the city of Huamanga (present-day Ayacucho) about 1554. His father, Antonio de Oré, was not part of Francisco Pizarro's force, but he was one of Peru's early settlers. He missed the first booty of conquest (the treasure collected at Cajamarca in 1533) but reached the shores soon enough to fight in the civil wars of the conquistadores. In 1538, the senior Oré distinguished himself at the Battle of Las Salinas where the Pizarrists defeated the forces of Diego de Almagro. He contributed his personal resources, estimated at 10,000 pesos, to conquer the Guancas Chupaychos Indians. But Antonio's principal Peruvian wealth came by marriage to a widow, doña Luisa Días de Roxas y Rivera, who held the rich encomienda (grant of tribute-paying Indians) of Hanan Chilques. The couple settled in Huamanga, the Spanish city nearest their Indians (as mandated in royal ordinances), and with the tribute and labor of their charges, plus investments in nearby mines and land, they amassed a substantial fortune. Antonio de Oré and his wife were recognized as important members of the city's colonial elite.³

Most historians mention only the couple's four boys who became monks and the daughters who founded the convent of Santa Clara in Huamanga, but the family was substantially larger. The couple was fortunate that their children survived, for infant mortality in colonial Peru was high even among the Spanish elite. At least sixteen of Oré's offspring, half of whom were females, reached adulthood. Spacing of the children indicates that the family used Indian wetnurses, probably from the encomienda of Hanan Chilques. The linguistic competency of several of the children probably was due to the influence of their native nursesmaids and because their first playing companions likely were children of the Andean highlands. Gerónimo de Oré, the friar's brother, inherited the bulk of the family's estate and married

2. Brief biographical sketches can be found in José Toribio Polo, "Luis Gerónimo de Oré," *Revista Histórica: Órgano del Instituto Histórico del Perú* 2 (no. 1, 1907), 74-91; Manuel de Mendiburu, *Diccionario Histórico-biográfico del Perú*, 11 vols. (Lima, 1931-1934), VIII, 247-48.

3. Manuscript Room, file Z328, Z330, Z336, Biblioteca Nacional de Lima, Lima, Peru (hereafter BNL); and Noble David Cook, ed., *Tasa de la visita general de Francisco de Toledo* (Lima, 1975), 276-77.

doña Aldonsa de Azevedo y Guevara. The couple's son, named after his grandfather don Antomo, married doña Mariana Pisaro de Orellana, thus linking the Oré family to another distinguished line.⁴

Whether by true conviction or from fear of eternal damnation in an age of faith, the elder Oré stressed both his family's religious education and charitable works. Saint Jerome was the patron of the family, and they came to be staunch supporters of the endeavors of the Franciscan Order in Peru. Antonio de Oré is largely responsible for the founding of the Clarises Convent in Huamanga. According to tradition, the Convent of Santa Clara was constructed using silver from Oré's mine. Just as the structure reached completion in 1568, the rich vein of silver wore out.

The elder Oré knew Latin well, and he imparted the knowledge to all his children. As construction of the convent progressed, he memorized the appropriate church ritual for the convent and taught it to his daughters who founded the Huamanga house and became its abbesses. Of the sixteen siblings, eight—perhaps nine—entered the service of the church. Daughters Ana del Espíritu Santo, born 1544; Leonor de Jesús and María de la Concepción, both born 1549; Inés de la Encarnación, born 1553; and perhaps later, “la menor” (the younger), also named María de Oré, joined the Huamanga convent.⁵

Four boys entered the Franciscan Order. The eldest, Pedro, distinguished himself as a missionary in the Peruvian doctrinas (Indian parishes) and was later custodio of Tierra Firme and guardian of the Franciscan monastery in Panama.⁶ Dionisio served in many of the Andean doctrinas, including Cajamarca, Jauja, the Collaguas, and Cuzco. Antonio also spent many years in church service. But most famous in his time was Luis Gerónimo. In addition to learning Latin, the boys also learned to play the organ and the *tecla* (a keyboard instrument similar to the harpsichord). Many years later, Friar Diego Sánchez, who provided oral testimony for Diego de Córdova y Salinas's history of the Franciscan Order in Peru, remembered them as excellent singers of the *canto llano* (Gregorian chant). Antonio and Luis

4. Manuscript Room, file Z328 and Z330, BNL.

5. *Ibid.*, file Z328, Z330, C341 (originally register 35, fols. 52r-56r in the Archive of the Convent of San Francisco in Lima).

6. A custodio in the Franciscan Order is the Superior of brothers not yet organized into a province.

Gerónimo were reputed to have had such wonderful voices that “they could have sung in the Cathedral of Toledo.”⁷

The young Luis Gerónimo and his brothers and sisters learned Quechua, and perhaps Aymara, from their many Indian servants and their families. They learned Spanish and Latin from their parents, and their father probably used one or more Latin grammars, as well as classical texts, to assist the instruction. A tutor may also have been employed. The frontier community of Huamanga, with—according to royal cosmographer López de Velasco—only a handful of Spanish vecinos in the late 1560s, did not have the educational facilities for the siblings. It was necessary, therefore, for the children to travel to larger colonial urban centers to complete their formal education and training. Cuzco, the capital of the defeated Inca empire, and Lima, the coastal administrative center of the viceroyalty of Peru, were roughly equidistant from Huamanga. The young Luis Gerónimo travelled south to the highland center of Cuzco to finish the next step of his education. He was approximately fourteen when he embarked on the journey to Cuzco, and in 1568 he became a novice in the Franciscan monastery.⁸

His sojourn in Cuzco preceded only slightly the arrival of Viceroy Francisco de Toledo and the final conquest of the neo-Inca state at Vilcabamba under the leadership of Tupac Amaru. While in Cuzco, Oré probably witnessed Tupac Amaru’s dramatic execution in the principal plaza of the city. Oré’s superiors recognized his intellectual promise, and they encouraged him to travel to Lima to complete his education. He went to the University of San Marcos where he graduated sometime in the late 1570s. His studies included the typical religious foundations that were a prerequisite for his church vocation. Some sources mention that he read in theology. He must also have studied the basics of the legal profession, for he later acted as procurador (attorney) for the Franciscan missions and subsequently as legal

7. Manuscript Room, file C341, fols. 52r-56v, BNL. See Juan López de Velasco, *Geografía y descripción universal de las Indias* (Madrid, 1894; reprint, Madrid, 1971); and Steve J. Stern, *Peru’s Indian Peoples and the Challenge of the Spanish Conquest: Huamanga to 1640* (Madison, WI, 1982).

8. In 1620, the bishop of the city of Arequipa wrote the monarch that American-born doctrineros knew Indian languages best. “Born here, yes indeed it is true, that many naturally know [the native language] because they suckled it with the milk.” See Audiencia of Lima, box 309, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain (hereafter AGI).

representative of the bishop of Cuzco. Oré was ordained in Lima on Saturday, September 23, 1581, by Archbishop Saint Toribio de Mogrovejo. He was then about twenty-seven years old and at the beginning of what would be a long religious career. Franciscan chronicler Friar Buenaventura de Salinas y Córdova wrote in 1630 that Oré was one of the first Creole graduates to become a bishop.⁹

The linguistic talents of Oré were well known. Members of the Third Church Council Meeting in Lima called on him, according to the testimony of other Franciscans, to help prepare a Quechua catechism. The Church Council ordered that a commission representing all the missionary orders in Peru—the Dominicans, the Mercedarians, the Franciscans, and the more recent Jesuits—be established. Historians continue to debate the authorship of the combined catechism. Each order has its proponents, and partisan historians tend to ignore the contributions of their competitors.¹⁰ It is clear that Luis Gerónimo de Oré played a role in this important church effort, although the exact nature of the contribution is still under review. Various Quechua catechisms had circulated in manuscript form in the years prior to the Third Church Council, and each religious order had a favorite version. These were reviewed and integrated into the final catechism published in Lima in 1584.¹¹

The Franciscans had several doctrinas in the viceroyalty of Peru. Jauja, Cajamarca, and the Collaguas were the most important charges in the sixteenth century.¹² In the mid 1580s, Oré was assigned to the Collaguas doctrinas, and his legal background proved a key to his success. The rich Colca Valley, located in the southern Peruvian highlands about two-thirds of

9. Buenaventura de Salinas y Córdova, *Memorial de las historias de nuevo mundo Pirú* (Lima, 1957), 176-77; and Toribio Polo, "Luis Gerónimo de Oré," 74-91.

10. Enrique T. Bartra, "Los autores del Catecismo del Tercer Concilio Limense," *Mercurio Peruano* 470 (November-December 1967), 359-72.

11. Manuscript Room, file C341, fols. 28r, 55v, BNL; and Lima Audiencia, box 126, AGI. The fact that the commission met in the Colegio de la Compañía de Jesús has incorrectly led some scholars to assume it was solely a Jesuit undertaking.

12. For the best survey of the history of the Order's activities in early colonial Peru, see Antonine Tibesar, *Franciscan Beginnings in Colonial Peru* (Washington, 1953). Also useful is the documentary collection in Bernardino Izaguirre, ed., *Historia de las misiones franciscanas*, 14 vols. (Lima, 1922-1930).

the distance from Cuzco to Arequipa, was a corregimiento (Indian province) with two private encomiendas in the lower valley, two in the middle, and a single crown grant in the upper valley named Yanque Collaguas. The lower valley had been granted to Spanish encomenderos (holders of Indian grants) in the 1530s and Francisco Pizarro gave the upper part to his brother Gonzalo in early 1540. Gonzalo Pizarro lost both his head and Indians at the end of the revolt of the encomenderos, and Pedro de la Gasca granted the Collaguas to Francisco Noguerol de Ulloa. Noguerol received tributes from it until the 1570s when it was integrated into the royal patrimony. The grant was stripped from Noguerol de Ulloa because of his absence in Spain beyond the authorized time limit. He was there defending himself in the court of the Council of the Indies against charges of bigamy and illegal shipment of treasure to Spain.¹³

The upper Colca Valley was the center of Franciscan activities, though they had doctrinas in the middle valley as well. Gonzalo Pizarro probably made the first efforts to convert the Collaguas and may have supported Franciscan endeavors there, but the missions were not formally organized by the Franciscans until 1561. By the time the area was inspected under orders of Viceroy Toledo in the 1570s and the Indians forcibly settled into Spanish-style towns, the Franciscans had several churches in the upper valley with a headquarters at the village of Coporaque. Franciscan work in the Indian doctrinas was disrupted in 1581 when Gerónimo de Villacarrillo, the general commissioner of the Order in Peru, called the friars back to the principal convents, removing them from the daily obligation of parish administration. It seems his purpose was religious, in keeping with original ideals of the order, but there were probably political and economic factors as well. The Collaguas doctrinas were rich, and members of the secular clergy quickly secured revenues from these Indian parishes for themselves.

In a matter of months, kurakas (Indian leaders) of the Collaguas began to voice complaints before colonial administrators about the excessive fees levied for the church sacraments, and

13. For the history of this encomendero, see Alexandra Parma Cook and Noble David Cook, *Good Faith and Truthful Ignorance: A Case of Transatlantic Bigamy* (Durham, 1991); and Noble David Cook, *People of the Colca Valley: A Population Study* (Boulder, 1982).

they began the complicated petition process to have the Franciscans restored to their Indian parishes. The requests first reached the viceroy in Lima and then were passed on to King Philip II and the Council of the Indies in Spain. A favorable response came quickly, but it was some time before the Franciscans resumed their work in all of the valley. Armed with an order from Viceroy Conde de Villar, Franciscan procurador Luis Gerónimo de Oré and guardian Luis de Sangil began the complicated process of securing the doctrinas in Arequipa on September 15, 1586.

Hernando Medel, curate of Lari Collaguas, one of the most important doctrinas in the valley, refused to leave his post. The dispute between the regulars and the seculars in the valley thus began in earnest. It was not until July 1590 that the Franciscans assumed all the lost doctrinas, save one. Reinforced with a cedula of Viceroy Marqués de Cañete and supported by corregidor Gaspar Verdugo (the official in charge of the Indian district), procurador Luis Gerónimo de Oré and guardian Pedro Román forcibly removed several of the seculars in what must have been an interesting display for the local Indian parishioners. According to witnesses, Indians wept with joy as their favored Franciscans resumed their religious duties in the valley.¹⁴

The years at the missions in the Colca Valley were important ones for Oré, perhaps the most productive of his career. In addition to acting as the procurador for the Order, he was curate in Coporaque, the Incas' capital in the valley. The normal routine of mass, marriage, baptism, confession, and preparation for death occupied much of his time.¹⁵ The hospital at Coporaque and the Indian school also may have attracted his attention. In order to be effective, Oré spoke Quechua and Aymara, the latter a language he perfected during his tenure in the valley. The corregimiento of the Collaguas, in contrast to most other Indian administrative units in Peru, was divided between Quechua and Aymara speakers. Before Oré left the Colca Valley for the last time around 1595, he had completed three important works for Catholic missionary efforts in Andean America: the *Símbolo Cathólico Indiano*, the *Rituale seu Manuale*

14. Register 13, folios 220r-22r, 451r-81v, 505r-507v, Archivo del Convento de San Francisco de Lima, Lima, Peru (hereafter ASFL).

15. Franklin Pease, ed., *Collaguas: I* (Lima, 1977), 132.

peruanum, and a massive dictionary and grammar guide in Quechua and Aymara.¹⁶

In 1595 Luis Gerónimo de Oré returned to Lima, the administrative capital of the viceroyalty, where he was assigned guardian of the Jauja missions in the central highlands above Lima. From his new post he supervised the publication of his *Símbolo Cathólico Indiano*. This work, as with all other publications in the Spanish empire, needed the approval of a commission to ensure that it included nothing contrary to the faith. Viceroy Marqués de Cañete established the commission charged with the review and approval of Oré's "sermones del año" and an "Arte y gramática en romance y en las lenguas generales deste reyno quechua y aimara." The evaluation of the bishop of Tucumán, Fernando de Trejo (who was in Lima in 1595), is similar to others. He said that Oré's work was already being used extensively in manuscript form in the dioceses of Cuzco and Tucumán and recommended its publication. The commission authorized publication of the work, and the printing house of Antonio Ricardo issued the book in 1598.¹⁷

By 1600, Oré had left Jauja and was serving in an Indian parish in the booming and rich silver-mining center of Potosí, then one of the largest cities in the western world. The Jeronymite friar Diego de Ocaña, who travelled throughout the viceroyalty between 1599 and 1606 extending the cult of the Virgin of Guadalupe, met Oré and left an account of his work: "And he preached to all the Indians in their own language. . . . On each of the Sundays that he preached to the Indians he would relate to them one of the miracles included in the Book of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe. And with this he gave end to the octavario, and he placed the image in the High Altar, above the Sagrario where it now is, with much veneration."¹⁸

Success in Potosí led to Oré's appointment to a parish in Cuzco. Such a placement was unusual for a member of one of the orders, for the richest benefices tended to be given to members of the secular clergy. Here, too, Oré's persuasive preaching

16. Luis Gerónimo de Oré, *Símbolo Cathólico Indiano* (Lima, 1598), 36-39; and Marcos Jiménez de la Espada, ed., *Relaciones geográficas de Indias, Perú*, 3 vols. (Madrid, 1965), I, 326-33.

17. Oré, *Símbolo Cathólico*.

18. An octavario is a religious period of eight days. Diego de Ocaña, *Un viaje fascinante por la América Hispánica del siglo XVI* (Madrid, 1969), 178.

style led to local fame. Bernabé de Fuentes related that bishop of Cuzco Antonio de la Raya's decision to grant the friar an Indian parish "had never been done before, nor seen in this realm." It was done "so that he might preach in all the Indian parishes that there are in the city of Cuzco, as he has done already, with such notable concourse of them, and he was preaching to the greatest number in the cemeteries, because they could not all fit into the churches."¹⁹ The bishop, impressed by the erudite Franciscan, appointed Oré to travel to Spain "with license from the prelates, and letters for the King, and His Holiness [the Pope], in which it was asked that the said friar Luis Gerónimo de Oré be accepted as his coadjutor."²⁰ On the last day of January 1604, Oré presented to the bishop of Cuzco three manuscripts— a "sermonario" (collection of sermons), a manual for the administration of the sacraments in the Indian languages, and an "arte y vocabulario"— and requested permission to go to Spain to print the works.

By March 1605 Oré reached Spain, and at a session of the Council of the Indies in Valladolid the publication of the *Rituale* was formally authorized. Father Oré may have been present at the time, for before leaving Peru he had been charged with two important tasks by the bishop of Cuzco: to defend the interests of the diocese of Cuzco in a territorial dispute with the bishop of Charcas and to secure royal support for the establishment of a university in Cuzco, the old capital of the Incas.²¹

Bishop Antonio de la Raya's appointment also included salutations for the pope, and Luis Gerónimo quickly continued on his journey to Rome. On December 3, 1605, Pope Paul V issued an order directly related to Oré's presence. In "De salute Dominici gregis," the pope granted an indulgence for all those who in the Lima cathedral participated kneeling during the Salve and Litanies. Jesuit Peruvian church historian Ruben Vargas Ugarte believes Oré himself may have composed the document, which originated in the actions of the Third Church Council in Lima and the "Consulta o Ritual de la Iglesia Met-

19. Manuscript Room, file C341, fol. 28r-v, BNL.

20. A coadjutor is an ecclesiastical official with the legal power to assist a cleric.

21. Roberto Levillier, ed., *Papeles eclesiásticos de Tucumán: documentos originales del Archivo de Indias*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1926), II, 377-78.

ropolitana de Lima."²² In the city of Naples one of the most famous of Oré's volumes was issued. Printers Iacobum Carlinum and Constantinum Vitalem completed the 418-page work in 1607; it carried the title *Rituale, seu Manuale peruanum*. The Quechua and Aymara sections of this work, which provided a complete manual for the administration of the sacraments of the church for Andean America, were prepared directly by Oré. While in Peru, he had consulted the Salamanca manual, the manual of Sevilla, both the old and new Mexican manuals, the one used in Portugal and Brazil, that used by the Catholic church in France, and also those of Italy. Oré took care not to stray from official Catholic doctrine, and he received the full support of Rome. Short versions of the basic doctrine in other languages, some no longer spoken, were included in the volume. Jesuit Alonso de Barzana prepared the Puquina text; secular clergy of Peru's north coast composed the Mochica; Friar Luis de Bolaños penned the Guarañi version; and the Franciscans, Benedictines, and Jesuits jointly issued the "Brasilica."²³

During Oré's Italian sojourn, the Quechua and Aymara dictionaries and grammars disappeared from the record. A religious work, *Tratado sobre las indulgencias*, was published in Alexandria, Egypt, in 1606. Oré dedicated it to his friend Maestro Vestrio Barbiano, the datario of Pope Paul V.²⁴ If Oré travelled to Alexandria at the mouth of the Nile River to oversee the manuscript's publication, he may have continued on to the Holy Land. Unfortunately, as with the dictionaries, Oré slipped from sight in the documentary record until 1611 when he was once again in Spain. In the latter part of that year he received an appointment from the crown and the general commissioner of the Order for the Indies, Antonio de Trejo, to select a group of missionaries for Florida.

In order to recruit the friars, Oré travelled from Madrid to Cadiz in early 1612. The route took him through the city of Cordova where he met the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, a well-known Peruvian Renaissance scholar and translator who had

22. Rubén Vargas Ugarte, *Historia del Culto de María en Iberoamérica y de sus imágenes y santuarios mas celebrados* (Buenos Aires, 1947), 80-83.

23. Luis Gerónimo de Oré, *Rituale, seu Manuale peruanum* . . . (Napoli, 1607).

24. A datario is the prelate presiding over the Tribunal of the Roman Curia. José Toribio Medina, *Biblioteca Hispano-Chilena (1523-1817)*, 3 vols. (Santiago, 1897-1899), I, 103, 129.

written *La Florida del Inca*, a volume that would be of utmost importance for the friars on their mission. Garcilaso was born the mestizo son of a Spanish conquistador and an Inca princess in the imperial city of Cuzco some fifteen years before Oré. The two men were practised in the art of translation and must have exchanged words in Quechua during their Andalusian conversations. Garcilaso knew of Oré's 1598 *Símbolo Cathólico Indiano*, and he borrowed excerpts for his history of the Incas. Garcilaso reported that Oré asked for a copy of the history of Florida so the friars "could carry it along to know and have notices of the provinces and customs of those pagans." Garcilaso then "served him with seven books, the three were of Florida, and the four of our *Commentaries*." Garcilaso reports that Oré was pleased and further prayed that "His Divine Majesty be served in aiding in this request, in order that those idolaters leave the abyss of their ignorance." Garcilaso asked Oré, who had spent so much time in the Lima monastery, what had happened to the skulls of Peru's famous rebels—Gonzalo Pizarro, Captain Francisco de Carvajal, and Francisco Hernández Girón. Garcilaso thought the skull of the infamous Carvajal was still in the iron cage with the inscription ordered at the time of his execution, but Oré reported that the remains had mixed together, making it impossible to identify anyone.²⁵

Oré's recruiting efforts for the Florida missions in late 1611 and early 1612 were successful; most of the twenty-four men collected came from various monasteries in Old Castile. The missionaries set sail from the port of Cadiz that same year, however; Oré did not accompany them. The friar's recruiting successes led to an appointment to enlist men to serve among the Indians of Venezuela. On June 20, 1613, the Casa de Contratación in Seville authorized Oré to embark with the new missionaries on board the ship *La Esperanza* with the fleet of Antonio de Oquendo, bound for Santo Domingo on the island of Hispaniola. Once again, Oré failed to join the expedition he had

25. Garcilaso de la Vega, *el Inca, Obras completas*, 4 vols. (Madrid, 1960), IV, 124; and Medina, *Biblioteca Hispano-Chilena*, I, 115. For Garcilaso's role as translator and Renaissance scholar, see Margarita Zamora, *Language, Authority, and Indigenous History in the Comentarios Reales de los Incas* (Cambridge, 1988).

helped prepare.²⁶ Before his departure Antonio de Trejo, now the Franciscan general commissioner of the Indies, ordered him to collect testimony on the early Andalusian years of Friar Francisco Solano. Solano's exemplary missionary career in the Indies had led many contemporaries to advocate beatification.

This task was relatively simple. Solano, also an accomplished linguist, had died in the Lima monastery on July 14, 1610. He concentrated his major missionary work in the unstable and dangerous lowland frontier region of present-day Bolivia, and he reportedly performed many miracles in healing and in conversion. Oré's task in Andalusia was one important step in a long process that might ultimately lead to sanctification. He applied his talents with care and thoroughness, beginning to take testimony in Seville on July 11, 1613. He travelled to the places where Solano had lived and preached, took oral and written testimony in Marchena, Baeza, Arrizafa, Adamuz, San Francisco del Monte, Perabad, Montoro, and Montilla, and he finished the first part of the report on August 9. Oré was in Cordova on October 21, 1613, and then returned to Montilla, the birthplace of Solano, to collect the final forty-four oaths of witnesses who knew him during his early years. Again, Oré conversed with fellow Peruvian Garcilaso de la Vega. The material he collected and supplemented with testimony from the bishops and archbishops of Seville, Granada, Lima, Cordova, and Malaga provided the foundation for a work published in Madrid in 1614: *Relación de la Vida i milagros del Venerable Padre Fr. Francisco Solano de la Orden de San Francisco*. . . .²⁷

Oré likely was on board a ship for the Caribbean as printing was being completed, for in 1614, the new general commissioner of the Indies, Friar Juan Vibanco, ordered him to inspect the Florida missions as well as the Franciscan houses on Cuba. Armed with a royal license and orders from the Council of the Indies, Oré apparently made a quick inspection of the Florida missions under the administration of Governor Juan Fernández

26. Lino Gomez Canedo, *La provincia franciscana de Santa Cruz de Caracas: cuerpo de documentos para historia, 1513-1837*, 3 vols. (Caracas, 1974), I, 63-64, 206, II, 73-76; and Oré; *Relación de la Florida*, I, 118. Medina attempted to prove that Oré failed to reach Florida. See Medina, *Biblioteca Hispano-Chilena*, I, 115-17.

27. Luis Julian Plandolit, *El Apostol de América San Francisco Solano* (Madrid, 1963), 340.

de Olivera. He wrote that he had not seen as much as he had intended and that the population was very dispersed.²⁸ The need to inspect the Franciscan houses in Cuba probably required his quick return to the island.

Oré's major activities in the Florida missions date from his second trip. On November 6, 1616, he entered the harbor at St. Augustine following a harrowing voyage from Havana. It had lasted twenty-five days, and rough seas and contrary winds blocked entrance through the difficult inlet. When the group finally entered St. Augustine, they were met by Governor Juan Triviño de Guillamas, members of the local clergy, and soldiers stationed at the fort. Following a scant ten days in St. Augustine, Oré set out by foot and canoe with three religious companions to inspect the vast territory. He spent an average of three to four days at each mission station, carefully examined the quality of indoctrination, and recorded the number of natives baptized. The work of the mission at Santa Cruz de Tarihica was impressive; the natives had been taught to read and write in just four years. In Taraco he recommended the use of native converts to teach the doctrine and catechism.

The First General Chapter Meeting of the Franciscan Order in the province of Santa Elena of Florida was held in late 1616 at San Buenaventura de Guadalquini, situated roughly on the missionary boundary between the Guale and Timucua linguistic groups. The Order drew up statutes and elected Friar Francisco Pareja, an excellent linguist with twenty-two years missionary experience, first definitore.²⁹ They chose Friar Lorenzo Martínez as the custodio of the province. When Oré returned to St. Augustine, he conducted an ecclesiastical inspection of the cathedral of the city. The Franciscan also called for an end to conflict between secular and religious authorities in the frontier settlement and urged that soldiers stationed at the fort lead an exemplary life.³⁰

Oré's brief stay in Florida resulted in publication of a work that became a standard source for the history of the church in the present-day southeastern United States. The *Relación de los mártires* appears to have been written shortly after Oré returned

28. Oré, *Relación de la Florida*, I 119, 124.

29. A definitore is a high-ranking administrator in the Franciscan Order.

30. Oré, *Relación de la Florida*, I, 116-23.

to the island of Cuba from Florida.³¹ The history was based on a collection of manuscript accounts and oral testimony taken while Oré was in Florida acting in his capacity as commissioner of the province. He had asked each friar in the Florida missions to provide information in *verbo sacerdotis* on where they were from, the year they had left to work in the Florida missions, how long they had worked in the field, what they had accomplished, what noteworthy events had taken place, and what martyrs there had been.³² In addition, Oré asked a series of questions about the Indians under their jurisdiction— what they ate, how they had been indoctrinated, and so forth. He included in the history an account by Father Avila detailing his capture by the Indians that was deposited in the Franciscan convent archive in Havana.

Oré incorporated various secular reports in the history, including several referring to the new English settlements to the north. Here and elsewhere Oré advocated removal of the foreign threat.³³ He made several references to the Indians in Peru in his history of the Florida missions. His interest in the native languages is apparent throughout, and he lauded the important contribution that Francisco Pareja's *Arte de la lengua Timuguana* (1614) made to conversion efforts in Florida.³⁴ On January 14, 1617, Oré and other Franciscans in St. Augustine wrote the king reporting that they had sent the history of the Florida missions to him. The churchmen also requested support for royal treasury official Juan Menéndez Márquez who had often assisted the Franciscan missionaries during troubled times in St. Augustine.³⁵

Oré returned to Cuba where he probably finished the Florida manuscript, and then he sailed to Spain. At some point, perhaps as he conducted his normal religious tasks or during the longer sea voyages, Oré prepared a long work of poetry in praise of the Virgin Mary. Oré's devotion to the cult of Mary is noted in both the *Símbolo* and the *Manualum* and in Diego de Ocaña's record of his activities as doctrinero in Potosí. Seville was at the center of the Marianist movement when Oré passed through, and the religious fervor of her adherents likely in-

31. *Ibid.*, 91.

32. *Ibid.*, 112.

33. *Ibid.*, 86, 91, 95-97, 112-17.

34. *Ibid.*, 58, 77, 93, 117-18.

35. *Ibid.*, 41-45.

fected him. The title of this work indicates its religious character: *Corona de la sacratísima Virgen María madre de Dios nuestra señora, En que se contienen ochenta meditaciones, de los principales misterios de la Fé: que corresponden a setenta y três Ave María y ocho vezes el Pater noster, ofrecidas a los felices años que vivió en el mundo . . . Dedicada a la misma virgen sacrosanta, concebida sin pecado original en su imagen y Santuario de Copacavana*. The theological arguments were orthodox, and the manuscript found sympathetic censors. The Franciscan chapter in Madrid authorized publication on July 19, 1618, the Jesuits gave permission on August 25, and the king in the Escorial palace issued a ten-year license to print on September 22. The completed version became available in June 1619. Sadly, Oré's dictionaries and grammars failed to receive similar support from secular and ecclesiastical authorities.³⁶

Oré maintained an acute interest in the Florida missionary venture while in Spain. Around 1620 he wrote the king and Council of the Indies referring to his earlier work on the peninsula. He argued that thirty new friars were needed for the mission posts to teach some 30,000 Indians in Apalache and others in Sancta Helena, Machagua, and Latana. He also mentioned his planned participation in the General Chapter Meeting of the Order in Salamanca.³⁷ Oré's impressive career had been long noted within the Franciscan Order, and his activities were known at the court, particularly as he had come to serve as vice-commissioner for the Indies before the Council of the Indies.³⁸ His administrative skills dated from the conflict between seculars and regulars in the Colca Valley in the 1580s the mission to represent of the bishop of Cuzco in the first decade of the 1600s and finally his role in helping establish order and good relations between missionary friars in Florida and frontier soldiers in St. Augustine.

These impeccable qualities led to Oré's selection by the crown as bishop of La Imperial on August 17, 1620.³⁹ In spite

36. Luis Gerónimo de Oré, *Corona de la Virgen* (Madrid, 1619). A copy exists in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid. See also Medina, *Biblioteca Hispano-Chilena*, I, 129.

37. Oré, *Relación de la Florida*, I, 41-45.

38. Levillier, *Papeles eclesiásticos de Tucumán*, I, 405-06.

39. Rubén Vargas Ugarte, *Historia de la Iglesia en el Perú*, 5 vols. (Burgos, 1953-1962), II, 443; and Medina, *Biblioteca Hispano-Chilena*, I, 129.

of Chile's location at the opposite extreme of the continent of South America, the region had much in common with Florida. Each was a frontier establishment surrounded by "less advanced" and often hostile Indians, and Dutch and English intruders threatened both areas in the early seventeenth century. The turmoil of garrison life greatly influenced the two provinces. There were few European wives present and a meager number of successful local Spanish settlements.

It took Oré almost three years to reach his post in Chile. The fleet from Spain took him into the Caribbean and on to Nombre de Dios, where it was necessary to cross the isthmus to the city of Panama. He then took another vessel on the slow southward voyage down the South American coast. Oré disembarked at the Peruvian town of Trujillo, travelled on foot into the highlands, and headed directly for the land of his birth, the city of Huamanga. On the journey he reportedly confirmed some 14,000 people. In Huamanga the bishop-elect visited his remaining family, including his sisters, the founders of the Convent of the Clarises. The nuns gave their brother power of attorney on November 7, 1622, to represent the convent before the Royal Audiencia in Lima. Oré transferred the power on January 5, 1623, to Friar Gerónimo Serrano, the acting procurador for the Franciscans in Peru.⁴⁰ Shortly thereafter he initiated his trip to Chile.

Oré sailed southward from Callao with the Inspector General Francisco de Villaseñor, accompanied by a fleet that included 300 soldiers sent to defend Chile against both internal and external enemies. The diocese of La Imperial had been created from the bishopric of Santiago roughly one-half century before, and there was continuing friction between the two, perhaps the consequence of lost benefices and revenues. The unit was one of the most difficult to administer in the Indies because the Araucanian frontier cut through the center and divided the diocese into halves separated by the indomitable Indian warriors. The town of Concepción, little more than a military fortress when Oré arrived, was in the northern section of the diocese not far from the Bío-Bío River, which marked the boundary between European and native zones. The southern half of the unit began hundreds of kilometers to the south

40. Register 10, fols. 29r-31v, ASFL.

and extended to the very tip of the continent and the Straits of Magellan. Small posts and missions on the exposed southern coast were easy prey for the Dutch and other interlopers who occasionally dared the difficult passage into the calmer waters of the Humboldt Current that swept northward along the Pacific fringe of South America.

As he had done in Florida, Oré intended to initiate a pastoral inspection as quickly as possible and planned to examine and confirm converts. The most difficult and pressing concern was to reach the southern missions on the island of Chiloé, and this was accomplished with two Jesuit companions at about the time Oré celebrated his seventieth birthday. By small boat they visited various posts, including Carelmapu, Maullin, and points north of the Canal de Chacao. Oré hoped to reach Osorno and Valdivia on this tour, but he failed to do so. He may have been disappointed by the small number of potential Indian converts and their resistance to conversion.⁴¹ During the visit, and probably without Oré's knowledge, he was nominated to fill the vacant office of bishop of Tucumán. A report was filed in Madrid on December 15, 1624, that detailed his accomplishments and career, but the four votes he received were not enough for his election to the post.⁴²

Following his inspection of the missions, Oré took measures to improve the quality of missionary activities. He convinced royal treasury officials in Santiago de Chile to provide the funds to send four more Jesuits to the Castro mission on the island of Chiloé— an important step in ensuring the persistence of this "city" of a mere fifty houses. Due to Oré's efforts, missionaries reached the Guaytecas and Chonos Indians.

As bishop, Oré established new parishes in the diocese, and he set up a seminary for the training of priests at Concepción.⁴³ Staffing the seminary proved a challenge in this frontier setting. There were few candidates for the priesthood, and those that came forward often lacked the character traits deemed neces-

41. Audiencia of Chile, box 60, 61, AGI; Carlos Silva Cotapos, *Historia Eclesiástica de Chile* (Santiago, 1925), 74-85; Vargas Ugarte, *Historia de la Iglesia en el Perú*, II, 443-44; and Medina, *Biblioteca Hispano-Chilena*, I, 130. See also Luis Olivares M., O.F.M., *Provincia Franciscana de Chile* (Santiago, 1961).

42. Levillier, *Papeles eclesiásticos de Tucumán*, I, 405-06.

43. Silva Cotapos, *Historia Eclesiástica de Chile*, 83; and Vargas Ugarte, *Historia de la Iglesia en el Perú*, II, 443-44.

sary. Demands placed on clergymen at the garrisons and among the Indians required special training and time, and neither was in abundance at Concepción. Occasional complaints surfaced that Oré had hastened to ordain men unfit for the priesthood and that the seminary was unprepared for its educational role. Oré defended himself, arguing that the majority of his parishes were well attended to spiritually and that some vacant benefices had been restored. Further, in a letter to King Philip IV, dated March 4, 1627, Oré stressed that his curates "know perfectly the language of the Indians, with the end of being able to teach them the doctrine and the catechism and to preach to them." Once again Oré stressed the need for the priests to be able to communicate with the Indians in their own languages.⁴⁴

Bishop Oré clearly formulated his Indian policy in Chile. Had it been consistently followed, many lives might have been spared. He called for a withdrawal of Spanish military forces from Araucanian-claimed territory, and he advocated that both groups accept the Bío-Bío River as the natural boundary in order to minimize potential armed conflict. He recommended an increase in missionary efforts in order to bring the Araucanians to the faith and prepare them for a peaceful existence within the Spanish system. During Oré's tenure at Concepción, relations between the Araucanians and the Spanish, although often tense, were reasonably good. Peace was largely the consequence of his admonitions to both sides, particularly his attempts to persuade the garrison's military leaders to maintain order. His death on January 30, 1630, resulted in a break in this uneasy informal truce. The bishop of Santiago sent a message to the king three months later, on April 16, 1630, lamenting the loss of the posts of Angol, Purren, and Paycaui. He feared the extension of the war zone deep into the diocese of Santiago and requested not clergy but some 2,000 soldiers, preferably reinforcements from Spain.⁴⁵

Luis Gerónimo de Oré's legacy is not to be found in the urban center of Concepción where uprisings, earthquakes, and other natural disasters erased the physical presence of this

44. Audiencia of Chile, box 60, AGI; and Vargas Ugarte, *Historia de la Iglesia en el Perú*, II, 443-44.

45. Audiencia of Chile, box 60, AGI; and Medina, *Biblioteca Hispano-Chilena*, I, 131.

peripatetic friar. Oré's historical addition lies in his writings. His work, primarily religious in nature, remains a useful source for modern historians. The *Símbolo Cathólico Indiano* (1598) is an important, yet largely ignored, contribution to the history of Andean America. Originally designed as an introduction for new parish priests in the Indian doctrinas, it includes a survey of the history and geography of the region and information on native religion. A modern edition would reach a wider audience. The massive *Rituale, seu Manualum peruanum* (1607) was a complete manual for the cleric, with texts of special value for linguists in Quechua, Aymara, Mochica, Puquina, Guarani, and "Brasilica." Much can be gleaned from his work on native religious concepts and marriage practices, particularly in the sections of the text dealing with confession.

Perhaps Oré's two most important contributions are the missing grammars and dictionaries in Quechua and Aymara. Yet all might not be lost. It is likely that other Andean clerics integrated parts of the manuscripts into dictionaries printed in the early seventeenth century. More than one manuscript copy existed, and several church linguists reviewed Oré's dictionaries and grammars before authorizing publication.⁴⁶ Oré's biographical report on Francisco Solano was a significant historical and religious work that led ultimately to the canonization of the man. Finally, *The Martyrs of Florida* (1619) is an important source for the ecclesiastical history of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and it includes important ethnohistorical information on Florida that is of great value to the research scholar working in the First Spanish Period.

46. It is interesting to note that the year after Oré died, Juan Pérez de Bocanegra published the *Ritual Formulario, e Institución de Curas* . . . (Lima, 1631). According to Vargas Ugarte's *Historia de la Iglesia en el Perú*, I, 228, Pérez Bocanegra included some Oré material in his text. See also Cipriano Muñoz y Manzano Vinaza, *Bibliografía Española de lenguas indígenas de América* (Madrid, 1892; reprint, Madrid, 1977), 90.

POLITICAL LEADERSHIP AMONG THE NATIVES OF SPANISH FLORIDA

by JOHN H. HANN

WHEN the first Europeans arrived off Florida's coasts the land was not uninhabited virgin territory but was occupied by many distinct peoples organized into flourishing, complex, chiefdom-level societies of a non-egalitarian nature. Those societies included the Calusa of the Gulf coast from the Charlotte Harbor area southward to the tip of the Florida peninsula; Tocobaga and others who occupied the shores of Tampa Bay and their hinterland; Ais of the Indian River area and its hinterland; various autonomous Timucua-speaking groups of south Georgia and north Florida from the east coast westward to the Aucilla, Withlacoochee, and Oklawaha rivers; Apalachee whose domain extended from the Aucilla to just beyond the Ochlockonee River; Guale of coastal Georgia from the Altamaha River northward; and the Escamacu-Orista and Cayagua along the South Carolina coast from the Savannah River north to the Charleston region.

The center of the Calusa domain was the Caloosahatchee River-Fort Myers area, but the Calusa ruler collected tribute regularly from other chiefdoms as far east as Lake Okeechobee. At one time or another most of the peoples living south of a line drawn from southern Tampa Bay to the vicinity of Cape Canaveral paid tribute to the Calusa ruler or were part of his network of alliances. The Ais head chiefs sway reached south from Cape Canaveral to at least Jupiter Inlet. His network of alliances stretched north almost to Daytona Beach, south at times to Biscayne Bay and the Keys, and some distance inland along the upper St. Johns River south of Lake George. The Tocobaga were based in the northwest Tampa Bay area, but their domain extended inland to the Withlacoochee River. Their network of alliances extended, at times, to Tampa Bay's southern shores.

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Along the east coast the Timucua-speakers' domain extended from Daytona Beach north to Jekyll Island. The area that they controlled inland from the south Georgia coast is ill-defined, as is its southern limits in the heart of the Florida peninsula.¹ In Hernando de Soto's time some of the Tampa Bay tribes paid tribute to an inland leader who bore the title paracoxi, which was used by many Timucua-speaking leaders along the St. Johns River in the 1560s.²

Spanish Florida held other less complexly organized groups, some of whom were tributary to leaders such as Calusa's head chief, while others were independent. They included the Keys Indians, Tequesta of the Miami area, Maymi of Lake Okeechobee, Jeaga of the south Indian River coast, Surruque living just north of Cape Canaveral, Chacato of the Marianna region, Pensacola and Chisca of far-west Florida, Apalachicola of the Chattahoochee River, and Tama-Yamasee of the north Georgia hinterland.³

Until recently scholars have given little attention to leadership elements among those and other natives of early Florida and changes they underwent from the first contacts of the sixteenth century through the dispersal and virtual destruction of most of the tribal groups in the core area of north Florida and the Georgia coast prior to 1705. A major reason for the omission undoubtedly was lack of readily available information. Addressing a broader theme of "Spanish-Indian Relations in Southeastern North America" a generation and a half ago, William C.

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1. Jonathan Dickinson, *Jonathan Dickinson's Journal or God's Protecting Providence*, ed. Evangeline Walker Andrews and Charles McLean Andrews (Stuart, FL, 1981), 28-32; John H. Hann, *Apalachee: The Land Between the Rivers* (Gainesville, 1988), 2; Jerald T. Milanich and Samuel Proctor, eds., *Tacachale: Essays on the Indians of Florida and Southeastern Georgia during the Historic Period* (Gainesville, 1978), 19, 50, 59-60, 89-90, 120; Irving Rouse, *A Survey of Indian River Archaeology, Florida* (New Haven, 1951; reprint ed., New York, 1981), 34, 36.
 2. Gentleman of Elvas, *True Relation of the Hardships Suffered by Governor Fernando de Soto & Certain Portuguese Gentlemen during the Discovey of the Province of Florida Now Newly Set Forth by a Gentleman of Elvas*, trans. and ed., James Alexander Robinson, 2 vols. (Deland, FL, 1932-1933), II, 46.
 3. John H. Hann, "Florida's Terra Incognita: West Florida's Natives in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century," *Florida Anthropologist* 41 (March 1988), 63-64, 79-80; Arva Moore Parks, *Where the River Found the Bay: Historical Study of the Granada Site, Miami, Florida* (Tallahassee, 1985), 14, 25-26; Rouse, *Survey of Indian River Archaeology*, 36-38.

Sturtevant observed that what he would be able to say was less than what he would have liked to say, in part "because studies of the Spanish period in southeastern North America are too little developed."⁴

During the thirty years since Sturtevant made that comment much progress has been made in broadening the coverage overall, especially for the mission territories concerning which Sturtevant noted there was a striking paucity of material. But in the matter of the natives' political organization, the advance has been meager until recently. Consequently, Charles Hudson found it necessary in his 1976 survey of the southeastern Indians to focus on eighteenth-century groups with whom the English and French had dealings. Of the earlier Spanish period, Hudson observed only that there was evidence "indicating that the power of Southeastern chiefs declined after European colonization. Most of the earliest observers in the Southeast reported that the chiefs had great power. This was said of the people de Soto observed, the French said it of the Natchez, and the Spanish said it of the Calusa. But by the middle of the eighteenth century, no Indian leader possessed such power."⁵

Progress has been much greater since 1976. Hudson himself, in his monograph on the Juan Pardo expeditions and in articles in collaboration with Chester DePratter and Marvin T. Smith, and Smith in his *Archaeology of Aboriginal Cultural Change in the Interior Southeast*, and others have shed much light on the chiefdoms of the interior of the northern Southeast visited by de Soto, Pardo, and Hernando de Morales Moyano and on those chiefdoms' decline in the wake of the explorers' passage. The essays in *Tacachale*, edited by Jerald T. Milanich and Samuel Proctor, have done the same for the mission territory farther south except for Apalachee and the Chacato. Grant D. Jones's "The Ethnohistory of the Guale Coast through 1684" provided a more detailed view of social and political organization for that area, as did David Hurst Thomas. John Hann's volumes on the Apalachee and the Calusa and his translations and articles have done the same for other peoples.

Nevertheless, Spanish sources have more to say on the topic of Native-American political leadership than is available in print

4. William C. Sturtevant, "Spanish-Indian Relations in Southeastern North America," *Ethnohistory* 9 (Winter 1962), 42.

5. Charles Hudson, *The Southeastern Indians* (Knoxville, 1976), 205.

to date. This is true even for aspects of the topic as basic as native leadership nomenclature, the presence or absence of women as chiefs, and succession to chieftainships, to which this article will give some attention. The focus will be on peoples with whom Spaniards maintained a degree of sustained contact between 1565 and 1704: the Timucua-speakers, Guale, Apalachee, Chacato, Tama-Yamasee, and Carolina natives such as the Escamacu. As documents have much to say about the Calusa and other natives of south Florida, despite the brevity of Spanish contacts with them, these shall be included.

Caution is in order, of course, in drawing conclusions from the available evidence as knowledge of native leadership structure and nomenclature is adventitious and comes almost exclusively from Spanish and French sources rather than from the natives themselves. And in a majority of cases, native usage is cloaked by the Spaniards' preference for the Arawak term *cacique* and its female equivalent *cacica*, for chieftain and chieftainness, and for the Spanish term *mandador* (order-giver) for the second-in-command among many of the peoples. By the late seventeenth century even some literate Apalachee principal chiefs were using *cacique* to identify their position in society when signing their names, leaving us in the dark as to its native equivalent among them.

In Spanish eyes, the Calusa chiefdom appears to have been the most impressive one encountered in Florida proper. This is reflected in the use of the term king to describe the Calusa leader.⁶ In contrast to the French of the 1560s and the later English, who referred to native leaders commonly as kings, most Spaniards accorded that title only grudgingly even for the Calusa ruler. Hernando d'Escalante Fontaneda enthused that the Calusan leader Carlos is "the greatest of the kings, with the renown of Montesuma."⁷ Such encomia have led some modern authorities to propose that Calusa had passed beyond the chiefdom stage. William H. Marquardt suggested that "it is possible that in the first half of the sixteenth century the Calusa social formation shifted from a chiefdom to what [Christine Ward]

6. Hernando d'Escalante Fontaneda, *Memoir of D^o d'Escalante Fontaneda Respecting Florida. Written in Spain, about the Year 1575*, trans. Buckingham Smith, rev. ed. (Miami, 1944), 14; John H. Hann, ed. and trans., *Missions to the Calusa* (Gainesville, 1991), 246-47, 252, 262, 267, 269.

7. Fontaneda, *Memoir*, 68.

Gailey and [Thomas C.] Patterson call a weak tribute-based state."⁸ Echoing Fontaneda, Henry F. Dobyns described the Calusa polity more expansively as a "conquest kingdom," remarking that the Calusa's tribute-collecting pattern "very much resembled that of the Aztecs and Incas, although Calusa society was smaller in scale."⁹ Although Dobyns's comparison is probably stretching the point, its basis leaves no doubt as to the impressiveness of the Calusa chiefdom. Also impressive was the staying power of Calusa's rulers and their polity. They maintained their sway over an extensive territory until the end of the seventeenth century and may even have enlarged their domain beyond what it was in the 1560s when the Spanish and French provided the first significant data about the Calusa's status as the most important native power in south Florida.¹⁰ The experience of a 1679 Spanish expedition that moved southward toward Calusa along the Gulf coast indicates that Calusa's suzerainty extended to Pojoy in Tampa Bay, which had been an ally of Calusa's principal rival, the Tocobaga, early in the century.¹¹

Of the Calusa ruler, Fontaneda recorded, "The King is called greatest and chief Lord in our language . . . and that this is Certepe in language of the Indians of Carlos."¹² A century later other Spaniards attest that the Calusa ruler still held the title of great chief, remarking that this title used by the Spaniards was a transliterated form of the one the Calusa themselves used. The Calusa rulers' sense of their own importance is suggested by their adoption of the names of the Spanish monarchs Charles and Philip, even though they never became Christians. The Calusa's second-in-command bore the title great captain. Great chief and great captain usually belonged to the same family, as did the head shaman.¹³

The ruling elite possessed esoteric knowledge and controlled sacra charged with supernatural meaning, which probably were

8. William H. Marquardt, "Introduction," in Hann, *Missions to the Calusa*, xvii.

9. Henry F. Dobyns, *Their Number Become Thinned: Native American Population Dynamics in Eastern North America* (Knoxville, 1983), 131-32.

10. Hann, *Missions to the Calusa*, 9, 11, 26-29, 31.

11. *Ibid.*, 9, 2526.

12. Fontaneda, *Memoir*, 68.

13. *Ibid.*, 15; Hann, *Missions to the Calusa*, 28, 82-83, 86, 96, 125, 171, 222-23, 227, 266-69, 335-36, 426 n. 26; Gonzalo Solís de Merás, *Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, Adelantado Governor and Captain-General of Florida*, trans. Jeannette Thurber Connor (Deland, FL, 1923), 151.

major bulwarks for their political power. In response to a Jesuit's demand that the Calusa ruler abandon his idolatrous practices because he had promised to become a Christian, the ruler argued that he could not do so at once "because it is expedient for him to show to his vassals and to his neighboring kings that he is the legitimate king of this kingdom and because to that end during his childhood they taught and instructed him in all the things that it is expedient for the king to know about the cult and veneration of the idols, if he were suddenly to forsake the idolatry at the beginning of his reign, the aforementioned kings and vassals would say that he was not a legitimate king, as he did not know what kings are obliged to know; that for this reason he had forsaken the cult of the idols and had received the Christian law."¹⁴

Political bonding through marriage was another buttress to the Calusa ruler's power. Villages that gave their allegiance to him were expected to send one of their leading women to become one of the ruler's wives to cement the allegiance. To some degree the practice included the chiefs heir once he had been so designated and he reached puberty. As with the Incas, the Calusa rulers' practice of sibling marriage was another factor that set them apart from the rest of humanity.¹⁵

Yet with all these bulwarks, Spanish accounts show that in the 1550s and 1560s the system possessed a potential for instability when a leader's shortcomings or other factors created dissatisfaction with his rule. During that era, two successive rulers faced challenges from their own people before they were deposed and killed by Spaniards. The instability, however, does not seem as great as that suggested by Hudson for the northern centralized Mississippian chiefdoms visited by Juan Pardo, where instability was an everyday fact of life and led to rapid decline and dissolution of the chiefdoms after the first European intrusions. As noted earlier, the Calusa chiefdom manifested remarkable staying power by comparison.¹⁶

Authorities have suggested differing origins for the complexity of the Calusa's political organization. Marquardt noted that Randolph Widmer believes that it evolved slowly from "ef-

14. Hann, *Missions to the Calusa*, xvi, 247-48.

15. *Ibid.*, 224, 244-45, 268.

16. *Ibid.*, 262, 266, 269; Charles Hudson, *The Juan Pardo Expeditions: Exploration of the Carolinas and Tennessee, 1566-1568* (Washington, 1990), 60.

forts to provide for the subsistence needs of a growing population," and that about 800 A.D. "this led to the establishment of a centralized political power structure in order to resolve disagreements and to distribute food and other materials effectively," which remained essentially unchanged until Europeans arrived. Marquardt suggests that it may have developed suddenly in the sixteenth century as a response to tendencies toward decentralization of authority stimulated by the availability of European goods to chiefs on the periphery of the Calusa sphere of influence and that this may have "triggered an imposition of new power and tributary relations."¹⁷ Marquardt's theory accounts for the failure of the Pánfilo de Narváez and de Soto chroniclers even to hint at the existence of the Calusa chiefdom not far south of where both Spanish expeditions landed. Tocobaga's emergence as a major power on Tampa Bay may have been similarly late, triggered by developments in Calusa, for Tocobaga's absence from the de Soto chronicles definitely suggests that in 1539 it was not the power that it was in the 1560s.

Irving Rouse observed that all the fisher-hunter-gatherer peoples of south Florida had a social and religious culture that differed from that of the agriculturalists to the north of them.¹⁸ Particularly illustrative of the validity of his observation is the leadership nomenclature of the two areas. The Calusa title, great captain, appeared also among the Tocobaga and Ais but was peculiar to south Florida peoples.¹⁹ Spaniards never used that title or "great chief" for leaders of any natives of north Florida or Georgia. Conversely, Spaniards never used indigenous terms such as *holata*, *mico*, *inija*, or the Spanish term *mandador*, which they used for leaders among the more northerly Indians, for any leaders of south Florida peoples except possibly for the Surruque, a people on the border between the Timucua-speakers and the Ais whose linguistic affiliation is still in dispute. A governor used *mandador* once for one of their leaders.

17. Marquardt, "Introduction," xvi; Randolph J. Widmer, *The Evolution of the Calusa: A Nonagricultural Chiefdom on the Southwest Florida Coast* (Tuscaloosa, 1988), 272-76.

18. Rouse, *Survey of Indian River Archaeology*, 34.

19. Hann, *Missions to the Calusa*, 254; Pedro de Ybarra to the king, July 10, 1605, Archivo General de Indias, Seville (hereinafter AGI), Patronato 19, Jeannette Thurber Connor Collection, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville (hereinafter JTCC), reel 1.

In this respect, as well as in their methods of subsistence, the two groups belonged to distinct worlds. The Calusa stood apart from the agriculturalists of the mission provinces as well in appearing to have had a patrilineal system for inheritance of the chiefship in contrast to north Florida and the Georgia coast's peoples. Among all the latter, ruling caciques and cacicas were usually succeeded by nephews or nieces, the offspring of their eldest sister, with the possible exception of the Chacato.²⁰ There is no evidence of women holding chiefships in south Florida, in contrast to parts of north Florida, the Georgia coast, and chiefdoms of the hinterland further north. The Calusa requirement of sibling marriage for their ruler does not appear among any other peoples of Spanish Florida. In the north, decline in the power of chiefs and in adherence to traditional religious beliefs occurred more rapidly after contact with Europeans than it did in south Florida. Most south Florida people were still clinging to old ways in the mid-eighteenth century when they were on the verge of extinction.²¹

Although Timucua-speakers directly occupied a much larger area than the Calusa and are considered to have been far more numerous, their potential strength was dissipated by their division into a number of independent chiefdoms, some of which were bitter enemies of rival Timucua-speaking chiefdoms as well as the non-Timucua-speakers on their borders.²² Despite the Timucua being the best documented of Spanish Florida's natives for the sixteenth century, their dispersion and the vagaries of the documentation make it difficult to generalize about their political structure. Each major independent chiefdom, or province, as the Spaniards called them, had a head chief who col-

20. Antonio de Argüelles, visitation of Guale and Mocama, 1677; Juan Fernández de Florencia, auto concerning the revolt of the Chacatos, 1675; and Joaquín de Florencia, visitation of Timuqua, 1695, trans. John H. Hann, in "Visitations and Revolts in Florida, 1656-1695," *Florida Archaeology* 7 (forthcoming); Hann, "Florida's Terra Incognita," 69; Hann, *Missions to the Calusa*, 267.

21. Elvas, *True Relation of the Hardships*, II, 90-92; Hann, *Missions to the Calusa*, 422-25; Hudson, *Juan Pardo Expeditions*, 63, 93; Francisco Machado, list of gifts to Indians, 1597, AGI, Santo Domingo (hereinafter SD), 231, Woodbury Lowery Collection, reel 2, Strozier Library, Florida State University, Tallahassee; Juan de Pueyo, visitation of Guale and Mocama, 1695, trans. Hann, in "Visitations and Revolts."

22. Dobyns, *Their Number Become Thinned*, 293-94; René Laudonnière, *Three Voyages*, trans., Charles E. Bennett (Gainesville, 1975), 66, 74, 76-77, 81, 83, 91; Solís de Merás, *Pedro Menéndez*, 202-04, 206-07, 232-33.

lected tribute from his subjects. Writing about the Timucua in general and the Guale, a friar observed that their government, "although it does not have the perfection of ours, is very much in accord with the natural law. They have their natural lords. . . who govern their republics as head with the assistance of counsellors, who also are such by birth and inheritance. With their counsels and accord, he determines and agrees on everything that is appropriate for the village and the common good, except in the matters of favor (*cosas de merced*), for which the cacique alone is free and absolute master."²³

In the Timucua's two westernmost provinces and in neighboring Apalachee, there were other important chiefs under the head chief for the province. Spaniards referred to the other important chiefs as principal cacique. The principal cacique had lesser chiefs under him. The lesser chiefs headed settlements that were satellites of the principal chiefs village.²⁴ The same pattern probably existed among the eastern provinces, but the evidence available indicates only that the head chiefs had many other chiefs under their jurisdiction in the more populous provinces and that some of those vassal chiefs seem to have been more important than others. The seemingly considerable powers and importance of Timucua head chiefs and chiefs in general declined rapidly under Spanish rule and the disruption the European-introduced epidemics brought. In 1602 a Spanish governor remarked of the chiefs, "In general the caciques are held in little consideration and are little respected by their Indians except. in the making of the salute to them seated on their bench in the council house and in having preference in the handing out of what comes from the cookhouse and for the people whom he indicates. And in everything else they have little respect for him and less fear and everything he assigns to them they execute like lifeless clods."²⁵ Of the respect accorded

23. Kathleen A. Deagan, "Cultures in Transition: Fusion and Assimilation Among the Eastern Timucua," in Milanich and Proctor, *Tacachale*, 107; Francisco Alonso de Jesus, Memorial 1630, AGI, Mexico 302. Transcription furnished by Eugene Lyon, St. Augustine Foundation, Inc., at Flagler College.

24. John H. Hann, "Demographic Patterns and Changes in Mid-Seventeenth Century Timucua and Apalachee," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 64 (April 1986), 372, 374-75, 385-87.

25. Gonzalo Méndez de Canzo to the king, September 22, 1602, AGI, SD 224, JTCC, reel 2.

a cacique on his elevated bench, a friar reported that no one was permitted to approach the bench "except with the great respect and fear that we are taught for approaching our sacred things." A similar decline in power prevailed in Apalachee early in the seventeenth century even before the Indians came under direct Spanish rule.²⁶

The de Soto chronicles provide the first example of a native title the Timucua used for their chiefs. The chronicles applied the title in forms such as paracoxi and hurriparacoxi to a chief belonging to the Safety Harbor culture, who lived twenty or thirty leagues inland from where de Soto landed in Tampa Bay and to whom chiefs living along the bay or close to it paid tribute.²⁷ Other than this first instance, usage of paracoxi occurred only among Timucua-speakers. Paracoxi reappeared as paracousi and paraousti in René Goulaine de Laudonnière's account of his second voyage. He used the form paraousti first in telling of his meeting with an unidentified chief at Matanzas Inlet, observing that it meant "King and superior."

Laudonnière used the form paracousi in telling of his initial encounter with Chief Saturiwa, noting that "the Paraousti took him by the hand . . . and by signs showed me the limits upriver of his dominion and told me that he was named Paracousi Satouriona, which means the same thing as King Satouriona. The children bear the same title of Paraousti." Laudonnière used the two forms interchangeably, both as a title for specific chiefs and in speaking of chiefs in general. Thus he alluded to the "Paraousti of the River of May," "Paracousi Molona," "Paracousi Outina," and "Ouæ Outina, this great paracousi."²⁸ The extent of Laudonnière's use of the two terms is lost in Charles E. Bennett's translation because he rendered both forms as chief

26. Hann, *Apalachee*, 12, 100-01; Francisco Alonso de Jesus, Memorial 1630, AGI, Mexico 302.

27. Luys Hernández de Biedma, report of the outcome of the journey that Hernando de Soto made and of the characteristics of the land through which he traveled, trans. John H. Hann, on file at the Bureau of Archaeological Research, Tallahassee; Elvas, *True Relation of the Hardships*, II, 46; Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés, *Historia general y natural de las Indias, islas y tierra-firme del mar oceano*, 4 vols. (Madrid, 1851-1855), I, 549.

28. Suzanne Lussagnet, ed., *Les Français en Amérique Pendant la Deuxième Moitié du XVI^e Siècle. Les Français en Floride, Textes de Jean Ribault, René de Laudonnière, Nicolas le Challeux et Dominique de Gourges* (Paris, 1958), 86-90, 94, 104-05, 110, 112-13, 115-16.

after their initial appearance.²⁹ But whether by accident or design, Laudonnière did not use either form for chiefs living north of the St. Johns River or for Potano, Onatheaqua, or Hous-taqua.³⁰ After de Soto's time, Spaniards never applied the title to a specific ruler, but the title appears as *ano parucusi holata yco* and *vtina parucusi holata*, respectively, in Fray Francisco Pareja's 1612 and 1627 catechisms, showing that it remained in use nonetheless. Parucusi likely had the particular meaning of war chief or war prince.³¹

Holata, another name for chief that the Timucua used more commonly than parucusi in the seventeenth century at least, was used by other peoples as well in contrast to parucusi. Holata is believed to be of Muskogean origin. In mission times, holata appeared among the Apalachee, and it later was recorded for Creek and Choctaw. Among Apalachee and Creek it was spelled *holahtha*.³² In the form *orata*, Juan Bandera applied this title to over 100 leaders in the territories traversed by Juan Pardo and Moyano from coastal Escamacu to the deep hinterland of the Carolinas and Tennessee.³³ Only for the Guale and Tama-Yamasee is there a lack of clear evidence of Spanish or native usage of *holahtha* for chief. But even among the Guale, the title appears as part of the name of several towns, as in *Olatapotoque*, which may have been the name of a chief as well.³⁴

Holata first appeared in de Soto's time as *Itaraholata*, the name of a Timucua village in the vicinity of present-day Gainesville.³⁵ Laudonnière applied the term to Saturiwa's principal rival, *Olata Ouae Outina*, a head chief whose domain lay along

29. Laudonnière, *Three Voyages*, 60, 61ff.

30. Lussagnet, *Les Français en Amérique*, 86 n. 1.

31. Julian Granberry, *A Grammar and Dictionary of the Timucua Language* (Horseshoe Beach, FL, 1989), 179, 198, 218, 229; Stefan Lorant, ed., *The New World, the First Pictures of America* (New York, 1946), 11 n. 20.

32. Hann, *Apalachee*, 98-99, 108-11; Jerald T. Milanich, rough draft of article on the Timucua, 1977, prepared for future edition of William C. Sturtevant, ed., *Handbook of North American Indians*, in the possession of the author; Jerald T. Milanich and William C. Sturtevant, eds., *Francisco Pareja's 1613 Confessionario. A Documentary Source for Timucuan Ethnography* (Tallahassee, 1972), 45 n. 13, 67-68.

33. Hudson, *Juan Pardo Expeditions*, 62, 211-49, *passim*.

34. John R. Swanton, *Early History of the Creek Indians and Their Neighbors* (Washington, 1922), 83, 480.

35. Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés, *Historia general y natural de las Indias*, I, 551.

the upper St. Johns River north of Lake George.³⁶ But as noted, he also referred to Ouae Outina as paracousi. In his *Confessionario*, in the Timucua portion of his text, Fray Francisco Pareja used holata as the equivalent of the hispanicized cacique.³⁷ But beyond that, Spaniards were very sparing in the use of the term. In mission times there appears to be no instance of Spaniards having used the title holata in speaking of any specific chief among either the Timucua or Apalachee. This contrasts with their usage in speaking about Guale leaders, for whom they frequently used the Guale equivalent, mico (and its feminine form, mica) as titles for specific chieftains and chieftainnesses rather than cacique and cacica used exclusively for the Timucua and Apalachee chiefs. For mission times, literate chiefs provided the examples, one Timucua and the other Apalachee, who signed their names Lazaro Chamile Holatama and Don Bentura Ybitachuco, holahta.³⁸

For the Apalachee there is no evidence as to what title chiefs bore prior to mission times. Late in the mission era, except for the example of Ivitachuco's chief cited above, cacique seems to have been used almost exclusively by Spaniard and Indian alike, with the chiefs of mission centers being known as principal caciques and the remainder simply as caciques. In a 1688 letter in the Apalachee language, written jointly by the province's chiefs, those who signed it appended cacique to their names, except for the paramount chief, don Bentura of Ivitachuco, who used holahta. Holahta may well have been the common word for chief among the Apalachee as it was among the Timucua. But in the only known examples of its usage, holahta was applied to the head chief, Florida's governor, and the king of Spain. In the above-mentioned 1688 letter, the chiefs used holahta to designate the king of Spain as their great chief thus, "Pin holahta chuba pin Rey," literally "our chief great, our King."³⁹ This raises the possibility that in Apalachee, at least,

36. Lussagnet, *Les Français en Amérique*, 102.

37. Milanich and Sturtevant, *Francisco Pareja's 1613 Confessionaria*, 67.

38. Chiefs of Apalachee to the king, 21st day of the moon that is called January 1688, trans. Fray Marcelo de San Joseph, AGI, SD 839, Stetson Collection (hereinafter SC), P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History; John H. Hann, "Translation of Governor Rebolledo's 1657 Visitation of Three Florida Provinces and Related Documents," *Florida Archaeology* 2 (1986), 106.

39. Chiefs of Apalachee to the king, 21st day of the moon that is called January 1688.

holahta had the connotation of great chief. On the other hand, their use of chuba (great) to qualify it may indicate that holahta by itself meant nothing more than chief. But it is possibly not a coincidence that the head chief was the only one to use holahta in signing that letter.

Among other members of the Muskogean family, holahta did not always have the sense of great chief or head chief. Jerald Milanich and William Sturtevant noted that the Creek holahta was "the title of an official less important than a mi*tkko or town chief."⁴⁰ Charles Hudson took a similar stand vis-à-vis Juan Pardo's oratas, remarking that "consistent with the hiearchical [sic] organization that is typical of chiefdoms, three levels of authority are discernible among the people, with whom Pardo had dealings. From lowest to highest, the three levels were orata, mico, and grand chief (cacique grande), the last one being a position for which no Indian word was recorded by Bandera." Hudson noted further that the "orata appears to have been a village headman, or if not this then the headman of the smallest social unit, however constituted. . . . Bandera defines a mico as a great lord (un gran señor), whereas an orata was a minor lord (un menor señor)."⁴¹

Bandera's remarks about the relative positions of micos and oratas are susceptible to an interpretation different from the one given them by Hudson. Bandera did not necessarily put oratas in general in the inferior position posited by Hudson, but possibly only one whom Bandera qualified as "orata chiquini." When Bandera made the first mention of the title orata on introducing the EmaeE orata of Guio-mae, he explained in a parenthetical remark that the title stood for "great lord" ({EmaeE / horata/ s[eñ]or / grande}). A little farther on, when Bandera listed thirteen oratas who met Pardo at Canos (Cofitachequi), he described them as "very principal chiefs" while noting that there were "many others who are subjects and under the dominion of some of the above-mentioned" thirteen oratas. Thus Bandera indicates clearly that oratas could be head chiefs. Canos orata was one. Bandera mentioned the first mico only much later after Pardo passed beyond what Hudson believed to be Muskogean territory. Consequently, for most of the territory traversed

40. Milanich and Sturtevant, *Francisco Pareja's 1613 Confessionario*, 49 n. 13.

41. Hudson, *Juan Pardo Expeditions*, 61-62.

by Pardo there is no juxtaposition of mico and orata. There, oratas had the field to themselves. The following is the passage in which mico and orata are juxtaposed as superior and inferior, again in a parenthetical remark explaining the meaning of mico on its first appearance. "{Meco is a great lord. Orata Chiquini [is] a lesser lord ({meco Es gran / señor ora/ta chiquini / menos s[eñ]or})."⁴² In view of what Bandera said earlier about other oratas, all that one can conclude justifiably from this last passage is that an orata qualified as chiquini is less a lord vis-à-vis the mico of Guatari, but not that all oratas are inferior to micos.

In the mission territories the title mico was associated exclusively with the Guale and other north-Georgia natives, the Tama and Yamasee. For those peoples Spaniards used mico and mico mayor to designate chief and head chief respectively, but, at times, a head chief was referred to simply as mico. Although such leaders were also alluded to often as caciques, Spaniards used the form mico much more frequently for the Guale than they did holata, paracousi, or any other indigenous native title for other peoples in the mission territories. Mico and mico mayor were reserved for leaders of the more important settlements such as Tolomato, Guale (on St. Catherines Island), Tupiqui, Espogache, and Asao, while chiefs of less important settlements were referred to exclusively as caciques.⁴³ At the time of the Spaniards' first contact with the Guale, they identified Tolomato's chief as "the supreme lord [who] is called mico, which in that tongue is like king or prince of that land." He was wasted by advanced age at that time. Because of this and because he was most valiant, the chief named Guale, who was the Tolomato chiefs son-in-law and second person in the province, was running everything.⁴⁴

42. Ibid., 211-13, 215, 259-60, 262-63. It should be noted that in de Soto's time the cacica of Cofitachequi had a deserted village named Talimeco, the meaning of which was probably "village of the mico." See Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés, *Historia general y natural de las Indias*, I, 561.

43. Argüelles, visitation of Guale and Mocama, 1677; Pedro de Ibarra, *Relacion del viaje que hizo el señor Pedro de Ibarra, Gobernador y Capitan General de la Florida, a visitar los pueblos Indios de las Provincias de San Pedro y Guale*, in Manuel Serrano y Sanz, *Documentos históricos de la Florida y la Luisiana, siglos XVI al XVIII* (Madrid, 1912), 177-91; John Tate Lanning, *The Spanish Missions of Georgia* (Chapel Hill, 1935), 82-111, passim; Pueyo, visitation of Guale and Mocama, 1695.

44. Felix Zubillaga, ed., *Monumenta Antiquae Floridae (1566-1572)* (Rome, 1946), 587.

For the 1587-1606 period during which most is known about Guale, Jones lists Guale-Tolomato, Asao-Talaxe, and Espogache-Tupiqui as separate Guale chiefdoms, noting that "each chiefdom . . . seems to have had two principal towns." One of the chiefs of the three chiefdoms served also as head chief of a federation of the three, which Jones characterized as "fragile." For the 1562-1586 period he extends the Guale's territory into South Carolina to include the Escamacu, Covexcis, Ahoya, and Orista but without demonstrating effectively that those peoples were Guale or that their leaders bore the title *mico*.⁴⁵ Spaniards always spoke of Orista and Escamacu as though they were peoples distinct from the Guale, even when they allied in rebellion against the Spanish. Pedro Menéndez de Avilés found Guale and Orista at war with each other when he first visited the region.⁴⁶

In the mission provinces *mico* is a title that can be said to have been language specific. Guale, Tama, Yamasee, and the Lower Creek peoples, whom Spaniards identified as Apalachicola and who shared the title, spoke either the same language or variants of it that were mutually intelligible. In 1568 a Jesuit described the Guale language as the most universal he had learned of in Florida, as it was understood for 200 leagues into the hinterland.⁴⁷ The validity of his judgment was confirmed a century later in the person of Diego Camuñas, an interpreter whom Spaniards employed for dealings with Guale and Yamasee living along the coast and with Apalachicola on the Chattahoochee. In the 1680s a Yamasee spying for the Spaniards remarked that in the vicinity of the village of Apalachicola he was able to pass as a local when he dressed as the locals did, because people there found nothing unusual in

45. Jones, "The Ethnohistory of the Guale Coast through 1684," in David Hurst Thomas, Grant D. Jones, Roger S. Durham, and Clark Spencer Larsen, *The Anthropology of St. Catherine's Island: 1. Natural and Cultural History. Vol. 55, part 2, Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* (New York, 1978), 200, 202-08.

46. Solís de Merás, *Pedro Menéndez de Avilés*, 167, 167-68 n. 7; Fernando de Valdés, government matters (inquiry), 1602, AGI, SD 2533, SC. In 1604 there was an Orista in Guale, but there is no indication that it was related to the earlier Orista in the vicinity of Santa Elena.

47. Zubillaga, *Monumenta Antiquae Floridae*, 325.

his language and because he understood their language very well.⁴⁸

This identification of the mico-ship with peoples from north Georgia and the Spaniards' tendency to identify micos by that title makes the mico-ship a good marker for detecting migrations. That micos are not mentioned for any of the other mission provinces suggests that except for Tolomato's relocation to the vicinity of St. Augustine, the 1670s movement of Tama-Yamasee into Apalachee, and the resettlement of Yamasee and Guale on Amelia Island, it is unlikely there was any substantial movement of Guale or Yamasee into Florida prior to 1702, as has been posited at times. It also suggests that introduction of the Lamar-type ceramics known as Leon-Jefferson did not result from any substantial immigration from the Lamar heartland where the mico-ship prevailed.

Inija, a title used for the second-in-command, appears to have been the one most widely used, with a distribution that surpassed that of *holahtha*. Apalachee, Timucua, Guale, Chacato, and Creek employed the term. Its use among still other peoples may be concealed under the Spanish term *mandador*. The *inija* was first mentioned in the 1560s for Pardo's far northern hinterland. At Tocae, Pardo met two *ynahaes oratas* whom Bandera described thus in a parenthetical note, "*YnihaEs* are what we might call justices or *Jurados* who command the people."⁴⁹ Hudson noted that Bandera characterized an *inija* at Olamico as "like a 'sheriff' who commands the town."⁵⁰ Bandera's descriptions capture more or less the role *inijas* played in the mission provinces where they were the village administrators responsible for seeing that essential tasks were attended to. During the

48. Argüelles, visitation of Guale and Mocama, 1677; Antonio Matheos to Juan Marques Cabrera, May 21, 1686, enclosed in correspondence from the viceroy of Mexico, Count of Paredes and Marquis of Laguna to the king, July 19, 1686, AGI, Mexico 56, John Tate Lanning Collection of the Thomas Jefferson Library, University of Missouri, St. Louis, vol. 5 of Colección "Misiones Guale"; Pueyo, visitation of Guale and Mocama, 1695.

49. Paul E. Hoffman, who transcribed and translated the Bandera accounts that appear in Hudson's work, defined *jurado* as "a member of a special panel of officials elected and sometimes appointed to represent the public interest in various matters of city government." They defended the city's *fueros*, oversaw the judicial system, protected its patrimony, and saw to it that it was well administered. Hudson, *Juan Pardo Expeditions*, 65, 229-30, 276, 296 n. 7.

50. Hudson, *Juan Pardo Expeditions*, 65.

chief's absence they spoke for the village in dealings with outsiders. In Apalachee they seem to have been repositories of tribal lore and myths and information on inheritance rights for chiefships. The position was a hereditary one like that of the chief. Fray Pareja described the Timucua ynihama as coming from the same lineage as the head chief and as "a counsellor who brings the Cacique near at hand (a la mano)."⁵¹

It is not clear whether the mission provinces had an equivalent to the enehau ulgee or collective inija-ship portrayed by Benjamin Hawkins as occupying the mico's cabin on the left in the Creek square ground, who were in charge of public works, like Spanish Florida's inija, and of preparation of the black drink.⁵² But Francisco Pareja's description of the lineages that provided counsellors for Timucua head chiefs indicates a collective inija-ship for that people in the persons of the ynihama, anacotimas, asetama, yvitano, toponole, ybichara, and amalachini. It may also have existed in Apalachee and Guale. Large mission centers like San Luis de Talimali had more than one inija and deputies for the inija known as chacales, a title used at times as synonymous with inija.⁵³ Pareja mentioned chacales also for Timucua as chacalicarema.⁵⁴

Although inijas are mentioned for all the mission provinces, they do not appear as frequently under that name for Guale and Timucua as they do for the Apalachee. For Guale and Timucua there is more frequent mention of an official Spaniard called the mandador. As its meaning of order-giver expresses the essence of the inija's duties, it is likely that in many instances when Spaniards used the title mandador they were speaking of the inija. A soldier at San Luis made this clear, testifying that Apalachee's deputy-governor "broke the head of Bi Bentura, enija of the village of San Luis, who is order-giver (mandador), second person to the cacique."⁵⁵ But the two are

51. Hann, *Apalachee*, 106; Francisco Pareja, *Cathecismo, en Lengua Castellana, y Timuquana* (Mexico, 1612), I-iiiii.

52. Benjamin Hawkins, *Letters of Benjamin Hawkins, 1796-1806*, reprint ed. (Spartanburg, SC, 1982), 15. The letters originally were published in 1848 as vol. 3, part 1 of the Collections of the Georgia Historical Society.

53. Hann, *Apalachee*, 106, 106 n. 7, 107; Pareja, *Cathecismo, en Lengua Castellana*, I-iiiii.

54. Milanich and Sturtevant, *Francisco Pareja's 1613 Confessionario*, 69.

55. Antonio Matheos, testimony from the record of the residencia of Juan Marques Cabrera, AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, leg. 156C, pieza 25, E. 20, SC.

not coterminous. In the first explicit mention of an inija for the Guale that this author has encountered, Florida's governor addressed an order to the "caciques, Ynijas, and mandadores" of the province.⁵⁶ But for the coastal peoples, when an inija was not mentioned and an official was identified as mandador, it is probable that he is an inija. For Guale, the same may be true for individuals identified as alaiguitas, as in the 1604 and 1695 visitations. In 1695 a Guale leader named Augustin was alluded to as mandador on one occasion and as alaiguita on another. But on the other hand the 1695 visitor's general auto noted that "all the caciques, micos, enijas, leading men, mandadores, and vassals are to be cited."⁵⁷ Of course, seventeenth-century Spaniards' love for tautology could be the explanation for this seeming repetition.

Spanish usage of mandador is particularly strong for the South Carolina region at the beginning of the seventeenth century. There it seems to have been applied to other officials in addition to the inija. For the Escamacu, Cayagua, and Sati, Spaniards used cacique for the chief and mandador and mandador mayor for officials below the level of chief who, at times, were heads of outlying settlements.⁵⁸ Bandera used mandador similarly for the hinterland in the 1560s.⁵⁹ In 1609, Francisco Fernández de Ecija said of his entrance into the Jordan River, and "going inland from the two headlands there is a large river, which we ascended until we reached some cabins and fields sown with corn, where an Indian lived, who was the mandador, which is what we call those [the leaders] of the Jordan." Ecija noted subsequently that the mandador's chief, named Sati, lived in a village some distance upriver.⁶⁰

Gobernador (governor) is another Spanish term applied frequently to native leaders. The native governor was a person in

56. Benito Ruiz de Salazar Vallecilla to Antonio de Argüelles, July 11, 1650, AGI, SD 23, trans. Eugene Lyon, in possession of the author.

57. Ibarra, *Relacion*, 179, 184, 187; Diego de Jaen, Deputy-Governor Diego de Jaen's defense, 1695, trans. Hann, in "Visitations and Revolts"; Pueyo, visitation of Guale and Mocama, 1695. The title alaiguita seems to have been confined to the Guale as was another official known as ibisache whose function is unknown.

58. John H. Hann, "Translation of the Ecija Voyages of 1605 and 1609 and the González Derrotero of 1609," *Florida Archaeology* 2 (1986), passim.

59. Hudson, *Juan Pardo Expeditions*, 66, 228-29, 231, 233, 235-36, 238. Hudson speculates that mandadores were head warriors or war chiefs.

60. Hann, "Translation of the Ecija Voyages," 26.

charge of the village in the place of a chief when the legitimate chief or mico was incapable of exercising the duties of his office due to old age, illness, mental incapacity, or some other cause. In a 1695 visitation it was noted that Mico Bernabé of Tupiqui had been removed earlier and replaced by Tupiqui's alaiquita, who was then given the title of governor by the Spanish governor who authorized this change.⁶¹ More commonly, nephew- or niece-heirs to a chieftainship were installed as governors when their ruling aunt or uncle was incapacitated by age or illness. It is not clear whether the practice had a formalized native equivalent or was introduced by the Spaniards. Among the Calusa, who had not recognized Spanish sovereignty, an old chief seems to have simply stepped aside at a certain point in favor of a son. In an instance recorded at Yustaga's San Matheo de Tolapatafi, village leaders reported that the legitimate heir, Julian, was "governing because his aunt, who is the legitimate cacica, has not died and that, although she is incapacitated, he has preferred, nonetheless, not to take formal possession of the chieftainship until she dies because of the respect that he owes her." The governor's official visitor sanctioned the status quo, observing that the heir's interim rule had proved adequate to the village's needs. But he ordered that an official title of governor be issued to Julian "so that he may govern this village in virtue of it with legitimacy."⁶²

Guale is the only mission province known to have had a special title, tunaque, for the heir to a chiefship. A special seat in the council house was reserved for the tunaque. The frequent mention of Guale heirs in documents addressed to the leaders contrasts to the practice for most other provinces. This suggests that Guale heirs enjoyed more of a leadership role than their counterparts elsewhere. Similar mention of such heirs occurred to some degree in Mocama, Guale's southern neighbor, although no such title is known for Mocama heirs.⁶³ By contrast, Apalachee, Chacato, and Creek had a special title, usinulo (beloved son), for one of the chiefs sons, which is not recorded for the Timucua-speakers or the Guale. Special roles in ceremonies

61. Pueyo, visitation of Guale and Mocama, 1695.

62. Florencia, visitation of Timuqua, 1695.

63. Argüelles, visitation of Guale and Mocama, 1677; Ibarra, *Relacion*, 171, 176, 178-79, 183-54, 188.

associated with the tribe's ball game were reserved to the usinulo among the Apalachee. The Creek spelled the title usinjulo.⁶⁴

Female leadership in the future mission provinces appears to have been negligible when Europeans first arrived. De Soto does not seem to have encountered a cacica until he reached Cofitachequi in the northern hinterland. Neither French nor Spanish sources noted female leaders among natives of the Florida, Georgia, and South Carolina coasts in the 1560s and 1570s except for the widow of Chief Hioacaia in Timucua territory twelve leagues north of Fort Caroline and Niacubacany, lady (dame) of a village near the fort.⁶⁵ But Pardo encountered cacicas in the northern hinterland, as had de Soto.⁶⁶ Timucua's Acuera, located along the Oklawaha, was ruled by a cacica in 1597 when it first gave obedience to Spain's king.⁶⁷ Timucua's Yufera, in the coastal hinterland opposite Cumberland Island, had a cacica when it came under Spanish sovereignty in 1604. In the first years of the seventeenth century both the Mocama and the descendents of Saturiwa's people were ruled by women.⁶⁸ The first evidence of cacicas in Guale dates from 1677, and in western Timucua from 1657.⁶⁹ Only for the Apalachee and Chacato among the missionized natives is there no evidence of cacicas. Women do not seem to have held a position of authority anywhere in Spanish Florida other than that of chief, mica, or orata.

The wide circulation of titles like holata and inija across tribal and linguistic frontiers suggests considerable borrowing of cultural elements. Only the fisher-hunter-gatherers of south Florida seem not to have participated in the nomenclature that characterized the mission provinces. Apalachee and Timucua shared the holata, inija, and chacal. Apalachee and Chacato shared inija, chacal, and usinulo. The linguistically close Guale, Yamasee, and Tama stand apart from other missionized peoples because of their use of mico, mico mayor, tunaque, alaiguita, and ibisache, although they were tied to the rest through the

64. Fernández de Florencia, auto concerning the revolt of the Chacatos, 1675; Hann, *Apalachee*, 104, 123, 338, 340.

65. Lussagnet, *Les Français en Amérique*, 136, 151.

66. Hudson, *Juan Pardo Expeditions*, 215.

67. Machado, list of gifts to Indians, 1597.

68. Ibarra, *Relacion*, 176; Valdés, government matters (inquiry), 1602.

69. Argüelles, visitation of Guale and Mocama, 1677; Hann, "Translation of Governor Rebolledo's 1657 Visitation," 104.

inija. The complexity of Guale's roster of named officials suggests that they may have constituted another *enehau ulgee*.

The superabundance of *oratas* reported by Bandera from coastal Escamacu to Chiaha near the mountains of Tennessee raises questions. There is the issue of the "r," a letter absent from Muskogean languages.⁷⁰ Of more concern is *orata*'s wide distribution among diverse linguistic and cultural traditions and its use for *inija* as well as chief and the lack of evidence of the use of *orata* from other Europeans— French and Spanish— who had contact with some of the same coastal chiefs like Escamacu and Orista contemporaneously with Bandera and later. Were it not for Bandera's use of *mico* for three of the northern chiefs Pardo encountered, one would be tempted to conclude that Bandera or his French interpreter applied the title *orata* indiscriminately to everyone in a leadership position whom Pardo met.

However much the power of chiefs and the populations they ruled declined in the two centuries after contact, the native leadership structure retained its form, and its members retained their privileges to a remarkable degree in the mission territories until the destruction of the missions, except for those at the level of what Hudson characterized as grand chiefs. And in Apalachee, even in the wake of the missions' destruction, Florida's governor could write that all was not lost necessarily, with the chief of Ivitachuco still loyal, for, "because he is the most important (*el mas principal*) of the entire province, we can count on it that, if things should settle down again, all the rest of the Apalachee Indians who have remained alive and are in Pensacola would return to their places with only the said don Patricio [Ivitachuco's chief] sending them word with some of his leading men."⁷¹

70. This problem could be attributed to misperception by the interpreter or by Bandera himself. There are supposedly Muskogean names such as Orista and Aracuchi that Bandera and other Spaniards recorded with an "r."

71. Joseph de Zúñiga y Zerda to the king, October 6, 1704 (draft copy), AGI, SD 858, JTCC, reel 6.

BOOK REVIEWS

America's Ancient City, Spanish St. Augustine, 1565-1763. Edited with an introduction by Kathleen A. Deagan. Spanish Borderlands Sourcebooks Series, vol. 25. (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1991. xliv, 649 pp. Sources, introduction, maps, illustrations, photographs, tables. \$64.00.)

Information generated by scholarly investigations of St. Augustine's colonial history remains dispersed in articles, monographs, field notes, local, government reports— local, state, and federal— and theses and dissertations. Even an introductory level investigation of St. Augustine's past necessitates that a researcher visit repositories in the city itself or at research libraries and archives. Now Kathleen Deagan, archaeologist at the University of Florida, offers a collection that begins to remedy the physical dispersal and disciplinary array. Focusing on St. Augustine during the First Spanish Period, she presents in a consistent format for all chapters both published and unpublished materials derived from many years of research. The thematic sections, which deal with the colonial population and the colonial institutions, span two centuries. Individual chapters addressing the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries each offer a similar menu of archaeological analysis, historical interpretations based upon documentary evidence, and the translation of a contemporary descriptive document.

Selections derived from fifty years of scholarship take the reader through the changing emphases of the academic disciplines and the society of which they are a part. The earliest of the essays, Verne Chatelaine's seminal compilation of data during the pre-World War II years, stresses identification of sites in St. Augustine to contribute to the local and national tangible past. The most recent of the studies (1984), by Jane Landers, penetrates the almost impalpable and long invisible social history of African Americans in Spanish Florida. Nineteen authors explore topics in demography, institutions (the bureaucracy, the military, the church), manifestations of status, acculturation, diet, architecture, and other artifacts of material culture. Translations of first-person accounts written circa 1595 and 1760, a will, and

postmortem inventory dated 1649 offer samples of primary evidence.

The most valuable chapter is the introduction, essential for anyone unfamiliar with St. Augustine's chronology and major colonial elements. There Professor Deagan makes sense for the reader of the sources themselves and the various archival and research entities whose holdings must be consulted. As the intention of this volume is to provide a "general outline," introductory remarks should have been included as well for the individual selections to enable the reader to assess the particular excerpt and to place it within the historiography. Because some of the excerpts are portions of reports or theses, the general reader is suddenly immersed in a subject without a point of reference.

At the price of this volume the publisher should have offered a book with better visual clarity, for the quality of production at times deprives the reader of information. For example, the table on page 286 is illegible, even with a magnifying glass; the shards depicted on pages 614, 618, and 626 are visually indistinguishable from one another; some pages of the dot-matrix reproduction of Albert Manucy's translation of a shipwreck victim's account are extremely light and require a second reading. These problems are frustrating.

Despite shortcomings, the Columbus quincentenary has brought about an awareness of the varied cultural aspects of the American colonial past. Children's textbooks and histories for popular consumption have moved beyond gratuitous allusions and anecdotes to incorporate the participation of non-Anglo groups and regions. This book is a timely and accessible collection of solid studies about a Spanish colonial community that informs and expands the realization of the nation's diverse cultural origins.

*Historic St. Augustine
Preservation Board*

SUSAN R. PARKER

Jacksonville: Riverport-Seaport. By George E. Buker. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 1992. viii. 192 pp. Acknowledgments, illustrations, photographs, maps, tables, notes, bibliography, general index, index of ship names. \$29.95.)

This latest addition to the University of South Carolina Press's series, "Studies in Maritime History," fits. "Maritime" suggests proximity to the sea, seafaring, shipping, and things nautical, and George Buker's book encompasses all of them. In fact, the book is as much a history of the St. Johns River as it is of the "Riverport-Seaport" of Jacksonville.

Buker begins with the French crossing the sandbar at the entrance to the "riviere de Mai" in 1562, leading to the establishment of Fort Caroline. Earlier Timucuan settlements in the area are not mentioned, though their use of boats on the river and trade with the Huguenots is noted. Following the Spanish conquest, the river became a "moat" protecting St. Augustine from the interior. During the eighteenth century, the river was a "military highway" used by both England and Spain. Under British governance from 1763-1784, it became a commercial artery too, with shipments of naval stores from plantations along its banks. These events over two centuries anticipate Jacksonville's settlement in 1822. Yet the focus remains on the river in the Seminole wars and on the Union blockade during the Civil War.

A major barrier to Jacksonville's development as a port lay in the shifting sandbar across the mouth of the St. Johns River limiting access. Storms and currents caused the bar to shift unbeknownst to ship captains. Many vessels ran aground. Others were reported to have waited weeks for passage. Even in the best of times, clearance for a fair-sized ship came only at high tide.

Following the Civil War, efforts to improve navigation finally succeeded. Dr. Abel Seymour Baldwin persuaded Congress to appropriate funds to build jetties at the mouth of the river creating a fifteen-foot channel. Later the Corps of Engineers began deepening the channel upriver to Jacksonville. Tourists arrived in substantial numbers. The Clyde Line established service between New York and Jacksonville, and the Merrill brothers and Arthur Stevens started their shipyard. Prior to the Spanish-American War, Jacksonville became the port from which Napo-

leon Broward and his friends smuggled arms for Cuban revolutionaries.

As the book approaches the twentieth century, Jacksonville's role as a world seaport emerges, and its pace accelerates. Sixteen pages trace the port's history from the 1901 fire through World War II. In this space, Buker mentions the establishment of the municipal docks, shipbuilding efforts during World War I, rum running during prohibition, dockworker unions in the New Deal, and the Navy coming to Mayport in World War II. Another thirteen-page chapter traces the origins and development of the Jacksonville Port Authority since 1963.

What is missing in this brief overview of the port in this century is context. There is little sense of its impact upon the economic, political, and social life of Jacksonville. The role of the railroads, which owned most of the waterfront for decades, is barely mentioned. One wonders about the port's impact upon the city's red light district, or its influence in delaying prohibition. For more recent years, there is little discussion about competition between Jacksonville and the ports of South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida.

Buker's contribution lies in his description of the river's importance to the early history of northeast Florida, which fits neatly into the publisher's series on maritime history.

University of North Florida

JAMES B. CROOKS

Seminole Archaeological and Historical Survey, Phase I: Northern Big Cypress. By Robert Carr and Patsy West. (Miami: Archaeological and Historical Conservancy, Inc., 1990. ii, 89 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, figures, photographs, references cited. \$30.00.)

This report documents the first phase of the Seminole Heritage Archaeological and Historical Survey, a research effort directly sponsored by the Seminole Indian Tribe of Florida in order to assess and register Seminole sites on tribal and non-tribal land. The study was carried out with full cooperation of the tribe and adjacent landholders, particularly the U.S. Sugar Corporation, and the assistance of a matching grant from the Florida Department of State. All parties involved are to be congratulated

for their effort in recording and saving, where possible, sites of an important segment of Florida history.

The area chosen for this phase, covering eighty-seven square miles, lies in portions of the Big Cypress Swamp in Hendry County and includes the northern portion of the Big Cypress Seminole Indian Reservation. However, some background material covers a much larger geographical area of the Big Cypress Swamp, and the reader must be aware that "Big Cypress" must sometimes be interpreted by context.

There are brief discussions of the natural setting, previous archaeological and historical research, and a summary of the archaeological and history of the area. Patsy West has provided a succinct history of Seminole settlement in the Big Cypress. The methodology and results of the archaeological survey are presented, and site forms and recommendations for the thirty-one sites studied are included. Unfortunately, some important sites have been destroyed by agricultural development within recent years, and it was in the face of such events that the importance of such a survey effort was recognized and implemented.

The investigators took full advantage of the opportunity to benefit from the local knowledge and oral traditions of their Seminole sponsors and to voice an important admonition, namely that "informant data, despite inaccuracies, is a valuable barometer of Native American perceptions of historic significance. In minimum, it presents a template of tribal history which is the individual's projection of the Seminole's place in space and time, and despite inaccuracies, should not be ignored by the historian."

The report under review belongs to a recently evolved category of research associated with the identification and preservation of our historical and cultural heritage, most often but not always mandated by federal or state laws and regulations. The resulting reports, properly processed through the bureaucracy, are issued in limited numbers and receive relatively little widespread attention, even among those who would benefit from the contents. A tremendous "grey literature," has grown without, as yet, effective mechanisms for the diffusion of its contents, or even knowledge of its existence. The disciplines most affected are history, archaeology, and historic preservation.

This is not to say that such reports are simply buried and ineffective. They not only record results of surveys and studies, they also recommend action to protect the affected resources

and to mitigate their loss through further research. This part of the system is working fairly well; it is the broader possible utilization of the research that is lagging.

St. Augustine Historical Society

JOHN W. GRIFFIN

Shipwreck and Adventures of Monsieur Pierre Viaud. Translated and edited by Robin F. A. Fabel. (Gainesville: University of West Florida Press, 1990. viii, 137 pp. Acknowledgments, editor's note, translator's notes, appendices. \$16.95.)

The shipwreck narrative of Pierre Viaud's adventures along the Florida coast have long been an obscure footnote to history, appreciated only by a handful of scholars willing to read it in rare eighteenth-century editions. Robin F. A. Fabel's translated edition of Viaud's *Shipwreck and Adventures* happily will make this saga of the Florida past available to a modern audience. The Frenchman Pierre Viaud booked passage on a vessel that sailed from St. Domingue for New Orleans in early 1766. A storm blew his ship off course, and it foundered on the Gulf coast near Dog Island. The survivors faced the hostile elements without supplies, and six of them, including Viaud, struck off on their own in an attempt to reach an outpost of civilization, which they hoped would be nearby. Several of them drowned, and one, a teenaged boy, took sick and was left behind on an island off-shore by the others. Viaud and Madame La Couture, another survivor, thereafter killed a slave travelling with them and cannibalized him in their desperate effort to survive. Finally, soldiers from the British establishments found them and ended Viaud's ordeal. He speedily returned to France and wrote a memoir of his experience in the coastal wilderness.

The book became a best seller with the European reading public in the late eighteenth century. Obviously romanticized in places, Viaud's narrative nonetheless contained daring tales of bravery, daunting examples of pathos and suffering, and, of course, the specter of cannibalism. Portions of it, in fact, were so fanciful that some scholars have subsequently classified the narrative as fiction rather than fact. Professor Fabel, as editor and translator, sets Viaud's narrative into perspective by providing three important services for the modern reader. First, he

clearly proves the narrative— although embellished by Viaud— is indeed the recounting of an actual historical event. By means of rigorous historical detective work, Fabel traces Viaud's career after the shipwreck. He also corroborates Viaud's story by locating forgotten British documents produced by Viaud's rescuers. Second, as translator, he presents a well-crafted English-language version that is a pleasure to read. Third, Fabel has written an extensive introduction that presents a detailed history of the shipwreck narrative while placing it in its historical context. Although Viaud's *Shipwreck and Adventures* has all of the elements of history as high adventure, it is generally remembered for its human interest since it has little, if any, direct importance for the history of Florida. Instead, its major impact is as an eighteenth-century literary adventure designed to be appreciated by European readers. Professor Fabel's timely translation will now provide the same valuable service for modern readers.

Austin College

LIGHT TOWNSEND CUMMINS

Inseparable Loyalty: A Biography of William Bull. By Geraldine M. Meroney. (Norcross, GA: Harrison Company Publishers, 1991. x, 232 pp. Acknowledgments, author's note, illustrations, map, notes, bibliographical essay, Bull genealogy, index. \$34.95.)

The estimable Geraldine Meroney, whose death preceded the publication of this, her life's major piece of scholarship, would be justifiably proud of the volume here reviewed. *Inseparable Loyalty: A Biography of William Bull* is generously printed, as free as such books can be of typographical errors, and, most importantly, it provides the reader with an intimate portrait of a man who by all accounts was fair-minded, witty, learned, and a student of humanity. The facts of his public life are relatively common knowledge, but Meroney takes issue with those, such as Eugene Sirmans, who view him as a vascillator and a self-serving politician. Rather, maintains Meroney, he epitomized what was best about British-Americans: inseparable loyalty, integrity, devotion to duty, and intellectual curiosity. The first "virtue," fairly obviously, got him in political trouble as lieutenant governor of South

Carolina when that province drifted into revolutionary collusion with those to the North. His refusal to "go with his colony" brought exile, penury, heartbreak, and relative obscurity. The legacy of William Bull to South Carolina, though, resulted ultimately in his vindication and the return of his name to an honored place in the Palmetto State's roster of remarkable public servants. For this achievement no few of his contemporaries and friends—men such as Henry Laurens, Christopher Gadsden, and Nathaniel Russell—should first be mentioned. Meroney herself, however, has gone even further in her assessment of the master of Ashley Hall: his was a civic and private virtue the likes of which we shall not see again.

Meroney is particularly adept at making sense of the incredible web of family interconnections that composed the coastal Carolina aristocracy of which Bull was a prominent member. Draytons, Middletons, Blakes, Lowndeses, Pringles, Bellingers, and other names legion in Carolina (but perhaps not quite so familiar outside her boundaries) pass through the pages of Meroney's book as reminders of great families past and present. A chart at the end of the volume documents many of these cordial relations. She agrees with those who, in the past, have seen the elimination of many of these families on Carolina's Royal Council as an important key to understanding why the bonds of loyalty that held men like Gadsden and Laurens to empire were snapped in the 1760s and 1770s. Bull, who was lieutenant governor (and therefore deprived of the ultimate powers that he might otherwise have used to alter British policy), was caught up in a movement with which he could sympathize, but never overtly join. His position as a ranking royal official meant that his oath to the crown took precedence over any other legal claim, no matter how justifiable. His consistency on this point led him, in a final statement, to reject full pardon from the South Carolina Assembly because it was given with strings attached: for Bull to pledge loyalty to the new government would mean negating his oath to the king. And this was too much to ask of a man of principle. Bull died on July 4, 1791, in London, shortly before his eighty-first birthday.

In his last years, William Bull was sorely troubled by an effort on the part of his nephew, Stephen, to seize Ashley Hall, as well as other estates and properties owned by the older man. Under guise of a lease, where he promised to save his uncle's holdings

from confiscation during the Revolution, Stephen blatantly assumed William's properties to himself. It was thought that these investments would be returned to William when he came back to Carolina, but it appears an indisputable fact that Stephen did all in his power to prevent his uncle's pardon from being approved. The old man was determined that Stephen's progeny would not inherit his beloved Ashley Hall; his 1790 will successfully prevented that unhappy event.

Meroney is assured and convincing in her assertions that Bull, as a young man, worked well with the Indians, was humane and kind to his slaves (a fact underscored by provisions in his will), and was something of a scholar in the rambling world of natural history. His contributions here, of which I was unaware, were brought to reality as I strolled on one fine March day through Mrs. Alfred Bissell's garden in Aiken. I was reading *Inseparable Loyalty* at the time. At one point I was confronted by a red camellia blooming magnificently at the end of a path. Mrs. Bissell, upon being asked its name, responded, "Why, that's a William Bull, of course!"

More significantly, this lucid, admiring portrait of William Bull and what made him do as he did reminded the reviewer of other major colonial officeholders who faced the same crises of loyalty and who acted similarly. Sir James Wright of Georgia and Thomas Hutchinson of Massachusetts, who rightly considered themselves to be as much American citizens as the Henrys and the Adamses, chose the thorny path of loyalism. They were principled men, colonial American men, who thought they saw anarchy and danger along the uncharted road the "patriots" would have them take. Bull's and Wright's personal papers, tragically, do not survive, the former's looted and destroyed in a raid by British troops. Of the three only Hutchinson wrote an apologia for his actions, as contained in his remarkable history of Massachusetts. Would that Bull had done likewise.

The suspicion remains on the part of this reviewer that these able and practical royal officeholders had more in common than is generally perceived. The historical profession waits for the writer— and the synthesizer— who can bring together the tangled threads of American loyalism on the highest levels and put these honest public servants in the honorable niche where they belong. Kenneth Coleman has done much for Wright; Bernard Bailyn has performed similar services for Hutchinson; and now

Meroney, in her terse but revealing prose, has placed William Bull in the distinguished gallery where he belongs.

Meroney's is a marked achievement, the fitting climax to a long and useful career. *Ave atque vale!*

University of Georgia

PHINIZY SPALDING

The Papers of Henry Laurens, Volume Eleven: January 5, 1776 November 1, 1777. Edited by David R. Chesnutt and C. James Taylor. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1988. xxx, 680 pp. Introduction, acknowledgments, annotations, appendix, index. \$49.95.)

The Papers of Henry Laurens, Volume Twelve: November 1, 1777-March 15, 1778. Edited by David R. Chesnutt and C. James Taylor. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1990. xxxvi, 648 pp. Introduction, acknowledgments, annotations, appendix, index. \$49.95.)

The recent volumes of this series continue the excellent quality of their predecessors. Volume eleven is mainly concerned with activities related to American independence activities during the months when Laurens served South Carolina as president of the Council of Safety and as vice president after the Assembly adopted a new constitution of governance. In June 1777, Laurens left South Carolina to serve in the Continental Congress for over a year as its president.

The correspondence includes information regarding the efforts of South Carolinians to prepare a coastal defense against possible attacks from British warships and against interior attacks from the Cherokee and Creek Indians. Other themes explored include the difficulties planters faced disciplining their slaves while continuing to plant and market rice and indigo in the midst of escalating war activities. Laurens tried to open markets for Carolina products in France in exchange for gunpowder and other war materials. Recognizing the threat posed by border marauders from Loyalist East Florida, Laurens moved the slaves from his Savannah and Altamaha rivers plantations to a more secure location on the Santee River.

The personal tragedies faced by Laurens are the most compelling issues discussed. Through business associates in England, Laurens arranged finances and guidance for his four children and an ailing brother, all of whom were living in Europe. He cautioned his children to prepare for a "reversal of fortunes . . . [and] the trial of earning your Daily bread by daily labour" (p. 130). England and her North American colonies were veering toward a final separation, yet Laurens fervently hoped for "honorable terms for accomodation and Peace" before a "grand scene will be unfolded and the stage covered with Blood" (p. 118).

Of equal interest is Lauren's opposition to slavery. For decades he had been one of Charleston's foremost African slave merchants, yet he informed John Laurens in August 1776, "I abhor Slavery." Blaming kings and parliaments for establishing slavery in South Carolina and the "prejudices of men supported by Interest" for perpetuating the institution, Laurens still prayed that "principles of gratitude as well as justice" would eventually persuade his countrymen to "comply with the Golden Rule." Although his own slaves were worth more than £20,000 sterling, Laurens told his son that he was "devising means for manumitting many of them and for cutting off the entails of Slavery" (p. 224). Two months later, John endorsed the decision "with rapture." Important men would oppose him, John warned, but these were the same men who had advanced only "absurd Arguments in support of Slavery . . . and embarrassed themselves very little about the Right _ indeed when driven from every thing else _ they generally exclaim'd _ Without Slaves how is it possible for us to be rich[?]" (pp. 276-77).

Volume twelve continues similar themes but concentrates on Laurens's work as president of the Continental Congress. Letters from South Carolina discuss the economy, crops, slavery, and military affairs, but Laurens's focus is George Washington and the Continental Army. The correspondence is fascinating.

Again, the most poignant letters are those exchanged between Laurens and his son John, who had returned from England in April 1777 to become an aide to General Washington. The letters provide information of military activities and incisive commentary on the personalities and disputes of the officers. Laurens used letters to John, and to John Lewis Gervais in South Carolina, as some men use diaries-to reveal their deepest inner concerns.

John retained his interest in abolition. In January 1778, John wrote from Valley Forge to ask his father to "cede me a number of your able bodied men Slaves, instead of leaving me a fortune _ I would bring about a twofold good, first I would advance those who are unjustly deprived of the Rights of Mankind . . . and besides I would reinforce the Defenders of Liberty with a number of gallant Soldiers" (p. 305). John was unable to implement his plans for a regiment of freedmen fighting for American freedom before his death in 1782.

There is little in these volumes that relates directly to Florida. But there is much information about the early months of the American Revolution that is of compelling interest.

University of North Florida

DANIEL L. SCHAFER

Letters of Delegates to Congress, 1774-1789, Volume 18: September 1, 1781-July 31, 1782. Edited by Paul H. Smith, Gerald W. Gawalt, and Ronald M. Gephart. (Washington: Library of Congress, 1991. xxix, 749 pp. Editorial method and apparatus, acknowledgments, chronology of Congress, list of delegates, illustrations, notes, index. \$37.00.)

This volume of *Letters of Delegates* is one of the most useful in the entire series. Spanning the Yorktown siege and the immediate consequences of Cornwallis's surrender, these documents allow readers to inhabit imaginatively the fog of war. No one yet knew just how dramatically Yorktown had affected the course of history. "If Clinton cannot throw in succours to Lord Cornwallis," Daniel of St. Thomas Jennifer wrote prophetically September 18, "I think he must fall." But Jennifer then dropped the subject to pursue a more immediate concern: the dispute between Samuel Chase and Charles Carroll over currency devaluation. On September 25 the Virginia delegates reported to Governor Thomas Nelson on the "return of the British fleet to New York (much disabled we are told)," and then moved on to the "Cautious Policy" toward the American conflict of European powers other than France. "This points out to us the necessity of every exertion . . . to . . . weaken the pretensions of G Britain by driving her troops out of the Continent. This can only be done by repairing the deranged State of our finances and recruit-

ing our Armies to their full Complement"—still envisioning a long struggle ahead. Thomas McKean congratulated Washington for having "effectively broken . . . British power in America" at Yorktown. But for more than a hundred pages of November and December 1781 letters, fiscal and western lands questions filled the delegates' correspondence. On December 13, a poem by Pennsylvania delegate George Clymer alluded in the eighth of ten verses to "the memory of thy recent grace" (i.e. the Yorktown surrender) which "afresh inspires them for the field/ The foe shall find renew'd disgrace/ and fly our shores or fated-yield." A long military struggle still loomed in Congressional thinking at the end of 1781.

If a transition to peace and independence were at hand, it was a moment fraught with danger and uncertainty. On May 6, 1782, the South Carolina delegates warned that Britain would "endeavour to make proposals to the states separately." When the new British commander, Guy Carleton, called on Washington to support him in upholding "the character of Englishmen" by concluding the war in a humane and civilized way, Theodorick Bland sensed that a "a very important Crisis" had arrived, "a Crisis that demands all the political Exertion, intuitive Knowledge, foresight, and Wisdom that the Continent are possest of, individually and collectively." Samuel Osgood spoke for most delegates when he wrote on May 14, 1782, "I feel very anxious for our State. . . . Our independence is not yet acknowledged, and whether the new Ministry have the vanity to think that they shall . . . induce us to give up our Alliance, Independence, &c. is uncertain." Stay tuned.

*University of North Carolina
at Greensboro*

ROBERT M. CALHOON

Georgia Land Surveying: History and Law. By Farris W. Cadle. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1991. xii, 583 pp. Preface, notes, maps, illustrations, appendices, note on sources, table of cases cited, index. \$75.00.)

Books of limited scope are frequently of significant value. The present volume is a case in point. The author's intent is to open to lay readers the complexities of land surveying in Georgia,

and, through surveying, the evolving system of land distribution. In pursuit of this goal he presents in the first half of the book a history of surveying in the state from the colonial period (when the headright system prevailed) through the 1832 Land Lottery, and in the second half a digest of legal concepts and terms applicable to surveying.

The limits of the volume are obvious. There is much here on the tools and mechanics of the surveyors who, over the course of a century, platted the state; the statutes that authorized and directed their work; the vicissitudes that beset the surveyors— the swamps and mountains, briars and Indians; and the errors they made. But there is nothing pertaining to the social implications of their work. Thus we are given almost verbatim the text of each of the Land Lottery Acts, even told how the lottery worked— in one instance the lottery wheel, made in the state penitentiary, was heavy to turn— but virtually nothing about the participants in the lottery. Who applied for lottery rights? Who won? What did they do with their winning tickets? Did winners settle the lands they had won? Was there speculation in winning tickets? Above all, how exactly did the lottery (and the concomitant surveying) work to settle the state?

Equally to the point, the author writes for the most part about officially sponsored surveying, which in the early nineteenth century was associated with the lotteries and those parcels reserved from the lotteries and destined to become the cities of Macon and Columbus. The scores of privately initiated surveys implicit in the establishment of such towns as Oglethorpe, Oxford, Florence, and Linton are all but ignored. Indeed, at one point the author— reflecting official sources that in turn reflect only a rural Georgia— assures the reader that “eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Georgia was emphatically rural in character, and there was little demand for building lots inside urban enclaves,” only to contradict himself when belatedly (and briefly) contemplating private surveys. “Throughout the nineteenth century, more and more villages and towns began to dot the landscape” (pp. 138, 308).

But the value of the work is also apparent. For those to whom the author specifically addresses the volume— “land surveyor. . . realtors, title abstracters, historians, and anyone concerned with real property in Georgia” (xi) — the book is an appropriate and well-illustrated reference work not only on the land system and

surveying but on subjects as diverse as the Yazoo land frauds and Georgia's various border disputes (including that with Florida). The treatise on land law that occupies the last half of the book broadens the reference appeal beyond Georgia, for the author's discussion of such subjects as legal citation, types of real property interests, riparian and littoral boundaries— all phrased in lay rather than legal terms— has general application.

University of Florida

DARRETT B. RUTMAN

Celia: A Slave. By Melton A. McLaurin. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1991. xi, 148 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, notes, bibliography, index. \$19.95.)

With skill and subtlety Professor Melton A. McLaurin has entered "into a meaningful dialogue with the larger society" by his efforts in *Celia: A Slave*. This book is not another monograph on slavery; it will hold the interest of both historians and the general public. Great men and great women are not McLaurin's concern; he is writing history from the bottom up. And at the same time this book reads like a good mystery. Although the outcome of the mystery is known, McLaurin keeps you on the edge of your seat. He has built a case study in slave "justice" as well as presenting Callaway County and its inhabitants as a microcosm of the frontier and its response to national politics in the 1850s.

In 1850, *Celia*, about age fourteen, was purchased by John Newsom, a recent widower and respected citizen of Callaway County, Missouri. This purchase increased Newsom's slave holdings to six, *Celia* being his sole female slave. She was allegedly purchased as a cook and as help for his daughters Virginia, age thirty-one and Mary, age fourteen. However, one could conclude that Newsom has in mind other "responsibilities" for *Celia*. On the way to her new home he raped her.

For the next five years *Celia* was Newsom's mistress. He built her a brick cabin and visited her without interference from his family or other slaves. *Celia* had by 1855 become involved with another slave, George, and it was he who insisted that *Celia* break off the relationship with Newsom. *Celia* tried to reason with her master, but to no avail. When he visited her on a Saturday night

in June 1855, she defended her honor— as George could not— and killed her master. McLaurin uses Celia's crime to emphasize the vulnerable position in which slaves, both female and male, were placed.

After Celia killed Newsom she faced the dilemma of disposing of the body. She solved this problem by burning it in her fireplace. She crushed some bones that did not burn; others she hid beneath the hearth. The next morning she had the oldest grandson carry out the ashes of his grandfather, a testament of her hatred for her master.

McLaurin's sensitivity to humanity is reflected in his handling of the evidence used to tell the story of Celia's trial. He contrasts the nation's turmoil over the question of legalizing slavery in the Kansas Territory with the determination of the judicial community to give Celia a fair trial. The plea of defending her honor was, of course, not recognized. She had been the property of Newsom, thus was under his complete control. Celia was found guilty of murder and hanged.

McLaurin has done an admirable job in putting together Celia's story from sketchy materials. His sources include local histories, newspapers, court records, and census data. He has written more than a narrative; he has successfully woven various threads of American history— slave, women's, political— into a compelling story. Never one to make a moral judgement, he has nevertheless encouraged the reader to delve deeper into the issues of mortality and gender in the everyday lives of slaves.

University of South Carolina

JANE W. SQUIRES

When I Can Read My Title Clear: Literacy, Slavery, and Religion in the Antebellum South. By Janey Duitsman Cornelius. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1991. xiii, 215 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction notes, bibliography, index. \$29.95.)

Much has been written of the freedmen's fervent pursuit of education after emancipation, but this is the first study to focus on the slaves' struggle to become literate. Slaves were motivated in their efforts to gain literacy by a desire to read the Scriptures. It helped them to survive in a hostile environment, it reinforced

an image of self-worth, and, by mastering one of the tools of white power, the slave enhanced his standing in the community. The ability to read earned the respect of other slaves and sometimes of whites. According to Professor Cornelius, "literacy was more than a path to individual freedom— It was a communal act, a political demonstration of resistance to oppression and of self-determination for the black community" (p. 3). Cornelius finds the drive for literacy closely tied to the slaves' religion, which, she said, helped them remain spiritually free while in physical bondage. Not surprisingly, the person who could most often read was the slave preacher.

Slaves learned to read in a variety of ways. A few were self-taught. Literate slaves taught others, either individually or in secret schools, and free blacks often shared their knowledge. Others learned from their masters or from white missionaries, evangelists, and lay Christians who believed that all Christians should be able to read the Bible. Cornelius carefully explores the laws forbidding the teaching of slaves. She concludes that while such laws were less extensive than usually thought, they were often brutally enforced. South Carolina probably had the harshest laws restricting teaching slaves and free blacks. Some prominent whites protested the law, and more than a few subverted it. A group of Abbeville whites petitioned for repeal of the 1834 law on the grounds that it was un-Christian, ineffective, unwise, and "an unwarrantable interference of the State in church affairs" (p. 56). Most missionaries to slaves accommodated themselves to more extreme white southern views lest they lose access altogether. Owners, for practical or religious reasons, continued to instruct their bondsmen, and slaves themselves defied the law. Black schools, sporadically closed by white hostility or riots usually reopened quickly. Daniel Payne, believing that the 1834 South Carolina literacy law was aimed directly at his Charleston school reluctantly closed it in 1835 and moved to the North. Soon afterwards Payne's friends, Samuel and William Weston, organized a board of trustees, rented a building, and engaged a white Methodist college student as teacher. Most of the students came from Charleston's free black community, but some were slaves.

This book is thoroughly researched, balanced, well written, clearly organized, and persuasively argued. It contains useful information on slavery, religion, slave culture, North-South

church relations white attitudes, and education. It is a significant contribution to the study of African Americans and southern religious and educational history.

Florida State University

JOE M. RICHARDSON

The Last Citadel: Petersburg, Virginia, June 1864-April 1865. By Noah Andre Trudeau. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1991. xix, 514 pp. Preface, author's notes, maps, illustrations, notes, bibliography acknowledgments, index. \$22.95.)

The final phase of the Civil War in Virginia was a nine-month Federal siege of the city of Petersburg. It really was not a siege in the purely military sense; Petersburg was never surrounded. Two railroads to the south remained open for most of the nine months, and the road network between Petersburg and Richmond was not severed. The Army of the Potomac, nevertheless, constructed over thirty-five miles of earthworks that stretched from north to southwest of Petersburg. Both armies strengthened their lines amid almost constant firing between sharpshooters and artillery batteries. A dozen major actions—such as the Crater, Reams Station, and Five Forks—swelled the steadily mounting casualties.

Although “slow envelopment” would be a more appropriate term for U. S. Grant’s strategy than “siege,” the end result for Robert E. Lee and his Confederate army was the same. What Grant did at Petersburg was the one thing Lee wanted most to avoid: being compelled to remain in a fixed position. In such a face-to-face confrontation, the side with the most resources was sure to win. Moreover, Lee had gained his greatest successes in the field through dazzling mobility. Locked in the Petersburg trenches, he was condemned to the kind of warfare the Confederacy could hardly hope to win.

In June 1864, therefore, a Federal army at last pinned down the Army of Northern Virginia. Grant’s task thereafter was to keep that army immobilized, to apply constant pressure to it, and to let starvation, want, and sickness do to Lee what Union armies for two years had been unable to do. Disease, despair, and desertion accelerated in the southern ranks with the passing months. With Lee unable to move, other Union forces occupied

Virginia's Shenandoah Valley, piedmont, and tidewater regions. A desperate Confederate government resorted to an attempt to raise black units, but the move came far too late. The long campaign south of Richmond ultimately produced 70,000 casualties. It destroyed Lee's army and, for all intents and purposes, ended the great struggle of the 1860s.

Vital though the Petersburg operations were, they have not attracted much attention among the legions of Civil War enthusiasts. Sieges lack the excitement and drama that make war appealing to readers. Yet drawing upon a myriad of manuscript and printed sources, writer Noah Trudeau has re-created the Petersburg campaign in colorful and moving fashion. Trudeau's presentation is a day-by-day, topic-by-topic, almost unit-by-unit chronicle of notable events stretching over nine months.

The author's reliance upon soldiers' letters and diaries, regimental histories, official reports, and survivors' memoirs brings to the Petersburg siege a human quality no previous work has contained. Trudeau's notes lack specific page references but are full with regard to works cited. A multitude of subheadings in the text provides a degree of orientation as the author shifts continually from one army to another and from one government to the other. Over a dozen of Alfred Waud's battlefield sketches, plus military tables of organization and an index of both names and topics, are positive additions to the narrative itself.

This is more than a well-told story of the longest siege ever conducted in North America. Trudeau's book is so thorough that it will henceforth be the basic reference for anyone interested in the climactic military operations of the Civil War in Virginia. It is an admirable sequel to Trudeau's earlier work, *Bloody Roads South*, which is a similar presentation of the bitter fighting from the Wilderness to Cold Harbor.

Virginia Polytechnic Institute
and State University

JAMES I. ROBERTSON, JR.

Burnside. By William Marvel. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991. xii, 514 pp. Preface, prologue, maps, photographs, epilogue, notes, bibliography, index. \$29.95.)

The dust cover of this new biography of Union Major General Ambrose Burnside, the first since 1882, describes it as “a biography focusing on the Civil War years.” True to that promise, this book covers only the Civil War years: the war begins on page eight, and Burnside’s post-war career is covered in a brief epilogue. Ambrose Burnside is remembered primarily as the man who sent wave after wave of attacking troops up the gentle slope of Marye’s Heights at Fredericksburg to be massacred by the gray-clad men of Longstreet’s corps. That, and his stubbornness at the bridge named for him at Antietam, left him with a historical reputation as an unimaginative, second-rate commander whose only redeeming characteristic may have been that he was acutely aware of his own shortcomings. As William Marvel points out, this historical reputation is both fair and unfair.

Certainly Burnside had his shortcomings. For one thing, he was far too trusting of others, both of his superiors like McClellan and Meade who, according to Marvel, used Burnside as a scapegoat, and of his subordinates like Ledlie and Ferraro, who botched the attack at “the Crater” in 1864. Because he was obliging and accommodating, he became a natural victim for others who were no more talented but much more assertive. Even Marvel admits that Burnside’s offer to act as an aide or a messenger in 1865, after he had been virtually dismissed from the army following the disappointments of “the Crater,” was little short of “pathetic.”

On the other hand, Burnside’s obliging personality may have made him the target for more blame than he deserved, for there are villains as well as heroes in Marvel’s book. Henry Wager Halleck is “ambiguous” and “vague”—a man taken to crafting “orders contrived to throw responsibility on the subordinate in the event of disaster” (p. 317). George Gordon Meade is snide and duplicitous; William B. Franklin is selfish and literal. But it is George B. McClellan who is the real villain of the piece. Marvel paints McClellan as a scoundrel and a liar and suggests that he was already planning to set up Burnside as a scapegoat even before the Antietam campaign. McClellan’s maneuvers were suc-

cessful. "Burnside fell," Marvel writes, "like Germanicus, his reputation slowly poisoned by the one closest to him" (p. 126).

Marvel does a fine job of rounding out Burnside's Civil War career, weighing his successes in coastal North Carolina and in the defense of Knoxville against his failures at Fredericksburg and the Crater. At times the detail of particular campaigns is so complete that it nearly overwhelms the narrative, as when Marvel describes the confused fighting in the Wilderness. At other times Burnside disappears completely, as when Marvel embarks on a lengthy discussion of John Hunt Morgan's July 1863 raid into Ohio. Finally, Marvel's tendency for overworked similes is distracting. Some are vivid: Muzzle flashes are "like a plague of angry fireflies," and caps are thrown into the air "like so many flocks of starlings" (pp. 122, 293). Some are tortured: "Dwarf palmettos . . . arranged on the bank like an escort of pygmies armed with ceremonial fans" (p. 68). And some are genuinely unfortunate: Burnside's flotilla was as "ungainly as a cluster of pregnant women on promenade" (p. 44). His verbs are lively as well. Men "lurk" nearby, "hanker" for battle, "shoulder" into line, "swarm" to the attack, and "gobble" up prisoners.

In the end, Marvel's Burnside emerges as an amiable fellow with no particular claim to greatness other than a lack of vanity and venality. But such traits were rare enough in high-ranking commanders of the Civil War that it is not difficult to sympathize with, and even admire, this much-maligned general.

United States Naval Academy

CRAIG L. SYMONDS

Braxton Bragg and Confederate Defeat, Volume 1. By Grady McWhiney. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1991. xiv, 440 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, selected bibliography, index, maps and illustrations. \$19.95.)

Braxton Bragg and Confederate Defeat, Volume 2. By Judith Lee Hallock. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1991. xii, 312 pp. Maps and illustrations, acknowledgments, introduction, bibliography, index. \$29.95.)

This biography of Bragg, leading Confederate general, is unusual. The first volume was written in 1969 by Grady

McWhiney, well-known Civil War author and professor at Texas Christian University, and is now reprinted by the University of Alabama Press. The second, by Judith Lee Hallock, a teacher in New York, was published in 1991. Despite this peculiarity, the works fit together well, sharing the same strengths and weaknesses, including an occasional tendency to overstatement.

McWhiney's contribution takes Bragg from boyhood to Confederate command in early 1863. Born in North Carolina of humble but ambitious stock, Bragg did well at West Point, graduating in 1837. Assigned to the artillery, he served in Florida, fighting Seminoles. He disliked unconventional warfare, and the climate damaged his health, already eroded by psychosomatic illness. Bragg earned distinction in the Mexican War, getting a lion's share of credit for the American victory at Buena Vista where he worked his flying battery all over the field, opening on the enemy wherever they appeared to threaten a breakthrough. McWhiney shrewdly notes that the success of offensive tactics here convinced Bragg that the attack always carried the day. In the Civil War he would sustain high casualties against troops equipped with modern rifles and often squander troops because of this belief. McWhiney notes that Bragg was not alone in favoring aggressive tactics.

Bragg was on duty as a Confederate officer at Pensacola, Florida, when the Civil War began. His command, facing the Federals at Fort Pickens, was as important as that of P. G. T. Beauregard in Charleston watching Fort Sumter. Bragg proved to be an excellent organizer and trainer of troops. Also at Pensacola, he showed great generosity in swapping raw recruits for trained men he sent north to Virginia. By June of 1862, Bragg's services had netted him command of the Army of Tennessee. Though his invasion of Kentucky was a failure, he achieved as much as Robert E. Lee in Maryland. Bragg was defeated at Murfreesboro in January 1863, and McWhiney ends his volume with the assertion that Bragg was ill, out of touch with reality, and no longer fit for field command. Perhaps so, but the documentation in the text does not fully support this radically negative view.

Volume two continues this view of Bragg, and Hallock (more than McWhiney) resorts to extreme characterizations. For example, General James Longstreet, a senior corps commander, is critiqued for "intransigence, his incompetence, his subversive

activities" (p. 108). The problem with the authors' view of Bragg as damaged and disoriented is that he won his best victory during this time, at Chickamauga in September 1863.

Though noted for his short temper and contentiousness, Bragg actually appears in Hallock's text as a commander who listened to his subordinates and was often ill-served by men who disobeyed his orders and undermined his authority. Hallock feels that by the end of 1863, when Bragg left field command, his behavior had become erratic, and she speculates that his reliance on opium-based medicines for the many ills brought on by military service might partly explain this. It is a good point, applicable also to generals like A. P. Hill and John Bell Hood. This reminds us again that we need a good medical history of the war that would take up such problems.

From early 1864, Bragg served as military advisor to President Jefferson Davis. Hallock does her best work in showing that the general, though bitterly criticized, did much to end the bureaucratic mess in army administration and did Davis a great service by taking upon himself responsibility for unpopular but necessary decisions. Bragg ended the war by conducting the unsuccessful defense of Wilmington, North Carolina. Hallock criticizes him for indecision and for again relying too much on the advice of subordinates. However, we should remember that the Confederacy was dying and that Bragg should not be judged too harshly if his heart was no longer in the fight.

The real importance of these volumes is that they undermine the traditional stereotype of Bragg, molded in the war and passed down through successive generations of writers, as an incompetent and counter-productive presence in the Rebel high command. The image of Bragg that I retain is of a dedicated soldier who gave valuable service to the Confederacy, particularly as an administrator. If his biographers failed at all, it is that the evidence brought forward seems to suggest that an even more positive portrait of Bragg is warranted than the authors present here. The biography is recommended for all students of the war.

Cahaba Prison and the Sultana Disaster. By William O. Bryant. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1990. 180 pp. Acknowledgments, maps, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$2 1.95.)

William Bryant's impeccably researched and well-written account of the little-known Confederate prison at Cahaba, Alabama, is a pleasure to read. In ten short chapters, he gives an excellent account of the horrors of prison life that most captives, North and South, experienced and why Cahaba was different. He shows that the death rate at this prison was exceptionally low because the stockade commander, Captain H. A. M. Henderson, was an exceptionally humane and able man, and Cahaba possessed advantages unknown at other prisons. Despite crippling shortages of many necessities, incredible overcrowding, and a hostile commander of the post (Lieutenant Colonel Sam Jones), only some three to five percent of the prisoners died at Cahaba as opposed to an average of over fifteen percent of those confined in all southern prisons.

The Cahaba prison consisted of a stockade that enclosed some three-fourths of an acre, including a 15,000-square-foot, partially roofed warehouse. When it was built in 1863, 500 captives was thought to be the maximum for the facility; within a year, over four times that number were incarcerated there, and at least 5,000 men passed through the compound before the exchange of prisoners was resumed early in 1865. It was during these months, from May 1864 to March 1865, that over two-thirds of the total Union deaths in Confederate prisons occurred.

Bryant demonstrates in convincing fashion why Cahaba was able to avoid the horrors of other prisons. Probably most important was that the water supply was abundant and fresh and flowed through the compound in such a way as to permit the men to drink, cook, wash, and use the latrines in a hygienic manner. Also, medicine and medical doctors were available in adequate amounts and numbers, a luxury denied most Confederate troops in the field and something unheard of in the rest of the southern prisons. Further, a Mrs. Amanda Gardner lived near the prison and shared her extensive library with all prisoners who wanted to read, truly a unique experience. These assets, coupled with Henderson's unrelenting efforts to improve condi-

tions, made Cahaba's inadequate food and space problems manageable.

How tragic, then, that having survived the perils of prison, perhaps 1,200 of these men died on their way home at war's end when the steamship *Sultana* blew up on April 27, 1865. Even more heart-rending, there were also about 1,000 survivors of Andersonville prison on board who also were lost. Little news coverage of this tragedy resulted since the focus of the nation was on the aftermath of Lincoln's assassination, the execution of Booth, and the capture of Jefferson Davis.

Bryant has researched his topic thoroughly (although it is strange that Ovid Futch's *Andersonville* was ignored) and has produced the definitive account of this prison. There is nothing about Florida in the book, but partisans of that state and Civil War buffs everywhere should read *Cahaba Prison*, for it shows that while the "Andersonville Legacy" should not be ignored, there was another side to this ugly issue spawned by that war.

University of Florida

ARCH FREDRIC BLAKEY

The Papers of Andrew Johnson, Volume 9, September 1865-January 1866. Edited by Paul H. Bergeron. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1991. xxviii, 681 pp. Introduction, notes, acknowledgments, editorial method, chronology, illustrations, annotations, appendices, index. \$49.50.)

After five and one-half months in the presidency, Johnson continued to receive plenty of advice about dealing with the defeated South. His incoming mail was full of it but was not all of a piece. A Georgian warned the president that his "lenience toward Rebels" was causing those who had been "the best Union men during the War" to take a "position against the administration" (p. 286). Another Georgian said that, in consequence of the president's liberality with pardons, Georgia in December 1865 was as "rebellious as ever" (p. 463). A Mississippian pointed out the probable effect of the black codes: "If the troops are removed the Freedman's Bureau falls as a matter of course, and the negro goes back to a state of bondage worse than the one from which he has just escaped" (pp. 458-59).

But a fellow Tennessean assured Johnson that the "Southern people [were] rallying" to him and that the "Radicals led by Sumner, Stevens and others" would fail to "put down the peoples friend." Johnson could depend on the "conservative Republicans, the Northern Democrats, and a United South" to "put down the *Radical Destructionists*" (p. 155). His personal emissary Harvey M. Watterson traveled through the South telling Johnson's adherents to "be of good cheer." As he reported in January 1866, ". . . in the next fall elections the North will speak a voice of terror to all such disunionists as Sumner, Stevens and their coa[d]jutors &c. &c. &c." (p. 651).

Johnson would not have had the time, even if he had had the inclination, to read much of the mail. Most of the letters are of interest as showing what ordinary people were thinking, not what influenced presidential policy. Johnson apparently heeded only those whom he knew and trusted— and who agreed with him. They included Watterson and Benjamin Truman, but not Carl Schurz, among those whom he sent to report on conditions and opinions in the South.

The reports of those and others were published in a separate book, *Advice after Appomattox: Letters to Andrew Johnson, 1865-1866* (1987), which is not a part of the *Papers of Andrew Johnson* series. The present volume of the series, the ninth of a projected sixteen, does not include the separately published correspondence but contains a great many other letters of advice. The documents come from more than fifty different manuscript collections, but mostly from the Library of Congress and the National Archives. Selection is based on the significance of the items for the politics of the time. As a rule, the documents are either reproduced *in toto* or omitted; few are merely summarized. There is no longer a table of contents; hence, it is not easy to count the number originating with rather than addressed to Johnson, but the proportion is small, as in previous volumes. And Johnson himself remains a rather shadowy figure.

As the index shows, the following topics get relatively numerous page references: Alabama, amnesty, appointments, blacks, Jefferson Davis, Democrats, Federal troops (in the southern states), Freedmen's Bureau, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, property (destruction and confiscation), Republicans, Radical, secession, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas,

Thirteenth Amendment, Virginia, and J. Madison Wells. There is no separate entry for Unionists.

University of North Carolina RICHARD N. CURRENT, emeritus
at Greensboro

The Facts of Reconstruction: Essays in Honor of John Hope Franklin.

Edited by Eric Anderson and Alfred A. Moss, Jr. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University. 1991. x, 239 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, afterword, contributors, index, photographs. \$14.95.)

Borrowing their title from John R. Lynch's angry 1913 *Facts of Reconstruction*, Eric Anderson and Alfred A. Moss, Jr., have produced this collection of essays to honor John Hope Franklin, a major American historian whose scholarly contributions have spanned five decades. The choice of the title is a good one since it helps to emphasize how far the study of this period of United States history has come in the decades since Lynch wrote. The editors insist that this book is not a traditional *festschrift*, even though all of the contributors except two were students of Professor Franklin. No matter. This really is not the assemblage of disparate essays one usually finds in such works. It is organized to emphasize the various aspects of the study of the Reconstruction era, its historical background, its legal implications, and its impact on the history of the nation. Although each chapter is intended as an analytical essay in its own right, together they constitute a survey of Reconstruction historiography as it stands at the present time.

In the first chapter, Paul Finkleman examines the legal status of free blacks in the antebellum North in search of a background for the constitutional changes implemented by the Congressional Republicans in the 1860s. His observation that "in crucial ways free blacks were far better off in the North than the South" seems to be a modest-enough assessment of the situation.

Roberta Sue Alexander addresses the debate over Presidential Reconstruction. She reviews the literature of the subject, pointing out that more emphasis should be placed on what was happening in the southern states rather than in Washington.

She feels that "a more accurate picture of Reconstruction will emerge" from such a pursuit.

In an incisive essay entitled "Reform Republicanism and the Retreat from Reconstruction," Michael Les Benedict shows how the Republican intellectuals doubted the abilities of freedmen, weighed the issues of Reconstruction in terms of other pressing national issues, and focused their attention on the latter. Howard Rabinowitz reviews the literature that deals with "Segregation and Reconstruction" and finds that segregation was a factor during the period which was only confirmed by the Jim Crow legislation of later years. He makes an important point when he reminds us that segregation during Reconstruction began receiving more attention when it became a national issue in recent years.

Carl Moneyhon is concerned with the "Failure of Southern Republicanism" in an essay that considers existing literature and concludes, as one might expect, that more research is required for a better understanding. Michael Perman's "Counter Reconstruction" addresses the role of violence as a factor in the failure of Congressional Reconstruction. He concludes that "Reconstruction did not simply collapse; it was overthrown."

In an essay entitled "Educational Reconstruction," Robert Morris discusses the pertinent writing on the subject and reminds us that it is still a rich field for study. Loren Schweninger explores the literature of "Black Economic Reconstruction in the South" and assesses its strengths and weaknesses in hopes of offering a "more illuminating model" for further study. In the last substantive essay, Herman Belz addresses "The Constitution and Reconstruction." In his "afterword," Eric Anderson summarizes some of the preceding essays.

University of Central Florida

JERRELL H. SHOFNER

Victorian America: Transformations in Everyday Life, 1876-1915. By Thomas J. Schlereth. (New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 1991. xvi, 363 pp. Introduction, prologue, photographs, illustrations, notes, index. \$27.50.)

Thomas Schlereth, professor of American Studies at the University of Notre Dame, continues the tradition of the volumi-

ously researched, spritely written, and encyclopedically inclusive offerings found in the other volumes of Harper Collins's *Everyday Life in America Series*. This book is a tour de force of mini-biographies, condensed histories, and industrial vignettes woven into an always fascinating, if sometimes confusing, narrative which attempts to explain the transformation of everyday life in America at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries. Since Schlereth believes that Victorian Americans were intrigued by the material world and that world expositions were "quintessential Victorian artifacts" that "displayed the material world in unprecedented scale and scope" (p. xv), he organizes his work around the three major world's fairs of the era: The Centennial Exposition of 1876, The World's Columbian Exposition of 1893, and the Panama-Pacific Exposition of 1915. He can use the last exposition because he argues that the Victorian era ended in 1914 with the outbreak of the First World War, rather than with the Queen's death in 1901.

The Centennial Exposition was planned to celebrate a century of American independence. Perhaps because it opened when Americans were just recovering from a depression, it looked to the future and to better times and paid little homage to the past. Only a few reminders of the colonial era, such as Washington's false teeth, a few Revolutionary army uniforms, and items from a New England kitchen, found a place among the marvels of mechanical technology that filled the exhibition halls. On the other hand, while Americans still found the technological advances for industry and the home at the Columbian Exposition fascinating, they now willingly celebrated the Republic's history, and gloried in its accomplishments. For its dedication on Columbus Day 1892, Francis J. Bellamy of *Youth's Companion*, composed the Pledge of Allegiance to the American flag and proposed that millions of school children across the country recite it together as part of the ceremonies. Schlereth claims that this began the ritual still repeated daily in the nation's schools.

Schlereth's major chapters are divided into various aspects of everyday life: moving, working, housing, consuming, communicating, playing, striving, and living and dying. As an example of the breadth of his narrative, in moving he discusses both the European and Asian immigration to America and the physical movement within the country of Americans and their property. He mentions the rush of people to the cities from the

country, from the cities to the suburbs, and from the South to the North. He also tells of the movement from house to house on May 1, the traditional "Moving Day" in New York City, and the actual shifting of houses and other buildings to new locations. He also points out that George Pullman, the builder of a mobile empire of Pullman cars, acquired his capital from physically moving buildings to allow for the expansion of the Erie Canal.

Although many of the topics discussed apply to everyday life in Florida, the author mentions the state only briefly in the chapter on playing. In this period, St. Augustine, Palm Beach, and Miami became destinations for middle-class vacations. He says that many Americans traveled for health reasons and that Flagler promoted his Florida hotels for their rejuvenative qualities. Certainly, not all Victorian visitors to Florida sought the Fountain of Youth.

Florida Atlantic University

DONALD W. CURL

A New Deal for the American People. By Roger Biles. (De Kalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1991. 274 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, photographs, notes, bibliographical essay, index. \$28.50.)

Roger Biles in this volume has provided a fascinating version of the struggle of President Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Dealers to lift the United States from the Great Depression. Properly, in the opinion of this reviewer, the book emphasizes domestic problems and the programs designed to solve them. It is also the reviewer's opinion that such information makes less-difficult comprehension of world affairs in the same period. Americans in 1933 were little concerned with world problems and very concerned about their jobs, unemployment, ill-housed and underfed people. Biles provides a summary of key New Deal measures and what happened to them. In the introduction he states that while there has been an emerging consensus "regarding the limitations of New Deal reform and an understanding of the realities of politics and the resistance to change in local and state institutions," both its inadequacies and its successes are part of the same story.

A New Deal for the American People is Biles's effort to mirror that consensus. Chapter one briefly covers Herbert Hoover's years as president and his effort to fight the Depression. Hoover's failures occurred despite his application of some remedies that traditionally had helped alleviate previous depressions.

When in 1933 Roosevelt and the New Dealers moved to center stage, hope proved to be their principal capital. If for nothing else, the New Deal proved memorable for it radiated Roosevelt's exuberant personality, his soothing radio voice, radiant smile, and high visibility. The discouraged people, some of them already embittered and many ready for a revolution, saw FDR proudly fighting heavy leg braces as he struggled along on crutches. Bad as their circumstances appeared, FDR's looked more hopeless.

The two New Deal periods commonly termed "The Hundred Days" and the "Second New Deal" are well covered by Biles, through the latter quite briefly. Biles did a fine job summarizing the rise of labor, the failure of the New Deal to change significantly the position of women and minorities, and the growing urban problems of decay, housing, and unemployment.

The author correctly states that there was little new about the New Deal; indeed much of it lacked fresh packaging. Few scholars will take issue with his statement that FDR's assault on the Court proved especially divisive since it added to the rift in his party and provided a platform for the southern Bourbon politicians from which to attack the entire New Deal. And for the Republican party and its cadre of "economic royalists," the attack on the Court proved a godsend. But as one who remembers quite vividly those years, this reviewer wonders how much longer the coalition FDR forged would have survived anyway for it began to disintegrate shortly after it began. Certainly few people in 1936 or 1937 dreamed of a third term for FDR.

This reviewer intends to have this book used by students when next he covers the New Dealers in class. Few summary volumes approach this one. Professor Biles's achievement in distilling so much material in so little space is commendable.

A New Deal for the American People is attractive, printed in readable type, and has a useful index. A comparable volume on foreign policy of the same period would be a joy to read. The reviewer believes such syntheses as Roger Biles presents in *A*

New Deal for the American People are necessary for non-specialists studying that era for they provide basic factual information with glimpses of the troubled nation of years ago. One cannot do other than assess the years Biles treats without tremendous admiration for FDR and his associates and their attempts to get the nation back on course.

University of Georgia

BENNETT H. WALL, emeritus

Organized Labor in the Twentieth-Century South. Edited by Robert H. Zieger. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1991. 289 pp. Introduction, notes, index. \$29.95.)

This is a very good book, which addresses a significant but neglected part of modern southern history. Its ten articles are cogently argued, nicely written, and cover virtually every region and major manufacturing industry in the South— among them, meat packing in Texas, steel in Alabama, railroads in Florida, textiles in Georgia, and coal mining in West Virginia. Yet amid the diversity are several unifying themes, the most important being that the southern working class and pattern of labor relations converged far more closely on national norms than historians have traditionally believed.

The significant exception, of course, was the role of race— a second major focus. The majority of authors make note not just of self-defeating injustices committed by white workers and national and local union leaders, but also of the significant role played by black wage earners in launching and sustaining southern unions-and benefitting their racist detractors in the bargain.

But the southern labor scene featured more than just a long-running battle of race against race (or, as one selection shows, gender against gender). It also showed a surprising amount of interracial cooperation, as in World War II Memphis, when whites and blacks in rubber, canning, packing, and steel joined forces to win collective bargaining agreements. Yet, as several selections make clear, interracial harmony had sharp limits. Cooperation, which emerged in the 1940s was “an accommodation rather than an alliance” (p. 169) and centered around the search for improved wages and working conditions. As the president of a CIO local in Memphis put it, “We didn’t give a damn

about black or white. . . . We were tired of sweatshop conditions" (p. 142). Thus, in the 1960s when national unions pushed southern members to move beyond union goals to civil rights goals, the limits of accommodation were quickly reached. One of the best articles, Robert Norrell's "George Wallace and Union Politics in Alabama," shows that such pressure utterly alienated white unionists, rent Alabama's labor movement, and ensured Wallace's repeated reelection as governor.

In addition, and emerging from several accounts, were a number of sub-themes. One was the bitter 1930s feuding between the AFL and the CIO, featuring AFL race baiting and "red bashing," which posed a major impediment to southern unionization. On the other hand, World War II, with its labor shortages and government tilting toward unions, was a major spur. One intriguing footnote was the setback that the 1955 AFL-CIO merger dealt to union support of civil rights. The influence of racially conservative AFL leaders in the new coalition acted on earlier CIO activism like the proverbial bucket of cold water.

Identifying flaws in this collection was not easy. But one shortcoming was inadequate editorial guidance. The introduction provided a satisfactory statement of common themes, but there was no effort to alert readers to the conflicting, sometimes contradictory, interpretations among individual articles. Such misfittings are normal, even valuable, in a collected volume, but readers would have been better served had editor Zieger (perhaps at the head of each article) identified and tried to account for these incongruities. This shortcoming aside, the book is a welcome addition to the literature of labor, southern, women's, and African-American history.

University of South Carolina

E. H. BEARDSLEY

What Made the South Different? Edited by Kees Gispén. (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1990. xvii, 200 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, notes, contributors, index. \$27.50, cloth; \$14.95, paper.)

What Made the South Different? is a collection of six thought-provoking essays, along with five commentators' evaluations of them, that were first presented at the Porter L. Fortune Chancel-

lor's Symposium in Southern History at the University of Mississippi in 1989. The symposium, which deals exclusively with aspects of southern history, dates back to 1974 and is held annually. The authors of the presentations were asked to address the theme of the South in comparative perspective.

At first glance these essays seem like a collection in search of a connection. The subjects with which they deal focus on the particular interests of the individual authors. Eugene Genovese tries to place the South in the world historical context. He argues, quite rightly, that to study slavery and Reconstruction, for example, "requires close attention to the international context of industrialization, nationalism, imperialism, state centralization, and the demise of the great European landed classes" (p. 3). However, the studies in this volume focus more narrowly on honor and martialism as conceived in the South and Prussian East Elbia in the mid nineteenth century, the conservatism of southern women, emancipation and the development of capitalistic agriculture, the slave economies of the South and Brazil, and the relations between blacks and whites in the South in comparison with similar group experiences in Brazil and South Africa.

All of the contributions are well written, carefully researched, and persuasively argued, but they do not quite answer the question that the book's title asks. Richard Graham, in his piece comparing economic development in Brazil and the South, comes closest to providing reasons for the latter's greater success. He argues that the South was wealthier and more successful than Brazil because it was less hierarchical, industrialized to a greater extent, and focused upon cotton rather than coffee as its main product. After all, he concludes, "cotton easily secured its place as an essential raw material while coffee remained primarily a dessert (p. 111).

There is no question that the combination of the plantation system, slavery, and— to a lesser extent— fundamentalist Protestantism distinguished the South more from other regions in the United States than any other factors. This unique trinity probably explains also why it is difficult to compare the South with other nations. Nonetheless, these attributes do not receive the attention that they deserve. Only Elizabeth Fox-Genovese's essay on southern women even touches on religion, a topic certainly worth exploring on its own.

Unfortunately, the text goes off on several tangents that, however intellectually stimulating, do not quite stick to the central point about the South's uniqueness. Nor is there a summary or concluding section tying the major themes together and showing how they contribute to the main question posed. "When does comparative history become simply a comparative survey of systems," Michael Craton, one of the commentators, inquires? Indeed, a perplexed reader having as many questions after completing the work as he/she did when starting it might ask the same question.

University of Arizona

LEONARD DINNERSTEIN

Essays on Sunbelt Cities and Recent Urban America. Edited by Robert B. Fairbanks and Kathleen Underwood. (Arlington: Texas A&M University Press, 1990. xiv, 176 pp. Preface, introduction, notes, tables. \$19.95.)

Historians have finally begun to devote sustained attention to the cities of the Sunbelt. During the two decades, for example, scholars have produced first-rate monographs and collections analyzing the development of southern and western cities. Robert B. Fairbanks and Kathleen Underwood have added to this body of scholarship with a useful volume containing essays by some of the leading scholars in the field.

Too often, collections of essays suffer from a lack of thematic coherence. Fairbanks and Underwood, in a short preface, and Kenneth T. Jackson, in a very brief introduction, confront this issue. The editors explain that the volume, which was built around work presented at the twenty-third annual Walter Prescott Webb Memorial Lectures, attempts to capture the "rich diversity of approach and methodology which now characterizes urban history" (xi). Similarly, Jackson describes the collection, which includes a survey of cities in modern America by Raymond A. Mohl and a fascinating discussion of "cultural regionalism" by Zane L. Miller, as a "compendium of recent research" (6).

Essays on Houston, Dallas, and San Diego discuss characteristic features of sunbelt cities. Robert Fisher emphasizes the tradition of laissez-faire capitalism that has shaped the growth of twentieth-century Houston, though he notes that recent prob-

lems have produced a new relationship between urban development and public institutions. Similarly, Fairbanks, in a detailed analysis of the Dallas Citizens Charter Association, discusses the ways in which the business community established machine-like dominance of municipal politics. Roger W. Lotchin's impressive essay examines the relationship between the military and the development of San Diego and explains that the efforts to attract military contracts and facilities profoundly shaped public policy in the city.

Carl Abbott focuses his attention on the cities of the Southwest and analyzes the ways in which cultural and environmental forces combined to produce distinctive architectural styles, such as low-rise buildings, flat roofs, and informal, open floor plans. Although Abbott notes that density or other two-dimensional measures fail to distinguish the cities of the Southwest from their counterparts in other regions, he suggests that three-dimensional measures, such as architecture, reveal significant contrasts. Reflecting the physical environment of the region, the cities of the Southwest, according to Abbott, tend to be linear and unbounded (rather than centralized).

As an exploration of recent research on sunbelt cities this collection is a success. The essays are well written and effectively argued. But the volume stops short of identifying the qualities that distinguish the cities of the Sunbelt. Abbott's essay discusses only the Southwest; Lotchin's analysis of the relationship between city and sword raises issues that transcend regional bounds; and the conservative political environments discussed by Fisher and Fairbanks may be characteristic of sunbelt cities, but they are not unique to sunbelt cities. In short, this collection represents a strong contribution to the growing literature on twentieth-century cities. A definition of the "Sunbelt," however, remains elusive as does the usefulness of "sunbelt cities" as a conceptual category.

The Islands and the Sea: Five Centuries of Nature Writing from the Caribbean. Edited by John A. Murray. (Oxford University Press, 1991, xvi, 329 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, maps, graphics, photographs, bibliography, index. \$22.95.)

In one of the concluding essays in this satisfying collection, Barry Lopez wrote: "In recent years several American and British publishers have developed plans to reprint . . . classic works of natural history. . . . [These] books should include not only works of contemporary natural history but early works . . . so that the project has historical depth . . . to unearth those voices that once spoke eloquently for parts of the country . . . now too often overlooked, or overshadowed. . . . It should document the extraordinary variety of natural ecosystems . . . and reflect the great range of dignified and legitimate human response to them. And it should make clear that human beings belong in these landscapes, that they too, are a part of the earth's natural history." (excerpted from "The Passing Wisdom of Birds")

John A. Murray, the anthology's editor, has accomplished such a noteworthy undertaking for the circum-Caribbean basin by seeking out those special voices that recorded the wonderment of European discovery and exploration and the consternation of settlement and exploitation. This volume makes voyages across 500 years in which the reader may experience the astounding diversity and enticing beauty of the Caribbean Sea. Even the jaded island traveler weary of azure lagoons surrounded by high-rise resorts can see the landscape with new understanding and appreciation.

Among the notable works included in this collection are the letters of explorers Christopher Columbus, René Laudonniere, John Hawkins, and Walter Raleigh; narratives recorded by early naturalists including Sir Hans Slone, Mark Catesby, William Bartram, and Charles Darwin; adventure and travel pieces authored by Daniel Defoe, Harriet Beecher Stowe, and V. S. Naipaul; eye-witness accounts reported by George Kennan, Ernest Hemingway, and Paul Brooks; and thought-provoking essays written by Edward O. Wilson, Barry Lopez, and David Rains Wallace. In all it represents a delectable smorgasbord of forty-eight authors that satiates the intellect with tropical fare especially welcome on wintry evenings.

BOOK NOTES

Sewall's Point: The History of a Peninsular Community on Florida's Treasure Coast, by Sandra Henderson Thurlow, is a very handsome volume. Sewall's Point is the peninsula that juts south between the St. Lucie and Indian rivers in Martin County. It was named for Henry Sewall who was one of the early settlers. He opened the first post office in the town. Among the many colorful characters who settled in Sewall's Point was Hugh L. Willoughby, who arrived in 1906. He was wealthy, and he spent most of his time exploring the Everglades and flying his biplane. Willoughby took the aerial photograph of Sewall's Point in 1914. Mrs. Thurlow became interested in the community's history when the N. F. Knowles home, which stood on the St. Lucie River Bluff, was threatened with demolition. Her research shows that it was once the High Point Rod and Gun Club, a wilderness retreat for wealthy and politically influential Philadelphians. She continued her research in old newspapers, diaries, letters, photographs, maps, and she interviewed many of the old timers. Henry Flagler once considered turning the area into a resort instead of Palm Beach. Sewall's Point attracted many celebrities, including Theodore Roosevelt who came there to fish. Wealthy Northerners built homes there as their winter residences. Bay Tree Lodge, one of the Sewall Point estates that stretched from river to river, was once owned by Hartwig Baruch, older brother of financier Bernard Baruch. He sold it to members of the Cheek family, founders of the Maxwell House Coffee Company. They sold it to W. M. Kiplinger, the Washington publisher, and it has been used as a retreat for many years for his family and for employees of Kiplinger Washington Editors, Inc. Before the area became a hunting-fishing-sailing retreat, the early settlers came for health reasons or to homestead land available under the Armed Occupation Act. Knight Kiplinger, grandson of W. M. Kiplinger, writes of his childhood memories in an introduction. He was six years old when he first visited. The Kiplinger Foundation provided support for publication of this book. There are many photographs from private collections and from the Historical Society of Mar-

tin County's collection. A number are being published for the first time. The book is divided by families and places— Bakers of Waveland (the first permanent settlers of today's Martin County), Henry Sewall, Charles Racey, the Fredrick Willes family, the Albert Lewis Andrews family, the Harmers, Hugh L. Willoughby, and the Willie Christie family. *Sewall's Point* may be ordered directly from the author, 18 Banyon Road, Stuart, FL 34996, or the Historical Society of Martin County, 825 N.E. Ocean Boulevard, Stuart, FL 34996. Until November 27, the price is \$35, including tax. After that date, the price in bookstores will be \$39.95, plus tax.

There are more than 2,100 known shipwrecks in Florida waters— off the east coast, the Keys, and the Gulf of Mexico. Some date to the sixteenth century when early Spanish galleons, carrying treasure and food commodities, fell prey to storms, pirate attacks, naval action, and shoals and rocks. Some wrecks date to the Civil War period when numerous blockade runners were fired upon by Union ships patrolling off the Florida coasts. During World War II German submarines torpedoed American and Allied tankers and merchant ships. Kevin M. McCarthy of the University of Florida researched the records of the wrecks and presents exciting history in *Thirty Florida Shipwrecks*, published by Pineapple Press. One of the earliest is the *Fontaneda* shipwreck in 1545, twenty years before the establishment of St. Augustine. The *Trinité* was Jean Ribaut's flagship and was one of the vessels of the French fleet wrecked south of present-day St. Augustine and Matanzas. One of the most famous shipwrecks is the *Nuestra Señora de Atocha*, flagship of a fleet that sailed from Havana, Cuba, September 1622, loaded with gold, silver, and jewelry. There were eight galleons and twenty merchant ships in the fleet. As they approached the Florida Keys a violent hurricane struck and scattered them. The *Atocha* and the *Santa Margarita* hit a reef and sank about twenty miles west of present-day Key West. In recent years Mel Fisher and his team of Treasure Salvors, which included Dr. Eugene Lyon, located the *Atocha* and retrieved much of her cargo. Confederates sank the famous schooner yacht the *America* in 1862 in Dunn's Creek near Palatka to prevent her from falling into the hands of Union forces invading Florida. The *America* became famous when she raced seventeen British yachts in 1851 and won. The world's

most famous yachting competition commemorates the *America*. The *Maple Leaf* is another Civil War wreck. It sank in 1864, and its remains lie on the eastern side of the river channel off Mandarin Point in the St. Johns River near Jacksonville. The ship is well preserved in the mud and warm waters of the river. In the early 1980s, Dr. Keith Holland, a Jacksonville dentist, pinpointed the site of the *Maple Leaf*. Under his leadership, hundreds of artifacts were recovered from the wreck, but many more lie buried in St. Johns River mud. On the night of April 10, 1942, a German submarine torpedoed the oil tanker *Gulfamerica* off Jacksonville Beach as part of "Operation Drumbeat." It was just one of many German U-boat attacks in Florida waters. In the spring of 1942, German U-boats sank some 400 ships along the eastern, Gulf, and Caribbean shores of the United States. Each shipwreck story in McCarthy's book has a map pinpointing its location. Each one is also illustrated in a full-color painting by William L. Trotter, the well-known maritime artist. There is a bibliography and a foreword by Florida underwater archaeologist Roger Smith. Pineapple Press of Sarasota, Florida, is the publisher, and the price is \$17.95.

Shipwrecks of Florida: A Comprehensive Listing, compiled by Steven D. Singer, covers from the First Spanish Period to the present. Singer divides the Florida coasts into six geographic areas and lists the wrecks by name, date, and location. There is also a section listing wrecks on inland waterways—lakes and rivers. Over 2,100 wrecks in all are listed. The earliest wreck listed is a ship in the Narváez expedition that landed on the Gulf coast in April 1528. In 1549, three ships bound for Spain from Mexico sank in the Florida Keys at Los Martires in the Key Largo area. Two years later the *Los Cayos de los Martires* was also wrecked along the Keys during a storm. A fleet of Spanish ships, under command of Captain Bartolomé Carreño, sank in 1553 in the Gulf of Mexico off present-day Mobile and the Florida panhandle. The first listed wreck on the lower east coast was the *San Nicolás*; two vessels were wrecked near the Indian River in 1551. Several of the ships of Jean Ribaut's French fleet sank in 1565, south of St. Augustine, near the Ormond-Daytona Beach area. Civil War and World War II wrecks are also included. One of the best parts of the book is six narrative accounts of particular wrecks. The cover painting of the Spanish galleon *Atocha* is by

William Trotter. The *Atocha*, part of a great treasure fleet, sank on September 5, 1622, during a hurricane near the Florida Keys. *Shipwrecks of Florida* was published by Pineapple Press, Sarasota, Florida; it sells for \$24.95.

Frank B. Butler (1885-1973) was a prominent black businessman in the Lincolnville section of St. Augustine. He also founded Butler's Beach, one of Florida's historic black beaches. Barbara Walch has written a biographical monograph that emphasizes his role and contributions as a businessman and as a civic and political leader. Walch used the extensive Butler family archives, official records, and oral history interviews. The most detailed of the interviews was with Minnie Mae Edwards, Butler's daughter. Lincolnville, located on the west banks of Maria Sanchez Creek, was the heart of black St. Augustine. It is listed in the National Register for Historic Places. The community consisted of a number of small businesses and offices owned and operated by blacks and whites catering to customers of both races. Butler's Beach was a major recreational resort that drew visitors from a wide area. There were several black-owned and operated businesses there, including restaurants, rooming houses, and motels. In 1964, Martin Luther King, Jr., and his associates Andrew Young, Ralph Abernathy, and C. T. Vivian stayed in Mr. Butler's motel during their widely publicized civil rights visit to St. Augustine. Over the years Butler played an important role in helping to end segregation in St. Augustine. His contributions to the community were noted in the press when he died in 1973. Ken Barrett, Jr., was responsible for the photographic restoration work that provides the graphics for this pamphlet. An exhibit on the life and times of Frank B. Butler is being prepared. This pamphlet sells for \$5, and it may be ordered from Frank Butler's grandson, Rudolph B. Hadley, Sr., 5718 Rudolph Avenue, St. Augustine, FL 32084.

Cold Before Morning is the story of the James McCredie family of Micanopy, Florida. It covers the period 1854 through 1913. It is presented as fiction but is the history of a real family. The McCredies were involved in the events of their times—the Third Seminole War, the Civil War, Reconstruction, the great freezes that destroyed the citrus industry in the Alachua-Marion counties area, and the tragic yellow fever epidemics. The trials and

tribulations associated with the Florida wilderness in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries had an impact on the members of the family and their neighbors. The author, John Paul Jones, Jr., is James McCredie's grandson. He is former dean of the College of Journalism at the University of Florida and is presently the editor and publisher of the monthly magazine *Florida Living*. *Cold Before Morning* is a well-written account of a little-known place and period of Florida history. Order it from *Florida Living*, 102 N.E. 10th Avenue, Gainesville, FL 32601; the price is \$18.95.

The Letters of the Hand Family: San Antonio Colonists of the 1880's and 1890's was compiled by James J. Horgan, professor of history and chair of the Social Science Division at Saint Leo College. He is co-editor of *Historic Places of Pasco County*, which is also reviewed in this issue of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. Michael and Rose Ellen Hand settled in San Antonio in 1883-1884, and their descendants remain in the community to the present. San Antonio was a new community when the Hands arrived. Judge Edmund F. Dunne founded it in 1881-1882 as "the Catholic Colony of San Antonio." The property was part of the sale of 4,000,000 acres of public land by the state of Florida to the Philadelphia entrepreneur Hamilton Disston. Judge Dunne was Disston's attorney. He advertised the availability of good, cheap land in articles in regional Catholic newspapers, and that is how the Hands learned about the community while they were still living in Osage County, Missouri. After an inspection visit, Michael moved his family to Florida. Mary Hand was Michael and Rose Ellen's only daughter. She and her husband, Lewis Govreau, raised ten children. All subsequent family members living in San Antonio are descended from this couple. One descendant is Madaline Govreau Beaumont who has possession of the Hand family papers. The most valuable items are three handwritten documents from Judge Dunne. One is a bill of sale to Michael Hand dated June 16, 1883. It transferred 200 acres for \$920. In his introduction, Professor Horgan puts the Hand papers in the context of the history of San Antonio. He also provides head notes for each of the 212 main entries. The volume was published under the auspices of the Pasco County Historical Society, and it sells for \$25. Order it from the Society, Pasco County Courthouse, Dade City, FL 32525.

The Historic Places of Pasco County was compiled by James J. Horgan, Alice F. Hall, and Edward J. Herrmann for the Pasco County Historical Preservation Committee. It profiles the 264 homes and buildings officially designated as historic by the Historical Preservation Committee. Markers have been placed at several of the historic sites, and those are also noted. Descriptions of the properties include historical information so that the reader knows why each structure was built, by whom, and how the building has been utilized over the years. Adding to the book's usefulness are many photographs. There is also a listing of county cemeteries and post offices. Order from the Pasco County Historical Preservation Committee, Pasco County Courthouse, Dade City, FL 32525; the price is \$5.

The town of Seaside was developed on the Florida Gulf coast by Robert Davis and the well-known town designers Andres Dunay and Elizabeth Palter-Zyberk. Was it possible to re-create an authentic small pre-war southern town with a strong New England flavor? The answer is yes. Proof is found in the volume *Seaside: Making a Town in America*, edited by David Mohny and Keller Easterling. It was published by Princeton Architectural Press. City planners and architects will like the book, and it can also be enjoyed by devotees of house styles. In *Seaside* one will find a history of the project, interviews with the planners, zoning and building codes, as well as drawings, photographs, and descriptions of over 120 buildings—residences and commercial properties—designed by forty architects. Kurt Anderson and Neil Levine contributed essays to the book. The paperback edition sells for \$24.95. Order from Princeton Architectural Press, 37 East Seventh Street, New York, NY 10003.

Territorial Giants, Florida's Founding Fathers was written by the late Louise M. Porter and the late Charles B. Smith. Mrs. Porter, a native of Apalachicola, was the first president of the St. Joseph Historical Society. Her co-author and co-researcher, Charles Smith, was also a native Floridian, born in Wewahitchka, Florida. The book is sponsored by the St. Joseph Historical Society in conjunction with Florida's Sesquicentennial Celebration to commemorate the 150th anniversary of the drafting and signing of Florida's first constitution. Biographical data on the members of the Constitutional Convention is provided. It may be

ordered from the St. Joseph Historical Society, Attn: Lenohr Clardy, P. O. Box 231, Port St. Joe, FL 32456; the price is \$18.00.

Florida From the Beginning to 1992 is by two well-known Florida historians: William S. Coker of the University of West Florida and Jerrell H. Shofner of the University of Central Florida. It is a Columbus Jubilee Commemorative publication, edited by Myrtle D. Malone. Professor Coker covers the period from the early sixteenth century when the Spanish flag first flew over Florida until 1821 when Florida became an American territory. Professor Shofner continues the colorful history to the present. Joan Perry Morris was the photo editor, and most of the graphics are from the Florida State Archives, for which she serves as director. The last part of the volume includes short histories and illustrations of major Florida industries, theme parks, and other businesses and institutions. The price is \$25, and it may be ordered from Pioneer Publication, Inc., 12345 Jones Road, Suite 103, Houston, TX 77070-4843.

Prowling Papa's Waters: A Hemingway Odyssey is a chronicle of the famous writer's favorite pastime— fishing— and his favorite fishing haunts. Ernest Hemingway's lore of the outdoors began at his family's cabin on Lake Walloon in upper Michigan. Over the years he fished in Europe and the waters of Spain, Italy, Switzerland, Austria, Cuba, the Caribbean, the western part of the United States, and in Florida, especially the Key West area. Material for his books *Islands in the Stream* and *The Old Man and the Sea* came from his Florida fishing experience. He introduced his literary friends— John Dos Passos, Archibald MacLeish, and Max Perkins— to "The Mob," his Key West buddies and drinking partners. The author of *Prowling Papa's Waters*, H. Lea Lawrence, is a well-known hunter, fisherman, photographer, and writer. Longstreet Press, Marietta, Georgia, is the publisher, and the price is \$19.95.

Quest for the Indies: Roots of Exploration was an exhibit at the Historical Museum of Southern Florida, Miami, April 23-September 13, 1992. Joseph H. Fitzgerald, the guest curator, prepared a catalogue that provides a record of nearly 500 years of significant maps depicting Florida, beginning with the sixteenth

century. In addition to Dr. Fitzgerald, other contributing essays are T. A. Andros, Robert and Grisel Leavitt, and William M. Straight. Order from the Museum Bookshop, Historic Association of Southern Florida, 101 West Flagler Street, Miami, FL 33149; the price is \$5.

Historical Dictionary of Reconstruction, by Hans L. Trefousse, covers the period from 1862 to 1896. Each entry provides information and a brief bibliography. The emphasis is on race relations, emancipation, the main participants in the war, major Supreme Court and other federal court decisions handed down during Reconstruction, integration of the freedmen, and the restoration of the southern states into the Union. The *Historical Dictionary* was published by Greenwood Press, Westport, Connecticut, and it sells for \$65.

Albert Manucy for many years served as historian of the Castillo de San Marcos in St. Augustine. He is a restoration expert, museum planner, and historic architect. In 1983 he wrote a short biography, *Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, Captain General of the Ocean Sea*, that was published by the St. Augustine Historical Society. It has been reprinted by Pineapple Press, Sarasota, Florida, and it sells for \$14.95.

Archaeology of Aboriginal Culture Change in the Interior Southeast: Depopulation During the Early Historic Period, by Marvin T. Smith of the University of South Alabama, Mobile, is now available in a paperback edition. It is in the Ripley P. Bullen Series, published by the University Press of Florida. It was reviewed in the *Florida Historical Quarterly* 67 (October 1988). The price is \$16.95.

Once a Cigar Maker: Men, Women, and Work Culture in American Cigar Factories, 1900-1919, by Patricia A. Cooper, was reviewed in the *Florida Historical Quarterly* 67 (April 1989) by Dr. Gary Mormino. A paperback edition has been published by the University of Illinois Press, Champaign, Illinois, and the price is \$15.95.

Two recently published pictorial histories will appeal to Florida football enthusiasts. *Sunshine Shootouts* is by Jeff Miller,

former sportswriter for the Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*. It describes some of the legendary games between the big three teams in the state— University of Florida, Florida State University, and the University of Miami. History was made in November 1990 when the top-ranked Florida State Seminoles played second-ranked Miami Hurricanes in Tallahassee. This was the first time that the state had fielded the two top teams. History repeated itself in October 1991 when the Seminoles and Hurricanes fought it out on the gridiron in Miami. History was again made in January 1992 when Florida, FSU, and Miami played in three major college football bowls— Cotton, Sugar, and Orange. Included in *Sunshine Shootouts* are many photographs— color and black and white. The foreword is by Keith Jackson, ABC sports broadcaster. It was published by Longstreet Press, Marietta, Georgia, and it sells for \$29.95.

Florida Football: A Year to Remember, compiled by the staff of the *Gainesville Sun* and edited by Pat Dooley and Jeff Tudeen, celebrates the University of Florida Gators' Southeastern Conference championship in 1991. As a result, the Gators played in the Sugar Bowl in New Orleans against Notre Dame on New Year's Day 1992. The book includes illustrations, biographical information on the players and Coach Steve Spurrier and his staff, game statistics, and text. The *Gainesville Sun's* news graphics staff were responsible for the many photographs. Order the book from the *Gainesville Sun*, Box 147, Gainesville, FL 32604; the price is \$19.95.

The Spirit of the South is a collection of photographs by Bill Harris, the well-known *New York Times* staff photographer. The introduction provides a short history of the South but, unfortunately begins with the 1584 construction of Fort Raleigh on Roanoke Island off the coast of North Carolina. Florida history texts usually begin with Ponce de Leon's expedition in 1513 and the establishment in 1565 of St. Augustine, the oldest permanent settlement in the United States. Florida is not neglected, however. There are beautiful photographs of its people and scenery. *Spirit of the South* was published by Outlet Book Company, a Random House Company; the price is \$19.95.

HISTORY NEWS

Annual Meeting

The Florida Historical Society is calling for papers for its 1993 annual meeting in Penascola, May 20-22, 1993. The theme of the conference is "Florida At War." The primary emphasis will be on the impact of World War II on Florida, but papers on all periods are acceptable. Potential participants should submit a 500-word proposal to the program committee for consideration. The deadline for submission is December 1, 1992. Suggestions for supporting papers, session chairpersons, and commentators are also welcomed. Proposals should be sent to Dr. Gary Mormino, P. O. Box 290197, Tampa, FL 33687-0197 (813/974-3815, 974-2808, or 974-2809).

Miami Beach History

Howard Kleinberg, well-known Florida author, editor, columnist, and historian, is writing a history of Miami Beach under the auspices of the Miami Beach Chamber of Commerce. Arva Moore Parks is photo editor and historical consultant. Centennial Press of Miami plans to publish the volume in 1993. Stuart Blumberg, president of the Miami Beach Resort Hotel Association and a past chairman of the Chamber, spearheaded the effort that brought the principals—author, publisher, and financial supporters—together. Anyone with Miami Beach history or photographs should contact the Miami Beach Resort Hotel Association, 407 Lincoln Road, 310G, Miami, FL 33139 (1-800-531-3553).

Announcements and Activities

"Two Cultures: Tradition and Change," a two-day symposium sponsored by the Collier County Museum, Friends of the Collier County Museum, and the Seminole Tribe of Florida, will explore the Columbus quincentennial from a multi-cultural point of view on October 31-November 1, 1992. Scholars in the fields of anthropology, archaeology, ethnography, and history

will discuss European exploration in the Caribbean and the southeastern United States and the results of that contact. The conference will be held at the Naples Beach Hotel and Gulf Club, Naples, Florida. Pre-registration is required. Contact the Collier County Museum, 3301 Tamiami Trail East, Naples, FL 33962.

The fourteenth annual commemoration of the construction of Fort Cooper, the Second Seminole War fort built in 1836, will be held March 6-7, 1993, in Fort Cooper State Park, Inverness, Florida. In the spring of 1836, a group of sick and wounded army regulars and Georgia Volunteers were left on the banks of Lake Holathlikaha. Promising to return within nine days, a military contingent left for Fort Brooke at Tampa. Reinforcements did not arrive, and, under daily attack by the Indians, the men built Fort Cooper. In addition to a reenactment, the program will include heritage craft demonstrations and music sung to the accompaniment of banjo, guitar, and dulcimers. Fort Cooper State Park is located at 3100 Old Floral City Road in Inverness, just off Highway 41. For information write Friends of Fort Cooper, P. O. Box 1784, Inverness, FL 3445 1.

On October 3, *First Encounters*, an exhibit commemorating Spanish exploration and colonization of the Caribbean and the United States, opened at the Historical Museum of Southern Florida, 101 West Flagler Street, Miami. *First Encounters* shows the effects of Spanish exploration on aboriginal societies, especially evident in artifacts that reflect European contact. The exhibit tells the story of Juan Ponce de León, Alonzo Alvarez de Pineda, Panfilo de Narváez, and Tristan de Luna. The exhibit includes a two-third scale model of the *Niña*, one of the three ships that Columbus captained on his voyage to America. Over 500 artifacts from museums throughout the United States are included in the exhibit. *First Encounters* will be on display at the Historical Museum until January 3, 1993.

The Polk County Historical and Genealogical Library, Bartow, has completed its move to the east wing of the Old Courthouse. It is open to the public. Hours are Tuesday through Saturday, 10:00 A.M. to 4:00 P.M. There is a user fee.

The Forest History Society presented Professor Colin A. M. Duncan, Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, Canada, with the Theodore C. Blegen Award for his article, "On Identifying a Sound Environmental Ethic in History," that appeared in *Environmental History Review*. David C. Backes, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, received the Ralph W. Hidy Award for his article, "Wilderness Visions: Arthur Carhart's 1922 Proposal for the Quetico-Superior Wilderness."

The Center for the Study of the American South at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, announces the establishment of a new quarterly, *Southern Cultures*, to be published by Duke University Press. The first issue will appear in 1993. The journal will examine cultural aspects of the United States South. The editors are interested in scholarly contributions from history, folklore, anthropology, political science, sociology, journalism, literature, art and architectural history, and other related disciplines. For more information contact Alecia Holland, *Southern Cultures*, IRSS, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, NC 27599-3355 (919/926-0511).

The Kentucky Historical Society presented its annual Richard H. Collins Award to Dr. Peter P. Kunpfer, Kansas State University, for his article, "Henry Clay's Constitutional Unionism," which appeared in the winter 1991 issue of *The Register of the Kentucky Historical Society*.

Dr. Gary W. Gallagher, Pennsylvania State University, received the Richard Barksdale Harwell Award for the best Civil War book of 1991 for his work, *Struggle for the Shenandoah: Essays on Confederate and Union Leadership*. The Atlanta Civil War Round Table honored Dr. Gallagher at their meeting of the 1992-1993 year in September.

The Virginia Historical Society's Resident Fellows Program provides financial assistance to selected scholars. Awards granted under this program are the Andrew W. Mellon Research Fellowships, the Betty Sams Christian Fellowships in Business History, and the Sydney and Frances Lewis Fellowships in Women's Studies. Applications from doctoral candidates working to complete their dissertation are welcomed. Applicants should send

three copies of the following materials: a resume, two letters of recommendation, a description of the research project, and a cover letter. Applications should be sent to Nelson D. Lankford, Research Fellowship Committee, Virginia Historical Society, P. O. Box 7311, Richmond, VA 23221-0311 (804/358-4901; fax 804/355-2399).

The Forest History Society announces the availability of Alfred D. Bell, Jr., travel grants for 1993 for anyone wishing to study at the society's library and archives. For information on application procedures and the society's holdings, write Forest History Society, 701 Vickers Avenue, Durham, NC 27701 (919/682-9391). The Forest History Society offers programs in research, publication, and library and archival collecting involving the forest environment. It is affiliated with Duke University and publishes the quarterly journal *Forest & Conservation History* under the auspices of Duke University Press.

The Aviation Museum on the pier in St. Petersburg is scheduled to open on January 1, 1993. The museum, adjacent to the St. Petersburg Historical Museum, will feature the Florida Aviation Historical Society's reproduction of the world's first airliner, the *Benoist 43*.

Call for Papers

The Arkansas Historical Association announces a call for papers for its 1993 annual meeting to be held in Fort Smith, Arkansas, April 14-17. The theme of the meeting will be "Arkansas: The Western Experience, the Southern Experience, the American Experience." Papers placing Arkansas into the context of the West, South, and/or the United States are welcome. Persons wishing information should write to the program chair, Kenneth Startup, P. O. Box 3327, Williams Baptist College, Walnut Ridge, AK 72476.

The Oral History Association will hold its 1993 annual meeting on November 4-7, 1993, at the Birmingham Raddison Hotel in Birmingham, Alabama. Proposals for papers, panels, workshops, media presentations, or full sessions should be sent by

December 1, 1992, to Professor Kim Lacy Rogers, Department of History, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA 17013-2896 (717/245-1521).

The International Society for the Comparative Study of Civilizations will hold its annual meeting at the University of Scranton, Scranton, PA, June 3-6, 1993. Papers in four broad areas are invited: Considering Civilizations Past, Present, and Future; Strategies for Teaching About Civilizations; Ways to View Civilizations; and Special Problems and Processes in Civilization Studies. Proposed papers should be sent to Professor Raymond Lewis, Department of Social Sciences, Keith 323, Eastern Kentucky University, Richmond, KY 40475 (606/622-1365).

The Southern American Studies Association invites papers for its next meeting to be held in New Orleans, February 25-28, 1993. Proposals for complete sessions and individual fifteen-minute papers are welcome for the following areas: World Fairs, Expositions, Exhibitions, Museums, New Art Forms, Modernism, Jazz, Blues, Photography, Cities, Expatriots, Collectors, Politics in Art (the New Deal, WPA, FSA), Art and Cultural Economics, and other cultural topics. Send proposals with a brief vita to Professor Richard H. Colin, Department of History, University of New Orleans, New Orleans, LA 70148 (504/286-6880, fax 504/286-6883).

ANNUAL MEETING
PROCEEDINGS OF THE NINETIETH
MEETING OF THE
FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
AND THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL CONFEDERATION
WORKSHOP 1992

Ponce de Leon Resort
and Convention Center
St. Augustine, Florida

PROGRAM

Thursday, May 7

FLORIDA HISTORICAL CONFEDERATION

Session 1: Resources, Programs, and Opportunities

Chair: Susan Lockwood, Florida Humanities Council

Session 2: Interactive Exhibits

Chair: Susan Lockwood, Florida Humanities Council

Session 3: Projections for Public Funding

Chair: Michael Brothers, Florida Museum of Natural History

FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY SESSIONS

Sessions 1: Florida Artists and Authors

Chair: Walda Metcalf, University Press of Florida

Panel: David Nolan, St. Augustine, "Florida Authors"; A. McA. Miller, New College, University of South Florida, "John Ruskin's Utopias: From Missouri to Florida"; and Charlotte Porter, Florida Museum of Natural History, "Martin Johnson Heade."

Friday, May 8

Session 2: *Famous Floridians*

- Chair: Marinus Latour, University of Florida
Panel: Canter Brown, Jr., Atlanta, "Ossian Bingley Hart: Florida's Loyalist Reconstruction Governor"; Zack Waters, Rome, Georgia, "Brigadier General Robert Bullock"; and Eliot Kleinberg, Palm Beach *Post*, "Not Famous Yet, But Soon."

Session 3: *Florida Cattle Industry*

- Chair: Donald Wakeman, IFAS, University of Florida
Panel: Joe Knetsch, Florida Department of Natural Resources, "Conflict Over Cattle and Land Along the Florida-Georgia Border Through the Second Seminole War"; Patricia Bartlett, Florida Department of Natural Resources, "Cooperation and Conflicts: The Life of F. A. Hendry"; and Brenda Elliott, Florida Department of Natural Resources, "Aaron Jernigan."

Session 4: *Exploration and Settlement*

- Chair: James M. Denham, Florida Southern College
Panel: Patricia Griffin, St. Augustine, "The Minorcan Colony: Facing a New Environment"; and William Straight, Miami, "Medicine in the Age of Exploration."

Session 5: *Colonial Florida*

- Chair: William S. Coker, University of West Florida
Panel: Charles Arnade, University of South Florida, "The Failure of Spanish Florida Revisited"; and John F. Schwalder, Florida Atlantic University, "Don Luis de Velasco, Viceroy of Mexico, and 'La Florida.'"

Session 6: *African-Americans in Florida*

- Chair: Maxine Jones, Florida State University
Panel: Andrew Chancey, University of Florida, "Changes in the Community: Jacksonville's African-Americans in the 1930s"; Patricia Kenney, University of Florida, "LaVilla, Florida, 1866-1887: Reconstruction of a Black Community"; and Raymond Mohl, Florida Atlantic University, "The Pattern of Race Relations in Miami Since 1940."

Session 7: *Modern Florida*

- Chair: Sara Van Arsdel, Orlando Historical Society
Panel: Brent Weisman and Christine Newman, C.A.R.L., "Conservation and Recreation Lands Acquisition Archaeological Survey"; and Stephen Whittfield, Brandeis University, "The Dubbed Version: Florida Facsimile of California?"

Session 8: *American Indians in Florida, I*

- Chair: Harry A. Kersey, Jr., Florida Atlantic University
Panel: Patsy West, Seminole Micosukee Photographic Archive, "Old Tiger Tail and the Period of Isolation"; and Patricia Wickman, University of Miami, "Osceola."

Session 9: *Florida's Post-Bellum and Gilded Age*

- Chair: Thomas Graham, Flagler College
Panel: David Coles, Florida State Archives, "A Terrible and Sad Thing: Florida at the End of the Civil War"; and Edward Mueller, Jacksonville, "Mr. Plant's and Mr. Flagler's Steamships."

Session 10: *American Indians in Florida, II*

- Chair: Jane Dysart, University of West Florida
Panel: Gordon Patterson, Florida Institute of Technology, "Murder in Sixteenth-Century Florida: The Strange Case of Pierre Gamble"; and James Covington, University of Tampa, "The Seminole Smoke Shops."

Session 11: *Women in Spanish Florida*

- Chair: Ann Henderson, Florida Humanities Council
Panel: Susan R. Parker, Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board, "Property Ownership in Successive Female Generations in St. Augustine"; and Jane Landers, Vanderbilt University, "Slaves and Freedwomen in St. Augustine."

Session 12: *Colonial and Territorial St. Augustine*

- Chair: Page Edwards, St. Augustine Historical Society
Panel: Eugene Lyon, St. Augustine Foundation at Flagler College, "We Weren't As Poor As We Thought"; Daniel

Schafer, University of North Florida, "St. Augustine's First Plantation"; and Jean Parker Waterbury, St. Augustine Historical Society, "The Dr. Peck House."

FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY BANQUET

Presiding: Hampton Dunn, president

Presentation of Awards

Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Prize in Florida History
presented to James M. Denham, Florida Southern College

Rembert W. Patrick Book Award
presented to Canter Brown, Jr., Atlanta, Georgia

Charlton W. Tebeau Book Award
presented to Maurice O'Sullivan and Jack C. Lane

LeRoy Collins Prize
presented to James Schnur

Caroline Mays Brevard Prize
presented to Elinore Kimmel

Golden Quill Awards

presented to Hampton Dunn and Jim Hooper, WTVT 13;

David Beaty, WINK-TV; Karen Lee, WUFT-TV;

Adrienne Moore, Indian River Community College;

Shoshana Edelberg, WUSF Radio;

James C. Clark, *Orlando Sentinel*; Patrick Mantiega, *La Gaceta*;

Bob Knotts and Michael Young, *Fort Lauderdale Sun-Sentinel*;

and Leland Hawes, *Tampa Tribune*

Saturday, May 9

ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING

Session 13: *World War II Florida*

Chair: Gary Mormino, University of South Florida

Panel: Samuel Proctor, University of Florida; Dena Snodgrass, Jacksonville historian; and Margaret Henderson, Delray Beach.

Session 14: *European Discovery and Exploration*

Chair: Stuart McIver, Lighthouse Point, Florida

Panel: Hector Borghetty, Clearwater, "Columbus in the Light of History"; Henry Overeem, "The Birth of Political Democracy"; George M. Gutierrez, "California Discovery by Cabrillo in 1542"; and Hampton Dunn, Tampa, "DeSoto: Saint or Sadist."

FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING
May 7, 1992

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 Ponce de Leon Resort and Convention Center, St. Augustine, May 7, 1992, by Hampton Dunn, president. Those attending were Kathleen H. Arsenault, William S. Coker, David R. Colburn, Sam Davis, Emily Perry Dieterich, Russell Hughes, Milton Jones, Joe Knetsch, Marinus H. Latour, Lester N. May, Stuart B. McIver, Joan P. Morris, Thomas Muir, John W. Partin, Samuel Proctor, Niles F. Schuh, and Rebecca A. Smith. Also present was the executive director, Lewis N. Wynne.

The minutes for the December 1991 board of directors meeting, as published in the April 1992 issue of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, were approved.

Milton Jones, the Society's pro bono attorney, described the negotiations concerning the Rossetter property in Eau Gallie. Title to the home and the endowment to maintain the property may be vested in a new corporation. The charter for the corporation would include the following stipulations: (1) five board members appointed by the Florida Historical Society's executive committee and one board member selected by the Rossetter trustees; (2) if the house is damaged by fire or other catastrophe, or fails as a house museum, the concern may dissolve, with the property and endowment going to the Society; and (3) the Society's executive director will serve as director of the house museum. If approved by the Rossetter sisters, the agreement for

the Rossetter house would begin operation within one year after the death of the last surviving sister. The Rush house and its endowment may be transferred to the Society before that time. Mr. Jones noted that the Rossetters do not want any changes made to the Rossetter house, but some modifications may be necessary to meet the criteria for museum accreditation set by the American Association of Museums. Nick Wynne noted that if the arrangements should fail, the Society would keep the Rossetter endowment for Society operations and turn the house museum over to an appropriate 501(c)3 organization. The board further discussed the negotiations and potential financial arrangements. Joe Knetsch complimented Mr. Jones for his efforts in these negotiations, and Mr. Jones thanked George Howell, B. Ellis, and Bill Potter (who represents the Rossetters) for their cooperation. Dr. Wynne reported that the University of South Florida will continue to support the Society during the transitional move period. Mr. Jones noted that a document will be circulated to the entire board before the signing and execution of the agreement with the Rossetters.

The board discussed the potential move of the library to the Rossetter property. The Rush house is not appropriate for a library, and there is not enough available land on the property to construct a library/headquarters building. The Society may ask the city of Eau Gallie if the adjacent city park could be utilized as an appropriate site.

Mr. Jones recommended that the Society reject the Rossetter offer if the Rossetter house endowment is only \$1,000,000, as that would not cover basic operating expenses. President Dunn thanked Mr. Jones and Dr. Wynne for their efforts in all these matters.

Kathleen Arsnault summarized the library committee's written report. The committee's findings and recommendations were as follows: (1) the Society needs significantly more income or outside support to run a library effectively; (2) the Rush house is too small and structurally unsafe to house the library; (3) the Society does not have a catalog separate from that of the University of South Florida; (4) the Society does not have support materials, such as dictionaries, that are necessary to operate a research library; and (5) additions to and updating of holdings have not been organized satisfactorily over the years. The Society needs to determine the library's purpose and function. Dr.

Wynne made several comments: (1) the lack of acquisitions funds constricts growth; (2) if the resources are duplicated elsewhere, the library's role should be reexamined; (3) some materials may be deaccessioned if they do not fit the Society's needs; (4) the Society should define whether the collection should function as both a library and an archives; and (5) the library committee should continue its efforts and make recommendations on each part of the collection. Mr. Knetsch noted that the Society does not have a complete artifacts inventory. Dr. Wynne suggested that the Society deaccession its cigar labels collection in three years, in compliance with federal restrictions on donations.

The State Historic Records Advisory Board Grants Program was briefly discussed as a possible source of funds for a library project. Rebecca Smith recommended that the Society write and adopt written collections policies. The library committee included Kathleen Arsenault, Joan Morris, John Partin, and Rebecca Smith. A motion was made and approved to accept the library committee's report.

The board discussed the budget. Dr. Wynne expressed the need for written endowment guidelines. A motion was made and approved to write protocol and procedures for endowment funds, with Milton Jones, Hayes Kennedy, George Howell, and Nick Wynne as committee members.

Dr. Wynne reported that the CPA recommended that the fiscal year be changed to July 1-June 30 in order to have a financial report in time for the winter meeting of the officers and board of directors. A motion was made and approved to change the fiscal year to July 1-June 30, beginning July 1, 1992.

Dr. Wynne noted that awards expenses for the LeRoy Collins and Caroline Brevard prizes exceed revenue and suggested that award amounts be changed to fit available funds. Knetsch suggested that prize amounts be left blank in the prize rules currently being drafted.

Marinus Latour presented the report of the nominations committee: David Colburn, president; Marinus Latour, president-elect; J. Larry Durrence, vice president; Rebecca A. Smith, secretary; Jan F. Godown, director, District 1; Patricia Bartlett, director, District 2; Patsy West, director, District 3; Lindsay Wagner, director, At-large; and Canter Brown, Jr., director, At-large. This slate will be recommended for approval by the

membership at the annual business meeting. Committee members were Lester May, Patricia Bartlett, and Niles Schuh.

Mr. Latour noted that the election of district board members is difficult because of cumulative errors begun in 1985. To correct the situation, for the next two years he suggested that one representative each from districts 1, 2, and 3 should be elected. Officers should be elected for two-year terms; board members for three-year terms. He emphasized the need to make succeeding nominating committees aware of the problem and the solution.

Mr. Knetsch, chair of the prize committee, presented the committee's report. Members of his committee include Stuart McIver, Emily Dieterich, John Partin, and Tom Muir. Dr. Knetsch read the following proposed rules for the Society's prizes:

The Rembert W. Patrick Prize is for the best non-fiction book on a Florida topic. The president shall select three members of the Society, one of whom shall be the editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, to determine which books will be considered for this prize. Three other members, also selected by the president, will judge books selected for consideration for the prize. The winner will be announced at the annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society.

The editor of the *Quarterly* will notify publishers of nominated books and request that copies be sent directly to the judges. The nominating committee will be appointed by the president at the board of directors' meeting held prior to the annual meeting. Judges will be selected by July 1 of each year by the president.

The Charlton W. Tebeau Prize is given for the best book published on a Florida topic suitable for "young" readers (junior and senior high school level). The same procedures as with the Patrick Prize will be followed in appointing the persons to select the books to be considered and the judges to determine the winning book. The winner will be announced at the annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society.

The Arthur W. Thompson Prize is given for the best article appearing in the *Florida Historical Quarterly* during a volume year (July, October, January, and April). The editor of the *Quarterly*, in consultation with the president, shall select three judges to evaluate articles. The judges consider the readability of the article

and the contribution that it makes to our knowledge and understanding of Florida history. The winner will be announced at the annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society. The judges for the prize must be members of the Society. The judges shall be chosen before or at the annual meeting prior to the beginning of a new volume year.

The LeRoy Collins Prize is awarded to the author of the best essay by a graduate student on a Florida topic. Papers submitted for consideration must be written in the school year (August to May) ending in the year of the annual meeting at which the award is given. Each paper must be accompanied by a letter of nomination from the professor to whom it was originally submitted. Five copies of the nominated papers shall be submitted to the executive director on or before March 15 of each year. The winner will be announced at the annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society. The president shall select three judges from the members of the Society. The judges should be familiar with the styles recommended by the *Chicago Manual of Style* or some other reliable source of bibliographic/endnote/footnote styling. Papers should not be submitted that do not meet the accepted standards regularly met by authors of term papers or articles. The judges shall be selected prior to or at the annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society.

The Caroline Mays Brevard Prize is awarded to the author of the outstanding essay written by an undergraduate student on a topic related to Florida history. Papers submitted for consideration must be written in the school year (August to May) ending in the year of the annual meeting at which the award is given. Each paper must be accompanied by a letter of nomination from the professor to whom it was originally submitted. Five copies of the nominated papers should be submitted to the executive director on or before March 15 of the judging year. The winner will be announced at the annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society. The president shall select three judges from the members of the Society. The judges should be familiar with the styles recommended by the *Chicago Manual of Style* or some other reliable source of bibliographic/endnote/footnote styling. Papers should not be submitted that do not meet the accepted standards regularly met by authors of term papers or articles. The judges shall be selected prior to or at the annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society.

In the case where the judges appointed by the president do not feel that a book, article, or essay prize should be awarded because of lack of merit in those submitted for consideration, the Society is not obligated to make an award. Books, articles, or essays submitted for consideration are to be judged on their individual merit as finished products. Judges are to be chosen based upon membership and qualifications deemed appropriate by the president of the Society. Membership on any of the Society's boards or committees does not preclude one from submitting his/her work for prize consideration. No one judging a category, however, may submit or have submitted a work in the same category which he/she is judging. Merit, originality, and proper form are the major criteria for judging essays.

There are two Golden Quill Awards in the newspaper category. The first recognizes the outstanding piece(s) written as a feature article that increases knowledge and understanding of Florida history. The second award is for the writer of a regularly scheduled newspaper column that contributes to a greater appreciation and knowledge of Florida history. In each category, the work should be original, and it must give proper credit to authoritative sources. Copies of the articles submitted for consideration should be exact copies of the original articles from the newspaper in which they were published. Draft copies or those other than exact copies of the newspaper article will not be accepted. When possible, actual copies of the article(s) should be submitted, even when it is part of a series or the series itself.

Individuals, media outlets, or groups may enter in each category. Each submission should be accompanied by a brief biography of the writer and a description of the newspaper in which it was published. A cover letter should also state in which category the article(s) is to be considered (feature, or regular column). All entries must be submitted to the executive director by March 15 of the year of the award. The winner will be announced at the annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society. An award will be presented to both the author and the newspaper in which the article appeared.

The president of the Society will select three members to act as judges for each Golden Quill Award category. The editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* is an ex-officio member of each committee and will assist, when requested, in any capacity the president deems necessary. Attention will be paid to originality,

source citation, and clarity of presentation. Judges will be appointed by the president at or before the board of directors' meeting prior to the annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society.

The Magazine Golden Quill Award recognizes the magazine article that develops a better understanding and appreciation of an aspect of Florida's past. The term magazine is defined as any print media other than a newspaper and may include historical journals other than the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. All entries must be submitted to the executive director by March 15 of the year of the award. The winner will be announced at the annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society. An award will be presented both to the author and the magazine in which the article appeared. The president of the Society will select three members to act as judges for each category. The editor of the *Quarterly* is an ex-officio member of each committee and will assist, when requested, in any capacity the president feels necessary. Attention will be paid to originality, source citation, and clarity of presentation. Judges will be appointed by the president at or before the board of directors' meeting prior to the annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society.

The Television Golden Quill will be awarded to the program, of any length, that best promotes an understanding and appreciation of Florida's unique history. All submissions in this media should be accompanied by a cover letter containing a brief biography of the film-makers and some information regarding the station of origin. One or more copies of a video cassette adapted for VHS viewing must be submitted with the cover letter. A copy of the transmission log showing the date and time of airing must also accompany the entry. All entries should be sent to the executive director by March 15 of the year of the award. The president of the Society will select three members to act as judges of this award. The video will be judged on originality, research demonstrated, and clarity of presentation. The judges will be appointed prior to or at the board of directors' meeting held prior to the annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society.

The Radio Golden Quill Award will go to the broadcast that best promotes an understanding and appreciation of Florida history. A copy of an audio cassette of the broadcast must be submitted with the entry. The cover letter, accompanying the cassette should provide a brief biography of the author of the

script and information about the radio station from which it was originally broadcast. A copy of the transmission log showing the date and time of airing must also accompany the entry. All entries should be sent to the executive director by March 15 of the year of the award. The president of the Society will select three members to act as judges of this award. The cassette will be judged on originality, research demonstrated, and clarity of presentation. The judges will be appointed prior to or at the board of directors' meeting prior to the annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society.

Mr. Knetsch added that the Collins and Brevard prizes should be changed to a calendar year and the essays must be written within the year in which they are submitted.

Dr. Wynne noted that Dr. Colburn was concerned that, since the Golden Quill Awards are not endowed, prizes should be limited to two awards. Dr. Wynne reported that the Society has added thirty to thirty-five new members annually as a result of the Golden Quill Awards. A motion was made and approved to accept the proposed prize rules by ballot of the directors of the Society within the month.

Dr. Wynne reported that the History Fair continues to be associated with the Society. During the past few years, the Society has contributed \$500-\$700 annually. This support ends after this year. As a result of the History Fair's success, procuring sufficient hotel rooms has become a problem at annual meetings.

The Frederick Cubberly Prize (awarded to the best essay on Florida history written by a high school student) and its potential relationship with the History Fair was discussed. A motion was made and approved for a committee to work out procedures to integrate the Cubberly Prize into the History Fair.

Discussion of the prizes continued. Mr. Dunn suggested that a fee to cover prize expenses be required with nominations. Mr. Latour noted that awards amounts must be in the budget. A motion was made to accept recommended reduced prize amounts for some of the prizes for one year. After discussion, the motion was approved.

Future annual meetings were discussed. The 1993 meeting will take place in Pensacola, May 20-22, 1993, and the 1994 meeting will convene in Fort Myers. The 1995 meeting location is uncertain, with Jacksonville, Miami, and Fort Lauderdale being considered. Milton Jones suggested that the meeting schedule

be changed to provide more opportunities for social aspects; papers and/or activities could be scheduled for Saturday afternoon and the banquet Saturday evening. It was noted that this would provide an opportunity to spread the papers over a longer, less crowded period of time.

Board members discussed the proposed long-range planning meeting for the board that tentatively has been scheduled for August 7-8, 1992. Dr. Colburn suggested that the proposed long-range planning meeting be postponed to January to better adjust to members' schedules. A motion was made and approved to move the long-range planning meeting to the winter meeting, scheduled for the third week of January 1993.

Dr. Proctor presented the *Florida Historical Quarterly* report. The need to procure funds to print the index was discussed. A motion was made and approved to authorize Dr. Proctor to seek bids for printing the index. Dr. Proctor encouraged board members to submit books, monographs, and other publications for review, and noted that the quincentenary issue will be the October issue.

Dr. Colburn announced that Dr. Proctor plans to retire as editor of the *Quarterly* on June 30, 1993. He reported that the University of Florida has approved the search for a new editor to be recommended to the Society's board of directors for approval. Dr. Proctor will edit the *Quarterly* through June 1993.

President Dunn thanked the board for their fine cooperation. Dr. Colburn expressed his appreciation of Mr. Dunn's presidency.

The meeting was adjourned at 4:30 P.M.

Minutes of the Business Meeting May 9, 1992

The meeting was called to order at 9:15 A.M. at the Ponce de Leon Resort and Convention Center, St. Augustine, by Hampton Dunn, president of the Florida Historical Society.

Marinus Latour, chairman of the nominating committee, submitted the following slate of officers and members of the board of directors: David Colburn, president; Marinus Latour, president-elect; J. Larry Durrence, vice president; Rebecca A. Smith, secretary; Jan F. Godown, director, District 1; Patricia Bartlett,

director, District 2; Patsy West, director, District 3; Lindsay Wagner, director, At-Large; and Canter Brown, Jr., director, At-Large. Mr. Latour recognized the other members of the committee: Patricia Bartlett, G. D. Howell, Lester May, and Niles Schuh. A motion was made and approved to accept the slate.

Joe Knetsch read the following resolution of sympathy for members who passed away during the past year:

Whereas, the Florida Historical Society has greatly benefited from the efforts of its members and their families, and, Whereas, the history of the state of Florida has been enriched and expanded by the efforts of its members and their families, and, Whereas, the Florida Historical Society feels deeply the loss of its members and shares the grief with their family and friends, therefore be it resolved, that the Florida Historical Society extends its deepest appreciation and sympathy to the families of the following members who have passed on to the highest reward: Fred T. Rogers (Tampa), Mrs. Elizabeth Wolfe (Tampa), Robert R. Bowen (Bethesda, Maryland), and Denis H. Lopez (Elkton, Florida).

On a happier note, Mr. Knetsch announced that Past President Paul George is the father of a baby boy.

President Dunn provided information for parking for the picnic on the grounds of the St. Augustine Historical Society. President Dunn announced that the 1993 annual meeting of the Society will take place in Pensacola, May 20-22, 1993. Tom Muir and William Coker are local arrangements and program committees chairs, and the theme for the meeting will be "Florida and World War II."

Dr. John Mahon announced that a new organization, Seminole Wars Foundation, Inc., is forming. The foundation will preserve areas significant to the Second Seminole War through fund raising and the purchase of land. The properties the foundation plans to acquire include the Fort Izard site (700 acres) and the Fort Dade battlefield site. Dr. Mahon urged Society members to contribute funds to purchase a token square foot of land.

David Coles announced that the State Historic Records Advisory Board can provide grants of \$3,000 to \$10,000 for manuscript and archival records projects. Deadlines for the submission of proposals are July 1 and December 15. Contact the Florida State Archives for further information.

Eliot Kleinberg reminded those present that 1995 will be the 150th anniversary of Florida's statehood. He noted that it will be an opportunity to get people excited about Florida history. He suggested some examples of possible projects: commemorative license plates, public school projects, and history minutes on television. Mr. Dunn thanked Mr. Kleinberg for his suggestions and referred them to the officers and board of directors for consideration.

Outgoing president Dunn passed the chair of office to incoming president David Colburn. Dr. Colburn thanked Mr. Dunn for his many valuable efforts and accomplishments on behalf of the Society during his years as president. Mr. Dunn promoted the Society through his many public presentations, he helped to increase membership, and he brought a greater awareness of the Society's activities, programs, and services to people throughout the state. Dr. Colburn also thanked Mr. Kleinberg for his suggestions and noted that some promising developments may occur in the future. He concluded his remarks by urging members to attend the 1993 annual meeting in Pensacola.

The meeting was adjourned at 9:35 A.M.

GIFTS TO THE SOCIETY

1991-1992

During the calendar year 1991, the Florida Historical Society received the \$1,700,000 Kane-Greenberg Chromolithograph Advertising Art Collection. The collection contains over 60,000 pieces of ephemera, thirty lithographic stones, and an assortment of other materials related to the design and production of cigar labels, advertisements, and other advertising products. The collection is currently being curated and will be available to researchers, scholars, and the general public in July 1993.

The Society also received over fifty items of published *Floridiana* during 1991-1992.

TREASURER'S REPORT

January 1, 1991-December 31, 1991

Current Assets:

University State Bank (FHS checking)	\$ 12,251.77
University State Bank (FHC checking)	71.80
Shearson Lehman Hutton Government Money Market	500.41
Shearson Lehman Hutton Money Market	18,315.52
Shearson Lehman Hutton Government Securities	21,668.87
Dean Witter Reynolds	10,378.63
Mid South Utilities	180.00
Inventory	6,340.00
Total current assets	69,707.00

Fixed Assets:

Office equipment	7,631.86
Furniture and fixtures	3,446.36
Accumulated depreciation	(9,212.50)
Total fixed assets	1,865.72
TOTAL ASSETS	71,572.72

*Receipts:**Memberships:*

Annual	19,905.00
Student	1,110.00
Family	6,420.00
Youth (<i>Junior Historian</i>)	1,650.00
Historical societies	3,152.50
Library	14,166.00
Contributing	2,410.00
Corporate	650.00
Miscellaneous	532.50
Unallocated membership dues	21,761.45

Contributions from Hector Borghetty:

General	7,500.00
Publications (<i>Journey for Junior Historian</i>)	13,000.00

Other Receipts:

Quarterly sales	423.50
Directory sales	(5.00)
Mailing list sales	50.00
Research sales	93.57
<i>Florida Portrait</i> sales	5,473.68
Microfilm sales	1,785.00
Photocopy sales	50.00
Annual appeal	6,313.00
Banquet	2,599.00
Confederation luncheon	687.00
Picnic	338.00
Registrations	5,880.00
Vantage tours	200.00
Student services (from USF)	16,250.00

Interest Income:

Cubberly	144.56
Patrick	32.01
Tebeau	209.74
Thompson	235.62
Wentworth	309.42
Jerome	280.27
Yonge	371.75

Dividends Income:

Yonge	1,086.80
Dean Witter Reynolds	527.81
Cubberly	422.64

TOTAL RECEIPTS 136,015.82

*Disbursements:**Florida Historical Quarterly:*

Printing and mailing	22,794.10
Post Office box rental	49.00
Editor	1 ,000.00
Stationery and mailing envelopes	413.70
Photographs	189.50
Postage	1,178.08
Microfilm and microfiche	3,284.26
Miscellaneous	37.92

Junior Historian:

Printing	3,296.00
Postage	285.38
Miscellaneous	1,540.91

Society Newsletter:

Postage and labels	4,094.70
Printing	7,069.00
Miscellaneous	885.38

Annual Meeting:

Annual appeal expense	1,911.20
Meals	5,391.40
Postage and printing	3,815.94
Miscellaneous	1,351.75
Transportation	410.00
Hotel	234.59

Awards Expenses:

Brevard	613.08
Cubberly	980.46
Patrick	271.43
Tebeau	271.43
Thompson	27 1.43
Collins	674.59
Golden Quill	284.20
President's	61.00

Other Expenses:

Palmetto Country grant- exhibit expense	262.33
Bank charges	265.25
Depreciation of furniture and equipment	1,270.58
Executive Committee	125.00

ANNUAL MEETING

277

Executive Director expenses	330.94
<i>Florida Portrait</i> — publication expense	2,625.00
Insurance	1,695.67
Executive Director (Melbourne Project)	2,625.00
Board of Directors	1,080.00
Jerome book purchases	1,214.50
Consultations (Board of Directors meeting)	420.00
Retention (postage and labels)	404.45
Faxing	43.32
Retention (printing)	738.75
Maintenance contracts	650.00
Office equipment	2,267.54
Office supplies	2,102.69
Petty cash	17.91
Professional fees (CPA and legal services)	7,196.03
Repairs and maintenance	498.39
Telephone	3,088.49
Training	85.00
Outside conferences	154.75
History Fair	19.80
President's expense	655.00
Executive Director (salary)	30,000.00
Student intern	1,622.50
Taxes	2,499.85
Travel	519.76
Miscellaneous	233.71
TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS	127,610.74
Net Income	8,405.08

GREAT EXPECTATIONS . . .

1992

Sept. 9- Dec. 31	"Mosaic: Jewish Life in Florida," Soref Jewish Community Center	Ft. Lauderdale, FL
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Dec. 27-30	American Historical Association	Washington, DC
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1993

April 1-2	Society of Florida Archivists	St. Augustine, FL
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May 7-9	Florida Anthropological Society	Clearwater, FL
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May 20-22	FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY- 91 ST MEETING	Pensacola, FL
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May 20	FLORIDA HISTORICAL CONFEDERATION	Pensacola, FL
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Sept. 8- 11	American Association for State and Local History	Columbus, OH
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Nov. 4-7	Oral History Association	Birmingham, AL
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THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF FLORIDA, 1856

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, successor, 1902

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, incorporated, 1905

OFFICERS

DAVID R. COLBURN, *president*

MARINUS H. LATOUR, *president-elect*

J. LARRY DURRENCE, *vice president*

REBECCA SMITH, *recording secretary*

LEWIS N. WYNNE, *executive director*

SAMUEL PROCTOR, *editor, The Quarterly*

DIRECTORS

KATHLEEN H. ARSENAULT

St. Petersburg

PATRICIA BARTLETT

Fort Myers

CANTER BROWN, JR.

Atlanta

WILLIAM S. COKER

Pensacola

SAM DAVIS

St. Petersburg

EMILY PERRY DIETERICH

Loxahatchee

HAMPTON DUNN, *ex-officio*

Tampa

JAN F. GODOWN

Ormond Beach

MILTON JONES

Clearwater

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