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". . .in a strange place. . .": The Experiences of British Women during the Colonization of East & West Florida
Deborah L. Bauer 145

Selling Seduction: Women and Feminine Nature in 1920s Florida Advertising
Nicole C. Cox 186

A Translation History of Fontaneda
Peter Ferdinando 210

Book Reviews 252

End Notes 276

Cover Illustration: Dorothy Murray Forbes sat for this portrait as a young woman in Boston several years before her marriage in February 1769 to Reverend John Forbes, a prominent government official in East Florida. "Dorothy Murray Forbes (1743/5-1810)" by John Singleton Copley, c. 1759 - c. 1761. Oil on canvas. 92.08 x 71.44 cm (36 1/4 x 28 1/8 in.) Harvard Art Museum, Fogg Art Museum, Gift of Mrs. David Simmons, 1929. Image Courtesy of Katya Kallsen (c) President and Fellows of Harvard College.

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Book Reviews

Hall Jr., *Zamumo's Gifts: Indian-European Exchange in the Colonial Southeast.*
by Linford D. Fisher 252

Gragg, *The Quaker Community on Barbados: Challenging the Culture of the Planter Class.*
by Jennifer Lockard Connerley 255

White, *Encountering Revolution: Haiti and the Making of the Early Republic.*
by John Davies 257

Morrisey, *Pirate Hunter, A Novel.*
by Edward C. Woodward 259

Marrs, *Railroads in the Old South: Pursuing Progress in a Slave Society.*
by Richard Jensen 261

Bernath, *Confederate Minds: The Struggle for Intellectual Independence in the Civil War South.*
by Martin P. Johnson 263

Brinkley, *The Wilderness Warrior: Theodore Roosevelt and the Crusade for America.*
by Janie Gould 266

Sitkoff, *Toward Freedom Land: The Long Struggle for Racial Equality in America*
by Brian D. Behnken 268

Karl, *The 57 Club: My Four Decades in Florida Politics.*
by Eric H. Miller 270

Merrill, *Negotiating Paradise: U.S. Tourism and Empire in Twentieth-Century Latin America.*
by Evan R. Ward 272

" . . . in a strange place . . .": The Experiences of British Women during the Colonization of East & West Florida

by Deborah L. Bauer

In April 1767, a young woman named Miss Row married a man who had proposed to her several times over the past year and a half despite the fact that he was not the same man with whom she had engaged in a torrid affair in British East Florida.[1] When Miss Row mar-

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Deborah L. Bauer is a doctoral student in the Department of History at the University of South Florida in Tampa, Florida. The author wishes to thank Dr. Daniel L. Schafer, Dr. Robin F.A. Fabel, Dr. J. Barton Starr, Dr. Rosalind J. Beiler, Dr. Constance B. Rynder, and Dr. Frances L. Ramos. Earlier versions of this research were presented at the 2007 Florida Historical Society annual meeting and the 2009 Southern Association of Women Historian's biannual conference.

1. Many particulars of Miss Row's life seemingly have been lost to history. Her first name and even an approximate date of birth remain currently unknown. She was born in Edinburgh, the daughter of John Row (alternatively spelled "Rowe"). Her father was a mathematician and surveyor before he moved the family to Maryland where he served as a sheriff in Prince George County. She had at least one brother who accompanied the family to East Florida in 1766. She married William Gerard De Brahm in 1767 in East Florida. The historical record is unclear, but Miss Row may have had children by De Brahm, possibly several daughters who did not survive childhood. She died of fever on the morning of September 8, 1775, in Charleston Harbor aboard H.M.S. *Cherokee*, two days after its arrival in South Carolina. She was buried in Charleston on September 10, 1775. A.J. Morrison, "John G. De Brahm," *The South Atlantic Quarterly* 21, no. 3 (July 1922): 254; Mabel L. Webber, ed., "Death Notices from the South Carolina and American General Gazette, and Its Continuation," *The Royal Gazette*, May 1766-June 1782," *The South Carolina Historical Magazine* 17, no. 2 (April 1916): 93; and Charles L. Mowat, "That Odd Being De Brahm," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 20, no. 4 (April 1942): 336. De Brahm mourned the loss of his second wife noting his "loss" in correspondence that fall to the Earl of Dartmouth. *The Manuscripts of the Earl of Dartmouth, Volume II: American Papers* (London: Printed for Her Majesty's Stationary Office by Kyre and Spottiswoode, 1895), 182. De Brahm eventually remarried in 1776, taking as

ried William Gerard De Brahm, a German who recently had been appointed as Surveyor General of the Southern Colonies, it ended a tumultuous period in her life that had begun when she immigrated to East Florida sometime between late 1764 and early 1766. [2] Within a few months of her arrival, Row had embarked on a secret love affair with Dr. Robert Catherwood, which ended in an abrupt and very public repudiation that almost shattered her reputation and did break her heart. [3]

Miss Row serves as a typical example of the type of British women who immigrated to East and West Florida between 1763 and 1775. Her relatively high social standing in the colony was indicated by the fact that Miss Row often accompanied her father to various prominent social engagements held in the provincial capital of St. Augustine after her family moved there in the mid-1760s from Maryland.[4] General James Grant, a fellow Scot and former military officer appointed by the British crown as the first royal governor of East Florida in 1764, hosted the colony's most prominent social functions at his residence, the Government House. Miss Row became so well-known to the socially exuberant governor that he developed a very high opinion of the young woman, whom he believed to be "a good girl."[5] However, on a cool and rainy night in January 1766, shortly after the New Year celebrations, Miss Row attended one of Grant's dinner parties, and in a

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his third wife Mary Drayton Fenwick, the sister of his friend and fellow East Florida colonist, William Drayton. His third and most famous wife played a crucial role in De Brahm's decision to move to Pennsylvania at the end of the American Revolution and his conversion to Quakerism. Morrison, "John G. De Brahm," 255.

2. James Grant to Andrew Turnbull, April 26, 1767, in "The Letters of Dr. Andrew Turnbull," ed. Daniel L. Schafer, *Florida History Online*, http://www.unf.edu/floridahistoryonline/Turnbull/letters/2.htm (accessed October 20, 2010).

3. A surgeon assigned to the military garrison at Fort St. Marks, Catherwood's poor character was well-known to all but apparently Miss Row. Governor Grant described Catherwood as "a mean dog, worthless beyond belief or conception . . . he is a sot, a lyer, and a coward." Daniel L. Schafer, "The Diary of Governor James Grant Recorded in His Own Hand at the Governor's House in St. Augustine, Florida, from January 1, 1767 to March 6, 1767," *El Escribano* 41 (2004): 82.

4. Abridgement of Governor Grant's Deportment Against the Surveyor General William Gerard, Dartmouth Manuscript, Folder I, 1766- March, 25, 1773, Papers, 1766-1782, John Gerar William, PK Yonge Library of Florida History, Smathers Library Special Collections, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida.

5. Grant to Andrew Turnbull, April 26, 1767, The Macpherson-Grant Papers (Washington D.C.: Library of Congress, 2001), microfilm, roll 2.

"poor" state she drank so much alcohol that she "got half-drunk."[6] On the surface, Miss Row's unseemly public display of semi-drunkenness might have been a mere embarrassing example of over indulgence. However, the impetus for Miss Row's behavior resulted not from a case of social merriment accidentally overreached, but most likely owed its providence to the fact that, at the time of the dinner party held by Grant on January 5, she was deep in the throes of an extramarital affair that was about to end in the exact opposite way she had envisioned.[7] Row sacrificed her virginity and her good name on the promise of a marriage that never materialized. Issues stemming from Miss Row's gender and sexuality ultimately led to some of the colony's leading governmental officials taking advantage of her situation to solve larger political issues while ignoring any social concerns aside from safely marrying the 'ruined' Miss Row off to a man willing to accept as wife a woman of less than sterling character.

Overwhelmed at Catherwood's blatant rejection of both her and their romance, combined with the fact that her social and moral reputations lay in tatters, Miss Row turned to her family for help. After confessing her imprudent and ill-advised relationship

6. Schafer, "The Diary of Governor James," 73.

7. In the first week of February 1766, Catherwood told Miss Row that "they must part forever." Schafer, "The Diary of Governor James," 82. He further made it clear to Miss Row that he desired an end to their affair, not because he wished to marry her as his repeated vows to do so had promised. Instead, he wished to end the affair so that he could immediately wed, upon her arrival, his fiancée, Jane Shades, a woman presently expected in St. Augustine. Jane Shades arrived in St. Augustine and married Robert Catherwood by February 22, 1766. Schafer, "The Diary of Governor James," 83, 90. The duplicitous nature of Catherwood's insincere proposal thus clear, Miss Row despairingly confessed her indiscretion to her father and brothers in the hopes that they could exert enough pressure on Catherwood to compel him to honor his promise of marriage to her. Infuriated, John Row confronted Catherwood after complaining to Governor Grant of his daughter's debauchment. The surgeon initially claimed that Miss Row had lied to her father because Catherwood "denied he had ever made [such] proposals" before their affair commenced. Further enraged at the aspersions cast on his daughter's character, John Row sufficiently intimidated Catherwood finally to confess that even if he had proposed to Miss Row, he did not intend to repudiate his engagement to Jane Shades. In order to uphold some semblance of his daughter's sullied honor, Row challenged Catherwood to a duel, a prospect that apparently scared the surgeon so badly that he went on a drunken binge, drinking huge quantities of rum in order to avoid the duel. Apparently, Catherwood preferred dishonor and public humiliation to the possibility of death at the hands of an enraged father. Schafer, "The Diary of Governor James," 82-83.

with Catherwood to her father, the family set about finding a solution to the problem of her ruined social status. In the very small social circles of the upper society in British Florida, Row's affair with Catherwood was well-known, thus limiting her chances of achieving a respectable marriage. If not for the intervention of her father, and their friend Governor Grant, the rumors stemming from her sexual indiscretions might have forfeited her place in the polite society of colonial British Florida once her peers labeled her as a woman of loose morals.[8] The newly established social order of British East Florida might privately tolerate personal impropriety as colonists at least attempted to maintain some veneer of social and moral propriety in public.

Grant, a shrewd opportunist, viewed Row's social gaffe as the potential solution to a larger political conundrum he faced. In a blatant example of how women of the eighteenth century could be used for patriarchal purposes, Grant hoped to bind her family to that of William Gerard De Brahm, a prestigious royal official, who recently had arrived in St. Augustine. Grant wanted De Brahm to become a part of East Florida's fledging social order in the belief that a person of his rank would help attract other influential immigrants to the colony. Grant made the following proposal to De Brahm and John Row. If De Brahm would consent to wed Miss Row, Grant would personally negotiate the marriage contract and give both De Brahm and John Row his own "sacred promises of... friendship and assistance."[9] Grant further sweetened the deal with the promise of other colonial appointments for Row, his son, and De Brahm. Both De Brahm and Row, eager to accept Grant's offer of power, influence, and social prestige, agreed to bargain. Miss Row's marriage to De Brahm would act as a final confirmation of

8. Governor Grant saw Miss Row's situation as an opportunity that could solve one of his larger problems—how to keep William Gerard De Brahm in St. Augustine after the death of his first wife, Wilhelmina, who had died in February 1765. Obituary, *Georgia Gazette*, February 21, 1765. De Brahm, a German who had arrived in St. Augustine the previous year from Georgia, lived with his only child, a teenage daughter named Wilhelmina Inoxina De Brahm. De Brahm's daughter had been baptized on November 11, 1752, making her age approximately thirteen at the time of her arrival in East Florida. Mrs. R. W. Hutson, ed., "Register Kept by the Rev. Wm. Hutson, of Stoney Creek Independent Congregational Church and (Circular) Congregational Church in Charles Town S. C. 1743-1760," *The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* 38, no. 1 (January 1937): 30.

9. Abridgement of Governor Grant's Deportment Against the Surveyor General William Gerard.

everything to which the men had agreed. But none of the men thought to consult the would-be bride, who emphatically rejected De Brahm's proposal several times before she accepted after experiencing more than a year of De Brahm's tenacious wooing.[10]

Miss Row's story indicates that the experiences of white European women who lived in the British Floridas were more complex and the nature of their thoughts and experiences much more intricately tied to the social and political fabric of the colonies than historians have previously argued.[11] The limited historiography has confined the experiences of women in British Florida to one of two extremes. A romanticized or glamorized historiographical view perpetuates the notion that women who lived in British Florida were all "ladies [who] were charming, well traveled, gowned in panniered silk with excellent jewels" and spent all their time attending various "balls and social assemblies."[12] As such, the contributions women made to the establishment of colonial order and its eventual success were limited. A practical historiographic view that downplays the varied contributions of women to the colonies contends that "as was typical for almost any frontier community, women were scarce in

10. The reasons why Miss Row rejected De Brahm's initial proposal are unknown. Perhaps she did not envision herself marrying a man more than twice her age. De Brahm was born on August 12, 1718, making surveyor forty-seven at the time of his courtship of Miss Row. Louis de Vorsey Jr., "East Florida on the Eve of the Revolution," in *Eighteenth-Century Florida and Its Borderlands*, ed. Samuel Proctor (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1975), 82. Maybe she did not feel comfortable accepting so sudden an offer of marriage from a man she hardly knew to satisfy the politically expedient purposes of others. De Brahm made his first formal proposal of marriage to Miss Row the same week that he began to court her. Schafer, "The Diary of Governor James," 85-86. Possibly she was so still upset over Catherwood's rejection of her that Miss Row was in no mood to receive De Brahm's public courtship of her when he came to call on February 12, 1766, a mere week after Catherwood's embarrassment at the hands of Miss Row's father. Schafer, "The Diary of Governor James," 85-86, 90.

11. A major study of women who lived in Florida during the British years has yet to be published. The only secondary sources that make scant reference to the experiences of women who lived in British Florida can be found in Lucy Worthington Blackman's *The Women of Florida*. Blackman claims to devote several pages of her narrative to the subject. In reality, Blackman's comments on women in the period amount to brief references about the Turnbull colony at New Smyrna and broad commentary on the fate of all Loyalists in British Florida during the years of the American Revolution. See Lucy Worthington Blackman, *The Women of Florida, Volume One: The Narrative* (Jacksonville, Fla.: The Southern Historical Publishing Associates, 1940), 49-53.

12. Marjory Stoneman Douglas, *Florida: The Long Frontier* (New York: Harper and Row, 1967), 109.

British Florida."[13] Such scarcity, according to this latter view, indicates that the experience of women in British Florida was not different from those of other women living on the colonial frontier and thus merits no further study. Both extremes are false. As a result, the question must be asked . . . who were the women who voluntarily immigrated to Florida during the British years, and what were their experiences while living there? This study seeks to identify and consider how the most common experiences of British women who immigrated to East and West Florida in the 1760s and 1770s shaped their daily lives. It also hopes to establish a foundation from which other scholars may consider future questions related to the complex socio-cultural development of East and West Florida in a growth and development cycle permanently interrupted by the British defeat at the end of American Revolution when British dominion in the Floridas ended.[14] However, before the consequences of the British defeat at Yorktown on East and West Florida can be fully assessed, the British victory at Havana during the French and Indian War must be acknowledged. Without the British victory in Cuba in 1762, the birth of the British colonies of East and West Florida never would have occurred.

The British capture of Havana harbor on August 13, 1762, ensured that the Spanish, allies of the French, would have to make substantial concessions to the British at the Paris peace negotiations if they wished to regain undisputed control of the highly prized island of Cuba. The concession named by the British as the key to the return of Cuba to the Spanish was Florida.[15] Throughout the early 1700s, Great

13. J. Leitch Wright, "Floridians Toast King George III," in *Born of The Sun*, eds. Joan E. Gill and Beth R. Read (Hollywood: Florida Bicentennial Commemorative Journal, 1975), 15.

14. It is necessary to use a qualitative approach to complete an initial assessment of the experiences of women in British Florida because the socio-cultural trends only last for a twenty-one year cycle. It is not possible to employ a broad demographic approach to the study of women in British Florida because British control of the colonies lasted for only one generation, between 1763 and 1784. While some limited statistical analysis may be possible to measure specific demographic trends within the twenty-one year period, such as birth, death, immigration, and emigration, and property ownership rates, a firm historiographical foundation regarding the social history of women in the British Floridas must first be established via a narrative framework. For the use of historical narrative as a tool of social historians, see, Frank Ankersmit and Hans Kellner, eds., *A New Philosophy of History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995).

15. Fred Anderson, *Crucible of War: The Seven Years' War and the Fate of Empire in British North America, 1754-1766* (New York: Vintage Books, 2001), 504-506.

Britain had wished to obtain Florida as a colony of its own with the goal of cementing an entire continent of British hegemony in colonial North America. The Treaty of Paris (1763) that ended the French and Indian War allowed the achievement of that goal by the British. The British government immediately hoped to remake the former Spanish territories in the images of its new colonial brethren, i.e., the southern colonies of Virginia, Maryland, the Carolinas, and Georgia.[16] British women, imported from Great Britain itself, often via other colonies, would play a key role in this process. British women offered, in the words of Kathleen Wilson, "civility, refinement, and sensibility . . . on behalf of the common good" as governmental and military officials sought to make East and West Florida the latest success stories for the expansion of British imperial power and prestige.[17] As a result, the acquisition of Florida by the British in 1763 began a new opportunity for British women during the late eighteenth century.

The common social and cultural backgrounds of white women who immigrated to the British Floridas between 1763 and 1775 stemmed from the fact that most were born and resided for many years in Great Britain. The majority of the women possessed some level of basic literacy with many of the female family members of governmental officials and military officers having received enough education that they could maintain regular correspondence with distant family members, read the Bible and other literary works, as well as calculate basic arithmetic. Many of these women also received training in the "feminine" arts of music, dancing, sewing, cooking, and housekeeping. Although women had differing levels of piousness and religiosity, almost all the women in colonial British Florida were members of Protestant denominations, with the majority being members of the Church of England. While not all of these women were a part of the oldest, richest colonial elite social circles, many of

16. The seminal works on East Florida during the British years are, the classic monograph, Charles L. Mowat, *East Florida as a British Province, 1763-1784* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1943) and the more recent work, Daniel L. Schafer, *St. Augustine's British Years, 1763-1784* (St. Augustine, Fla.: St. Augustine Historical Society, 2002). The most important works on West Florida during the British years include the classic work, Cecil Johnson, *British West Florida, 1763-1783* (1942; repr., New Haven, CT: Archon Books, 1971), and the more recent work, Robin F.A. Fabel, *The Economy of British West Florida, 1763-1783* (Tuscaloosa.: University of Alabama Press, 1988).

17. Kathleen Wilson, "Empire, Gender, and Modernity in the Eighteenth Century," in *Gender and Empire*, ed. Philippa Levine (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 20.

them came from economically prosperous families of English, Scottish, or Irish heritage. Many of these women shared kinship relations with other prominent families in bustling colonial ports such as Boston, Charleston, New York, and Philadelphia. In addition, Miss Row's demographic background supports this profile given her birthplace of Edinburgh in Scotland, her family's established ties to the colony of Maryland, and her father's professions as a mathematician and land surveyor.[18] The complex story of Miss Row's arranged marriage further shows how social historians may reconstruct the complex intertwining of public and personal affairs in a small demographic population that thrived on gossip and innuendo.

During the years of British supremacy in East and West Florida, the population of each colony remained relatively modest.[19] It is difficult to make an accurate determination of the British population in the Floridas during the early years of settlement, before the American Revolution flooded both East and West Florida with Loyalist refugees, as the British never conducted an official census of either province. However, most estimates place the population of East Florida at around 3000 individuals, approximately 1000 white settlers and 2000 African or mulatto slaves, during the pre-Revolutionary years.[20] The initial population of West Florida, con-

18. Abridgement of Governor Grant's Deportment Against the Surveyor General William Gerard.

19. One of the preeminent historians of British East Florida, Charles L. Mowat, categorizes the development of the province into two distinct phases, 1763 until 1775 marking the colonial era of East Florida under British control while 1775 until 1784 remains firmly the province of Revolutionary British East Florida. This study follows Mowat's model of dating the phases of British control in East Florida. See Charles L. Mowat, "St. Augustine Under the British Flag, 1763-1775," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 20, no. 2 (October 1941): 131-150.

20. Most estimates of the population of East Florida between 1763 and 1775 are based upon the figures of collected in William Gerar De Brahm's *History of the Three Provinces.* De Brahm estimated in the late 1760s that East Florida had a permanent population during this period of approximately 3000 people. William Gerald De Brahm, *De Brahm's Report on the General Survey in the Southern District of North America*, ed. Louis De Vorsey Jr. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1971), 180-186. John R. Dunkle further refines and elaborates upon this number in his demographic study on of St. Augustine, placing the white population of the province at about 500. See John R. Dunkle, "Population Change as an Element in the Historical Geography of St. Augustine," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 37, no. 1 (July 1958): 10-13. The population of Pensacola in West Florida is harder to estimate, but according to his survey records, royal engineer Elias Durnford estimated the population of West Florida in 1774 to be approximately 3100, including slaves, after almost a decade of growth. See Johnson, *British West Florida*, 148-149. The population of East and West Florida both ignore the population demography of Native American women.

sisting of an even smaller community of immigrants to Pensacola than the limited number of men and women who arrived in St. Augustine in the 1760s, did not number more than a few hundred during the early years of British dominion. However, British women had a much more crucial role to play in the success or failure of Great Britain's new colonies than mere statistics. Beginning in late 1763, British women arrived in East and West Florida, initiating an immigration pattern that would last for twenty-one years. Upon their arrival in the capitals of St. Augustine and Pensacola, the first challenge women faced was navigating the infant social order of polite British society as it had been established on the southernmost frontier in colonial North America. Their task, hard to complete under ideal conditions, became even more difficult when combined with the deplorable living conditions the new émigrés faced.

Among the earliest arrivals in St. Augustine, the provincial capital of East Florida, was a woman named Mary Evans.[21] A native of Charleston, South Carolina, Mary had accompanied her first husband, a British soldier named Fenwick, when his regiment was transferred from Havana, Cuba, to St. Augustine in late 1764.[22] Upon disembarkation at the Castillo de San Marcos, hastily anglicized to the Castle Fort St. Marks, Evans, and a few other British women who accompanied their soldier husbands to East Florida found a city in ruins.[23] In a report to General Thomas Gage, one of the British military officers noted the "dilapidated state" of the city. Most of the abandoned houses were in very poor condition while gardens and streets were overgrown with weeds.[24] The conditions awaiting British

21. Testamentary Proceedings of Maria Evans - Deposition of Manual Solana, August 8, 1808, East Florida Papers, Bundle 302, No. 8, 173-175, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
22. Mary (Maria) Evans was born in South Carolina in 1730. Mary married twice more before she died childless at her plantation New Waterford, located approximately twenty miles outside of St. Augustine, on September 30, 1792. Evans is most famous for having lived in the González-Alvarez House—more famously known as the Oldest House—on St. Francis Street in St. Augustine. See Patricia C. Griffin, "Mary Evans: A Woman of Substance," *El Escribano* 14 (1977): 2-22, 106-117.
23. For more information on the transition of the evacuation of the Floridas by the Spanish and the arrival of the first British immigrants, see Robert L. Gold, *Borderland Empires in Transition: The Triple-Nation Transfer of Florida* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1969); and Wilbur H. Siebert, "The Departure of the Spaniards and Other Groups From East Florida, 1763-1764," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 19, no. 2 (October 1940): 145-154.
24. "Report on the State of East and West Florida." James Robertson to Thomas Gage. March 8, 1764 CO5/83 p. 137, National Archives/Public Record Office, London, Great Britain.

women who arrived in Pensacola, West Florida's capital, differed little from their East Florida counterparts. Elizabeth Digby Pilot, wife of an officer in the Thirty-First Regiment assigned to Pensacola, dismayed at the poor condition of the settlement in July 1765, wrote her opinions of the dismal conditions of her new home when she disembarked from her ship with six other women, wives of other regimental officers.[25] With the exception of the Governor's house, and perhaps three others in modest disrepair, the remaining dwellings were "miserable huts covered with palmettos."[26] Pilot and the other newcomers "suffered much from the heat, and other causes. Vermin etc. infested the place. A constant smell proceeded from a disagreeable weed which overran the ground. The reflection of the sun on the white sand was painful to the eyes... the soil was barren and not a blade of grass was to be seen."[27] Given the unpleasant, and thus depressing, state of the settlements in East and West Florida that greeted women like Maria Evans and Elizabeth Digby Pilot upon their arrival, it is not difficult to imagine how overwhelmed such women may have felt at the obstacles set before them by their families. The primary tasks assigned women mirrored the usual set of duties assigned to eighteenth-century British women: establish respectable British homes and contribute to the formation and development of a microcosm of polite British society despite its location in faraway outposts situated on the isolated and remote southern frontier of colonial North America.[28]

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25. Elizabeth Digby was born in 1742 in Geashill, County Laois, Ireland, to the Reverend Benjamin and Mary Jones Digby. Elizabeth Digby married Henry Pilot at Kilmalogue House, Portarlington, Ireland, on February 4, 1762. Henry and Elizabeth's children were: Catherine Mary (born in 1764 at Fareham, England, died at Pensacola, 1765), Jane (born March/April 1766 at Pensacola), Elizabeth (born December 3, 1768 at Pensacola), Judith Henrietta (born July 1770 at Pensacola), Mary (born and died in 1774 in Portarlington, Ireland, at the age of two months), Frances Oughton (born March 1775 in Manchester, England), and Henry Digby (born January 5, 1780 in Bideford, England, and died December 28, 1804). Elizabeth died in 1826 in Bath and was buried in Weston. See Elizabeth Digby Pilot, "'The Autobiography of Mrs. Elizabeth Pilot" (nee Digby) Born 1742 Died 1826 With a Concluding Memoir By Her Daughter Judith Henrietta Pilot and Notes on the Autobiography by P. L. Pielou," Unpublished Manuscript.
26. Pilot, "The Autobiography of Mrs. Elizabeth Pilot," 19-21. For more on the details of common architecture of British houses in Florida between 1763 and 1784, see Elsbeth K. Gordon, *Florida's Colonial Architectural Heritage* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2002), 147-214.
27. Pilot, "The Autobiography of Mrs. Elizabeth Pilot," 19-21.
28. For more on the nature of marriage and family in eighteenth century Great Britain, see Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England, 1500-1800* (New York: Harper and Row, 1977), 149-406.

When the Spanish had controlled Florida between 1513 and 1763, individuals lived in St. Augustine due to the city's designation as the colony's capital and its hosting of a permanent military garrison.[29] Men involved in governmental or military affairs brought their wives, daughters, and other female family members to St. Augustine during the years of the First Spanish Period.[30] This immigration trend continued under the years of British dominion, varying only slightly when the British split the single Spanish territory of Florida into two separate colonies. At that point, British immigrants also began residing in Pensacola. Theoretically, Pensacola remained equal in status to St. Augustine as a colonial capital and host to a permanent military garrison.[31] However, British women usually did not immigrate to East or West Florida unless they accompanied their husbands, fathers, sons, brothers, or other close male family members. A woman living in the Floridas without the presence of any close male family members in their households was an anachronism, but if such a circumstance did occur, it usually stemmed from the onset of widowhood.[32] By and large, British women who immigrated to East and West Florida in the first years of Great Britain's rule of its new colonies did so because of very specific and predetermined reasons.

The majority of the male population who came to Florida during the 1760s held appointments or maintained business relationships with the colonial government or the British military. As a result, when British men immigrated to the new colonies and

29. Charles L. Mowat, "St. Augustine Under the British Flag," 134.

30. For more on the experience of women during the colonization of New Spain, see Bruce A. Erickson, "Gender and Violence: Conquest, Conversion, and Culture on New Spain's Imperial Frontier," in *Gender, Race, and Religion in the Colonization of the Americas*, ed. Nora E. Jaffary (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007), 29-38. For an account of what life was like for women in Florida during the early eighteenth century and the last years of the First Spanish Period, see Jane Landers, *Black Society in Spanish Florida*, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999), 136-138; and Charles W. Arnade, "The Avero Story: An Early Saint Augustine Family with Many Daughters and Many Houses," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 40, no. 1 (July 1961): 1-34.

31. Clinton N. Howard, "Colonial Pensacola: The British Period, Part I," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 19, no. 2 (October 1940): 117.

32. The legal status of British women, particularly married British women, living in the southern colonies during the years of the first phase of British settlement in East and West Florida is discussed in-depth in Lorena S. Walsh, "The Experiences and Status of Women in the Chesapeake, 1750-1775," in *The Web of Southern Social Relations: Women, Family, and Education*, eds. Walter J. Fraser Jr., R. Frank Saunders Jr., and Jon L. Wakelyn (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1985), 1-18.

brought their wives, daughters, mothers, and sisters, a class distinction developed. The role that women played in St. Augustine's society thus reflected the relationship that their family shared with the colony's administration. For example, when Dorothy Murray Forbes arrived in St. Augustine in March 1769, she immediately found herself invited to the governor's house where James Grant constantly entertained close friends at dinner parties attended by the foremost members of the colony.[33] Forbes, newly wed to a leading church and governmental official in East Florida, was from a prominent Scottish family who owned homes in both Wilmington, North Carolina, and Boston, Massachusetts.[34] The twenty-four year old Forbes had moved from Boston to East Florida with her husband within a few weeks of their marriage in February 1769. Like many British women who immigrated to British Florida between 1763 and 1775, Forbes found herself faced with a drastically different environment, though the duties expected of her by men in East Florida differed little from those she had faced in Massachusetts.

The mindset that Dorothy Forbes possessed upon her arrival in St. Augustine in March 1769 mirrored the common state of mind that many women no doubt had when they immigrated to the Florida colonies. In a letter that Dorothy wrote to her aunt, dated six months after her arrival in St. Augustine, Forbes wrote that although she was "in a strange place," her family should not worry about her.[35] Forbes had spent the majority of her life in Massachusetts and North Carolina, and East Florida seemed strange to her. Bernard Romans, a surveyor who travelled throughout East and West Florida in the late 1760s and early 1770s, noted that "the manners and way of life

33. . Dorothy Murray Forbes to Elizabeth Murray Smith, September 8th, 1769, The Murray Papers, New York Historical Society, New York, New York; for more on Governor Grant's famous habit of holding lively social gatherings at the Governor's house, see Daniel L. Schafer, "The Diary of Governor James Grant Recorded in His Own Hand at the Governor's House in St. Augustine, Florida, from January 1, 1767 to March 6, 1767," *El Escribano* 41 (2004): 69-96.
34. Dorothy Murray was born on February 2, 1745, to James and Barbara Bennet Murray in D'alton House, Tower Hill, London, England. Dorothy died at Brush Hill, Massachusetts on June 11, 1811. She was buried in the tomb of her Aunt Elizabeth in the Old King's Chapel Burial Ground in downtown Boston. A brief treatment of Dorothy's life is interwoven with the details of her father's biography, James Murray. See Nina Moore Tiffany and Susan Inches Lesley, *Letters of James Murray, Loyalist*, ed. Nina Moore Tiffany (1901; repr., Boston: Gregg Press, 1972).
35. Dorothy Murray Forbes to Elizabeth Murray Smith, September 8, 1769, in *The Murray Papers* (New York: New York Historical Society).

of the white people in Florida, differ vary greatly from those in other provinces of America."[36] Romans observed that the common dresses worn by women "were [made of] light [fabrics] and are not very expensive" and applauded them for their "happy frugality" in dress.[37] Forbes, who had the luxury of immigrating to East Florida after women had been present in the colony for a time, faced a much easier transition process than her predecessors, but still must have needed time to adjust to her new home. She received assistance from other colonists who tried to help her acclimate to new surroundings and life in East Florida. In a letter written to her aunt a few months after her arrival in East Florida, Dorothy mentioned that she was met "with great friendship" and was particularly grateful to "the Chief Justice's [William Drayton] Lady, Mrs. Drayton."[38] The woman Forbes mentions in her letter to her aunt, Mary Motte Drayton, befriended Dorothy Forbes, perhaps because Drayton had found herself in Forbes' same situation not so long before and also wanted new companionship herself.[39] Both Forbes and Drayton were women who, by virtue of their husband's positions, could claim membership in the elite status of the most powerful group of women in the colony. In addition, they came from similar socio-economic and cultural backgrounds that may have made each more attractive to the other as a potential social companion. Forbes herself wrote to her aunt that she believed this to be one of the main reasons driving Mary Drayton's overtures of friendship as "our situation is alike, as she has left all her friends which makes her, I suppose, have a fellow feeling for me."[40]

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36. Bernard Romans, *A Concise Natural History of East and West Florida*, ed. Kathryn E. Holland Braund (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1999), 157.
37. Ibid.
38. Dorothy Murray Forbes to Elizabeth Murray Smith, September 8, 1769.
39. Mary Motte was born to Jacob Motte and Elizabeth Martin Motte on January 8, 1740 in South Carolina. Mary Motte married William Drayton of Magnolia Hall in Charleston, South Carolina on October 4, 1759. She gave birth to nine children: William (born July 6, 1760 in South Carolina and died May 9, 1764); Elizabeth (born August 16, 1761 and died young); Jacob (born November 20, 1762 and died August 11, 1806 in Charleston); Hannah (born March 18, 1764); Mary Charlotte (born August 19, 1766); William Percival (born September 30, 1768 and died May 23, 1769); Sarah Motte (born May 29, 1773 and died July 9, 1843 in Philadelphia); Thomas (born 1775 and died July 1, 1794); and William (born October 20, 1776 in St. Augustine and died January 17, 1846 in Philadelphia). Mary died on May 19, 1778 and was buried at a cemetery in Ramsgate, England. See Emily Heyword Drayton Taylor, "The Draytons of South Carolina and Philadelphia," *Publications of the Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania* 8, no. 1 (March 1921): 1-27.
40. Dorothy Murray Forbes to Elizabeth Murray Smith, September 8, 1769.

While many women who lived in the British Floridas had to contend with weighty tasks, such as "civilizing" the colonies by establishing polite society, the actual physical landscape of Florida itself could and did color their everyday life. East Florida was the only peninsular colony of Great Britain's North American colonies, a fact that affected the women's travel. Women who moved back and forth between the provinces had to deal with fear of the wilderness and Indian attacks if they traveled overland between St. Augustine and Pensacola. As a result, most women traveled by military ship. Naval transportation brought a completely new set of fears for women who might have to contend with the very real possibility of experiencing mutiny, shipwreck, and even piracy when they travelled by water.[41] Rebecca Walker Durnford, wife of Elias Durnford, royal engineer and the lieutenant governor of West Florida from 1769, survived a terrible mutiny on November 11, 1773, while travelling aboard the *Earl of Sandwich Packet* from Pensacola to England.[42] During a particularly rough patch of weather, the ship's crew started drinking and caused general mayhem as they broke into various containers in the ship's cargo hold. Durnford was one of the earliest to realize the crew was about to mutiny when some of their ilk forcibly entered her cabin, and she was "thrown out of the berth, with the bed-clothes twisted around her . . . [onto] a large black trunk. . . . "[43] Durnford and her family eventually were rescued by another ship bound for Nova Scotia, but not all colonial women were as lucky in the same situation.[44] Somewhat less harrowing than enduring a mutiny, but no less terrifying, were the frequent reports of shipwrecks sporad-

41. For a more detailed account on the complex nature of privateering in the waters off the coast of colonial Florida, see Joyce Elizabeth Harman, *Trade and Privateering in Spanish Florida, 1732-1763* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2004); and Wilbur H. Siebert, "Privateering in Florida Waters and Northwards in the Revolution," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 22, no. 2 (October 1943): 624-73.

42. Rebecca Walker was the daughter of Philip Walker of Lowenstoft in Suffolk, England. She married Elias Durnford on August 25, 1769, in London at the Church of St. James in Westminster. After the loss of her eldest son, Elias William, Rebecca went on to have eight more children: Elias Walker (1774); Philip (March 31, 1780); Charlotte (1782); Thomas William (1784); Caroline (1787); George (1788); Maria (1790); and Harriet (1794). Elizabeth died on April 5, 1810 at Charlemont in Ireland. See Leora Sutton, *Women in Pensacola, 1765-1965* (Pensacola, FL: 1966), 1-4.

43. Mary Durnford, *Family Recollections of Lieutenant General Elias Walker Durnford* (Montreal: 1863), 11.

44. Durnford, *Family Recollections*, 11.

ically mentioned throughout the correspondence of General Frederick Haldimand to General Thomas Gage. One notation dated January 28, 1768, mentions a shipwreck that involved 233 people, primarily women and children, off the Grand Cayman Island en route to St. Augustine.[45] A second and slightly less serious shipwreck occurred in November 1769. One of four ships transporting troops of the 9th Regiment out of East Florida wrecked approximately 60 miles north of St. Augustine. Sixty-three women and children were fortunate to suffer only injuries and no loss of life.[46] One of the more rare experiences a woman might endure while at sea en route to or from East or West Florida regarded piracy. Although it was more commonplace for British women in Florida to have firsthand experience as the victim of a privateer, it was not unusual for their family to also benefit from such a profession. The husband of Mary Port Macklin, John Macklin, became involved with several privateer expeditions at the behest of Governor Patrick Tonyn.[47] Tonyn, who had replaced Colonel James Grant as governor of East Florida in 1775, encouraged John Macklin to raid American ships after Macklin took command of the privateer *Polley* in the early years of the American Revolution. However, such risk was not without danger as John Macklin, and subsequently Mary, found out when John's ship disappeared during one of these raiding expeditions in the mid-1770s. He was never heard from again.[48]

While it is probable that John Macklin died as a result of some unrecorded naval skirmish, his unknown fate hints at the fact that other possible explanations for his disappearance may exist. As Wilbur H. Siebert in his study of privateering in Florida during the American Revolution notes, the second most common reason some privateers

45. General Frederick Haldimand to General Thomas Gates, November 28, 1769, Sir Frederick Haldimand: Unpublished Papers and Correspondence, 1758-1784, microfilm, 69/70/191.
46. Ibid.
47. Mary Port was born in Southampton, England on August 6, 1751, to Richard and Mary Port. She married John Macklin on November 25, 1770, on the Isle of Guernsey. When the British evacuated East Florida in 1784, Mary left St. Augustine with some of her neighbors, the Lindsay Family. She settled in the Bahamas. In the later years of her life, Mary wrote her memoirs, entitled "The Life of Mary Port Macklin, 1751-1823." Shortly thereafter, Mary died in 1823. See Daniel L. Schafer, "The Memoir of Mary (Port) Macklin," *El Escribano* 41 (2004): 106-117.
48. Schafer, "The Memoir of Mary (Port) Macklin," 111-114.

never returned home was because of the weather.[49] It is just as likely that John Macklin's ship was sunk by rough seas and poor weather as it was that he encountered enemy vessels. Uncertain weather patterns dominated Florida during years of British dominion. During the late eighteenth-century, Florida was prone to a very active hurricane season in the late summer and early fall months, just as it is today. It was during Elizabeth Digby Pilot's tenure in St. Augustine in September 1769 that a severe tropical storm or hurricane ravaged the coast near St. Augustine.[50] The experience clearly terrified Pilot, who described the storm as "...a violent tempest... attended with heavy rain."[51] During the hurricane, Pilot and the whole settlement feared for their lives. "The whole camp was in an uproar. The soldiers' huts were mostly blown down, the women and children were running out screaming with consternation. Then men were all in confusion, and a scene of sad devastation presented itself."[52] When the storm ended, Elizabeth's home was badly damaged by strong winds, forcing her to rebuild her house in the aftermath of the hurricane.[53] A lack of adequate housing added a new dimension of deadliness that women faced while living in East and West Florida as exposure to the elements increased the likelihood that a woman might contract some unexpected illness.

The high probability that women might contract at least one disease, or suffer from at least one serious illness while living on the British frontier, made Florida an even more difficult place for them to make their homes on a permanent basis. Some British women believed they could spend no more than a few years in the region, usually due to Florida's warm climate and the adverse effects such tropical weather often had on their lives. Temperatures in Florida often were quite uncomfortable to individuals who immigrated to East or West Florida from the cooler temperatures of the New

49. Siebert, "Privateering in Florida Waters," 64-73.
50. The hurricane season of 1769 was a particularly active one, as noted by Bernard Romans, who wrote that "if a hurricane was ever known in this Peninsula, it was on the 29th of October, 1769." See Romans, *A Concise Natural History of East and West Florida*, 90. For more information on the historical record of hurricanes that affected East and West Florida during the British period, see David Ludlum, *Early American Hurricanes, 1492-1870* (Boston: American Meteorological Society, 1963), 48-51, 62-73; Matthew Mulchaly, *Hurricanes and Society in the British Greater Caribbean, 1624-1783* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006), 198; and Jay Barnes, *Florida's Hurricane History*, 2nd edition (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 39-44.
51. Pilot, "The Autobiography of Mrs. Elizabeth Pilot", 43-44.
52. Ibid.
53. Ibid.

England and mid Atlantic colonies, to say nothing of those individuals who immigrated directly from the British Isles.[54] Additionally, life on the frontier was not suited to maintaining very hygienic living conditions. Men and women who lived in East and West Florida were subject to many of the same hazards that Floridians face today—namely, large swarms of insects, including disease-carrying mosquitoes and ticks, vermin, and various types of reptiles, like snakes and alligators. Insects, vermin, and reptiles, particularly those that helped spread diseases such as malaria and yellow fever, posed serious health risks. Virulent outbreaks of other sicknesses, such as cholera, dysentery, and small pox, were not unknown in either Pensacola or St. Augustine. Of the six women who accompanied Elizabeth Pilot to Pensacola from Havana in July 1765, all six died during an outbreak of some type of "malignant fever," most likely yellow fever, which ravaged Pensacola between late 1765 and early 1766. While Pilot herself, and her husband Henry, survived the illness, their infant daughter, Catherine Mary, and many others, including General Henry Bouquet, commander of all British troop in the southern colonies, did not.[55] Pilot observed that "coffins could not be got to bury the dead. One was procured which was called the Orderly Coffin. This conveyed a body from the hospital or elsewhere to the burying ground, and when it was deposited

54. The various types of diseases and illnesses that were prevalent in East and West Florida are discussed in-depth by Bernard Romans who he mentions no less than a dozen types of fevers that were quite commonly diagnosed in the colonies. See Romans, *A Concise Natural History of East and West Florida*, 222-241. For more information on the most common opinions held by British men and women about their fear of their health deteriorating due to living in the warm climates of Florida and the West Indies, see Karen Ordahl Kupperman, "Fear of Hot Climates in the Anglo-American Colonial Experience," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Series, 41, no. 2 (April 1984): 213-240; Laura D.S. Harrell, "Colonial Medical Practice in British West Florida, 1763-1781," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 41, no. 6 (Nov.-Dec. 1967); 539-558; Robert R. Rea, "'Graveyard for Britons,' West Florida, 1763-1781," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 47, no. 2, (April 1969): 345-364; and Robert R. Rea, "Life, Death, and Little Glory: The British Soldier on the Gulf Coast, 1763-1781," in *The Military Presence on the Gulf Coast*, ed. William S. Coker (Pensacola, FL: Gulf Coast History Humanities Conference, 1978), 21-35.

55. Pilot, "The Autobiography of Mrs. Elizabeth Pilot," 22-24. Henry Bouquet died on September 2, 1765, less than a month after his arrival in Pensacola, the capital of West Florida, where he was buried. For more on the biographical details of Henry Bouquet, see S.K. Stevens, Donald H. Kent, and Autumn L. Leonard, eds., *The Papers of Henry Bouquet, Volume 1: December 11, 1755 - May 31, 1758* (Harrisburg: The Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1972), xvi-xxviii.

there, returned for another, and so on. Death was so familiar that we met our friends with sad countenances, expecting to hear some new victim."[56] Other British settlements in West Florida suffered similar susceptibility to outbreaks of disease. In October 1770, General Frederick Haldimand reported to General Thomas Gage that six individuals had died at Mobile, including women and children.[57] For both the men and the women who lived in the British Floridas, death was an ever present fear.

However, while men faced the hazards of disease and illness in East and West Florida equally with their female counterparts, women often had to contend with these dangers in a weakened state if pregnant. Woman who lived in Florida during the British years greatly varied in age, although the majority of women seemed to have been in the middle of their childbearing years between the onset of puberty in their early teens and the onset of menopause in their forties. One study on the reproductive patterns of women in colonial America estimated that the first child born to a married woman arrived about sixteen months after her wedding while the last child would not be born until women approached menopause.[58] Twenty-four when she married, Forbes quickly become pregnant after her arrival in St. Augustine and gave birth to two children in rapid succession. James Grant Forbes was born on November 22, 1769, and John Murray Forbes was born on August 13, 1771.[59] It was during her first confinement that Forbes' friendship with Drayton solidified. Drayton, who had arrived in the province in 1765, was also pregnant when she met Dorothy Forbes. In a letter to her aunt Elizabeth, dated September 1769, Dorothy noted that "she does not lay in for a month after me, as she has a number of good servants, she is so kind as to offer me her nurse till she wants her, for there is none to hire in this place."[60]

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56. Pilot, "The Autobiography of Mrs. Elizabeth Pilot," 22.
57. General Frederick Haldimand to General Thomas Gates, October 7, 1770, Sir Frederick Haldimand: Unpublished Papers and Correspondence, 1758-1784, microfilm, 222/192/186. London. See Robert R. Rea, "'Graveyard for Britons,' West Florida, 1763-1781."
58. Richard W. Wertz and Dorothy C. Wertz, *Lying-In: A History of Childbirth in America* (New York: The Free Press, 1977), 2.
59. The Forbes Papers (Boston: The Massachusetts Historical Society, 1969), microfilm, Reel 45, Number 7, Folder 2.
60. Mary Motte Drayton gave birth to a son approximately three weeks after Dorothy wrote her father the letter and approximately five weeks before Dorothy's own delivery. The baby, William Percival Drayton, was born on September 30, 1768 and died May 23, 1769. Dorothy Murray Forbes to Elizabeth Murray Smith, September 8, 1769.

It is possible that due to the scarcity of formally trained medical personnel in St. Augustine, as the majority of practicing doctors were assigned to the military garrisons in both East and West Florida, Mary Evans acted as a midwife for the deliveries of both Forbes and Drayton. Pregnant women considered more than the level of medical skills possessed when selecting a midwife to attend their confinements: "As in England, the qualifications desired of colonial midwives stressed character."[61] Consequently, Patricia C. Griffin believes it "quite probable that Mary's wisdom and skill as a midwife was used exclusively by women of the English group."[62] Evans' reputation in East Florida was such that she " . . . was well known among the English as a midwife."[63] Later in life, Evans was able to take the significant earnings she had saved while working as a midwife and apply them towards her husband's dry goods store on the plaza in St. Augustine. Evans' skill was such that she had gained much " . . . fame as a midwife" by the 1780s.[64] Any relationship that Evans shared with women like Drayton and Forbes most likely strengthened over the course of several confinements. Colonial women commonly experienced multiple pregnancies. In the minds of residents like Forbes who contemplated giving birth in a frontier setting, mortality rates may have seemed higher for births taking place in St. Augustine or Pensacola. Both settlements were geographically isolated and possessed limited medical personnel specifically trained in obstetrics. Additionally, medicinal supplies may have been limited to the treatment of ill soldiers in garrison towns like St. Augustine thus limiting what was available for civilian women.[65] Such thoughts may have weighed heavily on the mind of Forbes when she found herself once more pregnant in the winter of 1771/1772. Three pregnancies in such a short span of time significantly weakened her health. Additionally, the fact that her

61. Jane B. Donegan, *Women and Men Midwives: Medicine, Morality, and Misogyny in Early America* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1978), 93.
62. Patricia C. Griffin, "Mary Evans: A Woman of Substance," *El Escribano* 14 (1977): 4-5.
63. Testamentary Proceedings of Maria Evans - Deposition of Bernardo Segui, July 13, 1808, East Florida Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
64. Testamentary Proceedings of Maria Evans - Deposition of Gaspar Papy, August 1, 1808, East Florida Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. and "Testamentary Proceedings of Maria Evans - Deposition of Jorge Flemming, August 1808," East Florida Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
65. Catherine M. Scholten, *Childbearing in American Society: 1650-1850* (New York: New York University Press, 1985), 21-22.

mother had died due to complications of childbirth, in a similarly inhospitable southern climate at their family's plantation in North Carolina, seemed to have haunted both Dorothy and her father. Other family members shared the concern for Forbes' well-being, particularly her aunt Elizabeth who wrote that the family was " . . . afraid that you will share the same fate your mother did."[66]

In December 1772, Forbes wrote to her father James Murray and informed him that she was pregnant for a third time and already quite ill in the early weeks of her first trimester. Murray hastened from North Carolina to St. Augustine and insisted that the Reverend John Forbes permit his wife to return to the family estate of Brush Hill in Milton, Massachusetts, to give birth. Milton was located just a few miles outside of Boston, and Murray insisted the medical care that Dorothy Forbes could receive there was superior to any offered in East Florida.[67] John Forbes reluctantly agreed.[68] However, arranging inter-colonial travel was not something that could be done quickly. Dorothy's father, Murray, did not arrive in St. Augustine to escort his daughter to Massachusetts until late March or early April 1773. By the time final preparations had been arranged, Dorothy was almost seven months pregnant. Her husband complicated the details surrounding her departure as Forbes did not wish Dorothy to take both their young sons north. In a letter to his sister, Dorothy's father James noted, "We are glad to send her and the children by a fine transport ship. . . . I have said children, but Mr. Forbes is so wrapt up in his eldest son, who is indeed a very

66. Elizabeth Smith to Dorothy Forbes, June 22, 1769, The Forbes Collection, Box 3 Folder, 38B, Baker Library, Harvard Business School, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

67. More physicians professionally trained in medical schools, including over a dozen who studied medicine in Europe, practiced in Boston during the 1760s and 1770s than in any other colony. Boston also had several hospitals and ready availability to medical drugs that were scarce on the southern frontier. Murray may also have worried that his daughter would not receive as much prompt attention given the fact that military personnel received first priority by army physicians in garrison towns like St. Augustine. For more on the status of medicine in colonial Massachusetts, see John B. Blake, "The Medical Profession and Public Health in Colonial Boston," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 26 (1952): 218-230; and Philip Cash, "The Professionalization of Boston Medicine, 1760-1803," in *Medicine in Colonial Massachusetts, 1620-1820: A Conference Held 25 & 26 May 1978 by the Colonial Society of Massachusetts* (Boston: The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1980), 69-100.

68. James Murray to Elizabeth Murray Smith, April 27, 1773, The Forbes Collection, Box 3, Folder 38B, Baker Library, Harvard School of Business, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

fine boy that he cannot find resolution to part with him."[69] Eventually, the divided family reached a compromise. Dorothy Forbes departed with her second son, John Murray Forbes, and her father in April 1773. The Reverend John Forbes remained in St. Augustine with the couple's oldest son, James Grant Forbes.[70] Dorothy Forbes never saw her husband again.[71] A heavily pregnant Dorothy reached Milton in May of that year.[72] Just a few weeks later, on June 11, 1773, she gave birth to her youngest son and final child, Ralph Bennet Forbes. Both mother and child survived the delivery.[73]

After the physically grueling experience of labor and childbirth, many women who were members of the colonial elite sought domestic help in tending the new baby and their houses while they convalesced.[74] The two most common forms of domestic help were indentured servants and African slaves. In the British Floridas, while some women may have employed indentured servants in a domestic capacity, it was much more common for British women to purchase female slaves to complete the same domestic tasks.[75] On the other hand, indentured servants remained widely popular with wealthy proprietors who bought the indentures of both men and women to the British Floridas for the express purpose of populat-

69. James Murray to Elizabeth Murray Smith, April 27, 1773.
70. Dorothy Forbes to Elizabeth Smith, May 10, 1773, The Forbes Collection, Box 3 Folder, 38B, Baker Library, Harvard Business School, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
71. Despite woeful pleadings on behalf of John Forbes to reunite their family, Dorothy chose to stay in Boston and Forbes was unable to get permission from the British government during the war to travel north to visit his family. Correspondence between Dorothy, Forbes himself, and other family members seem to indicate the couple became estranged over a number of issues, especially those of a financial nature. When the British began to evacuate St. Augustine in March 1783, John Forbes and his son boarded a ship for England, where Forbes believed he would have a better chance of arguing for reparations from the government for his lost land and property in East Florida. Unfortunately, within several months of his arrival in London, Forbes died of an unknown illness. John Forbes to Dorothy Murray Forbes, Summer 1783, The Murray Papers, New York Historical Society, New York, New York.
72. Dorothy Forbes to Elizabeth Smith, May 10, 1773.
73. Elizabeth Digby Pilot to Dorothy Murray Forbes, August 3, 1773, The James Murray Robbins Papers, Box 2, Folder 1773 Aug. - Dec., Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Massachusetts.
74. According to one assessment, "Managing a household with children was simply so difficult and exhausting that the last stage of pregnancy, delivery itself, and the postpartum period would weaken and even kill a woman if she also had to continue her chores without help." Wertz and Wertz, *Lying-In*, 3-4.
75. For more on the general status of slavery versus and indentured servitude in East Florida, see Wilbur H. Siebert, "Slavery in East Florida, 1776-1783," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 10, no. 3 (January 1932): 139-162.

ing newly established settlements in close proximity to the colonial capitals of St. Augustine and Pensacola. The most famous example of indentured servants imported to British Florida for the purposes of colonization is evidenced in Dr. Andrew Turnbull's settlement at New Smyrna.[76] Beginning in 1768, Turnbull recruited 1403 men, women, and children from several Mediterranean islands, including Minorca, as indentured servants.[77] While the Turnbull settlement at New Smyrna failed for a number of complex reasons within a few years of its founding, and its surviving population eventually sought refuge in St. Augustine, it hints at a very different experience that some females endured during their tenure in the British Floridas, as compared to the wives and daughters of the more elite colonial and military officials whose experiences have been previously discussed. What was life like for a female indentured servant in East and West Florida? The case of Denys Rolle's treatment of female indentured servants at his settlement at Rollestown serves as an excellent example of an answer to this question

Less famous than Turnbull's settlement at New Smyrna was Denys Rolle's attempt to build a settlement on the St. John's River, southwest of St. Augustine, at Rollestown, also known as Charlottia. Rolle had a very difficult time ensuring that his female indentured servants would stay on their assigned plantations and actually complete their work. He became frustrated, for example, in 1768 due to the behavior of one female indenture and asked Governor James Grant to intercede with the woman on his behalf. Annoyed, Grant complained to the Earl of Hillsborough, the British Secretary of State, that Rolle "thinks that it is in my power to make his [indentured] servants [at Rollestown] work."[78] Rolle exhausted Grant's lim-

76. For more on Turnbull's colony, see Carita Doggett Corse, *Dr. Andrew Turnbull and the New Smyrna Colony of Florida* (Jacksonville, Fla.: The Drew Press, 1967); and Kenneth H. Beeson, Jr., *Fromajadas and Indigo: The Minorcan Colony in Florida* (Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2006).

77. Patricia C. Griffin, "Blue Gold: Andrew Turnbull's New Smyrna Plantation," in *Colonial Plantations and Economy in Florida*, ed. by Jane G. Landers (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000), 40-42.

78. James Grant to the Secretary of State, August 12, 1768, CO5/549 p. 268-269, National Archives/Public Record Office, London, Great Britain. For more on the settlement of Rollestown, see Carl Bohnenberger, "The Settlement of Charlotia (Rollestown), 1765," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 4, no. 1 (July 1925): 43-49, Carita Doggett Corse and James Grant, "Denys Rolle and Rollestown: A Pioneer for Utopia," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 7, no. 2 (October 1928): 155-134; and "Rollestown," Unpublished Manuscript, PK Yonge Library of Florida History, Smathers Library Special Collections, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida, 1952.

ited patience when he asked the governor to take "charge as chancellor a young girl of sixteen or seventeen, who he brought out from England for the second time, because they quarreled and she was going to leave [Rollestown]."[79] Rolle believed that Grant should take a special interest in his pleas because the young woman shared some sort of distant, but familial, personal relationship to Rolle, as evidenced by the claim that the girl was "one of his . . . relations." [80] Begrudgingly, Grant intervened and convinced the young woman to stay at the settlement.[81] However, she later made good on her threat to abandon her post at Rollestown and violate the terms of her indenture when she and Rolle quarreled over "a few guineas for a gown."[82] The young woman's fate remains unrecorded, but her disappearance, for whatever reason, so upset Rolle that he retaliated against her by having a warrant immediately sworn out against her brother "under suspicion of stealing or carrying away a blanket from the village of Rolle."[83] The instability of their reliance on costly, white indentured servants eventually resulted in many British colonists in Florida favoring the use of African slaves.

The domestic relationship that British women shared with African slaves hints at the larger role enslaved men and women played in the growth and development of the colonial economy in Florida.[84] White British women often used slaves as domestic ser-

78. James Grant to the Secretary of State.
80. Letter, James Grant to the Secretary of State, August 12, 1768, CO5/549 p. 268-269, National Archives/Public Record Office, London, Great Britain.
81. Ibid.
82. Ibid.
83. Ibid.
84. Unlike the founding of other colonies such as Virginia and Maryland, relatively few indentured servants were employed in East and West Florida due to their relative expense. By the late-1760s, the popularity of utilizing cheaper African slave labor had grown to displace the hiring of indentured servants previously used in the foundation of early settlements like Rollestown in East Florida. See Lois Green Carr and Lorena S. Walsh, "The Planter's Wife: The Experience of White Women in Seventeenth-Century Maryland," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd. Series, 34, no. 4 (October 1977): 544-550; Lorena S. Walsh, "The Experiences and Status of Women in the Chesapeake, 1750-1775," in *The Web of Southern Social Relations: Women, Family and Education*, eds. Walter J. Fraser Jr., R. Franklin Saunders Jr., and Jon L. Wakelyn, (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1985), 1-18; and Mary Beth Norton, "The Evolution of White Women's Experience in Early America," *American Historical Review* 89, no. 3 (June 1984): 613-614; and Jack P. Greene, *Pursuits of Happiness: The Social Development of Early Modern British Colonies and the Formation of American Culture* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 124-151.

vants who were responsible for the various tasks usually assigned to nurses, maids, cooks, and nannies. Rebecca Durnford, for example, lived with the help of a single slave until the arrival of her first child, a son named Elias William Durnford, in 1770.[85] After the rough delivery of her second son, Philip, in March 1780, Durnford gave the baby to a mulatto maidservant named Charlotte to nurse.[86] Likewise, Elizabeth Digby Pilot was very pleased to be able to purchase a 14-year old "negro girl" for the price of £60 in 1767. An older slave woman owned by Pilot's friend, Mrs. Taylor, the wife of Colonel William Taylor, taught the girl to cook and to wash clothing. Pilot felt a kind disposition towards Emma, "(for such I called her), [as she] was tractable and mild, and became attached to me." A very religious woman, Pilot "endeavoured to teach her her prayers and to make her understand her moral duties . . . [for] she [and her soul] was, as it were, entrusted to me, as is every slave to their proprietors."[87]

Not all white women viewed their relationships with slaves in the same manner described by Elizabeth Pilot. For example, Dorothy Forbes believed that some slaves she encountered while living in East Florida were both brash and insolent. She took great offense at the behavior of one slave in particular, whom Dorothy referred to in her letters as "Miss Charlotte," and whom her husband John sold for £38 in the fall of 1769. After the sale, Charlotte refused to live at the home of her new owner and simply walked away from his house after Forbes had explained the terms of the sale. Dorothy described Charlotte as "a fool, a thief, and everything that is bad... [and she] goes about from house to house [in St. Augustine] and says she's a free women."[88] The evidence concerning Charlotte's legal status remains unclear. Her date and place of birth are unknown, and it is unclear how long Charlotte had lived in East Florida. Daniel L. Schafer has shown that the majority of slaves bought and sold in East Florida during the British period were imported directly from slave

85. The child was only a few months old before he died from "fits" on January 5, 1771. He was buried in a cemetery located only a few blocks west of the Durnfords' home on Albermarles Street in Pensacola. Register of Christenings, Pensacola, 1770, CO5/588 p. 139, National Archives/Public Record Office, London, Great Britain; and Register of Burials, Pensacola, 1770-1771, CO5/578, p. 253, National Archives/Public Record Office, London, Great Britain.
86. Durnford, *Family Recollections*, 22.
87. Pilot, "The Autobiography of Mrs. Elizabeth Pilot," 30.
88. Dorothy Murray Forbes to Elizabeth Murray Smith, September 8, 1769.

traders in Gambia and the Gold Coast.[89] While many British citizens in Florida hoped to procure African slaves who had been seasoned to life on plantations in the Carolinas and Georgia before their tenure in Florida, such slaves remained a scarce commodity. Instead, most slave owners had to make do with unseasoned slaves imported directly from Africa. Thus, it is possible, though unlikely, that Charlotte was a slave who had lived in Florida during the final years of the First Spanish period.

If Charlotte had lived as a slave under Spanish law, her legal status and rights have changed dramatically under British law. Indeed, the legal standing slaves possessed in Spanish dominions and their lack of comparable rights under the British system had long been a major point of contention between the two empires. Throughout the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries, Spanish Florida had served as a haven for slaves who ran away from the Carolinas and Georgia.[90] It is possible that Charlotte's refusal to accept Forbes' sale stemmed from a legacy of different forms of colonial slavery practiced by two empires. Dorothy may have been unaware of Charlotte's notion of her freedom since slaves who had lived in Florida under Spanish law were unused to the particulars of British slavery. The mindset of slaves who lived in Florida during the colonial era would have been influenced by the lifestyle practiced at the free black settlement at Fort Mose, established approximately two miles to the north of St. Augustine during the First Spanish Period in 1738. The legacy of freed and runaway slaves who had abandoned Fort Mose in 1763, but who did not entirely leave the province when the Spanish departed from Florida that year, may have been transmitted to slaves brought by the British to Florida during their years of dominion. As it is impossible to discern Charlotte's origins, if she

89. Daniel L. Schafer, "'Yellow Silk Ferret Tied Round Their Wrists': African Americans in British East Florida, 1763-1784," in *The African American Heritage of Florida*, eds. David R. Colburn and Jane L. Landers (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1995), 76-81.

90. For more on the role that Spanish Florida played as a slave refuge for runaway slaves from British colonies during the First Spanish Period, see Shane Alan Runyon, "Fort Mose: The Free African Community and Militia of Spanish St. Augustine" (master's thesis, Montana State University 1999); Bennie Wilton Howe, "The Fugitive Slave Problem in South Carolina and Florida, 1670-1769: A Contrast in Attitudes" (master's thesis, Ohio State University, 1961); and, Ashley S. Green, "'Either We Must Take St. Augustine or St. Augustine Will Take Us'—The Significance of Florida as a Sanctuary: Slave Runaways from South Carolina" (master's thesis, University of Colorado, 1995).

did live in Florida under the Spanish system of slavery prior to 1763, Forbes' negative assessment of her may have stemmed from her perception of a slave mindset that Charlotte could have possessed which differed from that held by slaves who were only used to the type of slavery practiced by Great Britain.[91]

Those who might discount Forbes' assessment of Charlotte's behavior merely on the basis of racial prejudices possessed by a white woman should consider her treatment of other slaves owned by her family. Forbes apparently did not view all slaves as useless, as she took a slave named Juba to assist her during a return trip to Boston when seven months pregnant in the summer of 1773. After their arrival at her aunt's home in Milton, she retained his services in Massachusetts for several years.[92] While the usage of African slaves did not seem to offer a moral dilemma for Forbes, other issues could pose religious concerns for both Forbes and other women who lived in the British Floridas.

Colonists who lived in East and West Florida responded to issues of religion, and subsequently morality, in various ways based on their religious denomination, upbringing, and the nature of personal relationships they established before their immigration to the Floridas. As a majority of the small populations of both colonies owed their existence to the government and/or military officials who brought their families to settle in the British Floridas, most men and women who immigrated there between 1763 and

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91. Encouraged by a different type of slavery that existed under Spanish law, slaves from British colonies often had fled to Fort Mose between 1738 and 1763 to seek their freedom. Under Spanish law, if slaves had converted to the Roman Catholic faith and had been married according to the Catholic rite, owners could not separate husbands and wives via separate sales. Families could not be arbitrarily broken apart. Slaves could also own and sell some forms of property under the Spanish legal code that dated to the thirteenth century. Jane Landers, *Black Society in Spanish Florida*, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999), 7-8. See Jane Landers, "Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose: A Free Black Town in Spanish Colonial Florida" in *Colonial America: Essays in Politics and Social Development*, Fifth Edition, eds. Stanely N. Katz, John M. Murrin, and Douglas Greenberg (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2001), 593-613; and Landers, *Black Society in Spanish Florida*, 66-67.

92. Dorothy Murray Forbes to Elizabeth Murray Smith, May 10, 1779, The Forbes Papers, Box 3, Folder 38B, Baker Library, Harvard School of Business, Boston, Massachusetts. Dorothy's slave, Juba, who had accompanied her from St. Augustine to Massachusetts in 1773, was still in the family employ as late as October 1775 when he is referenced in a letter from James Murray to his daughter concerning the running of the Brush Hill farm. See Tiffany, *Letters of James Murray*, 225.

1784 were of the Anglican faith. However, perhaps because of the increased demands on individuals in order to ensure mere survival on the colonial frontier, most men and women in the British Floridas demonstrated a somewhat less intense devotion to issues of formal religion and common morality as compared with their counterparts in other well-established colonial settlements. While the British government made provisions for the appointment of clergymen, like John Forbes, to the province as early as May 1764, the actual results of such provisions were slow to manifest.[93]

In 1765, while on a visit throughout what he called the "back-country" of the colonial South, Charles Woodmason, an itinerant Anglican minister, was shocked by the lack of religiosity and morality present in both St. Augustine and Pensacola. He was disgusted especially by a man who "calls himself a clergyman, patrols about this place [West Florida], and officiates occasionally."[94] Reverend Woodmason found this man, whose name goes unrecorded, and his attempts to minister to the British population of West Florida so distasteful that he even doubted the man's ordination. "He is such a disgrace to the character that even . . . [the colonists] . . . hold him in detestation," Woodmason claimed.[95] While no other residents of West Florida seemed to comment on Woodmason's individual charge, others did agree with his assessment of the lack of access to religious personnel. In 1767, Pilot lamented the death of the clergyman who had died in the same outbreak of illness that killed six wives of officers in the 31st Regiment assigned to Pensacola. Pilot observed that in Pensacola the "situation as to religious advantages was deplorable."[96] After his death, the British government was slow to appoint a replacement, and Pilot claimed

93. John Forbes was the first clergyman given a license to officiate in British Florida. The British government granted his license on May 5, 1764. However, the British government only licensed nine clergymen to officiate in both East and West Florida between 1764 and 1784. Forbes was the only minister who stayed in East Florida during the British period as "the others stayed a short time and moved to other fields or returned to the mother country." See Edgar Legare Pennington, "Reverend John Forbes (—— 1783)," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 8, no. 3 (January 1930): 165. In the absence of these licensed clergymen, British residents in Florida had to rely on the services of ministers assigned to the military garrisons of the British army.

94. Charles Woodmason, *The Carolina Backcountry on the Eve of the Revolution: The Journal and Other Writings of Charles Woodmason, Anglican Itinerant*, ed. Richard J. Hooker (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1953), 82.

95. Ibid.

96. Pilot, "The Autobiography of Mrs. Elizabeth Pilot," 25.

"there was no [other] clergyman in the province and no public worship. The Sabbath was not regarded, and alas! together with the forms, the reality of religion vanished."[97] Such a weak presence of religiosity, as observed by Pilot, seemed to coincide with her perception that the morality of the province had significantly degenerated as compared with the standards upheld in other colonies and Great Britain. Greatly bothered, Pilot could only isolate herself against moral contamination. "Vice prevailed, there were few virtuous women in this place [Pensacola], and alas! too many of the officers chose to have others to preside at their tables."[98] Raised the daughter of a staunch Protestant minister in Ireland, the pious Pilot lamented such open displays of immorality as "it prevented my visiting them" in a socially isolated environment where female companionship was limited.[99] Pilot could only engage in any type of socialization when decorum forced her to host these women at her own house, and she had to "appear ignorant" lest any slights or insults be perceived.[100]

Not all women who lived in the British Floridas seem to have been as bothered by such displays of perceived immorality as was Elizabeth Pilot.[101] Perhaps taking their cue from the aristocracy in Great Britain, most women viewed sexual liaisons outside of marriage as private affairs, not worth mentioning in polite conversation.[102] Governor George Johnstone and Governor Patrick Tonyn were known to have kept mistresses without upsetting the social order. It was only when such private affairs became blatantly public, as in the case of the Catherwood/Row debacle in 1766, that gossip upset the veneer of social order polite society attempted to maintain in the British Floridas.[103] Somewhat resigned to this phenomena, more pious women like Elizabeth Pilot observed what they considered to be shameful behavior in silence, noting only that " . . . such are the trials to which a delicate woman is exposed in a military life."[104]

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97. Ibid.
98. Ibid.
99. Ibid.
100. Ibid, 25-26.
101. For more on the commonly accepted standards of morality in the British colonies of North America, see Martha Saxton, *Being Good: Women's Moral Values in Early America* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2004).
102. Stone, *The Family, Sex, and Marriage in England,* 329.
103. Schafer, "The Diary of Governor James Grant," 83.
104. Pilot, "The Autobiography of Mrs. Elizabeth Pilot," 26.

Pilot's condemnatory commentary on the relaxed religious mores and morality that seemed to pervade the settlements at St. Augustine and Pensacola is somewhat unusual in that its assessment appears to be an opinion held by a small percentage of the population. It appears that other women who lived in the British Floridas did not view such personally intimate relationships as immoral behavior that threatened the religiosity of the settlement. Due to the scarcity of ordained religious personnel who could conduct wedding ceremonies in the frontier provinces, many British women may have engaged in forms of common law marriage that more prim women, like Elizabeth Digby Pilot, did not recognize. Thus, when combined with the notion that the majority of women living in East and West Florida may not have cared about the personal affairs of others beyond stories serving as a source of gossip, or, more likely, because they did not wish to waste their limited free time lamenting something they could not change, affairs of personal morality were usually consigned to the realm of individual concern. While gossiping was a favorite pastime of many women, other pleasant opportunities to pass away hours during the days and nights came in the form of participating in leisure activities that they found enjoyable and realistically able to afford given their socioeconomic status. The class of "better sorts" of people was small in the Floridas, such demographic considerations thus limiting who could be invited to gatherings in St. Augustine or Pensacola.

In East Florida, Governor Grant was famous for the dinner parties he hosted between his arrival in St. Augustine in 1764 and his departure from the colony in 1771. Only those individuals, including women, who did not challenge the status quo within the settlement, were accepted as welcome additions to the colony. In January 1767, Grant described the details of one such gathering when he noted "an assembly was held for the second time at the Sergeant Majors, cards played, a dance was thought of . . . three bottles of claret and half a bottle of Tenerife [Spanish red wine] was drunk."[105] One woman Grant rarely invited to his parties was named Susannah Woolridge. Married to Thomas Woolridge, a government official who held the offices of provost marshal, fort adjutant, and barrack master of St. Augustine, Susannah Woolridge arrived in East Florida in January 1767.[106] In a letter to Andrew

105. Schafer, "The Diary of Governor James Grant," 73.
106. Mowat, *East Florida as a British Province*, 20.

Turnbull, Governor James Grant wrote that when Woolridge dined with another colonial official, she revealed that "she was of the Whitfield [Methodist] sect" and wanted to convert others to the new church that had been founded during the Great Awakening.[107] After a month of Woolridge's continued "Puritan" conversion efforts, Grant became so frustrated that he described her in his personal diary with a passionate vitriol. "Mrs. Woolridge abuses the country and will continue to do so. She is an inconsistent bitch and will go home, the sooner, the better to get rid of her."[108]

The castigation of Susannah Woolridge by Governor Grant, perhaps because of her attempts in Florida to gain converts to the Methodist church, hints at the perilous fate suffered by some women when their families' fortunes challenged those held by the colonial officials in East and West Florida. If colonial officials, particularly the royal governor or lieutenant governor, desired to make things difficult for any individual and their family within the colony, that person's ability to make positive progress could be severely derailed. For example, despite the good will of Governor James Grant expressed upon Miss Row's marriage to William De Brahm in 1767, his pledge of "ever-lasting friendship" did not long survive the newlyweds' honeymoon. In the years after the marriage, De Brahm and Grant clashed over a number of issues related to De Brahm's position as surveyor of the province to the extent that Grant eventually unceremoniously suspended De Brahm from his position October 4, 1770. Row was forced to leave East Florida in order to accompany her husband to London where De Brahm defended himself to the Board of Trade against Grant's charges in hopes of being returned to his position.[109] Grant's successor as governor of East Florida, Patrick Tonyn, was equally contentious in forcing the exile of William Drayton during a similarly fractious political conflict stemming from a complex mire of intertwined issues involving land speculation, Drayton's displeasure at Tonyn's appointment as governor in 1774, and deteriorating conditions at Andrew Turnbull's New Smyrna plantation. Unlike Miss Row, who

107. Andrew Turnbull to James Grant, January 24, 1767, in "The Letters of Dr. Andrew Turnbull," ed. Daniel L. Schafer, *Florida History Online*, http://www.unf.edu/floridahistoryonline/Turnbull/letters/2.htm (accessed October 20, 2010).

108. Schafer, "The Diary of Governor James Grant," 89.

109. Louis de Vorsey Jr., ed., *De Brahm's Report of the General Survey in the Southern District of North America* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1971), 36-44.

lived to return from London to North America with her husband in 1775, the heightened political tensions that her husband faced in East Florida weighed heavily on Mary Drayton.

Between mid-1774 and early 1776, Mary Drayton's already fragile health rapidly began to deteriorate. Having given birth to a baby boy named William on December 30, 1776, the political conflict between her husband and Governor Tonyn added much stress to her situation and slowed her recovery. Eventually, Mary's Drayton's failing health, combined with the mounting pressures of the Drayton/Tonyn feud, caused the Draytons to leave the colony. As his youngest son was still an infant when his parents departed for England in March 1778, William Drayton decided to leave the baby in St. Augustine under the care of one of his close friends, Dr. Andrew Turnbull. His wife, Maria Gracia Turnbull, a Greek woman, had befriended Mary Drayton during the years they lived in St. Augustine. It was Turnbull and his wife who cared for William Drayton during his early childhood, reinforcing the bonds of friendship that Maria Gracia Turnbull and Mary Drayton had once shared. Ultimately, Mary Drayton died shortly after royal officials heard her husband's case and vindicated him.[110]

While women such as Mary Drayton shared both the rewards and punishments of their husbands' political careers in the British Floridas, few women ever became directly involved with political affairs in East or West Florida. One notable exception occurred amongst a select group of women, the wives and close family relations of some of the most prominent and power colonial officials in the British Floridas, who developed an interest in such personally profitable pursuits as land speculation. For example, during their years in West Florida, both Elias and Rebecca Durnford accumulated large tracts of land. An act passed by the West Florida colonial assembly at Pensacola on May 19, 1770 provided married women, known as *feme coverts* under English common law, a limited amount of freedom regarding property.[111] Given the geographic isolation

110. For more information on the infamous Drayton-Tonyn squabble, see William Drayton, An Inquiry into the Present State, and Administration of Affairs in the Province of East- Florida; with Some Observations on the Case of the late Chief Justice there, Entry 37, The Peter Force Papers, Series 8D, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

111. An Act For Preventing Fraudulent Mortgages and Conveyances, For Enabling *Feme Coverts* to Pass Away Their Estates, and For Making Valid Deeds of Bargain and Sale, May 19, 1770. Robert R. Rea and Milo B. Howard Jr., *The Minutes, Journals, and Acts of the General Assembly of British West Florida* (University: University of Alabama Press, 1979), 377-379.

of West Florida, and the potential long term absences from the colony by husbands, the West Florida General Assembly recognized that "the method of barring any *feme covert* of her right and inheritance or of her dower and thirds in any lands or tenements by fine not being practicable in America."[112] Instead, as long women who wished to conduct business transactions did so with the "acknowledgement" of the Chief Justice, or in his absence, the colony's "senior Assistant Justice of the General Court of Pleas" women could convey certain types of property.[113] In early 1772, Rebecca Durnford applied herself for a tract of land in the western region of the colony. Located on the farthest edges of West Florida's frontier at a place called Thompson's Creek, located just across the river from the Spanish-controlled French settlement at Point Coupeé, the colonial governor granted the requests of Durnford and five other women for land allotments of 1000 acres, in their own names, on July 28, 1772.[114] By the early 1780s, the Durnfords, both husband and wife, possessed substantial landholdings in the colony.[115] The fortunes of the Durnfords and other families in the British Florida would be changed drastically by the shifting winds of the imperial crisis in the years immediately before the outbreak of the American Revolution. However, in the 1760s, the threat of war remained relatively unrealized by British women who busied themselves by passing the time by engaging in other diversions.

112. Rea and Howard, *The Minutes, Journals, and Acts*, 377-379. For more on the legal pedigree of women's property rights under English common law in both Great Britain and the colonies, see Amy Louise Erickson, *Women and Property in Early Modern England* (London and New York: Routledge, 1993), 3-20; and Marylynn Salmon, *Women and the Law of Property in Early America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989).
113. Rea and Howard, *The Minutes, Journals, and Acts*, 377-379.
114. Mary A. Petersen, "British West Florida: Abstracts of Land Petitions," *Louisiana Genealogical Register* 18, no. 4 (December 1971): 37; and Gordon M. Wells, ed. "British Land Grants—William Wilton Map, 1774," *The Journal of Mississippi History* 28 (1966): 156. Also see Robin F.A. Fabel, "Boom in the Bayous: Land Speculation and Town Planning in the Florida Parishes Under British Rule," in *A Fierce and Fractious Frontier: The Curious Development of Louisiana's Florida Parishes, 1699-2000*, ed. Samuel C. Hyde Jr., 44-59 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2004); and Cecil Johnson, "The Distribution of Land in British West Florida," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* 16, no. 4 (October 1933): 539-553.
115. For more on the issue of land speculation in British Florida, see Charles L. Mowat, "The Land Policy in British East Florida," *Agricultural History* 14, no. 2 (April 1940): 75-77; Cecil Johnson, "The Distribution of Land in British West Florida," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* 16, no. 4 (October 1933): 539-553; and Cecil Johnson, "A Note on Absenteeism and Pluralism in British West Florida," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* 19, no. 1 (January 1936): 196-198.

Immigrants used to the bustling social scenes of cities like London, Boston, and Charleston no doubt felt isolated in the small social circles of life on Florida's frontiers. Many women embraced socialization opportunities during the evenings as their daytime responsibilities usually consisted of chores vital more to their families' well-being than similar domestic concerns in the Floridas' sibling colonies. The nightlife of the British Florida offered settlers a brief respite from the harsh demands of colonial life. Nights also provided a tangible reminder that a more "civilized" and "cultured" life did exist. Singing, dancing, playing cards, drinking fine wine, and, of course, gossiping proved to be pleasant ways to pass the time in the esteemed company of others during the evenings. However, during the daytime hours, as their men governed the colony, women often spent their day occupied with new domestic concerns. For example, British women who lived in East and West Florida spent much time learning to cook with the Indian citrus fruit. The quality of one's orange marmalade, for example, was a mark of status in the colony for its wonderful taste and medicinal value.[116] Dorothy Murray Forbes bemoaned to her aunt in Massachusetts in 1769, when she sent a gift of two pots of preserved oranges, that "as I am but a learner, I fear they will not be so good as I could wish, but hope my next performance will be better."[117] Not surprisingly, some of the most powerful and affluent women tired of their monotonous domestic tasks. Occasionally, when the weather was fine, issues of domesticity would be set aside when the women decided to join their husbands on pleasure jaunts into the country that could last for several days, perhaps recalling the favored pastoral retreats so popular amongst the gentry in Great Britain during the same period. Elizabeth Digby Pilot recorded her experience during one visit to the Huguenot settlement at Campbell Town in 1767.[118] "We made a party in summer to see it and were pleased

116. Governor Grant noted that the marmalade given to him by one Mrs. Cunninghame, the wife of Dr. Henry Cunningham, physician to the garrison, assistant judge, and deputy commissary general of stores and provisions, was "very good," but "rather thick." Schafer, "The Diary of Governor James Grant," 80.

117. Dorothy Murray Forbes to Elizabeth Murray Smith, September 8, 1769.

118. Campbell Town was a small settlement built on the Escambia River by French Huguenot settlers in 1765. Located approximately 10 miles from Pensacola by overland travel, or twenty miles travelling by river. See J. Barton Starr, "Campbell Town: French Huguenots in British West Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 54 (April 1976): 532-547.

with the situation . . . " having travelled there via barge. Her close friend, Rebecca Blackwell, accompanied Pilot. While there, they " . . . enjoyed a pleasant week" during which they visited nearby Indian settlements, put on impromptu musical concerts where Pilot played her guitar, and ate fresh game caught by their husbands.[119] Women who did not have as much money as some of the "better sorts" of women in British Florida socialized on a smaller scale, as their economies allowed. For example, although it was located far beyond the protection offered by the city walls of St. Augustine, Mary Port Macklin was quite fond of visiting the Spring Gardens—today's Fountain of Youth Archaeological Park—to take Sunday tea with female friends.[120] Such polite niceties, however, could be instantaneously interrupted if the safety of the settlement walls was needed in short order.

Usually a healthy trade-based economy ensured that at least cordial, if not friendly, relations were maintained between the British and the local Indians in both East and West Florida particularly after Governor George Johnstone in West Florida and Governor James Grant in East Florida held successful Indian congresses in the mid-1760s. Trade between the British and the Creeks and the Choctaws was especially significant to the inhabitants of Pensacola. Fearing that they might be contaminated by the "savage barbarity" of the Indians, British women who lived in East and West Florida would have isolated themselves from Indian women.[121] Elizabeth Digby Pilot, while never interacting directly with the Indians, often observed them from a distance when they came to the settlement to trade wild game, such as venison and wild fowl. Pilot noted that the Indians traded goods "for which they sometimes were given money, but preferred rum."[122] She also observed that sometimes the Indian women accompanied the men on their trade excursions to Pensacola, especially when the Indians received rum as payment because it was considered "a horrid sight to see an Indian drunk, for they howl and tumble about, and would be very mischievous, but their wives on these occasions steal from them all their weapons whereby they might injure themselves or others."[123]

119. Pilot, "The Autobiography of Mrs. Elizabeth Pilot," 28-29.
120. Schafer, "The Memoir of Mary (Port) Macklin," 112.
121. Daniel S. Murphree, *Constructing Floridians: Natives and Europeans in the Colonial Floridas, 1513-1783* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2006), 102-107.
122. Pilot, "The Autobiography of Mrs. Elizabeth Pilot," 29.
123. Ibid.

Pilot then added, in a seemingly resigned admiration that "all laborious work they [the men] leave to the women, as is ever the case in uncivilized society."[124] In addition to coming into contact with Indians, international politics shaped the experiences of British women in East and West Florida. Even before the American Revolution unofficially began in April 1775, the constant threat of warfare provided another major concern for women living in colonial Florida, as the British colonies were considered geographic locales of frontier/borderland interactions.[125] East and West Florida, the former north-easternmost portion of the Spanish empire, was a crossroads in the international Atlantic world.[126] As a result, inhabitants of East and West Florida, including women, also dealt with the fear of border skirmishes with the French and Spanish. The British relationship with their French and Spanish neighbors was extremely complex and inconsistent. Elizabeth Digby Pilot, while living in Pensacola, and thus in close proximity to the majority French population in Spanish-controlled New Orleans, noted that she "was made uneasy by some apprehension of war with Spain" while the French inhabitants in the city welcomed some of Pilot's friends, like Rebecca Blackwell, to join them in celebrating carnival in the city in 1766.[127]

The initial phase of colonial growth and development in the British Floridas would be drastically interrupted in 1775, when shots were exchanged between the Massachusetts militia and British regulars in far-off Lexington and Concord. Almost overnight, Florida's first phase of social development, one colored by an emphasis on colonization and the establishment of British society within East and

124. Ibid.

125. A common definition of the term 'frontier' is offered by Jeremy Adelman and Stephen Aron. Adelman and Aron define 'frontier' as "a meeting place of peoples in which geographic and cultural borders were not clearly defined. A common definition of 'borderlands' is also offered by Adelman and Aron who define that term as a place of "the contested boundaries between colonial domains." See Jeremy Adelman and Stephen Aron, "From Borderlands to Borders: Empires, Nation-States, and the Peoples in Between in North American History," *American Historical Review* 104, no. 3 (June 1999): 815-816.

126. For more information on the complex relationship shared by the British and Spanish empires from a diplomatic and militaristic perspective—from both the perspective of Florida and other North American settlements—see, J.H. Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in America, 1492-1830* (New: Yale University Press, 2006).

127. Pilot, "The Autobiography of Mrs. Elizabeth Pilot," 30-31. For more on this common colonial frontier/borderlands phenomena, see Daniel Usner, *Indians, Settlers, and Slaves in a Frontier Exchange Economy* (Chapel Hill.: University of North Carolina Press. 1992).

West Florida, ended and the second phase began. Between 1775 and 1783, East and West Florida underwent a process that saw Great Britain's fourteenth and fifteenth colonies become havens for displaced Loyalists from other southern colonies as the American Revolution continued to drag on into the 1780s.[128]

During the American Revolution, Elizabeth Pilot's fears finally were realized when the Spanish launched a massive assault against the British and their holdings along the Gulf Coast. The Spanish commander, Bernardo de Gálvez, began a three-month siege of the city of Pensacola in March 1781.[129] The British Governor of West Florida, Peter Chester, wrote to Gálvez on March 21st, inquiring as to "the protection and security of women and children against the calamities of war," noting that such a goal had always been viewed "by cultured nations [like Spain and Great Britain] as the primary object."[130] Gálvez's response to Chester's plea was a gallant reaffirmation of Spain's desire to protect non-combatants. Gálvez promised Chester that he would "give the most rigorous orders to the troops and sailors in the expedition under my command, that should not cause them the least extortion."[131] On occasion, a woman's terror about the horrors of war could overlap with her fears about childbirth. In March 1780, shortly before Gálvez commenced

128. For more on the role of East and West Florida in the American Revolution, see J. Leitch Wright Jr., *Florida in the American Revolution* (Gainesville.: University Presses of Florida, 1976); William H. Siebert, *Loyalists in East Florida* (DeLand: The Florida Historical Society, 1929); and J. Barton Starr, *Tories, Dons, and Rebels: The American Revolution in British West Florida* (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1976).

129. For more on Gálvez's campaign in the final years of the American Revolution, see Overton G. Canong, "Spain's Role in the American Revolution," *El Escribano* 13, no. 2 (1976): 51-56; John Walton Caughey, *Bernardo de Gálvez in Louisiana, 1776-1783* (Gretna, LA: Pelican Publishing Company, 1972); Bernardo de Gálvez, *Yo Solo: The Battle Journal of Bernardo de Gálvez during the American Revolution*, ed. and trans. E.A. Montemayor (New Orleans, LA: Polyanthos, 1978); Virginia Parks, ed., *Siege! Spain and Britain: Battle of Pensacola, March 9-May 8, 1781* (Pensacola, FL: Pensacola Historical Society, 1981); James W. Raab, *Spain, Britain, and the American Revolution in Florida, 1763-1783* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, 2008); N. Orwin Rush, *Battle of Pensacola: Spain's Final Triumph Over Great Britain in the Gulf of Mexico* (1966; repr., Port Salerno, FL: Florida Classics Library, 1981); James A. Servies, ed., *The Siege of Pensacola, 1781: A Bibliography* (Pensacola, FL: John C. Pace Library, 1981); and Maria Fernandez Snitzer, *Bernardo de Gálvez and His Role in the American Revolution* (Violet, LA: Los Isleños Heritage and Cultural Society, 1996).

130. Gaspar Cusachs, ed. and trans., "Bernardo de Gálvez Diary of the Operations Against Pensacola," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* 1, no. 1 (January 1917): 55.

131. Ibid., 56.

the attack against Pensacola, Spanish forces laid siege to the settlement of Mobile. Elias Durnford, West Florida's lieutenant governor, held command of the British outpost at Fort Charlotte. Durnford's wife, Rebecca, who was living with Elias at Mobile, was pregnant at the time of the battle and had to give birth on the floor of a hut within the fort. During her delivery, Durnford was "placed in a hut with two other ladies, one of who (afterward the clever and accomplished wife of Governor Johnstone) rendered her humane attention."[132] Her son, Philip, was born shortly thereafter on March 31st. [133] The experience of Rebecca Durnford during the birth of her son Philip illustrates how the challenges of childbirth and frontier warfare could simultaneously affect a woman, unlike her male counterparts.

As the southern campaign of Cornwallis' post-Saratoga war strategy made travel to and from East and West Florida perilous, British women only travelled to the colonies for one of two specific reasons. The most common reason women immigrated to Florida during the later years of the British period was to seek a safe haven. Those women fled with their families to East or West Florida to escape persecution for their Loyalist beliefs from Patriot-dominated colonies like North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. Elizabeth Lichtenstein Johnston, wife of Dr. Lewis Johnston, Jr., fled from her home in Georgia; she arrived in St. Augustine in the fall of 1782. "We arrived there safely [from Charleston] with many more Loyalists," Johnston wrote in her memoir during the final years of her life.[134] During her sixteen-

132. Durnford, *Family Recollections*, 22. There is some confusion as to the identity of the woman mentioned as having attended upon Rebecca Durnford during her delivery in 1780. While Mary Durnford links the woman to George Johnstone, such a connection is either a blatant mistake or extreme exaggeration. Governor George Johnstone left Pensacola in January 1767 and did not return. He married his only wife, Deborah Charlotte Dee, on January 31, 1782 in Lisbon, Portugal. It is highly unlikely that Dee was present in Pensacola over two years prior to her marriage to Johnstone. It is more possible, but not probable, that Martha Ford, a woman kept by Johnstone as his longtime mistress, was the woman who assisted in Rebecca Durnford's delivery in 1780. Johnstone and Martha Ford had at least five illegitimate children whom he acknowledged, including John, George Lindsay, James Primrose, Alexander Patrick, and Sophia Johnstone. See Robin F.A. Fabel, *Bombast and Broadsides: The Lives of George Johnstone* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1987), 165.

133. Durnford, *Family Recollections*, 22.

134. Elizabeth Lichtenstein Johnston, *Recollections of a Georgia Loyalist*, ed. Arthur Wentworth Eaton (1901; repr., Spartanburg, SC: The Reprint Company, 1972), 74.

month tenure as a Loyalist refugee in Florida, Johnston also noted that she found life in St. Augustine to be very pleasant as " . . . I never was in better health and indeed never was so fleshy as during my sixteen months' residence there."[135] Johnston arrived with a flood of other Loyalists who had helped to swell the relatively small population of East Florida from about 3000 to over 20000 during the final years of the Revolution.[136]

A second, but less common, reason a relatively limited number of British women journeyed to the Floridas during the war years resulted from Great Britain's agreement to cede the territories of East and West Florida back to Spain in return for the Bahamas, which Bernardo de Gálvez had captured on May 8, 1782, during the post-war peace negotiations. When it became clear that East and West Florida would not remain British colonies after 1784, and the Spanish government would return to govern its former colonies, many British settlers began to sell what land and tangible goods they could in anticipation of their impending necessary evacuation from the colonies in favor of other areas still controlled by Great Britain. Forbes was determined to take advantage of the eighteen-month period of evacuation that lasted from early-1783 until mid-1785 in East Florida in order to minimize her family's economic and property losses. When Dorothy wrote to her uncle, Dr. John Murray, who also lived in England, for advice on what to do concerning the compensation due to her as Forbes' widow, the answer she received was not very encouraging. "It is evident that when Mr. Forbes left St. Augustine his property was confiscated. There was not much more of personal effects than would pay his debts, for tho' he had a considerable landed property which in common with all the other inhabitants is now surrendered to the Spaniards by the government."[137]

Fiercely demonstrating her personal agency in the name of safeguarding her children's economic legacy, Dorothy decided to take matters into her own hands. Against her sons' wishes, Dorothy traveled with her youngest son, Ralph Bennet Forbes, to view the Florida holdings in the late spring of 1784. Thus, she was present when the Spanish government completed a census of St. Augustine that year. The census describes her as, "Forbes, Doña

135. Ibid., 74-75.

136. Johnson, *British West Florida*, 148-149.

137. John Murray Forbes to Dorothy Murray Forbes, January 27, 1784, The James Murray Robbins Papers, 1638-1899, Box 5, Folder 1769, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Massachusetts.

Dorothea, [a] widow [who] wishes to leave the country; she has a son and a female slave with her."[138] Unfortunately, Dorothy achieved little in Florida. "Here I have been better than two months, to very little purpose," Dorothy wrote to her sister Elizabeth.[139] Eventually, like many other British Loyalists faced with such overwhelming property losses during the final months of the evacuation of East and West Florida, Dorothy gave up and left Florida with hope of little recompense.[140]

The final British ship sailed from St. Augustine in June 1785, completing an eighteen-month evacuation that had begun when the Treaty of Paris was signed after the American triumph at Yorktown.[141] While the majority of British inhabitants, including Mary Port Macklin, chose to leave East and West Florida for various destinations such as Nova Scotia, the Bahamas, and Great Britain, some men and women chose to remain in Florida and live under Spanish dominion.[142] For example, Mary Evans remained in St. Augustine until her death on September 30, 1792.[143] While the era of the American Revolution and British dominion in the Floridas

138. Spanish Census of St. Augustine of 1783, East Florida Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

139. Dorothy Forbes to Elizabeth Murray Robbins, July 8, 1794, James Murray Robbins Papers, 1638-1899, Box 5, Folder 1784, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Massachusetts; James Murray to John Forbes, June 28, 1769, The James Murray Robbins Papers, 1638- 1899, Box 5, Folder 1784, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Massachusetts.

140. Despite the fact that a claim had been filed with the British government for the loss of approximately 5745 acres of rural property and three lots and houses in St. Augustine with a claimed value in excess of £5495 sterling, the government awarded Dorothy £817 sterling. Wilbur Henry Siebert, *Loyalists in East Florida, 1774 to 1778,* Volume 3 (Deland, FL: Florida State Historical Society, 1929), 360.

141. For more information on the transition of East and West Florida from British to Spanish control, please see Robert L. Gold, *Borderland Empires in Transition: The Triple-Nation Transfer of Florida* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1969); Carole Watterson Troxler, "Loyalist Refugees and the British Evacuation of East Florida, 1783-1785," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 60, no. 1 (July 1981): 1-28; Joseph B. Lockey, *East Florida, 1783-1785: A File of Documents Assembled, and Many of Them Translated* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1949); Helen Hornbeck Tanner, *Zéspedes in East Florida, 1784-1790* (1963; repr., Jacksonville: University of North Florida Press, 1989); Sherry Johnson, "The Spanish St. Augustine Community, 1784-1795: A Reevaluation," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 68, no. 1 (July 1989), 27-54; and Susan R. Parker, "Men Without God or King: Rural Settlers of East Florida, 1784-1790," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 69, no. 2 (October 1990): 135-155.

142. Schafer, "The Memoir of Mary (Port) Macklin," 116.

143. Griffin, "Mary Evans: A Woman of Substance," 59-62.

would end in 1784, their effects would continue to be felt by many women who had lived in East and West Florida for years to come.

In many ways, the lives of Mary Evans, Mary Motte Drayton, Rebecca Walker Durnford, Dorothy Murray Forbes, Elizabeth Lichtenstein Johnston, Mary Port Macklin, Elizabeth Digby Pilot, and Miss Row highlight the common profile of British women who immigrated to East and West Florida during the British period and their experiences. While the demographic profile of these women closely mirrored that of many of their counterparts who had immigrated to the southern colonies of Virginia, the Carolinas, Maryland, and Georgia during the late sixteenth, seventeenth, and very early eighteenth centuries, they did not equally reflect the lives of women who lived in the other British colonies during the same period. In a time when the Daughters of Liberty fueled their patriotic support for American independence during the years of the Imperial Crisis by fashioning homespun garments and drinking liberty tea created out of their own garden's cuttings, British women in East and West Florida struggled to create and perpetuate British society in colonies that had barely emerged from infancy before Massachusetts militia fired the famous Shot Heard 'Round the World on Lexington Green.[144]

144. The common profile of women who lived in British Florida most closely matches the results of the analysis of women who lived in the Chesapeake region during the seventeenth century conducted by Lois Green Carr and Lorena S. Walsh. First, white women had almost exclusively been born in Great Britain, i.e., England, Scotland, Wales, or Ireland. Second, if immigrant women remained in the colony for an extended period, they faced considerably shortened life spans due to illness and disease. Third, multiple marriages would often occur in an area where kinship relations were established within the colony as opposed to without. Fourth, and finally, more men than women immigrated to the colony affecting the population demographics. With the exception of Carr and Walsh's third consideration regarding marriage and kinship relations in colonial Maryland that simply did not have enough time to develop in the Floridas before the British defeat during the American Revolution permanently interrupted immigration to British Florida, their profile holds true for colonial British Florida between 1763 and 1784. Carr and Walsh, "The Planter's Wife," 542. For more on the lives of women who lived in the colonial south during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, see Lorena S. Walsh, "The Experiences and Status of Women in the Chesapeake, 1750-1775," in *The Web of Southern Social Relations: Women, Family, and Education*, eds. Walter J. Fraser Jr., R. Frank Saunders Jr., and Jon L. Wakelyn (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1985), 1-18; Kathleen M. Brown, *Goodwives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race, and Power in Colonial Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996); Debra Meyers, *Common Whores, Vertuous Women, and Loveing Wives: Free*

Between 1763 and 1784, colonial society in East and West Florida birthed a new microcosm of British colonial society. The rise and fall of British social and cultural norms in Florida represent a heretofore untapped resource that may help scholars of colonial America, imperial Britain, and the larger Atlantic world further understand the nature of life in British North America before the American Revolution. The historiography of colonial Florida has been one that much ignored the study of the social experiences of women who lived there and other gender issues for two reasons. Historians have overlooked the dominion of the British in the history of East and West Florida either due to an assessment that appropriate primary source materials remain scarce or an evaluation that the British era in the Floridas was too short in duration to merit significant study and consideration. This study of the experiences of women who lived in the British Floridas challenges that notion. It by no means seeks to serve as the definitive work on issues of gender in the British Floridas. Instead, it is hoped that this study will serve as a starting point from which more complex and nuanced questions about the role women played in shaping the social, cultural, political, and economic fortunes of Great Britain's fourteenth and fifteenth colonies can be asked and answered. Simply put, British women did live in East and West Florida between 1763 and 1784. It is now time that their lives and their contributions be reintegrated into the larger narrative of the eighteenth-century Atlantic world.

Will Christian Women in Colonial America (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003); Kirsten Fischer, *Suspect Relations: Sex, Race, and Resistance in Colonial North Carolina* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2002); Cara Anzilotti, *In the Affairs of the World: Women, Patriarchy, and Power in Colonial South Carolina* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2002); and Ben Marsh, *Georgia's Frontier Women: Female Fortunes in a Southern Colony* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2007).

Selling Seduction: Women and Feminine Nature in 1920s Florida Advertising

by Nicole C. Cox

In 1925, Tampa's Booster Record and Publishing Company debuted its latest jingle, "Tampa Steps Out," with words and music by Frank W. Salley. The song, and many others like it, promoted the state and the city of Tampa during the 1920s real-estate frenzy known as the Florida land boom. Following the United States' long booster musical tradition, Florida songbooks featured colorful pictorial covers designed to function as a sort of billboard depicting the region's charms and progress. City and state developers, hotel proprietors, real-estate salesmen, and other boosters engaged professional songwriters, including the renowned Irving Berlin, to develop original compositions that would highlight their communities.[1]

As portrayed by 1920s advertisers, women also played a specific role in Florida image and mythmaking, interacting with and frol-

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1. David Guion, "Booster Songs: Musical Manifestations of Civic Pride in American Towns and Cities," *Journal of American Culture* 5, no. 2 (Summer 1982): 56; and Eugene Rachlis and John E. Marqusee, "Flagler, Florida and Fantasy," in *The Landlords* (New York: Random House, 1963), 115.

In 1925, Frank W. Salley's song, "Tampa Steps Out," distributed by The Booster Record and Publishing Company, promoted Florida, the city of Tampa, and its environment as female. *Courtesy of Special and Digital Collections, University of South Florida, Tampa Library.*

icking in a human-constructed or imagined nature. Images of women and the "natural" environment graced the covers of booster songs and also surfaced in the lyrics. Salley's ditty "Tampa Steps Out" is one of the more remarkable examples of this advertising

technique. The cover features a younger, white woman with eyes closed carefully applying bright-red lipstick with her right hand. In her left, she holds an open compact with assorted feminine accoutrements. Instead of the woman's reflection appearing in the mirror, the picture shows a modern, developing city that presumably represents Tampa. A sunny sky backlights a scene replete with skyscrapers, a billowing smoke cloud, and construction.[2]

Juxtaposed with this image, the lyrics are even more revealing. Addressing those individuals who have heard about "Dixie" and "think she's grand," the writer professed, "Florida is Dixie's Sunny land Honey land." Tampa, surrounded by her "tropic splendors rare," served as the epicenter. Salley feminized the South, the state of Florida, and this city. If readers had any doubt that the woman personified Tampa, the lyricist reminded, "Miss Tampa always struts her stuff with Perfume paint and powder puff. Miss Tampa wears a winning smile and Winks her eyes in latest style."[3] Just as the woman on the cover applied lipstick to enhance her natural features, Tampa's citizens made improvements to the landscape by constructing a built environment with all of the natural beauty, industrial necessities, and solid reputation necessary to lure prospective investors. According to the song, these assets ensured the city's transformation from a "little hick town in 1898 to the largest town in the state" by 1925, although census data shows that Jacksonville's population still exceeded Tampa's population.[4] While shaping Florida's identity, the songwriter blurred the boundaries transcending gender, nature, and place, but also revealed his perceptions about the relationship between women and nature.

Composers of booster tunes like "Tampa Steps Out" joined the "vast army of press-agents who were feeding the fires of the vast inflation with an incendiary vocabulary of superlatives."[5] Advertisers like Salley deliberately and repeatedly marketed Florida and its environ-

2. Frank W. Salley, "Tampa Steps Out" (Tampa, FL: Booster Record and Publishing Company, 1925), Box 8, Florida Sheet Music Collection, Special Collections, University of South Florida Library, Tampa, Florida. Hereinafter cited as FSM Collection, USF Library.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.; Florida Department of Agriculture, *The fifth census of the state of Florida taken in the year 1925* (Tallahassee, FL: T.J. Appleyard, 1926), 83, in the Florida Heritage Collection Database.
5. Burton Rascoe, introduction to *Boom in Paradise*, by T. H. Weigall (New York: Alfred H. King, 1932), xiii.

ment as a feminized paradise where alluring women cavorted among equally enchanting landscapes. Although historians acknowledge the key role advertising played in the boom, few scholars have examined specific dimensions of the Florida image-making industry, the people who participated in it, and the myths they created.[6] Previous studies of the state in the 1920s have focused more on the phenomenal business aspects and real-estate ventures and not on the significance of or the potential meanings behind advertising.[7] Scholars examining 1920s advertising broadly, however, demonstrate that "as a cultural forum, advertising is one battleground upon which the much larger war of cultural constructions of gender is waged."[8]

To address this underexplored aspect of the state's land boom, this paper considers visual sources including sheet music, real-estate advertisements, and photographs, in addition to travel accounts, periodicals, and other booster publications. These ephemera provide insight into how advertisers, promoters, and boosters represented Florida's environment and the women who supposedly personified the state. Controlling Florida's imagery, these groups reinforced the subordinate status of the environment and women. The advertisers who marketed Florida did so through the male gaze—culturally constructing myths about the state that emphasized Florida's feminine environment and the omnipresence of attractive female figures in this environment.

The abundance of images from this period in Florida provides a visible example of the land boom's emphasis on aesthetics. Burton Rascoe, a journalist and literary critic observing the Florida mania assessed, "The Florida land boom, although it followed the general pattern of inflation and collapse that has characterized all money-mad mass manias, was unique in one respect. It was the only one that was founded upon an aesthetic ideal. . . . The Florida land boom had its beginning in a vision of beauty."[9] Florida nature

6. Tim Hollis, *Selling the Sunshine State: A Celebration of Florida Tourism Advertising* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2008), 1.
7. A notable exception that considers advertising is Gary R. Mormino, *Land of Sunshine, State of Dreams: A Social History of Modern Florida* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2005).
8. Margaret A. Hawkins and Thomas K. Nakayama, "Discourse on Women's Bodies: Advertising in the 1920s," in *Constructing and Reconstructing Gender: The Links Among Communication, Language, and Gender*, ed. Linda A.M. Perry, Lynn H. Turner, and Helen M. Sterk (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1992), 62.
9. Rascoe, introduction to *Boom in Paradise*, xi.

proved essential to this vision and embodied what environmental historian Jack E. Davis describes as the state's "living aesthetic—the indigenous and distinct flora, fauna, and climate that brought life and color to the landscape and gave the state its character apart from human creations."[10] This living aesthetic impressed John Kunkel Small, the botanist and taxonomist who traveled extensively in Florida before publishing *From Eden to Sahara* (1929) in which he warned about the destruction of this environment. Small described the state as "unique in its geologic structure, its geographic position, and its plant covering."[11] Over 3,000 species of temperate and tropical plants, more bird species than any other continental state, and an array of mammal, reptile, and amphibian species have been found in Florida. The state's climate also spans both temperate and subtropical zones; residents enjoy close proximity to sea water, over 30,000 estimated lakes, and a number of first and second-magnitude springs.[12]

Developers, salesmen, and advertisers, however, had no qualms about manipulating and engineering both the state's environment and its image in the interests of progress and profit. These individuals then marketed the finished product as "natural" Florida, reinforcing William Cronon's observation that nature "is a profoundly human construction."[13] In marketing campaigns, the frequency with which advertisers showed women in nature implied that beautiful females were native to Florida, like the state's flora and fauna, although many of these elements were non-native as well.

Recent works by environmental historians of Florida have focused on the state's mythic status, and Davis explains, "Florida is an imagined place. It has long been so, with outsiders historically acting as the creators of its image."[14] Matthew Klingle considers how differ-

10. Jack E. Davis, "Alligators and Plume Birds: The Despoliation of Florida's Living Aesthetic," in *Paradise Lost?: The Environmental History of Florida*, ed. Raymond Arsenault and Jack E. Davis (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2005), 236.
11. John Kunkel Small, *From Eden to Sahara: Florida's Tragedy* (Lancaster, PA: Science Press Printing Company, 1929), 5.
12. Jack E. Davis and Raymond Arsenault, introduction to *Paradise Lost?*, 9; and Charlton W. Tebeau and William Marina, "Natural Endowment and First Inhabitants," in *A History of Florida*, 3rd ed. (Coral Gables, FL: University of Miami Press, 1999), 3-6.
13. William Cronon, introduction to *Uncommon Ground: Toward Reinventing Nature* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1995), 25.
14. Davis, "Alligators and Plume Birds," 235.

ent groups throughout history invested spaces with meaning to create what they viewed as ideal places and concludes, "Place making is neither disinterested nor innocent. . . . Place is never incidental." [15] The individuals who created an imagined Florida during the 1920s were neither disinterested nor innocent. Instead, like their counterparts in other states, Florida's promoters sought to profit from their place making. Gertrude Matthews Shelby, a writer for *Harper's Monthly Magazine* who traveled to the state to witness the boom firsthand, discussed the overarching motivation for profit that fueled the "Florida Frenzy." It was "the smell of money in Florida, which attracts men as the smell of blood attracts a wild animal."[16] If money represented the ultimate motivator, images of women and nature seduced investors and ensured greater profits. In 1920s Florida, promoters embraced and blended the natural with the obviously artificial to achieve, if in image only, their vision of paradise.

Florida boosters were not alone in their efforts. According to historian William Deverell, white "city builders" in Los Angeles who held social, political, and cultural sway "worked diligently to *invent*" the ideal city of their dreams, inventing myths and reengineering and repressing history, places, and people.[17] As in Los Angeles, a similar group of boosters and businessmen created and controlled Florida's image in the 1920s. In their quest to market paradise, the men responsible for Florida's images employed the same tactics that Deverell described; repetition and typicality served as their guiding principles.[18] In his discussion on the deliberateness of image making, Deverell asserts, "What may seem like caricature today was critical repetition then, the construction of important and identifiable regional idioms explicitly designed to encourage capitalization, tourism, and settlement."[19] With similar aims, Florida's advertisers consistently feminized nature, the state, and its cities, speaking proudly of "Florida and her possibilities." [20]

15. Matthew Klingle, *Emerald City: An Environmental History of Seattle* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007), 4. While Klingle focuses on Seattle, his definition and discussion of place is important to my examination of Florida.
16. Gertrude Matthews Shelby, "Florida Frenzy," *Harper's Monthly Magazine*, January 1926, 177.
17. William Deverell, *Whitewashed Adobe: The Rise of Los Angeles and the Remaking of its Mexican Past* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 2, 5.
18. Ibid., 174.
19. Ibid.
20. Kenneth L. Roberts, *Florida* (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1926), 114.

Details about feminine Florida and its charms varied, but advertisers repeatedly depicted Florida and its nature as young, beautiful, active, and carefree. The images rarely conjured up a picture of a meek Victorian miss, but instead seemed to represent a 1920s "New Woman." Changing social norms and values greatly affected women during this decade. The ideal woman of the nineteenth century had been a pious, pure, domestic, and submissive Victorian paragon.[21] By the early twentieth century, however, the New Woman who embodied the passion of youth and leisure competed with her.[22] Advertising spread and developed the 1920s youth-centered culture through publicized events such as the 1921 swimsuit "beauty" competition in Atlantic City, New Jersey, which crowned the first "Miss America."[23] Women shortened their hemlines, bared their shoulders, painted their faces, and bobbed their hair. According to Lois Banner, the flapper "symbolized the fixation with youth as the ideal that would increasingly characterize modern America over the course of the twentieth century."[24]

In Florida, the number of progressive northerners and the beach setting's relaxed atmosphere facilitated the development of these changing gender ideas and roles. Changes in 1920s society, especially attitudes toward women, clearly influenced the techniques and strategies employed by advertisers marketing Florida nature. Promoters of Florida wanted prospective visitors, tourists, and male investors to believe that beautiful women existed as a feature of this paradise. The state's community builders achieved this image of paradise by enforcing gender stereotypes and hierarchies. In *The Lay of the Land* (1975), Annette Kolodny explores the American "yearning to know and to respond to the landscape as feminine," and identifies this tendency as the "American 'pastoral impulse.'"[25]

Florida's promoters perpetuated this impulse in the twentieth century through national advertising, which increased during the Coolidge era of prosperity. Frederick Lewis Allen, *Harper's Magazine* editor and chronicler of the 1920s, explained, "Mass pro-

21. Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860," *American Quarterly* 18, no. 2 (Summer 1966): 151.
22. Lois W. Banner, *Women in Modern America: A Brief History*, 4th ed. (California: Wadsworth Publishing, 2004), 2.
23. Hawkins and Nakayama, "Discourse on Women's Bodies," 61.
24. Banner, *Women in Modern America*, 71.
25. Annette Kolodny, *The Lay of the Land: Metaphor as Experience and History in American Life and Letters* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975), 8.

duction was not confined to automobiles; there was mass production in news and ideas as well."[26] Newspaper and magazine circulation soared and Florida became a featured subject. T.H. Weigall, a boomtime British visitor and ad-man, noted, "By the end of 1925 it was impossible to open a newspaper anywhere in the United States without finding some reference to Florida and Florida's activities."[27] Observers from *The Saturday Evening Post* and *The New Republic* talked incessantly about Florida, the boom, and the state's delightful environment. Kenneth L. Roberts, author of a Florida series for the *Post*, fell victim to Florida's siren call and wrote several promotional books about the state and its boom.[28]

Like other promoters, Roberts feminized Florida and "her" environment. He also described other states as feminine. For example, in an effort to dismiss what he believed to be false claims about Florida, Roberts depicted northern states as jealous gossipmongers and the source of nasty rumors about their southernmost sister. Roberts declared, "Florida is too young and fresh and active for these old and ancient Northern states, and she fills them with suspicion and distrust."[29] They whispered accusations about Florida being a "hussy," "trollop," and a shameless gold-digger in the same way more conservative women might have criticized flappers in the 1920s.[30]

Promoters seized upon the climatic differences between the state and its competitors to highlight Florida's enchantments and appeal to northerners weary of the cold. In his study of Miami as "the town that climate built—climate plus advertising," Victor Rainbolt considered the benefits of exploiting Florida's natural endowments for promotional purposes. He concluded, "Climate as an asset for a country's development may be as tangible in its value as the products of mine or field—if properly exploited."[31] Florida's advertisers submitted countless examples for the nation's admiration. In "Two Queens," a poem published in the Tampa

26. Frederick Lewis Allen, *Only Yesterday: An Informal History of the Nineteen-Twenties* (1931; repr., New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1957), 187-188.
27. Weigall, *Boom in Paradise*, 136.
28. Roberts, *Florida*.
29. Roberts, *Florida*, 323-324.
30. Ibid., 324.
31. Victor Rainbolt, *The Town That Climate Built: The Story of the Rise of a City in the American Tropics* (Miami, FL: Parker Art Printing Association, 1925), 46 and 133.

booster magazine *Suniland*, the Lady of the Lakes, representing natural Florida, emerged victorious over the Lady of the Snow, or the North. The Lady of the Snow was haughty, cold, and aloof: "She's frozen to the core, the outer edge may thaw, not more." Fortunately for cold residents spurned by this icy reception, the poem's protagonist—the Lady of the Lakes—managed to wrest "Winter's rule" and triumph with her "balmy breeze."[32]

Advertisers' manipulations of Florida's climate parallel Mike Davis's observation in *Ecology of Fear* that "even the weather (or, rather, its normative representation) is subject to ideological construction."[33] Although "Two Queens" portrayed a contest between different natural environments, the gendered representation of the Lady of Lakes versus the Lady of Snow suggested that women of these environments could be distinguished by regional attitudes and characteristics. Another booster song, "The Tourist in Florida" (1924), composed by Arthur Amsden of Saginaw, Michigan and marketed as a special "souvenir edition," described romantic and grand Florida that had the "sweetest perfume of Dixie land," and retained her golden locks while the "dear old North begins to freeze."[34] Through the advertisers' lens, the contest between Florida and the frigid North was not much of a competition.

The campaign grew more intense in other regions with warm, sunny climes. In *Sun Hunting* (1922), Roberts discussed Florida's rivalry with California for the title of "queen of winter resorts."[35] Although Stephen J. Whitfield maintains that Florida should be viewed as a "re-run" or as the "dubbed version" of California, Florida's boosters dedicated themselves to challenging the belief that the Sunshine State was a second-rate Golden State.[36] When jealous individuals from California impugned Florida's honor, perhaps by insulting Florida with complaints about the heat, mosquitoes, or hurricanes, none of which advertisers discussed, Florida's

32. Jessie Munns, "Two Queens," *Suniland*, September 1925, 25, Floridiana Collection, Special Collections, University of South Florida Library, Tampa, Florida. Hereinafter cited as Floridiana, USF Library.
33. Mike Davis, *Ecology of Fear: Los Angeles and the Imagination of Disaster* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 1998), 159-160.
34. Arthur Amsden, "The Tourist in Florida" (Saginaw, MI: Arthur Amsden, 1924), Box 6. FSM Collection, USF Library.
35. Kenneth L. Roberts, *Sun Hunting* (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1922), 129.
36. Stephen J. Whitfield, "Florida's Fudged Identity," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 71, no. 4 (April 1993): 433, 425.

citizens felt obliged to respond. Roberts claimed that her citizenry would "rise to defend the state's fair name; and the low, searing curses that are hurled against the foul detractor are warm enough to singe a hog."[37] In this context, Florida played a female character whose manly citizens preserved her honor.

Roberts also suggested that Florida acted out another stereotype—the manic and vindictive female. Florida especially appreciated negative press about California, in his view, and "smacks her lips over it with the keenest delight."[38] Roberts dramatically claimed that Florida also occasionally seized the opportunity to "slip a knife into her hated resort rival, California; and when the chance occurs, the air is filled with a deadly swishing sound, due to the violence with which the knife is inserted."[39]

Roberts also chose not to portray Florida as a timid or demure lady. Instead, he implied that Florida, its environment, and the women who lived there could be beautiful, but also wild. The cover of a September 1925 issue of *Suniland* reinforced this image, featuring three female pirates dressed in formfitting men's clothes and oversize boots. One woman held a cigarette while another leaned on a gun. Seated on the open treasure chest, the central figure surveyed its contents.[40] Although the women's gender identity appears transgressive, the female figures remain visually appealing.

Another article in *Suniland* summarized the important relationship between feminine Florida and its environment: "Up and down her 1,200 miles of coast the Sunshine State always has plenty of breeze to cool her beaches and then sweep on its refreshing way over her jewel cities."[41] Charles Donald Fox, one of Florida's visitors and esteemed defenders, found the state's geographic positioning alluringly feminine. He framed the setting for readers: "[The state was] bathed in the caresses of the southern sun and embracing seas, wooed by the warm waters of the Gulf Stream."[42] Fox even claimed that "stripped of much of the glamour with which hundreds of her well meaning press agents have clothed

37. Roberts, *Sun Hunting*, 128.
38. Ibid.
39. Ibid.
40. *Suniland*, September 1925, Floridiana, USF Library.
41. S. M. Shelton, "Purely Informal: In Which It Is Shown That Florida Has No Dog Days," *Suniland*, October 1925, 71-73, Floridiana, USF Library.
42. Charles Donald Fox, *The Truth About Florida* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1925), 3.

her, Florida, just as she really is, presents a pleasant enough appearance to make her most attractive."[43] She might have been a Hollywood starlet whose press agents deliberately crafted her public image, yet underneath the glitter, were qualities that even a moderately talented ad-man could exploit successfully.

Both male promoters and visitors described various aspects of Florida and its charms as they might describe their sweetheart. Florida coaxed, beckoned, and cajoled, offering "sheltering palms and nature's arms."[44] The state's feminine environment could make travelers forget any bad experiences that might have occurred during their stay such as real-estate deals gone awry or encounters with swindlers. Advertisers and visitors chronicled bittersweet departures from Florida as one might describe saying goodbye to their love. Rainbolt compared leaving Miami to the passing of a summer day, and lamented: "We remember only her sweetness, the outdoor joy she brought us, the crimson of her sunsets, the rose of her sunrises, the breath of her flowers, the song of her birds—the warmth of her sun!"[45]

Florida's advertisers and boosters feminized most of the state's attributes, whether native or human constructed. The state possessed "palms, beautiful and curving," "gentle breezes, soft and laden," "haunting fragrance of tropic scents," "velvet-smooth streets," "curving boulevards," and "purest water."[46] Boosters even drew attention to fish, feminizing and sexualizing mullet and tarpon. Roberts noted how "the mullet fling themselves in playful ecstasies."[47] A *Suniland* feature on Florida tarpon fishing captured one fisherman rhapsodizing about his lucky catch: "Six feet of the most beautiful creature that lives."[48] The caption of one hooked and leaping tarpon read, "A twisting, gyrating body garmented in glistening silver and enveloped in a cloud of sparkling diamonds."[49] To the fisherman and the writer, the tarpon embodied

43. Ibid.
44. Abel Green and Jesse Greer, *Florida* (New York: Robbins and Engel, 1925), Box 6, FSM Collection, USF Library.
45. Rainbolt, *The Town That Climate Built*, 135-136.
46. Reginald T. Townshend, "Along the American Riviera," *Country Life*, January 1926, 35-37; Roberts, *Florida*, 219; Advertisement for Lake Alfred *Suniland*, January 1925, 4-5, Floridiana, USF Library.
47. Roberts, *Florida*, 129.
48. Joseph Mickler, "A Fisherman's Paradise: Where Truth Is Much More Vivid Than Fiction," *Suniland*, April 1925, 45, Floridiana, USF Library.
49. Ibid., 48.

grace, beauty, and fighting prowess, but men ultimately won the fight by managing to land a silver tarpon.[50]

Beyond rod and baited hook, imagery allowed men to control the environment. Feminized depictions of Florida nature appeared more often than advertisements using masculine language. The latter, however, had the same results. An advertisement for Moore Haven, Florida, appealed to a specific, masculine audience: "red–blooded, two-fisted, stand-up-and-work sort of a fellow." If "you glory in the 'strike' of a big ol' ten-pound black Bass as he tries to masticate your 'pet' lure," then Moore Haven wanted you to settle there. This description of a black bass showed a completely different way to depict Florida fish. Just as men could control sexualized and feminized mullet and tarpon, they proved capable anglers of brutish bass. Moore Haven did not simply appeal to those men who spent their time in the great outdoors hunting, fishing, and farming, the ad claimed to be for true American patriots, those who "love your home and country and your fellowmen."[51] Moore Haven wanted traditional, white male citizens like the men who designed advertisements and the readers who subscribed to *Suniland.* Whether the ephemera featured women or wildlife, Florida's promoters targeted men. Ads did not discuss how female visitors would be transformed into beautiful women by their arrival in Florida. Instead, promoters claimed that beauty occurred naturally in the state, and male investors could possess this beauty for the right price.

In 1924, Sam Gold and Dave Waters composed a song for Tallahassee, the state capital, which described local girls as "mighty classy" and encouraged listeners to "c'm' out of Tennessee, and Alabammy, just forget your Georgia Mammy" and travel to Tallahassee. The songwriters stressed the loving touch "mother nature" applied to Tallahassee, "puttin' on her bestest gown."[52] The song's allure, however, seems to be more about "gals sweet and classy" than Florida real estate. Songwriters suggested that the beautiful environment Mother Nature created in Tallahassee also produced beautiful, female residents.[53]

50. Ibid., 45.
51. Advertisement for Moore Haven, *Suniland,* April 1925, 9, Floridiana, USF Library.
52. Sam Gold and Dave Waters, "Tallahassee" (Winnipeg and Toronto: Hearst Music Publishers of Canada, 1924), Box 8, FSM Collection, USF Library.
53. Ibid.

Other land-boom observers also claimed that Florida's feminine nature specifically chose what environmental features and natural disasters to produce or withhold. According to Roberts, Florida did not waste her time "grow[ing]" mountains, snowstorms, and earthquakes, as the state had no particular use for these. He explained that "since there isn't any reason for them, she specializes on more useful things like paw-paws and prospectuses and perfect thirty-four bathing-girls and what-not, and secures some startling results."[54] Roberts's mention of business prospectuses and attractive bathing girls reinforced the significance of selling Florida with images of women and nature. He also suggested that beautiful women occurred naturally in Florida and that Mother Nature deliberately "grew" these women to draw investors. Based on the "startling results" to which Roberts alluded, the strategy proved successful. Promoters attributed Florida's many beauties to Mother Nature, but in reality, they controlled the stock images that exploited Florida's environment and its female residents.

The bathing beauty emerged as one of Florida's most publicized and enduring symbols. This newfound fascination with females in swimsuits represented a cultural revolution as the suntan, once "a symbol of labor," emerged as a "symbol of leisure."[55] In his history of erotic advertising, Tom Reichert marks the 1920s as the beginning of the "show and *sell*" approach that relied on "sexualized images of women's bodies."[56] Florida advertisers in the 1920s touted the beauties in photographs, postcards, and songs that featured women enjoying Florida nature. Hotel owners and businessmen staged elaborate pageants with bathing girls designed to highlight new developments carved out of Florida's environment.[57]

Many northern visitors to Florida remarked on developer Carl Fisher's famous billboards that taunted northerners slogging through snow with advertisements for Miami and its bathing beauties. Ads with catchy slogans showed young, white women frolicking on sunny beaches reminding onlookers that "It's Always June in Miami Beach," or that Miami was "Where Summer Spends the

54. Roberts, *Sun Hunting*, 126.
55. Michael Grunwald, *The Swamp: The Everglades, Florida, and the Politics of Paradise* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2006), 177.
56. Tom Reichert, "Show and Sell: 1925-1950," in *The Erotic History of Advertising* (Amherst, New York: Prometheus Books, 2003), 97.
57. Weigall, *Boom in Paradise*, 237.

Winter."[58] Jane Fisher, Carl Fisher's wife, discussed the significance of this advertising campaign in her autobiography. She confessed to being the unwitting prototype of the Miami Beach bathing beauty. Jane Fisher supposedly shocked Miami's staid beachgoers by wearing a racy, fashionable, formfitting 1920s bathing costume without stockings. When she discussed the event afterward with her husband, he found his inspiration and excitedly declared, "We'll get the prettiest girls we can find and put them in the goddamnedest tightest and shortest bathing suits . . . We'll have their pictures taken and send them all over the goddamn country."[59] Although Jane Fisher claimed that the slogans used by Florida advertisers had "drawing power," she also admitted, "The beauties were a big part of the inspired ballyhoo designed to bring buyers to the new land where Carl and his cohorts were waiting."[60]

The Booster Record and Publishing Company, a local Tampa enterprise that churned out advertising ditties, also capitalized on the bathing-beauty stereotype. One composition, "Mandalay—The Isle of a Thousand Palms," promoted the Clearwater Beach development Mandalay. The song urged listeners to "learn the charm of Mandalay." A picture of "Miss Mandalay," Maggie Gray, who "was chosen to pose for a national magazine advertising campaign," graced the sheet music. She was "one of the many Clearwater girls who love the buoyant surf bathing in the Gulf of Mexico at Mandalay," and one who, boosters believed, would seduce homebuyers.[61]

Although the promoters claimed Miss Mandalay was a Clearwater resident, many of the women appearing in Florida advertising campaigns might not have been Floridians. Silas Bent, a journalist who reviewed newspaper practices in his 1927 work *Ballyhoo*, cast doubt on the authenticity of California and Florida bathing beauties. "My own experience as an editor in this field has taught me that the 'debutantes' at California and Florida bathing resorts are too often chorus girls and models."[62] If Bent was cor-

58. Jane Fisher, *Fabulous Hoosier: A Story of American Achievement* (New York: Robert M. McBride and Company, 1947), 147.
59. Ibid., 149.
60. Ibid.
61. Frank W. Salley, "Mandalay—The Isle of a Thousand Palms" (Tampa, FL: Booster Record and Publishing Company, 1926), Box 8, FSM Collection, USF Library.
62. Silas Bent, *Ballyhoo: The Voice of the Press* (New York: Horace Liveright, 1927), 124.

rect, advertisers added another layer of artificiality to the practice of selling natural Florida. He implied that professional beauties like chorus girls and models did not count in discussions of naturalness because they made beauty their career. Bent also observed, "nearly anything in a bathing costume can get into the rotogravure sections."[63] Florida's promoters understood this and overwhelmed wire services with "cheesecake" photos of young women romping on the beaches.[64] A women's magazine of the period claimed that "Ladies' legs are no longer news," but Bent argued, "the picture editors have not found it out."[65]

The women in these images represented what Simone Weil Davis characterizes as "the 'vehicle'"—an "advertising model who transmits the message" between "the adman" and "the consumer."[66] The men crafting these images associated women with "the carnal, the emotional, and the physical," but aligned men with the "cultural, the intellectual, and the spiritual."[67] B. F. Borchardt wrote an article in 1925 for *Suniland* on Florida photography; he discussed different responsibilities when photographing men versus women. Borchardt noted, "Men are said to be easier to photograph because character there, is principally sought, while the ladies must be made to look pretty or the poor photographer will starve."[68]

Photographers who signed on to promote Florida depended heavily on female models and they posed their subjects in constructed shots just as boosters and developers manufactured Florida's Edenic image. A 1925 *Suniland* headline with typical "cheesecake" photographs taken at a beach in St. Petersburg declared, "THERE ARE PEACHES *on the* BEACHES."[69] One photograph in the collage depicted a muscular man bowling with a giant ball headed toward bathing girls carefully arranged in pin-like for-

63. Bent, *Ballyhoo*, 124.
64. James Russell Stanton, "A Study of Public Relations in the Miami Land Boom of the 1920s" (master's thesis, University of Florida, 1974), 65.
65. Bent, *Ballyhoo*, 124.
66. Simone Weil Davis, *Living Up to the Ads: Gender Fictions of the 1920s* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000), 2.
67. Catherine M. Roach, *Mother/Nature: Popular Culture and Environmental Ethics* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003), 34.
68. B. F. Borchardt, "Human Nature Photography in Suniland," *Suniland*, January 1925, 38, Floridiana, USF Library.
69. "There are Peaches on the Beaches," *Suniland*, February 1925, 14, Floridiana, USF Library.

mation. The girls, usually photographed in groups, often displayed their legs in synchronized poses on the beaches or in the water.[70]

Suniland never lacked for posed and artistic photographs of women. The November 1925 magazine provided two excellent examples. In the first photo, with a Florida sunset in the background, a young woman danced beneath a palm tree on the beach. She wore a hula skirt and bathing suit, arched her leg like a dancer, and threw her head back in abandon. The caption questioned, "Who Wouldn't Live in Florida?"[71] The other photo from *Suniland* showed a young woman perched on a rock with legs crossed as she dipped her toe in an ornate pool. Again, she sat under a palm. The catch phrase below simply stated, "Somewhere in Florida."[72] All of these images sold Florida through pointed associations between attractive women and images of Eden. The men who created ads, however, could be even more forthright about their intentions. A 1924 full-page ad in *Suniland* promoted Coral Gables, "Miami's Master Suburb," as "An Investment in Beauty."[73] Beauties on display in the photograph lounged in the elaborate Venetian Pool under coconut palms. George Merrick, the founder of Coral Gables, had the "picturesque" pool built from a limestone rock quarry that existed on the site, improving nature's beauty through modern engineering.[74] The advertisement for Coral Gables explained:

> Some folks make an investment only with profits in mind. Others are attracted by beautiful things and reap large dividends in the joy of possessing them. But when beauty in extraordinary degree, and profits that are assured beyond question, are combined in investment opportunity—it is a chance that no one who invests at all will wish to pass by.[75]

In this way, promoters designed a scene filled with beautiful women in a human-constructed, artificially natural paradise to

70. "Scenes at Florida's Beaches," *Suniland*, August 1925, 14, Floridiana, USF Library.
71. *Suniland*, November 1925, 17, Floridiana, USF Library.
72. Ibid., 23.
73. "An Investment in Beauty," *Suniland*, October 1924, 61, Floridiana, USF Library.
74. Frank Parker Stockbridge and John Holliday Perry, *Florida in the Making* (New York: The DeBower Publishing Company, 1926), 219.
75. "An Investment in Beauty," 61.

Who Wouldn't Live in Florida?

Suniland, touted as "the magazine of Florida," inundated readers with images of beautiful females cavorting with Florida nature. *Courtesy of Special and Digital Collections, University of South Florida, Tampa Library.*

entice investors. Although the advertisement touted the potential profits to be made, the promoters appealed to people attracted by women in paradise. According to the ad, which advised readers to

"obey that impulse now," potential buyers also exercised control over women, nature, and profits.[76]

Weigall discussed how developers and advertisers reinforced their control with pageants featuring beautiful women in "natural" settings. Before Weigall set foot on Florida soil, advertisers showed him that he could expect to find exotic women luxuriating in tropical splendor. He was visiting New York when the billboards with Florida advertisements captured his attention and encouraged him to travel to "an incredible tropical paradise with immense, brilliantly-lit castles towering among the stars and voluptuously-attired semi-Eastern, semi-Italian ladies and gallants drifting in the foreground in spacious gondolas."[77]

Based on the travel accounts he published after leaving Florida, Weigall did not depart the state feeling misled by the advertising. In his writings he addressed how promoters constructed myths about the state while they reengineered nature. Workers struggled through twenty-four hour shifts in the Biscayne swamps and "an army of engineers worked day and night" to connect the human-made Venetian waterways to the ocean. The engineering scheme was connected to the elaborate and artificially created Venetian Islands that Carl Fisher promoted. At the same time, ad-men including Weigall staged a pageant with beautiful females in paradise to champion this development.[78]

Weigall wrote the announcement for the elaborate pageant commemorating the project's completion. In the *Miami Herald* he proclaimed the event to be "the most gorgeous pageant ever attempted in America." He also wrote that in the famed Venetian Pool's tropical setting "mermaids and water-nymphs" would be in attendance.[79] To describe the event, like other Florida advertisers, Weigall chose the images of water nymphs and mermaids, two mythical and sensual female creatures known for their relationships with nature, to describe the beautiful women hired to promote this new development. The pageant, however, did not depict a white female bathing beauty. Weigall recalled the spectacle that took place on the barges floating down human-made canals, describing for readers how "three hundred Nubian slave-girls would rise through a fountain of coloured water."[80] Promoters integrated the natural with the artificial, reengi-

76. Ibid.
77. Weigall, *Boom in Paradise*, 18.
78. Weigall, *Boom in Paradise*, 237.
79. Ibid., 238, 237.
80. Ibid., 238.

neering swamps to make fake waterways where costumed women dressed as slaves rose out of dyed water. Advertisers then hailed the event as an example of man's progress.

Real-estate advertisers counted on staged scenes, pageants, and images to tempt viewers. Analyzing the content and techniques ad-men employed, Roberts explained:

> The eye is distracted by ravishing sketches of Spanish mansions . . . palm-shaded canals, dream cities . . . bathing-girls whose knees are never knobby, fishermen who have always caught a record-breaking fish, beautiful children who play sweetly and happily without falling in the water or bursting into harrowing screams.[81]

Not all women in Florida, however, had the leisure time to be bathing beauties. Still, advertisers seized all opportunities to promote the state through its female residents. In *Suniland's* December 1925 feature on "Women Realtors of Florida," Ruth Bowman Mott interviewed three female realtors and concluded women bring "piquancy to a 'deal' and lend just that touch of the romantic to the hard, cold materialism of a dollars and cents exchange." Mott argued that selling Florida real estate and seducing investors ideally suited women like Mrs. Myrtle B. Englar, a former "beauty specialist" who "turned the key to her rouges and lotions, her creams and hair tonics, hung out a real estate sign and in eighteen months sold $4,000,000 worth of property." Mott credited Englar's success to the female beauty specialist's knowledge of human nature: "Ambitions, hopes, disappointments, the beauty specialist learns them bit by bit, and unconsciously pieces them together like a picture in a kaleidoscope, the prototype of the human character."[82]

The state also employed working women in less glamorous enterprises, though promoters of the state persisted in emphasizing female beauty in depictions of labor. In the *Suniland* article "From Tree to You: How the Fruit Crop is Grown and Marketed,"

81. Roberts, *Florida*, 190.
82. Ruth Bowman Mott, "Women Realtors of Florida: They Are Taking the Lead in Many Big Sales Projects Which Spell Large Profits," *Suniland*, December 1925, 44-46, Special and Area Studies Collections, George A. Smathers Libraries, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida.

writer Frank G. Heaton included a photograph of a young female worker at a fruit plant standing over a box filled with sumptuous citrus. "Many of the girls in the plants are as attractive as the fruit," the caption exclaimed, blurring the boundaries between the natural environment and the women living and working in it.[83]

The photograph of a young woman working in a fruit plant suggested a different side to Florida. Nevertheless, the image had less to do with the actual labor she performed and much more to do with her attractiveness. In his study of tourism and labor in Colorado from 1858 to 1917, Thomas G. Andrews examines the "erasure of physical work and those who performed it from places shaped by labor yet increasingly perceived and represented by elites as retreats from urban industrial malaise."[84] Like the tourist industries in other states, Florida required a vast network of maids, cooks, and waitresses to carry out the business of leisure. These women's stories and experiences, however, have been obscured and ignored in part because tourism depended on the inconspicuousness of maids, cooks, and waitresses. Their obvious presence might disturb the manufactured idyll Florida's promoters worked so hard to create. Andrews explains that the tourism industry "surround[ed] bourgeois travelers with the sort of labor they were least likely to consider work: the household work of women and the menial labor of racialized others."[85]

With white men controlling Florida's imagery, advertisers also felt no need to conceal the presence of what Andrews referred to as "racialized others." Instead, boosters used the presence of Seminole Indians in Florida to market the state's environment and women as exotic and mythic. Robert King and Harry Warren composed the 1925 song "Seminola (An Indian Love Song)" about a "dusky maid" who lived in a "little teepee that stands in the shades of the great Everglades."[86] The sheet music cover pictured a lovely Pocahontas-type woman, with long braided hair and a feather. Teepees made up the background and completed the assortment of stereotypical Native American imagery.[87] Inaccurate as it was, this song evoked

83. Frank G. Heaton, "From Tree to You: How the Huge Fruit Crop is Grown and Marketed," *Suniland*, March 1925, 38, Floridiana, USF Library.
84. Thomas G. Andrews, "'Made by Toile?': Tourism, Labor, and the Construction of the Colorado Landscape, 1858-1917," *Journal of American History* 92, no. 3 (December 2005): 839.
85. Ibid., 848.
86. Robert King and Harry Warren, "Seminola (An Indian Love Song)" (New York: Skidmore Music Company, 1925), Box 5, FSM Collection, USF Library.
87. Ibid.

unconventional beauty in Native Americans such as Seminola even as the songwriters distorted the realities of life for these women. Boosters used Seminoles residing in the Everglades to portray Florida as an ancient, mystical, and adventurous place.

Promoters felt comfortable manipulating images of Seminole women to lure visitors, but Florida's top promotion magazine revealed another side to the noble versus savage equation, or what Rayna Green identifies as the "Pocahontas Perplex" in American culture. Green contends that whites typically have represented Native American women as noble "Princess[es]" or savage "Squaw[s]," depending on their relationship with male figures.[88] An article written by Justin G. Jarvis in *Suniland*'s March 1925 issue identified the Seminoles as "Savages of Southern Sunshine."[89] Jarvis bluntly pronounced "these aborigines" to be "worth many millions of dollars in advertising value to Florida."[90] But Jarvis and other promoters did not see the Seminoles as legitimate citizens, only as fodder for their image and place-making machine or as labor that could be exploited. Jarvis referred to the women as "squaws" and described how they made "the gay-colored skirts, shirts and blouses which the savages wear."[91] Jarvis neglected to mention that tourists eagerly paid money for these "souvenirs." Automobiles and the development of new highways, especially the Tamiami Trail that accommodated numerous roadside attractions, brought tourists into the more remote regions of Florida inhabited by the Seminoles. This forced the Seminoles to adapt to their changing environment, and "some of the Indians cashed in on the boom, moving to roadside villages where tourists paid to watch them wrestle alligators, sew patchwork, and weave baskets."[92] "In this context," Mikaela Adams argues, "Seminoles once again became remnants of the American past, a reminder of the old frontier days, and a sort of living museum for an American public fascinated by its imagined national origins."[93]

Jarvis also discussed the Seminoles' future and contended, "The day will come when Florida may have an Indian reservation as another popular resort which tourists will visit and exclaim

88. Rayna Green, "The Pocahontas Perplex: The Image of Indian Women in American Culture," *Massachusetts Review* 16, no. 4 (Autumn 1975): 703.
89. Justin G. Jarvis, "Florida's Seminoles: Savages of Southern Sunshine," *Suniland*, March 1925, 22, Floridiana, USF Library.
90. Ibid.
91. Jarvis, "Florida's Seminoles," 70.
92. Grunwald, *The Swamp*, 177.
93. Mikaela M. Adams, "Savage Foes, Noble Warriors, and Frail Remnants: Florida Seminoles in the White Imagination, 1865-1934," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 87, no. 3 (Winter 2009): 434.

about in wonder."[94] To Jarvis, this proposed Seminole reservation could only result in profit for the white men who would market the Seminoles in their "natural" environment. He overlooked the potential destruction of the Seminoles, their culture, and their environment if whites forced them to reside in a reservation on display for tourists. Just as boosters marketed the climate and white bathing beauties, they used Seminoles as pawns in their exploitation and manipulation of Florida's image and environment.

Promoters, paralleling their representation of Seminoles, typified blacks as either "alligator bait," falling victim to the darker side of Florida's environment, or as black "happy helpers," clearing and farming land for white development while advertisements depicted whites conquering nature or enjoying its beauty.[95] Just as Florida's white developers directly exploited black labor, promoters also exploited popular perceptions of black individuals to market the state. "Staging tourism" through their display of racialized others, advertisers also conveyed their vision of race relations—one in which servile minorities catered to whites' desire to control and commodify Florida nature, reinforcing Andrew Hurley's argument that "the domination of nature involves and necessitates the control of human beings."[96] Although this paper focuses on the gendered dimension of 1920s Florida advertising, environmental racism is another dimension scholars should pursue.

Those in charge of managing Florida's image sold the state through a gendered lens, feminizing the lush, natural environment and marketing attractive women as a feature of this landscape. Neither the women nor the environment boosters portrayed in their ad campaigns existed naturally in Florida.

94. Jarvis, "Florida's Seminoles," 25.

95. For examples of "alligator bait" and "happy helper" images see "Waiting for a Bite in Florida," Hampton Dunn Postcard Collection, Special Collections, University of South Florida Library, Tampa, Florida; or "Beautiful Lake Marian," *Suniland* ,December 1924, 10, Special Collections, P.K. Yonge Library of Florida History, Gainesville. Although boosters promoted a society with whites firmly in control of the treacherous Florida landscape, they featured blacks as nature's victims—alligator bait. Boosters showed that fearsome elements of paradise such as alligators played an important role in reinforcing racial hierarchies. Florida's promoters also endorsed the myth of the black "happy helper," connecting the stereotype of the happy black slave with the "New South" vision of the black worker.

96. Jane Desmond, *Staging Tourism: Bodies on Display from Waikiki to Sea World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), xiii; and Andrew Hurley, *Environmental Inequalities: Class, Race, and Industrial Pollution in Gary Indiana, 1945-1980* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 182.

Ironically, *Suniland*, a magazine devoted to promoting Florida, acknowledged the misleading quality of the state's advertising. Although *Suniland's* contributors pronounced themselves to be uninvolved in advertising schemes, the editorial "Put Not Your Faith in Fakers" criticized that "unprincipled pest the advertising schemer." According to the editors, these tricksters created ads based solely on their own imaginations.[97] Like the schemers they denounced, *Suniland*'s own writers, photographers, and promoters embraced every opportunity to manipulate Florida's cultural identity through their own reimaginings of paradise.

In these visions of Florida, men cast themselves in the dominant role as community builders, remaking and improving a feminine nature to achieve their goals of progress and profit. S. M. Shelton praised these visionaries in *Suniland*, describing Florida's feminized environment as subordinate to man's advances. Shelton claimed, "The sunrise in the morning is like the boom of a cannon waking the world to another day of beauty and progress. The sunset, in its wonderful tints, records another rung in man's ladder of progress."[98] This comment suggested that the environment only existed for man to mark his advance upon it. At the end of the day, men charted progress through control of the environment, and managing Florida's image proved to be a useful tool in these efforts.

Although boosters promoted Florida as a natural paradise, they sought to improve nature and build the environment of their visions. The culture that shapes our ideas about nature also influences our expectations of how nature should or should not look, and as William Cronon contends, the assumptions people make about nature can have far-reaching consequences.

> Once our vision of its ideal form becomes a moral or cultural imperative—we can remake it so completely that we become altogether indifferent or even hostile toward its prior condition. Taken far enough, the result can be a landscape in which nature and artifice, despite their apparent symbolic opposition, become indistinguishable because they finally merge into one another.[99]

97. "Put Not Your Faith in Fakers," *Suniland*, October 1924, 16, Floridiana, USF Library.
98. Shelton, "Purely Informal," 73.
99. Cronon, *Uncommon Ground*, 40.

Some observers, nevertheless, understood the artificiality of this construction. In a July 1926 *Popular Science* article, "Islands Made to Order on Florida Coast," the author remarked, "There's not enough of Florida to go around, so they're making more of it daily, taking it out of the sea."[100] Similarly, Jane Fisher described her husband's attempts to build his dream city in Miami and acknowledged, "A glittering publicity façade glamorized a city that was still in the making, concealing the make-shift scenery backstage."[101] Advertisers manufactured much of the "nature" sold during the land boom such as the imported, non-native coconut palms under which bathing beauties lounged.[102] Regardless, the artificiality of Florida's environment does not make it any less important to study. Jennifer Price explains, "The countermodern definition of Nature as anti-Artifice has always erased the human artifice in our bastions of Nature—and the definition of Artifice as anti-Nature has in every case erased the nature used to manufacture it."[103] Examining the use of women and nature in 1920s advertising of the Florida land boom reveals the human artifice associated with constructing real and imagined environments.

Many people in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries have expressed concern for the loss of Florida's natural paradises.[104] We must consider, however, how our culture defines these natural paradises and question whether they ever really existed beyond our imaginations. "Here's the thing about Florida and money," professor and journalist Diane Roberts confides, "Other states sell stuff they make (widgets, cogs), stuff they grow (corn, cotton), or stuff they think up (dot.coms, insurance). Florida sells itself."[105] The image, place, and mythmaking process will remain invisible only as long as we pretend that the Florida mystique fostered and developed by this era of advertising does not still lure millions of travelers, retirees, and speculators to the state each year.

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100. "Islands Made to Order on Florida Coast," *Popular Science*, July 1926, 47.
101. Fisher, *Fabulous Hoosier*, 146.
102. Michael Gannon, *Florida: A Short History* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003), 79; and Mark Derr, *Some Kind of Paradise: A Chronicle of Man and the Land in Florida* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998), 39.
103. Jennifer Price, *Flight Maps: Adventures with Nature in Modern America* (New York: Basic Books, 1999), 164-165.
104. Davis and Arsenault, *Paradise Lost?*, 6.
105. Diane Roberts, "Selling Florida," in *Unspoiled*, ed. Susan Cerulean, Janisse Ray, and A. James Wohlpart (Tallahassee, FL: Heart of the Earth, 2010), 18.

A Translation History of Fontaneda

by Peter Ferdinando

Introduction

The captivity of Hernando de Escalante Fontaneda[1] by the Calusa Indians led to the creation of a series of documents that vividly depict the indigenous peoples of southern Florida. These writings clearly have proto-ethnographic qualities. Students of Florida history and archaeology have frequently utilized this information to better understand native peoples who lived on the peninsula.[2] In the case of Fontaneda's writings, however, we must ask vital questions about translation. He wrote in sixteenth century Spanish, yet the current lingua franca of the academic and research community in the United States is the

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1. This paper follows established tradition and utilizes Fontaneda as the surname abbreviation, instead of the more appropriate Escalante or Escalante Fontaneda.
2. For example, John H. Hann, *Indians of Central and South Florida, 1513-1763* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003); Jerald T. Milanich, *Florida Indians and the Invasion from Europe* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1995); Ryan J. Wheeler, *Treasure of the Calusa: The Johnson/Willcox Collection from Mound Key, Florida*, Monographs in Florida Archaeology (Tallahassee: Rose Printing, 2000); and Randolph J. Widmer, *The Evolution of the Calusa: A Nonagricultural Chiefdom on the Southwest Florida Coast* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1988); along with numerous others.

English of the twenty-first century. This paper investigates the Fontaneda's texts as they have been translated over the years; the path from his original Spanish version, through several transcriptions, to its translation into multiple English versions. This translation history is more than a mere recitation of the publication history of Fontaneda's documents. It also delves into the similarities and differences between these texts, both interlingually (i.e., from Spanish to English) and intralingually (i.e., between the English versions) and assesses the potential influence of individual translators in enacting prevailing societal norms in translations, considerations of audience, and the translator's position vis-à-vis the split between antiquarians and professional historians. The importance of Fontaneda's writing to the ethnohistory of southern Florida indicates that this project is long overdue.

Theoretical and Methodological Background

Despite the importance of Fontaneda to Florida historians and archaeologists, it is essential to delve into the theoretical and methodological background of another discipline for the necessary investigative tools to approach the present examination. Indeed, while linguistic translation has been important since the mythical confusion of Babel, Translation Studies as a distinct research entity is still relatively young.[3] Nonetheless, several important theoretical and methodological insights from this discipline influence this paper, including translative norms, the influence of the translators, and, of course, translation history.

Gideon Toury's work on norms is vital to this translation history.[4] He divided norms into preliminary and operational, with the former focused on the general overarching policy applied to translation and the latter emphasizing the actual choices made during a specific translation. Moreover, operational norms focus on the models followed for the acceptance of translations as legitimate. Toury also splits such normalizing into basic, secondary, and other

3. For example, Piotr Kuhiwczak and Karin Littau, introduction to *A Companion to Translation Studies*, eds. Piotr Kuhiwczak and Karin Littau, Topics in Translation (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters LTD, 2007), 1-12.

4. Gideon Toury, "The Nature and Role of Norms in Literary Translation," in *Literature and Translation: New Perspectives in Literary Studies*, eds. James S. Holmes, Jose Lambert, and Raymond van den Broeck (Leuven: ACCO, 1978), 83-100.

tolerated behaviors. These terms indicate the position of the translation activity vis-à-vis the accepted translative norm. In this schema, a basic translative norm would be practically mandatory, a secondary norm would be a favored activity, and the tolerated behavior is just that, merely permitted. Such norms can significantly influence the translator's decisions. Thus, utilizing these definitions, we can effectively track the influence of translative norms on the translations of Fontaneda.

The work of Anthony Pym is central to the development of a methodology for translation history, but Lynne Long also contributed some vital points.[5] Pym established four principles of translation history:

> 1) translation history should explain *why* translations were produced in a particular social time and place, 2) central object: should be the human translator, 3) if translation history is to focus on translators, it must organize the world around the social contexts where translators live and work, and 4) why anyone would want to do translation history in the first place.[6]

Pym also named three discourses of translation history.[7] The first discourse, archaeology, discusses the basic facts of translation. The second discourse, criticism, investigates reasons why the facts occurred, and the third element, explanation, tries to place the facts and reasons into context with the individuals involved. Additionally, Long noted that translation history is an important tool to analyze the same document through multiple translations; an idea clearly applicable to the multiple translations of Fontaneda.

The methods for this translation history are deceptively simple; review Fontaneda and his documents, discuss the available adaptations of his work analyzing the transcribers and translators, compare interlingual and intralingual selections drawn from these multiple versions, and finally, link these processes back to the theoretical work mentioned above. Discussion of Fontaneda

5. Lynne Long, "Chapter 4 History and Translation," in *A Companion of Translation Studies*, eds. Piotr Kuhiwczak and Karin Littau, Topics in Translation (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters LTD, 2007), 63-76; and Anthony Pym, *Methods in Translation History* (Manchester: St. Jerome, 1998).
6. Pym, *Methods in Translation History*, ix-xi.
7. Ibid, 5-6.

and his documents, along with the various transcribers and translators, is vital to situating them in their respective times and places. However, the primary analysis revolves around investigating the similarities and differences between the various versions of Fontaneda's text utilizing interlingual and intralingual comparisons. Interlingual analysis, is concerned with comparing the Spanish to the English. This is accomplished through the use of a literally translated English version in place of the Spanish. Such a literal translation will retain the word order and grammatical structure of the Spanish. Thus, alterations in the textual order can be investigated in respect to minor alterations for coherence in English, or greater changes for other, to be investigated, reasons. This literal version will not take into consideration the cultural context of the text. Intralingual comparison in contrast, assists with tracking changes in the English versions. The overall goal is to ascertain why the various versions of Fontaneda's documents were created, investigate the transcribers and translators, and analyze their academic position (e.g., avocational or professional historian), while trying to identify norms and influences on their work; i.e., a history of the translations. Yet, before this work begins, we must look at the man at the center of this expanding translative web, Hernando de Escalante Fontaneda.

Fontaneda: The Man

Even though Fontaneda's exploits took place almost 500 years ago, today we have much information about his life (ca. 1536-1575).[8] His parents served the King in Spanish America; first in Peru, and later in Carthagena (in modern day Columbia). His mother, Doña Ana de Aldana and his father, Garcia de Escalante, a conquistador, had two sons, an unnamed older brother and Fontaneda. When Fontaneda was in his early teens, his parents

8. Along with some biographical data in his *Memoir*, additional information about Fontaneda is available in Gonzalo Solis de Meras, *Pedro Menéndez de Avilés: Memorial*, trans. Jeannette Thurber Connor (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1964); Eugene Lyon, *The Enterprise of Florida: Pedro Menéndez de Avilés and the Spanish Conquest of 1565-1568* (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1976), 148, 177; Gail Swanson, *Documentation of the Indians of the Florida Keys and Miami, 1513-1765* (Haverford: Infinity Publishing, 2003), 67-68; and John E. Worth, *Discovering Florida: First-Contact Narratives from Florida's Lower Gulf Coast* (Draft Manuscript in Review: University Press of Florida, n.d.).

sent the brothers to Salamanca, Spain, for education. During the voyage they were shipwrecked along the Florida coast. Calusa Indians, found a number of survivors and brought them to Carlos, both the name of the ruling cacique (chief) and the capital town of the Calusa domain. The Calusa killed many of the shipwreck survivors, including Fontaneda's brother. Fontaneda described the sacrificial practices of the Calusa in one of his textual fragments.

In his writings, Fontaneda notes that he was thirteen years of age when shipwrecked and thirty years old when rescued. The Pedro Menéndez de Avilés expedition to the southwest rescued Fontaneda in 1566, placing the shipwreck in 1549.[9] Menéndez, the *adelantado* of Florida and founder of St. Augustine, employed several former captives as interpreters. Historian Eugene Lyon observed that Fontaneda served as a translator in this regard, based on the presence of his name on a list of supplies from 1566-1569.[10] Indeed, Fontaneda's linguistic skill and familiarity with the Calusa cacique would have been extremely useful for Menéndez. Following this effort, Fontaneda returned to Spain and wrote his various texts by 1575. After this, he disappeared from the historical record.

Fontaneda: The Documents

The most extensive portion of Fontaneda's writing is commonly called the *Memoir*, although the full Spanish title is *Memoria de las cosas y costa y indios de la Florida* (literal English rendering: Memory of the things and coast and indians of the Florida).[11] The *Memoir* takes the form of an address to the Spanish King and describes Florida's resources, places, and peoples. In it, Fontaneda suggested that he possesses extensive knowledge about this area, owing to his captivity, and that he speaks four Native American languages. Moreover, the *Memoir* included some of his suggestions for the proper exploitation of Florida. For example, Fontaneda offered a plan for controlling the Indian population that included enslaving

9. As noted in an extract from a letter of Pedro Menéndez de Avilés to the Crown, October 20, 1566 in Worth, *Discovering Florida*, 419-425.
10. Lyon, *The Enterprise of Florida*, 177.
11. Hernando de Escalante Fontaneda, *Memoir*, Portal de Archivos Españoles, Archivo General de Indias, Patronato Real 18, Numero 5, http://pares.mcu.es (accessed May 2010).

some of them to help reduce their numbers and the potential threat they posed. He also advocated concepts that others later effectively employed in Florida. For example, he suggested the raising of cattle in the region, a practice that is still widespread today in the state. He also promoted the building of a fort on Florida's east coast to oversee the Bahamas Channel as a means of protecting the valuable shipping traffic from the New World back to Spain. It is unclear if Philip II of Spain ever saw the *Memoir*, or if what we have today is the final version of the document or merely a draft in progress. The following assortment of textual fragments suggests some revising had occurred.

The other textual elements, the *Memoranda, Memorial, Fragment 1*, and *Fragment 2*, are shorter pieces of text.[12] These may represent pieces deleted from, or planned for addition to, the main document. Buckingham Smith, the first English translator of Fontaneda's writings, appears to have named the *Memoranda.* Another translator, John E. Worth, noted that the original document has no title.[13] Moreover, what, in many versions, appears to be the title is actually a note inserted by a transcriber, Juan Bautista Muñoz. This note reads *Junto con la relacion antecedente, en un pliego suelto que le sirve de cubierta, va lo siguiente* (literal English rendering: Along with the relation preceding, in a sheet loose that the serves of cover, goes the following).[14] As Muñoz's note suggests, this piece originally appeared as part of the *Memoir*, but was separated from it sometime before the early 1900s. This note includes several paragraphs detailing a variety of topics, including local geography, a general introduction and preview of some of the upcoming subjects in the main document, a discussion of the Abalachi, and brief mention by Fontaneda that he cannot remember all the names for the towns in this region. Interestingly, in his English translation, Smith noted locations in the *Memoir* where the

12. Hernando de Escalante Fontaneda, *Memoranda* and *Memorial*, Portal de Archivos Españoles, Archivo General de Indias, Patronato Real 19, Ramo 32, http://pares.mcu.es, (accessed May 2010); and Hernando de Escalante Fontaneda *Fragment 1* and *Fragment 2*, Portal de Archivos Españoles, Archivo General de Indias, Indiferente General 1529, Numero 40, http://pares.mcu.es (accessed May 2010).
13. John E. Worth, "Fontaneda Revisited: Five Descriptions of Sixteenth-Century Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 73, no. 3 (January 1995): 347.
14. Juan Bautista Muñoz, *Memoria de las cosas y costa y indios de la Florida, Biblioteca Virtual Miguel D. Cervantes*, http://www.cervantesvirtual.com (accessed May 2010).

Memoranda paragraphs either should be positioned or from where they were deleted.

The *Memorial*, full name *Memoria de todos los caciques de la Florida* (literal English rendering: Memorial of every the caciques of the Florida), is a listing of towns/caciques in Florida. It appears to be a more extensive version of a similar list found in the *Memoir*. Indeed, as the list in the *Memorial* includes additional names that Fontaneda apparently did not remember while drafting the *Memoir*, it suggests that Fontaneda drafted the former after the latter.[15]

Finally, *Fragment 1* and *Fragment 2* detail some of the more gruesome customs of the Indians of southern Florida, including the sacrifice of captives and the treatment of deceased caciques. *Fragment 1* details customs among the Calusa, and is simply entitled *Memoria* (literal English rending: Memorial). *Fragment 2* deals with the Tocobaga and Tequesta. Since it addresses two distinct tribes, this textual fragment is divided into *Fragment 2A* and *Fragment 2B* for this paper. Moreover, each piece has its own title: *Memoria de los yndios y cerimonias de los yndios de Tocobaga* (literal English rendering: Memorial of the indians and ceremonies of the indians of Tocobaga) and *Los yndios de Tegesta que es otra provincial dende los martires hasta el Cañaberal* (literal English rendering: The indians of Tequesta that is another province from the martyrs as far as the Canaveral). It is unclear if Fontaneda drafted these fragments after the main document, or if these fragments were deleted from it due to the aforementioned unseemly details. However, these pieces, along with the *Memoranda* and *Memorial*, add significant cultural data to the information already present in Fontaneda's *Memoir*.

The *Archivo General de Indias* in Sevilla, Spain holds the original copies of Fontaneda's documents. I did not have direct access to them for this project. However, they are available digitally through the *Portal de Archivos Españoles* and I consulted this electronic copy for the present paper. The difficulty of accessing rare, fragile, and far distant documents has gratefully begun to ease due to the digitization and posting of many similar texts on the Internet. Nonetheless, transcriptions are also of importance because the foundations of the vast majority of English translations of Fontaneda are transcripts, not the original documents.

15. As previously suggested by Worth, "Fontaneda Revisited," 341.

The Transcriptions: Spreading the Source

Juan Bautista Muñoz, Jeannette Thurber Connor, Woodbury Lowery, and John E. Worth have undertaken Spanish transcription of Fontaneda's documents. Short biographical details about these transcribers are included in the descriptions below. Although somewhat brief, these sketches will assist with identifying each transcription's time and place of creation. There are two important points to note in reference to the following analysis. First, Lowery's transcriptions were not available for this study. Second, most transcribers only worked with one or two of Fontaneda's documents, resulting in a hodgepodge of transcriptions. Indeed, Worth appears to be the only transcriber to have copied every known Fontaneda piece.

Juan Bautista Muñoz (1745-1799) transcribed Fontaneda's *Memoir* and *Memoranda* sometime in the late eighteenth century while gathering documents for his *History of the New World.*[16] He was a well-known historian of Spanish America. Many of the documents he gathered became the foundation of the *Archivo General de Indias* Muñoz also added a few brief notes to Fontaneda's original documents. The most pertinent is his assessment of Fontaneda's *Memoir*: "*Muy buena relacion, aunque de hombre que no conocia el arte de escribir, y asi quedan muchos perodos sin sentido*" (literal English rendering: Very good relation, although of man that no know the art of writing, and thus are many times without sense).[17] From his notes it is also clear that Fontaneda's *Memoranda* was attached to the *Memoir* at the time Meñoz transcribed these two pieces. One of Fontaneda's translators, Buckingham Smith, accessed a copy of Muñoz's transcription held in the Rich Collection at the New York Public Library. Additionally, a published copy of Muñoz's transcription is available in *Coleccion de documentos ineditos relativos al descubrimiente, conquista y organizacion de las antiguas posesiones Espanolas en America y Oceania* (literal English rendering: Collections of unpublished documents relating to the discovery, conquest and organization of the former Spanish possessions in America and Oceania).[18] Finally, a transcript of Muñoz's work is available elec-

16. Juan Bautista Muñoz, *The History of the New World* (London: Printed for G.G. and J. Robinson, Patervoster-Row, 1797).
17. Muñoz, *Memoria de las cosas y costa y indios de la Florida.*
18. D. Luis Torres de Mendoza, *Coleccion de documentos ineditos relativos al descubrimiente, conquista y organizacion de las antiguas posesiones Espanolas en America y Oceania* (Madrid: Imprenta de Frias y compania, 1866), 532-548.

tronically from the *Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes* (BVMC). It is from this final source that I analyzed Muñoz's Spanish transcription of the *Memoir* and *Memoranda* for this project. Interestingly, as noted later in this paper, the Muñoz transcription included silent corrections to Fontaneda's spelling and grammar, i.e., although he did not acknowledge his editing of the source material, Muñoz's transcription corrects spelling errors and adds grammatical structure. These silent alterations are especially noticeable in comparison with the original documents and the transcriptions of Conner and Worth.

The next transcript of the *Memoir* was created by Jeannette Thurber Connor (1872-1927). She transcribed and translated documents from the *Archivo General de Indias* for deposit in the Library of Congress, the New York Public Library, and the New York Historical Society. Connor did not transcribe the *Memoranda.* As alluded to earlier, it appears that the *Memoranda* was separated from the *Memoir* by the time Connor transcribed the latter.[19] Although the specific date of her transcription is unknown, considering the time Connor was actively researching and publishing suggests that it was sometime during the first few decades of the twentieth century.[20] David O. True reprinted a copy of Connor's Spanish transcript of the *Memoir,* held by the Library of Congress, in his volume about Fontaneda; it is from True's source that Connor's transcript was sourced for this study.[21] Interestingly, Connor's transcript includes a number of, apparently, misspelled words, little grammatical marks, e.g., punctuation, and numerous '/' and '//' throughout. However, these elements appear in Fontaneda's original documents, and are not errors on the part of Connor.

19. As also noted by John E. Worth, "Fontaneda Revisited," 339.
20. For example, Jeannette Thurber Connor, trans. and ed., *Colonial Records of Spanish Florida: Letters and Reports of Governors and Secular Persons, Volume I, 1570-1577* (Deland: Publication of the Florida State Historical Society, 1925); Jeannette Thurber Connor, *Colonial Records of Spanish Florida: Letters and Reports of Governors, Deliberations of the Council of the Indies, Royal Decrees, and other Documents, Volume II, 1577-1580* (Deland: Publication of the Florida State Historical Society, 1930); and Solis de Meras, *Pedro Menendez de Avilés,* Jeannette Thurber Connor, trans.
21. David O. True, trans. and ed., *Memoir of Do d'Escalante Fontaneda Respecting Florida* (Miami: University of Miami and the Historical Association of Southern Florida, 1944; reprint, Coral Gables: Glades House, 1945).

Leaving his life as a lawyer, Woodbury Lowery (1853-1906) wrote extensively about the Spanish settlement of the New World and left a significant document legacy at the Library of Congress.[22] He transcribed the *Memorial*, *Fragment 1*, and *Fragment 2*. Unfortunately, Lowery's Spanish transcriptions were not within reach of this project. However, several English translations based on his transcriptions are utilized in this paper for intralingual examination, although, the authorship of these pieces is misattributed to Juan López de Velasco.

The final transcriber under consideration is John E. Worth (1966-), who is currently an Assistant Professor at the University of West Florida. Worth's interest in Fontaneda spans the last several decades. He was the first to publish a correct attribution of Fontaneda as the author of the *Memorial*, *Fragment 1*, and *Fragment 2*.[23] Moreover, his forthcoming book is the first time a transcription and translation of all of Fontaneda's documents have appeared in one source.[24] His transcript of the *Memoir* is, in many respects, similar to that of Connor, retaining Fontaneda's original spelling and lack of grammar. Moreover, Worth's transcript of the *Memoranda* serves as a useful comparison to Muñoz's because of the latter's aforementioned penchant for silent spelling and grammar fixes. Worth's new volume, especially his transcripts, were an invaluable resource for this present translation history.

Interestingly, despite being separated by several hundred years, these four transcribers do share some similarities, along with some to-be-expected differences. For example, they were all deeply familiar with their subject material. This is clearly illustrated by their respective multiple publications concerning the history of the New World. Muñoz and Worth could be classified as historians, albeit of quite different eras, while both Connor and Lowery might be considered antiquarians. Yet, the texts do not reflect this antiquarian-historian dichotomy. In actuality, it appears that the specific context and time of the transcriptions

22. For example, Woodbury Lowery, *The Spanish Settlements within the Present Limits of the United States: Florida, 1562-1574* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1905); Woodbury Lowery, *The Spanish Settlements within the Present Limits of the United States Florida, 1513-1561* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1911); along with 8 reels of microfilm on file at the Library of Congress.
23. Worth, "Fontaneda Revisited."
24. Worth, *Discovering Florida*.

resulted in the observed differences. Undeniably, the biggest divergence in these transcripts is between Muñoz, on the one hand, and Connor and Worth, on the other hand. This difference in the rendering of Fontaneda's spelling and grammar will be explored later in this paper.

Translations: The Document Trail

English translations of Fontaneda are available from a variety of sources. However, only Worth's forthcoming volume includes translations of all five known documents. The following descriptions of the translations are in chronological order, with reference to the specific transcription utilized, if known. Moreover, short biographical details about the translators are included to help situate the translator and their translation in time and place. Published version of the English translations under discussion appeared between 1854 and the present day, thus spanning over one hundred and fifty years. Yet, the first translation of Fontaneda appeared in French, not English.

Henri Ternaux-Compan (1807-1864) published a French translation of Fontaneda in 1841.[25] This text included both the *Memoir* and *Memoranda.* It used Muñoz's Spanish transcription and included several of Muñoz's notes. Compan altered Fontaneda to Fontanedo, a change retained by several future English translators. Compan was a historian who also served in the French embassies in Spain, Portugal, and Brazil. Consequently, he appears to have had a familiarity with Spanish and the Americas. After these appointments ended, he studied documents in libraries in Spain and South America. Along with the volume that includes Fontaneda's *Memoir,* he published additional works on the early history of South America.[26]

Unfortunately, I can provide little more about Compan's translation of Fontaneda because I do not read French. Nonetheless, I refer to it here for two reasons. First, it is included because it is the first published translation of Fontaneda's work. Second, several English translations utilize this French translation

25. Henri Ternaux-Compan, *Voyages, relations et memoires originaux pour servir A l'histoire de la decouverte de l'Amerique* (Paris: Artmus Bertrand, 1841), 9-42.

26. For example, Henri Ternaux-Compan, *Bibliotheque Americaine, ou catalogue des ouvrages relatifs a l'Amerique depuis sa decouverte en 1493, jusqu'en l'an 1700* (Amsterdam: B.R. Gruner, 1968).

as their primary source rather than referencing a Spanish transcription. Thus, due to the French translation tradition of '*les belles infidels*,' i.e., beautiful renditions of sources that are perhaps not always the most faithful translations of the original texts, it is quite possible that this version of Fontaneda, while certainly beautiful, will be less faithful to the original. The English translations based on Compan's writings are undoubtedly more readable than those obtained from the Spanish versions, but they also appear to stray from the source.

The earliest known English translation of Fontaneda's *Memoir* and *Memoranda* was by Buckingham Smith (1810-1871). He published this volume in 1854 based on the Muñoz transcript.[27] Smith published extensively, including many works translated from Spanish to English.[28] Significant biographical information concerning Smith can be found in a memorial to him in a posthumous volume of the translation.[29] Indeed, the details of his life appear to have situated him in several prime positions to access original documents and to acquire the necessary skills to translate them from Spanish into English. He grew up in St. Augustine where he established a permanent residence when not working on other assignments. Smith also often accompanied his father to Mexico during his teenage years. This experience apparently left him with the bilingual ability necessary for translation. He studied law at Harvard, later entered politics, was elected to the Florida Senate, and received several governmental appointments to Mexico and Spain. While in Mexico, he met other individuals interested in history and translated a number of documents for publication. Through such activities he became a member of the New York Historical Society, the American Ethnological Society, the American Antiquarian Society, and the New England Historical-Genealogical Society. He continued his research while working in Spain. What emerges from this brief portrait is an antiquarian of the highest order, a man dedicated to uncovering historical details.

27. Buckingham Smith, trans., *Letter of Hernando de Soto and Memoir of Hernando de Escalante Fontaneda*, (Washington, 1854).
28. For example, Buckingham Smith, trans., *Relation of Alvar Nunez Cabeca de Vaca* (Ann Arbor, MI: University Microfilms, 1966).
29. Shea, J. Gilmary, "Memoir of Thomas Buckingham Smith," in Smith, *Relation of Alvar Nunez Cabeca de Vaca*, 255-263.

The second published English translation of Fontaneda comes by a slightly roundabout route. B. F. French's (1799-1877) 1875 version used the French translation of Compan, which is based on Muñoz's Spanish transcription.[30] French only published the *Memoir*, despite the fact that Compan included the *Memoranda*. Also of interest, French's translation retains Compan's misspelling of Fontaneda as Fontanedo. French also changed the organization of the text, dividing it into three chapters. Along with the volume that includes Fontaneda, French also published other historical materials.[31] Although research for this paper revealed little more about him, he appears to have been more of an antiquarian than historian in his methodology.

Barnard Shipp (1813- unknown) used elements of French's translation in his own version of Fontaneda's text.[32] Published in 1881, Shipp's version is shorter than French's English adaptation of Compan's French translation. Some of the deletions appear related to Fontaneda's penchant for repetition, while the reason for other removals is simply not clear. Moreover, in comparison with French's translation, Shipp's version has slightly different grammar, and is not separated into three chapters. Nonetheless, the similarities between these versions clearly indicate that French is the source for Shipp's edition. As with French, Shipp only published the *Memoir*, not the *Memoranda*. He also published another volume on *The Indian and antiquities of America*.[33] Little else is known about Shipp, although he also published another volume focused on *The Indian and Antiquities of America*. In sum, he appears to fit the nineteenth century antiquarian model similar to Smith and French.

Anthropologist John Reed Swanton (1873-1958) was the first professional researcher to utilize English translations of Fontaneda. He worked for the Bureau of American Ethnology, and published

30. B. F. French, *Historical Collections of Louisiana and Florida: Including Translations of Original Manuscripts Relating to Their Discovery and Settlement; Historical Memoirs and Narratives, 1527-1702* (New York: Albert Mason, 1875), 235-265.

31. For example, B. F. French, *Historical Collections of Louisiana Embracing Translations of Many Rare and Valuable Documents Relating to the Natural, Civil and Political History of the State* (New York: Wiley and Putnam, 1846).

32. Barnard Shipp, *The History of Hernando de Soto and Florida; or, Record of the Events of Fifty-Six Years, from 1512 to 1568* (Philadelphia: Robert M. Lindsay, 1881), 584-589.

33. Barnard Shipp, *The Indian and Antiquities of America* (Philadelphia: Sherman & Co., 1897).

several extensive tomes.[34] In two of these volumes, one from 1922, and the second from 1946, Swanton included some excerpts from Fontaneda's *Memoir*, along with the *Memorial*, *Fragment 1*, and *Fragment 2*. His *Memoir* translations are based on the work of B. F. French, and thus trace back to Compan's French translation of Muñoz's Spanish transcription. It is unclear why Swanton used a version so far removed from the original, especially when he was familiar with Smith's English translation, which is included in Swanton's bibliography. However, perhaps he made this choice based on the work's readability. Whereas Smith's version retains much of the repetition and literal flow of Fontaneda, French's version is more accessible to the general reader. For the *Memorial* translation, Swanton utilized Lowery's transcript. He speculated that this text might be from the hand of Fontaneda. He also sourced *Fragment 1* and *Fragment 2* from Lowery, using translations prepared by Brooks. Information about Brooks is quite scant, although historian John H. Hann noted that the Brooks translations "left much to be desired and deleted important details as well."[35] Concerning *Fragment 1* and *Fragment 2*, Swanton noted these textual fragments are from "*Notes and Annotations of the Cosmographer, López de Velasco.*" Swanton's published volumes are extensive and represent the author's keen intellect and expansive knowledge. However, his choices in reference to Fontaneda's documents suggest he may have been slightly careless when choosing source data or he preferred audience readability over accuracy. Nonetheless, some allowances are possible, especially due to the sheer size and span of the topic covered in these volumes, and this fact may outweigh the need to focus intently on the little details about a single cultural group at the extremes of his research scope.

David O. True (unknown-1967) edited the next English translation of Fontaneda, which was published in 1944.[36] He consciously designed this volume as an updated version of Smith's translation. Indeed, True stated that it was a "reappraisal and amended translation of Fontaneda's *Memoir* by Buckingham Smith," and "in this

34. For example, John R. Swanton, *Early History of the Creek Indians and their Neighbors* (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1922); and John R. Swanton, *The Indians of the Southeastern United States* (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1946).
35. John H. Hann, *Missions to the Calusa*, Ripley P. Bullen Series (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1991), 315.
36. True, *Memoir of Do d'Escalante Fontaneda Respecting Florida.*

reprint, we have retained Buckingham Smith's translation, where the meaning is not materially different, although the flowing vocabulary of Smith is quite at variance with the stilted expressions and tireless repetitions of Fontaneda."[37] For his updating of the English translation of the *Memoir*, True used both the Muñoz transcription as brought through in Smith and Connor's transcription, the latter of which is included in True's book. For the *Memoranda*, True utilized Muñoz's transcription, as this was the only one available. The Spanish text of the *Memoranda* is also included in True's volume. Concerning possible errors in Smith's translation, True stated "his errors are due to some extent to the imperfect copy made for Muñoz . . . some are due to careless proof reading . . . errors of translation are few . . . [*but*] . . . they have thrown some of the most important passages into confusion."[38] Moreover, he observed that it is remarkable that those interested in the history of Florida "accepted Buckingham Smith's translation without checking the original document or Spanish copies made from it."[39]

Additional data about True's volume is available from a small anonymous publication announcement in the *Florida Historical Quarterly*.[40] The author of this announcement noted that a reprint is necessary because Smith's book was limited to one hundred copies, is rare, and hence difficult to access. Additionally, the anonymous writer confirms the source of the Spanish transcription of the *Memoir* included with True's volume, noting that the transcription included was from the version placed in the Library of Congress by Connor. It also comments that this volume included an introduction by True and textual notes by True, Smith, and Swanton. Finally, this announcement indicated that Angela del Castillo suggested certain corrections to Smith's translations, but this fact is not further explained.

Biographical and other information about True is available from his obituary, along with his other publications.[41] He was a long time member of the Florida Historical Society, and served on

37. *Ibid*,7, 17.
38. *Ibid*, 17.
39. *Ibid*,16.
40. "A Reprint of Fontaneda," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 23, no. 4 (April 1945): 249-250.
41. "Obituary David O. True," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 45, no. 4 (April 1967): 439; David O. True, "The Freducci Map of 1514-1515: What it Discloses of Early Florida History," *Tequesta* 4 (1944): 50-55; David O. True, "Some Early Maps Relating to Florida," *Imago Mundi* 11 (1954): 73-84; and David O. True, "Cabot Explorations in North America," *Imago Mundi* 13 (1956): 11-25.

the editorial board of the *Tequesta* journal. He also published articles on cartography, and helped get photocopies of rare early maps for the Library of Congress, the University of Miami Library, and the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History. Consequently, it appears True was interested in numerous projects and did not specifically focus on translating documents. Thus, True's research focus, coupled with the noted assistance from Castillo, suggests True may not have possessed the translative skills to complete a new translation. These factors may answer why the True text was consciously designed as a revision of Smith, rather than an original translation from Spanish transcriptions.

John H. Hann (1926-2009) worked tirelessly to advance our understanding of Florida history through the publication of numerous books.[42] His 1991 volume of document translations concerning the Calusa included the *Memorial*, *Fragment 1*, and *Fragment 2*. Hann did not recognize Fontaneda as the author; these pieces are in a section entitled "*Brief Memorials and Notes, 1569(?) by Juan López de Velasco.*"[43] They are based on Lowery's, work and an additional copy of *Fragment 1* from Stapells-Johnson. No additional data has yet been located concerning Stapells-Johnson. Hann referenced Swanton's publication of *Fragment 1* and *Fragment 2*, but he noted that Swanton employed the inadequate translations of Brooks.[44] Hann was clearly a professional historian. In addition, he was the site historian for Mission San Luis, an important archaeological site situated at the location of a Spanish mission in an Apalachee Indian village.

John E. Worth (1966-) undertook the next translations of Fontaneda.[45] As mentioned before, he is an Assistant Professor at the University of West Florida, and is best classified as a professional anthropologist. His 1995 article is indispensable for several reasons. First, his English translations were the first to utilize the original documents. Second, he was the first to confirm that Fontaneda authored the *Memorial*, *Fragment 1*, and *Fragment 2*. Third, his article represents a prototypical translation history,

42. For example John H. Hann, *A History of Timucua Indians and Missions*, Ripley P. Bullen Series (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996); and Hann, *Indians of Central and South Florida, 1513-1763*.
43. Hann, *Missions to the Calusa*, 315-319.
44. Ibid, 315.
45. Worth, "Fontaneda Revisited;" and Worth, *Discovering Florida*.

including a number of references to the transcribers and translators of Fontaneda. Indeed, it was a useful resource for this paper. Even more important, his forthcoming book is the first publication to include all five of Fontaneda's documents transcribed and translated together. Moreover, the source of his transcriptions and translations are directly from the original documents and represent an important step forward for the continued use of the vital ethnographic information found in the writings of Fontaneda. Due to his extensive, long term work with the Fontaneda documents, Worth has two different translations of the *Memorial*, *Fragment 1*, and *Fragment 2*, which will be distinguished in Worth 1995 for his article from that year, and Worth n.d., for this forthcoming volume.

Excerpts from Fontaneda's work continue to appear in books about Florida history. For example, Gail Swanson includes excerpts from True's Fontaneda translations in her book covering the Native Americans of the Florida Keys and the Miami area.[46] The importance of Fontaneda for Florida history and archaeology is immeasurable. As a result, we must endeavor to overcome the inherent translation problems in such documents.

Based on the available translations of Fontaneda, it is clear that a number of individuals have tackled this endeavor over the last one hundred and fifty years. The translators can be loosely separated into avocation antiquarians (French, Shipp, Smith, and True) practicing history after and around their other careers, and professional researchers (Swanton, Hann, and Worth) whose academic duties include working on these translations. There is clearly a temporal dimension to this avocational-professional division, with the modern development of college programs in history and anthropology contributing to the growth of the profession of the past. Nonetheless, the greatest textual division is evident between those books destined for more general readership, i.e., the more readable but less faithful French, Shipp, and Swanton, and those books aimed at a more specialized and academic audience, i.e., the work of Smith, True, Hann, and Worth. Indeed, the following textual analysis clearly supports this separation based on a hypothesized target audience.

46. Swanson, *Documentation of the Indians of the Florida Keys and Miami, 1513-1765.*

Selection Rationale

Five excerpts were selected from the relevant materials available (see **Appendix: Selections from Fontaneda**). A number of factors influenced the choices, including the availability of Spanish transcription, the presence of multiple English translations, and variation in style and content. Two excerpts were drawn from the Spanish transcripts of the *Memoir* (Muñoz, Connor, and Worth), and one excerpt from each of the following: the *Memoranda* (Muñoz, and Worth), *Fragment 1* (Worth), and *Fragment 2* (Worth). Additionally, in consultation with digital copies of the original documents and Worth's new transcripts, I created transcripts of these five sections to aid with the literally translated English version necessary for interlingual analysis.

Importantly, each of the five selections is available in multiple English translations. The first selection from the *Memoir* is a general description of the Florida land, peoples, and food resources and is included in Smith, French, Shipp, Swanton(French), True, and Worth. The second selection from the *Memoir* details the social-cultural-political relationship between groups in southern Florida and the division of shipwreck riches among these populations and can be found in Smith, French, Shipp, True, and Worth. The selection from the *Memoranda* details the geography of the islands to Florida's south and east, including the Keys, Tortugas, and Bahamas and is available in Smith, True, and Worth. The other two selections are from *Fragment 1* and *Fragment 2*, and are from Swanton (Brooks), and Hann, along with two different translations by Worth. For the present analysis, all of *Fragment 1* is included. This short text discusses the four kinds of human sacrifices performed by the Calusa. For the last selection, this paper uses the second half of *Fragment 2B*. This excerpt discusses the Tequesta custom for hunting marine mammals. Each of these choices differs in textual content, ranging from more concrete realities such as geography, to ideas that are more esoteric and open to debate like the socio-cultural relationships between different groups in southern Florida, from the practicalities of hunting to the enigmatic nature of religious practice. Thus, through choosing such differential content in these selections, it is possible to investigate if certain aspects of culture are harder to translate than others.

Comparing and Contrasting the Selections

This section contains the actual textual analysis of the transcriptions and translations of Fontaneda. Initially, concerning the *Memoir* and *Memoranda* transcripts, there are several differences of note between that of Muñoz, on the one hand, and that of Connor (for the *Memoir* only), Worth, and the present author, on the other. Muñoz clearly altered Fontaneda's spelling and grammar to reflect a transition from 1500s to 1700s Spanish. Indeed, the founding of the *Real Academia Española* in 1713 surely brought pressure for regularization of the Spanish language. Some examples from Muñoz include the word 'inside', rendered as '*adentro*' instead of '*dentro*' as in Fontaneda, or 'I leave' as '*dejando*' instead of '*dexando*'. Additionally, Muñoz adds punctuation to Fontaneda and removes the insistent '/' and '//' that abound in the original. Clearly, the influence of the *Real Academia Española* and an awareness of what might constitute legitimate Spanish had some bearing on Muñoz's transcription choices. Discussion of such regularizing norms is included in the next section linking these observations to the theory covered earlier.

Another major difference between Worth's *Memoir* transcript and every other available one relates to a piece of text discussing the towns and inhabitants around Lake Okeechobee. Worth renders this important section as "*muchos pueblos aunque son de treynta I quarenta [I veinte otros tantos] lugares*" (literal English rendering: many towns although they are of thirty and forty [and twenty other many] places), whereas Muñoz states "*muchos pueblos, aunque san de treinta y cuarenta vecinos, y otros tantos lugares*" (literal English rendering: many towns, although they are of thirty and forty residents, and others many places), Connor states "*muchos pueblos avnque son de treynta I quarenta vs^{o} y otros tantos lugares*" (literal English rendering: many towns although they are of thirty and forty [each?] and others many places), and this author rendered it as "*muchos pueblos aunque son de treynta I quarenta lugares*" (literal English rendering: many towns although they are of thirty and forty places). The above rendering by Worth represents the most precise interpretation of this snippet from Fontaneda. All the other transcribers missed the text that Worth placed in square brackets. In the original Fontaneda documents, these elusive few words are included in extremely small letters above the rest of the sentence. Indeed, even this author's transcript does not include this snippet because

it was not seen during initial transcription; although, after comparing Worth's transcript to an enlarged copy of the original document, it is clear his rendering of the text is accurate.

Finally, comparing and contrasting the transcript excerpts from Fontaneda's *Fragment 1* and *Fragment 2B* indicates there are a few differences of note between the versions of Worth and this author. The primary distinction relates to text in square brackets, i.e., text that is not legible in the original document due to damage or shorthand notations. This especially affects *Fragment 1*, where the right edge of the document has frayed, losing a letter or two off the edge. However, in no case does this impair the ability to render the text as Fontaneda wrote it over four hundred years ago.

As for the translations themselves, in terms of the first selection from the *Memoir*, the intralingual comparisons indicate several interesting things. The English excerpts are roughly divided into two groups, with Smith, True, and Worth's translations being significantly more literal than the others but harder to understand, whereas French, Shipp, and Swanton (French) offer less literal translations leading to a better flow and easier comprehensibility for the general audience. To accomplish the latter, the translators removed a number of the repetitions and transitional phrases from Fontaneda's writings, and the order of some of the text was changed. Additionally, Shipp deleted the second half of the excerpt for no apparent reason. There are also some minor differences between Smith, True, and Worth, e.g., Smith's "the inhabitants make bread" becomes "they have bread" in True and Worth, or "very high flavor" in Smith is rendered as "very savory" in True and "very delicious" in Worth, or Smith's "which rises in some season so high" becomes the more compact "which rises greatly" in Worth. These examples reveal that Smith tended to be more colorful in his renderings.

The most interesting issue related to the first *Memoir* excerpt, however concerns the previously discussed text addressing the population around Lake Okeechobee. Smith translated it as there "are many towns, although of not more than thirty of forty souls each; and as many more places there are *in which people are not so numerous* (emphasis added)," True's rendering is almost identical, and Worth's version states "it has many towns, although they are of thirty and forty (*and just as many with twenty*) places (emphasis added)." This difference is clearly due to the inaccurate transcript of Muñoz and Connor used by Smith and True. Nonetheless, this

difference is vital because there is often a correlation between population size and socio-cultural complexity. Thus, Worth's rendering has important implications for interpreting the population size around Lake Okeechobee. He notes "this phrase is extremely ambiguous, yet pivotal in ethnographic importance"[47]

For the second selection from the *Memoir*, the intralingual comparison indicates some minor differences between Smith, True, French, Shipp, and Worth. First, there are some phrasing differences between Smith, True, and Worth. While Smith states "and he took what *appeared to him well*, or the best part" (emphasis added), True renders it as "and he took what *pleased him*, or the best part" (emphasis added), and Worth as "and he took what *seemed suitable to him*, or the best." This would again seem to be indicative of Smith's previously noted use of more verbose wordings, along with the individual differences of each translator. Indeed, while the text is different, the evoked feeling is quite similar. Second, there are also some variations between French and Shipp. As with the first selection from the *Memoir*, Shipp deletes material when compared to French. For example, Shipp drops several of the transition phrases, such as "I will say no more now on this subject, but proceed to speak." He fixes some of the grammar, removing repeated use of the word 'of', as in "the Indians of Ais, *of* Jeaga, *of* Guacata, *of* Mayajuaca, and *of* Mayaca (emphasis added)." However, he also misspells Jeaga as "Feaga." Finally, when comparing Smith and True to French and Shipp, several deletions are seen in the latter grouping, including the removal of a reference to the Ais tribe, silver bars, and the fact that Carlos was the individual dividing up the shipwreck riches. The answers to these three discrepancies can be resolved with a comparison to the interlingual version.

Several points of interest emerge when comparing the literally translated English version to the existing English translations of the second excerpt from the *Memoir*. As with Smith, True, and Worth, my rendering does note that the Ais were, in fact, the tribe receiving many of the shipwrecked riches; this is at odds with French and Shipp. However, as with Worth's new translation, I do not see any references to bars of silver or Carlos as the individual who divided the shipwreck riches, although both could certainly be inferred from surrounding context and other sources.

47. Worth, *Discovering Florida*, 426.

For the *Memoranda*, in the intralingual comparisons of the English translations there are interesting differences between Smith, on the one hand, and True and Worth on the other hand. The last sentence of this excerpt is distinctly ordered. Smith states "*all the coasts on the Bahama Channel*, so that many vessels are lost on the islands of the Tortugas and the Martires" (emphasis added), whereas True states "so that many vessels are lost *all along the coasts of the Bahama Channel* and on the islands of the Tortugas and the Martires" (emphasis added), and Worth notes "many ships are lost in *all that coast of the Bahama Channel*, and the Tortugas Islands and [the islands] of the Martyrs." A possible answer lies with the literally translated English version, which I rendered similar to the ordering of True and Worth. Indeed, True observed that Smith's translation included some errors "due to careless proof reading."[48] Thus, it may be due to a distracted reading of Fontaneda that Smith flipped the components of this sentence.

For *Fragment 1*, the comparison of the English translations of Swanton (Brooks), Hann, and both translations by Worth are quite enlightening. First, the translations of Brooks published in Swanton are significantly reordered and rephrased when compared to the other translations. For example, instead of spelling out the individual sacrifices, i.e., the first sacrifice, the second sacrifice, etc., Brooks simplified it to first, second, etc. Additionally, Brooks significantly simplifies the first sentence of this piece, which is clear when compared to this paper's interlingual version. Second, each of the translators renders the "entity" coming in the fourth sacrifice slightly differently, with Brooks referring to "witches," Hann to "shamans," Worth 1995 to "sorcerers," and Worth n.d. to "shamans." While witches, shamans, and sorcerers are all acceptable translation of the Spanish "*hechiceros*," these terms' cultural baggage is quite varied. Indeed, it is telling that Worth's later translation changed from sorcerers to shamans. Moreover, while this paper's interlingual version uses the term "sorcerers," the focus of this literal rending was purposely not on culturally sensitive word choice. From this example, it should be clear that the translator's cultural context may influence their word choice. This is something discussed in the next section linking the current textual observations to the previously covered Translation Studies' methodology and theory.

48. True, *Memoir of Do d'Escalante Fontaneda Respecting Florida*, 17.

An additional area of study with this textual fragment revolves around the changes between Worth 1995 and Worth n.d. Having two translations from the same person provides an interesting window into how individual translators can also change their rendering through time. For example, in 1995 Worth retained the Spanish word for the head Indian, i.e., "*cacique*," a term that has commonly currency in ethnohistorical study. Yet, his newer translation renders "*cacique*" as "chief." Additionally, Worth earlier translated the Spanish "*adoran*" as "they adore," whereas in his newer volume he renders it as "they worship." As with the above discussion of *hechiceros*, cultural considerations might influence whether a people adore an idol or worship it. Again, in the interlingual version, where cultural consideration was not the chief concern, adore was the term used.

The last excerpt, *Fragment 2B*, includes English translations found in Swanton (Brooks), Hann, and, again, two from Worth. There are some major differences between Brooks, on the one hand, and Hann and Worth, on the other. First, the marine mammals the Tequesta hunted were "sea cows" according to Brooks, but a "whale" according to Hann and Worth. Second, in Brooks a sentence concerning the whale running aground on the sand is removed. Additionally, the terminology used in Brooks is quite distinct from that seen in Hann and Worth. For example, in Swanton's text, Brooks rendered the following as "carries three stakes fastened to his girdle and a rope on his arm," while both Hann and Worth (1995) render it as "carries three stakes in his belt and he throws the lasso," and Worth (n.d.) states "sent with three stakes at his waist, and he throws a lasso." Finally, comparing Hann and Worth, the former is slightly more elaborate in his text, e.g., "extract two bone" vs. "remove two bones," or "deceased" vs. "dead." Thus, the analysis of this fragment corroborates some of the translative issues with Brooks and notes overall similarities between Hann and Worth, despite the former's tendency to be more intricate in rendering.

Once again, comparing the two translations of *Fragment 2B* by Worth to the interlingual translation is instructive. For example, in 1995 Worth discusses "while the whale is diving," whereas his newer translation talks about "while it is coming up." Comparing these snippets to the literally translated, and quite awkwardly rendered, "while the whale is go plunging," suggests Worth's former translation might be closer to the original. Nonetheless, following

the logic of this text fragment, it is also quite possible to argue that the Indian hunters may have waited for the whale to come up for a breath prior to attempting to capture it. Also, once again there is the distinction between "adore" and "worship." Finally, in describing a whale's blowhole, Fontaneda's original text states "*una estaca por una entana de las narices*" (literal English rending: a stake through a window of the nose). This final example illustrates what is sometimes lost in translation, this delightfully playful phrase, "a window of the nose," becomes the less interesting, albeit clearer, "nostril" or "nostrils" in Brooks, Hann, and Worth (1995), and "air holes" in Worth (n.d.).

Ourobros: Folding the Selections back to the Theory

During the earlier discussion of the theory and methodology of Translations Studies, both Toury's coverage of norms, and Pym and Long's work on translation history were singled out for application to this current translation history of Fontaneda. Importantly, these researchers provided several avenues to analyze the work of the transcribers and translators discussed above. Moreover, by breaking down the individual transcribers and translators by specific times and locales, it is possible to speculate about potential influences, including considerations of audience and prevailing societal standards.

Without a doubt, there is a major distinction between the English translations of Fontaneda potentially related to the anticipated audience. Fontaneda's original text is often difficult to follow, lacking flow, and replete with repetitions. While historians would accept such difficulties, the public at large may be less accommodating. On the one hand, Smith, True, Hann, and Worth might represent translations for a more specialized audience. Indeed, Smith's text had an extremely limited print run of 100. Thus, such books are for those who are interested in hearing Fontaneda as he wrote. This notion is in keeping with the 'foreignizing' tradition in translation; i.e., they borrowed words from Spanish and kept the repetitions of Fontaneda. Their work was intended for an audience who expected some difficulties in translative rendering, and accepted such obscurity as suitable translative norms. On the other hand, French, Shipp, and Swanton (French/Brooks) "domesticated" Fontaneda; they removed the repetitions and unclear text. Their work evidently

was aimed at a more general audience who would not accept opacity in translation.

Such a distinction can be reframed utilizing the terminology of Toury.[49] For example, at the most basic level, both groups of translators utilize the same preliminary norms, i.e., an equivalent overarching translation policy; they were translating Fontaneda into English. However, they clearly differ in their operational norms, i.e., the actual choices in their individual translations. Such choices might relate to the expectations of the intended audience, along with what such an audience would accept as a legitimate rendering. Another example of this behavior of the individual translator relates to the aforementioned different translations of *hechiceros* and *adoran.* First, the words witches and sorcerers clearly have negative cultural associations in English, e.g., the legacy of Salem. Whereas the term shamans appears less culturally loaded and is probably a better descriptive term for the functions performed by the religious practitioners seen by Fontaneda. Second, while they adore and they worship are certainly acceptable translations of *adoran,* the latter appears a better fit for the implied ancestor reverence. These examples illustrate why perfunctory translation will result in, not just problematic grammar and word order, but also poor word choices and culturally invalid idioms. Finally, another example of norms and legitimization can be witnessed in reference to the Muñoz transcription. Muñoz clearly altered Fontaneda's spelling and grammar, quite probably due to the regularizing pressure of the *Real Academia Española.* Thus, we can witness influence on Muñoz's transcription due to his time and place, which, in turn, filtered through into Compan, French, Shipp, Smith, and True.

In a similar vein, in the second selection from the *Memoir,* when comparing Smith and True to French and Shipp, several alterations were noted in the former pair, including the inclusion of silver bars and the role of Carlos in dividing shipwreck riches. While these additions are not in the original text, they are not without merit based on what is known about sixteenth century southern Florida. Indeed, it does appear that the Calusa cacique controled much of the trade/tribute in European shipwreck goods, which would have included items such as gold, silver, and human captives. These additions during translation certainly have

49. Toury, "The Nature and Role of Norms in Literary Translation."

some background in the established cultural surroundings and even in audience expectation. At any rate, a translator's introduction must address such translative choices so future scholars can investigate the many textual questions that will certainly abound about any translated piece.

Switching focus, our gaze must return to the titular concept of this paper, i.e., translation history. Long noted that translation history is an important tool to analyze the same document through multiple translations.[50] Such an approach did yield a number of intriguing similarities and differences in the various transcriptions and translations of Fontaneda. Moreover, utilizing the terminology developed by Pym, it is possible to frame the findings of this textual analysis in a wider scope.[51] For example, comparing the results of this paper to Pym's three discourses of translation history, i.e., archaeology, criticism, and explanation, demonstrates both the success of the current project and where future scholarship is needed.

This paper certainly meets the first discourse, by digging into the basic facts of the multiple versions of Fontaneda; albeit, with the realization that there are probably other copies of Fontaneda transcriptions and translations in hitherto unidentified texts. Indeed, as Fontaneda has been repeatedly transcribed into Spanish, and translated into English and French, it is possible that other editions exist somewhere, sitting on a dusty bookshelf. Nonetheless, what this paper demonstrates is there is a long lineage of Fontaneda versions, each with associated translative baggage.

In the case of Pym's second and third discourses, it is harder to develop a definitive answer as to why a specific translation may have occurred and also to conclusively demonstrate the influence of an individual translator and their surrounding context. Nonetheless, in the case of True it is possible to discuss the reasons why the translation occurred and, in reference to Worth, clearly connect the translative work with his context. On the one hand, True's text was designed explicitly as both a reprint and update to Smith's text, to increase availability of Fontaneda's *Memoir* and as a means for correcting a few of Smith's errors and omissions. In reference to True's brief biographic sketch discussed earlier, it is apparent he was not in a position to complete a new translation of Fontaneda. This evidently explains True's use of an additional

50. Long, "Chapter 4 History and Translation."
51. Pym, *Methods in Translation History*.

individual, Angela del Castillo, to make limited suggestions on the translation itself. On the other hand, Worth's new translation is a long-overdue effort to bring all of Fontaneda's documents together in one text. Moreover, his familiarity with the subject, e.g., his previous article attributing Fontaneda's authorship to the previously unrecognized *Memorial*, *Fragment 1*, and *Fragment 2*, demonstrates why he was in a position to produce a brand new transcription and translation of the five Fontaneda texts.

Pym also developed four principles of translation history, and this paper explores each of these aspects in reference to Fontaneda's multiple reproductions. First, while there are still some gaps, this paper details the times and places of the various Fontaneda transcriptions and translations, addresses why some of these translations were produced, and questions the differences between them Second, this paper attempts to place these various works in relation to those who authored them, i.e., naming the individual transcribers and translators. Third, the surrounding social context of these individuals was explored, especially with reference to such dichotomies as antiquarian vs. historian and general vs. specialized audience. Interestingly, while this first division does not align with the major textual differences, the latter pairing appears to be central to the major schism in the translated version of Fontaneda's *Memoir*. The final principle asks why do translation history? Indeed, why is this translation history of Fontaneda necessary and important? Quite simply, Fontaneda's proto-ethnographic observations of the indigenous societies of southern Florida are unparalleled. The knowledge contained in these five primary documents is vital for anyone interested in the past of this region. Moreover, this translation history reveals why we must get closer to the original source and why we must constantly question the available translations and transcriptions. The past is never static, because the influence of the present colors our view. Yet, looking through this prism, we can witness something of Fontaneda's experiences among the Calusa.

Conclusion

The results of this textual analysis are quite clear. Foremost, it was past time for a new translation of Fontaneda that includes all five of his writings and reached back to the original documents. John E. Worth's forthcoming volume effectively meets these

requirements.[52] Second, it is imperative that Florida historians and archaeologists do not merely parrot the historical document translations describing the state's history. We must question translations because factors like legitimizing norms and consideration of audience will sway their production in a multitude of ways. Nevertheless, with the increasing digitization of original documents, a world of texts has opened for the modern historian. Such developments suggest a future where history is no longer reliant on sometimes fallible transcriptions, but where the historian will have access to original sources from anywhere in the world.

Appendix: Selections from Fontaneda

This appendix includes the multiple versions of the five Fontaneda excerpts utilized in this translation history. The literally rendered English translations by the author were sourced from a digital copy of Fontaneda's original documents available from the *Portal de Archivos Españoles*, along with consultation of new transcriptions of Worth (n.d.) for any unclear elements. For the first selection from the *Memoir*, the excerpts included the Muñoz, Connor, and Worth Spanish transcriptions, a transcript and literal English rendering by the author, and the English translations of Smith, True, French, Shipp, Swanton (French), and Worth. The second selection from the *Memoir* includes the Spanish transcriptions of Muñoz, Connor, and Worth, a transcript and literal English rendering by the author, and the English translations of Smith, True, French, Shipp, and Worth. The excerpts from the *Memoranda* include the Muñoz and Worth Spanish transcription, a transcript and literal English rendering by the author, and the English translations of Smith, True, and Worth. Finally, for the last two selections Spanish sources for *Fragment 1* and *Fragment 2* are drawn from Worth and the present author's transcription, and English translations are drawn from Swanton (Brooks), Hann, Worth (1995) and Worth (n.d.), along with this author's literally rendered version. Finally, while the texts are reproduced as rendered, several extraneous textual notes contained in the selections from Smith and True have been deleted.

52. Worth, *Discovering Florida.*

Memoir Selection 1

Muñoz Transcription in BVMC
sobre esta laguna que corre por en medio de la tierra adentro, tiene muchos pueblos, aunque san de treinta y cuarenta vecinos, y otros tantos lugares. Tienen pan de raíces, ques la comida ordinaria la más parte del tiempo, aunque por caso de la laguna, que crece mucho, no alcanzan estas raíces por estorbo de la mucha agua; y ansí dejan de comer algún tiempo este pan. Hay pescado mucho y muy bueno, y otras raíces a manera de turmas, y otras diferentes de muchas maneras; mas cuando hay caza, ansí de venados como de aves, entonces comen carne o ave. También digo que hay en aquellos ríos de agua dulce enfinitísimas anguillas, muy ricas, y truchas grandísimas, casi tamaño de un hombre, las anguillas gordas como el muslo y menores

Connor Transcription in True 1945: 67-68
sobre esta laguna que corre por en medio de la tierra dentro tiene muchos pueblos avnque son de treynta i quarenta vs^{o} y otros tantos lugares tienen pan de rraises ques la comida ordinaria la mas parte del tienpo Avnque por caso de la laguna que crese mucho que no alcansan estas rraises por estorbo de la mucha Agua y ansi dejan de comer Algun tienpo este pan pescado mucho y muy bueno / otras Rayses a manera de turmas de las de Aca duses y otras diferentes / de muchas maneras mas quando ai casa Ansi de benados como de abes entonses comen carne o abe / tanbien digo que ai en aquellos Rios de aqua duce enfinitisimas anguillas y muy rricas y truchas grandisimas casi tamaño de vn honbre las anguillas gordas como el muslo y menores

Worth Transcription in Worth n.d.: 366-367
sobre esta laguna que corre por en medio de la tierra dentro tiene muchos pueblos aunque son de treynta i quarenta [i veinte otros tantos] lugares tienen pan de rraises ques la comida ordinario la mas parte del tienpo aunque por caso de la laguna que crese mucho que no alcansan estas rraises por estorbo de la mucha agua y ansi dejan de comer algun tienpo este pan pescado mucho y muy bueno / otras rayses a manera de turmas de las de du[l]ses y otras diferentes / de muchas maneras mas quando ai casa ansí de benados como de abes entonses comen carne o abe / tanbien digo que ai en aquellos rios de agua du[l]ce enfinitisimas anguillas y muy

rricas y truchas grandisimas casi tamaño de un honbre las anguillas gordas como el muslo y menores

Transcription from digital copy by the author
Sobre esta laguna que corre por en medio de la tierra dentro tiene muchos pueblos aunque son de treynta I quarenta lugares tienen pan de rraises ques la comida ordinario la mas parte del tienpo aunque por caso de la laguna que crese mucho que no alcansan estas rraises por estorbo de la mucha agua y ansí dejan de comer algun tienpo este pan pescado mucho y muy bueno / otras rayses a manera de turmas de las de aca de[l]ses y otras diferentes / de muchas maneras mas quando ai casa ansi de benados como de abes, en[tonces comen] carne o abe / tanbien [d]igo que ai en aquellos rios de agua [dulce en]finitisimas anguillas y muy rricas y truchas grandisimas casi tamaño de un honbre las anguillas gordas como el muslo y menores

Literal Translation by the author
On this lagoon that run by in middle of the land inside have many towns although they are 30 and 40 places they have bread of roots that the food ordinary the more part of the time although for case of the lagoon that grows much no reach these roots for hindrance of the much water and this way stop of the eating some time this bread fish many and very good other roots in manner of truffles of the from here sweet and others different / of many manners but when there is hunting this way of deer like of birds at that time eats meat or birds / also I say that there are in rivers of water sweet infinite eels and very rich and trout large almost size of a man the eels fat like the thigh and smaller

Smith 1854: 15-16
On this lake, which lies in the midst of the country, are many towns, although of not more than thirty or forty souls each; and as many more places there are in which people are not so numerous. The inhabitants make bread of roots, which is their common food the greater part of the year; and because of the lake, which rises in some seasons so high that the roots cannot be reached in consequence of the water, they are for some time without eating this bread. Fish is plenty and very good. There is another root, like the truffle of this country, which is sweet; and there are other different roots of many kinds; but when there is game, either deer or birds,

they prefer to eat flesh or fowl. I will also mention, that in the rivers of fresh water are infinity of eels of very high flavor, and enormous trout, nearly the size of a man. The eels are the thickness of the thigh, and some of them are smaller.

True 1945: 27

On this lake, which lies in the midst of the country, are many towns, of thirty to forty inhabitants each; and as many more places there are in which people are not so numerous. They have bread of roots, which is their common food the greater part of the time; and because of the lake, which rises in some seasons so high that the roots cannot be reached in consequence of the water, they are for some time without eating this bread. Fish is plenty and very good. There is another root, like the truffle over here, which is sweet; and there are other different roots of many kinds; but when there is hunting, either deer or birds, they prefer to eat meat or fowl. I will also mention, that in the rivers of fresh water are infinite quantities of eels, very savory, and enormous trout. The eels are nearly the size of a man, thick as the thigh, and some of them are smaller.

French 1875: 248-249

This lake is situated in the midst of the country, and is surrounded by a great number of villages of from thirty to forty inhabitants each, who live on bread made from roots during most of the year. They cannot procure it, however, when the waters of the lake rise very high. They have roots which resemble the truffles of this country (Spain), and have besides excellent fish. Whenever game is to be had, either deer or birds, they eat meat. Large numbers of very fat eels are found in the rivers, some of them as large as a man's thigh, and enormous trout, almost as large as a man's body; although smaller ones are also found.

Shipp 1881: 585

This lake is situated in the midst of the country, and is surrounded by a great number of villages of from thirty to forty inhabitants each, who live on bread made from roots, during most of the year. They, however, cannot procure it when the waters of the lake rise very high.

Swanton (French) 1922: 388
This lake [Mayaimi] is situated in the midst of the country, and is surrounded by a great number of villages of from thirty to forty inhabitants each, who live on bread made from roots during most of the year. They can not procure it, however, when the waters of the lake rise very high. They have roots which resemble the truffles of this country [Spain], and have besides excellent fish. Whenever game is to be had, either deer or birds, they eat meat. Large numbers of very fat eels are found in the rivers, some of them as large as a man's thigh, and enormous trout, almost as large as a man's body; although smaller ones are also found.

Worth n.d.: 384
Upon this lake, which runs through the middle of the interior, it has many towns, although they are of thirty and forty (and just as many with twenty) places. They have bread from roots, which is the ordinary food during the greater part of the time, although in the case of the lake, which rises greatly, they cannot reach these roots due to the obstacle of the amount of water, and thus they leave off eating this bread for some time. [They also have] much and very good fish, and other roots in the manner of truffles like the sweet ones here, and other different ones in varieties. Furthermore, when there is game, both of deer and birds, then they eat meat of fowl. I also say that in those freshwater rivers are infinite eels, and very delicious, and very large trout, almost as large as a man, and the eels as thick as the thigh and smaller.

Memoir Selection 2

Muñoz Transcription in BVMC
Dejando esto aparte, quiero hablar de las riquezas que los indios de Ais hallaron, que sería hasta un millón y más en barras y en oro y otras cosas de joyas, hechas de manos de indios mexicanos que traían los pasajeros; las cuales se repartieron el cacique de Ais y Jeaga y Guacata y Mayaguaci y Mayata, y él tomó lo que le pareció o lo mejor. Con estos navíos y otros dichos y carabelas perdidas, y indios de Cuba y de Honduras, perdidos en busca del río Jordán, que venían ricos, y los cogían Carlos y el de Ais y Jeaga y las islas de Guarugumbe, son ricos, como tengo dicho, de la mar y no de la tierra.

Connor Transcription in True 1945: 73
dexando esto aparte / quiero hablar de las Riqsas que los yndios de ays hallaron que seria hasta millon y mas en barras y en oro y otras / / cosas de joias hechas de manos de yndios mejicanos que traian los pasajeros la qual lo rrepartio el casique de ais y jeaga y guacata y mayajuaca y mayaca y el tomo lo que le parezio / o lo mejor / con estos nabios y otros dhos. y carabelas perdidas y indios de cuba y de honduras perdidos en busca del Rio jordan que benian Ricos. y los cojian carlos / y el de ais y jeaga / y las yslas de guarugunbe / son Ricos como dho tengo de la mar y no de la tieRa

Worth Transcription in Worth n.d.: 377-378
Dexando esto aparte / quiero hablar de las riqu[ue]sas que los yndios de Ays hallaron que seria hasta myllon y mas en barras y en oro y otras cosas de joias hechas de manos de yndios Mejicanos que traian los pasajeros la qual lo rrepartio el cacique de Ais y Jeaga y Guacata y Mayajuaca y Mayaca y el tomo lo que le parezio / o lo major / con estos nabios y otros d[ic]hos y carabelas perdidas y indios de Cuba y de Honduras perdidos en busca del Río Jordan que benian ricos y los cojian Carlos / y el de Ais y Jeaga / y las yslas de Guarugunbe / son ricos como d[ic]ho tengo de la mar y no de la tiera /

Transcription from digital copy by the author
Dexando esto aparte / quiero hablar de las riqu[ue]sas que los yndios de Ays hallaron que seria hasta myllon y mas en barras y en oro y otras cosas de joias hechas de manos de yndios Mejicanos que traian los pasajeros la qual lo rrepartio el cacique de Ais y Jeaga y Guacata y Mayajuaca y Mayaca y el tomo lo que le parezio / o lo major / con estos nabios y otros d[ic]hos y carabelas perdidas y indios de Cuba y de Honduras perdidos en busca del Río Jordan que benian ricos y los cojian Carlos / y el de Ais y Jeaga / y las yslas de Guarugunbe / son ricos como d[ic]ho tengo de la mar y no de la tiera /

Literal Translation by the author
To leave this beside / I want to speak of the wealth that the Indians of Ais discovered that being even a million and more in bars and in gold and others things of jewels complete of hands of Indians Mexico that bring the passengers; which it distributed the cacique

of Ais and Jeaga and Guacata and Mayaguaci and Mayata, and the I take him that the opinion / or the attractive / With these ships and others such and caravels loses, and Indians of Cuba and of Honduras losts in search of the river Jordan, that come rich, and the Carlos / and the of Ais and Jeaga / and the islands of Guaragunbre / are rich like the aforementioned I have of the sea and no of the land /

Smith 1854: 23-24

Leaving this matter aside, I desire to speak of the riches found by the Indians of Ais, which perhaps were as much as a million of dollars, or over, in bars of silver, in gold, and in articles of jewelry made by the hands of Mexican Indians, which the passengers were bringing with them. These things Carlos divided with the caciques of Ais, Jeaga, Guacata, Mayajuaci, and Mayaca, and he took what appeared to him well, or the best part. These vessels, and the wreck of the others mentioned, and of caravels, with the substance of the Indians of Cuba and Honduras who were lost while in search of the River Jordan, and who came well off, were taken by Carlos, and by the chiefs of Ais and Jeaga. The Indians of the Islands of Guarungunve are rich; but, in the way that I have stated, from the sea, not from the land.

True 1945: 34-35

Leaving this matter aside, I desire to speak of the riches found by the Indians of Ais, which perhaps were as much as a million dollars, or over, in bars of silver, in gold, and in articles of jewelry made by the hands of Mexican Indians, which the passengers were bringing with them. These things Carlos divided with the caciques of Ais, Jeaga, Guacata, Mayajuaco, and Mayaca, and he took what pleased him, or the best part. These vessels, and the wreck of the others mentioned, and of caravels, with the substance of the Indians of Cuba and Honduras who were lost while in search of the River Jordan, and who came well off, were taken by Carlos, and by the chiefs of Ais and Jeaga. The Indians of the Islands of Guaragunbe are rich; but, in the way that I have stated, from the sea, not from the land.

French 1875: 262

I will say no more now on this subject, but proceed to speak of the wealth which the Indians found in bars of gold and Mexican jewel-

ry belonging to the shipwrecked passengers, amounting to more than a million. The chief retained the best part of it for himself, and divided the remainder among the Indians of *Ais*, of *Jaega*, of *Guacata*, of *Mayajuaca*, and of *Mayaca*. Most of the vessels or caravels, as I stated before, which had been shipwrecked there were from Cuba and Honduras, and going in search of the river *Jordan*, which explains how the Indians of *Ais*, of *Jaega*, and the Guardgumve Islands became so enriched by the sea and not by the land.

Shipp 1881: 588
Of the wealth which the Indians found in bars of gold and Mexican jewelry, belonging to the shipwrecked passengers, amounting to more than a million, the chief retained the best part for himself, and divided the remainder among the Indians of the Ais, Feaga, Guacata, Mayajuaca, and Mayaca. Most of the vessels which had been shipwrecked were from Cuba and Honduras, and going in search of the river Jordan, which explains how the Indians of Ais, Feaga, and the Guaragunve Islands became so enriched by sea, and not by land.

Worth n.d.: 396-397
Leaving this aside, I wish to speak about the riches that the Indians of Ays found, which would be up to a million or more in bars and in gold and other things of jewelry made by the hands of Mexican Indians, which the passengers brought, all of which was distributed by the chief of Ais and Jeaga and Guacata and Mayajuaca and Mayaca, and he took what seemed suitable to him, or the best, with these ships and others mentioned, and caravels lost, and Indians from Cuba and from Honduras lost in search of the River Jordan. They came rich, and Carlos captured them, and the [chief] of Ais and Jeaga and the islands of Guarugunbe are rich, as I have stated, from the sea and not from the land.

***Memoranda* Selection**

Muñoz Transcription in BVMC
Las islas Lucayo son de tres suertes, y es desta manera: lo primero las islas de Bahama, lo segundo las islas de los Órganos, lo tercero las islas de Los Mártires, que confinan con unos cabos de las Tortugas, hacia Poniente, y estos cabos son de arena, y como son

de arena, no se ven de lejos, y por esta causa se pierden muchos navíos en toda aquella costa de la canal de Bahama y las islas Tortugas y de Los Mártires.

Worth Transcription in Worth n.d.: 401-402
Las islas Lucayo son de tres suertes, y es desta manera lo primero las yslas de Bahama lo segundo las yslas de los Organos lo tercero las yslas de los Martires que confirma con unos caios de las Tertugas hacia poniente y estos caios son de harena y como son de harena no se ben de lejos y por esta causa se pierden muchos nabios en toda aquella costa de la canal de Bahama y islas Tertugas y de los Martires.

Transcription from digital copy by the author
Las islas Lucayo son de tres suertes, y es desta manera lo primero las yslas de Bahama lo segundo las yslas de los Organos lo tercero las yslas de los Martires que confirma con unos caios de las Tertugas hacia poniente y estos caios son de harena y como son de harena no se ben de lejos y por esta causa se pierden muchos nabios en toda aquella costa de la canal de Bahama y islas Tertugas y de los Martires.

Literal Translation by the author
The islands Lucayo they are of three kinds and to be this manner the first the islands of Bahama the second the islands of the Organos the third the islands of the Martires that confine with some keys of the Tortugas towards the West and they are keys to be of sand and they are to be of sand no knowledge to come of in the distance and for this cause themselves lose view of many ships in all that one coast of the canal of Bahama and the islands Tortugas and of the Martires

Smith 1854: 26
The islands of the Lucayos are made up of three groups, in this wise: First, the islands of the Bahama; second, the islands of the Organos; third, the islands of the Martires, which have their confines on the west in certain *cayos* (keys), the Tortugas, formed of sand, and for this reason are not to be seen from a distance, as is the case with all the coasts on the Bahama Channel, so that many vessels are lost on the islands of the Tortugas and the Martires.

True 1945: 37
The islands of the Lucayos are made up of three groups, in this wise: First, the islands of the Bahama; second, the islands of the Organos; third, the islands of the Martires, which are adjacent on the west to certain cayos (keys), the Tortugas, formed of sand, and for this reason are not to be seen from a distance, so that many vessels are lost all along the coasts of the Bahama Channel and on the islands of the Tortugas and the Martires.

Worth n.d.: 405
The Lucayos Islands are of three sorts, and it is in this fashion: the first, the islands of Bahama; the second, the islands of the Organos; the third, the islands of the Martyrs, which borders toward the west with some keys called Las Tortugas. These keys are of sand, and since they are of sand, they cannot be seen from afar, and for this reason many ships are lost in all that coast of the Bahama Channel, and the Tortugas Islands and [the islands] of the Martyrs.

***Fragment 1* Selection**

Worth Transcription in Worth n.d.: 414
De lo que en la Florida pasa de los yndios de la misma tiera los de Carlos primeram[n]te tienen por costunbre cada ves que muere un hijo del casique cazrifican cada vesino sus hijos o hijas q[ue] van en conpania de la muerte del hijo del casique / la segunda cacrefisio es que quando el casique mismo muere o la casica matan los mismos criados del o della y este es el Segundo cacrefisio /
el tersero cacrifisio es que matan cada ano un captive cristiano para dar de comer a su ydolo que adoran en el que disen que su ydolo come ojos de onbre umano y con la cabesa baylan cada ano que tiene por costunbre /
y el quarto cacrifisio es que despues del verano bienen unos hichiseros en figura del demono con unos cuernos en la cavesa y vienen aullando como lobos y ot[r]os muchos ydolos diferentes que dan boses como anymales del monte y estan estos ydolos quarto meses que nunca cosiegan noche ni de dia que tan coriendo con mucha furia que cosa p[ar]a contar la gran bestelidad quellos hazen /

Transcription from digital copy by the author
De lo que en la Florida pasa de los yndios de la mi[s]ma tiera los

de Carlos primeram[n]te tienen por costunbre cada ves que muere un hij[o] del casique cazrifican cada vesino sus hij[os] o hijas q[ue] van en conpania de la muerte del hijo del casique /
la segunda cacrefisi[o] es que quando el casique mismo muere o la casica matan los mismos criados del o della y este es el Segundo cacrefisio /
el tersero cacrifisio es que matan cada ano un captive cristiano para dar de comer a s[u] ydolo que adoran en el que disen qu[e] su ydolo come ojos de onbre umano y con la cabesa baylan cada ano que tiene por costunbre /
y el quarto cacrifisio es que despues del verano bienen unos hichiseros en figura del demono con unos cuern[os] en la cavesa y vienen aullando como lobos y ot[r]os muchos ydolos diferentes que dan boses como anymales del monte y estan estos ydolos quarto meses que nunca cosiegan noche ni de dia que tan coriendo con mucha furia que cosa p[ar]a contar la gran bestelidad quellos hazen /

Literal Translation by the author
Of what in the Florida passes of the Indians of the same land those of Carlos first they have by custom every time that dies a son of the casique sacrifice each citizen their son or daughter that they go in company of the death of the son of the casique /
the second sacrifice is that when the casique dies or the casica kill the same servants of him or her and this is the second sacrifice /
the third sacrifice is that kill every year a captive Christian for to give of food to their idol that they adore in the that design that their idol eat eyes of man human and with the head they dance each year that they have by custom /
and the fourth sacrifice is that after the summer there comes sorcerers in figure of the devil with some horns in the head and comes howling as wolves and others many idols different that they shout as animals of the forest and are these idols four months that never rest night or of day that so run with much fury that thing to tell the great bestiality that they act /

Swanton (Brooks) 1922: 389
The Indians of Carlos have the following customs:
First. Every time that the son of a cacique dies, each neighbor sacrifices (or kills) his sons or daughters who have accompanied the dead body of the cacique's son.

Second. When the cacique himself, or the caciqua [his wife] dies, every servant of his or hers, as the case may be, is put to death. Third. Each year they kill a Christian captive to feed their idol, which they adore, and they say that it has to eat every year the eyes of a man, and then they all dance around the dead man's head. Fourth. Every year after the summer begins they make witches, in the shape of devils with horns on their heads, howling like wolves, and many other idols of different kinds, who cry loud like wild beasts, which they remain four months. They never rest, but on the contrary, they keep on the run with fury all the time, day and night. The actions of these bestial creatures are worth relating.

Hann 1991: 316

About what happens in Florida concerning the Indians of the same land. Those of Carlos firstly have as a custom each time a son of the cacique dies each inhabitant sacrifices his sons or daughters, who go in company of the death of the cacique's son; the second sacrifice is that when the chief himself or the chieftainness dies, they kill his or her own servants, and this is the second sacrifice. The third sacrifice is that each year they kill a Christian captive so that they may feed their idol, which they adore in [doing] it. That they say their idol eats human men's eyes. And they dance with his head each year. They have this as a custom.

And the fourth sacrifice is that after the summer some shamans (*hichizeros*) come in the guise (*figura*) of the devil with some horns on their head. And they come howling like wolves and many other different idols, which make noises like animals from the woods (*del monte*). And these idols are four months that they never rest neither day nor night that they go running about with great fury. That the great bestiality that they do is a thing to tell about.

Worth 1995: 344

Of what happens in Florida among Indians of the same land. Those of Carlos firstly have as custom [that] each time a child of the cacique dies, each resident sacrifices his sons or daughters who go in company of the death of the child of the cacique./ The second sacrifice is that when the cacique himself dies, or the cacica, they kill his or her own servants, and this is the second sacrifice./ The third sacrifice is that they kill each year a Christian captive in order to feed their idol which they adore, and which they say eats the eyes of the human male and eats the head. They dance each

year, which they have for custom./ And the fourth sacrifice is that after the summer come some sorcerers in the shape of the devil with some horns on their heads, and they come howling like wolves and many other different idols which yell like animals of the woods, and these idols stay four months, in which they never rest night or day, running so much with great fury. What a thing to relate the great bestiality which they do!

Worth n.d.: 416-417
Of what happens among the Indians of the land itself, those of Carlos. Firstly, they have as custom that each time a child of the chief dies, each resident sacrifices their sons or daughters, who go in company of the death of the child of the chief. The second sacrifice is that when the male chief himself dies, or the female chief, they kill the very servants of him of her, and this is the second sacrifice.
The third sacrifice is that they kill every year one captive Christian in order to feed the idol that they worship, which they say eats the eyes of humans, and they dance with the head each year, which they have as a custom.
And the fourth sacrifice is that after the summer, there come some shamans in the figure of the devil, with some horns on their heads, and they come howling like wolves, and many other different idols that shout like animals of the woods, and these idols are there four months, during which they never rest, night or day, running with great fury. What a thing to recount the great bestiality that they perform.

Fragment 2B Selection

Worth Transcription in Worth n.d.: 415-416
Y en el ynvierno salen todas las canoas a la mar entre todos estos yndios sale un yndio envixado que lleba tres estacas en la cinta y echale el laco al pescuezo y mientras la vallena se ba sumiendo metele una estaca por una ventana de las narices y ansi como se cabulle no la pierde porq[ue] va sobre ella y en matandola q[ue] la mata sacanla asta q[ue] encall[e] en la arena y lo prim[er]o q[ue] le acen abrenle la cabeca y sacanle dos guesos q[ue] tiene en el casc[o] y estros dos guesos hechanlos en esta caxa q[ue] ellos meten los difuntos y en esto adoran

Transcription from digital copy by the author
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Literal Translation by the author
And in the winter out all the canoes to the sea among all these Indians out a Indian sent that carry three stakes in the band and throw his lasso to the neck and while the whale is go plunging he places a stake through a window of the nose and this way as is tied up he no the to lose because go on it and in killing that the kills pull it that strand it on the sand and the first that they do open the head and take out two bones that have in the skull and these two bones they put in this box that they put the dead and in this they adore it

Swanton (Brooks) 1922: 389
In winter all the Indians go out to sea in their canoes, to hunt for sea cows. One of their number carries three stakes fastened to his girdle and a rope on his arm. When he discovers a sea cow he throws his rope around its neck, and as the animal sinks under the water, the Indian drives a stake through one of its nostrils, and no matter how much it may dive, the Indian never loses it, because he goes on its back. After it has been killed they cut open its head and take out two large bones, which they place in the coffin, with the bodies of their dead and worship them.

Hann 1991: 319
And in the winter all the canoes go out to the sea. Among all these Indians one Indian sent (*enbixado?*) goes out, who carries three stakes in his belt and he throws the lasso around its neck (*y echale el laco al pesquezo*) and while the whale is proceeding to disappear, he shoves a stake through one of its nostrils (*por una ventana de las narizes*) and thus [as it] is tied up (*como se cabulle*) he does not lose it because he goes on top of it. And in killing it as he is killing it

(*y en matandola que la mata*) they pull it in until it runs aground on the sand. And the first thing that they do to it [is that] they open the head and extract two bones that it has in the skull and they throw these two bones in this chest (*caja*) in which they place the deceased and in this they adore.

Worth 1995: 344-345
And in the winter all the canoes come forth to the sea. Among all these Indians one Indian is sent forth who carries three stakes in his belt, and he throws the lasso around the neck, and while the whale is diving he inserts a stake through one nostril, and thus as it is tied he does not lose it, because he goes on it, and in killing it as he kills it they pull it until it runs aground in the sand, and the first that they do is open the head and remove two bones which it has in its head, and these two bones they put in this chest in which they place the dead, and they adore this.

Worth n.d.: 418
And in the winter, all the canoes go to the sea, and among all these Indians there comes forth one Indian who is sent with three stakes at his waist, and he throws a lasso around the neck of a whale, and while it is coming up, he places a stake in one of the air holes, and thus since it is tied up he does not lose it because he goes on top of it, and upon killing it as they do, they run it aground on the sand, and the first that they do is to open up the head and remove two bones that it has in the skull, and they place these bones in this box where they place their dead, and they worship this.

Book Reviews

Daniel Murphree, Book Review Editor

Zamumo's Gifts: Indian-European Exchange in the Colonial Southeast. By Joseph M. Hall, Jr. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009. Acknowledgments, illustrations, notes, glossary, index. Pp. x, 232. $37.50 cloth.)

In the spring of 1540, Altamaha chief Zamumo sent to Spanish conquistador Hernando de Soto and his rapidly approaching army a load of gifts. In return, de Soto gave Zamumo a feather which Zamumo gratefully received with the words, "this your feather that you give me, I can eat with it; I will go forth to war with it; I will sleep with my wife with it" (1). This seemingly simple exchange, Joseph M. Hall, Jr. contends, was far more important, complex, and frequent than the casual reader might imagine. Although gift-giving was central to most Native diplomacy in the colonial period (and, indeed, long before 1540), Zamumo was especially interested in using the Spanish presence to gain a leg-up on his regional rival, Ocute. Although in this case, de Soto did not stay long enough to make a difference either way for Zamumo, this exchange nonetheless serves for Hall as the paradigm for which we should understand the ensuing two centuries of increasingly complex Native-European relations in the American southeast.

The central argument around which this book coheres is that Native conceptions of exchange—more in terms of building networks and alliances and less in term of commerce—was central and powerful in the colonial southeast and forced Europeans as early as de Soto in the 1540s and as late as British trader Patrick Mackay in

the 1740s to adjust imperial strategy to existing Native realities. "Histories of exchange deserve more sustained examination," Hall asserts, and clearly this book is an attempt to recast southeastern Native-European history with exchange at the center of most of what goes on (5). At its most radical moments, this book is a reconceptualization of how the southeast was "won"; in short, "feathers and lace accomplished much more than fire and steel" (53).

For the most part, this is a convincing recasting. The chronological scope of the book (1540 – 1760s) and the ongoing presence of multiple imperial powers are crucial for establishing the essential continuities Hall argues exist. The chapters proceed chronologically, with each chapter highlighting nuanced changes in how exchange and trade are revised over time (essentially from gift-giving on Native terms to English-dominated, commercial-driven exchange of goods). Along the way, Hall is especially interested in the ways in which Natives themselves forced European empires to reshape their imperial ambitions and commercial desires to fit Native conceptions of trade, exchange, and alliance. Southeastern Indians, for example, "compelled the Spaniards to abandon the pike and harquebus for quieter means of conquest," i.e., trade (43). Exchange/gift-giving/trade ends up being foundational for most of Native activity, movement, and negotiation with Europeans. Exchange and diplomatic gift-giving allowed the Spanish to build a wide network of influence and alliance far into the interior in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Attention to Native expectations of gift-giving was the foundation for English traders establishing commercial networks in the mid seventeenth century. Networks of exchange provided connections for the Native groups fleeing the slave raids of the Westos in the late seventeenth century. Despite the English colonists' increasing attempts to impose order on the southeastern backcountry in the 1720s, as long as the French and Spanish imperial presence remained, Native gift-giving and exchange allowed the Creeks and Cherokees to renegotiate English trade relations in their favor.

At times, however the lines between these various modes of exchange (gifts-trade-diplomacy-commerce) can feel somewhat muddled (Hall's discussion on p. 71 is less than clear, for example). Throughout, Hall weaves archeological evidence, historical documentation (impressively, from Spanish, French, and English sources), and contemporary oral histories and ethnographic data into one seamless narrative. Such creative use of sources is almost demanded by the subject matter, but at times the presence of oral

histories and ghost stories with their reality-defying tales and historic recasting verge on trivializing the more concrete information in the surrounding paragraphs.

In the end, however, this is essentially a retelling of an increasingly well-trodden history of Native-Native and Native-European relations in the southeast, albeit through the lens of exchange (which can feel artificially imposed at times). The opening chapters on the pre-contact Native history of the region and, later, Spanish intrusion and influence, seem the strongest in many respects, in part because they contain material less familiar to most Americanists. Specialists will be familiar with the particularities of the English-driven Indian slave trade in the colonial southeast from the 1670s through the Yamasee War, although somehow reading about it in the larger context of imperial dynamics and the longer history of Indian exchange practices makes it feel slightly different, particularly since Hall's emphasis is less on the English and more on how Native groups responded to English aggressiveness and fought to refashion trade and alliances on their own terms (primarily through warfare and alliance with rival European empires). *Zamumo's Gifts* feels somewhat reminiscent of Alan Gallay's *The Indian Slave Trade* (2002), although Natives take center stage for Hall in a different way than they do for Gallay. Christina Snyder's *Slavery in Indian Country* (2010) covers much of the same history and cast of characters, although with differing emphases (slavery and race).

Nonetheless, this book is an important contribution to the fields of Native American and colonial American history. Hall has an amazing grasp of the vagaries of local dynamics and events that will likely seem bewildering to a non-specialist. The overall point is well-taken, and the volume goes a long way toward providing yet another "facing east," Native-centered history in ways that are exciting and historically nuanced. Although the book can feel dense at points (despite its relative brevity—171 pages of text), it is full of content and interpretation that graduate students and scholars in related fields will appreciate. At some point, however, one begins to wonder what the outer limits of assertions of ongoing Native control might be with regard to exchange. When the French are gone from the region after 1763, and—later—the Spanish from Florida, it is difficult to imagine Natives dictating much of anything in the face of a criminally aggressive newly United States, as the sad history of the nineteenth century demonstrates.

Linford D. Fisher *Brown University*

The Quaker Community on Barbados: Challenging the Culture of the Planter Class. By Larry Gragg. (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2009. Acknowledgements, introduction, map, epilogue, bibliography, index. Pp. vii, 192. $39.95 cloth.)

When I imagine the lives of colonial Quakers, they always seem to appear in gray and wintry settings—the impassioned Mary Dyer bowed at the gallows in Boston, John Woolman trudging through a muddy lane toward his next heavenly vision. Why do I see them in such grim climates? Because of their well-known plain dress, so often gray itself? Because of the apparent austerity of their silent worship? Larry Gragg's new book not only corrects my mistaken impression but also offers reasons for the error. *The Quaker Community on Barbados* provides a carefully researched glimpse into the lives of colonial Friends on the island of Barbados from their earliest migrations in the 1650s to the eventual decline of the Quaker community in the early eighteenth century. In the book, Gragg suggests that scholarship on Quakers has overlooked the significant presence of Caribbean Friends in favor of studying other outposts along the "transatlantic network of Friends" (4). In addition, Gragg illuminates ways in which Friends on Barbados ran counter to the social and political expectations of Anglican colonial authorities. By attending to colonial Friends in a sunnier climate, Gragg effectively reveals their critical influence on broad currents of Quaker thought.

The Quaker Community on Barbados begins by providing a brief overview of the cradle of the Society of Friends in England and the rise of the English colony on Barbados. Both chapters provide useful context for those that follow (and will serve as a helpful introduction for readers unfamiliar with these histories). In addition, these early chapters show that the Quaker community in Barbados was intimately aware of and connected to English reports and ideas. Many Quakers went to Barbados for the same reason they went to the Puritan stronghold of New England: to mission. As in Boston, their reputation for radical dissent often preceded them. Gragg takes care to show, for example, that the antics of the English Quaker dissenter James Nayler were apparently common knowledge amongst suspicious Anglicans on Barbados. Colonist Henry Fell wrote to his wife in 1657, worried by those who "'Blaspheme the name of our God, because of reports wch come out of England concerninge J.N.'" (45).

Using sources like letters, Quaker wills, and Friends' own testimonies, Gragg pieces together a remarkable history of a colonial people who "left no birth, marriage, or death records" (59). He ably demonstrates that these colonial English Friends—who numbered an estimated 1200 at the height of their island presence—were both like and unlike their Puritan and Anglican counterparts on Barbados and in New England. Like, in that they enjoyed the benefits of occasional prosperity in the colony. Unlike, due to their religious prohibitions against oath-taking, military service, and their unwillingness to provide financial support to the established church. Despite these proscriptions (and their perpetual impulses to confront local Anglicans loudly in the name of their own gospel), Friends continued to increase until their proportional representation amongst white colonists on Barbados outstripped their presence in England by more than six to one (61).

It is the Quakers' position amongst this privileged group of white colonists that Gragg attends to most movingly. Quakers arrived on Barbados just as many of the principal doctrines of the Society of Friends were solidifying, but they migrated many decades before the Friendly testimony against slaveholding began. Most Quakers on Barbados, like their counterparts to the north, were active participants in the slave trade. George Fox himself, the founder of the Quakers, visited Barbados in 1671 and spoke and wrote extensively on the subject of slavery. Gragg shows clearly that Fox was concerned by what he saw on the island and called on Friends to consider enslaved people as members of their own families. He urged Quakers not only to treat their slaves humanely, but also to make every attempt to convert them—a goal that was both frightening and illegal in the eyes of many fellow slaveholders on the island. Fox even suggested that Quakers might plan for eventual manumission after a period of "'thirty years servitude'" (134). Gragg seems to suggest that Barbados may well have served as an important crucible for later Quaker views on abolition. Quaker efforts to convert enslaved people and to agitate for their right to worship were feared and despised by colonial authorities, who expected rebellion to follow. But Gragg is realistic, too—the Quakers, like their fellow colonists, remained largely complicit in the ideologies of race and biblical interpretation that propped up the brutal system of slavery on the island.

Like their endeavors to ameliorate slavery, Quaker society on Barbados eroded and faltered. The thriving community on Barbados was ravaged by disease and worn away by migration—the promise of

an easier and simpler life in the Quaker colony to the north was irresistible for many. In this book, Gragg has unveiled their presence and their significance. He successfully argues that Friends on Barbados are not only a crucial component of transatlantic Quakerism in its earliest decades, but also an unmistakable and often noisy counterpoint to the dominant English expectations in this sunny clime.

Jennifer Lockard Connerley *James Madison University*

Encountering Revolution: Haiti and the Making of the Early Republic. By Ashli White. (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010. Acknowledgements, notes, essay on sources, index. Pp. ix, 280. $55 cloth.)

Ashli White makes a strong contribution toward understanding the Haitian Revolution's political impact on the United States with her well-organized, well-written book, *Encountering Revolution.* In a work that will engage scholars of Atlantic revolutions, the early national United States, and social, cultural, and political aspects of American slavery and abolition, White examines the public and private responses of Americans to the flight of some 25,000 whites, enslaved blacks, and free "people of color" from the French Caribbean colony of Saint-Domingue to the United States between 1791 and 1809, and the political consequences of interactions between refugees and residents.

Since the early twentieth century, studies have attempted to place Saint-Dominguan migrants to the United States in historical context. Works like Frances Sergeant Childs's *French Refugee Life in the United States, 1790–1800: An American Chapter of the French Revolution* (1940) argued that while some refugees assimilated into American society, the vast majority, disenchanted with life in the United States, eventually returned to France. More comprehensive recent studies like Alfred N. Hunt's *Haiti's Influence on Antebellum America: Slumbering Volcano in the Caribbean* (1988) have examined the Haitian Revolution's impact on culture, race relations, and politics in the United States. In light of Haiti's bicentennial, recent conferences have produced a number of essays on topics relating the Revolution to developments in the United States. Among the works featuring these essays are *The Impact of the Haitian Revolution in the Atlantic World* (2001), and *The World of the Haitian Revolution* (2009), the latter featuring an essay by White.

In *Encountering Revolution*, White distinguishes her work from social or demographic studies of the refugees while at the same time ably using these elements to provide a foundation for her arguments that "exiles forced Americans to confront the paradox of being a slaveholding republic" even as the Haitian revolution itself "bolstered and rationalized American slavery and racism" (2). American national identity was part of the "paradox" that White analyzes, and she argues that the Haitian Revolution provided an opportunity for both black and white Americans to define that identity.

Contextualizing her study in the larger historiography of the early republic, White does not claim that the Haitian Revolution alone influenced discourse on race, slavery or national identity. The heart of White's political analysis lies in connections between the Haitian Revolution and American discourse on republicanism, with debate influenced not only by events in France and Saint-Domingue, but by the presence of exiles from those locales. Her use of a variety of sources —letters, newspaper articles, and government documents such as the Alien Reports required in the aftermath of the 1798 Alien and Sedition Acts—is especially useful to this end. White examines the influence of interactions among refugees and residents on different aspects of republican ideology, emphasizing how such interactions, and fears of residents regarding the importation of slave rebellion, helped redefine republicanism in its American framework.

Acknowledging the many influences on republicanism during this period, White teases out the relationship between these influences, the presence of refugees, and the events of the Haitian Revolution itself. Refugees with a variety of political outlooks arrived in the United States. These refugees made use of, and in many cases helped expand, the public sphere as they attempted to present themselves as true representatives of republican ideals (a task that required royalists and other colonists to discredit Saint-Domingue's revolutionary government), while portraying their political opponents as fanatics or reactionaries. White effectively portrays this heated debate as having an unintended effect on American audiences, in that it lessened sympathy for the refugees. This debate had significance for American politics too, with Federalists using it to stress the folly of political factionalism, and Jeffersonian Republicans tempering their support for revolutionary republicanism in the belief "that the future of the U.S. republic depended on white solidarity" (112).

In their efforts, Republicans were countering what they viewed as "the contagion of rebellion," the title of White's fourth chapter

(124). While this chapter touches on debates familiar to historians of abolition in the early republic, relating the views of writers like Abraham Bishop and St. George Tucker, its treatment of the actions of enslaved Saint-Dominguans in the United States is nuanced and insightful. The range of motives driving enslaved migrants—the threat of violence, loyalty to masters or family—was lost on many white Americans who mistakenly viewed slaves from Saint-Domingue as agents of revolt. Many black Americans also made their own uses of the Revolution, with free blacks inspired to speak out against the racist structures of early national politics and society, and enslaved blacks creating opportunities to gain their own freedom, whether through escape, or less frequently, violence.

White argues that American fears of imported slave revolt were further expressed and acted upon after passage of the 1807 federal law banning the Atlantic slave trade. The enforcement of this law (and similar state laws previously ignored) by southern states came into play with the arrival of a last wave of some 10,000 refugees in 1809 after their expulsion from Cuba some five years after the declaration of Haitian independence. While these fears of the "specter of Haiti" were ultimately not enough to bar these refugees from keeping their slaves, White uses the episode to illustrate the continuing role that such fears would play in American politics, even after the Civil War.

Through her focus on republican ideology, White convincingly argues for the long-lasting impact of the Haitian Revolution on American political theory and practice. Skillfully tying together developments in Saint-Domingue, France, and the United States, White's analysis furthers our understanding of the Haitian Revolution's significance for United States history, and provides insights on the changing nature of politics in the Atlantic world in an age of republican revolutions.

John Davies *Plattsburgh State University*

Pirate Hunter, A Novel. By Tom Morrisey. (Minneapolis, MN: Bethany House, 2009. Pp. 352. $13.99 paper.)

Pirate Hunter, by professional deep-sea diver and adventure-travel writer Tom Morrisey, interweaves two storylines: the early eighteenth century adventures of a pirate crew during the golden age of piracy, and a twenty-first century treasure hunt. Though liv-

ing centuries apart mainly in the Caribbean and Key West, the book's characters face similar challenges and circumstances that culminate in overlapping themes: love and forgiveness.

Though unlikely themes at first glance for a book involving pirates, many of Morrisey's characters are religious, while others have strained personal relationships that taint their beliefs and are working through their dilemmas. The novel evolves in part as Morrisey's characters explore faith to reconcile their past. Though some readers might avoid a novel with religious tones, Morrisey's use is relevant and well placed in plot and character.

For historical context, Morrisey researched the golden age of piracy, and in an interview with his publisher, cited his means of finding evidence: archaeological dives on Blackbeard's pirate ship *Queen Anne's Revenge*, dives to shipwrecks in the Florida Keys and interviews of historians at the North Carolina Maritime Museum, and Tortola in the British Virgin Islands.

In many cases, the research shows. Captain Henry Thatch, one of the novel's main characters, is based in part on Edward Teach, also referred to as Tash or Thatch in some references, but better known by his alias Blackbeard (David Cordingly, ed., *Pirates: terror on the high seas, from the Caribbean to the South China Sea*, 1996). Although Thatch shares some of the physical characteristics of Blackbeard, Morrisey's pirates are veritable saints compared to those of the era who frequently tortured their prisoners (Cordingly, *Pirates*).

Morrisey also draws from research about the slave trade. The novel opens with Thatch's crew commandeering a slave ship whose occupants are sold for pirate profit, a common practice in the eighteenth century. Thatch explained his decision regarding the captured slaves: "Slavery may be the devil's own commerce, but death is irreversible. So I sold them to save them, . . . and put a few farthings in our pockets" (13).

However, Thatch invites one young black slave dubbed Bold Ted to join the crew as his understudy because he speaks "the King's English," is "familiar with Scripture," and seems "to have an extremely able head" (13). Bold Ted was raised and educated by a Scotsman living in Africa, but ambushed during a chore and sold into slavery. Though some slaves joined pirate crews, often they were relegated to hard labor or lowly tasks (Cordingly, *Pirates*; Cordingly, *Under the Black Flag*, 1995) According to one report, black men didn't have weapons during an attack, revealing their status as servants. (Cordingly, *Under the Black Flag*).

As for the novel's style, Morrisey alternates or combines chapters to carry both storylines, successfully structuring the novel as a page-turner. And though switching from third person for one storyline to first person for another was sometimes jarring, it doesn't distract from a good read. For the adventure or action-minded reader, pirate chase scenes - as pursuer and pursued - detailing tactics and attacks are intriguing, peaking with a high-winds hurricane finale in Florida.

Edward C. Woodward *Tampa, Florida*

Railroads in the Old South: Pursuing Progress in a Slave Society. By Aaron W. Marrs. (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009. Acknowledgments, Maps, Introduction, Notes, Essay on Sources, Index. Pp. xi, 268. $55 cloth.)

In this innovative study of modernity in the Old South, Aaron Marrs seeks to go beyond the usual dichotomy linking traditionalism with Southern slavery, and modernization with Northern industry. In his thoroughly researched and well written analysis of railroads in the South, Marrs shows that southern slaveholders did manage to incorporate a certain level of modernity into their slave society. His goal is to understand how white Southerners "married conservative social ideals with forward-looking technological advancement" (7). The South got off to a fast start in building railroads in the 1830s, but fell far behind the North and West in the 1840s. Most of the southern lines were short distance connections between cotton plantation and river or ocean facilities. Few efforts were made to build systems and little attention was devoted to long-distance traffic.

Marrs emphasizes that the rapid growth in southern railroading in the 1850s needs to be appreciated in terms of the region's confrontation with modernity. Instead of a chronological or narrative approach, Marrs explores four basic themes. He argues that to a large degree the railroad experience in North and South was parallel despite the differences in labor systems. The North relied on immigrants and the South relied on slaves to do jobs that most Americans were unwilling to undertake. Both regions imported their technology from Britain, and both were linked to a national program of internal improvements. Marrs' second theme is an

analysis of the difference that slavery made on southern railroads, and how the South's modernization efforts had to work around racial barriers. A third theme is the multiplicity of southern responses to railroads from many different groups. Finally, Marrs is intrigued with the question of time. He agrees that the increasing attention to punctuality and precise schedules in the South was due primarily to the railroads, but also shows that the railroaders' efforts to control and standardize time came into confrontation with other groups, ranging from the Post Office which called for Sunday trains, to the Sabbatarians, who denounced the desecration of the Sabbath. Close attention to time and precise rules in a highly bureaucratic system proved successful in preventing accidents to passengers.

Marrs approaches the labor history of the railroads from two perspectives, that of civil engineers who were trying to finish projects on schedule and within the budget, and from the workers themselves, especially the slaves. With upwards of 500 to 1,000 workers, the railroads had labor forces significantly larger than plantations, and they were spread out over long miles rather than concentrated in one location. The railroads rarely owned slaves, because of the high capital costs involved in their purchase and upkeep. Instead, railroad companies hired them from nearby plantations, and used nearly all of them for unskilled work, especially the heavy labor of construction. The planters who wanted to invest in a railroad could provide slave labor in lieu of cash. Three-fourths of the railroads in the South employed slaves, totaling over 20,000, including women and children. In the North, there was an ample supply of free labor, with more arriving by the shipload every week. In the South, however, the railroads competed directly with cotton farming, which given the very high prices in the 1850s, made it difficult to hire enough slave labor. Other historians have pointed to the importance of the Irish labor gangs in the building of the nation's railroads, but Marrs pays little attention to ethnicity, or to the uniquely Irish system of gang labor. He does report instances of intra-Irish gang fights and cases where contractors fired white workers and replaced them with slaves. Although white workers were rarely compensated for death or serious injury, the owners of slaves did receive compensation, either through specific contracts or through the action of local courts which ruled that the fellow servant rule did not apply to slaves since they were unable to bargain for higher wages in dangerous situations. On average, slaves were

cheaper than white labor; the wages of the slaves went to the owners but they did collect an occasional dollar for extra jobs.

Marrs does find important structural differences between the sections; for example, more than half of the investment in southern railroads came from government subsidies, compared to 25 percent nationwide. He suggests the similarities outweigh the differences, noting that in both sections, the Whig party promoted railroads, while the radical Democrats opposed them. Marrs seems uninterested in comparing the political context of North and South. Civil engineers were in short supply across the land, but they had to solve very similar challenges everywhere. He pays a good deal of attention to boosters who used three basic arguments involving technological advantages over water transport, the economic benefits to the region, and the fact that railroads would bind the nation together and divert attention away from the slavery issue to promote their cause.

The research effort is impressive, with the author employing wide reading not only in the contemporary newspapers, magazines, pamphlets, and business reports, but also the modern historiography as well. Marrs successfully synthesizes business and labor history, covering the first three decades of railroading in the South, while making frequent judicious comparisons to conditions in the North. The passengers have not been left behind, as Marrs undertakes insightful descriptions of the exciting new experience of racing along at 20 miles per hour, as the South in 1860 appeared to be on an unstoppable fast track toward modernity.

Richard Jensen *Culver-Stockton College*

Confederate Minds: The Struggle for Intellectual Independence in the Civil War South. By Michael Bernath. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010. Acknowledgements, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. xiii, 432. $39.95 cloth).

This nicely written and well-organized book presents a wide-ranging and comprehensive survey of the writings of Confederate cultural nationalists during the Civil War. In seven mainly chronologically organized chapters, Michael Bernath, the Charleton W. Tebeau Assistant Professor of History at the University of Miami, traces what he sees as the dramatic rise and

even more abrupt collapse of a literary Confederate nationalism found in the pages of countless newspaper articles, magazines, pamphlets, and books between 1861 and 1865. Purely political writings and polemics and legal or constitutional texts are generally excluded from this treatment in favor of writings on education, literature, and intellectual life. For the most part, these cultural nationalists sought to create and deepen Southern cultural identity as the necessary foundation for political independence of the Confederacy, a struggle for intellectual independence that was an essential complement to the political and military struggles to create a new nation. Although Bernath notes these are not great or profound thinkers, he does describe the "impressive" accomplishments of the cultural nationalists, who were generally able to keep publishing and writing in the midst of war and invasion. Bernath gives due weight to the "crippling obstacles" faced by these men, but argues that overall the quest of these cultural nationalists was doomed not by these material obstacles, but by a more fundamental problem, for they were simply unable to demonstrate "southern cultural distinctiveness" or a "unique literature and culture" (287, 297).

Bernath has read and synthesized a vast array of material across the breadth of the Confederacy and the entirety of the war. As he notes, the digital revolution of the last twenty years has greatly increased access to a massive quantity of books, pamphlets, newspapers, and archival material created during the war, which has allowed historians to look beyond the major urban centers that have previously dominated discussion of Confederate culture. As Bernath's book demonstrates, one of the interesting effects has been to reveal a wider range of voices, but, as also revealed by this work, not necessarily a wider range of viewpoints, at least among those Bernath considers cultural nationalists. Indeed, there is a remarkable uniformity across these pages in the basic premises, goals, hopes, and concerns of these writers, perhaps because of the way Bernath has limited his source material by excluding from his analysis Southern Unionists and others outside his "cultural nationalist" designation. This gives a certain monolithic quality to the presentation and does not allow the analysis to range much beyond the limits of the topics and attitudes of the writings Bernath discusses. For this reason, at times one has the sense of reading a description or summary of the writings more than a full interpretation of their meanings.

Indeed, Bernath adopts a self-consciously antitheoretical approach, explicitly eschewing discussion of nationalism, cultural memory, subalterns, imagined communities, and the like. This is a defensible stance, but it does limit Bernath's ability to place the quest to create a culturally independent Confederate nation within the larger intellectual and political contexts of the nineteenth century. For example, the great majority of the writings discussed here defend existing institutions and sought to maintain hierarchies. Although Bernath argues that cultural nationalists were "enthusiastically inclusive when it came to gender" (9), this was almost wholly within strict separate sphere limits, as when women were sometimes deemed suitable to be school teachers because of the shortage of available men (243). Yet the successful nationalisms in the nineteenth century generally harnessed the power and enthusiasm of ever-larger spheres of society, from working class men, to women, to (in the United States to the north) groups previously excluded on racial and ethnic grounds. Without this engine of "popular" or "radical" nationalism, could the Confederate cultural nationalist enterprise founded in defense of the status quo ever hope to succeed? In one of the few passages that approaches these issues, Bernath suggests that cultural nationalists "absorbed" European romantic nationalism (288), yet romantic nationalism is often thought of as being deeply revolutionary and thoroughly imbued with democratic values. If it is the measure of nationalism, then the majority of the program outlined in these pages was not nationalist, but rather, traditionalist.

Bernath draws a distinction between the cultural nationalism of the war years, which ended with military defeat, and the "Lost Cause" mythology of the postwar years, but he does recognize some continuities across the Appomattox divide. Still, his tendency is to view the wartime cultural nationalist program as a distinct moment: its origins may have been in the antebellum era, and it may have been a foundation for some future developments, but the cultural nationalism depicted here was an episode that was decisively shaped by secession and bound up with the fortunes of war. Perhaps the greatest strength of this work is the author's impressive ability to synthesize and present a vast quantity of diverse writings. Anyone interested in the nature and fate of the Confederacy beyond the battlefield will find this thoroughly researched work to be rewarding and highly informative.

Martin P. Johnson *Miami University Hamilton*

The Wilderness Warrior: Theodore Roosevelt and the Crusade for America. By Douglas Brinkley. (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 2009. Maps, tables, index. Pp. xv, 939. $39.39, cloth.)

Mention the name Theodore Roosevelt and scholars and history buffs alike are likely to think of trust busting, Progressivism, the Panama Canal, "big stick" diplomacy, and big game hunting. Roosevelt's love of nature and passion for wilderness conservation are well known too, particularly his efforts in the West, where as incredible as it seems today, the Grand Canyon was dismissed as a "big ditch" early in the last century by mining interests eager to exploit it.

Roosevelt protected the Grand Canyon by using his executive powers to declare it a national monument. In similar fashion, he preserved nearly two-dozen other Western treasures, from Mount Olympus in Washington to the Platt National Park in Oklahoma. He also created or enlarged 150 national forests, nearly all of them in the West. But as acclaimed historian Douglas Brinkley writes in *The Wilderness Warrior: Theodore Roosevelt and the Crusade for America*, the nation's 26th president also fought for conservation in Florida, a place he apparently visited only once. In 1898, after resigning as assistant secretary of the Navy, Roosevelt spent two months in Tampa assembling his Rough Riders for their foray into Cuba on the side of Cuban freedom fighters during the Spanish-American War.

But as Brinkley explains, Florida was critically important to Roosevelt because the state was home to an amazing variety of wading birds and migratory songbirds. Roosevelt had been an avid bird watcher since his New York boyhood. A devotee of the naturalist Charles Darwin, he educated himself through books—Darwin's 1859 treatise *On the Origin of Species* was a favorite—and a lifetime of field observations. As president, he was outraged by the plume hunting in Florida that threatened to wipe out the snowy egret and other birds whose feathers were much desired for women's hats. A pound of choice feathers was worth more than a pound of gold. "For unrepentant old Confederates and lowlifes on the lam, wild Florida's vast thickets and tangled vegetation offered not only a haven but also a source of easy income" (10), Brinkley writes.

One of the busiest bird rookeries in Florida, and choicest targets for gun-toting plumers, was a five and a half acre island in the

Indian River near Sebastian, called Pelican Island. It was teeming with flocks of wading birds—egrets, roseate spoonbills, brown pelicans—when the famed ornithologist Frank Chapman paddled around it in the 1880s. Chapman's writings about Pelican Island impressed Roosevelt who was determined to protect those endangered birds. His policy toward plumers throughout Florida was "no surrender, no retreat" (501). To Roosevelt, "the destruction of pelicans—and other nongame birds—was emblematic of industrialization run amok," Brinkley writes. "In fact, with the exception of his family, birds probably touched him more deeply than anything else in his life" (8).

Brinkley deftly weaves the story of how, in 1903, Roosevelt signed an executive order that made Pelican Island the nation's first federal bird reservation, and thereby off-limits to plume hunters. He declared 10 other Florida sites to be bird reservations, too, including Tortugas Keys west of Key West, Mosquito Inlet south of Daytona Beach, and a cluster of sites along the central Gulf coast. Roosevelt also prevented development in parts of Florida's interior by creating the Ocala National Forest in North Central Florida and Choctawatchee National Forest in the Panhandle.

And that was just Florida. During his presidency, from 1901–1909, Roosevelt preserved an astounding 234 million acres of land for future generations and saved countless species, including the bison and brown pelican, from possible extinction. One can only imagine what the country would be like if he had never lived.

Roosevelt was a prolific man of letters, which has served historians well. The author Candace Millard, in her book, *River of Doubt* (2007), said he read several thousand books during his lifetime. He compiled a massive body of work by his own pen: letters, books, journals and diaries. He wrote at least 150,000 letters, priceless primary sources that Brinkley mined for new information about the president's conservation work.

Brinkley used passages from Roosevelt's papers, dug into official archives, and interviewed living people, such as descendants of Pelican Island warden Paul Kroegel, to create an 817-page narrative about Roosevelt's work from Alaska to Florida. Thoroughly documented, the material is as engaging as it is comprehensive. The girth of the book would make it a daunting read if it had been penned by a lesser writer than Brinkley, but from his hand it flows as easily as the Indian River on a calm day around Pelican Island.

Pelican Island remains off limits to humans, but a federally owned wilderness area on the nearby beach barrier island has an observation tower and walking trails. While hiking one of the trails recently, I saw a roseate spoonbill and said a silent word of thanks to Theodore Roosevelt. I should thank Brinkley, too, for shedding more light on this amazing man and his conservation legacy.

Janie Gould *Fort Pierce, Florida*

Toward Freedom Land: The Long Struggle for Racial Equality in America. By Harvard Sitkoff. (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2010. Acknowledgments, notes, index. Pp. vii, 250. $50 cloth.)

Over the past five decades, Harvard Sitkoff has established himself as one of the foremost voices on the black freedom struggle in the United States. *Toward Freedom Land*, a collection of his previous publications, continues that trend. Addressing his published work going back to 1969, Sitkoff presents 10 essays on subjects as varied as Harry Truman, Wendell Willkie, Martin Luther King Jr., FDR and the New Deal, racial violence, and black/Jewish relations. All of these choices share the central theme of civil rights and racial justice. The book, he explains, "is evidence of how one historian confronted and articulated some of the attitudes and issues central to civil rights history during the past five decades" (2). It is that, and much more. *Toward Freedom Land* has relatively little on the history of Florida, yet this book will be of interest to those curious about Stikoff's work and the history of civil rights struggles in the United States.

In "The Preconditions for Racial Change" and "The New Deal and Race Relations," Sitkoff describes how the 1930s and 1940s served as the key building blocks for the civil rights movement. African Americans, locked out of the New Deal and America's postwar affluence, began to fight not only for civil rights but also for social and racial justice. Sitkoff continues this theme in his two chapters on racial violence during the Second World War, noting that while blacks in northern cities battled violently against racism, southern African Americans found racial violence a stifling impediment to black progress. In his essay on Wendell Willkie and Harry Truman, Sitkoff concentrates on

white supporters and opponents of black rights. "Willkie as Liberal," for instance, shows how a midwestern Republican, someone who perhaps should not have been concerned with black equality, battled against entrenched racism. His piece on Harry Truman criticizes a president who, while regarded as a liberal, did relatively little for African Americans. His essay on King is similarly varied. Sitkoff shows King not as saint or savior but as radical, a leader willing to criticize the war in Vietnam long before it was popular to do so and incorporate a Marxist understanding of the world into his personal ideology and broader theology. His final essay, "The Second Reconstruction," brings this book to a satisfying conclusion by exploring the debate and passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Those familiar with Sitkoff's written work will find relatively little new in this book. While I enjoyed getting reacquainted with his essays on the Detroit Race Riot, Wendell Willkie, and the New Deal for blacks, I had read these and most of the other essays elsewhere. The one essay I was not familiar with was the one on Martin Luther King. It is a great piece, albeit a bit short and choppy. Having all of these works combined in a single book, a sort of "greatest hits" for a scholar, is the true value of this work. But for me, the most important aspect of this book came in the page or so of explanation that preceded each essay. In these and the Introduction, Sitkoff elaborates on the reception of each of his publications by the academy. He also periodizes each essay by explaining the historic context in which it was written. Moreover, he oftentimes critiques himself and his writing. For instance, Sitkoff criticizes proponents of the "long civil rights movement," a convention that he helped create: "it is one thing, I believe, to recognize forerunners or acknowledge antecedents and quite another to posit one long, continuous movement stretching back further and further in time so that, in the end, little or nothing distinguishes one era or decade from another" (93-94). To me, having never met the man, *that* is Harvard Sitkoff—an individual so committed to his craft that he willingly takes himself to task for helping craft a historical axiom that (for Sitkoff) no longer rings true. This is a nice collection of essays and a fine tribute to the career of Harvard Sitkoff.

Brian D. Behnken *Iowa State University*

The 57 Club: My Four Decades in Florida Politics. By Frederick B. Karl. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2010. Acknowledgements, illustrations, appendices, index. Pp. xiii, 400. $40.00 cloth.)

"'Your representative owes you, not his industry only, but his judgment; and he betrays, instead of serving you, if he sacrifices it to your opinion'" (135). Quoting Edmund Burke, Frederick B. Karl succinctly states a principle central to this memoir of his public service. In *The 57 Club: My Four Decades in Florida Politics*, Karl discusses the concepts, issues, and personalities which he saw shape the modern political and economic landscape of the state from the mid-1950s to 1980. He does not attempt in a single volume to develop the breadth and depth of all critical issues in Florida during this time; instead, Karl succeeds in presenting the purpose for his actions and his impressions of, and reactions to, the challenges he confronted first in the Legislature and later on the Florida Supreme Court.

Fred Karl was elected to the Florida House of Representatives in 1956, serving eight years before an unsuccessful run for Governor. The book takes its title from "The 57 Club," the informal name given themselves by the thirty-nine members of his freshman legislative class first elected in 1956. Karl later served a four-year term in the Florida Senate, was the first public counsel appointed to represent consumers before the Public Service Commission, was the last Justice elected to the Florida Supreme Court, and in later years served as the County Attorney and County Administrator for Hillsborough County.

Readers should not expect an exhaustive examination of Florida public policy development and political dynamics from 1956 to 1980, for that is not Karl's intent. Although a personal memoir, the narrative would have been enriched by greater reference or detail about major issues such as the underlying movement for state constitutional reform in Florida and its impact on legislation proposed by Karl and his colleagues. This lack of depth and context, noticeable even in the best passages, is regrettable because the book readily transcends the simplistic form of memoir which focuses solely on the narrator's personal accomplishments.

Karl plainly states his interest and motives for entering politics but quickly introduces the reader to the significant and divisive issues confronting all legislators in that era: reapportionment of

representation in the Florida House and Senate; the movement toward more efficient local government through the concept of home rule; quality and funding of education; whether to open governmental process to public scrutiny; and above all, integration in the wake of *Brown v. Board of Education.*

Writing for the average reader interested in the history of Florida politics, Karl frequently introduces issues with a brief description of the historical or legal context in which they arose. His familiarity with the Florida Constitutions of 1885 and 1968 grounds the reader in the legal authority underlying his actions and decisions as well as those of his contemporaries in the Legislature. The narrative is topical, addressing together similar issues and personalities over a related time frame but then moving chronologically forward or backward to examine another theme. For example, the second chapter gives Karl's impressions of Leroy Collins, Dempsey Barron, and other individuals he knew over the course of his legislative career, moving forward into the 1960s and 1970s. The third chapter moves back to describe the Tallahassee environment of the 1950s Karl encountered early in his legislative career. Later chapters move from his 1964 gubernatorial campaign directly to the 1976 election for the Florida Supreme Court, then back to the operation of the Legislature of some twenty years' prior.

Karl's approach appears calculated to provide the reader with cogent summaries of the plethora of topics arising during his public career and for the most part succeeds in evoking the tenor of each time. Parts 1 and 2, comprising the first ten chapters, treat the factors affecting Karl and his early contemporaries as they began their legislative service and are the best sections of the book. Weaving crucial issues, biographical sketches, legislative operations, and political observations, Karl not only describes but explains this formative period in Florida government. Although falling occasionally into redundant introductions of characters already discussed, Karl never waivers from his goal of using the past to inform the present. This focus is best seen in his use and reference to the 57 Club as a narrative device, moving from one key individual to the next within a larger context of an issue, such as integration, or a legislative operation, such as committee service. The later chapters are more uneven as Karl treats certain events in relative isolation from others. This change in tone is shown by the relative absence of the 57 Club as a narrative device, reflecting its

actually diminished role in Florida politics. Combined with the lower level of detailed analysis, the narrative tends to drag in the final chapters.

Nevertheless, *The 57 Club* is a significant and welcome addition to the history of Florida government and politics. Fred Karl provides an insider's comprehension and insight into key policies which are invaluable to understanding the development of the state. He reminds the reader of a time past when many in public office took seriously the duties and power entrusted to them by the voters, when the general welfare of the citizens predominated over political ideology. Those seeking to learn more about Florida politics in the 1950s and '60s will find this book an excellent introduction to those times. Scholars of history or politics will find Karl's recollections add depth and grace to analyses of this era. Florida legal scholars should find this book on their shelves—a fitting capstone to a life of integrity in public service.

Eric H. Miller *Florida State University*

Negotiating Paradise: U.S. Tourism and Empire in Twentieth-Century Latin America. By Dennis Merrill. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. xvi, 352. $65.00 cloth, $22.50 paper.)

In the spring of 2001, Dennis Merrill published an innovative study of tourism development in Puerto Rico, "Negotiating Cold War Paradise: U.S. Tourism, Economic Planning, and Cultural Modernity in Twentieth-Century Puerto Rico," in the journal, *Diplomatic History*. This article represented a growing trend in the history of foreign relations to analyze the impact of culture and soft power against the backdrop of diplomatic relations. The recent release of his book, *Negotiating Paradise*, sets the standard for future evaluations of tourism as a reflection of relationships between hosts, visitors, and governments in the Caribbean basin. Merrill's book is the first monograph-length study of tourism in the Caribbean basin viewed through the lens of diplomatic history. This perspective allows Merrill to explore a multifaceted web of relationships between states, hosts, and visitors in various contexts of the tourism industry. Merrill deftly organizes discussions of developments in the tourist industry, which included various multi-

national companies such as Pan American Airways and Hilton International Hotels. On a second level, Merrill examines the actions and reactions of national tourism organizations in Mexico, Cuba, and Puerto Rico, paying particular attention to the ways in which they responded to local and international reactions to their shaping of tourism. Finally, Merrill skillfully examines the relationship between international tourists (mainly Americans) and their hosts in Mexico, Cuba, and Puerto Rico during the twentieth century. The author then places these multiple negotiations within the context of U.S.-Latin American relations. While the results of negotiation within the cultural corridors of tourism did not always mirror official opinions or actions, Merrill demonstrates how hosts and visitors shaped and influenced identities and perceptions of each other and their respective nations.

Given the importance of *Negotiating Paradise* for Caribbean Studies in general, Floridian readers, particularly those interested in tourism development, would profit from its study. Florida generally served as a critical point of comparisons for Cubans, Mexicans, and Puerto Ricans in their development of a tourism industry. In essence, Florida served as a catalyst for tourism throughout the basin and a study of Caribbean tourism development serves as a broader understanding of regional patterns. Those familiar with Floridian tourism development will gain a better understanding of how tourism grew throughout the basin, as well as the patterns of negotiation and accommodation that defined its nearest competitors.

In terms of style and substance, *Negotiating Paradise* is sophisticated and nuanced. Merrill has made a thorough investigation of the relevant archives throughout the region, supplementing what was previously understood about tourism development in host nations. A study of tourist postcards, for example, illuminated tourist attitudes in Mexico in the 1920s and 1930s. In terms of content and scope, Merrill begins his analysis in the wake of the Mexican Revolution, as more Americans traveled south in search of vice or cultural enlightenment. The efforts of diplomats, including Dwight D. Morrow, to recognize the value of Mexico's rich cultural identity forged greater binational unity, despite the culture of vice promoted by Americans seeking enjoyment south of the border during Prohibition. As Merrill notes, "Tourism's soft powers by no means single-handedly caused the modest U.S.-rapprochement, but growing cultural and consumer interaction inherent to

travel brought the two nations closer together culturally" (62). In similar fashion, during the 1930s, Mexican president Lazaro Cardenas and his administration used tourism promotion and development to better align Mexico's identity among tourists with the ideals of the Mexican Revolution, which included promoting Mexico's indigenous identity and cultural heritage. Such a process further enhanced Mexican identity in the wake of Cardenas's expropriation of American oil companies in the late 1930s, contributing to an appreciation of Mexican autonomy. These developments, the author notes, "improved relations between Mexico and the United States, and helped both countries adapt to an increasingly ominous and interdependent world order" (68). Furthermore, Merrill's recounting of Franklin Delano Roosevelt's personal, as well as professional, interest in Mexican culture further underscores the strengthening of binational relations during a tense period.

In contrast, Merrill demonstrates in his two chapters on Cuban tourism development during the post-World War II era that Fulgencio Batista's mafia-dominated management of Cuban tourism undermined the ability of Cubans to assert a respectable identity in the onslaught of pleasure-seeking tourists who conflated vice with Cuban tourism and character. In contrast to the Mexican example, Merrill contends, the willingness of the Batista regime to allow transnational companies and American tourists to dictate the nature of Cuban tourism encouraged many Cubans to sympathize with the 26th of July Movement, which would reassert respectability and host-participation in Cuba's tourism offerings (135). "Tourism and culture clash caused neither the Cuban Revolution nor the collapse in U.S.-Cuban relations that followed," Merrill writes, "But the cultural discourses that arose from the visitor-host relationship ran through both societies and shaped the way their citizens perceived, analyzed, and dreamed of each other" (174).

In the final chapters of *Negotiating Paradise*, Merrill contextualizes Puerto Rican host-visitor relations against the backdrop of the tourism development efforts of the island's government. In contrast to Cuba, Merrill contends that Puerto Rican officials were better able to limit the economic impact of tourism on the island's economic portfolio. Furthermore, like Mexican administrations in the 1930s, island governments utilized cultural tourism, namely the rehabilitation of Old San Juan, and African and indigenous

cultural traditions and symbols as tools to reposition discourse over island identity that had traditionally been couched in the context of poverty and modernization. As a result, Merrill contends, "Rather than being swallowed by U.S. and transnational power, Puerto Rico had negotiated a modicum of economic and cultural independence despite its commonwealth political status" (238).

In sum, *Negotiating Paradise* is required reading for those interested in the development of tourism in Latin America, cultural enthusiasts who would better appreciate the intersection of diplomacy and the use of soft power, and students of Latin American history. Through a masterful blend of theoretical interpretation, the thoughtful use of accounts gleaned from archives, and a thorough understanding of U.S.-Latin American relations, Merrill has created a standard that will remain relevant for years to come in the fields of foreign relations and tourism development.

Evan R. Ward *Brigham Young University*

End Notes

FLORIDA FRONTIERS: THE WEEKLY RADIO MAGAZINE OF THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Florida Frontiers: The Weekly Radio Magazine of the Florida Historical Society is a weekly, half-hour radio program currently airing on public radio stations around the state. The program is a combination of interview segments and produced features covering history-based events, exhibitions, activities, places, and people in Florida. The program explores the relevance of Florida history to contemporary society and promotes awareness of heritage and culture tourism options in the state. *Florida Frontiers* joins the *Florida Historical Quarterly* and the publications of the Florida Historical Society Press as another powerful tool to fulfill the Society's mission of collecting and disseminating information about the history of Florida.

Recent broadcasts of *Florida Frontiers* have included visits to the Fort Lauderdale History Center, the Historic State Capitol Building, the Ponce Inlet Light Station, and Historic Ybor City. Profiles of Stetson Kennedy, Patrick Smith, Clyde Butcher and Betty Mae Jumper have been featured. The 450th anniversary of the DeLuna expedition, the 75th anniversary of the Winter Park Bach Festival, the 50th anniversary of Jacksonville's Ax Handle Saturday, and the 25th anniversary of the Mosquito Beaters Annual Gathering have been documented. Upcoming programs will include discussions about religion in Florida with Michael Gannon, reflections on the natural environment of Florida in the works of Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings and Marjorie Stoneman Douglas, a dramatic portrayal of Pedro Menendez, and poetry from the Second Seminole Indian War.

Florida Historical Society Executive Director Ben Brotemarkle is producer and host of *Florida Frontiers*, with weekly contributions

from assistant producers Janie Gould and Bill Dudley. From 1992-2000, Brotemarkle was creator, producer, and host of the hour-long weekly radio magazine *The Arts Connection* on 90.7 WMFE in Orlando. In 2005, Gould became Oral History Specialist at 88.9 WQCS in Ft. Pierce. Since 1993, Dudley has been producing an ongoing series of radio reports for the Florida Humanities Council.

The program is currently broadcast on 90.7 WMFE Orlando, Thursdays at 6:30 p.m and Sundays at 4:00 pm.; 88.1 WUWF Pensacola, Thursdays at 5:30 p.m.; 89.9 WJCT Jacksonville, Mondays at 6:30 pm; 89.5 WFIT Melbourne, Sundays at 7:00 a.m.; and 88.9 WQCS (HD2) Ft. Pierce, Wednesdays at 9:00 a.m. Additional public radio stations are expected to add *Florida Frontiers* to their schedules later in 2010. The program is archived on the Florida Historical Society web site and accessible any time at www.myfloridahistory.org.

Florida Frontiers: The Weekly Radio Magazine of the Florida Historical Society is made possible in part by the Florida Humanities Council and the National Endowment for the Humanities; the Jessie Ball duPont Fund; and by the Brevard County Board of Commissioners through the Brevard Cultural Alliance, Inc.

FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY PODCASTS

The *Florida Historical Quarterly* has entered a new era of media. Dr. Robert Cassanello, Assistant Professor of History at the University of Central Florida and a member of the *FHQ* editorial board, has accepted a new role as the coordinator for podcast productions. In conjunction with the Public History programs at UCF, Dr. Cassanello will produce a podcast for each issue of the *Quarterly*. Each podcast will consist of an interview with one of the authors from the most recent issue of the *Quarterly*. The podcasts are uploaded to iTunes University and are available to the public at http://publichistorypodcast.blogspot.com/.

Dr. Jack E. Davis on his article "Sharp Prose for Green: John D. MacDonald and the First Ecological Novel," which appeared in Volume 87, no. 4 (Spring 2009).

Dr. Michael D. Bowen on his article "The Strange Tale of Wesley and Florence Garrison: Racial Crosscurrents of the Postwar Florida Republican Party" appeared in Volume 88, no. 1 (Summer 2009).

Dr. Nancy J. Levine discussed the research project undertaken by her students on the Hastings Branch Library that appeared in Volume 88, no. 2 (Fall 2009).

Dr. Daniel Feller, 2009 Catherine Prescott Lecturer, on "The Seminole Controversy Revisited: A New Look at Andrew Jackson's 1919 Florida Campaign," Volume 88, no. 3 (Winter 2010).

Dr. Derrick E. White, on his article "From Desegregation to Integration: Race, Football, and 'Dixie' at the University of Florida," Volume 88, no. 4 (Spring 2010).

Dr. Gilbert Din was interviewed to discuss his article "William Augustus Bowles on the Gulf Coast, 1787-1803: Unraveling a Labyrinthine Conundrum," which appeared in Volume 89, no. 1 (Summer 2010).

FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY JOINS JSTOR

The *Florida Historical Quarterly* is now available to scholars and researchers through JSTOR, a digital service for libraries, archives, and individual subscribers. JSTOR editors spent more than a year digitizing *FHQ* volumes 3-83; it became available to academic libraries and individual subscribers in August 2009. The *FHQ* will be available within a 5-year window. Recent issues of the *Quarterly* are available only in print copy form. JSTOR has emerged as a leader in the field of journal digitization and the *FHQ* joins a number of prestigious journals in all disciplines. The *Florida Historical Quarterly* will continue to be available through PALMM, with the same 5-year window.

FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY NOW ON FACEBOOK

Join the *Florida Historical Quarterly* on Facebook. The *FHQ* Facebook page provides an image of each issue, the table of contents of each issue, an abstract of each article (beginning with volume 89, no. 1) and the annual cumulative index. There will be a link to the *Quarterly* podcasts and the Florida Historical Society.

CALL FOR PAPERS

2011 Annual Meeting of the Florida Historical Society
May26-28, 2011
Hyatt Regency Hotel, Jacksonville, Fla.

THEME: Civil War Legacies: Florida Before, During and After the Conflict

Deadline to submit paper proposals is February 1, 2011

The Florida Historical Society requests submissions for its 2011 Annual Meeting to be held May 26-28, 2011 in Jacksonville, Florida. Join us at the Hyatt Regency on the St. Johns River (the same week as the Jacksonville Jazz Festival!). To commemorate the 150th anniversary of the outbreak of the American Civil War, this year's theme is "Civil War Legacies" but all topics on Florida history are welcome, so come present your research.

General information: The Florida Historical Society endeavors to accommodate all papers proposed for its annual conference, with the understanding that inclusion on the program is subject to review by the program committee and to availability of time slots. The Program Chair will confirm acceptance of papers/panels by March 1, 2011. As a courtesy to the Society, all paper presenters are expected to register for the conference. Registration forms and other conference information is posted at http://www.myfloridahistory.org/. For hotel reservations call 1 (904) 588-1234, Monday-Friday, 9 a.m.- 6 p.m. and reference "2010 Florida Historical Society Room Block." Conference rates are $89.00 per night for standard occupancy and $119.00 per night for a river view room.

Submitting a Proposal: To ensure your proposal was received and logged in, please check with James Cusick, Program Chair, by email after sending in your submission.

- To submit an individual paper, send a title, 150-word abstract and one-page vita.
- Proposals for panels should include—
    - 150-word abstract and one-page vita for each panel member plus a session title

- 150-word abstract of the panel and a suggested moderator/discussant.

- Proposals for round table forums or discussions should include—
  - A title and brief (150 word) description of the topic
  - A complete list of the participants and chair/discussant with CVs

Round tables will receive a maximum time slot of 90 minutes (equivalent to a 3 to 4 paper panel).

Submission format and Deadline:

Send by email as an MSWord attachment to the program committee chair at jgcusick@ufl.edu *Please put "FHS Paper" in your email heading.*

Or send paper copy to James Cusick, Special & Area Studies Collections, George A. Smathers Library, University of Florida, Gainesville, FL 32611-7005.

Proposals should be received by James Cusick by February 1, 2011.

The Society also seeks submissions for its annual awards. A full listing of awards and submission procedures can be found at http://www.myfloridahistory.org/society/awards

FLORIDA LECTURE SERIES 2010-2011

January 13 **Gary Noesner,** retired FBI negotiator

"Calm, Creative Communications in Crisis: My Life as an FBI Hostage Negotiator"

Gary Noesner's world is hard to imagine for most of us. In 30 years with the FBI, the last 10 as chief of its Crisis Negotiation Unit, Critical Incident Response Group, he led law enforcement's response to prison riots, right-wing militia standoffs, religious zealot sieges, terrorist embassy takeovers, airplane hijackings, and overseas kidnappings involving American citizens.

In September 2010, he published *Stalling for Time*, a memoir about his involvement in some of the nation's most high-profile FBI cases from the last three decades, including the hijacking of the Achille Lauro cruise ship; the Branch Davidian siege in Waco, Texas; and the Washington, D.C., sniper case. Noesner grew up in

Florida and graduated from Florida Southern College before going to Quantico to pursue his dream of becoming an FBI agent. He retired from the FBI in 2003 and since has served as a senior vice president with Control Risks, an international risk consultant. He has appeared on television documentaries produced by A&E, the History Channel, Discovery, TLC, and National Geographic. He is the founder of the National Council of Negotiation Associations.

February 10 **Canter Brown, Jr.,** executive vice president and chief legal officer, Fort Valley (Ga.) State University

"I Can't Believe All That Happened in Polk County! Are You Sure?"

On the occasion of Polk County's 150th anniversary, native son Canter Brown, Jr., will tell tales of some of the extraordinary people, events, and things in the county's history. He promises to name some of the county's more colorful saints and scoundrels while underscoring the diversity of Polk's experience. Without a doubt, his hometown of Fort Meade will come into play, too.

One of Florida's leading historians, Brown holds a B.A., J.D., and Ph.D. from Florida State University. He has written extensively on Florida and Southern history, including 10 books. Two titles were widely praised: *Florida's Peace River Frontier* earned him the Florida Historical Society's Rembert W. Patrick Award, and *Ossian Bingley Hart: Florida's Loyalist Reconstruction Governor* was given a Certificate of Commendation by the American Association of State and Local History. He has written a two-volume history of Polk County: *In the Midst of All That Makes Life Worth Living: Polk County to 1940* and *None Could Have Richer Memories: Polk County Since 1940.*

March 10 Steven Noll, senior lecturer in history, University of Florida and David Tegeder, associate professor of history, Santa Fe College

"Ditch of Dreams: The Cross-Florida Barge Canal and the Struggle for Florida's Future"

For centuries, men dreamed of cutting a canal across the Florida peninsula. Intended to reduce shipping times, it was championed in the early 20th century as a way to make the mostly rural

state a center of national commerce and trade. With federal funding, work on the Cross Florida Barge Canal began in the 1930s, but the canal quickly became a lightning rod for controversy, and pressure from environmental citizen activists forced it to a halt in 1971. Steven Noll and David Tegeder tell the complex story of competing interests amid the changing political landscape of modern Florida in their book, *The Ditch of Dreams*, which received the Florida Historical Society's 2010 Rembert Patrick Award for a scholarly book on a Florida history topic.

Noll holds a Ph.D. in American history from the University of Florida, an M.A. and M.Ed. from the University of Florida, and a B.A. from the College of William and Mary. Prior to *Ditch of Dreams*, he published two other books, *Mental Retardation in America* and *Feeble Minded in our Midst*, and numerous articles.

Tegeder holds a Ph.D. in U.S. Southern history and M.A. in U.S. history from the University of Florida, and a B.A. from the University of Central Florida. His research interests include the history of Southern race and labor relations and environmental history, and he has published and presented widely on these topics.

Lawton M. Chiles Jr. Center for Florida History Florida Southern College, 111 Lake Hollingsworth Dr., Lakeland, FL 33801 (863) 680-3001 (863) 680-3006 (fax) www.flsouthern.edu/flhistory

51st Annual Meeting

Florida Conference of Historians

Call for Papers and Participation

Hosted by Broward College in
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Papers on all historical subjects and topics are welcome. Faculty, independent historians as well graduate and undergraduate students are encouraged to participate. Selected papers are published in the *Annual Proceedings of the Florida Conference of Historians*, a refereed journal published by Florida International University. Traditionally, our organization has welcomed in-state, out-of-state and international participants.

Final accommodation arrangements are currently pending with the world famous Bahia Mar Beach Resort, which is situated on Ft. Lauderdale's south beach between the Intracoastal Waterway and the magnificent turquoise waters of the Atlantic Ocean. Courtyard, marina and beach view rooms will be available at excellent rates. All details and contact information for hotel accommodations will follow shortly.

This year's speaker will be Dr. David W. Levy, Emeritus, University of Oklahoma, author of a new biography of Mark Twain.

Sited in sunny south Florida, this year's conference will offer a welcome respite from winter's rigors as well as an opportunity to participate in one of the nation's most rewarding regional history conferences.

For additional information contact:

Dr. Blaine T. Browne / Conference Coordinator / Broward College at bbrowne@broward.edu

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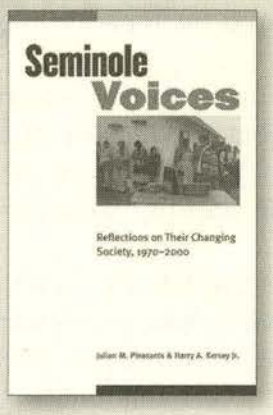

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The *Florida Historical Quarterly* is a peer-refereed journal and accepts for consideration manuscripts on the history of Florida, its people, and its historical relationships to the United States, the Atlantic World, the Caribbean, or Latin America. All submissions are expected to reflect substantial research, a dedication to writing, and the scholarly rigor demanded of professionally produced historical work. Work submitted for consideration should not have been previously published, soon to be published, or under consideration by another journal or press.

Authors should submit three copies of the manuscript to the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Department of History, CNH 551, University of Central Florida, Orlando, Florida 32816-1350.

Manuscripts should be typed and double-spaced (excluding footnotes, block quotes, or tabular matter).

The first page should be headed by the title without the author's name. Author identification should be avoided throughout the manuscript. On a separate sheet of paper, please provide the author's name, institutional title or connection, or place of residence, and acknowledgements. Citations should be single-spaced footnotes, numbered consecutively, and in accordance with the *Chicago Manual of Style.*

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Questions regarding submissions should be directed to Connie L. Lester, editor, at the address above, or by email at clester@mail.ucf.edu or by phone at 407-823-0261.

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The Historical Society of Florida, 1856
The Florida Historical Society, successor, 1902
The Florida Historical Society, incorporated, 1905

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Created in St. Augustine in 1856, The Florida Historical Society is the oldest existing cultural organization in the state, and Florida's only state-wide historical society. The Society is dedicated to preserving Florida's past through the collection and archival maintenance of historical documents and photographs, the publication of scholarly research on Florida history, and educating the public about Florida history through a variety of public history and historic preservation projects. We publish scholarly research in the *Florida Historical Quarterly* and through the Florida Historical Society Press. *Florida Frontiers: The Weekly Radio Magazine of the Florida Historical Society* is broadcast on public radio stations throughout the state and is archived on our web site The Florida Historical Society headquarters are located at the Library of Florida History in historic Cocoa Village. The Florida Historical Society manages the Historic Rossetter House Museum and the Print Shoppe Book Store.

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