The
Florida Historical Quarterly

July 1968 - April 1969

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by GEORGE R. FAIRBANKS, FRANCIS P. FLEMING, GEORGE W. WILSON, CHARLES M. COOPER, JAMES P. TALIAFERRO, V. W. SHIELDS, WILLIAM A. BLOUNT, GEORGE P. RANEY.

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(All correspondence relating to Society business, memberships, and Quarterly subscriptions should be addressed to Miss Margaret Chapman, University of South Florida Library, Tampa, Florida 33620. Articles for publication, books for review, and editorial correspondence should be addressed to the Quarterly, Box 14045, University Station, Gainesville, Florida, 32601.)

* * * To explore the field of Florida history, to seek and gather up the ancient chronicles in which its annals are contained, to retain the legendary lore which may yet throw light upon the past, to trace its monuments and remains, to elucidate what has been written to disprove the false and support the true, to do justice to the men who have figured in the olden time, to keep and preserve all that is known in trust for those who are to come after us, to increase and extend the knowledge of our history, and to teach our children that first essential knowledge, the history of our State, are objects well worthy of our best efforts. To accomplish these ends, we have organized the Historical Society of Florida.

GEORGE R. FAIRBANKS

Saint Augustine, April, 1857.
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CELI'S EXPEDITION TO TAMPA BAY:
A HISTORICAL ANALYSIS

by CHARLES W. ARNADE *

"DE LA HAVANA AL PUERTO DE TAMPA, Ano de 1757,
Diario de Reconocimientos, Oceano Atlantico Septentrional" by Don Francisco Maria Celi is unquestionably a key document in Florida history and the history of Tampa Bay. The chronology of its recent discovery is not too complicated. Celi, "Pilot of the Royal Spanish Navy" and commander of the Florida expedition, carefully prepared a useful and artistically beautiful map that went with his report. This map (actually there were two versions) was known to modern historians, but the accompanying report was not. The late Clarence Simpson had knowledge of the Celi map, as did the Latin American history specialist, Arthur P. Whitaker, who made reference to it in 1931. Florida historian Mark F. Boyd and Florida archaeologist Ripley Bullen recalled having seen the map during the course of their research, but none of these social scientists had specified the archival origin or the historical particulars of the map.

* The author was aided in his research by a grant from the Lilly Endowment Foundation in 1963, and a Fulbright grant to Spain for the academic year 1964-1965 from the Committee on International Exchange of Persons.

2. Charles W. Arnade, "Three Early Spanish Tampa Bay Maps," Tequesta, XXV (1965), 83-96; John D. Ware, "Transcription and Translation of Legend of the Following Charts: 'Great Bay of Tampa, Celi, 1757, . . . . " unpublished article, 17 pp., Florida Historical Society Library, University of South Florida, Tampa. When the author wrote his Tequesta article he had not yet seen the original Celi map(s) in Spain. In 1965 he studied these Celi map(s) and the questions and doubts raised in the article were solved. It suffices to say here that the map(s) (both versions) are of 1757; two copies were made and there were minor variations of details between them. The originals are not in color.
3. J. Clarence Simpson, A Provisional Gazetteer of Florida Place-Names of Indian Derivation Either Obsolescent or Retained Together with Others of Recent Application, edited by Mark F. Boyd (Tallahassee, 1956), 107.
4. Arthur P. Whitaker, Documents Relating to the Commercial Policy of Spain in the Floridas (DeLand, 1951), 156. Although this map is entitled "Map of Tampa Bay (Eighteenth Century)," it is in fact one of the Celi maps.
5. Personal conversations with Dr. Boyd and Dr. Bullen.
There are references to the Celi map in the Karpinski Collection of Copies of Early Maps of America (772 maps), William Clements Library of Americana, University of Michigan. While compiling an inventory of Florida maps in the Karpinski Collection, the author examined Professor Karpinski’s notes and learned of the importance of the Spanish Naval Museum’s holdings to Florida history. An investigation of the museum archives in 1964-1965 revealed that the Celi maps were an appendix to the Celi report. The two framed versions of the map now hang in the Naval Museum in Madrid with other maps from all over the world, including the invaluable De la Cosa map by Columbus’ pilot. Thus the Celi map itself was no archival mystery, but as historians had shown only a passing interest in the full history of Tampa Bay no further inquiry into the map was made.

The title of the Celi report is somewhat misleading since there was no port of Tampa then in existence. The whole bay area was unsettled except for some Indian clusters which were not under true Spanish tutelage. By the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Spain had little real control over the Florida peninsula except for St. Augustine, a narrow chain of small missions running toward Tallahassee, and a few military blockhouses on the coastal islands north of St. Augustine into Georgia. The area south of Gainesville (then the site of a mission) and St. Augustine was claimed by Spain, but it was not occupied. Little is known of the Spanish occupation of Florida’s west coast at that time.


The initial Spanish thrust into Florida in the sixteenth century was motivated by a desire for gold, silver, and other precious metals and to conquer the prosperous Indian nations that allegedly lived in the area. When it became obvious that there was neither treasure nor affluent Indians in Florida, Spain soon lost interest. By the middle of the sixteenth century, the Spanish-American empire had begun to take shape, but the French, English, and later the Dutch were threatening Spain's claims to the vast territory - the whole American continent. As these great European powers started to make headway in North America, it became increasingly apparent to Spain that the Florida coastline was a vital area and that it needed protecting. Spain's renewed interest in Florida was only for the coastal areas however, not the interior. Her greatest concern was to protect the homebound fleet carrying gold and treasure from Mexico and Peru. For this reason Spain fortified the east coast, particularly St. Augustine and the surrounding area; the west coast was of secondary importance. With her hold over Mexico assured and since she was not yet faced with a direct threat from other European nations in the Mississippi Valley, Spain revealed even less interest in the Florida Gulf coast. In fact, by the end of the seventeenth century whatever knowledge Spain had of the west coast had been nearly lost. The sixteenth-century exploration of Florida, most of which began in the area around Tampa Bay, had been almost totally forgotten by the seventeenth century, and it was recalled by only a few historians. The logs and charts had been lost or had been misplaced in dusty files, or they were resting unconsulted in various archives.

Suddenly with the approach of a new century, the eighteenth, Spain became intensely interested in the Gulf coast. The reason was quite simple - France had moved into the Mississippi Valley and was searching for a foothold on the Gulf, particularly near the mouth of the Mississippi River. Eventually this led to the establishment of New Orleans and Louisiana. In 1686 Spain began to search for the French interlopers, and twelve years later Pensacola was reestablished. As the Spanish and French positions took shape in that part of North America it became apparent that the struggle was for the Mississippi; the lower part of the Gulf

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coast was still an area of secondary importance and it remained to be rediscovered.  

Why there was a sudden interest in the rediscovery of the lower Gulf coast, particularly the Tampa Bay area, has not yet been fully determined. The Celi log has no real answer to this important historical question. The new expeditions to Tampa Bay, including the Franco expedition four months before the Celi journey, came around the middle of the eighteenth century and just a few years before the end of the first Spanish period in Florida in 1763. Likely there were two reasons for these explorations. Late sixteenth and early seventeenth-century documents in the archives of Seville report several French attempts to sail up the Suwannee River. Naturally the Spanish were disturbed over these reports. If they were valid it meant that the French had pushed far southward into Florida, and if a foreign Power held the mouth of the Suwannee River it not only threatened Spain's nominal jurisdiction over the peninsula, but it also gave the French control over the Gulf of Mexico. And even more important, the Spaniards had vaguely mapped the Suwannee River, which they sometimes called San Martin, and they had begun to use it to ship lumber and cattle to Cuba in the eighteenth century. Cattle ranches were flourishing in the Gainesville and Palatka areas, probably reaching into what is now Gilchrist County. Contemporary documents show that the Spaniards had ambitious plans for developing the Suwannee River and apparently they had even started building a fort at its mouth.

12. Estado Mayor Central del Ejercito [Spain], Servicio Historico Militar, Boletin de la Biblioteca Central Militar, no. 5 (1949), 206; Juan Baptista Franco, "Descripcion de la Bahia de Tampa en la Florida," Havana, December 7, 1756, passim, unpublished mss. in author's possession.
16. Stetson Collection catalog and calendar, 1735-1763. The John B. Stetson Collection is at the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville. A copy of the calendar is in the
ently, the Celi and Franco explorations of Tampa Bay were part of an overall plan to develop the Florida Gulf coast. Outlets, forts, and ports would be needed both to thwart the French and to enhance the expanding lumber and cattle economy of the area.

The Spaniards had never been satisfied with the communication by sea from St. Augustine to Havana, and there had always been a preference to sail on a calmer waterway from the Gulf coast to Cuba. Furthermore, Spain always believed that there was a water passage in Florida connecting the east and west coasts. Since they had failed to map the interior of the peninsula adequately, there was the hope that one of Florida’s many rivers, including the Suwannee, might be this connection. 17 Thus a foreign threat to any Florida river, especially the Suwannee since it lay due west of St. Augustine, was a threat to that settlement from the land side. All of these factors made it imperative to rediscover and remap the lower Gulf coast, especially the celebrated big body of water - Tampa Bay - where the great conquistadores of the sixteenth century - Narvaez and De Soto - had begun their inland marches. The Franco expedition and the more extensive Celi expedition into Tampa Bay in the mid-eighteenth century must be considered a part of the overall history of Spanish Florida.

There was yet another cause - removed from regional history - for these expeditions. Celi’s journey into Tampa Bay is a classical example of the activities pursued by the new Bourbon dynasty in Spain, culminating in 1759, two years after the Celi and Franco expeditions, with the reign of the last great Spanish king, Charles III. In Europe this was the Age of Enlightenment, and in Spain there was a sudden inquiry into the natural sciences. Professor Arthur P. Whitaker notes that “Spain responded readily to the stimulus of the Enlightenment with a notable scientific revival” and that “the promotion of useful knowledge became an avowed purpose of the leaders of that movement [the Enlightenment] in Spain.” 18

Prior to the Bourbon Enlightenment, St. Augustine Historical Society Library, St. Augustine, Florida, and a microfilm copy is in the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History.

17. Charles W. Arnade, Florida on Trial (Coral Gables, 1959), passim.
Spain’s main interest in America had been the exploitation of precious metals and military occupancy; now almost for the first time America had become a scientific curiosity. Great scientific expeditions, such as the celebrated Malaspina Expedition along the California and Alaska coasts, which included all kinds of scientists, were organized with instructions to map and chart the American coastlines.

The Celi expedition lacked many features of the other voyages of the Bourbon period. It contained no botanists, zoologists, physicians, or trained geographers; it was entirely naval in both nature and purpose. Yet the pages of its report and the briefer Franco letter clearly show the influence of the Enlightenment and the Bourbon policy of stimulating scientific research and exploration. Thus the Celi report must be considered a document of the Age of Enlightenment. In this light it is also a most welcome document since Spanish Florida history is so restrictive and since it centers so much on military and defense matters. The great sweeps of history left Spanish Florida relatively unaffected but probably not as untouched as earlier research and study had indicated. The influence of the eighteenth-century Spanish Enlightenment did indeed touch Florida.

Often in history more questions are raised than are answered by the discovery of any new documentation. The Celi report is a vital document in Tampa Bay history and it introduces a new historical figure in the annals of early Florida, that of Francisco Maria Celi, chief of the expedition. Unfortunately, extensive search of the Spanish naval records has failed to reveal any biographical data on Celi. An examination of the naval documents and service records of the naval commanders and personnel in the colorful medieval palace of Admiral Alvaro de Bazan, Marques de Santa Cruz (1526-1588), the great naval com-


20. Among the several biographies of Alvaro de Bazan the best is by Martin Fernandez de Navarrete in the 1830 report of the Estado General de la Marina (Madrid), appendix, 97-129. See also Angel del Altolaguirre y Duvale, Don Alvaro de Bazan. Estudio historico-biografico (Madrid, 1888), passim.
mander of Philip II, located in the small isolated village of Viso del Marques in the Mancha (province of Ciudad Real) was fruitless. Likewise, the Naval Museum where most of the naval documents are still located, including the Celi maps and report, revealed no data on Celi.

The Celi report has many historical implications. It is our leading document showing the renewed interest of Spain during the eighteenth century to rediscover, chart, and settle the Florida Gulf coast with Tampa Bay as its main target. The Celi report is also an indication that the Spanish Age of Enlightenment - an outgrowth of the eighteenth-century European Enlightenment-stimulated by the Bourbon dynasty and taking a scientific twist, had also reached Florida. Finally, the Celi document points out that as the historian searches for new Spanish colonial Florida sources he must look to other archives than Seville’s Archive of the Indies whose Florida documentation has been photostated many years ago.


THE San Francisco de Asis was a xebec, one of a class of relatively small three-masted sailing vessels used around the Spanish and Portuguese coasts. Her fore and mizzenmasts were lateen rigged, and her mainmast was square rigged, having three sails - main, lower main, and upper mainsails. This type was frequently outfitted with oars for use in calm water, but there is no indication that this vessel was so equipped. 

This xebec under command of naval Lieutenant Don Jose Jimenez set sail from the “Port of Havana, which is at 23° 10’ of North Latitude and Longitude 291° 10’, for the Bay of Tampa, which is in 27° 40’ and 290° Longitude, based on the meridian of Tenerife. . . .” 2 The coordinates of latitude of both places are very nearly correct. Application of the sun’s declination, either north or south, at meridian passage would give the latitude. Such latitude was limited in accuracy perhaps only by the skill of the observer and the refinement of the observing instrument itself. 3 Don Francisco Maria Celi, commander of this Florida surveying expedition, refers to “latitude by observation” and so records it in several places on his log sheets. It is probable that he measured the sun’s angular distance with a backstaff, or sea quadrant, or perhaps with some early variation of the sextant, which was invented more than two centuries ago. 4 The determination of longitude at sea, however, was quite another matter and is a comparatively modern development. It was not until the

3. The writer is speaking from personal experience.
nineteenth century that the average navigator was able to determine his longitude with accuracy. In light of all this, it is almost certain that Celi was unable to determine his longitude by observation. In fact, he virtually admits this in his Journal when he referred to a position in the vicinity of Marquesa [sic] Key as being “... according to the information on the chart.”

There is no record in his work that he determined his longitude by observation, but rather is presumed to have derived it from some known, though perhaps erroneous, position on the chart.

By 1757, Spain’s influence and power in Florida was diminishing year by year by reason of the burgeoning English colonies to the north and her own short-sighted policy of prohibiting the immigration of foreigners. In fact, the migration of her own non-Catholic citizens was likewise restricted.

Despite this, Spanish interest in the Tampa Bay area impelled Don Lorenzo Montalbo, assistant quartermaster of the Royal Navy and its principal minister in Cuba, to request the survey. Accordingly, the order was given by Don Blas of Barreda, rear admiral of the Royal Fleet and ranking naval officer of Havana, to start the survey.

There is no indication from the Journal that Easter Sunday, April 10, 1757, was chosen as a particularly propitious day to begin their voyage. Yet this might well have been the case, as the Spaniards were a very religious people. Indeed, a member of the clergy, Don Augustin Fogasa, accompanied them on the voyage to minister to their spiritual needs.

After releasing the towing vessel which assisted them out of the harbor and through the narrows between Morro Castle and the Point, the weather soon worsened. The xebec was therefore compelled to heave-to for some six hours to await a more favorable wind before attempting the passage across the Straits of Florida. It is passing strange that the narrow, very shoal channel between Boca Grande Key and the Marquesas group would be their channel of choice to pass through the Florida Keys when the center of the ten-mile wide, deep-water fairway between Rebecca Shoal and

7. This was probably a longboat with men at the oars.
Dry Tortugas lay just thirty-five miles to the westward. 10 The additional distance might well have been the determining factor. Be that as it may, the account records that Captain Jimenez and Pilot Celi exercised prudent seamanship in executing this successful shoal-water crossing.

Little is known of the actual dimensions of the San Francisco de Asis, but the vessel passed over bottom at a depth of two and one-half fathoms on this particular crossing and over a two-fathom bar upon entering Tampa Bay. 11 The Spanish fathom was 65.84 inches; therefore, from the foregoing, we must assume that the vessel had a draft of somewhat less than twice this figure. Based on the above, a draft of eight to nine feet would be a fair assumption.

Speculation and a fair measure of reasonable deduction must also be employed in arriving at the number of men aboard the xebec on this voyage, as well as the position, or station aboard ship of at least two of the officers. In all, six of the latter, including the chaplain and the accountant, were referred to at various times. The party who surveyed the Hillsborough River consisted of Captain Jimenez; Pilot Celi; Franco the draftsman; two petty officers, Francisco Diaz the carpenter, and the caulker who was unidentified by name; and fifteen seamen. 12 This totals twenty-five men, leaving four officers and a skeleton crew of seamen—perhaps not less than ten—while the xebec remained at anchor off Gadsden Point awaiting the return of the survey party. Thus the vessel’s complement of officers, petty officers, craftsmen, and seamen was probably on the order of thirty-four in number. In addition to the officers identified, Don Fogasa and Don Rafael Jimenez were at various times referred to as the ship’s chaplain and the accountant, respectively. This leaves in doubt the identity of only Don Lino Morillo and Jose Gonzalez.

The Journal discloses that at no time was the xebec left unattended without Captain Jimenez or Don Lino Morillo aboard ship. This fact, together with the frequency with which Morillo’s name was mentioned, suggests that he was second-in-command or chief mate. This theory is further enhanced by his refusal to

10. United States Coast and Geodetic Survey, Chart 1113, Havana to Tampa Bay-1964. (They utilized this passage on their return, Celi Journal, 58-60.)
12. Ibid., 29.
give the Indians rum during Captain Jimenez' absence, although the captain himself did not hesitate to offer rum to the natives.  

Jose Gonzalez, whose name was mentioned only once, was probably Celi's assistant or junior pilot.  

Most seafarers would probably agree that the most dangerous phase of navigation occurs when a vessel is "on soundings." From the days of the earliest navigator, the possibility of grounding his vessel has been a major concern, and frequent soundings have been the most highly valued safeguard against this experience. The lead line is perhaps the oldest instrument of navigation.  

The hand lead, consisting of a lead weight attached to a line usually marked in fathoms, has been known since antiquity, and with the exception of the markings, is probably the same today as it was 2,000 years ago. The deep sea lead, a heavier weight with a longer line, was a natural outgrowth of the hand lead and was designed for use in deeper water.  

The lead is usually cylindrical in shape or roughly so, having a hole for attachment of the line to the top and a recess in its bottom. The latter is packed with tallow, wax, soap, or any other sticky substance not immediately water-soluble. Upon reaching the bottom, small particles will adhere to this substance and can thus be brought to the surface for examination and comparison. Thus it was that Celi obtained his soundings which were of immediate importance to the safe navigation of his vessel. The long-range significance of those depths taken in the Tampa Bay area, however, was infinitely greater - they would become a vital part of Celi's Journal of Surveys and its accompanying chart. They helped fulfill an important part of the mission by contributing to a useful and reasonably accurate chart.  

The Journal is filled with references to the wind and weather. This is not strange when one considers that the wind can be almost at once both friend and foe. This was particularly true in the days of sail, and the shores of Florida are strewn with the remains of men and ships, who either ignored the signs of approaching storms or who were unable to flee.  

Of necessity,
therefore, the early explorers to the New World developed an uncanny ability for judging the weather and acting accordingly. That some were willing to stake their professional reputation and their very lives on this ability has been chronicled often in written accounts of those early explorers.

There is no suggestion from Celi's Journal that any such momentous decisions involving the weather ever confronted him or his captain. Their voyage was in April and May - some two months before the usual hurricane season - so they were spared this worry. Land and sea breezes, both prevalent along the Florida west coast, and caused by alternate heating and cooling of the land mass adjacent to the water, were frequently referred to by Celi. The handling of the vessel in anticipation of these winds indicated a practical knowledge of their effect, if not the theory of their cause. In general, the navigation of the vessel could be characterized as both prudent and conservative. Soundings were taken at frequent intervals, and on several occasions the longboat was dispatched to sound ahead of the xebec and give an appropriate signal upon encountering dangerous shoal water. Moreover, Celi did not hesitate to improve the position of the vessel because of inclement weather. Proof of the skill and vigilance of the officers and crew in this respect is the fact that there is no record in the Journal that the xebec touched bottom at any time, much less grounded.

While Celi's expedition was concerned chiefly with the survey of Tampa Bay, he also described many aspects of the Florida west coast on his three-day outbound voyage from Havana. There were certain inaccuracies of direction and distance of the coast line, to be sure, but in general his descriptions would have been useful to the navigator of that era. For example, he lists the depths of certain passes and bays enroute, although the Journal does not indicate that he actually stopped to sound these areas. The time element involved suggests that he did not penetrate any of these passes and bays. He must have been navigating from a chart developed by an earlier navigator, perhaps even himself, as he states near the end of his commentary that, "I have made

18. Bowditch, American Practical Navigator, 806.
20. Ibid., 26-28, 48-49.
21. Ibid., 15-16.
22. Ibid., 3-7.
many trips on this passage. . . .” 23 Thus, he may well have been speaking from his own former experiences or merely giving descriptions as he interpreted them from the chart.

Upon the approach to Tampa Bay, Celi’s prudent judgment and perhaps former experiences were once again demonstrated when he advised anchoring at 2 a.m., “lest we go beyond the mouth of Tampa Bay.” 24 From his description and the subsequent time element involved, it is probable that the vessel anchored about four miles West South West of Longboat Pass.

Entry of the San Francisco de Asis into Tampa Bay by way of the present southwest channel at 8:30 a.m., Wednesday, April 13, 1757, and her anchoring a half hour later inside Egmont Key was attended by no particular fanfare. Some definite and accurately measured area of reference had to be decided upon as a starting point for the survey. “The island of the middle,” which Celi named San Blas and Barreda and which is presently called Egmont Key, was chosen. 25 The south point of the island was selected as a starting point, and it was subsequently marked by a cross on their outbound passage. It is indicated on the 1757 chart as Point of the Cross.

Celi’s method of measuring and establishing the size and shape of this island is worthy of note. Starting at the south end of Egmont Key, he and his assistants sighted down the shore line, noting the compass bearing and distance in Castillian yards of thirty-three inches, until the beach began to curve. He proceeded to this point and repeated the operation, noting the bearing and distance as before. This operation was similarly repeated twenty times until, by this series of straight-line measurements, he returned to the point of origin. 26

One interesting sidelight becomes apparent upon reading the Journal and studying Celi’s chart. The daily navigational log

23. Ibid., 60.
24. Ibid., 6.
25. Ibid., 8-9.
26. The author has plotted these coordinates as recorded by Celi, using an assumed scale. The resulting outline bears an amazing resemblance to the Egmont Key of today both in size and shape. A comparison of Celi’s Isle of San Blas and Barreda with the present Egmont Key may be noted on a modern navigational chart (United States Coast and Geodetic Survey Chart 1257, Tampa Bay and St. Joseph Sound-1967). The ravages of wind and sea in the intervening two centuries and more may account for certain minor discrepancies of size and shape.
sheets upon which the hourly data was recorded while the vessel was under way provide a column for magnetic variation, and lists therein different values for the areas navigated. Yet there is no indication from a study of the text and chart that such variation for the Tampa Bay area in 1757 was considered in any of the surveys. There are two available charts of Tampa Bay which provide a means of arriving at an approximation of the value of this 1757 phenomenon. One drawn in 1966 shows a magnetic variation of 1° 15' East, while an 1879 version shows that in 1885 this value was 3° 25' East. Inasmuch as the annual rate of change has not been uniform over the years, we derive an average annual rate of decrease of 1.6' (minutes of arc) for the eighty-one year interval. Applying this same rate to the 1885 magnetic variation, one arrives by extrapolation at a figure of 6° 50' East in 1757 - the date of Celi’s survey. This approximation is strengthened considerably by another early chart, Bernard Romans’ Map of Florida of 1774, which indicates a magnetic variation of 5° 47' East. Applying an average annual rate of decrease for the intervening seventeen years, again by extrapolation, to Romans’ figure, the figure of 6° 14' East for 1757 is secured. The approximations of the magnetic variation, one based on unquestioned sources and the other on Romans’ value, are within a little more than one half of a degree of arc - an insignificant difference.

The xebec remained in her initial anchorage for some five days before shifting to a more protected position in the lee of Mullet Key Shoal. The Journal indicates that a strong northeaster had begun. It not only caused life aboard the small sailing vessel to become uncomfortable, but it threatened the safety of the vessel, and Celi sought a more sheltered anchorage.

During these five days, Celi and his party pursued their surveying activities with the same diligence used in measuring Egmont Key. Relying in large measure on this now well established landmark as a reference, he outlined the shape of the shore line and shoals and recorded the depths of the latter, both inshore and offshore from the keys of the entrances to Tampa Bay. While

27. Celi Journal, appendix, i-v.
island and is now a mere sand spit—Passage Key. The land to the right of the bow is Anna Maria Key. Banana (Bermuda Key) which Cali erised. The pieces seen under the sails were on which was then a good-sized appear in the lower right-hand corner of Cell's chart. The sketch shows the cross on the isle of San Blas and which alone is after his sketch of the ship which

SAN FRANCISCO DE ASIS-CONSEJO Y SU COMISION

Mission Acapulco, Pedro de Jesus

Mission Acapulco
Egmont Key was the starting point for the survey, as work progressed, other points of reference assumed equal importance. In general, all of the work reflected the same conscientious attention to detail, marred perhaps by only one significant error of judgment. It resulted in a decision involving the usefulness of the present Egmont Channel, a decision agreed to by the qualified officers of the San Francisco de Asis on the final day of the survey.

After delineating the shape of the shore line and shoals disclosed by his work “in the field,” Celi moved on to the general area south and east of Boca Ciega Bay and Pinellas Peninsula, sounding and sketching as he went along. This two-day excursion took him as far north and as close as “half the range of a pistol shot” to a point which he called “Santa Cruz” (probably present Papys Point). The xebec had meanwhile kept apace by proceeding further into Tampa Bay.

Two conclusions were reached by the party as a result of the examination of this area. First, Celi’s chart does not show any soundings of Boca Ciega Bay - called by him Estero de Romero - nor would the time element indicated in his Journal have permitted more than a casual glance into this inlet. Yet he drew a fairly accurate likeness of this bay on his chart, concluding that, “I have tried to examine and survey it as being suitable only for fishing boats.” Secondly, a likely source of fresh water was discovered by the carpenter and two seamen who had been sent ashore to “bleed some pines.” A rather confusing description of the south shore of Pinellas Peninsula was reported to Captain Jimenez by these unlettered crew members, but their advice as to the suitability of fresh water for shipboard use was later followed on the outbound passage. Their report also suggested that the fresh water outlet came from some unknown source. This was perhaps a second outlet non-existent today, from the present Lake Maggiore.

Having completed this phase of his survey, Celi and his crew rejoined the xebec, which then made her way by various tacks into the mouth of the Ensenada de Aguirre or Hillsborough Bay and anchored some two miles to the eastward of what is now Gadsden Point. This passage was interrupted by intermediate

30. Ibid., 24.
32. Ibid., 24.
stops occasioned by shoal water and encounters with the Indians, the first of several encounters - all friendly and peaceful - save the angry outburst of one petulant brave upon being refused rum.

Without touching on the historical significance of the several reports of the Indians in the Journal, certain inferences, however, do stand out. First of all, the vessel was proceeding inward, heading in a northerly direction, when a canoe carrying four Indians was first sighted astern. From the relative position of the xebec at the time, it would appear that the craft was coming from a position on the southeast shore of Tampa Bay. From this observation and the fact that an Indian village is depicted on Celi’s chart, it may be inferred that a village did indeed exist at or near the present Big Cockroach Bay and Mound. A hint of the living conditions of these Indians is contained in a later statement in the Journal.

Celi noted that in every instance the Indians came to the vessel of their own accord and that they had no fear of the white intruders. Whether the natives recognized the xebec as Spanish is debatable, even though the vessel flew her national banner, if not on the day of their initial meeting, at least on a later date. With all this display of fearlessness and apparent trust by the Indians, there may yet have been a shred of doubt. The cacique, or chief, remained ashore on this first visit, and there is no record that he ever met with the white men although this possibility cannot be ruled out.

This lingering element of suspicion, if any, was probably not entirely one-sided. Celi later came upon a hunting party - eight men and two boys - in his search for some fire wood cut previously by his crew. Of this encounter, he wrote: “The fleet, as usual, was off to the W S W.” The “fleet” or armada, as he characterized it, was the other two canoes with the rest of his party. Perhaps Celi had some doubts about this chance encounter; in any case, because of the admitted language problem and perhaps be-

33. Ibid., 27-28.
34. Ibid., 38.
35. Ibid., 27; see also Celi’s Chart of 1757, appendix ix.
36. Ibid., 43.
37. Ibid., 54.
38. Ibid., 27-28.
cause of prudence, he did not tarry long to ask about the firewood.

Much of this is speculation taken out of historical context. The Indian encounters referred to by Celi, when considered along with the other assembled knowledge, may well enrich the entire picture. All speculation aside, the record in the Journal suggests that the relationship between the Spanish survey crew and the Tampa Bay Indians was one of mutual respect and guarded friendship, if not of complete understanding. The Indians were well received and regaled with gifts. They in turn volunteered some knowledge of their hunting skills, which apparently was about all they had to offer.

The survey of the River of Saint Julian and Arriaga took some three days in time and considerable effort in pushing, pulling, and hauling the longboat over and past some of the shoals below and in the vicinity of what is now the Hillsborough River State Park. Their forward progress was finally halted completely by the outcropping of rocks which Celi called “El Salto” - the waterfall. The courses of the various reaches of the river-some fifty in number - together with their depths and widths are carefully noted, along with descriptions of the shoals and bars enroute. In addition to charting this meandering stream, Celi and Captain Jimenez were also looking for trees suitable for masts, booms, and yards. Such timber was found in abundance on their walking survey of the river bottom, and they cut a specimen to take back to Cuba. Whether Don Juan Franco, the draftsman from the navy yard, accompanied them on the river survey in connection with the search for timber is not clear.

39. Ibid., 41-42.
40. Ibid., 27-28, 39, 43.
41. Ibid., 43. A description of a minor variation in deer hunting used by the Choctaw Indians is described in Bernard Romans, A Concise Natural History of East and West Florida (New York, 1775), 66. See also facsimile edition with introduction by Rembert W. Patrick (Gainesville, 1962). This description by Romans was recorded some thirteen or fourteen years after Celi’s survey.
42. Celi Journal, 36.
43. Ibid., 30-35. This river has undergone certain changes of configuration and depth of its upper part since the building of the present-day dam.
44. Ibid., 36-38.
45. The author is of the opinion that Don Juan Franco may have done the art work on the chart after Celi drew in the shore lines.
Upon completion of the survey of the Hillsborough River, Celi resumed his work at Papys Point or Point of the Cross, as he called it, surveying and sounding across the mouth of what is now Old Tampa Bay. This great body of water received about the same degree of attention as did Boca Ciega Bay - a few bearings of keys in its mouth, no soundings, and a guess-work outline. The shoals and bars south of Tampa’s Interbay Peninsula and on both sides of the entrance to Hillsborough Bay were sounded and recorded in the Journal and noted on the chart with great care and detail. According to the text and the chart the east side of this bay northward from its entrance, however, received no attention. Failure to recognize and chart the Alafia River is therefore not surprising, since this shore line was not traversed. Yet unaccountably, Celi drew the River of Franco, though rather inaccurately. This is now known variously as Six-Mile Creek or Palm River.

The remainder of the shore line of the southeast side of Tampa Bay was examined by Celi and his crew by skirting the shoals and beaches close-aboard with the longboat, taking bearings and sounding intermittently. In view of this, his failure to document and sketch the Little Manatee River, Terra Ceia Bay, the Manatee River, and Sarasota Pass as little more than unrecognizable indentations on his chart is rather puzzling. It was as if

46. Almost this same outline was to be drawn into an English chart twelve years later with the inscription, “Tampa Bay According to the Spaniards.” See William Stork, A Description of East Florida (London, 1769), opposite page 35. Hereafter referred to as the Map of Bay of Espiritu Santo of 1769. This chart is also documented in Woodbury Lowery, A Descriptive List of the Maps of the Spanish Possessions within the Present United States, 1502-1820, ed. by Philip Lee Phillips (Washington, 1912), 385. It must be assumed that the English knew of the Celi Chart; they may even have had a copy and a translation of his journal from which the chart was developed. The English version shows a few soundings, suggesting that they at least went into Old Tampa Bay. Celi’s free-hand rendition of this arm of the bay is fairly close to its actual shape and size.

47. Compare Celi’s Chart of 1757 with Chart 1257.

48. Celi’s Chart of 1757. Romans refers to a river emptying into Tampa Bay which he called the Manatee. In describing it he says “that in the river Manatee is a considerable fall of rocks fourteen miles from its mouth; - that above these falls the banks are very steep...” Romans, Natural History of Florida, 287. This description is more or less consistent with Celi’s account in his Journal and our present knowledge of the Hillsborough River. Examination of the Tampa Bay section of Romans, Map of Florida, 1774, tends to confuse the issue, but would apparently rule out the present Manatee and Little
he considered that the survey was almost complete as far as he was concerned, and that his only interest was in completing the shore line of Tampa Bay.

Actually, for all practical purposes, both were probably true. The deep-water contours of the bay by now had been rather well established. The shoals on the west side and the great middle-ground, which he called the Shoal of Saint Thelmo, had been sounded and charted. Moreover, the surveying and charting of the southeast side of the bay was progressing apace. Certain tidal and current data had been gathered, and adequate fresh water and suitable timber had been found in abundance on the survey of one large river. Of what consequence then were a few more inlets, tributaries, or rivers? In Celi's mind there probably remained only one other survey item of any importance - a conclusive sounding of the channel between San Blas and Belasco now known as Egmont Channel. This had been halted by adverse winds and currents on the first attempt.

Of the two chores not directly related to the survey, one had been accomplished - fresh water had been taken aboard at the Watering Place of San Francisco on lower Pinellas Peninsula. The other matter - erecting a cross on the south end of Egmont Key - would be attended to on the outbound passage. Small wonder then that the officers and crew were anxious to complete their mission and return to Havana. As if reading Celi's mind or possibly by prearrangement, Captain Jimenez had heaved anchor and proceeded to a position to the eastward of the north end of Egmont Key to await the pilot and his party. At the first sign of dawn, Friday, May 6, 1757, Celi and other principal officers went ashore and erected a cross on the south point of Egmont Key as the guns from the xebec echoed across the waters.

Celi's second attempt, immediately following the ceremony of the cross, to examine, sound, survey, and therefore to be able to draw an accurate and documented sketch of Egmont Channel was again turned back by adverse wind and the current. Captain

Manatee rivers, leaving only the Alafia and Hillsborough for consideration as Romans' "Manatee River." The P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History and the Tampa Public Library have the twelve sections of Roman's map.

49. Celi Journal, 12, 26, 38, 51.
50. Ibid., 55.
Jimenez therefore called certain of his officers together, and they jointly agreed on a “matter of consequence” involving two decisions, both based on Celi’s unsuccessful attempts to sound this channel completely and thoroughly. The first decision was of immediate concern, and, in light of the circumstances, it appeared to be wise and prudent. Since there remained an element of uncertainty about Egmont Channel, they would leave the Bay of San Fernando by way of the channel through which they entered. This latter channel, along with its bordering shoals, had been carefully sounded and charted and was known to be safe. Their second decision, according to Celi, was “to consider the channel between San Blas and Key Belasco as not useful because of the aforesaid obstacles.” It might well have had far-reaching consequences for those future navigators and pilots to Tampa Bay who had relied on his chart.

After Celi’s first examination of this channel on Wednesday, April 20, he noted in the Journal, “we proceeded to the westward until San Blas was lost from view to me.” Turning back because of an increase in the wind and current, he failed to complete the soundings. His second attempt on Friday, May 6, was likewise unsuccessful because, “the contrary winds and opposing currents would not allow me to proceed.” Yet, at the time of their unanimous agreement, he states, “So therefore we hold ourselves responsible that I and Don Lino Morillo went outside with the longboat until almost out of sight of San Blas, and on this day found a scant 2 fathoms. I thus discovered further offshore that the channel continued its shoaling appearance.” These two statements by Celi at different times and about the same occurrence are at variance with one another, and they indicate that the two-fold “matter of consequence” was decided on the basis of an earlier and incomplete examination. It is possible that one more attempt under more favorable weather conditions would have led Celi to a far different conclusion.

The English chart published twelve years after the Celi expedition indicates that Egmont Channel was open to the westward to the deep water of the Gulf of Mexico, and that it had a

51. Ibid., 55-56.
52. Ibid., 56.
53. Ibid., 20.
54. Ibid., 55-56.
depth of at least some three and one half fathoms or twenty-one feet. Subsequent charts, including the Romans’ Map of Florida, 1774, tell substantially the same story. It is therefore extremely unlikely that this channel was closed to the open sea as indicated on Celi’s chart.  

It must be noted to Celi’s credit, however, that he did not show any soundings on the large shoal with which he enclosed the westward extremity of Egmont Channel. This fact alone is testimony to Celi’s honesty in the matter. The inference is clear - the shoal is shown as unsounded and therefore suspect, and his error was one of judgment and omission, rather than one of commission. This attitude was characteristic of all of Celi’s work in connection with this survey.

The Journal records that their return passage was rather uneventful and was marked by the same careful and prudent navigation as their outward passage. They set sail at 5 a.m., Saturday, May 7, and arrived at Havana at 5:30 p.m., Tuesday, May 10. They had been away just one month to the day.

A casual examination of Celi’s chart might well lead one to believe that cartography was more of an art than a science, and in many earlier examples this undoubtedly was true. Celi’s Chart of 1757, however, appears to embody a great deal of both. The areas of Tampa Bay which were carefully sounded and measured compare favorably with subsequent charts, even to those of the relatively modern era. The discrepancies between the Spanish chart under discussion and those of unquestioned accuracy of our present day may be attributed to at least three things - Celi’s relatively crude surveying methods, the changes in the area itself wrought by time and the elements, and various man-made alterations. Despite certain shortcomings, it is obvious that this chart served a useful purpose as an aid to the safe navigation of Tampa Bay.

Celi gave names to a great many of the keys, points, inlets, and other creations of nature which he considered important. The following list is an attempt to relate his places and names to their modern counterpart by comparison with a present-day

56. Romans, *Natural History of Florida*, appendix, LXXVIII, LXXXI; Spirito Santo and Tampe Bay [sic] section of Romans, Map of Florida, 1774; and Chart 177.

57. Celi’s Chart of 1757.
chart 58 (none of Celi’s names remains today with the possible exception of Point Pinellas - from the Piney Point of Jimenez): Bahia de San Fernando, Tampa Bay; Estero de Romero, Boca Ciega Bay; Estero Grande de Girior, Old Tampa Bay; Ensenada de Aguirre, Hillsborough Bay; Isla de San Blas y Barreda, Egmont Key; Isla de San Francisco y Leon, Passage Key; Cayo San Luis y Belasco, Mullet Key; 59 Canal de Santilla, Passage Key Inlet; Canal de San Juan y Navarro, Southwest Channel; Pozo o Seno de San Tiburcio, Egmont Channel; Punta Arboleda, Bean Point (north end of Anna Maria Key); Punta del Quemado, probably Terra Ceia or Snead Point; Punta de la Cruz (1) south point of Egmont Key (2) probably Papsys Point; Punta del Pinal de Jimenez, Pinellas Point; Punta Morillo, Gadsden Point; Punta de Montalbo, Catfish Point; Punta Carrascon, Hookers Point; Rio de San Julian y Arriaga, Hillsborough River; Pinal de la Cruz de Santa Teresa, an area to the north and east of Temple Terrace; El Salto, the “waterfall” at Hillsborough River State Park; Rio de Franco, Six-Mile Creek; Palm River; Punta Gonzalez, probably Mangrove Point; Punta Gago, probably an unnamed key just north of Camp Key; Punta Trabajo, probably Mariposa Key; Noche Triste, probably an area inside of Two Brothers and Joe islands; Aguada de San Francisco, probably an outlet from the south side of Lake Maggiore, now non-existent; and Placer de San Thelmo, the unnamed middle-ground of Tampa Bay in the general area southwest of Tampa’s Interbay and east of Pinellas peninsulas.

The imaginative art-work of Celi’s chart demonstrates a desire to impart certain other information in addition to the navigational data. It is logical to assume, for example, the flora and fauna shown thereon were indigenous to the area. A close examination will disclose a snake, alligators, wildcat, deer, and turkeys - all easily recognizable. Three other species are uncertain in their identification. Two small animals on the Tampa Interbay Peninsula might be rabbits or foxes; another animal standing on

58. Chart of 1257.
59. The differences between the other keys in the general area of Mullet Key and Boca Ciega Bay as shown on the two charts in question make it difficult, if not impossible, to make any meaningful identifications. Comparison with United States Coast and Geodetic Survey Chart 177 (Tampa Bay) of 1879, also indicates a similar situation at the mouth of the Hillsborough River.
its hind feet in what is now Tampa Heights area, might well be a bear eating berries. The last and perhaps the most baffling of all is the bovine-type animal in the area of what is now Bradenton. If indeed it is bovine, the chronology of cattle in the Tampa Bay area, and thus its authenticity, will be a matter for historians to decide.

The Indian village with its natives, canoes, campfires, firearms, and other unidentifiable objects in the area of what is now known as Cockroach Bay and Mound, formerly known as Indian Hill, is consistent with the record of Celi’s Journal, other documentation, and certain archeological findings. Pine trees in more or less symmetrical profusion and a few palm trees are shown on the chart on the east side of Tampa and Hillsborough bays. Yet strangely, none are shown on the Wooded Point or the Piney Point of Jimenez, both names synonymous with forested areas. Perhaps consideration for the appearance of the chart won out over the logic involved. In general, the remaining vegetation is of a nondescript type and provides little or no information of a specific nature.

The legend and its surrounding art-work, the scale of leagues and miles, and the sketch of the vessel demonstrate a skill usually attributed to an artist or a talented draftsman. As suggested earlier, perhaps Don Juan Franco embellished the chart after Celi provided the completed sketch of the bay. The drawing of the vessel is a more or less faithful reproduction of a xebec as verified from another source. The zigzag lines are the various courses and distances navigated by the vessel as she made her way into and out of Tampa Bay. Their apparent haphazard pattern is accounted for by the fact that the wind was not always favorable, and diverse tacks were often employed to make good a scant distance to the windward.

Of the three islands guarding the entrances to Tampa Bay prominently mentioned in Celi’s Journal, one of them - Passage Key - is now little more than a sand spit, barely awash at high tide. Why it alone of these three islands has succumbed to the ravages of time and the elements will probably remain a mystery.

62. Chart 1257.
The other two - Egmont and Mullet Keys - were later to assume an important role in the historical background of the area; providing, among other things, sites for the third Fort Dade and Fort DeSoto. Although their “guns never fired a shot in military defense or offense of this key entrance to Tampa Bay,” they nevertheless stood prepared for many years. The south and east sides of the two great peninsulas - Pinellas and Tampa’s Interbay - along with the Hillsborough River area received by far the greatest attention of the mainland survey by Celi and his party. It is perhaps only coincidental but a fact, none the less, that these areas are today the great population, economic, educational, and cultural centers of the entire Florida west coast.

Don Francisco Maria Celi did not create any literary masterpiece in his Journal, nor is it likely that he intended to do so, as it is just what its name implies. Moreover, it contains certain errors of grammar and of a technical nature not usually associated with a man of letters. Nevertheless, for a technical work it is rich in other information. For example, Celi’s several references to the Indians will no doubt contribute to the over-all knowledge of the natives living along Tampa Bay in the year 1757. His chart and the text also provide further confirmation of the flora and fauna for this period as well. Most of all, it allows the reader to view the day-by-day activities of a group of men who made a contribution, however modest, to the history, tradition, and development of the Tampa Bay area.

63. Frank Laumer, “This Was Fort Dade,” *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XLV (July 1966), 11.
64. This quote taken from the brief historical outline posted at Fort DeSoto on Mullet Key.
THE FLORIDA UNITS fighting the Confederate cause in the West made no major contribution to the overall war effort, yet many Florida officers and men did yeomen service in the South’s Army of Tennessee. The experiences of these soldiers certainly reflect those of many other Confederate fighting men in the same army. In this sense, the trials and tribulations of these Floridians may be used to illustrate the changing conditions among at least one segment of the southern troops on a very important front of the Civil War.

In the spring of 1862, the Florida soldiers in the West consisted basically of a single battalion under the command of Major Thadeus A. McDonnell. The First Florida Confederate Infantry Regiment had been mustered in with great fanfare at the Chattahoochee Arsenal on April 5, 1861, on the very eve of the outbreak of hostilities at Fort Sumter, South Carolina. Stationed first at Pensacola, the regiment in March 1842 was ordered to Corinth, Mississippi, to join General Braxton Bragg’s hard-pressed army. It only reached Montgomery, Alabama, however, when the term of the men’s enlistment expired, and they were mustered out. A few reenlisted, but only enough to form a battalion. The time was critical and the Florida Battalion was rushed by train into its first great engagement, the Battle of Shiloh. The unit was exposed to a “galling fire,” and five officers, including Major McDonnell, were killed or seriously wounded before the Florida force was withdrawn to artillery protection. Brigade Commander James Patton Anderson, in his official dispatches, liberally praised his men for their courage and fortitude, and their service at Shiloh became part of the First Florida’s renowned legend. 2

1. Board of State Institutions, Soldiers of Florida in the Seminole Indian, Civil and Spanish-American Wars (Tallahassee 1903) 39.
2. There is a problem of timing connected with the Florida Battalion’s engagement at Shiloh which occurred on April 6-7, 1862. In March the First Florida was ordered to Mississippi, but the unit had arrived only at Montgomery, when the men’s enlistment expired. Some four companies were reorganized immediately. Soldiers
Corinth, Mississippi, in May 1862, the battalion was combined with another Florida unit as the First Florida Regiment with Colonel William Miller commanding.

Second Lieutenant Hugh Black was an officer of the First Florida Regiment, and from the letters that he wrote to his wife in Florida we learn how the ordinary soldier reacted to the hardships and exigencies of war and of his loneliness and uncertainties fighting hundreds of miles away from home and family. Writing from Tennessee during the summer of 1862, Black predicted, “our forces will drive the enemy out of the country or capture the whole force.” A few weeks later, he reported the Federals in full retreat and described the route from Knoxville to Clinton, Tennessee, as the most “distress [ful] road I ever saw. It was just like marching through a solid bed of ashes and the heat was very great.” 3 The First Florida fought at Richmond, Kentucky, on August 29-30, 1862, and on the day following the battle, Lieutenant Black found the ground still “strewn with the dead and dying soldiers—some were being buried—others were dieing [sic]
others with their legs and arms being cut off. Their suffering were great but they received every attention that could be given them by the kind and generous citizens of the surrounding country.”

Churches and private homes were pushed into service as hospitals, and “there were piles of arms and legs as high as the tables.” Black noted in his diary that “we had no need of drawing rations from military stores, but were fed by the people of the town and surrounding country.”

The First Florida saw action at the Battle of Perryville, Kentucky, on October 8, 1862, and when Brigade Commander General John C. Brown was wounded, Colonel Miller took over the whole brigade. He later reported that the ordnance officer, a nephew of the commanding general, was drunk during the battle and that when ammunition did not arrive at the front, his men had to cut cartridge boxes off the dead and to strip bullets from the wounded. Miller also noted that his “excited boys” had captured several “successive positions,” but he described the losses as “great.”

Some of the First Florida men were unable to fight, Miller revealed, since the battle area was covered with sharp black locust plants which lacerated the “virtually barefooted” feet of his troops.

Lieutenant Black noted in his diary that the local people around Perryville had provided the Florida soldiers with “any quantity of good provisions and whiskey” and that there was “a considerable jolification” in camp.

On the other hand, Private C. O. Bailey, writing to his mother in Florida shortly after the battle at Perryville, reported that he had not had “a drop to drink” since he left home. His mother it seems had heard something about his behavior since he admitted that he had “chewed some tobacco” to which something had been added to make him “lively.”

5. Ibid.
6. William Miller, “The Battle of Natural Bridge,” mss. in Special Collections, Robert L. Strozier Library. This paper was read by Colonel Miller to the Tallahassee Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy in January 1901. The narrative covered his war experiences as a Confederate officer in the Army of Tennessee. For an edited version see William Miller, “The Battle of Natural Bridge,” edited by Mark F. Boyd, Apalachee, IV (1950-1956), 76-86.
7. Ibid.
8. Hugh Black Diary, 5, Black Papers.
Bailey failed to explain what the major ingredient was. The regiment returned to Chattanooga on December 13, 1862, and after its losses were totalled it was merged with the Third Florida Infantry. Afterwards the force was designated as the First and Third Regiments Consolidated.  

Not all Florida soldiers stationed in the West had fellow Floridians as their battle companions. Of the two companies with which Private Bailey was familiar, which totaled 123 men, no more than thirty were Floridians. In a letter written in the fall of 1862, Bailey mentioned the growing shortage of supplies, and said that there were only four tents in his company; most of the men, he wrote, had no protection at all from the elements.  

Probably in an effort to keep his mother from being overly concerned, Bailey, in February 1863 wrote that he could secure butter, eggs, and chickens even though the prices were very high. Lieutenant Black, in a letter to his wife the following month noted: “We are having a fine time just now; Spring has come and everything looks gay and beautiful.”  

Apparently morale among the Confederate troops in Tennessee was still fairly good. The physical condition of the men, however, was not always the best. After marching two full days to get to Loudon, Tennessee, Lieutenant Black’s weary men were issued only four ounces of beef and a single biscuit which hardly seemed adequate rations for hungry soldiers.  

Roderick G. Shaw of Company A, Fourth Florida Infantry, was also a part of the Army of Tennessee. Like Lieutenant Black’s communications, Shaw’s letters to his sister in Quincy show that he was equally unhappy about the quality and quantity of food issued the men. “Meal after meal,” he wrote, “we sit to cornbread (once in a while a little flour) bacon and water.” Butter, he found completely unavailable. When Shaw was promoted to sergeant major on April 12.

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11. Bailey to his mother, October 18, 1862, Bailey Papers.  
16, 1863, he let his Florida family know that he was looking for “a boy to cook for me and to attend to other little necessaries.”

Perhaps it was only a ruse to bring up his wife’s hopes, but at the end of May 1863, Lieutenant Black wrote that he was “confident of our success and I confidently believe that I will survive the war for I feel just like it.” The following month, however, he had lost his optimism, and he was wondering if the Federals would not capture all of Kentucky. Yet, he wrote, his “men were very cheerful [in battle] and seemed to be the happiest men I ever saw. They would yell as though they were playing town ball, instead of fighting a battle, when a ball would go to [sic] high they would hollow [sic] at the Yankees to shoot lower. . . .” In August 1863, he reported that there seemed little prospect of fighting in his sector; perhaps, he hoped, “the last general battle of the war has been fought. I at least hope so.” He told his wife that the Confederates were withdrawing from most of East Tennessee without a fight, and he could not completely understand this procedure, but apparently he was unaware that this was all part of a build-up for what would become the famed Chickamauga campaign in the late summer and fall of 1863. The Florida forces - the First and Third Consolidated under Colonel William S. Dilworth and the Fourth Florida under Colonel W. L. L. Bowen - were involved in the bitter Battle of Chickamauga on September 19-20, 1863, which resulted in a hardwon but very costly southern victory. The Florida troops were subjected to a sharp cannonade, both directly from in front and from an enfilading position, and yet despite being placed in such an exposed position, they charged 300 yards across an open field to engage the enemy for half an hour before a retreat was ordered. A second Confederate charge saw the Florida troops again participating, and this time they carried the enemy works. The loss of life was heavy, and a number of Florida men were killed. Of the 273 men that answered to the First and Third Consolidated muster, nine were killed, seventy were wounded, and thirteen were listed as missing. Colonel Bowen re-

15. Black to Mary Ann Harvey Black, June 24, 1863, Black Papers.
16. Ibid., August 1863.
ported that nine men from his Fourth Florida had died, sixty-seven were wounded, and thirteen were noted as missing. 18

Private Bailey, who had also fought at Chickamauga with the Seventh Florida, described the bitter action in a letter to his father: "When we were ordered to fire I stood sometime without firing looking for something to shoot at but I could not see anything and the boys kept shooting so that I thought I would shoot too so I shot right ahead of me." 19 According to Bailey some Southerners threw away their own muskets and picked up Yankee Springfield or Enfield rifles that were lying on the field. 20 Sergeant Major Shaw found that the Chickamauga victory had worked a "very great change in the Confederate army. Having before been accustomed to defeat and retreat, no one can conceive what a change a victory so brilliant would make... unless he could see the joyous countenances of those veterans." 21 The Florida forces were again involved in the fighting at Missionary Ridge (Chattanooga), Tennessee, in November 1863. Two Florida regiments were placed as outlying pickets, but these units, together with the Seventh Florida, which had been sent in as a forward reserve unit, were forced to retreat. The Sixth Florida defended a pontoon bridge across the Chickamauga River until the Confederate force completed its crossing. 22

By the end of 1863, the Confederate Army of Tennessee was running out of even the most basic supplies and equipment - food, clothing, and ammunition. Sergeant Major Shaw wondered if his sister could provide him with a blanket, and he needed an overcoat, although he said that he preferred one that was neither yellow or brown in color. 23 Although his need for a coat was great, apparently Shaw was still concerned about a color preference. In December, Brigadier General J. J. Finley, commanding the Florida forces, informed Governor John Milton in Tallahassee, that his men were "almost without shoes and blankets." 24 Even finding

18. Ibid., 172-74.
20. Ibid.
21. Shaw to his sister, October 8, 1863, Shaw Collection.
23. Shaw to his sister, October 1863, Shaw Collection.
cloth for a uniform was difficult, as Shaw, who had since been promoted to lieutenant, discovered early in 1864. If he could find some material, he would send it to Quincy so that his sister could make him some clothes.  

As Sherman’s awesome march from Atlanta to the sea began, the Confederate cause became even more critical and seemingly hopeless. As early as January 1864, Lieutenant Shaw reported that “the re-enlisting fever is up in our Army . . . but as yet none of the Florida troops have made a start in that direction.” He disapproved of the desire of many of his fellow Floridians, whose three-year enlistments would end in the spring of 1864, to return home on furlough. He thought that the time had come for the South to prove whether it would win in one great last and desperate effort. He was “very confident of our success,” and according to a letter to his Florida family, he was looking forward to “a quiet home next year.”  

Apparently, Shaw was hoping to buoy up the spirits of the home folks; surely the conditions that he saw around him were not reassuring. Private Bailey was also apprehensive of the future. In a letter written early in 1864, he noted that “it looks like Old Sherman just goes where he pleases without any trouble at all,” and the prospect of defeating the Federals seems “rather gloomy just at this time.”  

Shortly afterwards, Captain David Maxwell, writing to his father in Florida, from a hospital ward in Newnan, Georgia, claimed that he felt “confident of success. We have a large army and all are in fine spirit.” Maxwell described the almost continuous fighting outside Dalton, Georgia. From May 7 to May 25, he said that he had had only two nights of unbroken sleep; all the rest of the time he was on duty.  

Lieutenant Hugh Black painted an even darker picture: “I don’t see the use in the Army trying to do anything more. I think that they have done their best and lost. General Johnson has been relieved from the Command of the Army of Tennessee and General Hood put in his place. . . . Johnson’s men say that they will not

25. Shaw to his sister, January 28, 1864, Shaw Collection. See also Catherine Cooper Hopley, *Life in South; From the Commencement of the War* (London, 1863), II, 276-77.
26. Shaw to his sister, January 28, 1864, Shaw Collection.
27. Bailey to his mother, February 16, 1864, Bailey Papers.
fight under Hood much longer. . . . I shall not be surprised at any time to hear of the capture of Lee’s Army.” 29 Black begged his wife not to worry if he was reported missing. He wondered if it would “stand Me in hand to go and make peace with the Yankees.”

Desertion among the Confederates all over the South had become a steadily rising problem. Black reported that a lieutenant and several of his men from the Fourth Florida had deserted two nights before. 30 Certainly these letters from the Florida men in the Army of Tennessee would indicate that the Confederate cause in that sector was lost before the close of 1864.

There was no let-up of General Sherman’s pressure in Georgia, and, on September 1, 1864, First Lieutenant Francis P. Fleming, writing from Jonesboro, Georgia, informed his mother in Florida that he was spending every night either marching or building breastworks, and that during the day he and his men were trying to protect themselves from enemy shells and infantry attack. Still, even in November 1864, Lieutenant Fleming was somewhat optimistic, at least more so than some of his fellow Florida officers. Fleming was not yet ready to admit that he believed the war was totally lost. 31

During the early weeks of 1865, the Confederate army continued a tragic fighting retreat which ended finally in a last unsuccessful battle at Bentonville, North Carolina. On April 9, 1865, just a few days before the final surrender on April 26, the Florida Brigade was organized into a single regiment, but all Confederate resistance on every front was virtually ended. 32 The Confederacy had collapsed, ending the brave hopes of its fighting men. As Mrs. Susan Bradford Eppes, a Florida contemporary,

29. Black to Mary Ann Harvey Black, July 20, 1864, Black Papers.
30. Ibid. John E. Johns in his Florida During the Civil War (Gainesville, 1963), 154-69, discusses the problem of desertion in Florida during this period. See also William Watson Davis, The Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida (New York, 1913), chapter 10, and the facsimile edition with introduction by Fletcher M. Green (Gainesville, 1964).
sadly wrote: "These heroes . . . had gone forth so full of hope and courage, so handsome and trim . . . and now, they come back in twos, and threes, not in regiments or battalions; . . . heartbroken, footsore, and weary." 33

33. Susan Bradford Eppes, Through Some Eventful Years (Macon, 1926), 267.
UNTIL RELATIVELY recent times the historiography of the Reconstruction period in Florida could be summed up by Claude G. Bowers’ three-word paragraph, “Florida was putrid.” Legislatures full of swindlers, “railroad steals,” “shabby strangers,” and “old black mammies,” praising God and voting Republican, were all a part of the traditional image of this so-called dark era of United States history.¹ Revisionist historians such as Howard K. Beale, David Donald, Kenneth Stampp, and Rembert W. Patrick have challenged this view. They describe the years after the Civil War as a progressive age for the South when civil, educational, and economic reforms brought the region closer to the mainstream of the rest of the nation than it had ever been. On the other hand, this new school contends that economic and social conditions on the local level had actually changed very little from what they had been before the war. The slaves had been technically freed by the thirteenth amendment, but in fact, the chains of slavery were replaced by the bonds of debt peonage.

Florida, unlike some of the other Confederate states, has few records on the condition of the freedmen after the war. Until lately it could only be assumed - but never proved - that debt peonage existed here as it did elsewhere in the South.² Now, however, a document has come to light which removes all doubt about the question and proves the existence of this type of labor in Florida during Reconstruction. The document is a ledger for the year 1873, kept by John Haile, a cotton planter of Alachua County. Haile’s business ledger not only itemizes every penny

². Three particularly good recent studies on the Reconstruction period in Florida do exist. Joe M. Richardson’s The Negro in the Reconstruction of Florida, 1865-1877 (Tallahassee, 1965) is a scholarly appraisal of the freedmen. Merlin G. Cox has studied the early years of the period in “Military Reconstruction in Florida,” Florida Historical Quarterly, XLVI (January 1968), 219-33. For an examination of the later period see Jerrell H. Shofner’s “Political Reconstruction in Florida,” Florida Historical Quarterly, XLV (October 1966), 145-70.
he paid to the former slaves, as well as the amounts they owed to him, but it also reveals the way Haile was able to keep his workers in debt peonage. 3

To interpret the ledger correctly, it must be seen in the perspective of its time and place. The Civil War had no sooner ended when Negroes all over Florida, abandoning the plantations where they had lived and worked all their lives, drifted in great numbers toward the federal encampments along the east coast and throughout West Florida. Word had been flashed along the slaves’ communication network that the Union soldiers would give them protection and food. Furthermore, “Summer-time had come, ’baptizing time,’ water-melon time, berry time. The weather was charmingly warm. . . . Responsibility lay lightly on their shoulders.” 4

There was little the federal authorities could do but urge the blacks to return to their plantations. The army commander in Jacksonville, Brigadier General Israel Vogdes, “reminded the freedmen that ‘orderly and industrious habits’ were ‘essential to the preservation of society’ and that ‘idleness, vagrancy and all marauding pilfering’ would be promptly and severely punished.” 5 At the same time, the military authorities warned each plantation owner not to “ ’expel from his premises any Negro formerly domiciled with him without due cause’ and without military consent.” 6 In the Gainesville area, government officials visited plantations and urged the freedmen to stay with their old masters in order to secure “a certain living.” 7

It was not the welfare of the Negroes that was uppermost in the minds of these army officers; they were more concerned with the economic recovery of the state which was fundamental to political and social reconstruction. Florida’s economy was built

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3. The journal is for John Haile’s Sanfelasco plantation for 1873, hereafter referred to as “Haile’s Journal.” It is located in the James David Glunt Papers, Special Collections, mss. box no. 1, University of Florida Research Library, Gainesville, Florida.
5. I. Vogdes to B. C. Tilghman, May 20, 1865, quoted in Richardson, Negro in the Reconstruction of Florida, 56.
6. United States War Department, General Orders No. 9, July 3, 1865, quoted in Richardson, ibid.
7. F. W. Buchholz, History of Alachua County, Florida (St. Augustine, 1929), 133.
on cotton, and cotton demanded a large labor force to produce it. What was clearly best for the state - and for the plantation owners as well - also seemed best for the ex-slaves. The Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, a federal agency specifically designed to protect the blacks, urged the same policy as the army, and with such success that by 1866 most ex-slaves had returned to their former plantations.  

The Freedmen’s Bureau’s efforts were so successful in this regard that Florida Negroes later came to regard it as “the worst curse of the race.”  

The provisional civil government of Florida also supported this policy and instructed the blacks to return to the farms. William Marvin, an admiralty court judge of Key West, had been appointed provisional governor of Florida on July 13, 1865, by President Andrew Johnson. A Union sympathizer, Marvin had been recommended to the President by both northern and southern moderates as a man of integrity and dedication. On a fact-finding tour of the state immediately after his appointment, the governor found himself obliged repeatedly to deny the persistent rumor that every freedman was to be granted forty acres and a mule. Addressing the Negroes of Marianna on September 27, 1865, Governor Marvin said: “There has been a story circulated in Middle Florida that on the first day of January next the land and mules will be taken from your former owners and divided among you. Such a story I suppose, you have all heard. Have you? Speak out if you have and tell me. (‘I’se hear’n it! I’se hear’n it!’ say all) Well, who told you so? (An answer: ‘The soldiers.’) . . . I want you to understand me. The President will not give you one foot of land, nor a mule, nor a hog, nor a cow, nor even a knife or fork or spoon. (A voice: ‘Dar ole man, you hear dat!’) .”  

Marvin’s brusque words might have been a bitter

disappointment to the Negroes, but the state’s economy, at least, was saved. The 1865 cotton harvest was large and profitable.

The next problem, once the freedmen were back on the plantations, was how to keep them there for wages that would enable the plantations to operate at a profit. Contracts were accordingly drawn between the plantation owners and their former slaves. The Alachua County agreements were similar to those elsewhere in Florida. 12 These contracts were either for a share of the produce (anywhere from one-third to one-half collectively), or for an annual wage. A typical sharecropping contract was agreed upon in 1868 by S. F. Howard, an Alachua County planter, and sixteen freedmen, none of whom were able to sign their own names. Under this contract, Howard agreed to furnish “land, horses or mules to cultivate” the farm and to “pay them one third of the corn, cotton, peas, potatoes and fodder used by them. . . . The freedmen furnishing their own rations.” The laborers, for their part, agreed to do “all manner of work that may be required of them.” 13 Furthermore, this contract stipulated that if in Howard’s judgment the crop was likely to suffer because of absenteeism among the men, and if extra help had to be hired, the extra cost would have to be paid by the contracting fieldhands. 14 The Negroes were to be charged $1.50 for each day lost - although, in fact, extra laborers were available for seventy-five cents or less per day. As for their one-third share of the crop, the sixteen freedmen had no claim on it until after it had been sold by Howard. Until then, as the contract explicitly stated, Howard was “to have entire control on the cotton.” Even then, before being paid, the blacks had to repay “in cotton in the seed to the said Howard at the market price in Gainesville whatever amounts they may be owing the said Howard. Then the shares of cotton [are] to be turned over to the said freedmen.” 15 Terms such as these placed the plantation owners at a decided advantage.

Sharecrop contracts were more common in Florida than wage contracts - and even less rewarding for the workers. “Of 237

14. Ibid.
15. Ibid.
labor contracts one Florida agent approved in 1867, 37 provided for money wages, 12 for payment of a specified amount of cotton to the laborer, and 188 for a division of the crop between the landowner and the field hands.”  

A typical wage contract was one between G. F. Burnett, an illiterate Alachua County farmer, and Elexander Williams, a free black. Elex agreed that “for and in consideration of the sum of one hundred dollars of current money of the United States . . . I on my part covenant and agree to serve G. F. Burnett as a field hand for the year 1868 and I further agree to loose [sic] all pay for time that I do not work.”

Major General James G. Foster, commander of the Freedmen’s Bureau in Florida, noted in 1868 that, “Those who work for a portion of the crop will, it is believed, realize more at the end of the year than those who worked for wages.”

General Foster was proud of his success in getting the ex-slaves to settle down to gainful employment. In a report to Major General Oliver Otis Howard, the national commander of the Freedmen’s Bureau, Foster wrote: “The course pursued to secure the personal welfare of the freedmen has been to require all to labor at some employment; to observe the terms of their contracts or agreements; to comply with the state laws respecting marriages; to be industrious and economical, to provide for the education of themselves and their children; to be faithful and useful to their employers, and to strive to secure their good opinion; to labor contentedly; to abandon migratory habits, and to save their earnings in a safe place of deposit against a time of need.”

Yet Foster admitted that nothing had been done to protect the Negroes from exploitation: “The rates of wages and terms of contracts have, as far as possible, been left to be regulated by the law of supply and demand.” The commissioner also noted that although the “laborers have been obliged, in many instances, to take the orders of their employers upon stores for such necessaries as they required. . . . This evil will be partially remedied in the next year, when more money will be available.”

16. Bentley, History of the Freedmen’s Bureau, 150.
18. Senate Executive Document, 39th Cong., 2nd Sess., Serial No. 1276, No. 6 (Washington, 1867), 44.
19. Ibid., 43.
20. Ibid., 44.
Later history does not substantiate Foster's premature optimism. The Freedmen's Bureau, having provided, for sound reasons, contract labor for the plantations, actually had tended to condone low wages for the former slaves and a multitude of other abuses. One of these was the practice of permitting blacks to run up large credit accounts at plantation-owned stores for their personal supplies. At the end of the year they would generally owe the store more than they had earned, and the owner could exploit the workers' indebtedness to force them either to remain another year on the plantation, or to force them to leave. In 1866, Julius E. Quentin, a Freedmen's Bureau agent in Madison, Florida, gave an example of how these "pernicious instruments of oppression" worked.  

Agent Quentin wrote: "'Sam' is under contract to work with 'Powers' for the year - is to get one third or one fourth of the crop, feed himself or be fed as the case may be. 'Sam' may have a wife and children and may be obliged to provide for them as well as for himself - 'Sam' has no ready money. 'Powers' has a store - and 'Sam' gets credit to buy tobacco - shoes - hats - pants etc. which 'Powers' marks on his books - 'Sam' is thus induced to run a long account - the end of the year comes and 'Powers' turns 'Sam' off telling him that he ('Sam') is greatly indebted to him ('Powers'). That he magnanimously remits the debt but if he shows himself on the plantation again - he will blow his brains out. 'Sam' enters complaint with me. 'Powers' is cited bringing his account books along with him - A long account there is entered against 'Sam' which to all appearances is correct. . . . 'Sam' swears never to have received half of what is marked against him - 'Powers' swears to the accuracy of the books. . . . 'Powers' books appear to be correct, he swears to them - and no court can refute their validity. I can do nothing for 'Sam' ."  

Quentin's example was only a hypothetical one. But the recently discovered 1873 ledger of John Haile of Alachua County provides the actual case study that has so long been needed.  

* * * * *

21. J. E. Quentin to Charles Monroe, August 1, 1866, quoted in Bentley, History of the Freedmen's Bureau, 150.  
22. Ibid.
Alachua County was located in the prosperous cotton-growing region of the state. The county’s staple crop had provided the planters with a prosperous livelihood in the ante-bellum years, and by the early 1870s the crop was once again a richly profitable commodity. The northern part of the county grew a fine long-stemmed cotton which, resembled the Sea Island cotton of Georgia and South Carolina. The yield of the county’s crop, according to a contemporary newspaper article, “varied in quantity as there is a difference in the fertility of the particular soil and the amount of care and labor expended to produce it.” The average yield per acre, according to this account, was anywhere “from four hundred to one thousand pounds of seed cotton. This cotton turns out about one fourth lint to three fourths seed after ginning, the seed being worth from fifteen to twenty cents per bushel” as fertilizer. Although this description of Alachua was intended to encourage white immigration, it is an accurate barometer of the confident nature of the state and county in 1873.

This same newspaper article clearly attributes the region’s prosperity to the quantity and quality of cheap Negro labor which served as an additional incentive to prosperous settlers: “Labor is abundant; the best farm labor can be had at from ten to fifteen dollars per month - men who know how to work, have been brought up to it, and if certain of getting the greenbacks, will do a full days work; are kind, tractable, obedient, and glory in their bone and muscle and in their indifference to the mid day sun.” The editor of the newspaper which carried this story was Leonard G. Dennis, the “‘Little Giant,” a former Massachusetts soldier who gained the political hegemony of Gainesville and Alachua County by controlling the Negro vote. Dennis was one of those Republican moderates who was willing to work with the local interests at a profit to both. The Florida Independent illustrates the effective working cooperation between the mod-

23. “Alachua County,” Gainesville Florida Independent, May 10, 1873. This article was republished in Florida Commission of Lands and Immigration, The Florida Settler, or Immigrants’ Guide (Tallahassee, 1873), 107-08.
25. Ibid.
erate Republicans who controlled the government and the moderate Democrats who dominated the county’s economy and society as they had done before the war. After a brief period of military and provisional rule which ended in 1868, moderate Republicans, such as Dennis, remained in control until 1876 when the Democrats regained political power. The only time the moderate Republicans’ hegemony was attacked was during the three-year period of violence between 1869 and 1871 when the Democrat clubs and the Ku Klux Klan fought for political power. These years of turmoil, however, were followed by an era of “comparative calm” due to the passage by congress of the Ku Klux Klan Act of 1871 which suppressed the Klan and the Democrat clubs. Thus by 1872, the political situation in the state of Florida had become one of effective, moderate government which encouraged conditions similar to those which had existed in the ante-bellum South. So long as this cooperation continued, Florida was tranquil.

John Haile had come to Alachua County in the decade before the Civil War. On January 1, 1857, he purchased the Sanfelasco plantation from Mathew and Ann Hawkins. According to the deed, the farm contained 960 acres, “more or less,” and was located about seven miles southwest of Newnansville, the former county seat of Alachua. After the Civil War, Haile’s plantation was one of the few which the freedmen did not desert.
stead, they remained to continue working for him as wage-earners. By 1870, according to the federal census, the population of Alachua County was 17,328, which was divided between 4,935 whites and 12,393 “free colored.” In this year Haile was thirty-eight, still a bachelor, and one of the wealthier whites in the county. He listed his occupation as planter and his wealth as $5,000 in personal property and $8,000 in real estate.

Haile’s Sanfelasco plantation was typical in size, production, and value as compared to other large cotton farms in the state and the county. This can be illustrated by comparing the Sanfelasco plantation’s cotton production to other figures which are available. One source indicates that the average acre yield of long-stem cotton for 1872 in Alachua County was anywhere from 400 to 1,000 pounds of seed cotton to the acre. This would have to be divided by four to ascertain the average yield of lint cotton; thus these figures would indicate an average crop of 150 pounds of lint cotton to the acre. Another Alachua County source gives 250 to 300 pounds of cotton, presumably seed, as the average and states that 400 pounds per acre was the highest ever recorded in the county. The first figures would equal an average of 62.5 to seventy-five pounds of lint cotton to the acre, much more acceptable figures than the 150 pounds claimed by the Florida Immigration Commission in a pamphlet published in 1873 which was designed to entice white settlers to Florida.


Gainesville Florida Independent, May 10, 1873.

Ibid.

Works Progress Administration Florida Writers’ Program, The Story of Sea Island Cotton (Tallahassee, 1941), 21.
When the total acreage of the Sanfelasco plantation is divided into its total crop of 53,067 pounds of lint cotton for 1873, it would average about 55.3 pounds per acre. Although there is nothing in Haile’s journal to indicate whether the amount of cotton picked is seed or lint, it is more likely that it was lint. The average amount of cotton picked per day by each worker was usually under fifty pounds and averaged about forty pounds. This is far less than the 150 to 200 pounds of seed cotton that was common for a hand to pick each day. Second, the enormous profitability of cotton in 1873 would have encouraged a planter to cultivate as many acres as possible with cotton. Since an average yield of 55.3 pounds is so low, it would be unlikely that Haile’s entire seed crop equaled 53,067 pounds, an average of only 13.8 pounds of lint cotton to an acre. Third, Haile probably contracted to pay his hired hands for the number of pounds of lint cotton produced since it would be cheaper for him to pay his workers after ginning had removed all the wastage. Finally, Haile owned at least one cotton gin; its proximity would be an incentive to quickly process and weigh the cotton after it had been picked. No planter, however, could devote every acre he owned to cotton production. Especially after the devastating year of 1867 which witnessed a double plague of caterpillars and heavy rains, land was also used to grow a few other staples such as fruit, corn, peas, and oats. Additional acreage was utilized for pasture and farm buildings and by woods and marshes.

For John Haile’s plantation to produce within the average county yield of cotton, it is necessary to subtract some 200 acres for non-cotton growing uses. The remaining 760 acres on which cotton was grown averaged 69.75 pounds of lint cotton to the acre, well within the county’s average. Concurring evidence for such a figure is available. In the 1870 census Haile estimated his real wealth as $8,000.

38. During the Civil War, Florida’s cotton economy began to be modified by food crops and Florida came to be considered as one of the chief sources of such produce in the Confederacy. Although many planters tried to evade the state’s statutes encouraging production of the less profitable cereals and meat, the state government’s efforts were, by and large, successful. See John E. Johns, Florida During the Civil War (Gainesville, 1963), Chapter IX, and Davis, Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida, Chapter VIII and 270.
in Haile’s name until 1884, his Sanfelasco plantation must be considered as his only holding. The particular type of soil on which the farm was located is called “Gainesville Sand” which, due to its high, upland location and good drainage, made it the finest cotton growing soil in the county. The ante-bellum South Carolina farmers invariably chose this type of soil for their cotton plantations. 40 The only figures which exist on land values in Alachua County for 1873 set prices at “two dollars an acre for pine, and from five to ten dollars for hammock.” 41 Good cotton land, cleared and producing large crops, would have been classified among the more expensive land in the county. However, a further complication exists for estimating the value of land. A discount rate on all money must be considered since “even United States currency was not circulating at par during this period.” 42 This factor would serve as additional evidence to place the value of Haile’s land at the upper range of the quoted prices as a means of compensating for the discounted currency. It will therefore be assumed that John Haile was estimating his Sanfelasco plantation to be worth $8.33 in United States currency per acre, not an unreasonable price for such a profitable farm, and a 400 percent increase in value in just thirteen years.

The Sanfelasco plantation was run by twenty-one contract hands who were able to perform nearly all the necessary farm labor. 43 During the cotton harvest time additional Negroes were hired. These contract laborers were paid an annual salary of $120, and they received no share of the produce. 44 Haile kept a careful journal in which he entered each worker’s debits and credits and tallied them at the end of the year. The owner also indicated, in a separate section of his journal, the purchases of each Negro from the plantation store. The total amount of goods bought in 1873 varied between $70.00 and $80.00 per hand. 45 Alax Turner, one of the contract laborers, can be taken as an example. He received a total of $73.39 in goods in 1873, including sixty pounds of flour at fifty cents per six-pound unit.

42. Shofner, “Political Reconstruction in Florida,” 160.
44. Ibid., 27-130.
45. Ibid., 30-31, 56-57, 85.
thirty-seven plugs of tobacco at twenty-five cents each, twenty quarts of whisky at seventy-five cents per quart, eighteen pounds of meat (the price of which varied according to the type purchased), fifteen pounds of crackers at thirty-two cents per pound, nine bars of soap at twenty cents each, eight pounds of sugar at fifty cents per pound, seven pounds of cheese at thirty-two cents per pound, two gallons of syrup at seventy-five cents each, and one quart of salt for twenty cents. In addition, he received various quantities of thread, cloth, matches, butter, garden seed, a vest, a pair of ladies' shoes, and fifty-eight fish for which he was charged twelve and a half cents each for mackerel and five cents each for other kinds not specified. If Alax was sick, he owed Haile thirty-four cents per day or $3.00 per week, but if he lost a day for some other reason, it cost him seventy-four cents. 46

Haile's account book adds up Alax’s debits and credits. On the minus side is his store debt for 1872. 47 Each laborer was charged for his purchases at the plantation store one year later as a means of keeping him in perpetual debt to the owner. The amount of the current year's purchases could have been totaled by the end of the year, thus showing the outstanding debt for each Negro. Since the pay each hand received only paid for last year's expenses plus a little surplus cash, the current year's charges would tend to keep him on the plantation for another year. Alax's store bill for 1872 was $122.92. Added to this was $1.12 for five pounds of meat and nails, fifty cents for crackers and tobacco, twenty-five cents for another plug of tobacco, and fifteen cents for soap. Alax also received $13.01 in cash. 48 On the credit side there is an order for $3.70, twenty-five cents for “trashing gined [sic] cotton,” $14.00 “due John Haile,” 49 and one year's wages of $120. The sum, $137.95, was the same amount as Alax's total debts.

On Christmas Eve each contract laborer was given cash. In every case, however, the amount of money the worker received did not equal the value of goods he had “purchased” from Haile’s store during the current year. This would mean that even if a

46. Ibid., 8.
47. Ibid.
48. Ibid., 9
49. Ibid., “Due John Haile” was used in many instances in both the debit and credit columns with no additional explanation.
laborer would return to Haile all the cash he had received, he would still owe Haile money at the end of the current year and would thus be forced into another year’s employment. Officially a plantation owner could not force the blacks to remain on his farm. Since the hands were no longer slaves, they could leave the plantation and go elsewhere in search of better wages. A planter’s only recourse then would be a legal attachment on the worker’s salary until his debt was paid. The ignorance of the blacks and the position of their former owners, however, gave the latter an immense psychological advantage which tended to keep the laborers in fear of threatened legal repercussions if they broke a contractual obligation. This fear of the power of the law, plus ignorance about how to go about leaving and where to go even if they would leave, kept the Negroes on the plantation. 50

Since Haile knew the exact amount of each worker’s debits from the previous year, it is evident that the cash the blacks received for the current year was the remainder after the previous year’s store debt had been subtracted from the annual salary of $120. This factor would account for the seeming discrepancy among some of the workers, such as Alax Turner, who picked a great deal of cotton but received little cash, while other blacks were paid more money for picking a similar amount of cotton. The former Negroes owed Haile too much from the previous year’s store charges to be able to claim a larger amount of the cash, and were thus paid a very small sum even though they had picked as much cotton at the other blacks. Thus the amount of cash which a hand received on Christmas Eve was simply what was left after last year’s store debt was subtracted from the current year’s wages.

By using different sets of numbers, the same procedure which kept Alax in debt to Haile can be repeated twenty more times, 51 but a few more examples will suffice. William Fisher owed Haile $38.30 for goods received in 1872, and he received $81.70 in cash. 52 His total debits add up to $120, which is the same amount

50. Florida’s “Black Codes” did contain strong provisions against a Negro who could be punished as a vagrant if convicted of “willful disobedience of orders, wanton impudence, or disrespect to his employer or his authorized agent, failure to perform the work assigned to him, idleness, or abandonment of the premises.” In regard to these legal forces encouraging debt peonage in Florida, see Theodore B. Wilson, The Black Codes of the South (University, Alabama, 1965), 96-100.
52. Ibid., 18.
as his only credit for "1 years labor. 53 Claybourne Dubose owed Haile $96.23 for goods from the previous year; added to this was fifty cents for two plugs of tobacco, $13.00 "due John Haile" and $23.27 in cash. 54 Claybourne received wages of $120 and a credit of $13.00 "due John Haile" to balance out his account at $133. 55 The most interesting entry of all is that of Jessie Taylor. It must have been brought to Haile’s attention that Jessie had additional credits due him from the current year; Haile then found new debits which would insure that his account would balance to the penny. 56 In the ledger, Jessie’s debits appeared as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Jessie Taylor</th>
<th>Dr. [debits]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To amount on ledger No. 2 page 42</td>
<td>79.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 1 pg tob 25</td>
<td>.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; amt from Bill Johnson J.H.</td>
<td>1.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cash to balance</td>
<td>70.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>151.90</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Order for Caroline Taylor</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>meat</td>
<td>3.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
<td>1.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>4.70</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>order for Kizzie</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Haile’s ledger shows Jessie’s credits as:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jessie Taylor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To amount on ledger No. 1, page 43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; amt due John Haile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 1 years wages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trashing cotton for Caroline</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4.70</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>5 days Trashing cotton</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

53. Ibid., 19.
54. Ibid., 10.
55. Ibid., 11.
56. Ibid., 20-21.
As is evident from these records, Haile was able to keep his contract hands in a constant state of debt to himself by keeping his credit charges one year in arrears. This would mean that the only way in which these Negroes could clear their current account with Haile, would be to pay him more cash than they had earned for the entire year. Since personal thrift and self-sacrifice were not virtues that were successfully inculcated into former slaves, it was likely that the workers spent most of their cash shortly after receiving it, especially since it came at the most festive time of the year. Even if a laborer was able to save a part of his annual salary, he would not have enough to pay his way out of debt. Thus, Alax Turner would have to earn an additional $60.38 to pay his current debt to Haile; without such a sum, Alax believed that he could not leave the Sanfelasco plantation, and he was “held” in a virtual state of debt peonage by John Haile.

There was an additional type of laborer on the plantation. The extra workers hired during harvest time apparently were paid for the total amount of cotton which they picked. Many of these workers were women and a large number have the same surname as some of the contract hands. It can be assumed, therefore, that many of these temporary workers were related to the permanent contract force. This would allow some of the wives and children of the permanent blacks to gain an additional source of income for their families while, at the same time, providing Haile with cheap available labor for a brief period of time. During the nine weeks of the cotton harvest he used over twenty hired hands on his plantation. A weekly average of eighteen and a half hired workers during this period picked a total of 25,002 pounds of cotton, while an average of fifteen and a half contract laborers per week picked 28,065 pounds of cotton during the 1873 harvest. The hired hands were taken on a short-term basis for cash, and no evidence exists that they were allowed to receive any goods from the plantation store.

The Sanfelasco plantation produced a large profit for its owner. Cotton was selling at from thirty cents to $1.25 per pound in the Charleston and Savannah markets in 1873. Haile, of course, did not receive this much for his cotton. He probably sold

57. Ibid., 207-22.
58. Ibid., 222-23.
his crop through a relative, Edward Haile, who was in partnership with George Savage in Gainesville. Their commercial house purchased most of the Florida Sea Island cotton crop and sold it through its Jacksonville office. In 1873 the wholesale price of cotton was $.182 per pound, which meant that Haile should have received $9,658.19 for his crop. The Florida Settler, published by a Florida state agency in 1873, provides a formula for converting this gross earning into the net profit on a cotton plantation similar in production and value to Haile’s. “From experiments made in some of the counties of Georgia lying alongside the cotton growing counties of Florida, and where the character of the soil and conditions of culture are about the same as in this state, it has been found that the cost of production on a farm of five hundred acres worth eight dollars an acre, is eleven and seven-tenths cents per pound. The cost of eight mules and the necessary plantation implements are reckoned in the investment. The current account includes interest on the value of the land and the outlay for labor, repairs, insurance and guano. A sufficient quantity of corn, oats, etc., are supposed to be grown on the place for feed, nothing being sold but the lint cotton. This estimate is a fair one, and compared with the market prices of cotton, shows pretty clearly what can be realized for its cultivation.”

Using this method, Haile’s 1873 crop of 53,067 pounds of cotton would have cost him $6,280.84 to produce, leaving him with a net profit of $3,449.35.

There is no wonder why, in 1874, it was pointed out that in Alachua County, “Cotton as king holds his imperial sway. All plant it too much to the exclusion of other crops. It is the staple crop of the country.” John Haile’s plantation was producing a handsome profit for its owner, so handsome that within thirty years he was able to increase his holdings into an estate of 1,747.42

60. Hildreth, “History of Gainesville,” 86. The firm was located on the east side of the courthouse square. It was one of the largest commercial houses in east Florida and served Alachua and the surrounding counties by selling general farm merchandise and hardware along with fertilizer and seed. Samuel A. Swann to E. C. F. Sanchez, September 26, 1908, Florida Historical Society Library, Special Collections, University of South Florida Library, Tampa.
62. The Florida Settler, 28-29.
63. Ibid., 2nd edition (Tallahassee, 1874), 142.
No small factor in such enormous profitability was contract, semi-permanent labor which enabled the owner to operate his farm with a guaranteed, inexpensive work force. That the economic power of the plantation owner was immense is illustrated by Haile. With little effort he was able to keep his workers on his land. Furthermore, he was aided in doing this by all the resources of the state and nation which would look with great disfavor upon any Negro who would violate the sacred law of contract. These contracts bound the blacks to the soil as effectively as outright ownership had done before the Civil War. And all of this was now accomplished without the additional odium of being a slave owner.

64. Alachua County Records, Plat A-56, Alachua County Courthouse, Gainesville.
THE FORT PIERCE AMERICAN GOLD FIND

by CARL J. CLAUSEN

"THE PROBABILITY is that the treasure will never be recovered," states the Charleston Daily Courier, reporting in 1857 the accidental loss of a sizeable United States army payroll in a Florida east coast inlet. The Third Seminole War, which officially started with the not entirely unprovoked attack by the Indians on a government survey party near Fort Myers in late December 1855, was in its seventeenth month when Major Jeremiah Yellot Dashiell of the army paymaster corps arrived off the Indian River Inlet on the east coast of Florida on May 1, 1857. Entrusted to Dashiell was a leather pouch containing $23,000 in gold which had been withdrawn a few days earlier from the sub-treasury in Charleston, South Carolina. The money was intended for disbursement to federal troops in the major’s pay district which encompassed the Indian River area.

Located opposite the mouth of the inlet on the west bank of the Indian River lay Fort Capron, a post established in March 1850 following the Indian attack on the local settlement the previous summer. By the spring of 1857, this fort had achieved a certain degree of strategic importance, for it both anchored the eastern end of the chain of military posts and roads which reached across southern Florida north of Lake Okeechobee, and it commanded the inlet through which logistical support from the ports of Charleston and Jacksonville could flow.

In April and May 1857 four companies of regular army troops - H of the First Artillery; D, E, and G of the Fourth Artillery; and two companies of Florida Mounted Volunteers - were operating out of Fort Capron. These units were actively engaged in scouting the country lying west of the present cities of Stuart, Fort Pierce, Vero Beach, and Sebastian. Their purpose was to locate and if possible capture any hostiles in that area. The payment of the federal troops stationed at Fort Capron was Major Dashiell’s immediate objective. Captain Cannon, master of the William and Mary, the schooner on which Dashiell had arrived, elected to anchor outside the inlet, which was noted during this period, for its narrow channel and shifting bars. It was thus necessary for the major and his young son who had accompanied him from Charleston to board a small boat with four others for the trip through the inlet to the fort. According to a Captain Nye who witnessed the accident from his schooner Pongasset which lay at anchor within the bar of the inlet, Major Dashiell’s “boat was struck by a sea” when near the outer breakers and upset. Captain Nye manned his boat and managed to rescue all six persons, but the payroll was lost. A search was made for the money but without success for the bottom of the “river” was described as a quicksand. Major Dashiell applied to Congress for relief from responsibility in the loss which apparently he received early in 1858.

In the spring of 1963, 106 years later, Albert Ashley and James Gordy discovered the lost payroll. These two young men had been skin diving for crawfish in the Atlantic a few hundred yards off the beach in the area where the Indian River Inlet had been located. The coins they found lay scattered over the top of one of the “reefs” of Anastasia Formation limestone which parallel

6. Tampa Florida Pensular, April 11, May 9, 1857.
10. Dashiell to Larned, April 19, 1858.
11. The old Indian River Inlet sanded up and finally closed, disappearing entirely, after the new government-constructed Fort Pierce Inlet, almost three miles to the south, was opened in the 1920s.
the shore in this area. James Gordy’s father, a Fort Pierce citrus
grower, contacted the trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund,
the state agency then having jurisdiction over the recovery of
lost or abandoned valuables from submerged public lands, and
obtained a lease on July 2, 1964, to salvage the remaining coins.  
During July, August, and early September of 1964, the men
worked the area from a small boat to recover more coins. The
author, then archeologist for the Internal Improvement Fund,
visited the site and dived with the salvagers on a number of oc-
casions during this period.
The coins recovered in 1964 were found in an area measuring
roughly fifty by eighty feet. The majority were concentrated in
small depressions in the surface of the reef where the divers could
simply “fan” away the light covering of sand or marine growth
with gentle waves of the hand to expose the coins. A few lay in
deeper pockets in the limestone and were uncovered with a small
injection dredge which gently “vacuumed” away the sand and
loose shell. In this manner 477 additional one, two and a half,
five, ten, and twenty dollar gold pieces and several hundred half
dollars, quarters, and half dimes were recovered. The gold coins,
which had been minted in Philadelphia, New Orleans, Dahlonega
(Georgia), San Francisco, and Charlotte, showed almost no effect
from their long immersion in sea water. The distribution by date
of the gold coins in all five denominations strongly reflected the
yearly mintage figures indicating that the coins comprising the
payroll had been drawn from general circulation. This fact would
probably account for the absence in the sample of any three dollar
gold pieces, a denomination minted from 1854 through 1857, the
year of Major Dashiell’s loss, but in relatively small quantities. 13

The payroll’s silver coins were in general badly corroded with
many examples reduced to thin wafers on which the original de-

12. Trustees of the Florida Internal Improvement Fund to Albert N.
Ashley, James Robert Gordy, and Ken F. Gordy, Lease No. 2025,
July 2, 1964. Copies of documents and pertinent correspondence in
Internal Improvement Fund Office, Tallahassee. Copies of contracts
and pertinent correspondence in office of Florida Board of Archives
and History, Tallahassee. All are filed under lease and contract num-
ber. Control over the salvage of “artifacts and treasure” was passed
from the Internal Improvement Fund to the State Board of Antiquities
in 1965, and in 1967, to the Florida Board of Archives and History.
13. R. S. Yeoman, Handbook of United States Coins (Racine, 1967),
87-88.
Data on gold coins recovered from the 1857 army payroll. Based on information contained in an inventory prepared by the state in 1964.

tails of seated figures and eagles were only faintly discernible. The arrangement of the coins in several of the consolidated clumps suggested that at least a portion of the silver might have been carried in rolls. There were no silver dollars represented in the sample, probably for the same reason given above for the absence of three dollar gold pieces, i.e., low mintage. On this same basis, dimes, silver three cent pieces, and large cents should have been present but were unrepresented.

Silver coins recovered from the payroll. Based on information contained in an inventory prepared by the state in 1964.

Under the terms of the lease issued by the trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund in 1964, the public was to retain twenty-five per cent of all items recovered from state land and the salvagers were to receive title to the remaining seventy-five per cent. Meetings were held on September 10 and 22, 1964, to divide the 477 gold coins, the silver coins recovered in 1964, and 105 gold coins which the salvagers had turned over to the State of Florida on July 13, 1964, as the total number of coins salvaged from the site prior to the issuance of the lease. Unfortunately at the time it was not known that the salvagers were misrepresenting their recovery by failing to report more than 2,600 additional gold coins which they had brought up in 1963. 14 Ac-
Map of the Fort Pierce area of the lower Florida East Coast locating the site of the recovery of the lost army payroll. Shaded overlay delineates the Barrier Island and Old Indian River Inlet as it appears in an 1859 government survey. Site of Fort Capron, destination for the payroll, is at left center on the mainland.
Obverse and reverse of a set of United States gold coins from the army payroll. Left to right: twenty, ten, five, two and a half, and one dollar gold pieces. (Note the fine condition of these coins after more than 110 years in the ocean.)

1857 quarters (left) and half dollars (right) in clumps from the payroll.
Accordingly, at the division, representatives of the state selected 147 gold coins and twenty-five per cent of the silver which it was felt constituted a representative sample of the find.  

Comparison of the distribution by date of 155 Philadelphia Mint United States gold dollars from 1857 payroll recovered in 1963-1964 with the total yearly output of gold dollars by that mint for the same period.

In retrospect it is evident that Major Dashiell and his party were near tragic victims of the cycloidal waves which often break...
over the outer bars of inlets along exposed coasts. These waves which may break even during periods of relative calm represent a real hazard to small craft attempting to negotiate an inlet such as one at Indian River. Accidents similar to that which befell Major Dashiell in 1857 still occur with regularity even in the “improved” inlets along the Florida east coast.

What became of the major after the loss? Unfortunately his ill luck continued. Returning to Florida a few weeks later from Charleston where he had withdrawn an additional $28,000 in gold to replace the funds lost in the inlet, the major and his escort, a Private Rowles from Fort Moultrie, stayed overnight at a hotel in Palatka. The following morning, before they were to board a small steamboat for the trip south along the St. Johns River to Enterprise, the major left the payroll unattended in his room for a few moments while he went in search of his escort. During his absence, a Negro named Washington, a slave of the proprietor of the hotel, entered the room and probably removed a total of $13,000 from the major’s traveling bag. The theft escaped detection until the major and his escort arrived in Enterprise where a delay, to wait for a mail wagon before traveling on to New Smyrna, gave Dashiell the opportunity to count the money. Dumbfounded by the shortage, the major did not at first recognize that a theft had been committed. He even questioned Private Rowles about the possibility of their having inadvertently left some of the bags of coin behind at the subtreasury office in Charleston. Finding no immediate explanation for the loss, Dashiell proceeded on to New Smyrna and then south to the posts in his district along the Indian River where he made up the shortage by borrowing from sutlers and others to pay the troops.

Returning to Charleston by the same route, the major made judicious inquiries at Palatka and other points where the money might have been taken, but to no avail. It was not until Septem-


ber 1857, while at home in San Antonio, Texas, to see his family and ostensibly to raise money to make up the deficit by selling his own property that Dashiell received letters from friends in Palatka informing him that the town marshall there had seized a large amount of gold that was believed to belong to him. Dashiell quickly returned to Florida, but he was disappointed to learn on his arrival in Palatka that the amount of money recovered totaled only a little over $3,000. However, questioning of the Negro slaves, from whom the gold had been seized, implicated Washington who readily confessed to the robbery but admitted taking only $4,500. Others, local merchants and traders, besides the slaves, were also apparently implicated in one way or another; but the testimony gathered was contradictory and in some cases inconsistent, and the authorities did not appear anxious to pursue the matter. Dashiell retained a Palatka attorney to represent him in the matter and returned to duty in Charleston where he remained until the spring of 1858 when he took leave to plead his case in Washington.

Although there was abundant evidence that a robbery had occurred, the full explanation for the missing $13,000 still rested solely on Dashiell’s testimony. This, coupled with the fact that the government had repeatedly ordered the major to pay over the balance of public funds in his possession without success, at last caused Secretary of War John B. Floyd to lose patience. On July 7, 1858, he referred the case to President Buchanan, recommending Dashiell’s dismissal from the service. The President’s response was swift, and Dashiell was relieved by executive order dated July 10, 1858. His twelve years of service in the United States Army, begun during the War with Mexico, had ended, but Dashiell’s military career was not finished.

He served as an assistant adjutant-general and inspector-general during the Civil War for the State of Texas holding the rank of colonel. After the war he settled in San Antonio,

18. Dashiell to Larned, April 19, 1858.
19. John B. Floyd to James Buchanan, July 7, 1858, “Letters received by the Office of the Adjutant General (Main Series) 1822-60.”
20. War Department, General Orders No. 9, July 10, 1858, National Archives, Washington.
Texas, and for a time edited the *Herald*, the local paper. A little more than a year before his death on March 14, 1888, Dashiell applied to Washington for a pension on the basis of his Mexican War service, but his claim was denied because of the circumstances of his dismissal from the army.  

SINCE JOHN BEMROSE'S Reminiscences of the Second Seminole War ¹ was published, additional information about the author has been found. Inconsequential though the new data is, perhaps some of the fun of uncovering it can be communicated to the reader. From the date of publication it has troubled me that I did not know what became of Bemrose after he had returned to his native England. The opportunity to fill in the unknown factors came during the summer of 1967, when I was in Britain.

I knew that upon his discharge in 1836, after a five-year enlistment, Bemrose had returned to his native Lincolnshire and had settled in the village of Long Bennington. My family and I did not have to go far out of our way to Edinburgh to include Long Bennington, and so we found ourselves there on July 17, 1967, one of the midsummer days typical of England when daylight lingers far into the night. An hour or so of inquiry turned up some leads to persons thought to be named Bemrose who were alleged to live on a lane at the far end of the village. But these came to nothing, no one with whom we spoke had ever heard of John Bemrose.

At that point we betook ourselves to the churchyard and began to go over it stone by stone, but found no marker to indicate that Bemrose was buried there. Next we saw the vicar fussing about the church, entirely too busy to do anything for us except to make it clear that there were fees for looking into the parish registers. The vital records were at Lincoln anyway. Soon the vicar began to fear we would be in the way of choir practice two hours later, and so he found in his memory the name of Frank Chalk, who knew much local lore and who had helped with the record when many of the old headstones had been removed a few years before to make room for new ones. He insisted that I convey his apologies to Chalk for sending me, but I found there was no need to apologize. Mr. Chalk was interested in my search and

he was familiar with the Bemrose name. Aged seventy-eight, he had grown up with two of John Bemrose’s grandsons. Bemrose, Mr. Chalk told me, had established himself as a chemist in Long Bennington after returning from his activities in America, and he had prospered. There were two physicians living in the community at the time, but Bemrose had attained a reputation for medical skill, and he was frequently called on to prescribe for sick folks. His five years as hospital steward in the United States Army, some of it spent in Florida, had grounded him well for this calling. Mr. Chalk directed to me then the building which had housed Bemrose’s shop.

During the fascinating hour together in his small sitting room, Mr. Chalk identified Bemrose’s son as Weightman Bemrose, the father of Mr. Chalk’s friends. It was apparent that Weightman had been named for Dr. Richard Weightman, who had been Bemrose’s superior officer as well as mentor and friend. Mr. Chalk owns a penknife and in the lacy engraving on a silver panel in the bone handle is the inscription Richard J. Weightman. Chalk did not remember how he had come into possession of the knife, but it had passed from some Bemrose or other to him. How curious that I should hold in my hand, in a small, dim sitting room in Lincolnshire, a knife used by a man during the Second Seminole War, 3,500 miles away in Florida, 130 years ago. Mr. Chalk generously offered to give me this knife, but there seemed so little of John Bemrose left in Long Bennington that I thought it ought to remain there. Even Bemrose’s gravestone, Chalk opined, had been uprooted to make way for others, so that no one could now so much as stand where he had been buried.

Mr. Chalk did not know how long ago Bemrose had died, but he gave me the name of a grandson living retired at Blackpool. I wrote to this gentleman, explaining about the printed Reminiscences, and asked for information concerning his grandfather. In due time I received a letter from M. B. Bemrose, his brother; the one I had addressed had died six weeks before. The living brother did not indicate that he had ever heard of his grandfather’s writing, or that he was especially interested, but he very kindly sent me the original invoice covering John Bemrose’s funeral. It revealed that Bemrose had died on April 27, 1894, at the age of eighty. The whole cost of his burial came to ten pounds, six
shillings. Thus ends the story of the search in England. Upon returning to this country I sent Mr. Chalk a copy of the *Reminiscences*, asking him to make it available to other readers in Long Bennington as a memento to John Bemrose, but I am afraid the village has no library.

It now remained to try to find out whether Bemrose had ever been granted the pension for which he had applied in 1873. As a veteran of the Indian Wars he had become eligible under the terms of an act of Congress, March 3, 1855. M. B. Bemrose had indicated that he believed that his grandfather had declined the pension, but he was not sure. In Bemrose’s file in the National Archives in Washington I found a human interest story. Bemrose had never drawn a cash pension. He might have been eligible both for a pension and a land bounty, but all that he received was a warrant for 160 acres of bounty land in Kansas. It is a reasonable presumption that he was financially very comfortable at the time, and he may, as a result, have rejected the cash. In any case, his land warrant was dated June 23, 1873, and he receipted for it at Long Bennington on July 15.

He had apparently initiated a correspondence relative to his bounty rights early in 1873 with William Tecumseh Sherman, then commanding general of the United States Army. Sherman had trouble to reply and his autographs are in Bemrose’s obscure file. Bemrose addressed the commanding general, it would appear, because he had never intended to keep any land granted him by the government. He wished to transfer it to Dr. Peter Porcher of Charleston, South Carolina, “... my dear old friend, whom age and poverty has made wretched.” Dr. Porcher was an ex-Confederate, and it was as much the war as it was age that had rendered him poor and wretched. What Porcher had done for Bemrose is not known, but the service was rendered when the latter was an enlisted man, and was thus especially vulnerable. Dr. Porcher’s name does not appear anywhere in the *Reminiscences*. Whatever his good offices, to transfer 160 acres of bounty land, awarded for loyal service to the United States to a person who had served the Confederacy probably took the influence of a General Sherman to accomplish. Sherman tackled the problem, overcame it, and even offered to see that an army officer on duty in Charleston would personally deliver the warrant to Dr. Porcher.
Bemrose replied in a beautiful hand, expressing his deep gratitude to the "noble" general. He chatted away with Sherman as if the United States Army had not been transformed by the Civil War into a larger, less personal, and grimmer service than the one he had known. Memories of American friends, he told the general, provided him with "many sunny hours . . . for my great delight is to live in the past and prattle of former days." One wonders how the residents of Long Bennington reacted to his talk of a savage war in a remote country. Probably due to Sherman's intervention, Dr. Porcher received Bemrose's land warrant. He sold it on June 18, 1875, and it is to be hoped for John Bemrose's sake, that he was able to buy some comfort with the proceeds of the sale.  

2. Recently two letters (January 12, February 29, 1968) were received from Mrs. Dorothy Donovan of Warwickshire, England. She identified herself as the granddaughter of Bemrose's eldest son. Among her possessions there is a book, dated 1834, which belonged to her great grandfather. In the margins on the pages are penciled notes describing the condition and medical treatment of fourteen men wounded in Florida during the Second Seminole War. (Typed notes in possession of author.)
Copy of the invoice of Bemrose’s funeral, May 1, 1894.

A recent photograph of the apothecary shop in Long Bennington which Bemrose operated after his return from the United States. The front of the building has been altered somewhat.
BOOK REVIEWS


The name of Marjory Stoneman Douglas is already familiar to lovers of Florida and its history as the author of *The Everglades: River of Grass.* In her latest book she has set herself the task of presenting the panorama of Florida’s development from prehistory to the gaudy Miami Beach never-never land of Jackie Gleason. *Florida: The Long Frontier* is one in a series of Harper & Row volumes designed to acquaint readers with the regions of America. Some of the series have been successful, other less so. What Mrs. Douglas has managed is a triumph of clarity, wide in its sweep, impeccably thorough in its research, and full of vividness and charm in its language. She has written for the general reader, but professional historians will be interested in her interpretation of the raw material with which they too are working.

The body of the book is devoted to a general account of Florida’s resources, development, and people. And Florida, Mrs. Douglas understands, is not only a state but a country. Unlike most of the rest of the United States its tradition is not primarily English but also Spanish and French. The legend, for instance, of Virginia Dare has little to do with Florida’s past; that of Hy-Brasil, the vanished island that Europe’s men of the sea hoped to find westward, has. In Mrs. Douglas’s unfolding of our heritage the wise men of ancient Indian tribes live once more, and their villages teem with routine activities of common folk. The Spanish conquistadores who came to them are not lists but vital personalities with dreams and foibles of their own. Here is Spanish St. Augustine:

Flags snapped from the fort and brass gaiety of bugles blew over the housetops as squads of soldiers in their best uniforms tramped to relieve the guard at the fort or salute the adelantado among his inspecting officers. Some shabby dark-robed priest, gaunt from his missions, passed by silently or knelt at the chapel altar before the plain crucifix. Some visiting Indian chief, plumèd and tattooed, his magnificent
half-nakedness clinking with shell and gold ornaments, stalked in dark dignity ahead of his bowmen, to meet as an equal Menendez steely glance. Supper fires would smell of roasting meat as the adelantado entertained the ship’s officers at his plain table. The evening gun from the fort roused the echoes from the islands and scattered the flocks of sea gulls and beach birds, mewing and crying across the sunset light.

From the Spanish, then the English, then the Spanish once more, Florida passed to a young America. And Florida was a state for only sixteen years, Mrs. Douglas reminds us, before it seceded. Therefore Florida history is a paradox: as ancient as the Spanish of 1513, and as recent as the years since the Civil War. We are a frontier filled with the hallmarks of antiquity. Mrs. Douglas weaves a tapestry of our Reconstruction and post-Reconstruction history that is many-threaded but simple in its design. World War I and the boom pass into depression and again war and the latter-day citrus-hawking tourism for which our state, in the eyes of most other Americans, now stands almost exclusively.

She has, however, given us more than a general picture. She has faced our racial problems squarely. Most of all, it is individuals who people these pages. There is Mrs. William Jennings Bryan, crippled and dying, confiding to Mrs. Douglas: “If I had had my health Papa would never have gone in for this evolution business.” There is crusty old Zephaniah Kingsley, who “believed profoundly” in slavery and had a Negro wife and built an empire on traffic in human beings. There is reckless, engaging John Jackson Dickison, the “War Eagle” of the Confederacy, who lived on daring, the loyalty of his men, and little else. Judah Benjamin, ex-Confederate secretary of state, slips once more into palmetto clumps to hide from his pursuers on the Manatee River; Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe sings a hymn to country life and oranges on the St. Johns; Frederick Delius discovers American folksong at Solano Grove; a Chinese boy from Massachusetts develops the Lue Gim Gong orange; and when tycoon Henry M. Flagler of the east coast wires tycoon Henry B. Plant of the west coast: “Where is Tampa?” Plant quips: “Follow the crowd, Henry.”

It is possible to quibble here and there. Tristan de Luna and his Pensacola settlement of 1559 are disposed of almost cavalierly by Mrs. Douglas. Her bias is east Floridian. It is also questionable in this reviewer’s eyes whether “the State Board of Education,
made up of the governor and his Cabinet . . . has been spurred by rising demands for better public schools.” The time-lag between the submission of the book and its publication may be responsible for the comment’s inappropriateness. But has a vigorous two-party system really come to Florida or did conservatives of both parties merely react in the last gubernatorial election (1966) against a candidate they found too liberal? But Mrs. Douglas’s personal conclusions are perhaps as valid as anybody else’s personal conclusions. And in the last analysis, it is the book’s personal approach that sets it above other histories of Florida.

For it is introduced by “a Personal Prologue,” and it ends with an epilogue that is also personal. Mrs. Douglas first saw the dusty little waterfront town of Miami in 1915. She grew up with it, raged at its mistakes, and cheered its triumphs. Her account of her arrival and her newspaper work are continually fascinating. So is her epilogue, through which modern migrant farm workers “move like crawling bright heaps of rags” and big-time gangsters acquire strangleholds on banks and hotels as “holding companies.” She raises an impassioned voice for conservation. Marjory Stoneman Douglas cares, and because she is at once a scholar and a poet and a veteran with a keen sense of humor, all her readers are made to care too. This is a book Floridians will want to return to again and again. Visitors and Americans in general will find it an excellent starting point for their explorations of our history and our people. A long but discriminating bibliography has been provided as has an index which, while it has some omissions, is adequate. When a reader has finished Florida: The Long Frontier he will know the state which is also a country better than he ever has before. He will know, too, Marjory Stoneman Douglas herself, and he will be glad.

Gloria Jahoda

Tallahassee, Florida


Between 1835 and 1842 the United States fought what was perhaps the most frustrating war in its history. The federal
government in a questionable treaty with the Seminole Indians had arranged for them to move completely out of Florida and settle in lands west of the Mississippi. On paper it seemed simple and logical enough, but large numbers of the Seminoles would not accept the treaty as a true representation of their views and refused to emigrate. When the United States attempted to remove the recalcitrant redmen by force, an expensive, drawn-out war resulted. General replaced general, each asserting that victory had at last been gained, only to find that the illusive Indians were still at large and still striking back at army posts or white settlements. This Second Seminole War, so called to distinguish it from Andrew Jackson’s excursion into Florida in 1818, has long needed an up-to-date history. At last it has one in Professor’s Mahon’s solid study. This is a thorough work, soundly based on extensive primary sources, and incorporating the research of other scholars.

Professor Mahon begins his book with a brief account of the Seminoles and their origins and traces the developments of American relations with these Indians through the First Seminole War and the treaties made with the tribe. The treaty of Moultrie Creek in 1823 concentrated the Seminoles on a reservation in central Florida, but agitation for their complete removal increased, and the treaties of Payne’s Landing and Fort Gibson in 1832 and 1833 provided for the removal of the entire tribe from the territory. Professor Mahon’s evaluation of the treaties is judicious, avoiding the blanket condemnation of some historians without denying the effects of the treaties as causes of the war.

The main portion of the book is a chronological narrative of the events of the war, treated for the most part in separate chapters devoted to each of the commanders in the theater - Winfield Scott, Richard Keith Call, Thomas S. Jesup, Zachary Taylor, W. K. Armistead, and finally William Jenkins Worth. The war was a repetitious series of encounters between the army and the Indians as the military commanders tried to ferret out and round up the Indians to be shipped out. With a few exceptions - notably General Taylor’s defeat of the Indians at Lake Okeechobee on Christmas day, 1837 - the engagements were hardly formal battles, for the Indians refused to take a stand to fight. Yet Professor Mahon succeeds in keeping the story going, seldom getting bogged down, as the commanders themselves did in the
swamps and hammocks of central and southern Florida, and his presentation of the military strategy and tactics is uniformly well done.

One of his conclusions will especially strike the present-day reader. “The Second Seminole War is important in American military history,” he writes, “because of its development of guerilla, or partisan-style, warfare. If organized white forces were to force the Seminoles out of Florida, they had to find ways to penetrate inaccessible areas, live in part off the land, recruit guides from among the natives or erstwhile allies of the natives, destroy the enemy’s food supply, track him down in his deepest lairs, learn to endure severe privation, and all the while protect friendly settlements. The fact that they finally were forced to permit a handful of unconquered Seminoles to remain in the Everglades stands as an eternal reminder of the difficulties of combating guerilla-style operations.” (p. 325)

The book treats of two additional themes which seriously complicated the Second Seminole War - the part played by Negroes in the war and its origins, and the relationship between the regular army units and the militia and volunteer troops which were called out in large numbers to augment the small regular army establishment. For many years Negro slaves from the southern states had fled as fugitives to Florida. They often became slaves of the Seminoles but they enjoyed a less restrictive existence with the Indians than with white masters of Georgia or Alabama. The demands of the white masters of the fugitives became increasingly insistent, and raiding parties from the North invaded the Seminole lands and attempted to carry off by force Negroes who were claimed as slaves. Professor Mahon, following the studies of Kenneth W. Porter, shows that the Negroes, as interpreters and liaisons between the Indians and the whites, had tremendous influence on the conduct of the war. Only when they were guaranteed protection did the Negroes cease their strong opposition to emigration.

The intermixture of regular troops and volunteers from Florida and from states as far away as Missouri plagued the generals. The nation was committed to the principle that a large standing army was inimical to the republic and that the main line of defense was the citizen soldiery, but in Florida the regular commanders had little good to say about the volunteer troops. The
citizen soldiers, in turn, were critical of the regulars and bitterly resented the slighting remarks passed about their own competence and conduct. The Second Seminole War showed that a satisfactory combination of regulars and volunteers had not yet been worked out.

Professor Mahon’s factual story is complete and balanced, except that perhaps he is a little too hard on General Jesup for his capture of Osceola under a flag of truce and too ready to label American actions “treachery.” His writing style, however, is less satisfactory. Although the clarity of the account is to be commended, infelicities in style and rough edges in organization mar the book. The footnotes, so valuable for a full appreciation of the work, are tucked away at the back of the book and are in such abbreviated form that continual reference to the bibliography is necessary. Despite these shortcomings, nevertheless, the History of the Second Seminole War is most welcome. Not since John T. Sprague’s Origin, Progress, and Conclusion of the Florida War of 1848 has there been a comprehensive history of the war, and Sprague was too close to the events to provide a proper perspective. Mahon’s book will be the standard history of the war, essential to all students of Florida history and of American military conflicts with the Indians.

Marquette University


Theodore Pratt’s most recent publication is an interesting historical document because it brings to life, as only the author can, the Florida of Palm Beach. Although brief, That Was Palm Beach is a historical document that should become a basic reference for facts picturing Palm Beach in its heyday as a winter “colony” of the socially elite. An unabashed admirer of Mr. Pratt, this reviewer finds the work appealing to the reader for enjoyment and to the researcher for factual information.

The author has taken materials from his extensive research files which could not be used in his previous works and has placed
them in a single booklet, chapters of which have appeared before as separate articles in the *Miami Herald* "Tropic." Background information for two of his novels, *The Barefoot Mailman* and *The Flame Tree*, provides the basis for the first two chapters. Colonel E. R. Bradley’s Beach Club, “The World’s Most Exclusive Gambling Place” and “Palm Beach’s White Marble Palace,” the home of Henry M. Flagler, form the remaining portions of the work. Very few chapters in the story of North America are more colorful than the opening up of the east coast of Florida around the turn of this century.

Now considered a Florida classic, *The Barefoot Mailman*, as a novel, vividly portrays that period of Florida history. *That Was Palm Beach* gives us a historical account of the reasons for and the operation of that unique mail service about which the United States post office has as its only record Mr. Pratt’s novel. The tale of the people who built a luxurious playground out of the isolated settlement, called at first Palm City and then Palm Beach, is depicted fictionally in *The Flame Tree*; in this work it is the history of the Royal Poinciana Hotel from its building in 1893 to its dismantling in the early 1930s.

There is a large amount of information in this booklet which chronologically spans the Palm Beach story from the eighties to today’s anecdotes about the Flagler Museum, as the mansion is now known. There are additional bonuses, other than those apparent in the chapter titles. For example, the author has included as illustrations the paintings of the *Barefoot Mailman* by the noted artist Steven Dohanos as a WPA project in the depression and which now hang in the main post office of West Palm Beach. Some rare and perhaps one-of-a-kind photographs of the Royal Poinciana Hotel and Flagler mansion are included. Certainly unique among illustrations is a sketch of the first floor plan of the famous Beach Club (no inside photographs were permitted). The author tells us of the disposition of the hotel and casino buildings and traces the location of many items from them. He has used this storehouse of information and many detailed facts to weave engaging imaginary “stays” at the resort, including a description of the dedication ball of the Flagler Museum on February 6, 1960. Especially appealing are the “stay” at the Royal Poinciana Hotel and the “trip” to Bradley’s, as it was called. The reader will not
lack for entertainment while amassing a thorough knowledge of
the people and their creations of the time which produced the
Palm Beach of lore and legend. Praise be, there are no footnotes
to distract. A sense of perspective has not been neglected, with
several comparisons of the manner of living then and of today
given. We learn some interesting details: that the Royal Poinciana
Hotel, naturally, had the latest in fire escapes, that two gold-plated
faucets from the Flagler bathroom are missing (and of the hope-
ful manner of their return), and what became of that 5,000,000
board feet of lumber used to construct the Royal Poinciana. Pos-
sibly, the reader would like to know the probable origin of the
phrase, “they take the cake.” The answers are all here.

Finally, the author’s love for Florida and those who share it
glows in a marvelous tribute to Mrs. Jean Flagler Matthews, whose
courage and vision in the restoration of her grandfather’s mansion
is an appropriate present-day continuation of the precedents set by
those hardy and glamorous individuals of an earlier day. This is an
interesting volume that sustains the reader’s attention throughout.
It also should be considered as a matter of record of Florida history.

DAVID A. FORSHAY

Palm Beach Junior College

World of the Great White Heron: A Saga of the Florida Keys. By
Marjory Bartlett Sanger. (New York: Devin-Adair Company,
1967. x, 144 pp. Introduction, illustrations. $10.00.)

Take this enchanting book in hand and succumb to the lures
of the Florida Keys, that intriguing kitestring of islands which
anchors Key West to the mainland. Seek a sequestered beach there
and unleash your senses. Look and listen, touch and smell. You
too will be tuned in on the eternal drama of nature which Mrs.
Sanger records so poetically.

Top billing in this ecological stage-play goes to Ardea, the great
white heron which John James Audubon discovered in 1832 and
named “Angel of the Swamp.” This elegant wader of the sandspit
and mudflat, the world’s largest white heron, is almost exclusively
Floridian. The supporting cast includes almost every living creature
which inhabits the keys. Zebra butterflies dance through the wind-matted jungles, hermit crabs battle one another for a discarded shell, and raccoons feed on the oysters clinging to the arching roots of the mangroves. Little seahorses with heads “like a chess-set knight” bob in the water and those ugly regurgitations of the tide, the sea cucumber, lie on the beach like “rotted dill pickles.”

Marjory Bartlett Sanger, formerly of Baltimore and now a resident of Winter Park, Florida, has studied and loved birds all her life. But her interest extends beyond birds: she has an affinity for all God’s creatures. Her factual information on Florida flora and fauna seems accurate. There is much of beauty in this book but no still shots. All is action. There is no peace in the jungle or on strand or reef. The fierce struggle is continuous for nesting space, for food, for life itself. One species preys on another, and the hurricane comes pell-mell to strip, rend, and kill. A villain always waits in the wings. Even the strangler fig closes in on its host. The unifying thread in the book is one April day, a day beginning with a white heron motionless on a sandbar under a sky turning gold, and ending with the gleam of a crocodile’s eyes in the night shadows of the mangrove.

This small volume will appeal to the historian who is also a nature lover or a poet at heart. Primarily it is a natural history though man is not omitted. The human actors include pirates, wreckers, plume hunters, spongers, and shrimpers. The story of the massacre at Indian Key is retold. There is a chapter on Flagler’s Folly - the railroad that went to sea. Two of the worst hurricanes ever to hit the keys are described together with the fearful losses to man and to wildlife. But Mrs. Sanger’s contribution to history is largely that of portraying a vivid background for stories already well-known. A charming addition to this book are the line drawings of John Henry Dick, considered his best to date. Birds winging or wading, key deer against the jungle, a rookery of white ibis, the old lighthouse at Fort Jefferson - these and many other drawings catch the spirit of this unique and watery world. Mrs. Sanger has written two other ecological studies with a Florida setting, Mangrove Island (World, 1965) and Cypress Country (World, 1963).

Thelma Peters
Miami-Dade Junior College (North Campus)
Robert Johnson: Proprietary & Royal Governor of South Carolina.

This biography of a public career makes a useful contribution to early American institutional and political history. The complexities of the Carolinas in transition from proprietary to royal status during the early eighteenth century have baffled many students because of the myriad problems and issues interacting and affecting one another. Professor Sherman sees white-Indian relations, the Charleston Revolution, land speculation, boundary problems, the need for settled towns and paper money, the quit-rent question, piracy, the Spanish threat, and the struggle between legislature and judiciary all through the eyes of an administrator confronted with the task of resolving such prickly issues of political economy.

The conflict between merchant and planter in early South Carolina; and the tension between royal prerogative represented by governor and council on the one hand, and assembly privilege on the other, were common colonial conflicts. The acquisitive struggles for land during Johnson’s two terms, peculiar in context to Carolina, were exceedingly complex and have been historically controversial. Sherman rejects the theory that the governor and associated officials were simply self-seeking men on the make attempting to engross lands or use them for speculation, as well as the view that there was a fight between two groups of land speculators. He leans sensibly to the explanation that Johnson, with the co-operation of the Assembly, sought to resolve the land issue in a way that would protect inhabitants in their landholding. The governor and other ranking members of the planter class did indeed wish to acquire land, but generally more for their own use than for speculation. Under the terms of the Quit Rent Act which they supported, they would be effectively required to bring their acquired lands under cultivation.

Sherman’s book is rather narrowly conceived and lacks the contextual density, for example, of relevant sections in E. M. Sirmans’ Colonial South Carolina: A Political History, 1663-1763 and J. P. Greene’s The Quest for Power: The Lower Houses of
Assembly in the Southern Royal Colonies, 1689-1776. On the other hand, along with the recently reprinted Provincial Governor in the English Colonies of North America by E. B. Greene (Peter Smith, 1966) and the excellent biography of William Shirley by John A. Schutz, Sherman’s book brings us that much closer to a much needed comprehensive study of the colonial executive. Sherman’s Johnson makes an excellent companion to Schutz’s Shirley, not only because they treat gubernatorial politics in Massachusetts and South Carolina in the same generation, but because both authors are sensitive to the Anglo-American dimension of provincial affairs.

MICHAEL G. KAMMEN
Cornell University

The Frontiersmen: A Narrative. By Allen W. Eckert. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1967. xii, 626 pp. Author’s note, prologue, maps, epilogue, list of Indian characters, glossary of Shawnee words and phrases, index. $8.95.)

The Frontiersmen is an account of the settlement of Kentucky and Ohio, and at the same time a biography of Simon Kenton, Tecumseh Blue Jacket, and several other white men and Indians who participated in this activity. This unusual work is a history, written in the style of a novel, using dialogue. Unlike similar works, the dialogue, although manufactured, seems to be factually accurate, having been taken from letters and memoirs. The effect of this technique is excellent, holding the reader’s interest and giving him the feeling of seeing the event with his own eyes. Although the professional historian cannot use the book for direct factual references because of its chapter footnoting, it will be extremely useful to him for background reading.

The narrative is presented from both the view of the Indian and the white man and goes far to demonstrate the reason peace could not exist between them. The book describes the horrors of Indian warfare in graphic, bloody detail covering the entire period from colonial times through the death of Tecumseh during the War of 1812. Of special value to the reader is Eckert’s remarkable objectivity in dealing with both the Indian and white man. He does not resort to moralizing or breast beating, and thereby allows
the reader to see the events and judge for himself. The work contains interesting accounts of Indian raids on white settlements and counterattacks by the whites. There are also clear descriptions of travel down the Ohio by flatboats and of the founding of settlements on that river.

During the Revolutionary War many settlers at first wished to remain neutral, but with numerous English-inspired Indian attacks they were forced to turn against the British. This period found the Kentucky frontier in a state of siege and that the settlements there survived at all was a credit to Simon Kenton, Daniel Boone, and a few other brave men. Following the signing of peace with the British, the Indians continued to make trouble for the settlements, and all early efforts to force them to make peace were doomed to failure. Eckert describes the expeditions of Generals Josiah Harmer and Arthur St. Clair against the Shawnee in 1790 and 1791 and explains in considerable detail why they were doomed to defeat, whereas Anthony Wayne’s expedition was finally successful. Following the Treaty of Greenville in 1795, the Shawnee remained in a state of uneasy peace with the whites until the Tecumseh conspiracy merged with the War of 1812. The author gives a good account of the organization of Tecumseh’s conspiracy and considerable explanation of the means by which other tribes were persuaded to join it. Eckert gives only brief treatment to Tecumseh’s visit to the Creek and Seminole Indians, but he does show how these tribes were recruited for his cause. He also provides a good account of the siege of Fort Meigs and of Tecumseh’s death at the Battle of the Thames.

*The Frontiersmen* is readable and seems to be well-researched, and the author used a number of good sources, including published and unpublished memoirs and letters. Of special value as a major source is the excellent Lyman Draper Collection, which is one of the best deposits of frontier material in existence. The book, well-printed and well-written, easily holds the reader’s interest.

FRANK LAWRENCE OWSLEY, JR.

*University of Nebraska*

Of all the chronological eras into which historians subdivide the course of American history, none has so exacerbated emotions and confounded rational interpretation or understanding as the years once known fondly as the "Middle Period." The generation that began at the crest of the Jacksonian impulse, suddenly set adrift by financial panic, and that ended at the crest of the Lincolnian impulse, culminated by the thirteenth amendment, lived through significant events. It saw the Canal Age give way before the Iron Horse and the electric telegraph extend its wiry tentacles across the land, both working a revolution in the rural, leisurely pace of American life. It spawned a host of moral reformers who sought to compel men to correct the manifold errors of their ways and to achieve the Puritan dream of the City on a Hill, gradually to concentrate their forces upon the evils of chattel slavery. It witnessed the beady spirit of Manifest Destiny turned loose in the Oregon country and in the Mexican War - Emerson's "dose of arsenic" - that generated a cosmic conflict between the sections over the division of the spoils. It prepared itself psychologically for a struggle between two "nations" over the American Union, and then it gave over 600,000 of its sons in the bloodletting that followed.

Even this brief summary of a few of the events of the Middle Period indicates the complexities of the forces at work in it. These, compounded by emotions and war propaganda, have created heated debates over its meaning. Some historians have emphasized the conflict of economics, others the moral implications of slave labor. Some point up the cultural developments that produced the "two-nation" concept among ante-bellum Americans, while still others declare that the hysteria of secession arose from a refusal to recognize the realities of the nineteenth century and that steam power made the old federal Union obsolete, or that awareness of these fundamental changes built up a tension among Southerners that made them irrational.

In this new summary treatment of the Middle Period, Professor Smith has achieved the impossible. In the brief span of 200
pages of text he has managed to include an account of the era’s historiography, sprightly descriptions of its leading characters, judicious interpretations of the forces at work, and a sympathetic understanding of the people who followed the leaders and who were the victims of dimly-sensed pressures. It is well-written, in low key to avoid falling into the trap of emotionalism, and will be welcomed by many a hard-pressed student who needs a short account of an important era that still includes what is significant. In this case brevity is not only the soul of wit, it is also the soul of scholarship and sound judgment.

David L. Smiley

Wake Forest University


Although historians continue to study and re-examine the Civil War, there are aspects of this great conflict not fully explored. Bonnet Brigades is the first serious scholarly study of the services, activities, and experiences of American women in the military encampments and on the homefront and their responses to the challenges and demands of the war.

Professor Massey describes briefly the legal and social status of women in the United States before the war and notes their entry into the factories, mills, professions, and the activities of the feminist crusaders. With the outbreak of hostilities women responded by helping to provision the troops and by serving as nurses, couriers, scouts, spies, and even soldiers. These activities historians have generally acknowledged but it may surprise many to learn that the Union and Confederate camps were “Teeming with Women” from all walks of life. There were, however, mainly three groups of women in the camps: wives of the officers, camp employees consisting of cooks and laundresses, and the prostitutes. The latter were a source of considerable disorder. Wives on the other hand, were often very useful as they served as nurses and morale builders. A few wives followed their husbands into battle and endured the hardship of army life. Also in the camps were women war
workers, i.e. nurses, couriers, scouts, spies, and soldiers, however, except for the female soldiers who masqueraded as men and the nurses, war workers were generally not in the camp. Contrary to the popular view, women war workers never received the acclaim they merited. Army doctors were not ready to accept women nurses even though their patients praised them. The daring spies who “risked everything” for their governments fared no better. Pauline Cushman, upon whom President Lincoln conferred the title of “Little Major,” eventually received a pension but not for her valuable war service but as the widow of a soldier. Other heroic women suffered a similar fate.

Perhaps more significant than the range of wartime activities of American women was the impact of the war on their lives. The war thrust women into new positions of authority and new activities, and altered their concepts of self and set them to adopting new tactics to present their ideas. Women cast aside their docility and developed a new independence and a new confidence that altered their concepts of themselves. They also gained a permanent place in the labor force. During the post-war period women were sometimes replaced by able-bodied veterans, but many wives and widows continued to be the breadwinners of the family. Indeed, American women did cast off old ways and “leap from their spheres,” but the author’s evidence of the changes in status and attitude contradicts her statement that the women of the war generation were no different from those of any other. The war not only altered the self-image of women but industrialization exerted a profound impact. Women of the previous generation were not subjected to these forces. The presentation of “the Negro women’s role in the conflict, the relations of northern and southern women with Negroes during and after the struggle and the effect of emancipation on colored women” and race relations is significant and valuable for students of history. These relationships should be investigated more fully.

By skillfully using a variety of primary sources Professor Massey has presented a comprehensive but descriptive account of the activities of American women during the Civil War and the impact of the conflict on their lives. Bonnet Brigades is a valuable study that fills an important gap in Civil War historiography.

Howard University

ELSIE M. LEWIS
In the thirty years since the inauguration of Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures in Southern History, twenty volumes of these lectures have been published. The latest is Richard N. Current’s *Three Carpetbag Governors*, one of the most brilliant and well-written in the series. Carefully examined are the careers of the “conservative” Harrison Reed of Florida, the “corruptionist” Henry Clay Warmoth of Louisiana, and the “man of conscience” Adelbert Ames of Mississippi - three men whom the author considers among “the five or six most prominent” carpetbag governors. While admitting that none could plausibly be designated “a genuine hero,” Mr. Current convincingly argues that none was “any less decent or less able than most politicians of his time and place.” Thus he challenges many of the conclusions drawn by the Dunning students, Claude Bowers, and others who wrote from the conservative southern point of view. Obviously a revisionist but not an extremist, Current’s interpretations and conclusions, based on painstaking research, are clearly and calmly presented.

Professor Current stresses that carpetbaggers differed as to background, purpose, talents, and personalities, and he protests their having been stereotyped in so many of the writings on reconstruction. With Reed, Warmoth, and Ames as examples, he shows that they were not mere adventurers and dictators who came South to benefit personally from the Negro vote, fired race hatreds, and remained in power for only as long as they were supported by federal officials and bayonets. He also points out that “myth has prevailed over historical fact” when placing the blame for extravagance and corruption on carpetbag governors. While Reed often showed poor judgment in handling the affairs of state, he did not benefit financially from his years in Florida politics. Rather he left office encumbered with a large personal debt and, according to Current, Florida’s economic misfortunes were due more to Reeds gullibility than to his guilt. No attempt is made to conceal the fact that Warmoth made a fortune in Louisiana, but the author notes that “he probably did as much to stem corruption as he did to stimulate it.” Conceding that there was corruption in Louisiana, Professor Current questions the extent to which War-
moth "participated in and was responsible for the rottenness," and suggests that it might be more nearly correct to say that the state "corrupted him" rather than that "he corrupted" Louisiana. Especially interesting is the statement credited to T. Harry Williams that Huey Long was an admirer and emulator of many of Warmoth's techniques. In the case of Adelbert Ames, the author shows that "he was about as pure and incorruptible a governor as Mississippi or any state is likely ever to have."

Three Carpetbag Governors is written with greater clarity and objectivity and in a more appealing style than many works on Reconstruction. Mr. Current exhibits a rare ability to make the events seem unconfused and clear-cut, which they were not. As is customary with the Fleming lectures publications, there are no footnotes, but the origin of most of the quotations are identified either in the text or in the excellent bibliographical notes. Mr. Current is to be congratulated for writing a scholarly volume that should also appeal to the general public. Instructors, who have found it difficult to make the reconstruction period "palatable" to undergraduates (especially women) who too often bring their inherited prejudices to the classroom, will be grateful to Richard Current for this lucid, interesting account.

MARY ELIZABETH MASSEY

Winthrop College


Like many other boys born along the shores of Chesapeake Bay, Leonard S. Tawes naturally gravitated towards the water. In 1868, at the age of fifteen, he shipped as a cook on an oyster dredging pungy; for the next thirty-eight years he followed the sea, sailing on Chesapeake Bay craft, Baltimore-Rio de Janeiro coffee packets, West Indian traders, and coasting schooners. For over twenty years he was part owner and master of the three-masted
coasting schooner *City of Baltimore*. In 1904 he sold his interest and two years later went into the oyster business, returning to the sea occasionally during the following fourteen years.

Captain Tawes wrote his journals during the 1920s so that his granddaughter might know of his experiences. In so doing he relied on both an excellent memory and the logs of his voyages; the result is a work likely to become one of the classics of American maritime literature. It is, insofar as this reviewer is aware, the only long memoir of life on the coasting vessels which sailed the eastern coast of the United States during the nineteenth century. Most readers will put down the book wishing that they had known Captain Tawes. He emerges from it as one of those unsung ship captains who made the American merchant marine great and as a man one can only admire and respect. An able seaman and a kind and fair man, he did not expect his men to do what he would not do himself.

Captain Tawes's voyages generally took him from New York, Baltimore, or Philadelphia south to Wilmington, Charleston, Jacksonville, Tampa, or the West Indies with cargoes as varied as his ports of call. He was particularly active in the Florida trade between 1880 and 1893, carrying a diversity of cargoes south and shiploads of lumber north. Thereafter, his voyages were more likely to take him to the West Indies rather than to Florida. His first visit to Florida as a deckhand on the schooner Gamma was not promising. She ran aground on St. Johns Bar and had to put into Fernandina for beaching and repairs. This misfortune did not prevent Tawes's frequent return. He records that he made about fifty trips to Jacksonville during the next thirty years. Local historians of Duval County in particular will welcome his vignettes of late nineteenth century life as both interesting and rewarding. He had an appreciation of personalities if not for the physical settings in which he found himself. The account of his difficulties with the collector of the port of Jacksonville in 1890 over a minor infraction of the maritime regulations and his description of the jury selection system for the United States Court make contributions not only to our knowledge of the history of Jacksonville but also to our understanding of the Republican patronage system as it operated at the start of the Mauve Decade.
While most of his voyages into Florida waters took him to Jacksonville and the saw mills further up the St. Johns River, Tawes did visit many other major Florida ports at one time or another. The book contains a good description of the difficulties in removing powder from Fort Jefferson in the Dry Tortugas and Fort Taylor at Key West in 1881. Perhaps the best section, however, is that depicting the September 24, 1896 hurricane at Fernandina which Captain Tawes reports caused more wreck-age than he had ever seen before.

Robert H. Burgess, a member of the staff of the Mariners Museum and a former crew member of a coasting schooner, has done an excellent job of editing what must have been a particularly difficult manuscript. He has unobtrusively introduced the punctuation and capitalization which the captain disdained; corrected the worst of the misspellings; verified the names of vessels, firms, persons, and places; and yet left untouched the flavor, as well as much of the spelling. Captain Tawes would have been proud of him. Coasting Captain is a book for the student of American maritime history primarily, but it is also one that can be read with great profit by anyone interested in the social and economic history of Florida at the end of the nineteenth century.

K. Jack Bauer

Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute

The America: The Story of the World’s Most Famous Yacht.

Written primarily for the yachtsman and sailing boat enthusiast, The America is a well-told and equally well-researched history of the most famous racing yacht of all time. The author, usually a prolific teller of the whys and wherefores of famous crimes and jury trials, has turned his hand to a maritime adventure and unleashed his “detecting” ability upon the nautical career of the fabled America. As the America wove her way around American and British waters, Boswell has retraced her movements and put this fascinating account together.
Most of the yachting readers of *The America* are undoubtedly surprised to find that she spent sometime in southern waters and managed to be on both sides during the Civil War. In her storied life, *America* spent almost three years in the South, as the private yacht of a mysterious Englishman visiting there, as a blockade runner that was eventually captured in a backwater of the St. Johns River, and then as a Federal blockader credited with many captures along the southern Atlantic coast.

Any vessel that survives for ninety years must experience events that are worth writing about. The *America* started her life off with the event by which she has always been known—the winning of "The America’s Cup" (named in her honor) - the winning of which was all the more remarkable since she had to sail the Atlantic to Cowes, England, virtually on her shakedown cruise. Her classic race with the cream of English yachting on that eventful day in August 1851 is a victory long remembered by yachting enthusiasts as no foreign vessel has since succeeded in wresting the prize away from an American vessel. Remaining in English waters after her victory, seemingly deserted and abandoned by her countrymen, she languished in relative obscurity, racing only one season after 1851. Rebuilt with the best of English materials, and now owned by a devious Englishman who renamed her *Camilla*, she found her way to Jacksonville, arriving there in October 1861. She ran the blockade in December 1861, and again in January 1862, returning to Jacksonville both times.

On Tuesday night, March 11, 1862, most of value in Jacksonville was burned in advance of the vanguard of Federal troops that moved in to occupy the city. The *Camilla* was hurriedly moved to Dunn’s Creek and allowed to settle on the bottom to escape notice and capture. However, an alert Federal officer found and succeeded in raising her after a week of hard work. With most of her deck gear and top masts gone, she was towed to Port Royal, South Carolina. Refitted with new gear and with three guns aboard, she became a blockader around Charleston. Due to her shallow draft, she could occupy strategic stations denied other steamers with greater depths and she proved her mettle by helping in several captures. Sent off to New York for refitting, she returned in January 1863, and again showed her worth by helping to land several richly-laden runners. By this
time, the Union navy became aware of her fame and she was sent to the young naval academy to serve a stint at Newport.

After the war, the America returned to Annapolis where she was again repaired. In 1873, through extensive political machinations, General Benjamin “Beast” Butler of infamous Civil War memory purchased her for use as his private yacht. In 1921 she was returned to the naval academy. Unfit for sea duty she was sent to a neighboring Annapolis shipyard for repairs when World War II commenced. A freak snow storm hit the area in March 1942, and the America was damaged beyond repair when the shed that she was stored in collapsed.

Boswell's background shows in the extensive ferreting-out of many peripheral details which does not usually interfere with the mainline of his story. He puts to rest some of the fables linked with the vessel. To southern and Florida readers, the ten per cent or so of the pages that have been devoted to her Civil War activities will be of interest, probably more for the background information on the personnel associated with her career than for the actual wartime contributions of the yacht.

Edward A. Mueller

Alexandria, Virginia


Professor Hill's early environment as the son of a Baptist minister and his subsequent educational experiences have given him an exceptionally good background to prepare this searching study of the historical development of the southern church and the effect it has had upon southern life. His analysis seems to this reviewer to be as objective as one could hope and as lucid as the complicated nature of the subject would permit. One could wish that every clergyman in the South, of whatever denomination, would read the book, but it seems more likely that it will be read chiefly by those already having a fairly sophisticated understanding of the prevailing idea structure of the southern church.

While no brief review can adequately discuss or criticize the
chief themes which emerge from the study, perhaps a few such themes will serve as illustrations of the main tenor of the book: one of these is that religion in the South has conformed to prevailing customs rather than trying to change them. Another is that the prevailing simplistic and fundamentalistic theology in the South has had as its principal tenets that a person to be saved has to be converted and then exhibit appropriate behavior. Such behavior is defined as conforming to the southern moral code. As an example of the importance of conversion, Professor Hill tells the story of a Sunday school teacher who was asked by one of his pupils if Adolph Hitler were in heaven. He replied that he probably would be if he had had the necessary childhood conversion experience. Much of the reason for the nature of the theology in southern churches, according to Professor Hill, can be explained by the lack of education of the clergy, many of whom have gone to Bible schools having low academic standards rather than to accredited schools of theology. Furthermore, the dominant southern churches, Baptist and Methodist, generally have appealed to a lower middle class not possessing a good cultural background or education. In the case of the Baptists, where church government is largely decentralized, the minister has had to “blend with the community” or be out of a job. In the more orthodox churches, such as the Roman Catholic, Episcopal, and Presbyterian, where the minister is not so directly responsible to the local congregation, he is freer to say what the congregation may not want to hear.

Running through the study is the recurrent theme that unless the southern church makes unusual changes, its teachings may soon seem totally irrelevant to modern life. The southern churches, says Dr. Hill, are geared to a rural rather than an urban way of thinking and few of them have concerned themselves with the problems of the city ghetto and racial discrimination. Their philosophy, in short, is unrelated to the changing situation in the South and it therefore may be termed “irresponsible.” In some ways, Professor Hill may be overly pessimistic. It is doubtless true, as he says, that southern pulpits have reflected the ideas of southern pews to an undue degree. But the ideas of the persons in the pews may be changing even more rapidly than Dr. Hill assumes. Enrollments in southern higher institutions of the college age group increase at the rate of over one per cent a year.
The church religious centers which have been put near universities to keep young people faithful to the church have had to modernize their teachings to hold their audiences, and these audiences will expect to hear similar ideas when they return home. Furthermore, the southern churches will find it increasingly difficult to resist the pronouncements of national and international church organizations against discriminatory practices and outmoded ideas. National television, radio, and syndicated newspaper articles also serve to reduce the provincialism which has pervaded southern culture. Finally, the influence of theologians like Professor Hill will itself be a strong factor in causing southern churches to revise their present theology.

BYRON S. HOLLINSHEAD
New Smyrna, Florida


In an article published in the _South Atlantic Quarterly_ in the autumn of 1965, Benjamin U. Ratchford aptly said, "for many years the South has been studied, surveyed, praised, condemned, evaluated, analyzed, psychoanalyzed, reviewed, and discussed by writers and speakers of all lines and persuasions." This does not mean that all of the needed research on the South has already been completed. In fact, there is need for research on the South in many areas. This need for systematic study of the South and its role in national and international affairs has resulted in the development of institutional machinery for research at various universities, among them the Center for Southern Studies in the Social Sciences and Humanities, which was established at Duke University in 1965. The present volume is the outcome of an interdisciplinary symposium held by this center in February 1966, which attempted to establish an agenda for research, to raise significant questions about the "New South."

The contributors represent many fields of scholarship—economics, history, political science, sociology, anthropology, literature, linguistics, folklore, education, and religion. The six
papers and five commentaries delivered at the symposium are presented in this book in the order in which they were on that occasion: “The changing South: Some social science applications” by Avery Leiserson; “Southern economic development: Some research accomplishments and gaps” by Marshall R. Colberg (commentary by B. U. Ratchford); “The South: Research for what? by Robert J. Harris (commentary by John T. Caldwell); “The South considered as an achieving society” by Rupert B. Vance (commentary by George W. Blackwell); “Depletion and renewal in Southern history” by David M. Potter (commentary by Gordon W. Blackwell); and “Southern literature and Southern society” by Willard Thorp (commentary by Louis D. Rubin, Jr.). The remaining five chapters are invited papers not included in the oral symposium: “Needed research in Southern dialects” by Raven I. McDavid, Jr.; “Anthropology and the study of culture, society, and community in the South” by J. Kenneth Morland; “Research potential in Southern folklore” by Edwin C. Kirkland; “Southern education: A new research frontier” by C. Arnold Anderson, and “An agenda for research in religion” by Samuel S. Hill, Jr.

This book contains so many valuable suggestions for research that only a few can be listed in a short review. Professor Leiserson stresses three areas for study: scientific manpower-identification, education, flow, and utilization of trained, specialized talent; mass communications and popular culture; and the analysis of bureaucratic and organizational behavior. Professor Colberg suggested the following promising directions for future economic research on the South: the federal minimum wage, a “Yankee trick” on the South; the Equal Pay Act of 1963; regional effects of federal lending; industrial plant inventory and subsidization of firms; state and local subsidies to industries; migration; educated persons in industry; problems of desegregation; vocational training needs; and transportation. Professor Harris points out some of the difficulties for any program of research in the South, especially in its applied aspects: “Parochialism in politics, fundamentalism in religion, reaction in economics, a certain anti-intellectualism, and the persistence of stereotypes regarding the Negro, the federal government, and non-conformists.” Professor Vance has a brilliant essay on the South as a region undergoing continuous change in its movement toward maturity and in its renewal processes. Pro-
Professor Potter points out that on some topics the South has been "worked to a point where diminishing returns now seem about to set in." Yet he suggests many areas for further research, among them the Federal army in the post-Civil War South and the constitutional issues of the whole Reconstruction period. He suggests that historians of the South "work in a broader context of sharing what other disciplines have to offer both in the way of answers." Among the many valuable suggestions made by Professor Thorp are "two modest publishing projects" which ought to be undertaken by one of the southern presses: "to get into print again a number of Southern works which are referred to frequently but are now scarce and almost unattainable in the early editions," and a book of readings on southern writing for use in the colleges.

Regrettably, space will not permit comments on the remaining excellent essays mentioned earlier in this review. This is a significant book and one which should be consulted by all who are doing research on any topic or in any area relating to the South.

Hugh T. Lefler

University of North Carolina
at Chapel Hill


On seventeen pages of this book the author's diary was being kept in Florida; between February 1939 and October 1942 he was in charge of the Great White Heron Refuge and lived in Key West. Except for a short description of this city, one or two anecdotes typical of it, and mention of unusual birds, Mr. Greene lists people who came to the refuge or visited with him. On one Florida page he lists the names of fifty-seven people with addresses all the way from Juneau, Alaska, to Miami, Florida. Of the 112 black and white pictures, most of them snapshots of people, only nine were taken in Florida; none of these is dated and none pictures Floridians.

Gainesville, Florida Elizabeth S. Austin

Amateurs who poke around looking for fossils are at best nuisances and often a menace to serious paleontologists. Most scientists would be happier if uninformed amateurs stayed out of the way and often say so. Thus Marian Murray indexes an aspect of her subject, adding, “The number of those making a hobby of collecting fossils increases every day and will keep on increasing whether the professionals like it or not.” Certainly the author has a sympathy for both; she acquired the virus when she “casually” found a walrus tusk from an extinct species in Florida soil. Her book stamps her as a professional, a status she disclaims; so far as possible it is written in common name language.

While emphasizing that there are rapid changes in paleontology thinking, Mrs. Murray asks and answers as of the time she was writing: How old is the Earth? (between four and five billion years); when did life begin? (when the right temperature to support it developed); how did life develop? (from the simplest one-cell creatures to man himself). In the course of telling how fossils helped to supply the answers, she outlines the presently accepted pattern of the progress of plant and animal life; the “rock,” which does not necessarily mean stone but any material that goes to make up the outer portion (crust) of the earth; the invertebrates and the vertebrates (man with his backbone is far surpassed by the cockroach, which began to scuttle around some 300,000,000 years ago; and plant life and the dependence of it and animal life on each other and climate. There is advice and counsel for the amateur who “has the best chance to learn about ‘digging’ if he can go out with professionals.” And finally there are instructions on how and where to look.

By now the neophyte reader has made a mental pledge to be more observing of the ground he is walking on or breaking into, of shorelines and water bottoms, and especially of cuts which our modern day earth moving machinery is exposing. There are fifty chapters discussing the contribution made to paleontology by
each state of the Union. “There are so many fossils in such a
great number of places in Florida, sometimes in even the most unexpected spots, and they are so easy to dig up that in certain parts of the state a person has to be most unobservant not to find something at one time or another.” In Florida we have had mammoths and mastodons, carnivorous bears, saber-toothed cats, huge ravening wolves, lions as big as grizzlies, and camels and horses which started on this continent, became extinct here, but continued in other parts of the world. That probably was during the pleistocene, which by Mrs. Murray’s geologic time table would have been at least three and one half billion years ago. “Textbook” qualities include descriptions of how geologic periods get their names, the scientific terminology by which plants and animals are classified, and adequate glossary and bibliography.

JOHN D. PENNEKAMP

Miami, Florida

BOOK NOTES

The American Eagle started up as a political weekly by the Koreshan Unity of Estero, Florida, in 1906. In later years it developed an outstanding reputation as a horticultural magazine. The early files of The American Eagle, 1906-1949, are gold mines to students and researchers in many fields, particularly history, horticulture, and the agricultural and industrial growth of southern Florida. The Unity suspended publication for a few years, but it was revived in May 1965, under the editorship of Miss Hedwig Michel. It operates as a monthly and emphasizes always its great interest in the utilization of the nation’s and Florida’s natural resources. The biography of “Henry Nehrling: The Patron Saint of Florida Gardens” by Miss Michel is now appearing in The American Eagle. Annual subscriptions are $5.00, and they may be ordered from the editorial office, Box 57, Estero, Florida 33928.

Among These Hills: A History of Falling Waters State Park by E. W. Carswell was published by the Central Press, 108 West U. S. 90, Bonifay, Florida. It describes the history of this scenic area of Florida which includes the range of hills called Outliers by geologists.
Tallahassee in View: Florida’s Historic Capital City was published by the special project’s committee of the Tallahassee Rotary Club for the Tallahassee Arts Festival. This handsome monograph contains forty-eight pictures, many of them in color, showing the historic sites of Tallahassee and its environs, including the Union Bank, the Columns (Benjamin Chaires home), the Croom Disaster Shaft, the David S. Walker Library, the Grove, and the Winthrop, Randall, Yancey, Bowen, Mingledorf, Peres Brokaw, and the Shine-Chittenden residences. This beautiful publication should serve as an inspiration for other Florida communities who would do well to photograph and publicize their own historic sites and buildings.

In its continuing series of publications describing historical Pensacola, the Pensacola Home and Savings Association has issued a new pamphlet entitled Pensacola’s Navy Yard: 1528-1911. The preparation and editing was done in cooperation with the Pensacola Historical Museum, the University of West Florida Library, and the Pensacola Naval Air Station Library. The illustrations are from the pictorial collection at the T. T. Wentworth, Jr., Museum. Copies of the pamphlet are available from the Association, 251 West Garden Street, Pensacola, Florida, 32502.

The T. T. Wentworth, Jr., Museum of Pensacola has issued twelve Pensacola Picture Books containing illustrations from the museum’s collection of photographs, prints, and sketches. The pamphlets may be ordered by writing the Museum, Box 806, Pensacola. The price is twenty-five cents for issues numbers 1-7, 9 and 11; the others are fifty cents each. The Museum is also selling a facsimile reprint of W. D. Chipley’s Pensacola (The Naples of America) and Its Surroundings Illustrated for $1.00.

Interpreting Our Heritage. By Freeman Tilden. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1967. xviii, 120 pp. Paperback $1.65.) Appearing originally in 1957, this book has been widely circulated and accepted as a basic guide in the field and as a textbook for college instruction in park management and supervision. It shows how parks and their museums and historic sites, of which Florida has a considerable number, can be effectively presented and interpreted to the public. In recent years workers at historic sites in Florida have developed new and very
effective techniques and methods of telling their story. In doing so they have experimented with many things: markers and inscriptions of various types, with different methods of restoring or reconstructing historic buildings such as at St. Augustine and Pensacola, with ingenious maps and diaramas at the interpretative museums established by the Florida Board of Parks and Historic Memorials, and with gadgets of different kinds. They have tried out devices that the visitor can pick up and examine, they have introduced special lighting and sound effects, and they have utilized other seeable and hearable devices. Among the Florida sites described and illustrated in this book are Castillo de San Marcos National Monument in St. Augustine and the Everglades National Park.

Recapturing America’s Past. By Trevor L. Christie. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1967. 127 pp. Introduction, index, illustrations. $4.25.) This small, attractive book emphasizes the vital importance of restoring and preserving America’s Past. The National Park System was set up as a branch of the Department of the Interior in 1872 to supervise the country’s few parks, most of them in the West. It was not until 1935, that Congress passed the Historic Sites Act which directed the preservation “for public use historic sites, buildings, and objects of national significance for the inspiration and benefit of the people of the United States.” Since then the National Park Service has conducted the Historic American Building Survey in cooperation with the Library of Congress and the American Institute of Architects. More than 500 structures, sites, and scenic areas have been designated as national registered land marks. A number of states and more than seventy cities have also passed protective laws and set up land mark commissions to save their important heritage. A number of priceless structures revealing this nation’s great heritage have been saved from destruction. The National Trust for Historic Preservation, which was created in 1949 as a semi-official advisory board to help states, municipalities, corporations, and individuals in their work of recapturing America’s past has spearheaded much of this preservation effort. Much of the past is now being saved, although a great deal more needs to be done in educating the people on the importance of preserving their history. Particularly is this true in the South and Florida. Important preservation and
restoration is going on in our state at the present time, and one of
the chapters in Recapturing America's Past describes the activities
in St. Augustine, where under the direction of the St. Augustine
Historical Restoration and Preservation Commission efforts are
being made to preserve the city's rich Spanish heritage. A similar
project is developing in the historic Seville Square area of Pensa-
cola by the Pensacola Historical Restoration and Preservation
Commission. In addition, the Historic American Buildings Survey
has in the last several years conducted photographic studies of
important buildings in Key West and in north Florida. Mar-A-
Lago, Mrs. Marjorie Merriweather Post's mansion in Palm Beach,
was also photographed.

Confederate Athens. By Kenneth Coleman. (Athens: Univer-
sity of Georgia Press, 1968. ix, 214 pp. Preface, bibliography,
illustrations. $5.00.) This book describes the life of the people
who lived in Athens, Georgia, during the four harsh and sorrow-
ful years of the Civil War. Professor Coleman has written a very
readable and concise study of the community, describing the
social, political, and economic life of the times. This very interest-
ing book will have a special interest to Floridians, not only because
of its proximity to the state and because so many Floridians
migrated from Georgia, but also because life in Confederate
Athens was so much like that in Florida communities. Professor
Coleman is the author of The American Revolution in Georgia,
the co-author of Georgia Journeys, 1732-1754 (reviewed in
Florida Historical Quarterly, XLI, October 1962, 173-74), and
he is professor of history at the University of Georgia.

The review of Saint Augustine Florida 1565-1965 by Joan
Wickham, which appeared in the April 1968 number of the
Quarterly (pp. 386-87) should be corrected to show that this
miniatue volume was printed in a limited edition of 2,000 copies
and not 500 as quoted.
HISTORICAL NEWS

Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Prize

Dr. Frank L. Owsley, Jr., professor of history at Auburn University, is the 1967-1968 recipient of the Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Prize in Florida History. The announcement was made at the annual meeting in Daytona Beach, May 3-4, 1968. The award is given annually for the best article appearing in the Florida Historical Quarterly. The judges this year were Judge James R. Knott of West Palm Beach, Dr. Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., of Gainesville, and Luis R. Arana of St. Augustine. The prize memorializes Professor Arthur W. Thompson who was a member of the history faculty at the University of Florida and an outstanding scholar and author of Southern and Florida history. Previous award winners were Father Michael V. Gannon of the Mission of Nombre de Dios, St. Augustine, and Dr. Jerrell H. Shofner, Department of History, Florida State University.

Professor Owsley's prize winning article, "British and Indian Activities in Spanish West Florida During the War of 1812," appeared in the October 1967 number of the Quarterly. A graduate of Vanderbilt University and the University of Alabama, Professor Owsley has taught at the United States Naval Academy and this past year was visiting professor at the University of Nebraska. He is the author of The C.S.S. Florida: Her Building and Operations (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1965) and is presently writing a history of the War of 1812. He is a member of the editorial board of the Alabama Review and is a contributor to Encyclopedia Britannica Yearbook.

Rembert W. Patrick Memorial Prizes

The Rembert W. Patrick Memorial Prizes for Junior Historians was established by unanimous action of the board of directors and the members of the Florida Historical Society at the annual meeting in May. Dr. Patrick was for many years an officer and director of the Society, editor of the Florida Historical Quarterly, and a tireless and influential figure in all of the activities of the [ 93 ]
Society. The prizes will be awarded annually to three high school students who in the opinion of the judges write outstanding essays in Florida history. Cash awards and copies of Dr. Patrick’s book *Florida Under Five Flags* will be given the winners. The names of the recipients will be announced at the annual meeting, and a special presentation will be made by an officer or director of the Society before an assembly in the student’s high school.

*Cross and Sword*

Florida’s Cross and Sword, Inc., of St. Augustine has arranged a special evening honoring the members of the Florida Historical Society. Paul Green’s well known musical drama of the founding of Spanish East Florida will be presented in the St. Augustine Amphitheatre at 8:30 p.m., August 10, 1968, and all members of the Society will be allowed a ten per cent discount on their tickets. They are asked to present identification at the theatre box office or to so indicate when writing for reservations (P. O. Box 1965, St. Augustine, Florida 32084). An after-the-show tour of the amphitheatre will be conducted for interested members.

*Development of Florida’s Historical Resources*

A state-wide Conference on the Development of Florida’s Historical Resources was held in Tallahassee on March 29. The conference was called by Governor Claude Kirk, and Robert Williams, executive director of the Florida Board of Archives and History, served as coordinator. Pat Dodson, recording secretary of the Florida Historical Society and chairman of the Pensacola Historical Restoration and Preservation Commission, acted as chairman. Over 250 persons attended, representing local, county, and regional historical societies and commissions, historical, university, and public libraries, historical museums, preservation and restoration programs, and several Florida newspapers and magazines. A majority of those attending were members of the Florida Historical Society.

The speakers included James Massey, director of the Historical American Buildings Survey, National Park Service; Pro-
fessor F. Blair Reeves, professor of architecture at the University of Florida and State Preservation Coordinator of the American Institute of Architects; Glenn E. Thompson, chief of membership services, National Trust for Historic Preservation; Russell Keune, assistant keeper of the National Register, Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, National Park Service; Thomas J. Armstrong, assistant regional administrator for Metropolitan Development, U. S. Department of Housing and Urban Development; Hale Smith, chairman of the Department of Anthropology, Florida State University; Samuel Proctor, professor of history and social sciences, University of Florida, and editor of the Florida Historical Quarterly; and Robert Roesch, director and coordinator of the Governor’s Federal Program Coordinating Committee.

Earle W. Newton, director of the Pensacola Historical Restoration and Preservation Commission and president of St. Augustine Restoration, Inc., was the luncheon speaker. David Early of the Florida Development Commission and President John Champion of Florida State University also spoke briefly at the luncheon. All sessions were held on the Florida State University campus. Another conference is planned before the end of this year.

**Southern Historical Association**

The Southern Historical Association, organized November 2, 1934, is dedicated to the promotion of interest and research in southern history, the collection and preservation of the South’s historical records, and the encouragement of state and local historical societies in the South. The association fosters the teaching and study of all branches of history in the South.

The association publishes the *Journal of Southern History*, a scholarly magazine devoted to research in southern history. It circulates to more than 4,000 members. Meetings of the association are held annually in November. The term “southern history” is broadly interpreted by the board of editors in determining the policy and the content of the *Journal*. Each number normally contains four research articles, edited documents of historical notes, book reviews, and news of historical interest. The quality of scholarship in the *Journal* has been maintained at a consistently high level by the editor, Sanford W. Higginbotham and his predecessors - Wendell H. Stephenson, Fred C. Cole, William C.
Binkley, Thomas D. Clark, J. Merton England, William H. Masterson, W. W. Abbot, and Philip F. Detweiler. The list of contributors contains almost everyone who is doing significant work in the field of Southern history.

Anyone interested in history is invited to join the Southern Historical Association and to attend its annual meetings. The annual dues are set up on the calendar year basis. The rate is $4.00 per year for registered students, $7.00 for regular memberships, and $140.00 for life memberships. (Life memberships may be paid in quarterly installments.) Dues and requests for membership should be addressed to Bennett H. Wall, Secretary-Treasurer, History Department, Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana 70118. Requests for student memberships must be endorsed by a faculty member of the institution in which the student is enrolled. All checks should be made payable to the Southern Historical Association.

**ACTIVITIES AND EVENTS**

The Southern Heritage Foundation will hold its fall meeting on October 11-12, 1968, in Pensacola. T. T. Wentworth, Jr., of Pensacola and Adam G. Adams of Coral Gables are directors of the Foundation. All members of the Florida Historical Society are invited to attend the sessions in Pensacola.

The Florida Medical Association’s archives committee dedicated a historical marker May 8, 1968, at the home of Dr. Joseph Yates Porter, 429 Caroline Street, Key West. Dr. Porter was Florida’s first state health officer and mainly through his far-sighted and energetic leadership yellow fever was conquered in this state and many other epidemic diseases were controlled. Dr. Porter was a member and former president of the Florida Medical Association. The association is planning to erect other markers noting outstanding Florida medical personalities and events. A marker in Monticello at the home and office of Dr. Thomas M. Palmer of Civil War fame is planned.

The Florida Board of Parks and Historic Memorials and the Florida Federation of Art, Inc., dedicated the DeBary Hall Historic Marker on Sunday, June 16, 1968, at DeBary. The Florida
Federation of Art maintains the DeBary Mansion as an art gallery and uses it as its state headquarters.

The third annual Conference of Southern Historical Societies was held in Savannah, Georgia, on April 4-6, 1968. It was sponsored by the American Association for State and Local History in cooperation with the Georgia Historical Commission, the Georgia Historical Society, and the National Park Service. The lecture-discussion sessions dealt with a variety of pertinent topics, including historical markers, museums, societies, and publications, and historic site security. Representatives of the National Park Service met concurrently with state preservation officers and their staffs. Among the Florida participants were Robert Williams, executive director of the Florida Board of Archives and History, Bradley G. Brewer, director of the St. Augustine Historical Restoration and Preservation Commission, and Professors F. Blair Reeves and Samuel Proctor of the University of Florida.

The University of North Carolina Press has announced plans to republish, beginning in the spring of 1969, a number of southern nineteenth century literary classics - mostly novels - that have long been unavailable. Known as the Southern Literary Classics Series, the books will be in both cloth and paperbound editions. Each will contain a new introduction by a scholarly authority. The series will be under the general editorship of Professors C. Hugh Holman and Louis D. Rubin, Jr., of the Department of English, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Titles already selected include *Chita* by Lafcadio Hearn, *Virginia Comedians* by John Esten Cooke, *Tiger-Lilies* by Sidney Lanier, *Letters of the British Spy* by William Wirt, *Life of Francis Marion* by Parson Mason L. Weems, *Valley of Shenandoah* by George Tucker, *Knights of the Golden Horseshoe* by William A. Caruthers, *Partisan Leader* by Nathaniel B. Tucker, *Some Adventures of Simon Suggs, Late Captain of the Tallapoosa* by Johnson J. Hooper, *The Planter’s Northern Bride* by Caroline Lee Hentz, and *In Old Virginia* by Thomas Nelson Page. Further information may be obtained from the University of North Carolina Press, Box 510, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

To commemorate the seventy-fifth anniversary of its founding, the Genealogical Society of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints will sponsor a worldwide convention and semi-
For genealogists, archivists, historians, and librarians next year, August 5-8, 1969, in Salt Lake City, Utah. Inquiries about the conference, reservations, and programs should be directed to the Society, 107 South Main Street, Salt Lake City, Utah 84111.

A ten-page compilation of major publishing outlets for articles on state and local history was released recently by the American Association for State and Local History. The listing includes a brief description of the type of material which the particular journal usually publishes as well as the name and address of the editor to whom contributions may be sent. It is arranged alphabetically according to journal titles and typed in an open format which allows a potential author to skim it easily when looking for an appropriate source of publication. "The purpose of this compilation was to give some guidance to serious students of state and local history who were looking for publication outlets," stated William T. Alderson, association director. The listing is available for limited distribution from the AASLH offices, 132 Ninth Avenue North, Nashville, Tennessee 37203. Persons wishing a copy are requested to send twenty-five cents in coin or stamps to cover postage and handling.
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THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

Published in July, October, January, and April by the Florida Historical Society

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Publication of this Quarterly was begun in April 1908, but after six numbers it was suspended in July 1909. In July 1924, publication was resumed and has been continuous since that date.

The Florida Historical Society supplies the Quarterly to its members. The annual membership fee is five dollars, but special memberships of ten, twenty-five, fifty, and one hundred dollars are available. Correspondence relating to membership and subscriptions should be addressed to Margaret Chapman, Executive Secretary, University of South Florida Library, Tampa, Florida, 33620.

Manuscripts, news, and books for review should be directed to the Quarterly, P. O. Box 14045, Gainesville, Florida, 32601. Manuscripts should be accompanied by a stamped self-addressed return envelope. The Quarterly takes all reasonable precautions for their safety but cannot guarantee their return if not accompanied by stamped return envelopes. Manuscripts must be typewritten, double-spaced, on standard sized white paper, with footnotes numbered consecutively in the text and assembled at the end. Particular attention should be given to following the footnote style of this Quarterly; bibliographies will not be published. The Florida Historical Society and editor of this Quarterly accept no responsibility for statements made by contributors.