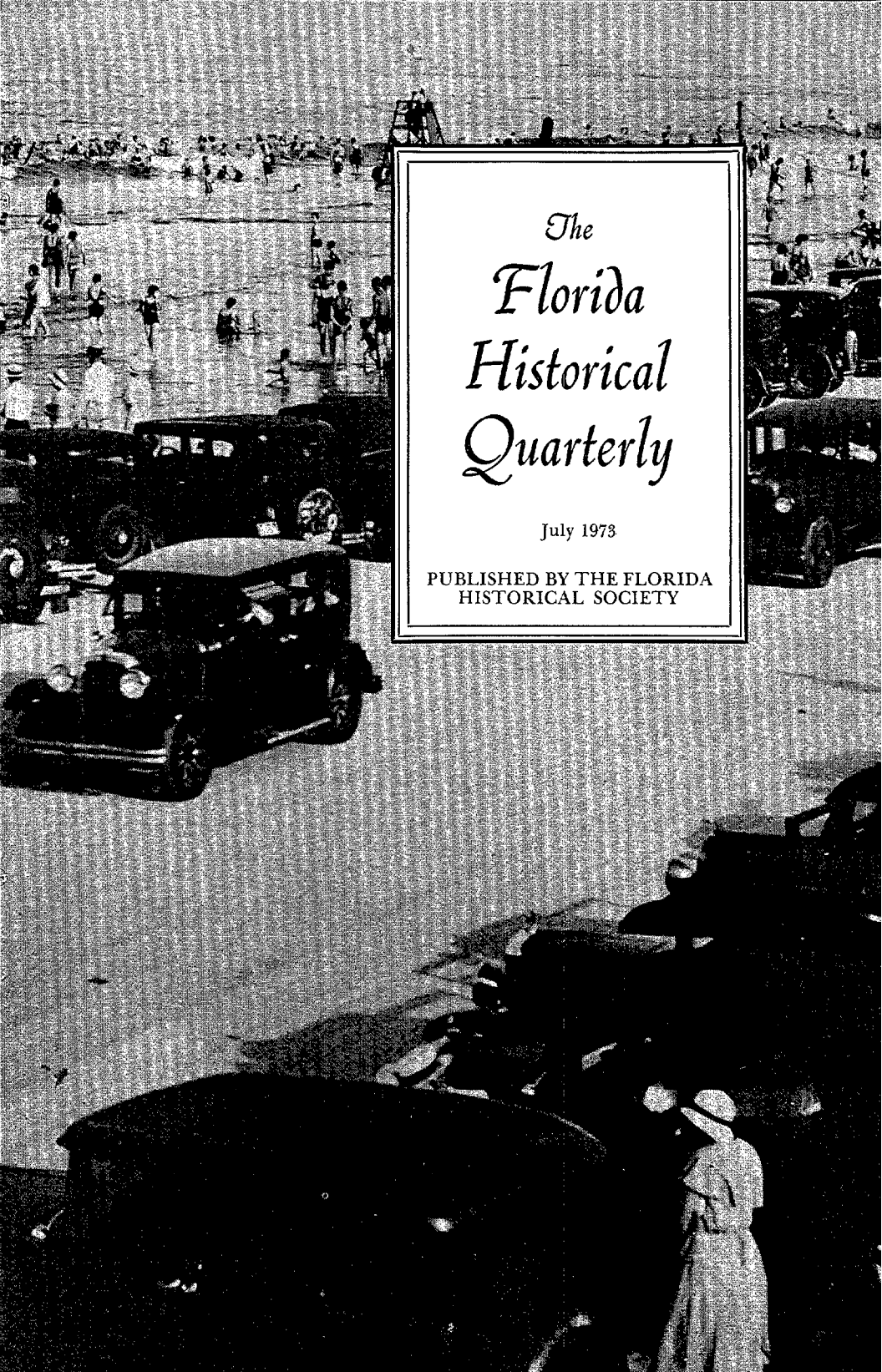

The Florida Historical Quarterly

July 1973

PUBLISHED BY THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

COVER

A typical summer Sunday afternoon at Jacksonville Beach during the early 1930s. Promoted as the "World's Finest Beach," visitors came from all over Florida and Georgia. Forty miles long and 600 feet wide, the hard-packed white sand made the beach a "mecca of autoists," and it was said that sometimes as many as 15,000 cam were parked there on a weekend.

Originally called Pablo Beach, the community was established by the Jacksonville and Atlantic Railroad in 1884. Murray Hall, an enormous wood-frame hotel with accommodations for 350 guests, was completed two years later. It was one of the South's most popular seaside resorts until it was destroyed by fire in 1890. It had attracted many visitors to the beach community.

This photograph is from the collection of Mr. Richard Martin of Jacksonville.

The Florida Historical Quarterly

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Volume LII, Number 1 July 1973

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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THAT INFAMOUS FLORIDIAN, JESSE FISH

by ROBERT L. GOLD*

THE STORY OF Jesse Fish has long been obscured by rumor, contradictory reports, and confusion. He lived more than half a century in St. Augustine under both Spanish and British authority, and his long residence probably helped in the formation of the "Fish Legend," which has lasted until the present day. Generally, he emerges as a sinister figure, an insidious schemer characteristically involved in contraband commerce, sedition, and illicit land transactions. Fish reputedly made money as an *hacendado*, land dealer, slaver, smuggler, usurer, and cunning crook. His critics also accuse him of performing espionage for England and Spain, and claim that he served as a double agent during the Seven Years' War. Fish's name conjures up lucid images of money, land, and commercial enterprise. In such imagery, he becomes a successful but unscrupulous businessman, a swindler of St. Augustine property, and Florida's first orange exporter. He is also known as the "savior of St. Augustine" in 1762-1763. Since there is validity to the pro and con arguments and since Fish's story yet evades description, his spectre continues to haunt Florida historians.

Only a limited outline of Fish's life is available, although there is some information on his business associations and activities. He was born in New York, probably Newtown, Long Island, where his family had acquired considerable acreage in the seventeenth century.[1] His father, Captain Thomas Fish, married twice– Jemima Morgan and Elizabeth Kipp. Jesse's birthdate is not known, but it is believed that his mother was Jemima Morgan and that he was born in 1724 or 1726.[2] According to a petition

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* Mr. Gold is associate professor of history, Southern Illinois University.

1. Since 1898 the community of Newtown has been incorporated into Queens County, New York.
2. Lester W. Fish, *The Fish Family in England and America* (Rutland, Vermont, 1945), 279.

from Fish to the King of Spain, March 23, 1789, and a supportive letter sent by officials from St. Augustine the same year, he apparently had arrived in Florida in 1736 at the age of ten or twelve in the service of the William Walton Company of New York City. He continued as a representative for this concern in Florida until 1763.[3]

Fish spent almost all of his life in St. Augustine except for sporadic trips to South Carolina, Cuba, and New York City. He was never in Europe, although his correspondence mentioned plans for a trip to England and Spain.[4]

While employed by the Walton Company, Fish learned Spanish in the home of the Herreras, a prominent St. Augustine family. One Spaniard later observed that he "acquainted himself with our language, laws, and customs with such success that he seemed more Spanish than foreign."[5] The Herreras reared Jesse with their own son, Luciano, and the two maintained a life-long friendship. Luciano was the only Spaniard to remain in Florida under the British, and it was he, not Fish, who probably served Spain as a spy.[6] In later years he helped prepare a property register for Fish.[7]

Fish served the Walton Company as sales agent. Because the

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3. *Ibid.;* James G. Wilson, *Memorial History of the City of New York, From Its First Settlement to the Year 1892,* 4 vols. (New York, 1892-1893), II, 305; James Riker, *The Annuals of Newtown, in Queens County, New York: Containing Its History From Its First Settlement* (New York, 1852); Stuyvesant Fish, *Ancestors of Hamilton Fish and Julia Ursin Niemcewicz Kean, His Wife* (New York, 1929), 36-38; Joyce E. Harmon, *Trade and Privateering in Spanish Florida, 1732-1763* (St. Augustine, 1969), 56-57, 90; Robert L. Gold, *Borderland Empires in Transition: The Triple-Nation Transfer of Florida* (Carbondale, 1969), 41, 44-45, 75, 138; Jesse Fish to Governor and Captain General of Florida and King of Spain, March 23, 1789; Governor of Florida to Minister of Justice, October 6, 1789, Edward Lawson Papers, Box 10, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville; Census Records of East Florida during the Second Spanish Period, St. Augustine, 1783, 1786, 1787. St. Augustine Historical Society Library, St. Augustine; Mark F. Boyd, unpublished history of eighteenth-century Florida and Don Juan Elixio de la Puente, Mark F. Boyd Library of Florida History, Florida State University, Tallahassee.
4. *Ibid.*
5. Governor of Florida to Minister of Justice, October 6, 1789, Lawson Papers.
6. Katherine S. Lawson, "Luciano de Herrera, Spanish Spy in British St. Augustine," *Florida Historical Quarterly,* XXIII (January 1945), 170-76.
7. Governor of Florida to Minister of Justice, October 6, 1789, Lawson Papers:, Jesse Fish Property Register as recorded by Luciano de Herrera, St. Augustine, 1763-1784, East Florida Papers, Bundle 319, microfilm reel 146, P. K. Yonge Library.

Royal Havana Company in Cuba could not fulfill Florida's needs in the eighteenth century, the New York firm received a contract to furnish provisions and supplies. Although forbidden, Anglo-Spanish trade supplemented St. Augustine's meager agricultural production and undependable subsidy. As early as 1726, the Waltons began shipping in staples, and Fish subsequently acted as their factor. Both he and his employers apparently prospered, and, although he maintained his Protestant faith, he lived as a respected and successful businessman in Catholic St. Augustine.[8]

When England acquired Florida in 1763 the total Spanish population of Apalache, Pensacola, and St. Augustine emigrated to Cuba and New Spain. Spaniards were promised compensation, new proprietorship, and other employment opportunities outside Florida. Fear of Protestant prejudice also persuaded Floridians to emigrate. From April 1763 to February 1764, 3,726 people departed from St. Augustine and its outposts. According to the Treaty of Paris Floridians were permitted to sell their property to English subjects within a eighteen-month period, but there were few potential purchasers. Spanish agents tried in vain to dispose of St. Augustine buildings and domains. Finally, Don Juan José Elixio de la Puente, a former Florida official returned to St. Augustine several months after the last of the émigrés had departed as the King's agent to sell all remaining private and royal lands.[9] Puente's mission at first seemed impossible. Because

8. John J. TePaske, *The Governorship of Spanish Florida, 1700-1763* (Durham, 1964), 77-107, 228; Gold, *Borderland Empires in Transition,* 8-10, 31, 41, 45, 75, 138; Harmon, *Trade and Privateering in Florida,* 12-22, 40-82, 90; "Memorial of William Walton of the City of New York to Sir Charles Hardy, Governor and Captain General of the Province of New York. New York, January 29, 1757," New York Colonial Manuscripts, Volume 84, document 51, New York State Library, Albany; James Robertson to Thomas Gage, March 8, 1764, Public Records Office: Colonial Office (hereinafter cited as PRO:CO) 5/83; Esteban de Peña to Viceroy of New Spain, March 2, 1763, Archivo General de la Nación (hereinafter cited as AGI), Mexico 529, Documents 1-11; Jesse Fish contract with St. Augustine, February 1, 1754, AGI 87-3-13/20A; royal officials to Crown, May 14, 1764, AGI 87-1-14/4, photostat copy, Stetson Collection, P. K. Yonge Library. Hereinafter cited SC.

9. Puente represented the Florida proprietors following thirty years of residence and royal service in St. Augustine. Because of his extensive land holdings in the capital and experience as an accountant, he was appropriately chosen by the Cuban administration to dispose of all the unsold property in the peninsula. Residents of St. Augustine to Don Juan José Elixio de la Puente presenting him with their powers of attorney to sell their real estate, February 10, 1772, Papeles Procedentes de Cuba, *legajo* 372, SC; Governor of Cuba to Minister of the Indies Julián de Arriaga, May 18, 1772, AGI 86-7-11/150, Santo Domingo 2574, SC.

of the limited number of settlers, the military character of Florida, and the expectation of grants from George III, relatively few Englishmen revealed interest in Spanish real estate. Facing these frustrating circumstances and an uncertain future, Puente sought other means to discharge his duties. Eventually, he was forced to transfer all unsold property to someone who could represent Spanish proprietors in Fast Florida. In July 1764, the majority of the houses, lots, and territories (approximately 200 estates) in and around St. Augustine passed from Puente to Fish.[10]

Fish purchased some of the properties for himself, paying insignificant prices for most of the city plots which he planned to dispose of later. A total of 185 buildings and lots brought a "low" appraisal of 6,169 pesos. Real estate north of the governor's home and west of the central plaza was signed over to Fish for 3,701 pesos, while the houses and lots in the southern part of the town sold for 2,468 pesos. He also controlled several church properties. In a confidential compact with Puente, he agreed to dispose of the unsold lands beyond the stipulated time limits of Article XX of the treaty. Only forty-five days remained of the eighteen-month selling period when this arrangement was negotiated in the late summer of 1764.[11]

Fish agreed to render to Puente "or to his order, a most punctual account, and payment of the proceeds of the said houses and lots– the sale of which I promise to vertify as soon as purchasers may offer, and to the best possible advantage."[12]

For Fish this scheme with the Spaniards involved him in perilous intrigue. This was an illegal operation, and Fish ran a

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10. Robert L. Gold, "Politics and Property During the Transfer of Florida from Spanish to English Rule, 1763-1764," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XLII (July 1963), 26-34; Gold, *Borderland Empires in Transition*, 38-48, 196-97; Puente to Governor of Cuba, February 10, 1772, Papeles Procedentes de Cuba, *legajo* 372, SC; Puente to Governor of Cuba, March 4, 1772, AGI 86-7-11/24, SC; Governor Melchor Feliú to Minister Julián de Arriaga, March 14, 1764, AGI 86-7-11/22, SC; Governor of Cuba to Minister Julián de Arriaga, May 18, 1772, AGI 86-7-11/150, Santo Domingo 2574, SC; "Report of the Solicitor of the Treasury, with Documents in Relation to the Claim of the Catholic Church at St. Augustine to Certain Property Held by the United States at that Place," *Senate Executive Documents*, 30th Cong., 2d sess., no. 21, 1849, 29-31; Florida Deeds: Town lots and Lands, Volume 357, document 20, Field Note Division, Department of Agriculture, Tallahassee, Florida.
11. *Ibid.*
12. *Ibid.*

great risk if he was discovered. He needed whatever protection he could get, and he had to extend Spanish proprietorship beyond the transfer period. A contract was signed by Fish and Luciano de Herrera who had stayed on in St. Augustine to collect the proceeds from the land sales. Presumably, Fish received compensations for the risks he was taking.[13]

Apparently he had engaged in other illegal enterprises earlier in Florida. In the fall of 1762, when St. Augustine was almost destitute, Fish, John Cordon, a business friend, and Puente had smuggled enough food in from South Carolina to save the settlement from starvation.[14] Since England and Spain were still at war this was a treasonable act. Years later, in a petition to Charles IV, Fish reminded the King of this service to his colony: "I not only helped individual people with provisions, goods, and even pesos from my own pocketbook, but . . . I also assisted Your Majesty's government at the risk of my life and with the loss of many thousands of pesos."[15]

By 1765, Fish controlled most of the city property in St. Augustine. The census of 1783 declared that he owned "houses, lands, and domains, all with deeds of title, and in such quantity that they cannot be incorporated into the accounts."[16] According to a map of the area, of an aggregate total of 121 lots, 299 major buildings, and ninety-eight minor buildings in the capital, Fish apparently owned or controlled forty-seven lots and 156 major and forty-eight minor buildings.[17] He also held more than one-third of the lots and more than one-half of all the private houses. A relative, Jacob Kipp, also owned thirteen structures and seven lots, and held an additional twenty-six sites in partnership with

13. *Ibid.*
14. Puente to Governor of Cuba, February 10, 1772, Papeles Procedentes de Cuba, *legajo* 372, SC; Puente to Governor of Cuba, March 4, 1772, AGI 86-7-11/24, SC; Governor of Cuba to Minister Julián de Arriaga, May 18, 1772, AGI 86-7-11/150, Santo Domingo 2574, SC.
15. Jesse Fish to Governor of Florida and King of Spain, March 23, 1789, Lawson Papers.
16. Census Records of East Florida during the Second Spanish Period. St. Augustine, 1783, St. Augustine Historical Society Library.
17. Thomas Jefferys served George III as a cartographer in colonial America. After England's acquisition of Florida in 1763, he prepared several excellent maps of the peninsula, Pensacola, and St. Augustine, featuring city structures, topography, and harbor facilities. His drawing of the capital was especially descriptive and detailed and even included those local proprietorships that bordered the port-city. For additional biographical information see "Thomas Jefferys," *Dictionary of National Biography*, X, 706.

Enoc Barton, a friend of the Fish family. The Waltons, Fish's employers, also acquired approximately thirty pieces of St. Augustine property. Except for several other English speculators who purchased a few of the proprietorships, most of the remaining houses and lots were bought individually by settlers seeking homes for their families.[18]

In the immediate St. Augustine area Fish seemed similarly wealthy, with land acquisitions amounting to more than forty-two acres, about one-fourth of the occupied territory. His holdings outside St. Augustine comprised more acreage than any other investor, although the Henderson estates included almost another fourth of those adjoining lands, or thirty-seven acres. After 1763 a few perceptive purchasers secured all the available property for future speculation and sale.[19]

Fish also claimed to be the only proprietor of Santa Anastasia Island, located across the harbor from St. Augustine.[20] According to contemporary assessments, the island contained 10,000 acres along twelve miles of the Atlantic coast from the capital south to Matanzas Inlet. Fish built his home, El Vergel, on the island, and its fruit and flower gardens and orange groves apparently flourished for many years. Thousands of sweet oranges and hundreds of barrels of orange juice were eventually produced and exported from this plantation. Florida citrus had been sold abroad as early as 1717, but El Vergel became a noted center for produce before the end of the English era.[21] The fame of Fish's oranges was noted by a French observer in 1805:

> The oranges which are gathered in Carolina are not fit to eat. Those which are consumed here come from the island of Santa Anastasia, which is opposite St. Augustine, the capital

18. Thomas Jefferys, "Plan of St. Augustine and surrounding area in 1765," PRO:CO, Florida 8, photostat, Library of Congress; Governor Feliú to Minister Julián de Arriaga, March 14, 1764, AGI 86-7-11/22, SC; Puente to Governor of Cuba, February 10, 1772, Papeles Procedentes de Cuba, *legajo* 372, SC; Puente to Governor of Cuba, March 4, 1772, AGI 86-7-11/24, SC.
19. *Ibid.;* Governor of Florida to Minister of Justice, October 6, 1789, Lawson Papers; *Spanish Land Grants in Florida,* 5 vols. (Tallahassee, 1940-1941), v, 120.
20. Today Santa Anastasia Island is connected to the city of St. Augustine by the Bridge of Lions which crosses the harbor south of the Castillo de San Marcos.
21. Jesse Fish to Governor of Florida and Ring of Spain, March 23, 1789; Governor of Florida to Minister of Justice, October 6, 1789, Lawson Papers.

> of East Florida. They are sweet, very large, have a thin skin, and are more esteemed than those brought from the West Indies. It is fifty years since the seeds of this species were brought from India, [?] and given to an inhabitant of this island, who has increased them so much as to have made an orchard of them of forty years. I had an opportunity of seeing this fine plantation when I was in Florida in 1788.[22]

Fish also held slaves (seventeen in 1786-1787) and hundreds of wild horses on his hacienda.[23] By the beginning of Spain's second administration in Florida, Santa Anastasia Island seems to have become a site for ranching as well as a citrus culture.

Fish also faced some frustrations in his land speculations in Florida. A couple of his schemes to acquire additional property in partnership with John Gordon were obstructed by British officials. Almost immediately, the two lost the church buildings that they had purchased from Puente. The English seized these properties, claiming them to be Crown possessions. Since the Spanish monarchy enjoyed proprietorship rights in the *patronato real* relationship of church and state, those same privileges existed for the English monarch, who had assumed sovereignty in Florida. All *realengas* in St. Augustine, including the church estates, therefore, escheated to the throne. The Catholic Church and the two speculators were subsequently obliged to surrender the buildings and every bit of territory in their transaction to the British government. According to orders from abroad, the Convent of St. Francis became a barracks for the troops and the Spanish bishop's house was converted into a center for religious activities.[24]

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22. Francois A. Michaux, *Travels to the Westward of the Alleghany Mountains, in the States of the Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee, and Return to Charleston, through the Upper Carolinas,* B. Lambert, transl. (London, 1805), 349.
23. Census Records of East Florida during the Second Spanish Period. St. Augustine, 1786-1787, St. Augustine Historical Society Library.
24. Michael J. Curley, *Church and State in the Spanish Floridas, 1783-1822* (Washington, 1940), 21-22; Gold, *Borderland Empires in Transition,* 41-42, 138-39; Charles L. Mowat, "St. Francis Barracks, St. Augustine: A Link with the British Regime," *Florida Historical Quarterly,* XXI (January 1943), 269-70; Thomas Gage to Henry Conway, March 28, 1766, in Clarence E. Carter, ed., *The Correspondence of General Thomas Gage with the Secretaries of State and with the War Office and the Treasury, 1763-1775,* 12 vols. (New Haven, 1933), I, 87; "Claim of the Catholic Church at St. Augustine," *Senate Document* 21, 30th Cong., 2nd sess., 1849, 27-28; Puente to Governor of Cuba, March 4, 1772, AGI 86-7-11/24, SC.

Fish and Gordon also claimed a mammoth section of land amounting to more than 4,500,000 acres on both banks of the St. Johns River, but the British refused to accept the validity of their "purchase." One officer observed that their titles to the site seemed "far from indubitable." Governor James Grant refused to register their deeds and distributed the property to other settlers. Marry years later, after innumerable applications, the intercession of influential friends in London, and a trans-Atlantic voyage to Great Britain, John Gordon received some remuneration from the Crown for his losses and the costs of litigation.[25] Presumably, his partner Fish shared in this compensation.

Meanwhile, Fish enjoyed a realty empire in St. Augustine without parallel in the colonial period. Only the kings of Spain controlled or ceded more city property in the peninsula than the eighteenth-century Englishman from New York. Between 1763 and 1780 he sold the proprietorships of seventy-one houses and lots and sixty-four lots lacking improvements. Altogether, he transferred the titles of 138 estates, and some of those sites were traded several times. Fish also managed eleven other sales of goods and materials which had been left behind by the Spanish émigrés. There were two periods when his realty business greatly prospered. During the early years of the English occupation of St. Augustine, 1763-1770, Fish sold ninety-five separate pieces of property. Then, in the seventies, 1774-1778, when the Loyalists were fleeing south to Florida and the Minorcans of New Smyrna deserted. Dr. Andrew Turnbull's settlement, the capital was flooded with immigrants who needed immediate housing. Fish's

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25. Lawrence Henry Gipson, *The British Empire Before the American Revolution.* 15 vols. (New York, 1936-1970), IX, 183-89; Fowler Walker, *The Case of Mr. John Gordon, with Respect to the Title to Certain Lands in East Florida, Purchased of His Catholick Majesty's Subjects by Him and Mr. Jesse Fish, for Themselves and Others His Britannick Majesty's Subjects: In Conformity to the Twentieth Article of the Last Definitive Treaty of Peace* (London, 1772); Gold, *Borderland Empires in Transition,* 51-54; Gage to Lord Halifax, March 10, 1764, in Carter, Correspondence of General Gage, I, 19; James Robertson to Gage, March 8, 1764, PRO:CO 5/83; Testimony of Governor Melchor Feliú, Estaban de Peña, and Major Francis Ogilvie to Gordon's ownership of the disputed lands, December 1 and 2, 1763, PRO:CO 5/550; James Grant to Board of Trade, November 22, 1764, PRO:CO 5/540; Grant to Board of Trade, September 9, 1768, PRO:CO 5/550; Memorial of William Thomson, William Greenwood, and William Higginson in behalf of John Gordon, September 6, 1765, PRO:CO 5/540.

real estate office was obviously busy. The scarcity of lodgings and the crowded conditions resulted in increased property prices and, probably, a profitable rental business.[26]

Although Fish should have prospered from the sale and use of Spanish properties, he apparently neglected to keep necessary accounts of his activities. Later, he regretted his lack of land records. A long report containing some of his real estate transactions appeared in the last several years of his life, but it was the work of his old friend, Luciano de Herrera. This register, now among the East Florida Papers, has been inaccurately entitled "The Jesse Fish Account Book." Even in the eighteenth century it appeared as an impressive volume with double-column entries of debits and credits, realty sales records, and lists of St. Augustine proprietorships. Luciano de Herrera must have certainly consulted if not collaborated with the English businessman to prepare such a comprehensive and detailed document. According to the accounts for 111 properties and 133 people, Fish sold the Spanish possessions for 13,945.5 pesos in the seventeen-year period, 1763-1780. His charges for real estate services, including land surveys, billings, and deed processing, cost the Spaniards 4,759.6 pesos or approximately one-third of the total sales of all their real estate. In some of the transactions his realty expenses exceeded the closing prices of the property.
Loans, house repairs, and other "various charges" were also cited as debts owed Fish by the former inhabitants. He served the Spanish Floridians for exorbitant rates. Among his other financial activities Fish sold shellstone (coquina) blocks, doors, frames, and wooden sections from the buildings of St. Augustine.[28] According to the Account Book, he profitably disposed of all the unsold city property.

Despite all his financial dealings, no records have been found revealing payment to any of the Spaniards. Did he pay them during the British Period? Did Fish pay them surreptitiously through the intermediacy of their secret agent, Luciano de Her-

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26. Gold, *Borderland Empires in Transition,* 48-50; Jesse Fish Property Register as recorded by Luciano de Herrera; "Jesse Fish Property Sales," Volume 357. document 28, Field Note Division, Department of Agriculture, Tallahassee, Florida: Grant to Secretary of State, April 26, 1766, PRO:CO 5/548.
27. The Jesse Fish Property Register as recorded by Luciano de Herrera.
28. *Ibid.*

THREE TYPICAL ENTRIES IN THE ACCOUNT BOOK[27]

Doña Juana de Avila

Debit		Credit	
1763			
For a bill submitted:	49 pesos, 2¼ reales		
For various charges submitted by Francisco Salgado:	14 pesos, 5¼ reales		
1764 (December 29)		1764 (December 29)	
For the deed and the measurement of his lot:	4 pesos, 4 reales	For the house and lot sold to Juan Wilson:	126 pesos, 2½ reales
Debit Total:	68 pesos, 3½ reales	Credit Total:	126 pesos, 2½ reales

Andres Palencia

Debit		*Credit*	
1763			
For money loaned:	4 pesos		
For various charges submitted by Francisco Salgado:	41 pesos		
1768 (September 30)		1768 (September 30)	
For the deed and the measurement of his lot:	3 pesos	For the house and lot sold to Thomas Finkinson:	111 pesos, 1 real
Debit Total:	48 pesos	Credit Total:	111 pesos, 1 real

Luis Maniller

Debit		*Credit*	
1763			
For a bill submitted:	12 pesos		
For various charges submitted by Francisco	55 pesos, 4½ reales		
1764 (September 15)		1764 (September 15)	
For the deed and the measurement of his lot:	5 pesos	For the house and lot sold to Maria Alexandro:	33 pesos, 5½ reales
Debit Total:	62 pesos, 4½ reales	Credit Total:	33 pesos, 5½ reales

rera? Did he pay them at all? Perhaps, he paid the Spaniards on one of his trips to Cuba. In 1766 Governor Grant permitted him to sail by the pilot boat Dependence "to the Havanah to settle some of His Accounts," but the results of that mission are not known.[29] Correspondence from Fish to the Crown of Spain in 1789 suggested that he had paid some of the previous property owners. He admitted in the same petition his debts of "many thousands of pesos." Later testamentary proceedings of the St. Augustine populace supported his assertion of some payments.[30]

Fortunately for Fish, many of his creditors died in Cuba during the yellow fever epidemics which decimated the island's population. In September 1766, Puente informed officials in Havana that 663 persons of a total of 3,096 immigrants from St. Augustine had already perished abroad. Enough of the Floridians survived however, to confront Fish later in the Second Spanish Period. Some of those Spaniards, their heirs, or representatives eventually returned to the Florida peninsula to reclaim their lands or receive the remuneration that was due them. Upon arrival in St. Augustine, their accounts with Fish were apparently settled in routine fashion. Shortly before his death in 1790, he described those encounters with evident sarcasm: "The Spaniards arrived, but among them very few of my old acquaintances and almost none of my debtors, who, after the treaty of peace permitting the repossession of the province, remained in New Spain [and Cuba]. . . . What I owe the Floridians and what they owe me is shown in the enclosed book of debits and credits. No one has yet presented himself to pay the money owed to me, but several come, some empowered of heirs, to demand my payment to them which they received because of my benevolence."[31] Fish, therefore, fin-

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29. Grant to Secretary of State, April 26, 1766, PRO:CO 5/548.
30. Fish to Governor of Florida and King of Spain, March 23, 1789, Lawson Papers; Testamentary Proceedings: Second Spanish Period, St. Augustine, 1783-1821, East Florida Papers, Bundles 301-18, microfilm copy, reels 134-39, P. K. Yonge Library. The documents cited above include numerous references to Fish, his property transactions, and the real estate confusion he left as a legacy to Spanish St. Augustine. Most of the testamentary proceedings regarding Fish, however, relate individual claims, cases, and charges of Spanish subjects in St. Augustine. The testimony, seemingly contradictory and contrived, actually contributes to the legend of Fish as the insidious land schemer of Spanish Florida.
31. *Ibid.;* Puente to Governor of Cuba, September 22, 26, 1766, AGI 87-1-5/3, Santa Domingo 2595, SC.

ally paid some of the Spaniards for the sale of their Florida property.

During the last months of his life, Fish claimed to be rapidly approaching financial ruin. Despite all of his real estate transactions, rentals, citrus production, and prodigious land holdings he complained of impecunious circumstances and indebtedness. He described his situation to the Waltons as an insurmountable sum in principal and interest. In the spring of 1789 Fish wrote to the King of Spain relating his economic situation and requesting permission to leave the province on a voyage to Europe. His anticipated itinerary included a business trip to London and an audience with Charles IV in Madrid. "I intend . . . to prostrate myself at the feet of His Catholic Majesty in whose merciful breast I hope to find grace and compassion and his royal clemency to relieve the sadness of a poor old man whose tender age, springtime, and flower were spent showing his faithful loyalty to the Spaniards."[32] Fish was willing to put all his property in the possession of a royal agent while abroad. He probably never reached Europe since he died only eleven months after his request was presented.[33]

By the time the petition had passed through the complicated bureaucratic channels of notification his demise was undoubtedly known to his neighbors in Florida. The memorial was still in St. Augustine in the autumn of 1789, although written in the preceding March. A local official mailed Fish's letter to the King with an accompanying commentary recommending that a passport for European travel be granted. The same Spaniard predicted that the old man wouId soon be dead: "He is in reality so advanced in age, and in such poor health that on a trip from this salubrious climate, in which he has lived more than half a century, he probably will not arrive, alive, at the first named capital [London]."[34] The prophesy was fulfilled, Fish died four months later on February 8, 1790.

In his correspondence with the Crown, the realtor had pre-

32. Fish to Governor of Florida and King of Spain, March 23, 1789, Lawson Papers.
33. *Ibid.*
34. In England, Fish hoped to obtain compensation for his unsold property according to a royal policy which other Englishnnen had enjoyed following their emigration from Florida. Governor of Florida to Minister of Justice, October 6, 1789, Lawson Papers.

sented a revealing account of his financial affairs. First, he mentioned the many losses and debts that he had suffered in his service to Spain and the people of St. Augustine. Fish's explanation of his economic plight included statements of the honest and useful assistance he furnished the Florida community while employed by the Walton Company. He also emphasized how he had endangered his own life and had lost money while supplying St. Augustine with provisions during the Seven Years' War. Most of his indebtedness was incurred, he claimed, when he had acquired the unsold Spanish property and agreed to dispose of it as a service to the community:[35]

> Then, that disastrous day arrived, as much bewailed by me as by the Floridians, when the cession of the province was to take place. I witnessed with pain in my heart, the exile of an honored people with whom I had been reared and Hispanized; they were to leave their native land forever. Besides becoming expatriates, many of them were destitute and so I exerted myself to help them, and their wives and children. I accepted their many goods and property on credit at a premium of six per cent, with a subsequent accumulation of interest upon interest until this present day. Since that time I have never found myself with the means to satisfy the interest which amounts, with the original debt [of purchase] to thousands of pesos.[36]

Furthermore he claimed that many of the Floridians whose property he held had left in debt to him. These unpaid loans were listed as debits in his account book, and he later used them as evidence for his accusations against the émigrés. Nevertheless, he remained in arrears for approximately 9,100 pesos after the sale of their real estate, Fish also claimed that he owed the Walton Company money.[37] Indeed, as Fish described his situation, he did seem to be seriously in debt and economically insecure.

With all of his liabilities, there is the question of his assets after 1783. In his entreaty to El Rey de Espana, he mentioned "meager" holdings in St. Augustine: "The lands, houses, and lots that I have in this country, now of little or no value because of lack of population and consequently lack of buyers, comprise a

35. Jesse Fish to Governor of Florida and King of Spain, March 23, 1789, Lawson Papers.
36. *Ibid.*
37. *Ibid.;* Jesse Fish Property Register as recorded by Luciano de Herrera.

total of all I have in the world."[38] Even the slaves in his employ, Fish explained, were no longer his property, but belonged to his brother-in-law. He admitted, however, that his plantation on Santa Anastasia Island provided him with enough produce for subsistence following his retirement there in the late 1760s or early 1770s. For the rest of the British Period he lived as a recluse at El Vergel.[39]

Fish apparently lived a solitary life to escape a number of personal problems. His reasons for abandoning St. Augustine seemed quite sensible: "Oppressed by my debts to the Waltons and afflicted by separation and domestic infelicity, I retired to my present habitation."[40] Marital difficulties probably also motivated his actions. A Spanish official later observed in 1789: "The domestic infelicity to which Fish alludes in his application relates to his decision to marry, late in life, a good looking young girl [Sarah Warner], who became such a madcap, that he retired to Anastasia Island rather than be present during her imprudences. There he remained many years until the restitution of Florida to His Catholic Majesty; in this interval and since the coming of the English occupation, he was overcome by his losses and unfortunate illnesses after living naturally as a man of spirit and mirth as well as physical industry."[41] His misery, in this Spaniard's assessment, could also be attributed to costly business relationships with his wife's relatives, especially Jacob Kipp, whom Fish unfortunately had trusted to represent his realty affairs in St.. Augustine.[42] In his retirement Fish avoided contact with his wife and her family.[43]

He had married Sarah Warner in 1768 when he was in his forties. Two children, Jesse, Jr., and Phoebe Furman Fish, were born to the couple before their marriage ended in separation. Sarah inherited El Vergel after the deaths of her husband in 1790 and their son in 1812, although her claims to the estate were

38. Fish to Governor of Florida and King of Spain, March 23, 1789, Lawson Papers.
39. *Ibid.*
40. *Ibid.*
41. Governor of Florida to Minister of Justice, October 6, 1789, Lawson Papers.
42. Jacob Kipp was probably Jesse's relative rather than a member of his wife's family as the Spanish governor suggests in his letter.
43. Fish to Governor of Florida and King of Spain, March 23, 1789; Governor of Florida to Minister of Justice, October 6, 1789, Lawson Papers.

eventually contested by both Spanish and American authorities. In 1791, Governor Juan Nepomuceno de Quesada challenged Jesse Fish's will, declaring that it included property which really belonged to the Crown, but Jesse, Jr., was later permitted to "repurchase" El Vergel. Since Sarah lived until 1827, she finally became sole owner of the entire estate, but by this time her legacy probably included little territory beyond the shores of Santa Anastasia Island.[44]

There is then the question of what happened to Fish's wealth and vast land holdings. There was something of an explanation in his 1789 petition to the Spanish government when he stated that upon his retirement to his hacienda he had transferred most of the unsold real estate in trust to Jacob Kipp, who agreed to act as his agent in St. Augustine. Kipp was supposed to sell the property received from Puente and apply the sales commissions to the Walton Company account to satisfy Fish's debts. Fish had probably borrowed from the firm to make his land purchases. Later Fish discovered the folly of his partnership with Jacob Kipp:

> He bargained and sold various houses and lots, but I did not receive the total amount of the sales because the produce of my plantation on the previously mentioned island provided me with sufficient suport for my subsistence. I believed myself safe in his hands and expected him to put the proceeds of the sales toward the payment of the Waltons. But at the end of a few years my relative died, suddenly and intestate, and because of his mismanagement, carelessness, or the wickedness of those who were near him when he died, not only was there no estate remaining at all, neither were there records showing the sales and proceeds.[45]

An official in St. Augustine, probably Governor Vicente Manuel de Zéspedes, wrote a letter in October 1789, supporting Fish's

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44. *Ibid.;* Census Records of East Florida during the Second Spanish Period, St. Augustine, 1783, 1786, and 1787, St. Augustine Historical Society Library; WPA Division of Professional and Service Projects, *Spanish Land Grants in Florida: Briefed Translations from the Archives of the Board of Commissioners for Ascertaining Claims and Titles to Land in the Territory of Florida,* 5 vols. (Tallahassee, 1940-1941), III, 102.
45. Fish to Governor of Florida and King of Spain, March 23, 1789, Lawson Papers.

claims and summary of his losses.[46] He criticized him for his "indolent character" and "lethargy," but exonerated him from any involvement in Kipp's suspected embezzlement. According to Zéspedes's analysis, Fish could have become a man of "considerable fortune if he had carefully applied himself to his business interests" instead of relying on an opportunist like Kipp, who "having comprehended the indolent character of Fish, sold and disposed of the houses and lots at will, appropriating the proceeds without providing an account or reason to his employer, until, at last he died intestate, without any known estate or any explanation of the disposition of the payments received for the sold property. It was then that Fish first knew of the ruin in which his own reprehensible weakness had involved him."[47] Recognizing that the sale of Fish's entire possessions would not realize even half of his indebtedness to the émigrés, Zéspedes recommended that all the vacant property in St. Augustine, including Fish's portion, should be expropriated by the Crown for eventual division and distribution to returning Spanish Floridians. He also suggested that the King impose time limits for the repossession of unoccupied property in order to avoid chaos when the claims of the old proprietors or their heirs later appeared. Zéspedes likewise wanted to register all proprietorships purchased legitimately from such realtors as Fish during the British Period. His advice was motivated by his hopes to prevent the disruption of the entire property system in St. Augustine.[48] Following the exodus of 1763, twenty years of English authority, and another international exchange of Florida in 1784, Zéspedes faced a variety of property problems; his solutions seemed intelligent and applicable to the awkward situation in St. Augustine.

By 1784, Fish had lost most of his land and had accumulated large debts in St. Augustine and Cuba. He still held Santa Anastasia Island, forty houses and lots, and six other tracts of uncultivated territory in the vicinity of St. Augustine. His buildings were described by contemporary witnesses as being in the last stages of disintegration. El Vergel seemed to be in a similar

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46. Although no signature appeared on the letter to the Minister of Justice, its tone and contents indicate that the correspondence must have come from the Governor and Captain General of Florida.
47. Governor of Florida to Minister of Justice, October 6, 1789, Lawson Papers.
48. *Ibid.*

condition according to a Spanish appraisal: "He has no jewels or furniture of value and the house which he inhabits on [Santa] Anastasia Island is in such a state of deterioration that it does not provide adequate protection against the inclemencies of the weather."[49]

To meet his obligations of 9,199 pesos to the former proprietors, he offered the government all his property except El Vergel. His offer was apparently accepted, since his heirs later received El Vergel as their only legacy. Thereafter, the hacienda was known as "Fish Island." Within a year of his petition Fish was dead. He was buried on Santa Anastasia Island, since as a Protestant he could not be interred in the Catholic cemetery of St. Augustine. Robbers later desecrated his sepulcher searching for the money they believed to be buried with him.[50] So ended the saga of Jesse Fish, an eighteenth-century Florida entrepreneur and land speculator. Only his legend lived afterwards.

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49. *Ibid.*
50. Fish's tomb and some old orange trees seem to be the only remains of "El Vergel" extant today.

ECONOMIC BASIS OF THE SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY FLORIDA MISSIONS

by ROBERT ALLEN MATTER*

MANY AMERICANS ARE familiar with the chain of Franciscan missions in Spanish California. Less well-known is the significant Franciscan mission system that flourished among the Florida Indians more than a century before the friars founded their first Upper California mission at San Diego in 1769. The Franciscans began their program in Florida in the late sixteenth century, after the collapse in martyrdom of a relatively weak, five-year Jesuit effort. Within a hundred years the friars had forged their mission chains from the presidio at St. Augustine some 200 miles north along the Florida and Georgia coasts, to the vicinity of Port Royal Sound, South Carolina, and over 200 miles west to the Chattahoochee River, where the present states of Florida, Georgia, and Alabama meet. At the height of the Florida mission era in the mid-seventeenth century the Franciscans, with probable exaggeration, claimed from 26,000 to 30,000 Christian Indian converts in thirty-eight to forty-four principal missions served by possibly seventy friars. The English-Indian raids of the late seventeenth and early-eighteenth-century practically obliterated the mission system. A few Christian Indian remnants huddled under the guns of the Castillo de San Marcos at St. Augustine until 1763, when Spain ceded Florida to England.[1]

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1. Robert Allen Matter, "The Spanish Missions of Florida: The Friars Versus the Governors in the 'Golden Age', 1606-1690" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington, 1972), vii-viii, 58, 60-61, 88, 102-03, 106, 198-205, 288-313, 317, 339-40. Perspective of the Spanish reports can be gleaned from the probability that the total number of Indians in Spanish Florida (considered in this article as the current state of Florida, the Georgia coast, and southeastern South Carolina) in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries did not exceed 15,000 to 30,000; Matter, "Spanish Missions," 15, 17, 320-21. See also John R. Swanton, *The Indians of the Southeastern United States* (Washington, 1946), map 3, pp. 16, 84, 89, 101, 191-92; John R. Swanton, *The Indian Tribes of North America* (Washington, 1952), 120-52; Petition of Fray Alonso de Jesus, February 27, 1635, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain, *estante* 54, *cajón* 5, *legajo* 10, no. 40, photostat in Stetson Collection, P. K. Yonge Library

The strategic threat to Spain's treasure fleets sailing along the Florida coast that was posed by a 1564 French toehold on the peninsula resulted in Pedro Menéndez de Avilés's conquest in 1565. The absence of precious metals and wealthy, docile Indians, plus overextended Spain's more acute problems elsewhere, relegated Florida to the role of a poor stepchild in the Spanish Empire.[2] Retention of the colony primarily was due to the Spanish mania for evangelizing the Indians. The king often asserted his "intent and only interest in Florida . . . was to further the work of holy conversion, . . . that the Indians willingly submit to the holy evangelical yoke without their being harrassed or molested,"[3] or similar pious, self-righteous expressions.

Most of the published works on the Florida missions dwell on the founding, expansion, and fall of the Franciscan system, with emphasis on numbers of friars, Indian population, conversion

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of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville. Archivo General photostats and transcripts will hereinafter be cited AGI; Stetson Collection photostats will be noted as SC. The extent of the Franciscan system in 1655 is reported in Juan Díaz de la Calle, "Memoria de las Poblaciones Principales, Yglesias, y Dotrinas . . . de las Provincias de la Florida," *Noticias Sacras y Reales de los Ymperios de las Yndias occidentales* . . . (1657), transcribed from copy (or original) in Biblioteca Nacional, Vol. J94, September 15, 1857, by Thomas Buckingham Smith, microfilm copy, Buckingham Smith Papers, reel 1, P. K. Yonge Library. De la Calle's 1655 mission list also appears in Manuel Serrano y Sanz, ed., *Documentos históricos de la Florida y la Luisiana, siglos XVI al XVIII* (Madrid, 1912), 132-33.

2. Bartolomé Barrientos, *Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, Founder of Florida*, Anthony Kerrigan, transl. (Gainesville, 1965), xviii, 21-22, 28, 31-71; Félix Zubillaga, *La Florida, la misión jesuítica (1566-1572) y la colonización* española (Roma, 1941), 143-53; Herbert Eugene Bolton, *The Spanish Borderlands; A Chronicle of Old Florida and the Southwest* (New Haven, 1921), 7-9, 11, 16-25, 133-50; Michael V. Gannon, *The Cross in the Sand: The Early Catholic Church in Florida, 1513-1870* (Gainesville, 1965), 1-29, 37-42; Matter, "Spanish Missions," 2-4, 25-44, 63-64, 79-82, 141-42, 308ff.

3. Royal cédula to royal officials of Florida, December 5, 1651, AGI 54-5-10, 110, SC. See also Maynard Geiger, *Franciscan Conquest of Florida (1513-1618)* (Washington, 1937), 141-54, 163-67, 171-83, 208-12; Zelia Sweett and Mary Sheppy, *Spanish Missions of Florida* (St. Augustine, 1940), 33-37, 39; Luís Gerónimo de Oré, "The Martyrs of Florida (1513-1616)," Maynard Geiger, transl. and ed., *Franciscan Studies,* XVIII (July 1936), 104; Gannon, *Cross in the Sand,* 42-43. The growth of the Franciscan missions was the only significant development in Florida from the death of Menéndez in 1574 until the aggressive English challenge forced Spain to increase the colony's military posture by beginning construction of the Castillo de San Marcos at St. Augustine in 1672. See Verne E. Chatelain, *Defenses of Spanish Florida 1565 to 1763* (Washington, 1941), 53, 57-59; John Jay TePaske, *Governorship of Spanish Florida 1700-1763* (Durham, 1964), 4-6; Kathryn Abbey Hanna, *Florida, Land of Change,* 2nd ed. (Chapel Hill, 1948), 49, 56.

problems, church-state bickering, Indian rebellions, and missionary martyrdom. Lacking are comprehensive accounts of the economic basis of the seventeenth-century missions, indeed, of seventeenth-century Florida itself. This gap in our knowledge of colonial Florida in part results from an apparent paucity of primary source material on the subject. Except for repeated reports of poverty from early Florida residents, data on the economy and means of sustenance in the colony are meager, confusing, incomplete, and inconclusive. Even substantial information on the supposed keystone of Florida's subsistence, the royal situado, or subsidy due annually from New Spain or Mexico, apparently is lacking.

During much of the first Spanish era, 1565-1763, Florida was little more than a presidio at St. Augustine, surrounded by the missions.[4] Competing military and clergy jockeyed for manpower and influence. Soldiers concentrated in the presidio and Franciscan missionaries in the provinces comprised the bulk of the meager Spanish population.[5] A few civilian officials, their families, and military dependents made up most of the remainder. In some instances, particularly that of the governorship, civil administrative posts were filled by military officers. Notably absent from early Florida were significant numbers of Spanish farmers and tradesmen. Since the operation of the missions and the presido were somewhat mutually interdependent, and both were tied in with the productive capacity, or lack thereof, of the Indians, the overall colonial economy will be examined in an attempt to reveal a broader view of the economic basis of the missions than that shown thus far.

Many Spaniards in colonial Florida did not share the enthusiasm of modern Americans for the generally pleasant, mild climate of the region, nor did they recognize the rich fertility of the area. Lacking today's techniques of agriculture and engineering and modern means of transportation and communication,

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4. Hanna, *Florida, Land of Change,* 49.
5. Seventeenth-century Spanish Florida's three major provinces were named for the principal Indian tribes inhabiting the respective regions: Timucua extended from the current northeastern Florida coast west to the Aucilla River. The area centered on present-day Tallahassee made up the province of Apalachee. The Georgia coast was called Guale. See Gannon, *Cross in the Sand,* 29, 51-55, map facing 64; Chatelain, *Defenses of Spanish Florida,* 122n, map 21.

they viewed the jungles, swamps, storms, and vast sandy stretches as relentless opponents to the leisurely, affluent life they desired to extract from the Indies. True, Spaniards overcame similar and worse obstacles while colonizing other areas in America. However, in those lands they found uprecedented deposits of silver and gold which gave them more incentive to remain and exploit their conquests. They also found in other regions sedentary Indians who could be utilized profitably after their subjugation. Not so in Florida. Especially in the early colonial period did the formidable aboriginal opposition hamper any Spanish inclinations to establish a sound economy. The European invaders' heavy reliance on the natives for subsistence and labor engendered and sustained Indian resentment which obstructed settlement and resulted in frequent hunger and poverty in the established colony.[6]

Menéndez had envisioned his colony becoming a flourishing land of rice, pearls, cattle, sugar, fruit, grain, wine, and silver—a wealthy adjunct to the king's domain, providing shipbuilding materials, dried fish and beef, hides, wool, and bacon for the Spanish home market.[7] The expenditure of Menéndez's fortune on the enterprise and his death in 1574 eliminated that source

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6. Woodbury Lowery, *Spanish Settlements Within the Present Limits of the United States, Florida, 1562-1574*, 2 vols. (New York, 1901-1911, II, 242-44; Barrientos, *Menéndez*, 91, 106-08; Chatelain, *Defenses*, 42; John R. Swanton, *Early History of the Creek Indians and Their Neighbors* (Washington, 1922), 58-59; John Tate Lanning, *Spanish Missions of Georgia* (Chapel Hill, 1935), 60-64; Gregory Joseph Keegan y Leandro Tormo Sanz, *Experiencia misionera en la Florida (siglos XVI y XVII)* (Madrid, 1957), 265; Geiger, *Franciscan Conquest*, 104-05, 130-33; Sweett and Sheppy, *Missions of Florida*, 31-32; Governor Juan de Salinas to King, November 20, 1618, AGI 54-5-10, 7, SC; Francisco Ramírez to Crown, April 24, 1622, AGI 54-5-17, 88, SC; José de Prado to King, December 30, 1654, AGI 54-5-14, 115, SC; Governor Diego de Rebolledo to King, October 14, 1655, AGI 58-2-2, 2, SC; Franciscans of Florida to King, September 10, 1657, AGI 54-5-20, 72, E. W. Lawson, transl., from Woodbury Lowery Collection of Manuscripts (hereinafter cited WL), microfilm copy, reel 7, St. Augustine Historical Society Library. Lucy L. Wenhold, transl. and ed., *A 17th Century Letter of Gabriel Díaz Vara Calderón, Bishop of Cuba, Describing the Indians and Indian Missions of Florida*, Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, Vol. 95, no. 16 (Washington, 1936), 7, 13.
7. Pedro Menéndez de Avilés to King, October 15, 1565, in Eugenio Ruidíaz y Caravia, *La Florida, su conquisita y colonización par Pedro Menéndez de Avilés*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1893), II, 92-101; Barrientos, *Menéndez*, 138-42.

of support.[8] To maintain this strategic outpost, Philip II decided to finance the colony with funds provided annually by the Viceroy of New Spain from the royal treasury in Mexico City. The amount of the king's annual subsidy in currency and goods to Florida varied with the size of the garrison, which generally was limited to an authorized strength of 300, including the missionaries. The subsidy slowly rose from Philip II's 33,000 pesos (24,000 ducats) to approximately 100,000 pesos by 1700.[9]

The most consistent theme running through the many documents examined pertaining to the economy of seventeenth-century Florida is the failure of the annual situado to arrive on time and in adequate amounts, despite repeated directives from the Crown to the viceroy to support the northern frontier colony properly. Many such anguished complaints came from Florida's governors, royal treasury officials (frequently simply referred to as the royal officials), and friars. In 1696, for example, Governor Laureano de Torres y Ayala (1693-1699) confided to his guest, Jonathan Dickinson, the shipwrecked English Quaker, that the colony was in great distress because it had received no supply ships for more than two years. Everything had been expended except ammunition and salt. According to Dickinson, the governor explained that all supplies of bread, clothing, and money came from Havana and Portobelo.[10] Florida experienced hard

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8. Barrientos, *Menéndez*, 138-40; Lowery, *Settlements*, II, 383-84; Bolton, *Borderlands*, 140-42; "Historia de la enfermedad de Pedro Menéndez, . . . 11 de Septiembre de 1574 por el Licenciado Olalde, Medico de la Armada," in Ruidíaz y Caravia, *La Florida*, II, 513-14.
9. TePaske, *Governorship*, 6; Charles W. Arnade, "Cattle Raising in Spanish Florida 1513-1763," *Agricultural History*, XXXV (July 1961), 116-24, reprint, St. Augustine Historical Society Publication 21 (St. Augustine, 1965), 4; Governor Salinas to King, November 20, 1618, AGI 54-5-10, 7, SC. The Spanish population of Florida rose from about 300 at the beginning of the seventeenth century to about 1600 at the close. See TePaske, *Governorship*, 77-78, and Chatelain, *Defenses*, 133n. The actual strength of the garrison, including the Franciscans, probably never reached that authorized until after 1675; it rarely was much over 200. See also Matter, "Spanish Missions," table 3, 417-22.
10. Jonathan Dickinson, Jonathan *Dickinson's Journal; or, God's Protecting Providence*, Evangeline Walker Andrews and Charles McLean Andrews, eds. (New Haven, 1961), v, viii, x-xi, 61. Governor Alonso de Aranguiz y Cotes reported the food situation so bad in 1662 that he and all his garrison had to look for roots to survive. Besides, the governor had not been paid; and he hoped the King would transfer him from Florida. Governor Aranguiz y Cotes to King, August 8, 1662, AGI 58-2-2, 8, SC. The following documents are among the many that also lamented the poverty

times when no complete subsidy arrived in more than ten years in the 1630s and 1640s.[11] In 1666 a debt of more than 450,000 pesos had accumulated in unpaid subsidies during a seven-year period.[12] At least one ship carrying the Florida situado perished in a storm. In addition to the loss of needed clothing, flour, and artillery, 8,368 pesos went to the bottom of the sea. The subsidy debt to Florida at that time amounted to 30,368 pesos. The governor declared the situation critical.[13] An enterprising, lucky English "pirate" added to the woes of the hard-pressed Floridians when he hauled in a ship en route to St. Augustine with the colony's situado on board.[14]

Officially, the subsidy covered the pay, subsistence, and clothing of the soldiers and friars, as well as the salary of the royal officials and the governors. Other important uses of the situado in Florida included gifts and, at times, some support for the Indians and munitions for the garrison. Hence, the drought of payments to the colony kept it in an almost perpetual state of hardship and was, therefore, a matter of continuous concern.[15] Apparently the governors kept at least one of Florida's officials in Mexico a good part of the time trying to pry loose the subsidy.[16]

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and misery of the Florida colonists, including the missionaries, and their dependence upon the situado: Governor Damián de Vega Castro y Prado to King, August 22, 1639, AGI 54-5-10, 51, SC; Governor Benito Ruíz de Salazar Vallecilla to King, October 16, 1645, AGI 54-5-10, 56, SC; Memorial of Fray Alonso del Moral, September 18, 1676, AGI 54-5-20, 17, WL, Vol. VIII, Library of Congress.

11. Memorial of Fray Francisco Pérez, endorsed July 28, 1646, AGI 54-5-20, WL, reel 7, P. K. Yonge Library.
12. Governor Francisco de la Guerra y de la Vega to Queen, August 13, 1666, AGI 54-5-10, 103, SC.
13. Governor Luis de Rojas y Borja to King, February 15, 1627, AGI 54-5-10, 21, SC.
14. Governor and royal officials of Florida to King, May 27, 1649, AGI 54-5-10, 62, SC.
15. Governor de Vega Castro y Pardo to King, July 9, 1643, AGI 54-5-9, 105, SC; Memorial of Fray Francisco Pérez, endorsed July 28, 1646, AGI 54-5-20, WL, reel 7, P. K. Yonge Library; royal officials of Florida to King, March 18, 1647, AGI 54-5-14, 105, SC; Alonso Menéndez Posada to King, February 9, 1648, AGI 54-5-14, 108, SC; José de Prado to King, December 30, 1654, AGI 54-5-14, 115, SC; Governor Aranguiz y Cotes to King, August 8, 1662, AGI 58-2-2, 8, SC. As the missionaries were considered a means of defense, their expenses were charged to the Royal Ministry of Defense. See Herbert Eugene Bolton, *Wider Horizons of American History* (New York, 1939), 124-25.
16. Governor de Vega Castro to King, July 9, 1643, AGI 54-5-9, 105, SC, Acting Governor Nicolás Ponce de León, II to Queen, July 8, 1673, AGI 58-1-26, 24, SC; Viceregal decree to General Council, March 5, 1669, AGI

However, it appears that the situado early and frequently became a crutch for many Florida officials and even the Crown doing little or nothing to try to make the colony more self-sustaining. Although there were some attempts to establish meaningful agricultural and other economic enterprises in Spanish Florida, most of them rarely went beyond the discussion phase. It seems that no sustained effort was made to maintain or expand the few significant activities actually started. Obviously though, despite complaints by the governors and others indicating practically total dependence upon the elusive situado, such a situation could not have been the case. The Spaniards did maintain a military-religious garrison of from about 190 to slightly more than 300 in Florida throughout the seventeenth century. Its members and their dependents ate and were clothed and sheltered, though probably often poorly, during long periods of time without the benefit or support of the king's subsidy.[17] Undoubtedly, however, the neglected Florida settlers would have liked more of the necessities and good things of life more frequently than they experienced them.

If the situado failed to sustain Spanish Florida, other sources had to provide a significant share of its support. Except for the Calusa and related tribes in the south, the Florida Indians, prior to the advent of the Spaniards, had developed an important partially self-sustaining, primitive slash/burn agriculture, with corn as the major crop.[18] The European invaders, primarily through the missionaries, expanded and improved Indian farming by introducing new implements, domestic animals, and new crops such as wheat, oranges, cultivated grapes, and other fruits.[19]

58-2-2, 14, microfilmed translations of the Spanish records of the North Carolina Historical Commission, reel 24, North Carolina Historical Records Survey, Ruth Kuykendall, transl., St. Augustine Historical Society. Hereinafter microfilmed documents of the North Carolina Spanish Records will be cited NC. Kuykendall's translations in the St. Augustine Historical Society Library will be designated NC, reel 24.

17. TePaske, *Governorship*, 6-7; Matter, "Spanish Missions," 417-22.
18. Charlton W. Tebeau, *A History of Florida* (Coral Gables, 1971), 16-17; Swanton, *Southeastern*, 17-18, 243ff; Federal Writers Project, *Florida, A Guide to the Southernmost State* (New York, 1947), 39-41; Daniel G. Brinton, *Notes on the Floridian Peninsula, Its Literary History, Indian Tribes and Antiquities* (Philadelphia, 1859), 94, 105, 123-24; Lanning, *Missions of Georgia*, 19-21; John W. Griffin, ed., *The Florida Indian and His Neighbors* (Winter Park, 1949), 11, 55, 72, 140, 145; Dickinson, *Journal*, 99, 106-08.
19. Dickinson, *Journal*, 108; Keegan y Tormo Sanz, *Experiencia*, 365; Maynard Geiger, "Biographical Dictionary of the Franciscans in Spanish

Certainly the whites frequently relied on the Indian for subsistence from his crops and for labor to work their fields. Complaints about the poor soil, especially that around St. Augustine, did not dissuade the colonists from forcing the Indians to raise essential food crops near the town and elsewhere to grace Spanish tables.[20]

In spite of a few attempts to develop a significant colonial industry, agriculture apparently never advanced beyond a partial local subsistence state in the seventeenth century. In 1675 the Bishop of Cuba, Gabriel Díaz Vara Calderón, during an official visitation of the Florida missions, described how mission Indians combined farming with the hunt:

> During January they burn the grass and weeds from the fields preparatory to cultivation, surrounding them all at one time with fire so that the deer, wild ducks, and rabbits fleeing from it fall into their hands. . . . Then they enter the forests in pursuit of bears, bison, and lions.[21]

Calderón further explained how the Indians began to plant in April, the men opening trenches, and the women following, sowing. He reported all Indians in common cultivated the lands of the caciques, or chiefs.

The bishop's description of the mission Indians' appearance, clothing, dwellings, and weapons in 1675 generally fit that of the tribes at the time of the arrival of the Spaniards more than a century earlier. He further considered the natives to be "weak and phlegmatic as regards work, though clever and quick to learn any art they see done, and great carpenters as is evidenced in . . . their wooden churches." Porridge made "of corn with lye hominy," pumpkins, and beans reportedly comprised their ordi-

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Florida and Cuba (1528-1841)," *Franciscan Studies,* XXI (1940), 1; Joyce Elizabeth Harman, *Trade and Privateering in Spanish Florida 1732-1763* (St. Augustine, 1969), 22-24; Lowery, *Settlements,* II, 375-79.

20. Francisco Ramírez to Crown, April 24, 1622, AGI 54-5-17, 88, SC; Memorial of Pray Francisco Pérez, endorsed July 28, 1646, AGI 54-5-20, WL, reel 7, P. K. Yonge Library; "Testimony of Governor Rebolledo's Visita to Timucua and Apalachee," January-September, 1657, AI Escribanía de Cámara, *legajo* 155, no. 18, SC; Governor Andrés Rodríguez de Villegas to King, December 27, 1630, AGI 54-5-10, 30, SC. Contending that the Florida Indians were well-off, Rodriguez pointed out the absence of *encomiendas* (patronage and control of Indians by individual Spaniards), mills, mines, and Indian tribute in the colony.

21. Wenhold, *17th Century Letter,* 13.

nary diet. Well-to-do Indians "could afford" game and fish. Their only barter was "the exchange of one commodity for another, which exchange they call *rescate.*" Knives, scissors, axes, hoes, hatchets, glass beads, blankets, rough cloth, garments, and other "trifles" made up the most common items of trade.[22]

Two decades after Calderón's visit, the shipwrecked Jonathan Dickinson, half-starved during much of his ordeal in Florida, understandably devoted a significant part of his tale of rescue and survival to food. Just before reaching the southernmost Spanish sentinel house en route to St. Augustine from near Jupiter Inlet in Southeast Florida, where his party washed ashore, they encountered the first planted crop they had seen in the colony—"pumpions" growing on an Indian "plantation." However, their rescuers, a Spanish military escort, frequently hungry, beat the Englishmen to the fruit. Dickinson's group dined primarily on boiled pumpkin leaves. In St. Augustine, then a town of over 300, bountiful orchards of oranges, lemons, limes, pome-citrans, figs, and peaches impressed the Englishmen. Passing through the coastal missions north of the capital on the way to the English settlement of Charles Town, South Carolina, Dickinson observed that there were many Indians in the mission towns and that they were industrious, kept neat "plantations," and raised many hogs and fowls as well as corn and peas. In contrast, Dickinson implied that their neighboring Carolinian relatives had no agriculture, but subsisted on hunting and fishing and on trading deerskins for their other needs.[23]

As seen, by the end of the seventeenth century Menéndez's vision of a prosperous Florida was far from realization. However, a few farsighted, enterprising men did, for one reason or another, make some commendable efforts to alleviate the poor economic conditions in the colony. Little has been written about these activities, primarily because little available information about them exists. Also, scholars seemingly have accepted too readily the colonial emphasis on the situado concept of support. Well-known or not, the local economy of seventeenth-century Florida must have sustained, however poorly, the Spanish presido and the missions during long periods of subsidy famine.

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22. *Ibid.*, 12-13.
23. Dickinson, *Journal*, 36-41, 46-48, 54, 62-68, 76, 108.

Although Indian produce might have fed colonial Floridians, the settlers desired wheat and beef to supplement their slim diet. Information on wheat growing in Spanish Florida is meager indeed. Taking the initiative, Governor Benito Ruíz de Salazar Vallecilla (1645-1646, 1648, 1648-1651) founded several wheat haciendas, apparently in the provinces of Timucua and Apalachee, to help sustain the colony and perhaps to enhance his personal fortune. Ruíz's wheat farms ran afoul of Franciscan opposition decrying Spanish exploitation of Indian labor. The friars also charged that the governor operated the haciendas for his own benefit rather than for the good of the colony, as he claimed.[24] Bowing to missionary pressure, Sergeant Major Pedro Benedit Horruytiner eliminated the haciendas during his second term as ad-interim governor (1651-1654), "for the good of Florida, the King, the Indians, and the conversions."[25] Hence, the enterprise never reached its apparent potential, but the hope embodied in its concept did not perish with the farms.

In 1677 Governor Pablo de Hita Salazar (1675-1680), pointing out to the King the great benefits that could be gained by settling families of Spanish farmers from the Canary Islands in Apalachee, declared that in a few years they could have rich farms of wheat as abundant as maize. He claimed such a development would eliminate the need for the Florida subsidy from Mexico. The rich harvest of wheat gleaned by the Franciscan friars in Apalachee's mission farms from the small amount sown supposedly attested to the fertility of the region's soil. According to de Hita Salazar, the farmers also could cultivate to Florida's advantage the indigo, cotton, and cochineal already growing in Apalachee.[26] De Mita Salazar's recommendation was only one of several such unrealized suggestions made periodically to improve

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24. Royal cedula to royal officials of Florida, December 5, 1651, AGI 54-5-14, 110, SC; Franciscans of Florida to King, September 10, 1657, AGI 54-5-20, 72, WL, Lawson, transl., reel 7, St. Augustine Historical Society; Governor Rebolledo to King, October 18, 1657, AGI 54-5-18, 52, SC.
25. Franciscans of Florida to King, September 10, 1657, AGI 54-5-20, 72, WL, Lawson, transl., reel 7, St. Augustine Historical Society. See also "Residencia taken by Governor Rebolledo of his predecessor, Governor Ruíz de Salazar Vallecilla, and other officials," 1656, AI Escribanía de Cámara, *legajo* 155, no. 11 (new *legajo* division 155B), SC,
26. Governor Pablo de Hita Salazar to King, September 6, 1677, AGI 54-5-11, 14, SC; *ibid.*, June 11, 1678, AGI 58-2-5, 5, SC.

Florida's agriculture.[27] As far back as 1573, for example, Philip II approved Menéndez de Avilés's plan to send fifty Asturian families to the colony, but no known record of such a boost to Florida's population and economy during the first Spanish period exists.[28]

Though also meager, there is considerably more information available on a neophyte cattle industry than on wheat in the colony. Present-day Florida is a beef-producing state, and it seems that not all colonial Spaniards ignored the prospects of the grass-covered savannas of the region to provide fresh meat and help overcome the inadequacies of the king's subsidy. The earliest Spanish explorers and would-be conquerors, beginning with Ponce de León on his second voyage in 1521, took cattle to Florida in their unsuccessful attempts to colonize the land. Menéndez introduced cattle into his first permanent settlement founded in 1565. Unfortunately, the full story of that early abortive beef-raising venture largely remains a mystery.[29]

Available documents reveal an interest in cattle raising in Florida throughout the seventeenth century. Governor Juan de Salinas (1618-1624) in 1618 and 1619 reported an attempt to establish a cattle industry to help sustain the presidio.[30] Some time during 1645-1646 Governor Ruíz sent a frigate to Havana for cows to breed on his haciendas in Apalachee to help alleviate the hunger of the Florida colonists.[31] Acting Governor Nicolás Ponce de León I, who succeeded Ruíz upon the latter's death in 1651, purchased and maintained at government expense the several wheat and cattle haciendas Ruíz had founded. Ponce died soon after taking office, and as indicated earlier, the new interim governor, Pedro Horruytiner, dismantled the ranches. Horruytiner supposedly acted without consulting the Crown, which

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27. Royal cedula to Governor Aranguiz y Cotes, May 6, 1663, AGI 58-1-34, 3, SC; Governor Manuel de Cendoya to Queen, November 6, 1671, AGI 58-1-26, 14, SC; Royal cedula to Governor de Hita Salazar, January 1675, AGI 58-1-21, 141, SC: Acting Governor Nicolás Ponce de León II to Crown, March 24, 1675, AGI 58-1-35, 18, SC; Lanning, *Missions of Georgia*, 219.
28. "Real licencia concedida a Pero Menéndez de Avilés . . .," March 3, 1573, in Ruidíaz y Caravia, *La Florida*, II, 373-74.
29. Arnade, "Cattle Raising," 4-5; Lowery, *Settlements*, II, 375-79.
30. Governor Salinas to King, November 20, 1618, AGI 54-5-10, 7, SC; *ibid.*, May 24, 1619, AGI 54-5-10, 9, SC.
31. Nicolas Ponce de Leon to King, August 20, 1646, AGI 54-5-14, 100, SC.

originally appeared to favor the hacienda project as a potential boon to Florida's economy.[32]

Later, in a 1651 decree, the King backed the Franciscans in the controversy. Though His Majesty allowed that "the haciendas would be useful in the future for sustenance" of the colony, he declared that "up to now they have been a great burden on the Indians– an obstruction to the newly converted and a hindrance to the reduction of the infidels." He implied that the vexations caused by the ranches had provoked the Indians to revolt in 1647. In his decree, however, the King did not go so far as to direct Florida's officials to eliminate the haciendas. He merely expressed his desire that the Indians not be further abused and that the missionary work be supported and not be obstructed by the cupidity of the governors and soldiers.[33]

Occasional references to a livestock industry in Florida also appear in subsequent seventeenth-century documents. In 1677 Governor de Hita Salazar repeated to the Crown a need for 100 infantry reinforcements to replace Indians employed in security tasks so the natives could return to agricultural and cattle-raising pursuits-activities necessary to sustain human life in Florida.[34] Marcos Delgado, ordered in 1686 by Governor Juan Márquez Cabrera (1680-1687) to reconnoiter the Upper Creek country west of Apalachee for signs of French encroachment, reported spending several days at his Apalachee cattle ranch preparing for the expedition.[35] In 1699 the Apalachee Indians still were complaining about alleged evils of Spanish ranches, including unredressed cattle damage to their fields and villages. Captain Francisco Florencia, deputy for the governor in that province, was a prin-

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32. "Residencia taken by Governor Rebolledo of his predecessor, Governor Ruíz de Salazar Vallecilla, and other officials," 1656, AI Escribanía de Cámara, *legajo* 155, no. 11 (new *legajo* division 155B), SC; Governor Rebolledo to King, October 18, 1657, AGI 54-5-18, 52, SC. In the case of the cattle ranches, the Franciscans also charged that the destruction of the Indians' crops by the governors' cattle also alienated the Indians, further hampering the evangelical effort.
33. Royal cedula to royal officials of Florida, December 5, 1651, AGI 54-5-14, 116, SC.
34. Governor de Hita Salazar to King, September 6, 1677, AGI 54-5-11, 34, SC.
35. Marcos Delgado to Governor Juan Márquez Cabrera, October 30, 1686, and extract, Antonio Matheos to Governor Cabrera [n.d.], in Mark F. Boyd, transl. and ed., "The Expedition of Marcos Delgado from Apalachee to the Upper Creek Country in 1686," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XVI (July 1937), 11-12, 21-28.

cipal culprit. Founder and owner of a ranch of cattle, horses, and swine, he reportedly required Indians to do personal chores for him without pay.[36] The Apalachee did more than complain, for on November 5, 1700, Governor José de Zúñiga y Cerda (1699-1706) ordered his deputy in Apalachee, Captain Roque Pérez, to investigate and punish Indians who killed Spanish cattle. Zúñiga also directed Pérez to promote an increase in the procreation of calves and to utilize cattle in collecting the tithes.[37] Futher, there are frequent references to Spanish Florida's cattle industry in surviving documents of the early eighteenth-century death throes of the colonial missions which indicate the origin and development of a promising stock-raising enterprise in the late seventeenth century.[38]

Although the evidence is sketchy, and little is known about the actual results of the above laudatory attempts to help the colony support itself, presumably its prosperity and economic development never approached that achieved elsewhere in colonial Latin America, and strategic Florida remained a neglected backwater of the Spanish-American Empire. Apparently though, the cattle industry in the colony peaked in three areas. Two of the main cattle-producing regions were located in Timucua, along the St. Johns River, near the current town of Palatka, and in the Gainesville-Santa Fe area of modern Alachua County. The present-day Tallahassee-St. Marks area of what was the colonial province of Apalachee comprised the third principal district. Tax records for 1698 and 1699 reveal a possibility of some 2,300 head of cattle in Florida at that time. Depending upon the inclination and strength of the incumbent governor, the beef produced primarily enriched the cattlemen and enhanced their prestige or was used chiefly to support the needy colony. At times the ranch-

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36. Don Patricio, Cacique of Ivitachuco, and Don Andrés, Cacique of San Luis, to King, February 12, 1699, and Don Patricio Hinachuba to Don Antonio Ponce de León, April 10, 1699, Mark F. Boyd, transl., in Mark F. Boyd, Hale G. Smith, and John W. Griffin, *Here They Once Stood: The Tragic End of the Apalachee Missions* (Gainesville, 1951), 24-27.
37. Order of Governor José de Zúñiga y Cerda, November 5, 1700, Boyd, transl., in Boyd, Smith, and Griffin, *Here They Once Stood,* 31.
38. See Boyd, transl. and ed., "Documents Describing the Tragic End of the Mission Era," in Boyd, Smith, and Griffin, *Here They Once Stood,* 45, 50, 54-55, 60-61, 91-95; Governor Zúñiga to King, January 6, 1703, in Mark F. Boyd, "The Siege of St. Augustine," *Florida Historical Quarterly,* XXVI (April 1948), 346; Verner W. Crane, *The Southern Frontier 1670-1732* (Ann Arbor, 1929), 81.

ers smuggled their product to Cuba. Early eighteenth-century English-Indian raids in Florida ended the cattle "boom" during the first Spanish colonial period.[39]

Enterprising Spaniards conceived other projects to improve Florida's economy, none of which materialized. One royally-approved proposal called for sending twenty-four selected families from Campeche (Yucatán, New Spain) to Florida for one year to teach the Apalachee to weave cotton. It apparently never got beyond the correspondence stage. Supposedly, proper cultivation would have resulted in the production of sufficient cotton for a weaving industry in the province.[40]

Like other Spaniards in seventeenth-century Florida, the Franciscans, and even their Indian converts to some extent, theoretically and officially relied on the king's subsidy for their support. Also like the others, the missionaries survived and functioned for long periods of time without the king's alms. Though they frequently referred to the poverty and laziness of the Indians, the friars, perhaps even more than their other countrymen, depended on the natives for bread and labor. Relatively isolated among the Indians in the Florida wilderness, poorly and erratically supported by their secular and clerical superiors, the missionaries who won the affection or respect of their native charges, and, of course, those who otherwise dominated the Indians, probably ate better than most of their secular brothers in the colony.

Both Fray Luís Gerónimo de Oré, a Franciscan visitor general who inspected the missions in 1614 and 1616, and Bishop Calderón in 1675, reported the Indian offerings of foodstuffs to their priests. Oré told of native converts taking generous quantities of pumpkins, beans, corn, and toasted flour as offerings to the dead at masses said for the departed.[41] Calderón wrote: "Offering is made to the church of the best parts [of the fruits of the hunt], and this serves for the support of the missionary priest, to whom

39. Arnade, "Cattle Raising," 5-10.
40. Memorial of Captain Domingo Leturiondo, Solicitor General of Presidio of St, Augustine, March 3, 1673, AGI 58-2-5, 3, SC; Memorandum on Leturiondo's proposal, March 28, 1673, AGI 54-5-11, 8, SC; former governor de la Guerra to Francisco Fernández de Madrigal, April 11, 1673, AGI 58-2-5, 4, SC; Royal cedula to Governor of Florida, June 14, 1673, AGI 58-1-21, 95, SC; Governor de Hita Salazar to King, November 10, 1678, AGI 61-6-20, 3, SC.
41. Oré, "Martyrs," 105.

they are in such subjection." The bishop praised the Apalachian wheat crop as one of excellent quality and so abundant that each *fanega* (about 1½ bushels) of seed planted yielded seventy *fanegas* of grain. That bountiful crop apparently went to the friars and needy widows as alms. Each of the mission Indians also contributed a log of wood to their priest before masses. In addition, they attended Christmas Eve midnight services "with offerings of loaves, eggs, and other food," reported Calderón. According to the bishop, the inhabitants of St. Augustine regularly depended upon the produce of Apalachee for sustenance, as the decrepit town had no resources except the government allowance which it awaited each year from Mexico City to feed and clothe the infantry.[42] Surely then, the Franciscan missionaries also depended upon Indian agriculture and hunting for support.

Other correspondence of the period also shows the reliance of the padres on the Indians for subsistence. Captain Francisco de Fuentes, Spanish commander in Guale, in 1681 complained that the friars made Indian squaws grind corn on a feast day and solicited more than their share of maize from the natives, including payments for performing priestly functions at Indian burials and weddings.[43] Fray Domingo de Ojeda, a 1687 mission inspector from Spain, reportedly learned that Indian boys and girls were whipped if they failed to take something to mass for their priest and that some friars kept Indian servants.[44] The Franciscans, objecting to Governor Cabrera's ban against them collecting Indian produce to support the Church and themselves, felt that the Indians generally contributed to the Church voluntarily and with pleasure, under the paternal direction of the missionaries. These "gifts to God," according to the friars, were part of the natives' Christian obligation and helped to make the "naturally-lazy, inferior" aborigines better and more energetic men and women, in keeping with the Franciscans' sole objective of converting and uplifting the Indians. Besides, the king did not

42. Wenhold, *17th Century Letter*, 7, 13-14.
43. Captain Francisco de Fuentes to Governor of Florida, February 7, 1681, AGI 54-5-11, WL, reel 9, P. K. Yonge Library.
44. Governor Cabrera to Crown, February 28, 1687, AGI 54-5-13, 2, SC, translated summary, "Religious Index of Persons, Places, and Things," Catholic Historical Survey of Florida, St. Augustine Foundation, 1963-1965, P. K. Yonge Library.

provide sufficient alms to sustain the friars in the wilds of Florida.[45]

Obviously, the flaws in the mission supply system hampered the Franciscan effort severely. For example, the Florida Indians did not furnish the monks adequate clothing for normal wear and provided none for their ceremonial priestly functions. For ornaments, wine, wax, oil, and bells to conduct mass and other religious observances the friars almost totally depended upon sporadic help from outside the colony. Some Spaniards considered St. Augustine the poorest parish in all the Indies. There was a paucity of private income for tithes, and there were few landholders to ask for assistance. Lamenting Franciscan poverty, the veteran Florida missionary, Fray Francisco de Pareja, revealed to Father Oré in 1614 how the friars had to sacrifice some of their own food and drink from their meager rations, or "from the alms the king commands be given us," to provide altars, vestments, and ornaments.[46]

As the situado failed to meet Franciscan requirements, the correspondence of seventeenth-century Florida abounds with missionary pleas for wax, wine, and oil to practice the "divine cult." Such requests reached the highest levels of the Spanish bureaucracy, including the king. The friars might have asked His Majesty to extend his expiring grant of wine and oil for four or five years, for instance, and, after a diligent check of the records and views of the governors and royal officials by the Council of the Indies (charged by the king to administer and recommend policies for Spanish America), the king might have granted an extension of three years. One enterprising, efficient Franciscan provincial, or superior, suggested extending these grants for "long periods," apparently to eliminate frequent future petty correspondence on such a routine but essential matter. The Council of the Indies responded by recommending to the King an exten-

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45. "Testimony and complaints by the Franciscan provincial and definitors to Governor of Florida," May-July, 1681, AGI 54-5-11, WL, Vol. IX, Library of Congress.

46. Sworn statement of Fray Francisco de Pareja, in Oré, "Martyrs," 107. See also Petition of Fray Símon de Ayllón to Crown, January 15, 1621, AGI 54-5-20, 23, SC; Council of the Indies to King, May 19, 1638, AGI 53-1-6, 48, SC. Council of the Indies to King, October 26, 1641, AGI 53-1-6, 51, SC, and draft royal cedula to royal officials of Florida, November 20, 1641, AGI 54-5-20, 38, SC, give interesting accounts of claimed royal support of Florida's Franciscans.

sion for four years. Another request for an unlimited-time extension of a royal grant of ten *arrobas* (approximately 250 pounds) of wax per friar per year was approved for eight years only.[47]

Concern for Indians carrying missionary supplies to the monks without pay reveals that the elusive, eagerly-awaited situado occasionally did bring some relief to Florida's Franciscans. To get the loads off the Indians' backs, the King in 1648 ordered the governor of Havana to send 200 beasts of burden to Florida to carry supplies to the missions. The project was to be financed from the episcopal vacancy of Cuba; its costs were to be considered as alms for the divine work of saving the Indians. Apparently nothing was done, for six years later José de Prado, treasurer at St. Augustine, again reported natives serving as porters and suggested fifty pack animals be maintained in the colony to replace Indian bearers. In 1656 the Crown authorized Florida's civil and religious officials to buy as many pack animals as needed, using funds from the situado.[48] Thirty-four years later, in 1688, Indians again, or still, were carrying Franciscan subsidies from St. Augustine to Apalachee without pay.[49]

Florida officials at times tried or considered different methods of supplying the western missions. At least on occasion the "conversions" of Apalachee and Apalachicola, the adjacent province to the west, were supported by ship from Havana.[50] A proposal by Fray Juan Moreno to send the situado to Apalachee overland from Mexico to avoid sea pirates and storms apparently came to

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47. Council of the Indies to King, November 11, 1641, AGI 53-1-6, 52, SC; *ibid.*, August 30, 1646, AGI 53-1-6, 53, SC; Royal cedula to royal officials of Florida, March 7, 1668, AGI 58-1-21, 38, SC; *ibid.*, April 18, 1673, AGI 58-1-21, 90, SC.
48. Council of the Indies to King, November 21, 1651, AGI 53-1-6, 61, SC; Royal cedula to royal officials of Florida, December 5, 1651, AGI 54-5-14, 110, SC; José de Prado to King, December 30, 1654, AGI 54-5-14, 115, SC; "Testimony of Governor Rebolledo's Visita to Timucua and Apalachee," January-September 1657, AI Escribanía de Cámara, *legajo* 155, no. 18, SC; Father Juan Gómez to Father Francisco Martínez, March 13, 1657, AGI 54-5-10, 73, SC. Indian bearers also hauled official and personal supplies and equipment for the governors and soldiers, of course, as indicated in these cited documents and many others.
49. Visitador Father Juan Machado to King, August 8, 1688, AGI 54-5-12, 69, SC.
50. Governor Luis de Horruytiner to King, June 24, 1637, AGI 54-5-10, 44, SC; *ibid.*, September 12, 1638, AGI 54-5-10, 50, SC; Governor Francisco Riano to King, Havana, August 20, 1638, AGI 54-1-17, 2, SC; Governor de Vega Castro to King, July 9, 1643, AGI 54-5-9, 105, SC; Governor Cendoya to Queen, October 31, 1671, AGI 58-1-26, 13 A-B, SC; Governor Diego de Quiroga y Losada to King, April 16, 1692, AGI 54-5-13, 33, SC.

naught due to the greater cost of a land haul of some 300 leagues (approximately 800 miles) and the need to use Indian porters to carry the goods.[51]

Other factors hampered efforts to support the missions. For instance, not all governors saw to it that the friars and the Indians received their fair share of the Crown's subsidy. Nor, apparently, did all viceroys of New Spain always include the religious portion in the subsidies they sent to Florida. Discussing provisions from the situado with Visitor Oré in 1614, Father Pareja complained: "It often appears that the government officials throw it to the dogs. It seems to them that soldiers are the necessary ones here and we are of no use, but we are the ones who bear the burden and heat and who are subduing and conquering the land."[52] Furthermore, the long haul to the western missions, from seventy to 100 leagues over troublesome terrain and poor roads or trails, made the supply of those installations difficult and slow.[53]

Evidence of just what amount of the situado belonged to the Franciscans is scant and confusing, due partly to the frequent separate requests and grants to replenish their supplies of oil, wax, wine, clothing, and even soap to wash their clothes, and, presumably, themselves. Other specific expenditures for transporting the padres from their convents in Spain to Florida, including subsistence en route, apparently generally were not charged to the colony's subsidy. Rather, the Crown usually ordered the *Casa de Contratación,* or Board of Trade, and treasury officials at ports of call along the way to cover them.[54] We do know the King claimed that during a period exceeding eighty years, ending at the close of 1651, to augment the faith in the

51. Francisco de Orejón to Francisco Fernández Madrigal (for Queen), January 3, 1673, AGI 58-1-35, 12, SC.
52. Statement of Father Pareja in Oré, "Martyrs," 107. See also Governor de Vega Castro y Pardo to King, August 22, 1639, AGI 54-5-10, 51, SC; Franciscans of Florida to King, September 10, 1657, AGI 54-5-20, 72, WL, Lawson, transl., reel 7, St. Augustine Historical Society; Fray Diego de Corpa to King, July 24, 1660, AGI 54-5-20, 82, SC, Petition of Fray Juan Moreno, April 22, 1673, AGI 54-5-20, 96, SC.
53. Governor Horruytiner to King, November 15, 1633, AGI 54-5-10, 35, SC; *ibid.,* June 24, 1637, AGI 54-5-10, 44, SC royal cedula to royal officials of Florida, December 5, 1651, AGI 54-5-14, 110, SC.
54. Fray Alonso de Jesus to King, March 27, 1631, AGI 53-2-12, SC; royal cedula, April 18, 1635, AGI 2-2-245/2, 14, SC; petition of Fray Diego de Corpa, July 7, 1667, AGI 54-5-20, 85, SC; royal cedula, February 20, 1668, AGI 2-2-245/2, 32, SC.

colony the Crown spent more than 70,000 pesos in maintaining the presidio and soldiers, "plus other great sums from the treasury to employ religious in Florida."[55] In the light of subsequent data, this vague statement appears to be a very low estimate of incurred, but not necessarily paid, religious expenses in the colony, especially if the cost of maintaining the military garrison was considered a religious expense.

Governor Pedro de Ibarra stated in 1615 that each friar annually cost the Crown 1,535 reales.[56] In 1633 Governor Luis de Horruytiner (1633-1638) reported that he accounted for the Franciscans as soldier spaces in his *dotación,* or authorized colonial strength, and paid each of them accordingly, 115 ducats per year.[57] The Viceroy of New Spain decreed a payment of 12,451 pesos to Florida's subsidy agent in Mexico in 1669 for the support of thirty-seven Franciscan friars then in Florida. The payment was part of a total 83,435 pesos covering one year's portion of those subsidies in arrears. The total debt to Florida was approximately 400,000 pesos. Included in the total payment were 4,484 pesos for Indian caciques going to St. Augustine on royal order.[58]

A suggestion of relative Franciscan prosperity, at least late in the seventeenth century, can be found in the complaint of Governor Diego de Quiroga y Losada (1687-1693) to the King about the friars refusing to sell needed corn to the infantry garrison in

55. Royal cedula to royal officials of Florida, December 5, 1651, AGI 54-5-14, 110, SC. This perhaps rhetorical inclusion of military expenses in the evangelical budget seems to be a contradiction of, or exception to Bolton's premise in *Wider Horizons,* 124-25, that missionary expenditures were charged to defense costs.

56. Franciscans of Florida to King, January 17, 1617, AGI 54-5-20, WL, reel 6, P. K. Yonge Library; Sweett and Sheppy, *Missions of Florida,* 38, equate 1535 *reales* to about $192 (1940).

57. Governor Horruytiner to King, November 15, 1633, AGI 54-5-10, 35, SC. In *Missions of Florida,* 22, Sweett and Sheppy state that in the early Franciscan period each friar's *sueldo,* or pay, amounted to three *reales,* or thirty-eight cents a day, plus clothing, including four pairs of footwear per year. Maynard Geiger, *Franciscan Conquest,* 5-6n, 133, similarly equates a *real* to about 12½ cents and states that the friars were allowed twenty-four *reales* per year for clothing and sandals, in addition to their soldier's pay of three *reales* a day, which they drew in provisions. The Crown confirmed 115 *ducats* per year per friar in 1641; Petition of Fray Juan Moreno to Queen, April 22, 1673, AGI 54-5-20, 99, SC. In 1680 each Franciscan's pay, equal to that of a soldier, was 115 silver *ducats* per year for subsistence and clothing; see Governor de Hita Salazar to King, March 6, 1680, AGI 54-5-11, WL, Vol. IX, Library of Congress.

58. Royal officials of Florida to Crown, June 30, 1668, AGI 54-5-14, 134, NC, reel 24; Viceregal decree to General Council, March 15, 1669, AGI 58-2-2, 14, NC, reel 24.

Apalachee. The governor pointed out some of the advantages the padres reputedly had over other Spaniards in Florida: The Indians tilled one field of wheat for the fathers and another for the support of the Church, all at no cost to the friars, in violation of a previous order by Governor Cabrera, despite the king "providing all necessities" for the missionaries and their work. Besides, a good share of the tobacco, swine, fowls, and vegetables raised by the Indians, and corn and beans from the religious' fields, were sold in the St. Augustine market for the benefit of the Franciscans. Friars also traded these products of unpaid Indian labor on ships that called at the port in Apalachee. The padres claimed they needed the profits of such trade to buy church ornaments because they had not received the royal payments due them. The governor thought religious ornaments should be provided through the situado or by gifts.[59]

This glimpse into the economic basis of seventeenth-century Florida and its Franciscan missions indicates that although official Spain inadequately provided for the colony, things not always were as bad as painted by the settlers. Despite continuous pleas for royal support for the seemingly distraught, poverty-stricken colony, pleas that frequently went unheeded, the Spaniards there did survive, though undoubtedly not in the style and comfort desired. Documentary references to wheat and cattle in Spanish Florida, and to Spanish use of Indian crops and labor, indicate the nature of much of the actual source of Spanish subsistence. The frequent laments of the Franciscans notwithstanding, the evidence suggests that the missionaries, living among and dominating, or greatly influencing their Christian converts, perhaps generally ate better than most other Spaniards in Florida. Depending largely upon the mission Indians and their own resourcefulness, and spurred on by their faith, the friars did survive and function on the primitive frontier. In fact, their zeal and dedication appeared to vary inversely to the degree of temporal prosperity and creature comfort attained.[60]

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59. Governor Quiroga y Losada to King, April 16, 1692, AGI 54-5-13, 33, SC.
60. In 1690 Governor Quiroga y Losada claimed that the missions had not increased in the last fifty years and that the friars suffered a loss of zeal after their arrival in Florida, possibly because they were too well-off in their established missions. Governor Quiroga to Crown, August 31, 1690, AGI 54-5-13, 13-13^{2}, NC, reel 8, P. K. Yonge Library.

At least in part due to the Franciscan effort, the mission Indians contrasted favorably with those outside the fold in western standards of agriculture and subsistence.. However, the Spanish dependence on the Indians exposed their own economic neglect and fostered church-state dissension over control and treatment of the aborigines.

The long intervals between the arrivals of the subsidy, the official, theoretical source of Florida's support, and the insufficient quantity in which it came, demonstrate the inadequacy of the situado as an effective means of sustaining the colony. It appears that the subsidy became a crutch for the Crown, the Franciscans, and some governors to evade the necessity of founding Spanish settlements and initiating economic enterprises which could have enhanced Florida's self-sufficiency. At times colonial officials seemed to prefer "crying" for the promised situado rather than initiating local measures to alleviate their distress.

Though the evidence is not conclusive, sporadic ideas and efforts to achieve a significant measure of a self-supporting economy in seventeenth-century Florida generally failed to gain encouragement and support from the Crown and thus foundered. The Franciscans effectively opposed some attempts on the grounds that they alienated the Indians and hampered the evangelical crusade. A possible exception to this trend was the emergence of a promising cattle industry late in the century. However, subsequent English predominance in the region extinguished further prospects of the Spanish colony realizing its economic potential. Available evidence indicates that Christian Indians, augmented by the royal situado, economically sustained seventeenth-century Spanish Florida and its Franciscan missions.

RISE OF THE "BUSINESSMAN'S POLITICIAN": THE 1924 FLORIDA GUBERNATORIAL RACE

by VICTORIA H. MCDONELL*

THE 1920s IN Florida reflected the enormous social and economic changes that were occurring throughout the United States. The conservatism of the period, exemplified by high tariffs, the passage of the Volstead Act, and the growth of right wing groups such as the Ku Klux Klan, performed an uneasy counterpoint to the new currents of change. Urban growth, rapid economic development, and the proliferation of transportation and communications facilities foretold the future complexion of American life, As Floridians approached the 1924 gubernatorial campaign they were faced with two alternatives: electing men who were committed to holding on to the past or placing into positions of leadership individuals who could carry the state forward to ever-increasing growth and expansion.

Two new phenomena facing the political candidates in Florida were the land boom and woman suffrage. The roots of the boom can be traced to the last quarter of the nineteenth century, when the Atlantic and gulf coasts began to be developed. Henry M. Flagler and Henry B. Plant built a number of lavish hotels, but until after World War I these resort areas mainly catered to the very rich. In the post-war period, efforts were begun to make the state the winter home for the entire nation. Chambers of commerce, backed by civic clubs, real estate promoters, railroads, and bus lines, tried to entice northern tourists to the Sunshine State.[1] Cities grew at a phenomenal rate, and national businesses began setting up branches in Florida to meet the needs of the rising population.[2] Tourists from all over America and even

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1. William B. Hesseltine and David L. Smiley, *The South in American History* (New York, 1941; rev. ed., Englewood Cliffs, 1960), 530; See also several articles in *Reviews of Reviews,* LXXII (November 1925), 477-516 for an excellent example of the enticing literature written about Florida during the boom.
2. According to the *Fifth Census of the State of Florida Taken in The Year 1925* (Tallahassee, 1926), 9-61, Florida's population increased 30.4 per cent from 1915 to 1925. Nearly forty-five per cent of the state's in-

from Europe responded to the romantic lure of the semi-tropical paradise and began streaming into Florida by train, by bus, and by the then less-reliable automobile.

To accelerate these trends, Floridians looked to their elected officials for two things: the means to attract more industry and good roads to encourage more touring motorists. To achieve the former, a constitutional amendment abolishing state income taxes and inheritance taxes was introduced. It passed the state legislature in 1923 and was on the ballot for ratification by the people in the 1924 general election. The groundwork for good roads had been laid with the 1915 creation of the State Road Department, but by 1924 it was not developing fast enough to meet the needs of Florida's rapidly expanding economy. The people looked for a gubernatorial candidate in 1924 who would act swiftly and decisively to complete the network of roads.

The woman suffrage movement had been one of the many reform movements of the progressive era. The Florida Equal Suffrage Association had been organized in 1913. It was not until women's active role in World War I won them many new male supporters that the nineteenth amendment giving women the vote passed the United States Congress in 1919.[3] Florida legislators had considered amending the state constitution to grant Florida women the ballot at every session since 1913, but the measure had always failed. Even after the federal woman suffrage amendment passed, Governor Sidney J. Catts refused to call a special session of the legislature to consider ratification, feeling that it could not pass.[4] Three-fourths of the states did ratify the amendment by August 1920, but this was too late for Florida women to have any impact on the 1920 gubernatorial election. Gary A. Hardee had received the Democratic nomination in the June primary that year and was therefore assured of victory in the general election. Thus the 1924 gubernatorial primary was the first major state election in which the women could form an important political bloc.

There were six gubernatorial candidates to begin with, but

habitants were urban in 1925, thus making Florida the first southern state to approach urban status.

3. A. Elizabeth Taylor, "The Woman Suffrage Movement in Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXXVI (July 1957), 42-60.
4. It was not until 1969 that the Florida legislature formally approved the nineteenth amendment.

Charles B. Parkhill of Tampa, former justice on the Florida supreme court, shortly withdrew from the race. Remaining were John Wellborn Martin, former mayor of Jacksonville; Worth W. Trammell, brother of United States Senator Park Trammell; Charles H. Spencer, successful Tampa farmer and chairman of the Democratic executive committees of Hillsborough County and the first congressional district; Frank E. Jennings, former speaker of the Florida House of Representatives; and former Governor Sidney J. Catts.

Although the specific planks in their respective platforms were not very different, each candidate exhibited a highly individualistic style of campaigning. This has led some observers to believe that there were no important issues in the campaign, only personalities.[5] There were a number of issues, however, and it was the subtle differences in the way the candidates proposed to deal with these matters that determined the election's outcome. The most important issue, mainly because of Martin's emphasis on it, was road building. Increased tourist trade would immediately result everyone believed. The State Road Department's past record became the point of contention for most of the candidates. A second major issue was drainage of the Everglades. Geological tests had indicated that the area could become a rich agricultural region if properly drained. Numerous attempts to drain the Everglades had been made in the past, but none had ever succeeded. State legislative reapportionment was a third issue. Although Florida's constitution provided for periodic reapportionment, neither house had been reapportioned in over thirty years.

Other issues included reorganizing the state court system in an effort to make justice more accessible to the poor, improved public education, reform of the state prison system, and a proposed amendment to abolish the so-called Bryan Primary Law. This law had been inaugurated in 1913 and was designed to save the state money by making run-offs unnecessary. Voters cast two votes, one for a first-choice and one for a second-choice candidate. Should a voter's first-choice candidate be eliminated from the top two positions after the first-choice votes alone were counted, his second-choice– if it had been cast for one of the two leading candidates– would be added to determine the winner of the primary.

5. Interview with former State Senator J. Turner Butler, Jacksonville, August 11, 1967.

While it was a fair and logical system, the Bryan Primary Law was complicated and often confused voters.

The candidate who seemed to be most out of touch with the times was Charles H. Spencer, who ran under the slogan, "Probably Florida's Farmer Governor."[6] A native of the Suwanee River section of Florida, he had lived in Hillsborough County for forty years, making a living as a farmer and merchant.[7] Presenting himself as a progressive Democrat, Spencer wanted the state to become self-supporting rather than concentrating on how tourists or industry could aid Florida economically. He proposed to hold on to Everglades land for settlers and schools, and he vowed not to give "another acre" to corporations.[8] He believed that the sale of Everglades land should offset state taxes, and thus he billed himself as a "tax buster and not a booster," and he promised to oppose state and national income taxes. As an enticement to the agricultural vote, he proposed that the state should buy and operate fertilizer plants, selling to farmers at cost. Spencer proposed a cheap solution to the problem of roadbuilding, but he failed to stress it as a major plank in his platform. He called for the use of muck from the lakes for filler and coral rocks from the canal banks as a road base. Moreover, he advocated a state-owned railroad bed parallel to the highway from Tampa to Miami which, he stated, would bring the state $500,000 annually. He proposed free textbooks for schools and open meetings of the governor and his cabinet. Nearly all of these programs were very liberal for the time; his proposal of a state-owned railroad even bordered on being socialistic. Why Spencer's broad platform received so little support in the campaign seems strange. One explanation can be found in the fact that he emphasized the agricultural potential of the state and de-emphasized his proposals for roadbuilding and schools. He ignored the tourist trade completely and alienated support by his opposition to the establishment of new corporations in Florida. Spencer was never a serious contender; not one newspaper seems to have supported him.

Trammell had a long and prestigious background of public service to support his campaign. Born in Polk County, he was a

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6. H. Clay Crawford, *Statements of Candidates: Primary Election, 1924* (Tallahassee, 1924).
7. *Ibid.*
8. *Ibid.*

member of the Florida legislature in 1903, superintendent of the Hospital for the Insane, assistant United States attorney for the northern district of Florida, assistant attorney general for eight years, and at the time of the 1924 campaign he was a successful Miami attorney. He endorsed legislative reapportionment, lower taxation (by providing that all property be on the tax books), good schools, properly trained teachers, increased teacher salaries, and good roads with stricter supervision by the State Road Department.[9] While advocating many of the same programs as Spencer, he emphasized his goals in more conservative terms. Trammell's major campaign error was his failure to highlight one or more of these planks. The result was poor voter recognition; he was never a serious threat in the campaign. Many believed that Trammell thought he could win on the strength of his brother's name.[10]

The candidate supported by most Florida newspapers was Frank E. Jennings, a Kansas native of Virginia ancestry, who had moved to Florida while still a young man. He had served on the State Plant Board and had held a number of political offices in Jacksonville. Elected to the Florida House of Representatives in 1920, he became speaker the following year. With this background Jennings expected to muster considerable political support throughout the state. His campaign slogan was "An All Florida Candidate With a State Wide Vision, Progressive and Constructive."[11] He described his platform as "safe, sane, and forward-looking." He favored a "fair and just" road program, with the State Road Department board kept intact and advocated legislative reapportionment.[12] His public statements were generalizations of vague, unformulated programs, and undoubtedly, his platform was the most "safe and sane" of all those presented. In these respects Jennings was the weakest of the candidates. The tenor of the times was far from being sane; lavish excesses were in fact the order of the day. Jennings's main support came from the smaller communities, where the boom fervor and its accompanying demand for an increase in the tourist business had not taken hold to the extent that it had in the cities.

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9. *Ibid.*
10. Interview with James T. Vocelle, Vero Beach, November 24, 1967.
11. *Statements of Candidates.*
12. *Ibid.*

The surprise dark-horse of the election was former Governor Sidney J. Catts. At first most Floridians believed that Catts had little chance to win. He was waiting for the outcome of a trial in which he was charged with irregularities during his 1917-1920 administration. Catts, however, waged an extensive campaign, visiting every part of the state in his "Model T" Ford. He began building support particularly in West Florida, a traditional Catts stronghold. He campaigned vigorously among the rural voters, telling them that the poor Florida farmer had only three friends in the world, "Jesus Christ, Sears, Roebuck, and Company, and Sidney J. Catts." They believed him and vowed support of the few but strong planks that comprised his platform. Catts stressed continued enforcement of the prohibition laws, continued progress in road construction, better schools, and good government in general.[13] Catts's strength derived from his charismatic personality, and he discussed fewer issues than any other candidate. John Martin realized at once that Catts was the man to beat, and he oriented his campaign tactics towards that end.

Martin was in 1924 a native of Marion County; his early years were spent working as a clerk and tobacco salesman for $3.00 a week while studying law at night and on Sundays. His years as a salesman were not wasted in terms of his later political career; he had a friendly, outgoing personality, and he met many people who later remembered him. He was admitted to the bar in 1914, and enjoyed a highly successful law practice in Jacksonville. During this period, he often campaigned for other officeseekers because of his ability to speak extemporaneously.[14] Except for a minor post as interim customs inspector, Martin's first public office was mayor of Jacksonville. In his 1917 race for that office, he introduced the two themes that would characterize his 1924 gubernatorial campiagn, demands for "liberality and common sense" and for a "businessman's administration."[15] He was elected mayor by a very large majority,[16] and was re-elected in 1919 and 1921, each time with even larger majorities. During his three terms of office, he handled successfully the problems of the post-

13. John R. Deal, Jr., "Sidney Johnston Catts, Stormy Petrel of Florida Politics" (M. A. thesis, University of Florida, 1949), 191.
14. Interview with J. Turner Butler, Jacksonville, August 11, 1967.
15. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, February 4, 1917.
16. *Ibid.*, February 7, 1917.

World War I economic slump and the inflation of the early 1920s and the accompanying strikes. He supported the paving of streets in Jacksonville and welcomed automobile enthusiasts. Both actions became important planks in his 1924 gubernatorial platform.

The success of Martin's campaign can best be attributed to his acute perception of the state of mind of the people of Florida in 1924. The booming economy of the state had given Florida a kind of brassy aura, and the governor, Martin believed, should exhibit a similar quality. He should be daring and imaginative, a living advertisement for the splendors of the sub-tropical paradise of oranges, palm trees, and white-sand beaches. Cary A. Hardee, the incumbent governor, had been more restrained in his administration. Martin correctly believed that the voters wanted a change; they needed a governor "who would not hold himself so much in the background."[17] Martin fit the description perfectly. His speeches reflected the desires of most voters. He emphasized the one issue that people thought would help their pocketbooks— good roads. A system of paved highways meant an increase in industry and the tourist trade, and as these grew, Florida would grow more prosperous. Martin promised "to build roads from one end of the state to the other, before the people now living are in the cemetery."[18]

He campaigned in every part of the state. He had the support of many metropolitan newspapers— *Tampa Tribune, Florida Times-Union* of Jacksonville, *Clearwater News, Ocala Star, Miami Daily News, Gainesville Sun,* and the *St. Augustine Record.* Jennings received the support of many small-town papers such as the *Panama City Pilot,* but these communities were not tourist-oriented. The areas which would benefit most from tourists endorsed Martin.

The road issue was the most widely discussed plank in Martin's platform. He stressed the need for "immediate construction of a system of state highways, applying business methods to the construction."[19] He criticized the state road program for its delay in getting underway, and laid this blame at the door

17. William T. Cash, *History of the Democratic Party in Florida, Including Biographical Sketches of Prominent Florida Democrats* (Tallahassee, 1936), 136.
18. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union,* May 2, 1924.
19. *Statements of Candidates.*

of the State Road Department.[20] In a speech at Tampa, he promised:

> If the road department of this state does not build roads with haste, with economy, and with some degree of sense, I will not hesitate to remove the tardy ones from office and give you competent men in their place who will give you service. I will not hestitate to get rid of them and hang their political scalps out to dry on the Capitol door at Tallahassee any more than a farmer would hestitate to hang out a coon skin to dry.[21]

On the issue of Everglades drainage he promised that as governor he "would inaugurate some practicable way of reclaiming the Everglades with the least possible delay."[22] He wanted the area to be developed as homesteads for World War I veterans, and then for others.[23]

While roadbuilding and Everglades drainage were the two major issues, Martin discussed other things. He called for a higher standard of proficiency in public schools and state institutions of higher learning. He favored the proposed amendment to abolish inheritance and income taxes, believing that this would attract new industry and affluent people to Florida. He charged that the state convict prison at Raiford had lost $97,000 in 1923 alone "by raising cotton for the boll weevils and vegetables in competition with the farmers of the state."[24] He planned to utilize convict labor on his roadbuilding program, and advocated convicts "making automobile license tags."[25] Not only would the prison become self-supporting, but it would bring in extra revenue for the state. Having served as mayor of a large city, Martin was familiar with the inequities that existed in representation between the rural and urban areas, and he supported the proposed constitutional amendment that would result in more equal representation. The long and costly process of carrying a case through the state court system was another issue that Martin criticized. He argued that court reform would not only make

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20. John W. Martin to J. E. Dovell, November 5, 1951, quoted in J. E. Dovell, *Florida: Historic, Dramatic, Contemporary,* 4 vols. (New York, 1952), II, 779.
21. *Tampa Tribune,* May 23, 1924.
22. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union,* May 2, 1924.
23. *Tampa Tribune,* May 23, 1924.
24. *Ibid.*
25. *Ibid.*

justice more available to the poor, but also would prevent politicians and wealthy men from taking the law into their own hands.[26] Finally, Martin also stood strongly behind the proposed amendment to abolish the Bryan Primary Law and to re-establish the two primaries system.

Martin's reception as he travelled around Florida demonstrates the enthusiasm which he generated. Such accounts also reflect the differences in campaign practices between the 1920s and today. In an era that had limited use of the radio, no television, and poor transportation facilities, a candidate had to take himself to the electorate physically to ensure that his views were understood. Candidates used local rallies and barbecues to appeal as much to the emotions of the people as to their minds.

From May 28 to May 31, 1924, Martin campaigned in West Palm Beach, Miami, and St. Petersburg.[27] His West Palm Beach rally is typical of many of his campaign stops. The evening began with a banquet at the Palms, a luxurious restaurant in West Palm Beach. Later he headed a "rousing street parade" which included the West Palm Beach city band with 100 banners and as many fuse-lit torches.[28] Martin, as well as the other candidates, often ended such rallies speaking from the back of a truck or some other makeshift platform in order to be heard, with no amplification, by as many people as possible.

Whenever candidates spoke, other candidates and speakers were invited to share the platform. This practice proved disastrous for Frank Jennings in his rally at Lakeland. After attacking Martin in his speech, H. C. Petteway, former mayor of Lakeland and an ardent Martin supporter, was urged by the crowd to reply to the charges. Apparently there were more Martin supporters than advocates for Jennings present. According to the newspaper account, "Mr. Petteway's address was frequently interrupted by vociferous applause, and at its conclusion, what amounted to a demonstration for Martin took place."[29]

The kinds of things that Martin's opponents charged him with reveal the concerns in the minds of Floridians of the period.

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26. *Ibid.*
27. *St. Petersburg Times,* June 1, 1924.
28. *St. Augustine Record,* May 29, 1924.
29. *Tampa Tribune,* May 25, 1924.

Religion was a factor of paramount importance. In the twenties, any taint of Romanism, atheism, or any other religious "ism" outside of Southern Protestantism, was almost certain political doom. Martin was accused not only of not being a Christian, but of having given a bad check in payment of his church dues. He refuted both charges, declaring that he was a member of First Baptist Church in Jacksonville and had never given anyone a bad check.[30] Where it was claimed that he was a Mormon and therefore a polygamist, he mockingly implored: "Don't let even a hint of that get back to my wife!"[31]

As the election approached, it become apparent to Martin that Catts's strength was increasing. On April 23, he stated, "If the people think Catts has no strength and are wondering where he is going to get his vote, let them go to West Florida. I have just returned from there."[32] Martin believed that the first choice votes would be close between Catts and himself. In order to prevent Catts's election, therefore, he warned his supporters that "it is important that a second choice vote be given to one of the other candidates if what has come to be called the 'Catts menace' is to be obliterated from the campaign."[33]

Election results bore out Martin's political astuteness. In the primary June 3, Spencer received 1,408 first choice votes and did not carry a single county. Trammell, likewise, did not carry a single county, receiving 8,381 first choice votes. Frank E. Jennings was third, carrying only Hillsborough, Lake, Leon, and Polk counties– nearly all west-central counties. He polled 37,962 first choice votes. Catts won in twenty-five counties and carried all of West Florida.[34] Martin, with 55,715 first choice votes, carried the rest of the state. In the tabulation of second choice votes, Catts received 137 from Spencer, 858 from Trammell, and 5,072 from Jennings, bringing his total to 49,297.[35] Martin received 248 sec-

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30. *Ibid.*, May 1924.
31. *Ibid.*
32. Deal, "Sidney J. Catts," 192.
33. *Tampa Tribune*, May 23, 1924.
34. Catts won Baker, Citrus, Clay, Franklin, Gadsden, Hamilton, Hardee, Hernando, Holmes, Jackson, Jefferson, Lafayette, Okaloosa, Putnam, Santa Rosa, Sumter, Suwanee, Taylor, Wakulla, Walton, and Washington counties. *Report of the Secretary of State of the State of Florida For the Period Beginning January 1, 1923 and Ending December 31, 1924* (Tallahassee, 1925), 12.
35. *Ibid.*

ond choice votes from Spencer, 2,870 from Trammell, and 14,221 from Jennings, increasing his total vote to 73,054, and decisively giving him the Democratic nomination.[36]

It took several days for all first and second choice votes to be counted and recorded, and Martin did not claim victory until June 8. His victory statement promised:

> The prosperity of the state as a member of the national body, the integrity of its business dealings, the development of its agriculture, and the proper enforcement of laws enacted by the legislative department shall not be neglected so far as the grace of God gives me knowledge and the law gives me power to serve them.[37]

The general election, November 6, was more significant for the constitutional amendments, which were ratified, than for a spirited governor's race. The Republican candidate, W. R. O'Neal, received 17,499 votes but failed to carry a single county.[38] Martin received 84,181 votes.[39] The Bryan Primary Law was abolished and the two-primaries system was reinstated. The voters also passed the amendment which forbade an inheritance and income tax. The action pushed an inflated economy further toward the unregulated speculation which eventually undermined it.

The 1924 election was unique in many respects, It was the first major election in which women voted, and, apparently many exercised their right. The *Panama City Pilot* noted that in Bay County the women's vote was heavy:

> That they changed the results in many cases is undoubted, and they have demonstrated that they can and will vote, and that they know how to vote, even such a long ticket as was handled. They now constitute a factor in our elections that will have to be reckoned with.[40]

With the election of a governor dedicated to promoting the

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36. *Ibid.*
37. *St. Augustine Record,* June 9, 1924.
38. This was the largest number of votes received by a Republican candidate for governor since the nineteenth century and is a reflection of the number of Republicans migrating to Florida at this time.
39. *Report of the Secretary of State,* 12.
40. *Panama City Pilot,* June 12, 1924.

boom economy and with taxes on inheritances and incomes removed, the Florida "boom in paradise" shifted into high gear. And with the inauguration of Martin's ambitious roadbuilding program and the expectations of Floridians rising over the prospects of increased industry and tourism, Florida leaped from its past agricultural orientation into a modem, urban-oriented future.

THE BERNARD ROMANS-JOHN ELLIS LETTERS, 1772-1774

by JOHN D. WARE*

JOHN ELLIS, born in Ireland about 1710, was a naturalist who Carl Linnaeus described as a "bright star of natural history" and "the main support of natural history in England." He was a merchant in London when he was appointed as agent for the British province of West Florida, April 2, 1764, at an annual salary of 200 pounds.

As fiscal agent it was his duty to disburse the parliamentary support fund authorized by proper warrants for the colony. In 1770 he received the additional agency for Dominica. With these two responsibilities came many correspondents, including Bernard Romans, as well as the opportunity to import seeds and plants from America.[1]

In recognition of his work as a scientist, he was made a fellow of the Royal Society in 1754. The following year his *An Essay Towards the Natural History of the Corallines* was published, and it was translated into French in 1756. In 1768 he received the Copley award from the Royal Society for his researches. Thereafter, for several years, he published other works on natural history, including the drawings and descriptions of then undescribed genera of plants. Certain of these were included in the *Transactions* of the American Philosophical Society. One of these, *A Catalogue of such FOREIGN PLANTS, as are worthy of being encouraged in our American Colonies, for the Purposes of Medicine, Agriculture, and Commerce,* was from a pamphlet by Ellis. It was presented by Thomas Penn to the American Philosophical Society through the hands of Samuel Powel in 1769. The title of one of Romans's dispatches refers to a "Catalogue of Plants Publishe[d] by John Ellis, Esqre, F. R. S." At a meeting, January 21, 1774, Ellis, Romans, and George Gauld, an

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1. Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee, eds., "John Ellis," *Dictionary of National Biography*, 21 vols. (London, 1885-1890), VI, 703; Cecil Johnson, *British West Florida, 1763-1783* (New Haven, 1943), 29n, 97-98.

admiralty coastal surveyor with whom Romans had collaborated through a third party, were honored by election to the American Philosophical Society. Ellis's publications on natural history continued until within a year of his death in London, October 15, 1776.[2]

Bernard Romans was born in the Netherlands about 1720, but he migrated to Great Britain where he received training as an engineer. He arrived in North America during the French and Indian War and was employed as a surveyor and map maker for certain officials of the Grown in Georgia and the Floridas. He engaged in botanical studies during his travels. Romans's letters to John Ellis are largely self-explanatory and would be even more enlightening if Ellis's replies were available.[3] Romans's two dispatches from Pensacola were sent some six months before he left West Florida in February 1773, for Charleston, South Carolina, to accept employment promised by John Stuart, superintendent of Indian affairs for the southern district of North America.[4]

Romans's "Observations" on Ellis's *Catalogue of Plants,* dated Pensacola, August 13, 1772, must be regarded as a subtle though none the less sincere form of flattery, since it revealed to the naturalist that his work was being studied and understood on the North American frontier. That Romans's "Scheme for a Botanical Garden in West Florida," of the same date, accompanied this dispatch was probably not a coincidence. Romans's survey and cartographic work in West Florida were almost completed, and he needed employment. The letter stressed the need and feasibility of such a botanical garden, and quite obviously Romans aspired to the position of botanist. It will be noted that he left the amount for salary and traveling expenses of the botanist and the total blank, hoping perhaps thereby to encourage

2. *Dictionary of National Biography,* VI, 703-04; *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society,* 6 vols., old series, (Philadelphia, 1771), I, 255-71; [J. P. Lesley], comp., "Early Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society . . . from 1744 to 1838," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society,* XXII (1884), 86-87; Romans to Ellis, "Some Observations on a Catalogue of Plants Publishes [Published] by John Ellis Esqre F. R. S.," August 13, 1772; P. Lee Phillips, *Notes on the Life and Works of Bernard Romans* (DeLand, 1924), 27-30, *passim.*
3. *Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of the Linnean Society of London; Calendar of the Ellis Manuscipts* lists only the Romans letters. Carl F. Miller to John D. Ware, November 20, 1972.
4. Phillips, *Notes,* 30.

Ellis to offer a more generous figure than he himself would have dared. Romans's estimate was computed in Spanish milled dollars or "pieces of eight" and *reals* (one-eighth of a dollar).[5] No figures for salary or traveling expenses were inserted by Ellis, but the itemized amounts estimated by Romans were totaled (incorrectly), perhaps by Ellis, and converted apparently to pounds and shillings in a marginal note. Although the botanical garden was never authorized or established, West Florida Governor Peter Chester recommended that Romans be appointed botanist for the province. He subsequently received an annual grant of fifty pounds, but did not learn of his appointment and grant until after he had left West Florida and had arrived in New York.[6] Implicit in one of Romans's letters is a beneficence granted by Ellis. Whether this reference might have been to possible influence exerted in London by Ellis to secure Romans's grant cannot be known without Ellis's letters.[7]

Romans, after a near-disastrous voyage, arrived in Charleston in April 1773, and learned that Stuart, for some undisclosed reason, would not employ him as he had previously promised. Under the circumstances Romans proceeded on to New York, arriving there about June 1. At Stuart's request he did deliver two maps of West Florida to General Thomas Gage which he had drawn from surveys previously authorized by the superintendent. In this meeting Romans clarified certain errors which appeared in one of the maps. He then set about capitalizing on the only thing of value he possessed: his observations on East and West Florida.[8]

Learning of his annual grant as botanist of West Florida, Romans, in a dispatch to Ellis, indicated his "streightened" *[sic]*

5. R. S. Yeoman, ed., *A Guide Book of United States Coins* (Racine, 1947), 2, 5.
6. Romans to Ellis, "Scheme for a Botanical Garden in West Florida," August 13, 1772; Romans to Ellis, November 6, 1773; Peter Chester to Earl of Hillsborough, August 14, 1772, British Public Record Office, Colonial Office Papers, class 5, vol. 589; Lord Dartmouth to Chester, December 9, 1772, *ibid.;* "Estimate of the Civil Establishment . . . of West Florida . . . from 24th of June 1773 to the 24th of June 1774," PRO, CO 5/591.
7. Romans to Ellis, March 1, 1774.
8. Phillips, *Notes,* 30; John Stuart to Thomas Gage, April 22, 1773; Gage to Stuart, June 3, 1773, letters and the two manuscript maps are in the Gage Papers, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. The dates of these letters, wherein Romans is mentioned, give an approximation of his arrival in Charleston and New York. Romans to Ellis, November 6, 1773.

circumstances, and since he had been unable to obtain Governor Chester's certificate or warrant for payment, he had decided, to draw on Ellis's credit for the entire fifty pounds. In his next letter some four months later he expressed the hope that his draft had been accepted, thus suggesting that he had not heard from Ellis in the meantime.[9] Romans indicated that he was impatiently awaiting reaction from a proposal he had made earlier to Lord Dartmouth, the nature of which he disclosed in his next letter. He presumed that Ellis was aware that he had suggested a "Journey through America to Asia," but that "the present troubles in America leave me little hope of my proposal . . . being taken notice of." He hoped to lead such an expedition, though he did not say so in his letter. It was not likely that his proposal would be accepted, and this grieved Romans since, as he noted, he lived in a part of the world little interested in the study of nature and had "but little else to recommend [him] to the attention of mankind."[10]

The "overset" or capsize at sea off the lower east coast of the Florida peninsula resulted in a unfortunate loss, Romans wrote from New York; almost all his collection of seeds and plants "gathered in the Western parts of America" [West Florida] were lost. The few he saved he gave to a "Dr. Gardner at Charleston," but he feared they were in a "state past vegetation." Unquestionably, had he arrived safely with his collection he would have sent it on to Ellis. The best he could promise was to send drawings of curious plants and attempt to collect specimens for transmittal to Europe.[11]

Indicative that he had not entirely abandoned the idea of returning to West Florida was his interest in securing an "Exclusive Patent" for the culture of jalap. He noted in his earlier "Observations" to Ellis that he had discovered this herb on the Chester River. Later be wrote that the drug was of very good

9. Romans to Ellis, November 6, 1773; Romans to Ellis, March 1, 1774.
10. Romans to Ellis, March 1, 1774; Romans to Ellis, May 4, 1774.
11. Phillips, *Notes*, 30; Bernard Romans, *A Concise Natural History of East and West Florida* (New York, 1775; facsimile ed., Gainesville, 1962), appendix: vi-vii; Romans to Ellis, March 1, 1774. "Dr. Gardner" was probably Alexander Garden, a physician who practiced in Charleston from 1752 until near the end of the American Revolution. A friend of John Bartram, Dr. Garden's interest in botany and zoology also led him into voluminous correspondence with John Ellis and Carl Linnaeus. See *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* (1942), New Series, Volume XXXIII, part I; 6, 8, 13, 56; 62.

quality, and that he felt he could increase the quantity to the point "that Britain might be supplied with this article from the Province." Without an exclusive privilege, however, he doubted it would be worthwhile to him or to anyone else.[12]

The recurring theme throughout the three letters Romans sent to Ellis from New York was his desperate need for funds. Publication of his book and map had been a drain on his meager resources, and the fifty-pound grant, which ended when he later joined the Patriots, was not enough to meet all the demands for funds. Interestingly, in an effort to provide himself with at least one of the luxuries of life, if not the necessities, he pledged the copper plates of his work to secure a loan of twenty-seven pounds, five shillings, and one penny for two hogsheads of rum.[13] In his last letter he wrote: "I lead a very neglected Life and am very hard put to it to maintain myself & I have no [other] friend in Europe to apply." He therefore asked Ellis to recommend him to some place or business, adding that "Be it never So trifling, I will Strive to shew my gratitude by close application to duty." Thus, upon Ellis's death Romans lost his last friend and connection in Europe. The high esteem in which he held his fellow naturalist is indicated in the dedication of his *A Concise Natural History of East and West Florida* (1775): "To John Ellis, Esq., Fellow of the Royal Societys *[sic]* of London and Upsal[a], Agent for the Province of West Florida. This Work is with the greatest Respect most humbly Dedicated by his most Obedient humble Servant, Bernard Romans."[14]

Romans survived his privations and lack of money, and enriched Florida history and cartography by successfully publishing his book and map of the Floridas in the face of almost overwhelming difficulties. He went on to serve the Patriot cause in the American Revolution, a phase of his life that extends beyond the scope of his letters to Ellis.

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12. Romans to Ellis, March 1, 1774; Romans to Ellis, May 14, 1774. Webster's *New Twentieth Century Dictionary* (1953), 928, describes jalap as the root of the climbing plant *Ipomaea purga.* Its name was derived from Jalapa, a city in Mexico from which it was, and still is, exported. The Chester River, named for Governor Peter Chester of West Florida, is now known as the Blackwater River and flows into the eastern arm of Pensacola Bay.
13. Phillips, *Notes,* 25, 50.
14. Romans to Ellis, May 14, 1774; Romans, *Concise Natural History,* dedicatory page.

There are many gaps in the life of Bernard Romans which may never be filled. His letters to Ellis, taken with other documents, add a new dimension to this "universal genius," and provide a hitherto undisclosed insight into his life for a period of somewhat less than two years. Originals of these letters from Romans to Ellis are preserved in the Linnean Society of London. A microfilm copy is in the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia.[15]

1772 *B. Romans*

Quericus Suber Quericus Aegilops Quericus Gallifera	Some Observations on a Catalogue of Plants Publishes by John Ellis Esqre F. R. S. In this country I have Observed 19 Species of Oak the Suber however is not one of them. The 2 others I have reason to think may be found here.
Carthamus Tinctor	Of this I have seen some very fine plants in Georgia.
Olea Europea	There is a species growing naturally here.
Sesamen Orientale	This cultivated by the Negroes, in Carolina, Georgia, and East Florida, in plenty, and I know it (from Experience to yield an Incredible Quantity of Oil.
Gossypium	Two kinds are natural in E: Florida.
Salsola & chenopodium Maritimum	All the varieties of these may be seen in both the Floridas in amazing Quantities, but the different sorts of Mangroves are far Superior to these for Ashes.
#not Species	NB Of Mangroves I have seen five Genera.# none of them have as yet been tolerably described.
Pistachia	Of these there is one Species Yielding upon an Insision in the Bark abundance of Turpentine, and its Leaves are excellent food for cattle of all kinds.
Lentiscus	a Species of the Mastick I have also seen. But it yields not a great Deal of Gum, at present it is only valuable for its noble Timber. & its fruit which is superior to all other things for fattening of Hogs. NB these two Last are Very common in E: Florida. I have also seen some in this Province.
Cycas circinalis	a Species of this in both the Floridas.

15. Whitfield J. Bell and Murphy D. Smith, comps., *Guide to the Archives and Manuscript Collections of the American Philosophical Society* (Philadelphia, 1966), 81.

Conv. Seammonia	This I flatter my Self to have discovered Naturally growing in W. Florida, but till a farther Examination I chuse to be Silent on that article.
Styrax Officin	The Gum Storax Tree is in great plenty and perfection in West Florada.
Jalapium Officin^{e}:	This I have found Natural on Chester River in West Florida, a Specimen is now going to Lord Hillsborough.
Bixa Orellana	Mr. Wegg has some promising plants of this now in his Garden.
Punica	The fruit Bearing sort is not uncommon in West Fl: but of Balaustians I have not as yet Seen any, altho I am certain that this Beneficial article would grow here in perfection.
Lichen Rocella	Mr Charles Yonge half Brother to the Bishop of Norwich Once gathered a considerable parcel of this on an uninhabited island in the West Indies. it proved to be the True Sort.
Morris papyrifera	We find several Species of Morris here in America. but West Florida produces one, which I believe is peculiar to it, the Root of this answers all the purposes of the Fustick Wood. its Timber is one of the most valuable here But tho' yellow does not yield so much of a dye as the Root. the Bark of it is used by the Chactaw & Chicasaw Nations to make a Sort of cloth, of which Looks so much Like Linnen that I really believe it would make paper by a Similar proces as that whereby paper is made of Linen Raggs. I have a promise of a Speciment of the Bark which when I receive it, I will Send over in its unprepared State.
Smilax	A Good Species of Sarsparilla is found near to the Sea in W: Florida. and among the many called China Root, I believe there is one which will be found the true Smilax China.
Hymenea Courbaril	This I have seen in plenty in South America about two degrees Southward of the City of Carthagena.
Ipecacuanha	This I have seen of two Species Natural in West Florida.

Pensacola 13th: August 1772

/s/ B. Romans

1772 *B. Romans*

Scheme for a Botanical Garden in West Florida. as after a Curious plant has once been discovered in any distant part of this Country, before a Complete Description of it can be given, it is necessary to watch the time of its Flowering, and Likewise to procure the ripe fruit or Seed thereof, in order to propagate the Same; and as this must prove a very tedious method, and Sometimes be even liable to the disappointment of years, it is humbly proposed, that a Botanical Garden be attempted near to Pensacola, for immediately transplanting those Shrubs or plants for Examination. The Situation Ought to be such as may afford Both a Northern and a Southern aspect, and to Include Some moist and Swampy Ground, as well as a dry and sandy Soil and Some Oak Lands. Such a Spot might undoubtedly be found, and by the addition of Clay, Sea weed, and Such other manure as might be procured near to this place, a greater Variety of plants Etc. could be raised in it, then in a far richer Soil, in Short every Plant that Grows from the Capes of Florida to Canada might thus be raised at Pensacola. besides several West India Plants might more Easily be brought here from the Islands of Jamaica and Cuba, then to any other part of the Continent.

The variety of Plants both curious and usefull, which grow naturally all along this Coast from the Mississippi eastward to the Tortugas, is immense; upon the Banks of the Rivers of West Florida, and on the high Lands, Especially towards the Indian Nations, there is also a great variety.

Pensacola is the most Centrical Situation for all this Tract of Country, and it has another recommendation Viz^{t} that it is the only place that affords frequent opportunities of Sending Such growing plants to England

The Estimate attempted below, is the most moderate that can be thought of to Set on foot Such a Scheme in this Country; but if once it is Established, it may probably be carried on for a much Smaller Sum; or possibly an Exclusive privilige for the Culture of Jalap might defray all the Incidental Expences,

D. R.

The Salary for the Botanist p[r] ann:			[Marginal
Traveling Expenses for do			figures:
To Building a house and first fencing of			not in
the Gardens 500 Dollars to be paid by			Romans's
contract in ten years	50.	-	hand]
Wages for two hands constantly employed			252
in the Gardens	96.	-	4/s
Provisions for do	72.	-	1008
Tools and untensils	10.	-	2016
Frames and glass for Tropical plants that			168
are very tender Etc.	22.	-	/1176
			58.16

Pensacola 13th. Aug[t]: 1772 1st B. Romans

1773 *B. Romans*

Honoured Sir!

Having Received Intelligence from West Florida of the grant to me last year of £50 and being here for the Publication of my Labours & having not the opportunity to gett Governor Chesters Certificate I have therefore taken the Method of getting a Certificate of my Existence under the Seal of the Mayorally of this City and presume to draw on you for the said Sum in favour of Ennis Graham

I do not know whether I am regular in this proceeding but as I am at present much streightened for want of cash I have been obliged to take this step I hope therefore you will be so kind as to honour my Draught.

With all possible regard I am
Honoured Sir
Your most obed & humble Servt
/s/ B. Romans

New York Novr 6th
1773

1774 *B. Romans*

Honoured Sir!

Your favor of the 1st. of September came to hand a week ago; This attention to me I esteem with the utmost respect & the notice of the beneficence therein mentioned lays me under the greatest obligations, I shall not fail of my utmost endeavours to merit this mark of Patronage; I hope my Letter of advice is duly come to hand & that the draught has met with acceptance which will be a Welcome intelligence to me.

My proposal to Lord Dartmouth I dare say you are acquainted with, I wait impatiently to hear how it is received.

With regard to a Collection of seeds & dry Speciments of plants I have been uncommonly unfortunate with those I gathered in the Western parts of America, having on my passage from Florida been overset at Sea & lost all of that kind except a very few seeds which I gave to Dr. Gardner at Charlestown, but I am afraid in a State past vegetation I never heard from that Gentleman since; I shall continue to send some more drawings of curious plants & employ myself as vigilantly as my present Situation will permit to make a Collection of what Ever comes under my observations & is rare, in order to Send to Europe.

Be so obliging to inform me, whether an Exclusive Patent for the culture of Jalap in Florida for some year might possibly be got, the affair might do me a great deal of good, & be assured that my Sentiments are such, that I would make no further use of it, than what would be denied the using of such a privilige in a genuine manner.

With all possible Respect I am
Honoured Sir
Your most obl: obd^{t} & hum: Serv:
/s/ B. Romans

New York
March 1st:
1774

1774 *B. Ronaans*

Honoured Sir!

I would Scarce have presumed to write to you again had not this Opportunity by Captn: Miller presented itself to me. My publication Still detains me in this place, but I hope now Soon to See an end thereof, the present troubles in America Leave me little hope of my proposal to Lord Dartmouth, concerning a Journey through America to Asia being taken notice of, which grieves me much, as I live in a part of the World where the Study of Nature, and its votaries is in a most unaccountable manner Neglected & I have but Little Else to recommend me to the attention of mankind I Lead a very neglected Life and am very hard put to it to maintain myself & as I have no friend in Europe to whom to apply, I once more take the freedom to address you on that head, hoping it may be your inclination to recommend me to Some place or business. Be it never So trifling, I will Strive to shew my gratitude by close application to duty. if no more could be obtained, an Exclusive right for the curing and vending of Jalap in West Florida would be of great Service to me, & as that Drugg is there very good in quality. I make no doubt But I could So increase the quantity, that Britain might be Supplied with this article from that Province, but without Such a privilige for Some Years at least I think it would hardly be an persons while.

I am afraid of having already intruded on your goodness and patience, therefore have only to add that I remain respectfully

Honoured Sir
Your most obedient
humble Servant
/s/ B. Romans

New York May 14
1774

A FLORIDA SLAVE SALE

by PETER D. KLINGMAN*

OF ALL THE activities connected with the system of American Negro slavery, one of the less documented and less well-known aspects is that of free Negroes who purchased and owned slaves. (Generally it is believed that the majority of free blacks who owned slaves purchased them for reasons of personal interest and involvement. There are known examples of free black husbands who bought their slave "wives" as well as instances in which the reverse took place. In other recorded cases, the slaves were the children of a free-slave "marriage." In still others, relatives and friends similarly were rescued from the "peculiar institution." Also, there are documented references to some few instances in which free blacks apparently engaged in buying and selling slaves for economic gain.[1]

Almost nothing is known of this aspect of slavery in Florida. Indeed, little enough is known about the condition of the state's free Negro population in the territorial and antebellum periods. Before the Civil War there were approximately 1,000 free Negroes scattered across Florida, and most were located in present-day Duval, Escambia, Leon, and St. Johns counties.[2] No single region (contained a significant number; overall the same held true, as the free black population never reached as high as three per cent of the total prior to the war.[3]

The documents below record the sales in 1839 and again in 1844 of a slave named Jimmy Gibbs. Not only do they throw light on this neglected aspect of slavery, but they are also suggestive concerning the free black population of Florida. On March 5, 1839, George Gibbs, clerk of the territorial grand jury

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1. See, for example, the cases of Cyprian Ricard, Charles Rogues, and Marie Metoyer, all free Negroes who owned large numbers of slaves for their own ends, cited in John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of Negro Americans,* 3rd ed. (New York, 1966), 224.
2. Russell Garvin, "The Free Negro in Florida Before the Civil War," *Florida Historical Quarterly,* XLVI (July 1967), 7-8.
3. *Ibid.*

in the district of East Florida, issued the following notice to his slave, Jimmy, whom Gibbs wished to sell:

> The bearer Jimmy being unwilling to be removed to Savannah, having a wife here whom he says cannot be purchased; I give him permission to look for a Master and my lowest price for him is seven hundred dollars.[4]

It is not especially surprising to find a slaveowner who took pains to keep a slave "marriage" together. Gibbs, brother-in-law of the successful if eccentric slavetrader Zephaniah Kingsley, was one of East Florida's more prominent citizens. Before his death in 1848, Gibbs held a succession of posts, including Collector pro-tem and Inspector of Customs, in St. Augustine. Being well-connected by marriage and successful in his own right, Gibbs no doubt could afford to be humane to his slaves. Many slave masters, either for reasons of humanity or guilt, urged that slaves who lived as man and wife be kept near each other when owned by different masters. There were also many instances in which slaves were allowed to hire themselves out for work. One of the better known examples is that of Frederick Douglass, who was given permission to find his own work in the Baltimore shipyards as a caulker by his master Hugh Auld.[5] What is most unusual about the note written by Gibbs is, of course, the freedom to find his own new master offered to Jimmy.

It is unlikely that this was a common practice in territorial St. Augustine. Relaxations in the slave code met with strong disapproval from the grand jury of the district. That body had ended its spring 1844 term by "referring to certain matters which they deem worthy to be laid before their fellow Citizens."[6] Chief among their concerns was the practice of permitting slaves to become "free dealers"– those who were allowed to go out for hire on their own. Such practices, it was felt, led to a "relaxation

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4. Letter signed by George Gibbs, 1839, No. 105100, Florida State Museum, University of Florida, Gainesville; original in the Gibbs Family Case, Kingsley Plantation, Ft. George Island. For biographical information of George Gibbs, see Margaret Gibbs Watt, comp., *The Gibbs Family of Long Ago and Near at Hand, 1337-1967* (n.p., 1968), 17-18.
5. Frederick Douglas, *Life and Times of Frederick Douglass* (New York, 1962), 189.
6. "Presentment of Grand Jury, District of East Florida," June 19, 1844, in Clarence E. Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers of the United States: Florida Territory,* 26 vols. (Washington, 1956-1962), XXVI, 915-16.

of discipline, . . . a forgetfulness of duty, . . . [and] gives them the possession of money and affords them the means of debauchery." This could only lead to the "ultimate ruin" of the slaves.[7]

One can easily imagine the exasperation of at least some St. Augustine whites when Jimmy that same day sold himself to Andrew Sabata (an apparent alias), a free black of the city. He paid in cash the full asking price for the slave:

> Received St. Augustine March 5 1839 from Andrew Sabata a Black man the sum of seven hundred dollars in full payment for a certain black man named Jimmy, whom I have this day sold and delivered to him, and which said black man Jimmy to the said Andrew Sabata, I do by these presents warrant and defend against my heirs and against all and every person or persons whatsoever.[8]

Equally as fascinating as the freedom to sell himself to whomever he chose, and then doing so to a free black, is the fact that five years later Andrew Sabata sold Jimmy to a white auctioneer of St. Johns County, R. D. Fontaine. Sabata's sale, concluded using his real name, Andrew Pow, was agreed to by his "guardian," James M. Gould, editor of the St. Augustine *Florida Herald:*

> Know all men by these presents that I Andrew Pow alias Andrew Sabata, of the City of St. Augustine in said County forward in consideration of the sum of one hundred dollars [illegible word] in hand paid by Rafael D. Fontaine of said City . . . do bargain, sell, release, grant, and confirm, unto the said Fontaine, a certain negro slave named "Jimmy Gibbs" being the same negro sold by George Gibbs to said Andrew, as will appear by reference to a certain Bill of Sale from said George Gibbs to said Andrew.[9]

After the illiterate Andrew Pow made his mark, Gould, his "guardian," affixed his own signature in agreement.[10]

There is no indication as to why Andrew Pow used an alias, but the drop in price for Jimmy Gibbs at least suggests that Andrew was trying to keep himself out of the grip of the "pecul-

7. *Ibid.*
8. Bill of Sale for Jimmy Gibbs, Territory of Florida, 1844, No. 105101, Florida State Museum; original in the Gibbs Family Case.
9. *Ibid.*
10. *Ibid.*

iar institution." In Florida, as elsewhere where slavery flourished, free Negroes could be sold to pay bad or outstanding debts. It is clear that Andrew had to have permission from his "guardian" before the transaction could take place. In 1842 the territorial council of Florida passed a law that required free Negroes who had entered the Florida territory after 1819 to have a white "guardian." According to its provisions, local judges granted certificates of guardianship to "proper and discreet" individuals. These certificates, which cost only $1.00 each, enabled their holders to enjoy almost all the benefits of slaveowning, except the right of bodily property. The slave code prevailed in all other respects in both types of black-white relationships.[11] Had the law existed in 1839, no doubt Andrew Sabata-Pow would not have been able to buy the slave in the first place.

For Jimmy, however, the buying and selling of his person that day, September 28, 1844, was not finished. Fontaine immediately turned him over for the same price as he had paid to Pow to George R. Fairbanks, then clerk of the superior court of the district of East Florida:

> For and in consideration of the sum of one hundred dollars to me in hand paid, the receipt whereof I do hereby acknowledge, I Rafael D. Fontaine, within named, do sell, assign, transfer, and set-over to George R. Fairbanks all my right-title and interest in said negro slave named Jimmy Gibbs. To have and to hold the same unto the said George R. Fairbanks, his heirs, and assigns forever.[12]

The sequence of events suggested by the documents raises questions about the nature of the institution of slavery and of the free blacks who lived beside it in pre-Civil War Florida. It would be of interest to know why Andrew Pow used an alias when he purchased Jimmy in 1839, and why he had discontinued using it in 1844. If he himself were a fugitive slave, which would have been unlikely since only free blacks could sell property and needed the signatures of "guardians," in what kind of work could he amass $700 in cash? Of course, it can only be a matter

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11. *Acts and Resolutions of the Legislative Council of the Territory of Florida,* 20th sess. (Tallahassee, 1842), 34-36.
12. Bill of Sale for Jimmy Gibbs, 1844. Fairbanks later was to serve in the Florida legislature and became the first president of the Florida Historical Society.

of guesswork and imagination to conceive of the possible anguish that Andrew Pow and Jimmy may have experienced in their parting in 1844.

There can be little question, however, that the Florida guardian law passed in 1842 reflected to some extent social reprecussions from the 1839 transaction. Few slaveholders could witness with equanimity slaves acting in non-customary ways, and nothing could be more revolutionary than slaves who searched out their own masters and sold themselves to free blacks. The slave institution was more than an economic institution; it also defined the entire bi-racial structure of the South, white superiority and black inferiority. A black slaveowner like Andrew Pow could upset the whole thing.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Florida, Land of Images. By Nixon Smiley. (Miami: E. A. Seemann Publishing, Inc., 1972. 189 pp. Introduction, illustrations. $5.95.)

Nixon Smiley writes with feeling and familiarity of the places and people of his native state in this interesting and well-presented little book. He points out that it is not meant to be a guide book, but that the eighteen titles of the volume are built around his impressions retained after nearly twenty-five years of travel and writing for the *Miami Herald.* Omitted is the western part of Florida, which he correctly holds to be vastly different from the rest of the state. The people he tells about range from the well-known Henry M. Flagler to the less-known John McQueen, the places, from remote Cross Creek to distant Key West. His chapter on John Ringling– his circus, his residence, his museum, his art– is entitled "Three-Ring Sideshow." Smiley's entire book could well be labeled "Eighteen-Chapter Sideshow," for it will be just that moving and entertaining for a person seeking light reading with a Florida flavor.

Local chambers of commerce might dispute some statements which the author frankly admits are "written with enthusiasm." For example, Mr. Smiley describes the Ormond Hotel as "the largest wooden structure in Florida," while the Belleview Biltmore Hotel (Belleair-Clearwater, Florida) in its "Seventy-five Years of Hospitality" describes itself as "'the largest occupied wooden structure in the world," of which most certainly Florida is a part. Also, grammarians might cavil at the journalistic patois which permeates the pages, and historians might purse thoughtful lips at some of his statements. But Nixon Smiley has his story to tell, and the image he has retained for himself is passed on with clarity to his readers.

Special commendation is given to the interesting and artistic pen-and-ink drawings by Bob Lamme, and to the publisher for a well-manufactured and bound volume.

Clearwater, Florida William M. Goza

Papa: Hemingway in Key West. By James McLendon. (Miami: E. A. Seeman Publishing, Inc., 1972. 222 pp. Prologue, acknowledgments, illustrations, epilogue, bibliography, index. $7.95.)

In the spring of 1928, Key West was to be an overnight stop for Ernest and Pauline Hemingway, their first American port from Marseille, via Havana on a P & O steamship. Pauline's uncle Gus Pfeiffer had bought a Model A Ford for them to pick up at the island town and be on their way. But a delay in ferrying the car from Miami meant that the Hemingways were detained, a circumstance that was soon to materialize into a span of twelve years in which Hemingway called Key West home.

As his friend, John Dos Passos, had predicted, Hemingway liked the easy-going seaport. There was freedom to wander about the remote little island, to fish, write, and to commence a lifestyle that was to be known as the Hemingway creed– let live, live, and live life big.

Hemingway's Key West years, 1928 to 1940, emerge as a heady section of his colorful career. There are rollicking and poignant tales of fishing trips to the Marquesas Keys, the Dry Tortugas islands, the formation of Hemingway's so-called Key West Mob, his writer and artist friends, a goodtime crowd, who came to Key West, and the year-to-year escapades and entanglements of the Hemingway household and the man. It was in Key West that *Death in the Afternoon, Green Hills of Africa,* and *To Have and Have Not* were written, and *For Whom the Bell Tolls* was begun.

Interviews with Hemingway's remaining intimates in Key West add measurable content to the book. The Papa myth is further enlarged through information from published works that have previously appeared in abundance and impressions gained by the biographer when he was a columnist for the *Key West Citizen*.

James McLendon captures Hemingway's pace-setting years in Key West into a fast-moving book. The result is stimulating, if not entirely satisfying. The reader occasionally loses contact with which wife, for instance, is involved at a certain time. This confusion may be the result of radical editing, for the biographer has obviously drawn from an enormous amount of material. He

is working on a second Hemingway book and his first novel.

Miami, Florida Kathryn Hall Proby

Francis Drake, Privateer: Contemporary Narratives and Documents. Edited by John Hampden. (University: University of Alabama Press, 1972. 286 pp. Preface, introduction, chronology, illustrations, bibliography, glossary, index. $12.75.)

The legend of Francis Drake is largely based on his early voyages, those of 1568-1569, 1572-1573, 1577-1580, voyages which included his escape (or flight, depending on your point of view) from San Juan de Ulua, his attacks on Nombre de Dios and the silver trains crossing the Isthmus of Panama, and his circumnavigation of the world. Mr. Hampden has brought together the English accounts of these voyages from a variety of largely out-of-print sources, has annotated the accounts, and has written short introductory and concluding sketches designed to place each voyage in the context of Drake's life and times. Illustrations include portraits of leading persons in the drama, drawings of ships, a photograph of the presumed model of the *Golden Hind*, and various contemporary maps. Finally, he provides a partially annotated guide to the best primary and secondary literature on Drake and these voyages. The result is a book useful both to the casual student of Drake and to the serious scholar who wishes to acquaint himself with this controversial figure.

The image of Drake which emerges from these pages is that which he endeavored to project, corrected somewhat by the evidence of other Englishmen and by a judicious use of some of the Spanish sources. The picture is thus more balanced than that in another recent book on Drake reviewed in this journal (L, No. 2, October 1971, pp. 183-184), but it is also less comprehensive both as to historical context and the whole of Drake's career.

Because of the chronological focus of the book, there is almost nothing in it of direct interest for the history of Florida. Indeed, the name appears only three times (pp. 39, 104, 248), and it is not indexed. Yet this work does add to Florida history by providing documents and commentary on the life of one of the minor characters in her history and on the era of bad feelings between

Spain and England, an era which affected Florida in countless ways, most of which await study.

Louisiana State University Paul E. Hoffman

Blaze of Glory: The Fight for New Orleans, 1814-1815. By Samuel Carter, III. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1971. Prologue, illustrations, maps, epilogue, bibliography, index. $10.95.)

Blaze of Glory: The Fight for New Orleans, 1814-1815 is, as the title indicates, an account of the Battle of New Orleans. Unlike many of the studies of this conflict, Mr. Carter provides the reader with an excellent description of New Orleans and its life and culture during the War of 1812. With the exception of Jane Lucas deGrummond's, *The Baratarians in the Battle of New Orleans, Blaze of Glory* is about the only work to date which attempts to describe the lives of the Creoles and to explain how they changed from an attitude of indifference toward the United States to one of full support for Andrew Jackson's efforts to defend Louisiana against the British. The work contains a good account of the British efforts to recruit the Baratarians and a brief discussion of their dealings with the Indians.

The author's discussion of the role of black troops at New Orleans is one of the strong points of the work. He shows clearly that these soldiers played a major part in the defense of the city and that historians have generally failed to give them proper credit. However, since this work is not footnoted it is not possible to support the author's claim that the black troops suffered the greatest casualties of American forces.

The work contains a good description of the gunboat battle, the night battle of December 23, 1814, and all the actions along the Rodriguez Canal including the grand assault on January 8, 1815. Carter gives a full account of these actions with great emphasis on the human side.

This study of the New Orleans campaign is very readable, thanks to the author's lively style and interesting use of detail. Overall the work is fairly accurate, but there are many minor errors. Colonel Hinds is consistently referred to as Hind and Major Nicolls is spelled Nichols. Carter claimed that Fort Bowyer was attacked by 600 Indians, two detachments of marines, and

four warships. Official British records state that only two warships could get into firing position and that the British land force was composed of 150 Indians and sixty marines. Most of these errors came from the author's use of older published works such as Alexander Walker's *Jackson and New Orleans.* Carter's account of the Battle of New Orleans itself is more accurate, although it is evident that he has made heavy use of secondary works, especially Professor deGrummond's study and Charles B. Brooks's *The Siege of New Orleans.*

The work, nevertheless, should prove to be especially useful to the general reader. The historian will appreciate the excellent picture of the life and times of 1814 New Orleans and of its people. Here is the real contribution of the book.

Auburn University Frank L. Owsley, Jr.

The Mallorys of Mystic: Six Generations in American Maritime Enterprise. By James P. Baughman. (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1972. xviii, 496 pp. Acknowledgements, introduction, illustrations, notes, tables, appendix, bibliography, index. $17.50.)

James Baughman has given the maritime world a classic in his study that traces six generations of the Mallory family. His previous treatise was concerned with Charles Morgan and his progress in maritime private enterprise. Interestingly, Morgan and some of the Mallory interests both clashed and coincided at times.

Over their various lifetimes starting in 1760, the Mallorys were active in marine affairs in such diverse fields as sailmaking, sealing, salvage, shipbuilding, whaling, wrecking, as well as cargo carrying and coastal trading.

The first "maritime" Mallory was David who was a privateersman in the Revolutionary War. Next was Charles (1796-1882), who started as a sailmaker at Mystic, Connecticut, and he was also involved in whaling, fishing, wrecking, trading, shipbuilding, and banking. Charles Henry Mallory (1818-1890) shipmaster, transferred his operations from Mystic to New York in the 1860s and oversaw the transition from sail to steam. As C. H. Mallory & Co., he inaugurated liner service to Galveston, Texas, in 1866, while other Mallory ships called at New Orleans and

South Atlantic ports. In 1886 the family was involved with the New York & Texas Steamship Company. Henry Rogers Mallory (1848-1919) resurrected Mallory interests in 1908 under the well-known Atlantic, Gulf and West Indies Steamship Lines (AGWI) comprised of the Clyde Line, Mallory Line, Porto Rico Line, and Ward Line. AGWI Lines, which operated seventy ships in 1911, remained under the Mallorys for four years. Clifford Day Mallory, Sr. (1881-1941), established an independent Mallory ship ping company in his own name. In 1919 he opened C. D. Mallory & Co., Inc., a firm of steamship operators and managers. After initial setbacks the company ultimately prospered in tankers.

It is very fitting that Mystic Seaport should have this volume in their series as not only are the Mallorys an integral part of the Seaport and of Mystic itself, but also a significant part of American maritime traditions and accomplishment. This volume, besides being a scholarly contribution, is also very readable.

Mr. Baughman does not devote much space in his book on the Florida activities of the Mallory's although Mallory-contracted ships touched ad infinitum at ports such as Fernandina and AGWI liners were once very dominant along Florida's east coast. He tantalizes us by talking of Stephen R. Mallory as representing the family at Key West, but he gives us no detail. Perhaps historial data is lacking. The book is a welcome addition to anyone interested in either maritime or general American history.

Jacksonville, Florida Edward A. Mueller

Daniel Lee, Agriculturist: His Life North and South. By E. Merton Coulter. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1972. ix, 165 pp. Preface, illustrations, bibliography, index. $6.00.)

Professor Coulter has fashioned a lean and carefully researched biography which brings into focus a dominant but hitherto little known figure in Georgia's agricultural history during the mid-1800s. Born on a New York farm, Daniel Lee early found an outlet for his keen interest in scientific agriculture as editor and later owner of the *Genesee Farmer.* He continued to edit this journal after 1847 when he moved to Georgia to become the editor of the *Southern Cultivator* and to do other edi-

torial work. During the remaining forty-three years of his life he resided in the South and became as completely southern as any native. While avoiding sectionalism and political controversy he vigorously defended the South's institutions. He viewed slavery simply as a much-needed labor supply and advocated the reopening of the foreign slave trade to reduce the price of labor and to give more than 5,000,000 Southerners a share in such benefits. He held that soil exhaustion– a result of expensive labor– was one of the greatest menaces not only to the South but to the entire nation. In strongly advocating forest culture, cultivated grasses, artificial fish ponds, irrigation, and land grant agricultural colleges, he was considerably ahead of his times.

Lee left Georgia in 1862 after his professorship of agriculture was vacated by the trustees of the University of Georgia. He moved to Tennessee where his property was plundered and his buildings leveled by invading Union forces, but where he continued both the practice and the advocacy of grasses and livestock.

The author has followed more closely the topical rather than the chronological form of organization. Thirteen chapter headings include such topics as Lee's editing career, his service in the Patent Office in Washington, his professorship in the University of Georgia, his war-time activities, and his life in Tennessee. Despite the destruction (apparently during the war) of Lee's extensive papers and correspondence, the author has utilized well and effectively the files of contemporary agricultural journals and other sources to define Lee as "an admirable character, modest, unambitious, scientifically-minded, and dedicated to helping the farmer and the common man." The book is an important addition to the growing list of works on the agricultural history of the Southeast.

Georgia College James C. Bonner

Booker T. Washington: The Making of a Black Leader, 1856-1901. By Louis R. Harlan. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972. xi, 379 pp. Preface, notes, index. $10.95.)

Ever since his celebrated "Atlanta speech," Booker T. Washington has been the object of continuing interest and fascination. The many sides of his "kaleidoscopic personality" have stim-

ulated historians to see him now as an unprincipled and power-hungry "Uncle Tom," now as a realistic racial statesman. The most recent analysis of Washington's place in American life combines the various interpretations, presenting the black leader as a man of enormous complexity.

The impressive first volume of a projected two-volume biography, *Booker T. Washington: The Making of a Black Leader, 1856-1901,* clearly establishes Louis Harlan as the leading Washington scholar. With admirable tenacity, Harlan has ferreted out the details of Washington's early life, from his boyhood in the salt mines of Malden, West Virginia, through his training under Samuel Chapman Armstrong at Hampton Institute, the founding and growth of his own Tuskegee Institute, the building of his "Tuskegee Machine," and his emergence as the spokesman for his race.

Harlan pursues several themes in his presentation of Washington's rise to power. Most persistent is his characterization of Washington as the house servant– clever, deceitful, pragmatic, secretive, manipulative, and ambitious. In another vein, enjoying the advantages of hindsight, Harlan rues Washington's alliance with upper class whites and his emphasis on economic, rather than political, solutions. Perhaps most important, Harlan contends that as Washington moved into a position of national power and influence, he lost sight of his original vision of uplifting his people and concentrated instead on a selfish quest for power.

Carefully analyzing Washington's significance among northern patricians, in southern politics, and within the black community both North and South, Harlan is at his best in his brilliant description and analysis of the Atlanta speech. His meticulous research also enables him to explode many myths about numerous incidents in Washington's life-most notably, the dinner with President Roosevelt. Harlan is least convincing when he allows his mid-twentieth century perspective to cloud his appreciation of Washington's dilemma as a black leader in an increasingly hostile white world. In the main, however, he stands behind his evaluation of Washington "not as a total accommodator who made his peace with injustice, but as a conservative who would seek for himself and his people what he wanted, but would take what he could get."

Louis Harlan's study of Washington transcends the stereotyping and the simplistic analysis which characterize most treatments of the black leader; as such it deserves an enthusiastic reception and a careful reading.

University of Florida Elizabeth Jacoway Burns

In His Image, But . . .: Racism in Southern Religion, 1780-1910. By H. Shelton Smith. (Durham: Duke University Press, 1972. v, 318 pp. Preface, introduction, index. $8.50.)

In defense of the institution of slavery and in promotion of the cause of southern independence– so that slavery might be preserved– southern clergymen were second to no other group of Southerners, says Professor Smith, author of this fine study and James B. Duke Professor Emeritus of American Religious Thought at Duke University.

Beginning with the Quakers, or Society of Friends– not numerous enough in the South to be of much importance, however– Professor Smith traces the ineffectiveness and early failure of the anti-slavery impulse in every southern church, except the Friends. Nevertheless, few Negroes became Quakers, largely because the Friends neither sought to proselyte them nor to welcome them when they came unbidden. The other southern churches– all of them, including Roman Catholics but especially the Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians– thrown on the defensive by radical abolitionism from the North, came to defend slavery as a positive good, justified by the Bible, and blessed even in the eyes of God. And largely over the slavery question, in the 1830s and 1840s, southern churches split off from their northern brethren. This story the author traces in both historical and theological detail, separately for each of the major faiths. He also knocks down the long-held claim, in some quarters, that from the Revolution to the appearance of radical abolitionism in the 1830s, the anti-slavery movement in the South was succeeding. Not so, he says, reminding us with figures from United States census reports that between 1800 and 1830 more than 1,000,000 blacks were added to the South's population. Few would dare argue that any significant portion of that number were free blacks.

Defeat of the South in the Civil War made all that region's

convoluted and sometimes, perhaps blasphemous, defenses of slavery moot, One South Carolinian, for instance, the Reverend Iveson L. Brookes, had even dared claim that, "Next to the gift of his *[sic]* Son to redeem the human race, God never displayed in more lofty sublimity his attributes, than in the institution of slavery" (p. 145). With the end of the war, admittedly Negroes sought to establish their own separate churches, but even so none of the white denominations made any effort to keep them, while some churchmen resumed the old arguments for colonization of blacks. And just as southern clergymen had been in the forefront of those defending slavery and promoting southern independence, so were they among the most persuasive and vocal defenders of segregation in the post-war South. Even as late as the decade of the 1960s Mississippi Negro leader Aaron Henry could declare that the most segregated school in the South was not the public school but the Sunday school, while a white critic ventured the opinion that the last segregated table in the South would surely be the Lord's table.

Such a book does not, cannot, make pleasant reading, but Southerners, especially clergymen and other church leaders, need to be aware of and to acknowledge this part of their churches' past. Historians of course will find the book both useful and valuable, while the skeptical and the cynical toward organized religion will be made even more so by its contents.

University of Georgia Charles E. Wynes

The Savage Ideal: Intolerance and Intellectual Leadership in the South, 1890-1914. By Bruce Clayton. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972. xii, 231 pp. Introduction, bibliographical essay, index. $10.00.)

The "final great result" of Reconstruction, Wilbur J. Cash wrote in 1941, was the establishment in the South of the "savage ideal"– a set of undigested notions and assumptions, especially about the Negro, which achieved the status of absolute truths and from which no dissent was allowed. Conformity became so universal that Southerners were "virtual replicas of one another." Fifteen years later, C. Vann Woodward challenged Cash's view by insisting that the "mind of the South has never been so closed

that it has not contained its antithesis." In preparing this study of the South's "first full-fledged intellectual community" (1890-1914) Professor Clayton of Alleghany College admits that he often felt suspended between the conflicting interpretations of Cash and Woodward. But it is significant that he uses Cash's phrase in the title of his book. Professor Clayton contends that in spite of a massive assault on southern shibboleths, the intellectuals failed to redeem their region primarily because of the racist way in which they interpreted and pursued their ends. Even though they were paternalists whose racism sprang not so much from a hatred of blacks as from convictions about the goodness and rationality of whites, their actions not only helped nourish the Savage Ideal but also contributed significantly to the postponement of "America's great commitment to equality." Indeed, the presidency of Woodrow Wilson, one of Professor Clayton's southern intellectuals, marked the triumph of white supremacy in national affairs.

This book concentrates on a dozen or so intellectuals, mostly journalists and academicians, who were prominent in the two and a half decades after 1890. In his perceptive analysis of the ideas of Walter Hines Page, William P. Trent, John Spencer Bassett, William Garrott Brown, Edwin Mims, and Woodrow Wilson, among others, the author indicates that as a group these Southerners were intense nationalists bent upon Americanizing their native region. Well-educated and devoted to the "scientific method," they abandoned romance for "candor" and relentlessly pursued the themes of rationality and progress. They raised the doctrines of work and self-help to the level of moral absolutes, dismissed as dangerous any economic viewpoint which diverged even slightly from laissez-faire, held up the Duke family as the embodiment of the Puritan ethos, and advocated political independence by which they meant the right to vote Republican occasionally. Their faith in the latent liberalism of the business community enabled them to ignore many of the blemishes on the face of southern capitalism. For most of the southern intellectual elite, the formula for redeeming their region consisted of three primary ingredients: democracy, industrialism, and education, to be pursued and developed within a rigid color line. In fact, when the intellectuals spoke of the South they meant only the white South. A few like Andrew Sledd (later president of the

University of Florida) and John Spencer Bassett learned by experience the high cost of challenging the racial system. A majority tried to ignore the Negro, the region's "one great absolute"—an approach which rendered meaningless the very idea of the South. Like Reinhold Niebuhr's "children of light," the New South intellectuals were so certain of their own righteousness that they failed to comprehend either the depth of their own corruption or the extent to which they contributed to the perpetuation of the Savage Ideal.

Professor Clayton has produced a highly important book. It is well-researched, gracefully written, and intelligently organized, but more important, it illuminates "history's hold on man" and the odds against those who struggle to break free of its grip.

University of Arkansas Willard B. Gatewood, Jr.

Darkness at the Dawning: Race and Reform in the Progressive South. By Jack Temple Kirby. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1972. vii, 210 pp. Prologue, epilogue, notes and bibliography, index. $6.25.)

Darkness at the Dawning is an attempt by historian Jack Temple Kirby to describe and assess developments in the South during the highly critical years from 1880 up to World War I (1917). This post-Reconstruction era has not been dealt with by scholars generally, including black ones, in terms of its significance for the survival of southern blacks and the resurgence of southern whites as important components in the future of the South and the nation. Indeed, black historians tended to regard this historical period as one of "nadir" for the Southern Negro (Black).

Professor Kirby presents an important new description and assessment of the period by providing insightful and objective analyses of events, processes, and individuals which were parts of the total "Gestalt" of reform and progressivism in the South during this time. His understanding of the social forces operative at the time is no less perceptive than his ability and scholarly care in detailing significant biographical traits of selected individuals who made important contributions to the ideology and structures of the reformist thrust.

This reviewer feels that professor Kirby achieves his purpose very well and with commendable candor. He is careful to indicate the consistency with which race and racism were *constants* in the otherwise so-called "progressivism" of the period. Erudite white ministers, politicians, scholars, and businessmen proclaimed the necessity and even the virture of racial segregation (separation) as an essential element in the southern development and bi-racial progress to an extent that would satisfy today's most ardent black separatist. Kirby's analysis in this regard suggests strongly that the bitterness and disillusionment of W. E. B. DuBois and the accommodating "structure-function" approach of Booker T. Washington were two widely disparate adjustments to the pervasiveness of white racism during these years.

In conclusion, this reviewer feels that *Darkness at the Dawning* is an important contribution to American history and can be read with equal benefit by both blacks and whites. For those citizens, leaders, and scholars who are interested in enhancing their understanding of the emergence of institutionalized racism and its concomitant structures of segregation, unequal access, and inequality which plague this society to the present day professor Kirby's book should not be overlooked.

Florida A and M University Charles U. Smith

The Changing Politics of the South. Edited by William C. Havard. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1972. xxv, 755 pp. Preface, tables, figures, bibliographic essay, index of persons, subject index. $17.50.)

No one of sound common sense would attempt to replace the classic study of southern politics by V. O. *Key,* Jr., *Southern Politics in State and Nation* (1949). William C. Havard and his colleagues have avoided that pitfall and have instead set themselves the task of bringing Key's analysis up to date and of assessing the forces which have been at work over the past quarter-century transforming the terms of southern politics. Those who wish to follow developments in the region at more than a superficial level will find it an extremely useful effort.

Havard himself provides an introductory essay and a closing overview, bringing together the strands of a complex story told

in installments by fifteen scholars working individually or in teams of two on single states: Ralph Eisenberg on Virginia, Manning J. Dauer on Florida (an especially superior contribution), Lee S. Greene and Jack E. Holmes on Tennessee, O. Douglas Weeks on Texas, Richard E. Yates on Arkansas, Joseph L. Bernd on Georgia, Preston W. Edsall and J. Oliver Williams on North Carolina, Donald S. Strong on Alabama, Charles N. Fortenberry and F. Glenn Abney on Mississippi, Perry H. Howard on Louisiana, and Chester W. Bain on South Carolina.

W. Wayne Shannon, in one of the book's best chapters, analyzes the performance of southern delegations in Congress and demonstrates that the old conservative coalition of southern Democrats and northern Republicans has been much more active and effective recently than in the late thirties when it was supposedly formed. Key, and more recently James T. Patterson, argued that the coalition functioned only on a narrow range of issues involving race and that it was never very conspiratorial, but now it is clear that the most solid opposition to the national Democratic party comes from southern Democrats.

The purpose of the Solid South was to protect white supremacy, and the theme of Key's book was that those aspects of politics which were peculiar to the South could be explained ultimately by the biracial composition of the population. If there is a single theme in *The Changing Politics of the South,* it is the breakup of the Solid South in response to the metropolitanization of the population and to the new political forces unleased by the Civil Rights Movement. Thus, Havard has classified the former Confederate states into three groups depending on the extent to which "modern" Republicanism has established itself. There are the "transitional" states of the Rim South, the "wavering" states (Arkansas, Georgia, North Carolina), and the "protest" states of the Deep South. Havard wisely warns against the easy assumption that the rise of the Republican vote at various levels indicates a real two-party system with structured conflict between two well-organized parties, and he similarly expresses doubts about the viability in the near term of any neo-populist alliance between blacks and working-class whites. The future of the black voter, and of the white accommodation to him, is the largest unanswered question for the future.

If southern politics seem vastly more complex now than when

Key wrote, it may simply be that the constituent elements of the no-party system that used to operate under the rubric of the Democratic party are more exposed to public view and are arranged in different and rapidly changing configurations. Despite the claim that the situation now is different in kind from that about which Key wrote, the essays brought together here by Havard employ primarily the categories and techniques used by Key. The authors analyze conflict in terms of intra-state sectionalism, the "friends-and-neighbors" appeal, populist antagonisms, demagogues, bifactionalism, machines based upon strong personal followings, and other concepts familiar to the readers of *Southern Politics.* The new elements are black voters and urban-based Republicanism. One should not expect to find here conceptual breakthroughs or innovations in technique. The strengths of this collection of essays reside in the remarkable thoroughness of the analyses, the richness of detail, and the abundance of quantitative data.

Key's *Southern Politics* is still required reading for anyone interested in understanding southern poltics in the twentieth century. Those interested in events since the revolt of the Dixiecrats have access to a rapidly growing literature of high quality, but the proper point of departure is now *The Changing Politics of the South.*

Princeton University Sheldon Hackney

The South and the Concurrent Majority. By David M. Potter. Edited by Don E. Fehrenbacher and Carl N. Degler. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1972. viii, 104 pp. Preface. $4.95.)

When David M. Potter died in 1971 Stanford University lost one of its truly great scholars, as did the historical profession. Potter was both a national historian *(People of Plenty)* and a regional historian *(The South and the Sectional Conflict).* He was an outstanding research scholar and a fine literary craftsman.

In 1968 Potter delivered the Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures at Louisiana State University. At the time of his death three years later the work of revising these lectures for publication had scarcely begun. Yet the essentially unrevised lectures were of such high quality that the LSU Press decided to publish them,

under the title *The South and the Concurrent Majority*. The preface to this book points out that these essays "are presented without apology and need none; yet it should be remembered that [they] are probably not quite as Potter himself would have published them." The editors, colleagues of Potter at Stanford, also note that prior to publication a careful re-checking was made of Potter's statistics, and this investigation resulted in some changes of the original text. But the book as published actually varies little from the lectures given in 1968. Historians and political scientists should be thankful that the decision was made to publish.

Potter deals with the political devices by which southern political leaders, from the early nineteenth century to the present, have attempted to protect what they conceived to be the particular interests of the white people of their section, which is to say, Potter describes how the South has kept a position of power in the national government despite the fact that the population below the Mason-Dixon line made up a continuously decreasing percentage of the national voting (and actual) population. Antebellum politician John C. Calhoun, realizing the South's growing minority status, devised the theory of "the concurrent majority" as a proposal to limit the power of the northern majority in national affairs, and while the South never achieved the degree of negative power envisioned by Calhoun, the section was generally successful over the years in placing restraints upon what seemed to be the popular will of the majority North. Potter brilliantly analyzes how this has been accomplished by southern politicians working inside the Democratic party and within Congress.

Florida State University William I. Hair

The Writer in the South. By Louis D. Rubin, Jr. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1972. xvii, 123 pp. Foreword, preface, notes, index. $6.00.)

This is a relatively brief but brilliantly conceived history of the impact of the southern community on the writers who lived or were born there during the past century and a half.

Originally delivered as a series of lectures at Mercer Univer-

sity, Rubin's observations are divided into three parts, corresponding to the three periods he deals with– pre and post-Civil War and the twentieth century. The general thrust of his thesis is that the early southern writers, with the exception of Poe, who simply had to leave the deep South behind him, were so completely dominated by the influence of their community that they were unable to produce work of any transcendent quality even though they might have had the potential to do so. The later writers, led by Mark Twain, shook off this influence to the extent that they were able to write as novelists or poets or essayists, and not solely and primarily as Southerners– even though, for most of them, the South remained as the chief source of their inspiration as well as their favorite subject to write about.

Rubin draws on his magnificently extensive knowledge of southern writing to illustrate his thesis cogently and conclusively. Beginning and ending with references to and quotations from novels by William Faulkner– whose work he considers to be the greatest that the South has produced so far– he traces the evolution of the love-hate relationship between the region and its writers. In the Old South, before the war, they depicted what it was like to live there, victims of their own biases, which were the same as their community's– men like Simms and Timrod, who loved the South, belonged there, and never could transcend its values simply because they did not want to. After the war they were succeeded, for the most part, by writers like Joel Chandler Harris– creator of Uncle Remus– Thomas Page, and Mary Johnston, who romanticised the Lost Cause, and made the Old South live again because the present, during the late 1800s, was drab, stagnant, and dull.

Only Mark Twain, torn between his loyalty to the South and his instinctive revulsion against it, which enabled him to see it as it really was, had the imagination and the genius to look within himself, and so to come to some comprehension of the conflicts and tensions below the surface pieties of a society wracked by the ceaseless struggle between tradition and inevitable change. He was the precursor of the twentieth century Agrarians, makers of the southern renascence that brought forth such great American literary figures as Robert Penn Warren, Thomas Wolfe, Erskine Caldwell, Ellen Glasgow, Allen Tate, Katherine Anne Porter, and, of course, Faulkner.

They were all of the South, but somehow not involved in it so deeply that they could not write about it as artists rather than as Southerners. And therein lies the difference, Professor Rubin concludes– like Faulkner, "distanced from the community yet apprehending its pull," they achieved greatness by being able to portray in their novels and stories and poems and essays "the tumult and confusion of a changing South" which they managed to transmute into "the struggle of human beings for individual identity in the toils of social and spiritual necessity"– a struggle that today is confined to no region, no single nation, and to no society.

University of South Florida Edgar W. Hirshberg

Biracial Politics: Conflict and Coalition in the Metropolitan South. By Chandler Davidson. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1972. xviii, 301 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, tables, appendixes, index. $11.95.)

Houston, Texas, has a Negro population of over 300,000 (about twenty-six per cent of the city's total population), which represents the largest concentration of blacks in the South. Chandler Davidson, a sociologist at Rice University, has attempted in this case study to illuminate the political involvement of this black community during the last few years. The study is based on field work in selected precincts and interviews with black political activists in 1966 and 1967; it also rests upon an analysis of political campaigns and election returns. The author reviews the black political experience in earlier years, examines organizations as a resource in the Negro's political assimilation, and discusses the barriers to full Negro participation. He concentrates on electoral politics in Houston during the 1960s. His empirical evidence is presented in the context of a broad consideration of the most relevant scholarly literature in the social sciences and history.

This book makes it clear that Houston Negroes have established a tradition of organized, regular political participation at the grass-roots level. As Davidson observes, "Their lower income, education, length of time in the city, and social status make the performance of blacks in Houston in the 1960s truly remarkable"

(p. 103). Yet this political involvement has not worked for Negroes as pluralist theory predicts; Negro progress in Harris County has been exceedingly slow, and many gains have been counterbalanced by losses. There does not seem to be any clear-cut connection between the political pressure exerted by black interest groups, black politicians, and the black electorate on the one hand and progress in obtaining benefits on the other. In order to make a major breakthrough, Davidson argues, Negroes need to find dependable white allies and to resort to coalition politics. The author believes that working-class racism has been exaggerated, and that there are many whites from this class who are potential supporters of political programs that are racially and economically just. His analysis of recent elections reveals that many less affluent whites voted for the same candidates as did blacks when appeals were made to their economic interest as well as to their sense of justice. Davidson urges as a new "southern strategy" a biracial, class-based coalition, with economic goals radical enough to mobilize large sectors of the less affluent of both races.

There are still too few studies of biracial politics in metropolitan areas to suggest how typical the situation in contemporary Houston may be. But no one seriously interested in recent southern politics and society should neglect this provocative book.

Vanderbilt University Dewey W. Grantham

The Butterfly Caste: A Social History of Pellagra in the South. By Elizabeth W. Etheridge. (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Publishing Co., 1972. ix, 278 pp. Preface, illustrations, epilogue, notes, bibliography, index. $11.00.)

The three M's led to the four D's: meat, meal, and molasses– the meager diet of the poor– brought the grim consequences of pellagra– diarrhea, dermatitis, dementia, death. "The butterfly caste" of Professor Etheridge's title refers to a garish red lesion across the nose.

Named by an eighteenth-century Italian doctor, pellagra had long existed in America, escaping recognition until an Atlanta physician identified the ailment in a Georgia farmer during 1902. Within a few years a pellagra epidemic panicked the nation, at

its worst in southern orphanages, asylums, prisons, and mill villages, but not utterly neglecting other sections of the land.

This fine book, based on primary sources, skillfully recounts the story of the epidemic, the panic, sectional tensions evoked by northern patronizing and injured southern pride, and especially the quest for scientific explanations and remedies. Sometimes bumbling, this quest produced also a classic example of epidemiological investigation in the work of the Public Health Service physician, Joseph Goldberger.

The epidemic was partly a matter of recognizing what had hitherto been overlooked or misjudged, but it was also real because poor diets had become poorer as a result of depressed economic conditions, new milling techniques, and food supply sources restricted to company stores. The prevailing view of pellagra's cause pointed to spoiled corn used for the ubiquitous meal. A newer search sought for the pellagra germ, since southern physicians had recently become persuaded of the germ theory's truth. Thinking of disease as caused by the presence of an unwanted intruder made it difficult for doctors to regard disease as caused by the *absence* of a needed chemical.

But in 1914, after only three weeks in the South, Goldberger perceived that the clue to pellagra lay in the monotonous diet of the poor. At an asylum in Georgia and two orphanages in Mississippi, he demonstrated how improvements in diet reduced the incidence of the disease. By a "hellish experiment" at a Mississippi prison, Goldberger induced pellagra in volunteers by progressive restrictions on what they ate. Using his associates, his wife, and himself as guinea pigs, he disproved that pellagra could be an infection.

Goldberger's pointed revelations of the South's poverty did not endear him to the region's politicians and promoters. The major crisis came in 1921 when Goldberger's concern that a postwar depression would increase pellagra led President Harding to urge action so as to ward off the South's imminent "famine and plague." To both the Florida Develpoment Board and the United Daughters of the Confederacy, these were fighting words. Southern senators rose from their chairs to blast the President and the Public Health Service for sullying the fair name of the South. These protests did not stem the increased incidence of

pellagra which Goldberger had accurately predicted.

Goldberger died prematurely in 1929, and thus did not live to see identified the missing diet item; in 1937 nicotinic acid was shown to be the pellagra-preventive factor. This knowledge and the supplementation of flour and bread beginning during World War II have almost eliminated pellagra from the South.

But not entirely. As Professor Etheridge makes pointedly clear in her eloquent epilogue, so long as poverty remains, so too will pellagra. In 1969 Senator Ernest Hollings found pellagra victims in his tour of the shacks of Beaufort County, South Carolina. And some of his constituents reacted to this revelation with outbursts of anger very much like those provoked by Harding's reference to southern malnutrition a half-century ago.

Emory University James Harvey Young

The Bosses. By Alfred Steinberg. (New York: Macmillan Company, 1972. 379 pp. Introduction, bibliography, index. $8.95.)

Journalist-biographer Alfred Steinberg, who has previously chronicled the lives of Harry Truman, Eleanor Roosevelt, and Lyndon Johnson, among others, in the present volume turns his attention to the careers of six political "bosses" who were active in the period between the two world wars. He devotes a chapter to each of his subjects: Frank Hague of Jersey City, Ed Crump of Memphis, James Michael Curley of Boston, Huey Long of Louisiana, Gene Talmadge of Georgia, and Tom Pendergast of Kansas City.

Although the bibliography lists only autobiographies and secondary works, the author says that he used newspapers and interviews as well. Since there are no footnotes and the book adds little that is significant to previous accounts, it will be of little value to scholars, who could find more detail and analysis in book-length accounts of the bosses. One of those recent book-length works, Richard Connors's study of Frank Hague, was omitted by the author.

In his introduction, Steinberg asserts that the bosses came to power because of disillusionment among the American people after World War I which led voters to be less vigilant in their

attention to civic affairs. He writes to alert citizens not to let bosses rise to power again.

His accounts of the men are fascinating. Special attention is given to the ways in which they fattened themselves at public expense and at times gratified their egos with exercise of near-dictatorial power. Their escapades are detailed in value-laden language which leaves little doubt about the author's contempt for their methods.

Less attention is given to the deprived circumstances of the constituencies from which they derived their support. Even so, enough mention is made of these circumstances and of the efforts of the bosses to provide for their constituents at public expense that the discerning reader can conclude, as have recent scholarly studies of political bossism, that a boss's rise to power was aided as significantly by the failure of government to provide for his constituents' needs as by voter apathy.

Because Steinberg fails to analyze boss control in depth or even to study his subjects comparatively, this book remains only a colorful summary of the lives of six bosses, three of whom are southern. Even this summary would have been enhanced by the inclusion of photographs of the protagonists, as well as, especially in the cases of city-based bosses, maps of the wards and areas discussed.

Winthrop College Thomas S. Morgan, Jr.

Geronimo. By Alexander B. Adams. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1972. 381 pp. Illustrations, epilogue, bibliography, index. $8.95.)

This book is more than a biography of an Apache leader; it is also the story of his people and their heroic but futile struggle against the white invasion of their lands. For generations they were able to hold their own against the Spanish and the Mexicans because the invaders were incapable of dislodging the Apaches from their strongholds in the rugged mountainous regions of Sonora, New Mexico, and Arizona. The Mexicans early abandoned their efforts to exterminate the Apaches, and, by the time the Americans arrived, an armed truce had devel-

oped. Neither trusted the other, but both found mutual advantage in substituting limited for total war.

But all this changed with the coming of the Americans. Unlike the Mexicans, as Adams points out, the Americans were "more aggressive and more determined. They also seemed to have an endless quantity of supplies . . . the American soldiers were better supplied and trained than the poorly fed, underpaid Mexicans" (p. 77). Because the insatiable American desire for Indian lands drove the Apaches into either warfare or humilating reservation life, a truce (much less peace) was never possible. When the Apaches turned to war, the Americans revived the policy of extermination. Even General George Crook, the American most respected by the Apaches, was fully committed to the policy of reservation-life or death. The story is by now a familiar one: under the leadership of several brilliant warriors– Cochise, Mangas Coloradas, and finally Geronimo– the Apaches carried out a brave but hopeless struggle for freedom and dignity.

To this story, Alexander Adams, whose previous work has been in the field of conservation, adds little that is new. His major sources include three or four well-known books, such as Geronimo's *Story of His Life,* Jason Betzinez's *I Fought With Geronimo,* and Britton Davis's *The Truth About Geronimo.* More complete and more scholarly studies are Don Thrapp, *The Conquest of Apacheria* and Odie Faulk, *The Geronimo Campaign.* Moreover, those interested in Geronimo's sojourn at Fort Marion, Florida, will be disappointed to learn that, like most writers, Adams virtually ignores the Apache's travail in Florida, Alabama, and finally Oklahoma.

But the importance of *Geronimo: A Biography* lies in Adams's approach. He is sympathetic to the Apache's struggle without displaying the paternalistic, bleeding-heart syndrome which so often characterizes white liberal writing about native Americans. The Apaches were often cruel and merciless, but Adams places this cruelty in the perspective of existing conditions and attitudes, and therefore destroys many stereotypes. Geronimo broke his word, but hardly as often as Americans broke faith with him. He did get drunk on mescal, but who on the frontier did not? He killed women and children, but Americans killed them also, except by American standards killing Apaches was not a crime. But above all, Adams concludes, Geronimo fought an

honorable fight, "not for greed or profit or empire, but only for the two causes Americans respect most– his homeland and his freedom." And Adams leaves the reader with one final irony: over the Apache homeland the Americans exploded the first atomic bomb. "With it, they later killed far more women and children in a few moments than the Apaches did in hundreds of years of fighting."

Rollins College Jack C. Lane

BOOK NOTES

St. Luke's Hospital of Jacksonville, one of Florida's major medical facilities, was established in 1873. With contributions of almost $1,000 and an assortment of merchandise including furniture, bedding, foodstuffs, and medicines, four women– Mrs. Susan Hartridge, Mrs. Myra H. Mitchell, Mrs. Anna Doggett, and Mrs. Columbus Drew– opened the hospital, March 11, 1873, in a small wooden building on Hogan's Creek. The hospital has continued to grow, expand in size and resources, and in its services to the community. As part of its centennial celebration, it commissioned Richard A. Martin, author of *The City-Makers,* to write *A Century of Service: St. Luke's Hospital, 1873-1973.* It is valuable history, giving much local data that is nowhere else available. The book contains many pictures relating to the hospital and to Jacksonville.

Probably the best and most widely used compendium of Florida facts is Allen Morris's *The Florida Handbook.* Mr. Morris is one of Florida's best known authorities on Florida history and Florida government. The fourteenth edition of his book, 1973-1974, includes a great variety of information about the state, particularly political Florida. Special attention is given to Florida government; a list of all departments, agencies, and institutions is included. Where else could one find within the covers of one book biographical sketches of all the governors since Andrew Jackson, cabinet officials, and present members of the Florida Supreme Court, information on the discovery and exploration of Florida, a history of the Battle of Olustee, data on deaths, births, marriages, and divorces, and a full copy of the state's constitution

as revised in 1968? Interest in Florida blacks is reflected with information about James Weldon Johnson, Mary McLeod Bethune, and Jonathan Gibbs. The book sells for $7.50, and was published by the Peninsular Publishing Company, Tallahassee 32304.

South Florida's Vanished People: Travels in the Homeland of the Ancient Calusa, by Byron D. Voegelin, a resident of Naples, Florida, describes the massive shell mounds which the Calusa Indians constructed along the lower gulf coast of Florida. The Calusas were living in this area when the Spanish arrived in the sixteenth-century. Frank Hamilton Cushing counted seventy-five mounds in the area from Charlotte Harbor to Ten Thousand Islands in 1896. Professor John M. Goggin of the University of Florida supervised excavation of some of these mounds. Mr. Voegelin's monograph contains a number of pictures, and he describes the Calusa culture from the artifacts that were excavated. Mr. Voegelin's book was published by Island Press, Fort Myers Beach; it sells for $2.95.

Pioneering in Hillsborough County, Fla., is the autobiography of Mrs. Charles Gibson, a member of a Florida pioneer family. Mrs. Gibson was born in Hillsborough County, as were her parents, Solon and Sara Elizabeth Mansell. Her mother's family came as homesteaders after the Civil War, and her paternal grandfather had been stationed near what is now Fort Myers during the Seminole War. After completing her education, Mrs. Gibson began her career in a one-teacher school for $40.00 a month. When she retired in 1948 from the Tampa school system she was completing thirty-three years of teaching. Her book covers her life up to 1918. The book may be ordered from Mrs. Gibson, 711 Third Avenue South, St. Petersburg, Fla. 33701.

Wyatt Blassingame, author of many fine children and young adult books, has contributed *Wonders of Alligators and Crocodiles* to the Dodd, Mead Wonder Books series. Mr. Blassingame shows us why alligators and crocodiles are among the earth's most fascinating creatures. The early explorers thought they were giant lizards crawling around the swamps of Florida. John Bartram found them so numerous in the St. Johns River that "it would

have been easy to have walked across on their heads, had the animals been harmless." The book contains many interesting photographs. It sells for $3.95, and was published by Dodd, Mead & Company, New York.

The Treasure Galleons: Clues to Millions of Sunken Gold and Silver, by Dave Horner, traces the history of the great galleon trade which moved between the New World and Spain in the years 1500-1820. From the Spanish ports of Seville and Cádiz the ships sailed, loaded with food, equipment, and household and trade goods. These were exchanged in America for produce, hides, coffee, spices, and gold and silver. Although the voyages were long and the risks great, the galleon trade prospered and large quantities of treasure and merchandise were brought into Spain, Mr. Horner describes some of the major shipwrecks, including that of the *Nuestra Señora de Atocha.* On September 5, 1622, twenty-eight sails, enroute from Havana to Seville, encountered gale force winds off the south coast of Florida. At least ten ships foundered on the Florida Reefs, including several carrying immense treasure. Among the more than 1,000 people lost were Admiral Pedro Pasquier and fifteen priests. The following year the Spanish salvaged a quantity of silver, and additional recoveries were made in 1627 and 1630. Mr. Horner estimates that there still remains in the wreckage of the *Atocha* and her sister ship the *Santa Margarita* as much as 1,000,000 silver pieces-of-eight and many heavy silver bars. The book, published by Dodd, Mead & Company, New York, sells for $10.00.

Florida Lore-Not Found in the History Books! by Vernon Lamme, is a compilation of columns and stories written over a half-century of reporting and editing for a number of Florida newspapers. Mr. Lamme came to Florida with his father in 1912 to homestead land on Merritt Island, at a time when one could purchase an acre on Cocoa Beach for $20.00. The sketches are by Bob Lamme who is an artist for the *Miami Herald.* The book is published by Star Publishing Company, Boynton Beach, and it sells for $1.95.

Forever Island, a novel by Patrick D. Smith, tells the story of Charlie Jumper, an eighty-six year old Seminole Indian, living

in a corner of the Big Cypress Swamp. Charlie and his wife try to cling to their traditional ways against the great forces of the white man without success. When a development corporation buys a large tract of the swamp, Charlie leaves with his family and flees, seeking the lost island known in Seminole legend as Forever Island. The author is a resident of Merritt Island, Florida. Published by W. W. Norton & Company, New York, his book sells for $5.95.

Fabulous Florida, compiled by Jim and Miriam Hill, lists some 500 places to go and things to see in this state. A chapter, "Florida's Fascinating History," is included, along with information about fishing, boating, things for children to do, sporting events, special foods, etc. Published by Ambassador Publications, P. O. Box 4206, Clearwater, Florida 33518, this paperback sells for $3.95.

100 Keys: Names Across the Land, by Christine Fletcher, gives the history, legends, and folk tales associated with various American communities. Included are Eatonville, the all-black town established in 1886 near Orlando, and New Smyrna, the site of Andrew Turnbull's eighteenth-century Minorcan colony. This book was published by Abingdon Press of Nashville and New York; it sells for $5.95.

Black Reconstructionists, edited by Emma Lou Thornbrough, is in the Great Lives Observed series. Among the outstanding blacks included are Florida's Jonathan C. Gibbs, Emanuel Fortune, and Josiah T. Walls. Published by Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 07632, the book sells for $5.95, hardback, and $2.45, paperback.

A major contribution to southern literature is *A History of Mississippi,* edited by Richard A. McLemore, former director of the Mississippi Department of Archives and History. This two-volume publication was subsidized by the legislature of the state of Mississippi as part of its contribution to the celebration of the American Revolution Bicentennial. Its forty-three chapters cover every aspect of Mississippi and the surrounding area's history. Each chapter was written by a different historian, representative

of the major scholarship of the South. There is much that concerns Florida, including a chapter on British West Florida by Byrlea Kynerd and "A Spanish Province, 1779-1798," by Professor Jack D. L. Holmes. The volumes are handsomely printed and well illustrated. They can be ordered from University and College Press of Mississippi, Southern Station, Box 5164, Hattiesburg, Mississippi 39401; the price is $25.00 per set.

George François Mugnier was a commercial photographer in New Orleans at the close of the nineteenth century. Barre Publishers, Barre, Massachusetts, has published a volume of his black and white photographs of New Orleans and the area which covers the years 1880-1910 in a book titled *New Orleans and Bayou Country*. Some of the places in Mr. Mugnier's picutres still exist, but many have been destroyed, and were it not for these excellent photographs we would have no way of knowing what life was like at the time. Sharecropper's shacks, barber shops, the French market, great mansions, and pictures of the Mississippi River are included. The book sells for $14.95.

Jews in the South, edited by Leonard Dinnerstein and Mary Dale Palsson, deals with Jewish life in the antebellum South, the New South, and the twentieth-century South. Jews settled in Georgia in 1733, and by the American Revolution there were important communities in Charleston and Richmond. Well integrated and wholly accepted, Jews contributed substantially to the South's expansion both before and after the Civil War. Their involvement in the social, economic, and political life in the South is the focus of this book. Florida Senator David Levy Yulee and his father, Moses Elias Levy, were among the outstanding southern Jews of the nineteenth century. Published by Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge, the volume sells for $12.50.

American Civil War Navies: A Bibliography, by Myron J. Smith, Jr., is one of three volumes planned for an American Naval Biblography series. Books, scholarly papers, periodical articles, general works, and doctoral and masters theses are included here, and more than 2,800 items are listed. Several articles

which appeared originally in the *Florida Historical Quarterly* are listed. The volume sells for $10.00, and may be ordered from Scarecrow Press, P. O. Box 656, Metuchen, New Jersey 08882.

Religion in the American Experience: the Pluralistic Style, edited by Robert T. Handy, is in the Documentary History of the United States series being published by the University of South Carolina Press. Although it does not aim at a regional approach, there are several essays relating to the southern religious experience beginning with the colonial period. Another volume in the series, *Reform, War, and Reaction: 1912-1932,* edited by Stanley Coben, includes forty-two documents which attempt to illuminate the ways that America has experienced some of the major events during the two decades from the beginning of World War I until the onset of the Great American Depression. These volumes each sell for $9.95.

I'm Somebody Important: Young Black Voices from Rural Georgia is by George Mitchell. Using a tape recorder and a camera, Mr. Mitchell interviewed and photographed six young blacks during the summer of 1970. They were asked to talk about themselves, their families and friends, their problems, and their aspirations. These conversations about their homes, prayers, earliest memories, contact with the white community, and what they planned to do with their lives is revealing and honest. These people lived in what is acknowledged to be one of the poorest regions of the country; their candor and hopes come through in these six interviews. Mitchell's photographs are excellent. The book sells for $7.95, and it was published by the University of Illinois Press, Urbana 61801.

Cry of the Thunderbird: The American Indian's Own Story, by Charles Hamilton, is a reprint of a book published in 1950. It is a collection of Indian tales of buffalo hunts, massacres, battles, wilderness sports, religion, mythology, and family life. Several of the Indian paintings by George Catlin are included. A volume in the Civilization of the American Indian series published by University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, it sells for $7.95.

Health and Disease of American Indians North of Mexico is a bibliography covering the period 1800-1969. Compiled by Mark B. Barrow, Jerry D. Niswander, and Robert Fortuine, it lists books, articles, editorials, monographs, and other publications relating to the health and illnesses of American Indians. Besides the 1,483 items, there is an author, subject, and tribal index. Published by the University of Florida Press, Gainesville, the volume sells for $7.00.

This Country Was Ours: A Documentary History of the American Indian, by Virgil J. Vogel, examines various aspects of American history from an Indian point-of-view. There is a brief summary of the role of Indians during each of the selected periods of American history. Many documents are included, and of special importance are those dealing with recent and current Indian problems. Of great value are the appendixes which cover the last third of the book. Included are significant dates in American Indian history, biographical notes on important living and deceased Indians, lists of audio-visual aids, Indian maps and charts, museums with significant collections relating to American Indians, organizations and publications concerned with Indians and their problems, and a bibliography. Published by Harper & Row, New York, the book sells for $12.95.

Islands Unlimited publishes not "how to" but "where to" books. Four recent publications include *Boater's Guide to the Bahama Out Islands, Tourist's Guide to the Bahama Out Islands, Pilot's Guide to the Bahama Out Islands,* and *Diver's Guide to All the Bahama Islands.* To reach these interesting, out-of-way places one must, or should come to Florida. These books suggest where one should visit and eat, and they include the costs for facilities and acommodations. The books have been compiled by Lloyd R. Wilson and James E. Landfried. Islands Unlimited's address is P. O. Box 1442, Melbourne, Florida 32901. *Bahama Out Islands* sells for $2.95, the others all $3.95 each.

HISTORY NEWS

The Annual Meeting

The Florida Historical Society will hold its seventy-second annual meeting in Tallahassee, May 3-4, 1974. The Downtown Holiday Inn will be the convention site. The Tallahassee Historical Society and the Division of Archives, History, and Records Management, Florida State Department, will be the host organizations. Dr. Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., University of Florida, and Dr. Jerrell Shofner, Florida Technological University, are program chairmen, and they invite anyone interested in reading a paper to correspond with them. Dr. Doherty's address is 352 Little Hall, University of Florida, Gainesville, 32601; Dr. Shofner can be reached at the Department of History, Florida Technological University, Box 25000, Orlando, 32816.

Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Prize in Florida History

Dr. E. Ashby Hammond, Professor of History and Social Sciences at the University of Florida, is the 1972-1873 recipient of the Arthur W. Thompson Prize for his article, "Spanish Fisheries in Charlotte Harbor," which appeared in the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, April 1973. The presentation was made at the Florida Historical Society's annual meeting, May 12, 1973, in Port St. Lucie. The prize of $100 is given annually for the best article appearing in the *Quarterly*. Professor Hammond is a specialist in medieval medical history and Florida medical history. His articles have appeared in many scholarly and professional journals including the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. His most recent publication is the introduction to Jefferson Browne's *Key West: The Old and the New* (1912) in the Bicentennial Floridiana Facsimile Series. Judges were John Griffin, Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board, and Professors John Reiger of the University of Miami and Lucius Ellsworth of the University of West Florida. The award honors the late Professor Thompson, formerly a member of the history department, University of Florida, and it was made possible by an endowment establish by Mrs. Arthur W. Thompson and her family.

Rembert W. Patrick Memorial Book Award

Professor Wayne Flynt, Samford University, Birmingham, Alabama, is the 1972-1973 recipient of the Patrick Award for his *Duncan Upshaw Fletcher: Dixie's Reluctant Progressive,* published by Florida State University Press. Dr. Flynt has completed a biography of Governor Sidney J. Catts of Florida, and his articles on southern political, labor, and church history have appeared in scholarly journals. The award memorializes Professor Patrick who served as editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly.* Judges were Dr. Byron Hollinshead, New Smyrna Beach; Luis R. Arana, St. Augustine; and William M. Goza, Clearwater. Professor Flynt received a check for $100.

Young People's Florida Book Award

Billy Bartram and His Green World: An Interpretative Biography, by Marjory Bartlett Sanger of Winter Park, Florida, was the first book for young readers to receive this award. It will be given annually by the Florida Historical Society. The award was set up under the sponsorship of Professor Charlton W. Tebeau. *Billy Bartram* was published by Farrar, Straus & Giroux of New York. The judges were Mrs. O. C. Peterson, Fort Pierce; Mrs. Helen C. Ellerbe, Gainesville; and Miss Audrey Broward, Jacksonville University. Mrs. Sanger has written several books with Florida settings for children, including *Cypress Country, Mangrove Island,* and *The World of the Great White Heron.* The latter was a selection of the Ecological Book Club, Jacksonville University. Ms. Sanger received a check for $100.

Award of Merit

E. Reinhold Rogers, Jr., of the *Clearwater Sun* and a member of the Pinellas County Historical Commission, received the 1972-1973 Award of Merit for Excellence in Presenting Florida History through News Media for his work in preserving and interpreting Florida and local history. The award was made by Milton D. Jones of Clearwater, president-elect of the Florida Historical Society, who is the donor of this award, at the annual meeting, May 13, 1973. Mr. Rogers received an engraved plaque.

Florida College Teachers of History

The 1974 annual meeting of the Florida College Teachers of History will be held March 29-30 at Tallahassee. Professor Richard Bartlett, Department of History, Florida State University, Tallahassee 32306, is program chairman. His committee is soliciting proposals for general themes and individual presentations at the meeting. These should be in the form of an abstract of no more than 500 words; the deadline is October 15, 1973. Professional historians, college teachers, graduate students, and other interested persons are invited to submit proposals on any subject of historical inquiry, including all phases of American, African, European, and Asian history.

Announcements and Activities

The site of the San Pedro y San Pablo de Patali Mission was dedicated May 15 at High Hill Farm, the Tallahassee home of State Comptroller and Mrs. Fred O. Dickinson, Jr. Established in 1633, Patali was the largest mission between St. Augustine and Pensacola. The site is on the National Register of Historic Places and is identified by a marker. Secretary of State Richard Stone was the main speaker at the dedication.

The Historic Pensacola Preservation Board and the Florida Bicentennial Commission jointly sponsored a Historic American Building Survey study of the historic structures at the Pensacola Naval Air Station during the summer of 1972. The historian for this project was Dr. William S. Coker, Faculty of History, University of West Florida, Pensacola. Measured drawings, photographs, and maps and plans are on exhibit at the Preservation Board's Spanish Museum in the Pensacola Historic District. This exhibit will hang until January 1974.

The Florida Department of the Council on Abandoned Military Posts held an election in Tampa, April 21, and named Tom Mitchell president. Other officers are Frank L. Davis, vice-president; Dr. Joy Mitchell, secretary; Dr. J. D. Adams, treasurer. Theodore Lesley, J. L. Harrison, Tom Knotts, and David Blumberg are members of the board.

The South Atlantic Archives and Records Conference was held at Raleigh, North Carolina, May 3-4, 1973. The Florida Division of Archives, History, and Records Management co- sponsored the conference, and Robert Williams, Richard T. Martin, and Edward N. Johnson, all members of the Division of Archives and History, were program participants. N. E. Bill Miller, executive director of the Florida Bicentennial Commission, spoke on Florida's program at the session, "The American Revolution Bicentennial Celebration."

Dr. Helen Gray Edmonds, professor of history at North Carolina Central University, Durham, delivered the annual Rembert W. Patrick History Lecture at Guilford College, Greensboro, North Carolina, April 17, 1973. Dr. Edmonds's topic was "The Black Revolution of the 1960s: Transition in Philosophy and Techniques." The Patrick Lecture was established as a memorial to Professor Patrick, who for many years, served as editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*.

The Palm Beach Historical Society has reproduced the *Lake Worth Historian, 1896,* which includes pictures and articles written by pioneers, telling of their life in the Palm Beach, West Palm Beach, and Hypoluxo area. The publication sells for $2.15, and it may be ordered from Mrs. Maxine Banash, P. O. Box 1492, Palm Beach, 33480.

The American Eagle is published by the Koreshan Unity, Estero, Florida. It was founded by Dr. Cyrus Read Teed in 1906 as a political weekly with Allan H. Andrews as editor. In later years, the publication gained a reputation as Florida's leading horticultural magazine, mainly because of the weekly column by the botanist, Henry Nehrling. Publication ceased in 1948, but it was revived as a monthly in 1965. Subscriptions are $5.00 per year; $9.00 for two years. For information, write Hedwig Michel, editor, P. O. Box 57, Estero, Florida, 33928.

A major collection of art by Winslow Homer, including many paintings and water colors describing Florida scenes, opened at the Whitney Museum of Modern Art, New York City, April 3. It includes 200 paintings, water colors, drawings, wood engravings,

and etchings. The show will move to the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, July 4, and then to the Art Institute of Chicago, September 8. A Winslow Homer Catalog, with text by Lloyd D. Goodrich, has been published. It includes many color and black-and-white illustrations. It sells for $5.35, and it may be ordered from the Whiteney Museum, New York City.

The Southern Labor Archives of Georgia State University has processed several recently acquired collections, including the records of the Communication Workers of American Local 3108 of Orlando, Florida (1965-1972), which describes labor-management relations, local unions, and public affairs in the 1969 strike against the Southern Bell system, and the records of the Laundry, Dry Cleaning, and Dye House Workers Local 218 (1945-1971), describing the local's disaffiliation and reaffiliation with the Teamsters and organizing and unionizing activities in Jacksonville, Tampa, and Miami. A catalogue of holdings updating its earlier publication is available from the Archives, Georgia State University, 104 Decatur Street, S. E., Atlanta, Georgia, 30303.

And They All Sang Hallelujah: Plain-Folk Camp-Meeting Religion, 1800-1845, by Dickson D. Bruce, Jr., was the 1973 winner of the James Mooney Award of $1,000 given by the Southern Anthropological Society. This book will be published by the University of Tennessee Press. The annual award is for a book-length manuscript that best describes and interprets the people or culture of the distinctive New World population. The subject may be pre-historic, historic, or contemporary. Submissions can be about people belonging to major social, racial, or ethnic groups, or those identified with obscure or heretofore unknown groups. Information on the 1974 James Mooney Award may be obtained from Professor Charles Hudson, Department of Anthropology, University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia, 3060.

Bicentennial Events

The Florida Bicentennial Commission in cooperation with Florida International University held its Second Annual Symposium at the Deauville Hotel, Miami Beach, June 1-2, 1973. The theme of the conference was "Eighteenth-Century Florida and

the Caribbean." Dr. Charles E. Perry, president of Florida International University, and Lieutenant Governor Tom Adams, chairman of the Florida Bicentennial Commission, welcomed the Symposium participants. Sir Philip Sherlock, Secretary General, Association of Caribbean Universities and Research Institutes, delivered the luncheon address. Reading papers were Professors Richard B. Sheridan, University of Kansas; William S. Coker, University of West Florida; Jack C. Greene, The Johns Hopkins University; Barry Higman, University of the West Indies, Mona; Orlando Patterson, Harvard University; Thomas Mathews, Institute of Caribbean Studies, University of Puerto Rico; Charles Fairbanks, University of Florida; R. Duncan Mathewson, The Institute of Jamaica; and John Griffin, Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board. Professors Richard Klimmer, Ann Pescatello, and Darden Asbury Pyron, Florida International University, were chairpersons for the sessions. The officers and directors of the Historical Museum of South Florida were the hosts at a reception. Dr. Samuel Proctor, member of the Florida Bicentennial Commission, was general chairman of the conference. The papers will be published by the University of Florida Press.

In special ceremonies, July 4, 1973, the John F. Kennedy Space Center, was dedicated as an official Florida Bicentennial Trail site. William S. Frates, chairman of the Board of Third Century, U.S.A., was the principal speaker. Lieutenant Governor Tom Adams, chairman of the Florida Bicentennial Commission, was master of ceremonies.

The Library of Congress held its Second Annual Symposium on the American Revolution at the Library of Congress, Washington, May 10-11, 1973. "Fundamental Testaments of the American Revolution" was the theme for the conference, and speakers were Professors Bernard Bailyn, Cecelia M. Kenyon, Merrill Jensen, Richard B. Morris, and Ambassador J. Russell Wiggins.

The National Archives. Conference on the Meaning of the American Revolution will be held in Washington, D. C., November 15-16, 1973. For information write Henry Bartholomew Cox, National Archives (GSA), Washington, 20408.

A list of *State and Territorial Bicentennial Commissions and Contacts* is available from the American Revolution Bicentennial Commission. For a copy write to American Revolution Bicentennial, 746 Jackson Place, N. W., Washington, D. C., 20276.

Local Societies and Commissions

Alachua County Historical Commission— At its April 12, 1973, meeting the Commission reviewed the application to place the Hotel Thomas on the National Register of Historic Places as prepared by Historic Gainesville, Inc. The Commission will support congressional action on the establishment of a John and William Bartram National Scenic Trail and the acquisition by the state of 7,000 acres of San Felesco Hammock. An inventory of natural and historic sites in Alachua County is being prepared and will be correlated with the inventory of historic buildings.

Alachua County Historical Society— Otis Botts, sports director for WRUF, described early radio broadcasting in Alachua County at a meeting March 15, 1973. On April 19, Professor John Mahon of the University of Florida and a member of the board of directors of the Florida Historical Society, discussed the problems of the Seminole Indians in contemporary Florida. The May 15 meeting was jointly sponsored with the University of Florida's history department. Professor Jerry Weeks, Palm Beach Atlantic University, presented a paper on 'The Citrus Fever of the 1880s," and Dr. Samuel Proctor, editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, read a paper, "Boom in Paradise: Florida Land Boom of the 1920s." At its recent monthly field trips members have visited homes, cemeteries, and early churches in Newnansville, Melrose, and Waldo, and the site of the Dade Massacre at Bushnell, Florida. Officers are Merlin G. Cox, president; Mrs. Chris Matheson, vice-president; Marinus Latour, secretary-treasurer; and Mrs. Helen C. Ellerbe, historian.

Broward County Historical Commission— The Broward County Board of Commissioners has appointed the following officers for the recently-organized Historical Commission: Judson A. Fanuell, Hollywood, chairman; Mason Wacastetter, Davie, vice-chairman; Mrs. Carl Braymon, Fort Lauderdale, secretary;

F. K. Walker, Pompano Beach; and Sue Phillips, Fort Lauderdale. Cooper Kirk, Fort Lauderdale, is historian.

Fort Lauderdale Historical Society— A seminar on historic preservation was held March 24 with Professor F. Blair Reeves of the University of Florida and Randy F. Nimnicht of the Florida Division of Archives, History, and Records Management as speakers. The D. C. Alexander historic marker was placed February 14, 1973, at Las Olas by-the-Sea, the beach area developed by Mr. Alexander. On May 6, the King-Cromartie house was dedicated under the auspices of the Junior League. The Society has added books, photographs, maps, plats, and a variety of artifacts to its collection. The April number of the "New River News History Section" was dedicated to the late Dr. Stanley E. Wimberley, Vice-President for Academic Affairs, Florida Atlantic University.

Halifax Historical Society— The *Halifax Historical Herald* is the new quarterly publication of the Society. Its first issue includes an article, "The Real McCoy Lived Here," by Alice Strickland. The Society holds monthly program meetings, and is involved in many community activities. Its museum and headquarters on South Beach Street, Daytona Beach is open daily. The Boy and Girl Scouts are establishing a "History of Scouting" exhibits, and a room depicting black history is planned. Officers are Mrs. Hazell L. Fenty president; Mrs. W. K. Ellenwood, vice-president; Elam V. Martin, treasurer; Mabel Martin, secretary; and John L. Stanistreet, editor of the *Herald.*

Historical Association of Southern Florida— The 1972-1973 lecture series under the direction of Dr. Thelma Peters and Dr. Charlton Tebeau was the most successful in the Association's history. Two new exhibits, "'Florida's Other Indians: The Timucuan" and "Cultural Contrast (a comparison of tools and weapons of the Timucuan with those of the Tequesta Indians), have been added to the Indian Cultures area in the Historical Museum of South Florida. At the annual meeting, April 18, Mrs. Robert L. Parks was elected president; Rear Admiral Irving J. Stephens, vice-president; Mrs. Thomas Shiverick, executive vice-president; Mrs. Robert A. Nicolet, recording secretary; John C. Harrison, corresponding secretary; and Jack G. Admire, treasurer.

Jacksonville Historical Society— "The History of Medicine in Duval County" was the title of a talk by Dr. G. Dekle Taylor at the annual meeting on Wednesday, May 9, 1973. The Catherine Stree Fire Station, constructed after the 1901 conflagration in Jacksonville, is being developed as a museum which will depict the history of fire-fighting in the area. The Society has acquired additional books, pictures, periodicals, and post cards for its collection, which are housed in a special room at Jacksonville University.

Jefferson County Historical Association— The restoration of the Wirick-Simmons house is a major activity of the Association. A smokehouse and kitchen will be repaired, and plans for restoration of the garden are being drawn by a landscape architect. The Society also owns the railroad station and the Asa May Plantation House in Monticello, and work on these properties is planned. The two houses are listed on the National Register of Historic Places. The Association is cooperating with the Monticello Opera Company in its effort to restore the Perkins Opera House. It is also coordinating two major county bicentennial projects: preservation of Jefferson County's official records and the writing of a history of the county. Mrs. Esther H. Connolly is president of the Association.

Key West Art and Historical Society— A banquet honoring Secretary of State Richard B. Stone was held March 27 at the Holiday Inn. The following evening there was a preview of a military art exhibition at East Martello Tower. The annual spring art festival and summer fair opened at the Tower April 24, 1973.

Lake City Historical Society— The organizational meeting of the Society was held March 5. At a second meeting, March 21, it was decided that books, pictures, and artifacts relating to the Lake City area would be collected. Officers are Nettie Ozaki, president; Joan Rountree, vice-president; Freda Pickens, secretary; and Madge Van Arsdall, treasurer.

Okaloosa and Walton Counties Historical Society— Mrs. Ina Thompson of DeFuniak Springs spoke at the March meeting on

the "History of the Educational Systems of the Two Counties." Harold Gillis described "Flint Chips" at the meeting, April 29. A museum building fund drive has been organized with Clark Thomas Browning, III, as chairman. The Young Historians presented a play "El Dorado Enough" to help raise funds for the museum. The March 1973 newsletter carried a short article on Frederick de Funiak for whom the community is named.

Orange County Historical Society— Elected at the annual meeting in January were Donald A. Cheney, president; Rolland Dean and Dorothy I. Pratt, vice-presidents; James K. Rush, secretary; and Robert T. Overstreet, treasurer. On January 26, a historical marker was dedicated commemorating the original Pine Castle and its builder, William Wallace Henry. The major aim of the Society is to provide an historical museum for the county. The summer 1973 issue of the "Orange County Historical Quarterly" carried an article on the history of the museum building project.

Palm Beach Historical Society— Mary Linehan spoke on "Highlights of Early Palm Beach County" at a meeting April 10, in Whitehall, the Henry Morrison Flagler Museum.

Peace River Valley Historical Society— David Forshay of the Palm Beach Junior College and member of the board of directors of the Florida Historical Society, presented two films at the April 27, 1973, meeting at Zolfo Springs. The May program meeting was titled "The Search for Santa Maria." Barbara Grier and John Catterall of the Santa Maria Foundation, Palm Beach, presented a slide lecture describing the wreckage site. David Forshay spoke at the June 29 meeting on the history of the state flags of Florida. Officers of the Society are T. Mabry Carlton, president; Barney H. Whitman and C. Edgar Brooke, vice-presidents; Elizabeth S. Brown, treasurer; and Read B. Harding, secretary. Members of the board are William H. Bevis, Mrs. J. W. Thrailkill, Captain Roy T. Gallemore, Ruth McElya, and Dorothy Flood.

Pensacola Historical Society— Dr. William S. Coker described his work as historian with the Historic American Buildings Survey during the summer of 1972 on the Pensacola Navy Yard

project at the meeting, April 16, in the Museum. A lamplight tour of Fort Pickens was sponsored by the Society May 21, with George Berndt, park historian, and Tony Kegerries, park guide, in charge. Society officers are Mrs. Wendell Switzer, president; Mrs. E. P. Nickinson, Lucia Tryon, and Vern Moss, vice-presidents; Kathy Pepper, corresponding secretary; Mrs. E. R. Moffett, recording secretary; and Mrs. J. Holliday Veal, treasurer. New board members are Mrs. Paul D. Parks, Mrs. George Wagenheim, Mrs. F. N. Vickers, and Leslie Bogan.

Pinellas County Historical Commission— Mrs. Margaret Roy, president of the Questers, Seminole Chapter 149, was a guest at the May 1973 meeting and reported that her organization had received as a gift the Tampa home of Henry B. Plant. Efforts to move the property and restore it are being made. William M. Goza is chairman of the Commission's Bicentennial Committee, and he will be cooperating with the Pinellas County Bicentennial Steering Committee in drawing up plans for its celebration.

Safety Harbor Historical Society— James Miller presented a slide program at the meeting April 25, 1973, and he described techniques for the making of natural history specimen casts and molds. William G. Maxwell described the "Art of Contemporary Indians" at the May 23 program meeting, and Sam Prentice showed slides of the Bay area at the meeting June 27. The Society participated in the Count Phillipe Festival Parade in April, and is continuing its archeological digs in cooperation with the city of Oldsmar.

St. Lucie Historical Society— The Society is cooperating with the University of Florida in developing an area-oral history program. Tapes of Indian River pioneers will be duplicated and transcribed for the Society's archives; master tapes and transcriptions will be deposited with the University of Florida's Oral History Collection. The Society was one of the host organizations for the seventy-first annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society at the Port St. Lucie Hilton, and members served on the local arrangements committee May 12-14, 1973. Mrs. L. F. Emerson, secretary of the Society, was elected to the Florida Historical Society's board of directors. Walter Hellier, an honorary member

of the Society, received special recognition at the annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society when he was given an Award of Merit from the American Association for State and Local History for the work which he has done in preserving and interpreting the history of the Indian River area. The Reverend Mr. Billy Osceola, Whit Bevis, Tom Gore, and Arthur Swain were speakers at the recent monthly meetings of the Society. Officers of the Society are Mrs. A. C. McClintock, president; Mrs. W. H. Reed and Mrs. E. P. DeFriest, vice-presidents; Mrs. Robert Boynton, treasurer; and Mrs. L. F. Emerson, secretary. They were installed at a dinner meeting May 15.

Southwest Historical Society— The Society celebrated its tenth anniversary, April 16, 1973, and the April number of the "Caloosa Quarterly" carried an article by Alberta Rawchuck describing the history of the organization. Professor George Huggins of Edison Community College spoke at the meeting April 12 on the digs at Mound Key, Estero Bay, and members then visited the sites.

Tampa Historical Society— Markers commemorating the site of the old Hillsborough County Courthouse and the establishment of WDAE, Florida's first licensed commercial broadcast station, were unveiled recently. Dr. James W. Covington, University of Tampa, has been appointed chairman of the committee to plan the sesquicentennial celebration of the founding of Fort Brooke, established in 1824. Hampton Dunn, president of the Society, was master of ceremonies at the ground breaking, May 26, for the Historic Memorial Picnic Island, the training site for soldiers during the Spanish-American War.

Tarpon Springs Area Historical Society— Major events of the year were the Annual Remembrance Tea held at the Presbyterian Church, the essay contest, and the walking tour of old houses around the head of Spring Bayou, March 23, 1973. A plaque has been dedicated noting the Tarpon Springs Sponge Exchange as a historic site. Florida Secretary of State Richard Stone, Father Elias Kalariotes, Mayor George Tsourakis, and John Kouremetis, president of the Sponge Exchange, were the speakers at the dedicatory services. Society officers are Gertrude D. Stoughton,

president; Nina Assimack, vice-president; Dorothy Veal, secretary; Grace Rolfe, treasurer; and Jessie Cobb, Thomas Craig, F. Kettrell Powell, Donald M. Quimby, and Colonel H. M. Salley, executive board members.

GREAT EXPECTATIONS. . . . . .

1973		
Sept. 18-21	American Association for State and Local History	Edmonton, Alberta
Sept. 25-28	Society of American Archivists	St. Louis, Mo.
Oct. 11-14	National Trust for Historic Preservation	Cleveland, Ohio
Nov. 1-4	National Oral History Colloquium	West Point, N.Y.
Nov. 7-10	Southern Historical Association	Atlanta, Ga.
Dec. 27-30	American Historical Association	San Francisco, Calif.
1974		
Feb. 8-9	Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference	Pensacola
March 29-30	Florida College Teachers of History	Tallahassee
May 3-4	FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY– 72nd ANNUAL MEETING	Tallahassee

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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

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