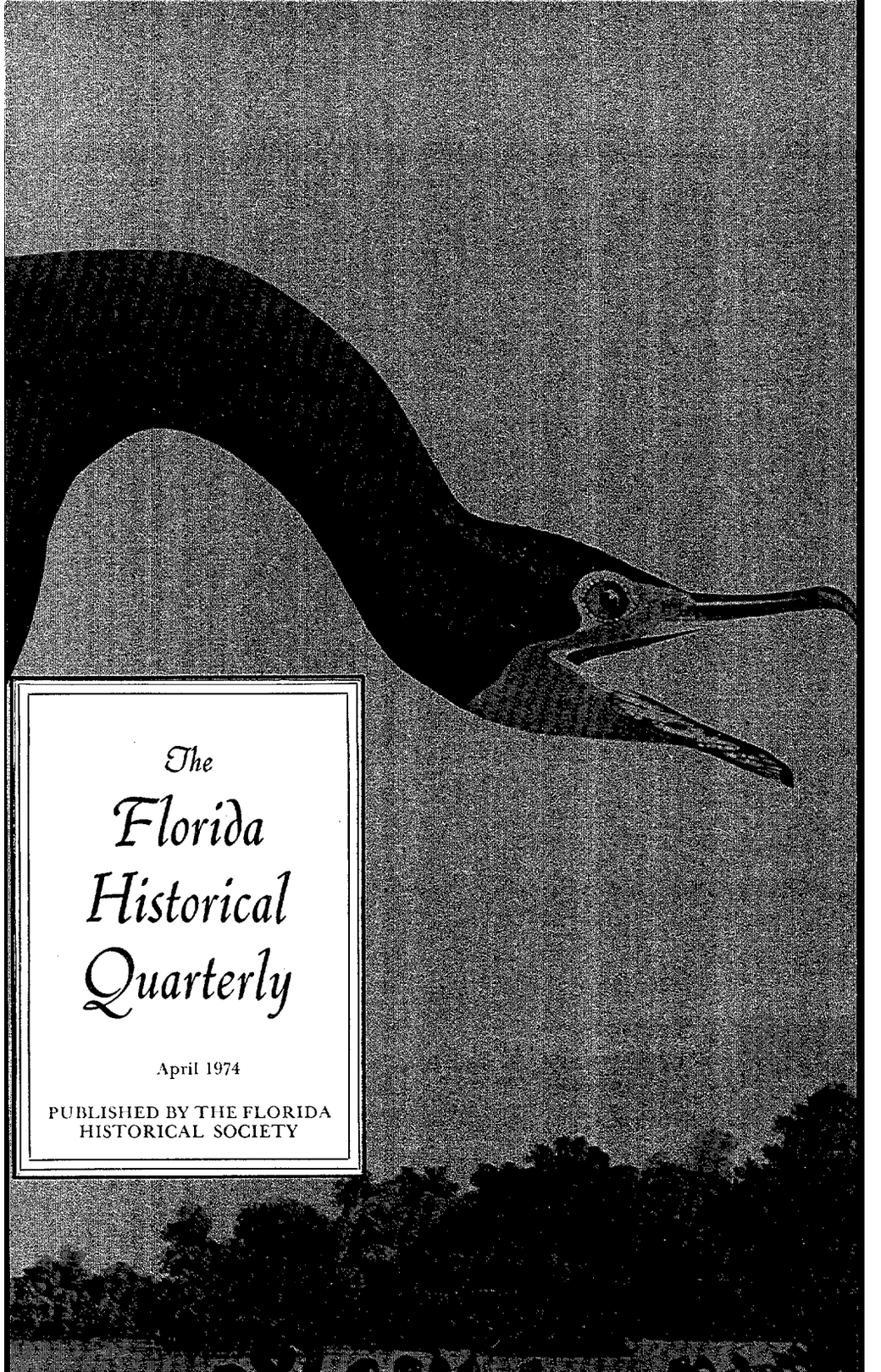

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COVER

John James Audubon saw the Florida Cormorant at Indian Key, and painted it on April 26, 1832, his forty-seventh birthday. He was in Florida at the time visiting the Keys aboard the *Marion*, a United States revenue cutter.

Audubon commissioned copies to be made– most of them by Robert Havell, Jr., the well-known English engraver. Reproduced by copper plate engravings, each print was colored by hand. Due to human variability, the outlines and colors did not always remain true to the originals. Nevertheless, it is such copies, or even copies of these copies that have come to be incorrectly regarded as Audubon's real work. The Florida Cormorant on the cover is from a copy of the 1835 Havell engravings in the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville.

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THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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THE PWA IN TAMPA: A CASE STUDY

by CHARLES B. LOWRY*

THE STOCK MARKET crash of 1929 and the ensuing depression resulted in the first attempts by the federal government to stimulate the economy on a massive scale at a time of economic collapse. President Hoover moved reluctantly in this area, but Franklin D. Roosevelt, although poorly grounded in economics, avidly applied Keynesian economic theory to an extent unacceptable to his Republican predecessor. The programs of the New Deal affected vast numbers of individuals and businesses, both large and small. The Tampa Shipbuilding and Engineering Company (T.S.&E.) founded by Ernest Kreher, a German immigrant, was among the latter. In 1932, while Hoover was still in office, Kreher attempted to acquire a federal loan to construct a much-needed dry dock in Tampa. Fully five years were to elapse before he completed his venture. His successes and failures illustrate how Roosevelt's administration sought to implement programs to end the depression. The Tampa dry dock project is, moreover, a good case study of the adaptations in national legislation which are necessary to meet local needs and the flexibility of the New Deal in making such adaptations.

Among the important tools used by the Republicans to allay the impact of the depression was the Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC), created in January 1932 "to lend money to banks, railroads and other institutions threatened by destruction." It was claimed, however, that "because of Hoover's misgivings about federal intervention, the agency made so little use of its powers that it frustrated the intent of Congress."[1] Though the policies of the RFC during the latter part of the Hoover years did much to reduce the impact of the depression

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1. William E. Leuchtenburg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal* (New York, 1963), 71n.

on larger business organizations, thus slowing the downward economic spiral, they ultimately failed to give relief to those most in need. This was the result of the fundamental philosophy "that prosperity would somehow trickle down from the banks and industries to workingmen at the base of the economic pyramid."[2] Ernest Kreher had used this philosophy as his justification in applying for an RFC loan.

Born January 10, 1874, in Limbach, Germany, Kreher followed his brother Paul to Philadelphia in 1890, and two years later he moved to Tampa. Like his father, he was a mechanical engineer, and he helped build ships, dredges, and machine works.[3] After the Spanish-American War he worked for a while for Krause and Wagner, a small machine works, but by 1900, with the aid of Captain S. L. Varnedoux, he had bought out his employers and established the Tampa Foundry and Machine Works. In 1917 he acquired Varnedoux's holdings, and changed the name of the company to Tampa Shipbuilding and Engineering Company. The business prospered during the post-war years.[4]

Kreher saw in the dry dock enterprise a partial solution to a number of economic problems– including the burgeoning demands of Gulf shipping, the financial wants of his company, the strengthening of Tampa's role within the shipping industry, and. the relief of the hard-pressed, unemployed mechanics and common laborers of the Tampa Bay area– by creation of both temporary and permanent jobs. He was quick to grasp the opportunities offered by the RFC, particularly when Harvey Couch, RFC director, began urging businesses in 1932 to make application for "small self-liquidating loans."[5] By September 17 Kreher had a loan application pending before the RFC in Washington.[6] Processing moved slowly, however, and before it was completed Roosevelt had taken office, and the precise role

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2. Samuel Eliot Morison and Henry Steele Commager, *The Growth of the American Republic,* 2 vols. (New York, 1962), II, 648-49.
3. Karl H. Grismer, *Tampa: A History of the City of Tampa and the Tampa Bay Region of Florida* (St. Petersburg, 1950), 351-52.
4. D. B. McKay, ed., *Pioneer Florida,* 3 vols. (Tampa, 1959), III, 380-81.
5. *Tampa Tribune,* September 20, 1932.
6. Kreher to James Hardin Peterson, January 14, 1935, box 74, James Hardin Peterson Papers, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville. Hereinafter cited as PP.

of the RFC was in doubt. Kreher was informed in early June 1933 that his request should be resubmitted with increased collateral.[7]

Enlisting the assistance of the port development committee of the Tampa Chamber of Commerce, the loan was pursued with increasing urgency.[8] A report prepared by construction engineer Francis L. Judd of the Chamber was submitted to the RFC, January 24, 1933. It met the two major RFC objections that had delayed granting the loan. First, the RFC was reluctant to aid the "construction of a facility which may be competitive with other institutions of like nature located in other sections of the country."[9] Against this objection the Judd Report argued that a dry dock of 10,000 tons lifting capacity located in Tampa would not compete for existing business, but would rather fill a very pressing demand for repairs in the form of "new business." The report provided a comprehensive account of shipping conditions from New York to Galveston, thereby presenting a cogent argument to back the Tampa company's contention.[10] The RFC's second objection concerned the "nature of the security, that is, what disposition the corporation [RFC] could make of the dock should the Company [T.S.&E.] default in their obligations."[11] In the initial loan application, waterfront properties had been offered as collateral. Kreher, though irritated by the request for further securities, agreed to submit "whatever else is required within the Company's ability and within reasonable limits."[12] At this juncture the RFC proposed a loan of $600,000, if the company would invest $100,000 of its own or borrowed funds. This remained the RFC's answer to the question of collateral.

Kreher pursued three alternatives to the RFC objection and solution. First, he attempted to borrow an additional $100,000 from banks in Tampa, but this was virtually impossible since T. S. & E. was encumbered by pre-depression debts.[13] State pro-

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7. Peterson to Kreher, June 6, 1933, box 74, PP.
8. *Tampa Tribune,* September 14, 1933.
9. Report compiled by Francis L. Judd for Kreher arguing the loan then pending before the RFC, January 24, 1933, 1, box 74, PP.
10. *Ibid.,* 2-15.
11. *Ibid.,* 1.
12. *Ibid.,* 15-16.
13. Grismer, *Tampa,* 246, 277-78.

perty taxes were also in arrears for $57,000.[14] Besides, banks in Tampa and elsewhere would have had difficulty floating such a loan.[15] With little prospect for a bank loan, Kreher next sought to convince the RFC that his company had already "invested over $100,000 in the dry dock enterprise by partly dredging the basin, by building the railroad tracks leading from the main line to the [site of the] dry dock, [and] by furnishing the necessary cranes."[16] When the RFC rejected a real estate appraisal submitted by Kreher, he asked Elbert L. Smith, assistant to the RFC's director, to suggest an acceptable appraiser.[17] Kreher's hopes for the success of this second alternative increased after Washington asked that he revise his loan proposal, appending to it three appraisals of work already done. Official reaction thus seemed increasingly favorable toward granting the loan.[18] Kreher's third solution was to increase the amount of his collateral. The original appraisal of his collateral had been devalued, but it still totaled $298,812.50, besides the $750,000 value of the completed dry dock which would be added.[19] Kreher now offered securities worth $1,922,250, the bulk of his wealth, which included most of his company assets.[20] Kreher was offering to commit his entire financial holdings to the success of the venture. Ultimately the latter two approaches were combined but only after a new obstacle, governmental reorganization, had been surmounted.

The question of what the new Roosevelt administration would do with the RFC had figured increasingly in the negotiations for the loan. By March of 1933 Kreher concluded "that the reorganization of the RFC must be over first before really anything can be done but we are very glad to be able to prepare our case in the meantime."[21] He and other company officials

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14. *House Reports*, 78th Cong., 1st sess., no. 938, "Investigation of Certain Transactions of the Tampa Shipbuilding Co." [successor to T.S.&E.], 13-14.
15. Kreher to Peterson, April 7, 1933, box 74, PP.
16. *Ibid.*, March 7, 1933, box 74, PP.
17. Kreher to Smith, March 18, 1933, box 74, PP.
18. Peterson to Kreher, March 15, 1933, box 74, PP.
19. Supplement to the Judd Report, June 30, 1933, *passim*, box 74, PP.
20. Kreher to Peterson, March 7, 1933; Kreher to H. M. Waite, deputy administrator, PWA, March 8, 1934, box 74, PP.
21. Kreher to Peterson, March 18, 1933, box 74, PP.

were thus aware of the RFC's reorganization; they did not realize how complete that activity would be. By June the RFC had withdrawn "from virtually all activities except those of banking and supplying money for other federal offices," and many of its operations had been transferred to other government agencies.[22] As a result the Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works, the PWA, inherited the question of the Tampa loan, and some of its new regulations were to have marked effect on both acquisition of the loan and the construction of the dry dock. Important in this regard was the requirement that "non-Federal public works had to be 'self-liquidating' in character. They had to . . . earn income."[23] From the time of the initial application to the RFC, Kreher had envisioned the prospective dry dock project as extremely lucrative, and in all the documentation he stressed the profitable future of the venture.[24] Thus, the loan application satisfied the requirement of self-liquidation. Significant also for the job of constructing the dry dock were certain requirements concerning labor on PWA-financed projects. The agency stipulated that all contracts contain provisions that "no individual shall work more than 30 hours in any 1 week." It also established a southern wage scale of $1.00 per hour for skilled labor and forty cents for unskilled labor.[25] The PWA insisted that its officials had to come to Tampa for on-site inspection.[26] In the case of the Tampa company, these regulations contained cause for conflict, and in time they would impede the progress of the project.

Although Kreher had attended *Realschule,* secondary school, only to third grade, he had displayed an engineering ability equal to university study.[27] He was acquainted with many influential Hillsborough politicians and businessmen and was held in high regard by professional and academic engineers in the state.[28] He

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22. *Tampa Tribune*, June 27, 1933.
23. U.S. Federal Works Agency, Public Works Administration, Division of Information, *America Builds: The Record of PWA* (Washington, 1939), 6.
24. Supplement to the Judd Report, November 25, 1932, 2-5, box 74, PP.
25. U.S. Federal Works Agency, *America Builds,* 39, 84-85.
26. *Ibid.,* 79.
27. McKay, *Pioneer Florida,* 380.
28. T.S.&E.'s board of directors included Angel L. Cuesta, Sr., Peter O. Knight, and Perry G. Wall. George B. Howell played an important

had built a considerable fortune by his own talents and was justly proud of his achievements. Such a man was unlikely to adapt well to supervision by government-appointed engineers. In the ensuing events a subordinate role proved to be intolerable to Kreher, who was long accustomed to wielding authority. Circumstances thus required of PWA officials an ability to handle not only challenging engineering problems, but also more important and complex problems of inter-personal relations. The first appointees had difficulties with both.

Two other provisions of the NIRA were to be of major importance in the imbroglio surrounding the construction of the Tampa facility. First, the original act of 1933 allowed the federal government to make an outright grant of thirty per cent of the face value of the loan. Under the Relief Appropriation Act of 1935 the grant was increased by executive order to forty-five per cent.[29] Kreher later buttressed his arguments against on-site supervision with the fact that his firm never received a grant of either thirty or forty-five per cent.[30] Secondly, because of the potential for graft, open competitive bidding was required on PWA work. This requirement was designed to protect contractors and officials, and in the long run millions of federal and local dollars were saved by ruling out favoritism in the award of contracts.[31] Although necessary for NIRA projects, the use of competitive bids in the case of the dry dock had peculiar and unfortunate results.

With the creation of the PWA in June 1933, and the final disposition of the role of the RFC, the dry dock loan application neared completion. Kreher now had documentation for the loan transferred from the RFC to the PWA.[32] He included

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part in the success of the dry dock project. Kreher was associated with Howell continually from these years until his death. He remained a consulting engineer to Tampa Shipbuilding Co., the successor to T.S.&E. organized by Howell in 1940, and was on the board of directors of Marine Bank and Trust Co., which in 1944 selected Howell as its president. See also Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union,* August 2, 1933, March 10, 1934, April 7, 1935.

29. U.S. Federal Works Agency, *America Builds,* 43.
30. Kreher to Waite, March 8, 1934; Kreher to M. C. MacDonough, director of engineering, PWA, March 27, 1934; Notes: Addressing the officials of the PWA by Ernest Kreher with reference to suspension of Docket 45, February 1935, box 74, PP.
31. U.S. Federal Works Agency, *America Builds,* 88-89.
32. Kreher to Peterson, January 14, 1935, box 74, PP.

the final supplement (June 30, 1933) to the Judd report, embodying both increased collateral and the investment already made in the dry dock project. After appraiser's devaluations the total came to $1,754,812.50.[33]

At first Kreher had pursued the loan with little outside assistance.[34] Judd had compiled the statistics for the revised RFC loan application of January 24, 1933, but Kreher had done all the other paper work.[35] George F. Corrigan, a Tampa businessman and president of the Franklin D. Roosevelt-for-President Club of Hillsborough County, had solicited the assistance of Congressman J. H. Peterson of Hillsborough, as did former mayor and publisher D. B. McKay.[36] Some moral support came from two members of T. S. & E.'s board of directors: W. H. Jackson of the law firm Jackson, Dupree, and Cone, and George B. Howell, president of the Exchange National Bank of Tampa. Their assistance was significant during the problem-filled period of construction.

In the final stages of negotiation Kreher found more support both at the state level and in Tampa. On July 6, Tampa businessmen, meeting at the Chamber of Commerce, pledged $10,000 in order to present four major programs to the PWA for consideration, including funds for a study headed by R. V. Brown "to prepare & present a program for a floating dry dock for Tampa, which will have long term benefits for employment."[37] This belated financial support was of no help to Kreher. Five days later a state board was organized to coordinate as "intermediary between public, semi-public and private interests" on the one hand and the federal government on the other.[38] Although this plan did not become effective soon enough to influence the pending loan, it meant Florida was one of ten

33. Supplement to the Judd Report, June 30, 1933, 1-2, box 74, PP.
34. *Tampa Tribune*, September 14, 1933.
35. Judd was well informed on issues related to rivers, harbors, and shipping, and his expertise was often used during these years by state and city officials. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, January 3, 1934, March 25, 1935; Fred Carter, acting secretary, Tampa Chamber of Commerce, to Peterson, June 6, 1935; J. A. Waterman, chairman of the Tampa Chamber of Commerce Aviation Committee, to Judd, June 7, 1935; Peterson to Waterman, June 10, 1935, box 88b, PP.
36. Corrigan to Peterson, December 30, 1932; McKay to Peterson, March 28, 1933; Peterson to McKay, April 5, 1933, box 74, PP.
37. *Tampa Tribune*, July 7, 1933.
38. *Ibid.*, July 12, 1933.

states that acted to assist the federal government and to accelerate "the creaking machinery which seemed inadequate to meet the emergency of the situation."[39] Finally, Hillsborough County and the City of Tampa organized the Tampa Industrial Recovery Committee, which at its July 25 meeting pledged active support of five proposals, including a dry dock project for which the PWA was asked to supply $180,000 and the participating company the balance of $420,000.[40] This was obviously an unrealistic proposal considering the nationwide collapse of local credit.[41] R. V. Brown, by this time conversant with Kreher's activity, informed the Tampa Committee that the dry dock project was "fairly safe" already.[42] While none of these efforts affected the status of the loan, they did demonstrate that there was a strong commitment in Florida to the PWA concept and a desire to expedite its implementation. These efforts could only help Kreher's activities.[43]

Kreher traveled to Washington in late June 1933 to be present at the last loan negotiations. He was assisted by G. B. Howell, who made several trips during succeeding months.[44] Their activities were expedited by the support of United States Senators Park Trammel and Duncan Fletcher and Congressman Peterson, all of Florida.[45] In addition many Tampans were in

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39. U.S. Federal Works Agency, *America Builds,* 52.
40. *Tampa Tribune,* July 26, 1933.
41. U.S. Federal Works Agency, *America Builds,* 37, 61-63.
42. *Tampa Tribune,* July 26, 1933.
43. An indication of Florida's enthusiasm for the PWA was the alacrity with which the state overcame constitutional obstacles blocking municipal and county governments from acquiring federal funds. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union,* October 10, 1934. In general, Florida actively pursued federal funds. For instance, during the period up to January 1934, over 100 separate applications were made to the RFC and PWA for major public work projects. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union,* January 24, 1934. A detailed account of all federal projects for this period is to be found in "Minutes of Semi-Annual Statewide Coordination Meeting of Federal Agencies in Florida, Held Under Auspices of the National Emergency Council, December 19, 1935, Jacksonville, Florida," box 111, James B. Hodges Papers, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History. Hereinafter cited as HP.
44. *Tampa Tribune,* September 14, 1933.
45. Kreher to C. D. Cordner, president, Propeller Club of the Port of Tampa, September 14, 1933, box 74, PP. Senator Trammel sought the aid of President Roosevelt with Secretary Ickes for the "Tampa Harbor Project." Presumably their conversation referred to the proposed dredging of the harbor, but it is likely that Trammel also solicited aid for the dry dock. Franklin D. Roosevelt to Park Trammel

Washington during the height of Kreher's negotiations lobbying for aid for various city programs.[46]. In particular, Angel L. Cuesta Jr., son of the cigar magnate, as president of the Tampa Industrial Recovery Committee sought to assist in securing the dry dock loan.[47] Perry G. Wall, former mayor of Tampa, solicited the aid of Postmaster General James Farley, Roosevelt's patronage chief, but to no avail.[48] When the PWA Cabinet Board first refused the loan, all Kreher's efforts seemed in vain, but subsequent deliberations quickly reversed this decision.

Kreher's optimism continued until he returned to Tampa in January 1934, and he wrote thanking those who had supported efforts to secure the loan.[49] At the same time he advised the newspapers that details had yet to be worked out and that no workmen should apply for jobs, even though approximately 300 men would ultimately be employed on the project. Tampa businessmen congratulated themselves because the facility promised considerable employment, even after construction, and a marked increase in port activity.[50] The need for the dry dock had been clearly demonstrated, and it was hoped that Kreher's experience and ideas would "make the structure superior to any dock in the country as far as methods of operation are concerned."[51]

Kreher remained in Washington for several weeks arranging details of the loan contract.[52] Formalities were not completed until January 22, 1934, when the mortgage papers were filed in the circuit court in Jacksonville. This was something of an event, with Kreher's brother Max, G. B. Howell, W. H. Jackson, and Jacksonville banker George S. Vardaman, Jr., on hand for the proceedings. Kreher then returned to Tampa to begin work on the dry dock, which he hoped could be completed quickly.[53]

May 18, 1934, box 6, Park Trammel Papers, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History.

46. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union,* July 17, 29, 1933.
47. *Ibid.,* July 14, 1933.
48. Wall to T. B. Hodges, chairman, State Democratic Executive Committee, telegram, September 11, 1933; Hodges to Wall, September 18, 1933, box 89, HP.
49. Kreher to Peterson, September 26, 1933, box 74, PP.
50. *Tampa Tribune,* September 14, 1933.
51. *Ibid.,* January 23, 1934.
52. Kreher to Cordner, September 14, 1933, box 74, PP.
53. *Tampa Tribune,* January 24, 1934.

By this time the first deposit of $156,000 had been made in the Exchange National Bank of Tampa, enhancing prospects for an early completion.[54] However, just as the acquisition of the loan had been delayed by numerous unforseen difficulties, so too was construction. After his return to Tampa, Kreher learned that he could not utilize the money on deposit to begin the construction until he had submitted detailed plans. He was disturbed that the PWA had not requested them three months earlier when the loan had been approved. The company was now obliged to pay interest on the money it could not use.

This PWA requirement caused no great delays or financial losses since certain construction materials had not yet arrived and work could not begin anyway.[55] But, by early March 1934 there were problems. James E. Cotton, state engineer for the PWA, was demanding that the company advertise for competitive bids on equipment. The question of competitive bids was a matter of contention for many months, although Cotton had realized that the application of this requirement to the Tampa company was anomalous. Kreher wanted to use second-hand equipment, and he considered the PWA requirement impractical. He also believed that his company could build much of the equipment more cheaply than it could be contracted. Cotton's refusal to approve either equipment acquired earlier or the purchase of rejected railroad ties, which were serviceable for dry dock construction and which could be purchased at a considerable savings, aggravated Kreher.

These difficulties were exacerbated by the fact that Cotton and his representatives were frequently absent from Tampa. Kreher complained that this caused delay and forced him to pay unnecessary interest on funds tied up in the bank.[56] This problem should have been resolved by the appointment of L. P. Slattery, March 13, 1934, as supervising engineer for the dry dock work, but it was not.[57]

54. Kreher to Peterson, January 14, 1935, box 74, PP.
55. *Ibid.*, January 31, 1934. Kreher's complaint that the PWA request for plans caused delays and cost money is somewhat at odds with his assertion in June, 1933 that "complete drawings are ready and every preparation has been made to start work immediately on this project." Supplement to the Judd Report, June 30, 1933, box 74, PP.
56. Kreher to Waite, March 8, 1934, box 74, PP.
57. This term is used interchangeably with resident engineer in the sources. Slattery's position should not be confused with that of Arthur

The question of wages was a major impediment to construction.[58] Kreher's original loan application to the RFC had budgeted labor costs, and final negotiations had been based on a scale of thirty to sixty cents an hour for common laborers and sixty-five to seventy-five cents for mechanics, i.e. skilled labor. However, based on PWA requirements, Cotton ordered Kreher to pay laborers forty cents and mechanics $1.00 an hour.[59] Kreher pressed for a lower wage based on the Civil Works Administration (CWA) scale, arguing that this was necessary if workers in his shipyard, not on the dry dock project, were to be fairly treated. He noted that the original contract had stipulated such a scale, and claimed that he would be hardpressed to pay the higher scale. He pointed out that on the Clearwater Bridge job, an RFC project, laborers were receiving twenty-five cents per hour and mechanics a similar amount. Government policy was obviously inconsistent. Kreher also argued that since the PWA called for $1.00 an hour for mechanics with a maximum of thirty hours per week the incentive of his foremen would be destroyed if they could not receive a higher rate. His arguments contained flaws. For example, PWA policies allowed foremen not a maximum, but a minimum of $30.00 per week. The contention that the scale would destroy incentive was true only if Kreher himself refused to pay foremen more than the minimum scale for skilled labor. Kreher, aware of the inconsistencies in his arguments, proposed alternative solutions to resolve the problem:

> All this can be avoided by our paying the code rates throughout our establishment. Or if you will raise the Shipbuilders' and Ship Repairers Code Scale [thus raising the minimum his competitors would have to pay] to a minimum of $1

D. Newkirk, who was supervising engineer of the PWA for all of Tampa and Hillsborough County. H. A. Gray, director, Inspection Division, PWA to Peterson, March 21, 1934, box 74, PP.

58. Kreher, as a standard business practice to help maintain low costs in his yard, budgeted for low wages in his contract bids. In the construction of the dry dock, in its later operation, and in the construction of ships for the Maritime Commission and the United States Navy this was a partial cause of the financial embarrassment of his firm when wage costs exceeded budgeted estimates. *House Reports.* 78th Cong., 1st sess., no. 938, 1-35, *passim.*

59. Kreher to Waite, March 8, 1934, box 74, PP.

> for mechanics and 40¢ for laborers, the same as you ask us to pay, we would readily agree to such an arrangement as long as we are placed on an equal footing with our competitors.[60]

In early April Cotton instructed Kreher to engage only men sent by the local office of the National Re-Employment Service. The loan contract provided that employees should be selected from lists submitted to the company.[61]

In the main, these conflicts arose because the loan contract originally submitted to the RFC had not been modified to conform to the PWA code, and because state PWA officials were making no exceptions in applying the code. The wage scale debate could not be resolved until it was decided who had authority to make a final disposition. On April 5 Cotton called for temporary suspension of construction on the dry dock until Washington reached a decision concerning the wage dispute. By this time all concerned were growing testy. Kreher was mailing numerous complaints to Washington, and Cotton, supported by Major Crawford, an assistant to the deputy administrator of the PWA, was demanding that Kreher stop going over his head.[62]

On the issue of bids, Cotton and Slattery now agreed that the terms of the loan required all mortgage (dry dock) construction to be done under contract rather than by force account, that is, direct construction by the borrower. This solution was wholly unacceptable to T. S. & E, and the last week of April found Howell and Jackson in Washington representing the company. Their trip was successful, for PWA officials decided that construction could be done by either force account or contract bids. They recommended that Howell and Jackson apply to Cotton to use the method most acceptable to the company. Returning to Florida, both men met with Cotton on May 8, and the request to complete the construction in five sections by force account was again discussed and forwarded to Washington.[63]

At the same time, the wage-scale issue moved towards resolu-

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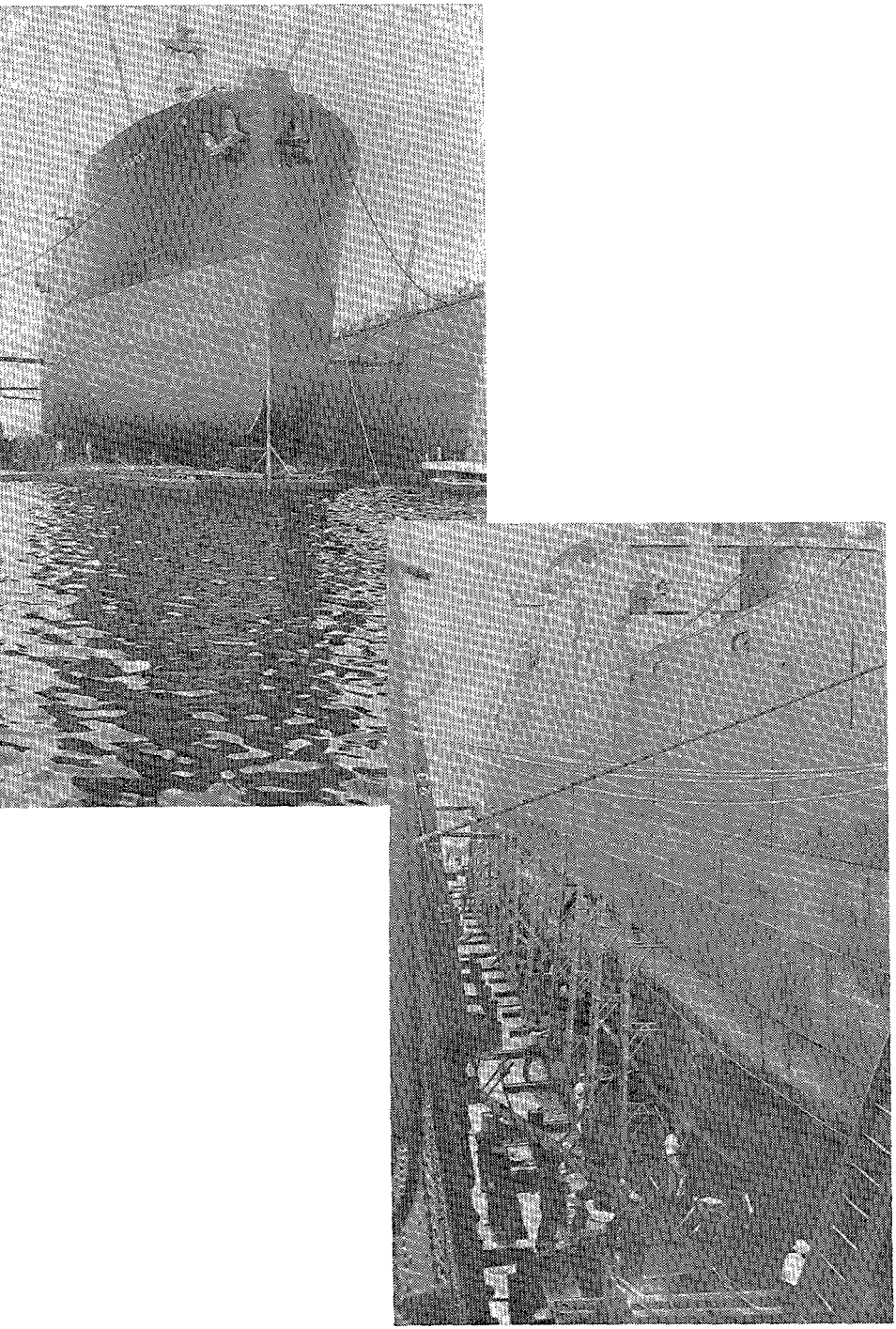
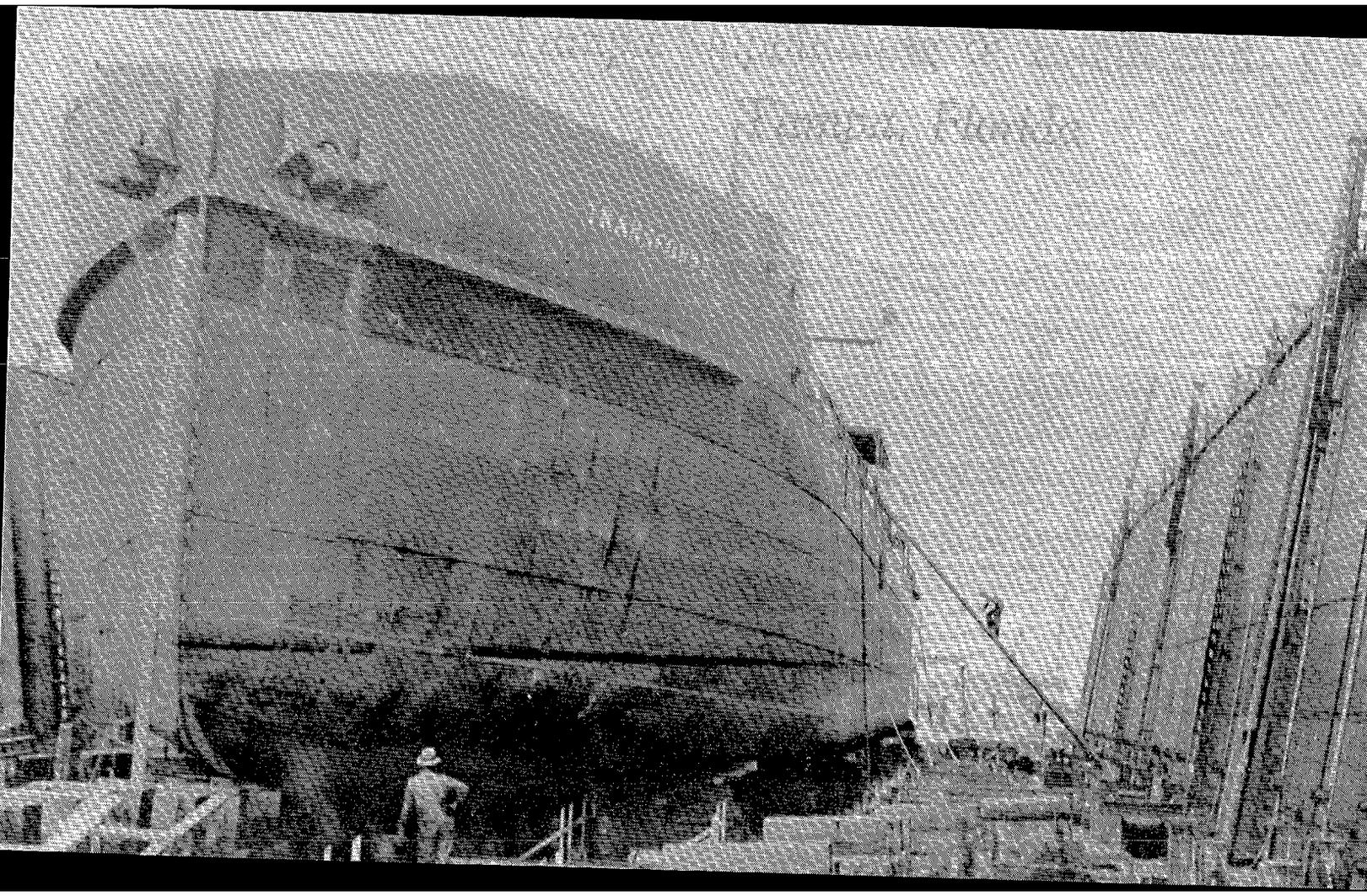
60. Kreher to MacDonough, March 27, 1934, box 74, PP.
61. Kreher to Peterson, April 7, 1934, box 74, PP.
62. *Ibid.*
63. Jackson to Peterson, May 11, 1934, box 74, PP.



Ships being repaired in Tampa Shipbuilding & Engineering Company yards during the 1930s. (Pictures from James Hardin Peterson Collection, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History)



tion. At first it was thought Cotton would make the decision.[64] However, it was ultimately determined that Hunt, legal advisor of the PWA, would make the final disposition after Cotton's recommendations were received in Washington.[65] Kreher, though he was not without misgivings in the matter, assumed that Cotton had recommended not only the use of force account construction but also the application of the lower CWA scale. He expected a decision from Washington no later than May 20.[66] That decision called for wages based on the higher PWA scale. These were minimum standards.

Kreher expressed the fear that George Hills, who was a power in Democratic politics,[67] had influenced the appointment of Cotton and was now swaying the decision on the force accounts in order to get the dry dock building account for his own Jacksonville engineering firm.[68] But the second portion of the decision favored T. S. & E. on the issue of force accounts and the company immediately began the preliminary construction. The dry dock project was divided into five different force accounts. Some work had already been done on the four preliminary divisions– preparation of the site, re-conditioning the dredge, dredging operations, and construction of the mooring pier. By early October this work was completed, and on the thirteenth of the month the company reached a milestone when the first rivet was driven in the dry dock, the fifth and final force account, which was to be built in five sections.[69]

Although the completion of the dry dock now appeared a certainty, serious new friction arose as Ernest Kreher and his brother Max attempted to work with Slattery, the resident engineer, and Arthur D. Newkirk, PWA supervising engineer for

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64. Peterson to Kreher, copy of telegram, May 8, 1934, box 74, PP.
65. Jackson to Peterson, telegram, May 8, 1934, box 74, PP.
66. Kreher to Peterson, May 9, 1934, box 74, PP.
67. William T. Cash, *History of the Democratic Party in Florida, Including Biographical Sketches of Prominent Florida Democrats* (Live Oak, Florida, 1936), 209; Hills, president of George B. Hills Company, Jacksonville, to Hodges, July 27, 1933; Hills to Charles W. Hunter of the Tallahassee *Florida State News,* July 27, 1933; Hodges to Hills, July 28, 1933, box 147, HP; Wayne Flynt, *Duncan Upshaw Fletcher, Dixie's Reluctant Progressive* (Tallahassee, 1971), 168.
68. Kreher to Peterson, May 26, 1934, box 74, PP.
69. *Tampa Tribune,* October 14, 1934.

Tampa. Because of their disputes the auspicious beginning of construction in October proved by the end of the year a false start, and the solution had to be found in Washington. As early as May, in a complaint to Washington about Slattery, Ernest Kreher wrote:

> It seems to me that the P.W.A. when given sufficient security should let the borrower alone and that the Trustee Bank should be responsible for the correctness of the expenditures. An engineer's inspection once a month would be ample to check up on the job. . . .
>
> We have in our office a P.W.A. accountant, who gets $4000 per annum. We have also a supervising engineer [resident engineer] who evidently gets more than the accountant. We had to hire two typists to help the engineer. He now uses only one. I do not think we were obliged to do so, but gladly did it to keep the peace. The engineer's name is L. P. Slattery. He is the brother of Mr. Slattery, the undersecretary for Mr. Ickes. The accountant is Mr. William W. Terrell, a personal friend of Mr. Parker, Chief Accountant of the P.W.A. Both of these are plainly patronage jobs.
>
> It is an awful feeling when you have to watch your own money being squandered in political debts and useless red tape to give sham employment.[70]

Kreher's contention with Slattery served as a backdrop for his more serious struggle with Newkirk. This conflict derived from both personality differences and divergent views about control and implementation of dry dock construction. On November 1, Newkirk met with Kreher and William Lamb, Slattery's successor, in hopes of correcting what he considered inefficiencies in organization.[71] He recommended that Kreher

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70. Kreher to Peterson, May 26, 1934, box 74, PP.
71. The author did not discover the precise time of or reason for Slattery's replacement in those documents perused in this research. As early as 1936, Slattery was serving as PWA state engineer inspector in Columbia, South Carolina, presumably the position he left Tampa to fill. Both his salary and authority were considerably improved by this move. U.S. Civil Service Commission, *Official Register of the United States 1936, Containing a List of Persons Occupying Administrative and Supervisory Positions in the Legislative, Executive and Judicial Branches of the Government, Including the District of Columbia* (Washington, 1936), 154. Kreher's opinion of Lamb was even lower than that which he held of Slattery. He was especially critical of Lamb's engineering ability. Kreher to Peterson, January 14, 1935, box 74, PP.

remove his brother Max from contact with the construction; Newkirk regarded Max's presence as both detrimental and obstructive. He also called for the replacement of Mr. Crowell, superintendent of construction. Although agreeing with Kreher that Crowell, a man with considerable experience in dry dock construction, was competent, Newkirk felt that he hindered construction because he depended heavily on Kreher for advice concerning the work, rather than on Lamb, the new resident engineer. Newkirk declared Crowell unsuitable because he was superannuated, had "very poor" eyesight, and was perhaps suffering from the after-effects of a stroke. These allegations were transparent. Newkirk actually wanted "both your president [Ernest Kreher] and your Secretary [Max Kreher] to confine their duties to those customarily performed by such officials of well organized corporations and that they refrain from attempting to personally attend to any routine duties usually performed by subordinates. We particularly feel that the efficiency of your president is greatly lowered and that the work on Docket No. 45 [the dry dock] is suffering through his tendency to give his personal attention to minor matters."[72]

Newkirk finally drove Kreher to open opposition when, on December 4, he announced that he would assume the interviewing and hiring of workers from among the men sent by the National Re-Employment Service, a job that had until then been the responsibility of Max Kreher. Ostensibly, Newkirk wished to ascertain the reason for "a considerable amount of comment which has come to the writer's ear regarding the quality of labor furnished by the National Re-employment Ser-

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72. Newkirk to T.S.&E., November 2, 1934, box 74, PP. Newkirk's perception of Kreher was obviously misconceived in view of the high opinion held for the latter's engineering work by all who had occasion to examine it. In fact it was Kreher's business acumen which was ultimately found wanting, as is evidenced by the denouement of his firm. See *House Reports,* 78th Cong., 1st sess., no 938, 1-35, *passim.* This report is somewhat confused concerning the actual stock transactions relative to the 1940 re-organization of T.S.&E. The matter is amply clarified in *Kreher et al.* v. *United States,* No. 47413, 87 Federal Supplement, 881-88, *passim,* 1950; and *Ernest Kreher, Max Kreher, Paul Kreher, Trustees of Tampa Shipbuilding and Engineering Company, a dissolved corporation,* v. *the United States,* No. 47413, *Cases Decided in the United States Court of Claims December 1, 1949, to February 28, 1950, with Report of Decisions of the Supreme Court in Court of Claims Cases,* 355-56.

vice."[73] Newkirk also submitted to Kreher for his consideration and signature a contract between T. S. & E. and Lamb. This contract was to go into effect on December 16, and its terms gave Lamb complete control of construction, organization of the labor force, discharge of employees, and ordering of materials. In addition, the company was to have responsibility only for the engineering design of the dry dock, subject to Newkirk's approval. Lamb was to work full-time on the dry dock, for which services the company was to pay him $375 per month, and he could not be removed without the "consent of the Administrator."[74]

Kreher balked at what seemed an arbitrary extension of Newkirk's authority. Refusing to sign the contract after consultation with the company's board of directors, he decided to resist Newkirk's attempted coup. He now called on Deputy Administrator Fleming of the PWA to arrange an investigation of the whole affair and began to organize his own case and to rally support.[75] On January 4, 1935, dry dock construction stopped altogether, and lay-offs began.[76]

From January through April Washington was inundated by mail in behalf of the Tampa company. Senators Trammel and Fletcher, Representative Peterson, and Harold Ickes, together with other PWA officials, received letters from a wide variety of people and organizations– Mayor Chancey of Tampa; U. S. District Attorney H. S. Phillips; Claude H. Stone, an IRS tax investigator and friend of Peterson; R. R. Roberts and H. M. Day, both employees of T. S. & E.; W. L. Sherrod (chairman) and W. M. Wagnon (secretary) of the newly formed employees organization at the company; and American Legion Post Number Five. Perhaps the most desperate pleas came in the form of a petition signed by 242 of the company's employees which was addressed to Ickes.[77]

On January 9 F. E. Schnepfe, PWA Director of Project Division, arrived in Tampa to investigate the conflict and inspect

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73. Newkirk to T.S.&E., December 4, 1934, box 74, PP.
74. Contract between T.S.&E. and William B. Lamb, undated, unsigned, box 74, PP.
75. Kreher to Peterson, December 31, 1934, box 74, PP.
76. *Ibid.*, January 14, 1935, box 74, PP.
77. Various documents, January to April 1935, box 74, PP.

the construction conducted under Newkirk and Lamb. Kreher believed Schnepfe's report would be unbiased and most probably favorable to his position.[78] By the sixteenth Kreher was in Washington to present his case to the PWA, and he was still there in July.[79] He contended that both Newkirk and Lamb had unwarrantably extended their authority. Furthermore, he asserted, the two men had caused a prolongation of the time necessary to complete the dry dock, extremely poor workmanship, high construction costs, and a serious increase in injuries to laborers. In short, Kreher charged both PWA officials with grossly inefficient if not negligent management. As usual, his arguments were well documented, and he had potent support from Schnepfe and George F. Widmyer, PWA officials who had investigated the situation in Tampa.[80] The supporting testimony, which was most telling, came from a curious source– Lykes Brothers, the insurance company that wished to cancel T. S. & E.'s accident insurance.

Lykes Brothers Insurance of Tampa held the Tampa company's account for Hartford Accident and Indemnity Company. By December the accident rate on the job had increased so sharply that Alex Findlay, a marine surveyor from the American Bureau of Shipping, was sent to investigate.[81] Findlay blamed the high incidence of injuries on the mismanagement of Lamb and Newkirk. He also criticized the quality of work under their supervision, stating that much of the work already completed would have to be redone.[82] Lykes Brothers decided that the policy could be maintained only with a fifty per cent rate increase and the removal of Newkirk and Lamb from control. They agreed to continue the policy until the issue was resolved in Washington, but only so long as work on the dry dock was shut down.[83]

Kreher won on all points when the PWA, in July 1935, re-

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78. Kreher to Peterson, January 14, 1935, box 74, PP.
79. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union,* June 28, July 27, 1935; *Tampa Tribune,* July 27, 1935.
80. Notes: Addressing the officials of the PWA, February 1935, box 74, PP.
81. Glen Evins, manager of Lykes Brothers Insurance Agency, to Kreher, December 27, 1934, box 74, PP.
82. Findlay to T.S.&E., January 11, 1935, box 74, PP.
83. Evins to Kreher, January 12, 1935, box 74, PP.

solved the various disputes in his favor. Kreher and PWA officials on. July 30 made arrangements to renew construction, and work resumed two days later after an eight month hiatus. The entire project was given over to the management of the Tampa Shipbuilding and Engineering Company, thus removing the possibility of interference. The PWA also appointed Widmyer, who viewed Kreher's case sympathetically, as its chief representative to the dry dock job.[84] The two men enjoyed a cooperative relationship, and work on the dry dock progressed rapidly.[85]

The dry dock was about fifteen per cent complete when the stoppage occurred in January 1935. With the resumption of work in August Kreher predicted that completion would take a year.[86] By April 1937 all but the final section of the dry dock was in operation, and Kreher took preliminary steps to secure another loan from the PWA.[87] Late in the month the yacht *Alva,* owned by Commodore W. K. Vanderbilt, put in for dry dock at Tampa to repair a broken propeller shaft.[88] Four years before, in April 1933, the *Alva* had come to Tampa for dry docking.[89] This visit had resulted from mistaken information that Tampa had sufficient facilities and the Captain and crew of the *Alva* had been chagrined by the useless voyage.[90] Kreher noted the coincidence with amusement and justifiable pride in the fact that the vessel could at last be serviced.

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84. *Tampa Tribune,* August 1, 1935.
85. Kreher to Peterson, April 12, 1937, box 74, PP.
86. *Tampa Tribune,* August 1, 1935, Under some apparent duress Kreher signed the completion certificate for the dry dock December 28, 1936. The fifth section was not at that time complete. Kreher to Peterson, July 27, August 4, 1937; and Horatio B. Hackett, PWA assistant administrator, to Peterson, August 7, 1937, box 76, PP.
87. Kreher was not to repeat his earlier success in this second round of negotiations with the PWA. In fact, the exchanges between Washington and Tampa grew increasingly heated, and Kreher contemplated a civil suit to recover damages. His grievances were ultimately litigated in 1948-1950 to the Supreme Court. See April 1937, *passim,* box 74, PP; April 1937 to August 1937, *passim,* box 76, PP; *Kreher et al,* v. *United States,* No. 47413, 87, *Federal Supplement,* 881-88.
88. Kreher to Peterson, April 12, 1937, box 74, PP.
89. *Tampa Tribune,* June 18, 1933.
90. Kreher to Peterson April 7, 1933, box 74, PP.

A PURELY BUSINESS MOTIVE GERMAN-AMERICAN LUMBER COMPANY 1901-1918

by EDWARD F. KEUCHEL*

"The German-American Lumber Company had no motive except a purely business motive." So stated Gerhard Rolfs, treasurer of the company, as the federal government proceeded to take over this German-owned business during World War I. At issue was the charge that the firm was a front organization for German espionage operations during the war. This, as the evidence revealed, was not the case. Yet the emotional fervors of a nation at war had created suspicions about the alien-owned lumber company which had been an important part of Florida's yellow-pine industry. The German-American Lumber Company was not a subversive organization. To its owners it was no more than a business venture.

At the turn of the century, lumber operations flourished in the great yellow-pine belt extending from southeastern Virginia south and westward to the Trinity River in East Texas.[1] The soils of the Marianna Lowlands and Western Highlands of the Florida Panhandle were well-suited for yellow pine, and numerous lumber companies cut hundreds of thousands of acres of virgin forest for the domestic and export lumber trade. The German-American Lumber Company emerged as one of the largest lumber operations in this area during the early twentieth century. It maintained its offices in Pensacola and its mill on St. Andrew Bay near Panama City. One historian of the area notes that: "This firm exerted such an influence that its name was a byword in the Panhandle."[2]

Although southern yellow pine, or "pitch pine" as the lumber trade frequently designated it, had been marketed before the

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1. Nollie Hickman, *Mississippi Harvest: Lumbering in the Longleaf Pine Belt, 1840-1915* (University, Mississippi, 1962), 1-14.
2. Harold W. Bell, *Glimpses of the Panhandle* (Chicago, 1961), 103.

Civil War, the industry became of far greater importance during the late 1870s.[3] By then yellow pine competed with white pine in the markets of the North. For decades the northern market consumed white pine produced from the states bordering Canada extending from Maine to Minnesota. Northern builders preferred white pine. It was easy to work, strong, light-weight, and overall a very desirable building material. Yellow pine was heavier and harder, causing problems for builders unaccustomed to its qualities. Moreover, in storage or transit, moisture damaged it and mold frequently turned it blue while in ships' hulls or railroad cars. By the late 1870s, however, prejudices against yellow pine diminished, and the low cost and great abundance of the product turned buyers southward. Many northern lumbermen moved into southern yellow pine regions hoping to transform their experiences in white pine into a new bonanza in the South.[4]

During the 1880s and 1890s the yellow pine industry of the Gulf coast grew from small, almost pioneer type operations to big business. Northern lumbermen cast covetous eyes on the great yellow pine forests on flat and rolling land stretching for hundreds of miles. Timber land or stumpage was cheap and in the warm South sawmills could operate year-round.[5] Moreover, by 1900 the markets of the northern and eastern states, western Europe, and Latin America accepted yellow pine. Indeed, the decline of northern white pine largely freed yellow pine from competition in the highly populated northeast market– at least

3. The yellow pine industry was far from insignificant before the Civil War. In his article "Lumber and Trade in Pensacola and West Florida: 1800-1860," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, LI (January, 1973), 267-80, John A. Eisterhold notes the importance of the lumber trade to the Pensacola area before the war. In a national setting, however, it was not until the late 1870s that the yellow pine industry of the South became important.

4. Hickman, *Mississippi Harvest*, 57-67. For information on the white pine industry, see Robert F. Fries, *Empire in Pine: The Story of Lumbering in Wisconsin, 1830-1900* (Madison, 1951), and Agnes M. Larson, *History of the White Pine Industry in Minnesota* (Minneapolis, 1949). Emory Fiske Skinner, *Reminiscences* (Chicago, 1908), 140-42, describes some of the pitfalls many northern lumbermen encountered when they tried to handle yellow pine the same as white pine.

5. Lumber companies acquired timber in two principal ways: fee simple timber lands or stumpage. Fee simple conveyed full ownership of the land and timber. Stumpage purchases transferred title to the timber but not the land itself.

until the opening of the Panama Canal in 1914 provided an easy access to Pacific coast timber.

As important as was the domestic market, the export market was of particular importance to Gulf coast operators. Western Europe, especially Germany and Great Britain, favored yellow pine for construction and manufacturing. In 1900 Germany consumed more yellow pine than all other woods combined. In the period from 1890 to 1913, Pensacola, Mobile, Gulfport, and New Orleans ranked as the four largest lumber exporting ports in the world. By 1900 these ports shipped approximately 800,000,000 board feet of lumber annually to foreign markets, while in 1913, the last full year before World War I, the figure reached 1,332,683,000 board feet.[6]

Pensacola enhanced its international flavor from this trade. Ships of many flags and types, sail as well as steam, lined the wharves taking on lumber for European, African, and Latin American markets.[7] Panhandle lumberman Emory Fiske Skinner notes that many of the stevedores in the Pensacola lumber trade came from Quebec where they plied their trade in the summer and worked the Pensacola docks during the winter months.[8]

In this setting Frederick Julius Schreyer entered the pitch pine lumber export business. In Hildesheim, Germany, near Bremen, Schreyer's family operated a lumberyard specializing in Baltic woods. The family sent Schreyer to the United States in the 1880s to learn the pitch pine export business. The European market demanded a superior quality and greater variety of grades than the domestic market so the family carefully prepared for this new business venture. When Schreyer arrived his English was so poor that he first worked in a German-owned store in Milwaukee until he attained sufficient proficiency. From

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6. Hickman, *Mississippi Harvest,* 184-85.
7. This lumber trade prompted a revival in sailing vessels in the United States which still had 46.5 per cent of its merchant marine tonnage represented in sail in 1900. See U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1914,* No. 37 (Washington, 1915), Table No. 217. Great three and four-masted wooden schooners built in Maine and the southern Gulf ports brought heavy yellow pine north and carried coal on the return voyage from Philadelphia or other coal ports. Steam powered vessels were generally used to haul lumber in the trans-Atlantic trade. For more information, see W. J. Lewis, *The Great Coal Schooners of New England 1870-1909* (Mystic, Connecticut, 1948).
8. Skinner, *Reminiscences,* 228.

Milwaukee he went to Moss Point, Mississippi, to learn the inspection of pitch pine. Lumberman Emory Fiske Skinner relates his first meeting with Schreyer at the Escambia railroad station near Pensacola in 1884, describing him as "a tall, athletic looking young man" who was learning sawmill operations in the Pensacola area. Skinner and Schreyer developed a friendship that led a short time later to Skinner and his wife visiting the Schreyer family in Hildesheim. A business agreement was worked out whereby Skinner engaged Schreyer as his agent in Germany.[9]

Skinner's entrance into the German market departed from his previous European thrust-selling in Great Britain through English middlemen. The new arrangement profited both parties for several years; then problems developed. Schreyer sold so much that Skinner had to purchase lumber from other mills to fill orders. Schreyer complained of poor quality, a charge Skinner's son confirmed after sailing to Germany to inspect arriving shipments. Schreyer, in turn, sent his agent H. H. Boyer to Pensacola to inspect all lumber before loading. Still the problems continued, and in 1888 Schreyer wanted Skinner to pay damages on a load of lumber sent to Italy. Skinner refused, claiming that Boyer allowed it to be loaded wet. After considerable litigation Skinner eventually settled with Schreyer for one-half of the claim, but the ill-will ruined future business dealings between the two.[10]

Such problems commonly occurred between manufacturers and exporters. Contracts usually provided that lumber conform to specifications of quality and grade, but the buyer was obligated to accept shipping documents before the cargo reached him. Therefore disputes had to be resolved by arbitration after delivery. Such difficulties led several local lumbermen's associations to form the Southern Lumber Manufacturers' Association in 1890 with Skinner as its first president. The association, which became increasingly important during the early twentieth century, worked out standards for grades and contracts, and attempted to establish uniform prices profitable to producers.[11] Schreyer responded by becoming a producer as well as a middleman. As a lumber manufacturer he could control quality and

9. *Ibid.*, 175-78.
10. *Ibid.*, 189-98, 209-10, 213-16, 227.
11. Hickman, *Mississippi Harvest*, 184-200; Skinner, *Reminiscences*, 227-29.

hopefully profit from all aspects of the operation that transformed southern pine forests into lumber for Europe.

Thus in May 1901 Schreyer organized the German-American Lumber Company in Pensacola. The company, established as a corporation under the laws of Florida, had capital stock of $100,000. It could acquire a sawmill or sawmills and carry on a general mill business. Schreyer and H. H. Boyer took 450 of the 900 shares of corporation common stock, paying in cash so that there was available cash to acquire and operate the sawmill. Two Americans, B. P. Jones and J. R. Saunders, purchased the remaining 450 shares, payment to be made in stumpage from 86,000 acres of land the Jones-Saunders Company owned in Bay and Calhoun counties. The company agreed to pay Jones and Saunders $1.50 per 1,000 board feet until $50,000 worth of lumber was obtained and the stock debt was satisfied. Any additional timber Jones and Saunders wished to sell would be at the $1.50 per 1,000 board feet price, although the corporation reserved the right to purchase timber from other sources as well. Lands were to be cut clean, and the corporation claimed all logs over eleven inches in diameter and sixteen feet in length.[12]

The first stockholders meeting was held in the new company offices in the Blount Building, corner of Garden and Palafox streets, Pensacola, July 18, 1901. The board of directors consisted of Jones, Saunders, Schreyer, Boyer, and P. Tomasello. Saunders was named president, Schreyer vice-president, and Boyer secretary-treasurer. Schreyer maintained his residence and offices in Bremen, Germany, and allowed Boyer to represent him in Pensacola. Boyer had been Schreyer's agent and had inspected wood for him in Pensacola since the 1880's. Beginning in 1898 he had also served as Imperial German Vice-Consul at Pensacola. Tomasello was to be general manager of the mill. Also present was Gerhard Rolfs, Boyer's secretary at the German Consulate.[13]

12. Memorandum of agreement, May 25, 1901, between B. P. Jones and J. P. Saunders, and F. J. Schreyer, Stockholder Meeting Minutes Book, German-American Lumber Company Papers, Special Collections, Robert Manning Strozier Library, Florida State University, Tallahassee. Hereinafter referred to as GAP.
13. Stockholders Meeting, July 18, 1901, Minutes Book, GAP; S. Fiegel, German Consul General, to H. H. Boyer, June 28, 1898, Gerhard Rolfs Papers, Folder 5, Box 2, Special Collections, John C. Pace Li-

The new company intended to acquire a sawmill as its first order of business. At the July 18 meeting the directors arranged to purchase the plant, mill-site, sawmill, merchandise, machinery, and 30,000 acres of fee simple timber lands of the St. Andrews Lumber Company. This mill had been built in 1898 by Henry Bovis, a French-Canadian interested in Florida timber. It was located at Millville, Bay County, on St. Andrew Bay adjacent to the Jones-Saunders lands. As one of the largest operations in the area, it cut 100,000 board feet per day. When the German-American Lumber Company built another mill of 50,000 board feet per day capacity adjacent to the old mill in 1902, the corporation became the largest lumber manufacturer in the state.[14]

Business was good, and the new company showed a profit of $32,888 for the first full year's operations. This returned nearly thirty-three per cent on the original $100,000 investment. The directors decided to expand and increased their capital stock to $250,000. Schreyer and the Jones-Saunders combine were allowed to subscribe equally. Jones and Saunders paid for their shares by providing an additional 50,000 acres of stumpage in (Calhoun County. They were paid at the rate of $2.00 an acre rather than the old price of $1.50 per 1,000 board feet. In 1905 Jones and Saunders agreed to furnish an additional 136,456 acres of stumpage at the rate of $2.00 an acre subject to turpentine rights (not to be cut during the turpentine season). At the same time Schreyer bought Jones and Saunders's stock, making the operation virtually an all-German concern. Of the 2,500 shares, Schreyer owned 2,496, while Boyer, Rolfs, sawmill manager I. J. Dias and Pensacola attorney W. A. Blount each held one share. Blount represented the First National Bank of Pensacola which handled the company's accounts. Schreyer borrowed close to $250,000 from the Vereinsbank of Hamburg

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brary, University of West Florida, Pensacola. Hereinafter referred to as RP. Rolfs was born in Germany in 1871 and came to the United States in 1892 as a representative of Schreyer's Bremen firm. He married Gila Gonzales of Pensacola in 1905. He was secretary-treasurer of the company from 1907 to 1918, and Imperial German Vice-Consul for Florida from 1908 until World War I. He was reappointed consul in 1923, a post he held until his retirement in 1935. Newspaper clippings, Folder 2, Box 1, RP.

14. Stockholders Meeting, July 18, 1901, April 4, 1902, Minutes Book, GAP; Bell, *Glimpses of the Panhandle,* 103-04.

to make the stock purchase, securing the mortgage with the company's property and mill.[15]

The company grew steadily from 1905 until World War I. It increased capitalization to $500,000, with Schreyer owning 4,996 of the 5,000 shares of stock issued. German banks provided most of the financing. The Vereinsbank of Hamburg held a mortgage for $990,000 while the Fürstlich Schaumburg-Lippische Hofkammer of Bückeburg had mortgages totalling $1,720,000. A private note of $48,000 was held by Hinrich Waetjen and Hermann Langrehr of Bremen, while Schreyer, himself, owned a note for $50,000. Before the war the only American financing of any significance was a $100,000 eight per cent note held by the First National Bank of Pensacola.[16]

During these years the company increased its timber and land holdings considerably. When Jones and Saunders sold out in 1905 the company had approximately 135,000 acres of stumpage and 30,000 acres in fee simple title for total timber holdings of about 165,000 acres. The company then purchased the L. M. Ware mill and stumpage. Ware had acquired about 15,000 acres of stumpage from L. C. Gay of Panama City, but could not cut it as fast as his contract with Gay specified, so he sold it to the German-American Lumber Company. Next the company purchased the Yawkey tract of about 25,000 acres of fee simple timber lands. In 1911 the company purchased the Knowles fee simple timber lands and Betts fee simple timber lands in Washington County at $11.00 an acre. The Knowles land comprised 10,000 acres while the Betts tract totaled about 65,000 acres. The last purchases made before the war were the Drummond tracts of about 35,000 acres of fee simple timber lands in Jackson and Bay counties. So, by 1914 the company had made total purchases of some 165,000 acres of fee simple timber lands, some 150,000 acres of stumpage, and some 10,000 additional stumpage acres in small offerings. These lands were principally in Washington, Calhoun, Bay, and Jackson counties. Moreover, the company had the mill to handle these vast hold-

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15. Stockholders Meeting, April 14, 1904, April 12, 1905, November 17, 1905, Minutes Book, GAP.
16. Stockholders Meeting, August 2, 1907, April 7, 1908, March 26, 1909, April 21, 1910, March 18, 1911; Directors Meeting, December 29, 1915, Minutes Book, GAP.

ings. When the original double mill burned in December 1906, the corporation built a new and much larger mill on the same site at Millville. When it was ready for operation by September 1907, it constituted the largest and finest mill of its type in the state.[17]

Although the company paid sizable interest payments on the money borrowed for expansion, the European market for yellow pine remained strong and the company prospered. Moreover, from Schreyer's position company profits were his profits since he held virtually all of the stock. In 1912 and 1913, the last two years before the war, the company recorded profits of $64,038 and $85,105. The entire profits were distributed to the stockholders.[18]

The outbreak of war in the summer of 1914 virtually ended the Gulf coast export business. Lumber at the docks was returned to the mills, and vessels ready to sail unloaded their cargoes. Prices on the export market dropped as much as twenty-five per cent below domestic prices as European demand decreased fifty-eight per cent.[19] This seriously challenged the German-American Lumber Company which almost exclusively exported its product. Moreover, as Rolfs noted, the company had always specialized in the high grade pitch pine demanded in Europe and had never developed any Latin American trade in low grade lumber, nor any American market. By early 1915 the French and British placed heavy orders for American pine, and the company developed a limited Latin American trade as well. The really big push for the company started in 1917 when war preparations in the United States called for vast quantities of pine for army camp construction. Seventy-six per cent of the wood used by the government for the construction of contonments, hospitals, warehouses, and other buildings were southern yellow pine.[20] The company showed a profit of

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17. Stockholders Meeting, March 18, 1911; Directors Meeting, December 29, 1913, Minutes Book, GAP: Lists of lands conveyed in fee simple; Book of timber leases; Typed statement of Gerhard Rolfs, Folder 6, Box 3, RP.
18. Stockholders Meeting, April 10, 1912, March 14, 1913, Minutes Book, GAP.
19. Hickman, *Mississippi Harvest*, 194-95, 294n.
20. U.S. War Industries Board, *American Industry in the War* (New York, 1941), 224.

$62,712 for the first six months of 1917– a figure close to the yearly average of the period before the war. Schreyer anticipated a new bonanza as well when the possibility of oil on company lands was brought up at the directors meeting in Bremen.[21]

Financing, however, proved to be a serious problem since the war eliminated the company's main source of capital. While the French and British governments secured major loans from American bankers the German government attempted to finance the war domestically, so no German capital was allowed abroad during the war. In November 1915 Schreyer came to the United States and met with Hermann G. Kulenkampff who had replaced Boyer as Schreyer's principal agent in Pensacola and had served as president of the company since September 1913. Schreyer and Kulenkampff obtained a $200,000 six per cent loan from Otto Mars and Company, Birmingham, Alabama, bankers, using the Yawkey tract valued at $666,000 as security. The principal was to be repaid in four years in installments of $25,000 yearly for the first two years and $75,000 yearly for the last two. In December 1916 Kulenkampff arranged a loan of $50,000 from the American National Bank of Pensacola using the mill valued at $200,000 as security. Prior to this, in October, 1916, Schreyer met with officials of the Fürstlich Schaumburg-Lippische Hofkammer to get the lending institution to yield its first mortgage position on company lands. This was undoubtedly necessary before American banks would make the necessary loans. After the United States declared war on Germany in April 1917 the Hofkammer revised its interest rates on loans made to the company in 1914. The six per cent rate was reduced to four per cent as of August 1, 1914. The difference already paid applied to future payments at the new rate until the end of the war. The Hofkammer obviously juggled its books to show interest payments during the war years and thereby keep its mortgage operative.[22]

As tensions between the United States and Germany

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21. Typed statement of Gerhard Rolfs; Statement of the German-American Lumber Company, June 30, 1917, Folder 6, Box 3, RP; Directors Meeting, Minutes Book, GAP.
22. Stockholders Meeting, November 24, 1915, December 4, 1916, Directors Meeting, September 22, 1913, October 19, 1916, July 20, 1917, Minutes Book, GAP; Statement of the German-American Lumber Company, June 30, 1917, Folder 6, Box 3, RP.

heightened, the position of the company became precarious. On January 31, 1917, Germany announced that after February 1, submarines would sink without warning all belligerent and neutral ships in a broad war zone around Great Britain, France, Italy, and in the eastern Mediterranean. Two days later, President Wilson broke diplomatic relations with Germany. On February 6, Rolfs, German consul at Pensacola as well as secretary-treasurer of the German-American Lumber Company, received a letter from Escambia County Sheriff J. C. Van Pelt enclosing the following telegram from Governor Catts:

> In view of the broken relations between the United States and Germany I ask you as Sheriff of Escambia County to see that no indignity is offered to any German Consul, and that no harm comes to the German vessels now in the port of your city by any of the citizens of Florida. Kindly help me in every way possible to preserve order in this part of the State, but do not allow these vessels to leave the port.

Rolfs closed the consulate on February 7 and delivered all its papers to the Swiss Consul at New Orleans. In early May, after war had been declared, Rolfs was forced to obtain a permit in order to enter the company offices in the Blount Building which was in a restricted zone near the wharf area. However, the government did not restrain the company's lumber operations, and the domestic market boomed with army orders.[23]

With war declared, Schreyer feared confiscation of his company, particularly if it remained under German control. To keep abreast of the American situation a special directors meeting was called in Bückeburg on June 29, 1917. Schreyer appointed Frederich Brinck to devote his full attention to the German-American Lumber Company and to keep him informed on all correspondence from Pensacola— communications were still possible through the use of addresses in neutral Denmark. On July 25, 1917, at a special stockholders meeting, company president H. G. Kulenkampff, who held Schreyer's proxy for 4,996 of the 5,000 shares of issued stock, appointed Pensacola attorney

23. J. C. Van Pelt to Rolfs, February 6, 1917; Rolfs to James B. Perkins, U.S. Marshall, May 4, 1917, Letterbook 1914-1918, Folder 4, Box I; Ambassador J. Bernstorff to Rolfs, February 7, 1917, Miscellaneous Papers 1890-1920, Folder 2, Box 1, RP.

Frederich Julius Schreyer, owner of the German-American Lumber Company. Rolfs Collection, John C. Pace Library, University of West Florida.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

No. F 1631

PERMIT to Gerhard Rolfs
(Signature of the person in ink.)
to come into & be employed in an area of one-half of a mile radius from Armory Hall

(Insert the Armory, Gateway, or Station in question, the President's Proclamation, or the Executive Order, or the Act of the United States, or law, or other reason.)

THIS IS TO CERTIFY that permission has been granted to
(Name and address.)
Gerhard Rolfs
to come into & be employed an area within one-half of a mile
radius of Armory Hall under instructions as
written across the face
of this permit by Red Cross
Company American Lumber Co.
(Address.)

Jas B. Perkins
United States Marshal

Filed

DESCRIPTION.

Age: 45
Stature: 5 feet 2 inches.
Weight: 120
Forehead: high
Eyes: Blue
Nose: Normal
Mouth: Normal
Chin: Normal
Hair: Dark
Complexion: Healthy
Face: Round
Distinctive marks:

PHOTOGRAPH.

Gerhard Rolfs's travel pass:

"This permit is granted, allowing bearer, G. ROLFS, to come directly from his hom to the corner of Garden and Palafox Streets and there enter the Blount Building an go to his business office. When he is through with his day's work, return directly t his home[.]"

Pictures from Rolfs Collection, John C. Pace Library, University of West Florida.

and board member W. A. Blount as general agent. Although Blount owned only one share of stock, Kulenkampff stated that the general agent "shall have all the powers to perform all the duties appertaining to the President, and, in addition thereto, shall supervise, control and conduct the business and operations of the Company." Obviously Schreyer transferred control to an American citizen in the event of governmental control or seizure of alien-owned property.[24]

The tactic failed, for on October 6, 1917, Congress passed the Trading-with-the-Enemy Act which gave broad, sweeping powers to the President over foreign commerce and communications. Wilson created a War Trade Board and appointed Vance McCormick, former chairman of the Democratic National Committee, as its chairman. An elaborate licensing and control structure for all imports and exports was established. The act also provided for the seizure and administration of all enemy property in the United States. To effect this, on October 19, 1917, Wilson appointed as Alien Property Custodian A. Mitchell Palmer of Stroudsburg, Pennsylvania, a Quaker and former congressman who might have been secretary of war but for his religious convictions. Palmer later became attorney general.[25]

It was found that German ownership in the United States was more integrated into the economy than had previously been suspected, and included securities as well as direct control of manufacturing concerns, especially in drugs, chemicals, electrical equipment, and surgical instruments. Many of these properties had been protected by a technical transfer of ownership. Since continued operation of these activities aided the war effort Palmer was authorized to sell German property to new investors of unquestioned loyalty, and to purchase Liberty bonds with the proceeds which would be held in trust for postwar adjudication.[26]

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24. Directors Meeting, June 29, 1917; Stockholders Meeting, July 25, 1917; Schreyer to German-American Lumber Company, September 28, 1917, Minutes Book, GAP. Schreyer's letter of September 28, 1917, mailed from Denmark, was stamped "opened by censor."
25. *New York Times,* October 15, 20, 1917; Frederic L. Paxson, *American Democracy and the World War,* 3 vols. (Boston, 1939), II, 133; George Soule, *Prosperity Decade, From War to Depression: 1917-1929* (New York, 1947), 39-40.
26. *New York Times,* March 2, 1918; Paxson, *American Democracy and the World War,* II, 131; Soule, *Prosperity Decade,* 40.

Palmer quickly made arrangements to seize German funds, but appropriation of manufacturing concerns did not take place until the winter and spring of 1918. For the German-American Lumber Company the fateful day was March 23. Federal agents arrested H. G. Kulenkampff as an "enemy alien," and imprisoned him at Fort Oglethorpe in Atlanta. Rolfs was well known in Pensacola and was not interned. The *New York Times* reported that the estimated value of the lumber company was $3,000,000 and quoted Property Custodian Palmer as stating that profits derived from the firm's operations would be invested in Liberty bonds. In the event of the sale of the property the entire proceeds would be put into government securities.[27]

The firm's new directors appointed by Palmer were William L. Wilson of the Alien Property Custodian's office in Washington; E. R. Malone, president of the American National Bank of Pensacola; Charles S. Hebard of Philadelphia; Hollis N. Randolph of Atlanta: and W. A. Blount. Only Blount was familiar with the company's business. Malone acted as proxy for Schreyer's stock while his American National Bank was designated as depository for the Alien Property Custodian. The new board met on March 28, 1918, and confirmed the appointments.[28]

Those were difficult days for German aliens in Pensacola as well as elsewhere in the country. While Kulenkampff was interned his wife had no means of support. She moved to Chattanooga where Rolfs sent her interest payments from her husband's investments until W. L. Wilson, the representative of the Alien Property Custodian, prohibited it. Although Rolfs had been highly-regarded in Pensacola and knew the company's operations well, he was allowed to stay with the reorganized company at a reduced salary only until June. By early April he was alone in the Pensacola office while all office operations and American employees moved to Millvillle. Hans Holzer the bookkeeper was employed at the Jacobi Lumber Company near Pensacola, but Gerhard Rolfs, former German Consul and secre-

27. *New York Times*, March 24, 1918; *Tampa Morning Tribune*, March 24, 1918.
28. Stockholders Meeting, March 28, 1918, Minutes Book, GAP.

tary-treasurer of the company, was not able to obtain any work, and he lived off his savings until the end of the war.[29]

Also tragic were the unfounded attacks upon the company which had been a respected member of the Gulf coast lumber industry. Columnist Frederick J. Haskin of the *New York Sun* wrote an exposé picked up by newspapers in Pensacola, Panama City, and other parts of the state. Haskin portrayed Kulenkampff as an enemy agent. He charged that the St. Andrew Bay mill served as a front, and that the Germans of the company really wanted to locate a headquarters as a springboard to seize American Gulf ports. Haskin falsely claimed that the mill operated only enough in one month to pay for one day's expenses. He further reported that the Germans were living in a fine house overlooking the bay, and that nightly their fleet of mysterious ships, running without lights, had been observed slipping in and out of the harbor.[30]

Stunned by the charges, Rolfs sat frightened and alone in the company's offices in Pensacola and drafted an unpublished reply. He pointed out that at the time of the seizure the company had cut approximately 200,000 acres of timber with some 110,000 acres or six years of cutting still remaining. The lands cut averaged close to 2,000 board feet of lumber per acre. Rather than running only enough in one month to pay a day's expenses Rolfs stated that to cut so much lumber it would be necessary to operate the mill at full capacity. Moreover, he pointed out that the business had been run economically. He also denied that the Germans at Millville had a house overlooking the bay or a fleet of ships making mysterious trips in and out of the bay. The company owned only the *Dewey, a* small stern-wheeler used to tow logs, and the *Dolphin,* a little water-tube boiler boat forty-six feet long. Neither vessel operated in the Gulf.

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29. Rolfs to Mrs. H. G. Kulenkampff, April 2, 16, 1918, Letterbook 1914-1918, Folder 4, Box 1, RP.
30. Newspaper clippings, Folder 6, Box 3, RP. Fear of spy plots abounded. In Tallahassee on New Year's Eve Governor Catts stationed shotgun-armed volunteers around the Capitol after a note was found in a walnut shell on a city street which, when read before a mirror, stated: "Bombs are Ready. don't fail me; Capital is unguarded; meet me tonight at home." Charlton W. Tebeau, *A History of Florida* (Coral Gables, 1971), 374-75.

Rolfs insisted that the company and its officials had no motive "except a purely business motive."[31]

The reorganized Pensacola company, appropriately named the American Lumber Company, continued to fill large orders of yellow pine for army camp construction. William Wilson of the Alien Property Custodian's office also served as head of the Gulf Shipbuilding Company which the United States Shipping Board Emergency Fleet Corporation had ordered to build wooden sailing schooners for the coastal trade during the war. Gulf Shipbuilding was located at Millville near the American Lumber Company. Wilson merged Gulf Shipbuilding into the American Lumber Company.[32]

On July 18, 1918, the American Lumber Company obtained a federal contract for eight wooden schooner barges of 2,500 tons displacement to be used to haul coal in the New England coastal trade. They were estimated to cost $190,000 each. Company officials calculated that 1,000 additional employees would be added to the existing workforce of 300 to fill the order. The war was too near its end for the windfall to be realized. In October 1918 contracts for six of the vessels were cancelled, and work stopped on the seventh in February 1919. Eventually, only one, the *Ville de Dixmude,* was ever completed at a cost of $300,000.[33]

With the end of the war the Alien Property Custodian advertised the American Lumber Company for sale. In March 1919 Walter C. Sherman of Panama City purchased it and renamed it the St. Andrew Bay Lumber Company.[34] Neither the German-American Lumber Company Papers nor the Rolfs

31. Typed statement of Gerhard Rolfs, Folder 6, Box 3, RP.
32. W. L. Wilson to Pensacola Maritime Corporation, May 9, 1918; Rolfs to Harvey D. Jacob, December 27, 1924, Correspondence 1914-1935, Folder 5, Box 2, RP; Brigadier General R. C. Marshall to American Lumber Company, October 21, 1918, Folder 914, GAP.
33. Bell, *Glimpses of the Panhandle,* 111-12; Rolfs to Jacob, December 27, 1924, Correspondence 1914-1935, Folder 5, Box 2, RP. Even with its limited bonanza the company showed a profit of $202,263.62 for its last year of operation. American Lumber Company statement, November 30, 1919, Folder 6, Box 3, RP.
34. Bell, *Glimpses of the Panhandle,* 105. Sherman had operated a lumber mill at Fountain since 1912. After purchasing the American Lumber Company he acquired additional tracts and continued operations until 1930 at which time most of the timber in the area was cut. He was active in the business and civic life of the Panama City area for over fifty years.

Papers indicate what arrangements were made with the German owners after the war. At any rate the owners would not have claims against the United States as the Versailles Treaty imposed the obligation upon the German government to compensate its nationals for property which had been seized under the Trading-with-the-Enemy Act. The company's records were stored in a room of the Brent Building in Pensacola under the jurisdiction of the Alien Property Custodian. The final statement of the American Lumber Company in 1919 listed the Fürstlich Schaumburg-Lippische Hofkammer as an "enemy creditor" holding a mortgage of $1,372,567.93. The total assets of the company were listed at $3,901,266.06. No specific figures were listed for the value of Schreyer's stock.[35]

H. G. Kulenkampff returned to Germany after his release from Fort Oglethorpe in 1919 and continued to work for Julius Schreyer. Schreyer and Company remained in the import business, but branched out into food items along with lumber. A 1935 letterhead of Schreyer and Company, Bremen, Germany, reads: "Kaffee/Tee/Kakao."[36] Gerhard Rolfs lived on in Pensacola, and was reappointed German Consul for the State of Florida, September 10, 1923, the first resident consul to be named after the war. He held that post until his retirement in 1935 when the Pensacola post was closed and consular activities were transferred to Jacksonville.[37]

Even though Rolfs had lost his job and Kulenkampff had been interned, the two Germans harbored no lasting ill-will toward the American business system. Indeed, it is ironic that during the great world depression of the 1930s Rolfs regarded World War I American Liberty bonds as the safest and best investment for his friend and associate.[38]

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35. American Lumber Company statement, November 30, 1919, Folder 6, Box 3; Rolfs to Jacob, November 26, 1924, Correspondence 1914-1935, Folder 5, Box 2, RP.
36. Kulenkampff to Rolfs, August 6, 1935, Correspondence 1914-1935, Folder 5, Box 2, RP.
37. Pensacola *News*, September 10, 1923, September 6, 1935.
38. Rolfs to Chase National Bank, August 9, 1933; Rolfs to Hallgarten and Company, October 16, 1934, Correspondence 1914-1935, Folder 5, Box 2, RP.

A WOMAN LIBERATED
LILLIAN C. WEST, EDITOR

by BERNADETTE K. LOFTIN*

LILLIAN CARLISLE WEST'S professional name, L. C. West, graced the masthead of the weekly *Panama City Pilot* from 1917 to 1937. She also managed or edited two other local papers, the *St. Andrews Bay News* and *Lynn Haven Free Press,* during part of this period, and she operated the Gulf Coast Development Company and the Panama City Publishing Company. Thus, for almost two decades, Mrs. West successfully assumed a leadership position generally reserved only for the male sex by the society of her time. How she managed to accomplish this feat in a small southern town where women's struggle for equality was not widely accepted is a question of some merit.

The traditionally conservative Panama City-Bay County area of Florida did not receive with much enthusiasm the progressive ideas of the early twentieth century, including changing ideas about the proper role of women in society. Transportation facilities were sparse, and there were very few visitors. The only main road ran northward, unpaved, for fifty-one miles to Cottondale where it forked east and west or continued northward to Dothan, Alabama.[1] Cottondale served as the connecting link for rail travel. It was not until 1929 that bridges spanned the three branches of the bays. Five years later, the Gulf coast highway was completed with federal funds.[2] New Deal funds also made possible the paving of other area roads.

Union veterans had settled Lynn Haven, and small colonies of Midwesterners were scattered throughout the county. Sometimes there were visitors from the North, and families from Alabama, Tennessee, and South Georgia vacationed at the bay,

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1. Interview with James E. Churchwell, Panama City, Florida, July 7, 1970. Churchwell, who started the Long Beach Casino in 1936, felt strongly that poor transportation hindered the development of Panama City.
2. *Panama City Pilot,* August 29, 1929; October 4, 1934.

roughing it on the beaches or going out on fishing trips.[3] Even the Florida boom of the 1920s, which saw the construction of two hotels– the Cove and the 100-room Dixie Sherman– had little impact on the area. As late as 1930, only 111 out of a Bay County work force of 4,339 were employed in hotels, restaurants, and boarding houses.[4] Some business interests were attracted into the area as were a handful of celebrities who sought out the relative isolation of Panama City. These included Asa Candler of Coca Cola, who owned a cottage, and Minor C. Keith of United Fruit, who built a home in Bunker's Cove. The Mayo brothers of Rochester docked their yacht in the bay, and Peter Lorillard Kent called Panama City his home, donating a trophy to the Yacht Club.[5]

Chartered as a municipality in 1909, Panama City remained small for many years. In 1920, the county population numbered 11,407; 1,722 people lived in Panama City.[6] In 1930, Bay County's population had increased to 12,091; Panama City, with the annexation of St. Andrew and Millville, numbered 5,402.[7] By the end of the 1930s, Panama City's population was 11,610, but it could hardly be considered metropolitan in character. Many of the people were life-long residents; others had migrated from Alabama, other parts of Florida, southwestern Georgia, and the Midwest.[8] Randall H. Gray's family exemplified this migration.[9]

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3. Taped interview with Mrs. Jacque Godfrey, Panama City, June 11, 1970. Mrs. Godfrey's parents, the Melvin Mayers, arrived in Panama City in 1914 and operated the Bay Hotel, which catered to these tourists. Mrs. Godfrey lived in the Bay Hotel during her childhood.
4. U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930, Population,* III, pt. 1 (Washington, 1932), 426.
5. Taped interview with John Henry Sherman, Panama City, May 16, 1970. The local newspapers, such as the *Pilot,* recorded the arrivals and departures of notable visitors and part-time residents.
6. U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, Population,* II (Washington, 1922), 1332: *Seventeenth Census of the United States, 1950, Population,* II, pt. 10, Florida (Washington, 1952), 10-8.
7. U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930, Population,* III, pt. 1 (Washington, 1932), 411, 423.
8. A random sample of Bay county families of this era indicates origin points as follows: Alabama– Bedsole, Calloway, Carlisle, Culbreath, Farris, Lisenby, Newberry, Sudduth; northern Florida– Anderson, Churchwell, Daffin, Harman, Hutchinson, Kennington, Laird, Mayers; Georgia– Gore, Hobbs, Moore, Sherman; the Midwest– Allan, Cooley, Fox, Hoskins, West.
9. Interview with Randall H. Gray, Panama City, August 16, 1973.

At the age of eighteen in 1899, Gray, and his family, arrived in a caravan from Crestview, Florida. Earlier the family had lived in southern Alabama. Gray recalled that for many years over half the members of the Millville Baptist Church, which he and Lillian Carlisle attended, were from Alabama. The land company promoters– Cincinnati Land Company, Gulf Coast Development Corporation, and St. Andrews Bay Development Company– attracted Midwesterners to the area. An Indiana visitor in 1923, Clarence W. Jones, described the area and a "colony" from his home state living in the Millville area in a news story.[10] He reported that Baptist and Methodist fundamentalists predominated, and that the Masons composed the strongest fraternal organization.

Few career opportunities existed for women. Mrs. Frank Nelson, Sr., mother of nine children and wife of a long-time Panama City mayor, recalled that she and most other women kept busy as homemakers.[11] R. H. Gray emphasized that it was unusual for a woman to be employed outside her home.[12] Women could work as teachers or nurses; they could also be employed as clerks or stenographers, but in a small town like Panama City there were few such openings.

It was within this environment that Lillian Carlisle West emerged as a community leader. Born August 18, 1884, in Troy, Alabama, one of five children, she came to the Bay area as a child when her father, Moses M. Carlisle, retired from his law practice.[13] Her maternal grandfather, lumberman Pitt Milner Calloway, had arrived in the Bay area from central Alabama before the Civil War, and had served as Baptist minister in the Calloway community named for him. Lillian received a very elementary formal education, but she and her sister Rose were active in the Millville Baptist Church, participating in both religious and social functions. Randall Gray recalled that Lillian was shy with the young men during their most popular activity – hunting turtles from sailboats.[14] Rose played the piano at

10. Clarence W. Jones letter to the Peru (Indiana) *Republican* quoted in the *Panama City Pilot*, March 1, 1923.
11. Interview with Mrs. Frank Nelson, Sr., Panama City, August 16, 1973.
12. Interview with Randall H. Gray, Panama City, August 16, 1973.
13. Taped interview with Mrs. L. C. West, Panama City, May 15, 1970.
14. Interview with Randall H. Gray, Panama City, August 16, 1973.

church, and Lillian served as Sunday School teacher. By the time Lillian was twenty, she was managing her family's Calloway property. It was through her interest in an East Bay canal which would help promote growth of the eastern bay section, that Lillian met George Mortimer West.

West was one of the founders of Panama City. Born in New York in 1845, he moved with his parents to Wisconsin in 1860, where he went to work on the railroad. Later he was a newspaper publisher and was admitted to the Wisconsin bar. In 1872 he was employed by the Chicago and Northwestern Railroad, and it was while he was assistant superintendent for the Peninsula division that he acquired a winter home on St. Andrews Bay. In 1905 he organized the Gulf Coast Development Company and purchased most of the original homesite of Panama City. A. B. Steele completed his logging railroad from Dothan, Alabama, to St. Andrews Bay for a share of the Gulf Coast Development Company's holdings. The company authorized a printing plant and newspaper to promote both its holdings and the St. Andrew area. With this in mind, West began publication of the *Panama City Pilot* on May 30, 1907, prior to the incorporation of Panama City. Throughout its operation, the *Pilot* continued the promotion of Panama City.[15]

From his first marriage George West had one son, Charles E. West, whose own family included a son and a daughter. It was when West's second wife died in Panama City in 1908 that Lillian Carlisle decided that she would become the third Mrs. West.[16] West was sixty-three and Lillian twenty-four when they met. She had approached him one day about the possibility of a column in the *Pilot* promoting an East Bay canal.[17] As she later pointed out, "I got my husband and the canal." In 1909 she married George West, and in 1915 the canal became a reality. Lillian always remembered that she kept the first dollar she received "working for Mr. West."[18]

The household was already large when Lillian came into it as a bride. West's granddaughter, Grace, lived with them until she

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15. *St. Andrews Bay News*, November 2, 1926; *Panama City Pilot*, November 4, 1926.
16. Interview with Ralph E. Wager, Panama City, August 16, 1973.
17. Taped interview with Mrs. L. C. West, Panama City, May 15, 1970.
18. Interview with Charles A. West, Panama City, August 16, 1973.

married. Grandson Phil West, his wife, and four sons made their home with them also. In the early years of Lillian's marriage, she bore twins who died at birth. It was a busy house; frequently company arrived from Michigan and New York. Mr. West's granddaughter usually supervised the housework,[19] although a great-grandson remembered that he sometimes helped Lillian with the chores.[20] Tony, the black cook, and his family lived in a dwelling behind the family house, and performed domestic services. Although George West followed the Methodist faith, Mrs. West was a member of the Baptist church, first at Millville and later at Panama City, Other than the Woman's Missionary Union, she joined no local organizations. She taught the mid-teenagers in Sunday School.

As George West grew older and his health declined, Lillian assumed more business responsibilities; she managed all of the West interests for several years before her husband died. The Wests acquired the *St. Andrews Bay News* in 1916, and the following year Lillian's name appeared as business manager of the papers. Advertisements for the Gulf Coast Development Company listed her as salesman. By 1923, she was listed as owner, publisher, and business manager of the *Pilot.* She was described as "a hustling and capable business manager and would put to shame many of the much-flounted hustlers of the North."[21] The *Lynn Haven Free Press* became the third West newspaper in 1926. An examination of the editorial style of the three journals reveals the gradual transition from George to Lillian West. George's editorials carried his by-line, and they were usually dramatic, full of allusions, and oftentimes scholarly. By the early 1920s a new style of editorial writing began to emerge: terse, simple, opinionated. These editorials were written by Lillian. Later her editorials became more folksy. She wrote on a large dining room table, and her husband, before his death, corrected the manuscripts.[22] The newspapers contained few typographical errors, indicating careful proofreading.

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19. Telephone interview with Mrs. Grace Wilson, Panama City, March 23, 1973.
20. Interview with Charles A. West, Panama City, August 16, 1973.
21. Charles W. Jones letter, reprinted in *Panama City Pilot,* March 1, 1973.
22. Interview with Charles A. West, Panama City, August 16, 1973.

The progressive movement was reaching its zenith in the United States after World War I. The West papers generally supported progressivism and advocated government regulation of big business, prohibition, and honesty in government. They opposed the formation of a new Ku Klux Klan in 1920, while complimenting the federal government on its aggressive anti-Bolshevik drive.[23] The *Pilot* also labelled the proposed child labor amendment as "'Soviet-Bolshevik" and "pernicious."[24]

The *Pilot* strongly supported women's suffrage, and the articles and editorials indicated that Mrs. West wrote most of them. She argued that all natural rights came from God, and were not meant for men only.[25] When the nineteenth amendment was ratified in August 1920, Lillian became the first woman to register to vote in the St. Andrews precinct. A *Pilot* editorial predicted that "the women will vote as they please," and "a drink of shinny, or a cigar, is not going to produce the results that they have *[sic]* heretofore."[26] In the November election, the *Pilot* reported that the women were "first and last at the polls." The "surprised old election gangsters were wondering what it all meant" because the "women displayed more knowledge of conditions than the majority of the men."[27]

When George West died on October 29, 1926, there was little question as to who would control the family's business interests. There were sixteen Panama City Publishing Company employees, including Lillian as managing editor, Phil B. West, feature writer, and Charles West.[28] Mrs. West was known as a good businesswoman, and according to one observer she never asked for any special treatment because of her sex.[29] No prototype of a gracious, beautifully-dressed southern belle, the sturdy-framed Lillian West pursued her work six days a week wearing unusual hats and small-printed dresses with large serviceable pockets.[30] Her only concession to adornment consisted of a cameo pin which she always wore.

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23. *Panama City Pilot,* July 15, 1920.
24. *Ibid.,* August 14, October 4, 1924.
25. Taped interview with Mrs. L. C. West, Panama City, May 15, 1970.
26. *Panama City Pilot,* September 9, 1920.
27. *Ibid.,* November 4, 1920.
28. *St. Andrews Bay News,* November 2, 1926.
29. Interview with Wayne H. Marshall, Panama City, March 23, 1973.
30. Interviews with various Panama City citizens indicated almost an identical description. Charles A. West substantiated this description.

During the first year following her husband's death, she reprinted many of his botanical articles and wrote few editorials. By the end of the 1920s, however, the West papers clearly expressed her simple and concise style. Her editorials usually required ninety minutes each week to write, and the social column took about the same amount of time.[31] For entertainment she worked, since she did not travel, enjoyed the radio very little, and only attended the movies rarely. She reprinted many unsyndicated articles from other papers and magazines, indicating a comprehensive coverage of the current news media.

Mrs. West always maintained direct control over the *Pilot*, even though at times she allowed someone else to edit the other two newspapers. The *Pilot* concentrated mostly on local news, but it did include some national and international news. It covered all important social events, describing the young ladies as "beautiful" or "graceful." Obituaries noted that residents had passed on to "their reward" or had answered the "last roll call." The names of white and black laborers seldom appeared in the paper unless an unusual event, such as a crime, occurred. The *Pilot*, calling the area the "Eden of West Florida," never mentioned the paper houses which mill workers in the Springfield and Bay Harbor communities built from two and three thicknesses of scrap paper, generally over sand pits.[32]

Lillian West believed that a newspaper should lead the people and should express what the editor considered to be right and just.[33] This did not always happen in Panama City, and Lillian once admitted, "I bet I had more cussing than any younger woman in town." Others in town agreed that the outspoken Mrs. West evoked a lot of criticism.[34] Her coverage of the 1928 presidential campaign between Herbert Hoover and Alfred E. Smith exemplified this kind of strong editorial stance. The editor of the *Pilot* argued that religious objections to Smith were unjust. According to the paper, the voter should consider important issues rather than "asinine attacks upon Governor Smith based upon his religion" or allegations that Hoover advocated

31. Taped interview with Mrs L. C. West, Panama City, May 15, 1970.
32. Taped interview with Mr. and Mrs. Luther Kennington, Panama City, May 22, 1970.
33. Taped interview with Mrs. L. C. West, Panama City, May 15, 1970.
34. Interview with W. W. Sturling, Panama City, August 16, 1973.

"equality between the white and black races."[35] The *Pilot* even criticized Bob Jones, the popular evangelist who had founded the area's only college just north of the city in 1927. The newspaper carried an alleged quotation from Jones stating he would rather see Negroes in office and "a saloon on every corner" than a Catholic in the presidential chair.[36] A satirical correction of a football score for Bob Jones College followed in a subsequent issue with the error attributed to a "direct order of the Pope in Rome" and a request from Al Smith.[37] While Florida voted Republican in 1928, the first time since Reconstruction, Bay County remained Democratic.[38]

The *Pilot* remained unalterably opposed to all types of crime, alcohol, gambling, and obscene motion pictures. A fervent prohibitionist, Mrs. West equated whiskey with crime, and from her point of view the movement for repeal sprang from "aliens" and "anarchists."[39] In 1931, her editorials grew increasingly disturbed over the incidence of crime in the Panama City area. In May the community was shocked by the shooting from ambush and subsequent death of Walter Sharpless, former deputy sheriff and Long Beach pavilion operator. When a night watchman killed the grandson of a former city commissioner the following month while the youth and five other boys attempted to enter a warehouse, Mrs. West complained that the citizens of Panama City seemed to be asleep on the subject of crime. She continued her hard crusade against crime throughout that summer.

In the September *24* issue, the *Pilot* printed a note which Mrs. West said she had received: "I am leaving here[.] I have refused to do you as I did Sharpless[.] Keep your eye on Black." It was signed "O.K. Ignite."[40] Unintimidated, Mrs. West responded: "Many of us have reasons to believe there is a certain bunch of grown men who use the youth of Bay County to peddle their liquor, run rum, and do many other crimes that are damaging to others, purely for their own gain or spitework."[41] The following

35. *Panama City Pilot*, September 27, 1928.
36. *Ibid.*, August 23, 1928.
37. *Ibid.*, November 1, 1928.
38. *Ibid.*, November 8, 1928.
39. *St. Andrew Bay News*, March 30, 1926.
40. *Panama City Pilot*, September 24, 1931.
41. *Ibid.*, October 1, 1931.

spring Mrs. West still persisted in her argument that: "Overdoses of bad liquor has *[sic]* been the foundation cause of every homicide that has been committed in Panama City."[42]

The *Pilot*'s editor generally defended Panama City and Bay County vigorously and extolled their virtues. When Edward N. Pagelson made a humorous talk to the Rotary Club in Harbor Beach, Michigan, in which he allegedly described the Bay County people as a lost tribe of white people without churches who could not read or write, both the *St. Andrews Bay News* and the *Pilot* severely criticized him. He was denounced as an "ungrateful adopted son," and the *St. Andrews Bay News* called him a "flat-footed, hook-nosed, distorted-brained windjammer."[43] Mrs. West, who always gave equal space in her paper even to those she opposed, printed Pagelson's explanation of how he had been misquoted opposite her article in the *Pilot.*

During the 1930s Mrs. West frequently analyzed the economic situation and suggested ways to bring the country out of the depression. She claimed that business had stagnated because "every business man and woman retrenches to such an extent as to try to live within themselves."[44] World War I began the era of waste, overspending, and unpaid debts which helped to bring on the depression. Mrs. West always encouraged her readers to pay their debts. She blamed public spending and high taxes for America's bad economic conditions.[45] In 1932 she endorsed gubernatorial candidate Dave Sholtz's economical government campaign. The middleman who demanded high prices in a market already glutted with raw materials received her censure. Mrs. West's formulas for recovery always included an optimistic view of the world. She forecast that the unemployment question would be solved if everyone would just have the confidence to spend money. She admonished the people of Panama City to: "Do all the work that you have been putting off, buy your clothes you have been planning on, and you will begin to see the effect almost at once."[46] She followed her own advice, and in 1932 built a log cabin on Beach Drive, where she lived with a midwestem

42. *Ibid.,* May 19, 1932.
43. *Ibid.,* October 11, 1934.
44. *Ibid.,* January 1, 1931.
45. *Ibid.,* July 28, 1932.
46. *Ibid.,* January 8, 1931.

relative.[47] While Mrs. West never related any of her personal activities in her newspapers, she did cover all other construction, new businesses, industry, and retail promotions, always praising such endeavors.

As another antidote to the depression, Mrs. West supported all back-to-the-soil movements and encouraged home production of food. She proposed the purchase of a farm by the city so that beggars could earn their subsistence; in work lay "the best remedy for hunger."[48] The American Colonization Development plan to settle the area between Fountain and Youngstown met with her approval.[49] The proposal included twenty-five to forty acre farms, a mule, a cow, chickens, seeds, and implements. This proposal fitted Mrs. West's conception of the American way of counteracting hard times.

In Franklin D. Roosevelt, Mrs. West found the savior of the country. Even when his policies appeared incompatible with her published opinions, the *Pilot* supported him vigorously as the "Paul Revere of 1933."[50] To her, his recovery programs were not inconsistent with the states' rights philosophy, since in emergencies the President should act quickly and speedily to save the country. The National Industrial Recovery Act, she wrote, "freed the slaves of labor as much as Lincoln's proclamation freed the Negro slaves."[51] Although many Southerners soon became disenchanted with Roosevelt, Mrs. West never lost faith in him.

Since religion existed as a significant force in the life of Lillian West, she felt compelled to pass on her beliefs to her readers. She insisted that she "never wrote an editorial in my life that I didn't offer a little prayer before I started."[52] Many of the *Pilot*'s editorials of the late 1920s resembled sermons, and they usually began with a Biblical quotation. An editorial in 1928 carried the advice: "May God help you to 'Be careful how you vote!' "[53] Each week the West papers carried a syndicated Sunday School lesson. At times the papers also carried articles on Mrs. West's Bible classes and lessons. Although Mrs. West was a

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47. Interview with Charles A. West, Panama City, August 16, 1973.
48. *Panama City Pilot,* September 17, 1931.
49. *Ibid.,* December 8, 1932.
50. *Ibid.,* September 7, 1933.
51. *Ibid.,* August 8, 1935.
52. Taped interview with Mrs. L. C. West, Panama City, May 15, 1970.
53. *Panama City Pilot,* March 1, 1928.

Baptist, her newpapers reported the activities of other religious groups– Methodists, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Adventists, Catholics, and Holiness. The *Pilot* reproduced sermons such as the ones delivered at the annual Bible conference at Bob Jones College. Fundamentalist Methodist Bob Jones received full coverage in the *Pilot* even though Mrs. West considered his approach too commercial. She agreed with him, however, in his advocacy of the "old time religion."[54]

People in Panama City generally accepted and respected Mrs. West, even when they did not agree with her. Although her papers failed to report circulation figures, a competing journal, the *Bay County Herald*, claimed the *Pilot's* circulation in 1932 was 1,950 copies. Presumably most of the people in the area subscribed to the West papers.[55] Jimmy Daffin, a local druggist who advertised extensively in the West papers, later recalled her Sunday School lessons.[56] W.W. Sturling felt that the *Pilot* reflected the higher values of the community.[57] Randall Gray, Millville merchant, claimed that while the *Pilot* expressed the views of the area, a rival paper, the *Beacon*, owned by the St. Andrews Bay Lumber Company, had little impact.[58] Although some people considered Mrs. West to be unique, they accepted her in the community. One of her contemporaries noted that while Mrs. West's disposition was bossy and some regarded her as cranky, she was "true blue."[59]

The greatest opposition Lillian West encountered came from another community leader– Walter Colquitt Sherman. The controversy developed before the death of George West. A member of the West family admitted that the responsibility for the feud probably lay with Mrs. West who "had rather argue than eat."[60] During World War I, the federal government seized the German-American Lumber Company located at Millville. Minor Keith and Walter Sherman, who already owned a lumber mill north of the bay and the Atlanta-St. Andrews Bay Railroad Company,

54. Taped interview with Mrs. L. C. West, Panama City, May 15, 1970.
55. Telephone interview with Charles A. West, Panama City, February 18, 1974; U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930, Population,* VI (Washington, 1933), 281, 291.
56. Taped interview with Mr. and Mrs. Jimmy Daffin, Panama City, May 15, 1970.
57. Interview with W. W. Sturling, Panama City, August 16, 1973.
58. Interview with Randall H. Gray, Panama City, August 16, 1973.
59. Interview with Mrs. Frank Nelson, Sr., Panama City, August 16, 1973.
60. Interview with Charles A. West, Panama City, August 16, 1973.

Lillian Carlisle West
(Courtesy, Charles A. West, Panama City, Florida)

purchased the German company in 1919, making it headquarters for the St. Andrews Bay Lumber Company. Sherman served as executive vice-president. Perhaps Mrs. West opposed Keith and Sherman because she viewed their action as a violation of private property rights, or perhaps she simply expressed her concern for the underdog. The initiation of competition in the form of a company newspaper and/or a power struggle between two important community interests may have been the basis for the enmity. The first agitation developed in 1920 when the St. Andrews Bay Lumber Company endorsed consolidation of the communities of Panama City, St. Andrews, and Millville, a move which the Wests had consistently opposed. The following year the lumber company successfully supported the abandonment of railroad service to St. Andrews, where the Wests lived. When the company encountered labor difficulties, the West papers supported the strikers. The *Pilot* criticized the lumber company for importing gunmen and strikebreakers, and accused officials of kidnapping and beating John Winstanley, a labor organizer.[61] Shortly afterwards Sherman circulated a petition in Bay County which described the *Pilot* and the *St. Andrews Bay News* as being "inimical to the interest of the County" and urged West to leave the area.[62] The *Pilot* published both the petition and a letter from Sherman accusing the West papers of lying and of yellow journalism. The paper claimed that some of the petitioners had signed under duress and others because of business affiliations with Sherman. Sherman was a director of the First National Bank, and the *Pilot* noted that all the bank's employees and directors had signed. The names of many county officials, including the county judge, sheriff, clerk, assessor, and collector, were also on the petition. The *Pilot* contended that some of the petitioners had admitted that they had never read the statement, and had signed it because they thought it was only a request to West to stop attacking the lumber company. Some signers had been told that the statement would be delivered personally to George West and would not be published. Mrs. West had tried

61. *Panama City Pilot,* June 16, 23, November 17, 24, 1921. For the history of the seizure and transfer of the German-American Lumber Company, see Edward F. Keuchel, "A Purely Business Motive: German-American Lumber Company, 1901-1918," *Florida Historical Quarterly,* LII (April 1974), 381-95.

unsuccessfully to obtain a copy of the petition when it was first being circulated. It was Sherman himself who finally sent a copy.

Strike tensions gradually died. The grand jury dismissed the Winstanley case because of insufficient evidence, and the West-Sherman recriminations faded. By June 1922, the opponents apparently had resolved their major differences since the *Pilot* carried large advertisements for the Sherman interests. Personal charges and counter-charges henceforth ceased. The *Pilot* informed its readers that Walter Sherman had donated paint for the Millville Baptist Church and had given Christmas trees to the mill children. The Wests, however, continued their opposition to the incorporation of St. Andrews and Millville by Panama City, calling the consolidation act of 1926 "annihilation."[63]

In 1926, Sherman moved his family from Alabama to a new Spanish-type home in the Bunker's Cove area.[64] They soon became the social leaders of the bay area, and the *Pilot* reported the receptions, dinners, bridge parties, and balls in which the Shermans participated. Mrs. Sherman's imported gowns were described in detail. Walter Sherman actively supported sports, helped found the Panama Country Club golf course in 1927, and was one of the backers of the Panama City baseball club which operated in the 1930s.

In 1931, the West-Sherman feud erupted again. As Lillian West put it, "he [Sherman] and I wouldn't eat potatoes out of the same dish."[65] Several events precipitated the crisis. The closing of the First National Bank, of which Sherman was a director and principal stockholder, in February 1931, caused a great deal of bitterness in the community, particularly when its receivership resulted in the foreclosing of several local businesses. It was just about this time that Mrs. West had begun accelerating her crusade against crime. On March 22, 1931, the St. Andrews Bay Lumber Company mill, which supplied electrical power to the area, burned along with twenty other residences at Millville with an approximate loss of $95,000. There were rumors which suggested that the bank closing and the sawmill fire were in some way linked. The depression had begun making an impact and the financial plight of the city and county was serious. Some

63. *St. Andrews Bay News,* March 30, May 11, 1926.
64. Taped interview with John Henry Sherman, Panama City, May 16, 1970.
65. Taped interview with Mrs. L. C. West, Panama City, May 15, 1970.

people were unable or refusing to pay their taxes; there was controversy over Panama City's bonded indebtedness of nearly $2,000,000 and the county's $3,500,000.[66] The West-Sherman fight climaxed at a meeting June 25, 1931, when Sherman bitterly denounced the gossip about the burning of the sawmill, struck out at rum-running, and criticized the "dirty sheet published at St. Andrews." Reportedly he urged women to stay at home and allow the men to run the town.[67] In a letter to the editor of the Dothan *Eagle,* reprinted in the *Pilot,* a Sherman supporter accused Mrs. West of irresponsible news reporting.[68] The affair reached its most bitter point in the fall of 1931, with the trial and acquittal of three former mill employees on charges of burning the mill and the arrest for perjury of the three witnesses who claimed they saw the defendants running out of the mill. Later the state dropped the charges against the witnesses.[69] When Panama City's Commercial Bank stood firm and when depositors of the First National received thirty per cent dividends, some of the ill feeling in the community dwindled.

New competition faced Mrs. West in 1931, when Charles White began publishing a weekly, the *Bay County Herald.*[70] Two years later Mrs. West converted the *St. Andrews Bay News* into a daily. John Perry, who already owned several Florida newspapers, purchased White's *Herald* in 1935, and reorganized it as a daily called *the Panama City Herald.* After struggling for two years against this competition, Lillian West accepted an offer from Perry in 1937 for the publishing rights to her papers. Perry merged the *St. Andrews Bay News* with the *Herald* and it became the *News-Herald.*[71] The *Pilot* and the *Lynn Haven Free Press* were turned into a weekly using the *Pilot*'s name. The *Pilot* continued until 1941, but under its new management it existed primarily as a feature publication. Mrs. West continued the Panama City Publishing Company and retained management of her real estate holdings.

An era ended in Panama City in 1937 when Lillian West sold

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66. *Panama City Pilot,* February 19, 1931.
67. *Ibid.,* July 2, 1931.
68. *Ibid.,* July 30, 1931.
69, *Ibid.,* November 5, 12, 1931.
70. Henry Copeland, "The Development of Panama City and Its Newspapers" (M. A. thesis, Florida State University, 1956), 74-75.
71. *Panama City Herald,* March 18, 1937.

her newspaper interests. She had possessed the most articulate voice in the community. The newcomers who moved into Panama City during World War II and the years following were generally unaware of Mrs. West as a community leader. She had never publicized herself, and had never participated in clubs or public meetings.[72] To those who did not know her background, she was an eccentric whose automobile driving menaced the citizens and whose clothes certainly failed to conform with the styles of the times. On August 26, 1970, when she died in Panama City, the *News-Herald*'s article covered less than a column and was headlined, "Mrs. West, Widow of City Founder, Dies At Age 85."[73]

Still, for almost twenty years Lillian West had operated as a community leader in her own right. She had gradually moved into a position of control by a route that did not threaten masculinity— a loyal wife helping an ailing husband. Mrs. West's dominating and driving personality cannot be ignored. Throughout her life she refused to stray from what she considered to be correct community values. Sometimes this stirred controversy, but often it resulted in overall respect for her courage and tenacity. Lillian West, liberated in her right to work, never freed herself or wished to free herself from the community. For almost twenty years she held her place as an influential member of her community.

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72. Interview with Ralph E. Wager, Panama City, August 16, 1973.
73. Panama City *News-Herald*, August 27, 1970.

THE ENTERPRISE OF FLORIDA

by EUGENE LYON*

KNOWLEDGE OF FLORIDA history tends to cluster around certain key events. Thus, the Spanish colonial period is marked by the Ponce de León and De Soto landings, the Drake raid of 1586, and the building of the Castillo de San Marcos. Interpretation of the first successful settlement of Florida by Pedro Menéndez de Avilés is centered upon the diplomatic and military drama culminating at Fort Caroline and at Matanzas. Woodbury Lowery and Henry Folmer have shown the Spanish-French clash of 1565 in its international setting. The spiritual aspect of the Menéndez conquest has been developed by a host of historians: Felix Zubillaga, Michael Kenney, Clifford Lewis, Albert Loomie, and Michael Gannon. Some information about the founder of Florida has been contributed by the Asturian writers, Eugenio Ruidiaz y Caravía and Ciriaco Miguel Vigil. The modern reproduction of the Barrientos, Barcia, Solís de Merás, and Mendoza Grajales narratives, as well as the works of Jean Ribault, Rene de Laudonnière, and Dominique Gorgues, has added depth to our knowledge of the Menéndez years. The picture, however, remains incomplete.

The founding of Florida was an enterprise, an undertaking of vast scope done in large measure by private interests. The Menéndez conquest of Florida began entirely as the enterprise of an adelantado. It was after the contract for this had been signed in Madrid that the Spanish Crown first learned that Laudonnière had established Fort Caroline on the St. Johns River. With this threat to Spain's interest, royal support was added for the Florida effort. This led five years later to a regular subsidy. The underlying basis of conquest, however, remained the personal leadership and financial support of the adelantado and his Asturian associates. Florida was an adelantamiento in the period from 1565 to 1577. Its founding was directly in the tradition of Spanish expansion by contract. According to accepted practice, Menéndez, as proprietor, was to furnish certain

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services and to receive certain benefits under his conquest-contract with Philip II.

For more than sixty years prior to 1565, the expansion of Spain into the Western Hemisphere had been accomplished chiefly by adelantados. The juridical origins of the Castilian institution of the adelantado can be traced back at least as far as the twelfth century. It was an essential ingredient in the reconquest of Spain, and it was later transferred, legally intact, to the New World.[1] For Florida, the Ponce de León, Vázquez de Ayllón, de Narváez, and de Soto contracts were of a piece with more than sixty other Indies asientos. Only the de Luna and Villafañe expeditions did not fit the pattern. Each contractor in conquest received a license to explore and exploit Crown lands in return for financing and manning expeditions of fortification, evangelization, and settlement. For one to three lives, the government of the lands concerned was to be in his hands or those of his heirs. He possessed the power to appoint the officials of local government and justice; the appeal of all civil and criminal cases came only through him. No viceroy or audiencia could interfere with an adelantado, who dealt directly with the King and the Council of the Indies. He would receive titles, land grants, monopolies, tax exemptions, and a percentage of royal revenues. To check upon the stewardship of its adelantados, the Crown relied upon its treasury officials, the sending of visitors and auditors, and the institution of residencia. By 1563, when the contracts had been largely standardized by usage, royal ordinances were enacted fixing the concept of private conquest into Spanish law.[2]

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1. *Leyes* XIX and XXII of the *Siete Partidas*, reproduced by Marcelo Martinez Alcubilla in *Códigos Antiguos de España*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1885), I, 301-02. The equality of Castilian and Indies *Adelantados* was reaffirmed in the consulta of November 28, 1671, from Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain (hereinafter referred to as AGI), *Santo Domingo* 231, photostat in the John B. Stetson Collection, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville. Hereinafter such photostats of AGI documents will be cited SC. See also the article by Roscoe R. Hill, "The Office of Adelantado," *Political Science Quarterly*, XXVIII (December 1913), 646-68, especially 646-51, for a discussion of medieval Iberian origins of the institution.
2. The contract of Ponce de León for Bimini is found in *Colección de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento . . . . en America y Oceania*, 42 vols. (Madrid, 1864-1884), XXII, 26-32 (hereinafter DI). The asiento of Ayllón of June 12, 1523 is in AGI *Indiferente General* 415, fol. 32-40. The contract with Nárvaez is also from that legajo, as is the

Philip II learned in mid-February 1563 of Ribault's visit to Florida the previous year and the French settlement at Port Royal. He ordered the governor of Havana and his general of the fleet, Pedro Menéndez, to erase the French threat. In June 1563, the King also determined to counter the French with a preventative settlement on the North American mainland. He granted a contract to Lucas Vazquez de Ayllón, son of the earlier Florida adelantado. Disgraced by debt, Vazquez de Ayllón never sailed for Florida. Instead he fled Santo Domingo in 1564, where his expedition broke up, a failure.[3]

In the meantime, Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, a vigorous Asturian seaman, came to the fore. Menéndez had a long background as a privateer in the Bay of Biscay and service in Crown-paid fleets as a subordinate and then as captain-general. He had also become a ship-owner and freighter in the Indies trade. His marriage into the influential Valdés family and his ties to the Velascos and other noble houses of Asturias helped gain him both advancement at Court and commercial advantage in Spain and in the Indies. Because of his trading ties in Cádiz and in the New World and his Asturian origins, Menéndez became involved in a bitter rivalry with the merchants' guild of Seville. Accused of carrying contraband in 1556 and 1561, he was convicted of that and other offenses in 1563 by the House of Trade, and confined to Seville for almost one year. In July 1564, Menéndez broke jail and brought his case to Madrid, where the Council of the Indies reconfirmed most of the sentences against him later that year. In. early February 1565, however, the Council reversed its earlier rulings and began negotiations with Menéndez for the Florida contract.[4] An agreement was signed March 15,

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agreement of April 20, 1537 with Hernando de Soto. The first royal ordinances governing conquest, issued at Segovia on July 13, 1563, are entitled "Ordenanzas sobre descubrimiento nuevo e población," and have been reprinted in DI, VIII, beginning at p. 508.

3. See Philip II to Pedro Menéndez and to Diego de Mazariegos, February 13, 1563, AGI *Indiferente General* 427. The second Ayllón asiento, June 4, 1563, is in AGI *Contratación* 3,309. Vazquez de Ayllón's difficulties are described in a letter from *Licenciado* Echegoyen to the King, Santo Domingo, August 10, 1564, AGI *Santo Domingo* 71, SC.

4. One valuable witness about the early days of Pedro Menéndez is the adelantado himself, particularly in his memorial of 1564 from AGI *Patronato* 257, No. 3, *ramo* 2, SC. An early Indies voyage of Menéndez is recorded in AGI *Contratación* 2,898, 1550 *Ida* and *Venida,* and in

1565, and the formal royal copy was issued, together with enabling decrees, five days later.[5]

The Menéndez contract was standard, with only a few special sections tailored to his particular wishes and needs. He would receive the title of adelantado for himself and for his heirs perpetually, and that of marquis if his Florida services warranted. He was granted 500 slave licenses free of duties and short-term exemptions from the royal customs duties and quinto. Menéndez would receive six and two-thirds per cent of all royal profits in Florida in perpetuity, and he was given the rights to two fisheries. He would receive an immense land grant, more than 5,500 square miles, in a place or places of his own choosing, and could give lands for farms and ranches as estates to his supporters. He was granted valuable shipping privileges– the right to put four vessels into the Indies trade and to sail with ten others in his Florida commercial monopoly. He also received an open-ended letter-of-marque, enabling him to take prizes without limit for the duration of the asiento.

In return for these benefits, Menéndez was required to underwrite and perform the conquest, exploration, pacification, and settlement of Florida. The Crown's only payment would be a 15,000 ducat bonus, if Menéndez sailed before May 31, 1565. He was required to bring 500 men on the first expedition, 100 of them settlers. Within three years, 400 more colonists had to be imported. Menéndez was required to carry the men and their requisite supplies and munitions in eleven ships. The King also ordered Menéndez to interrupt the trading voyage of his large galeass, *San Pelayo,* to back up the Florida voyage. The adelantado had to build two to three towns and import 1,100 head of varied livestock. Menéndez immediately began preparation for his expedition.

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another memorial of 1553 from AGI *Santo Domingo* 71, SC, filed with 1567. Menéndez's troubles with the *Casa de Contratación* and the Seville merchants are recorded in AGI *Justicia* 842, 855, 865, 868, 872, and 970.

5. A signed copy of the Florida contract agreed to on March 15, 1565, by Menéndez and Dr. Juan Vázquez de Arce of the Council of the Indies is found in AGI *Patronato* 257, No. 3, *ramo* 3, SC. Formal royal approval was given in the contract of March 20, 1565, a signed copy of which is in AGI *Escribanía de Cámara* 1,024-A. Other copies exist in Spanish archives.

In the meantime, Rene de Laudonnière had landed in Florida and had built Fort Caroline. Rebels from his garrison sailed to the Spanish Indies in late 1564 in three small vessels to seek their fortunes. The Frenchmen were captured in three group: at Arcos harbor in Cuba, near LaYaguana in Santo Domingo, and in the harbor of Santiago de la Vega in Jamaica. Although the governor of Havana dispatched the first news to Spain of the French settlement in Florida, it did not reach Seville until March 26, 1565. By that time, of course, the contract with Pedro Menéndez was already signed. After the message was received, royal aid in the form of troops and supplies was added to the effort of the adelantado.[6]

In preparing his first expedition, and during all of the dramatic years of the Florida conquest, Pedro Menéndez had to find and equip ships, raise and pay large numbers of troops for his own account, and purchase and send supplies to Florida. In Cádiz, the adelantado made a contract with Pedro del Castillo, his relative and a merchant of considerable standing. Castillo was granted rights in the slave licenses and shipping privileges given in the Florida asiento. In return, he advanced more than 20,000 ducats for the arming of the Florida expedition, and he agreed to manage the business side of the conquest from Spain. Menéndez and Castillo erected a paper structure of letters of credit to back up the Florida effort in Spain and the Indies, but ultimately the credit was itself backed by money from Indies trade and funds due Menéndez from the Crown.[7] Other relatives

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6. The voyage of the rebels from Laudonnière's fort is described in "Information of Governor Blas de Merlo," from AGI *Justicia* 212. See also the Spaniards' interrogation of the prisoners on December 22, 1564, from AGI *Patronato* 267, No. 1, *ramo* 37, and "Rojomonte's deposition," from AGI *Patronato* 19, No. 1, *ramo* 14. This writer has analyzed the fate of the French prisoners in "Captives of Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, L (July 1971), 1-24. For proof of the crucial point that news of the existence of Fort Caroline did not reach Spain until after Menéndez's contract was signed, see Casa to Crown, Seville, March 26, 1565, AGI *Contratación* 5,167 and Crown to Casa, August 26, 1565, from AGI *Contratación* 5,012, SC. For the Crown aid later authorized for Menéndez, see Philip II to *Audiencia* of Santo Domingo and to the governor at Havana, April 5, 1565, AGI *Escribanía de Cámara* 1,024-A. See also Philip's letter to Pedro de Ruelas, May 9, 1565, *Indiferente General* 1,966.
7. Menéndez's contract with Pedro del Castillo is dated June 25, 1565, and is found (together with later *poderes)* in Archivo de Protocolos de Cádiz. *Escribanía* of Alonso de los Cobos, 1565.

and friends advanced money, furnished ships, and provided men. The conquest of Florida was a family affair and a regional enterprise. More exactly, it was the affair of some nine major Asturian families, intricately interrelated by blood and marriage. The whole of the northern Spanish coast from Galicia to Vizcaya took part in the preparation of the northern Menéndez expedition. Most of the chief civil and military subordinates of Pedro Menéndez were Asturian, and all of these were related in some way to the adelantado. The familial network extended as well to the Indies ports of San Juan, Santo Domingo, Havana, and Bayamo in Cuba, to Vera Cruz and Cartagena, and to the viceregal city of Mexico.[8]

In addition to the men and material supplied by Menéndez and his associates, the Spanish Crown also contributed its share of the soldiery and supplies. In 1565, the King sent 300 soldiers in addition to foodstuffs and munitions. A reinforcement fleet brought 750 additional men to Florida in 1566, and another supply vessel sailed that year. Two ships arrived with food and arms in 1568, and another expedition came in 1571. When the original three-year term of Menéndez's contract expired in 1568, he was given an extension of his trade privileges in return for continuing to direct the enterprise and place settlers in Florida. The King then agreed to furnish funds for 150 of the soldiers in the garrisons, who would be paid from the fleet treasury. This became a regular annual subsidy in 1570, paid from the Tierra Firme or New Spain revenues of the Crown.[9]

For his part, Pedro Menéndez had done far more than simply

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8. The family aspect of the Florida conquest is discussed at some length by this writer in "The Matrix of Conquest," from "The Adelantamiento of Florida: 1565-1568" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Florida, 1973), 129-37.

9. The sending of the Archiniega relief fleet was authorized by Philip in an order to the *Casa de Contratacíon*, July 30, 1565, from AGI *Contratación* 5,012, SC. It sailed in April 1566, and was followed in late June by the supply ship *Pantecras*. See AGI *Contraduría* 294, No. 2b, 6. The renewal of Menéndez's trade privileges was granted in a letter from Philip II to Antonio de Abalia, sent from El Pardo on August 17, 1568, from AGI *Indiferente General* 1,967. The 150-man support was announced in a royal order of July 15, 1568, summarized in AGI *Contaduría* 548. On November 15, 1570, the subsidy was formally established in a letter from the King to the royal officials of Tierra Firme; this is found in AGI *Santo Domingo* 2,528, SC.

expel the Frenchmen from Florida. As a result of his coastal explorations, Menéndez had established a supply route by sea connecting the towns of Santa Elena and St. Augustine and the other forts with Cuba, Yucatan, and various Indies points. His vessels made many trips carrying corn, wine, seabiscuit, oil, and meat to the Florida garrisons. His supply efforts were not always successful, as he struggled with rebellious soldiers, stormy seas, and financial reverses. Often he found himself furnishing supplies for the royal troops as well as his own, for the projected Crown aid often came too late and sometimes never arrived. After his largest and finest ships were lost in the enterprise of Florida, it was difficult for Pedro Menéndez to continue his efforts.[10] After 1567, he was heavily occupied in the Royal Armada, while Florida was left to be managed by his associates and his sons-in-law.

In late 1567, Pedro Menéndez filed suit against the Crown, seeking recompense for services and for his heavy losses in Florida. For the shipwrecked *San Pelayo* alone he asked 25,000 ducats. The Royal Fiscal and the chief accountants closely examined Menéndez's performance in Florida. Although the substantive issues of the dispute were not settled at that time, the adelantado in 1567 and 1568 received major benefits as an outgrowth of the lawsuit; the revenues and title of Comendador of Santa Cruz de la Zarza, a property of the military order of Santiago, located near Palencia in Castile; a 10,000-ducat grant from Philip II; the governorship of Cuba, and the corollary disgrace and punishment of his enemy, former Governor Garcia Osorio; and the position of captain-general of the Royal Armada, a guard fleet for the Spanish trade system. This office not only guaranteed him a salary and prize money under a special arrangement with the King, but he also had an excellent chance to engage in contraband activities. The legal case over Menéndez's performance in Florida did not end, however; it continued another sixty-five years.[11]

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10. For details of Menéndez's supply of his Florida adelantamiento, see the data from 1566-1572 from AGI *Contaduría* 1,174, and "Despachos que se hicieron," in AGI *Escribanía de Càmara* 1,024-A. The ship losses of the adelantado are detailed in "Memorial de los navios cargados de bastimentos y municiones que se perdieron el Adelantado . . .," from AGI *Escribanía de Cámara* 1,024-A.
11. The body of the lawsuit by Menéndez against the Spanish Crown over the conquest of Florida is found is AGI *Escribania de Cámara* 1,024-A.

The adelantado and his supporters had a grand design for the development of their patrimonies in Florida– it was a dream modeled after other developments in the Spanish Indies. Although the search for mines and bullion recovered from shipwrecks never ended, the Florida plan was essentially agricultural and commercial. Every settler, whether noble or commoner, hoped to acquire estate. Menéndez envisioned himself as marquis of lands as vast as those of the Cortés fiefdom in the valley of Mexico. Every Spaniard wanted land to farm, either by himself or with Negro or Indian workers. According to the plan the corn paid in tribute by the Indians would feed both the livestock and the settlers, and hides and sugar would be produced for export. The municipal councils, or cabildos, would grant town and rural lands, and the adelantado was to confirm the encomiendas it established. As a way station on the route to Spain from New Spain, Florida expected to profit from trade and shipping and it was hoped that employment would be provided by shipbuilding. In pursuance of the design, Pedro Menéndez brought in more than 500 settlers and loads of livestock from Cuba and Santo Domingo. Two sizable ships and several smaller craft were built in Florida, but in the final analysis the design failed.[12]

One perceptive Florida historian suggests that the Indian-Spanish relationship is the key to understanding why the Menéndez design failed.[13] It is also important to place that relationship, as one essential part, within a chain of conquest. Thus, evangelization depended upon military support, and farmers waited upon pacification. In Florida, it was impossible for settlers to penetrate to the more fertile inland areas because of lack of security from Indian attack. Living on the rim of the vast domain called Florida, the Spanish could not apply the persistent pressure

12. Witnesses for the adelantado presented proof of the number of settlers brought to Florida in AGI *Escribanía de Cámara* 1,024-A. Details of the frigate construction in Florida in 1571-1572 are found in AGI *Contaduría* 548. One of the most complete expressions of Menéndez's dream for Florida settlement and commerce is to be found in his letter to Philip II dated at St. Augustine on October 15, 1565, from AGI *Santo Domingo* 231, SC.
13. Charles W. Arnade, "The Failure of Spanish Florida," *The Americas*, XVI (January 1960), 271-81.

needed to impress their culture upon that of the Indians. The corn-fields and sugar-cane plantings could not be defended. Livestock, imported at great cost, had to be used for food, and thus the settlers consumed their agricultural capital.

The failure of the Jesuit mission, which was staffed with able and zealous men, further reflected the underlying failure of Menéndez's Indian policy. In 1573, a frustrated adelantado admitted that the Indians in South Florida, and notably those in the Indian River area, had made his task impossible. He asked royal permission to enslave them and to rid Florida of them.[14]

The Florida Indian problem was neither unique nor hopeless. Spaniards had faced and conquered similar situations in Yucatan, on the "Chichimeca" frontiers of New Spain, in Chile, and elsewhere in the New World. At places in Florida where the Spanish were most numerous, notably near St. Augustine, in Guale, and near Santa Elena, it seemed at times that success was near. Indians were paying tribute, and the peace was being kept for relatively long periods of time. But, even with Crown aid, Menéndez could not keep up the effort. The foothold in Florida had been gained, but the grand design failed of realization.

As with all enterprises, a balance-sheet can be drawn of the enterprise of Florida. The Crown expended some 385,000 ducats on Florida during the Menéndez years.[15] In addition there was also the intangible value to the royal patrimony of the ship and slave licenses, trade privileges, and exemptions which had been granted Menéndez. The adelantado's heirs claimed that he had spent 977,379 ducats on his Florida enterprise. Other data reveals that this total contains both exaggeration and error. Menéndez's first Florida expedition of 1565 cost him and his supporters some 50,000 ducats. His Havana supply operation called for an expenditure of more than 10,000 ducats per year, exclusive of costs incurred in Spain for ships, men, and supplies. The royal auditors ruled that Menéndez had spent 130,000 ducats more than his contract had required. On the credit side of the ledger, the

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14. See "Daños de los Indios de la Florida," 1573, AGI *Patronato* 259, No. 3, *ramo* 20, SC.
15. Paul E. Hoffman, "A Study of Florida Defense Costs, 1565-1585: A Quantification of Florida History," *Florida Historical Quarterly,* LI (April 1973), 401-22.

adelantado had realized some benefit from booty and prizes in Florida, from the ransom of prisoners, and from the sale of asiento ship licenses.[16] Twelve ships, ranging in size from the 900-ton *San Pelayo* to tiny shallops, had been lost. More tragic was the death of many friends and relatives from drowning, arrow-wounds, disease, or starvation in the attempted conquest of Florida.

Philip II was never able successfully to determine the stewardship of his Florida adelantado. Royal treasury officials and lesser supply functionaries were faithful members of Menéndez's retinue. Royal monies and supplies sent to Florida were often sold or converted to private use, and there was open fraud in the issuance of soldiers' rations. The audit of 1569 resulted in criticism of some of the guilty for the misuse of royal supplies, but Pedro Menéndez was not censured. The King authorized an investigatory journey by Dr. Alonso Cáceres of Santo Domingo to Florida in 1574, but this visit never took place.[17]

After Menéndez's death in 1574, the enterprise of Florida was willed to Hernando de Miranda, his son-in-law, who had married Catalina Menéndez. After receiving the titles of adelantado, governor, and captain-general, Miranda arrived in Florida to direct the enterprise, but he lacked the dynamism of Pedro Menéndez and his royal support. After disastrous Indian troubles at Guale and in the vicinity of Santa Elena, Miranda fled to Havana. The 1576 visit convinced the Crown that the adelantamiento of Florida should be suspended. Since Miranda retained the title, the new official was simply a Crown appointee and not adelantado. Although Pedro Menéndez Marquez was related to the conqueror of Florida, the adelantamiento of Florida had ended.[18]

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16. For a detailed listing of Menéndez's estimated Florida expenditures, see Lyon, "The Adelantamiento of Florida," 137-54.
17. The 1569 audit performed by Andres de Equino is documented in AGI *Patronato* 257, No. 3, *ramo* 8, SC: AGI *Contaduría* 941; and AGI *Escribanía de Cámara* 153-B, reel 2, microfilm, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History. A substantial body of materials about the projected Cáceres visit is in AGI *Santo Domingo* 124 (partly contained also in the Stetson Collection).
18. See the accumulation of materials about the succession of Hernando de Miranda in AGI *Justicia* 817. The *visita* of 1576 by Baltasar del Castillo y Ahedo is documented in AGI *Escribanía de Cámara* 153-B, reels 1 and 2, microfilm, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History. The appointment

Pedro Menéndez's case of 1567 continued for years. An initial financial settlement of his tangled finances was reached with his heirs in 1583.[19] After the death of Hernando de Miranda and the failure of Catalina to produce an heir from her second marriage, the Menéndez estate passed to the son of the conqueror's nephew and descended down that branch of the family. After debate over the value of the services of Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, the lawsuit was settled finally in 1633. The Council of the Indies ruled that, in spite of frauds and failures, Pedro Menéndez had more than fulfilled his contract. It granted his heirs the title of adelantado of Florida in perpetuity. An encomienda in New Spain worth 40,000 ducats was granted to the estate, together with a fishery in Florida. No other claims were allowed. As it turned out the family waited until 1646 to collect the benefice in New Spain.[20]

In 1671, more than 100 years after the events at Matanzas and Fort Caroline, the Council of the Indies ruled that the title of adelantado of Florida was equal in rank to the same title in Castile.[21] The title of Adelantado of Florida continues today as an honorific held by a Spanish nobleman.

From 1565 to 1577, Florida was not just a political and military incident in a long international struggle, nor was it merely a Crown colony commanded by a subordinate of the Spanish Hapsburg King. It was an adelantamiento. The enterprise of Florida was a joint-venture in conquest. The Crown and its adelantado united in an undertaking of dramatic scope and of high priority. The dreams of landed estate, Christianized Indians, and prosperous, pacified royal domains were dashed after immense expenditure. Although both parties to the contract spent heavily, the contribution of Pedro Menéndez was the greater, measured in money, ships, or lives.

From 1565 to 1577, Florida was as typically Castilian as Lima

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of Pedro Menéndez Marqúez as civil governor solely was affirmed by the King in a *cedula* dated March 22, 1577, and found in AGE *Santo Domingo* 2528, SC.

19. This accounting is found in AGI *Contaduría* 454 and 548.
20. Settlement of the Menéndez suit over Florida was authorized by the Council of the Indies on February 7, 1633 and is found in AGI *Escribanía de Cámara* 956.
21. See the consulta of the Council of the Indies of that date contained in AGI *Santo Domingo* 231, SC.

or Valladolid. It had religious brotherhoods and cabildos, local judges, notaries, attorneys, and physicians. It was peopled by noble families, slaves, seamen, soldiers, priests, and friars. At St. Augustine and in Santa Elena, there were farmers and their wives and children, single men and women, prostitutes and some of their children, interpreters, and half-breeds. Each city had a forge, a cobbler's shop, taverns, tailors, a public stocks, and gallows. One of Florida's strongest ties to Spain was the means of its founding by adelantado, directly in the long tradition of conquest by contract.

The enterprise of Florida was written on the sand, finally to be erased by the tides of history. For twelve vital years, however, Florida was a borderland only by virtue of geography. In its institutions and in its daily life, as well as in the means of its founding, Florida was in the mainstream of Spanish expansion. This intimate bond with sixteenth-century Spain ties us, in Florida history, directly to our Iberian past.

FLORIDA MANUSCRIPT ACQUISITIONS AND ACCESSIONS

This is a listing of recent manuscript acquisitions and accessions as reported by Florida universities, colleges, and public libraries. In some instances the acquisitions of rare books, pamphlets, and maps have also been noted. Those interested in using particular collections should correspond with the library or institution directly.

Florida State Archives,
Department of State, Tallahassee

The Florida State Archives cannot at this time offer "in-person" public use of the records listed below. Detailed inventories and other finding aids for these records are being developed. The dates following each title represent the range of materials and do not indicate complete coverage. Limited mail reference service can be provided at this time for some of these collections.

Secretary of State, General Historical Records (1821-1936), 350 cubic feet.

Records of commissions, 1845-1907; miscellaneous papers relating to the State Board of Health, 1879-1900; public land sale ledgers, 1925-1931; correspondence of the secretary of the territory of Florida (1831-1845); journals of the proceedings of the Constitutional Conventions of 1838 and 1885; Ordinance of Secession, January 10, 1861; renditions of the Great Seal; legislative records, including journals, bills and resolutions, minutes, messages, acts, laws, etc., 1823-1929; election returns, 1826-1936; miscellaneous governor's papers, 1822-1914; miscellaneous correspondence of the secretary of state, 1850-1908; municipal and domestic charters, 1892-1925; nominations and appointments, 1825-1910; memorials, 1823-1925; petitions, 1845-1910; oaths (including 1865 Amnesty), 1845-1902; bonds, 1849-1902; resignations and removals from office, 1832-1912; pardons,

1881-1906; death warrants, 1869-1904; miscellaneous papers relating to Florida's boundaries, 1826-1855; Indian Wars claim settlements, 1889-1902; and miscellaneous census records, 1825, 1840-1845, 1860-1869.

Office of the Governor, Records (1929-1966), 891 cubic feet. Correspondence and various public documents of Governors Doyle Carlton through Haydon Burns.

Public Service Commission, Annual Reports of Railroads and Transportation Companies (1887-1962), fifteen cubic feet.

State Defense Council, Records (1940-1945), sixty-five cubic feet. Correspondence, maps, forms, miscellaneous publications, photographs, scrapbooks, etc.

Board of Commissioners of State Institutions, Minutes and Miscellaneous Papers (1913-1958), thirty-seven volumes, indexed.

Secretary of State, Ringling Estate Papers, seven cubic feet.

Pardon Board, Files (1893-1927), 150 cubic feet. Applications, but also some death warrants and probation court cases.

Public Service Commission, Railroad Commission Books (1887-1920), fifteen volumes. Correspondence books, wreck reports, rules and regulations, monthly reports of earnings, contracts for railroad equipment, expense books, etc.

Department of Commerce, World's Fair Authority Records (1964-1965), twenty-six cubic feet. Correspondence, publicity information, photographs, exhibit information, attendance records, contributions, etc.

Constitutional Revision Commission, Records (1966-1967), fifty cubic feet.

Board of Examiners in the Basic Sciences, Records (1939-1969), fifty cubic feet. Applications, examinations, score cards,

miscellaneous files, etc. (Information from this collection may be supplied only to recognized medical licensing and/or regulatory agencies).

Comptroller, Confederate Pension Records (1901-1969), 140 cubic feet. Pension applications, miscellaneous files, and a set of the National Archives' Confederate records microfilm.

Department of Health and Rehabilitative Services, State Census Records (1935-1945), fifty cubic feet.

Department of State, Photographs and Histories of United States and Confederate Naval Vessels Named for the State of Florida, its cities, rivers, etc., 132 photographs, twenty-eight histories. Developed from an exhibit in the Capitol during the mid-1960s, it is composed of materials largely from the National Archives and the Department of the Navy.

Jackson County Historical Commission, Historical Documents of Jackson County (1820-1920), one reel microfilm. Tax records, court records, census records, financial records, etc.

Claude R. Kirk, Governor, Official Files (1967-1971), 150 cubic feet.

Historic County Records Project.

The Florida State Archives, in cooperation with the Genealogical Society of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints and the clerks of the circuit courts, is currently collecting on microfilm certain historic records for most of Florida's counties. Records included are marriages, deeds, court records, and wills. Counties completed to date are Calhoun County, 1862-1927; Collier County, 1923-1945; DeSoto County, 1887-1936; Escambia County, 1820-1927; Gadsden County, 1830-1946; Gulf County, 1925-1932; Hardee County, 1921-1963; Holmes County, 1902-1907; Jackson County, 1826-1927; Liberty County, 1820-1945; Okaloosa County, 1915-1936; Santa Rosa County, 1829-1960; Sarasota County, 1921-1929; Walton County, 1882-1972; and Washington County, 1857-1928.

Gregory Family History, twenty-two pages.

Gamble Family History, one reel microfilm.

Catholic Church, St. Augustine (Diocese), Parish Records of the St. Augustine Cathedral (1594-1763), seven reels microfilm. Marriages, 1594-1763; burials, 1594-1658, 1720-1763; baptisms, 1594-1658, 1674-1763; confirmations, 1735-1755.

Correspondence of *A. S. Chalker, 2nd Florida Cavalry, C.S.A., to Martha S. Barden, Middleburg, Florida* (1864-1865), thirteen pieces.

United Service Organization, Registry of *Florida Servicemen Visiting the Saigon U.S.O., December 16, 1968-January 19, 1973,* fifty-seven pages.

Woodward Family Papers (1844-1939), 206 pieces. Papers of a pioneer Jackson and Leon County family, includes family correspondence, writings of the Woodwards, notes on early Tallahassee history. Includes two letters to Albert S. Woodward from Andrew Jackson and Martin Van Buren.

West Family History (Marianna, Florida, 1827-1881), fourteen pieces.

Southern Genealogist's Exchange Society, Inc., Surname Index and Pedigree Charts of the . . . Society (The First and Second Thousand Pedigree Charts), 1969, 1973, two reels microfilm.

Florida State University, Robert Manning Strozier Library

Robert A. Gray Scrapbooks, mostly Leon County (1901-1969). Fourteen scrapbooks and an eight-page typewritten introduction, assembled by Former Secretary of State Gray. Scrapbooks consist of photographs, clippings, letters, and mementoes with handwritten and typed commentary. *R. L. Goulding Collection:* Holograph diaries (879 pages) of William Randolph Beverly Hackley written mostly in Key West, 1830-1863. Added to original collection. Hackley was born in 1806 and served as district

attorney for the southern district of Florida, 1849-1857. *Fuller Warren Papers:* Papers and photographs added to original collection

Jacksonville, Haydon Burns Library

The Florida Collection of the Library contains more than 12,000 books, periodicals, and pamphlets; 1,571 reels microfilm; uncataloged Jacksonville and Florida documents; checklisted Florida documents; newspaper clippings; photographs and post cards; and maps.

Historical Records Survey, Florida (W.P.A.). "Weekly and Semi-monthly reports from the State Office . . . Plus Related Correspondence Between August 30, 1937 and May 31, 1938." *Van Buren, Martin.* "Ship Passport Signed by President Martin Van Buren on June 24, 1839, Allowing the Ship 'Heroine' of Fairhaven, Francis G. Smith, Master or Commander, to Pass."

Orlando Public Library

Orlando Daily Reporter-Star, 1907; 1911-1925; 1927-1928; 1928-1933; 1937. (microfilm). *St. Cloud Tribune,* 1923-1930; 1933-1939. (microfilm).

Pensacola Historical Society

John H. Caro. Bar pilot license, July 9, 1875; bar pilot license, April 25, 1871; *Civic Center and pageant.* (1938), twelve letters; *David Robinson Preston Diary* (October 22, 1828-August 10, 1829); *Wesley P. Rice,* 1st Lt., 15th Confederate Cavalry, diary (1868). *Maps:* Coast Survey, U.S., "Pensacola and Perdido Bays, 1849;" "Perdido Bay to Appalachie Bay, 1853." Original harbor charts, reprints of Pensacola Harbor charts, photostats of West Florida maps. Pensacola Bay area, 1860-1864. *Pensacola Gazette,* 1843-1845. (Microfilm). *Pensacolian,* IV: 1 (January 1912). Photographs: Forts Pickins, San Carlos, Barrancas, Redoubt, McRee (Civil War period); reproduction of drawing of the Convenient houses and lookout at top, for the barracks at Pensacola, 1771.

St. Augustine Historical Society Library

Arredondo, Antonio de. Diary of the 1742 expedition to St. Simon's Island, August 18 (copy). *Letters written from St. Augustine to Dr. C. R. Agnew, New York:* from Dr. H. Carruthers, March 24, 1884, February 9, 1886; C. W. Doubleday, March 11, 1877; R. H. Pratt, February 23, March 31, 1876; Miss M.C. Watkins, May 9, August 15, 1876. *Customs House, St. Augustine* — Record of Manifests, Collectors Office, 1879-1905. *Royal Officials of the Treasury and Storehouse, List of* (compiled by Joyce Elizabeth Harman). *Villalonga family.* Genealogy. *Maps: Historical Map of Florida,* 1931.

University of Florida, P. K. Yonge Library of *Florida History*

Lawrence, Samuel A. Petition of Samuel A. Lawrence and others, Citizens of New York, 1824. *Earl of Dartmouth Collection* (1731-1801). Correspondence, 1766-1782; Photocopies from the County Record Office, Stafford, England. DeBrahm's proposed Cap Florida Society. *Major R. M. Kirby Diary and Papers* (1837-1840). Second Seminole War. *James Ormond Papers,* Ormond Family, three generations, founded Ormond Beach. *Campbell Thornal Collection* (1908-1970). Florida Supreme Court Justice. Fourteen boxes (1955-1970).

Maps: "An exact map of North and South Carolina and Georgia, with East and West Florida, from the latest discoveries", 1778. Bellin, "Carte de la Floride", 1757. France, Dept. de la Marine, Depot General des Cartes, "Carte Reduite des Cotes . . . de la Presquile de la Floride," 1780.

Great Britain: British Museum. Additional Manuscripts, 35870 . . . Miscellaneous items (microfilm). Public Record Office, London. Colonial Office Papers, Miscellaneous items (microfilm). Royal Society. Classified Papers, Vol. VII, 1 No. 7 (microfilm). Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional. Manuscripts 19508, 19509, and 19697[25] (microfilm). Spain, Archivo General de Indias. *Mexico* 618, 633, 487, 380, 507, 508, 1360, and 1065; *Santo Domingo* 2533 and 2543; *Indiferente General* 539, 545, 654, and 800; *Papeles de Cuba* 36 and 37 (microfilm).

University of Miami, Otto G. Richter Library

Original Typescripts: Karl Dahlberg, poems, "Bignonia Speciosa at Jame's Deering's Thanksgiving Day 1927," "Devil's Head on Chimney Rock," "Mockingbird at Dawn," "Rain," "Reverie in the Lower Everglades." Marjory Stoneman Douglass, *Alligator Crossing, The Joy of Bird Watching in Florida,* "White Midnight." Jay F. W. Pearson, *Autobiography,* "The Kartabo, British Guiana scientific researches during summer 1926." Earl Roman, *I, the Autobiography* of *ME by Anonymous.* John Kunkel Small, "The Gape Sable Region of Florida." Theodore Spicer-Simson, *A Collector of Characters; reminiscences of Theodore Spicer-Simson,* 1962. Phillip Wylie, "The Fair Lady and the Brave Boatman,"' "Ladies and Molecules."

University of South Florida Library

"Plan de port de St. Augustin dans la Floride," by Bellin, 1764 (map). San Antonio *Florida Staats-Zeitung/San Antonio Herald,* 1896-1900 (microfilm).

University of West Florida, John C. Pace Library

Laval, Antoine Jean de, *Voyage de la Louisiane,* 1728. Ross, Lt., *Course of the River Mississippi,* 1775. Weston, Francis M., *Bird notes and records of West Florida birds, 1916-1968* (microfilm).

C. J. Heinberg Papers. Scrapbooks relating to Dr. Heinberg's service as mayor of Gulf Breeze, Florida, with text of an unpublished history, "My Gulf Breeze Story." *Silas Stearns Papers.* Notebooks relating to fishes and fishing industry in Pensacola, ca. 1880-1888. *J. & J. Sullivan Papers (Pensacola).* Legal papers, deeds, and general correspondence, 1824-1916.

Crestview *Okaloosa News* (later, *Okaloosa News-Journal),* 1915-1968. Laurel Hill *News,* 1912-1914. Laurel Hill *Our Southern Home,* 1907. *Milton Gazette* (later, *Milton Press Gazette),* 1910-1928, 1938, 1942. Milton *Santa Rosa Star,* 1908. *Milton Tribune,* 1925-1928.

BOOK REVIEWS

Osceola: The Unconquered Indian. By William and Ellen Hartley. (New York: Hawthorn Books, Inc., 1973. 293 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, illustrations, bibliographical notes, index. $8.95.)

Mr. and Mrs. Hartley have produced a bold interpretation of Osceola. He was, they say, the master spirit of the Florida Indians during the Second Seminole War, 1835-1842, until his capture under a flag of truce on October 21, 1837. They attribute to him a large measure of military genius (pp. 137, 144), and imply that as long as he was able to continue to command, the Indians were winning the war. As a field general, he was, in their interpretation, the equal, if not the superior, of his white opponents. He succeeded in imposing enough discipline on his far-from-homogeneous fighting force to have his orders carried out promptly and exactly. He sometimes virtually drilled his warriors in modified white style (p.165); indeed, in front of General Gaines's beseiged earthworks in March 1836 he carried out what amounted to a taunting military parade. It was the only one, the authors aver, I think correctly, in the history of Indian warfare (p.172). It goes without saying that discipline and drill were rare among Indian warrior bands.

In addition to his rare qualities as general and discipliner of the Florida Indians, the Hartleys ascribe to him splendid human qualities, even from the white point-of-view. "His physical strength was that of a Hercules or Samson" (p.17). On one occasion he agreed to wrestle a powerful Irishman, an enlisted man in the United States Army who outweighed him by thirty-five pounds. Osceola threw him easily in two straight falls. It is generally agreed among those who wrote about Osceola, either in his day or later, that he ordered the warriors to spare women and children. White officers were uniformly impressed by the gentility of his manner, notwithstanding that he could speak English only in monosyllables.

All in all, the Osceola in this volume is a fit hero for any people. He is the champion the Florida Indians already revere.

I do not mean to suggest that he is not the real Osceola. He may well be. He is perfectly plausible on historical grounds. But the writers seem to want him to emerge in this form. Remember that there are no written records generated by the Indians, so Osceola comes down in history as seen by the white man, and you have to read expectantly between the lines to reconstruct him in this stature.

Some of the techniques by which the Hartleys hold the interest of the "general reader" are forbidden to professional historians. They include a great deal of dialogue for which there is no historical record; the words have been placed in the speakers' mouths. Also, they have developed a bit of love interest, without which today some readers turn away. On the statements of one or two white men that Che-cho-ter, presumably Osceola's favorite wife, was uncommonly pretty, they construct a low-key tale of romance. They assert that after the war began in earnest Osceola ceased to smile for a long time. When Congress appropriated millions to drive the Indians out of Florida, they say Osceola learned of it very quickly. They apply the phrase "bad-smelling" to Sam Jones (Arpeika) (p.206) and the adjective "colorless" to General Jesup (p.203). The several techniques, or in some cases facts, mentioned in this paragraph embroider history, but they may not reconstruct it accurately.

The Hartleys' book is a useful addition to the serious literature about the Florida Indians. All students of Indians, students of warfare, and Florida history buffs will profit from reading it.

University of Florida JOHN K. MAHON

Big Cypress: A Changing Seminole Community. By Merwyn S. Garbarino. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1972. x, 132 pp. Foreword, acknowledgments, introduction, illustrations, conclusion, references, recommended readings. $3.00.)

In recent years scholars in various disciplines who are seriously involved with the Seminole Tribe of Florida have felt the need for a comprehensive treatment of Indian life as it evolved on the reservations and adjacent regions in the years

since the turn of the century. This monograph by Professor Garbarino appears to be a significant step in the direction of developing such a picture. However, the author's caveat that "It is not intended as a complete history or ethnography of the Seminole Indians of Florida, but rather it is the story of one community of Seminole as they are living and changing in the mid-twentieth century" is well taken. The data fits nicely within the format of an anthropological case study and dutifully touches all bases– the life cycle, social and political structure, marriage, family and kinship system, etc.– to provide a general orientation to life at Big Cypress.

The narrative is strongest when it focuses on the political decision-making process which functions in conjunction with the tribal cattle program. This, not coincidentally, was the subject of Garbarino's 1966 doctoral dissertation. Nevertheless, one could wish for more than the sketchy treatment afforded schooling and religion on the reservation. The latter is dismissed in a mere three pages with hardly a mention of the major church schism which led to the establishment of two congregations on each Seminole reservation. Historians might also raise serious questions concerning Garbarino's account of the origin of the reservation and the Miccosuki-speaking group which occupies it today. My greatest complaint with the book, however, is not so much with its content as with the delay in bringing it before the public. Much of the data drawn from field work in the mid-1960s is already obsolete due to the rapid rate of acculturation of the Big Cypress people. It occurs to me that, given the built-in delay between completed research and publication, a study of this type might more profitably be planned as longitudinal research. Rather than cross-cutting Big Cypress culture at one point in time and predicting future changes, how much better to trace its progress from "chickee state" to a modern community, or to follow the cattle program from inception, through critical decisions, to ultimate economic viability or collapse. This admittedly betrays a historian's affinity for extended time frame narratives that tell a complete story, and it is not necessarily compatible with the anthropologist's need to study cultures in various stages of development as he finds them.

Anyone who has struggled in vain to place late nineteenth-

and early twentieth-century Seminole social-political organization into a recognizable framework (perhaps with too much reliance on the Creek model) can take some solace that a trained anthropologist like Garbarino finds that, "As customary patterns of social organization were impossible to maintain under the conditions of a half century of warfare, they were abandoned. Indeed in organizational terms it is often difficult to decide what is meant when reading about the 'Seminole.' Sometimes the word refers to one group at a particular time period, and sometimes to another people and/or another period." Even so, we must continue to probe the ways in which Seminole social-political-economic structures evolved in the post-removal Florida setting; only in this way can we come to understand how the contemporary Seminole have come to think and behave as they do, and thereby perhaps facilitate their period of cultural transition. Hopefully in the near future additional studies of the other Seminole groups, both on and off the reservations, will further expand our knowledge of these native people.

Florida Atlantic University HARRY A. KERSEY, JR.

Aurelio Tío, "Historia del descubrimiento de La Florida y Beimeni o Yucatán," *Boletin de la Academia Puertorriqueña de la Historia,* II (June 1972), 1-285.

The author is an enterprising Puerto Rican historian; he is completely dedicated to elevating Juan Ponce de León to further heights in the pages of history. His numerous works all center around the figure of Ponce de León. One must admire the author's tenacity and availability of printing space in his publications for repeating constantly his arguments over the last two decades.

Tío has engaged in various academic debates with many scholars, and he feels disturbed that so far historians have failed to accept his enthusiastic de León claims. Basically these are: no Europeans arrived along the Florida coast before 1513; Ponce de León returned via the Mexican coast after his 1513 Florida

discovery; on this trip he not only discovered the Mexican coast but also the Gulf Stream; this stream should be named in honor of Ponce de León; he, his men, and his ship were the first ones to be spotted by the Aztec Emperor's officials; in 1516 he returned to the Central American and Mexican coasts where he discovered and named the port of San Juan Ulloa (Vera Cruz) later used by Cortés as the starting point for his Mexican conquest; and thus Ponce de León is the first discoverer of Mexico. On this 1516 trip, Tío claims, de León returned to Puerto Rico via Florida which means that the explorer made three trips to Florida (1513, 1516, 1521) instead of the two historically accepted journeys (1513, 1521). Tío also claims that the word "Bimini" applies to Yucatán which Ponce de León also discovered.

The evidence is mainly indirect and pieced together from various secondary and primary sources. The author has diligently searched everywhere to substantiate his claims, and I think he has a good case for debate. But he is his own worst enemy by repetitious statements, by overstatements, and the zest to make Ponce de León, at the expense of others, a superconqueror rivaled only by a Columbus, Pizarro, or Cortés. His works, including this one, are badly edited, verbose, and intermixed with extemporary material (for example, about Seminole Indians and Franciscan mission sites and the Mayan calendar). His bibliography, dealing with research studies of the period of Caribbean and Atlantic discoveries, is poor. Much emphasis for instance, is placed on the controversial but important Conte Freducci map, yet his bibliography ignores the various serious articles about this map.

Obviously there is much that scholars have not yet pieced together about Ponce de León. Tío has presented us with new possibilities which are of importance to early Florida history. His works should be better known and studied. He should have presented his case in a single, well-written, organized, and edited monograph, with one appendix containing the primary documentation as well as a complete as possible bibliography. As it is, his work will continue to be accepted by some scholars with

scepticism or it will be ignored. Using a Spanish word, it is *contraproducente.*

University of South Florida C. W. ARNADE

Flood Tide of Empire: Spain and the Pacific Northwest, 1543-1819. By Warren L. Cook. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973. xiv, 620 pp. Preface, illustrations, maps, appendices, bibliography, index. $17.50.)

This is a remarkable book. Soundly researched, well-written and attractively printed, it lives up to the publisher's judgment: "an outstanding addition to its Western Americana Series." Professor Cook, who teaches both history and anthropology at Castleton State College in Vermont, makes use of his expertise in portraying "Spanish interaction with the Indians, British, Russians, and Americans" along the Pacific Northwest coastal region.

The author traces the history of this region from the sixteenth-century Spanish explorations which sought the Northwest Passage through the Adams-Onís Treaty of 1819, which gave the United States its transcontinental jump. In general he agrees with historians such as J. Leitch Wright, in *Anglo-Spanish Rivalry in North America,* in assessing the reasons for Spanish "Atrophy of Empire": Spain's "debilitating involvement in the crises of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars" (p. 532).

Florida historians would do well to study the synthesis of Professor Cook, for it reveals the causes for Spanish withdrawal in the Floridas, a contemporary area of controversy. "Until 1795," he points out, "British and American fur traders considered it the better part of wisdom to pay deference to the red and yellow banner flying over Santa Cruz de Nootka. . . . Spain yielded on the northwest coast because of decisions made in Madrid and Mexico City to protect the motherland." In similar fashion, Spain yielded to American demands in 1795 when Thomas Pinckney and Manuel de Godoy signed the Treaty of San Lorenzo. That treaty ignored the accomplishments of Spanish governors in Louisiana and the Floridas in defending their Frontiers against the encroachments of American settlers and

opened the flood gate which finally resulted in the acquisition of Louisiana and the Floridas.

In addition to his felicitous style, Professor Cook has provided historians with innumerable leads in his ample bibliography. Of particular value are the maps and the appendices, one of which lists "Extant Journals for Each Spanish Expedition, 1774-96" concerning the West Coast. There was not one, but three Nootka Sound Conventions, and these are included in the appendix (1790, 1793, and 1794).

Professor Cook spent the better part of two decades in researching this book, research which spanned the world from London to Santa Fé, from Madrid to Mexico City. He is quite at home with all the basic source materials, and he laces his historical and anthropological studies with selections from diaries and logs, most of which are unpublished.

If the historian of Spanish Florida is to become more than a provincial antiquarian he must become familiar with events which took place in other areas of the world, particularly in Spain's American Empire. No book could provide a better opportunity to place affairs in Florida history in proper perspective. On a scale of 1-10, this book has to rate a superlative 10!

University of Alabama in Birmingham JACK D. L. HOLMES

Arms for Empire: A Military History of the British Colonies in North America, 1607-1763. By Douglas Edward Leach. (New York: Macmillan Company, 1973. xiii, 566 pp. Preface, illustrations, maps, glossary, bibliography, index. $14.95.)

"The Macmillan Wars of the United States" series, edited by Louis Morton, is proving to be a substantial contribution to military history. The latest volume to appear upholds the previous standards– Douglas Leach's bulky history of the colonial military experience and the colonial wars. It is certainly the fullest and probably the best one-volume account of the subject. In his preface the author states that he does not wish to present war as "a kind of glorious adventure" but as what it is, "one of humanity's most monstrous failures." His story emphasizes the grimmer aspects of war, as good military history should, but he

does not explain how the great imperial and Indian issues could have been resolved in any way other than war.

Beginning in conventional and logical fashion, Leach describes the military situation in which the colonists found themselves and the development of military institutions. Although he is retracing familiar ground, he moves with skill and grace; his account of a typical militia drill is particularly good. His conclusion on the militia is that the system "provided the necessary foundation for eventual military success, first against the hostile Indians, then against France and Spain, and finally against England herself." Then follows a chapter on the early Indian wars, with particular attention given to King Philip's War, "the first really extensive military conflict in American history." As an interesting sidelight to these struggles, Leach reveals that the reservation policy as a solution to white-Indian relations appeared as early as 1646.

His base of operations established, to employ military terminology, Leach moves to his main theme– the long struggle between Britain and her colonists against France and Spain for the colonial mastery of North America. In the first three wars neither England nor France was willing to commit much force to America, and most of the fighting was carried on by competing colonists. Leach rightly emphasizes that the invasions of Canada undertaken by the English colonists were by the standards of that time huge enterprises, involving the cooperation of several colonies, astonishing attempts in view of the limited resources of the colonies.

After the third war both England and France realized that the time was drawing near when they would have to fight to determine which would dominate America. "The modern concept of empire was beginning to take definite form, binding nation-states and their overseas dependencies together against the common threat of rival imperial systems," Leach writes. He recounts the preliminaries to the coming conflict, the clashes in the Ohio Valley, the expedition of George Washington, and Braddock's defeat. His account of Braddock's affair is vivid, but he fails to explain clearly the tactical disposition of the British or the tactical innovations that grew out of the experience. Two chapters are devoted to the last climactic con-

flict, the one known in American history as the French and Indian War. Leach gives large credit for the final English victory to the foresight and energy of William Pitt. "Pitt was the first European leader to view the continuing struggle among the powers in its full, worldwide dimension," he writes. Rating the commanders in America, Leach gives Jeffrey Amherst a mark of competence. Contrary to the conventional view, he accords low marks to Wolfe and Montcalm. Neither showed much originality or flexibility, he thinks; the plan for Wolfe's great triumph on the Plains of Abraham was suggested to him by subordinates. Whatever the apportionment of merit should be, England eventually won the war and America– and in so doing prepared the way to lose her colonies. Leach's last chapter is appropriately entitled "The Transition to Peace and Revolution."

In general Leach writes well. But it must be noted that again and again he succumbs to using the contemporary and awful "hopefully." It is to be hoped that academic writers will rise above this usage.

Louisana State University T. HARRY WILLIAMS

British Travelers Among the Southern Indians, 1660-1763. By J. Ralph Randolph. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1973. xv, 183 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, notes, maps, illustrations, conclusion, bibliography, index. $8.95.)

Travel literature has always been an important source of historical data. This new volume presents an evaluation and abstract of accounts describing the southeastern Indians over a century of time, roughly from the beginnings of South Carolina to the critical peace treaty of 1763 transferring French territory east of the Mississippi river to British sovereignty. The geographical coverage extends from Maryland to Georgia.

Dr. Randolph has provided useful summary data about the visitors to the southern tribes whose excursions were made in behalf of the British government, missionary organizations, prospective land dealers, and Indian trading firms. He has limited his survey to travelers spending short intervals of time among

the Indians, excluding accounts of former captives and persons who had long periods of acquaintance with the native tribes. From his discussion, it is apparent that three accounts are particularly valuable: Robert Beverly II's history of late seventeenth-century Virginia; John Lawson's perceptive report of the Carolina Piedmont based on his experience as a surveyor, 1701-1708; and Henry Timberlake's description of the Cherokee in 1761-1762.

Although the overall information on the travelers is a fine introduction to the subject, the author's comments often whet the appetite of the curious reader. One wishes that some actual facts from the original manuscripts could have been included, particularly from accounts not readily available in printed form. It is interesting to learn, for example, that missionaries were known as "Sunday Men" among the Catawba because of the importance they attached to observance of the Sabbath Day. According to another report, Indian opposition to corporal punishment was a factor in the general reluctance to accept British schools and teachers. A few travelers recommended intermarriage between European immigrants and Native Americans.

Two sections, each containing sixteen illustrations, add an admirable contemporary atmosphere to this publication. The maps must be read with care in the absence of explanatory notes. The map of "Major trails in the Southeast circa 1700" includes Fort Henry, a base in Virginia for expeditions in 1671, Fort Toulouse, not built until 1717, and Fort Augusta, established in 1735. The map of "The Creek Country, circa 1700" presents similar problems of interpretation. This map includes Fort Prince George on the Keowee River, built in 1753, as well as Fort Loudon, erected on the Tennessee River in 1756. The Creek country data is entered on a base map inaccurately portraying the Atlantic and Gulf shorelines and river courses. The bibliography can assist scholars in search of special detailed data that might come from these sources.

Ann Arbor, Michigan HELEN HORNBECK TANNER

The Faithful Shepherd: A History of the New England Ministry in the Seventeenth Century. By David D. Hall. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1972. xiii, 301 pp. Preface, bibliography, index. $11.95.)

In this perhaps necessarily dry and pedantic volume Dr. Hall examines one of the less colorful groups of men in our colonial story: the New England Puritan ministers of the seventeenth century. More specifically, he examines the orthodox, official ministry of Massachusetts. Much of the ground covered here, as Hall acknowledges, has already been made familiar to us by Perry Miller, but the present writer has a particular purpose behind his own reconnaisance, namely, to discover if the Puritan ministry experienced in New World conditions the same liberalizing and democratizing changes– or "Americanization"– that Sidney Mead and others had traced in the histories of other Protestant ministries in North America.

Two generations of ministers figure here, the first being the Englishmen who immigrated to Massachusetts in the 1630s to preach the Calvinist understanding of Church and Scripture to the "saving remnant" of God's people who found in New England another Canaan, where saints might live separate from the damned. The second generation was composed of men who received their education in New England and succeeded to the Puritan pulpits in the 1660s.

The first generation was thoroughly convinced that the covenanting, gathered church came prior to and as a requisite to the ministry. Thus, John Cotton, despite his ordination in the Church of England, would not exercise the powers of ministry until he was reordained by a covenanted congregation in New England; in fact, for that reason, he refused to baptize the son born to him on his Atlantic crossing in 1633.

The first official act of the Massachusetts Bay Company on settling in New England was to order houses built for the ministers. In the decades that followed, the respect and deference paid the Puritan divines caused them to have by mid-century a social status greatly exceeding that enjoyed by their profession in England. Hall recounts a story, probably apocryphal: A traveler passing through Rowley asked the Reverend Ezekial Rogers:

"Are you, Sir, the person who serves here?" To whom he replied, "I am, Sir, the person who rules here."

Their coequal rank in wealth and prestige with the magistrates gave often enough occasion, as might be imagined, for the ministers to clash with their civil counterparts when church-state interests clashed. To some degree this book is a study of the preachers' insistence, and success, in maintaining a separation of the "Two Kingdoms." The heart of the study, however, is Hall's finding that, as the century progressed– particularly after the "Cambridge Platform" of 1646– the Puritan ministry came increasingly to emphasize the objective, or "sacerdotal," character of their office, thus releasing it from complete dependency on the congregations. By the 1690s their "middleway" between covenant and sacred order, between pastorate and prophecy, marked a return to John Calvin's original description of a "faithful shepherd," and thus warrants the conclusion, which Hall makes, that the congregational side of Puritan ecclesiology did not in that century overwhelm the ministry with liberalizing, democratizing, "Americanizing" influences. Another historian, of the consensus school, might well have concluded on the basis of the same evidence, that the very achievement of the middle way was itself an eminent example of the liberal, democratic, and "American" genius.

University of Florida MICHAEL V. GANNON

For Want of a Nail . . . If Burgoyne Had Won at Saratoga. By Robert Sobel. (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1973. xii, 440 pp. Preface, map, charts, appendixes, bibliography, index. $12.95.)

Robert Sobel has written a book which is part spoof, part critique of historical writing, and part exercise in counterfactual analysis. As the title suggests, he supposes that Burgoyne had won the Battle of Saratoga and crushed the Revolution. What would then have emerged, he suggests, was a powerful, Anglicized British North America in the eastern and central part of the continent. The unreconciled rebels had migrated into Mexico and founded a republic stretching from central America

to Alaska. The book is an elaborate political history of these two hypothetical nations from the 1780s to the present.

Behind its ponderous whimsicality, its elaborate bibliography of non-existent books, and its breezy, gossipy style, this book is a serious attempt to envision which forces in American life were so pervasive that a different outcome to the Revolution would have only heightened their power and impact. The division of the North American continent into Revolutionary and colonial nations would have brought out the worst in both British imperialism and American expansionism. Slavery would have continued in the United States of Mexico until the 1920s, and, though abolished in the Confederation of North America in the 1840s, freedmen and their descendants would have lived in squalor and degradation there until their dispersal to other parts of the world at government expense in the 1920s. The integrity of the government of the United States of Mexico– and ultimately the peace of the world– was jeopardized by the rise of a powerful industrial enterprise known as the Kramer Associates in California, a virtual state within a state.

The book therefore has several valuable uses. Readers of political history who are dissatisfied with amorphous reconstructions of campaigns, interest groups, and personalities will find that approach carried to an absurd extreme in this book; Sobel keeps a very straight face while reminding us that historians take themselves and their work too seriously. Students seeking a fresh perspective on the long course of American history will learn a good deal by questioning the plausibility of Sobel's conjectures.

University of North Carolina at Greensboro ROBERT M. CALHOON

Political Parties Before the Constitution. By Jackson Turner Main. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1973. xx, 481 pp. Preface, introduction, notes, tables, maps, appendix, bibliographical essay, index. $15.95.)

This reviewer became a fan of Jackson Turner Main while a graduate student after reading his then newly-published book, *The Anti-Federalists, Critics of the Constitution, 1781-1788.*

Since that time I have looked forward with interest to his historical contributions. This, his latest book, leaves me with very mixed emotions, for it is difficult to tell for whom it was written– the quantification specialist or the more traditionally-oriented researcher of American history. Readers can only be impressed by the mind-boggling amount of labor engaged in by Professor Main in order to produce this book: very extensive investigation of all the state assemblies prior to the Federal Constitution of 1787, determination of significant voting issues, roll-call analyses of such votes, uncovering biographical data about those recorded as having voted on those issues, establishment of hopefully determinant categories which might have influenced legislators to vote as they did, and reduction of this massive whole to statistical date enabling the author to program a computer which could show verifiable relationships and correlations regarding his data. All this seems to have been done with proper caution and with recognition of both the limitations and advantages of this form of research. An effort such as this can only be applauded.

Yet after finishing *Political Parties Before the Constitution,* I felt dissatisfied and recalled a recent comment by a colleague: "Just because someone invites me to dinner doesn't mean that he has to take me into the kitchen to show me how the food was prepared." This is perhaps the major fault of the book. I would have had the author reveal more of the meaning of his data and less about the process of handling it. Professor Main has been so eager to show the reader every facility available in his kitchen, the basic ingredients for every item of food, and each step in the preparation of the banquet that enjoyment of the meal itself has been diminished. Explanation of technique has been substituted for explication of materials.

The result has been the publication of an extremely worthwhile book that I fear will not be read. It will be used in the way one relies upon a dictionary or encyclopedia, quoted from, selectively taught about, and assigned to graduate students, but thoroughgoing readers may well be confined to a rather narrow group of those caught up in the quantification of history. I am not certain that this was the author's intent. The result is thus unfortunate for Main's discoveries warrant better handling, Let

it be emphasized, however, that there is much useful information here for those willing to sift it out.

It is Jackson Main's contention (and one convincing, at least to me) that the predominant division of legislative "parties" during the 1780s in at least seven states may be understood in, terms of "localist" and "cosmopolitan" labels. He believes that "The agrarian-localists formed the core of the Jeffersonian Republican party, and the commercial-cosmopolitans merged into Federalism" (p. 406). Main's exposition of this thesis is set forth with clarity, and his meticulous research and careful analysis are apparent. And who, after all, would argue with an author who bases his views on computer print-outs from processed punch cards containing entries such as "484 03001 001 094 1 1" (p. 41)?

Some of the more readable portions of the book for the non-quantifier are: the Introduction, which gives a good discussion of the eighteenth century view of the role and working of "party"; chapter one, devoted to short depictions of the status of political blocs in various colonies prior to the outbreak of the Revolution (readers would benefit from extension of this brief fifteen page section); chapter three, which contains a good statement of the various issues upon which state legislatures took stands and which divided their members– courts, slavery, taxes, paper money, and so forth; and the last few pages of the book in which Main hurriedly sets forth his conclusions regarding "cosmopolitan" and "localist" party labels. Main includes a very brief bibliographical essay and, in an appendix, a short biographical listing of party leaders whom he found to be important. The index is adequate.

Political Parties Before the Constitution will be interesting for specialists in historical quantification and strangely frustrating for others.

University of South Florida CECIL B. CURREY

The Politics of a Literary Man: William Gilmore Simms. By Jon L. Wakelyn. (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, Inc., 1973. xiv, 306 pp. Illustration, acknowledgments, introduction, notes, bibliography, index. $10.00.)

In Professor Wakelyn's view, the young William Gilmore Simms was "rash, hasty, frequently violent, and sometimes unjust." Acquiring a reputation as a "brilliant but much too emotional newspaperman," he studied law and practiced it briefly but became principally identified as a novelist, poet, social critic, historian, and politician in about that order. Although Simms today is remembered chiefly as a writer of fiction and verse, this volume depicts him as devoting "a lifetime to the politics of literary propaganda in his obsession to create a united South."

The author has benefited from the correspondence of Simms, many other primary materials, and secondary ones of various kinds. The major Wakelyn contribution has to do with precisely what the title summarizes. And a valuable contribution it is– this year-by-year (sometimes month-by-month) recreation of the political interests and politics-connected activities of a then rather widely esteemed man of letters. Simms's close association with James Henry Hammond is, of course, developed in detail. But relationships with many other leaders, from John C. Calhoun to less able figures of later years, are not without their own fascinations.

At several stages, Simms served as editor or important editorial contributor to various newspapers and magazines. He was a public speaker of talent, the respected sponsor of cultural projects in South Carolina, an encourager of young southern writers, and something of a politician in his own right. In that last category, Simms's failures overwhelmingly outnumbered his few successes. Indeed, the novelist-poet was almost as remarkable in the characteristic of political tenacity-despite-the-odds as in his literary gifts.

There are numerous errors. Nathaniel Hawthorne was consul at Liverpool, not Manchester. Zachary Taylor never was victorious at Vera Cruz. John Pendleton Kennedy was not secretary of the navy when the Naval Academy was founded. Joseph G. Rayback, the historian, is not Joseph G. Raybeck (repeatedly misspelled). "Stress," "stressed," and "stressing" appear five times on a single page– approximately five times too often. In addition, I am doubtful concerning such statements about Simms as "His best work of art was his own public life." Despite its flaws, however, *The Politics of a Literary Man* is a generally meri-

torious book– mainly because Wakelyn enables us to understand the political Simms far more clearly than heretofore.

University of Kentucky HOLMAN HAMILTON

The Politics of Command: Factions and Ideas in Confederate Strategy. By Thomas Lawrence Connelly and Archer Jones. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1973. xv, 235 pp. Introduction, maps, appendix, essay on sources, index. $10.00.)

A new perspective is presented in this book of the strategy controversy between Jefferson Davis and his high command. As the authors state in the Introduction, they raise more questions than are answered.

The contents are divided into six chapters. Chapter I, "The European Influence," is the weakest, for it does not substantiate the extent of European influence on Confederate strategy. The fourth chapter, "Davis as Generalissimo," and Chapter VI, "The Politics of Command," contain an evaluation of Davis's strategic decisions. The authors believe that "much which is credited to or blamed on Davis belongs to his generals," and that "the image of Davis as the cast-iron man," is not true. Apparently the authors think if General P. G. T. Beauregard's policies had been fully implemented, the South's possibilities of victory would have been far greater. During a period of more than two years, 1862-1864, while serving mainly in the Carolina Department, Beauregard was the leading voice of the "Western Concentration Bloc" that emphasized the importance of the central South. Yet no definite proof is presented that Beauregard's policies would have succeeded.

The authors achieved the purpose of explaining their version of the politics of Confederate command. Their basic assumption, however, that the war was lost in the West along the poorly defended Nashville-Chattanooga-Atlanta corridor, is not convincing. General Lee did consider the defense of Richmond paramount, but the evidence presented does not support the assertion that Lee lacked a broad conception of strategy. It was President Davis who failed to realize the importance of the

central South until the late spring of 1863. The Confederacy's defeat was due to numerous factors, including the attempt to wage a defensive war.

The "Appendix: Some Potential Prewar Associations Among Confederate Leaders," is a computerized study of 605 members of the Confederacy and their prewar relationships, and the contacts they developed during the war through June 1862. Although interesting, the authors do not offer enough data to support their limited conclusions. The "Illustrated Diagrams" of military campaigns are confusing. The "Essay on Selected Sources" is comprehensive and useful, but the footnotes are clumsily arranged and inadequate. The format is attractive and the syntax is clear and concise.

Although *The Politics of Command* overstates the significance of the "Western Concentration Bloc," it is an important contribution to Confederate military history. It should appeal to students of the Confederacy, Civil War scholars, and professional military men.

Cullowhee, North Carolina T. CONN BRYAN

The War That Never Ended: The American Civil War. By Robert Cruden. (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1973. x, 208 pp. Preface, illustrations, maps, bibliography, index. $5.95.)

In this slim volume Robert Cruden has proved himself an able synthesizer with a knack for selecting a catchy title. He realizes that this work is neither a definitive socio-economic study of the "nation's first total war," nor an exhaustive treatment of the conflict's impact on "blacks, soldiers, workers. businessmen, planters and farmers" upon whom the discussion centers. Although "the roles of rival governments" are woven into the account, the author does not concentrate "on political and military abstractions" (p. ix).

More than one-third of the book is devoted to tracing causative factors during the seventy-five years preceding the Civil War. Those historians who have spent a century explaining the single cause of the war may be surprised and frustrated by Professor Cruden's candor in stating that "no one really *knows*"

why the war came (p. 3), but no eyebrows will be raised when reading, "a basic cause of instability was slavery" (p. 39). The reader who expects to find either new information or original interpretation will be disappointed, for the author has relied entirely on published works.

Although a chapter is devoted to "The Black Man's War," Cruden is to be commended on including black history throughout the study. His conclusions lack profundity, however, as after quoting Frederick Douglass's statement that the war was a "revolution" for the Negro, the author comments that this "revolution was far from complete" when the war ended (p. 151), further noting that "the basic issue remains unresolved [and] . . . casts its shadow a century later" (p. 192). No one will argue the accuracy of this statement but some may question the appropriateness in a historical work of his conclusion: "Who knows, the present generation of young Americans, both white and black, may so contribute as to bring an end to the war that thus far has never ended" (p. 192). It is only in regard to the racial aspects of the subject that Cruden satisfactorily clarifies the "never-ending war," yet greater space is assigned other facets. One may see the implication in chapters concentrating on the soldiers, the poor, and the businessman but final conclusions as to how the books title applies to them are left to the reader.

The book is exceptionally readable. Professor Cruden has a way with words, as when commenting on the importance of British-South antebellum relations he says, "When the Liverpool cotton market sneezed, the South caught cold" (p. 12). There are many instances, however, when his sources of information need to be clarified in the text or identified in additional footnotes. While some generalizations may be open to question, there are few errors in fact, one of the more startling being that "Farragut took Mobile" in September 1864. Control of the Bay passed into Union hands in August 1864, making it virtually useless as a port of entry for the Confederates, but the city did not fall until the following April. Although not wanting to dwell on minor errors, the reviewer reminds the author that the Confederate Secretary of Treasury was Christopher, not "Christian," Memminger (pp. 90, 205).

The War That Never Ended probably will be of greater

interest to the general reader than to the historian, but the latter may envy Cruden's ability to say so much so well in such a limited space.

Winthrop College MARY ELIZABETH MASSEY

Black Bondage in the North. By Edgar J. McManus. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1973. xiii, 236 pp. Preface, illustrations, appendix, bibliographical essay, index. $9.95.)

Professor McManus, who teaches at Queens College in New York City, has produced a good study of the slave trade and of slavery in New England and the middle colonies from the early seventeenth century until the end of the Revolution– when, for all practical purposes, chattel slavery in these areas was terminated.

He shows that the slave trade "became the hub of New England's economy" (p. 10), and that it "contributed vitally to the commercial development of the Middle colonies" (p. 12). Slave labor itself, in this area, "made a vital contribution to the Northern economy"; indeed, it is declared with good evidence, that the enslaved "provided the basic working force that transformed shaky outposts of empire into areas of permanent settlement" (p. 17).

The significance of the slave trade has been well known, especially since Du Bois's classic study published in 1896– and still, as Professor McManus writes in his bibliographical essay, "the best secondary source" (p. 221). But the consequential role of slavery itself in the northern society and economy is brought forward with new force in this book. One understands, for example, that in the 1750s the population of New York was thirteen per cent black slaves and that of New Jersey about eight per cent and Rhode Island some eleven per cent. Since practically all slaves worked, they constituted an even greater percentage of the producing population. It appears that all leading families– including Quakers– participated in either the trade or in the employment of slaves, and it was not unknown for individual owners to possess forty, fifty, or even sixty slaves.

Unlike the area south of the Mason-Dixon line, slaves in

the North could own and transfer property, could testify under oath in court, even against whites, were allowed legal marriage, and were permitted to learn to read and write. Nevertheless, as McManus emphasizes, "the bondsmen made it clear that they placed a high value on liberty" (p. 73); they did this through individual and collective resistance, here spelled out, and managed this despite the rigorous machinery of control, also here detailed.

In his preface, Professor McManus emphasizes that he seeks to present data only and that therefore he eschews "generalization or interpretation." Happily, this is not entirely true, for his work, in some cases even explicitly, contradicts theses associated with the names of Stanley Elkins and the late Frank Tannenbaum, in terms of the alleged reality of "Sambo" and the postulated significant difference between North American and Latin American slavery.

In addition to Du Bois, the author draws freely upon the earlier works of Arthur Zilversmith (1967), Edward Turner (1911), Lorenzo J. Greene (1942), Benjamin Quarles (1961), some of the writings of this reviewer, and his own study of slavery in New York (1966). However, much research in primary sources went into this book; one may say that with Leon Litwack's study of the free black population in the North and with this book by Professor McManus, the main outlines, at least, of black history in the North prior to the Civil War are finally available.

The American Institute for Marxist Studies HERBERT APTHEKER

The Booker T. Washington Papers: Volume I, The Autobiographical Writings. Edited by Louis R. Harlan. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1972. xl, 469 pp. Introduction, illustrations, index. $15.00.)

The Booker T. Washington Papers: Volume 2, 1860-89. Edited by Louis R. Harlan. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1972. xl, 557 pp. Introduction, chronology, bibliography, index. $15.00.)

These volumes, the first in the extensive series of Washington correspondence, comprise both an autobiographical and a documentary record of the rise of Booker T. Washington as the leading Negro educator in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Volume 2 documents the rise of the Tuskegee Institute. The autobiographical volume includes a reprinting of *Up from Slavery* and extracts from five other sources of Booker T. Washington's writings. The version of *The Story of My Life and Work* (1915) includes the additional chapter on the National Business League. This material contains a more sophisticated view of Washington, his work, and his broad national contacts than does the more elementary *Up from Slavery*. These personal documents reveal the progress of an actor on the national scene. With intimate political, philosophical, and business contacts between the personality of the man who emerges in *Up from Slavery* and the one who appears in *Story of My Life and Work* there is a wide divergency of views. The latter work is a post-career book looking back from the vantage point of a tremendous perspective of experience.

In his later writings Washington made clear restatements of much of the Protestant ethic– of the belief that "luck" is only another name for hard work. In his opinion, any individual could succeed in any enterprise on which he set his heart if he was willing to pay the price in hard work, and work meant "being willing to put forth the severest effort when there is no one to see or applaud."

In Booker T. Washington's case plenty of people saw and applauded. Louis Harlan's introduction and prefatory note in volume 1 give in succinct fashion a sense of the background against which the autobiographical materials were written and published. Volume 1 constitutes not only a highly personal view of the subject, but also a significant view of the cross-currents of Negro education, of southern education in general, and of American business, philosophy, and politics to 1911.

One can readily agree with Professor Harlan's conclusion that, "Booker T. Washington's life and views found clearer expression in his private papers than in his deliberately conventionalized public writings and utterances," Volume 2 of this series of the papers covers the years, 1860-1889. Obviously, as

the years passed, his papers became more meaningful and mature. Yet meaningful in the sense of being fuller and with more perspective, not in the elementary sense of describing rather primitive beginnings of an educational experiment and philosophy.

The great mass of Booker T. Washington's papers are work-a-day, revealing the minute details of trying to operate a school and a new approach to Negro education on a financial and philosophical shoestring. Publication of these papers constitutes a kind of milestone in the general national historical publication program. *The Booker T. Washington Papers* fall well outside of the statesman-politician category of papers published thus far.

The editor is to be commended, not for the absolute completeness of the papers, but for his craftsmanlike selectivity. The documentation and identification is adequate, leaving something to be done by the user of the papers. This two-volume series represents a good start in what should be a notable series of papers. The selectivity and editing should place this project higher on the scale than its twelfth place as designated by the National Historical Publication Commission. If the editor maintains his objectivity– demonstrated throughout the selections from more than 1,000,000 items– in future volumes, he will have performed a valid service indeed for many investigators of racial, educational, and political history.

Lexington, Kentucky THOMAS D. CLARK

L. Q. C. Lamar, Pragmatic Patriot. By James B. Murphy. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1973. 294 pp. Prologue, epilogue, bibliography, index. $11.95.)

This latest addition to the Southern Biography series presumably grew out of Professor Murphy's doctoral dissertation at Louisiana State University. His research is meticulous and his style is clear, but his narrative is entirely too brief. A person whose public career was as extended, as varied, and as illustrious as that of Lucius Quintus Cincinnatus Lamar deserved a more detailed biography than he has been accorded in just 274 pages.

Born into a distinguished Georgia planter family, Lamar was educated at Emory and studied law in an uncle's office in Macon. During his early years as a lawyer he migrated to Mississippi, but returned to Georgia several times before finally becoming a Mississippian. Following the tradition of many attorneys, he entered state politics. After serving briefly in the Georgia legislature, he subsequently was elected as a congressman in Mississippi.

In the national House of Representatives Lamar voted against any restrictions on slavery; by 1859 he was shouting for secession. In his role as delegate, he presented the secession ordinance to the Mississippi Convention in 1861. After serving in an insignificant position in Europe during the war, he became a judge advocate. Lamar held several jobs before returning to Congress in 1872. His eulogy of Charles Sumner in 1874 made him a national figure. Professor Murphy correctly contends that Lamar's influence was largely responsible for Mississippi returning to the Democratic fold in 1875-1876. He supported the Compromise of 1877.

Lamar soon began a career in the United States Senate. Although he was urged to vote for the remonetization of silver by the Mississippi legislature, he refused to do so. He favored federal subsidization and the expansion of the economy. After Grover Cleveland's election in 1884, Lamar became Secretary of the Interior. Here he served effectively until 1888 when he was appointed associate justice of the United States Supreme Court. He entered the court as one of the oldest and least prepared judges in our history. As judge he favored a federally stimulated economy and aggressively supported states' rights as he viewed them. He died in 1893 after suffering ill health for years. Lamar worked effectively for the South's full restoration to the Union; he was indeed a pragmatic patriot.

University of Florida GEORGE OSBORN

Black Carolinians: A History of Blacks in South Carolina from 1895-1968. By I. A. Newby. (Columbia: University of South Caroline press, 1973. xiii, 388 pp. Preface, bibliographical essay, index. $9.95.)

Professor Newby has compellingly described and analyzed the intellectual and social currents most directly touching the lives of South Carolina blacks since 1895. The central theme of black Carolina history, according to Newby, revolves around powerlessness and repression and efforts either to overcome or adapt to those conditions. Repression produced ignorance, poverty, and debility. Powerlessness created subservience and dependency. In short, one central fact in black Carolina history has been white racism. Racism touched every facet of black life. Race was used to define the black man's role, inhibit his advancement, thwart his hopes, and limit his horizons. Blacks were isolated, worked, and exploited as a racial group. Much of black public and civic life was consumed in racial causes. Even diversions were largely efforts to escape the consequences of racial discrimination.

Professor Newby graphically portrays the position of blacks between 1895 and World War II. "Every standard of good government, public probity, civilization itself, was on occasion violated in the cause of white supremacy." The judiciary and police were perverted to racial ends. Black schools were either poor or nonexistent. Blacks lived at a subsistence level and were constantly subjected to insults and humiliations. Criminally violent white mobs were not uncommon. The political, economic, and educational systems were designed to keep blacks powerless, dependent, impoverished, and in ignorance. The social system sought to make "good Negroes" of blacks and to convince them that they were inferior, a chronic problem not only for whites, but for themselves. Surprisingly, black Carolinians never succumbed to white racism. They had a vitality, a stamina, an adaptiveness, a record of perserverance, optimism, and determination that prevented their being completely defeated. They endured, they toiled, they aspired, and today they can claim much of the credit for the transformation in their status.

Newby traces the familiar story of black protest, white intransigence, and of the dramatic changes in the last two decades. But he ends the book on a grim note. While blacks in South Carolina can look back and see signs of progress, they can also see continuing inequality. Public policy is still more concerned with neutralizing than with helping them realize their ambi-

tions. Newby fears that there is real danger that black frustration may result in open conflict with white racism.

Black Carolinians is an excellently written and valuable addition to the literature of black history and the South.

Florida State University JOE M. RICHARDSON

Southerners and Other Americans. By Grady McWhiney. (New York: Basic Books, 1973, xi, 206 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, notes, tables, index. $7.95.)

There are twelve chapters in this well-written volume. Six of these have been published earlier in leading historical journals. To this reviewer the best chapters are the new ones, especially Chapter I, "Late Antebellum Americans," Chapter IV, "Ulysses S. Grant's Pre-Civil War Military Education," Chapter X, "The Meaning of Emancipation," and Chapter XII, "Black History or Propaganda." "Real differences," Professor McWhiney points out, "have existed between North and South for at least 200 years." But he adds, "too often– and for various reasons– these differences have either been exaggerated or rationalized." And here he sets about exposing some of these myths– the myth that the Civil War was an "irrepressible conflict" between fundamentally opposed Cavalier and Yankee civilizations; the southern myth that the Ku Klux Klan terrorised superstitious blacks through ghostly disguises rather than its criminal acts; the black myths that would remove southern myths with an equal disregard for the truth; and above all, "the great myth that somehow the South escaped the intellectual forces which shaped American thought and action."

In laying these and other myths to rest, Professor McWhiney, who is a Southerner, rescues the South from the exaggerations and rationalizations that have for more than two centuries kept Southerners and "other Americans" from understanding each other. The author maintains that one of the great myths of American history is that when the Civil War began Southerners were fundamentally different from Northerners. For more than a century people have been trying to reform the South, and much of this reformist spirit is evident in writing about the section. Authors had to get right with prevailing opinion: those

who failed to damn white Southerners or to denounce Dixie's backwardness, meanness, and racism were usually dismissed as apologists for the South. Nor has the danger of distortion passed. In recent years the growing separation between blacks and whites has added suspicion and hostility to the already difficult task of understanding what motivated the people of both races.

Throughout this provocative volume, the author has attempted to correct some errors that had crept into our thinking about races and sections. Blacks were less credulous than some historians had supposed, and white Northerners– when it was advantageous– exploited Negroes as readily as did white Southerners. The evidence indicates that differences between races and sections were no more pronounced than similarities.

Another myth that the author lays to rest is that the Whig party in Alabama was the party of the planter and slaveholder. In the state as a whole it may have been true that more large planters were Whigs than Democrats. But if the men they sent to Congress and to the state legislature are any indication, the Whigs were no more exclusively the "silk stocking" party in Alabama than the Democracy was exclusively the party of the "common man."

One of the great myths of history is that somehow the South escaped the intellectual forces that shaped American thought and action. Democracy and progress found no, supporters in the Old South, it is alleged. Such assertions distort the past. Democracy developed in the South as it did in other parts of America. Southerners were likewise as devoted as all other Americans to progress, especially material progress. The Radical Reconstruction experiment failed for a number of reasons, but foremost was northern disillusionment with blacks. By the time the Reconstruction experiment ended Southerners were again thoroughly Americanized. Every southern state was controlled by businessmen or by the friends of business.

In Chapter XII "Black History or Propaganda?" the author suggests that a historian cannot be both a propagandist and a scholar; the two are incompatable. Where propaganda is apparent, scholarship is not. The propagandist, certain that he has acquired the truth, goes out to preach and convert. He has no desire to understand the past, only to use it. He wants

disciples, not students; he wants people to think as he does rather than to think for themselves. In the words of Thomas A. Bailey, "too many so-called historians are really 'hysterians.'"

The major weakness of black history is not the subject but the aims of its practictioners. To substitute black legends for white legends is no improvement. The "super Negro" thesis is just as ridiculous and just as dangerous as the "inferior Negro" thesis. Many of the new history books, especially those designed for use in the schools, mention only the advancements of Negroes. In a 190-page book entitled *Teacher's Guide to American Negro History* "a basic handbook for schools and libraries," the author noted no fewer than fourteen errors of fact or interpretation. The first of these errors is the implication that most of the 8,000,000 white people who lived in the South in 1860 were poor whites. Errors number two, three, and four are contained in a single sentence, which reads in part: "the South had become a backward agricultural region, devoid of industry, literature, and democracy." Error number five is the statement "the slaveholders made the law and selected congressmen, teachers, ministers, editors, and sheriffs." Errors number six, seven, eight, and nine are all found in one paragraph. These errors are the unqualified assertions that slaves "had no rights any white person was bound to respect," that slaves ate a "poor" diet, were housed in "primitive" shelters, and were overworked. Errors ten, eleven, and twelve all relate to the free Negroes of the Old South, all of whom are described as abolitionists. Errors thirteen and fourteen are relatively simple matters.

The trend in black history is all too apparent. Louis E. Lomax warns that Negro teachers are being indoctrinated into advocating black power. So are the white teachers. Propaganda has no legitimate place in the writing and teaching of history. Scholars and teachers should take six words of advice from the blacks militants "tell it the way it was."

University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill HUGH T. LEFLER

BOOK NOTES

Notices of East Florida, written by Dr. William Hayne Simmons and published by him in 1822, is the third volume in the Bicentennial Floridiana Facsimile series. The series is being published by the Florida Bicentennial Commission as part of the state's program celebrating the nation's two-hundreth birthday. Dr. Simmons settled in St. Augustine shorty after Florida became an American territory. A shy and retiring man, Dr. Simmons is best remembered in Florida history because he and John Lee Williams of Pensacola surveyed and recommended Tallahassee as the capital site for Florida. The Territorial Council held its 1824 session there, and Tallahassee has been Florida's capital ever since. Tallahassee is this year celebrating its sesquicentennial. Dr. Simmons was a physician, politician, and author. His *Notices of East Florida* includes a history of the Florida Seminoles. It also contains selections from a journal of a trip through Florida during the winter of 1822. This facsimile edition carries with it an introduction, with biographical information on Dr. Simmons, and an evaluation of the book's contribution to Florida history. The introduction was written by Professor George E. Buker of Jacksonville University. The Bicentennial Floridiana Facsimile series, published by the University of Florida Press, will consist of a total of twenty-five books. *Notices of East Florida* sells for $6.00.

A History of Pharmacy in Florida is by Professor L. G. Gramling, chairman of pharmaceutical chemistry at the University of Florida. The value of Dr. Gramling's book mainly lies in its treatment of the Florida Pharmaceutical Association organized in Jacksonville in 1887, the Ladies Auxiliary which began in 1915, and the Traveling Men's Auxiliary that was started in 1905 in Tampa. Also included is a history of the Florida Board of Pharmacy, created by the legislature in 1889. The section on pharmacy education in Florida reveals that the first college of pharmacy was a private institution which opened in Jacksonville in October 1906. The College of Pharmacy at the University of Florida dates from 1923. Some of the most important data in

Dr. Gramling's book are located in tables listing officers of the various organizations, early drug stores, and drug manufacturers. The book was privately printed, but it is available from Dr. Gramling, 640 N.W. 36th Terrace, Gainesville, Florida 32607. The price is $6.40.

Our Past . . . Our Future: Florida's Comprehensive Historic Preservation Plan was published by the Florida Division of Archives, History, and Records Management, Department of State, Tallahassee. This published plan was required so that Florida could participate in programs established by the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966. A brief historical sketch, a review of historic preservation activities on the state and national level, and an evaluation of preservation planning in relation to other state planning constitute part one of the plan. The major preservation problems of Florida are next considered. Florida's size and shape are fixed conditions which are further compounded by the state's explosive growth. Our traditional, purist conception of historic preservation is an obstacle to current preservation efforts, but the most serious problem is the public lack of knowledge of the history of Florida and its communities. Of value in this publication is the listing, within a thematic and county framework, of those historical resources in Florida which deserve preservation. Single copies may be secured from the Division of Archives, History, and Records Management, Tallahassee, without charge.

The Everglades, by Archie Carr of the University of Florida, is one of the volumes in the Time-Life Books American Wilderness series. The Everglades stretch south of Lake Okeechobee to Cape Sable, the southernmost projection of the United States. This vast 400,000,000 acre watery wilderness contains a myriad of wild creatures and exotic landscapes. The pictures in *The Everglades* capture the beauty of the area. Included are several color photographs of birds painted by John James Audubon. Dr. Carr's smooth-flowing text and truly outstanding pictures make this a very unique book. It sells for $7.95.

Since *The Everglades: River of Grass,* by Marjory Stoneman Douglass, was first published in 1947 in the Rivers of America

series, it has been regarded as one of the best books on the area. A new paperback edition has been published which includes an afterword by Mrs. Douglass. This paperback is in the Mockingbird Book series, published by Ballentine Books of New York. It sells for $1.50.

Yesterday's Sarasota by Dell Marth is a pictorial chronical of the ninety-year history of one of Florida's major cities. A century ago a few white men– fishermen and farmers mainly– lived along the edge of Sarasota Bay, together with a handful of Indians whose ancesters once claimed all the coastal area south of Tampa Bay. Over the years, Sarasota grew into a center of economic and resort activity. Many important and colorful personalities have been residents of the area. Mrs. Potter Palmer, the Chicago socialite, found Sarasota to be "refreshingly quaint" when she came on a visit, and she bought some 80,000 acres of land and built a winter home there. John Ringling came in 1911, and in 1926– at the height of the Florida boom– he built Ca'd 'Can, one of the country's great homes. Ringling also built an art museum, and later gave it and his home to the State of Florida. The fact that the Ringling Brothers Circus made its winter headquarters in Sarasota focused attention on the area. The Sarasota Historical Commission was a major sponsor of the project which developed *Yesterday's Sarasota.* Published by E. A. Seemann Publishing Company, Miami, it sells for $7.95.

Yesterday's Key West by Stan Windhorn and Wright Langley, is a pictorial study of the southernmost city of the continental United States– one of the country's most interesting communities. Its recorded history reaches back into the early years of the nineteenth century. Before that it served as a temporary abode for wreckers, pirates, spongers, fishermen, and treasure seekers. At one time or another, Indians, Spaniards, Britishers, and Americans lived here. The history of Key West, once Florida's wealthiest city, is here told through photographs. They have been assembled from libraries, museums, and private collections. Windhorn and Langley are newspapermen in the Miami Herald's Key West office. *Yesterday's Key West* is published by E. A. Seemann Publishing Company, Miami; it sells for $7.95.

Memoirs of Estelle DesRocher Zumwalt: A Miami Pioneer was compiled by Thelma Peterson Peters after many conversations with Mrs. Zumwalt. The DesRocher family was living in Melrose, Florida, at the time of the Great Freeze, 1894-1895. Although she was only seven years old at the time, Mrs. Zumwalt remembered that cans of milk on their screen porch froze like ice cream. With their citrus grove ruined, the family moved to Miami, where Mr. DesRocher worked as a carpenter in Henry Flagler's Royal Palm Hotel. Mrs. Zumwalt grew up in northeast Miami, the area then called Lemon City. This little book also includes the author's favorite recipes, including green pole beans, eggplant salad, key lime pie, mango sherbert, green papaya pie, and crawfish salad. The sketches are by Ed Bergquist. The book sells for $2.50, and it can be purchased from the Historical Association of Southern Florida, 3280 South Miami Avenue, Building B., Miami 33129.

Tampa That Was . . . is the history of that community through 1946. Its author, Evanell Klintworth Powell, is a Tampa native. The book contains some early history of the Tampa Bay area, but most of it relates to nineteenth- and twentieth-century activities and people. There are many illustrations. The book sells for $4.95. Order from Box 381, Palm Beach, Florida 33480.

This Was Yesterday is a brief history of Lakeland, Florida, compiled by the Junior Welfare League of Greater Lakeland. The booklet contains a variety of historical data and many pictures. The pamphlet sells for $3.00, and it may be ordered from Mrs. Dolores Campbell, 1125 Hallam Drive, Lakeland, Florida 33803.

A Biographic History of Broward County, by Bill McGoun, includes illustrations and a series of biographical sketches of men and women who have played major roles in the development of Fort Lauderdale and Broward County. Napoleon Bonaparte Broward, Major William Lauderdale, Tony Tommie, Hugh Taylor Birch, and Frank and Ivy Stranahan are included. Published by the *Miami Herald*, it may be ordered from 1 Herald Plaza, Miami 33101. The price is $1.25.

Seminole Saga is a reprinting of the report of Major General Thomas S. Jessup to the United States Senate, July 1838, relative to transporting the Seminoles from Florida to land set aside for them west of the Mississippi River. A limited-numbered edition sells for $2.00; regular edition, $1.25. It is available from Hoosier Land Books, P.O. Box 936, Fort Myers, Florida 33902.

The History Committee of the First United Methodist Church, Oviedo, Florida, has published a centennial history of the church. *A Time To Keep* covers the period 1873-1973. Church records and interviews provided the basis for the material utilized. The pamphlet sells for $3.00, and it may be ordered from P.O. Box 536, Oviedo, Florida 32765.

What To Look For In Florida . . . And What To Look Out For is by Frank Cowles, Jr., and the editors of *Florida Trend.* It is published by Trend House of Tampa, and it sells for $1.95. The booklet describes living and housing conditions, job and business opportunities, the real estate market, and taxes and government. It should be especially useful to someone moving into Florida.

Indian Princesses and Soldiers, by Tom Knotts, contains three tales of Indian princesses and the soldiers they saved from death. Juan Ortiz was captured near Tampa Bay in 1528 and was saved by the chief's wife and three daughters who pleaded for his life. Later, when his life was threatened again, Ulelah, the oldest daughter of the chief, helped Ortiz escape. Pocahontas and Captain John Smith is the second story, and some scholars believe that it was Ortiz's tale that inspired Smith. The third tale is that of Malee (Milly Francis) who saved the life of Duncan McKrimmon in 1818 during Jackson's campaign into Florida. The pamphlet sells for forty cents including postage, and it may be ordered from the Withlacoochee Press, Yankeetown, Florida 32698.

Obispos Cubanos en Louisiana y las Floridas is a pamphlet published by J. Isern (Pedro José Isern Cordero) of Miami for the Cuban Group of Historical Studies. It sells for $1.00, and it

may be ordered from Aspe Spanish Books Distributors, 19 S.E. 1st Avenue, Hialeah, Florida 33011.

The Georgia Heritage Portfolio is a collection of facsimile documents of Georgia history covering the period from 1730-1790. It was prepared by the Georgia Department of Archives and History, and published by the Georgia Commission for the National Bicentennial Celebration. Pictures, maps, newspaper advertisements, deeds, estate inventories, governmental commissions, proclamations, land grants, and estate descriptions are among the documents included. Many relate to the role played by Georgia during the Revolution. The *Portfolio* sells for $5.00, and it may be ordered from the Georgia Commission for the NBC, Suite 520-South Wing, 1776 Peachtree Street N.W., Atlanta, Georgia 30309.

South Carolina, The Grand Tour, 1780-1865, a limited edition volume, is a part of the series of *Tricentennial Editions,* published by the University of South Carolina Press to commemorate the founding of South Carolina in 1670. Professor Thomas D. Clark, who has written an introduction, selected from approximately 110 travel accounts the twenty-one essays and sketches which are included. Some came from the pens of foreigners, like Roger Lamb who presented "an Irish view" of South Carolina during the American Revolution. Other foreign travelers included: Karl Bernhard, the German Duke of Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach; Carl David Arfwedson, the Swedish scholar; Sir Charles Lyell, the English scientist; and James Stirling, the Scotsman whose reports on the pre-Civil War South were published as *Letters from the Slave States. The Grand Tour* sells for $25.00.

Warrants for Land in South Carolina, 1672-1711, a reprint of a three-volume work published by the Historical Commission of South Carolina in 1910-1915, includes the warrants issued by the Lord Proprietors of Carolina. This edition carries an introduction by R. Nicholas Olsberg. Published for the South Carolina Department of Archives and History by the University of South Carolina Press, Columbia, the price is $25.00.

Frustrated Patriots: North Carolina and the War of 1812, by Sarah McCulloh Lemmon, examines the reasons why North Carolina supported the conflict even though it had little to gain economically or politically. The 10th Regiment of Infantry contained a larger number of North Carolinians than any other unit. James Wellborn was commander, but was replaced by Lieutenant Colonel Duncan L. Clinch who later played an important role in Florida history. Florida was one of the major factors considered by the United States in organizing the country's defense. At first it was thought that Florida might be invaded and St. Augustine besieged, but by the summer of 1813 a decision not to attack East Florida had been reached. Published by the University of North Carolina Press at Chapel Hill, the book sells for $10.50.

North Carolina: The History of a Southern State, third edition, is a University of North Carolina Press book. Its authors are Albert Ray Newsome and Hugh Talmage Lefler, Kenan Professor of History, Emeritus, the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. It is the standard one-volume history of North Carolina and sells for $14.95.

A facsimile edition of a *Narrative of the Life of David Crockett of the State of Tennessee* has been published by the University of Tennessee Press in its Tennesseana Editions series. This edition offers an introduction and annotations by James A. Shackford and Stanley J. Folmsbee. Besides its historic and literary value, the linguist will find it important since it contains expressions and spellings that were in use when the *Narrative* first appeared in 1834. It sells for $7.95.

Seth Eastman's Mississippi: A Lost Portfolio Recovered is by John Francis McDermott. Eastman was stationed at Fort Snelling on the Mississippi in the 1840s. Seventy-nine of the scenes that he drew are reproduced in this volume which is published by the University of Illinois Press, Urbana. These pictures were discovered recently in an album in St. Louis. It contained eighty-one Eastman sketches. One of the two not published by Professor McDermott is of Cedar Key, Florida, dated 1840. The book sells for $10.00.

Ninety-Two in the Shade, by Thomas McGuane, is a novel with Key West as its setting. It was published by Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, New York, and it sells for $6.95. *Baby Boy,* by James Gregg, also has a Florida setting. The author received the full cooperation of the Florida Division of Corrections in his research for this story of convicts in a Florida road camp. Published by G.P. Putnam's Sons, New York, it sells for $6.95.

Adventures on the Airboat Trail is a children's book by Ida Haskins. The scene is the Florida Everglades where two boys, Brent and Rob, meet Seminole Indians and are invited to the Green Corn Festival. Published by E.A. Seemann of Miami, the book sells for $3.95. *Flipper the Star* is by William B. Gray of the Miami Seaquarium. It also is published by E. A. Seemann Publishing Company, Miami, and it sells for $1.50.

The Chautauqua Movement: An Episode in the Continuing American Revolution, by Joseph E. Gould is the story of this nineteenth-century venture in popular education. It pioneered in correspondence courses, lecture-study groups, and reading circles, which filled a need for adult educational opportunities in rural America. Tent Chautauqua was big business in the South and in Florida where some communities like DeFuniak Springs erected permanent Chautauqua buildings. *The Chautauqua Movement* is a reprint published by State University of New York Press, Albany, and it sells for $5.00.

HISTORY NEWS

The Annual Meeting

A tour of the Governors Mansion as guests of Governor and Mrs. Reubin Askew, a reception at The Grove, home of Territorial Governor Richard Keith Call, as guests of Governor and Mrs. LeRoy Collins, a banquet address by Dr. Joe Frantz, professor of history at the University of Texas and director of the Oral History Program at the Lyndon B. Johnson Library, and a tour and reception at the Division of Archives, History, and Records Management are some of the highlights of the seventy-second annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society in Tallahassee, May 3-4, 1974. The Downtown Holiday Inn, West Tennessee Street, has been selected as convention headquarters. Professors William Warren Rogers and Edward Keuchel of Florida State University are in charge of local arrangements. Dr. Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., University of Florida, and Dr. Jerrell Shofner, Florida Technological University, are program chairmen.

The sessions will deal with New Approaches to Florida History, the Tallahassee Sesquicentennial, and Ethnic History in Florida. Reading papers are Edward F. Keuchel, Michael G. Schene, and Robert L. Hall, Florida State University; John Paul Hartman, Florida Technological University; David R. Colburn, Richard K. Scher, and George E. Pozzetta, University of Florida; and J. Larry Durrence, Florida Southern College. Sessions commentators are Professors Evans C. Johnson, Stetson University, and Harry A. Kersey, Jr., Florida Atlantic University. Society past Presidents William M. Goza, Clearwater; Judge James R. Knott, West Palm Beach; and James C. Craig, Jacksonville, will preside at the sessions.

American Association of State and Local History awards will be presented at the Saturday luncheon by James W. Moody, Jr., executive director, Historic Pensacola Preservation Board, to former Secretary of State Robert A. Gray, Tallahassee; Dr. Dorothy Dodd, Tallahassee; Dr. Wayne Flynt, Samford University; Marjory Bartlett Sanger, Winter Park; and the Junior League of Miami, Inc. These awards are given for significant

contributions to the understanding and development of state and local history. The winners of the Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Prize in Florida History for 1973-1974, the Rembert W. Patrick Memorial Book Award, and the Charlton W. Tebeau Junior Book Award will be announced at the banquet Saturday.

On Friday evening, Robert Williams and the staff of the Division of Archives, History, and Records Management will host a reception and tour of their facilities. Governor and Mrs. Reubin Askew will open the Governor's Mansion for a visit Saturday afternoon. Afterwards, Governor and Mrs. LeRoy Collins will be the hosts at a reception at their home, The Grove.

The board of directors will hold its meeting on Thursday evening at the historic Brokaw-McDougall House, headquarters for the Historic Tallahassee Preservation Board. The business luncheon Saturday will be convened by Dr. John E. Johns, president of the Society, and there will be election of officers and annual reports.

Registration begins at 9:00 a.m., May 3, in the lobby of the Downtown Holiday Inn. All program sessions will be in the hotel. The meetings are open to the general public.

Florida Confederation of Historical Societies

The Florida Historical Society invited representatives of local and area historical societies, museums, and related agencies to a meeting, January 18, at Florida Technological University, Orlando, to discuss the organization of a statewide confederation of local historical societies. The meeting was organized by Dr. Jerrell Shofner, Florida Technological University. Representatives from more than forty Florida groups were represented. The participants agreed that local history organizations could assist each other by exchanges of experiences and techniques.

Milton D. Jones, president-elect of the Florida Historical Society, is preparing a draft program of operations. The volunteer organizational committee includes Audrey Broward, Jacksonville Historical Society; Joseph O. Cardilli, Central Florida Society for Historical Preservation; Mrs. Leslie E. Clift, West Volusia Historical Society; Helen Cubberly Ellerbe, Alachua County Historical Commission and Alachua County Historical Society; David Fors-

hay, Peace River Valley Historical Society; Sybil Hunziker and Lutye Willis, Columbia County Historical Society; Isabelle McClintock, St. Lucie Historical Society; Glenn G. Matthews, Fernandina Historical Society; Dr. Thelma Peters, Historical Association of Southern Florida; Claude Reese, Jackson County Historical Commission; and Norman Simons, Pensacola Historical Society.

Ms. Janet G. Jainschigg, president, League of Connecticut Historical Societies, was the luncheon speaker. During the afternoon session, Addie Emerson, St. Lucie Historical Society, described her organization's oral history program; Robert Williams, director, Division of Archives, History, and Records Management, talked on "The Role of the State Archives;" Dr. Thelma Peters, Historical Association of Southern Florida, discussed "A Library and Photograph Collection;" Judge James R. Knott, Palm Beach County Historical Society, spoke on "The Layman and Local History;" Mrs. James N. LaRoche, Historical Society of Okaloosa and Walton Counties, discussed "Young People in Local History;" and Mrs. Frederick W. Connolly, Jefferson County Historical Society, described the historical and restoration activities in her area in a talk entitled "A Message from Monticello."

Dr. Shofner presided at the morning session, and Dr. John E. Johns, president of the Florida Historical Society, was chairman of the afternoon session. A list of societies, agencies, museums, and libraries is being compiled. Anyone interested in the Confederation is asked to communicate with Jay B. Dobkin, executive secretary, Florida Historical Society,, University of South Florida Library, Tampa, Florida 33620. The Confederation will be formalized at the annual meeting of the Society, and a workshop is planned for the fall of 1974.

National Register of Historic Places

The Historic Preservation Office, Division of Archives, History, and Records Management, Florida Department of State, announces that the National Park Service, United States Department of Interior, added the following Florida sites to the National Register of Historic Places during 1973: Lyndhurst Plantation, Monticello; Rochelle School, Rochelle; Sand Key Light-

house, Sand Key; Eduardo H. Gato House (Mercedes Hospital), Dr. Joseph Y. Porter House, Old Post Office and Customs House, and the U. S. Coast Guard Headquarters, Key West; Ralph M. Munroe House (the Barnacle), Miami; Merrick Manor, Coral Gables; Ransom School (Pagoda), Coconut Grove; San Joseph de Ocuya site, Lloyd vicinity; the Capitol, Tallahassee; San Juan de Aspalaga site, Wacissa vicinity (Jefferson County); Mount Royal, Welaka vicinity (Putnam County); Hull-Hawkins House, Live Oak vicinity; Nocoroco (Tomoka State Park), Ormond Beach vicinity; Burnsed Blockhouse, Sanderson; St. Marks Episcopal Church, Palatka; Epping Forest (home of Mrs. Alfred I. DuPont), Jacksonville; Big Mound City, Canal Point vicinity (Palm Beach County); Launch Complex Thirty-nine, Kennedy Space Center; Yent Mound, Alligator Harbor vicinity (Franklin County); Bailey House, "Tabby" House, Fairbanks House, and Fernandina Historic Preservation District, Fernandina Beach; Matheson House, Hotel Thomas, and Epworth Hall, Gainesville; Neilson House, Windsor vicinity (Alachua County); St. Margaret's Episcopal Church, Hibernia vicinity (Clay County); Seaboard Coastline Railroad Passenger Station, West Palm Beach; Breakers Hotel complex and Paramount Theatre Building, Palm Beach; United States Arsenal (Officers' Quarters), Quincy; T. G. Henderson House, Lake City (W. M. Dial House), William M. Goza residence (Madison); Ximenez-Fatio House, St. Augustine (Hubbard House), Crescent City; Florida Pioneer Museum, Florida City (Dade County); Dunlawton Plantation-Sugar Mill Ruins, Port Orange; the Parsonage, Winter Park; Stranahan House, Fort Lauderdale; Jupiter Inlet Lighthouse, Jupiter vicinity (Palm Beach County); Pineland site, Pineland vicinity (Lee County); and Cockroach Key, Cockroach Key (Hillsborough County).

Activities and Events

The Florida Anthropological Society held its twenty-sixth annual meeting, March 15-17, 1974, in Jacksonville. Dr. Thomas H. Jouchnour, president of the Northeast Florida Anthropological Society, was chairman. Dr. Gordon R. Willey, Harvard University, spoke on "New World Pre-History: Some 1974 Observations" at the banquet on Saturday evening. The following officers

were elected for 1974: John W. Griffin, president; Benjamin I. Waller, first vice-president; Wilma Williams, second vice-president; Robert H. Steinbach, secretary; and, Ripley P. Bullen, editor. Members of the executive committee are J. Anthony Paredes, Wesley Coleman, Arthur F. Dreves, E. Thomas Hemmings, and Roger Grange.

Professor David L. Smiley, Wake Forest University, gave the annual Rembert W. Patrick Memorial Lecture at Guilford College, Greensboro, North Carolina, March 20. The subject was "Ben and Comfort: Fiction and Fact in Carolina Reconstruction." The Patrick Lecture memorializes the former editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* and chairman of the department of history, University of Florida.

The 150th anniversary of the founding of Fort Brooke at Tampa was celebrated under the auspices of the Tampa Historical Society on January 23, 1974. More than 400 people attended a Fort Brooke Dinner, and heard addresses by Joe Dan Osceola, former chairman of the Tribal Council of Seminole Tribes of Florida, and Colonel George Mercer Brooke of Virginia Military Institute. Colonel Brooke is the namesake and great-grandson of the officer who established Fort Brooke on the Hillsborough River in 1824. Lieutenant General Sumter L. Lowry was chairman of the dinner committee, and Professor James Covington, University of Tampa, served as historical consultant for the celebration. Mayor Dick A. Greco, Jr. of Tampa also spoke, and the welcome was given by Hampton Dunn, president of the Tampa Historical Society.

The National Trust for Historic Preservation has designated May 6-12, 1974, as the second annual National Historic Preservation Week. The Trust urges local historical groups to publicize preservation activities during that week, and will send a historic preservation week kit to member organizations requesting it. Write to Frederick Haupt III, Public Affairs Department, National Trust for Historic Preservation, 740-748 Jackson Place N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006.

The T. T. Wentworth Jr. Museum of Pensacola has issued "Old Banks of Pensacola," Pensacola Picturebook No. 24. The illustrations are from the Wentworth collection. The booklet sells for twenty-five cents, and it may be ordered from the Museum, P.O. Box 806, Pensacola, Florida 32594.

Headquarters Heliogram, published by the Council on Abandoned Military Posts, carried a short article and pictures of Fort Taylor at Key West in its December 1973 number.

Bicentennial Events

The Florida Bicentennial Commission in cooperation with Florida Technological University held its Third Annual Bicentennial Symposium on the FTU campus, Orlando, March 22-23, 1974. The theme of the conference was "Eighteenth-Century Florida: Life on the Frontier." Dr. Charles N. Millican, president of Florida Technological University, and Lieutenant Governor Tom Adams, chairman of the Florida Bicentennial Commission, welcomed the Symposium participants. Professor R. Don Higginbotham of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill gave the luncheon address. His topic was "Why the Need for Another Washington Biography?"

Reading papers were Professors Robert M. Calhoon, University of North Carolina at Greensboro; Geraldine M. Meroney, Agnes Scott College; Bertram W. Korn, Hebrew Union College, Jewish Institute of Religion, New York School; James H. O'Donnell III, Marietta College; Roland C. McConnell, Morgan State College; David D. Mays, Florida Technological University; and David Z. Kushner, University of Florida. Ms. Rebecca Kushner sang some of the music described by Dr. Kushner at the Saturday morning session. Commentary was provided by Professor Mary Beth Norton, Cornell University. Chairmen for the sessions were Professors Edmund F. Kallina, Paul W. Wehr, and Elmar B. Fetscher, all of Florida Technological University.

On Friday evening the Theatre Department of Florida Technological University, under the direction of Dr. David D. Mays, presented *The Beaux Stratagem* by George Farquhar. This Restoration comedy was performed in St. Augustine in 1783 as a benefit for the distressed Loyalist refugees who had emigrated

from Charleston and Savannah. Musicians, attired in eighteenth-century costumes, provided the musical accompaniment.

The Library of Congress will hold the third in its series of American Revolution Symposia on May 9-10, 1974, in the Library's Coolidge Auditorium. "Leadership in the American Revolution" will be the theme for the conference. Lyman H. Butterfield, editor of *The Adams Papers* is chairman of the Symposium. Persons wishing to attend should write the American Revolution Bicentennial Office, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. 20540.

Local Societies and Commissions

Alachua County Historical Commission: At a meeting, January 10, 1974, progress reports were received from the publications, historical markers, historical sites, and architectural survey committees. Some 1,600 structures have been identified in the preliminary architectural survey, and approximately 300 call for more study. A survey of natural and scenic sites in Alachua County is also underway. A grant was received for a feasibility study of the Hotel Thomas by the National Heritage Corporation under the supervision of Historic Gainesville. A short history of Alachua County is planned, and a historic marker for each municipality in the county will be placed. A marker for La Crosse is now being prepared.

Alachua County Historical Society: The invitation to the Florida Historical Society to hold its annual meeting in Gainesville in May 1975 has been accepted, and a local arrangements committee is being set up. It will represent all historical agencies in the county. Early medicine in Alachua County was the subject for a talk by Dr. Henry J. Babers, Jr., at the meeting January 15. Mrs. Babers, research chairman for the Alachua County Medical Society Auxiliary, displayed pictures and artifacts associated with some of the early medical practitioners in the area. Dr. George E. Pozzetta, University of Florida, discussed foreign immigration into Florida for the period 1865-1910 at the February 19 meeting. He described settlements in and around Alachua County and the contribution made by foreign immigrants to the economic development of the area. Dena Snodgrass of Jacksonville, former

president of the Florida Historical Society, spoke March 19 on Zepaniah Kingsley. The title was "Mr. Kingsley of Fort George Island."

Bradford County Historical Board: "Operation Outhouse," the removal of a dilapidated brick and block structure from the Old Courthouse property in Starke, is part of a civic action project sponsored recently by the Bradford County Historical Board of Trustees. The Old Courthouse is being restored by the Trustees.

Central Florida Society for Historic Preservation: Restoration of the Inside-Outside House and the Bradlee-McIntyre House has begun. Restoration of the Longwood Hotel, now the property of George St. Laurent, is also continuing. Officers of the Society are Mrs. Robert Bradford, president; Christopher Raleigh, vice president; James Sutton, treasurer; and Jill Meeks, secretary.

Collier County Historical Society: Leonard G. Pardue, staff meteorologist of Radio Station WIOD, Miami, spoke on "The Effect of Hurricanes on Florida History," at the December 10 meeting in Naples, Florida. On January 14 a sound movie of the early days of Collier County was shown at the Marco Beach Hotel, Marco Island. Dr. Charlton Tebeau of Miami was the speaker at the February 11 meeting in Naples, and his subject was "1926– The Year the Sky Fell and the Roof Caved In." Grover Hackney and Milton D. Thompson, two of the survivors of the "Trailblazers" group who blazed the Tamiami Trail in 1923, spoke at the March 12 meeting in Naples. Dr. Earl Baum presented "Naples on the Gulf," a narrated movie at the April 8 meeting. George G. Huntoon is president of the Society. Other officers are Merle Harris, vice president; Richard W. Morris, secretary; and Helen Pardee, treasurer.

Dunedin Historical Society: Sixteen Dunedin pioneers were honored by the Society in November. A picture and a story on their activities and contributions to the community appeared in the *Clearwater Sun*, November 25, 1973. The Society has adopted as a Bicentennial project the restoration of the Andrews Memorial Chapel. Mrs. Charles B. McDaniel is president of the Society.

Florida Genealogical Society: Frank Adams, president, and Theodore Lesley, editor of the *Florida Genealogical Journal,* described the activities of the Society during an interview on Tampa's Channel 10. The Winter 1973 issue of the "Florida Genealogical Journal" includes a listing of Hillsborough County marriage records (1879-1880) and tombstones in the Fort Ogden Cemetery, DeSoto County.

Fort Lauderdale Historical Society, Inc.: An article on Captain Dennis O'Neill, Fort Lauderdale's first white settler and one of the keepers of the House of Refuge, was included in the "New River News History" issue of January 1974.

Hillsborough County Historical Commission: Gary Englehardt showed slides of historic Hillsborough County buildings and sites at a recent meeting of the Commission. Anthony P. Pizzo is chairman of the Commission, and Mary Rae Thompson is acting-secretary.

Historical Association of Southern Florida: Speakers on the Winter Program Series have included Dr. Charlton Tebeau who talked about the boom year 1926; Mrs. Emily Vance and Mr. and Mrs. Wilbert J. Bach who reminisced about their work on the *Metropolis,* the *Herald,* and the *Tribune* during the 1920s; Secretary of State Richard Stone who discussed the state's program to conserve land and marine archeology and historical records; Marjory Stoneman Douglas who used "I came to Miami in 1915" as the title for her talk; and Professor Harry A. Kersey, Jr., of Florida Atlantic University, who described the activities of South Florida families and the Indian trade. On January 20 the Association held a ninety-sixth birthday party for Miss Julia Fillmore Harris, the head of Miss Harris's Florida School from 1914-1971. Miss Harris's portrait will be displayed permanently on the Portrait Wall. Portraits of Commodore Ralph Middleton Munroe and Captain Eddie Rickenbacker have also been added to the Society's collection. The Association is publishing a series of facsimile volumes relating to Dade County and South Florida history. The first of these is a reprint of *Memoir of Do. d'Escalente Fontaneda Respecting Florida* (1575).

Historical Society of Okaloosa and Walton Counties: "Mode of Life that Existed at the Turn of the Century" was the subject of the talk by Ross Marlow at the January 27, 1974, meeting in Destin. Officers for 1974 are Mrs. Val Kreher, president; Harold Lucas, Mrs. Louis Vagias, and Miss Pearl Tyner, vice-presidents; Mrs. Dee Parkton, recording secretary; Frances Robinson, corresponding secretary; and Alan Campbell, treasurer. Mrs. James N. LaRoche is director of the museum staff, Mrs. Harry McCall is archivist, and B. L. Sellers is custodian. The Society has added a number of artifacts and historical records to its collections recently.

Jacksonville Historical Society: Professor George E. Buker, Jacksonville University, spoke on "Naval Engagements during the Seminole War" at the February 13, 1974, meeting in the Friday Musicale Auditorium. The Jacksonville Historical Society, in cooperation with the Florida Publishing Company, will publish in book form the series of articles on the Kings Road by James R. Ward which appeared in the *Florida Times-Union,* October-December 1973. The historic markers committee had placed a new marker at the site of the Mission of San Juan Del Puerto. It will also erect a marker in Hemming Park describing the Kings Road. A recent gift to the Society was the J. H. Colton 1855 map of Florida.

Key West Art and Historical Society: The East Martello Craft Fair opened February 8, 1974, and funds will be used to pay for the rewiring of the Fort. The American Watercolor Society exhibition opened March 19.

Orange County Historical Commission: The December 1973 number of the "Orange County Historical Quarterly" listed many new museum acquisitions, including books, plats and land surveys, newspapers, photographs, and artifacts. A short article on the town of Taft was also included.

Palm Beach County Historical Society: Mrs. Evanell K. Powell, author of *Tampa That Was,* spoke at the January 8, 1974, meeting in Whitehall, the Henry Morrison Flagler Museum in Palm Beach. Her subject was "Florida's Other Henry," the story of

Henry B. Plant. James R. Warnke took as the subject of his talk on Febraury 12, "Ghost Towns of Florida," the same title as his book.

Peace River Valley Historical Society: Hampton Dunn, president of the Tampa Historical Society, was the guest speaker at a meeting January 24, 1974, in Pioneer Park, Zolfo Springs, Florida. Richard H. Wood gave a talk on the history of post offices and mail service in the Peace River Valley area at the February 15 meeting.

Pensacola Historical Society: Vera Lawbaugh read from the diary of David Preston Robinson, one of the early Protestant ministers in Pensacola, at the meeting on January 24, 1974, in the Pensacola Historical Museum. The Robinson diary is a recent acquisition to the Lelia Abercrombie Library. Mrs. Charles H. Blanchard entitled her February 18 talk, "The History of the Flag of the United States." The Society's monthly newsletter lists accessions of genealogy and family data, photographs, postcards, prints, maps, books, and miscellaneous artifacts.

Pinellas County Historical Commission: The Commission is cooperating with the Junior League of Clearwater in its plans to publish a history of that community. Area organizations like the Clearwater Chapter Peninsula Archaeology Society hold their meetings at the Museum.

Safety Harbor Area Historical Society: James Miller presented a narrated slide program entitled "First Americans, Early Americans, and the Mound Builders," at the January 23 meeting at the Safety Harbor Lions Club. The February 27 meeting was designated "Show and Tell Night." The Society supported the activities of two other area societies– the musical review sponsored by the West Pasco Historical Society, March 6, at New Port Richey, and a dance sponsored by the Dunedin Historical Society.

St. Lucie Historical Society: Shelton Kemp, executive director of the Florida Bicentennial Commission, described the state's program at a dinner meeting, December 18, 1973. Robert Gladwin

discussed preservation and restoration and showed color slides of historic area houses at the January 15 meeting. Mrs. Clifton Davis, Mrs. Addie Emerson, and Bill Jorgenson assisted with this program. At the February 19 meeting, Robert W. Padrick presented a film and outlined the flood control activities of the Central and Southern Florida Flood Control District. The Society held open house at its museum on Seaway Drive, January 24-25, as part of the Sandy Shoes Festival.

Southwest Florida Historical Society: William Spear, former editor of the *Fort Myers News-Press,* entitled his talk, "History of the *News-Press,*" at a meeting February 8 in the Commissioner's Room, Lee County Courthouse. Hugh Richards discussed "Florida in the Civil War," at the meeting March 8, and Arletta Dunning used as a title "The Story of Names" for a talk on genealogy at the meeting, April 12. Alberta Rawchuck and Marian Godown, co-editors of the "Caloosa Quarterly," are collecting old photographs for an illustrated history of Fort Myers and Lee County to be called *Yesterday's Fort Myers.* The Society is also sponsoring the sale of *The Unknown Story of Sanibel and Captiva* by Florence Fritz.

Tarpon Springs Area Historical Society: The Vincent family, the George Emanuel family, and the Wright family were honored at the annual Rememberance Tea sponsored by the *Tarpon Springs Leader* and the Society. A move has begun to preserve the Sponge Exchange and to convert it into a historical museum. The sponge industry was the theme for a recent program meeting, and several divers related their experiences.

West Volusia Historical Society: Mr. Robert Allen was the speaker at the February meeting; his topic was "History of Early DeLand." Mrs. Leslie Clift gave a report of the meeting of the Federation of Historical Societies held at FTU. "The Programs of the Volusia County Historical Commission" was the subject of the talk by Judge Robert Wingfield also in February. The March meeting was a panel discussion by members of the National American Studies Faculty: Ms. Linna Place, Kansas City, Missouri; James W. Lea, Chapel Hill, North Carolina; John Lovell, Cooperstown, New York; and Dr. John Hague, director, Stetson

University, DeLand. Their topic was the potentiality of a local historical society in developing the community's sensitivity to the riches of the past.

Notes

A project to collect and edit the papers of Frederick Douglass has been announced by Yale University and the Association for the Study of Afro-American Life and History. It is supported by the National Endowment for the Humanities and the National Historical Publications Commission. The goal is to publish a multi-volume edition of Douglass's speeches, letters, and essays. A major part of the work will be the editing of the collection of Douglass's personal papers in the Frederick Douglass House, Washington, D.C. Libraries, archives, and individuals who have pertinent material are asked to write to Professor John W. Blassingame, editor, Frederick Douglass Papers, 2103 Yale Station, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut 06520.

The Archivist of the United States has announced that the 1900 Census of Population Schedules is now available for research. The use of these records is subject to the restrictions statement for records of the Bureau of the Census and to the statement of procedures governing access to the schedules of the Census of Population in 1900. These restrictions, which are enforced to prevent unwarranted invasion of privacy, limit access to the records to those engaged in legitimate historical, legal, or genealogical research, who should also have the written permission of the Archivist or his delegates. Copies of the restrictions statement and the procedures may be obtained by writing to the Director, Central Reference Division (NNC), National Archives (GSA), Washington, D. C. 20408.

The fourth annual Archives-Library Institute under the auspices of the Ohio Historical Society will be held July 15-26, 1974. The Institute is a two-week concentrated program offering elementary level archival training in the collecting, processing, and referencing of historical research material. The Institute is a certificate program, and participants who attend the sessions

will be awarded a certificate of attendance. For information, write David R. Larson, Ohio Historical Society, Interstate 71 and 17th Avenue, Columbus, Ohio 43211.

MINUTES OF THE DIRECTORS' MEETING

Florida Historical Society

The semi-annual meeting of the officers and board of directors of the Florida Historical Society was convened in the Board Room, Florida Technological University, Orlando, Florida, January 19, 1974, at 9:45 a.m., by President John E. Johns. Attending were Milton D. Jones, Thelma Peters, Alva L. Jones, Jay B. Dobkin, Samuel Proctor, Audrey Broward, Addie H. Emerson, Michel G. Emmanuel, David A. Forshay, Marty Grafton, John W. Griffin, James R. Knott, Eugene Lyon, John K. Mahon, Jessie Porter Newton, Sister Elizabeth Ann Rice, Jerrell H. Shofner, and G. Norman Simons. Absent were William Bevis, James G. Craig, and Anthony P. Pizzo. Dr. Johns welcomed the group, and extended a special word of welcome to Mrs. Emerson, Mrs. Grafton, and Mrs. Porter who were meeting with the board for the first time since their election at the annual meeting, May 1973. Judge James R. Knott of West Palm Beach was reelected to the board. Judge Knott has served previously as a director and as president of the Society.

The minutes of the previous board meeting, May 10, 1973, as published in the October 1973 issue of the *Florida Historical Quarterly,* were approved. Dr. Johns informed the board that there had been a financial problem for the Florida Historical Society involving the embezzlement of funds. A member of the Library staff who was an employee of the University of South Florida confessed to this activity after Mrs. Mary Jane Kuhl discovered the discrepancies and brought them to the immediate attention of the authorities. Full restitution has now been made.

Dr. Johns reviewed the plans for the annual meeting in Tallahassee, May 2-4, 1974. The Downtown Holiday Inn will be convention headquarters. The invitation of the Historic Tallahassee Preservation Board for the directors to hold their meeting on the evening of May 2 at the Brokaw-McDougall House was accepted. Dr. William Warren Rogers, Florida State University, is in charge of local arrangements. Dr. Jerrell Shofner reported on the program on behalf of himself and his co-chairman, Dr. Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., of the University of Florida.

Dr. Proctor, editor, *Florida Historical Quarterly,* stated that matters relating to the journal were satisfactory. He hopes that a newsletter will be implemented soon so that there can be broader coverage of the activities of local and county historical societies, and that other matters which ordinarily appear in the History News section of the *Quarterly* will be available to all those interested in Florida history. Dr. Proctor asked board members to encourage the research and writing of Florida history articles. He announced that a grant of $500 had been received from the Wentworth Foundation, Inc., through the efforts of William M. Goza. The money will be used for additional illustrative material in the *Quarterly.*

The financial report was approved. The Executive Committee is examining the feasibility of transferring Society funds to accounts that will result in a higher interest return. The purposes of the different funds of the Society were explained for the benefit of the new directors.

Dr. Proctor reported on the efforts of Dr. Charlton W. Tebeau to raise the necessary endowment funds so that an annual award can be given for the best young people's book on Florida history. About half of the needed amount has been collected, and Dr. Proctor urged that board members and others contribute to this fund. Checks should be mailed to Dr. Tebeau or to the Florida Historical Society office, University of South Florida Library, Tampa, Florida. Dr. Proctor also moved that the annual award be known henceforth as the Charlton W. Tebeau Book Award in recognition of Dr. Tebeau's many contributions to Florida history and of his years of service to the Florida Historical Society. The motion was passed unanimously.

Dr. Proctor reviewed the history of the relationship of the Society and the University of South Florida and the efforts of the University to find a replacement for Mary Jane Kuhl who resigned as Executive Secretary and Society Librarian effective October 1, 1973. Jay B. Dobkin, the new Executive Secretary, was introduced, and he detailed some of the plans and goals that he is setting for the Society. He is presently cataloguing the Society's Library and manuscript and map collections. The Society's holdings will all carry a special bookplate and an identifying marker on the book spine. The directors approved Mr. Dobkin's

request to eliminate from the Society's Library out-of-date and worthless non-Florida material. Mr. Jones recommended that a catalog of the Society's book, manuscript, and map collections be published. Mr. Dobkin pledged his full support and cooperation in this project. He also called for a Florida Union Catalog listing unpublished Florida material in regional, county, and local historical society libraries. Local groups would report their acquisitions and accessions to the Society's librarian who would maintain a statewide manuscript data bank. Mr. Dobkin described the area that will be allotted to special collections and to the Florida Historical Society's Library in the new University of South Florida Library which is under construction. In answer to a director's question, Mr. Dobkin pointed out that his staff will make every effort to answer reasonable research questions. The policy of the University of South Florida Library and the Florida Historical Library is to make materials available to researchers and scholars.

Dr. Johns reported that current membership is 1,632. Dr. Mahon, membership chairman, suggested contacting delinquent members by telephone. The Executive Secretary will mail a list of delinquents to directors who will then follow up by telephone or a personal letter. Dr. Mahon, Mr. Dobkin, and Mr. Jones were appointed to a committee to draw up a new membership form. Mrs. Grafton recommended that promotional material explaining the Society's activities be prepared for distribution.

Mrs. Newton described her activities associated with preservation in Key West. A particular property is now threatened, and she asked for Society help in trying to save it. Mr. Jones moved that the Old Island Restoration group be informed of the Society's support of Key West preservation.

The President announced that the Executive Committee at its meeting in Tampa, October 1973, had appointed the following as the nominating committee: Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., Gainesville (chairman); Gilbert Lycan, DeLand; Robert Williams, Tallahassee; Marion Godown, Fort Myers; and Gertrude K. Stoughton, Tarpon Springs.

The board voted to hold the 1975 annual meeting in Gainesville, the 1976 convention in Miami.

Dr. Johns commended Judge James R. Knott for his efforts in getting the name Cape Canaveral restored to the area that had been designated Cape Kennedy. The board accepted the invitation of the Conference Group for Social and Administrative History to cooperate with the holding of a Conference on American Loyalists in St. Augustine, February 6-8, 1975. The Florida Historical Society will organize and sponsor one session.

Dr. Proctor again called for the organization of a Florida Historical Society Bicentennial Committee, pointing out the need for the Society's participation in the celebration. Dr. Johns stated that he would appoint such a committee immediately. Dr. Proctor reported on the progress of the Panton-Leslie-Forbes project which is being sponsored cooperatively by the University of West Florida, the University of Florida, and the Florida Historical Society. Professor William Coker of the University of West Florida is editor of the project. He has been working in Spain for the last several months collecting pertinent material, and he will be in England and France shortly.

Dr. Johns thanked Dr. Shofner for his work in setting up the conference to organize the Florida confederation of local historical groups which convened January 18 at Florida Technological University, and for his efforts in hosting the board meeting.

Eugene Lyon reported on the three-year project to find and study sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Florida material in Spanish archives. Mr. Lyon also reported on the important Tequesta Indian site uncovered recently on the banks of the Miami River. This site is now being threatened by impending construction, and he asked the Society to help in saving the property for archeological study. Dr. Johns requested Mrs. Grafton, Dr. Lyon, and Dr. Peters to send him the necessary data so that a letter could be sent to appropriate parties.

Dr. Shofner reported that work is still in progress on the index for the *Florida Historical Quarterly*.

Dr. Johns thanked those attending and the meeting was adjourned at 1 p.m.

Respectfully submitted,
Alva L. Jones
Recording Secretary

BANK BALANCES, DECEMBER 31, 1973

Tampa Federal Savings & Loan Association (Father Jerome Fund)	$ 3,468.04
Guaranty Federal Savings & Loan Association (Yonge Publication Fund)	15,145.31
Guaranty Federal Savings & Loan Association (Thompson Memorial Fund)	2,961.29
First Federal Savings & Loan Association (Main Savings)	14,103.22
University State Bank (Savings Account) (C. Tebeau Youth Award)	1,270.96
University State Bank (Checking Account)	8,943.98
	$45,892.80

OBITUARY

John Donald Ware

Captain John D. Ware, an authority on the Spanish and English colonial periods in Florida and a longtime member of the Florida Historical Society, died of cancer in Houston, Texas, January 21, 1974. Funeral services were held in Tampa, January 25. Captain Ware was born November 21, 1913, at St. Andrews, Florida, and was educated in the Bay County public schools. He was a seafarer and a shipmaster with Waterman Steamship Corporation when he was appointed a Tampa Bay pilot in 1952. He held a United States Coast Guard license as master of steam and motor vessels, and had piloted ships along the Florida and Gulf coasts, the Mississippi River, and bays and harbors on the east coast of North America from Miami north to Canada. He was secretary of the Florida State Pilots Association and a member of the Tampa Bay Pilots Association.

Captain Ware was an acknowledged expert on the colonial history of Florida. His research and writings on eighteenth-century Florida were widely recognized. Several of his articles and book reviews were published in the *Florida Historical Quarterly* and in *El Escribano,* the St. Augustine Historical Society's journal, He had written an introduction and compiled the index to the *Notes on the Life and Works of Bernard Romans* by P. Lee Phillips, which will be published as one of the volumes in the Bicentennial Floridiana Facsimile Series by the University of Florida Press for the Florida Bicentennial Commission. Captain Ware had done exhaustive research on Romans and Phillips in libraries in the United States and Spain. At the time of his death, he was working on a definitive biography of George Gauld, the eighteenth-century English surveyor and cartographer. This is also scheduled to be published as one of the Florida Bicentennial volumes.

Captain Ware had served on the board of directors of the Florida Historical Society and was chairman of the state membership committee. He was a member of the executive board of the Hillsborough County Historical Commission, and he was active in the Safety Harbor Area Historical Society. This organization designated October 28, 1973, "John D. Ware Day," and presented Captain Ware with its Historian of the Year award. Captain Ware was interested in anthropology and archeology, and was a member of the Florida Anthropological Society. His many friends throughout Florida will feel his death as a deep personal loss.

GREAT EXPECTATIONS. . . . . .

1974

May 3-4	FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY– 72nd ANNUAL MEETING	Tallahassee
Sept. 12-15	Oral History Association	Grand Teton National Park, Wyoming
Sept. 25-28	American Association for State and Local History	Austin, Texas
Oct. 1-4	Society of American Archivists	Toronto, Ontario
Oct. 2-6	National Trust for Historic Preservation	Portland, Oregon
Nov. 6-9	Southern Historical Association	Dallas, Texas
Dec. 28-30	American Historical Association	Chicago, Illinois

1975

May	FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY– 73rd ANNUAL MEETING	Gainesville

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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JOHN E. JOHNS, *president*
MILTON D. JONES, *president-elect*
THELMA PETERS, *vice-president*
MRS. MILTON D. JONES, *recording secretary*
JAY B. DOBKIN, *executive secretary and librarian*
SAMUEL PROCTOR, *editor, The Quarterly*

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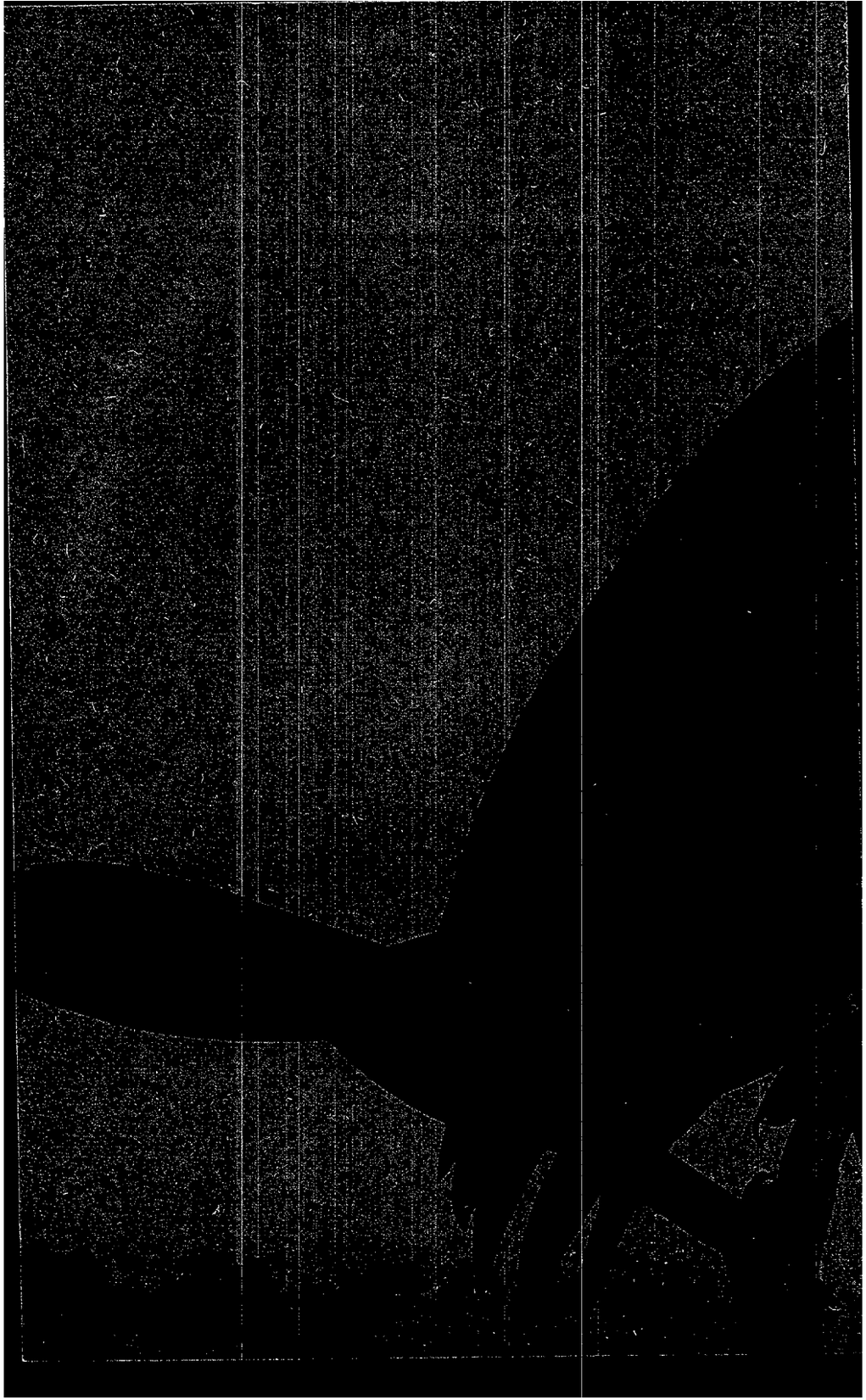
The Florida Historical Society supplies the *Quarterly* to its members. The annual membership fee is $7.50, but special memberships of $15.00, $50.00, $75.00, and $150.00 are available. Correspondence relating to membership and subscriptions should be addressed to Jay B. Dobkin, Executive Secretary, University of South Florida Library, Tampa, Florida 33620. Inquiries concerning back numbers of the *Quarterly* should be directed to Mr. Dobkin.