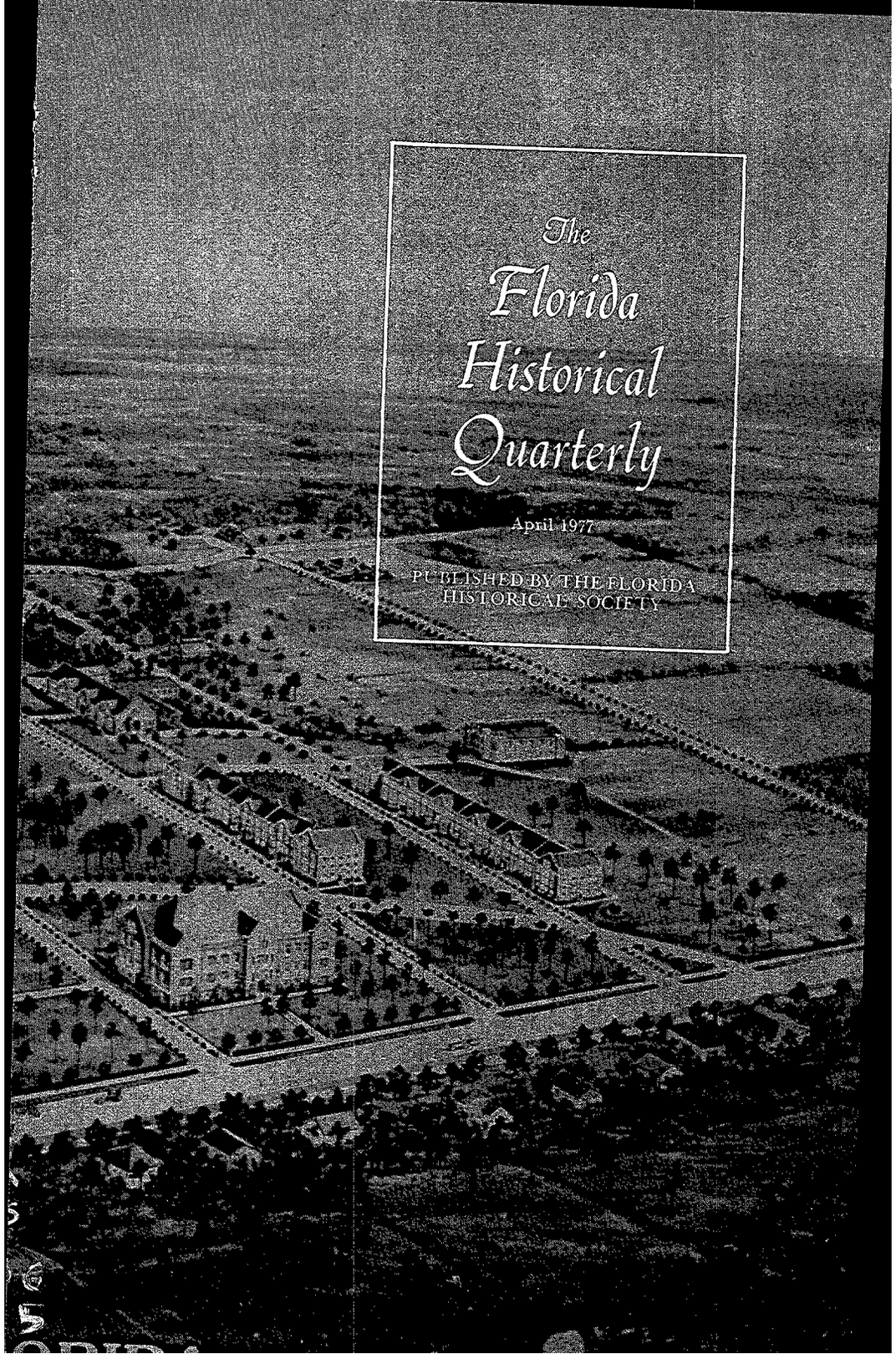

The Florida Historical Quarterly

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COVER

An artist's conception of the campus of the University of Florida, Gainesville, ca. 1920. The view is from the north. West University Avenue runs horizontally across the northern edge of the campus; Thirteenth Street is on the east. The buildings along the bottom edge of the picture are the Law School (now Bryan Hall), Language Hall (Anderson Hall), Science Hall (Flint Hall), and Buckman and Thomas halls (dormitories). South of Language Hall (above) are Peabody and Benton (no longer standing) halls. Beyond Science Hall is Floyd and a small storage building (probably the first building constructed on the site, now removed). Nearby is the University Commons (Richard Johnson Hall) and the Agricultural Experiment Station. The building on the right, just south and west of Thomas Hall, is the old auditorium and gymnasium.

The Florida Historical Quarterly

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THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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CUBAN REVOLUTIONARIES AND MONROE COUNTY RECONSTRUCTION POLITICS, 1868-1876

by GERALD E. POYO*

THE INTRICATE historical relationship between the United States and Cuba has traditionally fostered intimate contacts between segments of their populations. Florida has served as the primary stage upon which the two cultures have confronted and coexisted. Although the post-Castro immigration has dominated the attention of those interested in tracing Cuban contributions to the development of the state, it should be emphasized that the Cuban presence in Florida has been equally important during earlier periods.

The first significant immigration of Cubans into Florida began in 1868 upon the outbreak of the Cuban war against Spanish dominance, and continued for the next thirty years at varying levels of intensity. Cubans initially established themselves primarily in Key West, and later in other areas– in and around Jacksonville and in the Tampa Bay area– producing intimate political, economic, and social contacts with Floridians. In Monroe County, Cubans exerted decisive influences in political affairs, and economically they were the backbone of the community. Although in Cuban historiography several studies have examined Cubans in Key West, these have usually stressed their activities in relation to the history of their homeland. The cross-cultural aspects of the Cuban presence have received limited attention. A paucity of research relating to Cuban involvement in Florida politics, for example, has delayed recognition of their vigorous and effective participation in local and state political affairs. During the 1870s, Monroe County provided a prime example of the determination and effectiveness with which Cubans participated in the political system of

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their adopted homeland. They operated in two realms: those activities related directly to the independence cause and actions connected with the political system in the United States. The two were not mutually exclusive given that the Cuban insurrection became the focal point for political decision-making in the community.

With the adoption of a new state constitution in 1868 and the election of its government officials, Florida again became a full-fledged member of the Union. There followed almost a decade of intense turbulence as the Democratic party, representative of the traditional economic and social elite of the state, wrested political control from the Republicans. The same year that Florida rejoined the Union, across the Straits of Florida in the Spanish colony of Cuba, events of a dramatic nature unfolded that proved important not only for the inhabitants of the island, but for the political situation in Florida and particularly in Monroe County.

On October 10, 1868, the *Grito de Yara* in Cuba signaled the initiation of what proved to be many years of struggle to achieve political independence. The first phase of the movement, the Ten Years' War, plunged the island into a protracted and bloody civil war that produced an emigrant flow of Cubans to Key West. The establishment of a large Cuban community devoted to securing the independence of its homeland exerted a powerful impact on all aspects of life in Key West.

Economic inducements aided the immigrant flow into Florida. A special allure was the incipient cigar industry founded by Vicente Martinez Ybor, a Spanish tobacco capitalist from Havana.[1] The factories attracted Cuban workers, adding substantially to the emigre population.

By February 1869, a Cuban colony was thriving in Key West. Revolutionary clubs were organized to raise funds and arm men who were sent to join the expeditionary forces being formed in New York Key West became a major area of support to the revolutionary effort. According to one Cuban resident, "In Key West nothing was discussed except the revolution;

1. Willis Baer, *The Economic Development of the Cigar Industry in the United States* (Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 1933), 106-07.

each Cuban home was a conspiratorial center; people only thought about the redemption of the fatherland."[2]

Immigration radically altered the demography of Monroe County in the years after the Civil War. A population of 5,657 in Key West in 1870 increased to something over 12,000 six years later. The Cuban proportion increased also, from approximately twenty-five to more than fifty per cent.[3] This phenomenon could not help but affect the political situation in the community. State law required six months residence for county elections, one year for state elections, and a declaration of intent to become a citizen. Once these requirements were satisfied, the Cuban emigres could vote and a new electoral element began emerging.

The Republican party had gained control of Florida politics by 1868, although Monroe County Democrats still exerted strong influence. One of the factors favoring the Republicans in Monroe County was the presence of the Cubans, and the influx of a significant number of blacks from the Bahamas. While in some parts of Florida the election of 1870 marked the beginnings of the political decline of the Republican party, the curious demographic situation in Key West delayed its demise there for another decade.

The 1868 election results in Monroe County demonstrated that Democratic and Republican strength was fairly evenly divided. The Democrats running for state and congressional seats fared well that year, and also in the municipal contest in 1869. However, county Republican party officials led by Eldridge Ware, H. A. Crane, and James W. Locke organized a coalition that insured them control of both municipal and county offices. Given the political climate in the county after the Civil War, the black vote proved easy prey for Republican organizers. The other element of the envisioned coalition was the Cuban emigre community.

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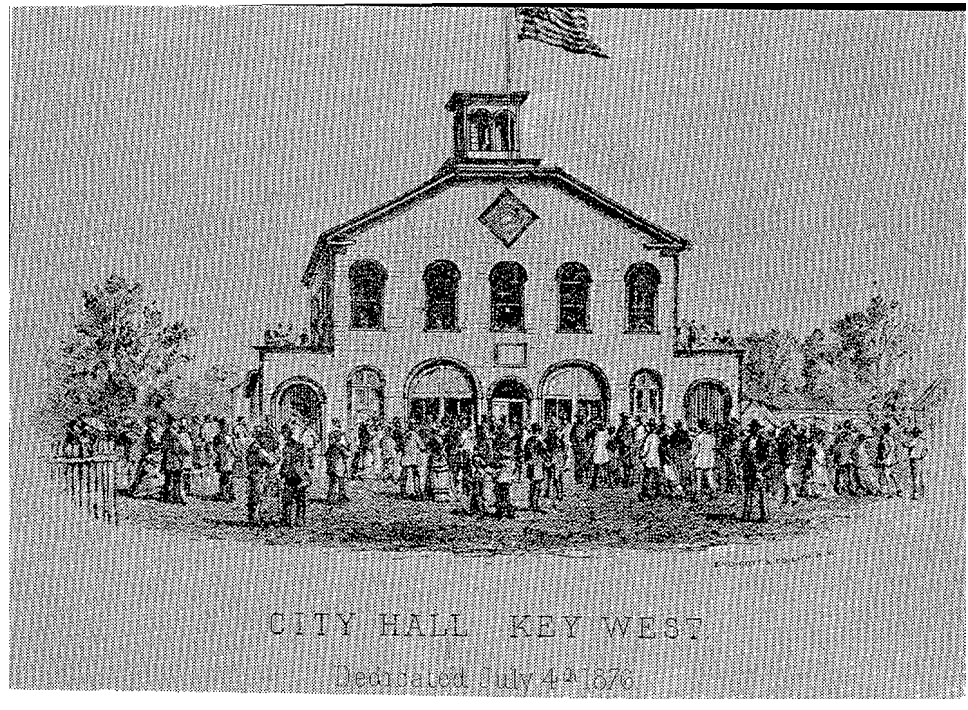
2. Juan Pérez Rolo, *Mis Recuerdos* (n.p., n.d.), 9. For a more detailed discussion of this aspect of Cuban activities, see Juan J. E. Casasus, *La Emigración Cubana y la Independencia de la Patria* (Havana, 1953), 149-54.
3. U. S. Census Office, *Ninth Census of the United States, 1870,* original population schedules on microfilm, Monroe County, Florida; Jacksonville *Tri-Weekly Union,* January 10, 1874; Jacksonville *Daily Florida Union,* August 9, 1876.

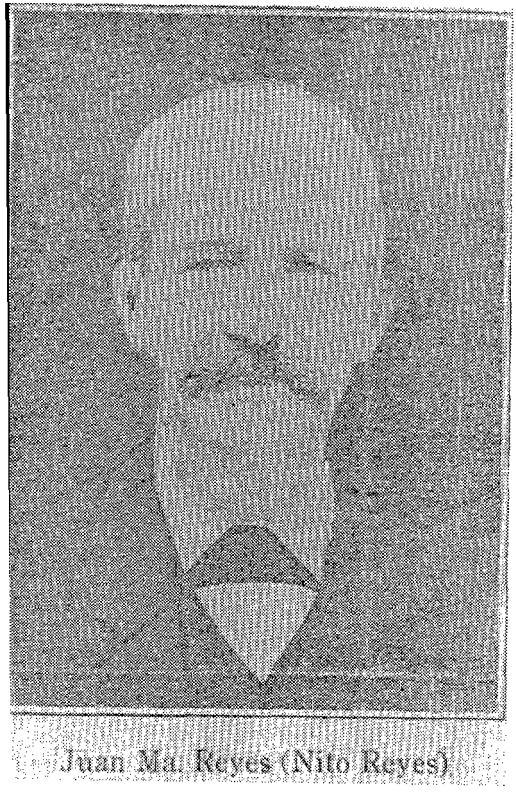
How political organizing within the Cuban colony was effected is not clear, but to a great extent Cuban sympathies toward the Republican principles came naturally. The majority of the Cuban community leaders were. educated, middle-class individuals residing in Key West primarily because of political persecution. Vigorously advocating independence for their own homeland and the abolition of slavery, these men had generally sympathized with the North during the Civil War. They logically joined Lincoln's party when they secured the right to vote. As leaders of the Cuban colony, they exerted strong influences over the mass of the tobacco workers and successfully molded them into a strong bloc vote for the Republican organization.

The Monroe County electorate, then, approached the elections of 1870 unaware of what effect the new, not yet clearly committed Cuban vote would have on county politics. Key West Republicans probably encouraged their colleagues in Tallahassee to demonstrate sympathy for the insurrectionary movement in progress in Cuba. During the legislative session of that year, Republican Senator William Purman introduced a favorable resolution regarding the Cuban situation which was adopted. On the national level, Florida Republican Congressman Charles Hamilton presented to the House of Representatives a series of pro-Cuba resolutions.[4] In addition, Governor Harrison Reed cultivated Cuban support by appointing the first Cuban, Alejandro Mendoza, to a Monroe County position, that of justice of the peace.[5] There was, however, a reluctance on the part of the national Republican administration to involve itself in the issue. President Grant's public statements in late 1869 and 1870 made it clear that he had no intention of aiding the Cuban insurrectionary effort.[6] This attitude by the government in Washington would cause in the years ahead problems for the Republican party in Florida. For the time being, however, these gestures of sympathy for the Cuban cause could not have come at a more favorable moment for Florida Republicanism. Extremely agitated throughout 1869 and 1870 as a result of a

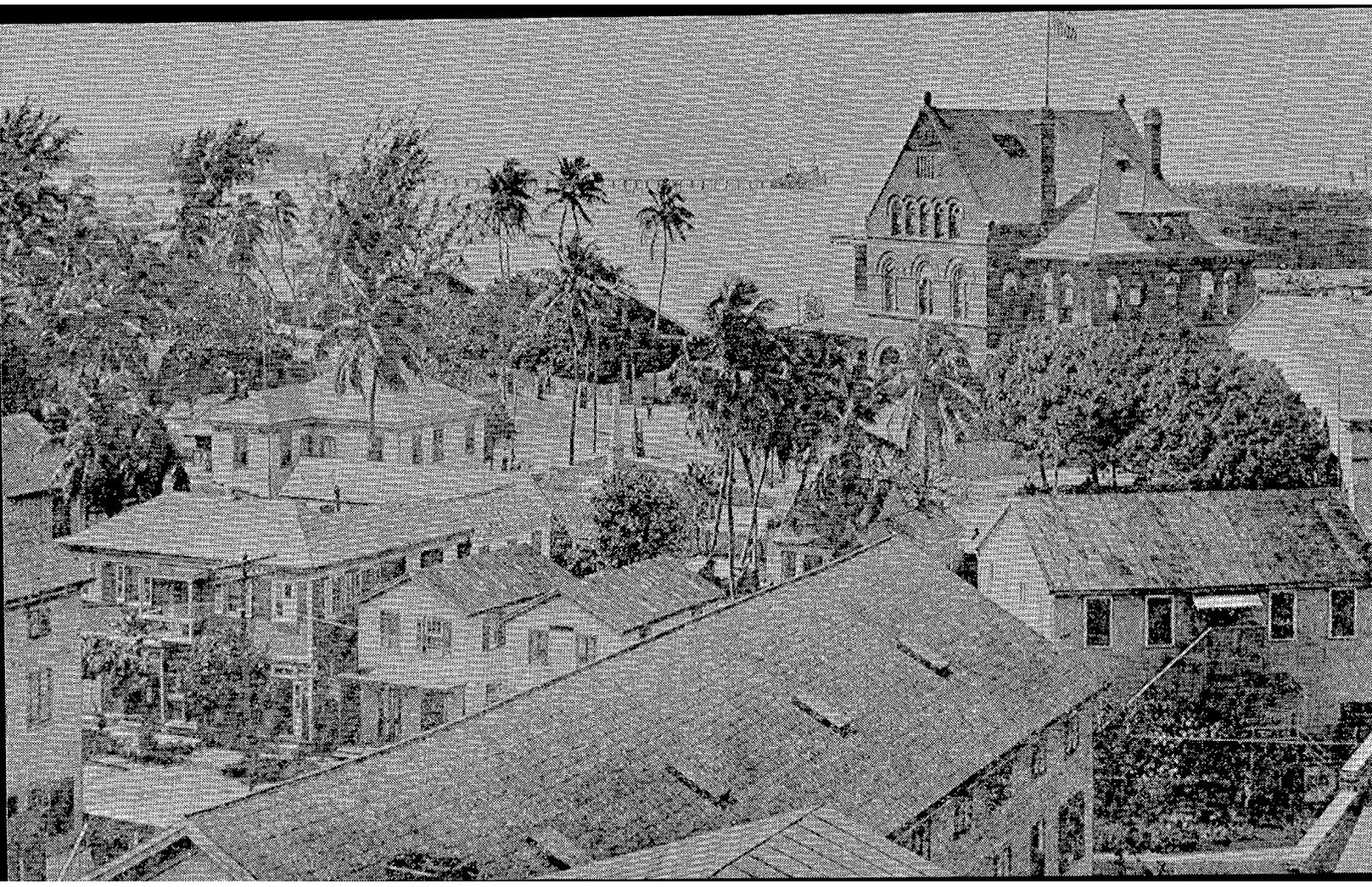
4. Florida *Senate Journal*, 1870, third session, 332; *Congressional Record*, 43rd Cong., 1st sess., v. 2, pt. VI, p. 5239; Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, June 28, 1870.
5. Key West *El Republicano*, January 22, 1870.
6. Ramiro Guerra, *Guerra de los Diez Años*, 2 vols. (Havana, 1972), II, 72, 79-90.

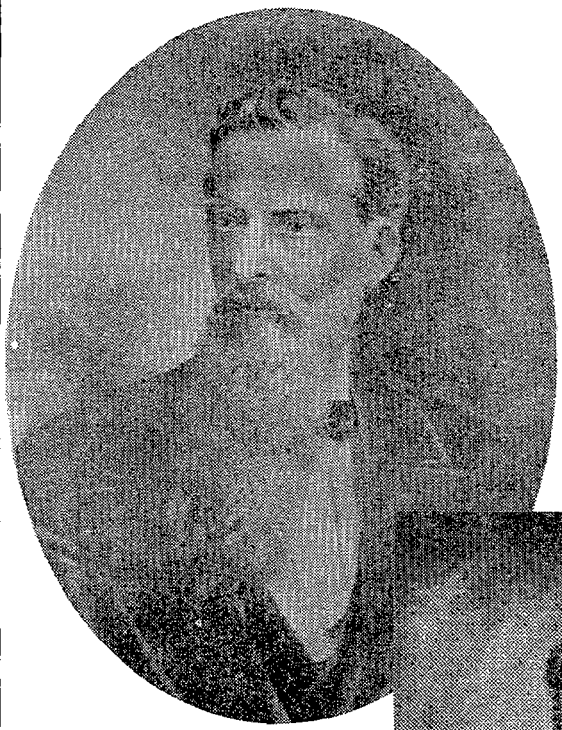


Dedication of Key West City Hall, July 4, 1876. Walter C. Maloney, *A Sketch of the History of Key West, Florida* (Gainesville, 1968), title page.

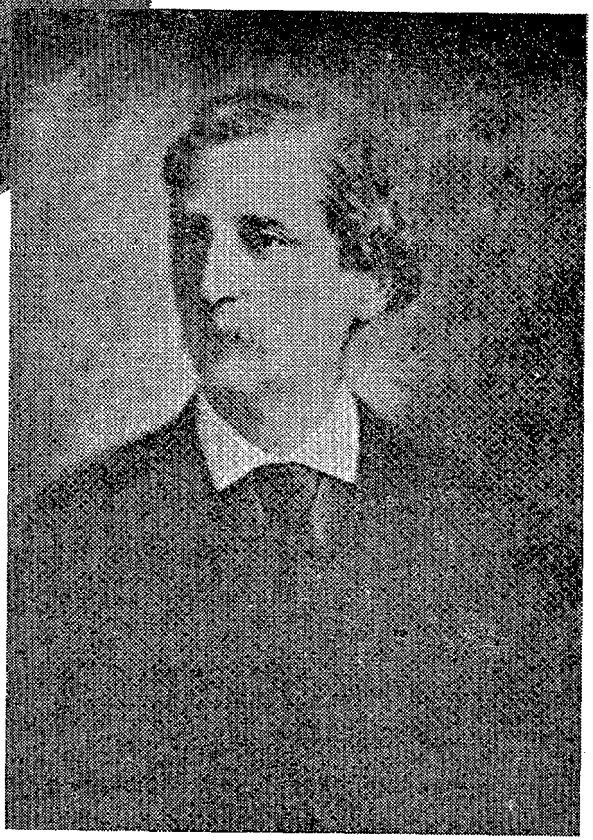


Juan Ma. Reyes (Nito Reyes)





Francisco Vicente Aguilera.



Miguel de Aldama y Alfonso.

Gato Cigar Company. Zendegui, *Ambito de Marti,* 154.

Club San Carlos. Guillermo de Zendegui, *Ambito de Marti* (Havana, 1954), 152

series of incidents related to their revolutionary activities, the Cubans in Key West represented a highly politicized group receptive to organizing efforts of American politicians.[7] Success rewarded the efforts of the local Republicans in the legislative race. H. A. Crane defeated Frederick Filer, the incumbent Democrat in the assembly race, while James Locke won over Democrat Walter Maloney, Jr., as senator from the twenty-fourth district.[8] This Republican victory emphasized the effectiveness of their organization and the successes they could expect with added Cuban support. Monroe Republicans now held all the state legislature seats. The only important Democrat still. in power was Mayor Browne, who had been re-elected in October 1870.[9]

Cuban loyalty to the Republican party led to individual rewards if not to national support for their cause. Intent on consolidating the Cuban bloc vote, Republican leaders lobbied in Tallahassee for patronage for Latin political organizers. Juan Maria Reyes was appointed justice of the peace in 1871, the second Cuban to hold that position. Within the next few years several of his compatriots received federal and county appointments, demonstrating to the Cubans the value of their bloc vote.[10]

Republican fortunes seemed to be continuing on the upswing in the election year of 1872 when the *Key West Dispatch,* a Democratic paper, closed its doors because of "insufficient patronage."[11] It henceforth became a Republican news-weekly with Representative Crane as publisher and Eldridge Ware as editor. There were other problems though in Key West which would have an impact on area politics. In early January 1872, there was a riot initiated by native black dock laborers who re-

7. These incidents are discussed in the following sources: Jerrell H. Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet: Florida in the Era of Reconstruction, 1863-1877* (Gainesville, 1974), 239; Manuel Deulofeu y Lleonart, *Martí, Cayo Hueso y Tampa. La Emigración. Notas Historicas* (Cienfuegos, Cuba, 1905), 38-51; Luis F. LeRoy y Gálvez, "La Muerte de Castañón, Raíz de los Sucesos de Noviembre de 1871," *Revista de la Biblioteca National José Martí* (May/August, 1970), 37-70; Key West *El Republicano,* February 12, 1870.
8. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian,* December 20, 1870.
9. Key West *El Republicano,* February 12, 1870. Browne was probably reelected as a result of Cuban support.
10. *Tallahassee Sentinel,* April 15, 1871; Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian,* December 12, 1871; *Tallahassee Sentinel,* September 25, 1875.
11. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian,* April 2, 1872.

sented the willingness of Bahamians to work for fifty cents less per day.[12] This animosity between two elements of the Republican constituency was potentially disruptive to party unity.

As the year progressed a more serious breach became evident in the Republican coalition. The national Democratic party, now identified as Liberal-Republican, gained strength in Monroe County, and an increasing number of white Republicans there endorsed its program.[13] The anti-Cuban policies practiced by the Grant administration since late 1869 had continued unabated, and by mid-1872 it was obvious to Cubans that little could be expected for their cause from the Republican party. The Cuban junta in New York met with Liberal-Republican presidential aspirant Horace Greeley who expressed his support for Cuban independence. The president of the junta, Francisco V. Aguilera, communicated Greeley's attitude to other Cubans, including in all likelihood those in Key West.[14] Monroe County Republicans tried to counteract the detrimental attitude of Washington, but the Cubans, having reevaluated their political position in the face of a sympathetic Greeley candidacy, were no longer as susceptible to Republican rhetoric. The third crack in the Monroe County Republican coalition became evident.

On October 10, a "solemn procession" carrying half-masted Cuban flags wound its way through the streets of Key West. Thus, as if to reemphasize to all before election day the overriding issue among Cubans, they began with great pomp and circumstance to celebrate the fifth anniversary of the declaration of Cuban independence. After honoring the patriotic dead, the procession, carrying flags, banners, and emblems, and accompanied by music, marched through the main streets of the city. It halted at the central square to listen to stirring speeches by supporters of the insurrection. The events concluded that evening with "splendid displays of pyrotecnics."[15] All who

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12. *Key West Dispatch,* quoted in *ibid.,* January 9, 1872. In November 1874 another riot took place. Jerrell H. Shofner, "Militant Negro Laborers in Reconstruction Florida," *Journal of Southern History,* XXXIX (August 1973), 407.
13. Jefferson B. Browne, *Key West, The Old and The New* (St, Augustine, 1912; facsimile edition, Gainesville, 1973), 135.
14. Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet,* 283; Eladio Aguilera Rojas, *Francisco V. Aguilera y la Revolución de Cuba de 1868,* 2 vols. (Havana, 1909), I, 205, 227.
15. *Key West Dispatch,* quoted in *Tallahassee Sentinel,* November 2, 1872.

observed these activities could not fail to realize the single most important motivating factor in the Cuban community.

Even the incorporation of a pro-Cuban resolution in the state Republican party platform could not alter the Monroe County Democratic sweep. Greeley's favorable attitude had assured him and the Florida Democrats the Cuban vote in Monroe County.[16] The split in Republican ranks and wholesale Cuban defection led to Democratic victories by margins of two to one. Because of his political affiliation, even Republican congressional candidate William Purman, who had been vocal in his support of the patriot cause since 1870, could not attract the Cuban vote.

Although the county Republican hierarchy lamented the setback in their political fortunes, they felt it to be only a temporary situation. Indeed, in January 1873, characterized by an atmosphere of conciliation, a celebration on the occasion of the anniversary of emancipation brought together the black citizens of Key West and the representatives of the various Republican factions. A large contingent of Cubans participated in the procession, and the speakers included Juan M. Reyes.[17] Because of political expediency many Cubans had supported the Democratic party the previous November, and then reestablished their Republican allegiance. The temporary nature of the Cuban defection became apparent in the municipal and senate elections of 1873 as the Republicans emerged victorious.

By the end of 1873 the Cuban vote was obviously the decisive factor in Monroe County politics. Republicans, with support from the Cuban community, were successful in 1870 and 1873, but fared poorly in 1872 when the Latins defected to the opposition. Many white southern voters joined the Democratic party with the demise of the Liberal Republicans, thus making the Cubans of even greater importance to the Republican party. Without the Cuban bloc vote the Republicans in Monroe County would find it difficult to be successful.

The Cuban question attracted national attention again in November 1873, when a Cuban filibustering expedition was captured by a Spanish man-of-war. Patriot hopes for reinvigorating their cause had ridden on the hoped-for success of the expedi-

16. *Key West Dispatch,* January 4, 1873.
17. *Ibid.*

tion. Flying a United States flag and captained by an American citizen, the *Virginius* arrived under armed escort at Santiago de Cuba, where the Spanish authorities proceeded to execute fifty-three members of the expedition, including several citizens of the United States. An international outcry indicated that at last the Spanish had gone too far. The United States protested vigorously and naval forces began to assemble at Key West. The Cubans there prepared for the long-awaited final effort, but it became quickly apparent that President Grant preferred to seek a peaceful solution to the incident. He opposed any involvement in the insurrection either by declaring war or recognizing the belligerent status of the Cuban republic. To the dismay of Florida Republicans, once again Washington had turned its back on the Cuban cause.

If the Republicans hoped to retain Cuban support for the 1874 elections they would have to keep the Latin leaders in the party. Party principles and political patronage were the answers. Cubans received enough appointments to retain their loyalty. Then, in early 1874, Colonel Carlos Manuel de Cespedes, son of the late president of the republic-in-arms, arrived in Key West where he quickly became one of the community's most influential political leaders. His adherence to the Republican party gave the organization another strong influence among the tobacco workers who had been dedicated supporters of the late president.

In February 1874, former vice-president and now president of the Cuban republic, Francisco V. Aguilera, arrived in Key West to raise funds to launch an expedition and effect his return to Cuba. Money was raised among the tobacco workers, though Aguilera noticed the Cuban black population had withdrawn from the organizing efforts of the community. A dedicated revolutionary, Aguilera expressed dismay at this situation. Immediately he called a meeting of the black leaders, explained to them the goals of the revolution-independence and the abolition of slavery– and won their confidence. Upon his return to New York, Reyes continued to organize the Cubans, not only on behalf of the independence movement, but in support of the Republican party.[18] Reyes's political organizing and Cespedes's

18. Francisco Vicente Aguilera, *Francisco Vicente Aguilera: Epistolario*

moral influence did much for the Republicans in Monroe County in 1874.

Gaining support of the Cuban leaders, however, did not always ensure the bloc vote. Only candidates demonstrating solid pro-Cuban sympathies could hope to win that decisive element in Monroe County. In 1874 Florida's representatives in the Congress included Senator Simon Conover and Representatives William Purman and Josiah Walls, who together strongly supported Cuban independence. This support probably stemmed as much from a genuine sympathy for the ends sought, as for concern for the upcoming elections. Between January and the end of June, Walls, Conover, and Purman all delivered addresses in the halls of Congress urging that body and the president to grant belligerent status to the Cuban republic.[19]

The *Key West Dispatch* ensured that these speeches gained wide circulation among the Cubans by publishing translated versions.[20] Given the cigar industry's custom of employing a "reader" in each establishment, it is possible that virtually every registered Cuban in the city heard each speech word for word. In addition, on the state level, incumbent Senator Edward Howe introduced a pro-Cuban resolution in the legislature thus associating himself with the Cuban cause and heightening his chances for reelection.[21] The Republican candidates had dis-associated themselves from the Grant administration's Cuba policy and were confident of receiving the Cuban vote.

While the Monroe County Republican organization rallied its forces to insure the vote of the Cubans, the Democrats were not idle. Their strategy included a bid for the bloc vote which had benefited them so substantially in 1872. On the eve of the election, John Henderson, Democratic congressional candidate, arrived in Key West accompanied by Charles Dyke, editor of the *Tallahassee Weekly Floridian* and one of the most influential and effective Democratic politicians in Florida, It is likely that these men attempted to convince the Cubans that the Republican party had little interest in aiding the Cuban independence move-

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(Havana, 1974), 137-43; Aleida Plasencia, ed., *Bibliografía de la Guerra de los Diez Años* (Havana, 1968), 190.

19. *Congressional Record,* 43rd Cong., 1st sess., pt. 6, 5245-56; 5423-26; Appendix, 27.
20. Jacksonville *The New South,* September 9, 1874.
21. Florida *Senate Journal,* 1874, 43.

ment, reminding the Cubans of the hostile attitude of the national administration to their cause.[22]

On election day the Democrats won by a narrow margin. While most of the Cubans supported the Republican candidates, the Democrats carried the county.[23] The local Republican organization realized that only through a change of policy on the national level could their declining fortunes among the Cuban voters be halted. Ideals and patronage continued to entice the Cuban leadership, and they could be counted on for unwavering support. The grass-root bloc vote, however, was slowly disintegrating, and it became clear that a new strategy was needed if the Republicans hoped to maintain control of the city mayor's office, the only important elective position still in their hands.

In July 1875, a disturbing incident occurred that complicated the political situation in Key West. The national economic crisis that struck the nation in the latter part of 1873 created the first tensions between labor and capital in the local tobacco industry. Undoubtedly aware of the potential threat of the depression on their security, the cigar workers began organizing in early 1874.[24] A strike occurred during the summer of 1875 when the factory owners declared a general wage reduction. A strike committee immediately was organized by Federico de Armas, president of the Cuban revolutionary organization *Asociacion del Sur*. By August, however, the workers were forced to submit to terms imposed by the owners. Reyes, in contact with the junta in New York, wrote that in retaliation for the strike the capitalists were prohibiting the traditional practice of raising funds in the factories for the support of the revolution and for San Carlos, the community combination mutual aid, social, and educational institution, a vital function of the Latin community.[25]

Although the connection with the strike is not clear, it seems probable that Carlos Manuel de Cespedes's decision to seek the mayor's office stemed at least in part from a perceived threat to the Cuban workingmen. It is highly likely that he

22. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, November 17, 1874; Jacksonville *Tri-Weekly Union*, December 22, 1874.
23. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, November 10, 17, 1874.
24. Jacksonville *The New South*, July 18, 1874.
25. Plasencia, *Bibliografía*, 191.

campaigned more as a Cuban than as an adherent of any political group, as the threat to the security of the tobacco workers came from an economic sector whose membership included Republicans.[26]

The Monroe County Republican hierarchy opted to support Republican Cespedes, hoping thereby to attract the Cuban vote. Cespedes was elected along with one Cuban alderman.[27] Republicans failed otherwise, and the Democrats carried the city council.[28] In effect, the Cuban electorate voted as Cubans, not as Republicans; their failure to support other Republican candidates resulted in a Democratic victory.

The year 1876 opened with a conciliatory tone. The editor of the *Key of the Gulf*, who had opposed Cespedes's candidacy after initially having "had his feelings lacerated by the new Mayor of Key West sitting on the bench with a cigar in his mouth," decided, subsequent to several months of observing the mayor, that "he is making a good officer, very firm and thoroughly impartial."[29] Conciliation, however, soon fell victim to the aroused passions stemming from the initiation of the national and state political campaigns that year.

State politics quickly became a burning issue within Republican ranks. The by-now traditional factional challenges to the regular party hierarchy again created havoc within the state organization. United States Senator Simon Conover declared his intention to seek the Florida gubernatorial nomination for the Republican party, thus directly challenging Marcellus Stearns, the incumbent, who did the same. The Cubans in Key West reacted favorably to Conover's announcement.[30] The Republican faction in Congress led by Conover and William Purman consistently supported Cuban interests, and had been influential in securing federal offices in the Key West Customs House for Cespedes and Manuel Govin, another

26. One example of a Republican cigar manufacturer was Mr. E. B. Rawson. *Tallahassee Sentinel*, February 12, 1876; Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, October 31, 1876; U. S. Census Office, Tenth Census, 1880, microfilm, Monroe County, Florida, precinct 3, page 25, number 3.
27. Walter Maloney, *A Sketch of the History of Key West, Florida* (Newark, New Jersey, 1876; facsimile edition, Gainesville, 1968), 76; Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, October 19, 1875.
28. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, November 9, 1875.
29. Key West *Key of the Gulf*, quoted in Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, November 23, 1875, January 11, 1876.
30. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, May 30, 1876.

Cuban community leader. Notwithstanding President Grant's negative attitude to Conover as a candidate, the Cuban leadership could justify remaining within the Republican ranks.

Conover and Purman lobbied actively for Latin support; a victory in Monroe County necessarily meant securing virtually all of the 1,032 registered Cuban voters. Again the Cuban leadership was courted. Govin and Cespedes had been removed from their positions in the customs house for alleged malfeasance, and efforts were made to find other government appointments. In July, the highly prized position of postmaster of Jacksonville went to Govin, and attempts were made, although in vain, to reinstate Mayor Cespedes in the customs house. In addition, no doubt to influence Miguel Aldama, the president of the Cuban junta in New York, Conover and Purman obtained the appointment of Southern District Attorney for Isaac Carrillo, Aldama's son-in-law.[31]

Notwithstanding the Conover challenge and Monroe County opposition to the established Republican hierarchy, Marcellus Stearns received the party's nomination. Nevertheless, Monroe County Republicans, Cuban as well as North American, continued to oppose Stearns until early September, when a reconciliation in the state organization lured these elements back into the mainstream of the party and in support of the party's nominee.[32]

The Cuban leadership in Key West now found itself in a difficult situation. Popular sentiment among Cubans disapproved of the regular Republican leaders on both the national and state levels, but their leadership endorsed the party candidates.[33] Concurrently with these events, the Democrats established contact with the New York junta and convinced Miguel Aldama, representative of the most conservative element of the revolutionary effort, to support publicly the Democratic presidential ticket and to encourage the Cubans in Key West to do the same.[34]

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31. Jerrell H. Shofner, "Cuban Revolutionaries and the 1876 Election Dispute," *American Chronicle,* I (February 1972), 23-24.
82. Jacksonville *Daily Florida Union,* October 3, 5, 1876; Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet,* 306.
33. Key West *Key of the Gulf,* July 8, 1876; Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian,* August 15, 1876.
34. Shofner, "Cuban Revolutionaries," 25. The president of the Cuban junta in 1876 was Miguel Aldama, a wealthy Havana sugar planter. He held no military title. Shofner's "General Aldaine" is a misspelling.

The decision by Cuban Republicans to endorse Governor Stearns and presidential aspirant Rutherford B. Hayes, and Aldama's decision to support the Democratic ticket, produced dissent within the Key West Latin community. A Cuban Democratic club was formed, led by Lorenzo Jimenez, a new and prestigious personality in Key West (having recently escaped from a Spanish prison), and Angel Loño, another well-known Cuban. The new club quickly gained adherents and claimed a membership of approximately 200-300 as opposed to the estimated 800 in its Republican counterpart. Incensed at the interference of Aldama in local politics, Republican Federico Hortsman informed the secretary of the junta that although he recognized the authority of that New York body, he refused to obey directives that he felt detrimental to the interests of his colored compatriots, thus revealing a repugnance toward southern Democratic racial attitudes. To the joy of the Democratic party, a split had developed in the Cuban community, and their powerful bloc vote was apparently defused.[35] Confirmation of the effect of this on Republican fortunes emerged in the mayoralty race in early October when the entire Democratic ticket except for one alderman was elected. The Democratic mayoral candidate received a majority of 141 votes.[36] The members of the Cuban Democratic Club had made a great difference in the election.

The Republicans, however, had one last strategic maneuver to unveil which they hoped would save the situation in the upcoming county election. A candidate still had to be found for the assembly seat from Monroe County. Without the Cuban bloc vote, the Republicans could not hope to carry the county, and having witnessed in 1875 how a Cuban candidate could unite the electorate, the decision to nominate Carlos Manuel de Cespedes for the office seemed a natural measure.[37] Although this Republican strategy had backfired in the municipal elections of the previous year, the election for the assembly involved only one man, a Cuban, and a loyal Republican at that.

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35. Plascencia, *Bibliografía,* 192; Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian,* August 29, 1876; Jacksonville *Daily Florida Union,* May 10, November 7, 1876.
36. Key West *Key of the Gulf,* quoted in Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian,* October 31, 1876.
37. *Tallahassee Sentinel,* October 21, 1876.

The campaign to unite the Cuban vote began. The Jacksonville *Daily Florida Union*, which supported Governor Stearns, ran a lengthy article on October 25 urging the Washington administration to effect a change of policy regarding the Cuban question. Manuel Govin, now residing in Jacksonville, traveled to Key West during the last week in October to sponsor a mass meeting of Cubans in support of the Republican party. A grand demonstration of approximately 1,000 gathered at the wharf to meet the postmaster, and the Republican County Committee officially greeted him, as did the Key West cornet band. At the scheduled meeting in the densely packed San Carlos Hall, Govin delivered an address revealing the reasons for the traditional Cuban support of the Republican party and urged his audience to continue in the same fashion. Govin acknowledged that President Grant had offered little support to the insurgents, but he questioned whether the Democrats, once in power, would do otherwise. He emphasized that Tilden, the Democratic presidential nominee, had never made any statements that could be construed as favorable to the insurgent struggle, and given these facts, he argued, the Cuban voter was reduced to principles. The Republican party espoused the same progressive principles declared at Yara and incorporated into the constitution of their republic, and generally, represented freedom, liberalism, and humanitarian ideals. On the other hand, the Democrats Govin compared to the Spanish slavers and reactionary political elements then in control of Cuba. The Democrats espoused dangerous concepts. The meeting concluded with a long procession accompanied by *La Libertad* band playing the "Himno de Riego," "the revolutionary song of the red Republicans of Spain." The meeting produced encouraging results for the Republican party. Lorenzo Jimenez, one of the organizers of the Cuban Democrats, shifted to the Republican side taking ninety compatriots with him. By all appearances the Republican strategy had proved successful, and Cuban unity became virtually a reality. On election day only sixty Cubans voted the Democratic ticket.[38]

It became quickly apparent, however, that in the election at Key West, as well as in many other areas of the state and county, there were many irregularities. After much dispute the

38. Jacksonville *Daily Florida Union*, November 20, 1876.

official canvass revealed a Democratic victory in Monroe County by a slim margin of sixty-seven votes.[39] The Cubans had performed well for the Republican party, but once again, as in 1874, enough Cubans voted the Democratic ticket or abstained to give the county a Democratic majority. The campaign proved especially divisive to the Cuban community, and great resentment developed against Miguel Aldama who was held responsible for the formation of the Cuban Democratic opposition and the defeat of Cespedes. So acute were the antagonisms that the Cuban Republicans raised an official protest to the Cuban government against the representative in New York.[40]

As the Democrats gained control of Florida politics and Cubans began to lose their state and federal appointments, it became clear that their involvement in United States national politics was ending.[41] As if to signal the termination of an era, one of the leading Cuban political figures in Key West, Juan Maria Reyes, met a tragic end as he returned from participating as a witness at the Tallahassee State Investigating Committee looking into the election of 1876. As the steamer *Amelia* approached Key West, it foundered, claiming seven persons, one of whom was the Cuban revolutionary organizer.[42]

Upon arriving in Key West the Cuban emigres had recognized the opportunity to aid the revolutionary process in their homeland through political action in their new place of residence. All significant political decisions evolved from the recognition that the independence struggle represented the foremost political concern of the community. Although initially the Republican party monopolized the benefits of the Latin influx, primarily because of Cuban political ideals and the effective use of patronage by Republican officials, when it became clear that Washington was unwilling to back the insurrectionary movement, the Cuban bloc vote could no longer be considered a solid Republican constituency. Given the circumstances of Florida Reconstruction politics that caused the shift of white Floridians to the Democratic party, the Cuban vote became in-

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39. See Shofner's *Nor Is It Over Yet* for a detailed discussion of the controversial election, and his article "Cuban Revolutionaries" for an account of the role played by the Cubans in the election.
40. Plasencia, *Bibliografía,* 192.
41. Jacksonville *Daily Florida Union,* January 8, 15, April 24, 25, 1877.
42. *Ibid.,* January 3, 4, 1877.

creasingly essential to Key West Republicans. The vote had to be delivered virtually intact for the Republicans to emerge victorious after 1873, but because of the negative attitude of the Grant administration, it became increasingly difficult to effect this goal. Under the circumstances the Cubans embraced political expediency in order to aid the revolutionary cause. Although, as far as can be determined, the traditional Cuban Republican leaders remained loyal to their party, and usually retained the majority of Cubans behind them, sufficient dissent appeared among Cubans disgusted with national Republicans to dilute the all important bloc vote and send the Republicans down to defeat on numerous occasions.

Cubans continued to exert a vital influence in Key West politics after 1876. But with the Democrats in control and the threatened demise of the revolutionary movement, a new situation emerged, and the emphasis of Cuban concerns shifted from what by now was perceived as fruitless activity in United States politics to a more direct, active, and radical involvement in Cuban politics in the hope of achieving a successful reinvigoration of the independence movement.

THE ALACHUA TRAIL: A RECONSTRUCTION

by BURKE G. VANDERHILL*

AMONG NUMEROUS INDIAN PATHWAYS forming a network within the American Southeast at the time of European contact was one which led southward from the Altamaha River of Georgia to the Alachua country of Florida. (Fig. 1) This "Alachua Trail" was well known in the colonial period, a fact pointing to long aboriginal use. Today however the trail is unmarked and generally lost to memory, and only rare and tantalizingly brief references to it appear in the historical record.[1]

The European colonialist and the American pioneer followed established Indian traces wherever it was convenient and often adapted them to wheeled traffic. Some of these early wagon roads, at a later date, were converted to motor roads. If the Alachua Trail, or portions of it, had undergone such sequential use it would have remained imprinted upon the landscape long after the last Indian had followed its windings. Perhaps vestiges of the route might be found today. A close examination of diverse map evidence coupled with an analysis of scattered historical references to the trail revealed that imprintation did indeed occur. Reconstruction of the ancient trail therefore became feasible.

The earliest cartographic portrayal of the Alachua Trail discovered was that on the Bowen map of 1748, which shows a trail leading in a southerly direction from the Altamaha River, within the "lands of the Yamacraw and the Yamassee," and terminating vaguely along the St. Johns River of Florida.[2]

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1. C. A. Geiger, archivist in the office of the county clerk of Clay County, Green Cove Springs, Florida, first suggested to the author the idea of tracing the trail.
2. Emanuel Bowen, *A New Map of Georgia, with Part of Carolina, Florida and Louisiana* (London, 1848). Brinton refers to the arrival of Yamassees in the Alachua country after 1680, which suggests the existence of a trail, probably the Alachua Trail, at least by the late seventeenth century. Daniel G. Brinton, *Notes on the Floridian Peninsula, Its Literary History, Indian Tribes and Antiquities* (Philadelphia,

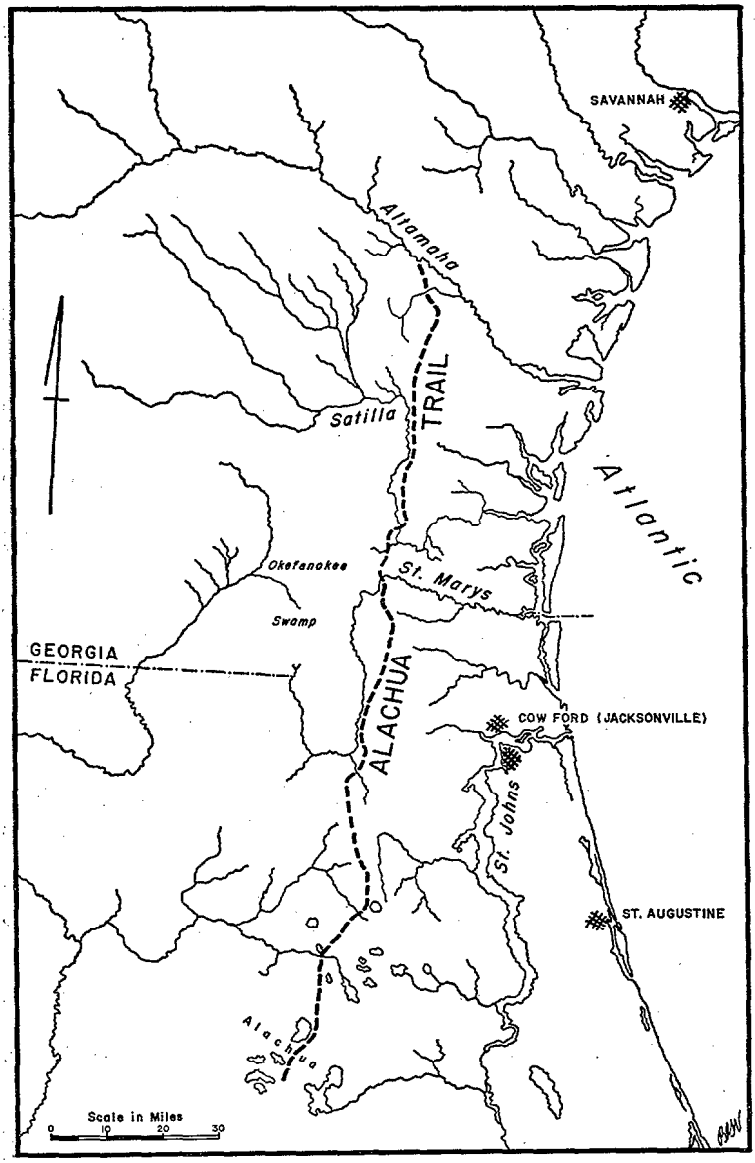

Figure 1– The Alachua Trail: its regional setting.

It is labelled "from Georgia" since the territory between the Altamaha and the St. Marys was a nearly empty frontier region of Spanish Florida at that time. It was not too well known to the British.[3]

That the trail led also to the Alachua country and was known in terms of that destination is revealed by the report of the DeBrahm survey of 1766 and by the Savery map of 1769, both commissioned following British acquisition of Florida. DeBrahm probably followed the Alachua Trail from the Altamaha. Its use was confirmed from a crossing of the Satilla River to a point on the St. Marys, and this segment he identified as the "Latchokowae Path."[4] The Savery map indicates the same stretch of the trail as "the Path from Latchahoa."[5]

By the time of the Savery survey, an Indian settlement called Doctor's Town had been established on the south bank of the Altamaha opposite the point where "Doctor's Path" reached the river from the north. The site is a short distance downstream from the present U. S. Highway 25 bridge on the outskirts of Jesup in Wayne County. It was from Doctor's Town that the trail to Alachua plunged across the wilderness of the upper Satilla River area to reach the St. Marys. (Fig. 2) There is no sign of the old Indian trail along the Altamaha today, but a Doctortown remains, presently a railroad yard office and bridgehead.

The Alachua Trail, upon leaving the Altamaha, skirted Penholloway Swamp to reach Penholloway Creek several miles above its mouth where low bluffs approached the stream on either side. The name Penholloway is thought to derive from a foot-log (log bridge) once located at this point.[6] There is little

1859; facsimile edition, New York, 1969), 139-40. Bartram, seemingly one of Brinton's sources, had mentioned in his report of 1791 the migration of Indian bands from the Altamaha to the Alachua savannas. William Bartram, *The Travels of William Bartram,* ed. Mark Van Doren (New York, 1940), 306.

3. Both Georgia and South Carolina laid claim to this area, but their interest focused on portions near the Atlantic coast. Spanish claims were relinquished with the transfer of Florida to British control in 1763.
4. William Gerard De Brahm, *DeBrahm's Deport of the General Survey in the Southern District of North America,* ed. Louis De Vorsey, Jr. (Columbia, South Carolina, 1971), 151.
5. Samuel Savery, *Sketch of the Boundary Line between the Province of Georgia and the Creek Nation* (London, 1769).
6. John H. Goff, "Short Studies of Georgia Place Names," *Georgia Mineral Newsletter,* VIII (1955), 23.

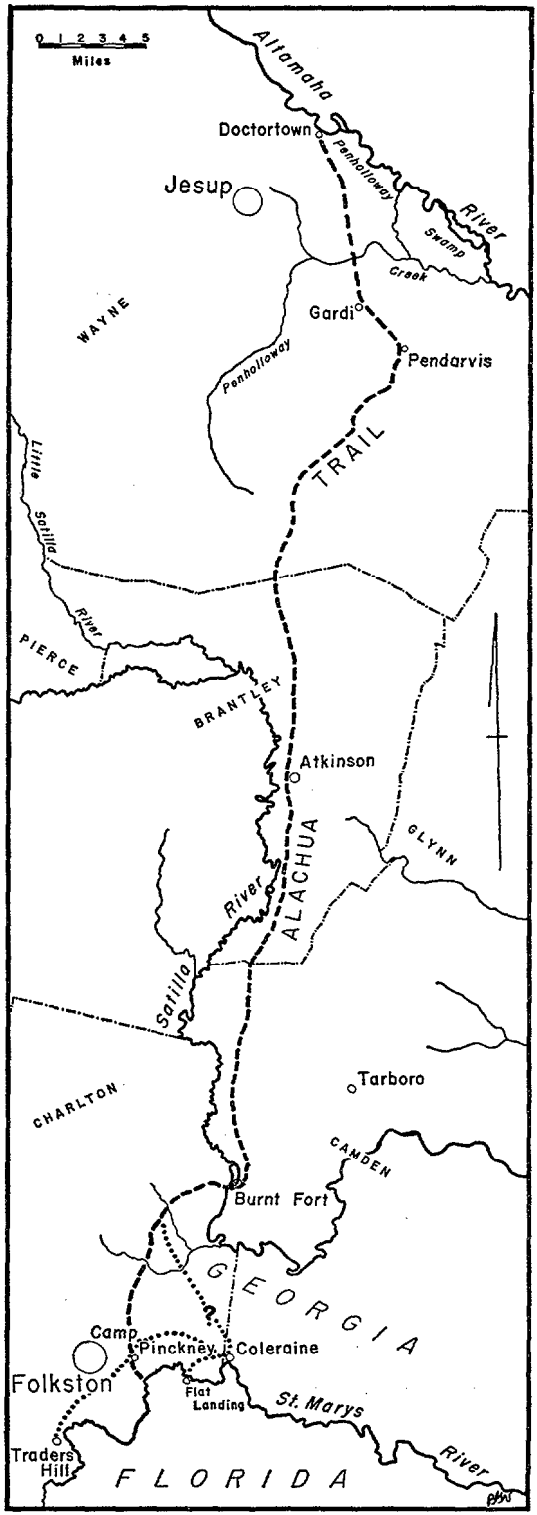

Figure 2– The Alachua Trail within the state of Georgia.

doubt that the position of the present bridge near Bethlehem Church closely approximates the former Indian crossing place. Early nineteenth-century sources such as the Sturges and Bonner maps show a wagon road connecting Doctor's Town with Coleraine on the St. Marys, generally adhering to the route of the Alachua Trail.[7] This road crossed the Penholloway at or near the modern bridge site.

South of the Penholloway the trail followed a low divide between the upper Satilla and the headwaters of several streams flowing directly toward the Atlantic. This divide is a feature of the Penholloway Terrace, a long tract of nearly level, sandy land, somewhat drier than adjacent areas and thereby offering an advantage for overland travel.[8] The trail must have passed north of the present community of Gardi, thence roughly along the route of U. S. Highway 25 to a point still locally identified as Pendarvis. This was called Pendarvis Store on maps of the mid-nineteenth-century and was established on the wagon road out of Doctor's Town.[9] Pendarvis is now only a railroad siding, but a woods road running for several miles in a southerly direction from this point may represent a vestige of the former trail route.

From the Pendarvis area the Alachua Trail followed a course avoiding most of the eastern feeders of the upper Satilla. The river ultimately makes a great bend to the east, and the trail reached a convenient fording place at what was identified, at least by the late eighteenth century, as Burnt Fort. While some of this portion of the Alachua route has been abandoned in the last fifty years, a segment about twelve miles in length remains in the form of country road 259 running from the village of Atkinson, in Wayne County, south into neighboring Camden County. Road 259 finally veers eastward toward Tarboro and forsakes the Indian Trace, but a lane providing access to a landing on the Satilla River extends the trail alignment a short distance.

The origins of Burnt Fort are obscure but it may have been

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7. Daniel Sturges, *Map of the State of Georgia* (Savannah, 1818); William G. Bonner, *Bonner's Pocket Map of the State of Georgia* (New York, 1848).
8. C. W. Cooke, *Physical Geography of Georgia*, Bulletin 42, Georgia Geological Survey (Atlanta, 1925), 24-26, and Plate X-A.
9. B. A. White, *Map of Wayne County, Georgia* (Milledgeville, 1867).

a Spanish outpost.[10] Its site atop a bluff overlooking the Satilla indicates that this point was perceived to have strategic value and suggests that the river crossing was a well-established one. The swamp which occupies the floor of the incised valley of the Satilla narrows at Burnt Fort, thus facilitating the crossing here. State highway 252 presently bypasses Burnt Fort on the south, its bridge no more than a few hundred feet downstream from the old trail crossing. Burnt Fort remains as a tiny relict community whose single street, now deadending at the river bank, must closely approximate the alignment of the former Indian trail.

The transfer of Florida from Spanish to British control in 1763 was followed by the construction of the Kings Road from St. Augustine to the St. Marys and on to Fort Barrington on the lower Altamaha. Its route utilized the Burnt Fort crossing of the Satilla and very probably followed the Alachua Trail between the Satilla and the St. Marys. Today highway 252 follows the general alignment of the Kings Road from Burnt Fort to the area of Folkston in Charlton County and thus marks the approximate route of the Alachua Trail as well. The map accompanying the Ellicott survey of the Georgia-Florida boundary in 1803 shows a trail crossing the river in the Folkston area, but unfortunately it is not identified.[11] The earlier Savery map, however, suggests that perhaps the Alachua route did not cross the St. Marys here but led west beyond the site of Folkston, to reach Trail Ridge near the edge of the Okefenokee Swamp. Whether or not this was the case, after the middle of the eighteenth century attention was drawn to the banks of the St. Marys.

A trading post had been located at Traders Hill possibly as early as 1755, accessible except for times of low water to small vessels warped up the winding river.[12] After the coming of British rule in Florida, the Kings Road made its crossing a short distance downstream from Traders Hill at what later became Camp Pinckney. Lastly, prior to 1790, Coleraine was developed below the Kings Road crossing on an unattractive

10. Laura Singleton Walker, *History of Ware County, Georgia* (Macon, 1934), 45.
11. Andrew Ellicott, *The Journal of Andrew Ellicott* (Philadelphia, 1803), map in pocket.
12. Alexander S. McQueen, *History of Charlton County* (Atlanta, 1932), 47.

site but one permitting the interception of upbound river traffic.[13] Although the Indian trace is obscured here, and it is probable that the choice of crossing place varied with the purposes of later travelers, it is evident that for a number of years Coleraine served as a focal point on the route to Alachua.[14]

The only locally identified historic crossing of the St. Marys is that of the Kings Road at Camp Pinckney. This may reflect the fact that the American army chose to rebuild the Kings Road during the late 1820s, thereby stimulating a new cycle of use. There is no evidence of a crossing place at Traders Hill, which is a residential outlyer of Folkston. Coleraine remains, but there are only a few dwellings along a country lane, and its original waterfront site is abandoned. The lane leads to the river's edge less than two miles above Coleraine, opposite Flat Landing. Early travelers would have crossed there or farther upstream at the Kings Road, since the south bank opposite Coleraine is low and swampy.

From the St. Marys River the Alachua Trail led to the southern edge of the Alachua savanna, today's Paynes Prairie in Alachua County. (Fig. 3) This was a focus of Indian settlement long before Bartram's visit in 1773, and trails converged upon it from several directions. With American accession in 1821, a trading post, Wanton's, was established here. The village of Micanopy developed around the post, and references to the Alachua route tend to recognize either Wanton's or Micanopy as its southern terminus.[15]

The first map to identify the Alachua Trail south of the St. Marys was the Purcell strip map of 1778.[16] Purcell's survey transect crossed the "path to Alachua" at a point some distance

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13. John H. Goff, "The Path to Oakfuskee, Upper Trading Route in Georgia to the Creek Indians," *Georgia Historical Quarterly,* XXXIX (March 1955), 10.
14. For example, a 1792 communication mentions "a very good wagon road" from the Altamaha via Burnt Fort to the St. Marys. Quoted in A. H. Wright, *Our Georgia-Florida Frontier: The Okefinokee Swamp, its History and Cartography* (Ithaca, New York, 1945) I, Part V, 16. The use of the Florida portion of the route is implied in another 1792 notation which reports the assembly of some 300 Seminoles and "Lachaways" at Coleraine. *Ibid.,* 19.
15. Wanton's was attracting settlers by 1822, and was described as the "incipient town of Micconope." William Hayne Simmons, *Notices of East Florida* (Charleston, 1822; facsimile edition, Gainesville, 1973), 47.
16. Joseph Purcell, *A Map of the Road from Pensacola to St. Augustine in East Florida* (n.p., 1778).

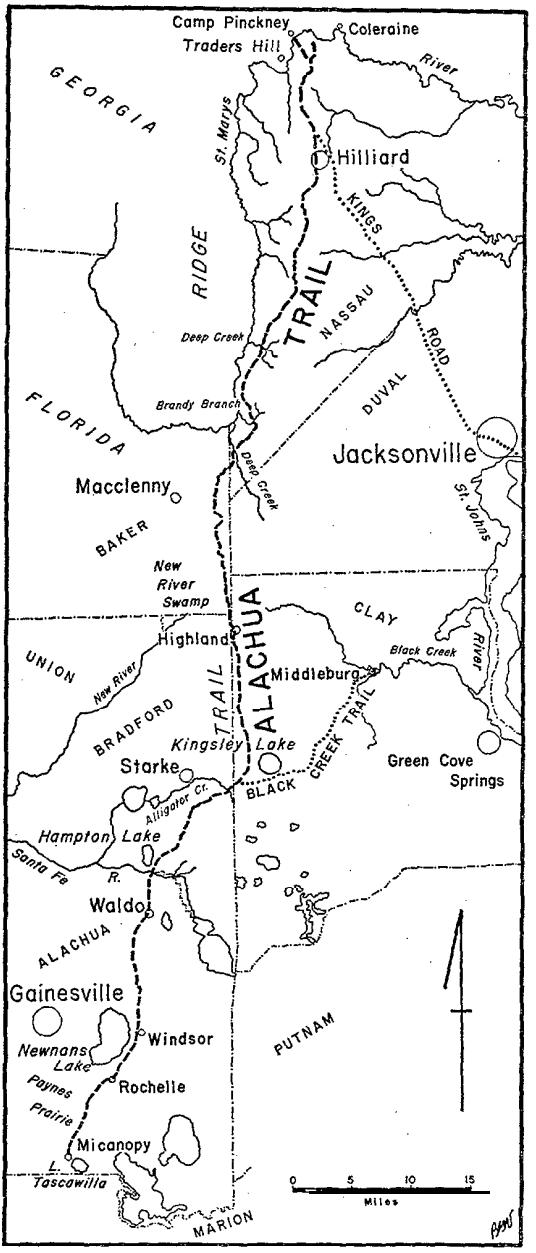

Figure 3– The Alachua Trail within the state of Florida.

northeast of present-day Gainesville. Other notations of portions of the Alachua Trail may be found, but it was not until the appearance of the Vignoles and Tanner maps of 1823 that the entire length of the route within Florida was portrayed.[17] Ironically, by this time sections of the trail were falling into disuse.

Whatever may have been the aboriginal route in the vicinity of the St. Marys, after the middle of the eighteenth century many travelers took advantage of the cleared swath of the Kings Road for some distance south of the river. The course of the road is confirmed by maps of the initial federal land survey.[18] It led from the river bank opposite Camp Pinckney southeasterly about two miles, then generally south along the margin of a land grant which by that time occupied the space between the road and the river. It is probable that an alternative path from Coleraine left the St. Marys at Flat Landing. On the Boulogne Quadrangle of the United States Geological Survey, issued in 1917, a road from this landing is shown joining the former Kings Road where it turns south. Prior to the Civil War a more direct approach to the St. Marys was developed to give access to Traders Hill, with the result that the Kings Road declined in use north of its juncture with the route of what is now U. S. Highway 1 near Hilliard. The trace of the Kings Road can still be seen north of the present Boulogne-Kings Ferry road, and segments of the Flat Landing road remain in limited use.

Vignoles noted that the path "leading to the Alachua country" diverged from the Kings Road several miles from the river.[19] Army engineer Daniel Burch, reporting on his survey for a military road from Wanton's to Camp Pinckney, stated that the point of departure was ten miles from the St. Marys.[20]

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17. Charles Vignoles, *Map of Florida* (Philadelphia, 1823); Henry S. Tanner, *Map of Florida,* plate 22 from *New American Atlas* (Philadelphia, 1823). These were nearly identical maps, both engraved by Tanner and drawn from the earlier manuscript surveys of Zephania Kingsley. The Vignoles map was published as a companion to his book, cited below.
18. See, for example, the plat for fractional section 1, T 5N, R 23 E, Archives of Bureau of State Lands, Tallahassee.
19. Charles Vignoles, *Observations upon the Floridas* (New York, 1823; facsimile edition forthcoming from University Presses of Florida, Gainesville, 1977), 65.
20. Daniel E. Burch to Quartermaster General Thomas S. Jesup, February 10, 1826, in Clarence Edwin Carter, comp. and ed., *The Territorial*

Assuming reasonable accuracy for the Burch report, the Alachua Trail would have branched from the Kings Road at or near what is now Hilliard, although the exact point has not been established.[21] By the time of the federal land surveys this portion of the Alachua Trail must have been abandoned or had but limited use, since only the Kings Road appears on the survey plats of northwestern Nassau County.

The Alachua Trail, upon leaving the Kings Road, led in a generally southwesterly direction around or across the heads of numerous feeders of the St. Marys, finally reaching Trail Ridge east of the present community of Macclenny in Baker County. While the route in the immediate vicinity of Hilliard is conjectural, much of the remainder can be reconstructed. The 1917 edition of the Hilliard Quadrangle identifies about ten miles of country road in western Nassau County with the Alachua Trail, and its alignment is consistent with that shown in a general way on early nineteenth century maps. The Alachua Trail thus portrayed approached the St. Marys just north of Deep Creek, a small tributary. Today only two or three short lengths of country road appear to represent the alignment of the old Indian pathway between Hilliard and Deep Creek.

The trail's proximity to the St. Marys near Deep Creek can be substantiated. The federal canal survey of 1827 placed the "Alachua Road" about one and one-fourth miles from the river where the survey line intersected it a short distance north of Deep Creek.[22] Further, the records of a Spanish land grant on Deep Creek include the notation that the "road to Alachua runs through it north and south."[23] This trail alignment conforms closely to that of present State Highway 121.

From Deep Creek, the Alachua Trail led southward to

Papers of the United States, 26 vols. (Washington, 1934-1962), *XXIII: The Territory of Florida, 1824-1828,* 440.

21. The 1825 Gadsden map of this area shows a bifurcation of the route from Coleraine at a point near present-day Hilliard, the west leg labeled "to Bay of Tampa by Alachua." This map originally accompanied a letter from James Gadsden to General Jesup. See James Gadsden to Thomas S. Jesup, August 20, 1825, *American State Papers: Military Affairs,* 7 vols. (Washington, 1832-1861), III, 121. The map has become separated from the letter, however, and is found in Carter, *Territorial Papers,* XXIII, opposite 304.
22. P. H. Perrault, *Florida Canal Surveys* (Washington, 1827).
23. Grant to Theophilus Woods, Sr., 1818; 220 acres in. Section 23, T 1 N, R 23 E, Archives of Bureau of State Lands, Tallahassee.

Brandy Branch, another tributary of the St. Marys, along a course essentially that of Highway 121 today. The land survey of 1830 identified this stretch of the route as the "road from Alachua to St. Marys Town."[24] Brandy Branch, also, was spanned by a Spanish land grant. Among the documents relating to the grant are maps which show the "Camino para Alachua" and, on the English language copy, the "Alotchua Trail."[25] The Deep Creek and Brandy Branch crossings must have seen long use prior to the date of the land grants.

The Indian trace led in a southwesterly course from Brandy Branch and, after crossing another Deep Creek near the present Baker County line, reached that long zone of sandhills known as Trail Ridge. This section of the route has been abandoned and no sign of it now remains, but as recently as 1917, when the Macclenny Quadrangle was issued, an "Alachua Trail Road" from Brandy Branch to Macclenny represented the old route alignment as far as Trail Ridge.

At a point on Trail Ridge east of present Macclenny the Alachua Trail bore southward to follow the axis of the ridge. While the southward turning of the trail is missing on the maps of the federal land survey, a clue to its location is provided by the 1856 "Jefferson Davis Map" of Florida. An irregular boundary appears between what was at that time Duval County on the east and Columbia and Alachua counties on the west, running all the way from Deep Creek (the second one of that name) southward to Kingsleys Pond, the present Kingsley Lake east of Starke.[26] Investigation revealed that this boundary indeed was drawn along the Alachua Trail, under an act of the territorial Legislative Council in 1844 in which it was described as extending from "Pagits" on Deep Creek "along the old Alachua trail" to "Mrs. Monroe's" on the Black Creek-Fort Harlee road.[27]

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24. See plat for T 1 S, R 23 E, 1830 survey, Archives of Bureau of State Lands, Tallahassee. The Alachua-St. Marys Road veered to the northeast, crossed the Kings Road south of Hilliard, and continued to Roses Bluff upstream and across from the town of St. Marys on the lower river.
25. Grant to John Mizell, 1818; 200 acres in Section 33, T I S, R 23 E, Archives of Bureau of State Lands, Tallahassee,
26. United States Bureau of Topographic Engineers, *State of Florida* (Washington, 1956). Issued under the authority of Jefferson Davis as secretary of war, the map has commonly been identified with him.
27. *Acts and Resolutions of the Legislative Council of the Territory of*

Trail Ridge, formed as an offshore bar during the geologic past when the sea covered parts of Georgia and most of Florida, is traceable for approximately 200 miles in these two states and terminates in central Alachua County.[28] It is a low divide averaging two to four miles in width which provided a relatively drier pathway between great tracts of wet land on either side. The Alachua Trail was developed along this divide and must have served as the inspiration for its name, which came into use during the colonial period. Burch, however, described Trail Ridge as a pine barrens, empty of people and incapable of supporting them, and as "flat pondy country," therefore recommending that an alternative route be selected for the proposed military road from Wanton's to Camp Pinckney.[29]

The route followed by the Alachua Trail along the ridge can be reconstructed not only from the Davis map but from the federal survey plats, which charted the trail from a point southeast of present Macclenny to the area of Kingsleys Pond. It was usually identified as the "road to St. Marys" or the "Alachua-St. Marys Road."[30] The route skirted the eastern edge of the vast New River Swamp on a course slightly east of due

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Florida, 22nd Session, 1844 (Tallahassee, 1844), Act 13, Section 1. In 1858, New River County, later to be renamed Bradford, was created out of eastern Columbia County. The Alachua Trail continued to serve as its boundary with Duval County although farther south the trail was replaced by a surveyed line as the county boundary. *Laws of Florida,* 1858, 19. The trail segment remained in use as a political boundary until a redefinition in 1911. *Laws of Florida,* 1911, 216.

28. Cooke, *Physical Geography of Georgia,* 28-31, and Plate X-B.
29. To utilize the Alachua Trail along Trail Ridge would require costly bridge and causeway construction to cross streams which occasionally overflowed wide areas. Burch to Quartermaster General, February 10, 1826, Carter, *Territorial Papers,* XXIII, 440. A similar view was expressed by Clark. Clark to Quartermaster General, May 28, 1826, *ibid.,* 558-59. It was originally proposed, however, to utilize the Alachua Trail, since it already existed as a marked route. James Gadsden suggested the "propriety of commencing operations on— a road from the St. Marys River branching west to the Bay of Tampa," arguing that "populating the territory is a policy of national importance." Gadsden to Jesup, August 20, 1825, *ibid.,* 121.
30. Following American acquisition of Florida, most official references to the trail route identify it in terms of the St. Marys, reflecting the trade orientation of the areas it served as a supply route and as a road to market. It is possible, however, that the Alachua Trail was better known locally than maps and reports suggest. On September 26, 1893, for example, a citizens' petition was sent to the Clay County Board of Commissioners requesting that the old New River road be opened up from the Duval County line to the "Alachua Trail." Manuscript record, archives of county clerk, Clay County, Green Cove Springs.

south, crossing the corner of what is now Bradford County to reach western Clay County. After passing through the site of the village of Highland, which developed where east-west routes intersected with the Alachua-St. Marys Road, the trail bore south to Kingsleys Pond, roughly paralleling the Bradford-Clay county line. Little sign of the route along Trail Ridge can be seen today, although on several editions of the Lawtey Quadrangle, which shared a 1917 data base, most of it was still traceable. Aerial photos of recent date, however, reveal certain lengths of woods roads whose direction suggests that they may derive from the former route.[31]

The Alachua Trail passed Kingsleys Pond at a distance of about one-half mile from its western shore, ravines discouraging a closer approach, then veered to the southwest. The long arc thus formed has been a durable landscape feature over the years, and not only appears on the earliest territorial maps of this part of Florida but is discernible on the latest aerial photo coverage. It is now a "jeep trail" within Camp Blanding, the Florida National Guard reserve.

At a point along this curve of the Alachua Trail about two miles from Kingsleys Pond, where the Mrs. Monroe's of the Davis map was located, another ancient trail branched to the east. This led around the southern rim of Kingsleys Pond to Black Creek and the St. Johns River. Early settlers in the Alachua area found this route an attractive alternative to the long path to the St. Marys, and the military, after examining all possible routings, chose to develop the Camp Pinckney road along the Black Creek trail in preference to the Trail Ridge route.[32]

The route of the Alachua Trail from Kingsleys Pond to its southern terminus is well documented. From late Spanish times until the end of the territorial period it was an important link

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31. See especially Sheet 477 (Lawtey), *State of Florida,* Mark Hurd Aerial Surveys (1973).
32. There was apparently strong settler support for the use of the Black Creek route, for petitions were submitted in this cause. For example, Inhabitants of Black Creek to Daniel E. Burch, July 1826, Carter, *Territorial Papers*, XXIII, 618. The route finally selected followed the Alachua Trail to the fork, proceeded along the Black Creek trail to Hagan's, later Garey's ferry (now Middleburg), thence to a point north of Cow Ford (Jacksonville) where it intersected the Kings Road, and along that road to the St. Marys River.

between the Alachua settlements and the outside world, while its use as a segment of the military road gave it added significance.[33] A short distance beyond the fork to Black Creek, the trail to Alachua crossed the upper reach of Alligator Creek. From this point it assumed a southwesterly direction upon a belt of sandilands offering a relatively dry passageway through the central Florida terrain of lakes, swamps, and marshes. This sandy zone is structurally a terminal feature of Trail Ridge. The Santa Fe River was reached south of Hampton Lake, which on early maps was called Little Santa Fe Pond. The section of the route between the Alligator and the Santa Fe has long been abandoned. It appears on the manuscript land survey maps of the 1830s, however, as well as on most general maps of the early and middle nineteenth century, and therefore can be reconstructed.

From the Santa Fe crossing, near which Fort Harlee was established during the Indian wars, the Alachua Trail led southward and, two miles south of present-day Waldo, entered the great Arredondo Grant. The remainder of the route lay within its confines. Although the grant was privately surveyed, and these surveys did not take note of the old trail, the route was displayed prominently on most maps after American accession in Florida.[34]

The Hunter map of 1885 is particularly useful, detailing the route from Fort Harlee to Micanopy.[35] The trail led via Waldo to the east shore of Newnans Lake, formerly Lake Pithlacoochee. It remained upon the higher sandilands about a mile back from the low, swampy margin of the lake. Beyond the village of

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33. Burch noted that Alachua settlers were located west of the St. Marys Road and that cart paths gave them access to it so that they might "carry their trade" and purchase supplies at either Black Creek or St. Marys. Daniel E. Burch to Isaac Clark, July 20, 1826, Carter, *Territorial Papers*, XXIII, 616. That the road was of significance in Spanish times is indicated by a notation in a land grant to Francisco Sanchez, dated 1815, in which the location of the grant was given with reference to the "road from Alachua to St. Marys." Historical Records Survey, Florida, Division of Professional and Service Projects, Work Projects Administration, *Spanish Land Grants in Florida, Confirmed Claims*, 5 vols. (Tallahassee, 1940-1941), V, 22.
34. For example, the Swift map, referred to earlier, and the Burr map of 1839. Daniel H. Burr, *Map of Florida* (Washington, 1839). Burr also mapped the Arredondo lands and showed the trail route within them. Daniel H. Burr, *Arredondo Grant* (Washington, 1846).
35. Thomas Hunter, *Map of Alachua County, Florida* (Gainesville, 1885).

Windsor, it angled to the southwest through Fort Crane, from which developed Rochelle, then skirted the eastern edge of the Alachua savanna to reach Micanopy, three miles south of the prairie's rim. Here Wanton's store had been established on the north shore of Lake Tuscawilla in the heart of an ancient Indian area.

Much of the route of the Alachua Trail south of the Santa Fe is in use today. U.S. Highway 301 either follows or closely parallels the old trail as far as Waldo. From the southern edge of Waldo, a woods road closed to the public leads south to intersect State Highway 267 northeast of Newnans Lake. State Highway 234 continues from this intersection through the relict communities of Windsor and Rochelle to terminate at Micanopy, adhering in a general way to the alignment of the Alachua Trail. Most of Rochelle lies off the present highway on an old loop of the Alachua route.[36] Highway 234 enters Micanopy about one-half mile east of the old trail.

The reconstruction of a trail abandoned or converted to other uses long ago proved to be difficult and time-consuming, for information was fragmentary, map coverage was highly disparate, and *in situ* evidences were inferential rather than direct. Careful analysis of diverse source materials, however, supplemented by field inspection, ultimately yielded an image of the Alachua Trail which, though imperfect, could be shown on a small scale map with considerable confidence.

The Indian trace was a back country path followed by hunting and trading parties, and probably marauding bands as well. Much of the route traversed sandy pine barrens, thinly settled by the aborigine and of limited interest to the European or to the pioneer American. Despite the deficiencies of the country, the route provided valuable links between widely spaced outposts in the colonial and early American periods and segments could with minimum effort be converted to wagon roads. With the introduction of more sophisticated road engineering, and particularly with the advent of the automobile, such overland routes became less sensitive to minor nuances of landscape. The alignment of the Alachua Trail was altered here and there and eventually portions of it fell into disuse.

36. This can be seen on the Hawthorne Quadrangle of 1943, which is based upon surveys of 1935-38.

Apparently perception of the trail as a continuous entity had faded before the close of the nineteenth century, although local recognition of route segments continued into the present century.

It is remarkable, in view of the changing circulation patterns of recent times, that many stretches of the old Indian route are in some kind of use today. Further, it is worthy of note that certain features introduced along the route of the trail at various times, bridge points, townsites, and cemeteries, for example, remain fixed in the contemporary landscape. Numerous vestiges of the Alachua Trail route offer accessible sites which seem suitable for the erection of historical markers, and appropriate commemoration of this ancient Indian pathway is strongly recommended.

LETTERS FROM A JOURNEY THROUGH THE FEDERAL BLOCKADE, 1861-1862

edited by THOMAS GRAHAM*

THE CIVIL WAR was only nine months old in January 1862, and many persons, North and South, still clung to the hope the war would soon be over. Florida was a long distance away from where the major military and political decisions affecting her future were being made. There had been little activity since the tumultuous early weeks of the war when the Confederacy took over many of the Federal installations within the state. Some of the more important fortifications like those at Key West and Fort Pickens in Pensacola were to be denied to the Confederates throughout the war. Meanwhile, because of military demands elsewhere, the Confederate government had decided that most of Florida's troops would be sent to fight on the fronts in Tennessee and Virginia. It had also become apparent that the large and ever-ready United States Navy could quickly and successfully attack and even occupy any place on the Atlantic or Gulf coasts of Florida it wished. So far in 1861 that had not happened, but there were rumors of expeditions being mounted to seize Fernandina, Jacksonville, and St. Augustine. Then, on January 15, 1862, the first major raid on Florida shores by the Federal navy was carried out against Cedar Key. The purpose was to capture the lighthouse guarding the coast, the town, and the terminals of the Florida Railroad. The attack caught twenty-two-year-old Andrew Anderson of St. Augustine in Cedar Key, making him an unwilling participant in the first episode of what would become in Florida a repeated occurrence during the war. Anderson and his friend William Edwards wrote the letters which are presented here describing events at Cedar Key and Anderson's subsequent escape through the Union naval blockade.[1]

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1. The four letters and narrative published here are part of the Anderson Family Papers, the property of Andrew Anderson's daughter Clarissa A. Gibbs. The papers are preserved at the St. Augustine

Andrew Anderson bore the name of his father, a modestly wealthy New Yorker who had settled in St. Augustine in 1829. Andrew was born ten years later, just a few months before his father's death during a yellow fever epidemic, and he lived with his mother, Clarissa C. Anderson, an industrious woman from Boston. Although St. Augustine had been home for many years for the Andersons, their family ties were with the North, and young Andrew was educated at a school in Andover, Massachusetts, and at Princeton. The Civil War placed him, and others of similar background, in a tragic dilemma. While some chose to fight for the South and others to join the side of the Union, Anderson followed a course of neutrality, hoping that the conflict would end quickly. In December 1861, some months after the war had begun, he set out for New York City to continue his education at the medical school of Columbia College.

Anderson's journey began with a short ride to Picolata, St. Augustine's back door on the St. Johns, and a voyage up river to Jacksonville. From there he took the Florida Atlantic and Gulf Central Railroad west to Baldwin where the train intersected with the Florida Railroad, and from there he traveled on to Cedar Key. The Florida Railroad had recently been completed by United States Senator David Levy Yulee, one of Florida's paramount statesmen and its leading railroad builder. The road was built to transship materials across the peninsula from Cedar Key to Fernandina on the Atlantic so that the dangerous passage around the peninsula through the Straits of Florida could be avoided. However, since the imposition of a naval blockade on the southern coast by President Lincoln, the major threat to Confederate commerce was the ships of the United States Navy. Because the remote port of Cedar Key

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Historical Society Library, hereinafter cited as SAHS. The only other available accounts of the assault on Cedar Key are contained in U. S. Naval War Records Office, *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion,* 30 vols. (Washington, 1894-1922), XVII, 48-50, Commander George F. Emmons to Flag-Officer W. W. McKean, January 16, 1862, pp. 48-49; List of property captured or destroyed, 49-50; Brigadier General J. H. Trapier to Captain T. A. Washington, January 20, 1862, 50. Hereinafter cited as ORN. Volume XVII has also been published as *House Documents,* 58th Cong., 2nd sess., Doc. 404. Accounts based on these records appear in William Watson Davis, *The Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida* (New York, 1913; facsimile edition, Gainesville, 1964), 152, and John E. Johns, *Florida During the Civil War* (Gainesville, 1963), 71.

had not yet attracted the close attention of the navy, Anderson hoped to take passage there for the British colony of Nassau, where transportation to New York could be arranged.

Cedar Key is a collection of small islands, the largest of which is Way Key where the Florida Railroad had its terminus. Close by, to the southeast, is Depot Key, so named because it had been a staging point for the army during the Second Seminole War. Farther away, to the southwest, is Sea Horse Key where the Confederacy had erected a battery of two antique guns brought over from St. Augustine's Fort Marion. When it was found that the cannons were useless they were abandoned, and only a small detachment from the Fourth Florida Infantry remained as "a sort of police force." The total population of the islands could not have amounted to much more than 100 persons.[2]

While waiting for his ship to load with cargo, Anderson went with David Yulee and his family to visit their sugar plantation and home on the Homosassa River. Anderson's father had been a business partner of Yulee's father, Moses Elias Levy, and the elder Levy was considered a "dear old friend" of the Andersons. Since resigning from the United States Senate, Yulee had taken his family to their home, Marguerita, which had been built on his Homosassa property. There he hoped to sit out the war, attending to his plantation, railroad, and other businesses. He was almost successful. During the last year of the war, while his family was visiting near Ocala, Yulee's home was visited by a raiding party from a navy gunboat. A fire, set to destroy supplies found on the site, accidently spread to the mansion, and it was totally destroyed.[3]

On January 7, while Anderson was waiting impatiently to set sail, Commander George F. Emmons of the USS *Hatteras* was ordered to leave station off the Apalachicola River and proceed to Cedar Key where it was reported that several ships were preparing to run the blockade.[4] The *Hatteras*, a side-wheel steamer with a bottom fouled from long months at sea, was

2. Trapier to Washington, ORN, XVII, 50.
3. Acting Master James J. Russell to Captain Theodore P. Greene, June 13, 1864, *ibid.*, 710; Mills M. Lord, Jr., "David Levy Yulee, Statesman and Railroad Builder" (M.A. thesis, University of Florida, 1940), 151.
4. McKean to Emmons, January 7, 1862, ORN, XVII, 37-38; to Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles, January 8, 1862, *ibid.*, 40.

directed to make the attack because of its relatively shallow draft. On January 15 Emmons ran the *Hatteras* as close in to Sea Horse Key as prudence would admit, and he anchored in the ship channel which extended past that key to the docks of the Florida Railroad on Way Key. Landing boats loaded with sailors armed with rifles and cutlasses found Sea Horse Key abandoned. The old cannon were spiked for good measure, and then the boats made their way toward the docks and town. The Federals met no resistance and lost not a man in completing the operation. Seven Confederate ships were burned, as well as the railroad depot, a warehouse, seven freight cars, and the railroad wharf. To cut communications with the interior the telegraph office was demolished. When Commander Emmons wrote his report on the following day he declared the mission completely successful, save for the escape of the small schooner *Fanny*.[5]

Meanwhile Andrew Anderson had sailed with the *Fanny*, and after a picturesque odyssey of many weeks, he arrived at his intended destination. He was in New York a year later when the newspapers reported that the *Hatteras* had been sunk by the Confederate raider *Alabama* off the coast of Texas. With a note of grim, wry humor, Anderson wrote his mother that the *Hatteras* deserved its fate for having forced him to work so hard to get to New York.[6]

Following his graduation from Columbia, Dr. Anderson returned to St. Augustine to practice medicine and manage his family's orange grove, Markland. In 1885, just prior to his election as mayor of St. Augustine, he met Henry M. Flagler and became one of his closest associates in Florida. Part of Markland later became the site of the Hotel Ponce de Leon. After a long life of philanthropy and public service, Anderson died in St. Augustine in 1924.

Depot Key Dec. 14th
Friday.

Dear Mother,

Here I have been since Wed. night & without seeing Mr. E.

5. Emmons to McKean, January 16, 1862, *ibid.*, 48-49.
6. Casualties on the *Hatteras* were light, and its crew were safely deposited in Jamaica by the *Alabama*. Acting Rear-Admiral Theodorus Bailey to Welles, February 19, 1863, *ibid.*, 367; Andrew Anderson to Clarissa C. Anderson, January 28, 1863, Anderson Papers, SAHS.

[William Edwards]. He is some distance from here with his schooner. There is a steamer going to tow him down as soon as the wind changes (it is now blowing from the N. E. hard & blew all day yesterday. This wind makes the water so low that the vessel can not be brought out.[7] I intend going in the boat whenever she leaves. The officers who were at St. A. are here I find them very pleasant. One of them Dr. Randolf married Maj Beards daughter.[8] I went with them yesterday to inspect a company at Horse Shoe Key [Sea Horse Key] (about 4 miles from here) There is a battery there of 2 guns (old Spanish) brought from St. A. The Maj. tried one of them. We dined with the officers & had a good time generally. Mr. Carr did'nt know what to do with himself at Jacksonville & so came over here.[9] His baggage consisted of a tooth-brush. This hotel, which is a one story building, long low & narrow is kept by Johnny Willards father, a very jolly old fellow. One company of ragged soldiers constitute the military force of this Key. The houses– there are but few– are dotted about promiscuously– no streets– only sidewalks. I have not seen a quadruped here except one & that was a baby. One chicken only & two white females have made themselves visible. The place is only good to die in– not fit to live in. Mr. W. however sets a very good table.[10] The house is surrounded by palm trees which rustle continualy & sound exactly like rain. There are two Hebrew Jews here who are fitting out vessels. At J. I spent the evening at the Gibbs & very pleasantly[11] Saw Archy Gould at Baldwin– did not speak

7. The waters around Cedar Key are shallow and filled with small islands and sandbars. An easterly wind would tend to push water away from the keys, making navigation even more difficult.
8. Major John Board, a well-known St. Augustine resident, was register of public lands from 1846 to 1850, and served terms as state comptroller both before and after the Civil War. Roland Rerick, *Memoirs of Florida,* ed. Francis P. Fleming, 2 vols. (Atlanta, 1902), I, 434. Dr. Randolf is possibly James H. Randolph.
9. Probably B. E. Carr, St. Augustine's leading merchant, who operated a general store on the bayfront.
10. An advertisement for N. P. Willard's hotel touted its fine food, including "the best Fish and Oysters, Green Turtle, Stone Crabs deviled and Wild Game of all descriptions." Cedar Keys *Telegraph,* February 15, 1860.
11. The Andersons and the Gibbs were leading families in St. Augustine and maintained cordial relations throughout the nineteenth century. The Gibbs family owned property in St. Augustine as well as the old Zephaniah Kingsley plantation at Fort George Island east of Jacksonville. Colonel George Couper Gibbs gained unwanted notoriety from the war as commander of the troops guarding the prison at Anderson-

to him– never saw such a rocky looking fellow– face dirty– no collar– unwashed– uncombed. Did'nt look as nice as a Methodist preacher. You know as much of my prospects thus far as I do myself, therefore I cannot tell you anything. I do not know as I can find an envelope in this hole so will save the last sheet. My love to all my friends especially to Miss Anna & Miss Martha & P. that is if I dont come back.

Most Affec–
A. A.

Cedar Keys Jan. 14th 1862

Dear Mother

I promised in my last letter to give you some account of my trip to Homosassa. Mr. Edwards wished me to get some supplies– sugar– syrup &c. for the vessel. So I left a week ago Sunday in the steamer. Mr. Yulee & family were on board. Mrs. Y. asked me to stay with them as long as the boat remained– which I did. They have just built or rather are just building a house which is very pleasantly situated on an elevation on Tiger Tail island.[12] It is surrounded by an orange and lemon grove & is about two miles from the plantation. They have never been visited by the insect but most of the trees are young.[13] They also have a great many limes. Immediately around the house are several large trees– planted when sour by Tiger Tail. They have since been budded & were perfectly loaded with fruit. The lemons were immense & in the greatest abundance. I went to the plantation & saw Henry, who formerly belonged to you. He had not heard from Phoebe for many years.[14] I told him

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ville. Margaret Gibbs Watt, comp., *The Gibbs Family of Long Ago and Near at Hand, 1337-1967* (Jacksonville, 1967), 21.

12. Tiger Tail Island is about ten miles inland on the Homosassa River. It is named after the Seminole leader Tiger Tail who made the Homosassa region his refuge during the Second Seminole War. He grew up in Tallahassee and was cultivated in the ways of white society. He was one of the last warriors to surrender, and died while being shipped west in 1842. John K. Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War, 1835-1842* (Gainesville, 1967), 281, 317-18.

13. The so-called "orange coccus" was an almost microscopic scale insect which plagued Florida citrus following the freeze of 1835. Infestation of the insect declined in the 1850s, and it inexplicably vanished during the Civil War years.

14. Phoebe and Henry were among thirty-one slaves purchased by Anderson's father from Moses Elias Levy in 1839 when Anderson planned to undertake a mulberry plantation. Their names appear

what I knew of her & he wished some of your people to write to him of her the next time they heard from her. I wish you would attend to it as he seemed very desirous of knowing something further about her. Also– while I think of it– another request– Mr. Yulee wishes some Olive trees.[15] Please put some layers for him & also for Mr. Feraira *[sic]* of Picolata who spoke to me about it when I was there. He is getting a grove of different trees at the old Williams place.[16] Such attempts should be encouraged, therefore please [do] not neglect it. I did not return from Homosassa until Thursday. I found both Mr. & Mrs. Y. very agreeable & hospitable. When I returned I expected to find half the cargo here– but not a drop was there. By a subsequent regular train however & an extra one which Mr. Y. caused to be sent down we have now more than half the load. The rest we expect tonight, so that there is now some prospect of getting off– but I presume not before next week. There seem to be so many things to detain a vessel. A schooner which was apparently ready a week ago did not haul into the stream until yesterday & is now waiting for a fair wind. It may be so with us. Mr. Barnhill– the gentleman with the long beard whom we saw one evening at Miss Mather's (through the window) playing on the guitar– is here.[17] He is a turpentine maker & is shipping

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side-by-side on the bill of sale, suggesting that they were related– perhaps brother and sister since they were both young. In 1842 Phoebe was brought to trial for attempting to poison the man to whom she had been rented, but she was acquitted of the charge. Although not an abolitionist, Anderson was concerned for slaves as fellow persons. Following the war he was a director of the Buckingham Smith Foundation which provided welfare services for St. Augustine's black citizens. Bill of sale, Moses E. Levy to Andrew Anderson, May 7, 1839; B. A. Putnam to Clarissa C. Anderson, December 9, 1842, Anderson Papers, SAHS.

15. The Andersons experimented with many different trees and crops on their Markland estate. Olive trees did not prosper there, probably because of the dampness of the soil.

16. When Anderson passed through the ferry site at Picolata, eighteen miles west of St. Augustine, it was in the hands of Joseph C. Ferreira. The landing had previously been owned by John Lee Williams, who is noted as one of the men who selected Tallahassee as the site for the state capital. Williams also authored *The Territory of Florida* (New York, 1837; facsimile edition, Gainesville, 1962), and *A View of West Florida* (Philadelphia, 1827; facsimile edition, Gainesville, 1976). Albert Manucy, "Outline of the History of the Fort Picolata Area, 1735-1938," manuscript, SAHS.

17. Sarah Mather, a Massachusetts immigrant and descendant of Cotton Mather, operated Miss Mather's School for Young Ladies. Following the Civil War she worked with Captain Richard Pratt, founder of

some of it in this vessel. I find him a very pleasant man. The only thing he disliked about St. A. was the difficulty he experienced in getting acquainted with the ladies. He seemed rather taken with Miss Lizzie S. & I recommended her to him.[18] He is a bachelor. Mr. Edwards left for home last Friday. He having been blessed with an addition to his family. We expect him tonight. I saw yesterday a shark nine feet long which was caught on a schooner a few rods off. He had an aldermanic stomach & his mouth was large enough to take in a man's head. Our diet here is composed of corned beef, corn bread & cow peas. I have learned to eat with my knife without danger to my mouth. It would be sad to cut that chasm any larger. If anyone asks you if I have gone on a speculating tour you can say yes. For Mr. E. is to purchase some for me if there is any to be had. But I will let you know before I close what success he has had.

Jan. 15th The train came last night & brought Mr. E. but only part of the remaining cargo. I am not much disappointed as I expected something of the kind. I have not yet had an opportunity to speak to him about my turpentine business. He says the next train will have to bring everything or he will go without. It's a month today since I expected to sail.– Mr. E. has just told me that he was unable to procure any turpentine on this road but he gave instructions to one of the company to get it on the other road– Goodbye– I hav'ent yet heard from the mail– Hope to get a letter from you.

Adieu Affec–
A. A.

On board Schooner Fanny
Jan. 16th./62

Dear Mother,

I have had my first experience of war. Before this you will

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the Carlisle Indian School, as an instructor of the Indians imprisoned at Fort Marion. Richard Henry Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom, Four Decades with the American Indians, 1867-1904,* ed. Robert M. Utley (New Haven, 1964), 121.

18. Miss Lizzie Smith was a fixture in St. Augustine society for more than a half-century. She never married, but was a vivacious participant in town social activities. During his stay in St. Augustine in the 1870s, Sidney Lanier enjoyed playing his flute with the accompaniment of Miss Lizzie on the Catholic Cathedral's organ. Elizabeth Smith, biographical card file, SAHS.

have heard of the events which transpired at Cedar Keys yesterday. About 10. o'clock a steamer hove in sight & by noon she had anchored off Sea Horse Key– 4 miles distant. I wrote you of my visit to this Key in company with the inspecting officers. In a short time two boats crammed with men were seen to land. After remaining a short time they returned to the ship & in an hour three large boats put off for the Keys at which we were. The ship then fired three guns at the Stag (a schooner lying in the stream about a mile from us) but the shot fell a long ways short. In a few minutes a dense smoke issued from the Stag. Her crew had fired her.[19] This schooner being small (95 tons) had a chance of escaping through another channel. Preparing to escape in this way I proposed to her owner to accompany him. He seemed glad of my offer so I threw my trunk aboard & you may believe there was some pulling & hauling to get off from the wharf. I worked some skin off my hands in the attempt. The boats were then within about 2 miles of us coming up with rapid strokes. We had 4 guns & intended to make a little fight if they had attempted to pursue us. I loaded 2 of them with 30 buckshot each. We would have fired the guns (& the vessel) & then took to the small boat. It was about 4½ o'clock when we left the wharf. And O! how slowly we seemed to go. We saw a large barge filled with people overtaken by one of the boats.[20] When about 2 miles from the wharf I saw what I thought a man of war boat land at the wharf. A few moments after the smacks which laid but a few rods from the wharf flared up. In a half hour more the whole wharf was apparently in a blaze. It made me sad to see such a fine vessel as the Anna destroyed in that manner. I left Mr. Edwards on the wharf. I am very sorry for him indeed. I was in such a hurry that I made no arrangements for paying him for my long stay on board. He having furnished all the pro-

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19. Commander Emmons reported that he fired across the bow of the *Stag* to prevent her escape, whereupon she was run aground and burned by her crew. Emmons to McKean, January 16, 1862, ORN, XVII, 48.
20. The small force of Confederates garrisoned on Sea Horse Key attempted to escape on a barge propelled by poles. However, the water proved too deep for the poles, and the men were overhauled by the Federals. When it was discovered that four of the rebels were infected with measles, the whole company was returned on parole rather than risk an outbreak of measles among the *Hatteras's* crew. Emmons to Confederate military commander in Florida, January 16, 1862, *ibid.*, 49.

visions. Mr. Leopold the owner of this vessel suggests that I return as super cargo of one of his vessels.[21] We are now about thirty miles from C. Keys & will fit here for sea, will go in a day or so if we don't get caught. I don't know where we are bound– will depend on circumstances– I find that I keep pretty cool in exciting situations at least I did in this one. Perhaps tho a few balls around my ears would have altered the case. We heard several guns fired but I don't know whether anyone was killed. We are now at the mouth of Chrystal *[sic]* River. Mr. L. is now going ashore & I will send this to be mailed. Don't read this to anyone for it is written in the greatest haste. May God preserve St. A. from any like scenes.[22]

Yours Affec– A. A.

Micanopy February 19th 1862

Mrs C. C. Anderson

Very Dear Madam

Your highly esteemed and truly welcome fav under date of 19th ult is just to hand and it is with grate pleasure that I reply immediately & regret that my Letter must be void of much that can interest you all I heard from Andrew since the dreadfull & Long to be remembered day at the Keys is that the Fanny the Schooner on which he sailed had gone to Sea after some preparation made at the crystial river which no doubt added much to her sea worthiness and the comfort of those on board after the Storm had bloun over and I had time for a little reflection. I deeply regret that I did not think in the confusion and hurry of his departure to contribute something to his comfort for the voyage in the way of bedding as we had just fitted our vessel out with a new supply and as it turned out it was not probable it would do us any good and I could also have added a small sum to his means but I did nothing that I can look back to as at all cool and indicating deliberation or purpose of mind in fact I was hardly responsible for anything I did or said for a portion of the time the owner of the Schooner Fanny urged me to

21. Leopold was probably one of the "Hebrew Jews" Anderson mentions in his letter of December 14, 1861. William Edwards, in his letter to Mrs. C. C. Anderson of January 19, writes that Leopold was from Tallahassee but was otherwise unknown to him.

22. St. Augustine was occupied peacefully by Union troops on March 11, 1862.

abandon my own vessel and go with him as his vessel was so much smaller it could go out by a shallow and circuitous channel through which the steamer could not follow and he had a good pilot on board[23] all the other vessels were too large to go by any other than the one occupied by the Steamer. I determined to stand by my vessel and follow her as long as there was a chance of doing anything which I cherished the hope there was as long as she floated and I have little doubt if they had carried her to Key West as I expected they would I could have brought influence enough to bear to have saved her but it was otherwise ordered and she is now a chared and sunken wreck they attempted to finish loading her and intended taking her out but some one of their number set fire to the turpentine left by the Fanny and before they could clear my vessel from the wharf she took fire and being nearly loaded with the same combustable article she burnt like a litter would they took me on board the Str with a number of other prisoners and by the kindness of the Captain, George F. Ammons,[24] and after a good deal of caution on my part I was let off here on the second day and permitted to return to my family which was quite a relief from the prospect of a long separation and possibly unpleasant confinement but I cannot attempt anything like a detailed account of the sean and occation in fact it was one not easily described even by an eye witness if I have the pleasure of seeing you again on some future day I may tell you more than I could possibly write. . . .

I am Madam Very truly yours &c
William Edwards[25]

Title

The interesting and wonderful narrative of the dangers and hairbreadth escapes, by land and by sea; from beasts of the

23. The *Fanny* probably escaped through the shoals of Waccasassa Bay to the east of Cedar Key.
24. Commander George F. Emmons.
25. William Edwards was the son of James Edwards, an English immigrant who was one of the first white settlers in Alachua County. William Edwards was a lawyer, judge, and pioneer orange grower in Micanopy. "Copy of a statement by Julia A. Edwards, 1885," box 51, Miscellaneous Manuscript Collection, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville; F. W. Buchholz, *History of Alachua County, Florida, Narrative and Biographical* (St. Augustine, 1929), 50, 168; Caroline B. Watkins, *The Story of Historic Micanopy* (Gainesville, 1976), 75-76.

field, birds of the air, fishes of the deep, land robbers and sea pirates; from Spaniards and negroes; from musquitoes and fleas; Federals and Confederates, of the world renowned and ever to be remembered historian, traveller, soldier and sailor Don Quixote de Claret Sangarie de la Macaroni.

Preface by the editor.

Our renowned traveller, historian, soldier & sailor begins his present history at a period when, having escaped from the ferocious jaws of the Federals at Cedar Keys, he had lain for ten days at the mouth of the river called chrystal, (by reason of it's clearness), delayed by unfavorable gales. During all this time he did not set his foot on shore by reason of its distance, being 4 miles off. According to the most authentic accounts he is said to have passed this period in smoking his pipe & in pulling his hair. On the second day of their arrival at Chrystal river the crew was reinforced by 4 Key West Fishermen & one other man (a Mr. Kemp a refugee from Key West) who like the Don was desirous of reaching Nassau.[26] The crew all told now numbered 11 men, more than sufficient to man the vessel. We will now describe this famous vessel which braved so many dangers.[27] She was built to traffic upon Lake Pontchaintrain, a lake said to have existed in a country called Louisiana. She was consequently not a sea going vessel and was built after the Dutch fashion, with a high poop & high bow– while amidships her deck was within a foot of the surface of the water– thus she looked as if someone had given her a severe blow in the stomach & doubled her up. She was of 9.5 tons & carried one jib, a main sail & fore sail. Her cabin was a little hole containing two berths, which were wide enough to hold two persons in each. The furniture consisted of a small table & a three legged stool. At meals the stool was made to support the self sufficient & disagreeable person of the owner of the craft, whom men called Leopold. This Leopold carved the beef & potatoes & graciously handed plates full of the said nutriment to his hungry guests.– these were those of the crew who were entitled

26. The Kemp name is familiar in Key West history, but the identity of this man is unknown.
27. The *Fanny* was apparently well known to the navy's Gulf coast blockading squadron, it having been captured from a Lieutenant George L. Selden by Confederate forces several months prior to the attack on Cedar Key. Emmons to McKean, January 16, 1862, ORN, XVII, 48.

Andrew Anderson.

Constructed of coquina stone in 1842, Markland, the Anderson family

to the honors of the cabin. First there was the captain or sailing-master– a little fellow evidently from "Down East"– yea from the nethermost extremity of "Down East," who swore like a trooper at the Yankees & talked about "us Southerners." He had been in the coast survey– had been, according to his own account, in several slavers and had one shirt, which of course he wore all the time. Next came a captain of a fishing smack, who acted in the capacity of mate. He was a long, lean, lank good natured fellow with red hair & had never been north of Cape Sable. Then there was the above mentioned Mr. Kemp from Key West. He had been guilty of some real or imaginary offence against the Federal government & was in mortal dread lest the Yankees should catch him.– he thought his life would not be worth the tenth part of a straw if they did. Some of the histories relate that it was very amusing to watch his appetite.– which was a complete barometre of the dangers in which the party was. If they were at sea & there was fear of meeting a cruiser no appetite had *he.* Not the most delicate piece of fat pork could allure him– not the raunchst & yellowest potatoe could bring him down from the mast head– where he kept unceasing watch. But "presto change" when inside of some protecting reef Ye gods! what a demolition of edibles! They walked off his plate as if they were alive. The last occupant of the cabin was the Don himself– The present writer being a descendant of his, modesty will not permit him a description. But for the benefit of those who have never heard of the famous historian, traveller &c. he will merely say that it is reported that the Mother of the Don thought a great deal of him– which of course proves everything in his favor. Having now brought down the history to the period at which the Don begins, we will relinquish our pen & wishing our readers "bon voyage" thro this delightful narrative– we will leave him to revel amid scenes which have astonished & charmed the world & which altho they have been issued by thousands from the presses of Timbuctoo, have yet never been presented to the civilized inhabitants of Africa in as complete a form as the present.

TOUCHING NARRATIVE OF DON Q. C. S. de la MACARONI. HOW HE WENT TO SEA.

It was the evening of the 10th day & hope long defered

had begun to sicken our hearts when, just as the great glowing 'eye of the sun had begun to look drier & sleepy with long watching, a dark & lowering cloud was seen, by the ever watchful eyes on our little schooner, to arise in the north. Rapidly it grew & as it approached we could see the long stagnant Gulf begin to dance & sparkle & leap up to kiss the tiny blasts which were the forerunners of the coming blow. Not long did we have to wait– soon it came in its fury & at first everyone had to hold the hair on his head to keep it from being carried away– As soon as our hair got used to the wind & the weather wise had concluded that it was a three days storm & not a transient puff– the joyfull order was given to– hoist the main sail– then up with the anchor. Everyone worked with a will &, in a thrice, all sail was set & we were scudding out to sea at a rate which must have surprised the old schooner herself. The writer of the present interesting narration then retired to the lee side of the caboose & cut a "pigeon wing," all by himself, out of pure joy. Our hearts now resumed their proper places having been previously down in our boots or shoes as the case might be & "all went merry as a marriage bell." As it didn't rain but poured I retired to the spacious cabin & reclining luxuriously in one of the berths began [to] think about what I would do when I got to Nassau. Whilst in the midst of the most delightful reveries a sailor came below on an errand. I asked him how we were progressing. He answered O! very well only the main sail is torn to pieces, the jib boom carried away & the rudder ropes broken.

I then stopped thinking about what I would do when I got to Nassau. All sail was now taken in & we scudded under bare poles for the remainder of the night. This was on the 25th of Jan 1862. It had been our wish to run by Egmont Key in the night in order to escape a blockader which was stationed there– but the next morning at 8 o'clock found us just off the Key.[28] It was however so dark & rainy that we escaped detection altho the clouds lifted for a moment allowing us to see the land. All that day we sailed along the coast, the sea running high

28. The men on board the *Fanny* were evidently well apprised of the whereabouts of vessels belonging to the blockading fleet. Tampa Bay and the water off Egmont Key was the station of the United States bark *Ethan Allen*. "Stations of vessels comprising the Gulf Blockading Squadron," January 25, 1862, *ibid.*, 71.

above our decks, but running before the wind as we were, there was not as much motion as might have been expected. We saw several fires on the shore which were said to have been made by Indians there being no white men in that region. The next day, Sunday, we made Cape Sable which is recognized by two tall African palms that can be seen at a great distance at sea– long before the land is in sight. By noon the sailors had completed the repairs of the main sail which tho diminished in size answered much better than none at all. This day was beautiful & comparitively calm & as the water was shallow the sailing was as smooth as in a canal. We were now sailing among the keys or cays, as they are called in Spanish– sometimes there would be as many as 20 in sight at once.[29] They are low, covered with brush & trees & abound in deer & water fowl– there were also many palms upon them & upon one a grove of cocoanut trees. About five o'clock we came upon a fleet of five or six fishing smaks which were recognized by our Key Westers as belonging to their friends. In spite of our signals of peace which we made by shaking a sheet at them they seemed to be very much frightened & hoisting all sail scudded off with great rapidity in different directions. One evidently being bound for Key West which was only 60 miles off. We had now reached the outlet through which we intended to pass into the Gulf of Florida, but as there was a large square rigged vessel beating up the Gulf & the wind was ahead for Nassau we concluded to drop anchor & wait for darkness. A council of war having been held by the cabinet it was concluded that, since the wind was ahead & news of our whereabouts might reach Key West by morning, in which case the Wanderer, an armed schooner, might be sent after us, it was best to retrace our steps & await a more favorable opportunity.[30] Lo, greatly disappointed the anchor was hoisted & the nose of our schooner pointed in the direction of Cape Sable. The next morning the two palms were sighted & about noon we entered Shark river, which is to the westward of the cape. Shark river is very seldom visited & no one would go there the second time unless carried in chains.

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29. In Spanish, *cayos* means a series of small islands or a reef.
30. Again Anderson is correct. The United States schooner *Wanderer* operated out of Key West. "Stations of vessels comprising the Gulf Blockading Squadron," January 23, 1862, ORN, XVII, 71.

Two years before our entrance a vessel had visited it for the purpose of procuring wood for the wharfs of Key West. It derives its name, I presume, from the number of *musquitoes* which infest it. Altho in midwinter we could positively hear them *roar* o-nights. The banks of the river, if it can be said to have banks, are composed of mud, from which shoot a dense mass of mangrove trees, whose roots, projecting from the trunk a yard above the ground, form a thick net work upon which one might walk, with care, for any distance without putting his foot upon the ground. The banks are overflowed at every tide, rendering the mud soft & unfit for patent leathers. Shark river would not do for a watering place. There is not the first element of amusement there.– we fished & caught a catfish– we hunted & saw a pelican– these were the only two living things which we saw in Shark river besides fiddlers & musquitoes. One day by way of a change three of us went outside in the small boat to try & catch a turtle. The way in which this is done is this. A barb, which we supplied with a nail, is fixed in a socket in the end of a pole. To the barb a strong line is fastened. The turtle lying upon the surface of the water will allow a boat to sail quite near it. The spear is then hurled at it– the barb leaving the socket & remaining in the shell of the fish. He is then played with line until fatigued & is then easily secured. Our turtle expedition resulted in no harm to the turtles– we saw but one & it then became so rough that we were obliged to put back, getting a good ducking for our pains. Would that I had the power to describe the grand feature of Shark river! The musquitoes. I would not give a pip penny hit for the mans life who would stay there a week in summer. I am not over fond of climbing high places, but I used to spend several hours daily at the mast head in order to avoid them. Its lucky they didn't look up, for if they had, & seen me I'm sure they would come at me in such swarms as to have made me fall off. The only way in which I could sleep was by wrapping myself up in my shawl from head to foot only leaving a little breathing place– then you should have seen the scramble for the end of my nose. so many came at it that before one could get his bill in another would push him off & so very few got a bite. I never valued my nose so much in my life before– didn't know that it was of so much consequence. We staid there until the following Satur-

day, when Leopold declared that he had rather be caught by the Yankees than eaten by the musquitoes. They at least wouldn't eat him piecemeal.

His forehead was sore & the skin off his hands. I being thick skinned did not suffer as much. The men from Key West said that it was absolutely impossible to go there in summer. In fine Shark river is only fit for infidels & Mohammedans. On Saturday at length, having been there since Monday, we made preperations for leaving. On endeavoring to get up the anchor it was found to be afoul. One of the men dove down to see what was the matter. He remained down an astonishing length of time digging around it with his hands. Mr. Kemp told me that his father had dove to the depth of 70 feet & remained long enough to fasten a cable to an anchor. After some delay our anchor was cleared & we dropped slowly out of Shark river, blessing our stars that we had at length escaped from the musquitoes. On leaving the mouth of the river we frightened another schooner very badly. The next day & that night we sailed over the same ground that we did on the previous Sunday. Having no flag but a small Confederate one we took a sheet & tacking to the deck painted upon it the stars & stripes. On Sunday evening at five o'clock we passed Sombrero light house & stood out into the deep blue waters of the Gulf of Florida.[31] There was a stiff breese blowing which increased as night came on. As the wind was unfavorable for a quick run to Nassau, it was decided to stand for Cardenas.[32] Leopold being sick with the "maladie de mer" he made himself comfortable on deck. I retired to my birth below. I had not been there long before I felt a tremendous thump & heard the rush of many waters. In a moment Leopold came below perfectly drenched. It seemed that we had shipped a sea & it had washed him from his comfortable resting place & dashed against the cabin house— this led to his favoring me with his wet presence for the remainder of the night.

The next morning the blue hills of Cuba were in sight. You can imagine my joy at the prospect of a speedy release from the schooner, on board of wh. I had been for nearly three weeks

31. The Sombrero Key lighthouse is near the present-day town of Marathon, midway down the keys on a line due south from Cape Sable.
32. Cardinas is on the northeast coast of Cuba.

without putting my foot on shore but once & then only for a moment, it being pleasanter on board than on such land as that was.[33]

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33. Anderson's "wonderful narrative" continues for several more pages. The *Fanny* had arrived at the port of Matanzas, fifty miles east of Havana. Although the passengers carried no travel papers whatsoever they were allowed to go by train to Havana and from that port on to Nassau, where the British government was sympathetic to the cause of the Confederacy. While awaiting the ship which would carry him to New York, Anderson composed his narrative for the benefit of his mother.

A NEW ENGLAND EMIGRANT AID COMPANY AGENT IN POSTWAR FLORIDA: SELECTED LETTERS OF JAMES F. B. MARSHALL, 1867

by PATRICIA P. CLARK*

WHEN THE NEW ENGLAND EMIGRANT AID COMPANY, seeking to revitalize its colonizing enterprises after the Civil War, considered Florida as a prime location for northern settlers, the officers sent James F. B. Marshall on a scouting tour of the state.[1] A native New Englander, former Hawaiian businessman, and paymaster general of Massachusetts troops, Marshall had volunteered for the assignment shortly after his election to the company's board of directors in November 1866. Before he left Boston for a New York departure on December 18, Marshall was given a letter of instructions drafted by President John Murray Forbes and Vice President Edward Everett Hale. Although left mainly to his own initiative and direction as to the extent of his Florida tour, which he confined to the northern part of the state, Marshall was to locate land which would be attractive to northern settlers, preferably near Fernandina, the St. Johns River, and along the line of the Florida Railroad. In addition, he was to investigate economic opportunities for the "small farmers or working men," the type of immigrant the company proposed to aid, and he was to report periodically by letter, both to Hale and to the company secretary, Trowbridge Forbush.[2]

Marshall's letters to Forbush were to contain his more general impressions, but with specific notes as to land and employment opportunities, climate and weather, transportation and accommodations and their costs, "both for the poorer class of

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1. See Patricia P. Clark, "J. F. B. Marshall: A New England Emigrant Aid Company Agent in Postwar Florida, 1867," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, LIV (July 1975), 39-60.
2. E. E. Hale and J. M. Forbes to J. F. B. Marshall, December 12, 1866, New England Emigrant Aid Company Papers, 1854-1909, microfilm edition, Manuscript Division, Kansas State Historical Society, roll 4 (hereinafter cited as NEEACP and appropriate roll number).

settlers and for invalids." Such information could be shared with all prospective clients. His letters to Hale were to be of a more confidential nature and include comments relating to personal contacts who might prove helpful in furthering the company's designs by offering attractive inducements for locating settlers.[3]

Both Hale and Forbush were Unitarian ministers; the former, also an author, had been active in company affairs ever since the Kansas efforts. More than anyone else, he had guided the company fortunes during the war years and was the principal architect of the Florida venture. Forbush, on the other hand, had only recently joined the company staff after the death of Secretary Thomas H. Webb. With enthusiasm, Forbush tied his future with that of the company and was perhaps the most disappointed when the Florida venture failed.[4]

Marshall wrote at least sixteen letters to Forbush, fifteen were numbered and dated from December 18, 1866, to March 4, 1867, when he returned home. Only six letters to Hale have survived– numbers three to eight– spanning January 12 to February 23, 1867. In addition to those selected and printed here, Marshall wrote Forbush from New York on December 18; from Savannah, December 22; from Jacksonville, December 24; and from Gainesville, January 26, February 23, and March 4. His letters to Hale were from Jacksonville, January 16, 27, and February 9; from Fernandina, February 13; and from Gainesville, February 23. Because Marshall's writing posed no major difficulties from the standpoint of transcription, his letters appear substantially as he wrote them. However, where he occasionally omitted end punctuation, the editor has supplied the omission. Some abbreviations, where unclear, have been expanded, and Marshall's use of the encircled "a" has been uniformly transcribed as "to."[5]

3. *Ibid.*
4. Forbush, who was born in Massachusetts in 1832 and graduated from Meadville Theological School in 1856, was serving the Unitarian Society at West Roxbury at the time he became company secretary. After the collapse of the company's Florida activities in 1867, he returned to the ministry, serving in Cleveland, Detroit, and Milwaukee, before heading the church's missionary work in the West. He died in 1898 in Memphis, Tennessee, where he had moved in 1896 to take charge of a new Unitarian church. Conrad Wright (Unitarian Historical Society) to editor, November 30, 1970; Memphis *Commercial Appeal,* January 9, 1898.
5. Transcriptions of the following letters were made from the microfilm edition edited by Joseph W. Snell and published jointly by the

No. 4
[Marshall to Forbush, written from Fernandina, December 29, 1866[6]]

I arrived here yesterday from Gordon via Jacksonville. I leave tomorrow in Company with Mr. Yulee & a son of M. O. Roberts for Gainesville, the Headquarters of the F.R.R. Co. & shall probably visit Cedar Keys the terminus of the road before I return.[7] The impressions and facts about Florida which I have thus far gathered, are favorable, & corroborative of the views of the Directors as expressed in their letter of instructions, viz: that "there must be places in Florida where there is a fine winter climate and a *good* summer one, compared with other parts of the South; where land is reasonably cheap considering always its quality and where men can earn a comfortable living by the same labor required at the North."

Climate. There can be no question but that the climate of Florida is one of the most salubrious in the world, and especially so for those inclined to pulmonary complaints. I have met several persons here from the Northern, Middle, & Southern states who came here with lung diseases, who have apparently entirely recovered. Mr Earle a merchant at Waldo, told me that he removed here from N. Carolina as a last resort in the hope of benefiting his wifes health which was very feeble from lung disease, and that she was now quite well.[8] In his employ was a young man from Syracuse N.Y. who came for the same object

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Kansas State Historical Society (which owns the originals) and the National Historical Publications and Records Commission.

6. This letter, misplaced on the microfilm publication, is found with the December 1867 correspondence, NEEACP roll 5.
7. David Levy Yulee, former United States Senator from Florida and founding president of the Florida Railroad. Marshall O. Roberts was a New York investor who bought into the railroad in 1858, and, re-investing in 1866, owned a controlling interest. The son mentioned is probably Isaacs K. Roberts, who managed the Florida investment and was later a New York merchant. Jerrell H. Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet: Florida in the Era of Reconstruction, 1863-1877* (Gainesville, 1974), 114-16; H. Wilson, comp., *Trow's New York City Directory for the Year Ending May, 1870* (New York, 1869), 932, roll 7 in Research Publications, Inc., United States City Directories, 1861-1881 (New Haven, 1970) microfilm.
8. Elias Earle, a South Carolina-born planter who had a plantation near Waldo. Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet*, 88-89; Zonira Hunter Tolles, *Shadows on the Sand: A History of the Land and the People in the Vicinity of Melrose, Florida* (Gainesville, 1976), 169-71.

a short time since, but says he is rapidly improving. And I hear of well authenticated instances in other parts of the State. I mail with this, (to Mr Hale) a Fernandina paper containing an article on Florida, being a notice of a book written I think by Dr Burns U.S.A deceased.[9] Mrs Burns was a daughter of the late Col Abert of Washington whose family is known to Mr Forbes.[10] I hope to get a copy of the book. The statistics concerning the climate are worthy of note, and are I think reliable. (I enclose with this a record of the thermometer during the month of November, kept by Dr [Garvin] at Gordon.[11] The thermometer in December to 26th had the following range.

	7 A M	2 P.M.	9 P.M.
Hottest. Dec 6	70	89	70
Coldest " 12	28	50	37
Dec 25 my obs.[ervation]	36	56	39

Gordon is on high land and colder than most places in same latitude or north of it. Farther South the climate is of course milder. The cold weather is more keenly felt here than at the North, the people being unprepared for it and their houses generally ill-provided with facilities for heating.

Soil. The soil in many parts of Florida is light & looks poor. I am told however, that it will produce well, even where it seems poor, upon cultivation, and from my own observation, I should think such might be the case. The universal testimony of all with whom I have spoken on the subject whether new or old settlers is that the soil of Florida will produce more in propor-

9. Bernard M. Byrne (d. September 1860), a United States army surgeon who had owned considerable property in Florida, had written the year before his death a series of nine letters on "Florida and Texas" which appeared in the Charleston *Courier,* April 6, 11, 20, 24, May 8, 12, 22, 31, June 7, 1860. These were reprinted after the war by J. D. Mitchell as *Letters on the Climate, Soils, and Productions of Florida* (Ralston, Pennsylvania, [1866]); William H. PowelI, comp., *List of Officers of the Army of the United States from 1799 to 1910* (New York, 1900; facsimile edition, Detroit, 1967), 226; Memo on Dr. Byrne's property in NEEACP roll 5.

10. John J. Abert (d. 1863), whose daughter Louisa married Byrne, was an 1811 graduate of West Point who spent most of his life and service in the United States Topographical Engineers in Washington, D. C. Powell, *List of Officers of the Army,* 154; *House Reports,* 37th Cong., 2nd sess., no. 46.

11. P. C. Garvin (not othewrise identified), whose weather observations are found in NEEACP roll 5. Gordon was fifteen miles north of Gaines-

tion to the labor expended upon it, than any other state in the Union. Making allowance for local predilections, I think it may be safely said that it will yield as much. The method of cultivation in vogue here is crude & imperfect, & judging from the produce obtained under such conditions it may readily be inferred that under a proper system it could be very largely increased.

Cost of Transpor[ta]tion. Travelling expenses & freights are just now very high and it is very difficult to find conveyances to any point off the lines of rail road & steamboat transportation.

The passage from N.Y. to Savannah is $12. $17. & $25.

The passage from N.Y. to Savannah is		$12. $17. & $25.	
	"	Savannah to Jacksonville	$6. 12.00.
Stmbt		Jacksonville to Palatka	
R R		Jacksonville to Baldwin	1.00
		Baldwin to Waldo	3.00
Freights		N.Y. to Savannah pr/foot	20¢
		Savannah to Jacksonville	15¢

Col Scott told me it cost him more to get his freight from Jacksonville to Waldo than from New York to Jacksonville.[12] The Rail Road Co are however disposed to facilitate emigration in every way and will be ready to make a large discount from their present rates to new Settlers. I am going tomorrow with Mr Yulee to Gainesville & shall have opportunity to gain more full information on this point. Away from the lines of railroad & steamboat, there are almost no facilities. You can generally hire a boat and oarsman on the St Johns take them on board the Steamer & be dropt at any point you may wish to visit, and you can at some places on the rail road hire a horse, but this cannot be depended upon and prices are exorbitant.

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12. Henry B. Scott, a former officer in the Second Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry and founder and postmaster of Gordon, which he named in honor of his former commander, General George H. Gordon, had visited the NEEA Company in November 1866, and was one of those Forbes and Hale had suggested that Marshall contact. Originally optimistic about the future in Florida, Scott was reported in late 1867 as "sick & out of spirits & will leave Florida." Forbes to Hale, September 27, 1867, NEEACP roll 2; Scott to Marshall, February 14, 1867, NEEACP roll 5; *Register of the Officers and Agents, Civil, Military and Naval in the Service of the United States on the Thirtieth September, 1867* (Washington, D. C., 1868), 357.

Inducements to Settlers. Cotton, Sugar, Fruits, Naval stores, Lumber, Vegetables– can all be raised or manufactured with profit, either on a large or small scale. Market gardening, either for home consumption or for Northern markets would I think prove a very remunerative pursuit. Vegetables grow readily here all the year round, and could be sent to Northern markets in advance of any other locality. Before the war this was getting to be quite a business but it is now so wholly prostrated, that even Jacksonville & Fernandina is supplied from New York with Cabbages & other vegetables. A very few acres of land could thus be made to yield large returns & the farmer could have in addition his Cotton patch from which with proper cultivation he could get 300 lb to the acre. The average yield on large plantations without manure is considered to be from 125 to 175 lbs per acre but I am informed by planters that a yield has been obtained of 800 lbs long staple cotton.[13] From his sugar patch, which would require hardly any care he could provide himself with syrup and sugar. A few orange trees would in a few years become a source of revenue without much care, a little manure, muck or other fertilizer being all that is requisite to induce a rapid growth & large crop. The tree begins to bear in three years, and in five it is a source of revenue. Orange trees in full bearing yield from one thousand to twenty five hundred oranges pr annum, worth from $10. to 15. per th[ousand] at the grove. I am told of trees that yield 4,000 per annum, but these are exceptions. The oranges of Florida are of good quality, and command a ready sale in Savannah, where most of them are now sold. Some thirty years ago the orange groves were destroyed by a *[sic]* insect, and they have been injured by frost.[14] The blight is said to have entirely disappeared, and the danger from frost is not considered great, no injury having been received

13. In response to a comment from J. M. Forbes, Marshall later agreed that 800 pounds of cotton per acre "is hard to swallow" but that he had obtained the information from a Mr. Rembert, "a very worthy old gentleman who owns Drayton Island on Lake George." Marshall to Forbes, February 13, 1867, NEEACP roll 5. Drayton Island, located in Lake George (part of the St. Johns River) in Putnam County, had been named for Chief Justice William Drayton of British East Florida.
14. The extreme frost of February 7-10, 1835, had devastated the orange crop. The "purple scale" *(coccus hesperidum)*, brought to Florida in 1838 on mandarin oranges, had destroyed whole groves. T. Frederick Davis, "Early Orange Culture in Florida and the Epocal *[sic]* Cold of 1835," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XV (April 1937), 236-41.

since 1835. There are cotton plantations for sale in various parts of the state at low rates, which vary according to condition of land buildings & machinery and location. Many of these could be divided into small farms & profitably cultivated by persons with limited means.

Labor, in Florida in those localities which I have visited, is high & though planters find little difficulty in engaging sufficient for their wants yet it is not so abundant as to reduce the price to what is paid in other states of the South. There is however a general impression among the new settlers that labor will be more abundant hereafter from the immigration of freedmen from the other states. From $15 to $25. per month with rations is now paid on the cotton plantations, while in Alabama & other states I am informed that wages are from 1/3 to 1/2 less than these rates.

There is a great demand in Fernandina for mechanics of all kinds. This town was built before the war in the expectation of a large trade as the terminus of the Florida Rail Road. The war brought everything to a stand and it is now in a state of great dilapidation. The Rail-road which had just been opened when the war broke out, and which was partially destroyed by our troops is now being rapidly repaired, and it is expected that it will be reopened from Baldwin to Fernandina in March. It is now open from Baldwin to Cedar Keys the gulf terminus.[15] A great impulse will then be given to Fernandina, and if the road becomes the popular route to New Orleans, Cuba & California as is confidently anticipated by its owners, this will become a large & important city. Building would now be going on rapidly but for the litigation as to titles between the original owners and the recent purchasers at the "tax sales," which it is contended were illegal and void.[16] Most of the city is owned

15. The road opened on March 4, 1867. I. K. Roberts to T. B. Forbush, March 27, 1867, NEEACP roll 5. The Florida Railroad consisted of a 155-mile line built and managed by pre-Civil War Florida Senator David Levy Yulee. Originally chartered from Tampa Bay to Fernandina with a branch to Cedar Key, the branch was completed first in 1861. During the Civil War Union forces destroyed the railroad facilities at Cedar Key and Fernandina.

16. Land seized during the war for failure to comply with the federal tax laws of 1861 and 1862 was sold in 1865 and 1866. Former Confederates seeking to regain possession went to court. When reinstituted state courts ordered their eviction, tax sale purchasers appealed to the military and federal courts. Such litigation was particularly

by the Rail Road Co. who are not yet prepared to put their lots into the market. The city is located on Amelia Island which is some 20 miles in length, and which contains much good land for cultivation.

The above I give as my first impressions of Florida after six days observation. I shall continue to give impressions and facts as I receive them, with more definite details as I can obtain them. There is evidently an earnest desire among the influential people here, for Northern settlers, and they will do all in their power to encourage such Emigration.

No. 5

[Marshall to Forbush, written from Tallahassee, January 5, 1867.]

I arrived here last evening from Newnansville via Gainesville, having been much delayed by the severe storm which has prevailed for a week. I left Fernandina last Sunday reaching Newnansville Monday night. Mr. Yulee left me at Gainesville to visit his plantation near Archer. I found on board the boat several Florida planters, who had been to Charleston for freedmen, and who had on board some three hundred, whom they had engaged to work for their rations and one third [of] the crop. The freedmen here have shown some unwillingness to make contracts, which is partly attributable to an expectation that they will get better terms by holding off, and also to the expectation of getting lands for themselves, either from the Govt or of the Planters as many of them have already done, the owners furnishing implements & mules & 1/2 forage, and receiving one half the Cotton etc.[17] A large emigration has been setting in from S. Carolina to this state, a gentleman of Newnansville having informed me that he thought more than two thousand had passed through that place within a few weeks,

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prevalent in Fernandina. Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet,* 99-100; *New York Herald,* May 23, 1866.

17. Freed slaves were encouraged, first by the military and later by the Freedmen's Bureau, to enter into written agreements with planters which would specify the wages or crop shares the laborer would receive. In 1866 the average wage earned in Florida by a black man was twelve dollars a month; those who worked for a division of the crop generally earned one-third to one-half. Joe M. Richardson, *The Negro in the Reconstruction of Florida, 1865-1877* (Tallahassee, 1965), 57-60; Edward K. Eckert, "Contract Labor in Florida During Reconstruction," *Florida Historical Quarterly,* XLVII (July 1968), 37-38.

coming by land with wagons & mules which can be sold here at a profit.[18] The expenses of travelling in Florida are very large. The Hotel charges at $3. to $4. per day, and $1.00 per meal, even if its nothing but hog & hominy. I had to pay $8. for buggy & driver from Gainesville to Newnansville 16 miles. The hotels & eating houses are of the poorest description, No provision being made for cold weather, except large open fireplaces in some rooms, the dining room being generally a sort of Shed in rear of the house with open doors & windows often without sashes, without any means of heating, where the victim freezes, & feeds (if his stomach will let him.) During the last 8 days the sun has not been seen, and most of the time it has rained steadily and all the time has been chilly & cheerless. The weather however, is said to be such as was never known before "by the oldest inhabitant." Be that as it may, I can safely say that in all my journeyings in various countries, I never saw the art of making travellers uncomfortable carried to such perfection as in Florida, especially in Gainesville & Baldwin. The latter place is the junction of the two Rail Roads, whose trains are arriving & departing at different hours during the night.[19] Travellers are packed two in a bed of which three or more are made up (probably once a year) in shed rooms adjoining the station, and even if it were possible for one however fatigued to sleep after one of the meals set before him, his dyspeptic slumbers are repeatedly broken by the frequent change of bedfellows occassioned *[sic]* by the arrival & departure of guests in the various trains. Persons compelled to stop for a second time at Baldwin generally prefer to sit up in stiff wooden chairs until 2 o'clock am when the latest train leaves, to engaging a second bed. A decent inn kept at this place by some one competent for the work, could not fail of being well patronised, as this must always be an important station. I called last evening on the Governor and Dr. Stonelake, both of whom expressed

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18. During the winter of 1867 an unprecedented immigration of both black and white poured into Florida; most of the migrants came from Georgia and South Carolina where planters were recruiting black labor. Altogether it was estimated that between 4,000 and 5,000 blacks arrived in Florida in 1866 and 1867. Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet,* 125-26; *New York Times,* January 27, February 28, 1867.
19. The Florida and the Florida, Atlantic, and Gulf Central railroads.

themselves earnestly in favor of the emigration of N. E. farmers and working men.[20] I shall see them again tomorrow.

At Newnansville I stopped with Col Lemuel Wilson U. S. Assessor of Int Rev a staunch Union man who never wavered in his loyalty during all the horrors of the rebellion and whose life was often endangered by his steady refusal to give in his adhesion to the rebel cause.[21] He is a noble hearted man, and seems to be looked up to by the inhabitants of the village. When he learned my objects he refused to accept pay for my board & lodging, though he keeps the hotel of the town, and expressed himself as desirous of rendering me every aid in his power. The incessant storm which prevailed during my stay there and at Gainesville, prevented me from going about as I had intended to look at some tracts of land in that neighborhood which, from all I can learn, are well adapted for Colonizing. The lands about Archer on the R. R. below Gainesville I am told are the best on the line of the F. R R, that are not taken up. There are large tracts also on the Sta [Santa] Fe & Suwannee River of superior quality, some of which are in private hands and can be purchased at prices varying from $3. to 5. per acre. It is the general opinion of all with whom I have conversed on the subject, that the good pine lands are much more profitable to cultivate as well as much more healthy, than the hammock lands, the labor of clearing & cultivating the latter not being recompensed by a sufficiently increased yield over the former. Col G. R. Fairbanks Box 220 Nashville Tennessee, owns or has charge of two tracts each of 3,700 acres on the Sta Fe river[22] (which you will find outlined on Drews map, between

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20. Governor David Shelby Walker and A. B. Stonelake, United States Land Register at Tallahassee.
21. Wilson, a North Carolina native who had come to Florida about 1840, was a hotel keeper. When threatened with bodily harm for his Union views during the war, he had fled to Jacksonville on a horse he had hastily appropriated for the journey. Returning to Gainesville after the war, he was arrested and tried for horse stealing in October 1866. Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet*, 96; *House Reports*, 42nd Cong., 2nd sess., no. 22, pt. 18, p. 195.
22. George R. Fairbanks, a St. Augustine lawyer and former state senator, had moved to Nashville at the beginning of the war and served in the Confederate army. Some of his property had been confiscated. George R. Fairbanks, *History of the University of the South, at Sewanee, Tennessee* (Jacksonville, 1905), 68-69; Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet*, 27.

Newnansville & Natural Bridge)[23] which he wishes to sell and which is described as superior pine land, & well adapted for a Colony. Its distance from the Rail Road is a serious objection, but from all I can learn, I am inclined to think that there are no suitable tracts of land in the immediate vicinity of the R. R. of sufficient extent for a Colony; that are not divided among private owners who would only sell at larger prices. Communication with Cedar Keys could be had via Sta Fe & Suwannee Rivers. At Cedar Keys are several saw mills, erected since the war, most of which are now abandoned, and could probably be purchased at 1/2 cost & transported into the interior.[24] Col Fairbanks asks $5. per acre; would probably sell for less. There are several other tracts of valuable land for sale in that vicinity, which I find everywhere spoken of as containing some of the best lands in Florida, in sufficient bodies for colonizing purposes.

Mr Flagg, a Boston man resident here for many years & at one time Mayor, is Treas of the Pensacola & Georgia R R.[25] He says the Co would offer large inducements to settlers along the line of their Road, and that some of their R R lands are of excellent quality. The eastern terminus of this road is at Lake City. My impression is that this section is not as healthy as East & Middle Florida. Tallahassee is quite unhealthy notwithstanding its elevated position. I shall get what information I can concerning these lands from the RR office tomorrow, which, with what I can obtain from the General Land Office I will communicate in another letter. I expect to return to Jacksonville tomorrow, where I hope to find letters from you. I have heard but once from the North since I left, and presume that the mails have been delayed by the recent bad weather. From Jacksonville I shall write more fully upon all points touched upon in my letter of instructions. I am just now suffering from an attack of inflammation of the eyes caused by taking cold during the

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23. The work of Columbus C. Drew, a Jacksonville stationer. See Clark, "J. F. B. Marshall," 58n.
24. Perhaps as many as twelve saw mills went into operation in the Cedar Key area immediately after the Civil War. *DeBow's Review* (August 1866), 202.
25. Francis H. Flagg was a Tallahassee merchant and city alderman. [Julian C. Yonge, ed.], "Notes on Reconstruction in Tallahassee and Leon County, 1866-1876," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, V (January 1927), 153.

recent bad weather, which prevents me from writing or otherwise using them to any extent.[26]

No. 6
[Marshall to Forbush, written from Jacksonville, January 9, 1867.]

My last was of 5th inst from Tallahassee, which place I left yesterday morning at 10 1/2 A. M. arriving here at midnight. I find here your letters of 28th ult & 2d inst, the former enclosing a copy of Dr. Stonelake's communication.[27] I spent my last evening in T. with him & found him very familiar with the condition & ownership of Florida lands. I saw also Mr. Corley Reg[ister] of State lands, and had a pleasant conversation with Gov Walker, who is earnestly desirous of northern emigration, & says Florida will welcome N. E. settlers with open arms, feeling that in no better way can her prosperity be assured, than by an influx of northern labor, capital, & enterprise.[28] I also saw Mr. Call who I think is one of the U. S. Senators chosen, who expressed similar sentiments.[29] Indeed I have found such to be the prevailing views of all thinking men in the state with whom I have come in contact, even among those who were most ardent secessionists, and who were ruined by the war. Mr. Corley thinks the state lands are generally of a superior quality over the U. S. Govt & RR lands, much pains having been taken in their selection. They are all appraised, at rates varying from $1.25 to $10. per acre, and are scattered all over the state.

Col Houston, Prest of Pen & Geo R.R. called on me at Tallahassee and expressed his desire to have settlers along the line of their road.[30] The Co were ready to do anything in their

26. Marshall suffered from an eye disorder which was probably congenital. See Clark, "J. F. B. Marshall," 43.
27. Probably Stonelake's letter of December 17, 1866, to Forbush, who had apparently inquired about the Homestead Law of 1866 and its possible application to townsites rather than homesteads. NEEACP roll 4.
28. Hugh A. Corley later became an agent for the trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund. Helen R. Sharp, "Samuel A. Swann and the Development of Florida, 1855-1900," *Florida Historical Quarterly,* XX (October 1941), 179, 180.
29. Wilkinson Call had been elected to the United States Senate, December 29, 1865, but was not seated at the time of this letter.
30. Edward Houstoun, a wealthy Leon County planter, was president of the Pensacola and Georgia Railroad until its sale in 1869. Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet,* 110, 244-45.

power to promote such an object. He said that at Live Oak the junction of the R. R to Savannah, & in its immediate vicinity was a large body of excellent land, belonging to the RR and to the U. S. which he thought would be a very desirable site for a Colony, being in direct communication with the North, & with Jacksonville & Fernandina on the East & with the gulf by St Marks to which place there is a railroad from Tallahassee. The branch from Live Oak, connecting with the Atlantic & Gulf RR & making a RR route to Savannah has only been opened within a short time, but is well patronised, & bids fair to make this an important point. I find a difference of opinion however as to the quality of the land about Live Oak for Cotton cultivation. I think the Co would make almost any concession to induce a settlement of these lands, and the advantages of such a central point are obvious. The Supt is to send me a plan & description of these lands which I will forward, with such information as I can procure concerning them.[31]

Your recommendation to young men of moderate means, that a number should club together & purchase a Plantation or plantations & work them till they are prepared to take wild lands is a wise one. Col Scott & his associates commenced in this way, working together the first year & the second, each taking a separate portion, some of them have purchased & others are now negotiating for neighboring plantations. I think they have now some 10,000 acres in all. Mr. Raymond to whom you gave a letter to me, I met today.[32] He is talking of purchasing a plantation between Gordon & the place owned by Nickerson & Doane which I described in a former letter.[33] He goes today

31. This description, if sent, has not been located.
32. Edwin T. Raymond, of North Beverly, Massachusetts, became an Alachua County planter. Marshall reported in March that Raymond, who was joined by his older brother John, had purchased the "Sparkman plantation between Col. Scott's colony and the plantation of Messrs Doane & Nickerson" so that "Alachua County is being rapidly redeemed." Richard P. Waters to T. B. Forbush, December 24, 1866, NEEACP roll 4; Marshall to Forbush, March 4, 1867, NEEACP roll 5; U. S. Census Office, Ninth Census of the United States, 1870, original returns on microfilm, population schedule, Alachua County, Florida, p. 270.
33. Actually two Doanes, Lewis and Truman, the latter a former shipmaster and member of the Massachusetts legislature (1863, 1866), and their families had settled with Reuben Nickerson at Northern Flanders between Waldo and Gordon. Nickerson, from Eastham, Massachusetts, was an educator, salt merchant, and representative in the legislature (1853) and state senate (1866). Although he spent six years in Florida,

up the St Johns to look at that section, and may conclude to turn his attention to Fruit raising.

Your advice to the N. Carolina planter with reference to his negroes taking their homesteads in the vicinity of a plantation which he should purchase, was judicious. I fear that the settlement of freedmen in large bodies by themselves will not prove a success, & that unless there is enough of the white element among them to set them good examples of industry & direct their labor, that they will rapidly degenerate. It is generally believed here that Gen Ely's plan of Colonizing the blacks will prove a failure, but the desire of the whites to have the control of their labor may prejudice them in the matter.[34]

I find most of the large planters with whom I have conversed are of [the] opinion that the most successful growers of Cotton hereafter will be the small farmers who will work in their own fields with their hands. They say the negroes are not otherwise to be relied on. It is natural to suppose that men suddenly freed from the restraints to which they have all their lives been subjected, should not be as manageable as before, and like a boy with a new knife should be for some time experimenting with the sudden prize of freedom. I hear however, from all sides of their good behavior during the war, when left, as they in many cases were, with none but females on the plantations to direct them.

There is a colony of Northern settlers at a place called Wyoming a mile or two from this place, where I learn that lands are being taken up in small lots for the purpose of market gardening.[35] Col Rodman of Conne[cticut] is one of them.[36] I

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he later returned to a farm in Eastham. Truman Doane remained in Florida and died in Waldo. Marshall, who must have described the Nickerson-Doane plantation in one of the two missing letters to Hale, gives more information in a later letter to Forbush. Ninth Census, 1870, Alachua County, Florida, 267; John C. Rand, comp., *One of a Thousand: A Series of Biographical Sketches of One Thousand Representative Men Resident in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, A.D. 1888-'89* (Boston, 1890), 439-40; Marshall to Forbush, March 4, 1867, NEEACP roll 5; Mrs. Anna E. Lima (Massachusetts State Library) to editor, April 5, 1971.

34. In the winter of 1867 General Ralph Ely attempted to colonize some 1,000 freedmen in Volusia County near Port Orange. Mismanagement and outright malfeasance doomed the venture from the beginning. Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet,* 71-72.

35. Wyoming was a settlement north and east of Jacksonville.

36. Probably Daniel C. Rodman, a former colonel in the Seventh Connecticut Volunteer Regiment, who began farming on sixty acres

saw his market wagon in town today with a load of cauliflowers just from his garden which were selling at 25 ct to 20 ct ea. I will visit the settlement and report.

I am confirmed in my opinion that some of the best farming lands in the state are to be found in Alachua & Levy Counties between the RR & the Suwannee River. Plantations & wild lands are for sale there by private parties, Govt R.R. & State. Marion County has also superior Hammock lands. The southern part of Florida is highly spoken of as being admirably adapted to Fruit raising & as being as healthy as the northern sections. I enclose with some public documents handed me by Gov Walker a letter from Mr. Gleason, who has settled in Southern Florida, and whose statements I am informed by Dr. Stonelake and Gov W. are reliable.[37]

Much of the water of the state is impregnated with limestone, and physicians are urging the use of cistern water as being necessary to health. Col O. B. Hart who has given much attention to the matter says he has constantly endeavored to induce people to build cisterns & wherever it has been done the results are apparent in the improved health of the people.[38]

I was near Mr. Browns plantation, when at Newnansville, but the incessant rain prevented me from visiting any of the places in its vicinity as I intended. I shall return there after visiting the St Johns, which will be my next duty.[39]

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near Jacksonville in February 1866. A more complete description of his operation appears in Marshall's February 9 letter to Forbush after Marshall visited there. U. S. Adjutant General's Office, *Official Army Register of the Volunteer Force of the United States Army for the Years 1861, '62, '63, '64, '65,* 8 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1865-1867), I, 269; Marshall to Forbush, February 9, 1867, NEEACP roll 5.

37. William H. Gleason came to Florida from Wisconsin after the Civil War as a Freedman's Bureau official. He spent seventeen years in Miami before moving to Eau Gallie where he became a land speculator. He was elected lieutenant governor in 1868. The letter mentioned is probably Gleason's to A. B. Stonelake, in November 1866, concerning lands available in southern Florida. Gleason to Stonelake (copied by Marshall), November 30, 1867, NEEACP roll 4.

38. Ossian B. Hart, the son of the founder of the city of Jacksonville, was a lawyer and a Unionist. He was elected governor on the Republican ticket in 1872.

39. Possibly Leonard F. Brown, who, with Louis A. Barnes, John H. Park, and Jerry Goldsmith, all Massachusetts men, jointly operated the James Beattle plantation, sixteen miles west of Gainesville. All but Park were listed in the 1870 census as planters with $8,000 in personal property and $2,000 in real estate. Not until nearly the end of his tour did Marshall visit their plantation. Ninth Census, 1870, Alachua County, Florida, 310; Marshall to Forbush, March 4, 1867, NEEACP roll 5.

No. 3

[Marshall to Hale, written from Jacksonville, January 12, 1867.]

I have been prevented from writing as fully as I desired, by a violent inflammation of the eyes, brought on by exposure to the recent storm. During eight days the sun did not make its appearance, & most of the time it rained incessantly with thunder & lightning. Such a spell is declared to have been unprecedented by "the oldest inhabitant." I spent it at Gainesville, Newnansville and Tallahassee. At the latter place I called on Mr Corley Reg State Land Dr. Stonelake U. S. Reg (in whom I recognized an army acquaintenance, and a very intelligent man) & Gov Walker. The latter was very cordial & expressed himself earnestly in favor of immigration of Northern settlers, and as ready to welcome with open arms *abolitionists* and all others who would aid in settling and developing the resources of the state. Florida is I believe the only state that has taken measures for the education of the colored people, and tho' the legislation on this point is very defective and imbued with the secession prejudice, yet it is a step in the right direction.[40] The Northern teachers here think the evident intention was to get full control over the education of the negroes and then to drive off all who are here teaching under the auspices of Northern Societies. The act forbids teaching colored people without a license from the Supt. but I learn that none of the Northern teachers have complied with these provisions. I am told there are some thirty schools for Freedmen taught by Northern teachers. No allusion was made to any of these by the Supt in his Report, Copy of which I forward to you by this mail.[41] To aid the state in its endeavors in this direction, Gen

40. In January 1866 the Florida legislature passed an act providing for freedmen schools to be supported by a $1.00 tax on every adult Negro male and by tuition fees. A requirement that teachers would have to be licensed by the superintendent, who was appointed by the governor, was designed to keep the control in the hands of state officials. Although military forces managed to keep this part of the law from being enforced, it was thought that the bill's intent was to discourage northern teachers. *Senate Executive Documents*, 39th Cong., 2nd sess., no. 6, pp. 178-79; George R. Bentley, *A History of the Freedmen's Bureau* (Philadelphia, 1955; facsimile edition, New York, 1970), 66, 182.

41. E. B. Duncan, a Methodist minister, was the state superintendent and also superintendent of the Freedmen's Bureau schools until his dismissal in June 1867, on charges of proselyting the Negroes and of favoring southern teachers. He denied these allegations. No report survives in company records, but Duncan made two reports, one to the Freed-

Foster, in charge of Freedmens Bureau, Commissioned Mr. Duncan, the State Supt of Col[ore]d Schools, as Supt of education under the Bureau by which means he secured a salary from the U. S.[42] As neither the Governor or the Supt acknowledged this aid in their Reports, Gen. Foster revoked the Commission. Mr. Duncan is desirous of obtaining aid from the North, which, before I read the Reports & learned the state of affairs, I thought would be readily accorded. I think however that Mr. Duncan is not a competent man for the place, and that the act should be amended before the state system can be worthy of Northern aid.

The true Union men of the State, those who steadily and at the peril of their lives adhered to the Union, are politically and socially ostracised by the secessionists, and unless protected by the general government, will be made in various ways to pay a constant penalty for their loyalty. I am satisfied that there is but little if any heart-felt loyalty to the Government among those who took active part in the rebellion. They profess it themselves & advocate it in others, from necessity & policy, but they do not love the old flag & they hate with an inextinguishable hatred all southerners who proved faithful to it. The duty of the general government to protect and reward these sterling patriots who have bitterly known what it was to suffer for the Union is a sacred one, that should be thoroughly fulfilled in any measure of reconstruction. Col. Ossian B. Holt [Hart] lawyer of Jacksonville, Col. Lemuel Wilson of Newnansville, and Mr. M. A. Williams. of Fernandina, are noble specimens of this class, and can be relied on as valuable auxiliaries to the N. E. Em. Aid Soc.[43] You can commend settlers or visitors to

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men's Bureau in October and one to the legislature in November 1866. George R. Bentley, "The Political Activity of the Freedmen's Bureau in Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly,* XXVIII (July 1949), 33; Richardson, *Negro in Reconstruction Florida,* 101; *Senate Executive Documents,* 39th Cong., 2nd sess., no. 6, p. 46.

42. John G. Foster, military commander of the South, who was also assistant commissioner for the Freedmen's Bureau until March 1867. Bentley, "Political Activity," 31-32.

43. Marcellus A. Williams was collector of Internal Revenue, and was also engaged in selecting and selling swamp and overflowed state lands as an agent for the Internal Improvement Fund. In the 1870s and 1880s he conducted a land agency business with Samuel Swann. Sharp, "Samuel A. Swann," 179-80; *Register of the Officers and Agents, . . . 1867,* I, 83.

these men with perfect confidence. Col Holt [Ossian Hart] is spoken of as the proper person for Governor of the state of which he is a native. His father founded this city being the former owner of the land on which it stands.[44]

A good Union paper is very much needed here. The Florida Times for which I have subscribed for the Co. is the only one in the state and is a poorly printed & poorly conducted sheet. I sent two copies of it some time since to Mr. Forbush having an article on reconstruction written by Col Holt [Hart]. This paper, with pecuniary & editorial aid might be made the leading paper in the state, and would do much in its reconstruction. An appropriation for this purpose would be well bestowed.[45] At present it has few subscribers & its existence is hardly known beyond its immediate vicinity.

There is great need of good Hotels all over the state, none that I have yet seen being decently well managed. A hotel at this place would be well supported, there being none here worthy of the name.[46] I hear great complaints of the want of hotels all the way up the St Johns River, and many persons are deterred from visiting the various attractive points on the river from this cause, and also from prospecting in that region in search of places for settlement. There is an exception to the rule at a place called Green Cove Spring, opposite Mandarin where there is a famous sulphur Spring and near it a Hotel or Boarding house kept by Mrs Eaton which I am told is admirably kept in every respect, & can be confidently recommended to invalids as a place where they can obtain the comforts of a Northern Hotel, with a most delightful climate & facilities for fishing, shooting &c.[47] If you look on Drews map, you will see a tract of land lying between St John's River and Dunn's lake & bordering on Lake George. Most of this land

44. Isaiah David Hart (d. 1861) had come to Florida in 1821, founded Jacksonville, and held numerous city positions. T. Frederick Davis, *History of Jacksonville, Florida and Vicinity, 1513-1924* (St. Augustine, 1925; facsimile edition, Gainesville, 1964), 53, 57, 58.
45. On the company's attempt to buy out the *Times*, see Samuel A. Johnson, *The Battle Cry of Freedom: The New England Emigrant Aid Company in the Kansas Crusade* (Lawrence, Kansas, 1954), 279-80; Clark, "J. F. B. Marshall," 51.
46. Clark, "J. F. B. Marshall," 55-57, contains Marshall's comments on hotels.
47. Mrs. S. (or L.) Eaton, otherwise unidentified, managed the Union House. *Ibid.*, 56.

belongs to the state or general government as I am informed. Upon this land is a sulphur spring which belongs to a Mr. Greely of Jacksonville, which is said to be the finest in the state.[48] The land embraced in this tract is said to be of good quality and well adapted for Orange, Cotton & Sugar cultivation or for market gardening. If such is the case, it would be admirably situated for a Colony. A Hotel built at this spring would attract invalids & tourists, and would be well supported, (if well kept.) If the tract answers the description I have received of it, it would be well worth the attention of the Company.

For cotton growing, whether by large planters or small farmers, there are in my opinion no better locations, than are to be found in Alachua, Levy & Marion Counties. In all these Counties good Cotton lands both wild & cultivated, can be had at prices from $2 to $10. per acre, according to condition & position. There are very fine tracts bordering on the Suwannee & Sta Fe (called here Santiffe) [Santa Fe] rivers. The Sta Fe River is not put down on Drews map. It runs for half a mile under ground at a place called Natural Bridge. (see Drews Map). The Sta Fe river passes through the plantation of Messrs Doane & Nickerson (which I described in a previous letter) half way between Gordon & Waldo the R.R. station. All over this region are fine tracts of Cotton lands, some of which I have described in previous letters. In Hernando & Sumter Counties also are fine lands. Hernando Co has 60 or 70 miles of Sea coast with three rivers emptying into the Gulf, which though short are said to be navigable with 7-8 & 9 feet.[49] Mr. Ladd a native of Maine but an old settler here and enterprising man, contractor, lumber agt &c, writes me that there is in this County "a splendid body of fine land of 25 to 30 thousand acres, some 30 miles from the sea coast & 6 miles from the head of navigation on one of these rivers– the healthiest region in the state. The rivers abound with the finest fish and oysters. Most of this desirable land belongs

48. Jonathan C. Greeley, a native of Maine, was deputy collector of Internal Revenue. He became mayor of Jacksonville in 1873 and alderman in 1876. Ninth Census, 1870, Jacksonville, Duval County, Florida, 26; Davis, *History of Jacksonville,* 296-97: Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet,* 166.

49. Hernando County included the present county of that name as well as Citrus and Pasco counties. The three rivers were Crystal, Homossassa, and probably the Withlacoochee.

to 3 or 4 parties. 2/3 of the cedar cut since the war, has been from that vicinity."[50]

I have not taken the time to visit these tracts in various parts of the state, not deeming it within the scope of my instructions to go far from the lines of communication mentioned in your letter, or to incur the heavy expense involved in travelling by private conveyance, until I learned further of your definite plans.

I have made some enquiries as to the contract for clearing obstructions in the Ocklawaha.[51] It was made in 186[6?] & the parties were to receive a certain sum per mile, (I cannot learn how much as yet) payable 1/3 cash 2/3 in lands at 1.25 per acre. Nothing has been done since the war. The clearing out of this river would open a very valuable region in Marion & Sumpter *[sic]* C[ount]y where are some of the richest lands in the State well adapted for sugar plantations. I shall go up the St Johns next week & will report more fully on this point.

The contract made recently for opening a communication with the Indian River by which an uninterrupted inland navigation can be established from Savannah to Jupiter Inlet, is a most important one & if carried out will render valuable some of the most productive lands in the State.[52] Judge Stickney[53]

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50. Daniel Ladd, who was in Florida before 1833, was the founder and a leading merchant of Newport on the Gulf coast. Owner of the Wakulla Iron Works, Ladd served as a delegate to the secession convention from Wakulla County. Ralph A. Wooster, "The Florida Secession Convention," *Florida Historical Quarterly,* XXXVI (April 1958), 385. A biography of Ladd by Jerrell H. Shofner of Florida Technological University, Orlando, is forthcoming from the University Presses of Florida.

51. In 1859 the Florida legislature passed "AN ACT to authorize the Trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund to clean out the channel of the Ocklawaha river" as far as "Ahapopka" Lake and the branch to Silver Springs, with the swamp lands along the route pledged to raise the necessary funds. In 1866 Hubbard L. Hart of Palatka received a 40,000 acre grant to clear a navigable channel, which was finished in June 1868. *Laws of Florida,* 1859, pp. 29-30; Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet,* 117-18.

52. The Florida Canal and Island Transportation Company, chartered in December 1866, received 250,000 acres of state land at five cents an acre, but failed to construct the waterway. Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet,* 118; *Laws of Florida,* 1866, pp. 37-40.

53. Lyman D. Stickney, former tax commissioner (whose book was never published, although the report of the federal secretary of agriculture contained a chapter, as did *DeBow's Review),* contacted the New England Emigrant Aid Company. He offered land and timber as inducements for the Company's investment in the waterway project. *House Executive Documents,* 37th Cong., 3rd sess., no. 78, pp. 59-65;

whose Book on Florida is about being published, has the matter in hand, and Capt Wilder tells me is very desirous of enlisting N. E. Capital & enterprise in the work. He hopes the N. E. Em. Aid Co will take hold of it.[54] Judge Stickney is regarded here as one of the most able men in the State but his reputation is not good in other respects. He is represented to me as bold unscrupulous and unreliable. Capt Wilder who is now here, is very desirous that I should visit with him New Smyrna which he thinks the N E Em Soc might find it to their advantage to take hold of; says he had some conversation with the Directors on the subject.[55] I have declined doing so, until I am so instructed, my letter of ins[tructions] advising against it. From all I can learn the Colony there is not in a flourishing condition.

"Florida– Past, Present, and Future," *DeBow's Review* (October 1866), 382-92; L. D. Stickney Memorandum, February 14, 1867, L. D. Stickney to T. B. Forbush, February 26, 1867, NEEACP roll 5.

54. Charles B. Wilder, of Boston, an abolitionist and a Republican, came to Florida in 1866 with a plan for resettling Negroes on confiscated or vacant lands. After seeing Marshall and arranging interviews for him, Wilder suggested that Marshall should maintain a local office and continue as company agent in Florida. *House Reports,* 42nd Cong., 2nd sess., no. 22, pt. 13, pp. 253-58; Wilder to Forbush, January 17, 1867, NEEACP roll 4; February 7, 1867, NEEACP roll 5.

55. Union officers, headed by Dr. John Milton Hawkes of New Hampshire, organized the Florida Land and Lumber Company to establish a colony at Port Orange. Marshall did visit there, although the company had been warned to steer clear of New Smyrna. Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet,* 72; Fred Williams to Hale, November 28, 1866, NEEACP roll 4.

THE ISLAND OF FLORIDA

by EARL R. BECK and EDWARD F. KEUCHEL*

IN THE SPRING OF 1899 *Prometheus,* a dignified and respectable German industrial and scientific weekly magazine, featured an article about "Project Ally Sloper," an engineering scheme of enormous proportions designed to divert the Gulf Stream and alter the climate of North America and Western Europe.[1] German readers were told that Americans, flushed with success from the Spanish-American War, were contemplating spectacular peacetime plans. The periodical proclaimed its "immeasurable confidence" that this project, like all American plans, would be carried through successfully.

The Gulf Stream, explained the German author, had a tendency to flow northeastward. The peninsula of Florida provided a barrier to its normal flow, forcing it for a time to flow almost southward before then turning east and later northward to bring its warming breezes to the shores of England and continental Europe. Now the "famous engineering firm of Ally Sloper and Company" had conceived the project of cutting a path directly across the Florida peninsula accompanied by one dam built out from the end of the peninsula in a southwestward direction and a second constructed off the eastern coast running towards the northeast. The Gulf Stream would be diverted and move northward along the Atlantic Coast all the way to Canada!

Engineer "Al Opecius" conceded that this was a big task, especially since it would involve cutting through a land mass twice as broad as Panama, where the French canal company had stagnated. But, he noted, Florida had no mountains to cut through, and indeed there was a great deal of swampy and marshy land to facilitate the project. Opecius was confident that "the energy and perseverance of the Americans" would be

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1. "Ingenieur Al Opecius," "Ein neuses Riesenproject," *Prometheus. Illustrirte Wochenschrift über die Fortschritte in Gewerbe, Industrie und Wissenschaft,* Jrg. X (1899), No. 495, 417-419.

successful. Moreover, he noted, Benjamin Franklin had conceived the idea 150 years earlier.

Although Florida would become an island and some property owners would suffer losses, Opecius trusted they would find a way to profit from the venture. More important the climate of New England and even Canada would be greatly moderated. New York, on the same latitude as Naples, might well have the same climate!

Europe would be the loser. The moderating influence on its climate of the Gulf Stream would be lost. Winds from the Sahara might help southern Europe, but the British Isles and much of northern Europe would revert to Siberian temperatures. The most horrifying thought to German readers, presumably, was that the wine industry would become a thing of the past—good Rhine wine only a memory. The British Isles would be changed even more drastically, but a consoling factor might be found in the advantages which Canada would derive from the project.

It was a clever ruse. After the successful Suez project, the canals in Germany, and the Panama Canal effort, it did not seem too impossible that someone might have conceived of a really big canal across Florida! Only the usage of the term "Ally Sloper and Company" signalled its humorous intent. Ally Sloper was the pseudonym of Charles Henry Ross, a late nineteenth century English humorist.[2] The dateline, "Berlin, 1 April 1899," provided the final piece in the puzzle of the "Island of Florida"—a German "April Fool" prank.[3]

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2. Ross wrote a series of humorous adventures under the pseudonym "Ally Sloper" including *The Eastern Question Tackled* (1878); Ally Sloper's *Guide to the Paris Exhibition* (1878); and *Ally Sloper's Comic Crackers* (1883).

3. Not being familiar with the works of Charles Henry Ross the present writers were taken in by this German prank and spent hours in the library checking sources ranging from the Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union* to *Scientific American* and *The Journal of the Franklin Institute* to find the American response to this incredible project. A check of the Library of Congress printed card catalog under the author heading "Ally Sloper" finally uncovered the ruse.

BALLOONING IN THE SECOND SEMINOLE WAR

by MICHAEL G. SCHENE*

DURING THE COURSE of the long and seemingly interminable Second Seminole War, various schemes– most of them impractical and expensive, and sometimes barbarous– were advanced to end the bloody and expensive conflict. Robert Gamble, one of Florida's most prominent citizens, suggested that the government offer a bounty of $1,000 for every Seminole, whether dead or alive. This reward, he prophesized, "would be sufficient to bring men qualified for such enterprise from every part of the United States, even the trappers from the Northwest."[1] The government apparently never gave this proposal very serious consideration. A bizarre scheme that did have official approval, however, was the abortive attempt to use imported bloodhounds to bring the Indians to bay.[2] Still another plan that received serious consideration by American military authorities was the use of balloons, which were first used in warfare by the French revolutionaries in 1794. Napoleon made the balloon corps a part of the French army, but it did not see much service.

In September 1840, Colonel John H. Sherburne, a self-styled secret agent, wrote Secretary of War Joel R. Poinsett about a plan that he had developed that would "end the war before the expiration of the *present year.*" According to Sherburne's scheme, a trained balloonist would accompany the army into the field. When the soldiers encamped each day the balloon would be prepared for a night-time ascension. It would go up about 300-500 feet, and would be secured by a length of rope. Once in

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* Mr. Schene is employed by the Florida Bicentennial Commission. He would like to thank Michael Musick of the National Archives for bringing Sherburne's proposal to his attention.

1. Robert Gamble to Sir, June 26, 1841, Quartermaster Consolidated Correspondence File, Records of the Quartermaster General, Record Group 92, National Archives, Washington, D.C. Hereinafter cited as QCCF.
2. John K. Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War, 1835-1842* (Gainesville, 1967), 265-67.

the air, the balloonist– equipped with binoculars, compass, and field maps– could supposedly observe the Indian fires in the surrounding vicinity, plot their location on his map, and then deliver this information to the commanding general. The latter officer could then dispatch mounted troops– who would surround the Indian camp and "capture [them] without the fear of a shot being exchanged."[3] Sherburne claimed that it would take only fifteen minutes to inflate the balloon, and the necessary gas could be stored in four twenty-gallon copper containers.[4]

Encouraged by Benjamin F. Butler– who had recently served briefly as secretary of war– Sherburne pressed ahead with his scheme and located a used balloon that the owner was willing to sell for $600. The excited officer had ascertained that this model could be easily carried by a pack animal. His letter containing all of this information was sent to the secretary of war in early November.[5] After conferring with General Walker K. Armistead, overall commander in Florida, Poinsett notified Sherburne in January 1841 that his plan was not going to be accepted.[6] Armistead had found the "scheme entirely impracticable." He felt that the dense woods would make an ascension difficult, if not impossible, and that if indeed the balloonist was able to get aloft that the trees would prevent him observing the Indians, particularly under cover of darkness. Armistead also wondered about the danger of inflating and managing the balloon. No officer, he thought, "would be willing to trust himself in so frail a machine."[7]

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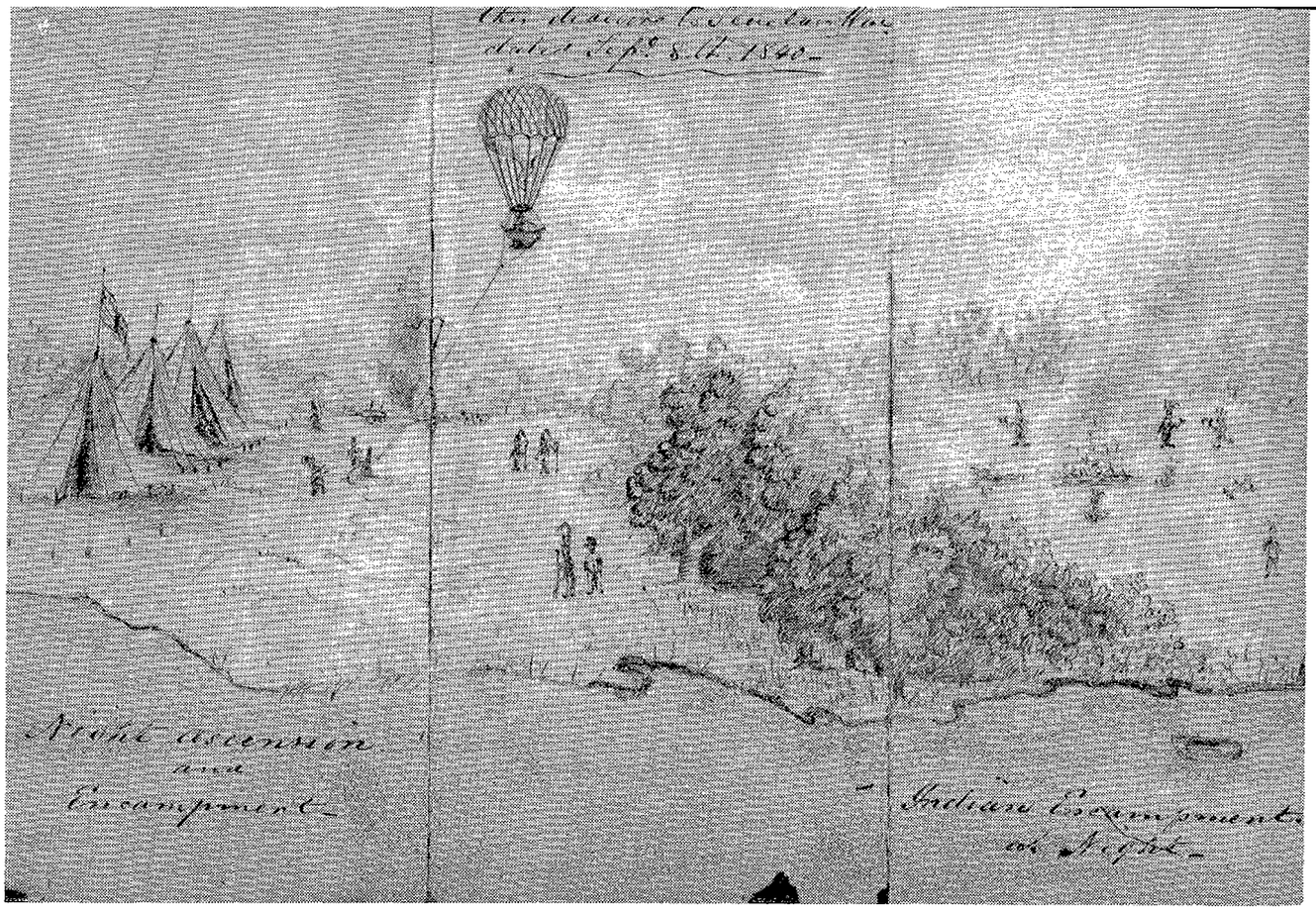
3. John H. Sherburne to J. R. Poinsett, secretary of war, September 8, 1840, Miscellaneous File 284, Records of the Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94, National Archives. Hereinafter cited as AGO. John H. Sherburne was born in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, in 1794 and died some time in the 1850s. As a self-styled secret agent, he brought a party of Cherokee Indians– including John Ross– to Florida in 1837 in an attempt to persuade the Seminoles to cease resistance and move west. Sherburne did not hold a commission in the regular army and extant militia records do not indicate that he held a volunteer commission. For several years Sherburne served as foreign correspondent for the Philadelphia Saturday Courier. He published several works including *Osceola, Erratic Poems,* and *Life of John Paul Jones.* James Grant Wilson and John Fiske, eds., *Appletons' Cyclopedia of American Biography,* 7 vols. (New York, 1888), V, 497; John H. Sherburne to General Thomas S. Jesup, March 9, 1852, QCCF.
4. Sherburne to Sir, September 8, 1840; to Poinsett, November 10, 1840, AGO.
5. Sherburne to Poinsett, November 10, 1840, AGO.
6. Poinsett to Sherburne, January 28, 1841, AGO.
7. Poinsett rejected the scheme because, General Armistead opposed it.

It was not until the Civil War that balloons became an effective military weapon. There was a balloon corps until 1863 in the Union Army, and it was used to direct cannon fire against the Confederate forces. Telegraphic messages could also be sent from the observation balloons.

The latter wrote Poinsett on December 12, 1840, saying that he held no hopes for the plan. General W. K. Armistead to Secretary of War, December 12, 1840, A362, Adjutant General's Office, 1840, Letters Received by the Office of Adjutant General (Main Series, 1822-1860), National Archives, Washington, D.C.



Sketch of Balloon for Seminole War.
"Sketch of Balloon for Seminole War," Miscellaneous File 284, Records of the Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

BOOK REVIEWS

Lemon City: Pioneering on Biscayne Bay, 1850-1925. By Thelma Peters. (Miami: Banyan Books, Inc., 1976. xii, 302 pp. Preface, maps, illustrations, epilogue, appendix, bibliography, index. $8.95.)

Several times as you read through the continually vibrant passages of this book you are struck with the thought, "Why, that of itself would justify sole attention." The author again has revealed herself as an eminent Florida historian, with special emphasis, in this instance, on South Florida. She writes with verve and intelligence, and while you wonder at her capacity for research you compliment her on achieving what she set out to do: to write in detail, with an insistence upon historical accuracy, and yet with grace and fluency.

She records many names, but always identifying the person and showing the role that he or she played in Lemon City's history. Most of the names are easily recalled by this reviewer; some are living today. It would be unfair to include all the names from Dr. Peters's book, but a few, like Dr. John Gordon DuPuis, demand special attention. He came to Miami before the turn of the twentieth century to practice medicine and to operate a drug store. He also distinguished himself as a grower, farmer, builder, and as the operator of a large dairy. He was a man of many interests. Much of his work is being carried on by his son, who has expanded the family's various business activities. He operates large cattle herds in the Okeechobee area and produces excellent fruits and vegetables.

There are Seminole Indians in Dr. Peters's book. She notes that at first they were feared, but then were accepted as neighbors, although many were somewhat distinguished by odd characteristics and habits. The Blacks also played an important role in the early building of Lemon City. Many ethnic and national groups contributed to the development of South Florida.

There are many exciting incidents described by the author. One escapade gripped Lemon City in fear until the renegade, Sam S. Lewis, was captured and hung. He had been known as

the "depopulator"; in his rampage he had slain several residents. Dr. Peters also locates many of the early sites in the area: Sawdust Road, Lemon Avenue, East Humbugus, and others.

It is difficult to visualize the Lemon City which Dr. Peters describes; it has become so much a part of the urban sprawl of Miami. But she has brought back the past of this South Florida community to us in a delightful book. Perhaps her work on Lemon City will inspire other historians to explore the early experiences of Florida settlements before this important local history is lost forever.

Miami, Florida JOHN D. PENNEKAMP

Eighteenth-Century Florida: Life on the Frontier. Edited by Samuel Proctor. (Gainesville: The University Presses of Florida, 1976. xi, 110 pp. Introduction, symposium participants, notes, illustrations. $6.50.)

Nine scholars presented papers at a symposium at Florida Technological University, Orlando, in March 1974. Like its two predecessors, this third annual symposium was sponsored by the American Revolution Bicentennial Commission of Florida. Life on the southern frontier during the time of the Revolution was the theme, though, partly because of a lack of sources, no attempt was made to cover all aspects.

With few exceptions, most of the two British Floridas may be considered part of the frontier. These sparsely-settled provinces remained loyal to the crown in 1776, and loyalists from the rebelling colonies sought refuge in East and West Florida after the outbreak of fighting. Three papers– among the best– deal with these Florida refugees and with the larger question of the nature of loyalism. Geraldine Meroney analyzes loyalism in the South Carolina backcountry and considers such leaders as Moses Kirkland and Thomas Brown who eventually made their way to British East Florida. John Stuart, Indian superintendent for the Southern District, also fled from South Carolina to Florida. It is Meroney's contention that at the outset Stuart did not stir the Indians against the rebels, but I doubt it. Robert Calhoon perceptively demonstrates how Florida loyalists had much in

common with loyalists all along the American frontier– from the Gulf coast to Vermont. This is an important consideration, not only to understand the Revolution, but also the post-1783 development of the United States. Mary Beth Norton's penetrating "speculations on frontier loyalism" builds on the thesis of William Nelson, and she emphasizes that the overriding motivation for loyalism was a desire for social order.

Several of the papers dealt with ethnic groups. Painstaking research allows Bertram Korn to give the reader rewarding glimpses of the Monsanto and other Jewish families living in Pensacola and West Florida. Roland McConnell tells about blacks in West Florida, but his major concentration is on Spanish Louisiana. Summarizing his previous work, James O'Donnell gives an informative account of the Indians' role on the Florida frontier during the Revolutionary era.

Though containing some historical errors, David Mays's description of the theater provides a delightful portrayal of George Farquhar's *Beaux' Stratagem* which was performed in wartime St. Augustine, and Professor Mays effectively captures the flavor of the eighteenth-century stage. David Kushner devotes inordinate attention to music in Puritan New England and with few exceptions does not come to grips with his topic. Since the typical inhabitant in the Lower South was black, Kushner's omission of the rich Negro musical heritage is unfortunate. The same point might be made for the Scots, Indians, and other ethnic groups in addition to the German Moravians whom Kushner mentions. Getting away from the symposium's theme and taking a broader view, Don Higginbotham reminds us that, though Washington had feet of clay, he justly is remembered as a symbol of integrity, and Higginbotham points out the possibilities of evaluating Washington as a revolutionary in the tradition of a Gandhi or Ho Chi Minh.

Scholars will find most of these articles useful and sometimes stimulating, and they may challenge students to probe further into neglected aspects of Florida's colonial history.

Florida State University J. LEITCH WRIGHT, JR.

Presencia Hispanica en La Florida, Ayer y Hoy: 1513-1976. Edited by José Agustín Balseiro. (Miami: Ediciones Universal, 1976. 199 pp. Introduction, notes, tables, index. $5.95.)

Enthusiasm for the United States Bicentennial has produced many scholarly and popular works celebrating this country's past and present. *Presencia Hispánica en La Florida,* an edited collection of essays in Spanish, is of this genre and reflects the publication phenomenon as a whole in that it contains works of good, mediocre, and poor quality. The theme of the collection, Hispanic presence in Florida history, is important, particularly since it is not restricted just to the two periods in which Spain held Florida as a colony. Editor Balseiro, in his general introduction, seeks to dramatize the lasting ties of the Hispanic world with Florida. He emphasizes the considerable cultural exchanges that have taken place in this century. Balseiro also believes that the ideals behind the initial liberation of the United States from colonial rule should be reaffirmed for the liberation of the rest of the hemisphere.

The able historian Monseñor Vicente Murga relates the intriguing story of Juan Ponce de León and his discovery of Florida in 1513. Murga draws heavily on his previous studies of Juan Ponce, and gives a brief and informative description of the complex events surrounding the discovery. Murga obtained his information from original documents in Spain and Puerto Rico. Many of the more important of these documents are reproduced in his biography of Juan Ponce published in 1959.

Another article concerning Spanish Florida describes medicine and medical practice in St. Augustine. This is the best article in the collection. Dr. William Straight enlisted the valuable assistance of Luis Arana of the Castillo de San Marcos National Monument to search through available materials for information about St. Augustine health conditions, hospitals, doctors, treatments, and medications. More of this kind of work needs to be done. Considerable medical information is available in the East Florida Papers, and it is there that one will find evidence that quinine was used in Spanish Florida. Though references appear at the end of the article it is unfortunate that their corresponding numbers were deleted from the text. There

should have been mention also of the publication of an English version of this article in the August 1968 issue of the *Journal of the Florida Medical Association*.

The third article concerns the status and condition of East and West Florida during the American Revolution. Charles Arnade, through a thorough use of secondary sources, presents a solid overall view of the Floridas' unique position as loyal colonies between the years 1776 and 1781 for West Florida and 1784 for East Florida. Though Arnade's work is far from complete, it should prove of value because few works concerning this subject have been written in Spanish, and the recent excellent works by Professors Leitch Wright and Robert Rea probably will not be available in Spanish.

The remaining articles in this collection have much less to do with the history of the Hispanic presence in Florida. The first, by the noted folklorist R. S. Boggs, attempts to describe the results of the meeting of "traditional cultures" in Florida over a 450-year period. The result is superficial and incomplete. Rosa Abella writes about the cultural presence of Cuban immigrants in modern Miami. This article is largely descriptive and has polemic overtones. Carlos Ripoll, author of many works on the Cuban liberator José Martí, contributes an article on the thought of Martí and his love-hate relationship with the United States. Finally, the economist Antonio Jorge discusses the economic changes brought about by the massive Cuban immigration to Dade County in the 1960s. Overall, this collection has more weaknesses than strengths though the articles by William Straight and Charles Arnade are genuine contributions.

University of Florida BRUCE S. CHAPPELL

Parade of Memories: A History of Clay County, Florida. By Arch Frederic Blakey. (Jacksonville: Clay County Bicentennial Steering Committee, 1976. x, 311 pp. Acknowledgments, illustrations, maps, tables, appendixes, notes, bibliography, index. $7.80.)

As is so aptly stated in the title, this work is a parade of memories through which the author discerns the positive

virtues of "respect and love of country, county, and family; respect for hardwork; frugality; independence; hope; and a reverence for God" shining through in the lives of Clay countians. In essence the subject "Clay County" is the focus of the book without benefit of a specific thesis. The narration covers the events of man upon the county's land from prehistoric Indians to Bicentennial Americans.

Professor Blakey has done well. He has painstakingly traced the lives of people using such mundane sources as plat maps and deed books. But beyond this he has fleshed out his work through the device of discussing early hand tools, construction methods, and the buildings errected by the pioneers. In the later decades he uses minutes of the county commissioners and county superintendent reports. Yet his writing skill creates an interest beyond the bare facts provided by such sources.

Unfortunately Blakey burrowed so much among the deed books that he lost sight of some of the more obvious sources. From the *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion* the author would have had knowledge of the frequent communications between N. D. Benedict, owner of the Magnolia Hotel, and the captains of the Union gunboats patrolling the St. Johns River, and he would have learned how the hotel was saved from a navy shelling by order of Admiral Samuel Du Pont of the United States Navy. These and many other facts about Clay County may be found in this series. A study of the Compiled Service Records of Volunteer Union Soldiers from Florida would have prevented such sweeping claims as "all of them [Clay countians] fought for the Confederacy." A cursory examination by this reviewer found privates Lewis, Jesse Myers, and Stephen Phillips in Union ranks. But these oversights detract little from Blakey's book.

A serious defect of this work is the completely inadequate index; the number of individuals mentioned in the text but omitted from the index is appalling. For example, page fifty-one lists twenty-one early residents of Whitesville, yet only nine of the twenty-one are to be found in the index. Many early steamboats on the St. Johns River are mentioned but not a single one appears in the index. A researcher using this book

will have to read it from cover to cover for there is no other way of determining its contents.

It takes a special talent to write local history well. In most instances the characters are the little people, the episodes are their daily lives, and the significance is parochical. Then why write local history? First, because people want to, and should, know about their regional roots. Unfortunately this reason has caused many genealogical studies to masquerade as local history. Dr. Blakey's book is not a genealogical study. Second, because these pieces may be drawn upon by historians who synthesize from them to create the overall picture of a people or an era. Therefore, local history should be more demanding with regard to identifying all individuals in its narration. Good local history can be the basic building blocks to better general histories. Blakey has obviously written his book under just such criteria. *Parade of Memories* is a good solid history of Clay County. It should be on the bookshelf not only of people from the area, but of all those interested in the history of Florida.

Jacksonville University GEORGE E. BUKER

Spain: Forgotten Ally of the American Revolution. By Buchanan Parker Thomson. (North Quincy, Massachusetts: The Christopher Publishing House, 1976. 250 pp. Preface, introduction, illustrations, notes. $9.75.)

In the preface to her book Mrs. Thomson states that she had undertaken a personal quest in the United States and in Spain to learn the true facts about Spain's aid to the North American colonies during their struggle for independence. She has published her findings in a very readable form.

In her introduction the author sketches the historical background of the period in which the American Revolution began. Here the sequence of subjects is somewhat confusing. An example, "Havana, where the trading vessels of the colonists were doing a vast business, could be made the intelligence center." At the beginning of the war legal trade between the colonies and Havana did not exist, and although a royal order in November

of 1776 enabled American ships to enter the harbor of Havana for needed supplies, actual trade did not begin until 1778.

The book is divided into three parts. In part one– Aid for the American Colonies Originating in and Carried Forward in Spain– secret aid, which was started in the spring of 1776, is traced through correspondence of the Spanish prime minister, the French foreign minister, the Spanish ambassador at the French court, the American commissioner Arthur Lee, and others, including the Bilbao merchant Diego de Gardoqui, who would be Spain's chargé de affairs in the United States after the war. After Spain declared war against England in June 1779, the Continental Congress sent John Jay as its minister to the court of Carlos III to seek an alliance with Spain and loans of money.

In her account of the missions of Juan de Miralles and Francisco Rendon, Spanish agents to the Continental Congress, the author uses as her principal source the work of Miguel Gómez del Campillo, *Relaciones Diplomáticas entre España y los Estados Unidos* (Madrid, 1944), compiled from documents in the Archivo Histórico Nacional, but she fails to quote Gómez del Campillo's caveat that the reports of those agents which are to be found in that archive are very few and his conjecture (correct) that their correspondence probably is in the Archivo General de Indias. Lack of knowledge of that correspondence causes numerous misconceptions.

Part two– Spain as an Ally in Action in America– is the drama of Bernardo de Gálvez, governor of Louisiana; of Oliver Pollock, the Irish trader; George Rogers Clark, "the Kentuckian"; and of disputes over territorial boundaries and the right of navigation on the Mississippi River. Secret aid to the Americans was begun by Governor Luis Unzaga of Louisiana in the summer of 1776. When Bernardo de Gálvez became acting-governor on January 1, 1777, more vigorous measures were begun, and in 1778 Gálvez set up a "secret source of supply" to Clark in the Illinois country. After Spain's declaration of war against England in July 1779, Gálvez was ordered to expel the English from the Gulf of Mexico and the banks of the Mississippi. Gálvez then began a series of expeditions which were successful despite delays caused by storms, shipwrecks, and the vacillations of some fellow officers. In September 1779 Gálvez captured Manchak, Baton

Rouge, and Natchez. On March 14, 1780, Spanish forces under his command captured Mobile, and on May 10, 1781, Pensacola. Part two of Mrs. Thomson's book is based on good research and is well organized. Part three– "Por la Verdad" (For the Truth)– is brief. When Pinckney's Treaty was signed on October 27, 1795, "the long laborious work toward recognition of the new nation of the United States was finished."

This book will interest and inform readers who might not care to read works devoted to one or a few of the many subjects treated in it. Scholars may wish the author had included an index and a bibliography.

Orange Park, Florida AILEEN MOORE TOPPING

The Impact of the American Revolution Abroad: Papers presented at the fourth symposium, May 8 and 9, 1975. Library of Congress Symposia on the American Revolution. (Washington: Library of Congress, 1976. 171 pp. Preface, introduction, notes, biographical sketches. $4.50.)

All the sights and sounds of the Bicentennial are now faded. No Crystal Palace, Eiffel Tower, Statue of Liberty, or other grand edifice remains to either glorify or haunt us. What we still have are books– mountains of books poured forth by the publishers who were hoping for a Bicentennial bonanza that never came about. Yet the solace is that the Library of Congress became involved and left us a small but useful catalogue of Bicentennial publications, ranging from reproductions of a Revere engraving to these collected papers from a two-day symposium where scholars from around the globe converged on Washington to discuss the international implications of the American Revolution.

R. R. Palmer had earned the right to begin such a discussion for his work led historians down a new pathway of understanding about the Revolution as a manifestation of the Enlightenment. Indeed, one scholar notes in a later paper that Palmer is "surely one of the few historians of this century who can be named alongside Macaulay and Ranke." Palmer here reminds us that although we point to certain documents as fundamental to the

Revolutionary experience, the state constitutions "with their accompanying declarations of rights" were more influential in contemporary Europe. The Revolution had impact in Europe on three fronts, but it was chiefly in the realm of ideas that "Europeans immediately perceived that something big had happened in history." An intellectual outpouring of books confirmed this sense of upheaval perhaps more than the actual warfare or such side effects as a hastening of the French court's bankruptcy. Ultimately the Revolution gave a tone to the French upheaval and caused thinking men everywhere to seek "all that was then meant by the Rights of Man," Palmer concludes.

Between Palmer's opening paper on the overseas impact of the Revolution, and Owen Dudley Edwards's closing discourse on the effect in Ireland, thoughtful papers deal with France (Claude Fohlen), Dutch Republic (J. W. Schulte Nordholt), Great Britain (J. H. Plumb), Russia (N. N. Bolkhovitinov), and "the Spanish and Portuguese Speaking World" (Mario Rodriguez). Plumb's paper is the most provocative in that he focuses attention on the manner in which the Revolution shook up smug bureaucrats at St. James Court, e.g., the ridiculous apportionment of the House of Commons "was scarcely questioned in the 18th century until the issue was raised in the 1760's by Wilkes and the Americans." Plumb also shows that India replaced America as the crown jewel in the afterglow of Yorktown.

Edwards's paper on Ireland deserves a wide audience. He demonstrates the growth of myths about Ireland and the Revolution down to the present moment, and quotes John Richard Alden's recent statement that Roman Catholics there were sympathetic to the American cause. In fact, most Irish Catholics were indifferent to the Revolution, although a considerable number were enlisting in George III's army. It was Irish Protestants who were friendly to the Americans, Edwards insists, and he cites strong evidence that a combination of religious and traditional factors "placed the Catholics firmly on the side of George III and Lord North." He also sees a thin, gory line traceable from the glorified violence of the American Revolution in Irish patriotic literature to actions in 1916 as well as those reported in yesterday's headlines.

Beyond the narrow Irish impact, Edwards also notes that the

American Revolution "has to be considered as an event in the history of republicanism as well as in that of democracy," and he sees parallelism between the restraint of Daniel O'Connell at Clontarf in 1843 and John Adams's refusal to involve the U.S. in a French war.

My only cavil with this excellent collection, which is offered at a bargain price, is in the design. Long quotations and the footnotes are printed in an excessively small (seven-point) type and thus throw an added handicap on a generation of bifocaled scholars.

The Papers of James Madison
The University of Virginia ROBERT A. RUTLAND

The Presidency of Thomas Jefferson. By Forrest McDonald. (Lawrence: The University Press of Kansas, 1976. xi, 201 pp. Preface, epilogue, notes, a note on the sources, index. $12.00.)

Jefferson: A Revealing Biography. By Page Smith. (New York: American Heritage Publishing Co., Inc., 1976. 310 pp. Illustrations, acknowledgments, index. $12.50.)

Jefferson at once inspires and baffles students of American history, and both Forrest McDonald and Page Smith find in this perplexity a key to understanding him. "Eighteen months ago," McDonald explains in his preface, "I moved [onto] . . . a small farm in the deep South, . . . and I have been observing at close range the kind of rural folk who were the original backbone of the Jeffersonian party— in all their meanness and grandness, their bigotry and openness, their clannishness and hospitality." Smith observes in his Olympian conclusion that Jefferson was more the artist than the politician, a pattern revealed by "his obsessiveness, his morbidity, his excessive love-dependence, his secretiveness, his vanity and vulnerability, his excessive schizaphrenia, his megalomenia, his inability to sustain routine labors, his abject failure to manage his financial affairs, his self-indulgence, his sensuous . . . apprehension of the world. . . ." These traits make Jefferson, in Smith's judgment,

"splendidly luminous, the articulator of democracy, the inexhaustible artificer, the artist as tragic hero."

Alike in their tragic view of human existence, these two books are as dissimilar as– well, as the various sides of Jefferson's character. Smith is thorough and serene; McDonald is tenacious and troubled. Readers disconcerted by McDonald's summary dismissal of political principles in *E Pluribus Unum* will be delighted with his powerful, closely interwoven analysis of ideology and economic interest in this book– and also in his earlier volume in the same series on *The Presidency of George Washington.* He explains that Jeffersonian ideology– adapted from the Bolingbroke tradition of English opposition thought– expressed perfectly the pent-up anxieties and soaring expectations of the American people: "corruption was everywhere, . . . but given a proper environment, that did not need to be the way of things. Mankind could be rejuvinated through education and self-discipline, but that was only possible in the context of a life-style that exalted living on, owning, and working the land. . . . Relationships . . . based upon agriculture and its handmaiden 'commerce'. . . enabled men to be secure in their sense of place, . . . secure in their identities and their sense of values" so that "manly virtue, honor, and public spirit governed their conduct." Jefferson and his chief colleagues, Madison and Gallatin, consequently designed and executed a policy of reducing government debt and expanding territorial frontiers. Too intricate to summarize here, McDonald's exposition of these policies is a skillful analysis of interests, tactics, and administration. He argues that factors of European diplomacy beyond Jefferson's control or comprehension enabled him to achieve impressive success during his first term, and that altered circumstances in Europe– coupled with the rigidity of Jeffersonian principles– doomed the second term to disastrous failure.

Page Smith's study, the accompanying text for a beautifully illustrated book, should perhaps be judged only as sophisticated coffee table history. The text and pictures mesh nicely. The narrative of the times, and of Jefferson's place in them, has the masterful tempo and pace which grace all of Smith's writings. But it is not a particularly "revealing biography." Despite a few intriguing isolated passages, including the one quoted at the outset of this review, there is no comprehensive effort to bring

alive Jefferson's personality and intellect. Smith partially withdraws the glowing endorsement he earlier gave Fawn Brodie's book on Jefferson, but he makes no discernable use of the modern scholarship which has done the most to make Jefferson's intellectuality accessible and relevant to the modern reader, for example, Wilbur S. Howell and Cecelia Kenyon on the drafting of the Declaration, or Edmund S. Morgan and Lance Banning on Jeffersonian republican ideology. The genius of McDonald's book, in direct contrast, is its fierce determination to confront non-specialists with recent historiography in all its complexity and richness and to do so persuasively and accurately.

University of North Carolina
at Greensboro ROBERT M. CALHOON

A Southern Odyssey: Travelers in the Antebellum North. By John Hope Franklin. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1976. xxvi, 299 pp. Preface, notes, illustrations, a note on the sources, index. $12.50.)

For generations ordinary readers, scholars, and graduate students have been studying accounts by Northerners of their travels in the antebellum South, but little or no attention has been given to what Southerners wrote about their travels in Yankeeland. Professor Franklin has now corrected this state of affairs with a discussion of southern travels in the antebellum North. The book began as the Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures at Louisiana State University in 1972, but it has been much expanded and somewhat modified for publication.

Southerners went north for many reasons. Some went on business. Others went for reasons of health, to "take the cure" at one of the fashionable northern watering places. Thousands went to attend school, either for conventional undergraduate work or for professional, especially medical, training. Still others went to visit family or friends. Last, but certainly not to be ignored, were those who went simply to see what the North was like. By the time of the secession crisis, a journey to the North had become a sort of "Grand Tour" for those who could afford it and who had the necessary leisure.

Professor Franklin's organization is excellent. After an introductory chapter dealing with the "Grand Tour" in general, a chapter is devoted to study in the North. Southern publicists like J. D. B. De Bow railed against sending southern boys (and some girls) to the Northeast for their education, but the practice continued. A third chapter describes the economic motivations of some travelers and their reaction to the hustle, bustle, and industry of northern life. Twenty-one pages of illustrations and captions are aptly entitled "An Album of Southern Travel."

A fourth chapter tells of the slaves who went north with their owners and of southern reaction to the free blacks in northern cities. Abolitionist activity in time made it extremely risky for a slaveowner to take his human property north with him, but this did not shake southern belief in the beneficence of the "peculiar institution." Those slaves that disappeared were assumed to have been "kidnapped."

Ample space is alloted to criticisms of the North, which ranged from denunciation of abolitionism to complaints against the noise of the cities. Most southern travelers did find much to admire, but they almost unanimously concluded that the South was superior overall. It is worth noting that few complained of the food they received. They were, however, very much aware that the North was the home of abolitionism, and a chapter is devoted to the attempts of a few Southerners, notably Robert Toombs, William Gilmore Simms, and William G. Brownlow, to explain to the northern public why the South was right and the abolitionists wrong on the ever-worsening slavery controversy. A final chapter relates how travel in the North persisted until after secession and how quickly it resumed after the close of hostilities.

This is an excellent book. Professor Franklin's research has been prodigious. More than eighty separate manuscript collections, antebellum periodicals, travel accounts, diaries, and secondary works are cited in the first chapter, and succeeding chapters are even more thoroughly documented. But this meticulous scholarship has not impeded the narrative. Franklin's style is as clear, as concise, and as great a pleasure to read as in his previous works. One could perhaps wish that he had discovered an account of a trip to the North by a yeoman farmer or

Southerners other than the wealthy and socially prominent men and women who are quoted, but that would probably be asking for the impossible. This is a book to be read by all who are interested in southern and antebellum American history.

McNeese State University JOE GRAY TAYLOR

This Species of Property: Slave Life and Culture in the Old South. By Leslie Howard Owens. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976. 291 pp. Preface, introduction, manuscript sources, notes, index. $12.95.)

The author has certainly presented a fresh view of slave life and slave personality in the Old South. The slave's human behavior was not stereotyped; there were many variables in his society in which his initiative, intelligence, and talent found expression. The theme presented here shreds the Sambo image. Source materials taken from manuscripts and slave narratives result in a new evaluation of the relationship between master and bondsman called "mutual reliance." Diet deficiency is stressed to account for the various diseases which plagued slaves and is related to behavioral patterns, especially the apparent laziness of slaves described by contemporary travelers. In mentioning diseases, reference is made to "dirt eating." The author states: "The precise cause of dirt eating is not known." He overlooked the fact that hookworm disease caused dirt eating.

Slaves protested their state of bondage in many ways: by running away, setting fire to the owner's property, stealing his food, self-mutilation when about to be sold, committing suicide, poisoning owners, and resisting in other ways. "Indocility was a constant variable, not docility." House slaves conveyed to field slaves the owner's conversations concerning them, such as planning to sell a family or individual, or tracking down a runaway. House slaves acted as spies for their fellow slaves.

The driver was the most important black on the plantation. The author should have made known the fact that owners preferred drivers to overseers in the management of their slaves but laws within the slave states required that a white person always be present on the plantation. With an overseer, the

owner was free to be absent when he chose. Drivers were more knowledgeable in planting techniques and, most often, more intelligent than overseers. This also should have been mentioned.

The section on folk culture is especially good. The stories slaves told while gathered together in their houses (the author always calls them huts) were allegorical: Br'er Rabbit's family was devoured by the wolf but he saved himself by spitting tobacco juice into the wolf's eyes. This tale alludes to the slave trade which separated families. Religious expression was linked with the African past. Slaves met together secretly in brusharbors to hold their "prayer parties" where they sang and shouted rhythmically. There is no reference to the prayer or shout houses on the plantations where slaves held their religious services, or the fact that they preferred these to the churches of the whites which many of them were compelled to attend on Sunday mornings.

The list of manuscript sources consulted is impressive. From these sources, also secondary citations not listed in the bibliography, the author has created a most provocative and well-written narrative in reconstructing the portrait of slave life in the Old South. Despite the minor omissions and lack of adequate footnoting at a few paragraph endings, also the fact that chapter footnotes are placed at the end of the book (most inconvenient for the reader when checking footnotes), this study is a distinct contribution in the scholarly world on the subject of slavery and should be consulted by all students in this field of history.

Georgia Southern College JULIA F. SMITH

A Georgian at Princeton. By Robert Manson Myers. (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1976. 365 pp. $12.95.)

One of the most highly praised books of 1972, *The Children of Pride*, introduced to Americans interested in history the family of the Reverend Charles Colcock Jones and his wife Mary. Dr. and Mrs. Jones were well-to-do, highly literate, well-informed Georgians, who had a large and complicated family connection, three plantations which they had inherited in Liberty County,

Georgia, and a fascinating ability to write engaging and affectionate letters. The most interesting of the letters of this family from 1854 to 1868 were published as *The Children of Pride.*

In this new book, the same editor, Robert Manson Myers of the University of Maryland, has presented 217 additional letters of the Jones family. These letters cover the years 1850-1852, and reveal to us the same Joneses, except that they were younger and more hopeful and less troubled. In April 1850 Dr. and Mrs. Jones and their three children were living in Columbia, South Carolina, where Dr. Jones was a professor in the Presbyterian Seminary; their two oldest children, Charles and Joseph, aged nineteen and seventeen, were students in the South Carolina College. On April 18 their house with all its furnishings was destroyed by fire. Three weeks later the Board of Domestic Missions of the Presbyterian Church— under God's direction (at least, so the Joneses believed)— offered to Dr. Jones the post of secretary (hence director) of the work of the board. He accepted the post, moved to Philadelphia, and lived there with his wife and daughter the next three years. The two Jones boys transferred from South Carolina College to Princeton, and in due time both were graduated from that institution.

The fact that this book contains sixty-one letters written by Charles, Jr., to his parents while he was at Princeton provides Professor Myers with his title. Yet these letters do not tell us so much about life at Princeton as they do about Charles himself— a grave, industrious, upright, moralistic youth. Curiously, there is not a single letter from Joseph at Princeton: all his letters to his parents seem to have vanished. More than half the letters in this new book were written by Dr. and Mrs. Jones, either to each other or to Charles. And it is this gifted couple who in their letters emerge most vividly as real people. For several weeks each year they were separated from each other, he absent on business of the Presbyterian Church, and either the one or the other of them making long visits to their Georgia plantations to supervise work there. They were deeply devoted to each other, were in complete harmony about everything, were profoundly religious, were exceedingly solicitous about their children's moral welfare, and in almost every letter that they wrote their sons reminded them of the "imperative necessity"

facing them of making their "peace with God" and "acknowledging Jesus Christ as Savior."

These letters contain but few and faint echoes of politics, yet much rich detail of the social and intellectual currents of the mid-nineteenth century. Unfortunately the book has no index and no notes whatever. Presumably Dr. Myers thought that, having given full identifications of all his characters in *Children of Pride,* he needed no notes here. These omissions are serious flaws.

Emory University JAMES RABUN

The Trouble They Seen: Black People Tell the Story of Reconstruction. Edited by Dorothy Sterling. (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1976. xviii, 491 pp. Foreword, acknowledgments, illustrations, index. $7.95.)

The Trouble They Seen: Black People Tell the Story of Reconstruction is an exceptional book. For most historians who specialize in the post-Civil War era, the epic struggle of 4,500,000 ex-slaves to refit their position, role, dreams, and aspirations to a society newly-structured by emancipation has been somewhat tangential to more scholarly interest in state and national politics, economics, corruption, and the restoration of peace. In so far as they were involved as subjects or targest of white concerns with these issues, blacks have formed an integral part of Reconstruction historiography. But Dorothy Sterling had something else in mind or this book would never have been produced.

As documentary history the work follows a familiar format; it is a series of primary source materials which reveal basic Negro concerns for their lifestyles during Reconstruction, interspersed with brief introductory passages that tie the letters, articles, speeches, and editorials written by black folk together. Heightening the reader's interest are the photographs and illustrations depicting major black personalities and events. Included are several references to three of Florida's more prominant blacks– Jonathan Gibbs, secretary of state; Josiah Walls, congressman; and Emanuel Fortune, state legislator.

But the value of Sterling's edited works lays neither in its format nor precisely with the subject matter; documentary histories abound, as do objective and scholarly accounts of the blacks' role in Reconstruction. What is of worth is an emotive awareness that Reconstruction failed Negroes totally and miserably. Sterling's collection of materials points out that black expectations following emancipation were both reasonable and minimal– peace, security, space, and hope. What becomes poignantly and painfully clear is that white society– Republicans and Democrats, Northerners and Southerners alike– were committed to insuring that black freedmen would fail to achieve even these limited goals. The troubles Negroes saw in Reconstruction included rape, murder, beatings, whippings, discrimination of all kinds, and much deep frustration. Yet, even Jonathan Gibbs was optimistic before he was poisoned to death in 1871: "The future is, to the young man of color who is earnest, glorious. Everything is before us; everything to win!" Had he survived even five years more, one could imagine that Gibbs would have altered his view.

Dorothy Sterling is a "popular" historian; therefore the "serious" historian might be tempted to fault the book for its lack of detailed notes or a bibliography. The author has, however, provided documentation for all source materials presented, and her judicious ability to allow the sources to "speak for themselves" more than adequately compensates for any deficiencies. Unlike many documentary histories, *The Trouble They Seen* is what the title denotes– the black view of black burdens in Reconstruction, and while all who read about the "tragic era" agree that it was indeed a time of trouble, Sterling has permitted those who experienced those troubles most directly to tell their own story and, indirectly, to challenge again American society to fulfill finally the unmet goals of black people that the Civil War, emancipation, and Reconstruction originally had proposed.

Daytona Beach Community College PETER D. KLINGMAN

Freedmen, Philanthropy, and Fraud: A History of the Freedman's Savings Bank. By Carl R. Osthaus. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1976. 257 pp. Acknowledgments, notes, illustrations, tables, appendixes, bibliography, index. $10.95.)

"The black man's cow, but the white man's milk" was the way Frederick Douglass described the Freedmen's Savings Bank. Douglass's description was apt. Though the Bank was founded by philanthropists for freedmen, and the latter's numerous small deposits made it a success, the benefits went not to freedmen but to white real estate dealers and speculators in Washington.

Basing his study on primary materials, including correspondence between bank employees and officials, Osthaus demonstrates how a philanthropic crusade which was intended to transform former slaves into thrifty, industrious, middle-class citizens, ended by fleecing the very people it was founded to aid. Chartered by Congress in 1865, the bank was "a poor company seeking to establish itself in a poor land among poor people." Nevertheless, it succeeded beyond the dreams of its founders. Thousands of black families did not have to be taught. They were already thrifty, hardworking people, and by 1870 deposits totaled $1,600,000. By 1873 they had reached $4,000,000.

Though there were some white depositors (twenty-five per cent white in New Orleans and New York) the bank's success must be credited to the freedmen. Obviously deposits tended to be small. When the bank failed in 1874 the average amount owed to each depositor was $48.00. Numerous families apparently saved by the penny, nickel, and dime. In July 1874 almost 900 accounts at one branch averaged only ninety-two cents. But as Osthaus points out, the account's size bore "little relationship to its significance for a person's morale: to many of the poor, the idea of saving toward a better life was more meaningful than the actual size of their savings."

Unfortunately for blacks their bank had serious weaknesses from the beginning. During its early years it was operated by well-meaning, but frequently incompetent men. Then in 1870 it began to suffer from corrupt leadership. Actions of bank officers from 1870 to 1872 "ranged from risky to unwise to starkly dishonest." Still it might have survived except for the panic of 1873. The combination of over-expansion, dishonest leadership, and the

panic forced the bank to close in 1874. The institution's collapse left a legacy of failure and suspicion in the black community which lasted into the twentieth century.

While the discussion of the bank's business tends to be dull, Osthaus has done much more than relate dry financial transactions. He writes of the people who patronized the bank, of their tribulations, successes, and failures. The history of the bank is placed in the broader context of the story of blacks during Reconstruction. Osthaus's thorough research and careful analysis has resulted in an important monograph that deserves a prominent place in Reconstruction historiography.

Florida State University JOE M. RICHARDSON

Appointment at Armageddon: Muckraking and Progressivism in the American Tradition. By Louis Filler. (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1976.476 pp. Introduction, bibliographical note, index. $15.95.)

The author of *Crusaders for American Liberalism, The Crusade Against Slavery 1830-1860,* and *A Dictionary of American Social Reform* presents in his new study an evaluation of progressivism and muckraking as continuous interrelated forces in the development of American ideals and socio-political values. In *Appointment at Armageddon,* Filler attempts to show progressivism and muckraking as a continuum whose impact preceded the Progressive era and dates back to the mid-seventh century and finds evidence of these impulses even as early as Bacon's Rebellion.

Filler points to a vast array of muckrakers and progressives throughout American history and attempts to discern their goals, ideals, and the common thread uniting reformers. More than that, the author attempts to uncover reasons for the success or failure of these individuals to have an impact on American society and history.

Americans throughout their history seem to have been committed to ideas of progress and reform. Those ideas took on various forms and thrusts with diverse people in different periods of time. But if there exists a criticism to Filler's sound scholar-

ship and to his concisely written chronicle, it is that the similarity and the connection between his figures at times is at best tenuous. Filler is at his best when analyzing the traits, motivation, and goals of the persons who are the heroes of his story.

The study emphasizes that progressivism and reform sentiment did not always bring about progress and advancement. Not all progressives were idealists and dreamers; politicians succeeded in adopting the slogans without being committed to the dreams. Some progressives could not compromise on their ideals and usually failed, others adopted a more pragmatic outlook and were more successful. This often led to criticism in the vein of half-measures achieved. But usually the "pragmatists" protected themselves from the charges of hyprocrisy through the declaration of commitment to further "progress and reforms."

Uniting most of the muckrakers and reformers, but by no means all, was a belief in the people, and especially in their ability to govern themselves well only if they be shown the facts and the truth. It might be that the real thread running through the progressive mind is the belief in the essential goodness of the well-informed individual in society. Their characteristics are many and diverse, but by and large, they fall into categories of "kind hearted," "good willed," "God fearing," "intellectuals," "optimists," all dedicated to social, economic, and political democracy. Adding to that was the muckrakers' penchant for crusades-holy wars. At times they seemed like Don Quixote charging windmills.

Through his important study Filler presents to the interested researcher a wealth of figures which deserve further study. *Appointment at Armageddon.* presents both an important synthesis and challenge.

University of Florida ARNON GUTFELD

Southern Governors and Civil Rights: Racial Segregation as a Campaign Issue in the Second Reconstruction. By Earl Black. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1976. xiv, 408 pp. Preface, introduction, tables, figures, appendixes, notes, index. $16.50.)

While Earl Black's study is more narrowly conceived, it seeks to test V. O. Key's hypothesis in *Southern Politics* (1949) that, "In its grand outlines the politics of the South revolves around the position of the Negro." After examining the Democratic gubernatorial primaries and general elections in eleven southern states since 1954, Black concludes that Key's assessment is no longer valid. Specifically, Black notes that since 1970 nonsegregationist candidates have won all but one Democratic gubernatorial primary in the South. Further, this new southern politics recognizes the establishment of a biracial community and "the reentry of blacks into electoral politics."

What has caused this dramatic change in the southern political process? And why have southern voters ceased supporting militant segregationists? Not surprisingly, Black argues that federal intervention through the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and, as a consequence, the creation of a substantial black electorate, have been most important. In addition, he suggests that school desegregation and public accommodation have resulted in tacit acceptance of some integration by southern politicians.

Although Black sees the changes in gubernatorial campaign stances as significant, he stops short of calling them revolutionary. "If the principle of racial segregation was rarely championed by the early 1970s, and if most white candidates have accepted the necessity of soliciting black support, the rise of nonsegregationist campaigners has generally not meant that southern politicians have become discernibly pro-black in their campaign rhetoric." Black adds that, in fact, few southern nonsegregationist candidates could be classified as racial liberals by national standards and those that would be were usually defeated.

Black has written a very informative and thorough account of the evolution of southern gubernatorial campaigning since the *Brown* decision. Of particular importance is his observation that the federal government through legal and political channels

can change folkways. This development has very significant ramifications for the future of America's biracial society.

There are additional important insights in this study of which the reader ought to be aware. Black's findings, for example, endorse Key's black belt thesis that militant segregationist strongholds existed in rural counties with high black populations prior to the Voting Rights Act, Black also points out that Republicans have taken a moderate segregationist stance to strengthen their party in the South. His study concludes, however, that such Republican candidates have been largely unsuccessful even when running against nonsegregationist Democratic candidates.

For the student of Florida politics, Black has a very fine analysis of race as an issue in gubernatorial campaigning. His analysis of the 1966 gubernatorial campaign does overemphasize Haydon Burns's racial appeal, but, otherwise, it is balanced and incisive.

The book's most serious flaw is the two-chapter introduction on "The Scope of the Study" and "The Analytic Framework" which would be better placed in an appendix. The general reader might be discouraged from reading further, and that would be unfortunate.

University of Florida DAVID R. COLBURN

Simple Justice: The History of Brown *v.* Board of Education *and Black America's Struggle for Equality*. By Richard Kluger. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1976. x, 823, xxii pp. Foreword, illustrations, appendix, sources and acknowledgments, selected bibliography, notes, index of principal cases cited, index of subjects and names. $15.95.)

Simple Justice is a much heralded book. It is a study of the cases in which the Supreme Court reached its epochal decision to overturn the 1896 Plessy v. Ferguson ruling establishing the constitutionality of separate but equal accommodations in race relations.

Richard Kluger, a refugee journalist and a former editor for two major publishing houses turned historian, has performed a

task of prodigious proportions in telling this story. He has used the Brown ruling as a point of departure to attempt a survey of American race relations in the twentieth century, always using the courts as his focal point, and the cases which became Brown as his narrative thread. The result is a book which is often illuminating and at times frustrating.

It is only fair to add that Kluger's task is difficult. This story is part of what Professor Robert Park used to call the "Big News" in twentieth-century American life, and it is a story much in need of telling. Yet Kluger has in some ways complicated his task. The book is often unnecessarily digressive; some of Kluger's history rests on rather outdated interpretation; and he is often content to tell the story as an advocate— almost as if he were filing an *amicus curiae* brief for the Brown cases. The result is in some ways an oversimplification of the issues raised by the Brown rulings. No doubt many of those who argued against Brown had the motivation Kluger imputes to them. It is much less certain, however, that opposition to the Brown decision was exclusively racial, as James W. Ely and others have argued in recent monographs.

Having given these caveats, however, one must praise the book's merits. Kluger's research is impressive. He has apparently talked to everyone alive even remotely connected to the Brown cases, and the result is a complex tapestry of anecdotes, vignettes, and personal sketches which greatly enrich Kluger's work. Additionally, he has made good use of court records and NAACP files, which gives the work substantial authority. The books greatest strength, however, is its discussion of the personalities of the protagonists in this drama. The author is especially good in portraying the people who made up the NAACP's legal research team— Thurgood Marshall, Charles Houston, James Nabrit, and William H. Hastie, to mention but four— and reveals the personal dimension of this struggle effectively. Kluger is, moreover, a skilled writer, and his narrative often makes exciting reading.

On balance, then, Kluger has accomplished a difficult task: he has written a book aimed for general readers, but at the same time his research has given the book significance for historians and legal scholars as well. Analysis of the Brown rulings and the legal and historical issues covered by Kluger will, of course,

continue. But as a story of the people involved in the Brown cases, *Simple Justice* will stand for some time to come.

University of Florida AUGUSTUS M. BURNS, III

BOOK NOTES

The Bicentennial celebration in Florida served as a catalyst for the publication of many books and monographs, including several relating to county and community history. These all serve a very useful purpose, particularly those studies of communities which have had a long recorded history and about which little has been published. Some of these histories were written by non-professionals, the so-called amateur historians who have access to pertinent records and documents and who are able to interview local residents. These historians can check the courthouse records, tombstones in the cemeteries, local newspapers, photographic archives, and other community history sources. Such a resourceful historian is Zonira Hunter Tolles whose recently published book *Shadows on the Sand* is the history of Melrose, Florida. This is the first of a planned two-volume history of the area. *Shadows on the Sand* follows the history of Melrose from the time that European explorers first pushed through that country until the Civil War and Reconstruction eras. Of special value are the illustrations, including several maps. There is an historical data section with church and census records; the appendix includes the histories of area churches and a sketch of the old Melrose tourist hotel. Order from Box 671, Keystone Heights, Florida 32656; the book sells for $10.00.

Daniel Coxe's *A Description Of the English Province of Carolana, By the Spaniards call'd Florida, And by the French La Louisiane.* was published in 1722. It was one of the earliest promotional tracts aimed at luring settlers to North America. Coxe hoped to entice colonists to the vast tract of land acquired by his family at the end of the seventeenth century. Their grant was the largest made by the English crown to any private

individual in America, and it included almost one-eighth of the total land mass of Canada and the present United States, extending north from the St. Johns River to Albemarle Sound. This book, long out-of-print, is now being republished in the Bicentennial Floridiana Facsimile Series by the University Presses of Florida for the Florida Bicentennial Commission. This facsimile includes the map which appeared in the original edition and a portrait of the author. Dr. William S. Coker of the University of West Florida has written an introduction to the volume, and it has been indexed by Polly Coker. The book sells for $6.50.

Pioneer Families Of The Kissimmee River Valley by Kyle S. Van Landingham is the history of the early settlers who moved into the area in the nineteenth century. They helped establish towns like Basinger, Fort Drum, and Whittier (now Kenansville). The booklet was published in conjunction with the Bicentennial celebration and barbecue held at the old Fort Basinger school house on December 4, 1976. It sells for $3.00; order from Box 1779, Fort Pierce, Florida 33450.

Grave Markers of Duval County, 1808-1916 was compiled by Lucy Ames Edwards of Jacksonville. It is of value both to the historian and the genealogist collecting material on the history of northeast Florida. The records are mainly from the Old City Cemetery that was given to Jacksonville in 1852. Cemetery records and gravestones offer much valuable information on individuals and their families, and sometimes are the only available sources of information for birth and death data. This is particularly true of Jacksonville, since the fire in 1901 destroyed many official records. The name index makes this a very useful document. The book may be ordered from Mrs. Ray O. Edwards, 1400 LeBaron Avenue, Jacksonville, 32207. The price is $15.00.

The Last Cracker Barrel is by Earnest Lyons who for some forty-four years has lived in Stuart, working as a writer and editor of the *Stuart News.* Like *My Florida,* his earlier book, *The Last Cracker Barrel* is a collection of the columns and news stories which Mr. Lyons wrote over the years. Indian history,

the St. Lucie River, climate, "gator lore," fishing, the beaches, and East Coast Florida are some of the folksy topics included. Published by the Newspaper Enterprise Association, New York, *The Last Cracker Barrel* sells for $2.50.

In *The Rumskudgeon: Houseman, Wrecker of Indian Key,* Kaye Edwards Carter of Hialeah Lakes tells the story of Jacob Houseman who developed Indian Key. Mrs. Carter invented the word Rumskudgeon to describe the period in which he lived and operated. The book also tells the story of Dr. Henry Perrine, botanist who was killed by the Indians during the Second Seminole War. The book is available from BPK Press, 1730 West 79th Street, Hialeah; it sells for $4.50.

Pioneer in the Florida Keys is the story of Dell Layton who worked in Miami during the boom days of the 1920s. When the boom collapsed in 1926, Layton first operated a neighborhood service station and then went into the grocery business. His innovative business operations and his flamboyant marketing techniques made him a very successful entrepreneur. He became known as the "Baron of 7th Avenue." After World War II he moved to Long Key, and because of his many philanthropies and activities, the community in 1963 was renamed in his honor; *Pioneer in the Florida Keys* was written by James McLendon, and it was published by E. A. Seeman Publishing, Miami, Florida. It sells for $9.95.

The Fabulous Orange by Erma S. Reynolds is a short history of the product which has played such a major role in the development of Florida. The British were exporting oranges from St. Augustine in the 1760s. First grown in China, they were brought to Florida and the New World by the Spanish, and have been raised commercially for more than 200 years. *The Fabulous Orange* was published by Valkyrie Press, 2135 1st Avenue South, St. Petersburg, Florida 33712. It sells for $5.00.

Margaret Davis Cate was for most of her life interested in the history of coastal Georgia, especially the Glynn County area. A special focus of her research was Fort Frederica, the British settlement on St. Simons Island. She visited libraries and

archives in the United States and Europe, collecting original documents and photostating and copying other data. This material, together with her research notes, newspapers, photographs, books, microfilm, tapes, and video film, was given to the Fort Frederica National Monument where the Margaret Davis Cate Memorial Library was established in her honor. A descriptive inventory of the collection has been published by the Fort Frederica Association in cooperation with the Georgia State Department of Archives and History. It is available from the Fort Frederica Association, Route 4, Box 286-6C, St. Simons Island, Georgia 31522, and the price is $5.00.

Georgia History: A Bibliography was compiled by John Eddins Simpson, and is a complementary volume to *Florida History: A Bibliography* by Michael H. Harris. The Georgia work includes 3,409 citations of books, pamphlets, periodical articles, theses, and dissertations published through 1974. Since so much of Georgia's history, like that of Florida, has been published in periodicals, as many pertinent articles as possible were located by Mr. Simpson. There is an author and a subject index. *Georgia History: A Bibliography* was published by Scarecrow Press, Metuchen, New Jersey, and sells for $15,00.

The story of the Confederate States Marine Corps has been virtually ignored both by Civil War and American military historians. To fill this void, Ralph W. Donnelly has written the *History of the Confederate States Marine Corps.* It is based on his research in public archives and libraries and a number of private collections. Stephen R. Mallory, the Confederate secretary of the navy, conceived of the Corps, but the records reveal that it was never recruited up to its authorized strength. The first quartermaster was Samuel Z. Gonzalez, a former United States naval storekeeper at Pensacola. Lieutenant Henry Laurens Ingraham began recruiting marines in Pensacola in April 1861, and Captain A. C. Van Denthuysan had a contingent under his command there shortly afterwards. This force was detailed to guard against an attack from Pickens. Donnelly's book includes details about the activities and living conditions of Confederate marines stationed in Florida throughout the

war. Order from the author: 913 Market Street, Washington, North Carolina 27889.

Proud Kentuckian: John C. Breckinridge, 1821-1875, is by John H. Heck. At the close of the Civil War, Breckinridge was one of the Confederate officials who fled to Florida. In Madison he consulted with Brigadier General Joseph J. Finegan and Captain John Taylor Wood, former commander of the CSN *Tallahassee.* Crossing the Suwannee River, Breckinridge hid in Gainesville, then moved southward along the St. Johns River to Titusville, and finally to Miami, where he took a boat to Cuba. Eventually Breckinridge reached England. *Proud Kentuckian* is one of the volumes in the University Press of Kentucky's Bicentennial Bookshelf Series. It sells for $3.95.

James Weldon Johnson: Black Leader, Black Voice, by Eugene Levy, was reviewed in the *Florida Historical Quarterly,* January 1975. Now available as a paperback, published by the University of Chicago Press, it sells for $5.95.

E. A. Seeman Publishing Company of Miami is offering a series of paperbacks including several from the Florida series. These include *Florida: Land of Images* by Nixon Smiley ($3.95); *Yesterday's Sarasota* by Del Marth ($5.95); and *Yesterday's Miami* by Nixon Smiley ($5.95). All have been reviewed previously in the *Florida Historical Quarterly.*

Jefferson Davis and His Cabinet, by Rembert W. Patrick, late professor of history at the universities of Florida and Georgia, has been reprinted by Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge, Louisiana. It sells for $15.00.

In and Around South Miami was written by Roda R. Ogden Protko for the South Miami Area Chamber of Commerce as a Bicentennial project. It presents information on the early settlers of the area, the emergence of the Cuban colony, and the history of medical and educational facilities like the South Miami Hospital and the University of Miami. The booklet may be ordered from Box 430585, South Miami, Florida 33143.

The American Public Works Association has published *A History of Public Works in the United States, 1776-1976* as a Bicentennial contribution. The comprehensive, illustrated volume discusses engineering and technological development within the context of a broad social, economic, and political frame. The material on Florida relates to land use, drainage, railroads, and water pollution. A team of eighteen historians under the supervision of Dr. Ellis L. Armstrong wrote the book. Many governmental agencies and professional organizations opened their files and offered their cooperation. Waterways, railroads, urban mass transportation, flood control and drainage, irrigation, public buildings and housing, educational facilities, and military installations are some of the topics discussed in this definitive work. The book is available for $15.00 from the American Public Works Association, 1313 East 60th Street, Chicago, 60637.

Mothers of Achievement in American History, 1776-1976 was compiled by the American Mothers Committee, Inc., as a Bicentennial project. It includes biographical sketches of several prominent Florida women, including Mary McLeod Bethune of Daytona Beach; Mary Alice Muggle, the poet and writer; Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings, the famed novelist; Deaconess Harriet Bedell who worked with the Seminole Indians; Myritis Hawthorne Miller of Gainesville; Gullen Smith of Tampa; Ruth Sawyer of Gainesville; and Beverly Fisher Dozier of Tallahassee. The volume was published by Charles E. Tuttle, Company.

HISTORY NEWS

The Annual Meeting

A reception in the gardens of the Oldest House, a gala luncheon in the dining room of the old Ponce de Leon Hotel, built by Henry M. Flagler in the 1880s, tours of the restored areas of St. Augustine, Florida history movies, and a reception and banquet at the Ponce de Leon Motor Lodge are some of the highlights of the seventy-fifth annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society in St. Augustine, May 6-7, 1977. The Ponce de Leon Motor Lodge will serve as convention headquarters. Dean Michael Gannon of the University of Florida and Dr. Thomas Graham of Flagler College are program chairpersons. Dr. Overton J. Ganong, acting director of the Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board, is in charge of local arrangements.

"Florida Immigrants and Minorities" will be the theme for the Friday morning session; Dr. Charles Thrift, president emeritus of Florida Southern College, will serve as chairman. Paul George, Florida State University; Linda Ellsworth, Historic Pensacola Preservation Board; and L. Glenn Westfall, Hillsborough County Community College, will read papers. George Pozzetta of the University of Florida will serve as commentator. The Friday afternoon session will be a symposium discussing the writing of community and county histories. Chairing this session will be Robert Williams, director, Division of Archives, History and Records Management; and Dr. Jerrell Shofner of Florida Technological University will act as moderator. Panel participants are Zonira Hunter Tolles, whose book, *Shadows on the Sand* is the history of Melrose; Arch Frederic Blakey, author of *Parade of Memories, A History of Clay County;* and Michael Schene author of *Hopes, Dreams, and Promises, A History of Volusia County, Florida.* "Early Spanish St. Augustine" is the title of the Saturday morning session which will be held in the Government House Theatre. Milton B. Jones, immediate past president of the Florida Historical Society, will preside. Eugene Lyon, St. Augustine Restoration, Inc., and Paul Hoffman of Louisiana State University will present "St. Augustine 1580: The Research Period." Amy Bushnell, University of Florida,

will read a paper entitled "Following the Menendez Family of Spanish Florida." Albert Manucy of St. Augustine will be the commentator for this session.

The American Association of State and Local History Awards will be presented to the American Revolution Bicentennial Commission of Florida, Mrs. Frederick W. Connolly of Monticello, Mrs. Jessie Porter Newton of Key West, Miss Lelia Abercrombie of Pensacola, and the Pensacola Home and Savings Association and The Appleyard Agency of Pensacola. The recipients are being recognized for their significant contributions to the perpetuation and understanding of Florida history. The winners of the Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Prize in Florida History, the Rembert W. Patrick Book Award, and the Charlton W. Tebeau Junior Book Award will be announced at the banquet on Saturday evening. The speaker for the dinner is Dr. Paul Albury, president of the Bahamas Historical Society. The title of his address is "Florida and the Bahamas: The History We Share."

On Friday afternoon, May 6, from 5:00-6:30, the St. Augustine Historical Society will be the host at a reception in the gardens of the Oldest House. Later that evening Florida history films will be shown by the staff of the Castillo de San Marcos National Monument. After the luncheon at Flagler College (the old Ponce de Leon Hotel) on Saturday, there will be tours of the historic sites in St. Augustine.

The board of directors will hold its business meeting on Thursday evening at the Ponce de Leon Motor Lodge. The business luncheon Saturday will be convened by Dr. Thelma Peters, president of the Society, and it will include an election of officers and annual reports. Mr. Lawrence Lewis, president of St. Augustine, Inc., will be a special guest at the luncheon.

There will be a registration table at the Ponce de Leon Motor Lodge on Thursday afternoon beginning at 4:00 p.m. and again on Friday morning at 9:00 a.m. All program sessions are open to the general public. The hosts for the meeting are the St. Augustine Historical Society, Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board, and the Castillo de San Marcos National Monument, U. S. National Park Service, and Flagler College.

Florida Historical Quarterly

The Index to volumes 36-53 of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* has been published and is available for sale from the Florida Historical Society, University of South Florida Library, Tampa, 33620. The price is $12.50.

In an effort to broaden its membership base, the Florida Historical Society is making available with each gift membership a free copy of one of two special double issues of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. The giver of each gift membership may choose either the special Quadricentennial 1965 commemorative issue or the double issue devoted entirely to material on Osceola (1955). Each of these issues of the *Quarterly* sells for $6.00. Membership forms should be directed to the Florida Historical Society office, University of South Florida Library, Tampa, Florida 33620.

National Register of Historic Places

The Division of Archives, History and Records Management, Florida Department of State, announces that the following Florida sites were added to the National Register of Historic Places during 1976: the Cayson Mound and Village site in Calhoun County (Blountstown vicinity); the Orlando railroad depot; St. James Building, Centennial Hall on the Edward Waters College Campus, St. Andrews Episcopal Church, Brewster Hospital, the Thomas V. Porter House, the LaVilla boardinghouses, and the Jacksonville terminal complex, all in Jacksonville; the St. Johns Lighthouse in Mayport; Wakulla County Courthouse, in Crawfordville; Christ Church in Fort Meade; the David S. Walker Library in Tallahassee; West Martello Tower in Key West; Manatee County Courthouse in Bradenton; Saenger Theatre in Pensacola; and the Malachi Martin House in Gadsden County (Mt. Pleasant vicinity). Three important historic districts were also added to the Register during 1976. They are the Koreshan Unity Settlement at Estero in Lee County; the Sanford Commercial District in Seminole County; and the Pensacola Naval Air Station in Escambia County.

Announcements and Activities

A dictionary catalog of the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida

History, University of Florida, Gainesville, is being published and will be available for shipment by November 1977. The P. K. Yonge Library is the world's outstanding collection of Floridiana and covers all aspects of Florida history, life, and culture spanning nearly 500 years. It includes 20,000 books, 185 periodicals, and microfilm editions of 654 newspapers. There are sixty major manuscript collections of outstanding Floridians, and over 2,640 miscellaneous manuscript collections. Besides the newspapers there are 2,200 reels of microfilm and over 1,350 maps. The catalog will list authors, titles, and subjects– an estimated 60,200 cards from the library's catalog. Pre-publication price for the United States is $280.00; outside the United States $308.00. After October 31, 1977, the price will increase to $350.00 for the United States, and $385.00 for foreign shipment. G. K. Hall and Company, 700 Lincoln Street, Boston, is the publishing firm.

The Florida State Archives, Division of Archives, History and Records Management, Tallahassee, will answer mail or telephone requests for information from the following records: Compiled Service Records of Confederate Soldiers who served in Organizations from the State of Florida (microfilm of original records in the National Archives); Consolidated Index to Compiled Service Records of Confederate Soldiers (microfilm of name/unit index created by the National Archives from original records); Index to Compiled Service Records of Volunteer Soldiers who served in the Indian wars and disturbances, 1815-1858 (microfilm of name/unit index created by the National Archives); and Florida Confederate pension application files. Each request should be limited to no more than three individual names. Persons seeking information should supply, if possible, full names, the state with which the veteran served, the unit or type of unit in which he served, his age, birth state, the approximate time he became a Florida resident, and his wife's name.

A Black Archives, Research Center, and Museum was dedicated at Florida A. and M. University in March. State Representative Joe Lang Kershaw was the principal speaker. The museum is housed in the former Carnegie Center that served in 1907 as the library for the Florida State Normal and Industrial

College. The archives include the historical papers and documents relating to the University and a collection of other important manuscripts, newspapers, and graphics.

An historical map of Jacksonville was prepared by the Historic Trails Committee of the American Bicentennial Commission of Jacksonville. It lists fifty-seven sites in and around Jacksonville. Support for this special Bicentennial project came from the Bicentennial Commission of Florida, the Charter Companies, and the Rotary Club of South Jacksonville.

The Honorable John Joseph Jova, American Ambassador to Mexico, has presented special Bicentennial medallions to the Pensacola Historical Society and to the Florida State Museum at the University of Florida for their contributions to Hispanic American culture and history.

The Seventh Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference was held in Pensacola, February 17-19, 1977. The theme was "The Military Presence on the Gulf Coast." All the papers are being edited for publication. Previous conference proceedings are available for sale from the John C. Pace Library, University of North Florida, Pensacola.

South Florida Pioneers is a quarterly journal presenting historical and genealogical information about early settlers of southern Florida. Each issue contains biographical sketches, cemetery records, and county records relating to marriages, probates, tax lists, census data, and military records. There are also items relating to early settlements and communities, Richard M. Livingstone is editor. The journal costs $8.00 a year, and may be ordered from Box 166, Fort Ogden, Florida 33842. Past issues of the publication are available.

The *Florida Historical Quarterly* is among the periodicals whose reviews of books relating to Hispanic America are being indexed in the *Research and Reference Tool,* edited by Antonio Matos, Catholic University, Puerto Rico. This annual publication includes geographical citations and brief summaries of the reviews cited. Volumes covering reviews for 1972-1973 are

available, and others are in preparation. The guide is published by Blain Ethridge books, 13977 Penrod Street, Detroit, Michigan 48223. The price is $45.00 per volume.

The National Archives and Records Service, in cooperation with the Southern Historical Association, announces the second Charles Thomson Prize Competition in History. The award of $250 will be made in the fall of 1977. The scholar should utilize holdings of the National Archives or one of the presidential libraries to explore any significant aspect of southern history. The winning essay will be published in *Prologue,* the journal of the National Archives. Entries should not exceed 7,500 words and should be submitted to the editor of *Prologue,* National Archives Building, Washington, 20403.

The Louisiana Historical Association and the Kemper and Leila Williams Foundation have awarded the Kemper Prize for 1976 to John Preston Moore for his book *Revolt in Louisiana: The Spanish Occupation, 1766-1770.*

A symposium, "Southern Agriculture Since the Civil War," is to be held in Starkville, Mississippi, in June 1978. Sponsors are the Agricultural History Society, the United States Department of Agriculture, and Mississippi State University. Persons wishing to present papers at the symposium may correspond with Wayne D. Rasmussen, Agricultural History Group Economic Research Service, United States Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C. 20250; or the Department of History, Mississippi State University, Mississippi City, 39762.

The Georgia Study Symposium is a multi-disciplinary gathering of scholars interested in the study of Georgia people and culture. It will be held at the Urban Life Center, Georgia State University, February 3-4, 1978, and the program committee is inviting proposals for sessions. Professor Nash Boney, Department of History, the University of Georgia, is chairman of the program committee.

The first of three conferences on the Teaching of State and Community History on the College Level was held at the Newberry Library in Chicago, January 13-16, 1977. The conference,

supported by the Education Division of the National Endowment for the Humanities, included lectures, workshops, demonstrations, films, and museum visits. Attending were 100 teachers, scholars, museum and historical agency personnel, editors, and curators from all parts of the United States. Oral history, family autobiographies, media experiments, museum and archival cooperation, census research, and women's history were among the subjects discussed. The conferees will be presenting a series of teaching workshops at national and regional conventions in the next few years. Inquiries about the 1978 and 1979 conferences should be directed to the Family and Community History Center, Newberry Library, 60 West Walton Street, Chicago, 60610.

The *Revue de Louisiane/Louisiana Review,* a bilingual (French-English) publication, solicits manuscripts in French or English from any area of social studies relating to the colony or state of Louisiana. Address correspondence to Dr. Adell St. Martin, Box 4-40040, University of Southern Louisiana, Lafayette, Louisiana 70504.

Of interest to Florida historians is Shirley B. Lebo's *My Old Books: What are They Worth? What Shall I do With Them?,* published by the American Library Association. It sells for thirty cents and may be ordered from the Association, 50 East Huron Street, Chicago, Illinois 60611.

A microfilm addition of the correspondence of Lydia Maria Child (1802-1880) has begun under the auspices of the National Historical Publications and Records Commission. Letters, both to and from Mrs. Child are being sought. She was an advocate of women's rights, author of fiction and books on household management, defender of the Indians, and an active anti-slave worker and newspaper editor. Anyone having any pertinent material should write to Milton Meltzer or Patricia Barber, New Africa House, Room 303, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, Massachusetts 01003.

Florida Manuscript Acquisitions and Accessions

The following paragraphs list recent manuscript acquisitions

and accessions as reported by Florida's university, college, and public libraries. Those interested in using particular collections should correspond with the library or institution in question.

The Bay County Public Library, Panama City, headquarters of the Northwest Regional Library System, has obtained microfilm copies of the Panama City *Pilot* (May 1907-December 1941), and the Panama City *News Herald* (September 1935-to date).

The Fort Lauderdale branch of the Broward County Library System has acquired on microfilm the *Fort Lauderdale News* from July 1926 to the present.

The Florida Historical Society Library, at the University of South Florida Library, acquired as a gift from S. George Frager 100 documents relating mainly to the quartermaster affairs at Fort Dade during the Second Seminole War.

The Florida State University Library's Special Collection has accessioned the papers of Second Lieutenant Robert E. Lester, Company C, Fifth Florida Calvary, Confederate Army, and those of W. May Walker (1925-1974), who served on the Second Judicial Circuit, covering the period 1940-1974.

The University of Miami's Otto G. Richter Library acquired a short biography of Professor Charlton W. Tebeau and the manuscript drafts for his book, *The University of Miami: A Golden Anniversary History, 1926-1976*. The library has also received a collection of correspondence between James Carson and Ion L. Faris (1915-1916) on Everglades drainage, and copies of letters and articles by Kirk Munroe.

The P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, obtained the papers of Mrs. James Patton Anderson, the widow of Civil War General Anderson; the letters of Henry H. Bryant, a Civil War participant; papers of Floyd Christian, Florida Commissioner of Education, 1965-1973; the family and business papers of Barney R. Colson and the Alachua County Abstract Company; legislative reapportionment documents from Dr. Manning J. Dauer, University of Florida; real estate

and investment papers relating to the Sarasota-Bradenton area belonging to Charles Hull Ewing; the business papers of Armistead R. Harper of Gainesville; personal papers of Charles Henry James, one-time editor of the *Florida Times-Union* of Jacksonville; the records of Elizabeth H. Orr of Melrose, 1877-1893; material relating to John Herbert Peck, a merchant marine captain in the Tampa area; papers and miscellaneous documents relating to farming and lumber interests in the Gainesville area from E. G. Stringfellow and J. Dogan; gubernatorial and personal correspondence of former Governor Fuller Warren; papers of John Pennekamp of Miami; and the papers of Richard Pettigrew relating to his political career in the Florida legislature. In addition, the library received Parish Minutes (1827-1909) and Parish Registers (1921-1953) from the Trinity Episcopal Church of St. Augustine; and legajos 38, 40, 2351, 2352, 2369, 2372, 149-B, 1445, 594, 1551, 1336, 1500, 105, 480, 613, 614, and 1659, all from the Papeles de Cuba, Archivo General de Indias.

The Pensacola Historical Society acquired the Arthur G. Foster Papers, including correspondence for the period, 1910-1920; a transcript of the Golson Family Records; a history of the Suarez Family; and a variety of other documents. It also has reports of excavations of a well used by the English in the 1770s and a report on archeological excavations at lots three and eleven of Old City Plat of Pensacola. Other acquisitions include the unpublished poems of Anita Lewisohn Hamn, the typescript reminiscences of Lelia Abercrombie, manuscript notes pertinent to Pensacola in the Mrs. Daniel B. Smith collection, a typescript history of Pensacola's black community, and manuscripts, letters, and deeds pertinent to Old Christ Church. Of special importance is the will of William Panton, written and signed in Pensacola on June 6, 1793, with sworn testimony of William B. Munnings, August 5, 1812; a manuscript petition to Peter Chester, July 20, 1776; and a letter from William Morrill to E. C. Parkhurst, 1867. A manuscript letter, March 27, 1887, from John M. Parker, Jr., describes a visit to the navy yard at Pensacola. The society has also acquired three rolls of letters received by the office of Adjutant General, 1881-1889, pertinent to the Apache prisoners of war.

The Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, acquired the Joseph Ezekial Pogue Papers (a petroleum financier and geologist and former resident of Lake Wales, 1959-1973); and the letters of Roland M. Harper, an employee of the Florida geological survey, which are part of the Cobb Family Papers. The Southern Oral History Collection at the University of North Carolina received tapes and transcripts generated by Jack Bass and Walter De Vres in preparing *The Transformation of Southern Politics.* The 307 tapes and 215 transcripts include interviews with Governor Reubin Askew, former Governor LeRoy Collins, Senator Lawton Chiles, Representative Claude Pepper, and other important Florida political and educational leaders.

The University of South Florida Library, Tampa, has accessioned the account book of Captain James McKay (1850-1868); a letter from General Thomas S. Jesup to Richard Keith Call; legal documents of the Plant Railway System, 1886-1901; and the papers of Lieutenant Chesley R. Perry, Ambulance Company, 2nd Division, 7th Army Corps, which was stationed at Camp Libre near Jacksonville during the Spanish-American War.

OBITUARIES

Dr. Ripley P. Bullen

Ripley P. Bullen, Curator Emeritus at the Florida State Museum and editor of the *Florida Anthropologist,* died in Gainesville, December 25, 1976. Dr. Bullen was a leading authority on the archeology of Florida and the Caribbean and had an international reputation as a scientist, writer, and editor. In March 1976, when the University of Florida awarded him an honorary Doctor of Science degree, he was recognized as the "Dean of Florida Archeology."

Dr. Bullen came to Gainesville in 1948 as assistant archeologist to the Florida Board of Parks and Historic Memorials. Four years later he joined the Florida State Museum as its first curator of social sciences. He surveyed and excavated many archeological sites in Florida, making major contributions to the delineation of the states's prehistory. He was a founder

and past president of the Florida Anthropological Society, and the author of more than 200 books, monographs, and articles. The formation of the Crystal River Historical Memorial and Museum was largely due to his efforts.

Ruby Leach Carson

Mrs. Ruby Leach Carson, co-author of *Florida From Indian Trails to Space Age,* written with Charlton Tebeau, died February 21, 1977, after a long illness. Born in Missouri, Mrs. Carson lived all of her adult life in Florida. She held a graduate degree in history from the University of Florida, and wrote as her master's thesis a biography of Governor William Bloxham. She published some 200 articles on Florida, wrote a child's history of the state under the title *Fabulous Florida,* and was one of the authors of the history of *The East Coast of Florida.* She was a member and former director of the Florida Historical Society and a contributor to the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. She was a founding member and director of the Historical Association of Southern Florida which was organized at a meeting in her Miami home in 1940. Throughout her life she was a active participant in the growth of Florida and in the recording of its history.

Eloise Robinson Ott

Mrs. Eloise R. Ott, who died at her home on Lake Weir at Ocklawaha in March 1977, was born near Orlando. Her father was one of the pioneer citrus growers in that area. For several years she was on the staff of the *Orlando Morning Sentinel.* After her marriage she lived in Gainesville, and then moved to Ocala in 1920. Mrs. Ott was the co-author of a history of Ocala and of Marian County called *Ocali Country: Kingdom of the Sun.* She contributed articles and book reviews to the *Florida Historical Quarterly* and to other publications. She was a past director of the Florida Historical Society. Her gifts included manuscripts and other Florida materials to the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History and to the Florida State Museum at the University of Florida.

MINUTES OF THE DIRECTORS' MEETING

Florida Historical Society

President Thelma Peters convened the semi-annual Board of Directors meeting of the Florida Historical Society at the library headquarters of the Florida Historical Society, the University of South Florida, Tampa, on December 11, 1976, at 10 a.m. Luis Arana, George E. Buker, William S. Coker, Lewis H. Cresse, Jr., Jay B. Dobkin, Linda V. Ellsworth, Marian Godown, Sue Goldman, William M. Goza, Milton D. Jones, John K. Mahon, Randy Nimnicht, Arva M. Parks, Samuel Proctor, Jerrell H. Shofner, Robert W. Williams, and J. Leitch Wright, Jr. were present. Richmond I. Barge, Marcia Kanner, Harry A. Kersey, Jr., and Frederic G. Winter were absent. The president introduced Dr. Arana, Dr. Coker, Mrs. Goldman, Mr. Williams, and Dr. Wright as new board members. Mrs. Margaret Burgess of the Society staff was also present.

The minutes of the December 13, 1975 board meeting, as published in the July 1976 (Volume LV, No. 1) issue of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* and the May 6, 1976 board meeting, as published in the October 1976 (Volume LV, No. 2) issue of the *Quarterly*, were approved as printed. Mr. Dobkin, executive secretary, presented the financial report, As of November 30, 1976, the Society's current assets amounted to $58,961.99, and its fixed assets were $436.40, giving a total net worth of $59,398.39. Mr. Dobkin recommended that the shares of Affiliated Fund owned by the Society be liquidated if the donor had placed no restrictions on the gift. This request was approved.

Membership in the Society has remained stable since the last report at the annual meeting in May 1976. A new staff policy of sending second-reminders to members who have not renewed their membership has proved somewhat successful, as have letters inviting former members to rejoin the Society. Mr. Dobkin reported that Mrs. Charles H. Carter, Alice M. Fitch, and The Wentworth Foundation, Inc., made contributions to the Society's general fund. Mr. and Mrs. John Dubois gave to the Father Jerome Memorial Fund to purchase books for the library. Fifteen volumes have been added to the collection. In addition, the library received 101 manuscripts and 511 books and

pamphlets from the American Foundrymens Society, Warren Green Baird, Jr., John A. Clegg, Dr. William Coker, William Dayton, J. B. Dobkin, Fort Lauderdale Historical Society, Margaret Zeller Garrett, Marian Godown, Hallandale Historical Society, Mrs. Earl Hartman, Dr. William C. Haskett, Mrs. Helen Hastings, B. F. Inman, Iowa State Historical Society, Kyle S. Van Landingham, Anthony P. Pizzo, St. Augustine Historical Society, St. Lucie Historical Society, Sentinel Star Company, S. George Trager, University of Florida Press, and the Utah Historical Society. The approximately 100 manuscripts from S. George Trager consist of valuable documents relating to the Second Seminole War. The gift of books and serials from Mrs. Earl Hartman were from her sister's estate. Dr. Peters commended Mr. Dobkin for his services to the Society.

Although the Society's goal is to increase its membership to 2,000, Dr. Mahon reported that membership stands at 1,635 as of December 1, 1976. Mr. Dobkin suggested that copies of two special issues of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, the Osceola and the St. Augustine Quadricentennial issues, be offered to the first 100 new or gift memberships, one for the $10.00 membership or both for a $20.00 or more membership. This was approved. Mr. Goza offered the following resolution: the Board recommend to the membership in May a change in the fee structure to include a family membership (member and spouse) for a minimum of $15.00. The resolution passed.

Dr. Wright suggested that before May each director distribute 100 membership brochures, either personally or by letter. According to Mrs. Burgess, the Society will need to reprint the membership brochures soon. Since very few members of the legislature or the executive office belong to the Society, Mr. Goza recommended that copies of the special Bicentennial issue of the *Quarterly* be presented to members of the state Cabinet along with an invitation to join the Society.

Dr. Coker reported on the Panton Leslie Papers publication project. He is editor of the project. Now that the active collection phase is completed, work on a finding guide is underway, and a narrative volume will be published in 1978. The National Historical Publications Commission has agreed to subsidize up to $10,000 of the publication costs of the projected three volumes of documents.

Dr. Proctor, editor of the *Quarterly,* reported that the publication is appearing on schedule, and he continues to maintain a backlog of articles. He commended Painter Printing Company for the high quality of its work and its continuing attitude of cooperation and support. The question of making the Society's mailing list available to other groups came up for discussion. Mr. Nimnicht moved that mailing labels from the Society's membership list be provided on a three-tier basis: to nonprofit organizations that meet the general concerns of Florida history, on a free or cost basis; to commercial enterprises that also meet the general interests of Society members; and to commercial enterprises in general. The Executive Secretary will be empowered to determine which tier and to negotiate charges. The Division of Archives, History, and Records Management, Department of State, will be exempt from all of these categories. The motion carried. The board also authorized Dr. Proctor to negotiate with authors who are interested in reprinting articles from the *Quarterly* for resale.

According to Dr. Peters who reported for Mrs. Elizabeth Ehrbar, a Confederation of Historical Societies workshop is scheduled for January 21-22, 1977, in Tallahassee. The nonmember participation fee will be $10. The board authorized expenditure of up to $100 for the workshop. Of the 150 agencies in the state, only fourteen are now members of the Confederation: American Society of Civil Engineers, Dade County Historical Society, Jacksonville Historical Society, Dunedin Historical Society, Fort Lauderdale Historical Society, Historic Gainesville, Inc., Historical Association and Museum of Southern Florida, Palm Beach Historical Society, Peninsular Archaeological Society, Pinellas County Historical Commission, Pinellas County Historical Society, St. Augustine Historical Society, St. Lucie Historical Society, and the Sarasota County Historical Commission. Dr. Peters directed Mr. Dobkin and Mr. Camp to contact the Division of Archives, History, and Records Management for assistance in publishing a directory of historical societies in Florida that they are compiling. Dr. Shofner reported for Dr. Tom Greenhaw, editor of the Society's *Newsletter,* that the next issue will appear in February. The board recommended that the *Newsletter* be published three times a

year, alternating with the *Quarterly*. Dr. Proctor commended Dr. Greenhaw for his work with the *Newsletter.*

Mr. Goza explained the expanded publication program made possible by a $7,500 grant from the Wentworth Foundation. The committee (Goza, Proctor, and Jones) propose the publication of a facsimile of some rare, useful volume of Floridiana. Until a final decision is made, the grant, which was established as a revolving fund to provide on-going support for Society publications, is in an interest bearing account.

Dr. Shofner announced that the index of the *Quarterly,* volumes 36 through 53, was completed and 3,000 copies have been published. The committee (Shofner, Proctor, and Jones) recommended and the Board approved a sale price of $12.50 per copy. Mr. Goza commended Dr. Shofner and the editor, Dr. Karen Singh of Florida State University, for their work in preparing this volume. Since no copies of the first volume of the Index (volumes 1 through 35 of the *Quarterly)* remain, Dr. Coker suggested that the Society investigate the cost of a facsimile reprint.

Mr. Williams thanked the Society for its assistance in efforts to save the Florida Capitol. He stated that more help was urgently needed. It was suggested that all members write to members of the legislature and to secure needed editorial support from newspapers. Public pressure is needed to help save the building. The Florida Historical Society has already written over 530 letters to members of the legislature seeking support.

The Board encouraged Mrs. Godown to investigate further the possibility of reinstating an annual prize for the best historical reporting by the news media. She will seek ways to fund the prize, and will consider nomination and selection procedures. A report will be made to the Board in May 1977.

Dr. Peters reported for Dr. Thomas Graham of Flagler College and Dr. Michael Gannon of the University of Florida on program plans for the annual meeting to be held in St. Augustine, May 6-7, 1977. The program is complete. The banquet speaker will be Dr. Paul Albury, president of the Bahamas Historical Society. According to Dr. Overton Ganong, local arrangements chairman, headquarters for the meeting will be the Ponce de Leon Motor Court. Additional activities will

be the Confederation workshop scheduled for May 5 and the semi-annual meeting of the Board of Directors.

Dr. Peters requested that board members forward suggestions for new board members to the nominating committee, made up of Judge James Knott, Marty Grafton, Eugene Lyon, Mildred Fryman, and William Coker. Service and support of the Society were suggested as major criteria for recommendations for new board members. Dr. Proctor suggested that the Board re-evaluate the "districting" of the Society used for selection of directors.

Mr. Dobkin reported that the inventory of artifacts that have been given to the Society over the years is underway. No artifacts will be recalled, but formal loan agreements with other organizations will be negotiated. Maps, prints, or art works which could be incorporated into the Society's collections might be resecured.

Dr. Proctor moved that the president be reimbursed for reasonable expenses incurred in office. The motion passed.

Dr. Peters thanked the directors for their attendance and Mr. Dobkin and Mrs. Burgess for making arrangements for the meeting.

The meeting adjourned at 1:00 p.m.

Respectfully submitted,
Linda V. Ellsworth
Recording Secretary

GREAT EXPECTATIONS. . . . . .
1977

April 1-2	Florida College Teachers of History Conference	Hillsborough Community College, Tampa
April 6-9	Organization of American Historians Meeting	Atlanta
May 5	Florida Confederation of Historical Societies– Workshop	St. Augustine
May 6-7	FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY– 75th ANNUAL MEETING	St. Augustine
Sept. 27-30	American Association for State and Local History	Charleston, South Carolina
Oct. 4-7	Society of American Archivists	Salt Lake City, Utah
Oct. 20-23	Oral History Association	San Diego, California
Nov. 9-12	Southern Historical Association	New Orleans, Louisiana

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THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, incorporated, 1905

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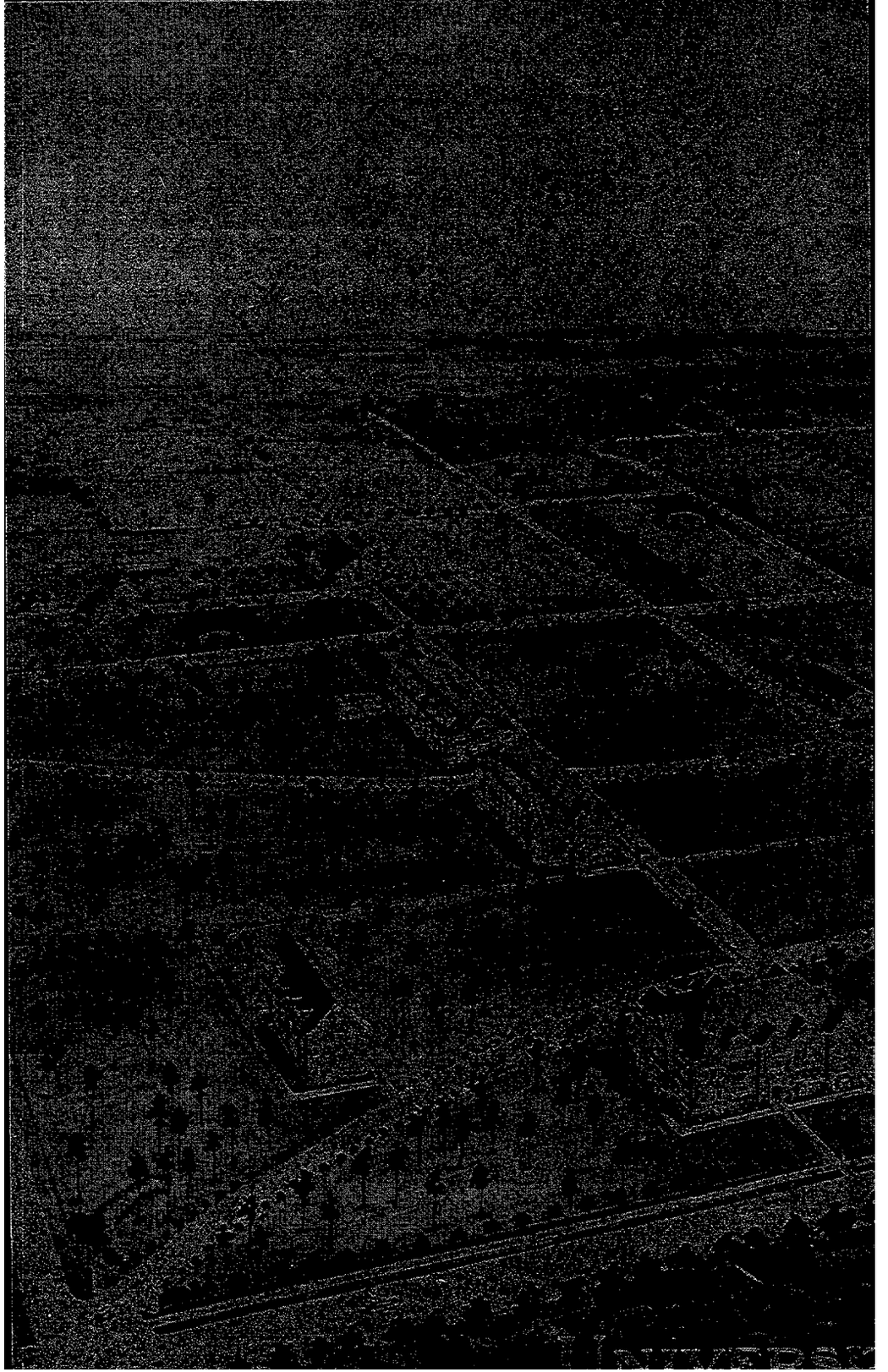
The Florida Historical Society supplies the *Quarterly* to its members. Annual membership is $10; family membership is $15; a fellow membership is $20. Special memberships of $50, $75, and $150 are also available. In addition, a life membership is $350, and a special memorial membership is available for $350. The latter guarantees delivery of the *quarterly* for twenty-five years to a library or other institution.

All correspondence relating to membership and subscriptions should be addressed to Jay B. Dobkin, Executive Secretary, Florida Historical Society, University of South Florida Library, Tampa, Florida 33620. Inquiries concerning back numbers of the *Quarterly* should be directed also to Mr. Dobkin.



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