



*The  
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Quarterly*

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#### COVER

“View of Monticello, Fla., County-Seat of Jefferson Cy., 1885,” a lithograph by Beck and Pauli of Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Beck and Pauli prepared a series of “bird’s eye views” of a number of Florida communities. An original of this lithograph is in the collection of the Jefferson County Historical Society.

*The*  
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*Quarterly*



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# THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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## “A LOVE-MAD MAN”: SENATOR CHARLES W. JONES OF FLORIDA

by JUDY NICHOLAS ETEMADI \*

FOLLOWING TEN YEARS of service in the United States Senate, Charles W. Jones of Pensacola was in a strong position to serve Florida when the forty-ninth Congress convened on December 7, 1885. As an Irish immigrant, he had used his background to aid Grover Cleveland's successful 1884 presidential campaign. A publicized trip to Ireland in the summer of 1883 and addresses to large audiences of Irish-Americans had channelled votes to the Democratic party. <sup>1</sup> As a result, Jones was regarded as a leader in the party. <sup>2</sup> The inauguration of a Democratic president, whose campaign he had materially assisted, vaulted Jones into a position to influence patronage in Florida.

Senator Jones was highly regarded in Florida for having obtained appropriations for the Pensacola naval base, additional postal routes, and public buildings, and because of his interest in land questions. He had endeared himself to his constituents by obtaining \$8,563.00 in a relief bill for the heirs of the ever-popular Richard Keith Call. <sup>3</sup> Furthermore, as the first Democrat elected to the United States Senate after the Civil War, he was symbolic of the end of Republican rule in the state. In the Senate he had served as chairman of the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds and as a member of the committees on

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1. *New York Daily Times*, July 2, 1883; *London Times*, July 3, 1883.
2. "Charles William Jones," *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, 56 vols. (New York, 1898-1975), X, 383.
3. The United States government filed suit against Call in 1840 for the recovery of \$5,907.53 allegedly due from him as a receiver of public monies at Tallahassee. The jury ruled in favor of Call; the case was appealed and the decision reversed. At a new trial in 1847, the jury ruled Call was due the balance of \$8,563.37 for his services to the General Land Office. It can be inferred from the relief bill that Call never received the money. Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., *Richard Keith Call: Southern Unionist* (Gainesville, 1961), 121-22.

naval affairs and territories. He was also chairman of the Revolutionary claims committee.<sup>4</sup>

Both Charles Jones and Wilkinson Call, the junior senator, were present at Cleveland's inauguration on March 7, 1885. A week later Jones indicated strong interest in obtaining a seat on the commerce committee where he felt he could better promote Florida's interests.<sup>5</sup> His desire materialized a few days later.<sup>6</sup> Jones's past record and his plans for the future indicated only a continuation of service to the state. As a result, few Floridians became concerned when the newspapers first reported that the senator had not joined Congress when it met in December. Shortly, speculations about his mental health began to circulate and rumors of his unsuccessful pursuit of a wealthy spinster in Michigan provoked embarrassing headlines. By spring 1886 many doubted the senator had any intentions of returning to Washington before his term expired. It became apparent that very little would or even could be done to force him either to attend to his duties or to resign.

A Michigan newspaper described him as "A Love-Mad Man."<sup>7</sup> The Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union* asked, "Is Senator Jones Insane?" It often headlined stories about his activities, "Senator Jones's Wooing."<sup>8</sup> The *New York Times* defended him, assuring its readers that "Business and not Love Keeps him from Serving his Country."<sup>9</sup> As time passed and he did not appear in Washington, the stories grew more sensational and began to verge on the scandalous. In March 1886, the *Florida Times-Union* commented that Senator Jones was attracting more attention in his capacity as an unsuccessful lover than he ever did as a statesman.<sup>10</sup> Jones never really tried to defend himself against the charges. This left the task of separating truth from fiction to the public whose only sources of information were the comical and even sad stories issuing from Detroit, Michigan, where the senator seemed to be living.

4. *Congressional Record*, 46th Cong., 1st sess., 1879, vol. 9, pt. 1, p. 15; 49th Cong., 1st sess., 1885-1886, vol. 17, pt. 1, pp. 37, 309.

5. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, March 15, 1885.

6. *Congressional Record*, 49th Cong., 1st sess., vol. 17, pt. 1, p. 37.

7. *Grand Rapids Weekly Leader*, April 21, 1886, also cited in Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, April 29, 1886.

8. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, February 19, 21, March 7, April 20, 1886.

9. *New York Daily Times*, April 16, 1886.

10. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, March 9, 1886.





Senator Charles W. Jones. Courtesy of P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville.

Charles Jones had travelled a long and circuitous route from his birth in 1834 in Balbriggan, Ireland, to the halls of Congress. His father, a British army surgeon, died when Charles was still a child, and he was only ten when he emigrated to the United States with his mother. After attending schools in New York and St. Louis, he moved first to Louisiana in 1848 and then to Mississippi. In 1854, he had settled in Santa Rosa County, Florida. He worked as a carpenter, read law, and was admitted to the state bar in 1857. Relocating in Pensacola, he began to build a large

and lucrative practice.<sup>11</sup> During the Civil War, he was appointed tax assessor for Escambia and Santa Rosa counties.<sup>12</sup> He married Mary Ada Quigley of Mobile, Alabama, in 1861, and before her death in 1880 they had four children: Charles W., Jr., John B., Clarence, and Mary.<sup>13</sup> In later years Jones was described as a tall, broad-shouldered man, with a massive head and large, ungainly hands.<sup>14</sup>

Jones emerged into politics in 1872 as a Florida delegate to the Democratic National Convention in Baltimore.<sup>15</sup> He was defeated in the race for a seat in the Congress that year by Republican William J. Purman.<sup>16</sup> In 1874, he was elected from Escambia County to the Florida House of Representatives by the narrow margin of five votes.<sup>17</sup> In Tallahassee Jones cultivated a close relationship with the independent members of the legislature which later proved very important to his political career.

During the closing years of Reconstruction, Florida was closely divided between the Conservative-Democrats and the Republicans. Although Governor Marcellus Stearns was a Republican, the House and the Senate were so closely divided that four or five independents held the balance of power. When the legislature met jointly to elect a United States senator on January 26, 1875, it was obvious that the outcome was in the hands of a few legislators. Several candidates—Democrats Wilkinson Call, David, Walker, John A. Henderson, and Robert Bullock—battled to within a few votes of the necessary thirty-nine, but none were successful. On the fifteenth ballot, William Watson Hicks, a minister from Brooklyn and former missionary to India, who had recently been elected as a Democrat from Monroe County, switched his support from Samuel McLin, the Republican editor of the *Tallahassee Sentinel*, and nominated Jones.

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11. *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1949* (Washington, D.C., 1950), 1384-85; "Charles William Jones," *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, X, 383.
  12. M. Luther King, *History of Santa Rosa County: A King's Country* (Montgomery, Alabama, 1972), 53.
  13. Lucia Tryon, Pensacola Historical Society, and Virginia LeBeau, Pensacola, to author, May 12, 1971.
  14. *Grand Rapids Weekly Leader*, April 28, 1886.
  15. "Charles William Jones," *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, X, 383; *Detroit Free Press*, September 10, 1885.
  16. Ben Perley Poore, comp., *The Political Registrar and Congressional Directory* (Boston, 1878), 473.
  17. *Tallahassee Weekly Floridian*, November 17, 1874.

On that ballot Jones received thirty-four votes. When the independents and a single Republican joined in, Jones was elected with forty votes on the twenty-fourth ballot.<sup>18</sup>

The newly-elected senator, symbolic of the resurgence of the Democratic party in Florida, was genuinely supported on all sides. The Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian* hailed his election as "light dawning," and endorsed him with "high satisfaction."<sup>19</sup> The *Jacksonville New South*, an independent Republican newspaper, remarked that since "fate" had decreed a Democratic senator, "the lot could not have fallen upon a more worthy member of the Democracy than C. W. Jones." His political opponents could "only regret his adhesion to the ranks of Democracy."<sup>20</sup>

Senator Jones reflected the views of the Conservative-Democrats who saw his election as the overthrowing of "carpetbag" rule in Florida. His maiden speech in Congress, delivered March 23, 1875, argued against the resolution calling for the continuing of the Republican policies in Louisiana.<sup>21</sup> Two years later, in January 1877, he opposed counting Florida's electoral votes for Republican presidential candidate Rutherford B. Hayes in the disputed election controversy.<sup>22</sup> A *New York Daily Times* article criticized him as a public speaker - "his delivery being slow and hesitating, and his manner cold and labored."<sup>23</sup> His committee work was good however, and the Florida legislature elected him to a second term in January 1881.<sup>24</sup>

There was no hint of behavioral or personality problems with Senator Jones before 1885. It was not until then that he began to behave strangely. Following the adjournment of the Congress in

18. Governor Marcellus Stearns rewarded Hicks for bringing about the Democratic senatorial victory by appointing him State Superintendent of Public Instruction. Soon after Hicks began adamantly to oppose the Democratic Party. Jerrell H. Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet: Florida in the Era of Reconstruction, 1863-1877* (Gainesville, 1974), 296; Jerrell H. Shofner, "Political Reconstruction in Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XLV (October 1966), 163; *Florida House Journal*, 1875, 138-240.

19. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, February 16, 1875.

20. *Jacksonville New South*, February 10, 13, 1875; Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, February 16, 1875.

21. *Congressional Record*, 44th Cong., 1st sess., 1875-1876, vol. 4, pt. 1, pp. 135-39.

22. *Ibid.*, 44th Cong., 1st sess., 1876-1877, vol. 5, pt. 2, pp.986-96.

23. *New York Daily Times*, March 24, 1875.

24. *Florida House Journal*, 1881, 96, 102.

the spring of 1885, after a hectic and tiring session, he decided that he would take a rest in Canada and Detroit. In September 1885, the *Detroit Free Press* reported an interview with him. When his vacation extended on into autumn, it attracted neither much attention nor comment. When Congress convened on December 7, Wilkinson Call explained that his colleague was absent because of illness.<sup>25</sup>

The *Florida Times-Union* correspondent in Washington reported in January that Jones was "still mysteriously absent." By that time gossip about his reason had begun to circulate in Washington and in Florida.<sup>26</sup> The *Baltimore Sun* reported that according to Washington speculators Jones was living in Detroit where he was pursuing the hand of a lady reputedly worth \$2,000,000, and that he would not be leaving until she "yields."<sup>27</sup> According to the *Jacksonville* paper, this amorous adventure was nothing new; two summers before he had followed a Boston beauty around the watering spots until he had been threatened with force to restrain his advances. "He is now off with the old love and on with the new, but with no better success, as it appears."<sup>28</sup> When a *Detroit Evening News* journalist inquired why he had not returned to Washington, "the Senator made an eloquent and convincing talk on the silver question, but as to his reasons for preferring Detroit to Washington he would not say."<sup>29</sup> The reporter noted, "It is to be regretted that the Senator from Florida who is so well equipped for the intelligent discussion of this great question, does not see fit to deliver these lucid observations from his place in the Senate of the United States instead of from the privacy of his room in the Russell House in Detroit."<sup>30</sup>

Several of his Republican Senate colleagues who were in Detroit in late February 1886 on political business called on Senator Jones to urge him to join them on their return to Washington. He refused, wondering why after ten year's devotion to his senatorial duties, he "should not now spend in relaxation

25. *Detroit Free Press*, September 10, 1885; *Jacksonville Florida Times-Union*, September 24, 1885; *Congressional Record*, 49th Cong., 1st sess., 1885-1886, vol. 17, pt. 1, p. 103.

26. *Jacksonville Florida Times-Union*, January 10, 1886.

27. *Baltimore Sun*, February 9, 1886.

28. *Jacksonville Florida Times-Union*, February 19, 1886.

29. *Detroit Evening News*, February 7, 1886.

and recreation without criticism." He named other senators who had remained away from their offices without incurring criticism. Three Republicans, John Logan of Illinois, Don Cameron of Pennsylvania, and W. Sharen of Nevada, were particularly guilty of these practices.<sup>31</sup>

North Carolina's Senator Zebulon Vance also visited Jones, suggesting his return but with no results. Jones "waived the subject," saying that he "didn't see why he should not have the privilege of a little rest if he choose [*sic*] to take it." The *Florida Times-Union* found this excuse "too thin," and demanded that he "either resign or go to a hospital for repairs." Rumors were circulating that Jones had become mentally unbalanced and that Vance had really gone to Detroit to take charge of him. Vance denied this though, stating that the senator appeared "rational enough" on "general topics."<sup>32</sup>

Governor Edward A. Perry of Florida, a long-time friend of Jones, was asked if he thought the senator was insane. Perry diplomatically replied that while he did not wish to believe so, neither did he like to believe that "in his right mind he would thus subject the State to inconvenience and probable loss and himself and friends to merciless ridicule and destroy his own political future." Perry urged that the "painful subject" be dropped.<sup>33</sup> In contrast, William G. Thompson, former mayor of Detroit and also reportedly a friend of Jones, said that people in Michigan thought the senator was mad.<sup>34</sup>

In April, the *Florida Times-Union* revealed details of Miss Clothilde Palms, "a plain looking woman of 35 years," with whom the senator was in love. She and Jones had met at a dinner in the home of Mayor Thompson, a relative by marriage. When Jones first arrived in Detroit in the fall of 1885, he had called on her daily. "At first he was pleasantly received," but when he kept on "calling at all sort of inopportune times, sent passionate notes and bo[u]quets until the violence of the courtship showed that he was not a fit person to be received . . . Mr. [Francis] Palms [her father] put a stop to it." The Jacksonville paper described the source of information as "a prominent Detroit gentleman." According to him, the senator was no longer

31. *New York Daily Times*, February 25, 1886.

32. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, February 27, 28, 1886.

33. *Ibid.*, March 20, 1886.

34. *Baltimore Sun*, March 15, 1886.

troubling the Palms family; he was spending most of his time in the lobby and on the steps of his hotel.<sup>35</sup>

A Grand Rapids, Michigan, newspaper had a different story. It reported that the senator did not even know Miss Palms by sight; he had passed her twenty times upon the street without recognizing her. Yet, dressed "like a dandy," he would walk up and down in front of the Palms mansion, and would send the object of his affection flowers and *billets-doux*. The latter were quickly rejected. In his rooms, the paper claimed, the senator made "long, vigorous, and lusty" speeches in front of a large mirror, and people on the street outside could observe him. "His self vanity is boundless. He struts up and down before the glass in a pompous manner, making sweeping gestures and oratorical flourishes."<sup>36</sup>

The Roman Catholic Church found itself involved in the growing scandal. Jones, it was reported, had sought assistance when Miss Palms, also a Catholic, had refused him. Jones had quarrelled with two priests over the matter, but when he appealed to the Right Reverend Bishop Borgess, he was reprimanded in "one of the most scorching replies ever penned by mortal man."<sup>37</sup> One William H. Hughes wrote the *Grand Rapids Weekly Leader* in rebuttal and denied the Bishop's reprimand which the paper had printed under the headline, "Love-Mad Man." Nor, the writer continued, had the senator "denounced the whole Catholic Church as a vast conspiracy to prevent his marrying an heiress." According to Hughes, Jones was a "high-minded and courageous gentleman," and the abuse that he had been receiving was "unwarranted and scandalous."<sup>38</sup>

In March 1886, Jones's presence was needed to break a tie vote in the commerce committee on the question of public aid to the Eads Ship Railway Project. In an interview in Detroit he

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35. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, April 9, 1886. See also *ibid.*, March 2, 7, April 20, 24, 1886. Francis Palms made a fortune in land speculation in Michigan and Wisconsin during the 1830s and 1840s. At one time he ranked as one of the largest landholders in the United States. He had two heirs—his daughter Clothilde, and her half-brother Francis F. Palms. *Grand Rapids Weekly Leader*, April 28, 1886; Clarence M. Burton, *The City of Detroit, Michigan, 1701-1922*, 5 vols. (Detroit-Chicago, 1922), III, 24-29.

36. *Grand Rapids Weekly Leader*, April 29, 1886.

37. *Ibid.*, April 21, 1886; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, March 7, 1886.

38. *Grand Rapids Weekly Leader*, April 28, 1886; Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, April 29, 1886.

stated that "were he now on duty," the committee would vote against the bill. He did not believe, he said, in taxing the people to aid private corporations.<sup>39</sup> When an education bill failed passage because Jones and twenty-eight other senators were absent, the *Detroit Evening News* commented, March 6, 1886, that those "who have made Senator Jones the subject of so many pointed remarks on absenteeism might find plenty of material elsewhere for comment, if they would look at the senate record. There is no justice in laying the sign of the whole 29 on one man's shoulders."

The Senate leadership, on April 12, 1886, ruled that Jones's place on the various committees was "temporarily" vacant, and began assigning others in his stead. His position on the commerce committee was vital to Floridians, since the committee had charge of all river and harbor legislation. When Jones learned what had happened, he wrote that he was "very much hurt at the action of the Senate in filling his place on the commerce committee with Senator [Randall] Gibson." He wanted to know whether his "removal" was not an action without precedent. He was informed that he had not been removed, and that upon his return to Congress he would be reinstated to his committee posts.<sup>40</sup>

Jones's Democratic colleagues were of the opinion that the threat of losing his committee posts would bring him to his senses. The *Florida Times-Union* viewed the situation as a "pretty conclusive indication of the view the Senators take of his willful and prolonged absence." The paper urged Governor Perry to declare Jones's seat vacant and to appoint someone to fill the vacancy.<sup>41</sup>

There was no established tradition for replacing a senator who had not been declared physically or mentally incompetent by medical authorities. The *Florida Times-Union* had called for a replacement as early as February 1886. It was important for the Democrats to have full representation, and since Jones had been elected the voters had the right to demand his presence in the Congress or at least an adequate explanation for his absence. "No man is so highly placed that he can afford to assume this

39. Washington *Evening Star*, March 17, 1886.

40. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, April 13, 14, 28, 1886. Senator Gibson was a Louisiana Democrat. The Republicans also tried to remove Jones's appointees within the Senate. *Ibid.*, April 22, 1886.

41. *Ibid.*, March 16, 1886.

lofty air of indifference to legitimate criticism of his conduct as a public man.<sup>42</sup> If Jones could not or would not fill the post and perform the duties, then the voters should be informed and the vacancy filled in a constitutional manner.<sup>43</sup>

The *Florida Times-Union*, continuing its criticism of Jones, pointed out a constitutional clause providing that "If vacancies happen by resignation or otherwise during the recess of a Legislature of any State, the Executive thereof may make temporary appointment until the next meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies." The provision was ample enough to cover the situation involving Senator Jones, the *Times-Union* believed, and it proposed that the governor take immediate steps toward ascertaining Jones's intentions toward performing his duties.<sup>44</sup>

Governor Perry did not act on the *Florida Times-Union* suggestion. Instead the governor announced that he had written Jones a "warm, friendly letter urging him to repair to his post," but that he had received no reply. Perry contended that he could not legally declare a vacancy because he did not have any definite knowledge that the senator was incompetent nor had he resigned. "I know of no way in which the Governor of the State can interfere officially." He cited the example of Alabama's Senator G. T. Goldthwaite who had remained in office although "all he could do was to sit in his seat and count his fingers."<sup>45</sup> Goldthwaite had not resigned, nor could the Senate expel him, "anymore than it can expel Senator Jones." It was Florida's misfortune not to have full representation, but it would have to be endured. Perry argued that he could not interfere officially in a matter in which he lacked the power to enforce his decrees. To declare a vacancy "would be an assumption of power, and not the exercise of a prerogative of my office." The only thing to do, he felt, was to "wait with patience until the Senator himself, the Senate, or death makes a vacancy, or he returns to duty."<sup>46</sup>

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42. *Ibid.*, February 17, 1886.

43. *Ibid.*, February 20, 1886.

44. *Ibid.*, March 17, 1886.

45. Senator George Goldthwaite was elected to the Senate in 1870 "upon the crest of a premature 'White man's movement' in state politics." He retired at the end of his first term because of ill health. Albert B. Moore, "George Goldthwaite," *Dictionary of American Biography*, 20 vols. (New York, 1928-1937), VII, 368.

46. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, March 20, 1886.



The Washington *Evening Star* supported the *Times-Union* suggestion that the governor make a temporary appointment. If Jones was normal, this paper contended, "his deliberate refusal to perform the duties of his office is equivalent to a resignation, or at least to a vacation of his place. If he is insane-as the more charitable of his friends would have us believe-his malady is a disqualification fully warranting his supersession." It noted that senatorial courtesy would probably force Jones's colleagues to defend his seat. Thus, the only way to settle the matter would be to let the governor appoint a senator until the legislature next met. Then, if the Senate declined to seat the new appointee, it would be forced to resolve the problem of a state's losing its constitutional representation when one of its elected officials "plays the part of a frog."<sup>47</sup> The New York *Evening Post* wondered whether Governor Perry could really do anything "if vacancies happen, by resignation or otherwise." If it was impossible to force a senator to attend to his duties, a law "might and ought to be enacted" authorizing a state to fill a vacancy caused by prolonged and inexcusable neglect of duties.<sup>48</sup>

As it turned out, nothing was done to relieve Senator Jones of his post, and Florida remained without his services until his term expired in March 1887. The New York *Herald* had announced that the senator planned to vindicate his actions before the Florida legislature and to explain his lengthy stay in Detroit. The *Times-Union* did not believe the rumors that he again planned to run for the Senate; no one but the senator himself "could be induced to view his candidacy seriously."<sup>49</sup>

Governor Perry appointed General Jesse J. Finley of Civil War fame to fill the Senate seat during the interval between the expiration of Jones's term and the election of a new senator. The *Times-Union* stated: "Exit Senator Jones; enter Senator Finley. A good change for Florida." It was sad, the paper noted, that Senator Jones's career "should close thus amid the shadows of public disapprobation, . . . and yet, if we refuse to accept the theory of mental unsoundness, it must be admitted that few men have been more distinctly the architects of their own mis-

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47. Washington *Evening Star*, March 20, 1886.

48. New York *Evening Post*, March 25, 1886.

49. New York *Herald*, cited in Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, March 6, 1887.

fortunes." The kindest view to be taken was that the former-senator was "mentally irresponsible."<sup>50</sup>

With the expiration of his term, Jones's salary was terminated, and his standard of living quickly plummeted. In November 1887 it was reported that he had reached the limit of his credit and that he was in "absolute want." The proprietors of the Russell House in Detroit had evicted him two months before, and he had taken up residence at the cheaper Griswold House. He was turned out from that establishment also, together with his son, for not paying his bills. He was in debt to many restaurants which refused now to serve him. Detective Patrick O'Neil, a prominent worker in the Irish cause, took him in for a few days. A New York paper wrote: "For months he has done nothing but eat, smoke, and walk with little sleep. He is a vigorous eater and sits down to the table as many as six times a day. The ex-Senator is a wreck mentally."<sup>51</sup> Another announced that he was "practically a beggar upon the streets."<sup>52</sup> The *New York Times* wrote, in the spring of 1888, that he had become "seedy and would not be recognized by anyone who previously knew him." Unshaven and wearing last summer's threadbare clothes, he had become an object of charity.<sup>53</sup>

The story continued towards its tragic end. In November 1887, physicians attending Jones had informed his son, John B., that they would sign a certificate of insanity to the probate court. The family were still unable to convince Jones to return to Florida, and so the probate court in Detroit in May 1890, granted the son's petition to restrain his father.<sup>54</sup> A Michigan correspondent for the *New York Times* confirmed earlier reports that Jones had been living a vagabond life and that he had come to believe that there was a conspiracy against him to prevent his marrying a wealthy lady. At the probate hearing, "It was shown conclusively that he was a monomaniac." While the proceedings were underway, Jones walked in and handed the judge his petition in the form of an affidavit, "asserting that he was about to be adjudged insane and deprived of his liberty on false

50. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, March 1, 4, 1887.

51. *New York Tribune*, November 23, 1887.

52. *New York Daily Times*, November 24, 1887.

53. *Ibid.*, March 24, 1888.

54. *New York Daily Times*, November 24, 1887. John B. Jones served as city attorney for Pensacola for thirty-three years. He also held the position of state attorney from 1915 to 1919. Pensacola Historical Society to author, May 12, 1971.

testimony." Then he turned and walked out of the court. Shortly after the court's ruling, the sheriff took Jones into custody and transported him to a Roman Catholic retreat near Detroit.<sup>55</sup>

Jones remained at St. Joseph's Retreat in Dearborn until his death on October 11, 1897, at the age of sixty-three. His one daughter, Mary Ada, accompanied the body to Pensacola where it was interred in St. Michael's Cemetery. The *Tampa Morning Tribune* recalled that during the senator's stay in Detroit he had become "mentally unbalanced, necessitating his incarceration in the Dearborn retreat." The paper established the "prime cause of the senator's mental trouble" as his "unrestricted infatuation for a Detroit lady." The *Florida Times-Union and Citizen* mentioned Miss Palms, and felt that the senator had been "undoubtedly of unsound mind" at that time. The paper noted that "during the time of his sound mentality" Jones had been "considered one of the ablest men from the South in the United States Senate, and his energy and influence secured recognition for this State in many important matters."<sup>56</sup>

There is still a mystery about Senator Jones's sudden decline. There is no logical explanation for his strange behavior unless he was a victim of some physical or mental disorder. Jones himself never offered any reasons. The *New York Tribune* reported that he felt "his enemies were dogging him," but who his antagonists were was never made clear.<sup>57</sup> Jones, according to the *Times*, was "pursued with the idea that some enemies, whom he never names, are following him, and that he will yet 'down them.'"<sup>58</sup> Once, when asked why he had absented himself from Congress, Jones claimed that six of his juniors, "none of them my superiors in any respect," were promoted over him on the judiciary committee. He was in line for the chairmanship of the Committee on Naval Affairs, and he was passed over. Just as the Committee on Public Lands was to begin an investigation of railroad grants, "I was taken from my place on that committee next to the Chairman, which it took me 10 years to reach, and

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55. *New York Daily Times*, May 20, 1890. In 1889 Miss Palms married Dr. James Burgess Book, a Detroit physician and surgeon. Burton, *City of Detroit*, IV, 321.

56. *Tampa Morning Tribune*, October 14, 1897; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union and Citizen*, October 13, 1897. See also *Pensacola Daily News*, October 13, 14, 1897.

57. *New York Tribune*, November 23, 1887.

58. *New York Daily Times*, November 24, 1887.

placed as the heel on the Committee on Territories."<sup>59</sup> It would appear that Jones, while in Detroit, had begun to think that he was being discriminated against, even being threatened with political destruction. However, the Congressional records do not list Jones as a member of the judiciary committee during the sessions that he served.<sup>60</sup> Presumably, this belief that he had been passed over was a mental delusion.

His one communication with the United States Senate in April 1886 had been to inquire about the permanence and legality of his committee replacements after he had been absent from Washington some four months. Jones complained that he was being unjustly criticized for his "vacation" while other senators often absented themselves without comment. There was also the question of a possible physical problem that may not have been diagnosed. Years later one report stated that soon after the beginning of Cleveland's administration, Senator Jones's "health began to decline, the result of overwork."<sup>61</sup> A contemporary explained that Jones had found it "beneath his dignity" to seek out places and appointments within the government. So long as the Republicans were in power, there was little pressure from individuals seeking jobs and favors. Then with the election of a Democratic president, "the pressure from his constituents became so tremendous and urgent that he fled from Washington in disgust and is himself away beyond the reach of personal visits and letters."<sup>62</sup>

Although newspaper accounts of the meeting of Jones and Miss Palms appear factual enough, the reported daily deluge of flowers and *billets-deux* and her father's stern action seem to be embellishments. Especially is the latter, questionable since Francis Palms had suffered a paralytic stroke in 1875, a full ten years before Jones arrived in Detroit. Palms died in November 1886, following the height of the scandal.<sup>63</sup> Whatever the truth may have been in regard to Charles Jones's unsuccessful courtship, the headline and news stories effectively destroyed his political

59. *Ibid.*, March 24, 1888.

60. *Congressional Record*, 47th Cong., 1st sess., 1881-1882, vol. 13, pt. 1, pp. 31, 146; 48th Cong., 1st sess., 1883-1884, vol. 15, pt. 1, p. 49; 49th Cong., 1st sess., 1885-1886, vol. 17, pt. 1, pp. 37, 309.

61. "Charles William Jones," *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, X, 383.

62. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, May 16, 1886.

63. Burton, *City of Detroit*, IV, 321.

career and his personal life. They also embarrassed and disappointed the people of Florida, the voters who had so confidently sent their first post-war Democrat to the United States Senate only a decade after the Civil War.

A VIEW OF SPANISH WEST FLORIDA:  
SELECTED LETTERS OF GOVERNOR  
JUAN VICENTE FOLCH

by DAVID H. WHITE \*

THE WANING YEARS of the eighteenth century were a time of conflict and turmoil. Europe was convulsed by the wars of the French Revolution and their repercussions were felt throughout the world, including America. The isolated frontier province of Florida, so prized by Spain because of its strategic location to the Caribbean, the Gulf of Mexico, and the Atlantic shipping routes was in an exposed position. Besides the threats from the English and the French, Spanish officials in St. Augustine and Pensacola had to be concerned with the illicit activities of privateers, particularly along the northeast coast of Florida, antagonistic Indians who resented white encroachment on what they considered their traditional domain, and runaway blacks who hid in the swamps often protected by the Indians. The biggest problem, however, came from their aggressive neighbors to the north, who believed that the flag of the United States should and would fly over all of the territory south to the Florida Keys.

The principal points of defense in West Florida were Apalache, Pensacola, Mobile, Baton Rouge, and Natchez. Although the garrisons of these posts were mostly Spanish or Spanish-American, in Mobile and the other former French settlements along the Gulf coast the civilian population was largely French, which added yet another element to the mixture of peoples in the area. Some French Creoles had joined the Spanish forces as evidenced by their names appearing in the records: Maximiliano de St. Maxent, Jose Deville Degoutin, and Juan Francisco Armand de Courville, among others. The correspondence of Juan Vicente Folch y Juan, Spanish governor in West Florida, reflects the picture of a troubled, remote, and beleaguered province at the turn of the century.

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Florida could be described as a hardship post. It seems to have been an unhealthy place. Governor Folch often complained of ill health and the "fevers" which occasionally caused him to leave his office temporarily.<sup>1</sup> Almost always the soldiers were sick or convalescent causing an acute shortage of manpower at a time when it was badly needed.<sup>2</sup> Folch was forced to use prisoners to build fortifications which were necessary for the safety of the posts. In one instance, he found that all the prisoners were incapacitated and unable to work.<sup>3</sup> Not all the illnesses were physical; the isolation of the posts caused mental affliction as well. Folch complained in 1791 of an attack of nerves which caused him to leave his command for a time.<sup>4</sup> Occasionally, a soldier or officer seems to have lost his mind, as in the case of Captain Jose Valier, whom Folch described as "clearly mad" and whom he relieved and sent to his family in New Orleans.<sup>5</sup> Madness affected others. In 1799, a Negro, Bernardo Longodiez, was found dead a short distance from Pensacola. He had hanged himself on a tree, definitely the effect of insanity according to Folch.<sup>6</sup>

Friction often arose among the soldiers of the garrisons, particularly at Apalache, an isolated outpost on St. Marks Bay some distance east of Pensacola. Tomas Portell, commandant of the fort, complained in March 1798 that continual desertions had reduced his force to only thirty-six men, and he begged for reinforcements.<sup>7</sup> Fights were commonplace, and knives often came into play. Once Juan Duran grappled with another soldier, stabbing him several times, and critically wounding him.<sup>8</sup> A grenadier died in the hospital from a blow inflicted by one of his fellows.<sup>9</sup> In Pensacola a prisoner was tried for wounding another, and a third, who had been on guard at the time, was

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1. Juan Vicente Folch to Don Estevan Miro, February 28, 1791; Folch to Don Francisco Cervone, June 28, 1791, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain, Papeles Procedentes de Cuba, legajo 52. Archivo General de Indias is hereinafter cited as AGI; Papeles Procedentes de Cuba as PC, followed by a legajo number. Don Francisco de Paula Gelabert to Don Tomas Portell, May 6, 1799; Folch to Portell, August 10, 1799, AGI:PC, 53.

2. Folch to Arturo O'Neill, October 26, 1788, AGI:PC, 52.

3. Folch to Miro, October 26, 1790, AGI:PC, 52.

4. Folch to O'Neill, June 16, 1791, AGI:PC, 52.

5. Folch to the Baron de Carondelet, November 23, 1796, AGI:PC, 53.

6. Folch to Manuel Gayoso de Lemos, February 11, 1799, AGI:PC, 53.

7. *Ibid.*, March 10, 1798, AGI:PC, 53.

8. Folch to Miro, March 11, 1787, AGI:PC, 52.

9. *Ibid.*, October 20, 1790, AGI:PC, 52.

charged with trying to cover up the incident.<sup>10</sup> The fighting among the garrison seems to have been common.<sup>11</sup> Occasionally, a distraught soldier might threaten an officer as did Jose Pallerin of the Louisiana Regiment who tried to knife his Adjutant Major Ignacio Balderas.<sup>12</sup> At other times the crime was robbery, a very common offense.<sup>13</sup> At Fort Barrancas, a small post at the mouth of Pensacola Bay, Governor Folch uncovered a bootlegging operation. Three soldiers were selling *aguardiente* (a crude type of rum which was very popular) to their comrades. Folch first recognized its effects when he noted the increasing number of fires and robberies occurring in the previously quiet outpost. Presumably these were the actions of inebriated soldiers. After repeated warnings, the governor ordered the hut belonging to the soldiers selling the alcohol torn down and the rum placed in the post storehouse.<sup>14</sup>

Not all Folch's troubles were from the military. In Mobile the bickering and wrangling of a certain married couple caused him many headaches. On their departure in 1788, he commented that they had caused him more trouble than all the other 2,000 people in the district.<sup>15</sup> The lonely fort at Apalache seems to have exceeded all others in disturbances. One soldier there, Juan Dosal, made advances to a slave girl. When she resisted him and fled, he pursued her down the street until she took refuge in the house of the commandant of the post. Dosal entered the house, wounded a soldier on guard, and threatened to kill the commandant's orderly. He was finally captured and sent to Pensacola under guard.<sup>16</sup>

Folch frequently complained about both the number and the quality of his troops. He never had sufficient men to garrison the posts. Both officers and soldiers were worked to the point of exhaustion. Furthermore, Folch noted, the troops were usually of poor quality and could not be used in offensive operations, the type of fighting that was most necessary in that country. With troops of this caliber he could not make sorties against the

10. Folch to Cardondelet, October 6, 1796, AGI:PC, 53.

11. Folch to Gayoso, June 16, 1798, AGI:PC, 53; Ignacio Alonso de Alle to Folch, November 19, 1798, AGI:PC, 57.

12. Folch to Gayoso, June 16, 1798, AGI:PC, 53.

13. *Ibid.*, August 31, 1798, AGI:PC, 53.

14. *Ibid.*, March 10, 1798; AGI:PC, 53.

15. Folch to O'Neill, May 2, 1788, AGI:PC, 52.

16. Folch to Carondelet, July 3, 1797, AGI:PC, 53.



Indians who were his chief preoccupation at the time (1799). If Indians, according to Folch, were not effective at sieges, they were well-nigh invincible in the forest. He feared that the first time his troops met an ambush in the woods, they would panic and be lost. If this happened the Indians would become even more menacing.<sup>17</sup> Of the 288 soldiers of the battalion, 114 were natives of New Spain (Mexico) or Cuba. Folch felt that these men, particularly those from New Spain, did not make good soldiers; they had neither the zeal nor the motivation of the European military. On the other hand, he considered the Creoles of Louisiana and Florida to be valuable soldiers and felt they should be actively recruited; they were used to hunting and the hardships of outdoor life. Since Florida was such an exposed province and a vulnerable target for the French, English, and Americans, Folch urged that the best troops be concentrated there. Instead, he received inferior men with serious morale problems.<sup>18</sup>

Folch and his officers were plagued with deserters and escaping prisoners. In March 1788 two deserters from Mobile were captured. One was found at Tensaw near Mobile, but the other had managed to reach Apalache.<sup>19</sup> Two prisoners who had escaped from Mobile were apprehended at Point of Mobile.<sup>20</sup> Men were deserting not only from the posts on land but from the galleys that patrolled the coast.<sup>21</sup> Also, there seemed to be a disposition on the part of the guards to allow the prisoners to escape. In June 1797 some prisoners pried open a window of a jail in Pensacola and escaped, taking refuge in the post church underneath the altar. They were recaptured and returned to the stockade, and the corporal of the guard was jailed for lack of vigilance.<sup>22</sup> A similar case occurred in Apalache in the summer of 1799, when a guard allowed a prisoner to escape who also took a horse belonging to one of the citizens in town. The guard received fifty lashes, the customary punishment, and was sent under guard to Pensacola.

When it was learned that the escaped prisoner was on his way

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17. Folch to Casa Calvo, November 19, 1799, AGI:PC, 53.

18. Folch to Gayoso, July 8, 1799, AGI:PC, 53.

19. Folch to O'Neill, March 6, 1788, AGI:PC, 52.

20. Folch to Miro, April 26, 1788, AGI:PC, 52.

21. *Ibid.*, October 20, 1789, AGI:PC, 52.

22. Folch to Carondelet, June 8, 1797, AGI:PC, 53.

to the Lower Creek territory north of Apalache, the agent for the Creek Nation was alerted to be on the lookout for him.<sup>23</sup> Fleeing prisoners often used the water route to escape, taking the small boats or "piraguas" which were drawn up on the shore around the forts.<sup>24</sup> In November 1798, some military prisoners escaped from the jail at Apalache. An investigation confirmed that there had been a conspiracy between the guards and the prisoners. The guards had provided them with supplies, guns, and articles of clothing. Thus equipped, the men joined some Indians camped about three miles away on the shores of the bay. They were enroute south in canoes to Tampa Bay where they went each year to fish. Many of the Indians knew some Spanish, having learned it at the fort. A few had even travelled at various times to Havana. The commandant quickly dispatched a sailing launch to overtake the Indians and the prisoners, but with orders not to venture too far out to sea because of the danger of British privateers. Although the party found traces of the camp used by the runaways and Indians, they were not able to catch up with them.<sup>26</sup>

The dissidence and low morale at the forts were probably due in large part to the wretched living conditions of the military in the posts along the Gulf.<sup>26</sup> As a result of all these escapes, Folch decided on a measure he had long wanted to put into operation. He formed a company of mounted scouts to be used to pursue deserters, particularly in the Indian country to the north. They were volunteers and were paid twenty-five pesos monthly but were required to furnish their own horses, muskets, and other equipment.<sup>27</sup>

Slave escapes were still another problem with which Florida officials had to cope. Spanish Florida was a slave area, and the slave trade was a flourishing business on the Gulf coast. Many blacks arrived in New Orleans, but some came directly into Mobile or Pensacola. The authorities were supposed to inspect the slaves carefully to prevent any with contagious diseases from

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23. Folch to Geonimo Yberes, August 6, 1799, AGI:PC, 52.

24. Folch to O'Neill, September 22, 1787, AGI:PC, 52.

25. Juan Domingues to Folch, December 14, 1797, January 31, 1798, AGI:PC, 57.

26. Folch to Gayoso, February 17, 23, 1798; Folch to Portell, February 3, 1798, AGI:PC, 53.

27. Folch, Public Declaration, May 2, 1798, AGI:PC, 53.

landing.<sup>28</sup> Many came from Havana, but while Spain was at peace with England, a surprising number were transported from Jamaica.<sup>29</sup> During the 1790s, the Spaniards were careful about allowing blacks to enter their territory from the French islands such as Martinique and Santo Domingo. In the wake of the French Revolution, there had been serious slave revolts in the West Indies, and the Spaniards feared that the former French blacks might bring with them dangerous revolutionary ideas. Governor Folch met one such black who had come in on a slave ship from Trinidad. Questioning him, Folch found the man to be both capable and well-educated; he had been a member of the First Tribunal after the revolution in Santo Domingo. Fearing that he might prove dangerous, the governor held him in custody until he could be shipped out again.<sup>30</sup> Florida's wilderness beckoned to runaway slaves from Georgia and the back country. These people often found refuge with the Indians. Even if they were enslaved by the Indians, as they sometimes were, life was not as harsh as under the Spaniards.<sup>31</sup>

The records of the period are full of accounts of escaped slaves whom the Spaniards called "Cimmarones." In February 1787, a black was being held captive on a Spanish galley on the Mississippi River at Plaquemine Bend. The ship was becalmed and a dense fog came up. During the night, the slave, in chains, was on deck sitting by a fire. Although the officer in charge had been on deck until two o'clock and a trustworthy sentry had passed by the fire all night, when morning came, they saw that the Negro had slipped out of his chains and had escaped over the side.<sup>32</sup> Other escapes occurred frequently.<sup>33</sup> Expeditions readily went out to look for runaways since by custom these participants would receive an award when the slaves were found and returned.<sup>34</sup>

Once the Spaniards encountered a different situation. In 1788 on a road in the Choctaw Nation they found a black called Jacques who was looking for his master. He had been separated

28. ? to Balderas, May 9, 1787, AGI:PC, 52.

29. Folch to Miro, March 26, April 1, 1787, AGI:PC, 52.

30. Folch to Gayoso, July 14, 1798, AGI:PC, 53.

31. William S. Willis, "Divide and Rule: Red, White and Black in the Southeast," *Journal of Negro History*, XLVIII (July 1963), 159-71.

32. Folch to Miro, February 20, 1787, AGI:PC, 52.

33. Miro to Folch, April 7, 1787, AGI:PC, 52.

34. Folch to O'Neill, September 22, 1787, AGI:PC, 52.

from him during an attack on an Arkansas post in the "late war" (the American Revolution). He had escaped his new master to seek his old one, a Frenchman named Vilar.<sup>35</sup> However, that was not usually the case; most of the slaves were trying to escape. On another occasion, nineteen slaves belonging to the estate of a recently deceased Frenchman, named de Luvier, ran away into the Indian country north of Mobile. Folch and a party of twelve gave chase and were successful in catching and returning them.<sup>36</sup> In 1788, Alexander McGillivray, the half-breed leader of the Creeks, promised to return all runaway slaves that were found living in his Nation or passing through it.<sup>37</sup> However, although McGillivray had much influence, he was not always able to stop the raids of his young warriors whose purpose often was to steal slaves.

The presence of large numbers of Indians in the wilderness north of the Gulf presented a continuing problem. Although they were nominally allied to the Spaniards, the Indians were in constant conflict with the Americans, and occasionally they also attacked the white settlers in West Florida.<sup>38</sup> The Spaniards tried to placate the Indians, maintaining interpreters and agents among them and giving them presents whenever they visited Pensacola and Mobile. In fact, one of the major expenses of the Spanish officials was Indian gifts, usually provisions and *aguardiente*.<sup>39</sup> But these measures did not always satisfy the Indians. In 1797 they came into Pensacola and began openly stealing horses in the town. When they were accosted, they became very belligerent and threatened to burn down the town. Georgians had attacked some of their villages near the Georgia border and they were retaliating against other white men.<sup>40</sup>

The constant encroachment of the Americans was the principal cause of Indian unrest. But some Americans had been moving through Indian country enroute to Spanish West Florida for some time. Two fairly large settlements north of Mobile were Tensaw and Tombigbee. Settlers continued to arrive there both

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35. Folch to Miro, January 23, 1788, AGI:PC, 52.

36. *Ibid.*, December 9, 1788, AGI:PC, 52.

37. Alexander McGillivray to Folch, March 2, 1789, AGI:PC, 52.

38. Folch to ?, August 22, 1787, AGI:PC, 52; Folch to ?, May 6, 1795, AGI:PC, 53.

39. Folch to Gayoso, March 28, 1798, AGI:PC, 53.

40. Folch to ?, May 6, 1795, AGI:PC, 53.

from Georgia and from the Cumberland in Tennessee, attracted, they said, by the mild rule of the Spaniards and the absence of taxes.<sup>41</sup> Folch was inclined to welcome these newcomers. He found them to be industrious, and he felt that their numbers would strengthen the Spanish position on the frontier. However, among the immigrants in 1791 was a congregation of Baptists who set up their own church in Tensaw. This was too much for Folch; a Protestant church was not to be allowed in Catholic Spanish territory. He placed the minister and some of the congregation under arrest, sending them to the governor in New Orleans.<sup>42</sup> Meanwhile, the Creeks continued to object to these Americans and attacked them, both on their journey to Florida and in the settlements at Tensaw and Tombigbee.<sup>43</sup>

The settlers had difficulties with nature as well as with the Indians. In March 1791, the Tombigbee River began to flood. Folch, who happened to be in Tombigbee at the time, helped the settlers retrieve their cattle from the pastures on the other side of the river. On March 19, the dykes began to crumble and on the following day the flood waters swept in, carrying off all the buildings, large and small, slave cabins, barns, and storehouses with their provisions. The whole settlement was in ruins. Folch measured the total rise at twenty-five feet, and Indians said that this was the worst flood in the memory of anyone living. Fortunately, there was not a single fatality, but food was in short supply. Maize that before the flood had sold at five reales per barrel was being offered for five pesos per barrel. Folch was obliged to freeze the price at ten reales per barrel and to prevent a schooner from sailing with 400 barrels of grain aboard. It was one of the greatest calamities to befall the Mobile district and West Florida.<sup>44</sup>

However, one of the most personal glimpses of life in Spanish Florida concerned the governor himself. Possibly, the reason that such an account is to be found in the official correspondence is that Folch was writing to his uncle, Don Estevan Miro, governor general of Louisiana and the Floridas. Folch often discussed very confidential matters in letters to his uncle. Folch was bringing a

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41. Folch to Miro, August 22, 1787, May 27, 1788, AGI:PC, 52.

42. *Ibid.*, April 17, 1791, AGI:PC, 52.

43. *Ibid.*, May 30, 1791, AGI:PC, 54.

44. *Ibid.*, April 17, 1791, AGI:PC, 52.

complaint against Sublieutenant Don Lorenzo Rigolen, a young Frenchman in the Spanish service, who had come to Pensacola in the spring of 1788 as a replacement. Because he had known a relative of Folch in Madrid, the governor had invited Rigolen to his home several times and had tried to help him.

During this period, Folch had to be absent from Mobile quite often. On his return from one such trip, in May 1788, one of his slaves took him aside, saying: "Master, although I am a slave, I cannot allow what is being done to you while you have been away. Senor Rigolen has gone to bed with your wife every night. The first night I saw him go into the house at a very late hour by the back door. I followed him and saw him raise the mosquito netting on the bed of your wife and get in. I have also heard various soldiers [say] that they had seen him enter and leave the house while they were on sentry duty."

Folch made some private inquiries and discovered that what the slave had reported was apparently true. He found himself, he said, in the position of a wounded husband, and because he was the commandant of the post, he was also the judge. Determined to learn the truth of the matter, on June 15, he announced that he was going to Dauphin Island to take a change of air because of the fever. He made all the usual preparations for a journey, and asked the officer in charge of stores to accompany him. Before he left, he secretly asked another officer, Lieutenant Luis Duret, to meet him at a certain place to discuss an important matter. At nine that evening, Folch departed for Dauphin Island, but about three miles from Mobile, he turned into shore and disembarked to meet Duret. At midnight he returned to Mobile, accompanied by Duret and the other officer. They climbed over the stockade on a rickety ladder. Moving with extreme care, Folch was able to get into his wife's room without being heard by anyone. When he was about five feet from the bed, he suddenly shouted for candles to be brought and for the witnesses to come into the room to see what the two culprits were about. The witnesses, seeing the expression on the face of the governor and fearing what he might do, quickly snatched his musket from him. Folch ordered the guilty pair jailed.

In his letter to his uncle, Folch noted that when a civilian was away from his family he could leave a female relative with his wife to defend her from seducers. However, the soldier, who

is often far from his own country, did not have that advantage even though his wife was in danger. Folch's wife wrote him from jail, claiming that she had not been seduced but "forced" (*forzada* was the Spanish word used). Folch presumably continued to have doubts, and Senora Folch did not immediately regain her freedom, although the governor seems not to have known exactly what to do about her. However, he demanded that the Frenchman be expelled from the colony, claiming that he had destroyed his marriage.<sup>45</sup> In view of the relationship between Folch and Miro, it is likely that Rigolen was at least deported. Folch and his wife remained together. They had children, at least two sons who were well-educated in England, and a daughter of whom Folch was very fond.<sup>46</sup>

Judging from Folch's correspondence, Florida was not a very desirable post, situated as it was so far from the centers of Spanish power in Mexico and Peru. It was vulnerable to attacks from the sea and aggression by Americans to the north. To the hardships of garrison life were added the tensions and disorders of a slave society. The evidence seems to indicate that life in eighteenth-century Florida was hard and dangerous but perhaps not always dull. This pattern continued until Spain ultimately relinquished her border province to the Americans in 1821.

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45. *Ibid.*, July 7, 1788, AGI:PC, 52.

46. John Forbes to William Simpson, December 26, 1808, The Forbes Papers, Public Library, Mobile, Alabama.

"THE HEAVENLY PLANTATION":  
A SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY MENTION  
OF FLORIDA

by NANCY LEE-RIFFE \*

DURING ENGLAND'S civil war in the seventeenth century, British journalism and newspapers got their start. Legions of newsheets were written and distributed. Though some of them ran for several years and hundreds of issues, most were only short-lived ventures. The underground Royalist papers had a particularly difficult time. One of these, of which only three issues have survived, is *Mercurius Aulicus (For King Charles II)*. A weekly published in 1649, its intent is to attack and mock the actions of the new government and to spur loyalty and support for Charles, the son of the beheaded king. In it Florida is mentioned as a possible place to which Royalist members of Parliament may flee to set up a sanctuary from the troubles raging in England.

The first "Courtly Messenger" for the week August 14-21, 1649, makes clear his loyalty to the monarchy and to Charles and his bitter hatred of Parliament and the Presbyterians. In the second issue, August 21-28, 1649, the writer points out that not only is Parliament fighting internally, but that when Cromwell returns from Ireland's bogs he will be so angry at some of the law makers' enactments that "Doctour *Oliver*" will cause "a generall purge . . . to scoure away these excrements." Therefore, *Mercurius* predicts Parliament will probably adjourn, as its out-of-town members prepare to flee to "*Florida in America* . . . to set up a Government and Discipline there, subordinate to the Government of England, and for propagating and promoting their new-found Religions and whimseys in these new-found-Lands."

*Mercurius Aulicus* describes this refuge in idyllic terms: "This *Florida* is a spacious Country, abounding with very many sorts

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of Pheasant, Fruits and Plants, a pleasant Climate near to *Virginia* and not farre from the *Spanish* Gold and Silver; so that without doubt, this is the Promised Land, which our Independent Israel hath so long sought after, for they fought for a Land flowing not only with milk and honey, but with thousands of Gold and Silver; the Natives of this Country are said to live unto a very great age, some of them to nigh 300 years, and the most part of their life very free from sickness; and therefore a fit habitation for our modern Saints."

In the third and last issue which has survived, for the week of August 28-September 4, 1649, *Mercurius Aulicus* continues in the same vein. According to him Parliament has considered means "for measuring the Country of *Florida* and other the West-India Islands, and if the heavenly Plantation be found large enough for the Saints to erect their new Jerusalem, to make it subordinate to the government of *England*, untill such time as they must take their journey, bag and baggage through the red sea to exercise their new revelations, gifts, and whimsies, in that new world."

The *Journals of Parliament* for this same period do not mention Florida. While they reflect many of the items mentioned by *Mercurius Aulicus*, he presented his own special biases in the discussions of the need to "enlarge" those imprisoned for debt, reaction to the treaty between General Monck and Irish General Owen Rowe, and Royalist jubilation over victories in Ireland. Within the time covered by these three newsheets, however, the *Parliament Journals* report debate on the waiver of an excise tax for a company trading in Eleutheria, an island near the Florida coast. Permission is also granted for colonizing in the West Indies islands located between 24° and 29° North Latitude. These items are reported briefly; there is no indication reflected in the *Journals* of colonial aspiration or activities by any members of Parliament.

That the members of Parliament were seriously considering colonization of Florida seems unlikely. But that the author of *Mercurius Aulicus*, in his heavy-handed attack on the government he deplored in 1649, chose to name Florida is at the least testimony to his knowing of the area and of its own special attractions.

# CIVIL WAR LETTERS OF MAJOR GENERAL JAMES PATTON ANDERSON

*edited by* MARGARET ANDERSON UHLER \*

IN A TIME WHEN patriotism was among the greatest of American virtues, few men pursued it more passionately than General James Patton Anderson of the Confederate army. Born in Winchester, Franklin County, Tennessee, February 16, 1822, he was the son of Margaret Adair and Colonel William Preston Anderson, a veteran of the War of 1812. His maternal grandfather was General John Adair, a hero in both the American Revolution and the War of 1812, and the eighth governor of Kentucky.<sup>1</sup>

Young Anderson graduated from Jefferson College in Cannersburg, Pennsylvania, in October 1840, and afterward studied law in Desoto County, Mississippi. He was admitted to the bar there in 1843. He continued his studies during the summers of 1844 and 1845 at the Montrose Law School in Frankfort, Kentucky, which was conducted by his uncle, Judge Thomas Bell Monroe.

When the Mexican War began, Anderson organized a company of Mississippi volunteers and later was elected lieutenant colonel and placed in command of the battalion. At the close of the war, he returned to his legal practice in Hernando. He was elected to the Mississippi legislature from Desoto County in 1851. During his service in Mexico, Anderson's health was seriously impaired by malaria, and he was advised to move to a colder, drier climate. Jefferson Davis, secretary of war in Franklin Pierce's cabinet, secured for Anderson in 1853 the position of marshal of the new Territory of Washington.<sup>2</sup>

He accepted the appointment, and on April 30, 1853, he

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1. James Barnett Adair, comp. and ed., *Adair History and Genealogy* (Los Angeles, 1924), 66.
2. General Anderson's autobiography in the James Patton Anderson Papers, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville.

married his first cousin, Henrietta Buford Adair of Morganfield, Kentucky, in Memphis, Tennessee. Within an hour after the wedding, the young couple embarked by steamer on their long journey to the west coast. Patton's enthusiastic acceptance of the adventurous life ahead, as well as his vigorous philosophy, is apparent in the lines he composed to his bride on the day of their marriage:

The wise and active conquer dangers  
By daring to attempt them; sloth and folly  
Shiver and shrink at sights of toil and hazard,  
And make the impossibility they fear.<sup>3</sup>

The Andersons's first stop was New Orleans where they boarded a steamer to Nicaragua. From there they traveled by a small river boat up the San Juan River to Virgin Bay; another vessel took them to San Francisco, where they transferred to still another which carried them to Astoria, Oregon. The voyage took nearly two months.

The Andersons found the wilderness territory filled with challenge, and their life there one of great happiness. The invigorating climate restored Patton to robust health, and he thoroughly enjoyed his strenuous duties. His success as a public official is attested by the fact that he was elected territorial representative to Congress in 1855. He and Etta left for Washington in October, arriving for the convening of the twenty-fourth Congress.<sup>4</sup>

Before the end of his term, Patton was appointed by President James Buchanan in 1857 to the office of territorial governor of Washington and as superintendent of Indian affairs. He resigned this position, however, when he became convinced that war between the North and the South was imminent; he wanted to be able to serve the South. After some consultation, the Andersons accepted the invitation of their aunt, Ellen Adair White Beatty, to manage her plantation, Casa Bianca, near Monticello in north Florida.<sup>5</sup> Within two years of his moving to Florida,

3. Mrs. Anderson's Album, in possession of the author.

4. Anderson autobiography.

5. Mrs. Beatty was aunt both to General and Mrs. Anderson, who were first cousins. Mrs. Beatty's first husband, Colonel Joseph M. White, was a prominent Florida lawyer and territorial representative to Congress from 1825 to 1837. *Monticello News*, February 28, 1969. Casa Bianca,

Patton purchased Casa Bianca and devoted himself to planting cotton and sugar.

In December 1860, Governor Madison Starke Perry of Florida appointed Anderson a delegate to the secession convention in Montgomery. His distinguished political background, as well as his secessionist views, made him a logical choice for this position. Later, he was elected to represent Florida in the Confederate Congress, but resigned his seat in April 1861 in order to raise a company of infantry. He was promptly elected colonel of the First Florida Regiment. His promotion to brigadier general came in February 1862, and two years later he was appointed major general.<sup>6</sup>

General Anderson won distinction on many battlefields—Corinth, Shiloh, Perryville, Murfreesboro, Chickamauga, and Missionary Ridge. In March 1864, he assumed command of the District of Florida, where he remained until July 1864, when he was ordered to report to Lieutenant General John Bell Hood in Atlanta. On the evening of August 31, he was severely wounded in the jaw during the Battle of Jonesboro. The wound was thought to be fatal, but he recovered sufficiently to return to Monticello. Although he never completely overcame the effects of his wound, he rejoined the army in March 1865 against the advice of his physicians. In a few weeks he surrendered after the Battle of Bentonville and was paroled at Greensboro, North Carolina, on May 2, 1865.<sup>7</sup>

After the war the condition of his health forced Anderson again to seek a more congenial climate. With his wife and five children, he moved to Memphis, Tennessee, where he engaged in the insurance business and edited an agricultural magazine. Because of his refusal to sign the presidential pardon issued by President Andrew Johnson, he was unable to resume the practice of law or to hold public office. When friends attempted to have his legal disabilities removed in order that he might run for the office of mayor of Memphis, he adamantly refused. Signing the pardon, he felt, would have been dishonorable; it would have

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built in 1828, was one of the largest plantations in antebellum Florida. It consisted of 6,000 acres of land and was worked by 250 slaves.

6. Anderson's commissions, February 10, 1862, and February 19, 1864, in possession of the author.
7. Mrs. Anderson to Mr. Earle, April 11, 1889, Palatka, Florida; Anderson's parole, in possession of the author.

implied a regret for what he had done, and he had no such regrets. "And if his life was to go over, he would do just as he had unless, *if possible*, he would be more devoted to the cause."<sup>8</sup>

He died on the ninth anniversary of the Battle of Chickamauga, a day he always remembered with pride. "How we whipped them that day!" he delighted in recalling. He remained unreconstructed to the end. His obituary in the *Frankfort Yeoman* stated: "For cool courage and promptness in action he had no superior and was idolized by his men and officers. Of striking personal mien, tall and muscular, with very dark hair and eyes, he was at all times a singularly handsome man, but in battle presented a figure on horseback which seemed the very impersonation of manly valor."<sup>9</sup>

After the general's death, his family lived for ten years with Mrs. Anderson's brother, Cromwell Adair, in Morganfield, Kentucky. In 1883 they moved to Palatka, Florida, where Mrs. Anderson and four of her five children lived for the rest of their lives. There Mrs. Anderson organized the Patton Anderson Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy and served as its president until her death in 1917.<sup>10</sup>

The following letters written by General Anderson to his wife between January 8, 1862, and May 19, 1864, provide a rare insight into the general's domestic life. They also contribute new commentary on the campaigns in eastern Tennessee and northern Georgia, about which most of his correspondence was concerned. The letters are reproduced here in the same form which appears; in the James Patton Anderson collection in the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History at the University of Florida, Gainesville. No changes have been made in either the spelling or punctuation.

Mrs. Anderson was at Casa Bianca when the first letter of this series describing the Battle of Murfreesboro (December 31, 1862-January 3, 1863) was written. Several weeks later, she joined her husband in Tennessee. The account of General Breckinridge's retreat mentioned in this letter is discussed more fully in General Anderson's autobiography: "We reached the scene of conflict

8. Mrs. Anderson to Earle, April 11, 1889.

9. Quoted in *ibid.*

10. Conversations with General and Mrs. Anderson's youngest daughter, Margaret Bybee Anderson, of Palatka, between 1940 and 1960. She was born at Casa Bianca, May 12, 1866, and died in Palatka, May 6, 1965.

about sundown and after the heaviest fighting was over-in time, however, to have several officers and men of our skirmish line severely wounded, and by interposing a fresh line between the victorious enemy and Breckinridge's shattered columns, gave time for the latter to rally and resume a line they had held in the morning. This affair gave rise to much bitter feeling between General Bragg and Major General Breckinridge; Bragg in his official report having animadversed very severely upon Breckinridge's conduct and having attributed more (I think) to my brigade than it was entitled to. On the other hand, Breckinridge hardly did us justice, or rather his friends who discussed the matter in public print, did not give me due credit for our conduct or operations on that occasion. They rather contended that I had reached the ground after the fight was over and although we came with good intentions, and doubtless would have rendered efficient service if it had been necessary, yet there was nothing to be done after our arrival. The facts are, however, as I have stated them here, and as I stated them in my official report on that occasion, a copy of which I sent to General Breckinridge, whereupon he wrote me a very complimentary note characterizing the report as one 'that was truthful and manly.' " <sup>11</sup>

Mrs. Anderson shed additional light on this incident by inserting a note of her own at this point in her handwritten copy of her husband's autobiography: "I was up at the army when this discussion was going on. You heard it *everywhere* by friends and enemies. *All* gave the brigade and Genl. Anderson credit for all that Genl. Bragg and Genl. Robertson claimed for them. . . . " <sup>12</sup> The note Genl. A. refers to - I was in the room when Genl. Breckinridge returned my husband's report, with this *note*. Genl. A. threw it into my lap saying, 'You will value that'-and I did. But it was burned two years after the war-with most of

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11. Major General John Cabell Breckinridge was vice-president of the United States from 1856 to 1859. Before the expiration of his term, he was elected to the United States Senate by the Kentucky legislature. Major General Braxton Bragg's unpopularity was caused in part by his mismanagement of victories. After the battles of Murfreesboro and Chickamauga, he failed to follow through his advantages, and later yielded up his fields to the Federals. His corps commanders expressed lack of confidence in him, an opinion shared by officers and soldiers. He was considered to have had patriotism and integrity, but to have been lacking in emotional stability. See Bell Irvin Wiley, *Embattled Confederates* (New York, 1964), 54.

12. Brigadier General Felix Huston Robertson was chief of artillery.

his official correspondence in his private desk-at St. Marks, Fla. in a warehouse. . . . Genl. Breckinridge would not send in his report until he had seen Genl. A.'s. They were intimate friends and distant relations. There is no use talking-Genl. Breckinridge was drunk at that *battle* & had his men cut all to pieces. Genl. Bragg would not stand drinking in any of his officers."

Bragg's official report stated that Anderson's brigade encountered the enemy's light troops close upon the Confederate artillery which had been left without support. "This noble brigade, under its cool and gallant chief," wrote Bragg, "drove the enemy back, and saved all the guns not captured before its arrival." He further stated that Anderson deserved special mention "for the coolness, judgement, and courage with which he interposed his brigade between our retreating forces and the enemy, largely superior to him, on Friday evening, and saved our artillery."<sup>13</sup>

Breckinridge's biographer takes issue with both Bragg and General Robertson on this matter. He suggests that their official reports were highly inaccurate, particularly Robertson's, which gave Anderson sole credit for saving Breckinridge's division and preventing a rout, "a remark which Anderson himself later regarded as much more than he was entitled to."<sup>14</sup> Davis is apparently citing Anderson's autobiography, though the meaning is not entirely clear when taken out of context. Davis also denies that Breckinridge had a drinking problem, but Mrs. Anderson's account of at least one occasion of inebriation was taken from eyewitness reports.<sup>15</sup>

Winchester, Tenn. Jan'y 8th 1862

I telegraphed you from Shelbyville two days ago that I was well. It was the first opportunity that I had after the battle of the 31st Dec. Again, I have had much to be thankful for. While so many were killed and wounded, I escaped without a scratch. You will wonder why I am here, after such a victory at Murfreesboro. Well, I do not know that I can give any satisfactory reply

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13. Bragg's report in John Fitch, *Annals of the Army of the Cumberland* (Philadelphia, 1863), 666, 670.

14. William C. Davis, *Breckinridge, Statesman, Soldier, Symbol* (Baton Rouge, 1974), 353.

15. *Ibid.*, 394.

to the inquiry. On Sunday night (the 3rd) after lying in the trenches in the rain and mud for nine days and fighting more or less all the time with but little opportunity to cook and eat, the men were in such an exhausted condition that it was thought best by our Generals to fall back to where our baggage and provisions had been previously sent, to wit, to this place. We arrived here last night and will return to Shelbyville this evening or tomorrow. The troops are resting and cooking rations. I am commanding Walthall's Brigade in Withers' Div. of Polk's Corps.<sup>16</sup> It is composed of the 24th, 27th, 29th, 30th, & 37th Miss. & the 45th Alabama. All except the 29th you will observe, are my old troops. When my Division was broken up, a portion assigned to Hardee<sup>17</sup> and the rest to Polk, I fell to the latter. At the same time Col. Walthall of Miss. was promoted to a Brigadier and was given the Miss. Regiments to command. I was assigned to a brigade composed of three Ala. and two So. Ca. Regiments. The day before the battle Genl. Walthall was taken quite sick. The Mississippians petitioned for me to command them in the fight. Their petition was granted. So I commanded them in the fight and will continue to do so, till Genl. Walthall's recovery. They behaved most gallantly as Mississippians have always done in this war. They took *nine* pieces of artillery but lost many of their best officers and men. One Regiment alone (the 30th) had 62 men killed and 132 wounded on one acre of ground, just in front of the enemy battery. This is, I believe, the heaviest loss of any one Regt in any one fight of the war. The others lost many, but not so many as the 30th. The total loss of killed and wounded in the Brigade (none missing) was 732. About 216 more than any other Brigade in the fight. The victory was a great one, though I am afraid its whole moral effect will be lost by our falling back. We took altogether about five thousand prisoners, 31 pieces of artillery and any number of colors, wagons, mules, horses. etc. I see by the papers that the Tennesseans did *all* the fighting!! That they took the batteries etc. the very ones which the Mississippians charged. Well, they may have *taken* them, but it was after my Brigade had driven

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16. Brigadier General Edward Cary Walthall, Twenty-ninth Mississippi Infantry; Major General Jones Mitchell Withers, Third Alabama Infantry; Lieutenant General Leonidas Polk.

17. Lieutenant General William Joseph Hardee.



the enemy from his guns and were *pursuing him two hundred yards in advance* of the Tennessee troops! Who will ever be able to write a *truthful* history of this war?

The Floridians were not in the main fight of the 31st. They are in Gen. Wm. Preston's (of Ky) Brigade.<sup>18</sup> They were in the fight of the evening of the 2nd Jany when Breckinridge on the right attacked the enemy's left, and was *repulsed* with heavy loss. My Brigade was ordered over to his support late in the evening, but not in time to prevent the rout which had begun *before* I got there. I formed a line between them and the enemy, which enabled our officers to rally their men while night put a stop to pursuit by the enemy. Of this however you need not speak. The Floridians lost but few. I cannot hear of any casualties among our acquaintances except Lt. John Bailey who was wounded; how severely I could not learn.<sup>19</sup> My informant could only tell me that it was not a dangerous wound.

I recd a letter from Aunt Ellen [Beatty] a day or two before the battle dated 17th Dec. in which she said you were writing at that time. Yours has not yet been received. . . . I fear my letter to her and yours to me had a collision somewhere between Murfreesboro and this place while everything there was being sent back here so rapidly. Perhaps they will turn up here after a while.

I dont know now when I can get home. The campaign here proposes to be an active one: Genl Bragg is more unpopular with the army than ever since he fell back from a victorious field. The victory was a much more decisive one than that at Perryville [Kentucky, October 7-8, 1862], but I doubt if we reap any of its fruits beyond the artillery and other captured property which we brought away. But all that and much more would not repay us for the loss of four or five thousand gallant men.

I do want to see you and the boys so badly. Kiss them all a thousand times for me. Willie and The and Pat, bless their souls: and they must each kiss you for me also.<sup>20</sup> Love to Aunt.

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18. Brigadier General William Preston of Kentucky. The First, Third, and Fourth Florida regiments were part of his brigade in the Battle of Murfreesboro.

19. Second Lieutenant John T. Bailey of Jefferson County, First Florida Regiment, was mortally wounded at the Battle of Murfreesboro.

20. Anderson's three sons were all born at Casa Bianca; William Preston Anderson, July 14, 1856; Theophilus Beatty Anderson, July 27, 1858; and James Patton Anderson, Jr., October 2, 1860.

I believe I wrote to you that Uncle Tom Monroe was dead.<sup>21</sup> He died at Mr. Hardin's about a month ago, so Genl. Breckinridge tells me.<sup>22</sup> Love to Mol and her Gals.<sup>23</sup> Remember me to all the servants especially Charles and Aunt Ann, Rebecca and Alice. The boys are all well and send *howdys*.<sup>24</sup>

Tell Harry I saw Willie on the day of the fight.<sup>25</sup> He had two horses killed under him but was not hurt himself. I never saw him looking so well.

Here's a thousand kisses from

Your  
Patton

Shelbyville Tenn. Jan'y 11 1862

I wrote you a few days ago from Winchester and remarked that I expected to return to this place. A few hours after I wrote, I was placed in command of Withers' Division in Polk's Corps, and ordered to return to Shelbyville. Genl Withers has gone home sick on thirty days leave of absence.

I have little to add to what I wrote before: Am quite well, comfortably fixed in a house, and the citizens appear anxious to do all they can to contribute to our comforts. Genl Cheatham is in command of the Corps.<sup>26</sup> I can give no further particulars of the battles near Murfreesboro, having been on the march and counter march nearly all the time. To day, however, the sun shines brightly, looking more like spring than midwinter.

We do not expect another battle in this region this winter. We take Duck River as a line of defense, and feel confident that Rosecrans, in his badly shattered condition, will not-nay

21. Judge Thomas Bell Monroe, uncle of both General and Mrs. Anderson, conducted the Montrose Law School in Frankfort, Kentucky, where General Anderson received part of his legal education. Adair, *History and Genealogy*, 88.

22. Mark Hardin, a lawyer of Frankfort, was a brother-in-law of Judge Monroe. *Ibid.*, 104.

23. "Mollie" was Mary Adair (Mrs. Robert) Scott, younger sister of Mrs. Anderson, who lived in Monticello. Her "gals" were Margaret Elizabeth (Lizzie), born December 1859; Annetta (Netta), born July 12, 1861; and Adair, born February 3, 1864. *Ibid.*, 136.

24. "The boys" were the slaves Anderson had taken with him and were probably the sons of Charles and Aunt Ann. Rebecca was Mrs. Beatty's personal maid and Alice was the children's nurse.

25. "Willie" was possibly William Murray, a bugler in Company C, 5th Battalion, Cavalry of Florida.

26. Major General Benjamin Franklin Cheatham.

cannot-advance upon us.<sup>27</sup> Indeed I think it more probable that our Cavalry under Morgan, Forrest, Wheeler, and Wharton will so harrass him, in his position about Murfreesboro, that he will find it necessary to fall back to Nashville before the first of March.<sup>28</sup>

In assigning me to command of Withers' Division, Genl Bragg intimated that it was to be a permanent thing, though I do not desire it or expect it really. I would prefer the *Brigade* of Mississippians, which I had in the Murfreesboro fight to any Division in the Army. It is true, it composes a part of the Division, but the other Brigades are not all like it. Their conduct on the field has reflected additional lustre upon the arms of their state, and has won for me the position now assigned me. Alone and unassisted, they took nine pieces of artillery and brought them off the field. I do not calculate on a Major Generalship for the reason that there are already as many as there are Divisions for them to command.

Love to Aunt Ellen, I wish I could spend a month at least with you all, about this time. I think the *peace plot* thickens at the North: God grant it may come speedily and honorably to us. Kiss Willie & The & Pat for me. Remember me to the servants. A bushel of kisses for yourself from

Your  
Patton

Eight months passed between the last letter of January 11, 1862, and the next one of September 7, 1862. Mrs. Anderson had joined her husband in Tennessee the previous March with her three boys, and their nurse, Alice. They lived in tents and apparently were accepted as a normal addition to the army. When General Anderson left the region to go on the Kentucky campaign (August-October, 1862), Mrs. Anderson returned to Casa Bianca where she received this letter.

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27. Major General William S. Rosecrans, commander of the Army of the Cumberland.

28. Brigadier General John Tyler Morgan of Alabama. Major General Nathan Bedford Forrest of Tennessee was a close personal friend of General Anderson and was a pallbearer at his funeral. Obituary of General Anderson, ca. September 22, 1872, in Mrs. Anderson's scrapbook, Anderson Papers. Major General Joseph Wheeler; and Major General John Austin Wharton.

Sparta Tenn. Sept 7th 1862

To day being Sunday and the men and animals tired from the toilsome march across the mountains-we rest. But will proceed to morrow in the work of redeeming Tenn. and Ky. Thus far everything has worked well. Kirby Smith's<sup>29</sup> and Lee's<sup>30</sup> successes with our advance movement has caused Buell to "change his base."<sup>31</sup> I believe he will fall back into Ohio or Indiana.

I am quite well - suffered some with my ear for two or three days after I left you but for the last forty eight hours, have not felt it at all. Indeed, my general health has improved. We have had no rain yet, consequently the dust is very suffocating on the march; but we have reached a region of cornfields, clover patches -running water, all of which rejoices the heart of both man and beast.

I believe all of our Monticello boys are well. I saw D. Williams yesterday; he has stood the march finely.<sup>32</sup> I write in great haste at Col Beard's board in the open air and have no time to elaborate.<sup>33</sup>

Kiss the dear boys Willie, The, & Pat. Much love to Aunt. I wish you and she were here in this region somewhere. We meet no Union people this side of the mountains.

Your  
Patton

Mrs. Anderson remained at Casa Bianca during the autumn of 1862-1863. With the arrival of spring, she again made plans to join her husband who was back in Tennessee. Custom dictated that before summer, the women and children made their annual exodus from Florida's miasmatic climate, considered to be "all right for men and mules, but hell on women and horses." One cannot fail to marvel at the implication that families were be-

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29. General Edmund Kirby Smith was born in St. Augustine, May 16, 1824. In September 1862, his successful invasion of Kentucky was expected to be "the beginning of the expulsion of all Yankees from Southern soil." Joseph Howard Parks, *General Edmund Kirby Smith, C.S.A.* (Baton Rouge, 1954), 220.
  30. General Robert E. Lee, commander of the Army of Northern Virginia.
  31. Major General Don Carlos Buell.
  32. Darius Williams, Co. I, First Florida Infantry. Florida Board of State Institutions, *Soldiers of Florida in the Seminole Indian-Civil, and Spanish-American Wars* (Tallahassee, 1903), 75.
  33. Lieutenant Colonel William K. Beard of Tallahassee, First Florida Regiment.

lieved safer within shooting distance of the enemy's army than they were at home where smallpox and yellow fever posed even graver threats. An outbreak of smallpox in Monticello a few months before could have prompted General Anderson's concern mentioned in the following letter.<sup>34</sup>

Shelbyville Tenn. March 19, 1863

Yours of the 10th has just been received. It is the first line I have had from you since the 2nd. Before this, you will have received two or three more of mine written since the one of Feb. 21st by Lt. Davidson.<sup>35</sup> I don't know why the mails take such freaks. At one time I received a letter from you in *five* days after it was written. And began to hope that I would hear more frequently than before, especially while I was stationary at Shelbyville. I perceive that you have limited yourself to one letter a week now. I suppose on account of the scarcity of paper, or because you are so busily employed about your domestic concerns. I shall feel anxious and uneasy until I hear how Pat is. I don't know why the children have been so subject to these fevers of late, unless it may be attributed to your occupying a ground floor. (By the way, you wrote me last fall that you had moved downstairs and I have enquired once or twice since, and you forget in your letters to answer whether you are still there or not?)-I don't know what is detaining Col. Beard and Harry. If they started as you supposed they would on last Thursday (13th) they should have been here two days ago. I suspect they did not start. If you have made up your mind to come on here, I am sorry you didnt come with them, instead of waiting for Capt. Strain.<sup>36</sup> His health is not good and withal is, I expect, not so well up to all the tricks of travel as Col. Beard. You seem determined though, and say that you would rather have my approval or disapproval of the move. I am so anxious to see you that it *cannot* meet with my disapproval. I do fear the fatiguing effects of the trip upon you and the children, as well as the exposure to smallpox etc. (That's another question you have not answered-has the vaccination taken properly on all three of them?) By all means do not let

34. Jerrell H. Shofner, *History of Jefferson County* (Tallahassee, 1976), 260.

35. Lieutenant William Davidson of Quincy, Florida, was General Anderson's aide-de-camp.

36. Captain M. H. Strain commanded Co. H, Third Florida Infantry.

them stir from home till they have been vaccinated and it has properly taken. You do not believe the stories about smallpox being in Monticello. It may not be there, but it is best to act as if it were there. If you come, you must telegraph me from Savannah to Shelbyville, so that I can have a place for you to go to. Every nook and corner is full to overflowing. And I think it probable you will have to stop at Winchester. If you should get there and not hear from me, enquire for Mr. Frank Estill. He will provide lodgings at his own house or somewhere else-or for Mrs. Hutchins, and old friend of Mother's. Or for Mrs. Frizell whose son married Miss Scruggs in the neighborhood of Casa Bianca. Capt. Foster, my quartermaster is also there now, as Post Quartermaster.<sup>37</sup> He will take it as a favor if you will call upon him for anything you want. I have mentioned all these names, so that there may be no mistake about it. I feel sure that some of them would be able, and all of them would be willing to furnish you temporary accommodations. And I mention Winchester as a stopping place for you, in case you should come up that far and find the military condition of things at Tullahoma and Shelbyville such as to make it inadvisable for you to venture further. Winchester is two miles from Decherd station on the road whence an omnibus would take you to Winchester. On arriving at Decherd (in case you conclude not to come on to Shelbyville) you had better stop there where there is a pretty good tavern, and write Capt. Foster a note to procure a place in Winchester.-But I have written as though you were coming *sure enough!* The very *thought* of seeing you so soon makes me wild with delight. I have been so fortunate during this war, and have so much to be thankful for that I can hardly hope for this crowning act of good fortune, but I *will* hope.

Davidson did not get his leave extended, so I look for him on the 22nd and I do not much expect to see Col. Beard before that time.

Since I commenced writing this letter Genl. Withers has re-

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37. Captain Thaddeus Foster of Gainesville, brigade quartermaster, did meet Mrs. Anderson upon her arrival in Winchester. She had traveled all day, probably by train and stage, with her children, their nurse, and her mother-in-law. Mrs. Anderson found Captain Foster's presence welcome and reassuring: "It was a great comfort to know you had a real soldier to advise you." Mrs. Anderson to an unidentified "Friend," undated letter, Anderson Papers.

turned from Mobile, so I suppose I will go back to my Brigade tomorrow. I have not seen the General yet but will go and see him in the morning. His Division is in most excellent condition now-better than it was before, and by far the best in Genl. Bragg's Army. If it does not make its mark in the next great battle, it will not be the fault of the subordinate officers and men. I received today a letter from Judge McGehee which I will answer soon.<sup>38</sup> I suppose your visit has brought me this favor.

You rather ridicule my letter of the 19th ulto. speaking of it in a former letter as a "lecture," and now in this you call it my "letter on propriety." I certainly did not intend it to be either the one or the other; but as you had, in former times, when we were more together than we have been permitted to be of late, frequently asked me to counsel with you freely about such things, I venture to *advise*, not *lecture*. I still think it was not a *prudent* thing for you to do, although you took the precaution to have the children and Miss Sylvester with you.<sup>39</sup> I think it was not less imprudent in Miss Sylvester herself. I think the manner in which she is living at Mr. Hamilton's is very imprudent, and I would rather you had gone alone than to have taken her with you.<sup>40</sup> Mark this prediction, she will be extremely fortunate if her name does not become common on the tongue of scandal before another year rolls around. Not that there will be the slightest foundation for it-for *that* I do not believe-but merely because in her daily walk, she affords the opportunity for it. *That* is all that scandal ever wants - *opportunity*.

I had intended to answer your inquiries as to what are my ideas of "prudishness" but have already "lectured" long enough. I know these are not agreeable topics to you. I will *tell* you, when I see you, if you will remind me of it.

March 20th

Genl Withers returned last evening and resumes command of his Division today. I take command of Chalmer's Brigade

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38. John C. McGehee of Madison County, Florida, was president of the Florida secession convention, and an important political figure in the state.

39. The "letter of the 19th ulto." is not in this collection, and one cannot know the nature of Mrs. Anderson's "indiscretion." It can be inferred that she subscribed to more liberal views than did her husband.

40. Thomas Hamilton and W. E. Hamilton are both listed in the 1860 census of Jefferson County.

(Chalmers having been transferred, himself, to the Army of Mississippi).<sup>41</sup> It contains many of my old Miss. acquaintances and friends-and at their solicitation Chalmers made a parting request of Genl. Wihers that I should command them. It is a good Brigade, but I don't think it is *quite* as good as the one I commanded at Murfreesboro. (Walthall's).<sup>42</sup>

I have just heard that Col. Beard came on without stopping at Monticello, or rather that he took the nearest route from Tallahassee up through Albany. He stopped at Ringold, to see D. Gamble, and had not reached Tullahoma on yesterday.<sup>43</sup> I suppose Harry will come on with Capt Strain or by himself.

I have just seen a Louisville Journal of the 12th March. It contains nothing specially interesting. The Fed. Congress has created a new Territory somewhere east of the Cascades, called *Idahoe* (at first they called it Montana) of which Lincoln has appointed Col. Wallace the Governor, Wallace's term as Delegate from Washington having expired on 4th Mch.<sup>44</sup> B. F. Kendall (you remember him) was killed in his office by a young man whose father Kendall had maltreated in some way.

Today I received a letter from Mary at Camden Arkansas, dated 24th Feb. in which she laments her own fate rather more than that of her husband. She is evidently deranged in my opinion. She is there in the swamps of Arkansas, water and mud bound, with a carriage and two horses and three servants, boarding at \$150 per month. Mother had written her to come to Memphis and she (Mary) writes to me to advise her what to do.<sup>45</sup> I shall certainly not advise her to go to Memphis, for besides its being in the hands of the Yankees-where I don't want to see any of my friends-she would have Mother in two days as crazy as she is. I wouldn't live on the same plantation with such a woman for all the plantations on old Caney!!! So you must know that I am not sorry that *you* are my wife, instead of other women I have seen!!

Kiss the boys all around-Willie, The, and Pat-for me. I

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41. Brigadier General James Ronald Chalmers.

42. Ezra J. Warner, *Generals in Gray: Lives of the Confederate Commanders* (Baton Rouge, 1959), 325, 326.

43. Dr. D. B. Gamble of Monticello, Florida, was brigade medical director.

44. Colonel William H. Wallace.

45. Mother was Margaret Adair Anderson Bybee, the daughter of Governor John Adair of Kentucky.



shall feel very anxious till I hear from you again how Pat is. Much love to Aunt. Where does she expect to spend the summer? Love to Mollie too and her *gals* (How many has she?!!) And here's a long, long kiss for Et from

Your  
Patton

After the last letter, Mrs. Anderson, the children, and Alice joined General Anderson in Winchester. They traveled by train from Monticello to Savannah and probably made the rest of the trip by buggy. The family remained with the general, living in tents, for several months. Just before the Battle of Chickamauga began on September 19, they were evacuated by ambulance to Marietta, Georgia, where they stayed with relatives until their return to Monticello. This letter was directed to Marietta.

Missionary Ridge, near Chattanooga, Tenn., Oct 30th, 1863

Dr. DuBose has gotten impatient to go home, and I avail myself of his kindness to write and say that I am quite well. I can never be too thankful for all God's mercies to me and mine. I do hope by this time our dear The has exhibited signs of complete recovery.<sup>46</sup> The doctors here insist that from his symptoms, there is but little of danger to apprehend-that he will gradually recover as he gains strength.

I send you inclosed \$250 which is borrowed from my present month's pay. You must manage to make that take you home, somehow or other. I have no idea how much it will take to defray your expenses from Marietta to Monticello, but I suppose it will be somewhere in the neighborhood of \$150 to \$200. I have, to some extent gotten over my impatience for you to be at home, and am entirely content for you to remain where you are till the wounded (Willie & Capt. May) can be taken along with you.<sup>47</sup> By the way, how in the world does Willie expect me to get the *fine mare* without an order from him for her!! You only say "she is at the wagon yard of the Texas Rangers, near Rome, Ga!"<sup>48</sup> If

46. The illness was lengthy and serious, but not identified. Physical symptoms in later years suggest that he might have been suffering from rheumatic fever.

47. William Murray, Captain Lambert May, acting assistant inspector general, was wounded in the face at the Battle of Chickamauga.

48. Texas Rangers-Colonel B. F. Terry's Eighth Texas Cavalry. Warner, *Generals in Gray*, 331.

he will send me a *written order* for her, or whoever has her in possession-so that I can get her, I will send any distance for her. But if I were to send to the "wagon camp" of the Texas Rangers, with a verbal message for her, the person having her in possession would most likely-& not very improperly, would give me a short answer for my pains.

You continue to worry yourself about Hindman, etc. <sup>49</sup> Well, the fact is Hindman was ordered by Genl. Bragg to attack the enemy in McLemore's Cove at *daylight* on the morning of the 12th Sept. He did not do it-but for some reason or other (perhaps good reason) delayed till about 3 p.m., and then it was too late-the bird had flown. It now turns out that if he had come up to time & made the attack *at daylight* as ordered, he would have captured the whole of Negley's Division <sup>50</sup> (6,000 men) with a large train of wagons-and there is no telling how much more of Rosecrans' army would have fallen an easy prey to our Army-& most likely the whole of it would have been captured, killed, or scattered saving the bloodshed & battle of Chickamauga, etc. and preventing any possibility of a concentration of the enemy's forces, etc. Genl. Bragg has suspended Hindman from his command & preferred charges against him. Whether or not Hindman will be able to make a good excuse I do not know-and it is not for anyone to determine *beforehand* - So I am content to await the developments of the trial-On the morning of the 20th at Chickamauga, Genl. Polk was ordered to attack *at daylight*, and did not do it till about 11:00, losing [*sic*] four or five hours of daylight, which if we had had, nothing could have saved Rosecrans' whole army from complete rout and capture. For that failure Genl. Polk is also suspended & charges preferred against him. In his case too, we must wait for the *proof*. I like Genl. P. personally very much-and am inclined to think that Lt. Genl. Hill <sup>51</sup> is the true party to blame for the delay, but as he was *under* Genl. Polk on that occasion, of course Genl. Bragg could only look to Genl. Polk as *he* was the man to whom Genl. Bragg gave the order. Genl. Wood of Ala. has been compelled by his Brigade to resign on account of his bad conduct on the field of battle <sup>52</sup> - Forrest too is said to be in arrest for disobedience of

49. Major General Thomas Carmichael Hindman.

50. Major General James S. Negley.

51. Lieutenant General Daniel Harvey Hill.

52. Brigadier General Sterling Alexander Wood's brigade was in General

orders - I do not know certainly whether this is so or not-think it very likely, as he is given to *that* a little. I think it likely that all of this will create a greater sensation at home than in the army. The troops were never in better fighting trim-spirits excellent and confident of their ability to cope successfully with Rosecrans on any field. I *do not* think there will be a fight *here*. We will not attack the enemy in his entrenched position at Chattanooga -the game is not worth the sacrifice it would cost. We will either flank him or he (if he should be heavily reinforced) *may* attempt to flank us-when Chickamauga will be repeated.

I have said that I was willing for you to remain at Marietta a short while longer-to tell you the truth, my dear Et, without knowing how it may occur, yet I have a lingering hope that by some chance or other, I may get to see you again before you go back to Florida. I sometimes, when thinking about you, almost make up my mind to ask Genl. Bragg to let me run down on one train and come back on the next. I would do it for a certainty if it were not that we are *in the face of the enemy*. We will shell him occasionally just to annoy him-not with any hope of making him leave Chattanooga by that means. Wheeler has gone to his rear, & we are in hourly expectation of hearing that some of his communications have been cut. In this way, he may be induced to fall back towards Murfreesboro, where forage and provisions are easier of access & his lines shorter and more easily defended.

Give my love to Mother & all the Monroes, McLearys, etc. Kiss Willie & The & Pat for me.<sup>53</sup> A bushel of kisses for yourself. The fact is, Et, I believe every day of my life makes it more essential for me to be *with you* - I can't stand this thing of being separated from you half as well as I could five years ago. Another kiss from

Your  
Patton

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Patrick Cleburne's division at Chickamauga. It appears that this incident was one of the war's better kept secrets: "For some reason not readily apparent in the records, Cleburne . . . omitted mention of Wood while praising his other brigade commanders. . . . Wood resigned his commission on October 17, 1863, and was not again in service during the war." Warner, *Generals in Gray*, 345.

53. The Monroes were cousins of General and Mrs. Anderson. She and the children took refuge with this family in Marietta.

Davidson sends five dollars to Alice for washing.

Mrs. Anderson's advanced pregnancy made her return to Monticello imperative. The following letter is the last one she received before leaving Marietta. As Casa Bianca had been sold, she lived for several months with her sister and brother-in-law, Mollie and Dr. Robert Scott.<sup>54</sup>

Missionary Ridge. Nov. 9th 1863

Yours of the 6th was rec'd on the 7th. Mine to you was sent by Capt Barth who went down to Atlanta on 6 days leave of absence.<sup>55</sup> His family is now domiciled there with his brother-in-law. He will return through Marietta on tomorrow or next day. Dr. Kinchloe leaves today too, on six days leave.<sup>56</sup> He goes to Columbus Ga. to see his family before they return to North Miss., which they expect to do in a few days. He takes this letter and promises to stop over one train as he returns, to see Willie Murray. I told Capt Barth to get my things out of my trunk at Atlanta, provided you hadn't sent for it. I want my overcoat as much as any other one thing. Be sure and send it by first chance. I send you a hundred dollars which I hope will enable you to get home with Capt Foster. Mr. Hamilton has been here for a day or two and talks of returning this week, but it seems to me his movements are very uncertain. He proposes to accompany you if he can be of any service. I think tho that Foster will be more useful as a traveler, if only he gets off in time.

Write to me as soon as you get this. I will be anxious to hear that you have rec'd the money-these times of theft and robbery.

Like yourself, I do not like a place "over the lake" on account of health, but if Dr. Scott could rent a place anywhere in the county for the hands to work and get you houseroom in town, it would suit me. I have written to him to let me know what available funds I will have-if any-with which to purchase a place. I do not suppose there will be much on hand after paying taxes and other expenses.

I have a bottle of brandy which Cyrus Johnson's father

54. Dr. Robert Scott, husband of Mollie and brother-in-law of General Anderson, managed his business affairs during his absence from Monticello.

55. Captain William G. Barth of Jefferson County was assistant adjutant general in General Anderson's division.

56. Dr. D. A. Kinchloe was chief surgeon of General Anderson's division.

brought out of Memphis and gave me, which I wish you had for The. <sup>57</sup> Dr. Kinchloe thinks a small toddy frequently during the day-only a teaspoonful at a time would benefit him. He also feels confident that the prescription of iron and vinegar which he gave you will cure him. I hope you will give it a fair trial.

I will endeavor to buy Alice's Thomas whenever his master will sell him. <sup>58</sup> Or exchange some other one for him. I will not separate them if it can be avoided. I shall have to have another boy with me. I find that our mess will have to rely upon Peyton as a permanent cook; and I must have a boy to wait on me. <sup>59</sup> But I will write particularly on that subject when you get home.

Kiss the dear boys Willie, The, and Pat for me. How I do want to see them! They must learn their lessons well and show Aunt Mollie when they get home that they have not been idle in the army. I hope you have put shoes on them during this cold snap. A bushel of kisses for yourself from

Your  
Patton

The afternoon before the family left for Florida, they went to Missionary Ridge and stayed for one night. General Anderson took them for a ride and pointed out the two lines of battle and the Yankee army in Chattanooga. He found a secluded spot and showed the boys where they could play behind the trees. The next morning, after they had slept on the ground, firing began as they were starting for the railroad station. The general, realizing that he was needed at headquarters, bid his family goodbye in the woods. When Mrs. Anderson reached the station, Captain Thaddeus Foster joined her saying that he would escort her to Monticello. He was going home on his first furlough since the beginning of the war. Mrs. Anderson and Captain Foster had already

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57. Private Cyrus Johnson, Co. C, Seventh Mississippi Regiment, was later killed at the Battle of Atlanta.

58. Mrs. Beatty had sold almost all of her slaves in 1860. General Anderson, appalled at the cruelty of breaking up the slave families, tried to buy back as many of them as he could. Mrs. Anderson stated that he "worked himself sick nearly trying to keep mothers from being separated from young children, etc." From an undated letter in possession of the author. It is not known whether General Anderson was successful in restoring Thomas to his mother.

59. Peyton was one of the "boys" General Anderson took with him from Casa Bianca to the army.

arrived at their homes before they learned of the defeat at Missionary Ridge on November 25, 1863.<sup>60</sup>

Dalton Ga. Decr 18, 1863

Yesterday I received yours of the 10th and today I have just rec'd another of the 14th. That is doing pretty well, is it not? for Confederate mails? I feel like I was so *near* to you, that I believe it makes me more impatient to see you than when I was farther off. In your letter of the 10th you say you had only rec'd one letter from me (of the 2nd) since our defeat. I can't account for this, for I have written *five* and hope you will have received them before this reaches you.

I am not quite so despondent as you suppose. True, I am mortified at the conduct of some of our troops, but have not lost confidence in their courage and patriotism. We have just heard today, *certainly*, that Genl. Johnston is ordered here to take command of the army.<sup>61</sup> This will inspire the troops with new confidence, and if the people *at home*, men, women, children and servants will only set their faces against deserters, absentees, skulkers, etc. not permitting them to eat, sleep or speak with them, our army may be made strong enough to cope with that of the enemy. I can tell the people at home, that they had better not require *too much* of the few who are in the army and who have up to this time borne the brunt of the war.

I am quite well, growing a little *older*, that's all! Hope you are as young as ever! Genl Hardee is to be married soon to Miss Lewis of Demopolis Ala. Very rich! I hope Mother is well again. I will write her in a day or two. My love to her always. Also to Aunt & Mollie. Kiss the dear boys for me. I am proud to hear of their progress with their books. Willie is such a man that he will have to be your overseer when you get to keeping house again. The & Pat will be his assistants. A fond embrace & bushels of kisses from

Your  
Patton

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60. Mrs. Anderson to "Friend."

61. General Joseph Eggleston Johnston was assigned to command the Army of Tennessee, November 1863.

Mr. Puleston & Lewis have not arrived.<sup>62</sup>

In March 1864, General Anderson was ordered by President Jefferson Davis to take command of the District of Florida. He arrived there ten days after the Battle of Olustee and assumed his command with headquarters near Jacksonville. With a small army of no more than 12,000 men, he succeeded in confining the largely superior enemy to his entrenchments around Jacksonville.<sup>63</sup>

Financial difficulties had forced Anderson to sell Casa Bianca. This letter suggests that he hoped to be able to buy another place, possibly smaller and more within his means. Concern for the unsettled condition of his growing family and anxiety for the desperate situation of the Confederacy are discernible in the tone of discouragement of these final three letters.

In Camp April 21, 1864

Your letter of the 18th and 19th by the hand of Dr. Gamble was received last night. Also the money.

I am sorry to hear that you are all on the sick list. I have lectured you so often of late about taking care of yourself, that I refrain for once saying anything about it.

I think you might ask Aunt for the forks explaining to her what you want with them. I will also write to her. The gloves fit very well, but as she wishes to be exact, I can only give the following directions etc. The pair just sent are a *little* too large around the hand just behind the thumb, and the little finger is about 1/4 of an inch too long. Otherwise, they fit *first rate*.

I am proud that the boys are learning so well. You write me that Pat says he can spell-among other words "Yancy" but *you* don't spell it properly.<sup>64</sup> You have it "Yantsy"!! By the way I think you are becoming a little careless about spelling. I suppose it is because you are always hurried and tired when you write. But I won't "lecture" you on *that* just now.

As to the establishment of the hospital at Monticello, I know

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62. Samuel Puleston of Monticello acted as agent for the state of Florida and delivered packages to soldiers on the various fronts. Benjamin Lewis and James Lewis are both listed in the 1860 census of Jefferson County.

63. Anderson obituary, *Memphis Appeal*, in scrapbook.

64. "W. L. Yancy" was General Anderson's war charger. His obituary is in Mrs. Anderson's scrapbook.

nothing about it and have nothing in the world to do with it. It is a matter purely belonging to the Medical Department over which I have no control except those *in the field*. Those connected with hospitals are entirely independent of me, and are not only jealous of their rights but sometimes become very *defiant*. I have as little to do with the surgeons as possible.<sup>65</sup>

I hear that Mr. Tucker has *not* moved to Casa Bianca.<sup>66</sup> I wonder if I couldn't rent it from him. I would like very much to do so, and would write to him on the subject but do not know where to address him. Please ask Dr. Scott to write to him, or find out in some way whether I could not occupy it. The house will fall down if someone is not in it. Or it may be if it is left vacant that the Doctors will make a *hospital* of it! I am rejoiced on Mother's account that Cara has returned. But I confess I have little hope that Mother will not soon find some new trouble, for it seems to be the study of Cara's life to keep Mother constantly under some high state of mental anxiety or trouble. A new sensation will very soon appear, in all probability.<sup>67</sup>

I took up the notion that Dr. Scott thought I was "interfering too much" with his management of the place from what you wrote me. You said that Lewis had several times of late received orders which the Dr. knew nothing about—among these he had been hauling bark to somebody in town, and then you went on to say that I ought not to allow it, etc.<sup>68</sup> I merely wrote to you explaining how I came to order him to take the buggy to Station 17 and denied any knowledge of the bark hauling business, etc.<sup>69</sup> By the way, I have never had that matter explained yet. You have written to me that you didn't believe he hauled my bark but you

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65. A small hospital was established in Monticello in the home of Dr. Thomas M. Palmer to care for the sick and wounded soldiers after the Battle of Olustee. Letter from Judge Charles C. Anderson, Monticello, Florida, July 25, 1976, to author.

66. J. T. Tucker and H. Tucker are listed in the 1860 census of Jefferson County. Possibly one of these was the current owner of Casa Bianca, though the records show that it was sold to Robert W. Williams in 1860. Shofner, *History of Jefferson County*, 214.

67. Caroline Bybee Bulkley (Cara) was General Anderson's half-sister. Her temperamental behavior might be attributed to her being the indulged youngest child of a large family. She was accused of being a southern spy and was imprisoned for six weeks before she was exonerated. Adair, *History and Genealogy*, 116.

68. Lewis was probably the overseer of Casa Bianca.

69. Station 17 was located on the Savannah Railroad a few miles from Monticello.



had written so positively before that he had hauled it and that too without authority that I am puzzled to understand. Certainly Lewis can tell whether he hauled it or not and settle the question. If he were to deny it, and there should be no proof that he *did*, I would believe him.

I see you don't take to the "Suwanee Springs" project very readily.<sup>70</sup> Well, if we can get the Casa house I would prefer the latter, but I do think you ought to quit Dr. Scott's little crowded establishment. I can readily see why you should wish to be with Mollie, but I don't think you ought to wish to do so at the sacrifice of your own health and that of all your children. Do you remember how you used to abuse the Monticello people about always wanting to live with their kin? Particularly the Scotts who insisted on Mollie's living in the house with old Mrs. Scott. I fear you have imbibed the same spirit. You ought to reflect about this. I know when you do, you will come to a correct conclusion, and whatever you may determine on, I will abide by it. You have my ideas about it. I wish I could *see* you and *talk* to you about our affairs. If we go on the way we are doing, next year will be a sad one, I fear. We will have nothing to live on and nothing to buy it with!! But above all, I think we should look to the *health* of ourselves and our children. I want to see you worse than ever. Here's a bushel of kisses for yourself and a peck apiece for Willie, The, Pat, and "Crom."<sup>71</sup> Love to Mollie and kisses for her girls.

Your  
Patton

In Camp May 3rd 1864

Yours of the 29th only reached me last night. I *think* you wrote on the 30th-the anniversary of marriage, and that I will get it tonight, but not in time to reply by return train.

I am truly rejoiced to hear that you are all *up* once more. I

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70. When the final payment from the sale of Casa Bianca was received, it became necessary for the Andersons to find a new home. The "Suwanee Springs project" might have been the consideration of another plantation to buy. This move did not come about, however, as they were able to rent Casa Bianca from the new owner. The family remained there until they moved to Memphis in 1867.

71. Elizabeth Cromwell Anderson, General Anderson's fourth child and first daughter, was born January 20, 1864, in Monticello, about two months after Mrs. Anderson left Tennessee. The new baby began life with the nickname "Crom."

devoutly pray that you may continue so. I have nothing to write, more than what I said in my letter of yesterday. If I were to write every day and a quire at a time, I would fail to tell you how much I love you.

Col Beard was very unpleasantly situated in the Army of Tenn. Genl Bragg had placed his *junior* over him and Genl Johnston mere[ly] continued him in that position because he did not know what else to do with him. He is a true patriot and a man of excellent qualities in many respects, with some foibles. Under the circumstances I wrote to him and told him if he would apply for and obtain a transfer to my command it would be agreeable to me. He has applied and writes to me that it will be granted, so I look for him soon. I have never applied to be sent away from Florida. I am surprised that you would believe such a story. You know my doctrine is *not to apply for anything*.<sup>72</sup>

Many kisses for the boys Willie, The, and Pat and also for Bessie.<sup>73</sup> I am glad to hear that they are all well and hope they will not be sick again. Love to Mollie and her sweet girls. Also to Aunt. Remembrances to the servants.

A bushel of kisses and worlds of love for yourself from

Your  
Patton

Camp Milton, May 19th 1864<sup>74</sup>

I write a short note to inform you that I go up to Lake City today, where we will make Hd. qtrs. for a short time, and will then go to Middle Fla. unless something happens to prevent it.

Everything in the way of troops has been sent off except the Cavalry. I feel utterly powerless but I think it is right. The great struggle is to be in Va. We should have every man capable of bearing arms in the Confederacy at that place. If we succeed there, Florida is safe: if not, then it will hardly be worse off then it is now. I have every confidence in the result. God will give us the victory.

Now that I feel powerless to accomplish anything here, the separation from my dear Et seems more insupportable than ever.

72. Anderson did, however, apply to Richmond only a few weeks after this statement, to solicit command of his old division. In June, he was ordered to report to General Hood in Atlanta. Anderson autobiography.

73. Crom's nickname has been changed to Bessie.

74. Camp Milton was in Duval County near Jacksonville.

As long as I could feel that my presence in the army was of any use at all to the cause, it was consoling to reflect that duty was being performed-but when I feel that I am of no use whatever where I am, I feel like it was *impossible* for me to stay away from you any longer.

I shall remain in Lake City but a short time and will then proceed to Middle Florida where my Headquarters will have to be established for the purpose of organizing the *Reserves* - for *they* are our dependence now.

I am so much disappointed about not getting to see you *tomorrow* that I am almost in the *blues*. But I hope to see you soon *any how*. In the meantime you must be cheerful. Do not repine. The very *anticipation* of the pleasure it will afford me to be with you is *some* comfort-the reality will be earthly happiness in perfection.

Kiss Willie & The & Pat & Lily for me. <sup>75</sup> Bless their hearts! How I do want to see *them* too! Remember me to the servants.

Love to Aunt & Mol and Lizzie, Annetta, and Adair.

A bushel of kisses for yourself from

Your  
Patton

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75. Bessie has now become Lily, the name she was called the rest of her life.

## BERNARDO DE GALVEZ'S COMBAT DIARY FOR THE BATTLE OF PENSACOLA, 1781

edited by MAURY BAKER AND MARGARET BISSLER HAAS \*

THERE ARE FOUR contemporary versions, three Spanish and one English, of the events leading to the Spanish capture of English-held Pensacola, May 8, 1781. A long line of scholars have written about it, using archival sources in Spain and England. The last of them, N. Orwin Rush, in his incisive and valuable monograph, *Spain's Final Triumph Over Great Britain in the Gulf of Mexico: The Battle of Pensacola, March 9 to May 8, 1781*, relied heavily upon the diary of Bernardo de Galvez, which was believed to be available only in its printed version. The location of the original manuscript was not then known.<sup>1</sup> Then, a dozen years ago, the late Professor Louis E. Bumgartner, while engaged in research at the Archivo General del Gobierno de Guatemala, happened upon a rough manuscript entitled "Diaria Gral. de la Operacion executada el Exto. que manda el Mariscal de Campo Dn. Bernardo de Galvez Comandte. Gral. del para el sitio de Panzacola. . . ." <sup>2</sup> A microcopy of this important document then became available. The Bumgartner diary is a basic, abbreviated battlefield account probably written by Estevan Miro, Galvez's aide and personal friend, with the Mariscal "declaring the diary of the day and action," as noted at the end of the manuscript. It differs from the printed Spanish version in its chronology of events and in what it records. It

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1. N. Orwin Rush, *Spain's Final Triumph Over Great Britain in the Gulf of Mexico: The Battle of Pensacola, March 9 to May 8, 1781* (Tallahassee, 1966), 37. John Walton Caughey's *Bernardo de Galvez in Louisiana, 1776-1783* (Berkeley, 1934; facsimile edition, Gretna, Louisiana, 1972), remains an authoritative source of information relating to international rivalry in the lower Mississippi and Gulf areas.
2. The notation on the file card in El Archivo General del Gobierno de Guatemala is: A.G.G. A1.60, Exp. 45, 364, Leg. 5365: Diario Gral. de la Operacion executada el Exto, que manda el Mariscal de Campo Dn. Bernardo de Galvez, Comandte. Gral. del para el sitio de Panzacola desde el 9 de Marzo que desembarco en la Isla de Santa Rosa.

appears to be a matter-of-fact memorandum, in contrast to the other, which was written for public consumption.<sup>3</sup> There is, however, strong similarity between the diaries.

There is still another source of information for the battle of Pensacola. There are typescripts (553 pages) of materials from legajos 6912 and 6913 from the Archivo General de Simancas, Guerra, to be found in the Library of Congress Manuscript Division. These manuscripts include correspondence relating to all of Galvez's activities in the Gulf and the lower Mississippi valley, including part of (March 9-25) a rewritten and extended version of the Bumgartner diary, as well as the missing original of the printed diary. The significance of this noteworthy assortment is that, although many scholars have made valuable contributions, the opportunity exists for some eager specialist to supply a definitive history of the Galvez campaigns culminating in the capture of Pensacola, hopefully to be published on May 8, 1981.

The Battle of Pensacola was the outcome of Spanish and British rivalry for control of the lower Mississippi River area and the Gulf of Mexico. After the Paris peace settlement of 1763 extended the boundaries of Britain's colonies to the Mississippi and ceded Florida to her, Spain's need to maintain the northern borderlands as a buffer to insulate Spanish America proper became daily more apparent. This required the elimination of the British from the lower Mississippi and from Pensacola,

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3. Dr. Baker worked intermittently over a dozen years with a succession of graduate students to decipher the Bumgartner diary and provide an intelligible English translation. Margaret Bissler Haas was foremost among these students. Others included Roberto Gonzalez, Shirley Clay, and Mark Bender. Paleographing and translating the diary presented difficulties. In it, penmanship, calligraphy and cursive struggled for dominance, mingling bold flourishes with heavy slurred strokes. The quill pens used, seemingly seldom sharpened, loosed a flood of ink after being dipped, which dwindled rapidly between dips; the rag paper absorbed it so well that it soaked through to the other side, also written on. Some sections were written in haste-perhaps under conditions that discouraged careful penmanship and expression-producing a kind of shorthand that was a jumble of abbreviations, misspellings, and absurdly awkward sentences. There was a disorder of tense. The military and naval terminology was archaic and esoteric. Thus the diary, though clearly understandable much of the time, degenerated occasionally into a confusion that made literal translation impossible. The editors have attempted to remedy this through use of bracketed explanation, but otherwise have remained as faithful as possible to the manuscript; punctuation follows the handwritten text where practicable.

the base on the Gulf which most threatened New Orleans. The American Revolution provided opportunity which Spain seized after her official entry into the war against Britain on June 21, 1779. The instrument chosen for the purpose was the young but distinguished governor of Louisiana, General Bernardo de Galvez. Bolstering his forces with French colonial, Negro, and Indian volunteers, he quickly forced the British to surrender Baton Rouge and Fort Panmure at Natchez in 1779, and in another bold move, attacked Fort Charlotte at Mobile the following year. By March 14, 1780, Mobile was won, and Galvez turned his attention to the conquest of Pensacola.

Before the end of October 1780, he had organized an expedition for this purpose, only to have the fleet conveying it from Havana scattered by a sudden hurricane. But at the end of February 1781, he had embarked again for Pensacola, arriving on March 9 off the mouth of the Bay of Pensacola with thirty-five ships, several gunboats, and 1,315 troops. His position was precarious; should a storm arise, the ships of the fleet would have to cast anchor and work their way out to sea to avoid being wrecked upon the shore. Only within the bay could the fleet find safe anchorage, and only from the inner shore, he believed, could he mount the land attack which he planned. Fort George, the major stronghold protecting Pensacola, lay close behind the town, nine miles northeastward from the entrance passage to the bay. Santa Rosa Island shielded the passage from the sea. On some mainland heights overlooking the passage, opposite the island, was the Barrancas Coloradas fort, bristling with an estimated dozen cannon. It appeared logical that there would be another fortification to command the passage from the island side. Field Marshal de Galvez, as he contemplated the situation, faced two immediate needs: to get troops ashore on the island to reduce whatever defense existed there, and to move his fleet past the Barrancas Coloradas into the shelter of the bay. He began to resolve the first need in the evening of March 9, 1781.

*The Diary*

[Candelaria 1781]

General diary of the landing operation on the island of Santa Rosa by the Army under the command of Field Marshal Don

Bernardo de Galvez for the siege of Pensacola-from the ninth of March.

General diary of the operations of the Army of the expedition commanded by Field Marshal Don Bernardo de Galvez from the ninth of March when the Army landed on the island of Santa Rosa.

This same day at 9 P.M. the Army made ready for the landing in two sections three leagues from the location in which we were convinced the enemy had a fort that had to be attacked, the Rearguard under General Don Francisco Longoria who commanded the First Column of Grenadiers and Cazadores [light infantry], the other section being composed of the vanguard that at three in the dawn [of March 10] landed with the purpose of seizing the Cape of Santa Rosa where there were presumed to be four cannons of small caliber, continuing their march until daybreak in order to verify this.

Day [March] 10 . . . By daylight they arrived at the aforesaid part of the Cape where no battery was encountered-only seven sailors that were made prisoners-but the English frigates, observing this, commenced a lively fire which caused the troops to move back beyond the range of shot. To counter this [fire] the general ordered the mounting of a battery with two cannons. [March] 11 . . . The cannons were located in what appears to be a fortification on the beach and they began firing on the frigates, which made for the mouth of the Cape [bay] in order to encounter our fleet, but then decided to withdraw until they were located in the interior of the bay.

[March] 12 . . . Today the commander of the engineers passed by the cape with some workers, feigning work but investigating the cannon of the battery named the Barrancas which defends the port, observing that 32 Englishmen were landing food and munitions, and that the Squadron and convoy were anchored one league and a half away. Don Juan Riano has arrived today with the King's packet boat [*San Pio*] and two small gunboats to be used to fire on the battery and overpower it. At 3 P.M. Second Lieutenant Miguel Herrera arrived in camp from Mobile with word that Colonel Don Joseph Espeleta was proceeding on the 16th along the Rio Buen Socorro with 900 men to join His Excellency, [requesting that launches be sent to the Perdido River to transport his forces]. From this day until the eighteenth

nothing occurred in the camp except the arrival of a flag of truce.

[Galvez on March 13 sent Estevan Miro to Mobile for the purpose of consulting with Colonel Espeleta, commander of the military forces of that city. Miro did not return to the encampment until March 18, when the diary recommenced, with Miro adding to the entry for March 12 a few items (possibly supplied by Galvez) relating to incidental intervening events. During his absence Galvez had decided to resolve his difficulties with fleet commander Captain Jose Calbo de Irazabal, who was reluctant to attempt the hazardous entrance to the Bay of Pensacola after grounding his flagship in an initial effort, by seizing the initiative as recorded in the diary on March 18. The March 20 reference to Miro was probably a record of event entered by Miro himself.]

[March] 18 . . . It was noted last night that there had been some movement of troops on the enemy frigates since at two were heard three cannon shots as if a signal. This afternoon the General has boarded the brigantine *Galveztown* and his arrival was saluted by hoisting the pennant of Chief of Squadron, a procedure which raised expectations in everyone; quickly weighing anchor the ship moved toward the cape with the two gunboats,<sup>4</sup> despite the opposition of the [Barrancas] battery [which fired] 70 shots. Thereafter the troops on shore [shouted] repeatedly with great enthusiasm "Long live the King," demonstrating their desire to follow through the good example of the General.

[March] 19 . . . By 11:30 today the two frigates and the *Chambequin* navigated the passage, which encouraged the ships of the convoy: in spite of firing from the fort, 32 ships entered without experiencing any mishap. The warship *San Ramon* and a merchant packet remained outside on the chance that the passage was too narrow and the former would not be able to enter.

[March] 20 . . . The General has left in the falua [small vessel] to survey the place where he should direct Espeleta to the rear

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4. Galvez had undisputed command over these vessels, which he did not have over the other naval forces of the expedition. Raising the Chief's pennant was a bit of panache that challenged the inactivity of the naval commander.



of the Barrancas fort; an English detachment was waiting for the falua to approach, but having detected them, it moved away from the shore and fired at the place with grapeshot. Lieutenant Colonel Don Estevan Miro has arrived and says that the troops from Mobile are still lost [somewhere] along the river. Today the captain from Luciana [Louisiana] Mr. Balier, who was in [New] Orleans on his word of honor [parole] being a prisoner, left for Pensacola. With him the general forwarded a letter to the Plaza [to Gen. John Campbell, the English commander] cautioning him not to burn any buildings or boats for he [Galvez] bore in mind the conditions which [the English] attached to the [terms of] surrender of Havana [in 1762], as well as other particulars relating to that affair.

21 . . . At eight the aforementioned Balier returned with letters accompanying a parliamentarian aide-de-camp of Cambel. Coming also was Lieutenant Dicson [Dickson], a prisoner on parole since last year. Two ships of the convoy that had lagged behind have arrived at the cape. The battery of the Barrancas shot at them 56 times without causing the least harm, although one of the lead ships ran aground. Last night the enemy set fire to one of the houses adjoining the fort.

22 . . . At 9 Colonel Espeleta arrived at the lower part of the Barrancas with 900 men who came by land from the Rio Buen Socorro, signalling arrival by three discharges of gunfire. The general ordered the companies of grenadiers and also 300 musketeers to reinforce them, for they were so fatigued as not to be in condition to continue. For this reason Colonel Espeleta [had] ordered various halts [en route], also with the object of waiting for a band of Indians that had harrassed the rearguard with continual sniping. These followers, [though] pursued by our cazadores, remained very active. The refreshed troops decided to proceed to the aforementioned river mouth [to gain] the protection of the warships. They maintained that they had walked seven leagues today. At 5 we arrived at the aforementioned spot [and were] recognized by the ships. The general arrived with the launches, ordering encampment without stores and in the protection of a grove. At 7 P.M. some Indians came to fire on the troops that were around the fires, killing three and wounding four of our soldiers, not leaving us at peace until morning.

[The diary contains no entries for March 23 through 27. During this period Galvez decided to rendezvous his separate forces at the site (on a bayou behind the Barrancas) occupied by the newly-arrived troops from Mobile, and move from there toward Fort George, the main object of attack. Reinforcements that arrived by ship from New Orleans on March 23 were ordered to land at this place, and the troops on Santa Rosa Island (except 200 who remained in occupation) were ferried over to it. In the late evening of March 26 the army began to penetrate the thick woods behind the rendezvous, moving northeasterly to the next bayou which it crossed near the mouth to get onto the beach, then advanced along the bayshore to another bayou which, followed inland on the 27th, led to a likely encampment site on the side nearest Fort George.]

28 . . . The camp was set up according to orders, locating six field artillery pieces on its flanks. In the afternoon the Indians came to attack, for which reason the light troops and the Militia of Orleans sallied forth, resulting in three being badly wounded.

29 . . . The order was given for the reembarkation of all artillery and equipment, and stores and food were prepared for tomorrow. At daybreak the companies of grenadiers, cazadores, four of musketeers, all light infantry, and the two detachments of the colored troops from Orleans moved in accordance with the orders of Lieutenant Colonel [Baron de Quesel - ?]; and the garrison [Personnel] of Quartermaster [Major General] Don Francisco de Navas was advised to drive the cattle and [transfer the other supplies] tonight.

[March] 30. . . At five [a tally] of the marching troops established our number to be 3350 under the command of the Commander General of the Army, and General Espeleta remained to reembark with the remaining part of the army. We continued advancing in single file with the cannons toward the second pathway. We were distant from the plaza about a short cannon shot, or a league and a half from our second encampment. After [we had been] marching a short time, a large group of Indians emerged from their hide-outs in the woods, firing rapidly, upon which the general ordered up the cannons of the Militia of Orleans and light troops, which made them flee to the Plaza, where they stopped firing entirely. We continued to the afore-

mentioned beach where Espeleta would disembark in the launches with the rest of the army. Accordingly when the Indians remaining at the rear of the bastion began firing on the troops, they assumed battle formation; and the companies of grenadiers, cazadores, and the Militia from Orleans advanced, laying down a heavy fire. The English marched in column from the fort with a cannon to protect the Indians and to incite them to strike at [our] troops, which they considered fatigued. But after maintaining fire for four hours with the intention of blooding them, the [enemy] withdrew, leaving us to take possession of the house of Reoneo, named after a Pensacola villager, which is one mile from the fort. Because of this [engagement], three of our men were killed and twenty-eight were wounded. I include in the last group the Colonel of the King Don Luis Rebolo, the lieutenant from Soria Juan Antonio Figueroa and a Second Lieutenant of the Dragoons; and the stack of arms and some of the munitions were also lost. During the night a large entrenchment was constructed capable of providing cover for the troops, with the two companies of Navarra in the aforementioned house that was on the right. By means of a deserter that came tonight the state of defense of the forts is known. And he added that they [at the fort] had orders to be prepared for attack so that they could counterattack when they knew we were planning to approach them.

31 . . . The day dawned very rainy and the troops were tired enough for the general to order some aguardiente given to them. Some provisions and tents had been landed. It was eight o'clock at this time. An enemy soldier of the Sixteenth Regiment had come who said that General Cambel intends to make a sortie for which reason various troops were posted. Our general, intending to move the encampment back a greater distance from cannon fire, has ordered the Quartermaster to reconnoiter [new locations]. The Colonel of the king has died from the wound he received on the 30th.

Apr. 1 . . . What the deserter told us didn't happen since in the night there wasn't the slightest movement, but it was seen by daylight that an encampment and intrenchment had been established on the glacis within 300 toises of Fort George.<sup>5</sup> Four

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5. A toise equals 2.1315 yards.

hundred men have left with the quartermaster to consider changing the encampment to a small hill and there to prepare for attack, they having seen a detachment of cavalry which seems to have the same object in mind. Since then they saw some troops withdrawn. Two deserters and a sergeant that arrived afterwards from the main body have come from the Waldeck regiment.

2 . . . The artillery supplies and provisions continued to be unloaded from the boats until two. Eight deserters from various English regiments have arrived and [we] have ascertained that [the enemy will] begin firing from the fortifications at 3:30 P.M. With this information and seeing that the army [would be] endangered by the firing, the general decided to reembark the artillery, arms and food at intervals and to move out of the entrenchments and forward some distance without being seen by the enemy. They would conceal themselves keeping the food and large supplies in their places until darkness, when with better speed they could strike [camp], going as far as the campground called the Baya, which was a distance of a league or a cannon shot away from the forts, relying on the sea for communications with the ships, retaining only a garrison of 100 men in the house. Finally, the troops that were on the island of Santa Rosa withdrew.

3 . . . Today the troops worked to construct the entrenchment that was necessary for all camps because of the Indians. In order to make sure it would be exact, they have sent from the frigate of war three [local] inhabitants that escaped last night in a schooner. They have begun to land munitions and to take advantage of the opportunity the bay offers the launches for attack. Three Talapuse Indians have presented themselves to offer their nation to the general. At 11:30 the advance guard of the line has fired on the Indian allies of the English who came to fire on the encampment. The four English ships [abandoned by them], their mooring lines cut, have been towed by our launches to the center of the squadron; in one of them [we] discovered the presence of [Spanish] prisoners totaling 72, including the lieutenant of the Prince Galiano, and that their artillery was torn down and made useless.

4 . . . The Major General and the Quartermaster have left

with a guard to reconnoiter the countryside in order to enlarge [the territory] which the army occupies.

5 . . . A flag of truce has arrived on behalf of the political congress [town council of Pensacola]; and according to news, it seems that Cambel wants to oblige the inhabitants to take up arms. A deserter of the Sixteenth Regiment has come. All night the Indians have been firing on the camp wounding various, such as the Captain of Navarra Samaniego and three soldiers. The general with the Quartermaster has left to see the new entrenchment in order to plan the attack [on the fort]. We consist of an army of close to 3500 foot soldiers, with 20 dead and 13 wounded without yet having even offended the enemy. There has been a meeting of commanders to consider running together three redoubts and another near the Bay for the security of the launches and the naval garrison. Tonight the Indians have fired on the camp wounding two in their tents and disturbing the whole army.

7 . . . Last night the brigantine *Galvezton* that was stationed in the Bay of Escambel [Escambia] to prevent the escape of enemies who were located to the North, caught and transferred [to us] five inhabitants that were escaping in a schooner-among them was one from Mobile who had signed his word not to take up arms, etc. But according to the Indians, it seems he left the Commissary to approach the Indians with gifts of paints, woolen blankets, insignia, and medals. Also there came an officer of the [loyalist] Regiment from Pennsylvania who presented himself desiring to serve in the [Spanish] army since he had been discharged from the services of S.M. Bretanica in consequence of a disagreement. Because he had been in the Plaza, he was permitted to remain in the army of freemen (adventurers). The inhabitants have been taken on board with the commissary responsible for them.

8 . . . Two deserting soldiers have come this morning; and the landing of provisions and munitions continued.

9 . . . They continue [constructing] the two redoubts, and still the site where the final fortification has to be built has not been determined. At 9 a parliamentarian of the town council came to our general detaining him with his proposal, conferring with him from this time until 4 P.M. when he left. Cambel has sent 18 prisoners that were convalescing from illness, asking our

general to give his word that they would not take up arms. He refused, answering that [since] he had them there, that he might free them; nevertheless they remained in camp. A deserter has come from the enemy saying that tonight 300 Indians are coming to harass us and that the number of those in the Plaza is 1200. With this information 3 companies of scouts and 4 cannons were stationed in the forward post to guard the gate. The sentence has been carried out for the execution of the grenadiers that mistreated their work sergeant from the Prince's regiment.

10. . . The Quartermaster left this afternoon to mark off the new encampment, but it wasn't completed because of some suggestions made that it offered no advantage. In consequence this operation has been suspended and the order [issued] to situate the camp in another place more advanced than [this one] in which we are supported by the navy by means of the bay that projects [inland] for a half-mile. The redoubts have been finished and 4 cannons from the warships have been placed in each one.

11. . . The landing of the food and a special 24-pounder cannon and much ammunition continues. A deserter has come.

12. . . At 5:30 the march to the other camp was ordered leaving a sufficient guard for the protection of the fortification and for the embarkation of the artillery and ammunition. Then the troop arrived at the [new] location and began to intrench itself and at 11 the advance guards noticed that some English and Indians left the fort with two cannons. For this reason Major General Espeleta with 6 companies of cazadores went out noticing that the enemy column was remaining under the protection of their artillery, waiting for them to advance. This did not result in [our] pursuit [into the forest] to answer the fire of those that molest us so, which they intended.

13. . . Various artillery pieces have been convoyed along with 3 more 24-pounder cannons from the bay. A deserter has arrived and according to his answers he doesn't come on good faith for which reason he has been conducted on board the warships.

14. . . The work of making fascines and trenches was begun and the excavation for the deposit of 8 barrels of gunpowder located in square at the depth of 3 to control and prevent danger and humidity. A deserter has arrived and he says that the general [Campbell] has proclaimed that deserters were treated very badly.

15 . . . This afternoon 69 Chataes Indians with their chiefs have arrived and camped outside the lines. At five a deserter of the cavalry of the company called Christi came and confirmed the death of his lieutenant and the rest of the wounded.

16 . . . Three soldier deserters of the 60th and 61st Regiments have come today. At two again was sighted an enemy reinforcement column which advanced rapidly with the commencement of cannonfire from the Plaza. The battalion at the head of the column, returning the fire from our companies of cazadores and field artillery, being on our flank caused the wounding of our general on one finger and a superficial wound [creasing] on the stomach. Besides 6 soldiers were wounded and a sailor killed in the bay. The fire lasted until 6:30 at which time a deserter came asserting that 500 Indian reinforcements had entered [the fort] the night before. The cannon shots of the fort have entered the encampment from a high angle, being 28 calibre. The general decided to call upon some of the Indians from Mobile to [assist] the engineers who have gone out to locate the breach in the fortifications that appeared to have been made. This past night a sergeant of the Flanders Regiment has deserted. He was well informed and with evidence of some intelligence.

17 . . . The reconnaissance company of cazadores has taken as prisoner an Englishman [headed for] the Barrancas fort who was found to have food and letters [one of which contained] an offer of help from Jamaica. Four 24-pounder cannons were mounted and located on the flanks of the intrenchment [in consequence of] the information from the sergeant deserter and two companies of cazadores were posted for the same reason.

18 . . . A settee [ship] has arrived from Havana with news of the recapture of Nicaragua [by Galvez's father],<sup>6</sup> and with this so likely [news] a triple salute was [fired by] the navy and the artillery in the redoubts. Three deserters have arrived from the 60th and 61st Regiment and they confirmed the prolific account given by the sergeant deserter that they had believed us to be composed of 500 [5000-?] men rather than 3500. From Orleans is learned of the English seizure of the frigate *Luz*, which left from that port conveying 120 men, 6 officers and a captain

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6. Matias de Galvez, at that time Presidente de Guatemala. This may account for the presence of the diary in the archives of Guatemala.

of the Regiment of Navarra. Tonight the Indians have fired on the camp, but there have been no mishaps.

19 . . . Twenty-six Indians of the Talapases [Tallapoosa] nation have come to offer their nation which has camped outside the line separate from the Chataes. The Indians brought 42 head of cattle. The officers of the engineers and artillery have left for the place where the circular battery is situated and it seems to them to be the place best suited for the attack offered by that terrain. At 3 P.M. the frigates signalled that about 200 ships had been sighted which caused no little alarm that perhaps they would be reinforcement for the enemy. Consequently a detachment immediately left camp to reinforce and defend the redoubts and the [Quartermaster] Major General went on board the [flagship] of the Port Commander to obtain for the General all possible information about the nature of the ships. At 9 P.M. the Major General returned to the camp from this assignment with the news that these were frigates and ships sent from Havana with 1600 reinforcements which calmed the spirits of all.

20 . . . Today senior officers of the Spanish and French navy and of the army have come to discuss the landing of Field Marshal Don Juan Manuel Cagigal, commanding general of the reinforcement troops, and of Don Joseph Solano and Major Monteil of the troops that came from Havana in the ships-of-the-line and the frigates. Also they discussed what each navy offered for the undertaking, stating that their coming arose from a fear in Havana that 8 English warships which had passed the tip of San Antonio were coming to the relief of Pensacola. The general joined [in planning] the landing of all the troops and the camp was extended 400 brazas.

21 . . . This afternoon Field Marshal Don Juan Cagigal has arrived at the camp with some officers of the reinforcement troops, with the news that all had landed by night [from] the island of Santa Rosa.

22 . . . The chasseurs of the French Company of Brigade Artillery have arrived, and following them other reinforcement troops have landed. The engineer and artillery officers together with Field Marshal Don Juan Gagigal and the Major General [Quartermaster] have left to examine the terrain in order to find the most advantageous spot for attack. The forts fired some [shots] from which resulted [in] the death of a soldier from Sorias.



In the afternoon. Brigadier General Geronimo Giron arrived with 1600 men, followed by the naval [force] consisting of 1322 commanded by three naval captains and 800 French commanded by another captain of the French navy.

23 . . . A soldier of the 60th Regiment has deserted and says that the Indians that left our camp on the 21st to attack the enemy camp killed two enemy soldiers that went for -----.

In the afternoon the four brigades and a body of reserves have been designated and for their accommodation a tent camp was constructed. The army is composed today of 7665.

24 . . . A drummer deserter has come from the enemy. Four companies and Brigadier Don Geronimo Giron and officers of engineers left to survey the location of the batteries, and then the enemy seeing them began to fire with cannon, and Indian fire continued. Four detachments killed some Indians but [they] have wounded the Second Lieutenant of Ivernia Don Phelipe O'Reilly and nine soldiers. At noon General Cagigal left to board the bombardment brigantine with the purpose of drawing nearer to the enemy batteries and to see the scope of the shots from the 24-pounder cannon that was mounted and fired, and didn't hit, but were sufficient to worry them and get their attention. Tonight was heard a general discharge in the enemy bastions of artillery and [small] arms.

[Around this time the Spanish command decided upon a definite plan of attack. The English fortifications were too strong for direct assault without excessive casualties; first they must be softened by bombardment. The scouting of the terrain had revealed the best locations for emplacement of siege guns. The first step was the building of an approach-part road, part trench, part tunnel-E by NE from the Spanish encampment to a line of hills overlooking the enemy strongholds some 400 toises away, closest to the Half-Moon fort, the point of concentration. On one hill the Spaniards established an entrenchment with a battery of 6 cannons and 4 mortars. They extended it to the left (N by NW) approximately 200 toises and then right (NE) an equal distance almost directly toward the enemy, constructing a final redoubt with 2 cannons and 2 howitzers less than 200 toises from the forts.]

25 . . . The engineers have left to be more sure of the range at which they should place the batteries. The enemies who

were on guard began to fire with a field artillery cannon and the [small] arms of the Indians, which reached the companies of our cazadores and made them withdraw, wounding three soldiers of the King's [Regiment] and three of the Prince's. A deserter soldier of the company of Christi has arrived.

26 . . . It has been determined that tonight the entrenchment will be constructed for which the engineers have marked the location. At 9 P.M. was ordered the departure for this purpose of 700 workers and 800 armed men to protect them. But although we had the good fortune not to be heard the night was filled with such a strong rain that it wasn't possible to find the markers locating the entrenchment. As it happened 1:30 came, and the Quartermaster, aware that it was not possible for the troops to remain until dawn, was instructed by Brigadier Don Geronimo Giron to withdraw the workers and following them, the troops.

27 . . . At 10 the enemy began to fire on three companies that supported the workers clearing the road and the location where the entrenchment has to be established, this cannonading and small arms fire of the forts being very continuous, with more fire from a detachment that sallied forth from the English [fort] which, using grapeshot, killed four of us and wounded 12 including the Lieutenant from Guadalajara Don Francisco Casteron, a French officer. This fire continued until 12:30. At dark it was decided to begin the entrenchment but due to the desertion of a soldier from Luciana it was suspended. It was observed at dark that there were Indians in the trees, perhaps to observe the activities of the camp.

28 . . . Two soldiers of the companies from Luciana have deserted, but nevertheless it was ordered to open the entrenchment tonight, in the same locations that had been determined before, at the beginning of the evening and very quietly. At 10:15 the work began without being observed despite the clarity of the moon and the natural noise of the shovels with no misfortune other than one or more soldiers being injured by shovels while hurriedly digging. The distance of the entrenchment from the camp is something like 500 toises and to the enemy forts, something like 400. There are 555 men working tonight.

29 . . . When the enemy became aware of the work that had been done in the night, they began to fire cannon, following

with mortar fire and grenades from the circular fort and [there was] some [fire] from the opposite side with 22-pounder cannon that we defended with four small cannon placed to the left of the entrenchment. They made mortar, grenade and cannonfire until 7:30 in the morning with the object of disturbing the work of the battery. It commenced with four mortars and six 24-pounder cannons, resulting all day in not more than three wounded and one killed. One soldier from Luciana deserted.

30 . . . There was work on the foremost batteries and the entrenchment was repaired extending the branch communicating with the covered passage to the entrenchment. Last night the enemy shot with some sluggishness, gravely wounding the Second Lieutenant from Luciana Don Francisco Godo and a sergeant. The Indians have shot at the camp and killed on the parapet a soldier of the Second of Cataluna, wounding two more. Also the English sallied forth toward the entrenchment with two cannons, but the fire from our 4 and 8 calibre [cannons] on our left repelled them, [although] the firing upon the protecting troop left no doubt about their being seen. At 11 they ceased firing and the Battery began the construction of esplanades and a platform completing the interior of the same. A soldier deserter of the enemy has come and says that they believed that the reason for the entrenchment [activity] was to persuade them that the attack would come from the other side [of the defenses], as [was] indicated in a document [that they] found at the foot of a tree, which described in rough draft the direction of one part of the assaults, lost deliberately by the Volunteer Engineer Don Gilverto Gilman with some sketches of the location of the Pino Gordo, which was situated exactly where the last redoubt was constructed.

May 1 . . . They have fired various cannonades, bombs and grenades with the purpose of stopping the work of emplacing the cannons and the mortars at the Battery, for which reason the work was suspended until dark. A Portuguese sutler was caught through information from a deserter. In the afternoon the fire quickened as never before, killing a French artilleryman and wounding two, consisting mainly of mortars and grenades. This continued immoderately all night, killing a soldier and wounding seven.

2 . . . It was ordered to put in the battery the six 24-pounder

cannons and four mortars, two g-pounders and two 12-pounders, beginning fire at 9 A.M. at which time the enemy returned the fire continuing all day without stopping, resulting in three wounded and one dead. A deserter from the 60th Regiment has come. At night they have suspended fire doubtlessly with the object of repairing their merlons since we are sure that they have some damage to their parapets from our recent heavy fire. One [company] left to continue [digging] a connecting road to the entrenchment toward the defenses of Fort George so as to establish a battery. A native has died in the camp as the result of a quarrel.

3 . . . There was fire all last night and it was observed that they had done some work on their fortifications and also the repair of their merlons that had been damaged. Our entrenchment was built with a branch of 7000 [700 toises?] toward the left in order to establish the battery. Firing began with shot and bombs by the enemy which they continued all day, resulting in eight wounded and one dead. Our battery of cannons and mortars have fired and according to information from deserters it was concluded that we had done some damage. In the redoubt there was no more difference from the night before than to have some merlons in place of braces. The emplacement of the field artillery was worked on also. Today there have been two killed and five wounded including in the latter Captain Fixo [regular rank] Juan Joseph Oneco. Because of the rain the work on the entrenchment was suspended.

6 . . . A lively fire has continued between the sides for the rest of the night. In this fire there was wounded gravely Grenadier Lieutenant of Aragon Don Joseph Molina and some others. The Chastaes Indians who are partial to us have brought two English prisoners of the Barrancas garrison. At night the enemy increased their fire in which they wounded the Volunteer Engineer Don Gilverto Gilman, Captain of Navarra Don Bartolome Bargas, Captain of Aragon Don Matheo Arriola and Lieutenant of Navarra Don Ramon Garcia and 9 soldiers. All were wounded most gravely. At 12 midnight Brigadier Don Geronimo Giron went out with 800 men under orders to assault the fort called the Half Moon with everything needed to take it and burn it. This operation did not take place for contrary orders were given very close to the instant for the beginning of the action. There

commenced work in the entrenchment to carry out cotton [bales] and bags for dirt to construct a shelter for the battery that would fire on this fort, which is considered the principal one, to force surrender by the remainder.

7 . . . During the night Second Lieutenant of Ibernia Don Thomas de Festimaz [Fitzmaurice] died from the firing and the Major of the entrenchment Don Joseph Urraca from the Regiment of Soria was wounded plus 6 dead soldiers. The enemy continued the fire on the entrenchment and the redoubt. At 11:30 the Indians came to fire on the encampment, from which the Militia of Orleans went out in response. They withstood the [Indian] attack, but three were wounded and two were killed, with the usual cruelty of scalping them and cutting off their ears. Their fire on the entrenchment wounded an officer of the Regiment of the King Don Francisco Conget and 4 soldiers of the same regiment. The total number of wounded was 16 and all were serious. Tonight the [emplacement of the] battery of 8 cannons mentioned yesterday was continued, for which- purpose the materials were gathered. The firing has been the strongest experienced until now, with a great deal of cannon as well as mortar [fire] and [fire] from howitzers causing a great deal of damage. The Captain of Navarra Bargas has died of his wounds.

8 . . . Since midnight the firing from the fort has been sluggish. But when the firing resumed, it happened that one of the shells from the howitzers in our redoubt set fire to the gunpowder magazine of the Half Moon Fort (at 8:30), spreading to the other munitions. Flame was seen to cover it and the planking closest to it, scattering firebrands along the parapet and the stockade, whose ruin from loaded bombs, grenades and barrels of gunpowder killed 105 Englishmen including two exhausted officials who sought refuge in the place. As soon as we were aware of the burning of the fortification we formed a troop to enter the place promptly, commanded by Brigadier Don Geronimo Giron, who joined forces with the Major General Quartermaster, with all the companies of grenadiers and chasseurs, to advance on the fort and take possession of it. The maneuver was executed in two columns and 100 advance men with equipment to put out fires, and to guide the attack on the other forts; this was effected by the two columns which succeeded

in entering, there [being subjected to] lively fire through gunports from those who defended the fort, succeeding in wounding and killing many of us. Despite this fire, the [troops under] Quarter Master Don Franco de Naves succeeded in breaching part of a stockade that gave entrance to most of the moat as far as the gorge and to establish on the right flank a shelter by filling the moat with sand. And a chance was offered to begin constructing a battery behind it. These operations were supported by our fire from the cover of the merlons of the flank Battery until it [the new battery] could stop [the fire of the enemy] cannon and reduce the [fort's] gunfire. Equally there was firing upon the circular fort and on some tents which were on its glacis-2 howitzers and 2 of the 4 cannons which were emplaced over on the right as soon as our troops arrived and advanced to establish themselves on the right flank. At 2:30 P.M. a white flag was seen over Fort George. This was a surprise. At this time an officer on horseback appeared accompanied by a servant carrying a white flag. He advanced to be met on the left of the fort by the Major General and Major Decois, Officer of the French Navy, assistant to the artillery [commander], and from the right by the Quarter Master with his aide Don Franco del Rey, who were in the works just described. Upon meeting our men the English officer presented an open letter that General Cambel had sent. Because it was written in English the General ordered that it be translated to French. The letter asked for 24 hours suspension of hostilities to deal with the capitulation, but the General answered Senor Cambel that only three hours would be considered in which to arrange the suspension of hostilities. The English officer returned to the fort with assurance that all hostility and work would cease. A group of our men formed and advanced to the tree that the English indicated as the boundary. The General waited there for the results of the first letter, [which was] followed by three [more] letters written by each general. Our general remained at this spot, sending to the Plaza as hostage the Lieutenant of Iberria Don Cornalio, bringing another English officer to the camp.

9 . . . The reciprocal exchange of letters continues in order to agree on articles. Some things were found unacceptable about the capitulation. But nevertheless, our general accepted the offer of Senor Cambel to go to the Town of Pensacola: accompanying

him were the Field Marshal Don Juan Manuel Cagigal and two companies of the King's Grenadiers for his guard.

10 . . . From very early [the troops] have been getting together a great deal of their equipment and continued [to do] so all day. At 3:30 four companies of grenadiers and one of French chasseurs departed for the ceremony of delivering the zone. At 5:45 the ceremony took place as planned. General Cambel left Fort George at the head of his troops accompanied by five aides-de-camp, and one person dressed in black. Following were detachments from the 16th regiment. Another two detachments from several regiments followed them. The captain of the frigate, Mr. Duis, with his sailors and a 3-pounder cannon on which was displayed the flag of the frigate. The political governor [of Pensacola] Piter Chestre [Peter Chester] with a town council then followed the Commander of Artillery, Mr. Thomson with all of his troops: another two detachments followed, supplying a rearguard for two covered carts and the Regiment of Waldeck with its two flags and two artillery pieces, all this troop turning to align with the breastworks of Fort George from which it emerged, with the 10 Companies of Grenadiers in battle formation before this. The generals advanced and after greeting each other, ours went with the first [commanding officer] of the King's Regiment to where the flags of Cambel were surrendered, and the captains of the Navy Don Felipe Lopez de Carrisola and Mr. Bolderic of the French Navy conducted them to our troops. Then the General remained with the same group [while] the Commander of the Navy surrendered the frigate to the General, who in turn gave it to the Baron de Quesel to add it to [the] others. Concluding the ceremony, the English Major ordered his troop to lay down their arms and giving a half turn to the right passed by a Cordon of Sentinels of our troops which took over the guard in the forts and raised the colors of Spain. At dawn the English troops withdrew from the fort and the naval forces fired a general salute with their cannons.

11 . . . All the companies of grenadiers and French chasseurs have left the camp for the Plaza. The officers of the army have left also for the celebration of the peace which was made official by the oaths taken by the English. Commanding officers from the rank of sergeant major up have been lodged in homes. In order to take possession of the Barrancas fort that defends the

entrance to the port a captain and two subordinates have left with 50 men to conduct as prisoners the approximately 130 soldiers and sailors that garrisoned the Barrancas. The number of cannons was nine. The houses of this town are of considerable curiosity and comfort. There are about 200 houses with good furnishings and crystal. There are two good pavilions for the officers and troops and various warehouses. It has four springs on a great plain with beaches of nice sand a mile distant from the fort. The warehouses and stores were looted by the Indians. The vicinity most afflicted by Fort George's hostilities is armed with 25 cannons and two howitzers plus 25 shell guns in the entrenchment, [not counting] a quantity of mortar stones and munitions. The Hat [fort] (so called because of its shape) has 10 cannons and the circular fort 8 cannons, 4 mortars and 4 howitzers completely conditioned and capable of defending the site for days, not having been a casualty of the fire. The dead the English have suffered in all this time is 150 and 105 wounded, some of which are officers. Their garrison, including troops and sailors, consists of 1700, not including Negroes and Indians that make up a total of 1500. Captain (regular rank) Don Francisco Subieta has died from sickness.

12 . . . It was proposed that the troops should not move from where the camp was, and that only the companies of grenadiers would enter the town, that the French board the frigate that was in the port. Colonel of Aragon Don Francisco Longoria has died of illness, this occurring after his arrival on the island.

13 . . . A saetia [sailboat] that has arrived from Havana reports having seen the squadron of Senor Solano 20 leagues north, below Mobile. Because of this all was prepared for the embarkation of the reinforcement troops. Also it has been reported by the Provisional Governor of Orleans that the Fort of Nachaz [Nachez] 100 leagues distant from the town has been taken by the inhabitants and some Indians. This town has a garrison with 14 cannons, a captain and two subalterns with 80 men. The general dispatched the companies of Grenadiers and Cazadores from Orleans [to take care of] this, but upon hearing of its surrender they abandoned their purpose. The number of dead and wounded that we have had from the beginning of the conquest is the following: 1 colonel, 2 captains, 2 lieutenants, 3 second lieutenants, 3 sergeants and 108 soldiers dead; 6 captains,



5 lieutenants, 4 second lieutenants, 9 sergeants, and 107 soldiers wounded-the major part will die due to serious wounds. A colonel of Aragon, a captain and a lieutenant (regular rank) and 43 soldiers have died of illness.

*Note*

I have forgotten to include in the number of the wounded the Commander General Don Bernardo de Galvez, who is declaring the diary by day and action, and the Sergeant Major of Soria.

14 . . . The packet boat *Pio* was ordered to make ready to go to Spain after the *Chamberquin*, the first commanded by Don Joseph Maria Chacon and the second [by] Don Joseph Sernato, with the news of the surrender.

15 . . . Three companies of the garrison of Navarra have come to this town. The inventories of everything continues and the surrender as prisoners of war of 1300 men, who were taken to Charlestown for the duration of the war. Neither soldiers nor officers will bear arms against us or our allies; they [are permitted to] take their belongings; if they had to [remain here for perhaps] 8 months [they would be a burden] on the inhabitants. The surrendered armaments, munitions, etc., are added to those of the King. The present diary was completed on this 15 day of May, when I embarked on the Plaza of Pensacola for Havana in the cutter *Serpan* of the French nation on this day of the year 1781.

Names of the officers and cadets dead and wounded in the conquest from March 9, when the conquest began, until May 8, when the surrender occurred.

*Dead*

|                                  |                       |   |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------|---|
| Colonel del Rey .....            | Dn. Luis Rebolo       | 1 |
| Capn. de Navarra .....           | Dn. Bartholome Vargas | 1 |
| Capn. de Mayorca .....           | Dn. Jph. Roguero      |   |
|                                  | [Salvador Rueca]      | 1 |
| Subt. idem .....                 | Dn. Thoms. Fiotomorz  |   |
|                                  | [Thomas Fitzmaurice]  | 1 |
| Subt. de Ibernia .....           | Dn. Timot. O'Daly     | 1 |
| otro Luciano .....               | Dn. Franco Godo       |   |
|                                  | [Francisco Godeau]    | 1 |
| Tiente. [Teniente] Navarra ..... | Dn. Ramon Garcia      | 1 |

*Of Illness*

|                      |                        |    |
|----------------------|------------------------|----|
| Colonel Aragon ..... | Dn. Franco Longoria    | 1  |
| Capn. Fixo .....     | Dn. Franco Suvieta     | 1  |
| Tente. idem .....    | Dn. Placio Figuerola   |    |
|                      | [Antonio Figueroa - ?] | 1  |
|                      | total dead .....       | 10 |

*Note*

The officers as well as the troops are dead from serious wounds. As they started to experiment they died of the results of the wounds, on the 11th of this month 9 soldiers and on the 14th of this month 5 soldiers.

*Wounded*

|                                  |                              |   |
|----------------------------------|------------------------------|---|
| Comandte. Gral .....             | Dn. Bernardo de Galvez       | 1 |
| Tnte. Soria .....                | Dn. Anto. Figueroa           | 1 |
| Subtte. Dragons .....            | Dn. Jph. Ursante             | 1 |
| Capn. Navarra .....              | Dn. Jph. Samaniego           |   |
|                                  | [Sammaniega]                 | 1 |
| Ingo. Voluntario .....           | Dn. Gilverto Guilmar         | 1 |
| Subte. de Ibernia .....          | Dn. Felipe Oreyle [O'Reilly] | 1 |
| Tente. Guarda [Guadalajara] .... | Dn. Franco Castanon          | 1 |
| Ayudte. Frances .....            | Dn. Preterson                | 1 |
| Capn. Ibernia .....              | Dn. Ugo Oconor               |   |
|                                  | [Hugo O'Connor]              | 1 |
| Tnte. Mayorca .....              | Dn. Franco Garamillo         |   |
|                                  | [Juan Xaramillo - ?]         | 1 |
| Capn. idem. ....                 | Dn. Mateo Arriole            |   |
|                                  | [Arreda - ?]                 | 1 |
| Tnte. de Aragn .....             | Dn. Juan [Joseph - ?] Molina | 1 |
| Capn. Fixo .....                 | Dn. Franco Inero [Onoro - ?] | 1 |
| Subte. Rey .....                 | Dn. Franco                   |   |
|                                  | [Pascual - ?] Conget         | 1 |
| Idem Soria .....                 | Dn. Juan Vigodet             | 1 |
| Capn. Principe .....             | Dn. Manl. Gutierre           | 1 |
| Mayor [Sgte.] Soria .....        | Dn. Jph. Urraca              | 1 |
| Capn. Frances .....              | Dn. Mc Elpee [Elpese - ?]    | 1 |
| Otro .....                       | Mr. Villebuene               |   |
|                                  | [Villeneuve - ?]             | 1 |

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|                    |                              |    |
|--------------------|------------------------------|----|
| Cadete Aragn ..... | Dn. Juan Texade [Tejala - ?] | 1  |
| Otro Luciana ..... | Dn. Juan Alcala              | 1  |
| Otro Havana .....  | Dn. Igno. Pizarro            | 1  |
| Otro Flandes ..... | Dn. Jph. Cordova             | 1  |
|                    | Total wounded                | 23 |

## BOOK REVIEWS

*Cracker Messiah: Governor Sidney J. Catts of Florida.* By Wayne Flynt. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1977. xiv, 359 pp. Preface, notes, illustrations, critical essay on authorities, index. \$20.00.)

Sidney Johnston Catts flashed across the Florida political skies like a meteor in the gubernatorial election of 1916. A Baptist preacher, insurance salesman, and political unknown, Catts waged an extraordinary grass-roots campaign that challenged the power and shocked the sensibilities of the state's Democratic hierarchy. After being denied the party nomination in a questionable recount, Catts ran in the general election as an independent and was swept into the governorship on a wave of anti-Catholic sentiment and populist dissatisfaction. His stormy governorship and subsequent campaigns made him a compelling figure in Florida politics for more than a decade. He was Florida's version of the "southern demagogue," the equivalent in some respects of Georgia's Tom Watson, South Carolina's Cole Blease, and Louisiana's Huey Long. And, like many of his southern counterparts, he appealed strongly to the masses-to the "red-necks" and "crackers"-who provided the base for his quixotic insurgency against the political establishment. As a disgusted editor wrote during one of his campaigns, "every county in the state where there are neither good roads, newspapers, telephones nor telegraph, apparently is for Catts, now and forever, once and inseparable, *E. Pluribus Unum*" (ch. 12, at note 44).

Professor Wayne Flynt, whose first book was a biography of Senator Duncan U. Fletcher, another powerful Florida politician, has produced a solid study of Catts's political career. Lacking a substantial body of Catts's personal and official correspondence, Flynt has made good use of collateral manuscript collections, public documents, newspapers, interviews, and unpublished studies. He devotes some attention to Catts's family background, education, and ministerial career in the Alabama black belt. But the heart of his book is its detailed and authoritative treatment of Catts's election, administration, and struggle for vindication in the early 1920s. Flynt also analyzes Catts's unsuccessful cam-

paigns in the twenties and briefly describes the former governor's final years before his death in 1936.

Flynt's careful account of the politics and programs of the Catts administration—and of the social and economic circumstances that affected them—represents his major achievement. He is particularly good in dealing with the exigencies of the war years, the bitter conflict between labor and management in 1919 and 1920, and the nature of the red scare in Florida. The author's second notable contribution is his success in explaining the origins and dynamics of the Catts movement and in demonstrating why it was more than an aberration or a political carnival. Flynt contends that Catts entered politics as “a genuine idealist,” that “pragmatism and reform” were more important in his administration than critics were willing to concede, and that his governorship resulted in “a remarkable era of social progress.” Although this probably exaggerates the positive aspects of Catts's leadership, Flynt is right in portraying the embattled governor as a reformer who, while flawed, improved public administration in such areas as education and the penal system. Flynt may also be correct in suggesting that Catts became a cynical, “professional” politician only after being frustrated by hostile legislators, entrenched interests, and his own uncontrolled emotions. Yet if Catts challenged the whole structure of Florida government, as the author asserts, there is little indication that he had any realistic conception of how to go about making the system more democratic or more responsive to social needs.

The paucity of personal papers at Professor Flynt's disposal may account for his inability to provide a coherent treatment of Catts's inner world in the manner of C. Vann Woodward's *Tom Watson* or T. Harry Williams's *Huey Long*. Nevertheless, his interpretation is generally convincing, and he makes Catts believable, whether in terms of the man's boldness and courage, his understanding of and sympathy for the poor and disadvantaged, or his temperamental outbursts and violent emotionalism. Flynt also throws light on the relationship between Catts's religious evangelism and his interest in social reform. Catts's political appeal is attributed in large part to his “fundamentalist” identification with rural Floridians. He personified, in his style and philosophy, a significant strain of modern reformism, and as Flynt observes, southern politics cannot be fully comprehended without

understanding the so-called demagogues like the enigmatic Catts who "voiced the frustrations of inarticulate white Protestants."

*Vanderbilt University*

DEWEY W. GRANTHAM

*Florida Territory in 1844: The Diary of Master Edward C. Anderson, United States Navy.* Edited with a Foreword and Afterword by W. Stanley Hoole. (University: University of Alabama Press, 1977. 105 pp. Illustrations, foreword, afterword, notes, bibliography, index, drawings. \$8.50.)

"Jacksonville . . . is one bed of heavy sand. . . . Miami . . . [will never be] much more than it is for there are but few facilities and no capital either at present or in prospect. . . . Key West has nothing attractive about it. It is a sandy waste with some scrub timber upon it. . . . [Tampa's] Military reserves is a charming spot. . . . [The Navy Yard at Pensacola] has been very much beautified [*sic*] of late years." These observations, and many more from the diary of Master Edward Clifford Anderson, USN, were written during his tour of duty aboard the USS *General Taylor* while she steamed in Florida waters from March through December 1844.

Scion of an old, well established family of Savannah, Edward Anderson was an educated man who moved easily among the military and civil leaders of frontier Florida. He wrote of his acquaintances with brevet Brigadier General William J. Worth, Lieutenant John T. Sprague, Judge William A. Marvin of Key West, and pioneer settler William F. English of Miami. When he met a group of Seminole Indians at Fort Brooke, he was impressed by Sampson their Negro interpreter. He was aboard ship when the abolitionist Jonathan Walker was transported from Key West to Pensacola under double irons. In sum, Anderson's diary is a fascinating account of the Florida territory in 1844.

This monograph is a verbatim presentation of Anderson's diary during this period. Editor Hoole has written a biographical foreword and afterword to acquaint the reader with the life and times of Anderson. These appendages blend in with the diary portion of the book, creating a unified narrative which broadens the original work.

Also, in a task common to all editors, Hoole has provided informational footnotes to the diary so that the reader may understand the text. This is a crucial function of any editor who interprets contemporary writings of the past, especially for local or regional histories where the characters may not be well-known to the readers.

Hoole performed this last duty competently, although his knowledge of military history in Florida was shaky. Using only Francis Heitman's *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army*, he incorrectly identified a diary entry-Lieutenant Blake-as Edward D. Blake, 8th Infantry; it was Lt. Jacob Edmund Blake, Corps of Topographical Engineers, who executed several survey missions for General Worth at that time. Hoole was in error on the construction dates for Fort Matanzas (1672-1695 vice 1727-1742) and Fort Dallas (1838 vice 1836). Also, he referred to the navy's West India Squadron haphazardly as either the West Indies or West Indian Squadron. But these are very minor errors.

Anderson's diary is an interesting eyewitness view of Florida just after the Second Seminole War. It was a time of change when many of the important wartime posts had been abandoned by the military, casting their civil population adrift without an economic base. The frontier was being peopled by armed occupants through government grants. It was the closing of the Indian era, the beginning of white penetration of the peninsula, and Edward Anderson was there to see the towns and talk to the settlers. This little book is a welcome addition to the primary source material on the final days of the territory of Florida.

Jacksonville University

GEORGE E. BUKER

*Proceedings of the Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference, Volume VI, The Cultural Legacy of the Gulf Coast, 1870-1940.* Edited by Lucius F. Ellsworth and Linda V. Ellsworth. (Pensacola: Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference, 1976. viii, 139 pp. Introduction, notes, illustrations. \$7.95.

A product of the Gulf Coast History and Humanities Confer-

ence in 1976, this collection of papers not only embraces the cultural heritage of the Gulf Coast but also touches on the broader problems of historical preservation: what it is, how it is accomplished, and what its benefits are—in the last case, unarguably, stability. The Gulf Coast setting is viewed in the larger context of such successful preservation enterprises as Nantucket. According to the introduction by the Ellsworths, the Gulf Coast is “little understood.” One wishes they had expanded on this point. Why? Geography? Climate? Timber? Tourism? Sand? Mass communications or the historical lack of them?

The papers in this volume “analyze the function of historical artifacts in present-day society.” Unfortunately, perhaps that function seemed more important in 1976 than it will in 1980. The book belongs in any collection of southern history with pretensions to scope. What makes it especially interesting is the conference participants’ disagreement on the importance of the Gulf Coast legacy to America as a whole. The staunchest Gulf Coast champion is Professor Jessie J. Poesch, who argues that the Gulf Coast has contributed more significantly to national culture than is commonly thought. This reviewer agrees. Example? Jazz.

All the papers are well-written. Ellen Beasley’s “Impressions of Gulf Coast Architecture” should stimulate more such studies which are badly needed. James R. McGovern’s “The Rise of Pensacola” is fascinating. Dr. McGovern was taken to task at the conference by Jerrell H. Shofner, who felt that the piece might more accurately have been titled “Pensacola as Viewed from its Red-Light District.” Perhaps, but are not red-light districts a valuable index? Who can argue their importance? And perhaps the informed student of history is better served by Dr. McGovern’s racy account of Pensacola’s “French Louise” than by Margaret Mitchell’s dreamed-up Belle Watling.

The range of topics in the volume is broad. Thomas Clark has presented a vivid picture of land and trees on the Gulf Coast: “This part of the American frontier contained all the elements of drama of the rest of the western country and the westward movement without actually being located in the mainstream of the earlier population advance.” Theodore Rosengarten’s observations on oral history are given in the context of his book *All God’s Dangers: The Life of Nate Shaw*. He is as aware of the dangers of oral history as he is of its potential contributions.



This is reassuring. He also knows when the technical lie tells the essential truth.

Some of the papers are interesting case studies in the history and how-to of the preservation movement. Others touch on philosophy itself, as when Dr. Poesch rightly distinguishes between history and historicism - the latter having, of course, spawned all too many restorations, in Florida and elsewhere, of the See-How-Fancy-Grandpa-Had-It-And-Doesn't-It-Remind-You-of-Colonial-Williamsburg school. And perhaps the volume's best keynote is provided by none other than Oscar Wilde, as quoted by Dr. Poesch. In 1882 he told America: "let there be no flower in your meadows that does not wreath its tendrils around your pillows, no little leaf in your Titan forests that does not lend its form to design, no curving spray of wild rose or brier that does not live for ever in carven arch or window or marble, no bird in your air that is not given the iridescent wonder of its colour, the exquisite curves of its wings in flight, to make more precious the preciousness of simple adornment."

Nobody may ever have walked down Pensacola's Palafox Street with a transcendental pine bough in his hand during Wilde's lifetime; but Wilde's message has obvious meaning for preservationists and for all who value beauty, tradition, and taste.

Tallahassee, Florida

GLORIA JAHODA

*Gold, Galleons and Archaeology: A History of the 1715 Spanish Plate Fleet and the True Story of the Great Florida Treasure Find.* By Robert F. Burgess and Carl J. Clausen. (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1976. x, 195 pp. Preface, prologue, illustrations, appendixes, bibliography. \$12.95.)

In 1964, major treasure finds were made in Florida's Indian River area from wrecksites of the combined 1715 Spanish fleets. As one result, Florida evolved policies regulating treasure hunters designed to preserve its shipwreck patrimony. A body of literature has sprung up about these finds, including Kip Wagner's *Pieces of Eight*.

Now, after twelve years, there comes a book on the 1715

shipwrecks written by Robert Burgess, a well-known adventure writer, and Carl J. Clausen, the man who served as Florida's marine archeologist during the modern 1715 salvage. The work includes a fast-paced and excellent account of the hurricane which destroyed the Spanish fleet, the hundreds of survivors it left cast away on a lonely strand, subsequent Spanish salvage, and the raids of Caribbean pirates. This reviewer happens to know that the whole is based upon extensive primary documentation, but except for the appendixes, the archival materials utilized are not cited in footnote or bibliography.

Some corrections are called for. The Spanish navigation system featured more than the New Spain and *Tierra Firme* fleets; guard ships, often integrated with the fleets, at times separate, also sailed. These were variously called the *Armada Real*, the *Armada de Barlovento*, or the *Armada de Guardia*. Crown revenues remitted with the fleets were far more complex than the *quinto* alone; among other funds, they included monies from what the authors term "The Holy Crusade," but which was actually the sale of indulgences. The Florida governor's name was not Corioles, but Corcoles. There were not two "Jennings raids" upon the salvage camps in November 1715 and January 1716, but rather one pirate occupation during January 1716, which was ended by a Spanish expedition from Havana (see A.G.I. *Escribania de Camara* 55-C, *pieza* 3). The authors seem to have confused and duplicated the data.

The reader is skillfully transported from the eighteenth century to modern times by means of a description of our evolving knowledge of the Spanish campsite at Sebastian Beach. This site is now occupied in part by the McLarty State Museum. The archeological work of Higgs and Hale Smith is mentioned, but no credit is given to Homer N. Cato, the amateur archeologist who led Clausen to the main campsite, or to the members of the South Brevard Historical Society, whose members toiled for eight months to develop data turned over to the state.

The efforts of modern salvors Kip Wagner and Mel Fisher and their associates are recounted in a straightforward and an entertaining manner. Burgess and Clausen have not neglected the theme of personal adventure which enlivened *Pieces of Eight*, but have placed it within a broader setting. For the first time, the real story of the finding of the "dragon-whistle necklace" has been

told. In a moment of whimsey, Clausen created a fake treasure map to demonstrate the credulity of treasure hunters; the map, pictured in the book, is still relied upon by some salvors.

Carl Clausen is a legitimate pioneer in the field of marine archeology; he wrote the first bona fide professional site report on a historic underwater site—one of the 1715 ships-in the United States. This reviewer suggests, however, that Clausen's concluding thesis (that private salvage is incompatible with the preservation of cultural values in shipwrecks) may be dated. A professional archeologist for one Florida salvage firm has recently made the first contribution of substance to Florida shallow-water marine archeology since Clausen's time.

As Boswell states in his *Private Papers*, "there is a waste of good if it be not preserved." Florida's shipwreck heritage must be conserved; Clausen's underlying premise is correct. It is only its implementation that has gone somewhat astray. Clausen's beliefs have hardened into ideology, which has given rise to such absurdities as the remark of one state official, printed in a national magazine, that a Florida salvor was his "enemy." Mutual hostility between the state and its salvage contractors is now a fact, and the academic side of shipwrecks has suffered as a consequence. Since private salvage is unlikely to disappear, and public funding for so risky an operation as salvage is not practical, it would appear that cooperation instead of confrontation is in order. The best recovery from shipwrecks, as Clausen points out, is not bullion but knowledge; let us strive to make full recovery from these precious sites. This book, like treasure hunting itself, is replete with adventure, not unspiced with controversy.

*Vero Beach, Florida*

EUGENE LYON

*The Papers of Henry Laurens, Volume Five: Sept. 1, 1765-July 31, 1768.* Edited by George C. Rodgers, Jr., David R. Chesnut, and Peggy J. Clark. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1976. xxxii, 840 pp. Introduction, notes, appendixes, index. \$27.50.)

This, the fifth volume of the Laurens papers, is by far the most important for an understanding of the political history of

pre-Revolutionary America. Beginning September 1, 1765, a month before the Stamp Act was to go into effect, and ending just before the full impact of the resistance to the Townshend Revenue measure took place, the volume is rich in the raw materials of political history. There is plenty of evidence that resistance to England was born in the preceding volume with the reaction to the Cherokee War and Boone's political problems, but the movement toward the Revolution now begins to take form.

It is the conservatives, and Laurens was a conservative, that give the movement its shape, rather than Christopher Gadsden and the other radicals who were needed as catalysts. Laurens frequently pokes fun at his former radical friend and his anger with him is easily discerned through otherwise calm letters. Laurens was no lover of mob or precipitated action. However, his growing unhappiness with an empire which had made him wealthy is dramatically seen from the beginning of the customs acts of the Grenville administration and those which followed them. These acts caused misunderstanding and much confusion among American merchants, even the most honest of them like Laurens. They also encouraged dishonest officials, and their activities helped to change the attitude of men like Henry Laurens. For instance seizure of Laurens's ships, which were being used to supply his Florida plantations (See *A Representation of Facts*, 391 ff.) eventually brought on his wrath and indignation. How frustrating for him and other merchants of conservative bent to find they could secure justice and run off the varlet collector, Daniel Moore, only to realize that justice was not really being served because Chief Justice Egerton Leigh, himself a royal appointee, would steal a hot stove under subterfuge of law and confusing decisions. Such conditions motivated Laurens to begin writing letters to his friends. He almost sounds like Gadsden himself, and this correspondence grew ever more severe with the passage of time.

Unfortunately, the customs problems plaguing the merchants are not resolved in this volume. It makes one look forward to what the editors will include in volume six. More than politics fills the present volume. Information on East Florida is present in the letters to Governor James Grant at St. Augustine. There is much detail on economic and business matters in this time of crises: prices, shipping conditions, sources of supply, consumer de-

mand, and governmental control. Laurens's letters describing personalities and events of the day are descriptive and interesting. Publication of the Laurens Papers is making a substantial contribution to American scholarship.

*Georgetown University*

RICHARD WALSH

*Revolt in Louisiana: The Spanish Occupation, 1766-1770.* By John Preston Moore. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1976. xiv, 246 pp. Preface, notes, tables, maps, illustrations, epilogue, appendix, bibliography, index. \$10.95.)

The Seven Years' War abruptly altered imperial relationships in North America when England secured both French Canada and Spanish Florida. At the same time, in still another important transfer of power, the French ceded Louisiana to Spain. That shift from French to Spanish rule is the theme of this book.

The cession of Louisiana to Spain took almost seven years. On November 2, 1762, the French gave up this colony to Spain in the Treaty of Fontainebleau, but Charles III delayed taking possession. Initially, the king and his ministers encountered difficulty in procuring an occupation force from their beaten and exhausted forces in the Indies. Moreover, they saw clearly that Louisiana would, like Spanish Florida in the early eighteenth century, become a drain on the exchequer; procrastination meant saving these new expenses. Thus, for two years Spanish authorities did nothing, giving the French residents some hope that Louisiana might be receded to France. In 1765, however, Charles III and the Marques de Grimaldi, principal architect of Spain's Louisiana policy, finally appointed a new governor, Antonio de Ulloa. For the recalcitrant Ulloa it took another year to find a meager body of troops to accompany him, and he did not reach New Orleans until March 1766. Once in Louisiana he did not take formal possession of the colony for Spain but established tentative joint rule with the French governor, Charles Aubry, and the French Superior Council.

Ulloa, it turned out, was a terrible choice for the governorship. Although one of the most brilliant Spanish intellectuals of his time - a Spanish Benjamin Franklin - he was poor at administration and detested it; his tenure at the mer-

cury mine of Huancavelica proved that. He was also shy and antisocial, preferring to work at his books rather than to deal openly and personally with administrative problems. When he did act, he did so arbitrarily, insensitive to the French constituency. In the end, his personal failings, the failure of the Spanish crown to provide him with sufficient troops, and economic problems caused by restrictive Spanish trade policies resulted in a conspiracy, more against the beleaguered Ulloa than against Spain.

Led by the merchant community and a few French bureaucrats, and supported initially by Governor Aubry, a group of French residents ultimately demanded Ulloa's ouster and elimination of the onerous Spanish restrictions. Without soldiers to enforce his will, Ulloa was helpless and in despair departed the colony, leaving the French conspirators, as it turned out, to flounder hopelessly for a new identity and economic support. The forced removal of Ulloa, however, finally spurred Charles III to act decisively. He appointed General Alexander O'Reilly as the new governor to put Louisiana under Spanish rule and provided him with the men and arms to do so. In late July 1769, when O'Reilly finally reached New Orleans, the French conspirators capitulated without a fight. The major figures in the cabal were executed, imprisoned, or had property confiscated as O'Reilly acted firmly to establish Spanish domination over Louisiana once and for all.

Moore tells this story well. Using a wide variety of sources from archival repositories in Spain, England, France, Mexico, and the United States, he has provided a rich, balanced picture of the major events and the primary participants in the seven-year saga to give Spain possession of Louisiana. He demonstrates clearly that indecision, timidity, and ambivalence characterized not only the Spaniards (under Antonio de Ulloa at least) but also the French rebels. My only qualification is whether there was really a "revolt" in Louisiana. In the end the conspirators found no broad base of support in the colony and gave in easily to the Spaniards once Charles III decided to fill the power vacuum. Like the Fronde 100 years earlier in France, the French conspiracy in Louisiana really came to nothing.

*The American Revolution, A Continuing Commitment, Papers presented at the fifth symposium, May 6 and 7, 1976.* (Washington: Library of Congress, 1976. viii, 88 pp. Introduction, opening remarks, notes. \$4.50.)

The six papers included in this volume are intended to be in the nature of a stocktaking rather than about the Revolution itself. But such a general purpose has encouraged such variety of subject and point of view that some editorial attempt to bring together ideas common to all these papers would have given more coherence to the collection.

Two of the papers, contrary to the subtitle, are not concerned with any "continuing commitment" to the Revolution but to how we must alter the traditional ideals of America to cope with a future where interdependence is our greatest need. Margaret Mead in her "Style of American Womanhood" describes the traditional American woman that we continue to be proud of—the kind of woman who settled the first colonies and the later frontiers, who had her independent domain of work that went well beyond the mere raising of children, and who had a certainty of her capacity to manage her domain and that of her husband if necessary. The traditional division of woman's labor from that of man's has given rise to the expectancy that each individual, man, woman, or child will stand alone, independent and capable. Yet in future society, where activities are not distinctively male or female and where people's relationships to each other are more critical than independence from one another, Miss Mead questions that we can continue this historic style in which everyone is looking for his own place to stand.

Harlan Cleveland of the Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies, in "America's Not-So-Manifest Destiny," extends the question to the future need for interdependency between Americans and other peoples of the world. He insists that individual Americans must learn to feel individual responsibility for the collective outcome of interdependent action, and the first thing to be jettisoned toward this goal is ideology, by which presumably he means the ideal of individual freedom and independence.

Both of these papers which advocate an alteration or denial of traditional ideals and attitudes to accommodate the needs of interdependence imply that continuing our commitment to some

of the ideals of the Revolution is undesirable for the future needs of society.

Paul A. Freund, the Carl M. Loeb Professor of Law at Harvard University, also recognizes the growing interdependence in society but suggests a far less disturbing solution. Freedom for one tends to reduce freedom for another, yet equality deadens spontaneity and enterprise. He suggests that we embrace the ideal of "fraternity," which he defines as the basic respect for individuals, their commonness and their uniqueness, to protect our freedom and equality and give added quality to our lives. Although "fraternity" has never been one of the explicit ideals in America as it has in France, it is not an alien concept. By embracing it we can temper the inherent problems in freedom and equality and continue to hold these ideals even in an interdependent society.

All of the papers in this collection are of high quality and make us look forward to the sixth and final symposium in 1978 which will mark the bicentennial of the French alliance.

*Agnes Scott College*

GERALDINE M. MERONEY

*Struggle for the American Mediterranean: United States-European Rivalry in the Gulf-Caribbean, 1776-1904.* By Lester D. Langley. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1976. 226 pp. Preface, map, epilogue, bibliographical essay, notes, index. \$10.00.)

This latest study by Professor Langley focuses on the rivalry between the United States and several European nations in the Gulf-Caribbean region from the American Revolution until the establishment of a protectorate system over the Dominican Republic in 1905.

Most of the diverse stories of this competition have been drawn from secondary sources and are therefore familiar ones; Langley's contribution has been to pull them together and give them geographic focus while sketching in the historical background to each. Thus the acquisition of Louisiana, the Floridas, and Texas, the clash with England over Central America and Cuba, the French intervention in Mexico, America's New Mani-



fest Destiny, the war with Spain, and the tortured tale of the Monroe Doctrine are all presented under one handy cover.

However familiar the stories, readers will certainly find some of the motives ascribed to the various actors in this chronicle intriguing. For example, the Anglo-American confrontation over Cuba and Central America stemmed not so much, Langley claims, from territorial as from commercial ambitions. In fact the parties concerned so craved stability in the Gulf-Caribbean region that they frequently could not bring themselves to credit rivals with the same sentiment. The result was that mutual suspicions often triggered grave mutual misunderstandings.

Again during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century it was United States concern for stability-not territorial or even commercial designs-which explains its Gulf-Caribbean expansionist policy. Expansion, according to Langley, was a response to the disruptive influence of Caribbean nationalism. Thus nationalist movements in Nicaragua, Cuba, Venezuela, and Panama served as the catalysts which precipitated those decisive confrontations with Europe which left the United States the sole imperial power in the region.

Only Langley's first chapter entitled "The Southward Drive to the Gulf" deals at length with Florida, and the details are those most Florida readers will be acquainted with. Jefferson directed the bulk of his acquisitive energy toward Louisiana rather than the Floridas because the French were regarded as more menacing than the Spanish. Monroe, however, by supporting the Mathews movement (although he later disavowed Mathews) and by sending troops to Amelia Island to clear out the smugglers haven created by Gregor McGregor in Fernandina, began the application of pressure on Madrid to yield Florida which Jackson increased by entering the Spanish domain in the same year. This, coupled with the added pressure of population and United States circumspection vis-a-vis Spain's revolting colonies, ultimately resulted in the Adams-Onis treaty-a treaty which brought the United States to the northern shores of the New World Mediterranean and signalled the beginning of a long term Caribbean power play.

The study is a bit harsh on and unsympathetic to Spain, occasionally fails to provide insights into the dynamics of American policy, is relatively kind to McKinley, and is scantily indexed.

Aside from these objections it is a well done volume made even more useful by a fine bibliographical essay.

*Bowling Green State University*

KENNETH F. KIPLE

*Borderland in Retreat: From Spanish Louisiana to the Far Southwest.* By Abraham P. Nasatir. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1976. viii, 175 pp. Preface, introduction, maps, bibliographical notes, index. \$12.00.)

To borrow heavily from Professor Nasatir's own comments about his study, *Borderland in Retreat* is a series of essays which summarizes more than fifty years of research on Spanish Louisiana. A synthesis of his life's work, it is a history of the competition for that large, often ill-defined area west of the Mississippi River called Louisiana. Spanish Louisiana had six frontiers, each dependent upon time and point of reference or emphasis. Two chapters deal with the frontier along the Mississippi River: the Spanish-British conflict and Spanish-American relations during and after the American Revolution. Other chapters are devoted to the Upper Mississippi frontier, the Missouri frontier, the Louisiana-Texas frontier, and finally, the last frontier of Spanish Louisiana, the area north of Santa Fe. For those who draw the curtain on Spanish-French Louisiana with the purchase of that territory in 1803 by the United States, it might be well to point out that the boundaries of that vast domain were not resolved until the Adams-Onis Treaty of 1819 whereby Florida was acquired.

During and since his days at Berkeley, Professor Nasatir has specialized in what he prefers to call 'Spanish Louisiana' and 'Spanish Illinois.' The latter is the area of Upper Louisiana north of the Arkansas and west of the Mississippi rivers. His use of the term 'Illinois' for the area west of the Mississippi is not new. Among others, Pedro de Rivera referred to the same area as 'Sinalois,' a corruption of 'Illinois,' in his report on the presidio of San Miguel de Panzacola in 1744.

Professor Nasatir's study chronicles the rivalry for Louisiana between Spain and Great Britain, and later between Spain and the United States. Spain adopted France's trade-barter system

with the Indians of Louisiana as opposed to the mission-presidio system used in New Mexico and elsewhere in the Far Southwest. Later, Spain used the same barter and trade system in the Floridas. Spain lost the struggle for the Indian trade in Spanish Louisiana because British and American traders offered better merchandise, were better organized, had larger capital, fewer paternalistic regulations, and lower taxes. The restrictive Spanish mercantile system and Spanish bureaucracy did not, perhaps could not, adapt sufficiently to the competitive trade conditions.

One slip by Professor Nasatir cannot be overlooked. The founding and location of Galveztown (Map 2 and page 36) needs correction. Founded about 1778 by Anglo-Americans, Galveztown was located some twenty-four miles southeast of Baton Rouge on the Iberville River (Bayou Manchac) opposite the mouth of the Amite River. It should not be confused with Galveston Island, Texas, which received its name from Jose de Evia during his survey of the site in 1785. I have one other reservation about the volume. I would prefer the use of footnotes rather than chapter by chapter bibliographies. It would certainly make the book more useful to specialists in the field.

The study is an excellent survey of the struggle for Spanish Louisiana. Nasatir reinforces with abundant illustrations the argument that the conflict between Spain, England, and the United States was inspired by economic considerations. To deemphasize the economic motivation in the western conflict is to misinterpret what it was all about. Nasatir's emphasis on Upper Louisiana brings to our attention an area often neglected by historians of the Spanish borderlands. It is, as Professor Nasatir so ably recounts, the region in which the Spaniards made their last stand against the Anglo-Americans.

*University of West Florida*

WILLIAM S. COKER

*The Papers of John C. Calhoun, Volume IX, 1824-1825.* Edited by W. Edwin Hemphill. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1976. lxiii, 692 pp. Preface, introduction, notes, symbols, bibliography, index. \$27.50.)

Calhoun's effectiveness as the administrator of the War Department and its multifarious activities is convincingly demon-

strated in this the ninth volume of his collected papers. Only a few of the approximately 1,600 documents, judiciously selected from a much larger number that have been transcribed or abstracted by the editor and his associates, were personally attended to by the secretary. No need existed for him to do so. The policies and procedures had been so clearly established, as evidenced by the materials contained in earlier volumes, that the subordinate officers in charge of the separate bureaus could decide with authority almost all of the questions from the field.

The period covered, April 1, 1824, to March 3, 1825, was the final year of James Monroe's administration during which little was initiated. It was a year of waiting in which the center of interest was the presidential campaign. Calhoun, himself, was no longer a participant. His effort to gain the presidency had ended in March 1824, when the Pennsylvania convention of the Republican party had unexpectedly nominated Andrew Jackson as its presidential candidate and Calhoun for the vice-presidency.

He accepted this decision with good grace and remained neutral between Jackson and John Quincy Adams throughout the campaign. He assured his supporters that it did not matter which of these two nationalistic candidates won just so long as William H. Crawford and the radical state rights Republicans were defeated, and he remained in the race largely to insure that if Crawford should happen to be elected Calhoun would be in a position to lead the opposition to the radical proposals.

Calhoun took little part in the campaign. If he wrote any letters they have not been preserved, and the principal source for his actions during this momentous year is the jaundiced comments in Adams's diary. This volume of his papers, as a result, contains little of major interest either for the history of the country or for his biography. The next one should be different.

*University of Oregon*

THOMAS P. GOVAN

*Urban Slavery in the American South, 1820-1860: A Quantitative History.* By Claudia Dale Goldin. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1976. xvi, 168 pp. Preface, introduction, figures, tables, epilogue, appendix, bibliography, index. \$12.95.)

This monograph began as a research paper, was expanded into a dissertation, and parts of it were published in *Race and Slavery in the Western Hemisphere: Quantitative Studies* (Princeton, 1975). Goldin's primary purpose was to employ quantitative methodology to explain the decline in urban slavery. The first four of six chapters contain her interpretation of the literature examining urban slavery, chapter five presents her econometric model, and the last chapter contains her conclusions.

Goldin's oversimplified and slightly distorted summation of urban slavery literature led her to conclude that previous writers considered slavery incompatible with urban conditions. Launching her attack on this straw man she complained that neither the proposition that urban factors "pushed" slavery from the cities, nor that rural factors "pulled" slaves from the cities provided a precise economic mechanism to explain fully the changes within urban slavery. She posited a third view: "because of a highly elastic demand for their services, urban slaves would have been sold from the cities . . . even if the demand for their services had been increasing at a rate *greater* than that for rural areas" (p. 9). Elasticity of demand was defined as measuring "the responsiveness of changes in quantity demanded to changes in price" (p. 9, n).

Using the econometric technique of ordinary least squares regression analysis, and data collected from census records of ten cities between 1820 and 1860, Goldin found the elasticity of demand for rural areas to be .05, while that for the cities was considerably higher at .86 (pp. 104-5). She concluded from these findings that the low rural elasticity "indicates that there were few substitutes for slave labor in agriculture." The higher urban demand elasticity "suggests that there were more and closer substitutes for slaves in urban activities" (p. 125). Urban white workers replaced part of the slave labor force, especially in the border state cities. She supported a "pull" interpretation with the conclusion that "exogenous forces" of slave price changes which

were "determined far more by rural than urban factors . . . explain to a large degree the urban slave oscillation" (p. 115). The relationships between demand, price, and quantity, rather than inimical conditions peculiar to urban areas, explain the observed decline in the number of urban slaves. While reaching these conclusions, Goldin cautiously maintained that changing slave population in the cities exhibited certain characteristics: older slaves, especially women, remained in the cities; a large population of older females also explains the smaller number of young slaves: skilled slaves were retained in the urban areas, while the unskilled males were absorbed by rural demands.

Humanistic historians will not be satisfied with Goldin's presentation for she used only data that could be quantified, and emphatically stated that because the changes in urban slave labor could be rationalized from her model "one need not look to changing social and political factors in the cities" (p. 115). She relies too heavily on the findings presented by Robert Fogel and Stanley Engerman in *Time on the Cross*, and often lacks perspective as illustrated by her statement that "for reasons which are not yet entirely clear, free labor could not be mobilized for large-scale gang labor on farms at a wage rate competitive with the shadow price on slaves" (p. 105). In chapter five, Goldin presented her model for two levels of readers: one for those uninitiated in the mysteries of the cliometricians, and a second for the initiated. The first, though slightly patronizing, was well done, but was it necessary to present the second and more detailed explanation?

Even with its shortcomings, Goldin's study of urban slavery between 1820 and 1860 adds a new dimension and presents information that is otherwise lacking.

*The University of Mississippi*

HARRY P. OWENS

*Slaves and Freedmen in Civil War Louisiana.* By C. Peter Ripley. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1976. xii, 237 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, notes, an essay on sources, bibliography, index. \$10.95.)

*Black Legislators in Louisiana During Reconstruction.* By Charles Vincent. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press,

1976. xv, 262 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, notes, illustrations, appendices, bibliography, index. \$15.00.)

On an early spring day in 1865, a large group of blacks gathered at Economy Hall in New Orleans to hear a speech by Captain James H. Ingraham, a Mississippi-born black man, a former company commander in the Louisiana Corps d'Afrique, and a Union hero of the Port Hudson campaign. Ingraham delivered a bitter attack on the wartime Federal labor policy which was forcing thousands of Louisiana freedmen to put in long hours of plantation work with very scant compensation. The plantation labor system was "disguised slavery," Ingraham charged, and it had led to undisguised brutality and exploitation of black workers throughout rural areas of the state. "The defenders of such a system are not the friends we intend to have," he continued. "No system of gradual elevation is needed to make us men" (Vincent, pp. 35-36).

Ingraham's demand for an end to exploitation and for a recognition of black manhood went to the heart of the tragedy of black Reconstruction in Louisiana and throughout the South. No matter what Ingraham thought of the Federal officials and the policies they administered, he and the millions of other blacks living in the former Confederate states had no one else to whom they could turn in their efforts to obtain justice and economic independence. And yet, as these two excellent books make clear, those officials and their black social and economic policies failed time after time to meet the most elementary standards of fairness and equality, despite overwhelming evidence that blacks and their political leaders were willing to be moderate in their demands and responsible in exercising their newly-acquired citizenship.

C. Peter Ripley's solid monograph on slaves and freedmen in wartime Louisiana convincingly demonstrates the importance of that state in the evolution of Federal policy toward black Southerners. The Union effort to restore the plantation economy in Federally-occupied areas, a move launched in 1862 under the direction of the army's Bureau of Negro Labor, forced blacks to work under strict discipline at minimal wages and led, as Captain Ingraham correctly charged in 1865, to widespread suffering among black agricultural laborers and their families. "Increasingly, Federal regulations governing the labor force resembled a

throwback to the slave codes and a preview of the black codes," Ripley notes (p. 58), and when the Freedmen's Bureau entered Louisiana in 1865 it simply took over the policies and duties which the Bureau of Negro Labor had been carrying out for the past three years. Officials of the Federal and the Unionist state governments made no effort to provide ways by which blacks could acquire land and agricultural capital, a refusal Ripley quite properly labels "the greatest failure of Reconstruction" since it deprived blacks of the economic means which might have enabled them to protect their political and personal rights (p. 195). In the opinion of this reviewer, Ripley is also correct when he calls wartime Louisiana the true "Rehearsal for Reconstruction" in the South (p. 3). His final summary outlines the sad dimensions of that rehearsal (p. 201): "Of the issues critical to the freedmen-freedom and family security, land and economic security, suffrage and equality before the law, education and social justice—only in emancipation and education did Federal actions even approximate black aspirations."

Charles Vincent's first-rate study of Louisiana's black political leadership in the postwar era carries the drama of Reconstruction forward to 1877, but the story remains largely unchanged. Black demands during the constitutional convention of 1867 "were not of a revolutionary character," Vincent observes, and they "envisaged no radical change in the structure of Louisiana's economic life or government" (p. 65). These convention demands centered around universal suffrage, free public education, and expanded state charitable programs. Negro delegates to the convention, like their successors in subsequent sessions of the Louisiana legislature, were for the most part native-born Louisianians with good educations, military service, business experience, property ownership, and wartime political activity behind them. A number were of African-French parentage and had been members of the elite free Negro population in antebellum Louisiana. Many of the black convention delegates went on to seats in the state legislature, where they added issues to their agenda like a basic civil rights law, guarantees that planters would actually pay the wages of their workers, and a state program to help blacks acquire agricultural land.

The land program, the key to black economic, social, and political independence in the state, never materialized. With



whites in a clear majority in every session of the Reconstruction house and senate and chairing most of the important legislative committees, major land reform had no more chance in postwar Louisiana than it had had during the war. Vincent admits black participation in some of the graft and corruption that plagued Louisiana politics then, as it does now, but his assessment of the performance of the state's black Reconstruction leaders balances this factor against the other obstacles they encountered in trying to enact their program (pp. 224-25): "If they failed to achieve all their goals, and they did fail on many fronts, it was not always because of their ineptitude or ignorance. They failed essentially because they could not surmount the opposition of white racism and the somewhat costly extravagance accompanying many legislative acts." In this listing, white racism would seem to deserve added emphasis. Both of these fine volumes point toward this disillusioning but historically accurate conclusion. During fifteen years of military and civilian Reconstruction in Louisiana, Federal officials, successive Republican state governments, and the vast majority of white Louisianians largely ignored the simple but eloquent plea of a black petition drafted at New Orleans in 1863 (Vincent, p. 20): "We are men, treat us as such."

*University of Missouri-Columbia*

CHARLES B. DEW

*The Booker T. Washington Papers, Volume 5, 1899-1900.* Edited by Louis R. Harlan, Raymond W. Smock, and Barbara S. Kraft. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1976. xxviii, 747 pp. Introduction, chronology, symbols and abbreviations, notes, bibliography, index. \$17.50.)

This volume of Booker T. Washington Papers covers the period from January 1, 1899, to Christmas eve 1900. They reflect the emergence of the national black figure of Booker T. Washington in much clearer focus. Tuskegee by 1900 seemed to be fading somewhat into the background. This was a vital period in the history of American Negroes, and especially for those who lived in the South. Washington and his co-laborers realized that whatever genuine progress was made in the field of racial advancement had to be made in the southern region. Nevertheless the

problems of advancing the race's social, economic, and political causes had to be made throughout the nation, and with political understanding, tact, some manipulations, and a great deal of carefully nurtured support. A good example was the drive in behalf of the Crumpacker Bill.

Basically Washington was guided in this modern drive for Negro advancement by his fundamental philosophy of raising his race's economic and intellectual standards through processes of education which included social and moral responsibilities. Maybe, because of this, his hand never showed clearly in an aggressive way in the various activities which went on about him. In only one movement did he assert a positive leadership and that was in attempts to organize a National Negro Business League in which the Negro could exert an influence on American life comparable to that exercised by the national business leadership itself.

The issues of the period around the turn of the century fell into three or four categories. There was ever the matter of political participation in the American democratic process. Possibly more urgent at the moment was the checking of the brutal crime of lynching. The South was in a disgraceful moment of fiendish human butchery. There had just occurred one of the most horrible of all lynchings, that of Sam Hose in Palmetto, Georgia. This incident horrified people everywhere, and the southern press was filled with accounts of it. There were also unusually strong regional editorial protests against the Hose crime in particular and the crime of lynching in general.

The Court had ruled in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, but Washington and his supporters struggled against this form of Jim Crowism, and evidence of this shows up in the papers. In these years the southern states were revising their Reconstruction constitutions and this fact had significant bearing on the southern Negro's political future. The notation pertaining to the revision of the Louisiana constitution is contained in *The Future of the American Negro*, and reflects a realization of the importance of the issue. Finally there was the matter of public schooling for blacks and the betterment of their general plight in southern society.

This volume contains letters from a surprisingly large list of correspondents, and the editors say they have either abstracted or left out others. Those from Timothy Thomas Fortune and Em-

mett Jay Scott are among the most revealing. Certainly those of Fortune are important because he was in many respects the guiding spirit if not the alter ego in Washington's national moves for racial advancement. He was more open in his approaches to issues of the times.

In the perspectives of the present moment there are at least two surprising notes from Washington to Charles G. Harris, Tuskegee professor. Washington asked Harris to give consideration to the singing of more plantation songs, specifically *My Old Kentucky Home* and *Suwanee River*. He wanted the choir enlarged and the chapel singing enlivened.

On February 7, 1900, Lord James Bryce addressed a reply to a letter from Washington which was printed in the *Washington Colored American*. Though brief in content, Bryce sanctioned Washington's economic, social, and moral views of building slowly from the ground up. These conformed with the content of an earlier conversation Washington had with Bryce.

Reproduced in this volume is the *Future of the American Negro*, published originally by Small, Maynard & Company in 1899. As in earlier volumes there are included speeches and essays. There are some fascinating glimpses of affairs in Tuskegee, especially relating to disciplinary and staff problems. These papers are well edited, judiciously selected, and are historically significant. The inner doubts, frustrations, and ambitions of racial leaders in this era are often revealed. There are also reflected many subtleties of racial leadership in the face of what could be accomplished practically in an American society caught up in the flux of social uncertainties and bitter partisan political pressures.

The central figure, Booker T. Washington, comes into full view as the transformed national Negro leader who emerged from the famous Atlanta experiences of compromise and eloquent spokesman. He began to take on more and more the coloration of the national reform movement, and, paradoxically, of the American business community.

The name of Raymond W. Smock appears on this title page as editor. This volume was largely assembled by Mr. Smock as a doctoral dissertation, and a creditable piece of work it is.

*The Transformation of Southern Politics: Social Change and Political Consequence Since 1945.* By Jack Bass and Walter DeVries. (New York: Basic Books, 1976. xi, 527 pages. Appendices, maps, tables, bibliographic essay, index. \$15.95.)

For those who desire encyclopedic, accurate information written with verve about the monumental changes in southern life in the past generation, this is the volume to study and keep close at hand. As is normal with journalists and political scientists the two authors begin from the solid base of V. O. Key's *Southern Politics*, defining the region as the eleven Confederate states, and including the results of more than 350 lengthy interviews and about 100 pages of maps and graphs of demographic and voting patterns.

Aside from a detailed and authoritative examination of the state of each state, this worthy volume almost overwhelms the reader with the recent impact of organized labor, black politics, Republicanism, women and minorities, reapportionment, and the (mainly federal) judiciary. Trends in the politics of transition include everything from changes in campaign financing to shifts in southern power in Congress. The causes of the suppression of grievances of the poor, as expressed by Key (the one-party system, disfranchisement, exclusion of blacks, malapportionment of state legislatures), all shaped by the tragic, mythic past, have been rapidly disappearing, along with perhaps the historical identity of the South itself. This is the "story of the greatest change in American politics," largely imposed from the outside, and encompassing a social revolution, the failure of a southern strategy, and enormous migrations of people in developing economies. Such change has encouraged the abandonment of the family farm, the sense of place, and Anglo-Saxon fundamentalism. Blacks are no longer objects but have become participants.

The knowledgeable reader can probably guess the states described under such headings as: "the progressive myth," "government in the sunshine," "the politics of consensus," "genuine two-party politics," "out of the past," "still the politics of economics," as well as the simplistic "legacy of the Longs," "out of the Byrd cage," and "the Wallace freeze." One of the great mistakes of crusaders anxious to revolutionize the South has been the assump-

tion that the region has ever been a unit in anything except past adherence to white supremacy.

Except for support from mountainous areas, Republicanism has come on strongly as the party of racial and economic conservatism and is not doing well. The old combination of southern Democrats and northern Republicans has lapsed as Democrats from the South approach national norms; for instance, two thirds of the Dixie Democrats in 1975 favored the extension of the Voting Rights Act. The federal crusade for integration ended with Nixon. The new governors are moderate, not liberal. Southern per capita income has increased from seventy-three per cent (of the national) in 1950 to eighty-eight per cent in 1974. Though massive unionization is yet to come, trends favor growth of organized labor and its influence in politics (in spite of a deficient press).

There is no space here for a review of the balkanized divisions of the South. Suffice it to say that the investigators come away from their extensive research and writing with a cautious optimism. The constant since World War II has been *change*, in economics, society, and politics. Demagogues have disappeared. The region has moved fast in the direction of political modernization and moderation. Opposition to civil rights no longer holds Southerners in Congress together. A major obstruction to social legislation is gone. The ferment regarding women rises. There are still, of course, lingering problems of poverty, residual racial attitudes, unequal standards of justice, regressive tax structures, and insufficient political participation. But the total record of the past generation in the South surpasses anything since the days of the Founding Fathers, and Bass and DeVries have delineated that story superbly.

*University of South Florida*

JAMES W. SILVER

*The Southeastern Indians.* By Charles Hudson. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1976. xiii, 573 pp. Preface; orthographic note, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$23.50.)

As a comprehensive, scholarly work, Hudson's social history of

the southeastern aboriginal peoples is excellent. As the story of the origins, way of life, and demise of the native peoples of the Southeast United States, Hudson's volume is monumental. For the first time scholars and lay readers alike have a readable, excellently footnoted synthesis of archeological, ethnological, and historical materials relating to the southeastern native peoples. *The Southeastern Indians* will be the standard reference for students, librarians, museologists, social scientists, and all other interested persons for many years to come.

Following an introductory chapter which examines the peoples of the Southeast, their environment, languages, and physical anthropology, the author relates the culture history of the area from Paleo-Indian times (at least 11,500 years ago) until the early historic period. This overview, based on archeological evidence, incorporates many new ideas and data from the last decade that have not been widely dispersed beyond the level of the specialist. Many readers will be surprised to learn of an "Eastern Agricultural Complex" based on cultivation of indigenous plants -sunflower, chenopodium, sumpweed, and others-which appeared in the Southeast and Midwest as early as 2600 B.C. and was present before maize, the bottle gourd, and squash diffused into the region from elsewhere in the New World.

Hudson also presents concise and informative summaries of little-known, but important southeastern culture history phenomena such as the Poverty Point culture (1300 B.C. to 200 B.C.), an anomalous culture centered in Louisiana but reaching even into Florida, and the Gulf tradition (A.D. 500 to the historic period), a way of life widespread in the Southeast and best represented by the Florida Weeden Island culture. Readers will appreciate these summaries for the clarity of the information they contain.

The archeological chapter also presents an interpretive synthesis of the Mississippian cultural tradition characterized by the most complex New World societies north of Mexico. After about A.D. 1000, Mississippian peoples in the Southeast, including northern Florida, occupied large towns with fortifications, plazas, and extensive civic and ceremonial buildings, many built on earthen platforms. One such town, Moundville in Alabama, contains twenty building platforms and covers 300 acres. Most Americans have little knowledge of these complex developments.

Concluding the chapter is a description of early European explorations in the Southeast. The account of the de Soto entrada is, in this reviewer's opinion, the best interpretive description available.

Following the introductory chapters Hudson skillfully weaves together studies of Southeast Indian belief systems, social organization, subsistence, ceremonies, and art, music, and recreation. These data cover the period following the prehistoric Mississippian cultures and prior to widespread European colonization. Rather than focusing on different groups, such as the Creeks, Choctaw, Cherokee, etc., the chapters integrate information from various sources to form a cogent synthesis of the Southeastern Indians as a single group of related peoples.

By presenting the belief system chapter first, the author enables us to understand how the aborigines viewed themselves, their society, and the world around them. Ceremonies, residence patterns, "superstitions," and other traits viewed by whites as quaint or irrational become parts of an integrated, functional, and rational whole when interpreted through the Indians' belief system. This chapter also ties in archeologically-recovered objects and design motifs with myths collected from the Indians during post-contact times. The result is fascinating and extraordinarily informative. Anyone who wishes to understand almost any aspect of southeastern Indian culture will find it pertinent reading.

Similarly, Hudson's discussion of social organization will bring meaning to anthropologists, historians, and others who, for example, wish to study the socio-political framework operative behind settlement patterning or to discover how various social and political groups might be represented at a treaty-signing. The brief discussion of Natchez Indian social organization, the most misunderstood topic in southeastern Indian studies, is clarified in the context of Hudson's discussion and will cause many teachers to revise class notes.

The remainder of the book is similarly filled with a myriad of information on various aspects of Indian culture interspersed with tidbits and facts intended to increase our understanding of the aboriginal way of life as compared to our own. For instance, Hudson cites James Mooney's study of Cherokee herbs which showed twenty-five per cent were used in the same manner as modern medicine. Another fifteen per cent had uncertain medical

benefits, and sixty per cent had no known curative properties. The author contrasts these statistics with a recent United States Food and Drug Administration study of 2,000 patent medicines available in drug stores which showed that thirty-nine per cent were effective medicines and only twenty per cent actually fulfilled their advertised claims.

Hudson notes that Southeast Indian culture was the result of at least eleven millenia of cultural evolution. When the Europeans arrived, the aborigines were living in harmony with their natural environment; they had evolved very successful adjustments to their world. Today, as we mine the last of our fossil fuels from the earth and die at alarming rates from cancers and heart disease, one can only feel that perhaps Charles Hudson and the Southeast Indian have a lot more knowledge than they have been given credit for.

The concluding chapter examines the fate of the Southeast Indians as a result of European settlement. Hudson documents the history of the Indians during the colonial period, Indian removal, and the period from removal until the present day. As he points out, if we wish to understand the Old South and what it is today, we must understand the history of Indian-white relations and the role of the Indians in the shaping of our present culture.

The price of *The Southeastern Indians*, \$23.50, is not out of line with today's prices. And for the quality of the book, it is almost a bargain. Not only is the volume well-written and informative, but it is beautifully produced, more than amply illustrated, and it is well-bound. I read my copy through twice, mostly by various swimming pools, by the ocean, and on several plane trips; the book held up admirably.

In the past, there have been few popularly-written but factually truthful studies of the southeastern Indians. It is almost as though our guilt about the fate of these people has caused us to try and forget. I believe that this volume will serve as a milestone, stimulating more long-needed publications. Hudson has done a great service, both to his readers and to the southeastern Indians.

*University of Florida*

JERALD T. MILANICH



*American Folklife*. Edited by Don Yoder. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1976. viii, 304 pp. Preface, notes, bibliography, illustrations, tables, graphs, notes on the contributors, index. \$16.95.)

This is a collection of twelve scholarly essays, some newly-written, others reprinted. The purpose of the volume is to introduce the folklife studies approach to American readers. In his introductory essay editor Don Yoder describes folklife studies as a "holistic approach that analyzes traditional cultural elements in a complex society," an outgrowth of the European discipline of regional ethnology. As Yoder points out, there is little consensus about definitions, but folklife studies in the United States have generally dealt with a broader spectrum of culture than folklore studies, which have focused principally on the spoken and musical dimensions of traditional culture. Folklife studies include these areas but also encompass custom and material culture.

This broad range of inquiry brings folklife studies across the boundaries of other disciplines. These shared interests are reflected in the essays of anthropologist Ward H. Goodenough, cultural geographer Fred B. Kniffen, architectural historian James Marston Fitch, and cinematographer Leslie P. Greenhill. Their essays complement Yoder's by introducing and defining specialized topics in folklife studies along with descriptions of appropriate methods of research for each. Kniffen's "American Cultural Geography and Folklife" is particularly useful in this respect.

The area of scholarship which this book ably introduces can be of value to the historian. Most folklife studies have a historical dimension and document topics not easily studied through conventional historical research methods. The firmly regional and cultural dimensions of the approach also contribute to an emphasis upon neglected aspects of history. For example, James L. Evans approaches the topic of his essay, "Ethnic Tensions in the Lower Rio Grande Valley," by first describing the ethnological setting of the region and then interpreting the historical documents in terms of this perspective. David J. Winslow's "Tollgate Lore from Upstate New York" works outward from an architectural feature common to the region's nineteenth-century landscape, showing how the tollgate was the focus of social and economic patterns which remained in the traditions of the region

long after the old turnpikes had vanished. Other articles offer similar perspectives on such diverse topics as Louisiana folk boats, coil basketry in South Carolina, Indiana log houses, German-American New Year customs in the South, and Yoruba ritual in Trinidad.

In these days of hastily-prepared anthologies, this volume is an outstanding example of careful editing. Each article has, in addition to the usual footnotes, a bibliography. There are numerous illustrations-photos, drawings, maps, and charts. In terms of form, it is nicely organized, with ample margins, good paper, and sturdy binding. In terms of content for the social historian, it is an excellent introduction to a useful new historical perspective.

*Memorial University of Newfoundland*      NEIL V. ROSENBERG

#### BOOK NOTES

*Riverside Remembered* by George Hallam is a collection of photographs of one of the most historic and interesting residential suburbs in Jacksonville. The narrative was written by Professor Hallam of Jacksonville University. Riverside had its beginnings when land was purchased there by John Murray Forbes, an affluent New Englander whose ties to Florida dated to the British period. After the great fire of 1901 a building boom developed in Jacksonville, and Riverside became the area where many of the well-to-do and socially prominent families built their homes. Henry J. Klutho designed some of these houses along Riverside Avenue and Park Street, and later in the Avondale section. The house that Klutho did for the Upchurch family on St. Johns Avenue was outstanding. Addison Mizner designed the First Riverside Baptist Church, and it remains as one of his great architectural triumphs. Roy Benjamin designed the Riverside Theatre, and William Williamson of Michigan did the W. W. Cummer residence. But the architect who left the greatest imprint on the area was Mellon C. Greeley; he designed many of the important structures in the area. There is no other section of Jacksonville which has the

charm and beauty of the Riverside-Avondale area, and major efforts are being made to preserve as many of the remaining homes and buildings as possible. *Riverside Remembered* may be ordered from Riverside-Avondale Preservation, 2624 Riverside Avenue, Jacksonville, Florida 32204. It sells for \$8.98.

*Voices From the Countryside* is described in the foreword as a "window upon rural life in Florida about the turn of the last century." Guy Miles, the author-editor, conducted a series of taped interviews in Alachua County over a period of time, and this book contains excerpts from those conversations. He was talking to his friends and neighbors about a variety of things relating to their work and to their families, the everyday activities out of which have emerged meaningful traditions and folkways. There is information about tobacco barns, stump pillars, grits mills, John Deere tractors, grinding cane, serenading newlyweds, and making moonshine. Of special interest is the interview with Louis Nieland, the noted forester. The photographs are by Terry Sherman, a native Floridian, who now lives in the area where Mr. Miles conducted his interviews. *Voices* is published by Banyan Books of Miami, and it sells for \$6.95.

Edwin D. Browning, Sr., the best known authority on the history of Madison County, Florida, has completed the history of the two oldest Baptist churches in the area. The First Baptist Church was organized in 1835 by a group of missionary Baptists. It was originally called Hickstown Baptist Church and was named for an Indian, Tuckose Emathala, who the early settlers called John Hicks. The church was renamed Madison Baptist Church in the 1850s, and it received its present description in 1922. Concord Baptist was established in 1841 as a missionary church, and included among its thirteen charter members were six blacks. Until 1871 blacks and whites held membership in the same church, but the blacks then withdrew to form their own congregation. Mr. Browning is also the author of *The History of the Middle Florida Baptist Association, 1900-1976*, *First Baptist Church, Madison, Florida* and *History of Concord Baptist Church, 1841-1976* each sell for \$3.00. They may be ordered from Mrs. Marjorie Woodard, Box 724, Madison, 32340.

*They All Called It Tropical*, by Charles M. Brookfield and Oliver Griswold, was first published in 1949, and has long been out-of-print. It has recently been republished by the Historical Association of Southern Florida. In Mr. Brookfield's new epilogue, he notes that most of the historic sites of the Everglades, Cape Sable, and the Keys are now protected and are being preserved in the Everglades National Park, as state parks, or as national monuments. The book sells for \$1.95, and is available from Banyan Books, Box 431160, Miami, 33143.

*The Creek Indians and Their Florida Lands* is the published report compiled by James F. Doster of the University of Alabama. The documents that were presented in the Indian claims case against the United States government are also included. These two volumes are part of the American Indian Ethnohistory Series printed by Garland Publishing, Inc., 545 Madison Avenue, New York. All of the material contained in Professor Doster's reports is reliable and is supported by his careful research and the citation of sources. The exhibits which accompany the report were filed with the Indian Claims Commission under Docket 280, and the originals are in the National Archives, Washington. The volumes sell for \$28 each.

*Koreshan Unity Settlement, 1894-1977* is a restoration study report made for the Department of Natural Resources, Florida Division of Recreation and Parks, by G. M. Herbert and I. S. K. Reeves, V. Much of the historical data in this published report has come from the basic research data done by Elliott J. Mackle, Jr., and Howard D. Fine for their master's theses. The Koreshan Unity was a utopian community founded by Cyrus Read Teed in Estero, Florida (near Fort Myers), in 1894. There were a number of buildings erected to provide housing, dining, and working facilities for the men and women who planned to live there. Most of the structures have been demolished, either removed or destroyed during the last eighty years, but some of the more important have survived. Hedwig Michel, president of the Unity, has been instrumental in having much of the property given to the state, and a park was opened there in 1967. The settlement has also been declared a National Historic Site. Many historical photographs are included in the report

which was published by Architects Design Group of Florida, Inc., Winter Park, 32789.

The facsimile edition of Captain Philip Pittman's *The Present State of the European Settlements on the Mississippi*, edited by Robert Rea, was published by the University Presses of Florida in the Bicentennial Floridiana Facsimile Series. Another handsome facsimile of this volume has now been published by Memphis State University Press with an introduction and notes by John Francis McDermott. The Pittman book, first published in London in 1770, is exceedingly rare. For his introduction and notes, Mr. McDermott utilized work that he had done in the archives in Paris. He also examined important collections in the United States and Canada. Lieutenant Pittman, 15th Regiment, based his report on his five years of service in West Florida and the Mississippi Valley. It was one of the first such accounts to be published in English, and according to McDermott, it was "the best in any language to that date." The Pittman facsimile volume, which includes all of the original maps, sells for \$20.

*East Pasco's Heritage* by Eleanor Dunson is a Bicentennial contribution of the First Baptist Church of Dade City. There is a brief history of Florida and the Tampa Bay area, but most of the book consists of sketches of churches, historical events, and the educational and cultural institutions of the area. There are several family memoirs, and the histories of several communities are included. The book sells for \$7.00, and it may be ordered from the First Baptist Church, 417 West Church Avenue, Dade City, Florida 33525.

*Pioneering in the Panhandle* by William James Wells describes many of the historic events that have occurred in West Florida, and tells of the families who have been associated with these events in south Santa Rosa County during the past century. A native Floridian, Mr. Wells has been a teacher and principal since 1917. He now lives in Gulf Breeze. Besides federal census and local records, he conducted personal interviews and checked everything from family bibles to cemetery records to secure historical information. He provides data on several area

families-Axelson, Harvell, Brooks, Duncan, Broxson, Nelson, Tolbert, Condon, Well, and many others. He also includes information on lumbering and turpentine, transportation, post offices and postmasters, education, and several of the early Bay area churches. The book contains historic photographs and an index. It sells for \$5.95, plus postage. Order from the Pensacola Historical Museum, 405 South Adams Street, Pensacola, Florida 32501.

*The Hispanic Presence in Florida: Yesterday and Today, 1513-1976* is a collection of essays edited by Jose Agustin Balseiro, who points out the close relationship that Florida has always had with the Hispanic World, particularly Puerto Rico and Cuba. This political, cultural, and educational relationship begun in 1513 continues to the present. Vicente Murga, R. S. Boggs, William M. Straight, Charles W. Arnade, Carlos Ripoll, Rosa M. Abella, and Antonio Jorge have contributed the essays. It was published by E. A. Seemann Publishing, Inc., Box K, Miami, 33156. The price of the hardcover edition is \$8.95; paperback, \$5.95.

*Uniforms and Weapons in Colonial Florida, 1513-1821* is by Frank Suddeth, Jr., of St. Augustine. The dress of the Spanish soldiers who came into Florida was not consistent. Ponce de Leon's followers could not have been recognized as soldiers except by their personal armaments. They wore helmets shaped like a bowl, and chain mail shirts with reinforcing pieces of iron plate to protect the chest, back, and thighs. These Spaniards who first came to the Caribbean and Florida were likely the most heavily armoured group ever to arrive in the New World. The officers carried round metal shields, while other personnel wore shields made of leather shaped like an apple. Mr. Suddeth's pamphlet contains valuable information and a number of color illustrations. It sells for \$1.50 and can be ordered through the British Shop, St. Augustine, Florida 32084. Mr. Suddeth has also designed and printed a series of color postal cards which depict Spanish officers at the Castillo de San Marcos.

*Everglades National Park* is a children's book written by Ruth Radlauer. The photographs, all in color, are by Rolf

Zillmer. Animals, reptiles, insects, birds, and vegetation native to the Glades area are the subjects covered in this attractive book. It is an Elk Grove Book, published by Children's Press of Chicago. The price is \$3.95.

*Stranahan's People* was compiled and published by the students of Stranahan High School of Fort Lauderdale, under the supervision of Boyd Ogle and Wally Korb. All of the oral history interviews were taped, edited, and transcribed by members of the class. They delve into many aspects of Broward County history. There are also many historical photographs and an attractive book cover. The price is \$4.50, including mailing. Order from Mr. Ogle, Stranahan High School, 1500 S.W. 5th Place, Fort Lauderdale, 33313.

*Florida Indians: Noble Redmen of the South*, by Edith Ridenour Lawson, was written mainly for children, but it has information for anyone interested in the Seminole. Mrs. Lawson, who lives in Dunedin, is planning a continuing series of books about Florida. The story of Florida's Indians began thousands of years ago when they survived as hunters and fishers. Later they adapted to an agricultural economy, and by the sixteenth century, corn and other vegetable crops provided a major source of food for the Indians-Timucua, Ais, Apalachee, Tequesta, Calusa-that were then living in Florida. The coming of the Spanish led to the decline of these peoples; they were replaced by migrating Indians who became the Seminole. The illustrations are by Mike M. Skeggs. Published by Valkyrie Press, 2135 1st Avenue South, St. Petersburg, 33712, *Florida Indians* sells for \$4.95.

*From \$2,512.00 to a Billion Plus*, by August Burghard, is the intriguing story of the First Federal Savings and Loan Association of Broward County. Organized in 1933, First Federal was a child of the Depression. It took brave souls indeed to get it organized so quickly after the collapse of the Florida Boom in 1926 and the stock market collapse of 1929. Only one bank in Broward County survived the debacle. A lending institution was vital to Fort Lauderdale and the area so that people could borrow money to buy and build homes. Mr. Burghard, the best

known chronicler of Broward's history, has assembled a collection of pictures and has interwoven them with an interesting narrative. His book is a contribution to community history. It was published by Wade-Brook House, Box 11072, Fort Lauderdale, 33339.

*Indians on the Savannah River* presents a brief history of the various Indian groups who were living in what is now the southeastern part of the United States, including parts of northeast Florida, at the time of European contact. These include the Shawnees, Yamassees, Apalachees, Apalachicolas, Chickasaws, Catawbas, Cherokees, Yamacraws, and Yuchis. There is historical material in this pamphlet also on the Upper and Lower Creeks. Dickson Hollingsworth is the author, and the booklet was published by Pond Press, Box 10, Sylvania, Georgia. The price is \$3.50.

*Bibliographical Guide to the History of Indian-White Relations in the United States* by Francis Paul Prucha was published for the Center for the History of the American Indian, Newberry Library, Chicago. It lists major guides, other reference works, books, articles, and published works relating to many aspects of Indian affairs. The bibliography is classified according to subject. There are references to the Indians of the South and Southeast, including Cherokees, Chickasaws, Choctaws, Creeks, Lumbees, and Seminoles. Articles on the Florida Seminoles which have appeared in the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, *Florida Anthropologist*, and *Tequesta* are listed. A detailed index adds to the value of this work. Published by the University of Chicago Press, the paperback edition sells for \$6.95.

*The Forgotten Government: County Commissioners as Policy Makers* by Vincent L. Marando and Robert D. Thomas is based upon a survey of 253 Florida and Georgia commissioners. Each filled out a questionnaire responding to public problems: regulations, public utilities services, social and remedial services, economic development, and governmental-administrative measures. Florida's rapid growth has caused the counties to change both their structures and philosophies, and this study attempts to show the impact that county commissioners are having



on those issues. Published by the University Presses of Florida, Gainesville, the book sells for \$8.50.

*Lord of the Land* by Dana L. Thomas is the history of some of the great fortunes that have been made in America from real estate. A chapter on Florida has been included, with the title, "Florida, A Scandal in the Sunshine: 'You Can Go Nuts on the Land.'" Robert McCormick of the Harvester fortune was one of the earliest speculators to become enamored of Florida. He bought land and built a winter home on Lake Worth. But it was Henry M. Flagler, John D. Rockefeller's partner in Standard Oil, who developed this area into one of the world's best known resorts, Palm Beach. Other celebrities who speculated in Florida real estate during the 1920s were George Merrick of Coral Gables; D. P. Davis of Davis Island, Tampa; Carl Fisher, sometimes called the Father of Miami Beach; and the Stockton family of Jacksonville. Speculation, which began soon after World War I by a handful of very wealthy men, became a national epidemic by 1925 when almost everyone was convinced that they could get rich simply by buying property in Florida. In fact, all you needed was a down payment as a "binder." Newspapers and magazines wrote about the people who were becoming overnight millionaires, and everyone wanted to jump on the land-deals bandwagon. Even William Jennings Bryan, former Secretary of State and perennial presidential candidate, began touting Miami lots. Then, even quicker than it began, the boom was over, and Florida land became for a time virtually worthless. But it was not the end. Things began to revive, even in the Depression years of the 1930s, and the post-World War II period saw a resurgence of enthusiasm for Florida real estate. Grove acreage in central Florida was especially appealing both to affluent Americans and foreigners, and the opening of Disney World added fuel to the fire. There seems to be no slackening of interest in Florida land. Published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, *Lord of the Land* sells for \$9.95.

*Biographical Dictionary of the Confederacy* was compiled by John L. Wakelyn, with Frank E. Vandiver serving as advisory editor. In the introductory chapters, the author shows that most of the great men of the antebellum South did not play a leader-

ship role in either the secession movement or the Confederacy. Most of those who were secession leaders became prominent during the 1850s, and many lacked the political experience needed to sustain a major war effort. Wakelyn also found that the men who were the Confederacy's political and military leaders were powerless after 1865. Thus the new South was deprived of the experience that these men had gained during the years of conflict. Several Floridians appear in the biographical section, including James Patton Anderson, James B. Dawkins, J. J. Finley, Evander MacIvor Law, William Wing Loring, Stephen R. Mallory, John M. Martin, Augustus E. Maxwell, John Milton, Edward A. Perry, and Edmund Kirby Smith. *Biographical Dictionary of the Confederacy* was published by Greenwood Press, Westport, Connecticut; it sells for \$29.95.

*Historic Glimpses of St. Simons Island, 1736-1924* was published by the Coastal Georgia Historical Society, Box 1151, St. Simons Island, Georgia 31522. It is a collection of pictures with narrative describing an area whose history has had a major impact on northeast Florida. The book sells for \$2.50.

## HISTORY NEWS

### *Olustee Battlefield*

Olustee is the site of the largest battle fought in Florida during the Civil War, February 20, 1864. There were about 5,000 men fighting on each side, and the battle ended in a tragic loss for the Federals. Casualties were heavy for both armies. The Interpretative Museum at Olustee tells the story of the events leading up to the Battle of Olustee and its aftermath.

The Museum has been recently renovated by the Interpretative Exhibits Department of the Florida Department of Natural Resources. There is a life-size exhibit featuring footsoldiers wearing authentic replica uniforms of the North and South. A lighted map shows the troop movements during the battle. There is also a trail leading onto the battlefield itself with a platform where a visitor can listen to Private Jackson tell his version of the fighting. The Museum is open daily.

### *John C. Pace Library Acquisitions*

The John C. Pace Library, University of West Florida, has acquired the papers of Thomas A. Johnson, chairman of the State Road Department under Governor Holland. This collection is a supplement to the Johnson family papers already accessioned. Added also are the papers of the Rosasco family (long-time West Florida lumber and shipping merchants), Butt Papers (Banks, Shepherd and Alston families), John Boland Papers, Henry Hilton-Green Papers, Jeanie Parker Papers, and the papers of the Northwest Florida Health Planning Council. In addition several rare books have been acquired, and the *Chipley Banner* and *Washington County News* have been microfilmed.

### *Florida Military Collection*

The Florida Military Collection, established in 1973 at the University of Tampa, comprises one of the largest private libraries of books and documents on military subjects in the

Southeast United States. On August 22, 1977, the room housing the collection was dedicated in the Merl Kelce Library. Some 7,500 books are in the collection, and the Library expects to add additional unit histories, documents, and related items pertaining to military and naval history. There are plans to develop an oral history program and to interview retired military personnel of the area. The collection is a joint endeavor of the Suncoast Chapter Association of the United States Army and the University of Tampa. It is accessible to the public for study and inspection.

### *Conferences*

Treasure hunters, archeologists, and environmentalists will meet in Key West for a conference, November 4-5, to discuss areas of conflict and cooperation between commercial salvors and governmental agencies over the safeguarding of the archeological integrity of wreck sites. The event is being co-sponsored by the Committee for the Conference on Florida Historic Wreck Archeology and Florida Atlantic University's Department of Anthropology with a grant from the Florida Endowment for the Humanities. Representatives from federal, state, and local agencies will participate, including the United States Department of the Interior, Florida Department of Archives, History, and Records Management, Smithsonian Institution, Historic Key West Preservation Board, and the Historical Museum of Southern Florida. The conference is free and open to all interested individuals. Registration begins at 12:00 noon on Friday, November 4, at Florida Keys Community College in Key West. Contact Baxter Wood, Treasure Salvors, Inc., Key West (305-294-3336), for accommodation information.

The Division of Archives and History of the North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources and the Stagville Preservation Center will sponsor a course in planning for the preservation of historic buildings, sites, districts, and areas. The sessions will be held in Durham and Winston-Salem, North Carolina, on November 9-16. For further information write C. Greer Suttlemyre, Jr., Department of Cultural Resources, 109 East Jones Street, Raleigh, North Carolina 27611.

The Curators of the University of Missouri and the Department of History, University of Missouri-St. Louis, will sponsor a conference on "The Historical Setting and Contemporary Black-White Relations, 1860-1978," Twenty-four historians of the Reconstruction era will explore the historical setting for contemporary race-relations. The conference will be held in the J. C. Penney Center for Continuing Education, UMSL Campus, February 15-17, 1978. For information write Louis S. Gerteis, Department of History, University of Missouri-St. Louis, St. Louis, Missouri 63121.

Historians of the early national period of American history (approximately 1789-1830) are organizing a group to encourage interest in that period. Tentatively called the Early National Historical Society, the group will hold an organizational meeting at the American Historical Convention in Dallas, Texas, 2:30 p.m., Thursday, December 29, in the Vista Room of the Fairmont Hotel. The group welcomes historians of any topical area-political, economic, social, intellectual, cultural, diplomatic, demographic, military, etc.-which falls within the general chronological period. Persons desiring information should contact James H. Broussard, Room 413, North Senate Avenue, Indianapolis, Indiana 46204.

#### *Publications*

The Broward County Historical Commission is publishing a quarterly, the *Broward Legacy*. It will include articles which document the growth and development of Broward County against the background of Florida and national history. The first issue carried articles on the community of Davie, Mrs. Frank Stranahan and the "Friends of the Seminoles," William Cooley, plume hunting, the *Amphitrite*, John Harvey Grant, county newspapers, Fort Lauderdale House of Refuge, Indians of South Florida, and Jacob Frederick Bunn. For subscription information, write the Commission, Room 800, Broward County Courthouse, Fort Lauderdale, Florida 33301.

The summer 1977 issue of the *Halifax Historical Herald*, published by the Halifax Historical Society, includes articles relating to Volusia County: the World War II WAAC Training

Center, Halifax River bridges, black history, the community of Port Orange, Protestant churches, Grace Episcopal Church, Sugar Mill Gardens, and local family histories. Correspondence concerning contributions to the *Herald* should be addressed to the editor, Box 5051, Daytona Beach, Florida 32018. The Society also operates a museum at 224<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> South Beach Street in Daytona Beach which is open from 1-4 on weekdays.

The July 1977 issue of *South Florida Pioneers* includes historical material relating to Hardee, Polk, DeSoto, Hillsborough, Manatee, Charlotte, and Lee counties. Cemetery records, wills, census, and church and marriage records are included. *South Florida Pioneers* is edited by Richard M. Livingston, Box 166, Fort Ogden, Florida 33842.

The July 1977 issue of *New River News*, published by the Fort Lauderdale Historical Society, printed the "Narrative History in Miniature of the Seminole Indians of Florida" by Mrs. Frank Stranahan and a pictorial salute to the Seminoles by James L. Glenn. The Society helped sponsor the twentieth anniversary celebration of the founding of the Seminole tribe of Florida on August 20, 1977. The Seminole Tribal Historical Society and the Broward County Historical Commission were the other sponsors.

The June 1977 issue of *Update*, published by the Historical Association of Southern Florida, featured articles on Ralph Middleton Munroe, the noted American naturalist, architect, and writer, who lived for many years in Coconut Grove. His home, the Barnacle, is still standing. *The Commodore's Story*, by Ralph Monroe and Vincent Gilpin, originally published in 1930, was reprinted by the Historical Association of Southern Florida in 1966. It sells for \$10.00 for the hardback cover edition; \$5.00 for the paperbound.

*Journal of the Genealogical Society of Okaloosa County, Florida* publishes a variety of genealogical material, marriage licenses, and probate, baptismal, cemetery, and marriage records relating to Santa Rosa, Okaloosa, and Walton counties. Inquiries should be directed to Ruth C. Usrey, 56 Yacht Club Drive, Fort

Walton Beach, Florida 32548. Queries are printed free for members; there is a small charge for non-members.

*Florida Genealogical Journal* is published by the Florida Genealogical Society, Box 18624, Tampa, Florida 33679, with Theodore Lesley as editor. Its most recent issue includes Hillsborough County marriage and census records.

The Genealogical Society of Greater Miami publishes a newsletter which includes genealogical research data relating to Dade County. The June 1977 issue includes census, cemetery, and baptismal records. Address all correspondence to: Genealogical Society, Box 01-1808, Miami, Florida 33132.

To commemorate the founding of the City of Jacksonville, June 15, 1822, and in honor of the Bicentennial, the Jacksonville Historical Society has published postcards of the portrait of President Andrew Jackson by Courtenay Hunt, Orange Park and Jacksonville artist. This portrait was presented to the city in 1967. The cards are available from the Society, Box 6222, Jacksonville, Florida 32205. Send a self-addressed envelope, with twenty-four cents postage on it, plus \$1.00, for ten postcards.

The Military Archives Division of the National Archives and Records Service announces that it has accessioned the records (1935-1937) of the Veterans Administration Investigation Division relating to damages caused by the 1935 hurricane to the Veterans camps in the Florida Keys.

The Southern Genealogist's Exchange Society, Inc., will hold its annual seminar, October 21-22, 1977, in Jacksonville. The site will be the Holiday Inn South, at I-95 and Emerson Road. For information write Marjorie D. Russell, Box 2801, Jacksonville, 32203.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SEVENTY-FIFTH ANNUAL  
MEETING OF THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

1977

PROGRAM

Thursday, May 5

MEETING OF THE OFFICERS AND DIRECTORS  
Ponce de Leon Lodge  
St. Augustine  
8:00 P.M.

Friday, May 6

REGISTRATION: Ponce de Leon Lodge Lobby, 8:30 A.M.

Morning Session - Florida Immigrants and Minorities

Chairperson: Charles Thrift, President Emeritus,  
Florida Southern College

“Colored Town: Miami’s Black Community, 1896-1930,”  
Paul George, *Florida State University*

“Pensacola Creoles, Remnants of a Culture,” Linda K. Ellsworth,  
*Historic Pensacola Preservation Board*

“The Arrival of Immigrant Labor in Ybor City-Tampa,  
1885-1900,”

L. Glenn Westfall, *Hillsborough Community College*

Commentator: George Pozzetta, *University of Florida*

Afternoon Session - *Writing City and County Histories:  
A Symposium*

Chairperson: W. Robert Williams, Director,  
Florida Division of Archives, History, and Records Management  
Tallahassee

Jerrell H. Shofner, *Florida Technological University*, Moderator



Zonira Hunter Tolles, *Keystone Heights*  
Arch Frederic Blakey, *University of Florida*  
Michael G. Schene, *Florida Bicentennial Commission*

Evening Session-Reception, Oldest House

14 St. Francis Street

5:00-6:30 P.M.

Saturday, May 7

Government House Theater

Downtown St. Augustine

10:00 A.M.

Morning Session - *Early Spanish St. Augustine*

Chairperson: Milton D. Jones, Past President of the Society

Following the Menendez Family of Spanish Florida, 1565-1743,"  
Amy Bushnell, *University of Florida*

"St. Augustine 1580: The Research,"

Paul Hoffman and Eugene Lyon, *St. Augustine Restoration, Inc.*

Commentator: Albert Manucy, *St. Augustine*

Luncheon and Business Meeting

Flagler College Dining Room

1:00 P.M.

Invocation: Monsignor James J. Heslin  
*Rector of the Cathedral of St. Augustine*

Chairperson: Jerrell H. Shofner, *President-elect of the Society*

Remarks: Lawrence Lewis, Jr., *St. Augustine Restoration, Inc.*

Business Meeting: Immediately following luncheon

Tour of St. Augustine Historical Sites

3:00-5:30 P.M.

Reception and Annual Banquet

7:00 P.M.

Chairperson: Jerrell H. Shofner  
President-elect of the Society

Invocation: Reverend M. John Bywater,  
Trinity Parish Episcopal Church

Presentation of Awards

Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Prize in Florida History,

Presented by Samuel Proctor to Jerrell H. Shofner,  
*Florida Technological University*

Rembert W. Patrick Memorial Book Award

Presented by Herbert J. Doherty, Jr. to Jerrell H. Shofner

Speaker: Dr. Paul Albury  
President, The Bahamas Historical Society  
Address: "Florida and the Bahamas: The History We Share"

#### MINUTES

In the absence of President Thelma Peters, President-elect Jerrell Shofner called to order the meeting of the board of directors of the Florida Historical Society at 8:30 p.m. on Thursday, May 5, 1977, at the Ponce de Leon Lodge, St. Augustine. The following were present: Luis Arana, William Coker, Lewis Cresse, Linda Ellsworth, Marian Godown, William Goza, Milton D. Jones, Marcia Kanner, Harry Kersey, John Mahon, Randy Nimnicht, Arva M. Parks, Robert Williams, Frederic Winter, and J. Leitch Wright. Also present were Jay B. Dobkin, executive secretary; Margaret Burgess, bookkeeper; and Thomas Greenhaw, editor of the *Florida History Newsletter*. Thelma Peters, Samuel Proctor, and Richmond Barge were absent.

The board approved the minutes of the December 11, 1976, board meeting as they were published in the April 1977 number of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*.

Mr. Jay Dobkin, executive secretary, presented a financial report for the Society showing a net worth of \$55,651.02 as of

March 31, 1977. This net worth statement, however, does not reflect the value of the 3,030 copies of the recently published *Index to the Florida Historical Quarterly*. The Society sold its shares of Affiliated Fund during this past fiscal year. A check for \$90.12 was deposited in the Julian Yonge Publications Fund. Mr. Dobkin reported that over 600 items, including books, letters, negatives, pamphlets, papers, pictures, postcards, and serials had been donated to the Society's collections. Eleven books and 128 issues of journals, including nine past issues of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, were purchased with the income from the Father Jerome Library Fund.

The membership report given by Dr. John Mahon showed an increase of 120 members since last year. The Society's membership as of April 1, 1977, stands at 1,745. Dr. Mahon resigned his position as membership chairman, effective mid-June, since he will be away from Florida this next year. After a discussion of a reduced membership fee for senior citizens, the board voted against setting up this special category. Dr. Shofner thanked Dr. Mahon for his efforts as the Society's membership chairman.

The board voted unanimously to note their thanks and gratitude to Robert Williams, director of the Division of Archives, History and Records Management, Tallahassee, and his staff for their assistance in publishing the *Florida Historical Directory*. Over 200 societies are listed, showing pertinent information concerning staff, activities, and programs. One copy will be supplied free to each society that supplied information for the *Directory*.

Dr. Shofner read Dr. Proctor's prepared report on the activities and status of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. Volume LV contained twenty-four articles; sixty-eight book reviews, including eighteen on Florida; and 100 book notes, with eighty-five dealing with Florida. The *Quarterly* included 529 pages of material and twenty-four pages of illustrations. Forty copies of the *Index* (Vol. 35-53) have been sold as of April 1, 1977.

On the recommendation of Dr. Proctor, the board voted to increase publication of the *Florida Historical Newsletter* from twice to three times per year. Dr. Greenhaw reported that Florida Technological University no longer prints the newsletter, and that he has been very satisfied with the work now being done by E. O. Painter Printing Company of DeLeon Springs. Dr.

Peters had recommended that Dr. Greenhaw be commended for his work with the newsletter.

Mr. Goza reported that the Publication Committee (Goza, Jones, Proctor) recommends reprinting, with a new introduction, a 104-page booklet, *Florida: Its Climate, Productions, and Characteristics* (1885). It was originally printed by the Jacksonville, Tampa, and Key West Railroad. This project is funded by a \$7,500 grant from the Wentworth Foundation. The reprint should be ready for the next annual meeting.

Robert Williams reported that the campaign to save the old Capitol building in Tallahassee is a constantly changing situation. There is still hope that the compromise position of saving the 1923 Capitol building will be accepted during this legislative session. Board members were encouraged to contact their legislators to ask them to support saving the 1923 Capitol.

Arrangements for future Society meetings were discussed, with Mrs. Ellsworth reporting that plans were proceeding in Pensacola to host the group there the first weekend in May 1978. James W. Moody, Jr., director of the Historic Pensacola Preservation Board, will serve as local arrangements chairman. Dr. J. Leitch Wright of Florida State University and Dr. Lucius F. Ellsworth of the University of West Florida have agreed to be program cochairmen. Invitations to meet in West Palm Beach in 1979 and in Orlando/Winter Park in 1980 were discussed and accepted.

Appointment of a new nominating committee was postponed until Dr. Peters could be consulted.

Senator Williams invited members of the board to attend the dedication of the Florida History Museum in the R. A. Gray Building on Friday, May 20, 1977. Following a formal program at 11 a.m. the museum will host an open house for the remainder of the day. Ms. Kanner requested that board members be notified as early as possible of the date for the mid-winter board meeting. Mr. Dobkin called attention to a pamphlet he recently published, *A Non-Professional's Guide to Book Values*, which is free on request. Mr. Winter reported on the progress of re-establishing the Florida History Media Prize. Mr. Winter and Mrs. Godown are contacting several newspaper editors and members of the Florida Press Association to establish criteria

for the prize. An additional report will be made in December 1977.

Dr. Shofner thanked Mr. Arana, Mr. Nimnicht, Dr. Buker, Mr. Goza, and Mr. Cresse, retiring board members, for their valuable service and many contributions to the Florida Historical Society.

It was announced that the following awards will be made at the annual banquet on Saturday evening, May 7, 1977:

Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Prize in Florida History to Dr. Jerrell Shofner for his article, "Custom, Law, and History: The Enduring Influence of Florida's 'Black Code,'" which appeared in the January 1977 issue of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*;

Rembert W. Patrick Memorial Book Award to Dr. Jerrell Shofner for *The History of Jefferson County, Florida*, published by the Jefferson County Historical Society.

The meeting adjourned at 10:30 p.m.

#### *Minutes of the Business Meeting*

The annual business meeting of the Florida Historical Society was called to order by President-elect Jerrell Shofner in the Flagler College dining hall (Ponce de Leon Hotel) at 1:00 p.m. on Saturday, May 7, 1977. Approximately 235 people were present. Following the luncheon, Dr. Michael Gannon introduced Mr. Lawrence Lewis, Jr., who announced plans of St. Augustine Restoration, Inc., to reconstruct the 1580 village on the outdoor theater site in St. Augustine.

Jay B. Dobkin, executive secretary and librarian, gave the financial report for the Society which showed that as of March 31, 1977, there were assets of \$55,651.02. The net worth does not reflect the inventory of the *Florida Historical Quarterly Index* (3,030 copies), which has a retail value of \$37,875. The *Index* to Volumes XXXV-LIII is available for sale from the Society's office, University of South Florida, Tampa.

*The Florida Historical Quarterly*, according to the report made by Dr. Samuel Proctor, editor, compares favorably with

other scholarly and professional journals in the Southeast. This is based upon a comparative study of costs, number of pages, illustrative material, and book reviews. The *Quarterly* has increased in the number of articles and is using more photographs. Dr. Proctor thanked Mr. Dick Johnston of E. O. Painter Printing Company; his editorial committee, composed of Dr. Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., University of Florida; Dr. Michael Gannon, University of Florida; Dr. John Mahon, University of Florida; Dr. Jerrell Shofner, Florida Technological University; Dr. Charlton Tebeau, University of Miami (Emeritus); and Dr. J. Leitch Wright, Florida State University; Miss Elizabeth Alexander and her staff at the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida; Mrs. Margaret Burgess and Jay B. Dobkin of the Society staff; Joan Morris of the State Photographic Archives; the staff of the Division of Archives, History and Records Management and the Florida State Library in Tallahassee; and Stephen Kerber, editorial assistant for the *Quarterly*. Dr. Proctor also recognized Dr. Peter Klingman and Dr. Thomas Graham, former editorial assistants for the *Quarterly*. Mr. William Goza on behalf of the Wentworth Foundation, Inc., presented to Dr. Proctor a check for \$1,000.00 to be used for the *Quarterly*. Mr. Goza explained the goals and objectives of the Foundation.

Dr. Shofner introduced Dr. William R. Adams, director of the Florida American Revolution Bicentennial Commission, who will begin as of July 1, 1977, as director of the Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board.

Dr. Shofner announced that the 1978 annual meeting will be held in Pensacola. Dr. J. Leitch Wright of Florida State University and Dr. Lucius Ellsworth, of the University of West Florida, are program chairmen, and they will welcome ideas and suggestions for the 1978 meeting.

The nominations committee, chaired by Judge James R. Knott of West Palm Beach, presented the following slate for the board of directors:

District 1: Mrs. Nancy Dobson of Tallahassee to replace Mr. Randy Nimnicht of Miami; Mrs. Chris LaRoche of Valparaiso to replace Dr. George Buker of Jacksonville.

District 2: Mrs. Janet S. Matthews of Sarasota to replace Mr. William Goza of Clearwater.

District 4: Mr. O. C. Peterson of Fort Pierce to replace Mr.

Lewis H. Cresse, Jr., of Cocoa Beach.

At-Large: Dr. Overton Ganong of St. Augustine to replace Luis R. Arana of St. Augustine.

There were no nominations from the floor, and the slate as presented was unanimously elected.

The resolutions committee, consisting of Judge James R. Knott and Mr. Goza presented the following resolutions:

BE IT RESOLVED, By the Florida Historical Society, at its seventy-fifth Convention, being held in the City of St. Augustine, where it was founded in 1856, as follows:

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, An expression of sympathy is extended to the President of the Society, Dr. Thelma Peters, in the loss of her mother;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That special thanks are given to Dr. Michael V. Gannon of the University of Florida, and Dr. Thomas S. Graham, Flagler College, program chairmen, for arranging a well-balanced and interesting program;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That a special expression of appreciation is extended to Elizabeth Ehrbar, chairperson, and the executive committee of the Confederation of Florida Historical Societies, the program committee, and the participants for an outstanding workshop session preceding the convention;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That grateful appreciation is extended to the host committee, Dr. Overton G. Ganong of Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board, chairperson, and sponsors, Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board, St. Augustine Restoration Foundation, Inc., The St. Augustine Historical Society, Castillo de San Marcos National Monument, National Park Service, and Flagler College;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That the members of the Florida Historical Society express their sorrow and sense of loss in the deaths of those members who have died since the last annual meeting including:

Adam G. Adams, Coral Gables  
Ripley P. Bullen, Gainesville  
Henry J. Burkhardt, West Palm Beach  
James L. Carlile, Titusville

Calvin Horace Curry, Quincy  
Mrs. Ruby Leach Carson, Miami and Winter Park  
Alfred Holt, Miami  
Dr. Edward Jelks, Jacksonville  
E. B. Loyless, Jr., Jacksonville  
Elam V. Martin, Daytona Beach  
Mrs. Roy V. Ott, Oklawaha  
Ms. Christia M. Owens, Melbourne  
Edwin Pugsley, New Haven, Connecticut

Mr. Goza moved that the resolutions be approved as presented. The motion was passed. He then presented an additional resolution concerning the preservation of the historic State Capitol Building in Tallahassee.

RESOLVED, That the Florida Historical Society, at its seventy-fifth convention, held in the City of its founding in 1856, St. Augustine, hereby unanimously affirms its action of one year ago, in strongly urging the preservation of its most historic state structure, the Capitol in Tallahassee, by basically reducing its size to its 1923 limits;

That a copy of this resolution be given the same distribution as the resolution of May 8, 1976, pertaining to the same subject and also distributed to all the members of the legislature.

The resolution was approved.

The following past presidents of the Florida Historical Society who were present were introduced: William Goza, Dr. Charles Thrift, Dr. Charlton Tebeau, Judge James Knott, Milton Jones, Albert Manucy, and Dr. Herbert J. Doherty, Jr. (Miss Dena Snodgrass, also a past president, was present for the banquet).

Dr. Overton Ganong of St. Augustine, local arrangements chairman, recognized the assistance of Mrs. Hubert Carcaba and Mrs. Thomas Graham for the floral arrangements for the luncheon, and Dr. William Proctor of Flagler College and his staff for allowing the use of the facilities of the College. He then explained arrangements for afternoon tours to the Lightner Museum, San Agustin Antiquo, and the Castillo de San Marcos.

Dr. Shofner announced that the annual banquet was scheduled to be held at the Ponce de Leon Lodge at 7:00 p.m.



that evening, with Dr. Paul Albury, president of the Bahamas Historical Society, as speaker. His topic is "Florida and the Bahamas: The History We Share."

American Association for State and Local History awards will be presented at the banquet to:

American Revolution Bicentennial Commission of Florida, and Samuel Proctor, an Award of Merit for providing a forum for the discussion of Florida's development in the eighteenth century and for the resulting publications,

Mrs. Frederick W. Connolly, Monticello, Florida, an Award of Merit for the many years she has served as the catalyst in inspiring an awareness of Monticello, Florida's rich and colorful history,

Jessie Porter Newton, Key West, Florida, an Award of Merit for more than forty years of dedication to saving, salvaging, preserving, and restoring Key West's architectural heritage,

Lelia Abercrombie, Pensacola, Florida, a Certificate of Commendation for her pioneering efforts to draw attention to the preservation and interpretation of Pensacola's historic heritage,

Pensacola Home And Savings Association and The Appleyard Agency, Pensacola, Florida, a Certificate of Commendation for their series of pamphlets on Pensacola history.

Dr. Charlton Tebeau was presented a lifetime membership to the Society and a plaque in recognition of his service to the Florida Historical Society and to history in Florida. Dr. Karen Singh was also presented a lifetime membership in the Society in appreciation for her work on the *Index* to the *Quarterly*.

The meeting was adjourned at 2:45 p.m.

Respectfully submitted,  
Linda V. Ellsworth  
Recording Secretary

#### GIFTS TO THE SOCIETY

Donations were made to the Father Jerome Book Fund by Mr. and Mrs. DuBois and Mrs. Eunice Mims. The Society was

also the recipient of money from Dr. Thomas Graham, Mrs. Charles Carter, and Alice M. Fitch. The Wentworth Foundation, Inc. made a substantial contribution to the *Florida Historical Quarterly*.

Books, pamphlets, and newspapers were received from the American Foundryman's Society, Warren Green Baird, Thelma Bull, John A. Clegg, William Coker, Clyde C. Council, William Dayton, J. B. Dobkin, Joe S. Earman, the Fort Lauderdale Historical Society, Margaret Zellar, John Geil, Marian Godown, the Hallandale Historical Society, Dr. William C. Haskett, Helen King Hastings, the Iowa State Historical Society, Mildred Kaucher, Orlando Public Library, Anthony P. Pizzo, the St. Lucie Historical Society, the Sentinel Star Company (Orlando), U. S. Department of Agriculture, the University Presses of Florida, the Utah Historical Society, Kyle S. Van Landingham, and Mrs. Ralph Williamson. A number of historical postal cards came from the McHenry County Historical Society and the Waukesha (Wisconsin) County Museum. The St. Augustine Historical Society provided negatives from the Ernest A. Meyer Collection, Pat Provenza donated the L. K. Palmer letter, and there were some 100 original papers from the Quartermaster Corps dated at Fort Dade and Fort Brooke during the Second Seminole War given by S. George Trager. Mrs. Earl Hartman donated as a memorial her sister's library which included 463 books and serials.

#### NEW MEMBERS

April 1, 1976-March 31, 1977

Charles B. Adams, West Palm Beach  
 Ferguson Addison, West Palm Beach  
 Joe A. Akerman, Madison  
 J. H. Alexander, Orange Park  
 Robert E. Alpaugh, Tampa  
 \*\*Richard T. Amon, Temple Terrace  
 Virginia Anderson, West Palm Beach  
 \*\*Mrs. Luis R. Arana, St. Augustine  
 Mr. and Mrs. Lester Archer, Stuart  
 Ivan D. Austin, Fort Lauderdale  
 L. A. Bailey, Clearwater  
 A. Virgil Barnhill, Jr., Plantation  
 Dr. and Mrs. Mark Barrow, Gainesville  
 Mrs. C. Bartemeier, St. Petersburg  
 William E. Beckman, Bal Harbour  
 Eric Beerman, Madrid, Spain  
 Charles D. Benson, Daytona Beach  
 George Berninger, Fernandina Beach

Charles W. Birdsong, Tampa  
 Mrs. Nelson Boice, Miami Beach  
 Robert R. Bowen, Jacksonville  
 Justice Joseph A. Boyd, Tallahassee  
 Ruth Braddock, Miami  
 John Finlay Brady, Orlando  
 David C. Brennan, Orlando  
 \*\*Warren Bridges, Tallahassee  
 Mrs. Hubert Brinson, Port St. Joe  
 Charles E. Brook, Tampa  
 James R. Brookins, Panama City  
 Mrs. Peter Buffone, Miami Shores  
 \*\*John L. Burns, West Palm Beach  
 Mr. and Mrs. C. H. Burrus, Tarpon Springs  
 Mrs. James L. Campbell, Orlando  
 Harold D. Cardwell, Sr., Daytona Beach  
 Mrs. Charles H. Carter, Winter Park  
 J. B. Chamberlain, Winter Park  
 Nancy Chambers, Winter Park  
 Mr. and Mrs. Edward Chapin, Fort Lauderdale  
 Mr. and Mrs. Kenneth Churchwell, Orlando  
 Joe B. Clark, Jr., Jacksonville  
 Mr. and Mrs. Joe B. Clark, Sr., Jacksonville  
 Jerry C. Cobb, Clearwater  
 R. E. Condon, Winter Park  
 Cynthia A. Connelly, Gainesville  
 Barbara R. Cotton, Tallahassee  
 Brian E. Courts, Baton Rouge, La.  
 Mrs. George W. Cox, Fort Myers  
 Mr. and Mrs. Buddy Crevasse, Gainesville  
 James J. Crumbley, Tampa  
 Maureen S. Dinnen, Fort Lauderdale  
 Jessie Smith Doerr, Orlando  
 Audrey H. Dunham, Tallahassee  
 Fred Easley, West Palm Beach  
 Jane Karl Eckert, Fort Myers  
 Juanita E. Edwards, Stuart  
 John C. Engstrom, Tallahassee  
 George P. Evans, Largo  
 Reid Ewing, Winter Park  
 Robin F. A. Fabel, Auburn, Alabama  
 Frank S. Fitzgerald-Bush, Opa-Locka  
 P. B. Frey, Garland, Texas  
 John C. Friend, Tampa  
 Maurice W. Frier, Silver Springs, Maryland  
 Mildred L. Fryman, Tallahassee  
 J. K. Galloway, Winter Park  
 \*\*Gart Urban Associates, Coral Gables  
 Most Reverend Rene H. Gracida, Tallahassee  
 Edward J. Gurney, Winter Park  
 Joseph S. Guernsey, Orlando  
 Edgar G. Hamilton, Riviera Beach  
 Mrs. H. Glen Haney, Gwynedd Valley, Pa.  
 James Hankins, Sarasota  
 William H. Hartsock, Atlanta, Ga.  
 Henry Stephen Harvey, Palm Beach  
 Mrs. Ed. Hawkins, Ft. Pierce  
 Judge Earl R. Hendry, Gatlinburg, Tenn.  
 Glenn Herbert, Orlando  
 Grover C. Herring, West Palm Beach  
 Howell W. Herring, Casselberry

Burton E. Hewett, Sr., Lakeland  
Robert Hittel, Ft. Lauderdale  
Alfred Hole, Miami  
Mr. and Mrs. Paul A. Howe, Sanibel  
Mrs. Richard B. Hunt, Dade City  
Jan H. Johannes, Sr., Hilliard  
Robert E. Johnson, Jacksonville  
Homer M. Jones, Orlando  
Howard B. Jones, San Francisco, Ca.  
M. Katherine Jones, Tallahassee  
Duane Julian, Naples  
Mr. and Mrs. Donald L. Jung, Winter Park  
Edward W. Kallal, Jr., La Grange, Ill.  
Celeste H. Kavanaugh, Bradenton  
Kevin E. Kearney, Tampa  
J. W. Keck, Dunwoody, Ga.  
Kenneth M. Keefe, Jr., Jacksonville  
Mary Jones Keister, Goleta, Ca.  
Wallace A. Kennedy, Tallahassee  
Msgr. Clement Kern, Detroit, Mi.  
Mrs. Jeff H. Knight, Jr., Key West  
Klaus Lampmann, Miami  
Wright Langley, Key West  
James G. Larche, Jr., Fort Lauderdale  
Horace W. Leland, Jr., Archer  
Eugene B. Lenfest, Maitland  
N. J. Lombroia, Miami  
Sister M. Albert Lussier, SSJ, St. Augustine  
Homer Lyon, Jr., Miami  
William McGuire, Princeton, N.J.  
Gordon McHenry, Gainesville  
Frank M. McKeown, Cocoa  
Mrs. William J. McLeod, Coral Gables  
Norton B. McNeal, Ocala  
Richard E. Maltais, Warner Robins, Ga.  
Mrs. Fred K. Marchman, New Port Richey  
Kim B. Mattingly, Cincinnati, Ohio  
Mrs. B. L. Megee, Miami  
Brian E. Michaels, Palatka  
Elwyn L. Middleton, Palm Beach  
Amadeo A. Meitin, North Palm Beach  
Barbara E. Miller, Tallahassee  
Richard F. Miller, Winter Park  
James D. Morgan, Winter Haven  
Mrs. Edwin P. Moure, Pensacola  
Mrs. Frank R. Mudano, Belleair  
Walter S. Mullarky, Tallahassee  
Mr. and Mrs. Robert Murphy, Orlando  
O. C. (John) Neal, Belleair  
Gustave A. Nelson, Clearwater  
Theodore R. Nelson, Miami  
Bruce A. Neuberger, Norwalk, Conn.  
George L. Newberry, Jr., Atlanta, Ga.  
James V. Nix, Orlando  
Mr. and Mrs. David C. Nusbickel, Jr., Jacksonville  
Mr. and Mrs. David C. Nusbickel, Sr., Winter Park  
Kevin J. O'Keefe, DeLand  
Chief Justice Ben F. Overton, Tallahassee  
Madison F. Pacetti, West Palm Beach  
William E. Paul, Salt Lake City, Utah  
George F. Pearce, Pensacola

Robert W. Perkins, Tallahassee  
 Ferguson E. Peters, Fort Lauderdale  
 Curtiss E. Peterson, Tallahassee  
 Susan L. Pickman, Massapequa, N.Y.  
 Glen R. Pierson, Jr., Orlando  
 Jerry Pinkham, Jupiter  
 Gregory R. Plimpton, North Palm Beach  
 Ralph E. Plumb, St. Petersburg  
 Vincent P. Polizatto, Orlando  
 James A. Ponce, Sr., St. Augustine  
 Sam Poore, New Rochelle, N.Y.  
 Eugene W. Potter, West Palm Beach  
 Richard Powell, Fort Myers  
 Gerald E. Poyo, Gainesville  
 Katheryn Proby, Miami  
 E. V. Pugh, Lake Worth  
 Samuel R. Quincey, West Palm Beach  
 Jane Quinn, Orlando  
 Geraldine G. Radencic, Melbourne  
 Edward F. Reddy, Palm Beach  
 I. S. K. Reeves, V, Winter Park  
 Merci Vergne Roncaglione, Opa-Locka  
 O. C. Rose, Jacksonville  
 Colonel and Mrs. LeRoy Sample, Winter Park  
 John A. Scaffidi, Tallahassee  
 Daniel L. Schafer, Jacksonville  
 Gary Robert Scott, Williamsburg, Va., and Carol City  
 Michele Scott, Temple Terrace  
 Jane T. Shelton, Valdosta, Ga.  
 Ben Shepard, Hialeah  
 Harriett Shepard, Hialeah  
 Mrs. Vergil Shipley, Coral Gables  
 Thomas E. Sholts, Atlantis  
 \*\* J. S. Showalter, Winter Park  
 Willard B. Simonds, Gulfport  
 E. Eugene Sitton, Dunedin  
 David Smith, West Palm Beach  
 Edith Smith, Fort Pierce  
 Guy Spicola, Tampa  
 Robert C. Stafford, Miami  
 Ernest N. Stamey, Hialeah  
 \*\*Dr. and Mrs. W. Dean Steward, Marianna  
 Harry W. Stewart, Palm Beach  
 John P. Stewart, Gulf Breeze  
 Norwood R. Strayhorn, Fort Myers  
 Berta S. Stuart, Jensen Beach  
 Major General John K. Sutherland, Winter Park  
 Mr. and Mrs. Norman Synnestvedt, Jupiter  
 Mrs. Louis J. Tatom, Gainesville  
 Harry C. Teague, Largo  
 Regina Johnson Tomlinson, Fort Lauderdale  
 Lewis Tyce, Warrington  
 Mrs. T. Bruce Tyndall, Jacksonville  
 Kyle S. Van Landingham, Fort Pierce  
 Janet M. Verde, Bellebille, Mi.  
 Richard T. Voelkel, Lake Wales  
 William D. Wallace, Clearwater  
 James R. Ward, Jacksonville  
 Ben J. Watkins, Apalachicola  
 James L. Watt, West Palm Beach  
 Bruce A. Weihe, Ft. Lauderdale

- Clara E. Wendel, Orlando  
 Patsy West, Ft. Lauderdale  
 Rev. R. H. Wheatley, Winter Garden  
 Richard E. White, Tallahassee  
 Patricia R. Wickman, St. Augustine  
 Donna Willison, Belleair  
 \*\*Osburn C. Wilson, Winter Park  
 Lori Wilson, Cocoa Beach  
 Martha Wood, St. Petersburg  
 \*\*William Duane Wood, III, St. Petersburg  
 Naaman J. Woodland, Jr., Beaumont, Texas  
 James G. Wright, Jr., Gainesville  
 James Glenn Wright, Palmetto  
 Martin G. Young, Arlington, Va.
- Apopka Historical Society, Apopka  
 Deerfield Beach Historical Society, Deerfield Beach  
 The Glades Historical Society, Belle Glade  
 Halifax Historical Society, Daytona Beach  
 North Hill Preservation Association, Inc., Pensacola  
 The Questers, Fort Myers  
 Sanford Museum Library, Sanford  
 Sarasota County Historical Society, Sarasota  
 Taylor County Historical Society, Perry
- Alfred B. Maclay, Jr., Day School Library, Tallahassee  
 American Senior High School, Hialeah  
 Andrew Jackson Senior High School, Jacksonville  
 Arizona State University, Tempe, Ariz.  
 Arvida Junior High School, Miami  
 Atlanta Public Library 01, Atlanta, Ga.  
 Aucilla Christian Academy Library, Monticello  
 R. L. Brown School, Jacksonville  
 Cardinal Newman High School, West Palm Beach  
 Duncan U. Fletcher Junior High School, Jacksonville  
 Florida Memorial College Library, Miami  
 The Florida State Museum, Gainesville  
 Francis Marion College, Florence, S.C.  
 Fundacion Libreria, Madrid, Spain  
 Gilchrist County Library, Trenton  
 Pinecrest School, I.C.I. Library, Fort Lauderdale  
 Jean Ribault Senior High School, Jacksonville  
 Jefferson Davis Middle School, West Palm Beach  
 Law Library, University of Miami, Coral Gables  
 Phi Alpha Theta, Florida State University, Tallahassee  
 University of California at Riverside, Riverside  
 University of Houston, Victoria Campus Library, Victoria, Texas  
 University of Toledo Library, Toledo, Ohio
- \*Fellow member  
 \*\*Contributing member

## FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

## TREASURER'S REPORT

April 1, 1976-March 31, 1977

|   |              |             |
|---|--------------|-------------|
| Net Worth, April 1, 1976 .....              |              | \$59,265.07 |
| Current Assets:                             |              |             |
| University State Bank (Tampa)               |              |             |
| checking .....                              | \$ 3,893.42  |             |
| University of South Florida                 |              |             |
| Account 91802 .....                         | 39.39        |             |
| First Federal Savings & Loan Assn.          |              |             |
| (Gainesville) .....                         | 15,299.02    |             |
| Guaranty Federal Savings & Loan             |              |             |
| Assn. (Gainesville) .....                   | 3,110.77     |             |
| Tampa Federal Savings & Loan Assn. ....     | 3,988.39     |             |
| University State Bank (Tampa) .....         | 2,185.14     |             |
| Freedom Federal Savings & Loan              |              |             |
| Assn. (Tampa) .....                         | 8,025.67     |             |
| Guaranty Federal Savings & Loan             |              |             |
| Assn. (Gainesville) .....                   | 18,783.22    |             |
| Pennzoil United (thirty shares) .....       | 200.00       |             |
| Middle South Utilities (six shares) .....   | 126.00       |             |
| Bay Rock/Affiliated Fund                    |              |             |
| (10.293 shares) .....                       | -0-          | \$55,651.02 |
| Receipts:                                   |              |             |
| Memberships:                                |              |             |
| Annual .....                                | \$ 10,910.00 |             |
| Fellow .....                                | 1,180.00     |             |
| Historical Societies .....                  | 490.00       |             |
| Contributing .....                          | 350.00       |             |
| Life .....                                  | 350.00       |             |
| Libraries .....                             | 3,925.00     | \$17,205.00 |
| Contributions:                              |              |             |
| Father Jerome Book Fund .....               | 35.00        |             |
| Wentworth Foundation, Inc. ....             | 1,000.00     |             |
| Yonge Publication Fund .....                | 25.00        |             |
| Society General Fund .....                  | 16.00        | \$1,076.00  |
| Other Receipts:                             |              |             |
| Quarterly sales .....                       | \$ 1,135.91  |             |
| Postage .....                               | 28.75        |             |
| Duplicating .....                           | 105.75       |             |
| Annual Meeting (1976) .....                 | 1,796.00     |             |
| Interest:                                   |              |             |
| First Federal .....                         | 1,065.93     |             |
| Guaranty Federal .....                      | 158.92       |             |
| Tampa Federal .....                         | 202.73       |             |
| University State Bank .....                 | 106.13       |             |
| Freedom Federal .....                       | 409.63       |             |
| Transfer of funds to checking:              |              |             |
| Thompson Memorial Fund (Award) .....        | 100.00       |             |
| Tebeau Junior Book Fund (Award) .....       | 100.00       |             |
| Father Jerome Book Fund .....               | 350.82       |             |
| Refund to Executive Secretary Account ..... | 11.00        |             |
| Labels sold .....                           | 40.93        | \$5,612.50  |
| Julian C. Yonge Publication Fund:           |              |             |
| Guaranty Federal interest .....             | 951.52       |             |
| Royalties (University Presses)              |              |             |

|  |             |             |                    |
|--|-------------|-------------|--------------------|
| of Florida) .....  | 41.59       |             |                    |
| Pennzoil United dividends .....                                  | 40.00       |             |                    |
| Middle South Utilities dividends .....                           | 8.01        |             |                    |
| Affiliated Fund dividends .....                                  | 2.62        |             |                    |
| Affiliated Fund sale .....                                       | 90.12       | \$1,133.86  |                    |
|  |             |             | <b>\$25,027.36</b> |
| Disbursements:   |             |             |                    |
| <i>Florida Historical Quarterly</i>                              |             |             |                    |
| Printing and mailing .....                                       | \$13,639.18 |             |                    |
| Mailer labels .....  | 200.93      |             |                    |
| Copyrights .....   | 40.00       |             |                    |
| University of Florida Teaching<br>Resources Center (photographs) | 38.05       |             |                    |
| Editor's expenses .....  | 780.00      |             |                    |
| Stationary and envelopes .....                                   | 51.22       |             |                    |
| P. O. Box rent Gainesville .....                                 | 16.00       |             |                    |
| <i>Index</i> printing,<br>volumes 36-53 (3,030) .....            | 7,216.68    |             |                    |
| <i>Index</i> copyright .....                                     | 6.00        | \$21,988.06 |                    |
| Annual Convention:   |             |             |                    |
| Program and tickets (1976 and 1977) ....                         | \$ 378.39   |             |                    |
| Postage .....  | 36.46       |             |                    |
| Motel (banquet, lunch included) .....                            | 1,472.62    |             |                    |
| Speaker's expenses .....   | 426.00      |             |                    |
| Executive Secretary expense .....                                | 23.10       |             |                    |
| Transfer award funds to checking .....                           | 200.00      |             |                    |
| Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Prize                                | 100.00      |             |                    |
| Rembert W. Patrick Memorial Award                                | 100.00      |             |                    |
| Charlton W. Tebeau Junior Book Award                             | 100.00      | \$2,836.57  |                    |
| Other Expenses:  |             |             |                    |
| Duplicating (xerox and photographs) .....                        | \$ 92.63    |             |                    |
| Postage and telephone .....                                      | 783.48      |             |                    |
| <i>Florida History Newsletter</i> .....                          | 150.00      |             |                    |
| Executive Secretary office expenses .....                        | 646.14      |             |                    |
| Microfilm .....  | 174.72      |             |                    |
| Father Jerome book expenses .....                                | 497.98      |             |                    |
| Corporate tax .....  | 5.00        |             |                    |
| Bookbinding expenses .....                                       | 280.14      |             |                    |
| C.P.A. (income tax preparation) .....                            | 45.00       |             |                    |
| Insurance expenses .....   | 46.00       |             |                    |
| Index expense (Dr. Karen Singh) .....                            | 724.59      |             |                    |
| Transfer to Father Jerome<br>Book Fund expense account .....     | 350.82      |             |                    |
| Loss from Affiliated Fund .....                                  | 20.28       | \$3,816.78  |                    |
|  |             |             | \$28,641.41        |
| Balance, March 31, 1977  |             |             | \$55,651.02        |

On January 24, 1977 Affiliated Fund redeemed the shares owned by the Florida Historical Society. On February 21, 1977, a check for \$90.12 was deposited to the Julien Yonge Publications Fund, and the \$20.28 difference on the books was written off.

The net worth does not reflect the March 31, 1977, inventory of the new *Index* to the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, 3,030 copies with a retail value of \$37,875.00. The cost to the Society was \$8,428.27, an amount reflected in the net worth.



**G**REAT EXPECTATIONS. . . . .

1977

- |            |   |                        |
|------------|---|------------------------|
| Oct. 4-7   | Society of American Archivists                        | Salt Lake City, Utah   |
| Oct. 29-23 | Oral History Association                              | San Diego, California  |
| Nov. 9-12  | Southern Historical Association                       | New Orleans, Louisiana |
| Dec. 10    | Florida Historical Society-Board of Directors Meeting | Tampa                  |
| Dec. 28-30 | American Historical Association                       | Dallas, Texas          |

1978

- |             |  |                       |
|-------------|--|-----------------------|
| April 12-15 | Organization of American Historians                    | New York City         |
| May 4       | Florida Confederation of Historical Societies-Workshop | Pensacola             |
| May 5-6     | FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY - 76th ANNUAL MEETING       | Pensacola             |
| May 27-31   | American Association of Museums                        | Kansas City, Missouri |
| Oct. 5-6    | Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference           | Pensacola             |

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A MEMBERSHIP IN THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY IS AN EXCELLENT GIFT IDEA FOR BIRTHDAYS, GRADUATION, OR FOR ANYONE INTERESTED IN THE RICH AND COLORFUL STORY OF FLORIDA'S PAST.

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Tampa, Florida 33620

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TO

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FROM

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

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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.

