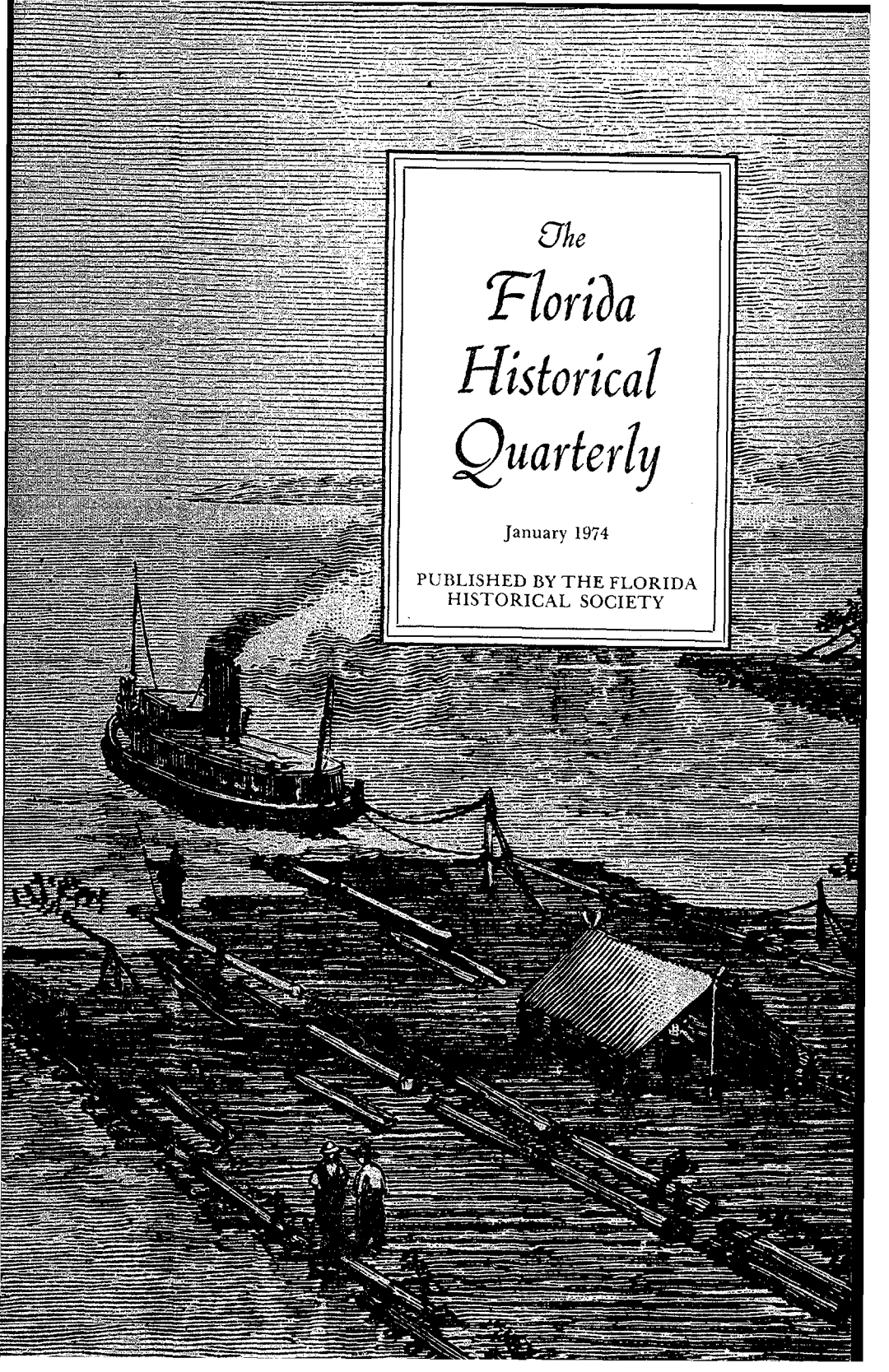


*The  
Florida  
Historical  
Quarterly*

January 1974

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HISTORICAL SOCIETY



## COVER

Faber & Co. was one of the world's largest manufacturers of pencils and pens during the nineteenth century. Red cedar, which grew profusely in Florida in the regions watered by the Withlacoochee, Suwanee, and other rivers emptying into the Gulf of Mexico north and south of Cedar Key, was used for the pencils. The trees were hewn into square logs, somewhat larger than railroad ties, and were taken to Cedar Key in flat-bottomed schooner-rigged droghers. There they were sawn into boards the exact length of the pencil. Approximately 1,000,000 cubic feet of these boards were shipped annually from Cedar Key to the Faber factories in the North and in Europe to be made into pencils and pencil boxes. As a result, Cedar Key was a busy seaport town during the years after the Civil War.

This view of cedar log rafts at Cedar Key appeared in *Harper's Weekly*, May 13, 1882. The artist was Samuel G. W. Benjamin (1837-1914). Born in Greece, he spent the first eighteen years of his life in the Mediterranean area. He was a talented artist, and his sketches of Crimean War battle scenes appeared in the *Illustrated London News*. Much of his life was spent at sea; he made forty-five voyages across the Atlantic in sailing ships. He set great store by his use of whiskey and tobacco, and drank water rarely, sometimes not for months. Benjamin was the first American minister to Persia (1883-1885), and was remembered as "a wily, pertinacious diplomat, quite capable of taking care of himself." Many of his sketches of Florida scenes appeared in national magazines during the 1870s and 1880s.

*The  
Florida  
Historical  
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THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Volume LII, Number 3

January 1974

# THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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The *Quarterly* is interested in articles and documents pertaining to the history of Florida. Sources, style, footnote form, originality of material and interpretation, clarity of thought, and interest of readers are considered. All copy, including footnotes, should be double-spaced. Footnotes should be numbered consecutively in the text and assembled at the end. Particular attention should be given to following the footnote style of the *Quarterly*. The author should submit an original and retain a carbon for security. The Florida Historical Society and Editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* accept no responsibility for statements made by contributors.

# Table of Contents

RAIFORD AND ABERCROMBIE: PENSACOLA'S PREMIER ANTEBELLUM MANUFACTURER	<i>Lucius F. Ellsworth</i>	247
SPANISH-INDIAN RELATIONS IN FLORIDA, 1602-1675: SOME ASPECTS OF SELECTED <i>Visitas</i>	<i>Fred Lamar Pearson, Jr.</i>	261
THE FORBES COMPANY IN SPANISH FLORIDA, 1801-1806	<i>David H. White</i>	274
NOTES AND DOCUMENTS:		
A NEW JERSEY CARPETBAGGER IN RECONSTRUCTION FLORIDA	<i>Jerrell H. Shofner</i>	286
EAST FLORIDA IN 1834: LETTERS OF DR. JOHN DURKEE	<i>W. Stanley Hoole</i>	294
FLORIDA HISTORY RESEARCH IN PROGRESS -----		309
BOOK REVIEWS -----		318
BOOK NOTES -----		344
HISTORY NEWS -----		351

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## BOOK REVIEWS

SLAVERY AND PLANTATION GROWTH IN ANTEBELLUM FLORIDA, 1821-1860, by Julia Floyd Smith

*reviewed by Clifton Paisley*

JOURNEY THROUGH THE OLD EVERGLADES: THE LOG OF THE MINNEHAHA, edited by Pat Dodson

*reviewed by Charlton W. Tebeau*

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*reviewed by Thelma Peters*

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*reviewed by Eugene Lyon*

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*reviewed by Charles Hudson*

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ESSAYS ON THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, edited by Stephen G. Kurtz and James H. Hutson

*reviewed by Michael Kammen*

THE DEVELOPMENT OF A REVOLUTIONARY MENTALITY: PAPERS PRESENTED AT THE FIRST SYMPOSIUM, MAY 5 AND 6, 1972, Library of Congress Symposia on the American Revolution

*reviewed by Kenneth Coleman*

CODE NUMBER 72: BEN FRANKLIN: PATRIOT OR SPY?, by Cecil B. Currey

*reviewed by Paul H. Smith*

THE PAPERS OF JOHN C. CALHOUN, VOLUME VI, 1821-1822, edited by W. Edwin Hemphill

*reviewed by Thomas P. Govan*

THE PAPERS OF HENRY CLAY, VOLUME 4, SECRETARY OF STATE, 1825, edited by James F. Hopkins and Mary W. M. Hargreaves

*reviewed by Edwin A. Miles*

THE ROLE OF THE YANKEE IN THE OLD SOUTH, by Fletcher M. Green

*reviewed by John Hebron Moore*

HOG MEAT AND HOECAKE: FOOD SUPPLY IN THE OLD SOUTH, 1840-1860, by Sam Bowers Hilliard

*reviewed by Julia F. Smith*

FIRST FREEDOM: THE RESPONSES OF ALABAMA'S BLACKS TO EMANCIPATION AND RECONSTRUCTION, by Peter Kolchin

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RECONSTRUCTION IN INDIAN TERRITORY: A STORY OF AVARICE, DISCRIMINATION, AND OPPORTUNISM, by M. Thomas Bailey

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## RAIFORD AND ABERCROMBIE: PENSACOLA'S PREMIER ANTEBELLUM MANUFACTURER

by LUCIUS F. ELLSWORTH

**I**NDUSTRIAL ACTIVITY IN antebellum West Florida largely involved the exploitation of its timber lands and rich clay beds.<sup>1</sup> Florida brick companies of the period, like those elsewhere in the country, were relatively small-scale operations in terms of number of employees, amount of capital, or value of final product. Despite efforts to mechanize the industry most firms still followed the hand manufacturing process. Brickyards were located near an adequate source of clay and potential markets to avoid the cost of transporting long distances either raw materials or finished products. Although some interregional trade in bricks occurred, most firms produced for local or perhaps regional markets.

In the early 1850s, four of the six Florida firms operated in Escambia and Santa Rosa counties, drawing on the rich clay deposits along the Escambia Bay and Blackwater River. After the

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Mr. Ellsworth is assistant professor of history and assistant to the Provost, University of West Florida, Pensacola. The author wishes to acknowledge the University of West Florida Research Council which awarded a NSF Institutional Grant to help support research for this project and the assistance of Mr. Pat Dodson and Miss Lelia Abercrombie of Pensacola. An earlier version of this article was presented at the May 1973 meeting of the Florida Historical Society.

1. Of the thirty-eight manufacturers enumerated for Santa Rosa and Escambia counties by the federal census marshalls in 1850, only six were not involved in lumbering or brickmaking, U. S. Bureau of the Census, Seventh Census of the United States, 1850, Original Returns of the Assistant Marshall, Schedule 5: Products of Industry, Escambia County and Santa Rosa County, Florida. Hereinafter cited as CM 1850. See also James K. Polk, "Pensacola Commerce and Industry, 1821-1860," (M. A. thesis, University of West Florida, 1971), 33-35 and 46-104, and Ernest F. Dibble, *Antebellum Pensacola* (to be published spring, 1974), Chap. IV. Although Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., "Writings in Florida History on the Period 1821-1860," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXXVII (October 1958), 172, called for more studies of industry, only a few have appeared. See John A. Eisterhold, "Lumber and Trade in Pensacola and West Florida: 1800-1860," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, LI (January 1973), 267-80. William C. Lazarus, "A Study of Dated Bricks in the Vicinity of Pensacola, Fla.," *Florida Anthropologist*, XVIII (September 1963), 69-84, focuses on classifying and dating types of bricks and compiling a chronological list of brick makers.

profitable mid-1830s, business for the West Florida firms declined, and they did not begin to reestablish themselves until the 1850s. Gonzalez & Bonifay, the largest company, had a capital value of \$6,000 and utilized twenty-five laborers to produce annually 1,000,000 bricks worth about \$9,000. In spite of an extensive market throughout the Gulf coast region, the West Florida manufacturers continued to employ the slow hand process.<sup>2</sup>

The decision of the federal government relative to the defense installations on the Gulf of Mexico affected the Pensacola brick industry and brought new businessmen into the community. Following extended discussion, Congress in 1844, approved erection of two masonry and brick installations in Florida—Fort Taylor at Key West and Fort Jefferson on the Dry Tortugas.<sup>3</sup> Hampered by a short season and engineering difficulties, progress proved slow, and by early 1851 only the foundation of Fort Taylor had been completed, using a meagre 40,000 bricks. Unreliable and costly transportation services between southern cities and the Florida sites forced the government to import bricks from New York. The failure of Congress to fund the projects retarded construction in 1851-1852, but when an appropriation was voted the following year the demand for building materials increased substantially.<sup>4</sup> Because the northern bricks did not withstand the destructive action of the atmosphere, the corps of engineers compared the qualities and prices of bricks made in other areas of the country and finally decided to place their orders in Pensacola.<sup>5</sup>

Maintaining a steady supply proved difficult. When Pensacola manufacturers and shippers could not provide adequate trans-

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2. *Senate Documents*, 35th Cong., 2nd sess., No. 39, 20; CM 1850; Polk, "Pensacola Commerce," 75-82, 91-3; and Dibble, *Antebellum Pensacola*, Chap. IV.
  3. William H. Chase, *Memoir on the Defence of the Gulf of Mexico and the Stragetic [sic] Principles Governing the National Defences* (New Orleans, 1846), 5-12, and W. H. Hauer, "History of Fort Taylor, Florida," November 10, 1877, Records of the Office of the Chief of Engineers, Fortifications Division, Record Group 77, National Archives. Record Group 77. Hereinafter cited as RG 77. See also Jefferson B. Browne, *Key West: The Old and the New* (St. Augustine, 1912; facsimile edition, Gainesville, 1973), 74-79.
  4. Hauer, "Fort Taylor," and Lt. H. G. Wright, Annual Report for Fort Jefferson, September 30, 1851, RG 77.
  5. J. M. Scarritt to Wright, Dec. 17, 1853, Fort Taylor Records, Southeastern Regional Center of National Archives, East Point, Georgia. Hereinafter cited as FTR.



portation, the war department at first considered purchasing its own vessels. The corps of engineers, prior to August 1853, tried to lease ships and published its need throughout the Gulf coast region. In January 1854, Hiram Benner and Asa Tift, merchants and shipowners of Key West, offered to deliver 4,000,000 Pensacola bricks. After differences over the performance clause of the contract emerged, a stable supply was still not assured.<sup>6</sup> The few Pensacola bricks that arrived were good, but the officer in charge of Fort Taylor reported not all were of the quality that he required.<sup>7</sup> The difficulty of securing bricks became so acute that the department advertised extensively in New York newspapers for shippers and even considered manufacturing its own brick.<sup>8</sup>

Following these unsuccessful efforts to get bricks and with the demand rising, the war department reacted favorably to a proposal by Phillip H. Raiford and General Anderson Abercrombie of Alabama. Little is known of Raiford except that he volunteered for military service during the Mexican War and represented Macon County in the Alabama state legislature for one term in 1847. By 1853 he began acquiring property in Baldwin County along the east side of Mobile Bay between Blakely and Albermarle City. Part of the land came as a benefit for his Mexican War service, and the remainder he purchased for about \$10,000.<sup>9</sup>

Anderson Abercrombie, with his brother Charles, moved in 1832 from Hancock County, Georgia, to Russell County, Alabama, about six miles southwest of Columbus, Georgia. During the next two decades, Anderson became one of the leading plantation owners of the area, a well-known regional political leader, and a business entrepreneur who served as first president of the Mobile and Girard Railroad in 1850. A third Abercrombie brother, James, who had lived near Montgomery, Alabama, since 1815, purchased land in 1835 adjacent, to Anderson's property.

- 
6. Scarritt to Brig. Gen. J. G. Totten, August 21, 1853; Wright to Totten, September 1, 1853; Scarritt to Totten, January 8, 1853; Totten to Scarritt, January 21, 1854, RG 77; and Scarritt to Wright, December 17, 1853, FTR.
  7. Chase to H. F. Ingrahan, December 25, 1853, FTR.
  8. Scarritt to Totten, June 7, 1854; Wright, Annual Report for Fort Jefferson, September 30, 1854, RG 77.
  9. William Garrett, *Reminiscences of Public Men in Alabama* (Atlanta, 1872), 466-67, 756; Baldwin County Deed Book F, 353-55, 452; Baldwin County Deed Book N. S. No. 3, 9-10, Baldwin County Court House, Bay Minette, Alabama.

Although James owned a large plantation, his principle interest was politics. He served in the Alabama legislature throughout the 1840s, and voters sent him to Congress in 1851 and again in 1853. James and Anderson had other connections; Anderson's daughter Sarah had married James, Jr.<sup>10</sup>

The records do not show how Abercrombie and Raiford became partners or learned about the federal government's need for brick. When Raiford lived in the region of the Abercrombie's plantations, he had enough status to be elected as a representative to the state legislature, serving with James Abercrombie, Sr. As an investor in the Mobile and Girard Railroad, Anderson purchased land in Baldwin County along the Tensaw River. The proximity of Abercrombie's holding with Raiford's tract may have brought them together again. Neither man knew anything about the brick industry. Perhaps Congressman Abercrombie in Washington, D. C. had confronted the war department's problem and told his brother, or Anderson Abercrombie and Raiford might have heard through the Mobile business community.<sup>11</sup> Whatever the background, the two men decided early in 1854 to form a company to manufacture bricks for the federal government. To finance his share, Raiford sold the majority of his Baldwin County property.<sup>12</sup>

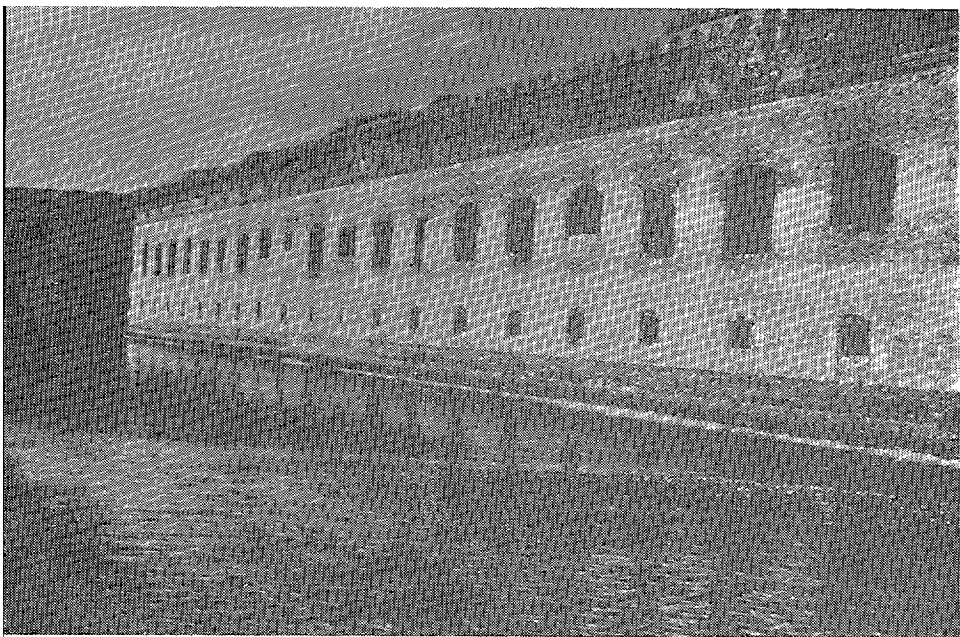
Raiford traveled to the nation's capital in early May 1854 to secure the federal business. At a meeting on May 15 with Brigadier General Joseph Totten, who headed the corps of engineers, Raiford offered to produce the bricks along the east side of Mobile Bay. But, he said that the company would locate the factory on the Escambia Bay if the federal government required a different source of raw materials. Totten told Raiford to communicate directly with the officers in charge of the forts because they were responsible for purchasing construction supplies. After

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10. Bible, Abercrombie Family, in possession of William Abercrombie, Pensacola, Florida; F. L. Cherry, "The History of Opelika and Her Agricultural Tributary Territory," *Alabama Historical Quarterly*, XV (Summer 1953), 243-49; Anne Kendrick Walker, *Russell County in Retrospect* (Richmond, 1950), 105, 108, 157, 1373; Garrett, *Reminiscences*, 555-57, 761; Willis Brewer, *Alabama: Her History, Resources, War Record and Public Men* (Montgomery, 1872), 513. Lelia Abercrombie, *The Abercrombie Family* (Pensacola, 1962) contains excerpts from various printed accounts.

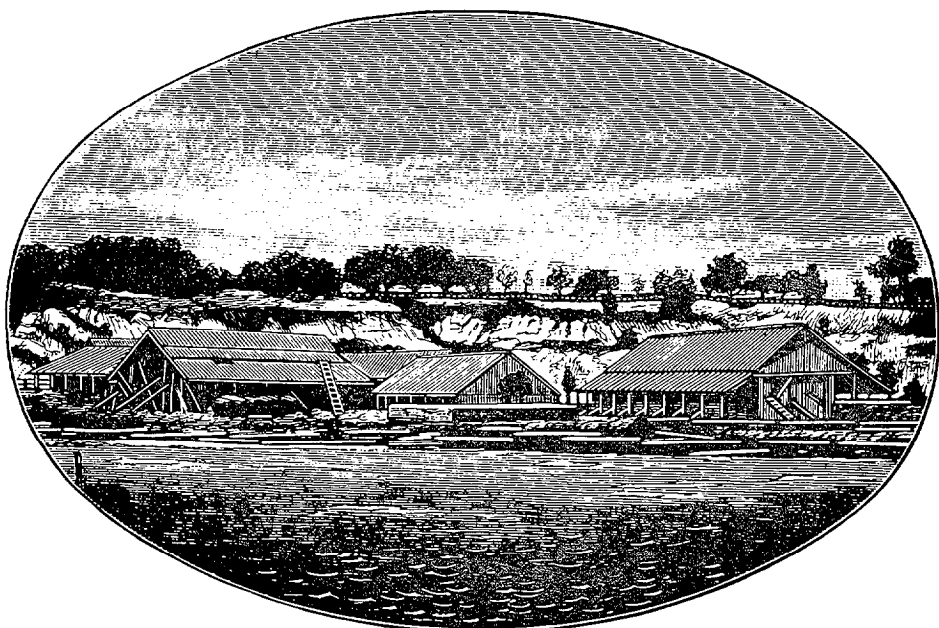
11. Walker, *Russell County*, 171-72, and Baldwin County Deed Book F, 265-66.

12. Baldwin County Deed Book F, 453-54.



Construction of Fort Jefferson (above) and Fort Taylor required millions of bricks and created the principal market for Pensacola manufacturers in the 1850s. Courtesy of National Park Service, Fort Jefferson.

According to local tradition, Raiford and Abercrombie erected these brick-making facilities along the bluffs of the Escambia Bay. (W.D. Chipley, *Pensacola and its Surroundings Illustrated*, Louisville, 1877, reprint 1962, p. 18).

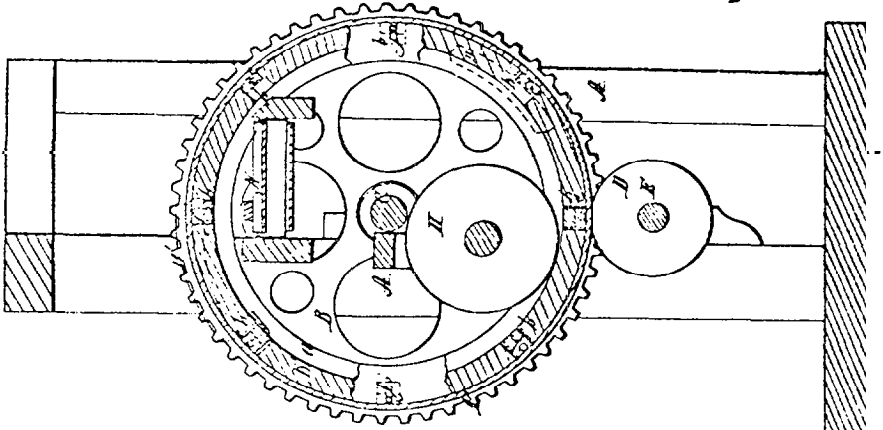


*J. W. Crary,  
Brick Machine.*

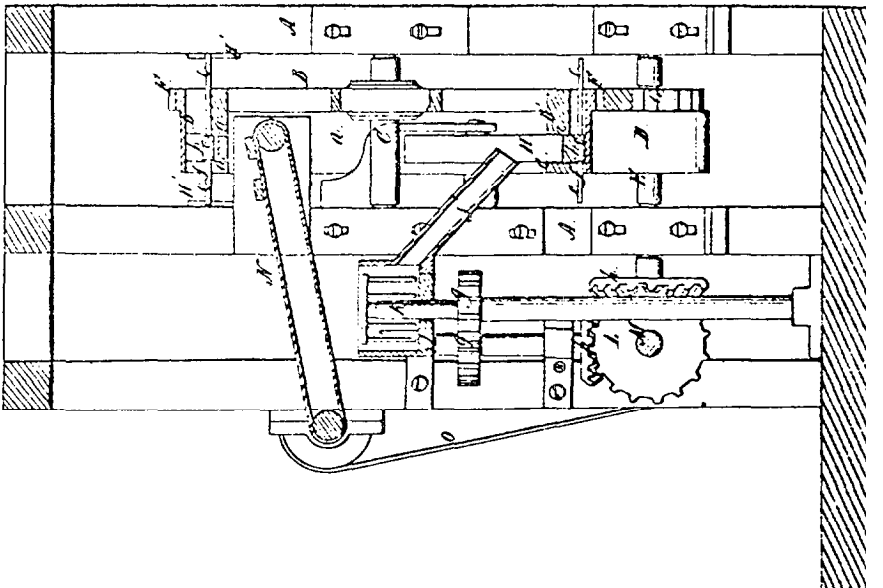
*N<sup>o</sup> 21,186.*

*Patented Aug. 17, 1866.*

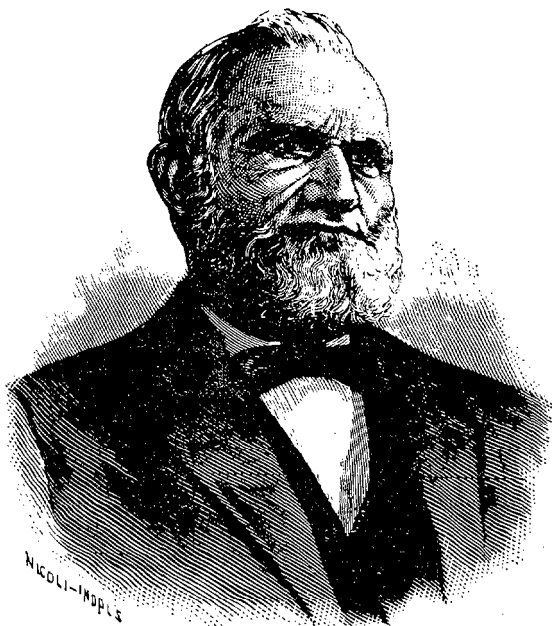
*Fig. 2.*



*Fig. 1.*

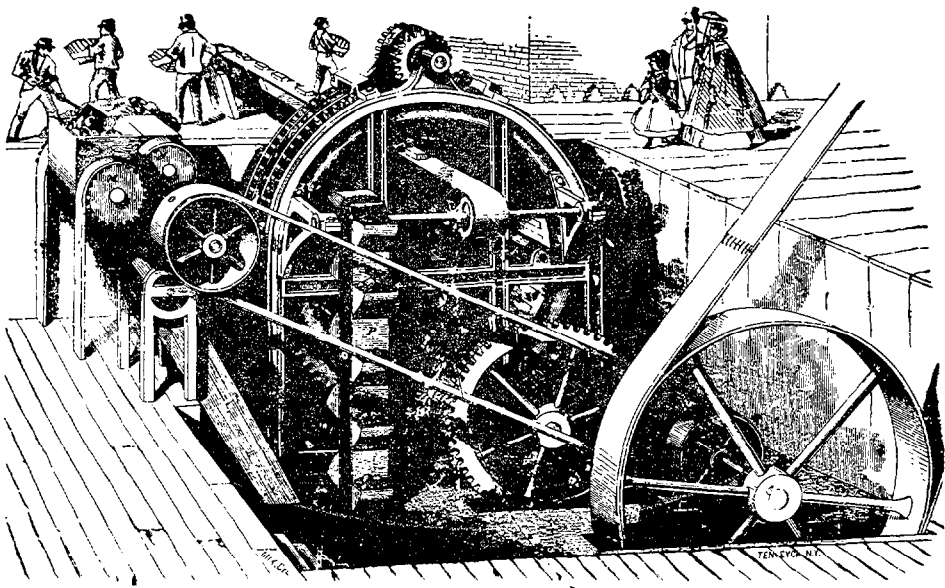


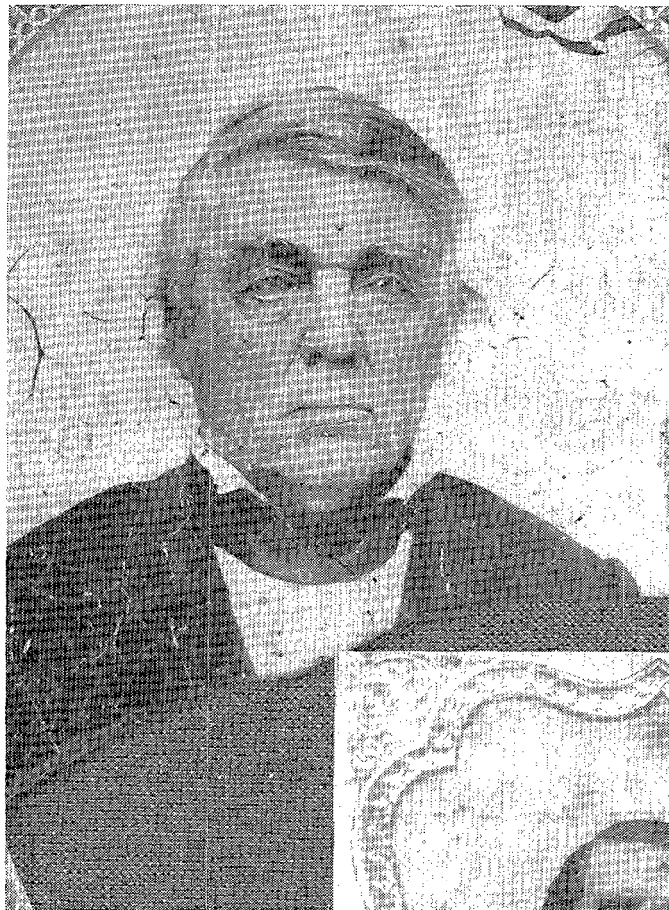
Patent illustration for first machine designed for brickmaking at Pensacola.



John W. Crary, inventor of machine which mechanized the operations of Bacon and Abercrombie. (J. W. Crary, Sr., *Sixty Years a Brickmaker*, Indianapolis, 1890).

*Scientific American* depicted the brickmaking system developed by John W. Crary. (*Scientific American*, IV, January 5, 1861).





Congressman James Abercrombie headed the Alabama family which went to Pensacola to make bricks for the federal government. Courtesy of Pensacola Historical Museum.

James Abercrombie, Jr., supervised the operations of the Abercrombie family brickmaking business. Courtesy of Pensacola Historical Museum.

the meeting, Totten reported the proposal to the officers. Mentioning that Benjamin Fitzpatrick, United States Senator from Alabama, and Congressmen James Abercrombie and Alexander Stephens had highly recommended Raiford and Anderson Abercrombie, Totten described Raiford as "a gentleman of high intelligence and standing."<sup>13</sup>

For the next several weeks, Raiford worked to secure the contract. He wrote the officers in charge at the forts and sent to Key West a ship's captain, J. P. Smith, to negotiate directly. Smith indicated that the partners would make and deliver to the fort 6,000,000 bricks of Escambia clay at the rate of \$21.00 per thousand. Expressing reluctance to contract with unknown and inexperienced people, both officers agreed to accept the 'representations of the Department.'<sup>14</sup>

While Smith negotiated in Key West, Raiford lobbied in Washington, D. C. particularly to overcome two minor problems: the objections of some influential Florida property owners to the proposed restriction to Escambia Bay clay, and confusion over the proper person to execute a contract created by the sudden illness and death of one of the officers in charge. The deliberations led to a formal contract dated August 24, 1854.<sup>15</sup>

According to the contract, Raiford and Abercrombie agreed to deliver at \$21.00 per thousand 3,000,000 bricks to each fort. Because of the immediate need for bricks and the length of time anticipated to build a brickyard, the contract permitted the owners to supply 400,000 bricks produced by other companies. Each brick was to be made from Escambia Bay clay, to measure ninety cubic inches, to be of uniform size, and to meet the quality standards established by the officers in charge. The war department clearly expected to receive bricks which were especially strong, homogeneous in content, and capable of withstanding the effects of the hot, humid, salty air.<sup>16</sup>

To insure compliance, the war department instructed Major

13. Totten to Scarritt, May 15, 1854, RG 77.

14. J. P. Smith to Scarritt, June 5, 1854; Totten to Scarritt, June 20, 1854; Wright, Annual Report for Fort Jefferson, September 30, 1854; RG 77.

15. Totten to Wright, July 27, 29, August 15, 1854; Totten to Phillip H. Raiford, August 1, 1854; Totten to General Anderson Abercrombie, August 15, 1854; J. D. Rurtz to Raiford and Abercrombie, October 2, 1854; RG 77.

16. Wright, Annual Report for Fort Jefferson, September 30, 1854, RG 77; Wright to Chase, July 20, 1854, FTR.

William Chase to establish the quality and to secure specimens which reflected the standard. After reviewing bricks manufactured in Pensacola, Chase selected ones with the proper characteristics. These samples formed the basis for accepting or rejecting the product of the new business.<sup>17</sup>

Despite Anderson Abercrombie's early involvement, including his signing the initial contract, other men quickly assumed the leadership of the venture. In fact, Abercrombie was not a formal participant in the firm; rather his son, John G., became a partner. Raiford handled many of the specific arrangements in Mobile and Pensacola for establishing the manufacture. Anderson's son-in-law, James, Jr., also came to West Florida, bringing with him some of the family's slaves to construct the brickyard. When the army raised conflict of interest charges, James, Sr., became a silent investor. His principal role emerged as the firm's spokesman in Washington.<sup>18</sup> Thus, the four partners in the company were Phillip Raiford, John G. Abercrombie, James Abercrombie, Sr., and James Abercrombie, Jr.

Fulfilling the contract proved very difficult for Raiford and Abercrombie. After agreeing to locate near Pensacola instead of Mobile, the firm had trouble finding a suitable site. Because the partners had no interim source of supply, they could not deliver during 1854. Added to these woes was an additional order in early December for 300,000 bricks due within three months.<sup>19</sup> The office of the corps of engineers warned that for non-compliance its representative would "promptly declare the contract void."<sup>20</sup> Congressman Abercrombie visited Brigadier General Totten in late December to assure him that the firm had incurred great expense and would make "every possible effort to fulfill the contract . . . and with the greatest promptitude."<sup>21</sup>

As the pressure to perform intensified, the company tried to furnish bricks made by such other Escambia Bay manufacturers as George Willis and Henry Slayback. When these men could

17. Totten to Raiford and Abercrombie, October 2, 1854; Chase to Totten, October 14, 1854, RG 77.

18. Capt. Donald Leadbetter to Totten, September 2, 20, 1854; Totten to Chase, December 26, 1854, RG 77.

19. Leadbetter to Totten, September 2, 20, 1854; Totten to Wright, September 8, December 23, 1854, RG 77; Chase to Abercrombie and Raiford, December 2, 1854, FTR.

20. Totten to Raiford and Abercrombie, December 21, 1854, RG 77.

21. Totten to Chase, December 26, 1854, RG 77.



not produce enough satisfactory brick, the contractors received permission to ship from Mobile. The war department even suggested that the Pensacolians purchase bricks from the Lake Pontchartrain region.<sup>22</sup> The firm for almost two years relied upon these various sources of supply.

Raiford and Abercrombie resolved another problem during the first six months of operation— the procedures for inspecting brick. To avoid shipping inferior bricks which the military would reject, the partners wanted the army to inspect the bricks at Pensacola. Recognizing the validity of the suggestion, Major William Chase interceded on their behalf and secured the assignment of an officer who lived near the brickyard. The Pensacola firm assumed the expenses of this inspector and agreed to take extra precaution to prevent the breakage of the bricks in shipment.<sup>23</sup>

Transporting bricks to the forts continually proved troublesome. Because of the shallowness of the upper Escambia Bay and the treacherous conditions near Fort Jefferson, vessels with less than a ten-foot draught were most desirable. Few captains of small boats seemed interested in transporting the bulky bricks in the Gulf of Mexico. Owners who were willing were frequently unavailable at the proper time because of shortages of crew members, the need for repairs, or more lucrative business in other ports.<sup>24</sup> Despite these difficulties, the Pensacola manufacturers employed such schooners as the *Frederick Sheerer* and *Lucy Whitham* to carry bricks southward.<sup>25</sup> The solution to this problem occurred in 1858 when the Key West firm of Tift and Company agreed to make the shipping arrangements.<sup>26</sup>

The army insisted that Raiford and Abercrombie appoint an agent in Key West to oversee the wharfside unloading and the

22. Totten to Chase, January 8, 1855, RG 77; Chase to Raiford and Abercrombie, March 25, 1855, FTR.

23. Chase to Totten, October 14, 1854; Totten to Chase, December 26, 1854, RG 77.

24. Wright, Annual Report for Fort Jefferson, September 30, 1855, RG 77; Felix Senac to Raiford and Abercrombie, October 3, 1856, FTR.

25. Pensacola *West Florida Times*, January 6, 20, 1857; *Pensacola Gazette*, January 24, February 7, March 7, 14, April 18, May 30, June 30, July 18, 25, August 15, 27, September 5, 19, October 3, 10, 17, 31, November 14, December 12, 15, 1857. See also John Sanders to Raiford and Abercrombie, March 6, 1857, FTR.

26. A. F. Tift to Bacon and Abercrombie, March 24, 1858, Tift and Company Letter Book, Monroe County Public Library, Key West, Florida. See also letters from Tift and Company to Bacon and Abercrombie, June 25, July 29, November 27, December 19, 1858, January 11, 1859.

subsequent delivery of the bricks to the forts. When the government paid for shipments, the agent would also serve as the official receiver so that the government would not risk sending drafts to Pensacola. Throughout most of the era, the brick makers employed James C. Clapp for this purpose.<sup>27</sup>

The creation of their own facility remained the most perplexing difficulty for the partners. The firm evidently rented and then purchased an old brickyard along the Escambia Bay. Relying upon the advice of a local brickmaker who agreed to supervise the yard, the new business used the traditional hand technology.<sup>28</sup> Inclement weather slowed the progress of building and then operating a kiln, but, by early June 1855, the company began delivering its first product to the forts.

These bricks were definitely substandard, breaking easily in handling and crumbling under heavy pressure. Major William Chase, who had extensive knowledge of bricks for fortifications, suggested that the material was too sandy and contained foreign substances, had been improperly tempered, and had been poorly moulded and inadequately fired. Attributing the shoddiness to inexperience, Chase accepted the bricks.<sup>29</sup> When he wrote his annual report several months later, he still did not anticipate a satisfactory shipment. Chase stated: "The bricks of their own make have not been equal . . . either in quality of material or manufacture. The defect of material, if it is one, is owing [*sic*] to the character of the clay . . . that of manufacture results from want of experience or care."<sup>30</sup>

Because the shortage of bricks severely hindered military operations, Major Chase traveled to northwest Florida in November to visit Raiford and Abercrombie and to secure bricks from either Pensacola or Mobile. Chase's observations did not alter his earlier plan to cancel the contract.<sup>31</sup> Upon his return to Key West, he

27. Chase to Raiford and Abercrombie, March 10, June 25, 1855; Senac to Raiford and Abercrombie, September 27, 1856, FTR.

28. Chase to Raiford and Abercrombie, January 25, March 25, 1855, FTR; J. W. Crary, Sr., *Sixty Years a Brickmaker* (Indianapolis, 1890), 35-6; Escambia County Deed Book M, 76-7, Escambia County Records, Pensacola, Florida. Hereinafter cited as ECR.

29. Chase to Wright, June 14, 1855, FTR; William Chase, Brief Memoir, June 30, 1855, RG 77.

30. Wright, Annual Report for Fort Jefferson, September 30, 1855, RG 77.

31. Totten to Chase, November 16, 1855; Chase to Totten, November 4, 1855, RG 77.

wrote to the partners that their product was “utterly worthless for our purpose” and their constant failure to deliver bricks forced him to no longer depend upon them “for a regular supply of bricks.”<sup>32</sup> Chase agreed to buy bricks from the company if it would send some of the proper dimensions and quality.

The struggling Pensacola firm tried to improve. First, the company, hoping to have a better quality raw material, abandoned the yard and purchased another one along Escambia Bay. When this move failed, the company hired several different yard superintendents. None of these men, however, could produce what was needed from the sandy layer of clay bricks that were hard or strong enough to meet the government’s standards. Impressed with the integrity if not the technical ability of the owners, the corps of engineers promised, nonetheless, to purchase at least 500,000 bricks from Raiford and Abercrombie during the first quarter of 1857.<sup>33</sup>

Internal management problems further plagued the company. The costs of buying additional property, maintaining more than 100 slaves, and supporting owners who had anticipated revenue from sales of their bricks soon produced a shortage of money. To overcome this lack of cash, the firm turned to the executors of the Joseph Forsyth estate. Using twelve slaves for collateral, the company on May 26, 1856, borrowed \$6,000 payable within twelve months. Five months later the firm again borrowed \$4,000 from the executors. On at least five other occasions between 1858 and 1861, the company used the same technique to raise funds for operations.<sup>34</sup>

The inclusion of a non-family member in the partnership had not been a happy decision. Evidently, the Abercrombies, in part, blamed Raiford for the failures. Responding to the hostility, Raiford in March 1857, sold for \$8,000 his interest to John E. Bacon, a son-in-law of James Abercrombie, Sr. Because Bacon remained in Columbus, Georgia, the daily supervision of the reorganized

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32. Chase to Raiford and Abercrombie, December 22, 1855, FTR.

33. Crary, *Sixty Years*, 35-6; Senac to Raiford and Abercrombie, September 27, 1856, FTR; Deed, December 18, 1855, Escambia County Deed Book M, 272, 411, ECR.

34. Escambia County Deed Book M, 286, 339; N 256, 258; O 263, 311; P 65, ECR; Day Book, Estate of Joseph Forsyth, 43, 74, 76, 78, 90, 91, 103, 112, 117, Folder 64, Special Collections, John C. Pace Library, University of West Florida, Pensacola.

company, Bacon and Abercrombie, fell to John and particularly James, Jr.<sup>35</sup> Regardless of these problems, the prospect of large orders and an investment totaling almost \$75,000 encouraged the men to remain in business. They soon hired as superintendent John W. Crary, an experienced brickmaker who had most recently worked in Biloxi, Mississippi, on a project for the federal government.

Upon Crary's arrival in early 1857, he immediately improved the hand manufacturing process in order to fill the outstanding orders. The change came none too soon as the officer in charge of Fort Taylor had sent an agent to Pensacola, Mobile, and Charleston to determine the best source of supply. After reviewing the revised operation of Bacon and Abercrombie, the agent reported that it now produced bricks of a quality which the war department would accept. The firm received orders for more than 1,000,000 bricks and promises of additional business if it delivered promptly.<sup>36</sup> Despite Crary's years of experience and his initial success, he could not get the brickyard consistently to yield the desired product.<sup>37</sup>

To make bricks of the quantity and uniform quality required by the military, Crary started to mechanize the process. Keeping the nature of the demand firmly in mind, he designed and built a system which automated and shortened many of the manufacturing steps. Crary's innovations included a dry press moulding machine, a pugmill that was attached to the moulding machine and supplied mixed pulverized clay directly to the moulder, and a kiln which in physical design and the placement of the bricks within permitted more control of the heat during firing. Unpatented was a portable revolving conveyor belt for transferring the bricks from the moulder to the interior of the kiln. The power source consisted of a stationary steam engine of about ten-horse power and shafting and leather belting.<sup>38</sup>

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35. Escambia County Deed Book M, 427, ECR.

36. J. W. Crary, Sr., "Reminiscences in the Old South from 1834 to 1866," 52, typescript copy, Pensacola Public Library, Pensacola, Florida; Sanders to George Willis, January 5, 1857; Sanders to Raiford and Abercrombie, February 9, March 6, 1857; Sanders to Jules A. Blanc, March 10, 1857, FTR.

37. Sanders to Raiford and Abercrombie, April 8, 1857, FTR.

38. *Scientific American*, IV (January 5, 1861), 1-2; Patent #20, 146, May 4, 1858, Patent #21, 186, August 17, 1858; Crary, *Sixty Years*, 9-10, 14, 62-67.

Crary worked throughout 1857 installing and eliminating technical problems of the system. He later noted that "when the machine first started, some minor parts gave way, were soon improved and repaired; after which the machine was run with uniform efficiency and success."<sup>39</sup> Some of the bricks continued to be inferior, but, by early 1858, Bacon and Abercrombie was producing an adequate supply for the federal government. Their quality proved superior to the available hand-moulded items in smoothness, solidity, and finish. Captain D. P. Woodbury, officer in charge of Fort Jefferson, repeatedly tested Crary's bricks, and he reported them better in strength and in ability to withstand pressure than other bricks.<sup>40</sup>

In addition to a substantial improvement in quality, the innovations reduced the number of workers and time required to make bricks. Crary claimed that only twenty workers operated his system and his normal daily output was 40,000 bricks. To make the same number by hand required sixty to seventy workers. Because the machine-moulded bricks did not have to dry for several days before firing, the press both shortened this time and eliminated the need to have rain-proof drying areas. Only crude, open-sided sheds to protect the clay before pulverizing were necessary.<sup>41</sup>

Because of Crary's innovations, Bacon and Abercrombie in March 1858, finally reported the successful resolution of their technological problems, "having just completed at great expense our extensive improvement for supplying the Government with brick."<sup>42</sup> A business recession and a shortage of military construction funds, however, discouraged the federal government from entering into another long-term contract. To circumvent this difficulty and to recover some of its financial investment, the owners suggested that they make 1,000,000 bricks for Fort Taylor. According to the proposal, the federal government would pay only if Congress appropriated adequate funds. Secretary of War John B. Floyd on April 1, 1858, approved the proposal for both

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39. James Abercrombie to G. A. McIntyre, May 1, 1866, Printed Copy, Pensacola Historical Society, Pensacola, Florida.

40. *Ibid.*; Crary, *Sixty Years*, 14.

41. *Scientific American*, IV (January 5, 1861), 2; Crary, *Sixty Years*, 9-11, 17-18, 21-22, 32, 51-53, 87, 112.

42. Bacon and Abercrombie to C. B. Hunt, March 6, 1858; RG 77.

forts; therefore, Bacon and Abercrombie manufactured throughout 1858 and 1859.<sup>43</sup>

The final reorganization of the company occurred in 1859. John G. Abercrombie withdrew from the firm in April, selling his share for \$15,000. At the same time, James H. Clanton, another son-in-law of James Abercrombie, entered the business as a silent partner investing cash and slaves. The elder James Abercrombie, whose wife had died the previous year, decided to sell his Alabama plantation and join his family in Florida. Although he "was quite advanced in years and somewhat feeble," he purchased a plantation on the Escambia River where he lived until his death in the summer of 1861.<sup>44</sup> While he did not actively participate in the company, the presence of the well-known family patriarch added financial stability to the firm. William K. Hyer, a new son-in-law of James, Jr., became an office employee. The 1859 reorganization of Bacon and Abercrombie resulted in the younger James's gaining sole control of the management and all partners being related through birth or marriage to James Abercrombie, Sr.<sup>45</sup>

Using the mechanized process, Crary and the Bacon and Abercrombie Company produced more than 16,000,000 bricks for the federal government before the Civil War disrupted operations. Until that time, the government paid for each shipment upon receipt at the forts.<sup>46</sup> The firm, remaining loyal to the South, refused to furnish bricks after February 26, 1861, and the decision effectively terminated manufacturing.<sup>47</sup> When the Confederate commander ordered, in March 1862, all Pensacola industries burned, the company reported "the entire Brickyard property has been destroyed by fire."<sup>48</sup> Following the Civil War,

43. Wright to Bacon and Abercrombie, April 2, 1858; D. P. Woodbury, Annual Report for Fort Jefferson, September 23, 1858; June 28, 1859, RG 77.

44. Garrett, *Reminiscences*, 556; Escambia County Deed Book N, 258, O, 220; File 2250, June 23, 1863, Circuit Court Records, ECR; Russell County Deed Book L, 95, Russell County Court House, Phenix City, Alabama.

45. Bacon and Abercrombie to Woodbury, January 10, 1860, RG 77; Escambia County Deed Book P, 64, 65, ECR.

46. Crary, *Sixty Years*, 37; Jared A. Smith to General A. A. Humphreys, February 7, 9, 1876, RG 77.

47. Letter from Abercrombie and Company to Captain M. C. Meiggs, February 28, 1861, cited in Albert Manucy, "A Constructional History of Fort Jefferson, 1846-1877," 1961, 38. Typescript copy loaned to author by National Park Service, Region One.

48. James Abercrombie to A. E. Maxwell, March 12, 1862, in possession of Mr. K. S. Hudson, Pensacola, Florida.

all that remained of the once thriving business were "2 steam boilers and boiler fronts; 1 large driving wheel with belt attached; a portion of a patent brick machine and 3 brick kilns."<sup>49</sup>

Crary's dry press machine established the production standards for Pensacola brick manufacturers who dominated the brick industry in Florida and the Gulf coast in the 1850s and 1860s.<sup>50</sup> Crary continued to improve the system, and after the Civil War sold the patent rights. Although other advances in manufacture, particularly cut bricks, would eventually replace the dry press process, Crary's innovations had regional and even national impact for several decades.<sup>51</sup>

Demand factors created by the federal government's need for brick had led to these innovations. Organized specifically to supply this market, Raiford and Abercrombie failed for two and a half years to overcome technological problems. These difficulties originated in a shortage of skilled craftsmen who knew how to make large quantities of bricks by hand that met federal standards. The company eventually decided to hire an experienced brick maker.

This action brought John W. Crary directly into the brickyard where he personally confronted and slowly solved the technological problem. Although Crary could make excellent hand-made products, he devised a system of manufacture which reduced the number of skilled workers required. If a shortage of craftsmen had not been the obstacle, Crary could have relied upon more than 150 slaves which his employers had brought with them from Alabama.<sup>52</sup> Or, Crary could have rented blacks who were widely

49. Sheriffs Sale, July 16, 1868, File 3848, Circuit Court Records, ECR.

50. Deed, June 16, 1859, Escambia County Deed Book P, 272 ECR; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, Manufactures*, III (Washington, 1865), 57-58.

51. Patent #67,728, August 16, 1867; Deed, March 17, 1866, Escambia County Deed Book P, 610, ECR; Crary, *Sixty Years*, ix, 9-10, 77; A.B. MacDowall, "Brick," *Encyclopedia Britannica* (London, 4th ed., 1929), IV, 116; and *Sixteenth Annual Report of the United States Geological Survey*, Vol. 4, pt. 4, "Technology of the Clay Industry," by Heinrich Ries, *House Documents*, 54th Cong., 1st sess., No. 5, 530, 539. Charles T. Davis, *A Practical Treatise on the Manufacture of Bricks, Tiles, Terra-Cotta, Etc.* (Philadelphia, 1884), 73-74, 164-5, 177-8, acknowledges the adoption of dry press machines but attacks the desirability of using the machines.

52. U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860*, Original Returns of the Population Schedules, Schedule 2: Slaves, Escambia County, Florida.

available in Pensacola.<sup>53</sup> The brickmaker instead developed a system which required only two or three skilled laborers for every twenty workers. In addition to replacing the hand temperers and moulders his machines reduced the menial labor needed to transport the raw materials from the pulverizer to the moulder and then to the kiln. Even with Crary's efforts to control the firing of the brick, this stage proved most susceptible to human error. Of the 102 workers in 1859 one-third were women.<sup>54</sup> Most of these laborers no doubt worked at digging the clay, setting the moulded bricks in the kiln, taking the bricks from the kiln to the boats for shipment, and performing household duties for the owners and workers.

According to the Census of Manufacturers in 1860, Bacon and Abercrombie ranked as the largest brick manufacturer in Florida, producing annually 8,000,000 bricks worth \$60,000.<sup>55</sup> Both its large size and its mechanized manufacturing process marked the Pensacola firm as atypical compared with the other state brick-makers. That Bacon and Abercrombie sold more than ninety-five per cent of its annual production to the federal government further distinguished it from its regional competition. In addition to three federal patents, the company gained the public recognition of both the prestigious Franklin Institute of Philadelphia and *Scientific American*.<sup>56</sup> No other West Florida business even in lumbering received as much national recognition as this premier antebellum Pensacola brick manufacturer. The prospect of making bricks for the federal government had not only created an important company and technological innovation, but the business opportunity had introduced the influential Abercrombie family to Pensacola.

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53. Polk, "Pensacola Commerce," 96-7.

54. U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860*, Original Returns of the Assistant Marshall, Schedule 5: Products of Industry, Escambia County, Florida.

55. U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860*, Raw Returns, Census of Manufacturers, Florida; *House Misc. Documents*, 38th Cong., 1st sess., Un., 57-58.

56. Patent #20, 146, May 4, 1858; Patent #21, 186, August 17, 1858; Patent #67, 728, August 13, 1867; Committee on Exhibition [the Franklin Institute], *Report of the Twenty-Sixth Exhibition* (Philadelphia, 1859), 37; and *Scientific American*, IV (January 5, 1861), 1-2. The medal given by the Franklin Institute is presently in the possession M. M. Crary, Sr., of Bluff Springs, Florida.



## SPANISH-INDIAN RELATIONS IN FLORIDA 1602-1675: SOME ASPECTS OF SELECTED VISITAS

by FRED LAMAR PEARSON, JR.

**T**HE *visita* or inspection was an institution which dated back at least to the Egyptians and Persians. Spain, in particular, employed the investigation most efficiently to increase royal authority by acquiring political, economic, social, religious, and other types of information. The Laws of the Indies spelled out the form visitations should take. *Visitadores*, for example, had to announce their purpose upon arrival. They had to begin their work in the principal city of the area under investigation, check on fiscal conditions, and determine in the course of their inquiry whether crown law had been observed. Moreover, the *leyes* required the chief political officer of the area to assist the *visitador* in his examination.<sup>1</sup>

While the *visita* assumed a much greater importance in vice-royalties such as New Granada, Spanish officials also used the institution in borderland areas such as *La Florida*. Spain colonized Florida in 1565, but the colony grew slowly, for the Spaniards looked upon it primarily as part of a defensive bulwark which gave protection to more important areas such as New Spain. Florida's particular function was to protect the Bahama Channel through which the flota and other ships returned to Spain. The Crown also envisaged help coming from St. Augustine to aid ships disabled by storms and to rescue stranded mariners. Essentially, the Florida populace consisted of soldiers, priests, and Indians. The military quota for Florida did not exceed 355 soldiers until 1753, labeling the area as essentially defensive in character.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Herbert Ingram Priestly, *José de Gálvez: Visitor-General of New Spain (1765-1771)* (Berkeley, 1916), 83-134.
2. Charles W. Arnade, *The Siege of St. Augustine in 1702* (Gainesville, 1959), 11. The *Reglamento* or New Law of 1753 increased the military complement from 355 to 460. See John Jay TePaske, *The Governorship of Spanish Florida: 1700-1763* (Durham, 1964), 156.

Florida, for all practical purposes, consisted of three administrative provinces: Guale,<sup>3</sup> the coastal area of Georgia; Timucua,<sup>4</sup> which centered around Gainesville; and Apalachee,<sup>5</sup> which had as its nucleus, Tallahassee. Both priests and soldiers served in these areas. The mission and the presidio existed sometimes side by side. Since there was a limited military commitment in Florida, the Crown relied heavily on the Franciscans to maintain order in the provinces.<sup>6</sup>

A significant visitation occurred in Florida in 1602. It was essentially political in nature, and as such it reflected on the administration of Governor Gonzalo Méndez Canzo. It came as no real surprise, for Floridians had been complaining about the St. Augustine settlement for several years. The poor soil,<sup>7</sup> inadequate subsidy,<sup>8</sup> and shallow bar of the harbor constituted the bulk of complaints. Some suggested the relocation of the capital in a more favorable area while others sought to maintain it.<sup>9</sup> The Indian rebellion in Guale (1597-1600) which resulted in the death of several priests and the withdrawal of the Franciscans

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3. Guale extended essentially from St. Catherine's Island down to the St. Johns River. See document dated August 24, 1675, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain, *estante* 58, *cajon* 1, *legajo* 26, no. 38, photostat in Stetson Collection, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville. (Archivo General photostats and transcripts will hereinafter be cited AGI; Stetson Collection photostats will be noted SC.) This document revises the southern limit of Guale as set forth in John R. Swanton, *Early History of the Creek Indians and Their Neighbors*, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 73 (Washington, 1922), 80, and in David I. Bushnell, Jr., *Native Villages and Village Sites East of the Mississippi*, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 69 (Washington, 1919), 15, 89.
  4. Timucua extended essentially west from the St. Johns River to the Aucilla and south as far as Tampa. Bushnell, *Native Villages*, 15, 89; Swanton, *Early History of the Creek Indians*, 320-30.
  5. The Aucilla River to the east and the Ocklochnee to the west defined the boundaries of Apalachee. See Swanton, *Early History of the Creek Indians*, 110.
  6. Herbert E. Bolton, "The Mission as a Frontier Institution in the Spanish-American Colonies," *American Historical Review*, XXIII (October 1917), 47; Michael V. Gannon, *The Cross in the Sand: The Early Catholic Church in Florida, 1513-1870* (Gainesville, 1965), 49-67; John Tate Lanning, *The Spanish Missions of Georgia* (Chapel Hill, 1935), 136-90.
  7. Charles W. Arnade, *Florida on Trial, 1593-1602* (Coral Gables, 1959), 18-19.
  8. Verne E. Chatelaine, *The Defenses of Spanish Florida, 1565 to 1763*, Carnegie Institution, Publication 511 (Washington, 1941), 9; Arnade, *Florida On Trial*, 10.
  9. Arnade, *Florida on Trial*, 11-12.

from the missions brought matters to a head.<sup>10</sup> Although Governor Canzo put down the uprising, the Crown decided that an investigation of Florida was in order.<sup>11</sup>

On November 5, 1600, King Philip III directed Governor Pedro Valdés of Cuba to conduct the inspection of Florida. Noting the unfavorable reports which he had received, the King ordered Valdés to report on these and other matters.<sup>12</sup> Essentially three possible courses of action existed: to reduce the importance of St. Augustine as the primary base and concentrate on Santa Elena or a deepwater site in Guale; to abandon St. Augustine completely; or to remove the defensive and missions system from Florida and concentrate protection for the Bahama Channel in Cuba. Valdés chose not to go to Florida, and in the fall of 1602 sent his son Fernando in his stead. Fernando Valdés conducted the inquiry at St. Augustine, where he heard first the testimony of eighteen Floridians— some of whom had served in the area for forty years. Seventeen of these witnesses stressed the importance of maintaining St. Augustine, arguing that a foreign power might occupy the place if Spain abandoned it. They agreed that Florida was no “otro Mexico,” and their testimony revealed that the inability to produce food was probably the colony’s most urgent problem. Several witnesses pointed out that while better harbors existed north of St. Augustine, it was necessary, in view of potential enemy designs, to maintain the capital presidio.<sup>13</sup>

Valdés next questioned local royal officials: the accountant Bartolomé Argüelles, the treasurer Juan Menéndez Marqués, and the factor Alonso Las Alas. Governor Canzo received no subpoena. Argüelles favored moving the capital to a deepwater site further north, although he noted the obvious risks should St. Augustine be abandoned— the priests would have no protection from the Indians, and there would be little or no help for ship wrecked sailors. Treasurer Menéndez Marqués dwelt on St.

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10. J. G. Johnson, “The Yamasee Revolt of 1597 and the Destruction of the Georgia Missions,” *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, VII (March 1923), 44-53; Lanning, *Missions of Georgia*, 82-100.

11. Mary Ross, “The Restoration of the Spanish Missions in Georgia, 1598-1606,” *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, X (September 1926), 171-99; Lanning, *Missions of Georgia*, 100-10.

12. Arnade, *Florida on Trial*, 19-20; Ross, “Restoration of the Spanish Missions,” 176; Lanning, *Missions of Georgia*, 120-21.

13. Arnade, *Florida on Trial*, 20-43; Ross, “Restoration of the Spanish Missions,” 176; Lanning, *Missions of Georgia*, 121-25.

Augustine's economic difficulties. He too spoke in favorable terms of deeper bays to the north, but did not give a definite answer with respect to dismantling the presidio. On the other hand, Las Alas, the factor, pointed out in detail the agricultural perplexities which plagued Florida. He straddled the fence, however, on the withdrawal question and refused to commit himself to the abandonment of St. Augustine.<sup>14</sup>

Fernando Valdés obtained the remainder of his information on Florida from the Franciscan fathers. Four friars presented written depositions in which they noted that Indian problems had arisen because of inadequate support which the governors, including Canzo, had given to the missionary effort. There was a need for additional priests, and they favored relocation near a more suitable harbor.<sup>15</sup> This testimony concluded the investigation, and Valdés departed Florida shortly afterwards with the fate of St. Augustine hanging in the balance.

Although Governor Canzo had not testified, he wrote to the Crown immediately prior to Valdés's departure for Cuba. He was determined to save St. Augustine, and told of his personal efforts to stimulate agriculture. He cited Tama, a vague region west of Guale in interior Georgia, as a possible solution to the food problem. Canzo emphasized the need to maintain St. Augustine for defensive reasons and to provide a haven for stranded mariners. Early in 1603, he set out to inspect Guale, unaware of developments in Spain. He returned to St. Augustine pleased with the peaceful conditions which prevailed in the villages, and he made plans to return the Franciscans to the missions, vacant since 1597. The Crown had reached its decision in the interim. St. Augustine was saved, but Canzo lost his governorship; the task of restoring the mission system fell to Pedro de Ybarra, his replacement.<sup>16</sup>

The new governor, determined to re-establish a complete mission effort in Guale, sent detachments of priests into that area as they arrived at St. Augustine.<sup>17</sup> In 1606 Juan de la Cabezas de Altamirano, Bishop of Cuba, conducted an episcopal inspection of Florida. Arriving March 15 aboard a pirate vessel cap-

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14. Arnade, *Florida on Trial*, 44-59.

15. *Ibid.*, 60-70; Lanning, *Missions of Georgia*, 121-22.

16. Arnade, *Florida on Trial*, 71-80; Ross, "Restoration of the Spanish Missions," 176.

17. Ross, "Restoration of the Spanish Missions," 183-86.

tured from the English, the bishop spent his first few days in St. Augustine administering rites of ordination to twenty men and confirmation to some 350 individuals.<sup>18</sup>

Altamirano began his inspection of Indian towns in Nombre de Dios on April 2. The Indians in Guale received him graciously. He noted the impoverished condition of some villages, and furnished supplies so that the neophytes-chiefs and subjects— could be confirmed. Encouraging the Indians to cultivate the attributes of Christianity, Altamirano returned to St. Augustine to prepare for his inspection of the Timucuan missions.<sup>19</sup>

Inclement weather delayed his departure for a while, but by the end of May the prelate set out on his mission. Here, as in Guale, the bishop supplied what was needed for the religious rites. The visitation ended July 19. Altamirano counted more than 2,000 Indians and Spaniards that had been confirmed.<sup>20</sup>

As the Franciscan Order sought to widen its contact with the Indians, the linguistic talent of Father Francisco Pareja proved especially useful, for he had mastered the Timucuan language, devised a grammar and dictionary, and had written religious tracts in the Indian dialect. Likewise, Father Martin Prieto also played a useful role in extending the Franciscan effort into western Timucua. He visited the province in 1607, and the Apalachee towns the following year. The Franciscans did not, however, begin a mission program in Apalachee until 1633.<sup>21</sup>

Meanwhile, the pastoral efforts enjoyed success. Father Luis Gerónimo de Oré was favorably impressed with his visit to Guale and Timucua in 1614. His impressions of the area, which included the testimony of Fathers Pareja and Prieto, provides a glimpse of Indian customs in the early seventeenth century. Accordingly, Father Pareja gave this account of an Indian brew:

18. Relación de la visita de las Provincias de la Florida fecha por el obispo de Cuba al Rey N<sup>ro</sup> S<sup>o</sup> en su real consejo de Indias, June 27, 1606, AGI 54-5-20, SC; Ross, "Restoration of the Spanish Missions," 190; Lanning, *Missions of Georgia*, 152; Gannon, *Cross in the Sand*, 46.

19. Relación de la visita fecha por el obispo de Cuba, June 27, 1606, AGI 54-5-20, SC; Ross, "Restoration of the Spanish Missions," 190-98; Lanning, *Missions of Georgia*, 153-59; Gannon, *Cross in the Sand*, 46.

20. Relación de la visita fecha por el obispo de Cuba, June 27, 1606, AGI 54-5-20, SC; Ross, "Restoration of the Spanish Missions," 198-99; Lanning, *Missions of Georgia*, 159-60; Gannon, *Cross in the Sand*, 47.

21. Lanning, *Missions of Georgia*, 9, 166; Gannon, *Cross in the Sand*, 51-53.

There is no need of treating of drunkenness, for their drink does not cause it; even many of the religious are not without it. It is made of some leaves of the oak tree. This is toasted dry in a pot or jar placed in water. Immediately they pour water upon it to a point where it is neither hot nor cold. Nor do they mix any other thing with it. It is good for preventing stones and small accretions in the kidneys, as well as a preventative against pain in the side. For this reason it has been taken to Spain and New Spain.<sup>22</sup>

Father Prieto described Apalachee, which he visited in 1608, as "a land most productive in food: maize, beans and pumpkins."<sup>23</sup> Of Indian dress habits, he observed, "The Indians are as naked as when their mothers brought them forth."<sup>24</sup> Certainly he exaggerated when he reported more than 30,000<sup>25</sup> Indians at Juitachuco.<sup>26</sup>

Father Oré returned to Florida in November 1616, to inspect again the state of religious affairs at St. Augustine and in the provinces. Most of his journey was by foot, having declined Governor Juan de Treviño Guillamas's offer of a horse. In Guale and Timucua, the Indians impressed the prelate with their knowledge of dogma and the catechism. Many of the children knew the ritual so well that they participated in the offering of the Mass, and some of the Indians knew how to read and write.<sup>27</sup> In St. Augustine he

published an edict against the public vices which the presidio soldiers engaged in, naming in particular the Fiscal and the Notary of that group who did these things with the permission and blessing of the Governor, and he corrected those abuses that he could without offending anyone, and he did it with the prudence and restraint which it is necessary to have among soldiers.<sup>28</sup>

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22. Luis Gerónimo de Oré, "The Martyrs of Florida (1513-1616)," Maynard Geiger, transl. and ed., *Franciscan Studies*, XVIII (July 1936), 106.

23. *Ibid.*, 118.

24. *Ibid.*

25. *Ibid.*, 116.

26. Juitachuco was undoubtedly San Lorenzo de Hibitachuco.

27. Luis Gerónimo de Oré, *Relación histórica de la Florida, escrita en el siglo XVII*, P. Atanasio López, ed. (Madrid, 1931), 119-22.

28. *Ibid.*, 121.

Nevertheless, when Oré completed his investigation, he was essentially pleased with the church's activities in Florida.

The Franciscan missionary program prospered between 1616 and 1675, but there were never enough friars, and disease, inadequate supplies, rebellions, and opposition of the civil authorities hindered the work of the priests.<sup>29</sup> In Apalachee the fertility of the soil sustained a sizable Indian population, and the fathers enjoyed some success there. Within a decade Governor Damián de Vega Castro y Pardo reported over 1,000 converts.<sup>30</sup> The Apalachees revolted in 1647, but the uprising does not seem to have retarded seriously the mission program. In 1655 there were some seventy Franciscans serving approximately 26,000 Indians in thirty-eight missions.<sup>31</sup>

In 1656 a rebellion began in Timucua which spread to neighboring Apalachee. Governor Diego de Rebolledo dispatched Sargento-Mayor Adrián de Cañicares and sixty infantrymen to quell the disorder. The Timucuan were subdued and several were executed to serve as an example to would-be trouble makers. The Apalachees, who had not participated actively in the revolt were not punished, although Rebolledo increased the Apalachee garrison to twelve to prevent future trouble.<sup>32</sup> The authorities at St. Augustine argued over the causes of the rebellion. Rebolledo blamed the Franciscans, and they, in turn, charged that the soldiers' mistreatment of the Indians had precipitated the uprising.

In November 1656, Rebolledo conducted a visita in Timucua and Apalachee. He visited eleven towns in Apalachee where the natives testified that they had not been mistreated; they asserted that the soldiers had set such excellent examples of conduct that

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29. Lanning, *Missions of Georgia*, 166.

30. Manuel Serrano y Sanz, *Documentos Históricos de la Florida y la Luisiana, Siglos XVI al XVIII* (Madrid, 1912), 198.

31. Gannon, *Cross in the Sand*, 57.

32. Swanton, *Early History of the Creek Indians*, 338. Apparently the commander and two soldiers had been stationed in Apalachee for observation purposes since the administration of Governor Damián de Vega Castro y Pardo (1638-1645). See Testimonio de la visita clue se hizo en la provincia de apalachee y timucua fha por el Señor Don Diego de Rebolledo caballero del horden de Santiago governador y capitán general de las provincias de la Florida por su Magestad, Notificación y Repuesta, August 5, 1657, AGI; Escribania de Camara (hereinafter referred to as EC), legajo 155, SC.

the Indians looked forward to their arrival. They were also pleased with the decision to station a garrison in their midst.<sup>33</sup>

The Apalachees felt differently about the Franciscans, however. They complained that the friars had forced them to carry cargoes, sometimes as far as St. Augustine, for which they received no pay. The fathers had prevented them from assisting the soldiers, and had even prohibited the ballgame and other ceremonial dances—practices which had been tolerated earlier. Some friars had flogged Indians— even caciques— without justification, and the Indians in one village claimed a Franciscan had broken food containers because the Indians had cooked too slowly.<sup>34</sup>

Concluding the Apalachee investigation, Governor Rebolledo began his inspection of Timucua. Because of the distance between towns, he instructed the caciques to assemble at San Pedro de Potohiriba. Rebolledo made short shrift of the investigation. He conferred a cacicazgo to an applicant, supported a cacique's plan to relocate his village, and ordered a minor chief to render obedience to one of greater stature.<sup>35</sup>

For present-day consideration, however, a strange aura hovers over the visita proceedings. The rebellion occurred mainly in Timucua, yet the governor began his investigation in Apalachee, visiting some eleven Apalachee towns, which required almost a month. On the other hand, in Timucua, the focus of rebellion, Rebolledo apparently did not probe into the causes of the trouble since the testimony fails to mention it. Rather, the caciques dwelt on domestic problems. Perhaps Rebolledo chose not to press the matter, or the Indians, fearful of reprisal, elected not to discuss it. The pattern of praising the soldiers and condemning the

33. Vicita de San Damián de Cupaica, January 17, 1657; Vicita del lugar (Santa María de Bacuqua), January 19, 1657; Vicita del lugar de San Luis (de Xinaica), January 22, 1657; Vicita del lugar de San Juan de Azpalaga, January 22, 1657; Vicita del lugar San Martin de Tomoli, January 23, 1657; Vicita de San Joseph de Ocuya, February 5, 1657; Vicita del lugar San Lorenzo de Ibitachuco, February 7, 1657, AGE:EC, *legajo* 155, SC.
34. Vicita de San Damián de Cupaica, January 17, 1657; Vicita del lugar de San Juan de Azpalaga, January 22, 1657; Vicita de San Joseph de Ocuya, February 5, 1657; Vicita del lugar San Lorenzo de Ibitachuco, February 7, 1657; Vicita del lugar (Santa María) de Bacuqua, January 19, 1657; Vicita del lugar de San Luis (de Xinaica), January 22, 1657, AGE:EC, *legajo* 155, SC.
35. Vicita del lugar de San Pedro (de Potohiriba) y demás caciques de Ustaca (Timucua), February 13, 1657; Otra Vicita (San Pedro de Potohiriba), February 13, 1657, AGE:EC, *legajo* 155, SC.



friars— so typical in Apalachee— did not materialize in Timucua.

Governor Rebolledo returned to St. Augustine apparently convinced that he had sufficient evidence to prove the Indians had rebelled because the Franciscans were mistreating them. Without fail, the natives testified that the soldiers had treated them well and that the Franciscans had abused them. On the surface at least, Governor Rebolledo believed he had ample evidence to absolve his administration of any blame for the rebellion; the blame rested with the friars, not the soldiers.

Rebolledo continued to collect evidence after his return to St. Augustine. Sargento-Mayor Cañicares reported from Apalachee that the Franciscan Provincial, Father Francisco de San Antonio, had come to the province shortly after the governor's departure, apparently to carry out a secret investigation. Cañicares insinuated that the Provincial and the Franciscans were encouraging the Indians to complain about the soldiers to get the Apalachee garrison withdrawn. He submitted as evidence Cacique Martin's request for a reduction in the garrison size from twelve to six soldiers because of supposed food shortages. According to Cañicares the conduct of Father Alonso del Moral of Apalachee and Father Bamba of Timucua had been most disquieting and suggested their recall.<sup>36</sup>

The Franciscans reacted vigorously to the attempt to blame them for the rebellion. They opposed increasing the Apalachee garrison from three to twelve, arguing that it was the soldiers who had mistreated the Indians, and that more soldiers could lead to more abuses. The trouble, they argued, stemmed from the work the military had forced the Indians to do. The Indians had praised the soldiers, the fathers claimed, because they thought they might be punished if they did not. They cited the fact that the execution of eleven Timucuan caciques had served as a grim reminder to the Indians. Father Provincial San Antonio had informed the Crown about the unfortunate conditions which prevailed in the provinces. While they predated Rebolledo's administration, the prelate insisted that they had reached a nadir during his tenure of office. Admitting the validity of three men for

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36. Sargento-Mayor Adrián de Cañicares to Governor Rebolledo, May 8, 1657; May 21, 1657; Adjutant Pedro de la Puerta to Governor Rebolledo, July 12, 1657; Sargento-Mayor Adrián de Cañicares to Governor Rebolledo, July 18, 1657, AGI:EC, *legajo* 155, SC.

observation purposes, San Antonio protested the Crown's decision to increase the Apalachee garrison to twelve.<sup>37</sup>

Rebolledo vigorously defended the decision to increase the garrison. Troops had been stationed first in Apalachee during the administration of Governor Damián de Vega Castro y Pardo (1638-1645), and the garrison had remained until Governor Pedro Benedit Horruytiner recalled it in 1648 as a result of a Franciscan request. According to Rebolledo, when Havana authorities had urged him to station an observation force near St. Marks to prevent enemy intrusions in Apalachee, he had dispatched Captain Antonio de Sartucha and two infantrymen to the area in 1651. Factors other than the rebellion, the governor claimed, had influenced his decision to increase the garrison. According to Rebolledo, the Franciscans had requested the increase, and the Indians wanted protection from heathen Indians living outside the province. Rebolledo emphasized his desire for harmonious relations in the provinces, and he delegated Sargento-Mayor Cañicares, purportedly a good friend of the Franciscans, to achieve that goal. The Indians, the governor noted again, had not criticized the soldiers, but were unhappy with the priests. He felt that it was the church's efforts to dominate the provinces which had caused the problems. Upon Captain Sartucha's arrival in Apalachee, six Franciscans had departed and had drowned on the way to Havana. Rebolledo claimed there was no reason for their departure in the first place. He urged the Father Provincial to withdraw priests such as Father Alonso del Moral who caused trouble. The governor urged church cooperation, but he insisted that he would brook no interference with the defensive needs of Florida.<sup>38</sup>

Shortly afterwards, Rebolledo scolded the Provincial again for sending priests such as Father Moral to Apalachee.<sup>39</sup> The Provincial asked Juan Moreno y Segovia, the public and governmental notary, to give him a copy of the governor's note for his files. This request was refused.<sup>40</sup> When the notary informed the

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37. (Franciscan) Petición (to Governor Rebolledo), August 4, 1657, AGI:EC, *legajo* 155, SC.

38. (Governor Rebolledo's) Notificación y Repuesta (to the Franciscans), August 5, 1657, AGI:EC, *legajo* 155, SC.

39. Exortación y Requerimiento, August 11, 1657, AGI:EC, *legajo* 155, SC.

40. Petición (of the Father Provincial and the Franciscans to Governor Rebolledo), August 11, 1657, AGI:EC, *legajo* 155, SC.

governor of the Provincial's request, Rebolledo announced that he had reached the end of his patience with the Franciscans.<sup>41</sup> The Father Provincial, in an undated petition, stated that Rebolledo had not substantiated his charges and that there was no reason to remove the priests until there was evidence of their wrongdoing.<sup>42</sup> Rebolledo countered with the charge that the Provincial had consistently skirted the issue; resolving the Florida controversy seemed futile, and he intended to refer his case to the Consejo de Indias.<sup>43</sup>

The council received the Rebolledo documents, the Franciscan correspondence, and additional letters which tended to bolster the Franciscan case. Friar Juan Gómez claimed that Rebolledo's predecessor had forced 200 Indians to carry cargo to St. Augustine, and that few of them had ever returned. It was this kind of harsh treatment, he felt, which had caused the Indian revolt. Rebolledo, according to Father Gómez, had reacted too stringently to put down the rebellion.<sup>44</sup> An unsigned letter protested treatment of the garrison at St. Augustine. In July 1657, the council recommended the governor's removal, but fate stepped in and Rebolledo died before he could be punished.<sup>45</sup>

The council's action encouraged the Franciscans, and they planned to reestablish their mission program. Inadequate supplies, disease, and climate, however, were continuing problems. The friars also resented the presence of an increased garrison, but the Crown refused to order either its reduction or withdrawal. In fact, the government increased the number, so that by 1662 there were forty soldiers on duty.<sup>46</sup>

41. Repuesta (of Governor Robellido to the Franciscan Petición), August 17, 1657, AGI:EC, *legajo* 155, SC.

42. Petición (of the Father Provincial San Antonio), n.d., AGI:EC, *legajo* 155, SC.

43. Repuesta (of Governor Rebolledo to the Franciscans), August 19, 1657, AGI:EC, *legajo* 155, SC.

44. Letter from Friar Juan Gómez, March 13, 1657; Friar Juan Gómez to Father Francisco Martínez, Comisario de la Provincia de Florida, April 4, 1657, Document 74, AGI 54-5-10, SC.

45. Council of the Indies to the Crown, June 15, 1657, Document 68, AGI 53-1-6, SC; July 1, 1657, Document 75, AGI 54-5-10, SC; July 7, 1657, Document 70, AGI 53-1-6, SC.

46. Governor Aranjuez y Cotes to the Crown, August 8, 1662, Document 8, AGI 58-2-2, SC; Lucy L. Wenhold, "The First Fort of San Marcos de Apalachee," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXXIV (April 1956), 301-14; Fred Lamar Pearson, Jr., "Anglo-Spanish Rivalry in the Georgia Country: 1670-1691," in Eugene R. Huck and Edward H. Moseley, eds., *Militarists*,

For some twenty years after 1657 the missions flourished. The visitation of Gabriel Díaz Vara Calderón in 1675 documents an active church program. Bishop Calderón confirmed some 13,152 Indians in the course of his visita.<sup>47</sup> He observed that "The women wear only a sort of tunic that wraps them from the neck to the feet, and which they make of the pearl-colored foliage of trees, which they call guano and which costs them nothing except to gather it. Four thousand and eighty-one women, whom I found in the villages naked from the waist up and from the knees down, I caused to be clothed in this grass like the others."<sup>48</sup>

His description of cazina differed from the one Oré had described: "Their greatest luxury is a drink which they make from a weed that grows on the seacoast, which they cook and drink hot and which they call *cazina*. It becomes very bitter and is worse than beer, although it does not intoxicate them and is beneficial."<sup>49</sup> The devotion of the Indians to their caciques and to the church impressed the bishop. The large number of confirmations was reason enough for the bishop to conclude that the mission program was succeeding.

In retrospect, the Spanish visita in colonial Florida concerned itself with virtually all aspects of the society. The importance of

*Merchants, and Missionaries: United States Expansion in Middle America* (University, Alabama, 1970), 5-22; José Miguel Gallardo, transl., "The Spaniards and the English Settlement in Charles Town." *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, XVIII (January 1917), 54-56; Katherine Reding, transl. and ed., "Notes and Documents: Plans for the Colonization and Defense of Apalachee, 1675," *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, IX (June 1925), 169-70.

47. Lucy L. Wenhold, transl. and ed., *A 17th Century Letter of Gabriel Díaz Vara Calderón, Bishop of Cuba, Describing the Indians and the Indian Missions of Florida*, Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, Vol. 95, No. 16 (Washington, 1936), 12.

48. *Ibid.*

49. *Ibid.* Oré's description of cazina was of a beverage made from the leaves of the oak tree. The Indians also brewed the leaves of the holly (ilex vomitoria) tree to make the Black Drink or cazina. This particular drink produced nausea when the Indians consumed it, and they used it on ceremonial occasions. At the Ockmulgee State Park at Macon, Georgia, one can see special holes constructed in the earth lodge which served as receptacles. How an Indian could have gone into battle or played the ball game after consuming such a vile drink is difficult to imagine. See John R. Swanton, *Social Organization and Social Usages of the Indians of the Creek Confederacy*, Bureau of American Ethnology, Forty-Second Annual Report (Washington, 1928), 192-95; Benjamin Hawkins, "A Sketch of the Creek Country in the Years 1798 and 1799," *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society*, III (Savannah, 1848), 69.

a particular inspection ranged from an overview of the area, to an in-depth study of a particular province or a special problem. Perhaps from a total view of the period under consideration, the Valdés visita in 1602 ranks as the most important. In this instance, the future of the St. Augustine settlement hung in the balance. A full-scale investigation of Florida resulted, and on the basis of the evidence, the Crown decided to maintain the capital but to remove the governor. Religious matters were the especial concern of visitadores who came to Florida in 1606, 1616, and 1675. These investigations reflected the success which the Franciscans had achieved.

The inspection which Governor Rebolledo conducted in 1657 developed into a classic civil-religious confrontation. Ostensibly, he visited Timucua and Apalachee to determine the causes of the insurrection of 1656. However, his effort to use the visita to exonerate his administration failed, and the Council of the Indies removed him from office. The Calderón inspection of 1675 examined the Franciscan missions at the apex of their development, for steadily increasing pressure by the English caused the mission program to decline progressively thereafter. This investigation demonstrated the effectiveness of a mission system based to a very large degree on hard work.

All of the visitas dealt to a significant degree with the Indian. Collectively, they provide insight into his customs and habits and the acculturations which resulted from Spanish contact. The religious inspections, in particular, commented on his costume or the relative lack of it, his response to religious instruction, his agricultural practices, and the beverages which he consumed such as cazina. Population data which the visitas reveal, however, must be used guardedly, for the friars tended to exaggerate the Indian count. The visita, whether religious or civil, furnishes significant data to the historian, anthropologist, and ethnologist who engage in research in Hispanic Florida.

## THE FORBES COMPANY IN SPANISH FLORIDA, 1801-1806

by DAVID H. WHITE

**F**ROM 1783 TO 1801 the trading company of Pantón, Leslie had a virtual monopoly on the Indian trade in Spanish Florida. This organization, composed mostly of Britishers, was established during the British period in Florida and was allowed to continue operations after the retrocession of Florida to Spain in 1783. Its function was to supply the Indians with trade goods to bind them closer to Spain and, if possible, to prevent them from forming commercial ties with American or British traders. Theoretically, the company's activities were confined to the Florida Indians, but the firm also traded with Indians and white settlers in American territory. By 1801 it had entered the burgeoning cotton trade. Upon the death in 1801 of the dominant partner, William Pantón, John Forbes, a Scotsman, like Pantón, assumed the leadership of the organization. The name was changed to the John Forbes Company in 1805, but the natives of the region continued to call the company Pantón, Leslie for years afterwards.<sup>1</sup>

Ammunition was a critical item in the trade, for without it, the Indians could not secure the deerskins which were the principal exports of the firm. In 1801 the Napoleonic Wars in Europe had caused a chronic shortage of ammunition in Florida. There was naturally a strong demand for armaments in Europe. In addition, ships were often menaced by privateers on the long transatlantic voyages and trade was slowed appreciably.

By 1801 the partners of the company badly needed ammunition for their trade and were anxiously awaiting a shipment from England. The Indians hunted in the fall and winter, and it was

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1. Juan Vicente Folch y Juan to Ignacio Balderas, May 10, 1805, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain, Papeles Procedentes de Cuba, legajo 55. Archivo General de Indias is hereinafter cited as AGI; Papeles Procedentes de Cuba as PC.

necessary for supplies to be received well ahead of time so that they could be distributed to the outlying traders. In the late spring of 1801, word was received that the vessel that the partners had been expecting had arrived in Plymouth harbor with four feet of water in the hold, obviously in an unseaworthy condition.

The company's predicament caused concern among Spanish officials in Florida. When it became obvious that the ammunition would not arrive in time, Juan Vicente Folch y Juan, governor of West Florida, agreed to lend the company powder and ball from government stores at Pensacola. In June 1801, he explained his action to the Marques de Casa Calvo, governor of Louisiana and the Floridas. If the Indians could not obtain ammunition from Spanish sources, he argued, they would go to the American government-subsidized stores which were not far away. He emphasized that Spain must preserve the friendship of the Indians at all costs.<sup>2</sup>

Another order authorized the loan of ammunition from the government warehouses in New Orleans. This order revealed a difference of opinion among Spanish officials. A Spanish official in New Orleans protested that the powder could not safely be spared and that he only had 124,749 pounds in stock, only half the amount needed for defense in case of attack. There was also a demand for ammunition from Louisianans, whites and Indians, who needed ammunition for hunting. They bought the powder in small amounts and paid the relatively high price of six reales per pound, a price which meant a good profit for the government. Despite his complaints, the official was overruled, and he was forced to comply, even though Juan Ventura Morales, the interim Intendant at New Orleans, supported him.<sup>3</sup> The Intendant was extremely sensitive to his responsibilities in financial matters, had shown a continuing hostility to the partners, and, in this case, opposed giving them any aid. Fortunately for the partners, they also had an advocate in Governor Folch.

Folch often defended the company when it came under attack by Spanish officials. He argued that the Intendant's letter opposing the loan of ammunition "had more polish than sound-

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2. Folch to Marques de Casa Calvo, June 6, 1801, AGI:PC, leg. 54.

3. Nicholas Dauros to Manuel de Salcedo, September 22, 1801, AGI:PC, leg. 77.

ness" ("tiene mas elegancia que solidez"). He countered with a set of arguments supporting the partners. Because of conditions imposed by the war, Spain was losing influence with the Indians. The firm had not been able to obtain ammunition through the usual channels, and the Indians did not understand the trade advantages that the Americans enjoyed because they were neutral. Folch insisted that the loan of powder be made, if only in small quantities, and he further asked that the Spaniards not press too hard for immediate payment for the loan. The company did not have the cash at the time to pay for the powder.<sup>4</sup>

Forbes was very angry when his requests for loans of powder continued to meet with opposition from Morales and other Spanish officials. He complained that his company had suffered heavy losses in the service of Spain and needed help. The capture of company ships during the wars had resulted in losses amounting to 400,000 pesos. In addition, a neutral vessel which the company had hired to carry its goods had been captured in 1801 and taken to Jamaica where the cargo had been condemned, meaning a probable loss of another 100,000 pesos. Discouraged, Forbes had gone to New Orleans to arrange to give up the business altogether, but had been placated by the governor who intimated that the government might indemnify the firm for its losses. At length, in 1801 Forbes reconsidered and decided to remain in business, but he insisted to Folch that the firm should be furnished small loans of gunpowder from time to time in order to retain the Indian trade.<sup>5</sup> Later, the company did receive a shipment of powder and returned part of it to the Spaniards, but some Spanish officials were still dissatisfied, complaining that the powder had been damaged by moisture on the voyage from England.<sup>6</sup>

By 1801 the firm also had trouble with their Indian clients, many of whom lived north of the thirty-first parallel under American jurisdiction. The difficulties of the firm with the Indians were reflected in a letter to Forbes from Mad Dog of Tookaubatche, a Creek chief. He complained that the game was

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4. Folch to Salcedo, October 26, 1801, AGI:PC, leg. 54.

5. John Forbes to Folch, November 15, 1801, AGI:PC, leg. 58.

6. Forbes to Folch, July 18, 1803; Juan Manijan and Matteo Convernas to Folch, July 20, 1803, AGI:PC, leg. 59.



disappearing and besides his tribe did not have enough guns and ammunition to hunt properly. In answer to the charge that his tribesmen were not paying their debts to the company, he answered that there were many independent traders abroad in the Creek country who were picking up deerskins. The Indians were making new trades with their skins rather than paying off their old debts to the company. Mad Dog insisted that he was unable to stop the practice although he wanted his people to pay their lawful debts.<sup>7</sup> Other bad news came from the Indian country. Typical were the problems of Daniel McGillivray, a company trader.<sup>8</sup> He lived in Hickory Ground, a small settlement on the Alabama River near present-day Montgomery, Alabama. He habitually wrote plaintive letters to the partners, as he had written Panton before them, bemoaning the poor conditions in the Indian country. Alexander Steele, an American trader, was cutting into his trade "because he sells his goods cheaper than at Pensacola." McGillivray feared that this would continue to be the case because of the strategic location of the Americans. He seemed thoroughly embittered toward the Indians, believed that they could not be trusted, and he wanted the firm to stop the practice of advancing trade goods to them until they paid their old debts.<sup>9</sup> He wrote: "Indians expect every kind of service from me but they will render me none for I am pestered out of my life to get canoes to get away my cane and cotton, instead of assisting me they try to pester me all in their power . . . ingrate raskals [*sic*] who has neither justice nor no dependence in none of them I am tired of complaining to you."<sup>10</sup> According to McGillivray, there was considerable unrest in the Indian country.

Forbes and his associates had difficulties not only with the Indians but also with Spanish nationals in Florida. The Forbes Company was composed almost entirely of British citizens, and many Spaniards resented the presence of a foreign firm which enjoyed privileges denied to them. Their principal complaint

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7. Chief Mad Dog (Tookaubatche) to Forbes, May 31, 1801, *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XIII (January 1935), 165-66.

8. John Walton Caughey, *McGillivray of the Creeks* (Norman, Oklahoma, 1938), 84.

9. Daniel McGillivray to William Simpson, September 3, 1801, Forbes Papers, Special Collections, Mobile Public Library, Mobile, Alabama. Hereinafter cited as FP.

10. McGillivray to Forbes, August 28, 1806, FP.

seemed to be that the prices charged to the Indians were too high and the Indians were being alienated.<sup>11</sup>

The Spaniards made other specific and well-documented charges against the British firm. In August 1802 residents of St. Augustine petitioned the governor to remove the company. They charged that the partners had been allowed to trade duty-free only in Indian goods, but they were also importing and selling to white settlers merchandise such as silks, wool, thread, hardware, and furniture "of the better sort." Spaniards in East Florida were required to pay a fifteen per cent duty on imports and six per cent on exports and could hardly compete with the British organization which paid no duty at all. The citizens further charged that the company had been authorized to bring in only one shipload of goods annually, provided that a full list of the cargo was furnished to the authorities. Instead, the firm brought in many ships each year, and full lists of the cargo were almost never furnished. They also claimed that on the pretense of supplying the needs of their households and slaves, the partners imported vast quantities of goods without paying duties and later sold the excess goods. They charged that in 1800 and 1801 a company vessel had made eleven trips to Charleston, a port which the firm was not authorized to enter, and had brought back goods duty-free. Rum and salt were supposed to be imported only from Havana, but the company had imported these items from other ports, including Nassau. The Crown had prohibited the Britishers from trading up the rivers to keep them from gaining a knowledge of the terrain, but they had violated that order.<sup>12</sup>

Other petitions were filed by the citizens of East Florida. One stated that the partners had undertaken to fulfill the beef contract for the garrison at St. Augustine by purchasing cattle from the Indians for six or seven pesos each and selling them to the army for twenty or twenty-five pesos each. According to the complaint, the chief fiscal officer of St. Augustine had cooperated in these activities. The petitioners continued, claiming that the company was notorious for bribing the authorities: "These people

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11. Geronimo Yeberes to Folch, July 18, 1802, AGI:PC, leg. 59.

12. Petition to the Governor by Citizens of East Florida, August 23, 1802, AGI:PC, leg. 2669.

always repair their fortune with money."<sup>13</sup> They recommended that the King confiscate the goods of the company in payment for the damage done and use the Spanish fleet to trade with the Indians.<sup>14</sup>

It was true that the company was guilty of evading Spanish trade regulations. In 1803 the firm sent a ship up the Alabama River into American territory to bring out corn for the slaves of the households of its members. This practice, which was permitted by the royal orders, seemed necessary on occasion since West Florida was not particularly fertile and did not support itself agriculturally.<sup>15</sup> However, the partners asked for an additional privilege: since the returning ship did not have a full cargo, it should be allowed to fill out its cargo with American cotton which should also presumably be duty-free.<sup>16</sup> But Intendant Juan Ventura Morales promptly protested any infractions of the customs regulations and was adamant that the duty be paid: "We will allow the privilege of loading and unloading of cotton at our ports, as we do skins. However, you must pay us one hundred pounds of cotton for every one thousand pounds you unload. You would have to pay this price for this privilege at any foreign port."<sup>17</sup> Even so, there is little doubt that the company often evaded the duty on cotton.

The partners brought in great quantities of corn, dried peas, and other foodstuffs without paying duty, and although these products were supposed to be used only by the partners' households, they later sold them in Florida. Occasionally, they simply refused to submit to inspection; on one occasion a ship "loaded by Forbes and Company" passed Mobile southward bound and failed to stop. The official at Mobile who brought the charge further asserted that he had heard that the captain of the ship had been ordered by the partners to so defy the Spanish customs regulations.<sup>18</sup>

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13. Petition to the Governor by Citizens of East Florida, 1802-1803, AGI:PC, leg. 1679.

14. Petition to the Governor by Citizens of East Florida, August 23, 1802, AGI:PC, leg. 2669.

15. Contract between John Randon and Forbes, August 25, 1805; Simpson to James Innerarity, October 25, 1805, FP.

16. Juan Ventura Morales to Juan Francisco Armand de Courville, July 15, 1803, AGI:PC, leg. 59.

17. Morales to Forbes, July 10, 1803, EP.

18. Maxmiliano de St. Maxent to Folch, July 29, 1805, AGI:PC, leg. 60.

The repercussions of the general war in Europe were again felt in Florida after the brief peace of Amiens from 1801 to 1803. English ships were not readily available, and the company consequently requested permission to use neutral American ships.<sup>19</sup> At first Morales only grudgingly allowed the company to use an American ship on a one-time basis. He emphasized that this was a privilege, not a right.<sup>20</sup> But eventually Morales was forced to grant the right because of pressure brought to bear on him by the Marques de Casa Calvo, who, like Governor Folch, usually supported the actions of the company. Morales bitterly remarked that Casa Calvo "desires to meddle in everything."<sup>21</sup> Despite the objections of Morales, the company was allowed to use American ships to carry its goods on a regular basis.

Morales also supported the Spanish customs officials who were a continuing source of trouble for Forbes and his associates. The most persistent of these officials was Juan Francisco Armand de Courville, who was stationed at Pensacola. He always sided with Morales and opposed the easy-going policy of the company concerning the duties on goods not destined for the Indian trade. Perhaps, the aggressive posture of Courville only reflected Spanish anxiety about contraband and smuggling, an anxiety which was widespread throughout the Spanish American colonies. In November 1804, Courville demanded that the firm unload the entire cargo on the shore so that it could be thoroughly examined. Even his own colleagues pointed out that this would be very difficult and had never been done before.<sup>22</sup> The inspector also wanted to look inside the packages in the cargo. The partners protested that many of packages contained wool articles, which in that climate were endangered by moths if the packages were opened. They also maintained that the merchandise was usually sold in the packages and breaking them open would mean that the goods would have to be repackaged, a labor cost that the company could not bear. It is entirely possible that the packages contained contraband and the harried, inspector was only doing his duty.

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19. Folch to Morales, January 30, 1804, AGI:PC, leg. 97.

20. Morales to Folch, February 3, 1804, AGI:PC, leg. 97.

21. Morales to Miguel Cayetano Soler, March 31, 1804, AGI:PC, leg. 2622.

22. Manuel de Artazo to Courville, December 3, 1804, AGI:PC, leg. 2670.

Folch asserted that the company had served the King well, that the King's ministers were now causing the partners unnecessary difficulties, and he ordered that the packages should remain unopened.<sup>23</sup> Courville reluctantly complied but stated that this action was "prejudicial and of great damage to the interests of the King."<sup>24</sup> He insisted that the partners should have been forced to open the packages and asserted that the company ("La Casa") was largely responsible for the unhappy state in which the province found itself.<sup>25</sup>

In December 1804, Courville demanded that goods which were to continue on from Pensacola to other Spanish ports should be inspected at Pensacola. Apparently, he did not believe that the customs inspection was adequate at such ports as Mobile and St. Marks. He carefully inspected the company's cargo on the American brig *Hunter* for one of his reports mentioned a variation between the bill of lading and the cargo actually aboard the ship.<sup>26</sup> Later, he listed some goods found in the *Hunter's* cargo, which were obviously not meant for the Indians: "A box with base worked in crystal, another box with large mirrors; one hundred fifty iron bars; three trunks containing overcoats of twill and fringes for women; silk; English guineas; one box of books in different languages; one box of spy glasses; a trunk (not listed in the manifesto) containing ribbons of silk, three pieces of cashmere."<sup>27</sup>

At length Folch replied to this information saying that he had allowed the company to bring in European goods without duty so that the needs of the province could be met. He had informed the Crown of his decision and awaited its command. In the meantime, he demanded that Courville obey his orders. Thus, the practical governor was arraigned against the legalistic customs official who stood by the royal orders as they were written. Courville countered by appealing to Folch's superiors, claiming that Folch by his free trade decree had countermanded the orders of Intendant Morales.<sup>28</sup> Folch also appealed to his su-

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23. Folch to Courville, December 3, 1804, AGI:PC, leg. 2670.

24. Courville to Folch, December 6, 1804, AGI:PC, leg. 2670.

25. *Ibid.*, December 11, 1804, AGI:PC, leg. 2670.

26. *Ibid.*, December 18, 22, 1804, AGI:PC, leg. 2670.

27. Notice by the Customs Officer, December 22, 1804, AGI:PC, leg. 97.

28. Courville to Soler, December 24, 1804, AGI:PC, leg. 2670.

periors, making the charge that neither man, Courville or Morales, could get along with anyone. He noted furthermore that Morales had caused a great deal of trouble to the former governor of Louisiana, Esteban Miró, and this could be verified from Miró himself.<sup>29</sup> The outcome of the affair was that the company continued to trade with the settlers on a duty-free basis by one means or another. At the time, free trade seemed to be the only way to supply Florida adequately.

The firm usually traded with Nassau for salt even though the royal orders stipulated that salt should come only from Havana. Courville objected very strenuously to this procedure.<sup>30</sup> Of course, the real reason for this practice was that the company had its own salt works in Nassau, but the excuse of the partners was that their ships could no longer bring salt from a Spanish port such as Havana.<sup>31</sup> Spain had declared war on England, December 14, 1804, and ships of British registry such as the Forbes vessels could not enter Havana. The ports of Spanish Florida were only open to them by special permission. This was their argument, and it seemed to impress even the Intendant for he later instructed Courville to permit the salt trade with Nassau.<sup>32</sup>

In 1806 the company again became involved in a very serious controversy with Spanish officials. This case concerned the export of specie, which was considered a high crime by the Spaniards. On March 10, 1806, Maximiliano de St. Maxent, a Spanish official at Mobile, reported to Morales that on the preceding day the guard on the dock at Mobile had discovered two cashiers and two Negroes of the House of Forbes on the dock with 4,000 pesos in specie. Another 3,500 pesos were on the schooner *Ana* which was alongside the dock, and 500 pesos were found nearby, making a total of 8,000 pesos. The cashiers explained that they were sending the money to New Orleans to buy merchandise which the people of Mobile needed.<sup>33</sup> Folch took the part of the company, saying that he had tolerated the export of gold because he thought it necessary to supply the needs of the province.<sup>34</sup> Even

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29. Folch to Soler, January 2, 1805, AGI:PC, leg. 53.

30. Courville to Folch, April 29, 1805, AGI:PC, leg. 97.

31. Folch to Courville, July 18, 1805, AGI:PC, leg. 2670.

32. Morales to Courville, July 18, 1805, AGI:PC, leg. 2670.

33. Sworn statement of John Innerarity, April 10, 1806, AGI:PC, leg. 697.

34. Folch to Morales, April 18, 1806, AGI:PC, leg. 697.

St. Maxent admitted that it was impossible to buy many necessities in Mobile, and it was probably necessary to purchase them in New Orleans.<sup>35</sup> Morales remained unimpressed and a very lengthy and extensive investigation was held, but there is no record that the company was penalized in any way.

Much official distrust of the company is revealed in some secret instructions for the customs officers at Pensacola in 1806, possibly issued by Morales. The instructions stated that whenever a ship belonging to the "House of Forbes" appeared at the mouth of the bay, troops were to be put on board, all hatches were to be closed, and all the ship's papers were to be impounded. When the ship anchored, no one was to be allowed aboard without the permission of the governor.<sup>36</sup> Soon after the issuance of these instructions, a British vessel *Merrimack* appeared in Pensacola Bay with a cargo consigned to the company.

Morales, who had been ordered from New Orleans to Pensacola after the transfer of Louisiana to France, but had not yet arrived in West Florida, sent word that the ship should remain unloaded until after his arrival. Again, Governor Folch tried to come to the rescue of the partners. He told Courville that the company could not afford to hold the ship unloaded for as long as the twenty days that might elapse before the arrival of the Intendant. Besides, the commandant of the Louisiana Regiment then stationed there needed clothes from the cargo of the *Merrimack* for his troops. Therefore, Folch ordered the unloading of the ship, although he did state that the goods to be sold to the Indians should be kept separate from other commodities.

To complicate matters further, a Spanish commercial vessel *Pomona* was in Pensacola harbor at the same time as the *Merrimack*. The captain of the *Pomona* wanted to seize the *Merrimack* because she was British and an enemy, and he was only prevented from doing so by the prompt interference of Folch who threatened him with force if he attempted to take the ship. In the meantime, Morales arrived. The company insisted that it did not have the labor available to separate all the packages on the cargo as Folch had promised. When Morales insisted that the

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35. St. Maxent to Morales, April 18, 1806, AGI:PC, leg. 697.

36. Secret Instructions for the Sublieutenant, Jose Declouet, January 15, 1806, AGI:PC, leg. 142.

partners would have to pay full duty on the entire cargo, and Folch successfully opposed him, he complained angrily to his superiors.<sup>37</sup>

On this occasion the firm was allowed to import goods duty-free, but Morales was jealous of his prerogatives and continued to be extremely hostile and obstructionistic in his dealings with Forbes and his associates. A friend of the company in New Orleans wrote to the partners warning them that Morales was determined to destroy them and if Folch were ever removed, the firm would be lost.<sup>38</sup> One can imagine with what delight the partners heard in December 1806 that the intendency was to be suppressed and Morales was to be stripped of his power. Forbes referred to this happy event when he wrote characteristically: "and you may depend on it that I will now hold a very different language to this gentleman in many respects."<sup>39</sup> Unfortunately, the report of the restriction of Morales proved to be a false rumor and the ever-watchful Intendant remained in Florida, a constant thorn in the side of the partners.

Because of the Napoleonic Wars in Europe, conditions in Florida had worsened again, and it was difficult to supply the company stores. In 1805 Forbes wrote from London that powder and ball were again difficult to locate.<sup>40</sup> The commander at St. Marks in Florida complained that he had only four days' rations for his garrison.<sup>41</sup> There were complaints from Mobile that cash was scarce there.<sup>42</sup> Conditions were poor in Pensacola also.<sup>43</sup> One of the principal causes of the depression, of course, was the slowing of international trade. Company ships were menaced frequently by the British because the outgoing cargoes were Spanish. At other times they were attacked by Spanish and French privateers since the vessels were often of British registry. The partners were warned that a British frigate was anchored off the bar at Pensacola with avowed designs of the shipping of that

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37. Morales to Soler, March 31, 1806, AGI:PC, leg. 142.

38. Daniel Clark to Simpson, April 8, 1806, FP.

39. Forbes to Simpson, December 23, 1806, FP.

40. Forbes to Innerarity and Simpson, October 31, 1805, Heloise H. Cruzat Papers, Florida Historical Society Collection, University of South Florida Library, Tampa. Cruzat Papers hereinafter cited as CTP.

41. Ignacio Balderas to Folch, November 2, 1805, AGI:PC, leg. 60.

42. St. Maxent to Folch, November 7, 1805, AGI:PC, leg. 60.

43. Morales to ?, October 15, 1805, AGI:PC, leg. 2622.



port.<sup>44</sup> In June 1805 they were again warned that a Spanish brig had been fitted out in Pensacola and was then cruising the Gulf on the lookout for the company's ships.<sup>45</sup> Although the partners attempted to engage neutral American vessels, they were not always available. To add to the confused situation, the Americans were constantly intriguing against Florida.<sup>46</sup> As one of the partners wrote: "the American [*sic*] plunder us from above and the Providence pirates infest our coast."<sup>47</sup>

The John Forbes Company's Indian trade in Florida was a complicated and difficult business. To the ordinary difficulties to which the merchant was generally subject were added the problems of recalcitrant Indian clients, the dislocations of the European wars, the hostility of some Spanish citizens and officials, and the attacks of the Americans. Despite these problems, the Forbes Company managed to operate successfully until 1819 when Spain finally relinquished Florida to the United States.

44. Simpson to Innerarity, November 14, 1804, FP.

45. *Ibid.*, June 27, 1805, CTP.

46. Isaac Joslin Cox, *The West Florida Controversy, 1798-1813: A Study in American Diplomacy* (Baltimore, 1918; reprint edition, Gloucester, Massachusetts, 1967), 139-87.

47. Simpson to Innerarity, November 4, 1805, FP.

## A NEW JERSEY CARPETBAGGER IN RECONSTRUCTION FLORIDA

by JERRELL H. SHOFNER

**D**URING THE TROUBLED years following the Civil War many individuals from the North were involved in the economic, social, and political affairs of the former Confederate states. Because the elevation of freed blacks to full citizenship was one of their goals— and deeply resented by Southerners— these men were often castigated by contemporary native whites and subsequently by historians. Denounced as “carpetbaggers” who came into the South to plunder for personal gain while native leaders were disfranchised and unable to prevent it, these men received low marks from historians of all regions who studied the Reconstruction South.

While such a generalization was undoubtedly based on some valid evidence and provided immense satisfaction to Southerners who deplored the changes of the post-Civil War years, like all such broad categorical assertions it failed to account for the exceptions whose numbers may have been large enough to render the “carpetbagger” theory invalid. There were certainly Northerners in Florida during Reconstruction whose presence it did not take into account. One of those was Captain George B. Carse of New Jersey, who was twenty-three when he enlisted in the Union army.<sup>1</sup> After two years of combat as a private, a citation for bravery at Chancellorsville, and a battlefield commission, Carse was assigned by Major General Philip H. Sheridan, commander of the Middle Military Division, to command two companies in charge of a “Freedmen’s Village.”<sup>2</sup>

As Union military forces advanced and President Lincoln issued his proclamation of emancipation, Negroes gathered in large

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1. *New Jersey Manual of the Legislature* (1874), 72.
2. *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, 1880-1901), Ser. I, XLIII, 979.

numbers near the army camps and created serious logistical problems for the commanders. Placed in charge of the "Freedmen's villages," officers such as Captain Carse were responsible for feeding the blacks, maintaining order in the camps, and sometimes using their labor on non-combat assignments.

By the end of the war, the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands, usually known as the Freedmen's Bureau, had been established to assist Negroes in the transition from slavery to freedom. Captain Carse, who was then serving as a brevet colonel, was ideally suited for service with the quasi-military Bureau. Headed by General Oliver O. Howard, it lasted about four years during which it provided relief for destitute freedmen and some whites, supervised labor contracts between the former slaves and white planters, established educational facilities, and tried to obtain justice for the blacks as they began participating in free society. It was a task which unavoidably placed Freedmen's Bureau agents in confrontation with native whites who resented this unwelcome middle man between themselves and their former slaves.

Captain Carse was assigned to the Florida branch of the Bureau, serving first in Jacksonville and then for nearly three years in Leon County.<sup>3</sup> With the capital city of Tallahassee as its principal community, Leon County was one of the most populous and prosperous planting counties in the state. Carse and another military man were assisted by two or three civilians in overseeing freedmen's affairs, including the drawing up and settling of labor contracts. There were never enough agents. In early 1868, Carse wrote, "I have more to do than I have ever had to do in any place I have ever been, . . . I have been in my office until 10 PM each night last week. . . . I am now writing with my office full of freedmen waiting for me to make settlements of their accounts for the past year."<sup>4</sup> He scarcely exaggerated. Because of a crop failure that year, the Bureau issued emergency rations until the new crop was made. The agents were almost overwhelmed. In June, for example, Carse personally issued to destitute freedmen

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3. Special Order 515, December 9, 1867; George B. Carse to Allan H. Jackson, September 27, 1867, U.S. Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands, Record Group 105, National Archives. Hereinafter cited as FB.

4. Carse to Jackson, February 3, 1868, *ibid.*

84,800 pounds of fat pork, 61,562 pounds of bacon, and 159,983 pounds of meal.<sup>5</sup>

Contrary to the bad publicity subsequently received by the Bureau agents, even the conservative Tallahassee *Floridian* acknowledged that Carse was fair and impartial in supervising contracts between freedmen and their employees.<sup>6</sup> Reporting that most freedmen worked well, Carse complained that he had had trouble with a few who thought they could “rely on the government to support them.” He also chastised those who neglected their crops to attend political rallies.<sup>7</sup> Just before he left the Bureau assignment, Carse reported that he did not think there was a place in the United States “more friendly as between labor and employer than in my subdistrict.”<sup>8</sup>

As in the case of many Freedmen’s Bureau agents and other northern men who came South after the war, Carse involved himself in Republican party politics as soon as it became known that Negroes were to be enfranchised. It was his duty as a Bureau agent to instruct the new voters on their rights and obligations. And it was only a short step from the role of instructor to that of political candidate in a party which had so few qualified leaders. But, unlike many of his colleagues, Carse did not resign his position with the Bureau and campaign for elective office. Instead, he took leave and accepted an appointive position. Having been transferred from his wartime unit to the 45th Infantry (Veterans Reserve Corps) in June 1867, he served as a captain of that unit assigned to the Freedmen’s Bureau in Florida until November 1868. He was then granted a six-months leave to become adjutant general of the state of Florida. During the two years he served in that office under Republican Governor Harrison Reed, the Freedmen’s Bureau was abolished and Carse never returned to duty with it.

It was an extremely deft and talented politician who could participate in Florida politics during the Reconstruction years without becoming embroiled in the acrimonious and contradictory factionalism that characterized the period. As a vigorous and

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5. Carse to F. F. Flint, June 1, 1868; Carse to Jackson, July 1, 1868; *ibid.*

6. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, February 22, 1871.

7. Carse to Jackson, August 15, April 13, 1868, FB.

8. Carse to Jackson, June 1, 1868, *ibid.*

loyal supporter of the controversial and frequently beleaguered Governor Reed, Captain Carse fell victim to the chief executive's political enemies but only after he had left a distinct impression on them.

Harrison Reed of Wisconsin, who had come to Florida as a United States official in 1863, and Thomas W. Osborn, former head of the Freedmen's Bureau in the state, were leaders of a group of moderate Republicans who literally took the 1868 constitutional convention away from a contending group of Radicals. After writing a constitution which satisfied themselves as well as the United States Congress, the moderates campaigned for ratification of the constitution and election of Reed as governor and William H. Gleason, also of Wisconsin, as lieutenant governor. After a successful campaign, the government was organized and Osborn was elected by the legislature to the United States Senate.<sup>9</sup> By late 1868, Reed and Osborn had become leaders of factions of their party contending for control of Florida government. When Reed antagonized some of the Republican legislators at a special session in November 1868, the lower house impeached him and the senate prepared to hear the case. According to the constitution the impeachment suspended the governor from office until the senate decided the question. The Osborn faction planned to remove Reed from office without having to try the case. Lieutenant Governor Gleason, as president of the senate, was in collusion with Osborn on the scheme. Assuming that the impeachment made him acting governor, Gleason managed adjournment resolutions through both houses and the legislators went home, thinking that Reed was out of office.<sup>10</sup>

Reed had no intention of surrendering the governorship however, and asked the state supreme court for an opinion as to whether the unusual maneuvering in the legislature had actually removed him from office. Awaiting the opinion of the court, Reed refused to leave his office in the capitol. Captain Carse and the Leon County sheriff established a twenty-four hour guard to prevent Gleason from taking possession of the governor's suite. Unable to gain access, Gleason, accompanied by Secretary of

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9. See Jerrell H. Shofner, "The Constitution of 1868," *Florida Historical Quarterly* XLI (April 1963), 356-74.

10. *Florida Senate Journal*, Extra Session (1868), 23-25.

State George J. Alden in possession of the state seal, set up a contending governor's office in the City Hotel across the street from the capitol.

Floridians heard with shock and considerable embarrassment the news that they had two contesting governors.<sup>11</sup> They were also somewhat surprised by the exuberance with which Captain Carse executed his duty of protecting the governor against his opponent. Gleason walked into the governor's office intent on redeeming some personal papers from the safe. When Carse found him there he thrust a loaded revolver in Gleason's face and ordered him out. The pretending governor retreated without his documents.<sup>12</sup> Carse subsequently found that Secretary of State Alden had also removed some documents, including Carse's own oath of office, from the capitol building. Angered by this discovery, the adjutant general went in immediate search for Alden. Finding him playing billiards in the City Hotel's game room, he seized Alden and demanded the return of the papers. When the secretary of state seemed evasive Carse again drew his pistol to demonstrate his earnestness. Several witnesses, including Chief Justice Edwin M. Randall of the state supreme court, interceded and quieted the furious adjutant general. The altercation ended with a peaceful conversation in which Alden explained himself to Carse's satisfaction.

Senator Osborn and his supporters tried to rid themselves of the persistent adjutant general. Congressman Charles M. Hamilton wrote the United States Adjutant General that Carse had assaulted the lieutenant governor, that he had been serving as a state official while on leave from the army, and that he should be recalled to military duty at once.<sup>13</sup> Without waiting for an answer to that request, Alden swore a warrant against Carse charging assault with intent to commit murder. The adjutant general was indicted, and a true bill was found at the spring 1869 term of the circuit court.

Because the case would have to be tried before Circuit Judge

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11. St. Augustine *Examiner*, November 28, 1868; Tampa *True Southerner*, December 3, 1868; A.B. Grumwell to Jackson, November 30, 1868, FB.
  12. Jacksonville *Florida Union*, December 3, 1868; Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, December 1, 15, 1868; Tallahassee *Sentinel*, December 10, 1868.
  13. C. M. Hamilton to Adjutant General's Office, January 3, 1869, Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94, National Archives.

Pleasant W. White, a well-known Conservative-Democrat who was known to be hostile toward the Republican faction represented by Alden and Gleason, Captain Carse's accusers were not anxious to pursue the case against him. It was continued for two terms of the court and brought to trial in 1870. With Anderson J. Peeler and Theodore W. Brevard, two of the most astute Conservative-Democratic lawyers in the state, defending him, Carse was found "not guilty" by a jury whose foreman was James Kirksey, another native Floridian whose family was prominent in Jefferson County.<sup>14</sup>

Governor Reed won his struggle with Gleason over the governorship. The supreme court agreed with his reasoning that he had not been properly removed from office. With the question settled, Reed moved against his enemies. First removing Secretary of State George J. Alden and replacing him with Jonathan Gibbs, Florida's first black cabinet officer, he then had Lieutenant Governor Gleason ousted from office on the technical ground that he had not met the constitutional residence requirement for the office.<sup>15</sup> Everyone agreed that the diligent support of his adjutant general, on leave from the United States Army, was a principal factor in Reed's victory over his opponents. Reed wrote Carse's father praising the captain for his valiant service. A large number of state legislators signed a testimonial to his credit.<sup>16</sup>

For nearly two years after the impeachment controversy, Carse served in Governor Reed's cabinet and assisted him in the almost impossible task of law enforcement in a state whose native white population was determined to overturn the Republican party by intimidating Negro voters and their white allies. Unfortunately for the Florida Republicans, the bitter intra-party factionalism continued. Threatened by a Conservative-Democratic opposition intent on destroying their party by any necessary means, the Republicans unwisely exhausted their energies fighting among themselves. Having failed to remove Governor Reed from office Osborn and his allies continued to collude against the chief executive. After a special legislative session in 1870 which enacted

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14. *State v. George B. Carse*, Spring Term, 1869, Circuit Court Records, Leon County.

15. Harrison Reed to Jonathan C. Gibbs, January 7, 1869, Records of the Secretary of State of Florida.

16. *New Jersey Manual of the Legislature* (1874), 72.

laws granting state financial assistance to a large railroad company, Reed's Republican enemies tried to discredit the governor by charging him and some of his supporters with bribery.

Carse was accused, along with several others, of offering money to legislators to vote for certain legislation. While most of the indictments referred to railroad legislation, Carse was accused of offering money to Senators Harry Cruse and Simon Katzenberg to vote for a bill dealing with a proposed agricultural college. Little is known about Cruse, but Katzenberg was a native white Republican whose allegations were hurled indiscriminantly during the period.<sup>17</sup> The only other witness was Frederick Hill, a Negro senator from Gadsden County who was closely allied with the Osborn faction of the party.

Of the mass of charges growing out of the special session, only one resulted in conviction. Senator Charles H. Pearce of Leon County, a Negro leader of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, was convicted and expelled from the senate. Most observers thought his conviction was due more to his loyal support of Governor Reed than to the question of guilt or innocence. None of the other cases were ever tried. Some were continued for several terms of the court, but all were ultimately quashed. Their outcome did not matter to Captain Carse. Exasperated at the bribery charges levelled at him, Carse was further disgusted when a true bill was found on both indictments at the fall term of the circuit court. Having had enough of Florida Republican politics, he resigned his office and left for New Jersey in late December 1870.<sup>18</sup>

Carse, apparently remembered in his home town of Camden, New Jersey, was shortly elected to the state legislature where he served three successive terms. Meanwhile he became an editor of the Camden *New Republic* and a respected citizen of the town he had left in 1861 to join the United States army.<sup>19</sup>

The Florida Republicans continued their in-fighting and the Conservative-Democrats ultimately destroyed their organization and the black electorate on which they depended for election victories. The legend about "black Reconstruction" and the

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17. *State v. George B. Carse*, November 18, 1870, and *State v. George B. Carse*, December 7, 1870, Circuit Court Records, Leon County.

18. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, February 22, 1871.

19. New Jersey *Manual of the Legislature* (1874), 72.



“carpetbaggers” who descended on the state after 1865 grew until it was rarely questioned. In retrospect white Floridians regarded men such as George B. Carse as anathema and their departure from the state as good riddance. Before accepting such a generalization as true, however, the contemporary evaluation of Carse by the Tallahassee *Floridian* should be taken into account.

The *Floridian* was edited by one of the most important Conservative-Democratic leaders in the state, and he lost no opportunity to discredit the Republicans whom he regarded as unwelcome intruders. Yet he had mostly praise for Captain Carse. Noting his departure from Florida, the editor wrote that “Governor Reed has lost a most devoted friend, one to whose untiring energy and unceasing activity his escape from impeachment is in a very considerable measure due.” Admitting that Carse was “a most determined partisan,” the editor added that “when he had it in his power, as agent of the Freedmen’s Bureau, to deal harshly with us, he did not abuse his privileges. On the contrary, his conduct was generally commended as just and fair. We have never heard his integrity impeached.”<sup>20</sup> Such praise was not handed loosely to Republicans from northern states by Conservative-Democratic Floridians in the 1870s.

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20. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, February 22, 1871.

## EAST FLORIDA IN 1834: LETTERS OF DR. JOHN DURKEE

edited by W. STANLEY HOOLE

**I**N THE SUMMER OF 1833 Dr. John Durkee, for more than ten years a practicing physician in Meredith Bridge (now a part of Laconia), New Hampshire, traveled to East Florida for the benefit of his health.<sup>1</sup> Settling in Jacksonville, a village of fewer than 250 people and about twenty houses and stores, he soon recuperated sufficiently to lead an active life.<sup>2</sup> He rode horseback into the hinterland of Duval County, hunted, fished, and because of his scientific background interested himself primarily in such subjects as alligators, snakes, deer, birds, trees, cattle, soils, and Indian archeology. Meantime, he kept abreast of the commercial affairs of the frontier community and studied the peculiarities of its people. Unless plantation owners are "interdicted by legislative enactments" to control their wasteful depletion of the land, he observed, Florida would "at length become depopulated and at least much retarded in its increase and prosperity."<sup>3</sup>

During April-June 1834 Durkee wrote several letters to his brother in Portsmouth, New Hampshire. He does not name his brother. The editor of the Portsmouth *Journal* found them to contain "so much interesting information respecting the topography, natural history, climate &c. of a distant section of our

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\* Mr. Hoole, dean emeritus of The University of Alabama Libraries, was editor of *The Alabama Review* from 1948 to 1967. He is indebted to the University of Alabama Research Grants Committee for the financial aid which made this study possible.

1. The New Hampshire Medical Society elected Durkee a member on June 4, 1822, and appointed him one of ten censors responsible for examining applicants in 1823. *Records of the New Hampshire Medical Society* (Concord, 1911), 170, 178-79. He is listed as head of a family in Meredith, New Hampshire, in U. S. Census Office, *Fifth Census of the United States, 1830, Population*, V (Washington, 1830), 16; microcopy of original manuscript, roll 19, National Archives, Washington.
2. T. Frederick Davis, *History of Jacksonville, Florida, and Vicinity, 1513-1924* (St. Augustine, 1925; facsimile edition, Gainesville, 1964), 75.
3. Durkee is not mentioned in Webster Merritt, *A Century of Medicine in Jacksonville and Duval County* (Gainesville, 1949). Dr. William M. Straight of Miami, who is compiling a history of Florida medicine, has no record of him. Straight to Hoole, November 8, 1972.

Union which is but little known among us" that he published them in his weekly on August 2, 9, 16, 23 "for the benefit of our readers." "If more of those who travel, and possess the ability, would turn their attention to such scientific researches," he editorialized, "they would be entitled to the thanks of the public." The letters, captioned "East Florida in 1834," were considered equally valuable by the editor of the Hampshire *Gazette* of Northampton, Massachusetts, who reprinted them in his paper on August 13, 20, 27, and September 3.

Durkee did not remain in Florida after his recuperation. In 1835 he resumed his practice in Meredith in association with Dr. John Langdon, a young protege.<sup>4</sup> But his letters, penned 140 years ago and printed verbatim below, present an account of Florida Territory in its earliest days.

Jacksonville, E. Florida  
Apr. 20, 1834

Dear Brother,— Now for a letter, as you desired. This city stands on the St. John's River, twenty-five miles from its mouth, on the right bank of the river as you ascend. It is situated on a handsome bluff about 25 feet above the level of the river, sloping in every direction like a turtle shell. The city covers the entire bluff. The first settlement was made about ten years since. It is 40 miles from St. Augustine by land, and the same distance from St. Mary's. The number of houses and stores is about twenty. A fine boarding house is now in progress by Messrs. Blanchard and Rider, formerly from Boston.<sup>5</sup> It is designed to accommodate sixty or eighty boarders. The proprietors intend to fit it up in a tasteful style. It will be completed in three or four months, and will doubtless afford every convenience for persons resorting to this place for either the improvement of health or for business. There is also a Court House, Custom House, and Jail. The

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4. Mary E. N. Hanaford (comp.). *Meredith, N. H. Annals and Genealogies* (Concord, 1932), 266.

5. Clarence E. Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers of the United States*, 26 vols. (Washington, 1956-62), XXV, 20, 561-62, 577, lists A. D. Blanchard, C. Rider, and Daniel B. Rider as signers of East Florida petitions to Congress for mail routes, and H. R. Blanchard as a signer of a document urging the establishment of "Dade Institute of Florida." It is, of course, impossible to identify the men to whom Durkee refers.

Superior Court holds its session here semi-annually. I have formed a slight acquaintance with the Judge. He is a man of high talents, and presides with dignity, and decides his cases to the satisfaction of all the friends of good order and justice.—<sup>6</sup> Although the number of inhabitants here is quite small, it is necessary to be under the organization of a city government to preserve the peace and prosperity of the place. The Mayor is an intelligent and persevering officer, and is entitled to great credit for his fidelity to his trust. He knows no distinction. Whoever offends against the dignity and quietness of the city is brought under the discipline of this energetic officer. I cannot say too much in his praise. The people I find to be exceedingly hospitable and attentive; and the state of the society generally is undergoing a happy transformation. An invalid, so disposed, may here enjoy himself in hunting wild game of the noblest description and in taking from the river as many fish as he pleases. These employments, with the agreeable excitement they so naturally create, add not a little to the causes of convalescence which I have already experienced. I will speak hereafter of the salubrity of the climate, diet, and general facilities held out to persons laboring under pulmonic difficulties. Thus far my hopes of improvement from change of climate and scenery, suspension of business, &c. &c. have been fully realized.

The St. John's River is navigable for about one hundred miles for vessels of 90 or 100 tons. It is a fine stream, being from three to five miles wide, and having a fall of more than three inches per mile. The influence of the tide is felt for about 70 miles from its mouth. It abounds with the best of fish of various kinds, such as Mullet, Bass, the Trout, Sheephead, Blackfish, Hairfish, &c. The latter resemble what we call the pumpkin seed fish, found in many streams at the North;— they weigh from five to six pounds, and have a tuft of hair sprouting from the gills on each side, running nearly parallel with the body and extending four or six inches beyond the extremity of the tail. I will mention also

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6. President Andrew Jackson appointed Robert R. Reid, a former Georgia congressman, May 24, 1832, to succeed Joseph L. Smith as judge of the Superior Court of the Eastern District of Florida. President Martin Van Buren named Reid governor of the Florida Territory, November 1839. *Ibid.*, XXIV, 705; XXV, 489, 657.

7. William J. Mills, from Amelia Island, became Jacksonville's first mayor after its incorporation in 1832. He served from 1832 to 1834. Davis, *History of Jacksonville*, 293.

the Stingery fish, which is one of the most curious specimens of the piscatory tribe I have ever seen. It is flat, and is not unlike the Place fish in its general contour. Its surface is from one foot to three feet broad and its weight, when full of size, is thirty pounds. Its tail is like that of the Muskrat and is sometimes three feet long. Near the extremity is a bearded sting, of a perfectly horny substance, measuring from four to six inches. This sting is used as a weapon of defence, when occasion requires, and serves also as an excellent gear for the fish to seize upon the smaller fry and make them its prey. We have oysters of the large and best kind.

The bosom of the river is literally covered with wild ducks, pelicans, wild geese, and Alligators. I have seen the St. John's completely darkened with myriads of ducks, for several miles, and would other circumstances permit, one might take a walk upon their brown backs from one shore to the other, a distance of three or four miles, without wetting his feet, so compact and numerous are these beautiful creatures.— When they rise to fly the noise of their fluttering wings may be heard at the distance of half a mile. Fine sport it is to shoot them, as you may well imagine.

The Alligators keep up a continual roar. In the morning by day break I am frequently awaked from my sleep by the uproarious voices of these amphibious rascals. Their noise may be heard three or four miles, and bears a strong likeness to that of the Lion. The Alligator swallows pitch pine knots in the fall of the year; at which season he prepares to deposit his huge carcass in his den or cave for the winter. The mouth or entrance of the cave is always beneath low water mark, and its termination above high water mark. An Alligator was killed a few years since, and a glass bottle it is said, was taken from his capacious maw,— another was captured and on dissection a cannon ball was found in his stomach. One side of the ball had a smooth, polished surface, from the action of the gastric liquor. The ball I believe, is now deposited in one of our northern museums. These substances are swallowed by the animal to prevent the walls of the stomach from collapsing during the cheerless season of its dormant state. From what I have been able to learn of the habits of Alligators, I cannot discover that they possess any peculiar sagacity. They

have little or no brains. Every animal is in the utmost trepidation at sight of them.— They build their nests of reeds, twigs, leaves, &c. piled up three or four feet on the marsh grounds, and their eggs (which are a third larger than a goose egg) to the amount of half a bushel, and thickly inlaid and covered over with the same materials. The female stations herself at a short distance, to defend them from intruders, and if any creature chances to approach this spot of her future progeny, she exhibits symptoms of inconceivable fury. Thus she maintains her almost sleepless vigils until the influence of the torrid sun liberates her from the solitary task of giving birth and freedom to the embryo brood. The young ones will give fight the moment they are released from the shell, and often when they are threatened with danger they will seek a hiding place by running down the mother's throat. The other day I shot five of them. I apprehend our antipathy is mutual; I doubt not but those which my faithful rifle shall spare, will hold a general convocation and jubilee as soon as they learn that I have departed from their territories.

April 27.— Today I killed a large Alligator— his weight was over four hundred pounds— put the ball in at one eye and it came out at the other. On dissecting him I found a curious arrangement of the blood vessels of the heart, and four musk bags, two of which lie under the angle of the lower jaw. This musk is used for medicinal purposes here, and a good substitute for that obtained from the beaver. They shed their teeth every year.

The Alligators destroy a great many hogs and cattle, and are very saucy and dangerous to people in small boats. A gentleman more than 70 years of age from the country, came to my boarding house a few days ago. In descending the river in his canoe, a large Alligator made towards him just as he was opposite Jacksonville, and seized upon the bow of the boat with his jaws, and at the same time struck with his ponderous tail and shivered it into many pieces. The old man pulled for the shore and fortunately escaped unhurt.

*CLIMATE.* — June 15.— I have cooked eggs in twenty minutes, by exposing them to the heat of the sun in the sand; and at the same time, with the thermometer at 106°,— I felt quite comfortable in the open air, and reclining under the dense umbrage of the trees, which were fanned by the pressing breeze. I have suf-

ferred more from the heat at the north when the glass ranged from 85 to 90 degrees than I have experienced here with the maximum just named.

The thermometer seldom rises above 85 or 90 degrees to remain any time.

Fresh breezes commence almost every morning at about eight o'clock, and continue through the day. The most prevalent and by far the most agreeable winds travel from the Gulph of Mexico in a south easterly direction to this place. They are warm and extremely grateful and exhilarating to the body, and although I am in latitude 30 degrees north subject to the intense rays of the sun, I do not experience any inconvenience from what you might suppose would be a close and sultry atmosphere; but its lively fanning motion at all times, renders it not only tolerable but agreeable. The winds from the north east are also healthy— those from the north west are less so;— the latter however are of short duration, and rare in their visitation.

*DIET.* — All I can say about the diet is that we have three times a day, *hog and hominy*— *hog and hominy*. These always taste well. The hominy is eaten with the cane syrup, which is used as a condiment. This diet keeps the system regular, and it is to the appetite what a hone is to a razor or rather what filthy lucre is to the miser— the more one eats the more he craves. It always sets quietly upon the stomach, and is easily digested. Wild game and fish we have when we please, but nothing is like the hominy and syrup.

Jacksonville, E. Florida  
June 18, 1834

Dear Brother,— I shall continue to furnish you with the substance of my observations relating to this section of the country, and your curiosity is satisfied and you say *enough*.

The banks of the St. John's river are generally very shoal, except occasionally a steep bluff, which is thickly studded with live oak, the majestic magnolia; sweet, sour and bitter oranges, and the lemon— all covered with moss, hanging down in dense and beautiful festoons. Other fruits, found here, besides those I have mentioned, are the best of Grapes, Figs, Citrons, Peaches, Plumbs and berries of various and the richest kinds.

Vessels and boats almost daily pass up and down the stream. The steamboat arrives here once a week from Charleston, via Savannah, Darien, St. Mary's and Jacksonville to Palatka 75 miles up the river.

The land back from the river is one perfect level. Its wood-growth consists chiefly of pine of middling size but of superior quality. It is a beautiful ride to mount a horse and travel 10 or 15 miles through the "pine barrens" as they are termed,— there is no undergrowth to intercept your vision. The bounding deer can be seen at all times in droves of 40 or 60.— The huntsmen may take as many as he chooses. They are sometimes killed in the night by carrying a lighted torch. They will approach sufficiently near to be shot. The tiger, wolf, wild-cat, bear and wild boar are plenty and are often killed. The deer, it seems, often engage with each other in a fatal contest. I send you two pairs of large bucks' horns. They are inseparably interlocked, showing the manner in which the infuriated animals expired on the field of battle. They met and fought and died— in union of heads, but twain of heart.

I have not see a primitive rock or stone since I arrived. I have found a few specimens of pyrites of iron in the bed of the river and in the creeks. I am told that the limestone rock is found at Alochaway, seventy-five miles from Jacksonville. I went a short time since 12 or 15 miles into the country where I found a knot of men at work digging a foundation for a saw and grist mill. They had descended 15 feet and fell upon a stratum of oyster shells. They had penetrated about four feet into the shells, but did not find lower boundary or surface. This was 13 miles from the river and 25 from the ocean. The laborers informed me that beds of these shells were found in like positions all over the territory; thus demonstrating that the sea once covered this tract— There are several ancient mounds which I shall visit soon. I have seen some bones and utensils that were found in them. They are very interesting specimens and I intend. them for you. Several medicinal springs have been found in the interior; their properties are principally chalybeate, and have attracted considerable attention for their healing efficacy in rheumatic affections. They are frequented by people from Georgia and other sections.

As to the fertility of the soil in this country, it cannot be said to be above that of mediocrity in the northern states, although



people can obtain a living herewith less labor than is required with you. The chief productions here are corn, rice, peas, beans, cotton, the sugar-cane and some others already mentioned. The planters traffic more or less in venison and furs; lumber trade is profitably followed by some and also the moss.

The planters are accustomed to set fire to the extensive pine barrens once or twice every year. This practice has prevailed for many years, and its effects, I am satisfied, are detrimental to the soil and of course to the interests of the possessors. The crops of grass are thus diminished from year to year— the original roots are partially destroyed; but the chief injury consists in the destruction of the grass itself; which, if suffered to remain unmolested, would decompose upon the spot and impart much fertility to the soil. Not a few plantations have been abandoned because they ceased to supply the herds of cattle &c. with the necessary amount of fodder, which failure is to be attributed to the above named cause. The planters, however, do not appear to understand the reason of the failure they complain of, and will be likely to pursue their accustomed way until it is interdicted by legislative enactments, which ought to be made and enforced without delay — otherwise the farming interests will be subject to still greater injury, and the country at length become depopulated or at least much retarded in its increase and prosperity.

Most of the planters raise large herds of cattle— The pasture grounds are not enclosed by fences.— Their horses and hogs are permitted to roam in the forests without restraint— their owners sometimes not seeing them once in a twelve month. The horses are generally very lean and perform but little service. I saw a living skeleton of a horse the other day with several crows preying upon the flesh upon his back which had been denuded of its skin to some extent. The poor animal was greatly emaciated and tormented, nature apparently would have soon passed him over as a lawful plunder to these saucy marauders. I told the owner of the beast that if he would give me permission I thought I could persuade those taloned blackamoors to dismount by giving them a good salutation from my rifle; but the man declined and the experiment was not made. Perhaps the offer would have been quite as merciful in me had I proposed the horse for a mark instead of the crows.

The *Rattle-Snake* attains a much greater size here than at the North. It is sometimes as large in circumference as a man's thigh, and seven or eight feet in length. The virus is much more fatal during the month of August than in the early part of the season. Its color is a lively green, and in very hot weather I have seen it trickle down in copious drops, when I have irritated the animal with a stick. There are times when the whole body seems to be surcharged with the virus, and he may be seen for hours together biting at every object, and enraged at the rustling of every leaf.

The Rattle-Snake finds a superior foe in the deer and the Black Snake. Whenever a buck discovers a rattle-snake in a situation which invites attack, he loses no time in preparing for battle. He makes up to within 10 or 12 feet of the snake— then leaps forward and aims to sever the body of the snake with his sharp bifurcated hoofs. The first onset is most commonly successful: but if otherwise, the buck repeats the trial until he cuts the snake in twain.— The rapidity and fatality of his skillful manoeuvre leave but a slight chance for his victim either to escape or to inject its poison into its more alert antagonist. The black snake also is more than an equal competitor against the rattle-snake. Such is its celerity of motion not only in running, but in entwining itself around its victim, that the rattle-snake has no way of escaping from its fatal embrace. When the black and rattle-snakes are about to meet for battle, the former darts forward at the height of his speed, and strikes at the neck of the latter with unerring certainty, leaving a foot or two of the upper part of his own body at liberty. In an instant he encircles him within five or six folds:— he then stops and looks the strangled and gasping foe in the face to ascertain the effect produced upon his corsetted body. If he shows signs of life the coils are multiplied and the screws tightened— the operator all the while narrowly watching the countenance of the helpless victim. Thus the two remain thirty or forty minutes— the executioner then slackens one coil, noticing at the same time whether any signs of life appear— if so the coil is resumed and retained until the incarcerated wretch is completely dead. The moccasin snake is destroyed in the same way.

Jacksonville, E. Florida  
June, 1834

This section of country abounds with several species of small animals and insects, not found at the North. Cameleons are numerous. They are a most beautiful little creature. The body is about the size and length of the little finger— the tail from four to six inches long— slender and prehensile, so that they can entwine it round the small twigs of trees and shrubbery, like the Ape. The head is shaped somewhat like that of a small snake, but is more pointed. Their legs (four in number) are an inch and a half long, and terminated by five unciform claws. They subsist on flies, spiders, &c. Their motion is exceedingly quick. They are harmless and easily domesticated. They frequently make their appearance at table during meal time, and will watch every motion of those who are eating, and seem to say “ we would have a bite.” The most natural complexion of the skin is ash-color. The lungs are very capacious, and the different degrees of their inflation produce the varieties of color upon the skin, for which the cameleon is remarkable. The transition from one hue to another is very rapid, when the animal is put in quick motion. I believe the common idea that it can at pleasure assume the color of the substance it is placed upon is not correct.

I can tell you a tolerably tough story about our grasshoppers. They are three or four inches in length. Their wings are comparatively small, but in other respects they are well proportioned. I have seen them pitch a regular battle with hens, when the latter have attempted to kill and eat them. The grasshopper places himself in an erect position like some brave militia officer, and valiantly resists every offensive movement made by his greedy antagonist, handling his claws with artful dexterity, and rarely affording his adversary occasion to *crow* over his defeat. His chief security, however, consists in the crustaceous armour with which he is invested— a peculiarity which belongs to this tribe of insects in Florida, and which will sufficiently explain the difficulty of overpowering them. They are also gorgeously bedecked with variegated hues, and in this particular will vie with any creature that ever entered the field.

Turtles of various kinds and species are numerous. The

people understand to perfection the art of converting them into soups. Scores of Aldermen might come here and fare sumptuously at a cheap rate, and without molestation or complaint.

I have been not a little diverted in observing the movements of the Eagle, the Fish-hawk and other birds of prey towards those of their fellows, which from some misfortune, are placed in circumstances of defencelessness, and thus affording an illustration of the conduct occasionally seen among members of the human family. The other day I shot at a fish-hawk and broke his thigh bone. The enfeebled member of course hung down and dangled about the moment the bird took flight.

A flock of other birds mistaking the broken leg for a snake, which they supposed he had caught for his own use, gave violent chase, and continued to pounce upon the Fish-hawk and jerk his leg, until he was so exhausted that he was obliged to give himself up and let them amputate his limb, which they carried away in clamorous triumph.

The growth of timber in Florida consists of Live Oak, Pine, Mahogany, Magnolia, Cabbage-Tree, Cyprus, Chinchopin &c.

The live oak is a source of great profit. It is customary for a man to collect together fifty or sixty "live oak cutters" as they are termed, and encamp in the forests where they usually remain from autumn until spring, busily employed in felling the trees.— The timber is properly trimmed and hewn, conveyed to a creek with teams,— the logs are then floated down in lighters to the St. John's river where lumber vessels are in waiting to transport them to N.Y. city, Philadelphia, Boston, &c. I have known one hundred of these "cutters" to land here at one time from New York.

Next in point of importance is the ranging timber, or yellow pine. This tree surpasses in height all the other trees found in these forests, but its size is inferior to the pines at the north. It is however much more durable, and large quantities are transported. Its specific weight is nearly equal to that of the oak. Its fibers are densely compacted, and the whole trunk completely saturated with pitch. Its strength is such that the planters manufacture cart-tongues, axle-trees, &c. from it. There are other terebinthinate trees found in these forests. The mahogany is wrought into furniture like that brought from the West Indies,

although by no means so elegant. The cabbage tree is the Queen of the forest. Its height is sixty or one hundred feet. Its beauty surpasses my powers of description. The perfume from the musk bags of Alligators pervades every spot of the woods where I have travelled. The inhabitants soon become accustomed to it, and it is quite agreeable to the olfactory organs as a smelling bottle in a sultry day.

The Legislative Assembly have passed an Act granting permission for the construction of a Rail Road from this place to Tallahassee, the territorial seat of Government. The expense is estimated at \$3000 per mile. Timber suitable for the purpose is found in abundance in the extensive country through the proposed route. When the Rail Road shall be completed, it will in a great measure supercede the necessity of vessels sailing round the Gulph of Florida— thus affording good facilities for internal communications— be the means of saving much property and many lives— materially enhance the value of the land, give a general impulse to business in the interior and serve to improve the population in their habits of industry as well as in a variety of other ways.<sup>8</sup>

Jacksonville, E. Florida  
June, 1834

Dear Brother,— A few days since, I took with me two young slaves, furnished by a friend, for the purpose of visiting an ancient Indian Mound on the St. John's River, twelve miles below Jacksonville. It stands on a conical bluff fifty feet high, and containing about two acres, skirted on the east by the river. The mound is circular,— covering one third of an acre, and rising like a dome from the bluff to the height of forty feet, so that the summit of the mound cannot be much short of one hundred feet from the level of the river. It is thickly covered with trees and shrubbery

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8. The "Florida Peninsula, and Jacksonville Rail Road Company" was chartered February 15, 1834 at a capitalization of \$1,000,000. It was to run from "Jacksonville to Tallahassee, a distance of about one hundred and forty-five miles in a straight line to be there connected with the Tallahassee and St. Marks Rail Road, also chartered at the present session." Carter, *Territorial Papers*, XXIV, 976-77. See also Davis, *History of Jacksonville*, 74; *Laws of the Legislative Council of the Territory of Florida passed at twelfth session, January 6 to February 16, 1834* (Tallahassee, 1834), 81-87, 93-99.

from the largest live oak which is an evergreen, to the beautiful hawthorn and the aromatic myrtle, all of which are filled with moss pendant from the branches, and imparting a dark and melancholy air to this rude mausoleum of the dead. Thus it would seem that nature does not blush to mourn for these children of the forest, although they have been persecuted, despised, abused, destroyed, hunted down, and expatriated by all the conquering genius of civilization. About one fourth of the bluff and mound has been undermined and washed away by the constant friction and dashing of the river, and the time will come when the whole pile will be completely submerged beneath the water. On the side adjacent to the water, human skulls, trunks and limbs of all sizes, from the helpless infant to the strong warrior who once gloried in his prowess, may be seen projecting out in a horizontal position, and supporting the superincumbent earth. Many of the bones were in good state of preservation, notwithstanding the unknown centuries which have elapsed since they were here deposited, and I succeeded in tracing out several skeletons nearly entire without difficulty. The manner in which the mound was formed is this:— The original bluff, which is composed principally of sand and clay, was excavated about fifteen feet in depth, and over a sufficient area to form the base of the mound. A tier of dead bodies was then arranged on the bottom, and covered with a stratum of earth twelve or fifteen inches thick, then another layer of bodies, covered with earth in a similar manner until this alternation reached the surface of the natural bluff. Thus the mound continues to the distance of about forty feet above the bluff, gradually tapering till you reach the summit. Over the whole is a stratum of oyster shells very regularly arranged, and about twenty inches in thickness. The upper surface of these oyster shells is covered with a layer of earth fifteen inches deep. Whether this last deposite of earth was made by the hand of time or of man, it is impossible to decide. The trees which spread their branches over this sepulchral spot, and which add not a little to its antique and solemn appearance, are undoubtedly of spontaneous growth. On digging a few feet into the mound, I found that every skeleton was surrounded by earth of a deep florid tinge. This was uniformly the case, and the peculiar tint I believe, must have derived from the iron contained in the

blood, but now united with the silex, &c. These dead bodies must have been ages and ages in accumulating, and perhaps ten times as many ages have passed away since the last burial took place. I found here one bead made of bone half an inch long;— and an axe of stone— the most beautiful I ever saw, although similar in other respects to the same aboriginal utensil found in many parts of New England. No person, living in this section of the country, can give any account, either historical or traditional, respecting these interesting monuments of savage life, or rather I should say, of the savage dead.

A road called the King's road is constructed from Jacksonville to St. Mary's and St. Augustine; and another known as the Government road, extends from Jacksonville to Alochaway and Tallahassee.— The country through which these principal roads pass, is generally somewhat sandy, but they are kept in as good condition as the nature of the soil will permit, so that the traveling is tolerably pleasant.— The Government road is considerably frequented by people who come from S. Carolina and Georgia to visit the Medicinal Springs in the interior. All the other roads of which I have any knowledge, are more single trails leading to the habitations of planters. The feet of the horses are not encumbered with shoes which would be entirely useless. Mules are much used here for journeying. The common practice is in caravans, particularly with the planters who move from one section to another.— They mount their mules and horses and string themselves out in a single file with their slaves in front and mounted. They camp out by night, strike up a light, and after taking their evening refreshment, go out in pursuit of deer. The deer make their appearance from the deep and dense hammocks of live oak (there they remain by day) to graze by night during the absence of the moon. The hunter lights pitch pine sticks, which he places in a flat vessel similar to a frying pan, the handle of which is placed on his shoulders so that the torch is behind him, and kept trimmed and burning by an attendant. The light falls upon the eyes of the deer and is reflected back to the huntsman who judges of the distance between him and the deer by the distance which appears to be between the two eye balls of the deer. When these appear to be about three inches asunder, the hunter judges the animal to be at a proper distance for his rifle

to take effect. In this manner he can calculate on greater success than hunting by day light.

The planters keep immense herds of swine and cattle, all of which run wild. Of the former stock it is not uncommon for one man to own four or five hundred. They run wild and are extremely ferocious. The old ones will make an attack upon you as readily as would a bear when they are molested or when their young are supposed to be in danger.

The cattle are not as large as you find at the north. Their color is almost uniformly white.—Whenever the planter is in want of beef he goes into the forest with his rifle which he levels at any one that may suit his fancy. Pork is obtained in the same manner. In the spring of the year the planters mount their horses and turn out for “a cow hunting.” They sometimes wander ten, twenty or thirty miles before they find them. They will rent twenty or forty cows for as long a period as a new settler may choose, allowing the settler to have all the milk and one third of the stock arising from the increase. The price of a cow and calf is ten dollars invariably. Yours, &c. J.D.



## FLORIDA HISTORY RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

This list shows the amount and variety of Florida history research and writing currently underway and as reported to the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. Doctoral dissertations and masters theses completed in 1973 are included. Research in Florida history, sociology, anthropology, political science, archeology, geography, and urban studies is included.

### *Auburn University*

- Adolphus G. Bunkley— “Peter Chester, Governor of British West Florida” (M.A. thesis in progress).
- John H. Burrows— “History of the National Negro Business League, 1900-1952” (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- Robin F. A. Fabel— “George Johnston” (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- Kendrick T. Ford— “William Henry Chase” (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- Wesley P. Newton and W. David Lewis (faculty)— “The History of Delta Air Lines” (continuing study).
- F. L. Owsley, Jr. (faculty)— “Andrew Jackson and the Annexation of Florida”; “The Struggle for the Gulf: the Role of the South in the War of 1812” (continuing studies).
- Robert R. Rea (faculty)— “Lt. Col. James Robertson’s Mission to the Floridas, 1763” (continuing study).
- Robert R. Rea (faculty) and William Dornemann— “The Third Waldeck Regiment in the American Revolution” (continuing study).
- Robert R. Rea (faculty) and Robin F. A. Fabel— “Lt. Thomas Campbell’s Journey to the Upper Creek Country, 1764-65” (continuing study).
- Edward C. Williamson (faculty)— “Florida Politics in the Gilded Age” (accepted for publication, University Presses of Florida).

### *Case Western Reserve University*

- Joseph Adler— “The Public Career of Senator David Levy Yulee” (Ph.D. dissertation— completed).

*Daytona Beach Community College*

Peter D. Klingman (faculty)– “History of the Republican Party in Florida” (continuing study).

*Flagler College*

Thomas S. Graham (faculty)– “Charles H. Jones, 1848-1913: Editor and Progressive Democrat” (continuing study).

Michael J. Sherman (faculty) and Robert Steinbach– “A Project in Living History: Recreation of an Eighteenth Century Lifestyle” (continuing study).

*Florida Atlantic University*

Burt T. Goodnough– “The Presidential Election of 1948 in Florida” (M.A. thesis in progress).

Edgar L. Money– “The Civil Public Service Program in Florida During World War II” (M.A. thesis in progress).

William C. Zehnder– “The Presidential Election of 1952 in Florida” (M.A. thesis– completed).

*Florida State University*

William R. Brueckheimer (faculty)– “Origin, Distribution, and Changing Functions of Hunting Plantations in the Thomasville-Tallahassee Region” (continuing study).

James W. Cortada– “U.S.-Spanish Relations, 1770-1974”; “Florida Politics and Cuba, 1880s” (continuing studies).

Mary France– “The Evolution Controversy in Florida: 1921-1928” (M.A. thesis– completed).

Paul George– “Crime and Punishment in Miami, 1920-1945” (Ph.D. dissertation in progress)..

Bruce T. Grindal– “The Black Rural Community, Tallahassee, Florida” (M.A. thesis in progress).

Robert Hall (faculty)– “The Social Cosmos of Black Churches in North Florida, 1885-1925” (continuing study).

Brian Hennessy– “The Racial Integration of Urban Police Forces in Florida” (M.A. thesis in progress).

M.K. Jones– “Survey of Upper Sweetwater Creek Drainage” (M.A. thesis in progress).

- William Kerr– “The 1928 Presidential Election and the Catholic Issue in Florida” (M.A. thesis in progress).
- Edward F. Keuchel (faculty)– “The German-American Lumber Company” (continuing study).
- Louis Lesar (National Park Service)– “Archeological Survey from Panama City, Florida, to Mobile, Alabama” (continuing study).
- Janice B. Miller– “Spanish East Florida under Governor Juan Nepomuceno de Quesada, 1789-1795” (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- J. Anthony Paredes (faculty)– “The Creek Nation East of the Mississippi” (continuing oral history project).
- George Percy (faculty)– “Archeological Study of the Upper Apalachicola River Basin”; “History of the Bison in the Panhandle Region of Florida”; “Annotated Bibliography of Northwest Florida Archaeology”; “Review of Evidence for Types of Animals Used by Prehistoric Indians of Northwest Florida” (continuing studies).
- William A. Rabiega (faculty) and Lucien Lamoureaux– “Wholesaling Hierarchies: A Florida Case Study” (accepted for publication, *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie*).
- Mike Schene– “In Search of Profit: An Economic Study of the Gamble Family, 1820-1900” (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- Burke G. Vanderhill (faculty)– “The Historic Spas of Florida” (accepted for publication, *West Georgia College Studies in the Social Sciences*); “The Everglades” (accepted for publication, *Encyclopaedia Britannica*); “Problems of Traffic Generation on the Apalachicola-Chattahoochee-Flint Waterway” (continuing study).
- Linda K. Williams– “British Loyalism in East Florida” (M.A. thesis in progress).
- J.L. Wright, Jr. (faculty) – *Britain and the American Frontier, 1783-1815* (accepted for publication, University of Georgia Press); “Florida During the American Revolution” (continuing study).
- Roland G. Wood (faculty)– “Applications of Remote Sensing to Coastal Archeological Research” (continuing study).

Roland G. Wood and Edward A. Fernald (faculty) – *New Florida Atlas: Patterns of the Sunshine State*. (accepted for publication, Trend House, Tampa).

*Florida Technological University*

Jerrell H. Shofner, (faculty)– “History of Jefferson County” (continuing study).

*Jacksonville University*

Frederick S. Aldridge (faculty)– “An Analysis of Effective Consolidation Upon the City of Jacksonville” (continuing study).

George E. Buker (faculty)– “Effect of the Union Blockade Upon Florida During the Civil War” (continuing study).

Joan S. Carver (faculty)– “Consolidation and Responsiveness” (accepted for publication, *Urban Affairs Quarterly*); “Functions of Consolidated Government in the City of Jacksonville” (continuing study).

*Kennesaw (Georgia) Junior College*

Robert H. Akerman (faculty)– “Race Relations and Florida Politics in the 1930s and 1940s” (continuing study).

*Palm Beach Atlantic College*

Jerry Weeks (faculty)– “Florida Citrus Industry in the Nineteenth Century” (continuing study).

*Princeton University*

Arnold M. Pavlosky– “Protest and Reform: Florida Politics, 1880-1908” (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

*Samford University*

Michael Carter– “Jerry W. Carter and the Townsend Movement in Florida, 1936-1940” (M.A. thesis– completed).

Wayne Flynt (faculty)– “The Messiah of the Woolly Hats: Governor Sidney J. Catts of Florida” (completed).

*Stetson University*

Malcolm M. Wynn (faculty)– “French Reaction to the Spanish Massacre at Fort Caroline, 1565” (continuing study).

*Tampa, Florida*

Captain John Ware– “A Life of George Gauld” (continuing study).

*Texas Tech University*

Thomas Davis Watson– “Merchant Adventurer in the Old Southwest: William Panton, The Spanish Years, 1783-1801” (Ph.D. dissertation).

*University of Alabama in Birmingham*

Jack D. L. Holmes (faculty)– “Pensacola Settlers, 1780-1821”; “Alabama’s Colonial Settlers”; “Bernardo de Galvez and the Spanish Conquest of the Mobile District”; “Bernardo de Galvez and the American Revolution in West Florida”; “Descriptions of West Florida by Andrew Ellicott, John Forbes, Juan Maria Perchet, and Stephen Minor”; “Jose de Evia and his Voyages in the Gulf of Mexico, 1786-1796”; “Tobacco and Cannabis in Colonial Louisiana and the Floridas” (continuing studies).

Larry R. McIntosh– “The Black Watch during the Seven Years’ War” (M.A. thesis in progress).

David White (faculty)– “The Career of Governor Vicente Folch y Juan, 1789-1814” (continuing study).

*University of Arizona*

George R. Adams– “William Selby Harney: Frontier Soldier” (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

*University of Florida*

Edward Akin– “Origins, Development, and Impact of the Flagler System, 1885-1913” (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Fred Blakey (faculty)– “History of the Florida Cattle Industry” (continuing study).

- James T. Brooks— “Rhetorical Study of the Speaking of Governors Napoleon Bonaparte Broward of Florida, Hoke Smith of Georgia, and Charles B. Aycock of North Carolina” (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- Charles Chase— “Historic American Building Survey Catalog Guide to the State of Florida” (continuing study).
- William C. Childers (faculty)— “Garth Wilkinson and Robertson James: Abolitionists in Gainesville During Reconstruction” (continuing study).
- Merlin G. Cox (faculty) and Baynard Kendrick— “Chase Family of Sanford: A History of Citrus and-Vegetable Industries in Florida” (continuing study).
- Kathleen A. Deagan— “Indian-Spanish Interaction in Colonial St. Augustine” (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- Bruce Ergood— “Counselor Role Perception and Role Performance: A Study of Alachua County Clergymen” (Ph.D. dissertation— completed).
- Charles H. Fairbanks (faculty)— “Neutron activation study of *majolica* from Spanish colonial sites” (continuing study).
- Michael V. Gannon (faculty)— “Documentary History of Florida, Volume I: The Colonial Period, 1513-1821” (continuing study).
- Thomas S. Graham— “Charles H. Jones, 1848-1913: Editor and Progressive Democrat” (Ph.D. dissertation— completed).
- Robert Heighton (faculty)— “Impact of Migration on Flagler County” (continuing study).
- Edward Johnson— “W. M. Newton, Jr., and the Genesis of Investigative Reporting of Florida Government” (M.A. thesis— completed).
- John Paul Jones (faculty)— “Florida Press Association” (continuing study).
- Stephen Kerber— “Park Trammell of Florida” (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- Jeddy LeVar— “The Local Judiciary as a Collection Agency” (Ph.D. dissertation).
- Eugene Lyon— “The Adelantamiento of Florida, 1565-1568” (Ph.D. dissertation— completed).
- Carl McMurray— “Excavations on Spanish Street, St. Augustine” (M.A. thesis in progress).

- Judith McMurray– “Excavation of the Mission of San Juan del Puerta, Fort George Island” (M.A. thesis in progress).
- Jerald Milanich (faculty)– “Ethnohistory of the Timucua in North-Central Florida” (continuing study).
- George Pozzetta (faculty)– “Florida’s Ethnic Population: 1870-1920” (continuing study).
- Samuel Proctor (faculty)– “Documentary History of Florida, Volume II: Modern Florida, 1821-Present” (continuing study).
- Bruce Rosen– “Development of Negro Education in Florida During Reconstruction” (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- Steven Ruple– “Excavations at Shipyard Island, Ft. Caroline National Monument” (M.A. thesis in progress).
- Amy Bushnell-Seitz– “Social History of St. Augustine in the Spanish Period” (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- Samuel D. Smith– “Reinterpretation of the Cades Pond Archeological Period” (M.A. thesis– completed).
- Claude C. Sturgill (faculty)– “British Garrisons in Eighteenth-Century Florida” (continuing study).
- Eldon R. Turner (faculty)– “Gainesville Odd Fellows Lodge, 1898-1930” (continuing study).
- Sharon Wells– “The Political Ramifications in Florida of the Disston Land Purchase of 1881” (M.A. thesis in progress).
- Phillip Alton Werndli– “J. C. Penney and the Development of Penney Farms, Florida” (M.A. thesis in progress).
- L. Glenn Westfall– “Ybor City, A Cultural and Social History of a Southern Immigrant Town” (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- Arthur White (faculty)– “William N. Sheats: Florida’s Progressive Educator, 1892-1922” (continuing study).

*University of Miami*

- Bonnie D. Brodie– “A Study of In-Migration Processes, Broward County, Florida” (M.A. thesis– completed).
- Charlton W. Tebeau (emeritus professor)– “History of the University of Miami” (continuing study).

*University of South Carolina*

- Lewis H. Cresse, Jr.– “William Henry Gleason: Carpetbagger,

Politician, Land Developer" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Robert Culbertson— "Florida State Grange, 1873" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

*University of South Florida*

Wayne Dudley (faculty)— "The Marcus Garvey Movement in Florida" (continuing study).

Douglas Fleming— "Toward Integration: The Course of Race Relations in St. Petersburg, 1868-1963" (M.A. thesis in progress).

Douglas Hatten— "Distribution of Black Neighborhoods in Tampa, Florida: A Spatial Analysis" (M.A. thesis in progress).

John Hopkins— "Ticket-splitting Relative to Political Parties in Hillsborough County" (M.A. thesis in progress).

Ann Kelly (faculty)— "Florida's Delegate Selection Process in Presidential Nominations" (continuing study).

Denise Kelly— "Greek Immigration in Tarpon Springs" (M.A. thesis in progress).

Mary Leffler— "A Study of Parks and Recreation in Tampa, Florida" (M.A. thesis in progress).

Lance Limoges (faculty)— "Ecological and Economic Impact of Dredge and Fill in Tampa Bay" (continuing study).

Louis Perez, Jr. (faculty)— "An Oral History of the Economic and Social Conditions Relative to the Latin Community in Tampa" (continuing study).

Robert Rainard— "Koreshan Community of Estero, Florida" (M.A. thesis in progress).

John Sidor (faculty)— "Neighborhood Oriented Metropolitan Government Study" (continuing study).

John Stafford (faculty)— "Historical Geography of Tampa, Florida" (continuing study).

Dewey Stowers and Harry Schaleman (faculty)— "Tarpon Springs, Florida— A Study in Cultural Transference" (continuing study).

Dewey Stowers (faculty)— "Variations in Precipitation Patterns in Hillsborough County, 1960-1970" (continuing study).

Rodney Taylor— "Voters' Behavior Relative to Political Par-



ties' Activities in Hillsborough County" (M.A. thesis in progress).

Randolph Thomas— "The Role of Political Parties in Hillsborough County Politics" (M.A. thesis in progress).

Curtis Wienker (faculty)— "A Demographic and Geographical Consideration of Abnormal Hemoglobins in Tampa and Florida" (continuing study).

Curtis Wienker and Ailon Shiloh (faculty)— "A Survey of Florida Hypertension Delivery of Health Care" (continuing study).

J. Ray Williams (faculty)— "Excavations at Maximo Park" (continuing study).

#### *University of West Florida*

Lucius Ellsworth (faculty)— "The Timber Industry in Northwest Florida" (continuing study).

Laura Gilbert— "Racial Attitudes Expressed in the *Pensacola News Journal*, 1885-1925" (M.A. thesis— completed).

Robert C. Harris (faculty)— "Pensacola During Civil War and Reconstruction" (continuing study).

James R. McGovern (faculty)— "Pensacola: A City in the Modern South, 1900-1945" (continuing study).

Sonja Morse— "Demography in Pensacola, 1880-1900" (M.A. thesis in progress).

George Pearce (faculty)— "The Navy in Pensacola" (continuing study).

#### *University of Wyoming*

Robert Hemenway (faculty)— "Biography of Zora Neale Hurston" (continuing study).

Thomas Kennedy (faculty)— "Panton, Leslie and Company" (continuing study).

#### *Carnegie-Mellon University*

Barbara A. Richardson— "Blacks in Jacksonville, Florida: 1860-1900" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

## BOOK REVIEWS

*Slavery and Plantation Growth in Antebellum Florida, 1821-1860.*

By Julia Floyd Smith. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1973. viii, 249 pp. Illustrations, maps, appendixes, bibliography, index. \$8.50.)

Professor Smith has undertaken the first thoroughgoing documentation of the slave and plantation economy that powered a sub-tropical Cotton Kingdom in Florida. Toward this objective she presents chapters on slave trading, slave labor, slave welfare, and slavery and the law, followed by profiles of several planters and a chapter on the growing and marketing of cotton. Although the Cotton Kingdom covered only a small fraction of Florida, it was the most populous and the wealthiest part of the state when the Civil War halted this "flourishing economy."

The author has thoroughly backgrounded herself on the extensive literature of slavery and the plantations, from Ulrich Phillips to Kenneth Stampp. However, the writings of these and other masters tend to obtrude on the Florida account, and one feels that material on the South generally, or another southern state, is sometimes offered in place of Florida evidence. Nevertheless, Dr. Smith has brought to light much new valuable material and has made particularly good use of probate records with their mine of detail about plantation management. She also has successfully utilized such well known published sources as the records of El Destino and Chemonie plantations in Jefferson and Leon counties and the writings of Ellen Call Long and Susan Bradford Eppes, although she impeaches both of these eyewitnesses as unreliable.

The book's principal weakness is that there are far too many errors of fact, despite an impressive panoply of superscripts and footnotes. Who would accept Professor Smith's contention that Florida's red hills would produce more cotton per acre than Alabama's Black Belt? And when she compares Florida production, which she said was 1,500 pounds under "favorable conditions," with South Carolina production of 100-300 pounds, the reader is dismayed to note that seed cotton has been compared

with lint cotton (which is one-third as heavy, the seed having been removed). The error is compounded when seed cotton is made to appear to be the same thing as Upland cotton! Even if one accepts her contention that a big increase in the total value of slaves during the decade before the Civil War was an indication that slavery was increasingly profitable, one cannot accept the value of \$62,000,000 she places on Florida slaves in 1860. Instead of using tax rolls, Mrs. Smith multiplied the number of slaves, including old people and children, by \$1,000.

Historians will find this book useful in studying a neglected period of Florida history. Particularly interesting is an appendix with eight interviews with Florida former slaves by WPA Writers Project personnel in the 1930s.

*Florida State University*

Clifton Paisley

*Journey through the old Everglades: The Log of the Minnehaha.*

Edited by Pat Dodson. Illustrated by Patricia Born. (Tampa: Trend House, 1973. 75 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, illustrations, epilogue, bibliography, index. \$8.95.)

The heart of this book is the log of a journey by sailboat from Narcoossee on the upper Kissimmee River to Marco and return by the same route in the winter of 1892-1893. The sailboat journey took four men down the Kissimmee, around the northwest shore of Lake Okeechobee, down the Caloosahatchee, and along the Gulf coast to Marco Island. The title "Old Everglades" is not to be confused with the Everglades drainage basin south of Lake Okeechobee which is inseparably linked to the Kissimmee and the lake. Pat Dodson puts into the introduction and the footnotes his extensive and intimate knowledge of the Kissimmee-Calosahatchee region gained in his researches into the Florida activities of Hamilton Disston whose dredging and draining activities were beginning to transform the region, and without which such a journey would have been impossible. To aid the researcher who wishes more, there is an extensive bibliography of the sources which Mr. Dodson has found useful in his studies of the region. The endsheets, a map, and sixteen drawings by Patricia Born are both imaginative and useful.

The logkeeper was more than a casual observer. The reader gets a glimpse of the beginnings of settlement along the route, each briefly but perceptively described. They found Fort Myers uninteresting; the dock and the hotel at Naples intrigued them because they saw no reason for either. Marco on the other hand was bustling with activity. For readers interested in recapturing a picture of what South Florida was like before it began to be overrun by people and their activities this is a valuable account. There is the realization that the region as we know it today is a twentieth-century phenomenon. Nowhere along the route is there any portent of the great changes to occur there— except to us who look back upon it now. Disston had started the process of straightening and deepening the meandering and confusing channel of the Caloosahatchee by which it was to become more and more a rapid runoff ditch. Wildlife was so abundant that by modern standards it was being thoughtlessly destroyed.

A sailboat was at a disadvantage on the rivers. The necessity to pole the *Minnehaha* much of the way made it an arduous journey relieved only by the chance to hitch onto a steamboat making its way up the rivers on the return. The young men on a holiday were not good sailors or navigators, but they have left an account of a South Florida for which there is growing nostalgia.

*Miami, Florida*

Charlton W. Tebeau

*Everglades Country: A Question of Life or Death.* By Patricia Lauber. (New York: Viking Press, Inc., 1973. 125 pp. Illustrations, maps, bibliography, index. \$6.50.)

Historically, man at best has been a bungler in handling his environment, at worst, a despoiler. The author applies this concept to South Florida. In fascinating detail she portrays the saw grass swamps, the hammocks, the pine-covered limestone ridges, the brackish coastal waters, and the exotic plants, birds, and reptiles which live in this wonderland. Then the villain enters.

But everybody knows about the Everglades. Has not the Everglades National Park, which is double the state of Rhode Island, guaranteed the preservation of this unique region for-

ever? Not so, the author argues. What is happening in South Florida outside the park is threatening the life within the park. Which brings up another underlying theme of this book: no part of the environment can exist as an isolated unit. Already the carefully balanced food chains, "big fish eat little fish," are showing contamination from pesticides and other chemicals. Contamination in fish leads to contamination in fish-eating birds. Chemicals like DDT, for instance, cause bird eggs to have shells so thin that they break during incubation.

Then there is the matter of water. And man again. Before man a natural river of grass drained from Lake Okeechobee southward, fanning out, keeping the whole region wet. Today this water is diverted for the use of coastal cities or allowed to pass unused into the sea.

Nature was able to adapt to natural droughts, plant and animal life being preserved around alligator ponds, in crayfish crawls, in the mud and blanket of algae, then springing forth like magic when the rains came again. But man-induced droughts are proving more deadly, coming at more frequent intervals, lasting longer. Moreover, highways serve as dams blocking the natural flow of water. A new threat comes from oil drilling in Big Cypress.

The author considers the straightening of the Kissimmee River as an example of bungling. Now the nutrients washing from cattle ranches and farms move along the river unimpeded and enter Lake Okeechobee, making the lake water so rich that delicate balances are disturbed, wild life dies, and the water supplies headed for the coastal cities are adversely effected. Formerly the Kissimmee meandered through marshes and reeds, laundering itself as it went.

There are some encouraging signs. The present jet port in the Everglades will be abandoned soon. Water conservation areas are now prepared to deliver by canals to the park the life-giving water during a prolonged drouth. Also more and more people are ecologically minded and keeping a better eye out for flagrant exploitation.

Patricia Lauber is a layman's naturalist who writes with remarkable clarity and conviction. She has written forty books for young people. This one is for people of all ages. The spectacular

photographs are by Patricia Caulfield, one of America's more celebrated photographers of nature.

*Miami, Florida*

Thelma Peters

*Palmetto Rambler*. By Walter R. Hellier. (New York: Vantage Press, 1973. 119 pp. Foreword. \$4.50.)

To Walter Hellier of Fort Pierce, life has been a never-ending ramble. The Indian River historian has titled his latest book with the by-line he used in the Fort Pierce *News Tribune* for many lively columns on Florida history. Mr. Hellier tells us that his book is "neither an autobiography nor a history of Florida," but it is something of both. The reminiscences of this born wanderer carry his readers freely over seventy-five years of time and lead them from Minnesota to Florida, with side trips to Montana, the Dakotas, New Orleans, and Nassau. A la Huck Finn, the young Hellier rafts down the Tennessee River with another boy, nicknamed "Lovin'," with whom he shares many adventures. Of particular interest to Florida historians are Hellier's summary of lower East Coast history from 1867, his description of a ride to Key West on the first regular F.E.C. train, and his account of the 1926 hurricane.

Walter Hellier has personally known the whole generation of Indian River pioneers, and participated vigorously with them in the economic development of the area. At one time or another, he has been engineer, bank teller, chief trouble-shooter on the construction of U.S. Highway 1, builder, real estate developer, and oil distributor. Somehow he has also found the time to contribute substantially to the establishment and progress of the historical societies of the Indian River region.

This book reflects the variety and color of Walter Hellier's life. Although an enterprising businessman all his life, Hellier has also indulged an itch to travel and adventure. *Palmetto Rambler* shows both sides of his nature, and discloses glimpses of a warm, gregarious, and pixie personality.

*Vero Beach, Florida*

Eugene Lyon

*Francisco Pareja's 1613 Confessionario: A Documentary Source for Timucuan Ethnography.* Edited by Jerald T. Milanich and William C. Sturtevant. Translated by Emilio F. Moran (Tallahassee: Division of Archives, History, and Records Management, 1973. viii, 121 pp. Preface, illustrations, bibliography. \$4.30.)

After the Jesuits failed to win over the Southeastern Indians to Catholicism and to simultaneously bring them into the Spanish interest, this same task was laid before the Franciscans. Where the Jesuits failed, the Franciscans succeeded, at least temporarily, and much of their success may be attributed to Frey Francisco Pareja, who arrived in Florida in 1595, and remained there until just before his death in 1628. Working among the Timucuan Indians in northern Florida and southeastern Georgia, Pareja learned their language and wrote a grammar of it. He also wrote a series of bilingual works in Spanish and Timucuan which other missionaries could use in their activities.

Until the publication of this book, edited by Jerald T. Milanich and William C. Sturtevant, Pareja's works have been accessible only to a few specialist scholars. Milanich and Sturtevant have chosen well in selecting a portion of Pareja's confessional for translation and scholarly exegesis. Pareja wrote this bilingual confessional so that a Franciscan missionary who spoke no Timucuan could administer confession in a series of yes-no questions to a Timucuan Indian who spoke no Spanish. The book reproduces facsimile pages from the confessional, presents these same pages in modern Spanish and Timucuan interlinear texts, and gives an extensively annotated English translation of the same. In addition, the editors summarize this information in a brief ethnographic sketch of Timucuan culture.

The book contains not the entire confessional, but, wisely, only those portions which contain questions reflecting Pareja's understanding of Timucuan culture. Example: "During your menses have you made a separate fire?" Readers who are familiar with the social anthropology of the Southeastern Indians will recognize in this question the implication that the Timucuan were like other Southeastern Indians in conceiving of a sharp distinction between men and women and also in using fire as

their primary symbol of purity. These few pages contain rich material for students of Southeastern Indians.

Historians will also find much of interest in the book. How, for example, are we to judge these brash Franciscans who came to enlighten the Timucuan? Frey Lu s Ger nimo Or  claimed that by using Pareja's books he was able to teach many Timucuan to read and write in their own language in less than six months, with many of the Indians writing letters to one another in their language. At the same time, Pareja takes obvious pleasure in reporting that as a result of his teachings the younger Timucuan were making fun of the older generation of Timucuan, whose minds had not been changed. The word for this today is ethnocide. But lest we judge Pareja too harshly, the Timucuan did at least have a place in the Spanish scheme of things, if at the price of themselves becoming less Timucuan and more Spanish. The English, on the other hand, regarded the Indians as objects to be exploited, owned, or exterminated, as made plain in James Moore's raid into Florida in 1704. Ethnocide, however deplorable, is not genocide.

The book is marred by an unusually large number of printer's errors. This is unfortunate, but it detracts little from a book which is essential for anthropologists interested in the Southeastern Indians and of interest to historians interested in the Spanish Borderlands.

*University of Georgia*

Charles Hudson

*Shipping, Maritime Trade and the Economic Development of Colonial North America.* By James F. Shepherd and Gary M. Walton. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1972. ix, 255 pp. Preface, introduction, appendixes, bibliography, index. \$14.50.)

The authors of this study believe that the economic development of the British North American colonies has received relatively little attention by economic historians. They have ventured into the statistical "dark age" from about 1650 to 1775 with the theory and techniques of the "new" school of economic history. They make explicit the theoretical issues and framework. They



acknowledge their debt to older works on colonial economic history, at the same time that they deny any intention of writing a general economic history of the colonial period. The text contains twelve graphs, twenty-six tables, and numerous equations and calculations. Roughly one-third of the book consists of statistical appendixes, followed by a select bibliography and an index.

Professors Shepherd and Walton believe that the development of overseas trade and markets were crucial to colonial economic growth. Three general sources of productivity change are examined, namely, technological change, improved skills and abilities of the labor force, and improvements in the economic organization of society. Historical investigation yields little evidence in support of technological change and improved skills. On the other hand, there is impressive evidence of the impact of reduced risks, improvements in economic organization, and greater regional and international specialization and division of labor.

Rather surprisingly, the authors hang much of their argument on the qualitative evidence that piracy and privateering were serious impediments to trade and shipping, and that these risks were reduced greatly in the eighteenth century. Suppression of piracy and privateering made it possible to reduce armaments and crew size and build ships that carried bulky cargoes at reduced costs. Besides lower freight rates, costs of distribution declined because of lower insurance premiums, improved packaging, and inventory savings. Not only did overseas commodity trade yield added revenue, but also of importance were the "invisible" earnings from freight, insurance, interest, and mercantile profits. The authors, who devote much attention to the colonial balance of payments from 1768 to 1772, say that it is difficult to overemphasize the importance of invisible earnings, especially shipping earnings.

General historians may be skeptical of this attempt to write a statistical history of a pre-statistical age. They may, however, be attracted to the authors' discussion of such topics as piracy and privateering, the slave trade and slavery, and indentured servants and other immigrants. On a colony and regional basis, such as East Florida, Bahama, and Bermuda islands, one may learn of the composition and value of exports and imports.

Specialists in colonial economic history may question some of the authors' findings. The reviewer is not convinced that the triangle trade in rum, slaves, and molasses was as insignificant as the authors contend. Slave trade records are ambiguous since numerous New England ships reached Africa and returned home by indirect routes. There is reason to believe that smuggling and multilateral trade went hand-in-hand in the West Indies, although the authors tend to play down these developments. In the trade between London and the British West Indies it is incorrect to say that the tonnage of vessels did not increase before 1776. The authors say little regarding fluctuations in trade and finance, and their attempt to minimize colonial indebtedness to British merchants may be challenged. Finally, the authors should have been more explicit in assessing the economic effects of British policy on colonial welfare. Professors Shepherd and Walton have broken new ground in extending the insights of the "new" economic history to colonial history. It may be safely predicted that their findings will fuel the "numbers game" for the foreseeable future.

*University of Kansas*

Richard B. Sheridan

*Essays on the American Revolution.* Edited by Stephen G. Kurtz and James H. Hutson. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1972. xi, 320 pp. Preface, introduction, index. \$12.50.)

In March 1971 the Institute of Early American History and Culture sponsored an extensive symposium concerning the American Revolution. This volume of original essays is an outgrowth of that conference, and it makes a very valuable contribution—for other scholars researching and writing about the Revolution, for those who teach the period, and for students who wish to be abreast of current thinking on the subject. The essays are of high quality, they are judicious and broad in scope without loss of specific focus, and they are as long as their topics demand. Essays of intermediate length (forty to sixty pages) have posed a publishing problem, being too long for journal articles and too short for books. Here is the ideal format for such essays, and

it is a pleasure to see arguments elaborated to the extent that their inner logic requires.

Bernard Bailyn offers an interpretation of the central themes of the Revolution, refines the meaning and implications of his earlier work on American ideology, suggests comparisons with Europe, discusses the Loyalists, the post-war period, and slavery as an inherent contradiction in the Whig world view. Jack P. Greene analyzes the structural and psychological preconditions of the Revolution in an essay influenced by his reading in political science and social theory. He stresses the growing secular competence of the colonists, the continued weakness of British power in the provinces, the colonies's increasing importance to Britain's economy, discrepancies between theory and fact in imperial relationships, and the critical significance of events occurring between 1748 and 1756 as causal factors. Richard M. Brown provides a chronology and geography of early American protest movements, and a discussion of revolutionary violence in the larger context of American history. John Shy writes very persuasively about the military conflict as a socially dislocating experience, noting that "every major British troop movement in the American Revolution created shock waves of civilian behavior in the surrounding area." His concern with the American response to British strategy leads him to a significant stress upon the war, not as an instrument of policy or as a sequence of military operations, "but as a social process of political education that can be explored and should be analyzed."

H. James Henderson discusses the structure of politics in the Continental Congress, emphasizing its influence upon subsequent institutional development and a tradition of partisan politics affecting the emergence of the first American party system. William G. McLoughlin supplants Perry Miller's "From the Covenant to the Revival" with an extensive examination of "The Role of Religion in the Revolution: Liberty of Conscience and Cultural Cohesion in the New Nation." His central query is: how did the universal spirit of the rights of man lead to a new national establishment that excluded non-Protestants from full religious equality? He locates his answer in the need for cultural cohesion in the young republic. Rowland Berthoff and John M. Murrin present an intriguing thesis entitled "Feudalism, Com-

munalism, and the Yeoman Freeholder. The American Revolution Considered as a Social Accident." They see the Revolution as both a catalyst for, as well as a brake upon, social change. Despite their freshness of approach and many superb individual insights, this essay seems uneven and somehow peripheral rather than central to the core experiences of the later eighteenth century. Finally, Edmund S. Morgan gives a highly suggestive reading of "conflict and consensus in the American Revolution" in which he stresses the institution of slavery as the basis for white consensus, the significance of the frontier for keeping Americans in conflict, and the implications of the Revolution for both equality and conservatism in the American experience.

All in all, these are essays of excellent scholarship working at an important level of generalization. One of the book's most stimulating qualities is that the essayists implicitly disagree on a number of important points— such as the extent of social change, the relative restraint of the revolutionaries, the psychological role of slavery, etc.— disagreements which will enhance the book's tendency to generate excitement in the classroom. These disagreements also confirm in my mind the validity of an old Czech aphorism: that nothing is more difficult to predict than the past.

*Cornell University*

Michael Kammen

*The Development of a Revolutionary Mentality: Papers Presented at the First Symposium, May 5 and 6, 1972.* Library of Congress Symposia on the American Revolution. (Washington: Library of Congress, 1972. vii, 157 pp. Preface, introduction, notes. \$3.50.)

Reviews of collections of essays are always difficult because each essay is in essence an independent work. There is a connecting thread in this collection as the title indicates, but the essays still stand alone. A brief review of the contents of each is thus desirable.

Henry Steele Commager began the symposium with an excellent treatment of America and the Enlightenment in which he takes the essence of eighteenth-century thought from Europe and shows how Americans applied it to their own problems of the

Revolutionary era. Caroline Robbins gives a treatment of European republicanism of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, important background for anyone who wants to understand American interest in republicanism. Pauline Maier shows that American conscious interest in republicanism came late, really after 1770, and as a result of disillusion with George III and monarchy. Americans then came to realize they had developed republican institutions in the colonial period, so the actual transformation was not so difficult. Jack Greene, the commentator, suggests that Americans became republicans because there was nothing else for them to be once George III had been thrown out.

Finally Mary Beth Norton makes it clear that American loyalists were really English Whigs in the 1689 model and wanted to uphold that revolutionary settlement. They were truly Americans who had the welfare of their country at heart as much as the Whigs. American Whigs were really rebels in that they wanted to modify the 1689 settlement to allow for additional legislatures in the empire besides the Parliament at Westminster.

No brief review can do justice to the essays in such a book, to say nothing of the sometimes excellent commentaries. All the essays treat the development of ideas, usually roughly chronologically. Naturally any reviewer will have favorites; I have two. Henry Steele Commager has done a marvelous job of bringing together the important ideas of the Enlightenment for Americans of the Revolutionary generation. Mary Beth Norton shows that the loyalists only differed with American Whigs in their approach to America's problems with Britain. This is an outstanding collection of essays and comments that anyone interested in the American Revolution— and who is not just now?— would do well to read and consider. The essays are either summary in the best sense or provocative— frequently both. What more could one ask?

*University of Georgia*

Kenneth Coleman

*Code Number 72: Ben Franklin: Patriot or Spy?* By Cecil B. Currey. (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1972. viii, 331 pp. Preface, appendix, bibliography. \$7.95.)

Professor Currey, author of an earlier, discredited book about Franklin, based partially upon fabricated evidence (see *Penn-*

*sylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, October 1971, p. 526-29), is still trying to cash in on reader interest in scandal about the Founding Fathers. The earlier volume, covering Franklin's activities in England, 1765-1775, purported to show that Franklin engineered the split between Britain and her colonies and sought to profit from it by running guns for the Americans. The present work covers Franklin's years in France as American commissioner, 1776-1785, and suggests that Franklin had treasonous contacts with Britain, apparently to bring about a reconciliation with England, perhaps out of remorse for having caused the Revolution in the first place. I say suggests because the book is such a mixture of fact and fiction, assertion and innuendo, credulity and naivete, that it is difficult to judge just what is and is not being claimed.

A further difficulty is that after insinuating all manner of things about Franklin for 284 pages, Currey finally hedges on his conclusions and leaves the reader to assume that the author probably doesn't believe all this nonsense after all. The more the pity, because Franklin is certainly badly in need of reinterpretation, and may well have been one of the greediest of American public servants in the eighteenth century. Indeed, Currey marshals considerable evidence on Franklin's questionable treatment of certain of his colleagues in France when they attempted exposure of profiteering and charged him with covering up the misdeeds of men such as Silas Deane and Edward Bancroft, who have since been discovered to have been embroiled in overt treasonous activities. Had the author focused simply on profiteering and corruption among American agents abroad during the War of Independence he might have made a contribution to the literature on the American Revolution. But by eschewing careful research for journalistic techniques designed to capture headline interest, and by hinting at Franklin's possible treason, without a single piece of solid evidence to substantiate the charge, he has accomplished little beyond adding another book to the voluminous literature on Franklin, obscuring rather than clarifying the nature of his contributions to the creation of the American nation.

The title *Code Number 72* derives from a mystery no deeper than the fact that British officials sometimes used code numbers

when referring to American leaders and assigned "72" to Franklin. The fact that number "206" was assigned to Washington is withheld from the reader. Revealing a rare bit of wisdom, Currey apparently decided that a book bearing the title *Code Number 206* would not sell.

*Library of Congress*

Paul H. Smith

*The Papers of John C. Calhoun, Volume VI, 1821-1822.* Edited by W. Edwin Hemphill. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1972. xviii, 826 pp. Preface, introduction, symbols, bibliography, index. \$17.95.)

The establishment of territorial government in Florida was the subject of much of Calhoun's correspondence during the year (April 1, 1821, to March 31, 1822) included in this volume of his papers. If all the letters and reports from and about Florida had been printed in full another volume would have been required, and the editor, for this reason, has resorted to paraphrased summaries and listings for all but those he considers most significant. He has included enough, however, to indicate the complexity of the situation, particularly in regard to the Indians and Negroes, but no one seemed to expect the prolonged wars that turned out to be needed before these determined opponents of American rule could be subdued.

One result from Calhoun's involvement with Florida was a firm offer of support for his presidential candidacy by Andrew Jackson, the territorial governor. They were brought together by their common antagonism to Secretary of the Treasury William H. Crawford and to the parsimonious measures in regard to the army that Congress had adopted at his recommendation. On May 22, 1821, Jackson assured Calhoun that "no man wishes you better than I do, or can have your future welfare [*sic*] more at heart than I have, as I believe your political welfare [*sic*] to be intimately connected with the welfare [*sic*] of our country."

Calhoun was at the high point of his nationalist phase, and a little later wrote Charles Tait of Alabama, "I fear that an attempt is making extensive to form a party systematically [*sic*] against the powers of the General Government." He was seeking

to assuage the fears the Missouri Compromise had aroused in Tait, and told him, when it became apparent that the purpose animating the opponents of the admission of Missouri was abolition of slavery, "the question became highly dangerous and all sober statesmen became anxious for the compromise which happily for the country was effected, as I hope, and sincerely believe, forever." But Calhoun was not totally convinced by his own assertions, and in a prophetic passage he stated that if ever the South should become certain that abolition was the aim of the North, "we would be no longer one nation. . . . Thus virtually seperated [*sic*] we ought to prepare for an actual seperation [*sic*]."

Blacks, in his opinion, had no rights that white men or their government had to respect, and the war department, by his explicit order, decided that "persons of colour" who had served in the army during the War of 1812 were not entitled to the "territorial gratuity" for veterans on the grounds that they had been fraudulently enlisted as "citizens of the United States." Paradoxically he had a different attitude towards Indians, and throughout this year of enforced reduction of expenditures, he continued his vigilant efforts to protect the tribes from incursions by the whites and to improve their schools. He also enthusiastically commented on the success attending the revolutionary movements in Europe and Latin America and rejoiced at what he thought was the spread of freedom and constitutional government for whites.

Comments on such matters as these occupy only a small amount of space in this massive volume. Calhoun's central occupation during this year was the reduction and reorganization of the army made necessary by reduced appropriations. Here too, as in his earlier years as secretary of war, he demonstrated his capacity as an intelligent, careful, and concerned administrator, a talent, as it was to turn out, that subsequently he would never be able to use because the Missouri Compromise did not fulfill his hopes.

*University of Oregon*

Thomas P. Govan

*The Papers of Henry Clay, Volume 4, Secretary of State, 1825.*  
Edited by James F. Hopkins and Mary W. M. Hargreaves.



(Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1972. xii, 991 pp. Preface, index. \$20.00.)

Eighteen hundred and twenty-five was an eventful— and fateful— year in the political career of Henry Clay. That March he became secretary of state in the cabinet of President John Quincy Adams, whose election in the House of Representatives he had materially aided by his influence as speaker. In retrospect it appears that his decision to enter the cabinet was a political error, for it was represented by the Kentuckian's enemies as proof that there had been a "corrupt bargain" between Clay and Adams to deny Andrew Jackson the presidency. Clay was none too happy in his new office, which he soon discovered was "not a bed of roses, but one that requires me to work 12 or 14 hours per day." Besides, as he wrote a friend in April, "I know my *forte* is the H. of R." To add to his woes, two daughters died that summer. Because of his personal affliction, he allowed his private correspondence "to get much in arrear."

Be that as it may, the editors of *The Papers of Henry Clay* have not suffered from lack of Clay letters for the year 1825. On the contrary, his tenure as secretary of state poses new problems for them resulting from a plethora of official and political correspondence. Originally contemplating a ten-volume series, the editors now plan twelve volumes, with the two additional ones to cover the years Clay served in Adams's cabinet. They have also found it necessary to summarize many letters under the categories "Miscellaneous Letters," "Applications, Recommendations," "Instructions and Dispatches," and "Diplomatic Notes." If they had not resorted to such a space-saving practice, perhaps two volumes instead of one would have been devoted to this single year.

Of greatest interest to students of Florida history are the summarizations of several letters dealing with the dispensation of patronage in the territory. Diplomatic historians will be particularly interested in the correspondence relating to the acceptance by the Adams administration of the invitation to the Panama Congress. Political historians will welcome the correspondence between Clay and his political allies in Kentucky, notably Amos Kendall and Francis P. Blair, who had not yet defected to the Jackson ranks. Blair incidentally seriously con-

sidered that fall a removal to Florida "as a position where I might probably better my condition & where the climate promises advantages to a pulmonary constitution."

Volume IV of *The Papers of Henry Clay* maintains the same high standards of the earlier ones in this valuable series. Since this is the first volume to be published since 1963, it is reassuring to learn that Volume 5, which will cover the year 1826, is due to be published in the near future.

*University of Houston*

Edwin A. Miles

*The Role of the Yankee in the Old South.* By Fletcher M. Green. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1972. x, 150 pp. Foreword, preface, bibliography, index. \$6.00.)

Throughout the profession Professor Fletcher M. Green is acknowledged to be the unrivalled teacher of southern historians, for more than a hundred of them learned their craft and often received their inspiration in seminars he conducted at the University of North Carolina over a period of four decades. During these years Professor Green used unremitting research to enrich his seminars. He seldom published the results of his investigations, but what came from his pen was of uniformly high quality. His *Constitutional Development in the South Atlantic States*, for example, opened up a new field of study which many of his students have subsequently explored.

After his retirement from teaching, Professor Green began to turn some of his mountain of notes into books, the most recent of which is *The Role of the Yankee in the Old South*. In this small volume that grew out of a series of lectures delivered at Mercer University, Professor Green refutes the common misconception that immigrants from the North made virtually no contribution to the development of the Old South. Presenting biographical sketches to prove his point, Green maintains that more than a quarter of a million Yankees, as persons of northern birth were called in the antebellum period, settled in the South before the Civil War, bringing badly needed skills and habits of industry into the slave states. According to Green, most of these northern

newcomers adjusted quickly to the southern way of life, often becoming slaveowners and defenders of the institution of slavery.

Green also discovered that historians were mistaken who maintained that Southerners were hostile to Northerners who settled in their midst. Instead, Northerners who accepted southern customs not only gained ready admittance into southern society but also were often accorded places of leadership. In every southern state Northerners were elected to high political office, and in many cases were active in the secession movement. Northerners also made important contributions to progress in education, the fine arts, journalism, agricultural science, and manufacturing. Perhaps, their impact was most significant in the latter category, for most southern mechanics and artisans were taught their skills by northern immigrants. Indeed, Northerners were so important in the operations of the southern railroads that southern companies were unable to maintain their rolling stock properly after northern trainmen were driven out of the South in the hysteria that followed the John Brown raid.

By presenting brief biographies of northern-born politicians, judges, lawyers, teachers, journalists, writers of literature, religious leaders, industrialists, mechanics, and scientific agriculturists, Professor Green has provided graduate students with a host of topics for research. He also has demonstrated that the Old South is still far from exhausted as a field of historical research.

*Florida State University*

John Hebron Moore

*Hog Meat and Hoecake: Food Supply in the Old South, 1840-1860.* By Sam Bowers Hilliard. (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1972. xi, 296 pp. Tables, maps, notes, index. \$10.00.)

Southern self-sufficiency in food production and supply is the major theme of this study. Professor Hilliard has examined census records, government reports, and contemporary literature to justify his conclusion that the Old South was largely self-sufficient in food production. This conclusion upsets the traditional concept of the Old South's dependence upon the Old Northwest

for its food supply. Pork was the chosen meat of Southerners and most of it was produced in the South. Kentucky and Tennessee, with an enormous surplus amount, met the demand of inter-regional deficit areas. Since pork was preferred to beef, the beef trade was a minor one, though cattle were numerous throughout the South. The southern meat diet was not, however, a monotony of "hogmeat" since a variety of other meats such as fish, fowl, sheep, and woods animals were consumed regularly.

Corn was the basic cereal and, along with pork, constituted the regular diet for freemen and slaves; corn was also the feed for animals. By the 1850s, oats were replacing corn as a grazing and grain crop for animals. Sweet potato production was high in the coastal areas and often replaced corn in the slave diet, as did cracked rice along the coast of Georgia and South Carolina. Another food crop was cowpeas. Like corn, this crop supplied food for man and animal. Late in the antebellum era, a southern wheat belt developed in the hill country of the Carolinas, Georgia, and Tennessee, though Southerners produced and consumed relatively low amounts of this cereal.

A variety of fruits and vegetables were grown in the South, but the supply was limited, thus not extended to the slave population. Peaches were an exception. Peach orchards were numerous, and owners allowed slaves to eat the fruit because of its food value. With a few exceptions, vegetables for slaves consisted of cabbage and turnip greens, both of which were rich in vitamins; more often than not, these came from the slave's own vegetable patch which he was encouraged to keep. A lack of yellow vegetables and citrus fruits in the slave diet resulted in deficiency diseases among the slave population.

The value of the book lies chiefly in its analytical content taken from original source material. It covers the subject thoroughly to show the variable character of food supply and makes known the neglected subject of urban areas as consumers in the economy of the Old South. More than this, it presents a fresh interpretation that, despite some exceptions, the Old South was largely feeding itself. Several omissions have been detected. No mention is made of Apalachicola, Florida, as the most important port along the Gulf coast east of Mobile. No mention is made of cotton production, slave population, and

food supply in Florida. Only the states of North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Tennessee are shown on any of the maps, while references are often made to Kentucky and other border states in reference to food production and supply.

*Georgia Southern College*

Julia F. Smith

*First Freedom: The Responses of Alabama's Blacks to Emancipation and Reconstruction.* By Peter Kolchin. (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1972. xxi, 215 pp. Introduction, tables, maps, bibliography, index. \$10.00.)

Professor Kolchin's book, the outgrowth of a dissertation directed by David Donald at The Johns Hopkins University, is a useful and welcome addition to black history. The author's basic point is that during Reconstruction blacks in Alabama became (in every aspect of their lives— labor, education, religion, family and social activities, and politics) increasingly independent and militant. Basing his argument on solid research in primary documents but without ignoring recent scholarship, Professor Kolchin argues convincingly that Alabama Negroes, and by implication those in the rest of the South, had not been converted into subservient Samboes by the institution of slavery. He thus takes issue with the slavery thesis of Professor Stanley Elkins. The author correctly sees the profound importance of Reconstruction in terms of adjustment and reaction to the fundamental fact of the end of slavery.

Clearly written and logically organized, the book reads well, and the author has a skillful command of language and use of quotes. The chapters are strong on interpretation and explore new areas of interest— in fact, the "traditional" chapter on politics is the weakest. The writer's objectivity is, for the most part, admirable, although his style tends at times to be surgical, and he does not seem always to know the geographical dimensions of Alabama's Black Belt (a failing easily forgiven since this reviewer, a native Alabamian— which Kolchin decidedly is not— has never been sure what counties should be considered in the Black Belt domain). There are inevitable errors such as referring to Bladon

Springs as Blandon Springs (p. 172), but they are mercifully few. The author's persistent habit of citing dates as 30 May 1867 (p. 113) is only mildly irritating, but much more so is the placement of footnotes at the end of chapters, an arrangement over which he had no control. The index is no more than adequate. Otherwise the type is readable and typographical errors rare.

The objections cited above are minor, especially when compared to the book's contribution. As the result of Professor Kolchin's sound research, we know much more about blacks and their lives in Alabama during a dramatic and critical period.

*Florida State University*

William Warren Rogers

*Reconstruction in Indian Territory: A Story of Avarice, Discrimination, and Opportunism.* By M. Thomas Bailey. (Port Washington, New York: Kennikat Press, 1972. 225 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, maps, bibliography, index. \$11.50.)

During the second decade of our century, students of Professor William A. Dunning at Columbia University published a series of monographs detailing the Reconstruction history of the states constituting the Confederacy. None of his students, however, undertook a study of reconstruction in the Indian Territory, and this task was left to Annie H. Abel of Goucher College. The Dunning studies, along with Miss Abel's, were highly regarded and required reading in southern history seminars through the 1950s. Since then many conclusions reached by these scholars have been challenged by a new breed of historians, and we have seen a number of new publications focusing on this phase of southern history. Dr. Bailey's book falls into this category.

To enable her readers to understand Reconstruction in the Indian Territory, Dr. Bailey provides a brief but adequate account of the removal of the Five Civilized Nations to Indian Territory; internal conflicts over removal dividing the nations; and adjustments necessary to insure economic and social progress in a new and frequently hostile environment. Old antagonisms surfaced with the coming of the Civil War. While the great majority of the Choctaws and Chickasaws supported the alliance

their leaders made with the Confederacy, the Seminoles, Creeks, and Cherokees were divided in their sentiments, with a majority probably opposing the Confederate alliance.

Dr. Bailey writes of the war years which destroyed the economy of the region to an extent unheard of in states east of the Mississippi and pitted Indian against Indian. Union victory found those who had supported the North treated in the same fashion as those who had willingly embraced the southern cause. At the Fort Smith Conference and in the ensuing peace treaties, the United States took advantage of the situation to wring concessions from the nations and pave the way for economic exploitation of the region by the whites. All nations lost land, and provisions were made for construction of railroads across the Indian Territory.

The Choctaws and Chickasaws, although they remained loyal allies of the South to the end, fared better under Reconstruction than the other nations. This was done, Dr. Bailey points out, because they presented a united front, while government agents exploited the divisions which racked the other nations. Realizing great differences in the application and effect of Reconstruction in each nation, Dr. Bailey approaches each individually. She critically examines the problems confronting the nations: agricultural and boundary adjustments, tribal relations, reestablishment of social agencies, railroad construction, the freedmen, etc.

Dr. Bailey has presented a well-balanced account of an important and tragic era in our history. Her style is good and is calculated to hold the reader's interest. The organization of chapters focusing on the Reconstruction years indicates that undue reliance has been placed on the annual reports found in the Congressional Series, rather than on manuscript files of the National Archives and the Oklahoma Historical Society. This could be unwise, as the published reports are at best summaries, and the manuscript materials frequently contain data critical of the power structure, along with vital information explaining why decisions were made. Some readers will question the inclusion of a "summary" at the end of each chapter as repetitious. Since this is a source book and was written as a dissertation, the footnotes should have been included.

Readers of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* interested in the

Civil War and Reconstruction era will want to read the book, as will those who want to know how the Seminoles and other southern Indians adjusted to a new life style in the Trans-Mississippi. To understand many aspects of today's demands by AIM, a knowledge of this era and its effect on the Five Civilized Nations is important. Dr. Bailey's book bridges this gap.

*National Park Service*  
*Washington, D.C.*

Edwin C. Bearss

*The Papers of Andrew Johnson, Volume 3, 1858-1860.* Edited by LeRoy P. Graf and Ralph W. Haskins. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1972. xlii, 753 pp. Introduction, chronology, illustrations, appendixes, index. \$20.09.)

When we read "in the morning papers of the outrages that are committed night after night, what a commentary it is upon the city of Washington," the senator expostulated. Men are "shot down here every night." But conditions are no better in other cities, such as Baltimore, Cincinnati, New Orleans, and New York. Men are "shot down" or "garoted [*sic*] or robbed in those cities as well as here." The year was 1858, not 1974. Then, as now, there was concern about crime in the streets. There was also concern about the federal budget, and Senator Andrew Johnson of Tennessee was speaking against a Congressional appropriation for the Washington police and in favor of letting the national capital, like other cities, take care of its own law-enforcement problems.

The third volume of the Johnson papers, like its predecessors, offers many such side lights on the history of his times. But this volume, too, is most interesting for the insights it gives into the principles and prejudices of the President-to-be.

During the period 1858-1860, as in earlier years, Johnson advocated strict construction as well as government thrift. He saw himself as a plebeian, one who had "wrestled with poverty, the gaunt and haggard monster," and who continued to identify himself with the (white) poor. He called for a homestead law to "build up the middle class" and prevent the evils of a "miserable city rabble" on the one hand and a "pampered, bloated, corrupted aristocracy" on the other. He welcomed immigration and



denounced the Know Nothing movement. Meanwhile he gave voice to a Negrophobia that was rather extreme even for his time and place, threatening that unless abolitionism were checked the nonslaveholders would unite with slaveholders "in subjugating the Africans, and if resistance be made, in extirpating the negro race." He revealed a gnawing presidential ambition despite his disclaimer: "The Presidency! I would rather be an honest man, an honest representative, than be President of the United States forty times."

The editing of the *Papers* continues to be impeccable, with careful identification of persons mentioned and with full explanation of topical allusions. Historians interested in the man or his times will look forward to each of the forthcoming volumes of the projected ten-volume series.

*University of North Carolina at Greensboro* Richard N. Current

*Religion and the Solid South.* Edited by Samuel S. Hill. (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1972. 208 pp. Preface, introduction, notes. \$2.95.)

In January 1969 a symposium on "The Bible Belt in Continuity and Change" was held at Duke University. From the papers presented, five form the subject matter of this volume, edited by Samuel S. Hill of the University of Florida. Professor Hill set the direction in his introduction and climaxed the whole with a provocative charter for southern theology. The chapters, written by professional academics, provide rich investigations of religious phenomena and of the American South. All contributors recognized the South's peculiar religious life, its domination by Evangelical Protestantism, and its "deliberate disengagement from secular matters." Concisely, southern churches were traditionally conservative in character.

Dr. Hill presents the South as a land of two cultures—regionality and religiosity. If and when a decline occurs in regional self-consciousness, he expects a similar moderation in religious orthodoxy to be perceptible. Religion has long been a symbol of cultural status and likewise a means of preserving a society dominated by whites. This society held the black in an

inferior stratum and brooked no criticism of the sustaining churches. With the recent emergence of the Negro as "black power," the term Solid South loses significance and accuracy. Nevertheless, "a self-conscious and publicly identifiable culture" remains, and in these respects the word "solid" is used in this book.

Edgar T. Thompson reviews the facets of plantation life, emphasizing the planter as the spokesman for a white church. He considers the large slave membership as a core for "an invisible institution" which was easily shifted to independent organizations with freedmen. A new South based on urban rather than rural life is the present challenge for both laymen and clergymen.

In proper sequence, Anne Firor Scott traces the role of women in their familial sphere, branching out into a social gospel. Church work was the essential first step in the emancipation of southern women from the accepted conservative image of themselves. Easily the female zeal spread to reforms in education, prison, labor, politics, and social habits of men—namely, prohibition.

Charles Hudson, a cultural anthropologist, examines the essential ingredients in the fundamentalism of southern Protestant churches. The fundamentalist in simplification may explain the events in life in terms of supernatural justice, fate, and salvation. Basically such a belief-system is full of contradictions, but "blessings" erase the differences in a society with economic levels, and "salvation" brings a person from the fringe of society and enables him to be an accountable part. Needing to show the spread in an agrarian economy and its accompanying extension of churches, Edwin S. Gaustad uses nineteen maps. The trends and patterns in religious demography suggest further investigations.

Proceeding from these aspects, Professor Hill approaches a new charter for southern theology. Evangelical Protestantism by design and practice has created a guilt complex and a concomitant desire for a personal salvation. Congregations are composed of "saved" members who, satisfied in their personal security, have disregard for the social ills around them. What such churches need is a "concentration on growth, one's own and

others', toward abundant and responsible living." If this becomes the program, the churches can yet lead the way "to a more nearly realized kingdom of God on earth."

This book is not one to lay aside; it presents inherent weaknesses in institutions, and challenges every Southerner to examine rationally his heritage, to correct his faults, and to expiate his defects.

*Atlanta, Georgia*

Walter B. Posey

*The Folk of Southern Fiction.* By Merrill Maguire Skaggs. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1972. xii, 282 pp. Preface, introduction, notes, bibliography, index. \$11.00.)

This is in every respect an important book. The literary tradition it presents and analyzes has seldom been recognized as a part of the southern heritage, as the author reminds us. In print, at least, her assertion is true, though in this reviewer's experience southern (and American) writers have long talked about yeomen below the Mason-Dixon Line and about the myth that the South was inhabited by Ashley Wilkes, Jeeter Lester, George Washington Carver, and Demonstrators.

Who are the Plain Folk? Graciously Mrs. Skaggs acknowledges her terminological debt to Frank Owsley's *Plain Folk of the Old South*. They are "the vast majority of people somewhere between aristocracy and trash," and the widely held assumption that not until the twentieth century did writers on the South deal with them is the central assumption this book not only disputes but eloquently disproves. The study was a doctoral dissertation at Duke University, but it is free of technical jargon and obvious labor pains. It also deserves national rather than regional attention. Southern literature is different from other American fiction in the ways the South is different from other parts of America, but as John Dewey once remarked (the remark is cited by Mrs. Skaggs) "we are discovering that the locality is the only universal." William Faulkner wrote not only about Yoknapatawpha County but about man.

After the Civil War the southern writer was anxious to justify his region to the rest of the United States. To do so he built on

a local color movement which had its beginnings as far back as 1832, when the first sketches of Augustus Baldwin Longstreet began to appear. From the source of what was called southwest humor the Plain Folk concept developed into the sophisticated characters of George Washington Cable, Joel Chandler Harris, Kate Chopin, and others. Mrs. Skaggs's assessment of Cable's strengths and prejudices is itself superb.

The Plain Folk had an economic identity: they were middle class financially. Socially they valued pride and courage, and they believed that the ultimate status of every individual was "determined by his efforts and his character." There is a discussion of nineteenth-century southern folk institutions and events, daily lives, stereotypes like the Moonshining Mountaineer and the Vain Creole and the preternaturally Beautiful Quadroon, and even, in a witty contemporary aside, the black man in James Baldwin's *Blues for Mister Charlie* who is possessed of Natural Rhythm. Mrs. Skaggs analyzes a wide range of stylistic techniques and then considers Plain Folk in modern southern writing, particularly the works of Faulkner, Eudora Welty, and Flannery O'Connor, all inheritors of a nineteenth-century legacy. Relegating Tennessee Williams to a footnote may not please every reader, as it did not please this one, yet *The Folk of Southern Fiction* is not only sound, but it is beautifully written. It belongs in every university collection dealing with American history and criticism. North Carolina probably already has it, but New York, Nevada, Nebraska, and Florida take note.

Tallahassee, Florida

Gloria Jahoda

## BOOK NOTES

Hampton Dunn of Tampa, whose earlier book, *Yesterday's Tampa*, was reviewed in the *Florida Historical Quarterly* (April 1973, p. 465), has published two other pictorial history volumes. *Yesterday's St. Petersburg* is both a narrative and a picture record of the development of the city which began as a tourist resort in 1888 when the railroad first arrived. Many of the photographs are from the massive Burgert Collection which includes tens of thousands of negatives. There are also photographs from several

other public and private collections. Some of the most interesting of the pictures illustrate the boom period of the 1920s. A few of St. Petersburg's early buildings, hotels, and houses remain, but most have been razed in the name of "progress." Were it not for these photographs, the historical record of St. Petersburg would be sadly lacking. *Yesterday's St. Petersburg* was issued by E.A. Seemann Publishing, Inc., P.O. Box K, Miami, and it sells for \$7.95.

Mr. Dunn's other new book is *Yesterday's Clearwater*. Fort Harrison was established in 1841, at what was then called Clear Water Harbor, primarily for the "healthfulness" of the area. Sick and wounded soldiers were sent there to recuperate. Modern Clearwater began developing as a community in 1888. A majority of the photographs for Mr. Dunn's book are from the Burgert Collection. The rich picture collection of the Pinellas County Historical Commission was also utilized. Published by E.A. Seemann, the book sells for \$7.95.

*Yesterday's Miami*, by Nixon Smiley, is a photographic chronicle of the city and its sister communities. There is an introductory narrative to each of the four time periods into which Mr. Smiley has divided his book, but the photographs really tell the story of Miami from its nineteenth-century beginnings to the present. Most of the illustrations are by Richard B. Hoit, one of the first commercial aerial photographers of the area. His pictures are in the files of the *Miami Herald* and in the Historical Association of Southern Florida's collections. The pictures record many of the historic events associated with Miami, including the 1926 hurricane and the attempted assassination of President-Elect Franklin Delano Roosevelt in Bayfront Park in 1933. Published by E. A. Seemann Publishing, Inc., the book sells for \$7.95.

The narrative of *The Gulf of Mexico* is from the pen of Bern Keating who worked as a newspaperman in West Palm Beach, and whose book *Florida* was reviewed in the *Florida Historical Quarterly* (April 1973, pp. 465-66). Mr. Keating describes the varied landscape of the Gulf area from the Dry Tortugas to the Texas coast. The beautiful photographs are by Dan Guravich who lives in Greenville, Mississippi, and who is recognized as

one of the country's leading photographers. Mr. Keating raises the question in his book of how much has been lost and how much of the gulf area is left: "Is there enough natural beauty left around the Gulf of Mexico to make it worth fighting to save?" The answer is self-evident in this volume; the pictures record the incredible beauty of the area. Published by Viking Press, New York, it sells for \$14.95.

H. A. (Al) Stimson describes his book, *Depot Days*, as "a series of incidents and events one expects around a depot." Mr. Stimson's father worked as a railroad agent in the Middle West, and he grew up with the sight and sound of trains and train whistles always present. The last half of Mr. Stimson's book is about his own life in Florida. This paperback will appeal especially to the railroad buff, but it will be of interest to the Florida historian also. It sells for \$3.00, and may be ordered from Mr. Stimson, 602 Lucerne Avenue, Lake Worth, Florida 33460.

*Who Was Who in Florida* is by Henry S. Marks, who also compiled *Who Was Who in Alabama*. Florida notables who have made a contribution to the state's history and development are listed with birth and death dates and a short biographical sketch. Included are Spanish explorers, early missionaries, government officials and a variety of other men and women. In addition to political personalities, the author lists deceased Florida writers, educators, sports personalities, religious leaders, businessmen, artists, musicians, and civic leaders. Even Al Capone, who lived in Miami, and Osceola, the famed Indian warrior, are included. This biographical aid was published by Strode Publishers, 6802 Jones Valley Drive SE, Huntsville, Alabama, and it sells for \$12.95.

*Mr. Frank* is the story of Frank Roper as told by Patricia Henry Townsend, a freelance Central Florida writer. William C. Roper, the first of the family in Florida, arrived in Orange County in 1857. This is the biography of Frank Roper, his grandson. A pioneer citrus grower, Mr. Frank is also a renowned horseman. He helped to improve the standards of many breeds, and he has worked to increase the popularity of Tennessee walk-

ing horses in Florida. He has supported the preservation of many of Florida's natural resources, particularly Great Green Swamp, an important water resource. The famous rose garden in front of the Diamond R fertilizer plant in Winter Garden is his handiwork. The book may be ordered from the Winter Garden Times, Winter Garden, Florida 32787, and the price is \$5.95.

*The Story of Frederick C. Peters* is the privately-printed biography of a man who made substantial innovations in Florida's potato industry, founded the city of Plantation, and helped develop the University of Florida's Agricultural Experiment Station in Broward County. August Burghard, Florida writer and a former member of the Florida Historical Society's board of directors, is author.

*Delius*, by Eric Fenby, is in the Great Composers Series published by Thomas Y. Crowell Company, New York. The period of Delius's life that he spent in Florida at Solano Grove on the St. Johns River is described. Some of the best known of Delius's works were composed in Florida, including his beautiful opera *Koanga*. The book sells for \$4.95.

*Dust Tracks on a Road*, the autobiography of Zora Neale Hurston, has been reprinted by J. B. Lippincott Company of Philadelphia. Miss Hurston, born in 1901 in Eatonville, Florida, became one of America's major black writers. This edition of *Dust Tracks* includes an introduction by Larry Neal. The paperback sells for \$2.95.

Stephen Cochran Singleton was actively involved in the early history of South Florida. He edited the *Miami News* (later the *Miami Citizen*) and organized the Key West Chamber of Commerce. He was a columnist, artist, botanist, and served as Florida's unofficial poet laureate. A collection of his poetry, *Florida Showers*, has been published. Edited by Marion Roper Singleton and Barbara Chase Ostrom, it may be ordered from Mrs. E. M. Singleton, P.O. Box 933, Cocoa Beach, Florida 32931, for \$1.25. The illustrations are by Louise Cherwak.

*The Slave Community: Plantation Life in the Ante-Bellum South*, by John W. Blassingame, examines the institution of

slavery from the perspective of the victims themselves. All aspects are evaluated by Professor Blassingame, from the time that the black fell into the clutches of slave raiders until his arrival and settlement in North America. The slave family, religion, music, and superstitions are some of the topics that are developed. The book sells for \$7.95. It was published by Oxford University Press, New York.

Professor Emory M. Thomas tells us in his preface to *The American War and Peace, 1860-1877* that he plans to show what happened to Americans during the Civil War and Reconstruction periods. In his account, the social and cultural history of the times is integrated with political and military issues. There are also photographs, maps, and a selected bibliography. Published by Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, the book sells for \$8.95.

*Indians of the Southeast: Then and Now* describes the social and cultural life of the Indians living in the Southeast: North Carolina to Florida and the Atlantic coast west to the Mississippi. What they ate, their recreational activities, Indian childhood experiences, dance and music, and religious beliefs are some of the topics covered. It includes data on the Seminoles and Miccosukees as well as the Indians that lived in Florida during the first Spanish Period. This volume includes many interesting pictures, some in color. Its authors are Jesse Burt and Robert B. Ferguson. Published by Abingdon Press, Nashville, Tennessee, the volume sells for \$7.95.

*Who's The Savage?* is a documentary history of the mistreatment of the North American Indians. Its editors are David R. Wrone and Russell S. Nelson, Jr. There is material on Florida and Southeastern Indians, including an article on Osceola that appeared originally in the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. Published by Fawcett Publications, Inc., Greenwich, Connecticut, it sells for \$1.25.

*A Chronology & Documentary Handbook of the State of Georgia* is volume ten in the State's Handbooks Series published by Oceana Publications, Inc., Dobbs Ferry, New York 10522.



This volume contains a chronology of historical events from 1540 to 1970, a directory of prominent citizens, an outline of Georgia's constitution, and copies of three historical documents. Mary L. Frech is state editor, and William F. Swindler is series editor. The book sells for \$5.00.

*Colonial Virginia*, by Harold B. Gill, Jr., and Ann Finlayson, is a book designed for children. It covers the period from the settlement of Jamestown through the American Revolution. A bibliography and a listing of important dates and historic sites makes this book useful as a school text. Published by Thomas Nelson Inc., Nashville, Tennessee, it sells for \$4.65.

*Revolutionary Virginia: The Road to Independence, Volume I, Forming Thunderclouds and the First Convention, 1763-1774* was published for the Virginia Independence Bicentennial Commission. Compiled by William J. Van Schreeven and edited by Robert L. Scribner, it is a documentary record of the activities in Virginia leading to the Revolution. Included are documents and speeches relating to the Stamp Act and the Quartering and Townshend Acts, the resolutions establishing a Committee of Intercolonial Correspondence, and the various actions which brought into being the Convention of 1774. Published by the University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia 22903, this volume sells for \$13.50.

"Notes on an Early Virginia Physician: Dr. John De Sequeyra," is an article by Robert Shostek on the Portuguese-Jewish physician of Colonial Williamsburg. Published first in the *American Jewish Archives* (November 1971), it has been reprinted and is being sold at the B'nai B'rith Museum, 1640 Rhode Island Avenue N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036, for fifty cents a copy.

*Journey through a Part of the United States of North America in the Years 1844-1846*, by Albert C. Koch, is an early account of a paleontological exploration covering the area from Martha's Vineyard, Massachusetts, to New Orleans and Alabama in search of the gigantic sea serpent, *Zeuglodon*. Published originally in German, this first English translation has been done by Ernst A.

Stadler who has also written an introduction. This volume is in the Travel on the Western Waters Series, for which John Francis McDermott serves as general editor. Published by Southern Illinois University Press, Carbondale, Illinois, the volume sells for \$12.50.

*Register of the Confederate Debt* was published in 1890 under the title *Register of Issues of Confederate States Treasury Notes Together with Tabular Exhibits of the Debt, Funded and Unfunded of the Confederate States of America 1861-1865*. Long out-of-print, it is believed that there are only five extant copies of the first edition. It was compiled by Raphael Prosper Thian, chief clerk of the Adjutant General's Office and student of Confederate monetary and economic history. A forward has been added to this new edition. Published by Quarterman Publications, Inc., 5 South Union Street, Lawrence, Massachusetts 01843, it sells for \$15.00.

*France and North America: Over Three Hundred Years of Dialogue* is the published proceedings of the First Symposium of French-American Studies, held at the University of Southwestern Louisiana, Lafayette, April 26-30, 1971. The volume sells for \$5.00, and it may be ordered from the USL History Series, Box 831, University of Southwestern Louisiana, Lafayette, Louisiana 70501.

*Marcus Garvey*, edited by E. David Cronon, and *W.E.B. DuBois*, edited by William M. Tuttle, Jr., are in the Great Lives Observed Series published by Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey. The Garvey study, which includes selections from his writings, traces his arrival in the United States from Jamaica to develop the movement among blacks which has made a major impact throughout the world. The DuBois volume is divided into three parts: "DuBois Looks at Black America and the World," "DuBois Viewed by His Contemporaries," and "DuBois in History." Each volume sells for \$6.95 in hardback, and \$2.45, paperback.

## HISTORY NEWS

### *Florida Bicentennial Symposium*

The Florida Bicentennial Commission will hold its third annual Bicentennial Symposium at Florida Technological University, Orlando, March 22-23, 1974. The theme for the conference is "Eighteenth-Century Florida: Her People and Their Activities." Participants include Dr. Geraldine M. Meroney, Agnes Scott College; Dr. Robert M. Calhoun, University of North Carolina at Greensboro; Dr. Mary Beth Norton, Cornell University; Dr. Roland C. McConnell, Murray State College; Dr. James H. O'Donnell, Marietta College; Dr. David Z. Kushner, University of Florida; Dr. David D. Mays, Florida Technological University; and Ms. Rebecca Kushner.

The sessions will deal with Loyalism during the American Revolution, southern Indians during the American Revolution, the status of blacks on the eighteenth-century Gulf coast, the southern colonial theatre, and eighteenth-century southern colonial music. On Friday evening, March 22, *The Beau Stratagem*, a Restoration comedy, will be performed by members of Florida Technological University's Theatre Department under the direction of Dr. David D. Mays. This play was performed March 3, 1783, in St. Augustine by a troop of amateurs for the benefit of the distressed Loyalist refugees who had moved into East Florida from Georgia and the Carolinas. The Symposium was arranged by the Florida Bicentennial Commission's Research and Publications Committee. All sessions will be open to the public. For information and programs, write Dr. Ronald A. Newell, Community Services, Florida Technological University, Box 25000, Orlando, Florida 32816.

### *Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference*

The fifth annual Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference will be held in Pensacola, February 7-9, 1974. The theme is "Indians of the Lower South: Past and Present." "Teaching

the Indian Past in History Courses" will be the subject for discussion Thursday, February 7, and participating are Harriet Deissler, Woodham High School, Pensacola; Professor Samuel Proctor, University of Florida; and James A. Servies, University of West Florida. Professor John K. Mahon, University of Florida, will serve as moderator for a panel discussion on "The White-man's Image of the Indian: A Rebuttal." Participating will be professor Adolph L. Dial, a Lumbee Indian and a member of the history faculty, Pembroke State College; Buffalo Tiger, chairman, Miccosukee Tribe of Florida; Buford Rolin, secretary, Creek Nation East of the Mississippi; Mary Frances Johns, Seminole Tribe of Florida; and Phillip Martin, chief, Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians. Wayne L. Perkins, Escambia County Board of Education; Robert Ferguson, Southeastern Institute of Anthropological Studies, Nashville; Professor Jack Gregory, University of West Florida; Professor John Peterson, Mississippi State University; and Thomas Loguidice, Booker T. Washington High School, Pensacola, will also present papers on Thursday. Participating at the Friday session will be Professors Charles H. Fairbanks, University of Florida; Adolph L. Dial, Pembroke State College; J. Anthony Paredes, Florida State University; Harry Kersey, Florida Atlantic University; C. B. Clark, University of Oklahoma; and Mary Young, University of Rochester.

Dr. Angie Debo, professor emeritus, University of Oklahoma, will speak on "Apaches Indians of the Southeast," at the banquet Friday evening. James W. Moody, Jr., director, Historic Pensacola Preservation Board, will preside at the Friday evening session. A special caravan tour of the historic sights of the Pensacola area is planned for Saturday. Sponsors of the Conference are the Historic Pensacola Preservation Board, Pensacola Junior College, University of West Florida, and the Escambia County School Board. Mr. Moody is general chairman of the conference, Grace Earnest is business manager, and Professor John K. Mahon is program chairman. The sessions are open to the public. The published proceedings of the earlier conferences are available from the John C. Pace Library, University of West Florida, Pensacola 32504.

*Florida College Teachers of History*

The Florida College Teachers of History Conference will be held at the Hilton Hotel, Tallahassee, Florida, March 29-30, 1974. Program and local arrangements chairman is Dr. Richard Bartlett, Department of History, Florida State University. Professor T. Harry Williams of Louisiana State University will be the banquet speaker, March 29, and his topic is "Huey Long and the Problem of Our Time." "Minorities in the Progressive Era" and "Problems of the White Man's Burden in the Far East" are among the topics to be discussed at the Saturday sessions. Dr. J. Ryan Beiser, Department of History, University of Tampa, is president of the Florida College Teachers of History; Dr. Bartlett is vice-president; and Professor Claude Sturgill, University of Florida, is secretary-treasurer. Members of the advisory board are Professors Fred Aldridge, Jacksonville University; Ted Carageorge, Pensacola Junior College; William A. Dunn, Bethune-Cookman College; Gerald Critoph, Stetson University; and Maurice Vance, Florida State University.

*Preservation Workshop*

"Preservation and Local Politics" is the theme for the fourth Preservation Workshop being sponsored by the Department of Architecture and Fine Arts, University of Florida. The conference will be held at the University, February 22-23. Robert L. Williams, director, Division of Archives, History, and Records Management, Florida Department of State, will be the keynote speaker, and nationally recognized authorities in the field of preservation and restoration will participate in the meeting. For information, write Professor F. Blair Reeves, Department of Architecture and Fine Arts, University of Florida, Gainesville 32601.

*State and Local History Awards*

The American Association for State and Local History at its annual meeting in Edmonton, Alberta, Canada, recognized state and local history projects, agencies, and publications throughout the United States and Canada which revealed superior achievement and quality. Five of these awards were received by Floridians and Florida projects. Dr. Dorothy Dodd of Tallahassee re-

ceived an Award of Merit for her many years of devotion to the cause of Florida history while serving as assistant state librarian and then as Director of the Florida State Library. Dr. Wayne Flynt of Samford University, Birmingham, was recognized for his biography *Duncan Upshaw Fletcher: Dixie's Reluctant Progressive*, published by Florida State University Press. Certificates of Commendation were awarded to the Junior League of Miami, Inc., for its production of a film and a teaching manual on the history of Dade County; to former Secretary of State Robert Andrew Gray of Tallahassee, for his "devotion to and support of the collection and dissemination of Florida history;" and to Ms. Marjory Bartlett Sanger of Winter Park for her biography *Billy Bartram and His Green World*, published by Farrar, Straus, and Giroux. Dr. Flynt had earlier received the Rembert W. Patrick Memorial Book Award from the Florida Historical Society for his biography of Senator Fletcher, and Ms. Sanger received the Junior Book Award from the Society for the Bartram study.

Presentations of the State and Local History Awards will be made at the annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society in Tallahassee, May 3-4, 1974. Dr. Samuel Proctor is awards chairman for the State of Florida, and James W. Moody, Jr., is a member of the national awards committee.

#### *Announcements and Activities*

The executive committee of the Florida Anthropological Society met at the Florida State Museum, University of Florida, September 25, 1973, to review and approve its proposed new constitution and by-laws. The next annual meeting of the Society will be held March 15-17, 1974, at the Jacksonville Hilton Hotel. The Northeast Florida Chapter will host the meeting, and Dr. Tom Couchnour will serve as chairman. For information, write G. H. Magruder, 201 Harbor City Parkway, Apartment 235B, Indian Harbor Beach, Florida 32937.

The first report of the Florida Inventory of the Historic American Engineering Record (HAER) Program was published by the National Park Service, September 1973. Professor John Paul Hartman, Florida Technological University, is in charge of the Florida project which seeks to locate such engineering

achievements as bridges, canals, waterworks, transportation or industrial complexes, etc., which are associated with the technological or engineering progress of Florida. The HAER program was created in 1969, and the Florida survey began in 1972. Professor Hartman's report lists a variety of facilities: sites of Confederate salt works, lighthouses, railroad stations, phosphate loading facilities, and other engineering and industrial sites. They are located by county. The project is a continuing one, and Professor Hartman is interested in uncovering any remains of works associated with lumber, fishing, mining, or other Florida-based operations. Anyone having information about existing engineering works in whatever condition, is asked to contact Professor Hartman, College of Engineering, Florida Technological University, Box 25000, Orlando 32816.

The Florida Department of the Council on Abandoned Military Posts held a one-day assembly in Ocala, October 6, 1973. The sites of Fort King and Fort King Cemetery were inspected, and Dr. John K. Mahon of the University of Florida and a director of the Florida Historical Society spoke at the luncheon. His topic was "Forts Established in Marion and Adjacent Counties during the Second Seminole War." During the afternoon session, the participants visited the site of Fort Drane and drove to Yankeetown to examine the Holloman Blockhouse area. Tom Knotts described the sites and military operations along the Withlacoochee River. *Headquarters Heliogram*, the organization's monthly publication, includes news items on Florida's historic military sites. Applications for membership to CAMP may be directed to the Secretary, P.O. Box 171, Arlington, Virginia 22210.

The Oral History Association has launched a new annual publication. *The Oral History Review* will carry articles and news dealing with all aspects of oral history. The first *Review* includes an article by Ms. Barbara Gallant of Gainesville, Florida, describing the utilization of oral history as a teaching method in Gainesville High School. The *Review* is sent to members of the Oral History Association. Address membership inquiries to Dr. Knox Mellon, Oral History Project, Immaculate Heart Col-

lege, Los Angeles, California 90020. Individual copies of *The Oral History Review* may be ordered from the Oral History Association, University of Vermont, Burlington, Vermont 05401, at \$3.00 per copy.

The University of Alabama will hold the second annual General W. S. Brown Memorial Military History Conference, February 2, 1974, in the University of Alabama Continuing Education Center, Martha Parham Hall, West. Speakers will be Colonel Roger Willock (U.S.N. ret.); and Professors Bill I. Wiley, Emory University; Stephen Ambrose, Louisiana State University; and D. Clayton James, Mississippi State University. For information contact George M. Faulk, P. O. Box 2967, University of Alabama 35486.

#### *Local Societies and Commissions*

*Alachua County Historical Society:* Dr. and Mrs. Oliver Austin, nationally-known ornithologists, talked on "Birds and People" at the November 20, 1973, program meeting of the Society. Dr. Austin is curator emeritus at the Florida State Museum, and Mrs. Austin is a Florida State Museum research associate. Both are widely known for their books and reports on birds.

*Bradford County Historical Board of Trustees:* The Bradford County Court House, a seventy-one year old structure, has been deeded by the school board to the newly-created Bradford County Historical Board of Trustees. Eugene L. Matthews of the *Bradford County Telegraph* is president of the seven-member board appointed by Governor Reubin Askew. Serving with Mr. Matthews are County Judge L. Zelzie Sanders, James F. Bloodworth, Charles Schafer, Mrs. A.C. Knight, and Mrs. Fremont Tolles. Efforts are being made to restore the building and convert it into a county historical museum.

*Collier County Historical Society:* The first issue of *The Timepiece*, the quarterly publication of the Collier County Historical Society, includes a tribute to Captain W. T. Collier, considered the originator of the first townsite on Marco Island. There is also a book review section which will announce pub-



lications dealing with the history of southwest Florida and Collier County. John G. Beriault, Naples, is editor of *The Time-piece*. George G. Huntoon is president of the Society.

*Columbia County Historical Society:* General Bob Harkness, speaker at the program meeting October 12, 1973, described Columbia County's activities during the Civil War. A charter for the new Society has been adopted, and a committee was appointed to draw up by-laws. Mrs. Charles Ozaki is president, and Freda D. Pickens is secretary.

*Dunedin Historical Society:* At its September meeting the Society approved the reprinting of two Dunedin histories, one written by W. M. Moore and the other by the fifth grade class of the Dunedin Elementary School. The Society held its regular meeting in November at the Parish House of the Church of the Good Shepherd.

*Fort Lauderdale Historical Society:* The October 1973 number of *New River News* reprints the address given by Mrs. George B. Secrist, May 1965, at the dedication of the Thomas Jefferson Newbill Botanical Research Collection in Fort Lauderdale. The publication also lists books, photographs, maps, and artifacts which the Society has received in recent weeks.

*Jacksonville Historical Society:* Mrs. Marian Conner presented a monodrama of Irving Stone's novel, *Those Who Love*, at the November meeting of the Society. The Society's archives, under the supervision of Miss Audrey Broward, have been relocated in new facilities at Jacksonville University's Swisher Library. The collection is also being catalogued. The Society will publish a book on Florida's historic King's Road as part of its observance of the Bicentennial Celebration. The book will be based on a series of articles on the King's Road written by James R. Ward, which appeared in the *Florida Times-Union*. Miss Dena Snodgrass, the Society's historian, is working with Mr. Ward in completing additional historical research for the publication.

*Key West Art and Historical Society:* The Society opened its

annual Juried Art Exhibition at East Martello Tower, November 20, 1973.

*Oviedo Historical Society:* Dr. Jerrell Shofner, of Florida Technological University and a director of the Florida Historical Society, was the guest speaker at the organizational meeting of the Society in November 1973. He described the Bicentennial activities in Central Florida. A committee was appointed to draft a constitution. Mrs. Donna M. Neely is president of the Society.

*Pensacola Historical Society:* "A New Look at Old Pensacola" was the subject for the slide show narrated by Mrs. Dolores Moore at the October 15, 1973, meeting of the Society in the Pensacola Historical Museum. Ms. Linda Ellsworth, historian for the Historic Pensacola Preservation Board, at the November 19 meeting, described her two-month study this past summer of seven urban inner-city preservation programs. Ms. Ellsworth examined activities in Savannah, Charleston, New Orleans, Annapolis, Richmond, Washington, and Pittsburgh. Her findings provided a basis for some of her recommendations and suggestions for the preservation work in the Seville Historical District and the North Hill Preservation District in Pensacola. A special Christmas exhibit of toys and dolls was on display at the Historical Museum in December.

*Pinellas County Historical Commission:* The Junior League of Clearwater is compiling a history of the community with the assistance of the Historical Commission. The Commission also exhibited many of its historic items at the fiftieth-annual banquet of the Clearwater Chamber of Commerce. The Commission's annual Christmas reception was held December 11, 1973.

*Safety Harbor Area Historical Society:* The annual picnic, October 28, 1973, was designated John Ware Day, and Captain John Ware of Tampa received the Society's Historian of the Year Award. Paul Cato was the featured speaker at the meeting. Rene Futch, senior marine biologist of Florida's Marine Research Laboratory, spoke at the November 28 meeting.

*St. Joseph Historical Society:* Mrs. Elizabeth Ehrbar of Tallahassee was the speaker at the November 6 meeting of the Society. Mrs. Ehrbar is supervisor of Museum Exhibits, Division of Natural Resources. Assisting with her presentation were Jennie Dyer and Jim Lottinville. Mrs. Zola Maddox, a charter member of the Society, displayed several bricks found at the site of the Confederate salt works near old St. Joseph. It was announced that Bobby Hurst of Panama City would be the guest speaker at the annual meeting of the Society.

*St. Lucie Historical Society:* Judge Alto Adams, former justice of the Florida Supreme Court was the speaker at the November 20, 1973, meeting of the Society. His topic was "Our American Heritage in Law." Recent acquisitions of the St. Lucie County Museum include a portrait of the late Edwin Binney painted by Michael Sitaras.

*Tampa Historical Society:* The second annual D. B. McKay History Award was presented to State Senator David McClain of Tampa at the Society's annual meeting in the Fletcher Lounge of the University of Tampa, November 14, 1973. Senator McClain was recognized for his efforts to save the State Capitol. State Representative Ed Blackburn made the presentation. General Sumter L. Lowry, chairman of the Society's Sesquicentennial Committee, announced plans for the 1974 celebration of the founding of Fort Brooke. Dr. James W. Covington of the University of Tampa is serving as professional consultant to the Society and the city-wide Sesquicentennial Committee. Gloria Jahoda, author of *River of the Golden Ibis*, was the guest speaker for the evening, and she was introduced by B. G. Smith. The Society's historical marker committee, under the direction of vice-president Tony Pizzo, placed a marker at the site of the old Hillsborough County Court House and dedicated one which recognized Radio Station WDAE, Florida's pioneer station. Hampton Dunn is president of the Society.

*Tarpon Springs Area Historical Society:* A historical calendar for 1974 has been issued by the Society. Each page, sponsored by a local business establishment, shows historic scenes of Tarpon Springs.

## OBITUARY

*Walter Pliny Fuller*

Walter P. Fuller, one of Florida's most enthusiastic supporters of state and local history, died at a St. Petersburg hospital, October 14, 1973. He was buried at Sylvan Abbey Memorial Park. Born in Bradenton, April 6, 1894, Mr. Fuller attended the University of North Carolina, and then returned to Florida in 1915 to join his father in a series of ventures that were significant in the early progress of St. Petersburg. He owned large tracts of land in Pinellas County, and constructed some 1,400 houses and many of the major buildings in the area. He was involved in the organization of St. Petersburg's first electric power plant, its first street car line, a passenger steamship line, citrus groves, hotels, and real estate companies. He helped develop Pasadena, Pass-A-Grille, and St. Petersburg Beach.

If Mr. Fuller's major economic activity was real estate, his real love was Florida history. He was a reporter, editor, and editorial writer for the *St. Petersburg Times*, and he lectured on Florida history at St. Petersburg Junior College. He was a recognized authority on the history of the Tampa Bay area, and his book *St. Petersburg and Its People* was published in 1972. He also wrote *This Was Florida's Boom*. At the time of his death, he was gathering material for a biography of Hamilton Disston.

Mr. Fuller had been active in Florida and national politics. He managed the 1936 Presidential campaign of Franklin D. Roosevelt in Nebraska, Kansas, and Oklahoma, and was a member of Pinellas and Florida Democratic committees for many years. He was actively involved in President Lyndon Johnson's 1964 campaign in Pinellas County, and was recognized as "Mr. Democrat" of the area. He served in the Florida Legislature in 1937 and 1939.

Mr. Fuller was an active member of various area historical societies as well as the Florida Historical Society. He had served a term as a director of the Florida Historical Society, and had been a member of the Pinellas County Historical Commission. His many friends throughout Florida will feel his death as a deep personal loss.

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

1974

Jan. 18	Confederation of Local and Regional Florida Historical Societies	Orlando
Feb. 7-9	Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference	Pensacola
Feb. 22-23	Fourth Preservation Workshop- "Preservation and Local Politics"	University of Florida Gainesville
March 1-2	Phi Alpha Theta History Conference	University of Florida Gainesville
March 22-23	Third Annual Florida Bicentennial Symposium	Florida Technolog- ical University Orlando
March 29-30	Florida College Teachers of History	Florida State University Tallahassee
April 17-20	Organization of American Historians	Denver, Colorado
May 3-4	FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY- 72nd ANNUAL MEETING	Tallahassee



# THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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

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

