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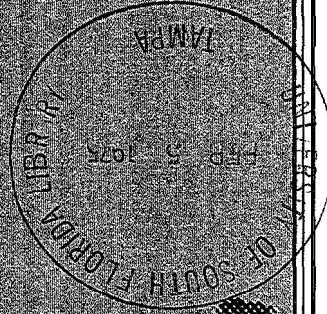
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COVER

Pensacola's Union passenger depot, constructed in 1884 for the Pensacola and Atlantic Railroad. The Louisville and Nashville later jointly used this depot. The station, located at Wright and Tarragona streets, remained in use until about 1913. From a photograph which appeared in the January 1897 issue of *Bliss' Quarterly*.

*The
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THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Volume LIII, Number 3

January 1975

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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RACE, POLITICS AND EDUCATION: THE SHEATS-HOLLOWAY ELECTION CONTROVERSY, 1903-1904

by ARTHUR O. WHITE*

WILLIAM N. SHEATS, elected three times as Florida state school superintendent, brought Florida national recognition by his progressive school policies. During his so-called "crusade against ignorance" he had written the educational provisions of the state constitution of 1885, organized the dual school system, and had helped to upgrade the professional status of teachers. His negotiations with the state legislature had resulted in a \$188,000 appropriation for public schools from Florida's Indian War claim settlement with the federal government and a \$50,000 state appropriation for high school development. Still, Sheats had made many political enemies in Florida over the years, and his critics dubbed him an education "Czar."¹

By 1903 this group agreed to support State Senator H. H. McCreary, editor of the *Gainesville Daily Sun*, in a determination to keep Sheats from being reelected as state superintendent. The senator's proposed textbook uniformity bill and a teacher certification bill had been attacked by Sheats, who claimed that the uniformity bill would turn Florida over to a book trust and that McCreary expected a "rake off."² Newspaper de-

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1. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, September 28, 1900; W. N. Sheats to R. S. Nash, June 17, 1903, Letterbook 14, 241, W. N. Sheats Letterbooks, State Commissioner of Education Office, Tallahassee. Hereinafter cited as WNSL. See also "A Word of Friendly Warning," *Florida School Exponent*, V (January 1898), 11; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union and Citizen*, January 30, 1900, March 13, 1904.
2. Sheats to T. J. McBeath, May 30, 1903, WNSL 14, 107; Sheats to J. N. Overhultz, August 30, 1903, WNSL 15, 159; Sheats to Nash, October 15, 1903, WNSL 18, 204. On the testimony of an "old country senator," Sheats implicated other legislators for pocketing as much as \$5,000 to vote for the uniformity bill, Sheats to McBeath, May 30, 1903, WNSL 14, 107.

nunciations, such as one by Tampa's *Morning Tribune* describing the proposed legislation as loaded "with long sticks of book trust dynamite," helped bring about its defeat.³ Sheats was almost as successful in removing what he termed the "damnable features" of McCreary's certification bill. These clauses, he asserted, would protect incompetent teachers friendly to McCreary by mitigating the rule that teachers periodically pass the state superintendent's qualifying examination. Stung by such "arrogance," McCreary "swore vengeance" against Sheats.⁴

McCreary's opportunity to get rid of Sheats came in 1904 with the first application of the primary election law to state office. With a debt of \$1,000, and lacking many financial backers, Sheats could not afford to finance a state-wide campaign which would entail expensive travel.⁵ Prior to the primary system, candidates for state office in Florida were nominated at a state convention of delegates representing county Democratic organizations. Candidates normally confined their electioneering to a party-financed tour of the state a few weeks before the regular election. The Florida primary law permitted any white man to become a political candidate if he had paid his poll tax, proclaimed his allegiance to the Democratic platform, and pledged to contribute to the party five per cent of his first year's salary if elected. Moreover, with Democrat against Democrat in the primary, fund raising could become a crucial factor in the outcome of the election.⁶

The primary system would also give McCreary an opportunity to use the race issue against Sheats. In an era characterized by Jim Crow legislation, frequent lynching, segregation as an accepted way of life, and a belief among many Floridians that blacks should be educated minimally, if at all, because they

3. *Tampa Morning Tribune*, undated clipping in T. J. Appleyard scrapbook, State Press Association, Tallahassee.

4. Sheats to McBeath, May 20, 1903, WNSL 14, 40; Sheats to Overhultz, August 29, 1903, WNSL 15, 157; Sheats to D. U. Fletcher, September 28, 1903, WNSL 15, 372-73; Sheats to McBeath, August 17, 1903, WNSL 15, 79; Sheats to C. V. Waugh, May 13, 1903, WNSL 15, 13.

5. Sheats to J. Gasinger, June 27, 1903, WNSL 14, 294; Sheats to W. A. Jones, September 28, 1903, WNSL 15, 378.

6. Sheats to F. G. Schell, May 14, 1900, untitled Sheats letterbook in possession of William Harper Davidson, Miami, 285. Hereinafter cited as SLWHD. See also Jacksonville *Metropolis*, March 26, 1904.

were intellectually inferior, owned little property, and paid few taxes, Sheats stood "up for negro education in private conversation or on the platform."⁷ He reasoned that "the real negro question" lay in discovering an education that "will make the vast number of idle, absolutely worthless negroes industrious and self-supporting." At first he had tried to deal with the problem by requiring segregated schools as a means of protecting whites from "social equality," while insuring blacks the best possible education "to fit them for residence among the white population in the very nature of things to be the ruling element in our Southland."⁸ Later controversial activities of Sheats included publishing statistics that showed the blacks paid more taxes than they received in educational benefits. He sponsored teacher training schools for blacks, employed black teachers to instruct black children, and he advocated industrial education along the Booker T. Washington plan.⁹

Such "liberalism" made Sheats vulnerable with Florida's poor white rural population. With the introduction of the primary system in 1902 only whites could register and vote in the Democratic party primary. The rural electorate, mostly small farm-

7. Florida *Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1900-1902* (Tallahassee, 1902), 449.

8. Sheats to R. M. Arnold, January 27, 1902, WNSL 14, 216; Sheats to A. S. Benedict, January 23, 1894, WNSL 1, 225-27. Sheats was known nationally as a strict segregationist. In 1895 he had the staff of a Congregationalist industrial school arrested for violating a statute authored by him that prohibited the teaching of blacks and whites in the same school. Northern leaders of both the Congregational and Methodist faiths alerted their members throughout the country to oppose the dangerous precedent. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, May 11, June 21, 1896; *New York Times*, May 10, 1896. Although he lost his case on a technicality, Sheats proved so successful at segregating the races in the public schools that he became noted as an "expert" on Negro origins. For example, in late 1903 a school official from North Carolina asked him to rule on the eligibility for the white schools of a group claiming to be of the Croatan race. Sheats to R. W. Livermore, November 30, 1903, WNSL 18, 487.

9. Sheats to Benedict, January 23, 1894, WNSL 1, 225-27. Such actions changed the minds of some northern adversaries of the segregation system. These leaders found themselves especially impressed when Sheats published statistics demonstrating that blacks deserved more educational benefits. "Florida Schools and Mr. Sheats," *National Independent*, LIII (May 1901), 1090-91.

ers, now had sufficient voting strength to nominate their favorite candidates, and this was tantamount to controlling elective offices. With the disenfranchisement of blacks, the Republicans had been practically eliminated from state politics.¹⁰ Still, even the most popular Florida Democrat had to cater to rural sentiments based on intense loyalty to family, place of birth, religion, and race. As Sheats once said, "it is folly to undertake to force the prejudice of any people, especially of a Florida 'cracker.'" ¹¹

Sheats had committed such a folly just prior to the legislative session of 1903 by inviting Booker T. Washington to give an address in Gainesville during a convention of the state's leading educators. This action ignited a rumor that Washington had been invited to speak in the white high school and the public suspected both Sheats and Alachua County School Superintendent William M. Holloway. At this point McCreary, seeing the chance to hurt Sheats, published a telegram from Holloway, a man ambitious for the state superintendency, declaring the high school off limits to Washington. Holloway then accused Sheats of being the one who had scheduled Washington for the white school "to tell white parents how to educate white children."¹² McCreary and his associates now cast their lot with Holloway and agreed to back him.

Holloway announced his candidacy on September 4, 1903. Eleven years younger than Sheats, Holloway had followed him as Alachua County school superintendent. In fact, after Holloway had received his first teaching position from Sheats in January 1883, the two men became good friends. Sheats saw to it that Holloway, who had a large family, received the better-paid teaching positions. In 1892, during Sheats's campaign for state

10. James Owen Knauss, "The Growth of Florida's Election Laws," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, V (July 1926), 10, 14. Prior to sponsoring legislation for a state primary, Emmett J. Wolfe, state senator from Pensacola, toured the state predicting that a primary would reduce "independentism" and increase the Democratic party vote. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union and Citizen*, September 27, 1900.

11. Florida *Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Florida for the Two Years Ending June 30, 1894* (Tallahassee, 1895), 15.

12. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, January 25, 1904. See also Arthur O. White, "Booker T. Washington's Florida Incident, 1903-1904," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, LI (January 1973), 227-49.

office, Holloway co-authored "A Blast for Sheats," which served as the candidate's introduction to the voters. He was deacon of Gainesville's First Baptist Church, secretary to the Masonic Lodge, member of the Knights of Pythias, member of the second congressional district's Democratic Executive Committee, chairman of the county superintendent's convention, and president in 1901 of the 3,000 member Florida Teacher Association. Holloway had strong potential as a formidable vote getter.¹³

When Holloway received endorsement from fifteen Florida newspapers, Sheats assumed that Senator McQueary, a founder of the state press association and whose paper was a "satellite" of the popular Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, had drawn the press behind Holloway.¹⁴ Most of these newspapers had followed the *Times-Union's* lead in describing Holloway as more qualified than Sheats. The *Holmes County Advertiser*, though conceding that the state superintendent deserved much credit for his work, praised Holloway for superior ability. The *Pensacola Journal* indirectly called Sheats a "ward heeler or convention wire puller," while describing Holloway as "a gentleman of education, culture and ability."¹⁵

Sheats also suspected that the pamphlets and newspaper editorials on behalf of Holloway's candidacy could be traced to McCreary. Most of this material, Sheats commented, used bold faced type, concise phrasing, and dramatic analogies to make the state superintendent look like a "red nosed yankee and nigger lover."¹⁶ Another effective document cited by Sheats

13. Board of Public Instruction, Alachua County, Florida, *Minutes, Book I (1869-1887)*, 207, 234, 258, 331, *Book II (1887-1910)*, 82, County School Board Office, Gainesville, Florida; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, June 2, 1892; *Palatka Times Herald*, September 4, 1903, reprinted in Jacksonville *Metropolis*, March 19, 1904.

14. Sheats to Waugh, December 15, 1903, WNSL 14, 55.

15. Bonifay *Holmes County Advertiser*, reprinted in Jacksonville *Metropolis*, March 19, 1904; *Pensacola Journal*, reprinted in Jacksonville *Metropolis*, September 26, 1903. For reprints from other papers supporting Holloway see Jacksonville *Metropolis*, March 19, 1904.

16. Sheats to E. S. Mathews, October 27, 1903, WNSL 18, 317; *Holloway-Sheats Controversy: Some Facts About the Booker T. Washington Matter*, Holloway campaign circular, William Nicholas Sheats Papers (1851-1922), Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, microfilm copy, reel 1, file

was an autobiography circulated throughout the state describing Holloway as an orphan who, by hard work and education, had achieved an illustrious career as county superintendent. It also claimed that Holloway had supervised the building of many renowned schools and had wiped out an \$11,000 debt left by his predecessor Sheats.¹⁷

A second powerful person aiding Holloway was Clementine Hampton. Born in 1863, she had spent her youth in Georgia with a widowed mother and five brothers and sisters. Sheats remembered these youngsters as being among the bright but impoverished students he had accepted in a private high school even though they could not pay the tuition.¹⁸ In 1882, he persuaded "Miss Clem," as she came to be known all over Florida, to move to Alachua County where she taught in a private school for a year before qualifying for a second class certificate. Sheats then appointed her to excellent teaching positions, including in 1891 the first assistantship in Gainesville High School.¹⁹ During two decades of teaching she had endeared herself to prominent Floridians with her wit and a charming and persuasive manner. Weighing nearly 300 pounds and wearing a broad-brimmed, red-feathered Panama hat, Miss Clem's appearance helped her dominate most situations.²⁰ She was elected

1, in P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville. Hereinafter cited SPUNC.

17. For Holloway's autobiography, see *Palatka Times Herald*, September 4, 1903, reprinted in Jacksonville *Metropolis*, March 19, 1904.

18. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, April 10, 16, 24, 1904.

19. Board of Public Instruction, Alachua County, *Minutes, Book I*, 206-07, 234, 257, 262, *Book II*, 60, 82, 89.

20. Interview with Mrs. Caroline Palmer, Gainesville, January 23, 1973, tape (25A) and transcript in University of Florida Oral History Archives, Florida State Museum, Gainesville, p. 13; interview with William Harper Davidson, Ocala, August 11, 1972. Stories about Hampton's size abound among those who knew her. Hampton once persuaded a perplexed night train conductor with no available lower berths to go through the train and say that he had a 300-pound woman with an upper berth. The conductor recited his plight only once before being told: "There's only one woman in the State of Florida that weighs 300 pounds and that is Miss Clem Hampton. She can have my lower berth any night of the week." Interview with Caroline Palmer, January 23, 1973, 13. Charles Knott tells of Floridians referring to the "biggest cypress in Lake Bradford" as the "Miss Clem Hampton tree." Interview with Charles Knott, Tallahassee, August 4, 1972.

vice-president of the Florida Education Association and served on its executive committee. Throughout her career, she was respected for knowing as much about "state politics as any man in the Capitol."²¹

Unwittingly Sheats had turned her against him in 1902 when he declared her "aged" teacher certificate invalid. Upon discovering that Miss Hampton had too few years experience to be eligible for this certificate he asked Holloway to revoke her license, but Holloway refused. Sheats then took this action, informing her that "of all persons I expect my friends to abide the requirements of law."²²

Suspicious of Miss Clem's aloof attitude after this incident, Sheats implicated her in the plot to use the Booker Washington matter against him. At a public meeting called in February 1903, to discuss his invitation to Washington, he told of "a certain vengeful lady" who had helped Holloway in this effort to trap him with the false rumor that he had scheduled Washington for the white school auditorium. Before he could finish his statement, an indignant citizen demanded that he stop his ungentlemanly conduct.²³

Miss Hampton bided her time until given a chance to oppose Sheats at the National Education Association meeting in Boston. At this convention Sheats had hoped that he would be appointed to the nomination committee for state directors; he wanted a native Southerner to head the organization in Florida. During the debate, Sheats alleged that northern delegates, backed by Chairman John Elliott, president of Harvard University, prevented him from being recognized on the grounds that he was a racist Southerner who had sought to undermine black progress. At this point, Miss Hampton helped persuade the members to choose John Forbes, president of Stetson University, who was originally from an eastern state. Sheats, considering himself "the most sincere friend of negro education in the South," was outraged. Miss Hampton claimed to have overheard him urging Nathan B. Young, president of Florida's black

21. Obituary of Clem Hampton, 1926, in Elizabeth Sheats Davidson scrapbook (1927), in possession of William Harper Davidson, Miami.

22. Sheats to W. A. McRae, August 30, 1903, WNSL 14, 500; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, April 16, 1904.

23. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, February 4, 1903, April 26, 1904.

normal school, to speak out against her because "the cracker didn't have any showing in Boston when a colored person spoke."²⁴ Later, Miss Hampton furnished Holloway with affidavits, articles, and pamphlets claiming that Sheats "did persuade, beg and coax a coal-black negro" to denounce a "Southern white woman" before the NEA in Boston.²⁵

Most disheartening to Sheats was his belief that school book companies were underwriting Holloway's campaign expenses. He felt these companies were scheming to defeat him because of his opposition to uniformity bills. This was the only way that he could explain Holloway's ability to finance extended campaign trips and to pay campaign workers who were distributing thousands of pamphlets.²⁶

Sheats reacted to these challenges with a letter writing campaign in which he affirmed: "I go forth in the right trusting in my integrity and in the Lord and I believe I shall win." Contact-

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24. Sheats to Irwin Sheppard, October 6, 1903, WNSL 15, 449-50; Sheats to J. C. Calhoun, August 8, 1903, WNSL 15, 449-50; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, April 10, 16, 26, 1904. Sheats claimed also to be upset because Forbes was pressing a "notorious law suit" for libel against his institution's patron—John B. Stetson of Philadelphia. The suit involved Stetson's demand that Forbes resign because of his alleged intimacy with a female teacher which had resulted in her pregnancy and an eventual abortion. Indeed, Sheats was almost implicated when someone accused him of recommending the teacher for her position. Sheats to Sheppard, October 6, 1903, WNSL 15, 449-50; Sheats to I. Stewart, August 20, 1903, WNSL 14, 422. The \$250,000 suit, which received considerable newspaper coverage including front page cartoons, ended with Forbes resigning and the charge of immorality not proven. Jacksonville *Metropolis*, February 15, 16, 19, 24, 27, 1903; *St. Petersburg Times*, September 12, 1903. Stetson's antagonism might have been exacerbated by Forbes's socialist leanings. In 1898, Forbes, who had already been president of Stetson University for five years, advocated that the state provide free education from kindergarten through the university, free textbooks, free lunches for all pupils, as well as free clothing for needy students. *Florida School Exponent*, V (February 1898), 5.
25. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, April 16, 24, 1904; Sheats to A. W. Mizelle, September 14, 1903, WNSL 15, 247; *Holloway-Sheats Controversy*, SPUNC; Sheats to Sheppard, October 6, 1903, WNSL 15, 449-53.
26. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, May 22, 1904; Sheats to McBeath, May 28, 1903, WNSL 14, 83; Sheats to W. Buttrick, May 25, 1904, Booker T. Washington Papers, container 18, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C. Hereinafter cited as BTWP.

ing his friends he asked that they recruit on his behalf every voter in their neighborhood, especially newspaper editors and ministers. Given the isolation of the backwoods and Sheats's limited opportunity for personal canvassing he knew that such efforts were crucial.²⁷

Contemptuous of Holloway, and describing him as a "dummy of live oak wood" acting "as some other man's poodle," Sheats began to think of himself as being persecuted. His hundreds of personally-drafted letters contained warnings about Holloway being manipulated either by individuals who wanted to use the state superintendency for their personal advantage or by a "certain class of politicians most of them gamblers and whiskey drinkers making a flurry in the newspaper." Sheats, a Methodist, even expressed concern about the religious competition between his faith and the Baptist, reminding his listeners that Holloway and Miss Clem, both Baptists, might turn the superintendent's office into a device for expanding the influence of that church.

Trying to make up for Holloway's weak record, his supporters had resorted to fabrications, Sheats asserted, about their candidate's education and success in Alachua County. Sheats, who held a master's degree from Emory University, pointed out that Holloway had never secured a college diploma and that during his term as superintendent the school debt in Alachua County had increased \$107,500. Sheats also noted that when he first became Alachua County superintendent in 1880 the job paid \$250 a year; when Holloway succeeded him it was \$1,200 a year, and the annual salary was paid from a school fund with a \$2,000 surplus. This, he complained, was an example of his opponent "building up positions for pretentious shams."²⁸

Sheats's major problem was dealing with Holloway's racial slurs. While admitting that he had invited Booker Washington to Gainesville, he explained that as a southern white man "to

27. Sheats to Mizelle, September 14, 1903, WNSL 15, 246.

28. Sheats to H. C. Graham, September 21, 1903, WNSL 15, 289; Sheats to J. F. Shands, September 25, 1903, WNSL 15, 344; Sheats to J. F. Scott, September 30, 1903, WNSL 15, 389; Sheats to J. L. Kelley, September 30, 1903, WNSL 15, 397-401; Sheats to D. G. Rowland, September 24, 1903, WNSL 15, 333. These are excerpts from a small portion of the hundreds of letters Sheats wrote before beginning to canvass the state in November 1903. See WNSL 15-18.

the very marrow of . . . [his] bones," he had never scheduled Washington to speak in the white school.²⁹ Regarding Miss Hampton's allegation, Sheats not only denied that he had wanted any office at the convention, but that he had spoken to Young about anything more serious than the purchase of theater tickets.³⁰

On November 6, 1903, Sheats challenged Holloway to eight debates in Alachua County, promising that the "searchlight of truth will be thrown upon the Booker Washington incident." Holloway responded that although opposed "to any mixture of politics and education," he was confident that the Washington matter "will appear to the disadvantage" of the Superintendent.³¹

At the first rallies both men remained calm, with Sheats, reputed to be one of Florida's best stump speakers, being loudly applauded for speeches stressing his quarter century of service to Florida education and his refutations of the racial charges. At a meeting in Micanopy passions were further subdued by "Mrs. Winslow's Soothing Syrup," an alcoholic concoction offered by a local physician who had heard the candidates complain of spells. After each candidate had enjoyed a drink of the potion, it was reported that Sheats held forth for forty minutes leaving Holloway and the other candidates little time to say anything.³²

In the next few meetings, Holloway intensified the tone of his insinuations concerning the Washington incident. At one point, when accosted by a disbelieving spectator, he boasted that he could produce the evidence. When Sheats asked to see the proof, he was told it would be displayed at the proper time. Sheats then made an impassioned plea for support which even the pro-Holloway *Florida Times-Union* praised as "an able speech which was listened to with rapt attention."³³

The debate tour culminated at Gainesville. Sheats met Holloway's refusal to precede him by speaking vigorously for two

29. Sheats to J. M. Slater, October 26, 1903, WNSL 18, 311.

30. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, April 10, 16, 1904; Sheats to Graham, September 21, 1903, WNSL 15, 289; Sheats to B. Davenport, September 21, 1903, WNSL 15, 280-81.

31. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, November 6, 16, 1903.

32. *Ibid.*, November 19, 1903; Jacksonville *Metropolis*, November 20, 1903; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, November 22, 1903.

33. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, November 25, 26, 1903.

hours and seven minutes before an audience of some 700 people. He expanded on his plan to reveal the "rotten financial condition of Alachua County schools." He said that if he were a cartoonist he would draw Holloway as a shylock supported byimps and an unscrupulous minister threatening the dutiful state superintendent. The longer he spoke the worse the situation became. During at least one pause where he hoped for applause, a heckler yelled: "Hurrah for Holloway, the next State Superintendent." The outburst received thunderous applause. When Sheats finished, Holloway's minister and business associate, J. T. Holley, believing himself the minister maligned in Sheats's "cartoon," was applauded for "a five minute roast" of the superintendent.³⁴ When Holloway provoked Sheats with more accusations, which the superintendent angrily denied, the chairman finally imposed a ten-minute limit on all talks due to the lateness of the hour.³⁵

For Sheats, who had always insisted on "no politics in public education," it was a disastrous campaign. He had hoped to "run on his record," but instead he had become involved in a "mud slinging" affair. He was distressed with what he considered to be distorted newspaper reporting that "puffed up Holloway to the skies" while suppressing dispatches written by a reporter that he had hired.³⁶ Nevertheless, he promised that he would "not again engage in such tactics regardless of the provocation."³⁷

34. *Ibid.*, November 29, 1903. Holley was indeed closely associated with the matter, having agreed to collect funds for a Negro industrial school to be headed by S. W. DeBose, a black teacher at whose request Sheats had made the invitation to Washington and to whom he wrote the supposedly incriminating letter. The school's only other white officer was Holloway, who served as treasurer for one per cent of all collected funds and two per cent of those expended. White, "Booker T. Washington Incident," 229.

35. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, November 29, 1903.

36. Sheats to McBeath, June 16, 1903, WNSL 14, 223; Sheats to J. G. Kellum, December 9, 1903, WNSL 19, 28; Sheats to Waugh, December 5, 1903, WNSL 19, 55; Sheats to H. E. Bennett, December 17, 1903, WNSL 19, 19. Distrusting the reporters from the leading newspapers, Sheats hired a reporter from the staff of T. J. Appleyard, editor of the Lake City *Florida Index*, to accompany him and write dispatches for \$2.50 per day. Sheats to T. J. Appleyard, October 10, 1903, WNSL 18, 417.

37. Sheats to Kellum, December 9, 1903, WNSL 19, 28.

Holloway forced Sheats to break his promise by distributing 10,000 copies of an article published by McCreary in December 1903 in the *Gainesville Daily Sun*. It included a letter allegedly written by Sheats with the words "in the white school auditorium" designated as the site of Washington's controversial address.³⁸ Sheats countered in the *Florida Times-Union* with comparative copies of the letter and a notarized statement that the one with the incriminating words was a forgery. Sheats was pleased with his counterattack and predicted that he would receive a 3,000 vote majority in the first primary.³⁹

His enthusiasm was tempered somewhat when the *Pensacola Journal* published an old account from 1893 quoting Sheats as saying that "there was no wealth or refinement in West Florida." Annoyed, Sheats insisted that what he had said was that, "as much as I love West Florida it is true to say that . . . educational enthusiasm was east and south of that section." Unfortunately, few West Floridians were appeased by what appeared to be an insult, and there was little that Sheats could do to remedy the situation.⁴⁰

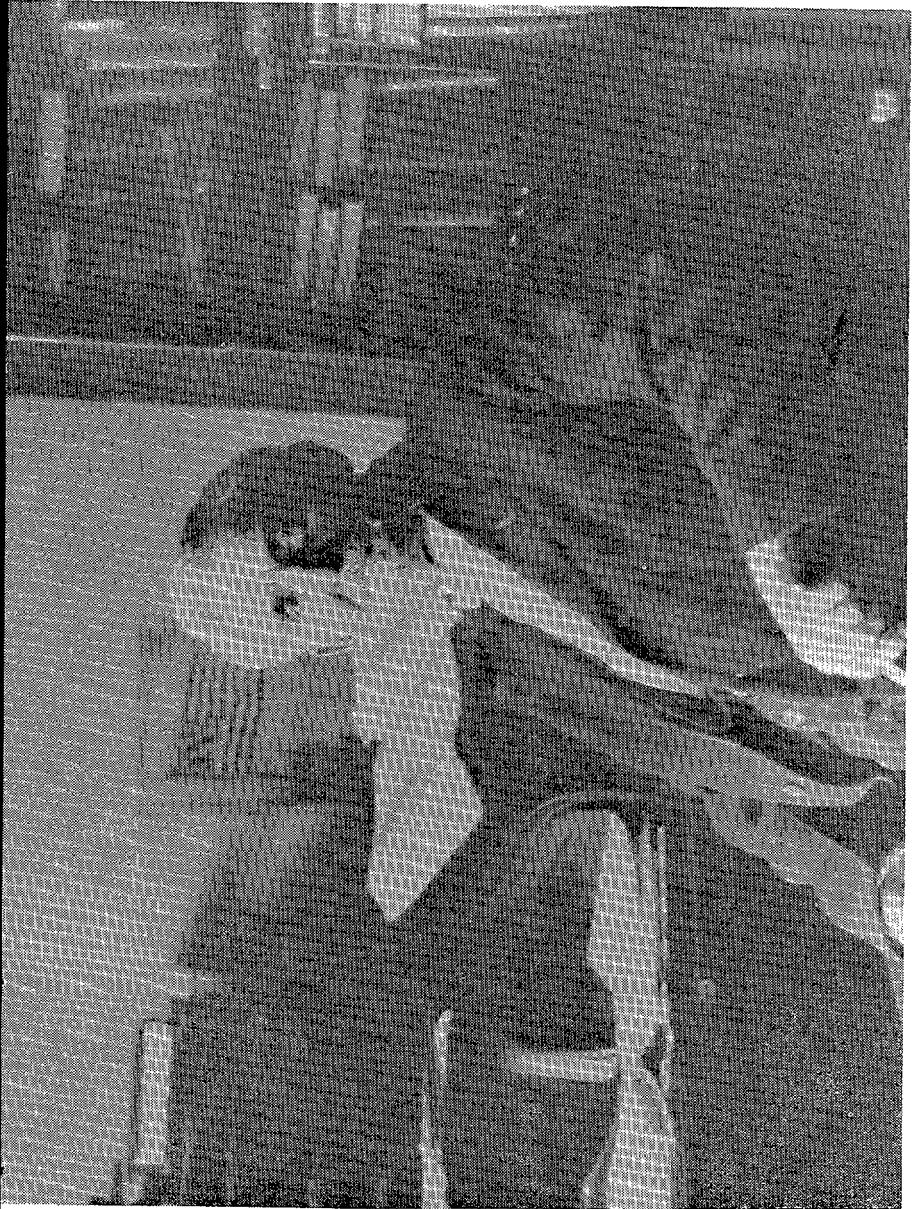
Sheats decided that victory would depend on his routing Holloway through a second round of debates during a state tour scheduled from March 7 to May 6, four days before election day. It would encompass fifty-three cities stretching from Pensacola to Key West.⁴¹ In preparation Sheats obtained from Booker Washington his original invitation which read: "I will be pleased to have you deliver an address during one of the evenings during

38. The *Gainesville Daily Sun* is no longer available for December 1903. A contemporary account of the incident is found in Sheats to H. H. Porter, December 25, 1903, WNSL 19, 130.

39. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, January 25, 1904. The evidence seems to support the theory that the phrase "in the white school auditorium" had been interpolated by someone other than Sheats. After the campaign, Holloway's lawyer admitted that these words were interlined in ink and that the rest of the letter was typewritten. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, April 16, 1904. In 1948 Sheats's daughter, Elizabeth Sheats Davidson, recalled that Hampton once confided to her having written in the words "white school auditorium" above the line in the letter. O. L. Parker, "William N. Sheats, Florida Educator" (M.A. thesis, University of Florida, 1949), 216.

40. Sheats to W. S. Cawthon, February 11, 1904, WNSL 19, 477.

41. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, March 3, 1904.



William N. Sheats, *ca.* January 1922. O. L. Parker, "William N. Sheats, Florida Educator;" (M.A. thesis, University of Florida, 1949).



<https://stars.library.ucf.edu/fhq/vol53/iss3/1> (March 15, 1894).



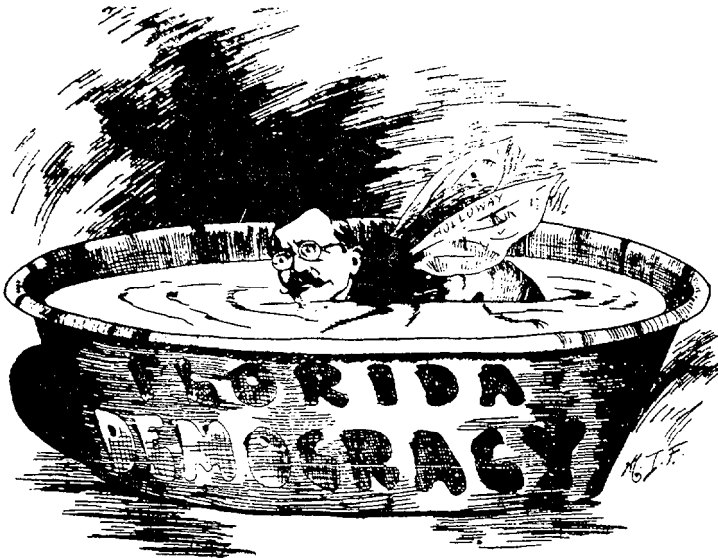
William Holloway. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, January 4, 1905.20

THE HOLLOWAY SITUATION.



Jacksonville *Metropolis*, September 26, 1904.

A FLY IN THE MILK.



Jacksonville *Metropolis*, September 29, 1904.

STAMPED!



Jacksonville *Metropolis*, October 3, 1904.

SQUELCHED!



Jacksonville *Metropolis*, November 10, 1904.

the meeting.” There was no mention of Washington addressing the conference of white educators at Gainesville High School auditorium.⁴²

Armed with this evidence Sheats spoke out angrily at the opposition. At Palatka, a news report described him as having a “large grip” filled with “pepper-boxes, tabasco sauce, liquid fire and concentrated brim stone” that was little appreciated by his audience. At Leesburg his speech was milder and here he stressed educational reform. Holloway, for his part, added new charges, claiming that Sheats had asked the legislature to allocate \$25,000 for black higher education although he should have realized that the state had already done enough for Negroes who paid practically no taxes.⁴³

Sheats’s strategy seemed to collapse in a talk at Lake Butler, and it was here that even his son believed that Sheats “drove the first nail in . . . [his] coffin.”⁴⁴ Holloway spoke first, and asserted that he had the letter proving that Sheats had invited Washington to the white school. Sheats repeatedly demanded this proof while Holloway was repeating the charge. At last Sheats rose and shouted: “You are a liar and a coward.” The audience expected additional trouble, when Holloway retorted: “That is some more of his bullying, for which he is noted.” Later in the meeting Sheats threatened Holloway with arrest for forgery.⁴⁵

The Lake Butler rally inspired considerable newspaper comment. In an open letter to the papers, Sheats “most humbly” apologized for the words “coward” and “liar,” and he promised “to do nothing more of the kind, it matters not how strong the provocation.” Still, he called for understanding from “the Cracker,” who knew that “one of us cannot endure too much pelting

42. Sheats to Washington, January 5, 1903, container 241, BTWP; Sheats to Washington, January 7, 1904, WNSL 19, 202.

43. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, March 13, 20, April 6, 1904. This method was not unique with Holloway. In Alachua County, J. L. Kelly, George Lynch, and J. G. Kellum, candidates for county superintendent of schools, advocated that salaries for black teachers be cut to help defray the county school debt. *Gainesville Daily Sun*, March 15, 1904.

44. W. N. Sheats, Jr. to Sheats, April 14, 1916, reel 2, file 29, SPUNC.

45. Jacksonville *Metropolis*, March 24, 1904; *Gainesville Daily Sun*, March 25, 1904.

with niggerism.⁴⁶ Promises aside, Sheats persisted in calling Holloway names like “craven” and “forger.” Holloway during the last two weeks claimed illness and left the political caravan.⁴⁷

The distribution of 40,000 copies of a race-baiting pamphlet prior to the election impaired any advantage Sheats might have gained from Holloway’s leaving the tour. It detailed Sheat’s alleged misdeeds regarding the Washington and Hampton incidents, and included several illustrations in an attempt to whip up race hate. The publication described the alleged humiliation of Miss Hampton: “Women in this country stands [*sic*] as the embodiment of beauty, purity and goodness. . . . Whoever mistreats her . . . is un-Southern and un-American.” The pamphlet sounded the alarm: “Honor him [Sheats] and you disgrace the land of his nativity and the woman who gave him birth. Honor him and you insult every white woman in the South and cause the blush of shame to mantle the cheek of every self-respecting white man. Honor him and you treat with contempt the genius of the Creator and dishonor God Himself. For where God has made the races unequal, Sheats attempts to make them equal. Where Southern society has drawn the line of demarkation between the races, Sheats would obliterate such a line. Where God himself has built up a natural barrier between the white and the black man, Sheats would break down such barrier and thus forever establish the equality of the races.”⁴⁸

Sheats countered with a hastily drafted pamphlet which, although titled *Concise Reply*, was too long and too involved to be understood. It reproduced a lengthy newspaper refutation of the racial charges and condemned Holloway for “dragging” Miss Clem into “the cesspool of politics.”⁴⁹

A tiny headline in the *Florida Times-Union* on May 15, 1904, stated: “Sheats Admits His Defeat.” According to the press report, Sheats was notifying his friends of his loss by at least

46. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, March 26, 1904.

47. *Tampa Morning Tribune*, April 9, 1904; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, April 25, 1904.

48. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, May 22, 1904; *Holloway-Sheats Controversy*, SPUNC; Sheats to Buttrick, May 25, 1904, container 18, BTWP.

49. *W. N. Sheats Makes Concise Reply to Charges of W. M. Holloway*, Sheats campaign circular, 1904, in Scrapbook, reel 3, SPUNC.

3,000 votes. His strong showing in the more populous regions did not offset decisive losses in the rural areas and in West Florida. He carried only eleven of the forty-five counties. Even with strong support in Jacksonville, Tallahassee, and Gainesville, his total was 16,448 to Holloway's 20,876.⁵⁰

A week after the election Sheats changed his mind about conceding defeat and protested to the State Democratic Executive Committee. Jacksonville Mayor Duncan U. Fletcher was chairman of the committee which was dominated by the liberal wing of the party. Drawing on grass root resentment against greedy corporations, railroad monopolies, political rings, and undemocratic election laws, liberal Democrats had grown powerful in Florida. An important reform was the 1901 primary law which replaced the convention system of nomination, a process which conservatives could more easily control.⁵¹

Sheats had been a stalwart liberal Democrat. An early member of the Farmers Alliance, in 1890 he had organized the Young Men's Progressive Club which had taken over control of Alachua County's Democratic organization. Sheats had spurned a bid by the Populists in 1892, and was nominated for state superintendent on the Democratic ticket as part of a compromise to hold Alliance men in the party. Since his first election he had campaigned strenuously for the Democratic reform candidates, and during the 1904 primary he endorsed Napoleon B. Broward of Jacksonville for governor. Ironically, Sheats had been one of the earliest advocates of the primary system. In 1900, he announced: "I would submit cheerfully to the voice of the people but do not want to be set aside by political traders."⁵²

Believing that he had been the victim of unfair practices in the 1904 primary, Sheats hoped the Democratic State Executive Committee would force Holloway to produce the incriminating

50. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, May 15, 22, 1904.

51. *Ibid.*, May 22, 1904. Sheats's several letters to Fletcher can be found distributed throughout WNSL 13-18. For a comprehensive study of Fletcher and the liberal wing of the Democratic party see Wayne Flynt, *Duncan Upshaw Fletcher: Dixie's Reluctant Progressive* (Tallahassee, 1971), 21-58.

52. *Gainesville Daily Sun*, August 23, 1891; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, September 21, June 4, 7, 1892; Sheats to F. G. Schell, May 14, 1900, SLWHD, 285.

letter which could then be proved a forgery. In his complaint he related how his opponent had used statements from the letter in circulars which Sheats described as libelous. He charged textbook publishers with providing for the publication of these materials and said that they had been distributed so near the election that he could not refute them. Sheats, claiming that his reputation and that of his children had been injured, swore out a warrant against Holloway and had him arrested for criminal libel moments after the polls closed on May 10. The judge, believing that testimony would injure Holloway politically, had granted a postponement and released him on \$500 bail. Sheats was asking the executive committee to investigate the matter and allow him the opportunity of presenting the facts in a second primary. With most of the committee absent, Chairman Fletcher obtained a vote for an investigation.⁵³

Holloway remained silent during the entire affair. At his court arraignment he lost some credibility when he waived examination which kept the controversial letter secret. Although indicted by the grand jury early in September 1904, Holloway spurned requests both from the press and his friends that he produce the letter and clear his name. On September 15, at the appointed time for the committee hearing, neither Holloway nor eight of the nine members of the investigating committee appeared for the proceedings. Shelton Phillips, Levy County school superintendent and a friend of Sheats, delayed four days before taking testimony from several witnesses, including Sheats, which he then forwarded to the executive committee.⁵⁴

Meanwhile, Sheats continued his campaign for the nomination. He called on his friends to petition the executive committee on behalf of his candidacy, while C. C. Thomas, a Gainesville lawyer, and Tom McBeath, editor of the *Florida School Exponent*, published letters with detailed circumstantial evidence of how Holloway had perpetrated a forgery.⁵⁵ On September 30, within a day of the publication of these letters, the

53. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, May 22, 1904.

54. Jacksonville *Metropolis*, September 1, 5, 16, 1904; *Gainesville Daily Sun*, September 9, 15, 1904; Sheats to G. A. Townsend, WNSL 21, 434; Sheats to R. L. Scarlett, October 14, 1904, WNSL 23, 16.

55. Jacksonville *Metropolis*, September 29, 30, 1904.

executive committee repudiated Holloway's candidacy. Still refusing to make a statement, Holloway sent his lawyer to argue the legality of his candidacy. Sheats urged his own endorsement since malfeasance had proved Holloway unfit. Twenty-seven of thirty-four members voted by proxy to deny Holloway the nomination. Then on a motion of John M. Barrs, Fletcher's law partner, J. Emmett Wolfe, Pensacola attorney who in 1901 had guided the primary bill through the state senate, was selected as the Democratic candidate. Sheats refused to accept the executive committee's explanation that he would not make a good candidate because of his primary defeat. He jumped to his feet prepared to declare himself an independent, but he was restrained by an onlooker and kept silent. Previously, he had confided to a friend of there being "so many yellow dog Democrats that a thief or a murderer would be elected if he held the Democratic nomination."⁵⁶

Although having no chance of election, Sheats continued his attacks on Holloway, who was running as the people's candidate. He spent several weeks in Gainesville preparing his court case for the trial which was set after the election. The day before the voters went to the polls, Sheats, in his most bitter public letter, denounced "the loathsome moral leper" Holloway in such terms that the editor refused to publish most of its contents.⁵⁷

As it turned out, Holloway profited from party factionalism. Conservative Democrats, nursing a long standing grievance over their loss of party dominance to the liberals, charged the executive committee with a power grab. Conservatives felt especially disgruntled because the committee had not only prosecuted Holloway, one of their partisans, but had done so after previously refusing to investigate allegations of election irregularities brought by their defeated gubernatorial candidate,

56. Jacksonville *Semi-Weekly Florida Times-Union*, October 4, 1904. For information on Wolfe see Samuel Proctor, *Napoleon Bonaparte Broward: Florida's Fighting Democrat* (Gainesville, 1950), 174; *Gainesville Daily Sun*, October 4, 1904; Sheats to G. H. Townsend, September 17, 1904, WNSL 21, 434. Many supporters of Wolfe used the same term, "yellow dog," when referring to Holloway. Jacksonville *Metropolis*, October 12, 1904.

57. Jacksonville *Metropolis*, November 7, 1904.

Robert W. Davis. Conservatives perceived such actions as warning that the liberals planned to turn the party committee into a reviewing board which would censure conservative candidates while ignoring liberals who employed questionable campaign tactics.⁵⁸

Moderate Democrats were also unhappy. Although they agreed that Holloway deserved censorship, they considered Wolfe a poor candidate because he lacked public school experience. The fact that conservatives so much disliked him further divided the party. The moderates considered Wolfe's candidacy a political payoff.⁵⁹ As a result of these conflicts, many voters either expressed a dislike of both Democratic candidates by threatening not to vote at all for a school superintendent, conjuring up fears of a Republican victory, or announced their support of Holloway as a protest against the executive committee trying to supercede a primary nomination. Twenty-nine of the state's thirty-nine newspapers reiterated the charges of the conservative and moderate Democrats on election day. When the votes were in and the ballots were tallied, they revealed Holloway's triumph; he had received 20,940 of 29,000 votes cast.⁶⁰

Democratic party analysts suggested that Holloway's victory really demonstrated indignation at the executive committee rather than approval of Holloway. The relatively light vote total and the poor showing of Wolfe, who received 1,326 votes less than the Republican candidate, substantiated this opinion.

58. A proliferation of articles on the executive committee's repudiation of Holloway appeared in the Jacksonville *Metropolis* and *Florida Times-Union* from the date of the action until election eve on November 7, 1904. These papers also summarized articles and letters on the question appearing in county newspapers. The best analysis of the election is a letter from St. Clair Abrams published in the Jacksonville *Metropolis*, November 9, 1904.

59. The moderates pointed out that Wolfe, a hard-working liberal Democrat, had recently been defeated for criminal court judge in his home district and just prior to being voted the committee's nominee for state superintendent he had been denied the prestigious position of presidential elector by a twenty to fourteen vote of the executive committee. Jacksonville *Semi-Weekly Florida Times-Union*, October 4, 1904; *Pensacola Daily News*, October 3, 1904; Jacksonville *Metropolis*, November 9, 1904.

60. Jacksonville *Metropolis*, November 9, 1904; *Pensacola Daily News*, October 25, 1904; *Gainesville Daily Sun*, November 25, 1904.

Many observers might have agreed with Sheats's final concession: "Well, the old S. O. B. is elected."⁶¹

It is apparent from the Sheats-Holloway election controversy that the primary system fostered circumstances under which even a qualified incumbent could be beaten by a determined opponent. Burdened by financial problems, Sheats had failed to develop an effective campaign organization. This allowed Holloway's well-financed campaign managers a free hand with voters in remote parts of the state. Perhaps more damaging, Sheats, whose strength was in his educational record and whose weakness was in his sense of fairness, made himself vulnerable on the race question. Thus Holloway was able to turn the campaign into a debate over race rather than one emphasizing educational issues. When he was defeated in the primary, Sheats became desperate and sought to destroy Holloway by suing him for criminal libel. Although the executive committee rejected Holloway, the primary with its appeal to democratic values proved popular. The voters supported Holloway, not because

61. *Gainesville Daily Sun*, November 25, 1904; Sheats to J. V. Harris, November 1904, WNSL 22, 189. Though Holloway was indicted by the grand jury in September 1904, the continual public discussion of the evidence by both sides in the case caused Judge J. T. Wills to rule twice for postponement. *Jacksonville Metropolis*, September 7, 14, 29, October 13, 14, 21, 1904; *Gainesville Daily Sun*, October 22, 1904. During the last postponement, Alex St. Clair Abrams, Sheats's lawyer, wrote an article claiming that his client, after seeing prospective jurors enter Holloway's office, requested the sheriff to investigate possible jury tampering. *Jacksonville Florida Times-Union*, November 4, 1904. On November 22, 1905, an impressive array of legal talent assembled in criminal court to argue the Holloway case before Judge Wills. Representing the state were Abrams and Benjamin P. Calhoun, state attorney for the eighth judicial district. For the defense were the conservative Democrats Robert "Our Bob" Davis, unsuccessful gubernatorial candidate; Circuit Judge Syd Carter; State Representative J. M. Rivers from Alachua County; and Congressman-elect Frank Clark. For three days, before large crowds, these men gave mainly political speeches, Clark's lasting one hour and twenty minutes. The main argument of the defense— that Holloway had not knowingly published a falsehood— won a unanimous not guilty verdict at the stroke of midnight, November 25, 1905. *Gainesville Daily Sun*, November 22, 25, 26, 1905. The arguments of the defense are cited in Alachua County Circuit Court, Motion Docket Three, Fall Term, 1904, 19-20, Alachua County Courthouse, Gainesville, Florida.

they necessarily felt that he was the best man to serve as superintendent, but because they had cast their primary votes for him.⁶²

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62. Though the election had increased his personal debt by \$550, Sheats still did not accept defeat. After waiting eight years, during which he served consecutively on the staffs of the white normal college at DeFuniak Springs and four high schools, he made a comeback campaign in 1912. Guided by his son, William, Jr., an expert politician, Sheats defeated Holloway by over 8,000 votes. Sheats remained at the helm for another decade before becoming ill while attending the National Education Association meeting at Boston in 1922. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, October 8, 1904; "Election Returns," May 28, 1912, reel 1, file 10, SPUNC; Elizabeth S. Davidson, "Family, Education, Religion, Politics, Birth, Philosophy of Life, Things Accomplished, Achievements, Disappointments, and many instances in the life of William Nicholas Sheats, Superintendent of Education in Florida," unpublished biographical sketch, reel 1, file 1, SPUNC.

VICENTE PAZOS AND THE AMELIA ISLAND AFFAIR, 1817

by CHARLES H. BOWMAN, JR.*

ON MAY 9, 1817, seven distinguished patriots from Buenos Aires arrived at Savannah on board the English cutter *Hero*. The number included Vicente Pazos, editor of *La Crónica Argentina*.¹ Their departure from the Río de la Plata had helped rid Supreme Director Juan Martín de Pueyrredón of his most virulent detractors. Born in the province of Larecaja in Upper Peru in 1779, Pazos was descended from the Aymará Indians who resided around Lake Titicaca.² After attending the Royal and Pontifical University of San Antonio de Abad in Cuzco where he received his doctorate in sacred theology in 1804, Pazos taught the Quechua language for a time at this institution.³ He later moved to Chuquisaca and Potosí. He was living in Buenos Aires in 1810, where, with the help of Mariano Moreno, he launched his career in journalism. An alert mind and a facile pen won for Pazos a large following as the editor, in turn, of the *Gazeta de Buenos-Ayres*, *El Censor*, and *La Crónica Argentina*. Although Pazos stoutly committed himself to the independence cause in Buenos Aires, he did not always approve of the methods and objectives of the different revolutionary governments. It was his editorial lambasting of Pueyrredón that resulted in his exile in 1817.⁴

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1. The *Hero's* voyage from the Río de la Plata had taken fifty-seven days. *Baltimore Patriot and Mercantile Advertiser*, May 29, 1817; *Savannah Republican*, May 10, 1817; [Buenos Aires] Museo Mitre, *Documentos del Archivo de Pueyrredón*, 4 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1912), III, 273-74, 277-78.
2. Arturo Costa de la Torre, *Catálogo de la Bibliografía Boliviana, Libros y Folletos, 1900-1963* (La Paz, 1966 [1968]), 815; William Bollaert, "Observations on the History of the Incas of Peru, on the Indians of South Peru, and on Some of the Indian Remains in the Province of Tarapaca," *Journal of the Ethnological Society of London*, III (1854), 143.
3. Costa de la Torre, *Catálogo de la Bibliografía Boliviana*, 815; Pazos to Joseph Tarn, July 27, 1829, "Foreign Correspondence Inwards, 1829," III, 23, Archives of the British and Foreign Bible Society, London.
4. Gabriel René-Moreno, *Biblioteca Boliviana; Catálogo de la Sección de Libros i Folletos* (Santiago, 1879), 3-4; *Baltimore Patriot and Mercantile Advertiser*, May 29, 1817; *La Paz Presencia*, November 4, 1973.

Pazos and his compatriots did not remain long in Savannah after their arrival. By May 29 they journeyed to Baltimore.⁵ There they found “a respectable merchant” and former traveler in South America who put them in touch with others who were “as sensible and generous as himself.”⁶ These included John Purviance, an attorney, John Stuart Skinner, the postmaster, and Henry Didier and John Laborde, both merchants.⁷

The summer of 1817 was an unhealthy season in Baltimore.⁸ By the middle of July, Pazos had joined a contingent of Spanish Americans in Philadelphia, which since 1796 had been the home of Manuel Torres of New Granada, an influential patriot leader.⁹ He would become the first minister from Latin America received in Washington, and he had important social, political, and business connections.¹⁰ Pedro Gual, José Rafael Revenga, and Juan Germán Roscio— all Venezuelans— were other patriot figures in Philadelphia that summer.¹¹ On July 8 William Thornton, head of the Patent Office in Washington and a supporter of independence for Spanish America, instructed Gual to convey his best respects “to the brave patriots who are assembled with you in Philad[elphi]a.” Like Pazos’s acquaintances in Baltimore, Thornton wished to serve the Spanish Americans “collectively

5. *Baltimore Patriot and Mercantile Advertiser*, May 29, 1817.

6. *Ibid.*, July 10, 1817.

7. Charles C. Griffin, “Privateering from Baltimore during the Spanish American Wars of Independence,” *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXXV (March 1940), 21; Miguel Varas Valásquez, *Don José Miguel Carrera en Estados Unidos* (Santiago, 1912), 42.

8. Heavy floods and much sickness compelled many people to leave the city for as long as possible. Luis de Onís to José Pizarro, August 24, 1817, Sección de Estado, Legajo 5642, Letter 132, pp. 525-27, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid, photocopies in Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C. Hereinafter cited as SE:AHN.

9. Onís to Pizarro, July 18, 1817, Letter 119, pp. 473-74, *ibid.*; *Baltimore Patriot and Mercantile Advertiser*, July 10, 1817.

10. Newspaper editor William Duane, who was closer to Torres than perhaps anyone else, summed up his friend’s attainments: “Mr. Torres has resided several years in this city [Philadelphia], retired and unassuming, but by all who know him, as much admired for his uncommon acquirements and knowledge, as esteemed for the purity of his principles, moral and political.” *Philadelphia Aurora and General Advertiser*, March 26, April 17, 1818. See also, Charles H. Bowman, Jr., “Manuel Torres, A Spanish American Patriot in Philadelphia, 1796-1822,” *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XCIV (January 1970), 26-53.

11. José Rafael Revenga to William Thornton, June 20, 1817, Papers of William Thornton, V, 775-76, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress; Thornton to Pedro Gual, July 8, 1817, *ibid.*, V, 779-81, 785. Hereinafter cited as WTP.

and *individually*.¹² "Friends" with whom Pazos eventually came in touch included Commodore David Porter, Philadelphia financier Stephen Girard, John Jacob Astor, and New York politician Dewitt Clinton.¹³

The main topic for discussion at the moment in Philadelphia centered on the filibustering expeditions against Spanish territory sailing, or about to sail, from American ports. In 1816 Louis Aury founded his own government at Galveston and set up an admiralty court to condemn captured vessels. Although this action had been taken purportedly in the name of Mexico, it was obvious that the main purpose of the enterprise was to capture Spanish vessels and property. There was little desire to aid the revolution in Mexico or in any other Spanish colony. In April 1817, Aury left Galveston for Matagorda, which he held for about two months.¹⁴ The principal backers of his undertaking had also begun as early as the summer of 1816 to formulate plans for an assault on the Floridas. According to Pazos, even the liberal Francisco Xavier Mina of Spain and José Álvarez de Toledo of Cuba were cooperating at one point in Baltimore on a Florida adventure.¹⁵ The exasperating circumstances in Venezuela heightened the urgency of such a move: "The horrors which the sanguinary Spanish generals Boves, Morales, and Morillo, caused their regiments of black slaves, to commit against the inhabitants of Venezuela, in order to destroy them entirely, obliged many of them to take refuge in Carthagena [*sic*], from whence famine and sickness soon compelled the constituted authorities to depart, with 3000 of its inhabitants, of all ages and sexes. Some sought asylum in the West Indies and the United States. . . . These fugitives, full of the love of liberty, and inspired with that

12. Thornton to Gual, July 8, 1817, V, 779-81, *ibid*.

13. Charles Carroll Griffin, *Ensayos sobre historia de América* (Caracas, 1969), 153-54.

14. Eugene R. Craine, *The United States and the Independence of Buenos Aires* (Hays, Kansas, 1961), 98-99.

15. Thornton to José Álvarez de Toledo, July 24, 1816, WTP, IV, 732-33. Not all scholars accept Pazos's account of the cooperation between Mina and Toledo. See Joseph B. Lockey, "The Florida Intrigues of José Álvarez de Toledo," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XII (April 1934), 163; A. Curtis Wilgus, "Spanish American Patriot Activity Along the Gulf Coast of the United States, 1811-1822," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, VIII (April 1925), 205n; Harris Gaylord Warren, "The Origin of General Mina's Invasion of Mexico," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XLII (July 1938), 16-17.

intrepid resolution, so often the effect of adversity upon virtuous minds, formed the project of wresting from the hands of their enemies the provinces of the Floridas, which presented considerable resources to sustain the cause of independence, and an asylum to the unfortunate emigrants of Venezuela and New-Grenada [*sic*], who were perishing with hunger in the West Indies, during the month of August, 1816."¹⁶

Mina arrived in Port-au-Prince from Baltimore in September 1816 and met numerous refugees. He and Toledo were jointly to command an expedition to Florida. The plan, however, was undone by man and nature. A hurricane badly damaged Mina's fleet, and Toledo unexpectedly defected to the Spaniards. He turned over to Luis de Onís, Spanish minister to the United States, reports of the Florida scheme, which of course then had to be abandoned.¹⁷ Mina, for his part, sailed away to meet Aury at Galveston. Pazos was positive that Toledo's information had prompted Onís to protest to Secretary of State John Quincy Adams about the "mischiefs" stemming from the toleration of the arming of privateers in the ports of the United States. Adams informed the chairman of the house committee on foreign affairs of the desirability of new and better neutrality legislation.

The law enacted by Congress on March 3, 1817, was proof enough for Pazos "that the Spanish minister had been successful in the use to which he had converted the revelations which Toledo made." It was soon learned by Gual and his associates that Onís's secretary was about to leave for Madrid carrying with him the latest correspondence between the minister and Adams on the subject of the Floridas. These developments, in Pazos's opinion, boded no good: "The South American agents, residing then in Philadelphia, must have been very indifferent to their duty, if they did not perceive, that the law of the 3d of March, and the representations of the Spanish minister to his court, would, in reality, or in appearance, induce the consent of the

16. In December 1815, Aury broke the Spanish blockade of Cartagena and rescued the three thousand persons, whom he carried away to safety. Vicente Pazos Kanki, *The Exposition, Remonstrance and Protest of Don Vincente Pazos, Commissioner on Behalf of the Republican Agents Established at Amelia Island, in Florida, under the Authority and in Behalf of the Independent States of South America; with an Appendix* (Philadelphia, 1818), 10-11.

17. Wilgus, "Spanish American Patriot Activity," 205n.

Spanish government to negotiate [*sic*] for the sale or cession of the Floridas. Anticipating the injury which such a negotiation [*sic*] would inflict on the cause of their independence, they were obliged to precipitate their measures, and make the most of the time left them."¹⁸

On March 31 the Scottish adventurer Gregor MacGregor, who had served with the patriots in Venezuela, received a commission in Philadelphia from "The deputies of free America, resident in the United States of the North." These deputies were Lino de Clemente, who acted for Venezuela; Gual, for New Granada and by proxy for Mexico; and Martín Thompson, for the United Provinces of South America. MacGregor was to take both East and West Florida in the name of the governments granting him authority. He was first to occupy Amelia Island and then move into the Floridas proper.¹⁹ Pazos claimed that the aim of the patriots was to conquer the territory and cede it to the United States after it had served its purpose as a depot for supplies for the Spanish Americans. MacGregor himself confirmed Pazos's contention of an intended transfer, but added that there would be a price tag for the Floridas amounting to \$1,500,000.²⁰

MacGregor was raising his force just at the time Pazos reached the United States. He recruited men and solicited funds in several Atlantic ports— notably Baltimore, Charleston, and Savannah — and purchased a schooner at Charleston. Following a hasty capitulation by the Spaniards, MacGregor and his fifty-five men took control of poorly defended Amelia Island and Fernandina

18. Pazos Kanki, *Exposition*, 12; Onís to the Secretary of State, January 2, 1817, *American State Papers*, Class I, *Foreign Relations*, 4: 184-85; Philadelphia *Aurora and General Advertiser*, January 5, 1818.

19. T. Frederick Davis, *MacGregor's Invasion of Florida, 1817, Together with An Account of His Successors, Irwin, Hubbard and Aury, on Amelia Island, East Florida* (Jacksonville, 1928), 7-8. Amelia Island was the northeasternmost tip of Spanish East Florida. It is located near the mouth of the St. Marys River, which forms the boundary at that point between Florida and Georgia.

20. [Vicente Pazos Kanki], "Memorial of Vicente Pazos," *Niles' Weekly Register*, April 11, 1818; J. Skinner to John Quincy Adams, July 30, 1817, "Letters Relating to MacGregor's Attempted Conquest of East Florida, 1817," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, V (July 1926), 55-56; Charles Francis Adams, ed., *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams, Comprising Portions of His Diary from 1795 to 1848*, 12 vols. (Philadelphia, 1854-1877), IV, 53; Thornton to Adams, February 9, 1818, WTP, V, 799.

on June 29.²¹ Disorder quickly ensued and prevailed there for some time. Pazos blamed the confusion not on the men associated with MacGregor, but on “the machinations and desperate views of a few individuals, who, destitute alike of means and morals . . . presented themselves at Amelia . . . after it had been captured.” These troublemakers soon subverted the “military discipline and the public peace,” as a consequence of which MacGregor departed from the island for the nearby Georgia town of St. Marys on September 5. Ruggles Hubbard, former high sheriff of New York City, and Jared Irwin, a former congressman from Pennsylvania, then emerged as temporary leaders of the independent government.²²

Rumor had it that the fundamental reason for MacGregor’s withdrawal from the island was his disappointment in the promises of men, money, and munitions made to him by several individuals in the United States, particularly in New York City.²³ On September 15 Aury appeared on the scene at the urging of Gual in Philadelphia. The next day MacGregor sailed out to the mouth of the St. Marys River to recount the story of his recent failure on Amelia Island, but Aury was determined to move on the place himself. MacGregor gave him complete authority to do so. Conditions had certainly deteriorated there with Hubbard as civil governor. Fernandina was, Pazos pointedly commented, closely besieged by a Spanish force from St. Augustine and on the verge of surrender. Aury saved the day. The Spaniards were defeated and repulsed by the patriots, and the island was pacified. Hubbard, who had taken refuge at St. Marys during the fighting, returned to Fernandina to resume his post as civil governor, while Aury took over as head of the land and naval forces. The two men had what Gual termed a “mercantile arrangement.” Aury made a verbal promise to invest \$60,000 in cash brought with him “in the objects of possessing the Floridas;”

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21. Pazos Kanki, *Exposition*, 13; *Savannah Republican*, June 5, July 10, 1817. An anonymous friend of Pazos said that MacGregor’s security given for the financial aid advanced him was thirty thousand acres of Florida land. *Narrative of a Voyage to the Spanish Main, in the Ship “Two Friends;” the occupation of Amelia Island, by M’Gregor, &c.—Sketches of the Province of East Florida* (London, 1819), 85-86.
 22. Pazos Kanki, *Exposition*, 13-14; Davis, *MacGregor’s Invasion*, 65; *Daily National Intelligencer*, September 13, 26, 1817; *Charleston Courier*, September 30, 1817.
 23. Philadelphia *Aurora and General Advertiser*, December 4, 1817.

Hubbard agreed to devote "the immense resources within his reach" to the same end. Both men, it seems, expected to govern. Aury first hoisted the Mexican flag over Amelia Island; it was his original intention to annex the Floridas to Mexico. He also endeavored to provide an efficient administration, for which a council of eight members had already been created. Hubbard, not satisfied with his limited authority, contrived with others to drive Aury off the island and to appropriate all his vessels and prizes.²⁴

In Philadelphia Gual, who had met Aury earlier in Cartagena, had in mind to liberate Mexico preliminary to definitive patriot victories in South America. On July 23 he related to Thornton the significance of the Floridas to the patriot cause: "The establishment of a republic in [the] Floridas claims the attention and support of all true friends of South America. . . . The influence of the emancipation of [the] Floridas on that of Mexico, New-Granada, Venezuela, Buenos Ayres, Chile, and Peru, is of more magnitude than it is generally [*sic*] imagined, even by the best informed."

Pazos's correspondents in London were forwarding a comprehensive plan in accordance with English merchants interested in the trade of the emerging Spanish American nations. There was no strong squadron in the Caribbean to complete the plan, yet Aury had such a force under his command. The Floridas were certainly looked upon as "an integral part of the great Empire, which is in a state of revolution." Such a concept was, opined Thornton, "in perfect consonance with the ideas of the most enlightened patriots, whose views are not bounded by the narrow policy of individual regions."²⁵

Gual and Pazos set out together for Amelia Island with their intelligence, expecting to arrive before Aury. They failed in this, however. In mid-August 1817, the two appeared in New York City to await passage southward, and while there they had an

24. *Ibid.*, October 28, 1817; Pazos Kanki, *Exposition*, 14-15; *Daily National Intelligencer*, October 4, 1817; James Forbes to John Quincy Adams, April 22, 1818, State Department, Miscellaneous Letters, pp. H-J, National Archives, Washington, D.C. Hereinafter cited as NA.

25. Thornton to Adams, February 9, 1818, WTP, V, 799; Gual to Thornton, July 23, 1817, *ibid.*, V, 783-84; Stanley Faye, "Commodore Aury," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, XXIV (July 1941), 646.

opportunity to talk with various merchants and with Baptist Irvine, editor of the *New-York Columbian*, about their project.²⁶

The ship on which Pazos and Gual were to sail was a Venezuelan privateer, *América Libre*, whose captain was Bernardo Ferrero. It reached New York from Norfolk on September 5 for the purpose of taking on men and supplies "in order to commit hostilities against the subjects and possessions of the king of Spain." Irvine at once hailed "the appearance of the free (S.) American flag in our waters." The better to enlist men, an offer was made by the ship's officers of clothing and \$8.00 a month, together with an advance of \$10.00 or \$12.00. On reaching Amelia Island, the men were to be allowed the alternative of serving either in the army or in the patriot naval force.²⁷

The crew aboard the *América Libre* proved to be a rowdy lot. On September 7 a number of them landed on Staten Island, and in a fracas with the inhabitants threatened to burn down a house. Perhaps their rambunctiousness arose from the fact that their ship had to lie at the quarantine ground for nearly two weeks before it could sail. When the *America Libre* did sally forth, it mounted three carriage guns and carried a crew of seventy-four men and a supply of small arms. On board also were a number of European officers— chiefly Augustín Codazzi, Augusto Gustavo Villaret, and Maurice Persat— Pazos, Gual, and 130 other men bound for Amelia Island.²⁸ The ship weighed anchor on the morning of September 18, and twelve days later it reached the Charleston Roads. "She sails again, first fair wind," the *Charleston Courier* laconically announced.²⁹

26. Juan Canter, "El Año XIX, Las Asambleas Generales y la Revolución del 8 de Octubre," in Ricardo Levene, ed., *Historia de la Nación Argentina (Desde los Orígenes hasta la Organización Definitiva en 1862)*, 10 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1936-1942), V, Sec. 2, 750n.

27. Thomas Stoughton to Jonathan Fisk, September 16, 1817, Legajo 5642, Letter 191, pp. 800-01, SE:AHN; *New-York Evening Post*, September 6, 1817; *New-York Columbian*, September 6, 1817. Ferrero had commanded a schooner in Simon Bolívar's expedition of March 1816 from Aux Cayes. Gustave Schlumberger, ed., *Mémoires du Commandant Persat, 1806 a 1844* (Paris, 1910), 22.

28. John Kerney to Samuel Evans, September 8, 1817, in Philadelphia *Aurora and General Advertiser*, January 1, 1818; Deposition of John Reilley, September 17, 1817, Legajo 5642, Letter 191, pp. 804-05, SE:AHN; Adams, *Memoirs*, IV, 75; Herman Albert Shumacher, "Biografía del General Agustín Codazzi," *Boletín de historia y antigüedades*, IX (June 1913), 8; Schlumberger, *Mémoires*, 26.

29. Gual to Thornton, September 17, 1817, WTP, V, 786; *Charleston Courier*, October 1, 1817.

As the ship was riding out a storm, Pazos, Gual, Ferrero, Per-sat, and several others went ashore and took lodgings at the hotel of a French royalist named Picault. That night after dinner the captain, his tongue loosened by wine, proposed a toast to the health of Napoleon. All his listeners rose to their feet except Picault, who exclaimed to the gathering: "I do not drink to the health of tyrants!" The enraged Ferrero jumped at the throat of the bold royalist and held it so tightly that the poor man lost consciousness. Pazos and his companions were finally able to pull Ferrero away and to restore a measure of harmony.³⁰

While in Charleston the travelers learned that Aury had replaced MacGregor on Amelia Island. The day before their ship sailed again, eight men and a boy who had boarded the *America Libre* at New York had second thoughts about venturing farther and had to be taken to land by the revenue schooner *Gallatin*. On the morning of October 3, the *America Libre* sailed for Amelia Island. As the voyage from Charleston to Fernandina took only one day, the ship made port on October 4.³¹

The passengers landed to find Aury still military governor and naval commander, while Hubbard held sway as civil governor. But Hubbard and his "American party" had been busily preparing for a showdown by bribing officers and sailors and secretly shifting powder and munitions from the public magazine to their own houses. After the arrival of the *America Libre*, Aury replaced Hubbard with Gual as civil governor. The land force on the island then stood at about 150 men. There were some 250 sailors in Fernandina belonging to five armed vessels, including two government ships. There were also three large prize ships in port loaded with sugar and coffee. They had already been condemned in Aury's admiralty court, and their cargoes were to be sold shortly. The health conditions on the island, however, left much to be desired; five or six men were dying daily of fever.³²

To make matters worse, Hubbard and his men "took up arms to commence a civil war, which must have cost much blood." However Aury acted with his numerical superiority and "with his

30. Schlumberger, *Mémoires*, 24-26.

31. *Charleston Courier*, October 4, 1817.

32. *Ibid.*, October 31, 1817; Philadelphia *Aurora and General Advertiser*, October 28, 1817; Harold Alfred Bierck, Jr., *Vida pública de Don Pedro Gual* (Caracas, 1947), 149.

accustomed presence of mind, and by dint of strong and well conceived measures, arrested the sedition." His "French party" led by Codazzi soon triumphed, martial law was temporarily proclaimed, and Hubbard stood accused of treason, cowardice, and conspiring with the Spaniards. Shortly after he "retired," Hubbard succumbed to the ravaging fever from which he died on October 19. Pazos described his end in almost poetic terms: "he survived his shame but a few days, and died of a broken heart in the agonies produced by his guilt."

But all of Aury's troubles did not cease with the demise of Hubbard. He had a new antagonist in the person of Jared Irwin, and there was ominous quarreling between their supporters. The enforcement of new laws, however, finally enabled Aury "to eradicate disorder, and afforded, by that means, leisure for the establishment of a provincial government, which," as far as Pazos was concerned, "might be held up as a model to others of the new states."³³

In the making of this exemplary government, Pazos had a considerable share of responsibility. Since Aury was quite illiterate, his proclamations were mainly composed by Pazos and Gual. Pazos was given a seat on the "Supreme Council of the Floridas," a body which helped Aury in the administration of Amelia Island. One of its first tasks was the drafting on October 8 of a proclamation advising the inhabitants of the island of the penalties for persuading any slave to run away from the United States "or any other place whatsoever." Every slave "taken up" was to be held in jail until claimed by his owner, and any slave going to Fernandina for employment had to have a written permit. The next day the council addressed itself to the question of the designation of bounty lands for those men who might volunteer for the conquest of St. Augustine. It was decided that time of service would run from six to twelve months; the amount of land to be granted ranged from 320 acres for a private who volunteered for six months to 10,000 acres for a brigadier general serving the same period. Each volunteer would automatically receive a bonus of an additional 160 acres. On October 14 Aury issued a proclamation highlighting the weathering of the recent turmoil. It was so reminiscent of the style of Pazos's writing that

33. Pazos Kanki, *Exposition*, 15-16; *Charleston Courier*, October 27, November 7, 1817; *Niles' Weekly Register*, November 1, 8, 1817.

only he could have been its author: "A horrid plot had threatened to ruin in its infancy, our rising republic. Discord, ever ready to spread its baneful alarms, had put us on the brink of civil war; fortunately, we still preserved among us, respect for liberty and the cause we defend. We have discovered the secret machination of a depotic [*sic*] government, and we have saved ourselves from ruin, into which Spanish perfidy was on the eve of plunging us."³⁴

The population of Fernandina was always motley, a situation not conducive to the maintenance of law and order. At the time Aury was taking over there, a North American observer characterized the patriots on Amelia Island as "a most heterogeneous set, consisting of all countries and languages, except Spanish Americans." Among the group were North Americans, French, Irish, Scots, English, Dutch, Germans, Haitians, and of course Pazos, an Indian from Upper Peru. All came ostensibly "to aid the cause of the patriots of South America, but," alleged the observer, "their real motive is, no doubt, to prey upon whom they can." Privateering had become big business on the island, with property taken from Spanish vessels in one instance amounting to \$100,000. Aury, who styled himself "Brigadier of the Mexican Republic and Generalissimo of the Floridas," freely granted commissions to privateers which, in the opinion of the United States Supreme Court, did not exempt the grantees from the charge of piracy.³⁵

On November 1 a correspondent in St. Marys reported that a host of English officers, attracted by the supreme council's generous offer of bounty lands, had arrived at Amelia Island and that it was supposed that "the greatest part of Gen. Auray's [*sic*] cavalcade will go away southwardly."³⁶ No movement against

34. Rufus Kay Wyllys, "The Filibusters of Amelia Island," *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, XII (December 1928), 312; *Charleston Courier*, October 24, November 7, 1817.

35. The technicality used by the Supreme Court to justify its decision was that Mexico did not figure among those Spanish provinces "in actual revolt, nor was any such State *de facto* known to exist as the Mexican republic," under the authority of which the commissions were issued. James Brown Scott, ed., *Prize Cases Decided in the United States Supreme Court, 1789-1918*, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1923), II, 1080-81; Thomas Wayne to Benjamin Homans, September 17, 1817, in *Philadelphia Aurora and General Advertiser*, January 2, 1818; *American State Papers*, Class I, *Foreign Relations*, 4: 535-36.

36. *Charleston Courier*, November 28, 1817.

St. Augustine ever materialized for two reasons: Aury was too preoccupied with firming up his position in Fernandina, and he was distracted by disputes with American authorities over the privateers and prizes entering and leaving his bailiwick.

Aury again declared martial law November 5, this time for ten days. His proclamation to the people of Amelia Island once more bore traces of Pazos's hand: "For days past you have witnessed the scandalous transactions of a faction, composed of men, who existing and tolerated on this Island by our generosity, have solely been engaged in subverting social order. They are mercenaries, traitors or cowards, who abandoned the cause of Republicanism in the hour of danger, and who either hired by our enemies or misled by the intrigues of a few aspiring individuals, have attempted to involve us in all the complicated horrors of a civil war. Citizens, we are Republicans from principle, our fortunes have been spent, and our lives oft exposed for this most glorious cause. We have come here to plant the tree of liberty, to foster free institutions, and to wage war against the tyrant of Spain, the oppressor of America, and the enemy of the rights of man. We are every ready to pay obedience to the principles of Republicanism, but firmly determined never to adhere to the dictates of a faction." As soon as "public peace and tranquility" had been restored, Aury promised the establishment of a provisional government "most suitable to our common interest, and to the advancement of our glorious cause."³⁷ Difficulties with the United States navy began during this time when martial law was imposed.

The slave schooner *Tentativa*, prize to the Mexican privateer *Brutus*, was being brought into Fernandina on November 8 by John Austin, prizemaster, when a boat from the American brig *Saranac* came alongside and an officer asked to be allowed to come aboard. Austin threatened to fire on the vessel if any attempt was made to board the *Tentativa*. Muskets were discharged under his stern, whereupon the schooner fired back and then hastened into port.

John H. Elton was captain of the *Saranac* and the man responsible for patrolling the waters around St. Marys to keep out contraband. On November 9 he wrote Aury a note demanding

37. *Ibid.*, November 14, 1817.

that Austin be made to answer "for the insult according to the laws of the United States." Meanwhile, all ships coming into and going out of Fernandina would be stopped. Aury immediately replied that an investigation of the conduct of the prizemaster would be made and that if guilty he would be severely punished. Later, on November 9, a court of inquiry, of which Pazos was a member, heard testimony from Austin, corroborated by two other men from the *Tentativa*, to the effect that the ship was in "Spanish waters" at the time the attempt to board her took place. Indeed, the *Tentativa* was only 150 feet off the shore of Amelia Island. The merit of his case aside, Aury realized that he had his hands full retaining control of Fernandina without taking on the United States navy. In an effort "to avoid all difficulties for the present," he consented to give the vessel up to Elton, hoping that the government of the United States "will do us the justice which becomes a free and great people."³⁹ Gual and Pazos were behind Aury in this conciliatory gesture, but Elton was far from placated. On November 15 he wrote for the secretary of the navy in Washington a summary of these latest developments: "The slave vessel was brought over last night, but every thing but slaves, and a small quantity of rice, was taken from her, and she appeared in a filthy state. The prizemaster was not sent, neither [were] any of the prize crew. . . . I shall send the slave vessel to Savannah for adjudication, and if the slave master is found, shall send him also."⁴⁰ The controversy dragged on until the admiralty court in Savannah months later "decided against the schooner *Tentativa's* being a good prize to the *Brutus* privateer."⁴¹

38. John H. Elton to Benjamin W. Crowninshield, November 15, 1817, in Philadelphia *Aurora and General Advertiser*, January 1, 1818; Elton to Louis Aury, November 9, 1817, *State Papers and Publick Documents of the United States, from the Accession of George Washington to the Presidency, Exhibiting a Complete View of Our Foreign Relations since that Time*, 3rd ed., 12 vols. (Boston, 1819), XII, 431; Aury to Elton, November 9, 1817, *ibid.*
39. Depositions of John Austin, Charles Johnson, and John W. Johnson, November 9, 1817, in Philadelphia *Aurora and General Advertiser*, January 7, 1818; Aury to Elton, November 13, 1817, *State Papers and Publick Documents*, XII, 432-33.
40. Elton to Crowninshield, November 15, 1817, in Philadelphia *Aurora and General Advertiser*, January 1, 1818.
41. The *Tentativa* reached Savannah on November 19 with 128 slaves on board. It was there libeled by "the proctor for the captors," and the slaves, by order of the court, were delivered over to the proctor and the customs collector "to be taken care of by them until demanded by the competent authority." A. S. Bullock to William H. Crawford, November

Pazos's legalistic flair also came in handy for Aury outside the courtroom. Gual and Pazos appeared in Fernandina with a plan of government for the Floridas. They argued that as the territory had once been a dependency of Mexico "and continues thus until this moment with regard to taxes," no other flag but the Mexican ought to be recognized there until it had been declared an independent state. Independence would come when a majority of the inhabitants had been freed from Spanish authority. As an independent state the Floridas would be recognized as part of the confederation of South America, but such recognition did not preclude the right of the people to join the confederation of the north, should the United States desire to annex the territory. The possession of the Floridas by the patriots would be advantageous to their northern neighbors because they would try harder than the Spaniards to curb the depredations of the Indians, "very probably . . . incited by some foreign agent on the frontier." Care ought to be taken to choose capable persons to run the government. They should, however, consider their jobs only as provisional until there had been established "an order of things." Whoever the officials were, they had the obligation of establishing the basis for a republican constitution. Pazos and Gual made provisions in their plan for executive, legislative, and judicial branches of the government and for a military and fiscal administration.⁴²

In keeping with this plan and with the promise he had made on November 5, Aury took steps toward the organization of a provisional government, apparently foresaking his idea of annexing Florida to Mexico. On November 16, the day after martial law ended, he called together at his house in Fernandina the officers of "the republic of [the] Floridas." Tranquility, Aury told the gathering, had been restored, and the time had come to al-

25. 1817, Correspondence of the Secretary of the Treasury with Collectors of Customs, 1789-1833: Letters to and from the Collectors at St. Marks and St. Johns, Florida; St. Marys, Brunswick, and Savannah, Georgia; Ocracoke and Plymouth, North Carolina; Yorktown, Virginia, II, 179, NA; *Charleston Courier*, November 22, 1817; *Philadelphia Aurora and General Advertiser*, March 20, 1818.

42. "Plan para lanzar por fuerza armada al Gobierno español de las Floridas, puesto en ejecución y principiado por la isla de Amelia en el año de 1817," in Francisco José Urrutia, *Los Estados Unidos de América y las Repúblicas Hispano-Americanas de 1810 a 1830; Páginas de Historia Diplomática* (Madrid, 1918), 134, 136-38; *Philadelphia Aurora and General Advertiser*, December 9, 12, 15, 1817.

low "the citizens peaceably to elect their representatives." He suggested that an assembly of representatives be called "to frame and constitute a provisional government adapted to the present situation of the state."

The men at the meeting, Pazos among them, took the subject under advisement and unanimously adopted six resolutions: (1) on November 19-20, the inhabitants of Amelia Island were to elect representatives "to frame and constitute a provisional government" until a constitution could be drafted; (2) every free civilian inhabitant residing on the island since November 4 would be eligible to vote, provided he would take an oath supporting the cause of the Republic; (3) no military person on active duty would be entitled to vote, but he could be elected as a representative; (4) nine representatives were to be elected, and each voter had to give in writing the names of the nine for whom he voted to the officers to be appointed for that purpose; (5) every free person who intended to vote had to call before election time at the treasury office on Washington Square to take and subscribe the oath to be administered by M. Walsh and Pazos; (6) the polls would be open from twelve o'clock noon to sunset on November 19 and from sunrise to sunset the following day.⁴³

Pazos and Walsh administered the oath to over 150 men who selected the nine representatives from a field of twenty-two candidates. Gual, with 151 votes, and Pazos, with 150, led the race. The other winners were J. Murden, a South Carolinian, 148; Louis Comte, a native of Baltimore and son of an *émigré* from Saint-Domingue, 148; Jared Irwin, 113; one Lavignac, a Frenchman and former resident of Baltimore, 112; James Forbes, brother of the North American consul in Copenhagen, 111; one Mabrity, a "Spanish South America," 107; and one Chapelle, an American from Connecticut, 101. The "French party" of Gual and Pazos counted a majority of one over the "American party" among the representatives. On November 27 Aury confirmed those elected and set December 1 as the date for the first meeting of the assembly. Representatives were urged to fulfill the duties which were "committed to their charge by the people of the free state of Florida."⁴⁴

43. Philadelphia *Aurora and General Advertiser*, December 8, 1817.

44. *Ibid.*, December 17, 1817; Adams, *Memoirs*, IV, 74-76; *American Monthly Magazine and Critical Review*, II (January 1818), 215.

The assembly appointed a three-man committee— Pazos, Murden, and Gual, who was named chairman— to draft a plan of provisional government for the Republic of the Floridas. Pazos suddenly found himself a constitution-maker. On December 7 he and his collaborators had their first meeting and agreed on guidelines for their project. The provisional government was to be divided into three branches— executive, legislative, and judicial — with “the military subordinate and obedient in all cases to the civil authority.” There would be one chief magistrate, or governor, rather than an executive council of three or five members. A lieutenant governor had the duty of presiding over the legislature and would vote only in cases of a tie. There would be two executive secretaries, one for the departments of state and treasury, the other for the department of the army and navy. A unicameral legislature was adopted “on account of our peculiar situation.” It would originally be composed of seven members, although every district in the Floridas that adhered “to our cause” would be entitled to send two representatives. The judicial authority was vested in a supreme court of four members — including an attorney general— inferior courts, and justices of the peace.

On December 9 the committee met to flesh out these “Fundamental Rules” for a democratic republican government. The governor was granted wide appointive powers which he would execute with the advice and consent of a council of state made up of the governor, lieutenant governor, the two secretaries, and the attorney general. The secretaries were to be appointed with the consent of the assembly.

The committee saw the council as vital to the success of the government. In it “‘all the parts of the public administration” were concentrated: “The council, therefore, is chiefly intended to maintain harmony and good understanding between the several branches of the government, and by collecting from time to time, in a single body, all kind of information from every one, it must infuse life and activity in the whole. The council is also calculated to supply the deficiency of a single House of Legislature In regard to the executive the council is finally a council of appointment and advice.”

While the governor was given veto power over acts of the as-

sembly, he could be overridden by two-thirds of the members present. The assembly had the power to impeach, and its members enjoyed immunity from prosecution for "opinions manifested, or doctrine professed" in their capacity as legislators. The functions, administration, and jurisdiction of the courts remained to be determined by statute. However, the committee did insist that all crimes deserving "corporeal or ignominious punishments shall be tried by Judges and a Jury."

The four articles pertaining to the provisional government were to remain in force "until a Constitution be adopted by a Convention, legally called and composed of Delegates of the majority of the Districts of [the] Floridas." Two additional articles guaranteed freedom of the press and freedom of conscience. The committee submitted a report to their fellow representatives, assuring them that they had been governed in their proceedings "by strict adherence to the principles of Free Governments." Their debt to the form and content of the federal and state constitutions of the United States was substantial; they cited, for instance, Alexander Hamilton's *Federalist* No. 70 to justify a single executive. Although there is no record of action on the committee's report, it seems likely that it was ratified by the assembly of representatives.⁴⁵

Pazos, as chairman, and Murden also served on a three-man committee appointed to obtain information relative to the transactions between Elton and the Florida republic. The third member was Comte, a follower of Aury scarcely twenty years old. On December 9, a busy day for Pazos, the committee asked Aury to turn over copies of all the correspondence between him and Elton and also the proceedings of the court of inquiry appointed a month earlier to investigate the conduct of Austin. The next day Aury complied with the request. The committee reported that, in its opinion, an attempt had been made to board the *Tentativa* and that she had been fired upon "in the very waters of Amelia." "Whatever may have been the motives of the commander of the *Saranac*, in ordering or approving such a violation of neutral rights, they can, in the judgment of your committee,

45. Douglas Crawford McMurtrie, ed., *Republic of the Floridas: Constitution and Frame of Government Drafted by a Committee Appointed by the Assembly of Representatives, and Submitted at Fernandina, December 9, 1817* (Evanston, Illinois, 1942), [iv], 3-7.

never be sanctioned, much less could they have been ordered, by that enlightened government which has itself contended against the right of search on board their own vessels, even when out of their waters. How then could Captain Elton, certainly unauthorized, take upon himself to board our vessels in our very waters? What authority could he have had to detain those vessels, to molest our commerce, and threaten us, if we should rescue from him, or protect a vessel under our own flag . . . ? What authority? None other than that which he must have unjustifiably assumed."

The committee then presented two resolutions, recommending that they be put into swift execution. First they resolved that the correspondence and other pertinent documents be printed, and that the documents, with a statement of the transactions that had taken place, be officially transmitted to the President of the United States, thus exposing Elton's questionable conduct. Pazos and his committee were satisfied that once the President knew the facts of the case "complete justice will be done to us."⁴⁶

The assembly complied with the committee's request. Pazos supervised the printing, a business he had been in for some weeks. In August a press and printing apparatus had reached Fernandina from New York City, and a printing office, managed by R. Findley, was established. MacGregor thus had a means of issuing his proclamations and a paper currency. A correspondent in Fernandina on August 23 related that the inhabitants daily expected the arrival of a printing press for the purpose of issuing a newspaper.⁴⁷ It remained for the assembly to take definite action on that score. On December 1 a weekly newspaper in Spanish was authorized in order to give "publicity to the Acts of the Provisional Legislature, and to such other information as may be interesting and important to the welfare of the people." Pazos, with his earlier experience as a journalist, was made editor of *El Telegrafo de las Floridas*. Within the week the first number was issued. It contained a write-up about the first meeting of the

46. *Report of the Committee Appointed by the Honorable Assembly to Obtain Information Relative to the Transactions between This Republic and John H. Elton, Esq., Commander of the U.S. Brig Saranac, &c.* (Fernandina, 1817), State Department, Territorial Papers, Florida, pp. 66-70, NA. See also *ibid.*, folio 94; *Charleston Courier*, December 27, 1817.

47. *Savannah Republican*, August 19, 1817; *Daily National Intelligencer*, September 13, 1817.

“Representatives of the Floridas, under a discharge of artillery,” at which time steps were taken for the organization of the new government. Pazos announced that the object of the *Telegrafo* was to furnish a record of events on Amelia Island and to provide extracts from North American and other foreign newspapers. His first issue, understandably, abounded in speculative editorial remarks about the future destiny of the Republic of the Floridas. Pazos’s *Telegrafo* has the distinction of being the second newspaper published in East Florida.⁴⁸

Pazos named the printing office in Fernandina “America Libre” in honor of the vessel that had brought him to Amelia Island and of “the deputies of free America.” Under his aegis at least two pamphlets were published. One was the report of the committee appointed to frame a plan for the provisional government and the other the report of the committee to examine the dispute over the *Tentativa*. The title page of the first pamphlet carried a quotation in Latin from Cicero that summarized the uncertainty of the patriots about their future: “What will happen I certainly do not know, but nevertheless there is one hope that some day the Roman people will be like our ancestors. I at least shall not fail the Republic; but whatever happens I hope that I shall be free from any blame in this matter, and I shall bear it with a brave heart. Marcus Tullius Cicero sends hearty greetings to Cornificius.”⁴⁹

In his last issue of *La Crónica Argentina* on February 8, 1817, Pazos had drawn a comparison between the situation in Rome and the predicament in Buenos Aires in regard to conspirators who spread false alarms in the city, “trying to bury the State with them in order to escape a sure retribution.”⁵⁰ The title page of the second pamphlet was embellished with the single Roman proverb: “Fiat justitia, ruat coelum.”

48. There were probably no more than three issues of the *Telegrafo* published, none of which is known to be extant. *Charleston Courier*, December 19, 1817; *Daily National Intelligencer*, January 2, 1818; T. Frederick Davis, “MacGregor’s Invasion of Florida, 1817,” *Florida Historical Quarterly*, VII (July 1928), 48; Douglas C. McMurtrie, “The Beginnings of Printing in Florida,” *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXIII (October 1944), 68-69.

49. McMurtrie, *Republic of the Floridas*, [iv].

50. [Juan Canter?], “Inventario de documentos publicados,” *Boletín del Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas*, Supplement to V (January-March 1927), 94.

The need for an articulate press in Fernandina was real enough, as the patriots there had many critics in the United States. Thornton in Washington had done his best to convince the public at the time Pazos and Gual embarked for Amelia Island that they were “not the flinchers and the plunderers, but brave, active, intelligent, honest men, captivated by the cause of liberty.” Other commentators were more inclined to view the activities at Fernandina as “A Horrible Picture” or as a farce. A resident of St. Marys on November 22, 1817, wrote a friend in Charleston his jaundiced interpretation of the doings of the patriots: “You at a distance, can form no idea of the *emancipation* of the Floridas, and the great advance of civilization, in this young republic. In speaking of the government about to go into operation, they express a wish to form a convention similar to that of the early days of the French revolution. Numbers of the Americans have been banished into the United States— this is a terrible sentence! They have even taken upon themselves, it is said, to proscribe some of their inhabitants to a residence north of Charleston; and we expect daily to see a guillotine erected in ‘*Washington Square*,’ Fernandina, and some Mexican chief holding up the reeking head of an American citizen, exclaiming, ‘behold the head of a traitor’.”⁵¹

The administration of President James Monroe tended to side with the opponents of Aury and his “party-colored associates.” At a cabinet meeting on October 31, the secretary of state openly advocated breaking up “the marauding parties” at both Amelia Island and Galveston as soon as possible. His sentiments were shared by other cabinet members and by the President, who ordered the secretary of the navy to dispatch at once John D. Henley of the U.S.S. *John Adams* and his squadron to St. Marys. There he was to cooperate with James Bankhead, commanding officer of the land force, in removing from Amelia Island “the persons who have lately taken possession thereof, and, as it is understood and believed, without authority from the Colonies, or any organized Government, whatever, and to the great annoyance of the United States.” From Amelia Island Henley was to take his squadron to Galveston to help break up the establishment there. His naval force at St. Marys was to be augmented by ves-

51. *Daily National Intelligencer*, September 11, 1817, March 14, 1818; *Savannah Columbian Museum and Savannah Daily Gazette*, December 1, 1817.

sels under the command of Elton. The secretary of the navy, in his orders to Henley, expressed the hope that Aury and his men would withdraw without bloodshed. In any case, Henley and Bankhead were to take possession of the island "in the name, and by the authority of the United States."⁵²

On December 2 Monroe made known in his first annual message to Congress his decision to move against Amelia Island. That patriot center, said the President, had been converted into nothing more than "a channel for the illicit introduction of slaves from Africa into the United States, an asylum for fugitive slaves from the neighbouring States, and a port for smuggling of every kind." The rights and interests of the United States, he had concluded, required that such goings-on be suppressed.⁵³

As soon as Lino de Clemente, one of the signers of MacGregor's commission in Philadelphia, read Monroe's message, he sent a letter by express to Fernandina advising the authorities there of the imminent hostilities and ordering Aury to defend the place to the last man— unless attacked by a superior force. If such was the case, he should file a solemn protest in the name of the Spanish American governments against the proceedings on the part of the United States.⁵⁴

When Clemente's letter and his enclosed copy of Monroe's message reached Fernandina, the consternation of the patriots at first ran high. It soon subsided as the more audacious spirits decided to set sail for Nassau to join MacGregor in a projected action in the Tampa Bay area. One patriot spoke for them all when, on December 20, he wrote a friend in Philadelphia: "We are of the opinion that the Spanish government is highly indebted to the government of the United States, for the friendly interference of the latter in our affairs. If we should have been permitted to retain this island for six months longer, our naval establishment would be such, I will venture to predict, that out of one hundred vessels bound to or from Cuba, no more than ten could have escaped our cruisers; as it is, we have annoyed the Spanish trade considerably."⁵⁵

52. Adams, *Memoirs*, IV, 15; Crowninshield to Henley, November 14, 1817, Navy Department, Private Letters, I, 245-46, WA; Crowninshield to Henley, November 18, 1817, *ibid.*, I, 247.

53. Stanislaus Murray Hamilton, ed., *The Writings of James Monroe*, 7 vols. (New York, 1898-1903), VI, 35-36.

54. *Niles' Weekly Register*, December 20, 1817.

55. *Philadelphia Aurora and General Advertiser*, January 13, 1818.

The rendezvous between Henley and Bankhead was accomplished by December 18. While off Amelia Island on December 22, they officially notified Aury that they had come with orders "from our Government to take possession of Amelia Island, and to occupy the port of Fernandina." The patriots were to evacuate the island, leaving behind all public property surrendered by the Spaniards earlier to MacGregor; all private property belonging to the patriots would be respected.⁵⁶ After receiving this letter, Aury answered that he had submitted it "to the representatives of the republic, and, as soon as I shall have obtained their opinion, it shall be immediately sent to you."⁵⁷ Pazos, Gual, and other representatives sent a reply in Aury's name to Henley and Bankhead on December 22. They expressed surprise that the two officers were authorized by the government of a people who sympathized with "their southern brethren in the struggle for liberty and independence in which they are engaged, as were the United States forty years ago." Furthermore, the United States could claim no jurisdiction from the source of the St. Marys River to the Atlantic Ocean, "on this side [of] the centre of the channel." The only law Henley and Bankhead could adduce in their behalf was that of force, and the same could be said about their interference with the property of inhabitants of Amelia Island. The demand to leave behind all public property surrendered by the Spaniards was "contrary to the public rights, by which public property captured from the enemy, is avowedly that of the captors, when not otherwise stipulated." Were Henley and Bankhead, the representatives wanted to know, perhaps acting in the name of the king of Spain or his allies? The patriots considered the people of the United States to be "the only free people on the surface of the globe," but the demand of the officers was "inadmissible and unjustifiable in the ages of the world." Pazos and his co-authors requested that their remarks be laid before Monroe.⁵⁸

Henley and Bankhead responded the next day, saying that they were bound to obey their orders "without any discussion or

56. Henley and Bankhead to Aury, December 22, 1817, *American State Papers*, Class I, *Foreign Relations*, 4: 139-40.

57. Aury to Henley and Bankhead, December 22, 1817, *ibid.*, 140.

58. Aury to Henley and Bankhead, December 22, 1817, in *Narrative of a Voyage*, 321-23.

animadversion on our part as to the correctness of them.” They proposed to send a force ashore that very day. Henley’s squadron would sail into the harbor at Fernandina where Bankhead was to wait for Aury to make the necessary arrangements for the landing of the troops.⁵⁹ Aury replied in a note that he was ready to surrender Amelia Island. Consequently, 250 men landed and marched into the fortifications of Fernandina. At twelve o’clock noon, the Mexican flag was struck, and the United States flag hoisted over the island.⁶⁰ And so the abortive Republic of the Floridas came to an abrupt, but a peaceful, end.

The United States troops held Amelia Island in protective custody to the last of the Spanish period, offering to turn it over to the Spaniards when they could police and govern it. Pazos’s contributions to the short-lived republic were largely in the realm of ideology and publication. He also helped the patriot effort with his legal expertise and served as a “working” legislator. His faith in republicanism for the Floridas proved to be misplaced, but at least he could claim the honor of being the editor of one of its first newspapers. His exertions on behalf of the defunct republic did not, moreover, stop with the raising of the United States flag on December 23. The papers that Aury had indicated would be conveyed to Monroe were, in fact, to be delivered by Pazos. For four months in 1818 he acted as agent in Washington for Aury, vainly trying to secure reparations for the patriots.⁶¹

59. Henley and Bankhead to Aury, December 23, 1817, *American State Papers*, Class I, *Foreign Relations*, 4: 140-41.

60. Aury to Henley and Bankhead, December 23, 1817, *ibid.*, 141; *Charleston Courier*, December 31, 1817; *Philadelphia Democratic Press*, January 7, 1818.

61. Aury to James Monroe, December 23, 1817, State Department, Territorial Papers, Florida, 71, NA.

CHEROKEES AND THE SECOND SEMINOLE WAR

by GARY E. MOULTON*

THE SECOND SEMINOLE WAR had its origins in removal agreements concluded between the Florida tribe and the United States government in 1832 and 1833. What had been accepted by a few Indian chiefs had not won the approval of the majority of the Seminoles who wanted to remain in their native lands. Attempts at forced emigration simply broadened scattered hostilities to become a major war by late 1835. The war was a tragic conflict that cost nearly \$40,000,000 and countless lives of soldiers, civilians, and Indians. The administration of President Martin Van Buren was eager to find a way out of the Everglades entanglement, and was willing even to turn to private emissaries and Indian allies.

Chief John Ross led a delegation of Cherokees to Washington in the fall of 1837 in the hope of annulling a removal treaty similar to that of the Seminoles. Although no pacifist, Ross certainly had recognized the folly of making war against the United States, and instead he attempted legal methods to modify federal demands. Washington officials knew of his views and hoped that Ross could use his influence among the Seminoles as he had among his own people in quelling armed disturbances.

Ross had been approached confidentially on the Seminole affair as early as July of 1837 by Colonel John H. Sherburne, of Washington, D. C., a private emissary from Secretary of War Joel R. Poinsett.¹ The colonel had led Ross to believe that if he would use his influence as chief of the Cherokees to aid in bringing an end to the Seminole War, the federal government

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1. Sherburne to Ross, July 8, 1837, John Ross Papers, Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art, Tulsa, Oklahoma. Hereinafter cited as RPI. See also Poinsett to Sherbourne [*sic*], August 12, 1837, *Senate Documents*, 25th Cong., 2nd sess., no. 120, pp. 307-08.

would find ways to repay him and his tribe. Of course, principal among the means to repay Ross's Cherokee supporters would be to eliminate the hated conditions of removal embodied in the Treaty of New Echota. Sherburne offered such terms to Ross, "in case you succeed," and he promised that federal officials would be more lenient in future negotiations. Sherburne also indicated that he and his superiors were so eager to see the Seminole disturbances quieted that "money will be no object to the Government."² Sherburne was so optimistic that he later assured Ross that whether the deputation succeeded or not, Cherokee difficulties could be brought to "an amicable adjustment." We predicted that before January 1838 everything would be readjusted to the Cherokees' satisfaction.³

Chief Ross was dubious about these confidential and unofficial promises, and it was not until Sherburne arrived in the Cherokee Nation that he agreed to a proposal. Sherburne wanted Ross to lead a Cherokee delegation to Florida to convince Osceola to lay down arms. Since Ross felt that his presence in Washington in the final months before the removal treaty would go into effect was necessary, he declined a personal visit. Nevertheless, he promised Sherburne that if the war department officially requested his assistance, he would write a letter to the leading Seminoles which could be delivered as an address by a special deputation of Cherokees.⁴ Ross carefully questioned the colonel in order that no misapprehension of the mission develop later. He wanted to know if Sherburne had authority to suspend military operations in Florida while his representatives were mediating with the Seminoles, and whether the colonel would be willing to accompany a Seminole delegation to Washington to negotiate a new treaty. Ross also asked: "Are you authorized by the President of the U[nited] States to guarantee safety and protection to the lives . . . of the Chiefs as may compose the Seminole delegation?"⁵

2. Sherburne to Ross, July 8, August 10, 1837, RPGI.

3. *Ibid.*, October 7, 1837, RPGI.

4. *Ibid.*, September 4, 1837; Ross to Sherburne, September 5, 1837, RPGI.

5. Ross to Sherburne, September 18, 1837, John Ross Papers, Indian Archives Division, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. Hereinafter cited as RPOHS.

If Ross was skeptical about the intentions of the government, Secretary Poinsett also wondered how far he could trust the Cherokees. In accepting Sherburne's proposition, Poinsett wrote ahead to inform Major General Thomas Sidney Jesup, the military commander of Florida, of the coming delegation and to authorize a meeting with the Seminoles. Jesup was further cautioned to have the Cherokees accompanied by reliable agents to insure the faithful execution of their mission.⁶ With a beginning based on mutual misgiving, perhaps there was little hope of success.

After Ross received assurances from Poinsett as to Sherburne's mission, he commissioned five trusted Cherokees to go to Florida carrying his address. The deputation included Hair Conrad who served nominally as head, Thomas Woodward, the interpreter, Major Polecat, Richard Fields, and Jesse Bushyhead. The latter two were literate in English, kept records, and reported to Ross on their progress.⁷ Ross addressed the Seminole chiefs as a stranger, but also as a brother and one who understood the torment and anguish of division and removal: "I know that a brave people when driven to a state of desperation, would sooner die under the strong arm of power, than to shrink and die the death of the coward. But I will speak to you as a friend, and with the voice of reason advise you, as a small but a brave people, to act the part of a noble race, and at once throw yourselves upon the magnanimity and justice of the American people." Ross guaranteed the justice and sincerity of the United States, and he conveyed Poinsett's assurances that a liberal treaty would be made.⁸ Ross was simply following the policy he had applied to the Cherokee case; he hoped that through compromise and negotiation bloodshed could be averted and a new treaty obtained. He did not want the Seminoles to accept treaty terms that he would not tolerate for his own tribe.

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6. Poinsett to Sherburne, October 4, 1837; Poinsett to Jesup, October 4, 1837, Letters Sent, Military Affairs, Records of the Office of the Secretary of War, National Archives, Washington, D.C. Hereinafter cited as ROSW.
 7. Ross to Conrad *et al.*, October 20, 1837, *House Documents*, 25th Cong., 2nd sess., no. 285, pp. 4-6.
 8. Ross to the Chiefs, Headmen, and Warriors, of the Seminoles of Florida, October 18, 1837, *ibid.*, 6-9.

Sherburne and Richard Fields met in Augusta, Georgia, in late September 1837, while Ross began work before a new congressional session in Washington to stay removal of the Cherokees.⁹ It seems that at this point Sherburne first departed from his agreements with Ross. Instead of proceeding to Washington, he decided to go directly to Florida. It was only after he made this decision that he received approval for it from Poinsett. Perplexed, Fields returned to the Cherokee Nation to discuss the changed plans with his colleagues and to determine what to do. Ross directed his deputation to proceed to Charleston, South Carolina, where he would forward his message to the Seminoles.¹⁰ While Sherburne waited for the rest of the group, Fields traveled on to Florida and had his first interview with Major General Jesup on November 3, 1837. Before the remainder of the deputation arrived with Sherburne, Fields spent nearly a week with the commander at Garey's Ferry on Black Creek, some thirty miles northwest of St. Augustine. Fields had the chance to evaluate Jesup and the Seminole situation. He realized that although Jesup considered himself a friend of the Indians, the general believed that nothing but "powder and ball could effect anything with the Seminoles." He hoped, however, to save the tribe with the Cherokees' assistance.¹¹ Fields accompanied Jesup to St. Augustine, where he met several of the Seminole chiefs imprisoned in the old Castillo, which the Americans had renamed Fort Marion. The two most important were Osceola and Coa Hadjo. Even before the Cherokees arrived, Jesup had decided on a policy of ignoring flags of truce if necessary to seize wily Seminoles who could not be tracked through Florida's backwaters. In this manner Osceola and Coa Hadjo had been captured.¹² Jesup believed that expediency demanded drastic measures lest the war drag on indefinitely.

9. Fields to Ross, October 7, 1837, RPGI.

10. Ross to Lewis Ross, October 12, November 11, 1837; Lewis Ross to Ross, October 25, 1837, RPGI; Ross to Conrad et al., October 20, 1837, *House Documents*, 25th Cong., 2nd sess., no. 285, p. 4.

11. Fields et al. to Ross, February 17, 1838, in Grant Foreman, ed., "Report of the Cherokee Deputation into Florida," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, IX (December 1931), 424-25.

12. *Ibid.*; John K. Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War, 1835-1842* (Gainesville, 1967), 214-17.

Despite criticism from Congress and the press, the orders Jesup was working under demanded nothing less. He admitted that he was not fighting for peace, but for Indian removal and in response to violated treaties. The Cherokees, he argued, could not stand in his way.¹³ Jesup's personal disposition as a military man, born of years of Indian fighting, was heightened by prodding from Washington. Poinsett had repeatedly warned the general not to let the Cherokees deter him in any way. He recommended that Jesup strike a blow against the Seminoles before the Cherokee deputation met the Florida Indians. The secretary thought that this would demoralize the Seminoles and make them more susceptible to removal. Moreover, Poinsett wanted Jesup to suppress Ross's message and send the deputation home. At first Jesup did hold up Ross's address, believing that it held out expectations to the prisoners that could not be realized. It seemed to give promises of a treaty, and Jesup believed he was required to enforce existing treaties, not negotiate new ones. Unless the address was modified, he would not permit its delivery.¹⁴

By November 10 Sherburne and the rest of the Cherokee deputation had arrived at St. Augustine. Two days later they met with Jesup to hear his objection to their mission and to express their desire to meet with the Seminoles.¹⁵ Jesup was apprehensive of the Cherokees' designs despite assurances by Osceola and Coa Hadjo that the deputation faced no danger from the Seminoles. In one report to Ross, Fields noted the distrust by both whites and Indians. Jesup finally agreed to let Seminole messengers inform their people of the Cherokee presence. The deputation met these messengers before they left, and informed them of the purpose of their mission.¹⁶

The Cherokees, with Colonel Sherburne, ascended the St. Johns River to Fort Mellon which they reached November 24.

13. Fields *et al.* to Ross, February 17, 1838, in Foreman, "Report," 424-25; Fields to Ross, November 12, 1837, RPOHS.

14. Poinsett to Jesup, October 30, November 10, 1837, ROSW; Jesup to Poinsett, July 6, 1838, *Senate Documents*, 25th Cong., 2nd sess., no. 507, p. 7.

15. Fields *et al.* to Ross, February 17, 1838, in Foreman, "Report," 424-25; Jesup to Fields *et al.*, November 13, 1837, *House Documents*, 25th Cong., 2nd sess., no. 285, pp. 9-10.

16. Fields to Ross, November 12, 14, 1837, RPOHS.

The following evening messengers arrived with a request from Micanopy, a principal Seminole chief, asking that the Cherokees meet with him some fifty miles from the fort within four days to discuss the purpose of their visit. After several ambiguous conversations with Jesup, the Cherokees set out on the morning of November 28. The general had allowed them only six days to make their plea for peace and return. He permitted Coa Hadjo to accompany them as guide and intermediary.¹⁷

Mid-day of November 29 they reached the appointed spot, but to their dismay found no one there. A party of United States troops in the region had frightened the Indians away. Coa Hadjo discovered the Seminoles' new location, and a short trek the next morning brought the Cherokees to Micanopy's camp. There, after smoking the peace pipe and listening to a short address by Hair Conrad, Fields read the message from Chief Ross. The following day more sub-chiefs arrived, and the Cherokees gathered on the council grounds, where they read again Ross's appeal for conciliation. They hoped to impress upon the Seminoles the necessity of going to Washington to find a way to end the war. Micanopy and about a dozen of the sub-chiefs consented to return with the deputation to Fort Mellon accompanied by some thirty warriors. late on the evening of December 3 the entourage entered the fort "with the white scarf of peace rippling over our heads."¹⁸

General Jesup gave the group a cool reception. Jesup seemed more interested in the number, situation, and position of the Seminoles than in their willingness to make peace. He believed that the Indians were using delaying tactics. When he conferred with the Seminole chiefs on December 5, Jesup demanded that the families of the Indians confined at St. Augustine surrender themselves to him. He also required surrender within seven to ten days of all warriors and their weapons, and un-

17. Fields *et al.* to Ross, February 17, 1838, in Foreman, "Report," 427-29. Jesup believed that at Fort Mellon he had convinced the Cherokees to modify certain objectionable parts of Ross's address. However, the deputation made no mention of any changes in its reports. Jesup to Poinsett, July 6, 1838, *Senate Documents*, 25th Cong., 2nd sess., no. 507, p. 7.

18. Fields *et al.* to Ross, February 17, 1838, in Foreman, "Report," 429-31; Fields to Ross, December 6, 1837, RPLI.

conditional conformity to an earlier treaty that had been rejected by the tribe. After Micanopy agreed to what must have been degrading terms, Bushyhead and Polecat set out with several messengers to assure the Seminoles of Jesup's integrity.¹⁹ That evening Jesup wrote Secretary Poinsett: "Though I believe the chiefs to be sincere, I have but little reliance on their promises. I doubt their influence over their people. I shall, however, hold them as hostages."²⁰

Bushyhead's destination was the camp of Arpeika (Sam Jones)— one of the leading insurgents who controlled the Miccosukee band of Seminoles. Arpeika had met with the Cherokees on their first visit into the Seminole region, but he had refused to come with them to the fort since he had had personal differences with Jesup. He promised, however, that he would follow Micanopy's directions. On meeting Bushyhead this second time and learning of Micanopy's pledge, Arpeika held out little hope of reconciling the difficulties. Bushyhead returned to Fort Mellon December 12 to report pessimistically to his deputation. A decision was made to continue working, however, and Bushyhead and Fields returned to the scrub, guided by a young Seminole.²¹ Rain and cold weather slowed their progress, but their hopes of mediation remained high. They met several bands of Seminoles along the way and tried to convince them to go into Fort Mellon. The next afternoon as they came to the place where they expected to find Arpeika's camp, their young Seminole guide revealed that Coacoochee (Wild Cat) had escaped from St. Augustine and this news had renewed the Indians' determination "*to fight and die on the land that the Great Spirit had given them.*" The fatigued Cherokees decided to return to Fort Mellon which they reached on the morning of December 14.²²

Over the protests of the Cherokees Jesup placed Micanopy and his party under arrest and prepared to ship them as prison-

19. Fields *et al.* to Ross, February 17, 1838, in Foreman, "Report," 431-33; Fields to Ross, December 6, 1837, RPGI.

20. Jesup to Poinsett, December 6, 1837, *House Documents*, 25th Cong., 2nd sess., no. 327, pp. 8-9.

21. Fields *et al.* to Ross, February 17, 1838, in Foreman, "Report," 433-34; Fields to Ross, December 6, 1837, RPGI.

22. Fields *et al.* to Ross, February 17, 1838, in Foreman, "Report," 434-35.

ers of war to St. Augustine. The Indians reminded the general that the Seminoles had come in under a flag of truce and at the request of their Indian brothers, but to no avail.²³ Jesup thanked the Cherokees for their "zealous and untiring efforts," but he told Poinsett that he thought they had deceived him. He believed that they had promised the Seminoles that they would be able to remain in Florida.²⁴ It had been a mistake, he felt, to allow the Cherokees to communicate with the Seminoles at all, and the two-weeks delay they had caused would retard his military activities.²⁵

Fearing that the captured Seminoles would hold them responsible for Jesup's act, the Cherokees hurried on to Fort Marion at St. Augustine where, apparently, they were able to convince the Indians that Micanopy's capture had taken place without their knowledge or sanction. The Cherokees also promised to make a complaint of the affair to Chief Ross, who would seek to redress the outrage. From St. Augustine they retraced their route to Charleston, where on Christmas day they prepared to return home. Colonel Sherburne was present and convinced the Cherokees to accompany him to Washington where a settlement might be arranged to end the Florida difficulties.²⁶

Sherburne and his party arrived in Washington on December 30. Chief Ross on January 2 wrote an angry letter to Poinsett protesting the arrest of the Seminole chiefs while they were negotiating under a flag of truce. The secretary's response was cool and guarded, but he promised that a "report" would

23. *Ibid.*, in Foreman, "Report," 435-36.

24. Jesup to Fields *et al.*, December 15, 1837, *House Documents*, 25th Cong., 2nd sess., no. 285, p. 10; Jesup to Poinsett, December 29, 1837, Letters Received, Registered Series, ROSW.

25. Jesup to Poinsett, December 29, 1837, Letters Received, Registered Series, ROSW; Jesup to Poinsett, July 6, 1838, *Senate Documents*, 25th Cong., 2nd sess., no. 507, p. 8.

26. Fields *et al.* to Ross, February 17, 1838, in Foreman, "Report," 437; Ross to Poinsett, March 8, 1838, *House Documents*, 25th Cong., 2nd sess., no. 285, p. 17. From Fort Marion the Seminoles were shipped to Fort Moultrie at Charleston, South Carolina, where they were held prisoner until removed to Indian Territory. At Fort Moultrie, Osceola died in late January 1838. Edwin C. McReynolds, *The Seminoles* (Norman, 1957), 208-09.

soon be forthcoming.²⁷ Further correspondence also revealed the unwillingness of the federal government to honor the total cost of the deputation. With Colonel Sherburne's promises of federal obligations and limitless funds still fresh in his mind, Ross was disgusted that Poinsett haggled over the deputation's reimbursement.²⁸ Poinsett was willing to pay \$5.00 a day individually to the Cherokees, but only from the time they left the Cherokee Nation until the time they would have returned had they not deviated from their route and come to Washington. Ross emphasized that they were in Washington at the invitation of Sherburne who had promised payment for their expenses. The amounts requested came to slightly over \$1,000 each, but Poinsett was willing to authorize only one-third of that sum.²⁹ Eventually the House Committee on Indian Affairs recommended a compromise which Poinsett endorsed and which the Cherokees reluctantly accepted.³⁰

If the Cherokee deputation could not bring peace to the war-torn Florida frontier, they hoped at least to encourage compromise. The message from Chief Ross promised justice from the federal government. Instead the visitors discovered that Indians had been captured under a flag of truce and the Cherokees were eye witnesses to a continuation of that policy. Perhaps it was too much to expect Jesup to become a statesman, but certainly Poinsett should have fulfilled that role. The captured Seminoles were never released as demanded by Ross, nor did the promised report on Jesup's conduct appear. For the risk of their lives, time away from their homes and family, and money

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27. Fields *et al.* to Ross, February 17, 1838, in Foreman, "Report," 437; Ross to Poinsett, January 2, 1838; Poinsett to Ross, March 2, 1838, *House Documents*, 25th Cong., 2nd sess., no. 285, pp. 11-14.
 28. Ross to Poinsett, March 5, 8, 1838, Poinsett to Ross, March 7, 17, 1838, *House Documents*, 25th Cong., 2nd sess., no. 285, pp. 14-20.
 29. Accounts of the Cherokee Deputation, undated [March 1838], *House Documents*, 25th Cong., 2nd sess., no. 285, pp. 20-24. Fields requested a much larger payment, nearly \$2,000, because of his earlier start and the many presents he had given to the Seminoles.
 30. Horace Everett to Poinsett [with Poinsett's endorsement], May 29, 1838, RPI; Ross to C. A. Harris, June 12, 1838, John Ross Papers, Cherokee Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.

expended from their meager reserves, the Cherokees received no more than a pittance and guarded thanks from an ungracious government.

THE CASE OF TOM TIGER'S HORSE: AN EARLY FORAY INTO INDIAN RIGHTS

by HARRY A. KERSEY, JR.*

AT A TIME in our national history when the American Indian's claim to social and political justice is being vigorously pursued, and dramatically portrayed through mass media coverage of incidents such as the occupation of Alcatraz, disruption at the Bureau of Indian Affairs in Washington, and a "Second Wounded Knee," it might be well to consider in calmer retrospective one of those little known efforts to secure Indian rights which occurred in Florida at the turn of the century. The participants included an aggrieved Seminole headman of the Cow Creek band and his white friends who displayed an unusual zeal to see justice done at a time when it was neither fashionable nor even necessarily good business to defend Indians on the southern frontier.

Throughout the last quarter of the nineteenth century a steady stream of settlers flocked to the Florida peninsula seeking the cheap land made available through the drainage and development schemes of men such as Hamilton Disston, and later by the Flagler and Plant railroad interests. It was a time when the legitimate rights of farmers, grovers, and cattlemen often came into conflict with the traditional claims of the Seminole to hunt and trap over broad expanses of territory. Inexorably, the white settlers forced the Indians farther southward and into the interior of the state, until by the 1890s most found themselves limited to the Everglades and Big Cypress Swamp region. Here the Miccosukee-speaking elements of the Seminole developed a lively trade in pelts, plumes, and hides which they sold to traders at stores from Fort Myers to Fort Lauderdale, and maintained

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their traditional life-style at hammock camps sequestered away in the interior where few whites dared to venture.¹

The Cow Creek band of Seminole, on the other hand, had traditionally lived and hunted in the Kissimmee River basin and the region around the north shore of Lake Okeechobee. In the 1880s their camps at Catfish Lake and Cow Creek were visited by R. H. Pratt² and Clay MacCauley,³ and they were frequent visitors in Bartow, Fort Meade, and Kissimmee, as well as Fort Pierce and Jupiter. As white settlers in increasing numbers moved into the region it was inevitable that friction would occur, primarily over the ownership of livestock on the open range at first, then later over the land itself. Pratt had reported in 1879 the complaints of cattlemen that the Seminole killed beef worth \$1,500 to \$2,000, but he also noted that, "Like offenses are committed against the Indians."⁴

In 1883 the Commissioner of Indian Affairs found it necessary to seek funds from Congress to purchase lands for the Seminole, noting, "the increasing white settlements in southern Florida are fast driving these people from their accustomed haunts and depriving them of their means of support. It is charged that they kill cattle belonging to the large herds in that section of the State, to the value of some \$2,000 or \$3,000 annually. In view of these facts, trouble between them and the whites is likely to occur at any time."⁵ This official action was also endorsed by Floridians sympathetic to the Indian cause. Miss Lilly Pierpont of Winter Haven, a staunch defender of the Seminole who was later to be the first woman appointed as special agent to the Indians in Florida, wrote to the wife of President Grover Cleveland protesting: "They are at present inclined to be friendly, though they are often imposed upon by white settlers. A short time ago a party of white men made a raid upon the property

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1. For a description of these trading activities see Harry A. Kersey, Jr., "Pelts, Plumes, and Hides: White Traders Among the Seminole Indians, 1890-1930," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, LI (January 1973), 250-66.
 2. William C. Sturtevant, "R. H. Pratt's Report on the Seminole in 1879," *Florida Anthropologist*, IX (March 1956), 1-24 *passim*.
 3. Clay MacCauley, "Seminole Indians of Florida," *Fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, 1883-'84* (Washington, 1887), 475-531 *passim*.
 4. Sturtevant, "R. H. Pratt's Report," 12.
 5. *Senate Documents*, 50th Cong., 1st sess., no. 139, p. 3.

of some Indians stationed near Titusville and destroyed their hogs. The Indians, instead of fighting, appealed to the mayor of Titusville, D. L. Gaulden, for Government protection; I have not heard if they received it.⁶ Against this background of local mistreatment of the Seminole population, the federal government was repeatedly urged to purchase lands and establish a permanent reservation and agency in Florida. Thus when the Women's National Indian Association purchased 400 acres and started a mission at Immokalee in 1891, federal authorities acquired eighty acres and opened a station to provide medical service, a trading post, school, sawmill, and other facilities to the Seminole in the Everglades-Big Cypress region. Unfortunately, these services were not extended to the Cow Creek band living north of Lake Okeechobee, although they would have been more receptive to such overtures from whites than were the highly independent Miccosukee. In any case, the resident agent, Dr. J. E. Brecht, had no legal power to protect Indians against the depredations of whites, and he could only appeal in their behalf to local magistrates. In his 1899 report, however, Brecht did note that a group of citizens living north of Lake Okeechobee was raising funds to purchase lands, provide education, and seek legal protection for the Cow Creek band living in that region.⁷

The citizens group to which Dr. Brecht referred was known as the Friends of the Florida Seminoles, founded at Kissimmee on January 7, 1899.⁸ Among the organizers were such well-known Seminole supporters as the Right Reverend William Crane Gray, bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in South Florida; James Willson and his wife Minnie Moore-Willson, whose book *The Seminoles of Florida* (1896) publicized the plight of the Indians in the state; G. W. Wilson, editor of the Jacksonville *Times-Union and Citizen*; Francis A. Hendry, the most prominent cattleman in the state; and a host of other leaders from a broad spectrum of society— including a number of influential political figures.⁹ Although the Friends would

6. *Ibid.*, 5.

7. *House Documents*, 56th Cong., 1st sess., no. 5, p. 179.

8. *The Indian's Friend*, March 1899, 7. The Women's National Indian Association published *The Indian's Friend* from 1888 to 1951.

9. Among the honorary members elected by the society were: W. S. Bliss, Secretary of the Interior; William A. Jones, Indian Com-

have their greatest success in lobbying for the establishment of a state Indian reservation and securing the passage of the first act dealing with Seminole education, they were originally founded on the impulse to provide legal defense for the rights of Tom Tiger, one of the most respected Indian leaders of the period.

Captain Tom Tiger was perhaps the best known of the Florida Seminole at the turn of the century.¹⁰ His brother was Tiger Tustenuggee, last war chief of the Cow Creek band, and his sister Martha Tiger was the wife of old chief Tallahassee. There is a description of him by F. A. Ober in 1875: "Tommy Tiger was a son of old Tiger. He was over six feet in height, large and muscular. His eyes were black and fierce; his mouth, firm, but not cruel, was shaded by a small black mustache. We soon made friends with him, and found him gentle and pleasant voiced."¹¹ It is probable that he was the "Tom" referred to by Lieutenant Pratt in his 1879 report. When Pratt and his party visited Chief Chipco's camp at Cat Fish Lake it was Tom who negotiated with the whites, performed various feats of strength, and demonstrated great skill with bow and arrow. He was also one of the few Indians whom Pratt heard speak any English: "While in the village I [Pratt] overheard Tom ask my interpreter, 'Good whiskey Bartow?', the Interpreter informed him that the best whiskey was to be found at Fort Meade. These were the only English words I heard any of the Indians use, while in camp, though I had been told that both Chipco and Tom could speak some English."¹² Evidently Pratt, like Ober, was impressed with the physique of the Indian, finding that, "Tom and his son were models of erect and graceful carriage,

missioner; J. A. Duncan, United States Indian Inspector (a brother-in-law of President McKinley); and Mrs. Amelia S. Quinton, president of the Women's National Indian Association. At the state level it included F. A. Hendry, a speaker of the Florida House of Representatives; local legislators from Orange and Osceola counties such as Senator C. A. Carson; and J. R. Jarrott, head of the Florida East Coast Railroad and director of the Flagler interests in the state. The organization also had the endorsement of Governor W. H. Bloxham. *The Indian's Friend*, March 1899, 7-8; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union and Citizen*, June 12, 1899.

10. Minnie Moore-Willson, *The Seminoles of Florida* (New York, 1920), 148.

11. Fredrick A. Ober, "Ten Days with the Seminoles," *Appleton's Journal of Literature, Science, and Art*, XIV (July-August 1875), 142-44, 171-73.

12. Sturtevant, "R. H. Pratt's Report," 8.

strength, and endurance."¹³

When the Reverend Clay MacCauley surveyed the Florida Indians for the Smithsonian Institution in 1880-1881, "Tom Tiger" was one of his informants.¹⁴ The next mention of him comes in the report of Special Agent A. M. Willson in 1888. Willson had spent most of the preceding year trying to locate lands upon which to settle the Seminole, and contacting those whom he thought might take up claims. One of these was "Tom Tiger, a very prominent and Influential Indian, who upon our first visit had expressed a desire for a homestead and had also pledged us his influence in the matter."¹⁵ However, Tom Tiger would receive his widest publicity from the account of his appearance in court, accusing a white man of stealing his horse, which Minnie Moore-Willson described in her book.

The essence of Tom Tiger's complaint was that Harmon H. Hull had taken a horse from his camp near Fort Drum in Brevard County (now Okeechobee County), promising to return it in two months. Furthermore, the Indian claimed that Hull had apparently written a statement to this effect on a cartridge box, but a subsequent rain storm had soaked the box and rendered the writing illegible. The incident took place on or about December 26, 1897.¹⁶ After some months passed and the horse was not returned, Tiger demanded it or just payment for it. He then told the story to his friends James and Minnie Moore-Willson of Kissimmee. Willson informed Hull of the charges and asked that they meet in Kissimmee to settle the matter. Hull initially agreed to come, but later wrote and declined, claiming that he had a prior commitment. Moreover, he denied Tiger's charges: "I don't think there will be much use of my coming for the Indian claiming something against me that I don't owe, and I don't propose to pay something I don't owe. But if he still wants to show it just let him go and I will make him pay cost. I don't no [*sic*] which you are for but I can tell you I believe some white man has put him up to claim that and get me scared up

13. *Ibid.*

14. MacCauley, "Seminole Indians of Florida," 518.

15. *Senate Documents*, 50th Cong., 1st sess., no. 139, p. 8.

16. Tom Tiger to J. M. Willson, June 30, 1898, James M. Willson Collection, University of Miami Library, Coral Gables, Florida. Hereinafter cited as JMWC.

best that he can do. All the Indians in the South can't do that."¹⁷

Tiger delayed filing charges, and Willson spent the remainder of the summer of 1898 seeking legal and financial support to pursue the case. The Office of Indian Affairs in Washington was contacted for assistance, but the commissioner held that they had no legal right to intervene, "there being no authority of law for the employment of counsel." He suggested that, "if he cannot regain possession of his horse in any other way about the only thing for him or his friends to consider is the advisability of suing the white man before a Justice of the Peace. This can be better determined by persons conversant with the local conditions than by this office."¹⁸ With this denial of federal redress, Willson turned to others in Florida who supported Tiger's cause.

Dr. J. E. Brecht, the Indian agent working among the Seminole in the Fort Myers-Immokalee region, remained keenly interested. In June 1898 he informed Willson that he would also contact the Indian Office in Washington to see if he could act in the matter. His next letter, however, reflected the frustration that had marked most of his tenure: "[Just received] a letter from the Indian Office in reference to the mule transaction between Tom Tiger and Harmon Hull. You can see from the letter how utterly helpless I am and have been, to give these poor Indians ail necessary aid. No funds, no authority has been the case all along. The Indian Office is not at fault. Congress makes these strange rules, but I assure you that my heart is in this matter and I will do as I have often done before during the past almost eight years, put my hand in my pocket if necessary need help to prosecute Hull— if you think that my presence will aid, I will come to Kissimmee or where ever the suit must occur."¹⁹ In subsequent correspondence Brecht urged Willson to continue the case and offered his financial assistance in obtaining an attorney: "I know delays are dangerous. If you think best not to delay and think my presence would perhaps not aid much, and if \$15.00 will pay the expenses half way: [tell] R. H. Seymour to go ahead. I'll send ck as soon as I hear

17. H. H. Hull to Willson, May 29, 1898, JMWC.

18. Commissioner of Indian Affairs to Willson, June 18, 1898, JMWC.

19. J. E. Brecht to Willson, June 28, 1898, JMWC.

from you. I am sorry that I am so tied down."²⁰ By August, Brecht had raised his aid offer to \$20.00.

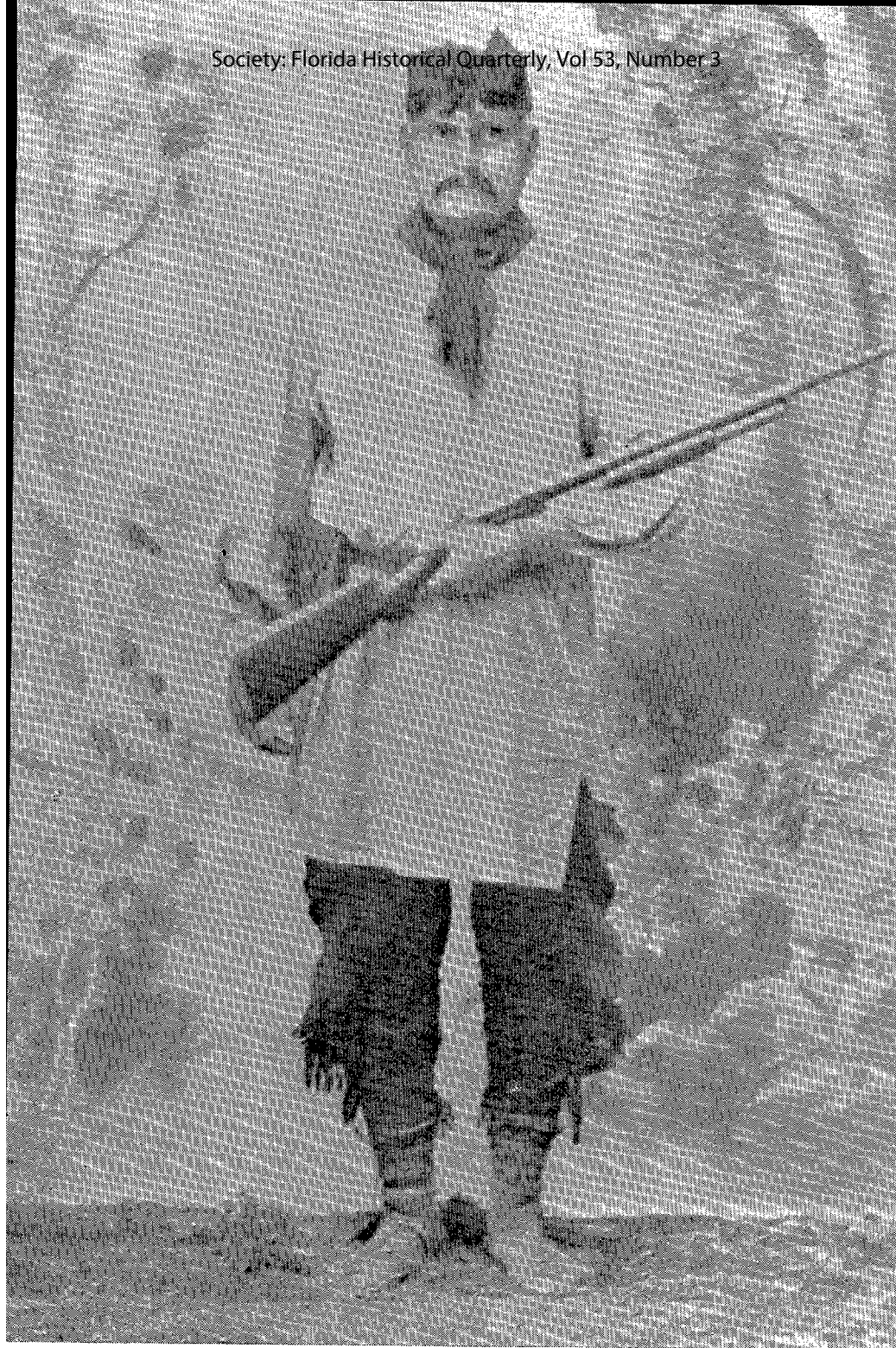
As Dr. Brecht had suggested, R. H. Seymour was engaged as counsel to pursue Tom Tiger's legal claim, and he began gathering evidence to present to the courts. Among those that he contacted were traders in Fort Pierce and Jupiter who knew Tom Tiger and could vouch for his character. These merchants also kept up a correspondence between Tom Tiger and his friend Jim Willson. Letters on the stationery of P. P. Cobb, James T. Gray, and R. A. Swearingen of Fort Pierce, and B. H. Doster of Jupiter attest to Tom's presence in their stores throughout the summer, and the willingness of the traders or someone at these sites to write for him.

Judging from the correspondence, things were not going well for Tiger during this period—perhaps due in part to the absence of his horse or the psychological uncertainties surrounding the whole situation. On one occasion he was greatly concerned about the health of his squaw and wanted Willson to consult a doctor; another time he complained that all the otters he captured had died. Finally, R. A. Swearingen wrote to Willson telling him of the somewhat desperate state that Tiger was in financially, and urging that something be done soon: "Tom is here on expenses, him and family, and it is getting hard to hold him. He's beginning to think white man lie *ojus*. He asked me to make letter. I told him Jimmie Willson [*sic*] inform good friend. Please write me at once if you think there is any prospect of Tom getting anything, let me know at once and advise me how to talk to him he is here without money. I have just helped him with money to get his wagon out of shop \$5.90. He sends his photos to your squaw and says they are fine *ojus*. I am going to send him off this morning to hunt and await your answer."²¹

There is no documentary evidence to determine specific actions taken by Willson and R. H. Seymour during the remainder of 1898, but one assumes that they spent time documenting their case to present to the authorities of Brevard County. With the formation of the Friends of the Florida Seminoles in Janu-

20. Brecht to Willson, June 8, 1898, JMWC.

21. R. A. Swearingen to Willson, September 6, 1898, JMWC.





"Hi-e-tee, Captain Tom Tiger, Ho-ti-ye, and 'Little Tiger.'" From *The Seminoles of Florida*.

ary 1899, they acquired the organizational and financial base needed to pursue the case with vigor. Ultimately the charge of "obtaining goods under false pretenses" was filed, and Hull was jailed in Titusville to await the April term of the circuit court.²²

The case of *The State v. Harmon H. Hull* came to trial in Titusville, April 28, 1899, with Judge M. S. Jones presiding.²³ The prosecution was handled by State's Attorney J. D. Beggs, assisted by R. H. Seymour whose fee was to be paid by the Friends of the Florida Seminoles. William H. Jewell of Orlando was Hull's attorney. The prosecution and defense presented their evidence and witnesses in the morning. After lunch, J. D. Beggs addressed the jury for over an hour, followed by Jewell. Seymour was ready to begin his summary when Judge Jones announced that "there was no case against Hull, and instructed the jury to bring in a verdict of acquittal."²⁴ According to a report in the *Kissimmee Valley Gazette*, "It was vital to the prosecution that the instrument in writing by which the fraud was committed should be proved to have been signed by the accused, and the two Indian witnesses, Tom Tiger and Billy Ham failed to testify satisfactorily to the actual signing in spite of the assistance of the interpreter, R. A. Swearngen [*sic*], who accompanied the Indians to Titusville."²⁵

Another version of the courtroom incident is provided by Minnie Moore-Willson, although her partisan and highly romanticized account must be taken at less than face value. She recalled: "Captain Tom Tiger, Seminole chieftain, was the first Florida Indian that ever stood up in a white man's court, making, as the spectators remarked, the most imposing picture they had ever witnessed. The tall, magnificent looking savage, with uplifted hand, took the oath on the holy Book, with a perfect understanding of its meaning. The case was prosecuted by the

22. Minutes of the Circuit Court of Brevard County, I, April 28, 1899, 471-72, Brevard County Courthouse, Titusville, Florida; *Titusville Indian River Advocate*, May 5, 1899.

23. Minutes of the Circuit Court of Brevard County, I, April 28, 1899, 471-72. The case was tried before a six-man jury.

24. *Titusville Indian River Advocate*, May 5, 1899; *Kissimmee Valley Gazette*, May 5, 1899. Actually court records show that the judge directed the jury to bring in a verdict of "not guilty" but gave no reason for the decision. Minutes of the Circuit Court of Brevard County, I, April 28, 1899, 472.

25. *Kissimmee Valley Gazette*, May 5, 1899.

Society, 'Friends of the Florida Seminoles,' and achieved notoriety for being the first case in Florida in which a Seminole sought the protection of the court. It was told that the State's Attorney made the most thrilling speech of his life as he pleaded for the barbarian of the swamp. The Indian never swerved under the strongest cross-examination, but told the story simply and direct. The status of the case was this: The white man was to return the horse at the end of two moons, binding the promise by writing. The argument was written on a cartridge box; a terrific rain storm came; the box was soaked in water, and the writing made illegible. Because Tom could not read, he could not make oath as to what was written on the box, the white man testifying he had bought the horse. On this simple technicality the case was lost and the white man escaped the penitentiary.²⁶

Whatever the cause for the dismissal of the case against Hull, there was apparently much sympathy for the Indian among those in the courtroom: "This feeling found practical expression in the raising of a fund after the acquittal to buy Tom Tiger another horse. The court officials and other prominent sympathizers contributed to the fund."²⁷ However, this gratuitous passing-of-the-hat, as well as promises by the Friends to make up the difference, did not allay the disappointment of the two Seminoles with the outcome of the trial. When Tom Tiger and his friend left for home the following day, Tom reportedly commented: "White man tell heap lies, and lawyer talkee, talkee to much— all time."²⁸ One minor consolation for the Indians was that Willson had arranged with the Florida East Coast Railroad to provide free transportation for them and the trader Swearingen to and from Titusville.

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26. Moore-Willson, *Seminoles of Florida*, 148-49. It should be noted that this source is held in low repute by some authorities on Seminole history and culture, most notably William Sturtevant who wrote: "It may be classified as an example of poor amateur ethnology. To sift the few useful facts from the mass of inaccuracies requires considerable knowledge of Seminole culture and of Seminole personalities, and the book is not to be recommended for any purpose." William C. Sturtevant, "Accomplishments and Opportunities in Florida Indian Ethnology" in Charles H. Fairbanks, ed., *Florida Anthropology* (Tallahassee, 1958), 21.
27. *Kissimmee Valley Gazette*, May 5, 1899.
28. Titusville *Indian River Advocate*, May 5, 1899. For related news stories on the case see *Kissimmee Valley Gazette*, April 21, June 16, 1899.

At a meeting of the Friends of the Florida Seminoles on June 13 a report on the society's role in the trial was given by Seymour, who acted also as a member of the society's executive committee and had donated his services except for expenses. Seymour's contribution was accepted with gratitude, and the books were closed on the affair except for those who had contributed to the fund being raised to buy Tiger a new horse. It is not known whether he ever received the animal.

It might reasonably be asked, what was the significance of this litigation in light of its rather inconclusive outcome? Primarily, it was a "showcase trial" which focused attention on the Seminole problem in Florida at a time when the national movement to secure Indian rights was coming into full play. This proved to be the opening round in what was to become a concerted campaign by the Friends of the Florida Seminoles to secure better treatment for Indians. The existence of this articulate, reasonably affluent, and politically viable group made possible an effective legislative lobbying campaign in Tallahassee, ultimately joined by national Indian rights organizations, to gain land and educational benefits for the Seminole. The society's support of Tom Tiger, although unsuccessful at the moment, did bring it statewide press coverage and drew new adherents to the movement in its early stage of development. In addition, the case singled out men such as James Willson who were cast as prominent spokesmen for the Florida Seminole cause.

From the Indian's point of view it must have been heartening to find that there were whites who would back their rhetoric with action. In a sense this signalled a turning point in the willingness of some Seminole people to seek legal redress of their grievances with whites in the courts. Following the appointment of a permanent Indian agent for the Seminole in 1913, an increasing number of cases involving Indians were brought before local magistrates, although the legal position of Indians in Florida remained in doubt even after the passage of federal legislation clarifying their citizenship status.²⁹ In that

29. Lucien A. Spencer was appointed special commissioner to the Seminole on March 1, 1913, and served in that capacity, except for brief service in World War I, until his death in 1930. For a brief survey of his work see *Senate Documents*, 71st Cong., 3rd sess., no. 314, pp. 65-72.

respect the Tom Tiger case did little or nothing to establish a legal precedent for an Indian bringing his case into court. Actually, the criminal charges against Hull were brought by the state's attorney on a complaint filed by Willson and Seymour in behalf of the Friends society. Although the Seminoles did appear as sworn witnesses— a precedent of sorts— they were not actually parties to the case. It is possible that Tom Tiger, because he was not legally a citizen of the state, was unable to bring suit on his own behalf in 1899.³⁰

As early as 1865 Florida had recognized the existence of a Seminole constituency within its borders when the legislature held: "That it shall be lawful for the citizens and Indians of this State to trade, traffic, bargain, or barter with each other at pleasure" and that "the Indians of this State shall have exclusive power to establish their own civil laws, and to govern and be governed by the same, and that their domestic rights and privileges shall not be subject to the laws of this State."³¹ In the Constitution of 1868, Article XVI established that: "The tribe of Indians located in the southern portion of the State, and known as the Seminole Indians, shall be entitled to one member in each House of the Legislature. Such member shall have the rights, privileges, and remuneration, as other members of the Legislature." Moreover, a subsequent section allowed that: "The Legislature may, at any time, impose such tax on the Indians as it may deem proper; and such imposition of tax shall constitute the Indian citizens, and thereafter be barred of special representation."³² Even though these provisions were never implemented it might be inferred that such recognition constituted at least a *de facto* if not a *de jure* determination to

30. Florida Constitution, 1885, Declaration of Rights, Section 4, held that: "All courts in this State shall be open, so that every person for any injury done him in his lands, goods, person or reputation shall have remedy, by due course of law, and right and justice shall be administered without sale, denial or delay." Broadly construed this could be taken to mean that the courts were open to all regardless of their citizenship status.

31. *Laws of Florida*, 1865, 46.

32. Florida Constitution, 1868, Article 16, Sections 7, 8; *Florida Statutes Annotated*, XXV, 465. For an account of how the "carpetbag" faction in Florida attempted to take advantage of this constitutional provision to insert one of their own men in the legislature see John Wallace, *Carpet-Bag Rule in Florida. The Inside Workings of the Reconstruction of Civil Government in Florida After the Close of the Civil War* (Jacksonville, 1888; facsimile edition, Gainesville, 1964), 271-72.

secure Indian rights under the laws of the state. Nevertheless, the Seminole were apparently never accorded the full protection of the laws and courts if the accounts of Pratt, Pierpont, and others were accurate, and there is no reason to call them into doubt.

In 1887, Congress enacted the Dawes Act which allotted lands and conferred citizenship to "every Indian born within the territorial limits of the United States to whom allotments shall have been made under the provisions of this act, or under any law or treaty, and every Indian born within the territorial limits of the United States who has voluntarily taken up . . . his residence separate and apart from any tribe of Indians therein, and has adopted the habits of civilized life."³³ Although this act would ultimately admit over half of the American Indians to citizenship, none of its provisions applied to the remnant Seminole group in Florida. Then, in 1924, the most comprehensive statement of Indian citizenship passed by the Congress mandated: "*Be it enacted . . .*, That all non-citizen Indians born within the territorial limits of the United States be, and they are hereby, declared to be citizens of the United States: *Provided*, That the granting of such citizenship shall not in any manner impair or otherwise effect the right of any Indian to tribal or other property."³⁴

Despite this rather clear-cut federal mandate of citizenship for Indians throughout the nation, Florida was slow in officially recognizing the new status of the Seminole. As late as 1930 an inquiry concerning Seminole citizenship by Roy Nash, who was conducting a survey of the Seminole for the United States Senate, received the following reply from Florida Attorney General Fred H. Davis: "The State of Florida has no court decision or statute that I am aware of which deals with the status of Indians as citizens of Florida, but I might state that the Seminole Indians have never been regarded in law as citizens of this State, although there are no court decisions to that effect."³⁵ A subsequent question by Nash as to the effect of the 1924 act of Congress as applied to the Seminole, brought a response based on the doctrine of states' rights: "I might be inclined to agree

33. U. S., *Statutes at Large*, 24, 388.

34. U. S., *Statutes at Large*, 43, I, 253.

35. *Senate Documents*, 71st Cong., 3rd sess., no. 314, p. 42.

with your contention that the Federal statute of June 2, 1924, has the effect of making Indians citizens of Florida as well as citizens of the United States. At the same time, no one having jurisdiction in the premises has raised such a question for my decision and therefore anything that I might say about it would be wholly unofficial at this time. I might state, however, that the United States Supreme Court has definitely held that Congress has no authority to pass laws prescribing the qualification of electors in the several States.³⁶ This issue of Seminole citizenship was not to be fully resolved at the state level until the 1961 legislature passed an act authorizing that: "The civil and criminal laws of Florida obtain on all Indian reservations in this state and shall be enforced in the same manner as elsewhere throughout the state."³⁷ Thus, Tom Tiger's day in court was only the prelude to a long struggle to secure full legal rights for the Seminole people in Florida.

As for Tom Tiger, he spent his last remaining years peacefully hunting, trapping, and raising hogs near his home in the Bluefield district north of Lake Okeechobee. One day shortly after the turn of the century Tom was working on a dugout canoe when he was killed by a lightning bolt during a storm. Rather than placing his body in a traditional log pen grave, his family used the overturned canoe as a burial vault and interred the body on the spot where he died. In 1907 the grave site was desecrated by an artifact gatherer who removed Tom Tiger's remains to an amusement park in Pennsylvania, and then attempted to sell them to the Smithsonian Institution. The Indian leaders of the Cow Creek band protested this action, threatening reprisals against local citizens if the remains were not returned.³⁸ Pressure was brought on the Pennsylvania operator by Florida officials, the Smithsonian Institution, and by the Friends of the Florida Seminoles through its secretary J. M. Willson, and the remains were eventually restored to their proper resting place. In death as in life Tom Tiger had once again provided a rallying point for the friends of his people.

36. *Ibid.*, 43.

37. *Laws of Florida*, 1961, I, pt. 1, 453.

38. For a full account of this incident see Harry A. Kersey, Jr., "The Seminole Uprising of 1907," *Florida Anthropologist*, 27 (June 1974), 49-58.

NEWNANSVILLE: A LOST FLORIDA SETTLEMENT

by SUSAN YELTON*

CREATED BY AN ACT of the Territorial Legislative Council on December 29, 1824, Alachua County comprised most of the territory known as "inland Florida," extending almost from the Georgia line to Charlotte Harbor. The development of this land had a long and colorful history. In the annals of Florida history one finds the name Newnansville identified as the county seat of Alachua County, a fort site during the Second Seminole War; and as a prosperous nineteenth-century settlement in one of the richest land belts in north-central Florida. This little town, located south of the Santa Fe River, helped pave the way for the growth of interior Florida, but the energies the community expended to attract settlement laid the seeds of its own destruction. Today Newnansville is nothing more than planted fields, whereas in the 1840s it was a bustling settlement.

Alachua County had its beginnings with the Indians and the Spanish. The Spanish did not stay long but left the name of a ranch, "Chua," to the county, Sante Fe to the river, and San Felasco to a fertile hammock in the area.¹ Unlike the Spanish, the Indians did not emigrate, when Florida became a territory of the United States and it was their presence which caused the

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1 . Charles W. Arnade, "Cattle Raising in Spanish Florida, 1513-1763," *Agricultural History*, XXXV (1961), 6-7; *Cattle Raising in Spanish Florida, 1513-1763* (St. Augustine, 1965), 5. William A. Read, in *Florida Place-Names of Indian Origin and Seminole Personal Names* (Baton Rouge, 1934), 1, states that "Alachua is thought to be a derivative of Sem.-Cr. luchuwa, 'jug,' a term originally applied by the Indians to a large chasm near the present site of Gainesville, the county seat." Other writers suggest that "chua is the Timucuan name for sink," and "that the name *Alachua* means sink-hole." J. Clarence Simpson, *A Provisional Gazetteer of Florida Place-Names of Indian Derivation Either Obsolete or Retained Together with Others of Recent Application*, edited by Mark F. Boyd (Tallahassee, 1956), 21. See also Allen Morris, *Florida Place Names* (Coral Gables, 1974).

white settlement to develop slowly. When James Dell and his two brothers visited Payne's Prairie, Alachua County, in 1821, the countryside was described as unsafe for "white people" to travel because of Indian hostilities.² As late as 1824 seventy Indians living in ten houses valued at \$100 made their home in San Felasco.³

But land-hungry people like James Dell were not to be kept away from the fertile acreage near the Santa Fe River. When the Treaty of Fort Moultrie was ratified by the Legislative Council on January 2, 1824, and the Indians were removed to a reservation south of present-day Ocala, the Territory started to bustle with traffic. Governor DuVal described inland Florida in 1824 as a wilderness "alive with travelers from all parts of the Union."⁴ Some traveled on cart roads, which were usually impassible in wet weather; others went by horseback along Indian paths and trails.

Near San Felasco Hammock and the Santa Fe River, at a point where the Bellamy Road crosses, a settlement began sometime before 1826 which would form the nucleus of what was to become Newnansville. Without census data the number of people who lived there cannot be determined, but there was a post office named "Dells." Postal records show that it was established January 7, 1826, and was one of nine post offices in Florida at that time. James Dell was postmaster, and he took in \$9.93 the first year and \$22.09 the next. The other post office in the county was at Wantons (Micanopy).⁵

Population growth remained low until the end of the Second Seminole War in 1842. Although the Indians were living south of Alachua County in 1826, there were continuing disturbances in the area. Hunger often drove the Seminoles outside the reservation in search of food, and sometimes hunting expeditions strayed across reservation lines. Apparently the situation became a crisis in the view of the settlers. On January 4, 1826,

2. Clarence Edwin Carter, *Territorial Papers of the United States*, 26 vols., *The Territory of Florida* (Washington, 1934-1962), XXIV, 781.

3. *Ibid.*, XXIII, 105.

4. F. W. Buchholz, *History of Alachua County, Florida, Narrative and Biographical* (St. Augustine, 1929), 59.

5. Richard J. Stanaback, "Postal Operations in Territorial Florida, 1821-1845," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, LII (October 1973), 159; *American State Papers*, Class VII, *Post Office Department*, 1: 180, 210.

sixty-three inhabitants signed a memorial to Congress complaining of Indian hostilities. A meeting was called on March 23, 1826, at the home of Colonel Samuel Piles to investigate the complaint. There was evidence to show that Indians had been seen in the watermelon and corn fields, but nothing more to substantiate any alleged depredations.⁶

The people who had signed the memorial were mostly farmers. Some owned slaves, but mainly it was a settlement of small farms. There were no large cotton plantations like those near Tallahassee and Monticello. In 1830 out of a total population of 413 in the section "near Courthouse and St. Afee river," 164 were Negroes. Nineteen of the fifty-one families held slaves and eight owned more than nine. Henry Bailey was the largest slaveholder with twenty-eight.⁷

Alachua County had no permanent county seat until 1828, when by an act of the Legislative Council on November 15, one was established: "at a place in said county usually called and known, as the courthouse head, eight miles southeast of the Natural Bridge on the Santafee river, and on United States road, known as Bellamys' road. . . . That said county site shall hereafter be called and known by the name of Newnansville."⁸ This is the earliest official record of the name of the town. On contemporary maps it is variously identified as Dell's Court House, Dell's Post Office, Alachua Court House, and Dells. The post office continued to be called Dells until May 1, 1837, when it appears on official records with Sylvian Ellis as postmaster of Newnansville.⁹ In 1832 Newnansville became part of the newly-

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6. *American State Papers*, Class II, *Indian Affairs*, 2: 685, 690, 694, 695, 696; Carter, *Territorial Papers*, XXIII, 500-01.
 7. Jacob Rhett Motte, *Journey Into Wilderness: An Army Surgeon's Account of Life in Camp and Field during the Creek and Seminole Wars, 1836-1838*, edited by James F. Sunderman (Gainesville, 1963), 90; Unpublished "population schedules" for the Territory of Florida, Fifth Census of the United States, 1830, schedule 19, microfilm roll 15, National Archives, Washington, D. C.
 8. John P. DuVal, ed., *Compilation of the Public Acts of the Legislative Council of the Territory of Florida, Passed Prior to 1840* (Tallahassee, 1839), 287.
 9. Captain John Mackay and Lieutenant J. E. Blake, "Map of East Florida, 1840," 1840 PKY 589; David H. Burr, "Map of Florida Exhibiting the Post Offices, Post Roads, Canals, Rail Roads, etc.," 1839 PKY 756, both in P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville; Jess G. Davis, *History of Alachua County* (Gainesville, 1960), 125.

created Columbia County. It was then the largest settlement in the area. More people were voting in the Newnansville district than in Micanopy, until that time the larger of the two settlements.¹⁰

Changing the county boundary did little to modify the character of Newnansville. It remained an agricultural community where settlement depended upon the removal of the threat of Indian attack. James Dell, a member of the Territorial Council in 1830, informed Governor DuVal that the presence of Indians constituted an annoyance to the white inhabitants, and he called for their removal beyond the Mississippi.¹¹

From 1832-1835, when Newnansville was part of Columbia County, it began to take on the character of a small village supported by outlying farms. The town was surveyed and platted by Michael Garrison, and lots sold in 100 by 200-foot parcels. In 1832 a dwelling house, kitchen, smoke house, and stable with fencing sold for \$200.¹²

A Methodist circuit rider who traveled through the wilderness on horseback conducted religious services from time to time. In 1828 Isaac Boring sometimes held service at Dell's meeting house, with only Dell and his wife present.¹³ Although preachers' lives were lonely and often dangerous, throughout the history of the Methodist circuit riders Newnansville is always mentioned as a place where they preached. Eventually the Methodists constructed a church in the community, on the brow of the hill east of the cemetery.

The Territorial Council by 1835 recognized Alachua County's growth and considered making more public lands available for settlement. Transportation was also a problem. Agricultural products raised in the area were "such as will not bear land transportation to any great extent, without serious injury to its quality and vastly diminishing its profits to the Grower."¹⁴ The Bellamy Road which passed through Newnansville, connecting St. Augustine and Tallahassee, was in a poor state of repair—

10. Carter, *Territorial Papers*, XXIV, 536.

11. *Ibid.*, XXIV, 361.

12. Alachua County Book of Records, Deeds of Lands Alone 1826-1848, aka Ancient Record 1826-1848, p. 162, Clerk's Office, Alachua County Courthouse, Gainesville, Florida. Hereinafter cited as CO:ACC.

13. John C. Ley, *Fifty-Two Years in Florida* (Nashville, 1899), 46.

14. Carter, *Territorial Papers*, XXV, 166.

particularly between Newnansville and the St. Johns River. Since the Newnansville farmers were purchasing supplies and carrying their trade to Black Creek, and some even going on to the St. Marys River, a good road was important.¹⁵

But dreams of expanding the Newnansville settlement were shortlived. Although \$7,000 had been appropriated to repair the road from Bayard on the St. Johns River to Newnansville, Indian hostilities put a stop to the work.¹⁶ By December 1835 the Second Seminole War had begun. The mail carrier in Alachua County reported that every dwelling had been "abandoned by the inhabitants on the roads leading from Black Creek to Newnansville, and to Micanopy, also from Newnansville to Aligator, and from Picolata and Palatka to Micanopy."¹⁷ Newnansville residents and those who came there for refuge became alarmed, and the 240 women and children present built entrenchments for their defense. The courthouse was converted into a fort and the jail into a blockhouse.¹⁸ Lieutenant Colonel William J. Mills of the Florida Militia reported to the commander of the post at Jacksonville on December 12, 1835, that the force at Newnansville comprised the 4th Regiment, Companies A, B, C, and H, and the 6th Regiment, a total of 259 field and staff men.¹⁹ Throughout the countryside the men built pickets or stockades, drawing rations for their work from the United States government. Many others joined the Militia.

Newnansville became a hub of security for families in the area. The influx of population drastically changed the character of the community. Before the war it had a single block house and one tavern, but by 1837 there were two hotels, a fortification named Fort Gilliland, many shops, and dwellings so numerous that an army captain said he could scarcely find his way through the "labyrinth of streets and lanes," laid out without any uniformity. Outside the fortified area most fields were abandoned in fear of Indian raids.²⁰ Many of the houses

15. *Ibid.*, XXIII, 616.

16. John Lee Williams, *The Territory of Florida* (New York, 1837; facsimile edition, Gainesville, 1962), 144.

17. *Jacksonville Courier*, December 24, 1835.

18. *Ibid.*; W. W. Smith, *Sketch of the Seminole War, and Sketches During a Campaign* (Charleston, 1836), 15-16.

19. *Jacksonville Courier*, December 24, 1835.

20. Motte, *Journey*, 89-90.

built for the refugees were little more than sheds constructed of slab boards enclosing a twelve-foot area. In some buildings several families— as many as four or five— lived, each occupying a corner of the room. Many Newnansville families took in boarders or welcomed family and friends.²¹ Some 300 people, including children, were forced to live in tents pitched around the fort. According to reports there was much hardship, particularly for the women and children. During the summer of 1836 “of the 118 men stationed at Ft. Gilliland, 43 were affected with chills and fever. The measles had also been raging among women and children.”²²

At Black Creek conditions were even worse. One observer noted that “the people of Alachua, who sought that place for security, and are encamped on both sides of the creek for some distance are suffering greatly from sickness. . . . The measles and the whooping cough still prevail among them.” All manner of persons were “houseless, homeless, lying on the ground, exposed to the noonday heat, the damps and the dews of the night, storms of heaven, destitute of everything, sick and dying.”²³

Territorial Governor Richard Keith Call was not without concern. In April 1836, writing to Washington, he told how many people in Alachua County had been forced to abandon their homes and the means of sustaining themselves. They had sought protection in the forts and were dependent upon government subsidies. “In this state of things I beg leave to recommend that the women and children should be removed to some place where they can be more conveniently subsisted than the little forts on the frontier. When this is done then the men will more willingly engage in the service.”²⁴ Francis R. Sanchez, a Newnansville planter, did not think this was the answer to the matter of protection; he recommended more federal troops. Settlers, he said, were already leaving the countryside for a safer place to live.²⁵

Newnansville experienced its first major encounter with the

21. *Ibid.*, 91.

22. *Niles' Weekly Register*, July 2, 1836.

23. *Ibid.*, September 24, 1836.

24. Carter, *Territorial Papers*, XXV, 280-81.

25. *Ibid.*, XXV, 282.

Indians in mid-September 1836. Charles Dell reported that he had observed Indians lurking in the woods in the vicinity of the fort: "It seems that they have made their headquarters at San Felasco (col. [Francis R.] Sanchez's plantation) only four miles from Newnansville, and collecting cattle, penned them there for a night, and then drove them off towards Hogtown prairie." On one occasion the Indians came within 150 yards of the fort, and stripping a slip of bark from a tree, made some marks on it. It was thought that the scratches indicated that there might be as many as 150 Indians present in the area. Dell feared that if assistance did not come soon the Indians would overrun Florida.²⁶

Dell's opinion was shared by many others. In mid-1836 Fort Gilliland was the last remaining post occupied by troops between Black Creek and the Suwannee River. To protect and provision the fort, Major B. K. Pierce and 100 mounted regulars left St. Augustine on August 31, 1836. Apparently Pierce reached Newnansville on the evening of September 7, with subsistence for two months, one howitzer, 140 rounds of ammunition, canister shot and shells, and 10,000 musket ball cartridges.²⁷

Pierce had arrived none too soon. Accounts vary, but it was either September 10 or September 17, 1836, that "a cart belonging to John Standley and attended by three white men and two negroes was sent from Newnansville to gather corn in a field about a mile from the village" when they were fired upon by Indians. The men escaped to the fort, but the cart was captured and set afire. The soldiers pursued the Indians some distance to the plantation of Colonel Sanchez in San Felasco Hammock, but before they could attack a heavy rain came up and the men returned to the fort. That night spies were sent out to assess the situation, and they reported an Indian force of around 300.

The next morning Colonel John Warren of the Florida Militia with 150 men, 100 mounted volunteers, twenty-five gentlemen citizens, and twenty-five regulars advanced in three columns within three-fourths of a mile of San Felasco Hammock

26. *Niles' Weekly Register*, September 24, 1836.

27. *Ibid.*, October 1, 1836. John K. Mahon has written that Pierce left St. Augustine on August 15 and reached Newnansville on October 1. John K. Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War, 1835-1842* (Gainesville, 1967), 177, 180.

where an encounter took place. The Indians charged several times in an attempt to take the howitzer, but were repelled and driven into a dense hammock. The engagement lasted one and one-half hours, the first part of which "the firing was heavy along the whole line." Casualties were few. Private Jerry Burnett was killed, and five were listed as wounded. The number of Indians killed could not be assessed; many fell and were carried off by other warriors.²⁸

On September 11, 1,200 Tennessee volunteers reached Tallahassee. The following day Governor Call led them out to relieve the frontier refugees.²⁹ With provisions and the protection of the military it was believed the refugees could probably hold out. News from the surrounding countryside was brought in by R. H. Howren, the circuit rider, who continued to visit the frontier settlements. He ministered to the needs of both the soldiers and civilians in Newnansville. Once, during a service, a large band of warriors, believed to number about seventy-five, approached, but then withdrew. The Reverend Howren thought the stir of the people had alarmed the Indians. On another occasion, during a night service, the Seminoles climbed up into the pine trees around the house where the crowd had gathered, but someone discovered them, and the people were able to run into the building.³⁰

Captain James Motte, an army physician, was stationed at Newnansville during the spring of 1837, and he reported on conditions there. He noted that there were nightly dances with many couples attending. He was amused by the original style of dancing. The dance step, which was given the name "double trouble," involved moving both feet without lifting them from the floor, in such a manner as to keep time to the music.

The townspeople sometimes invited the officers to dinners and picnics. Motte writes: "At the hour stated on the notes of invitation we presented ourselves at one of the rival hotels, the scene of operations upon this festive occasion. We found a long arbour erected in the yard, back of the house, and an equally long table extending under it with all the appliances of the feast. . . . All the inhabitants of the country, men, women, and

28. Williams, *Territory*, 255; *Niles' Weekly Register*, October 22, 1836.

29. Mahon, *History*, 179.

30. Ley, *Fifty-Two Years*, 55.

children, were present. The ladies dined first; the children next; and after them upon the remnants of the feast the gentlemen and invited guests. This order being observed apparently, for want of a better reason, that the gentlemen might not be interrupted in the patriotic duty of drinking toasts."³¹

Motte grew fond of Newnansville while he was there even though it lacked the genteel ways of his home, Charleston. St. Augustine also held an appeal for Motte, and it was less of an outpost and frontier settlement. Dancing in particular was much more formal and graceful there than Newnansville's jerky "double trouble."

In the spring of 1837, Major James A. Ashby of the 2nd Dragoons joined Major Thomas T. Fauntleroy and his forces at Newnansville, and Motte noted that afterwards there was even more frolic. There was "ball and double shuffle without end; the ladies very amiable and duty in the camp not very irksome." While Fauntleroy was at Newnansville he described the area which he and his men patrolled. The land was high and undulating, well suited for farming. There were pines, oaks, hickory, and sweet gum growing in great abundance. The farms, when they were cultivated, harvested Indian corn, sugar cane, cotton, and "all the excellent roots."³²

An act of the Legislative Council on February 25, 1839, made Newnansville again the county seat of Alachua County. The community was legally incorporated the same day. Although the trouble with the Indians continued to plague the settlers, they looked forward to the future with optimism. In 1839 Congress was petitioned to establish a land office at Newnansville so that the public lands could be bought and recorded at a place more convenient than St. Augustine. In 1842 the land office was established, about the same time that settlers began to take advantage of the provisions of the Armed Occupation Act.

On August 25, 1842, instructions were received authorizing the issuance of permits, each for 160 acres in the area ten miles

31. Motte, *Journey*, 92.

32. *Ibid.*, 93; W. F. Fauntleroy, "Memoir: Fort Gilliland, February 18, 1839," map with annotations, Record Group 77, L. 247-57, National Archives, Washington, D. C. Although the "Memoir" is signed "W. F. Fauntleroy," there presumably was only one Fauntleroy—Thomas T.—at Newnansville.

south of Newnansville. Settlers came in large numbers; 947 permits for 151,520 acres were recorded at Newnansville, as compared with 336 permits issued by the land office at St. Augustine.³³ Most of the Newnansville permits were for land in present-day southeast Alachua County, and approximately one-third were near Fort King and Ocala.

Newnansville's population increased steadily. The town was bustling in the 1840s, and there was much dealing in real estate. In one instance, a lot with buildings and furniture, including a billiard table, sold for \$250.³⁴ Town lots varied in price between \$20.00 and \$100. The six-room Goodrich House, probably used as a hotel, sold for \$2,000.³⁵ An inventory of George F. Olmsted's property in January 10, 1842, listed a pitcher and bowl at \$1.00; two flat irons, \$1.00; feather bed, bolster, and three pillows, \$25.00; two bedsteads, \$12.00 each; mahogany sideboard, \$50.00; rocking chair, \$3.00; double-barrel gun, \$20.00; and a house, outbuildings, and nearly forty acres of land, \$250.³⁶

Many of the first settlers—Dells, Knights, the Sanchez family, Burnetts—continued to live in Newnansville after the Seminole War. The county commission in 1846, presided over by Charles Dell, turned its attention to opening new roads and repairing the old, and providing for the county court. The courthouse building was no longer adequate, and on February 7, 1847, it was decided that it should be remodeled so that it would be suitable for holding superior court. Two jury rooms were also added. The total cost was \$150.³⁷

The following year a new jail was built by B. M. Dell for \$400.³⁸ The commission's notes of May 1, 1848, authorized a structure "of hewed logs dovetailed together, double-pinned one pin inside. . . . That all the logs shall be square. That the jail shall be sixteen feet clear on the inside, that there shall be a trap door in the loft. . . . That there shall be a door in the gable end above the logs. . . . That there shall be two windows, or air holes eighteen by twenty-four inches square secured by a double

33. Carter, *Territorial Papers*, XXVI, 527-33; XXVI, 729.

34. Alachua County Book of Records, September 18, 1840, p. 346, CO:ACC.

35. *Ibid.*, November 24, 1844, 207.

36. Inventory and Orders, 1841, pp. 9-10, County Judge's Office, Alachua County Courthouse.

37. County Commission Records, p. 6, CO:ACC.

38. *Ibid.*, 19, 44.

set of large iron bars crossing each other. That the doors shall be fixed with strong hinges and locks and a ladder for the trap door. That there shall be a sink or hole for a spring inside secured as well as possible."³⁹

On February 4, 1850, Samuel W. Burnett received a contract to construct a new courthouse using a plan similar to the one in Columbia County. Burnett was given nine months to complete the job. When the building was ready, Samuel Russell removed the old courthouse. The commission agreed that there would be no dancing in the new building.⁴⁰

By the early 1850s population began to increase all over Alachua County. Settlers from Georgia and the Carolinas were attracted by the availability of farmland that was suited to the growing of cotton, corn, and vegetable crops. When the Florida Railroad Company announced its intention to build a road from Fernandina to Cedar Key and published a projected plan of the route, it revealed that the line would pass through Alachua County but several miles due south from Newnansville. This helped spur the move to relocate Alachua's county seat. The legislature authorized this in a bill approved December 28, 1852. Madison Starke Perry, who was elected governor in 1856, owned a plantation at Rochelle in southern Alachua County, and Gabriel Priest, senator of the fifteenth senatorial district, lived in Waccohoota. They were likely active in the relocation move. The 1854 election returns showed that southern Alachua County had more votes than the Newnansville area.⁴¹ The records do not show what exactly transpired when the citizens voted at Boulware Springs in accordance with the 1852 act. On September 6, 1854, the Alachua County commission announced that it had secured a site for a new courthouse and that the place would be named Gainesville.⁴² On July 6, 1857, the county commission ordered that the courthouse at Newnansville be sold at public auction. It was utilized for several years as a Masonic Temple.

Although considerable farming continued around Newnansville, its population began to move, mainly to Gainesville. By 1883 when Carl Webber wrote his *Eden of the South*, he noted

39. *Ibid.*, 19.

40. *Ibid.*, 62.

41. *Ibid.*, 65.

42. *Ibid.*, 63.

that Newnansville had become "so isolated from other portions of the county but few inhabitants of Alachua County have ever visited or even know of its many attractive features."⁴³ Although Senator John Boston Dell owned 2,000 acres southeast of Newnansville, he was living in Gainesville in the 1880s. The Gainesville mayor, Samuel J. Burnett, was the son of Samuel Burnett who had built the Newnansville courthouse.⁴⁴

Not everyone deserted Newnansville. Several of the Dells continued to live there. Webber described their family farm as being like a New England scene, "beautiful hammocks, hilly and fertile, flourishing in the cultivated portions with waving corn, bordered with grassy hillside and plains. . . ." John K. Stevens, Edward Hodges, and R. L. Cathcart also operated large farms.⁴⁵

The average annual cotton sale in Newnansville was 600-700 bags. A. B. Edgell, who moved into Newnansville in 1876, handled most of it. There was a cotton gin in Newnansville, but it was not in operation, and the cotton was usually shipped to Gainesville and Lake City for processing.⁴⁶

In 1883 the streets of Newnansville, shaded by China trees, were described as being laid out in a regular pattern. There were many water oaks, and fruit trees grew in the gardens. There was one hotel managed by P. F. Olmstead and a number of shops. A. R. Edgell sold general merchandise in addition to his cotton operations. W. H. Geiger and J. H. Love owned drug stores, and Herman Levy and E. K. Fagan sold general goods. Dr. Williams, the oldest physician in town, was said to have "a perfect knowledge of the best treatments for diseases peculiar to the county." He also owned one of the largest and most beautiful orange and peach groves in the area. Dr. Cloud also practiced medicine.⁴⁷

Webber prophesied in 1883 that Newnansville would soon become a town reborn; the Live Oak, Tampa and Charlotte

43. Carl [Charles Henry] Webber, *The Eden of the South, Descriptive of the Orange Groves, Vegetable Farms, Strawberry Fields, Peach Orchards, Soil, Climate, Natural Peculiarities, and the People of Alachua County, Florida* (New York, 1883), 66.

44. *Ibid.*, 68; Charles Halsey Hildreth, "A History of Gainesville, Florida" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Florida, 1954), 108.

45. Webber, *Eden*, 68-69.

46. *Ibid.*, 68.

47. *Ibid.*, 68-69.

Harbor Railroad was scheduled to connect with the Florida Southern Railroad from Gainesville to Newnansville. The railroad was built, but it passed about a mile south of Newnansville, and even more population shifted to the rail terminal. On April 30, 1887, the post office closed at Newnansville and was re-established at Alachua. Where the Methodist church once stood there is now only the remains of a cemetery. All the buildings have been razed, and it is only with difficulty that one can ascertain where streets were located. The Bellamy Road is no longer passable through Newnansville. A wooden gate crosses the road and warns "no trespassing." Newnansville has vanished like the frontier of which it was once a part.

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 1974 are included. Research in Florida history, sociology, anthropology, political science, archeology, geography, and urban studies is included.

Carnegie-Mellon University

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

Daytona Beach Community College

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

Emory University

Elliott Mackle— “Utopian Colonies in Florida, 1894-1921” (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Florida Atlantic University

John J. Bertalan— “Recreation as an Issue of Urban Public Policy in Twelve South Florida Municipalities” (M.A. thesis— completed).

Dennis M. Callan— “Intralegislative Communications in a Newly Emergent Two-Party System: The Case of Education and the Florida House of Representatives, 1967” (M.A. thesis— completed).

Donald W. Curl (faculty)— “History of Palm Beach County” (continuing study).

Noreen S. Davis— “Intragovernmental and Intergovernmental Aspects of Water Pollution Control in Broward County, Florida” (M.A. thesis— completed).

Burt T. Goodnough— “The 1948 Presidential Election in the State of Florida” (M.A. thesis— completed).

- Keith E. Hamm– “Intergovernmental Relations as seen by Florida State Legislators: Land Use and Water Resource Problems” (M.A. thesis– completed).
- Harry A. Kersey, Jr. (faculty)– “Pelts, Plumes, and Hides” (accepted for publication, University Presses of Florida).
- Patricia Kixmiller– “Anastasia Island: A Case Study in Environmental Perception and Changing Land Use” (M.A. thesis– completed).
- Claire Mitchel– “Equity and Efficiency in Health Care Delivery Services in Broward and Dade Counties” (M.A. thesis– completed).
- Edgar L. Money– “The Civil Public Service Program in Florida During World War II” (M.A. thesis in progress).
- Sharyn Van Horn– “The Sensible Space in a Privately Owned Housing Project [in Fort Lauderdale]” (M.A. thesis– completed).

Florida State University

- William R. Brueckheimer (faculty)– “Origin, Distribution, Development and Future of Quail Hunting Plantations in the Thomasville– Tallahassee Region” (continuing study).
- Ted Corbett (faculty)– “Migration to a Spanish Imperial Frontier in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: St. Augustine” (research completed); “Social Significance of Widows in St. Augustine and Family Unit in St. Augustine: 1650-1763” (continuing study).
- James W. Cortada– “U.S.-Spanish Relations, 1770-1974”; “Politics and Cuba, 1880s” (continuing studies).
- Kathleen A. Deagan (faculty)– “Excavation of the Acosta House in St. Augustine– Site of an 18th Century Minorcan Home”; “Excavation of Auero House in St. Augustine; Architecture and the Criollo Material Culture from 1702 to 1763” (continuing studies).
- Michael J. Durney– “Tallahassee Testimonial 1905” (M.A. thesis– completed).
- Marylyn Mitsuo Feaver– “Homesteads of 1866-1876, Land Acquisition, Retention, and Alienation in Florida, 1866-1970” (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

- Marvin Frazier– “Slavery in Jefferson County” (M.A. thesis in progress).
- 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 L. Hall (faculty)– “Black Churches in Florida: The Early Twentieth Century” (continuing study).
- Dororena Harris– “Abolitionist Sentiment in Florida” (M.A. thesis in progress).
- Brian Hennessy– “The Racial Integration of Urban Police Forces in Florida” (M.A. thesis in progress).
- M. Edward Hughes– “Florida and the Election of 1928” (Ph.D. dissertation– completed).
- Jesse J. Jackson– “Republicans and Florida Elections and Election Cases, 1877-1891” (Ph.D. dissertation– completed).
- M. K. Jones– “Survey of Upper Sweetwaker Creek Drainage” (M.A. thesis– completed).
- William Kerr– “The 1928 Presidential Election and the Catholic Issue in Florida” (M.A. thesis– completed).
- Edward F. Kuechel (faculty)– “The German-American Lumber Company” (continuing study).
- Louis Lesar (National Park Service)– “Archeological Survey from Panama City, Florida, to Mobile, Alabama” (continuing study).
- Kathleen Lyons– “Walkout: A History of the 1968 Florida Teachers’ Strike” (M.A. thesis– completed).
- Sharon T. Meredith– “Social Life in St. Augustine in the 1850s” (M.A. thesis in progress).
- Barbara E. Miller– “Yellow Fever in Territorial Florida” (M.A. thesis in progress).
- Janice B. Miller– “Spanish East Florida under Governor Juan Nepomuceno de Quesada, 1789-1795” (Ph.D. dissertation– completed).
- Dan Morse and Robert Dailey (faculty)– “The Incidence of Disease and Abnormalities among the Prehistoric Indians from the Sowell Mound Area, Bay County, Florida, as

- Determined by the Examination of their Skeletal Remains" (research completed).
- Terrance H. Nolan— "A History of Fort Clinch" (continuing study).
- J. Anthony Paredes (faculty)— "The Modern History and Contemporary Life of the Eastern Creeks" (continuing oral history study); "An Ethnohistorical Investigation of the Culture and Political Organization of the Creek Indians from 1726 to 1832" (continuing study).
- Everett Rains— "Race Relations in Florida, 1865-1910" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- Michael G. Schene— "The Gamble Family of Middle Florida" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress); "History of Volusia County" (continuing study).
- Hale G. Smith (faculty)— "An Archeological Survey of Gulf Islands National Seashore" (research completed); "Archeological Investigations at Fort Matanzas to Locate Historical Features, Particularly the Watch Tower"; "The First Christmas in the United States" (continuing studies).
- Fay Ann Sullivan— "Frontier Georgia, 1754-1775" (M.A. thesis in progress).
- Mary E. Thomas (faculty)— "The C.S.S. *Tallahassee*, A Factor in Anglo-American Relations, 1864-1866" (research completed); "Great Britain and the Emigration of Freed Slaves from the United States to the West Indies" (continuing study).
- Frank A. Unger— "Some Aspects of Land Acquisition and Settlement in Territorial Florida: The St. Joseph Community" (M.A. thesis— completed).
- Burke G. Vanderhill (faculty)— "Problems of Traffic Generation on the Apalachicola-Chattoochee-Flint Waterway"; "The Alachua Trail"; "Florida's Fountains of Youth" (continuing studies).
- Linda K. Williams— "British Loyalism in East Florida" (M.A. thesis in progress).
- Roland G. Wood (faculty)— "Applications of Remote Sensing to Coastal Archeological Research" (continuing study).
- J. Leitch Wright, Jr. (faculty)— "Florida During the American Revolution" (accepted for publication, University Presses

of Florida); "Britain and the American Frontier, 1783-1815" (accepted for publication, University of Georgia Press); "Southern Black Loyalists"; "British St. Augustine" (continuing studies).

Florida Technological University

John L. Evans (faculty)- "The Settlement of Masaryktown" (continuing study).

Martha Reichold- "Local Growth Policy and Referenda: The Case of New Smyrna Beach" (continuing study).

Jerrell H. Shofner (faculty)- "History of Jefferson County"; "Negro Land Tenure in Post-Civil War Fernandina" (continuing studies).

Melissa Storey- "The Relationship of Orange County Development Policy to County Planning Department Priorities" (continuing study).

Woodrow Storey- "Extension of Federal and State Welfare Aid and Guarantees to Migrant Farmworkers in Central Florida" (continuing study).

Paul W. Wehr (faculty)- "History of Orange County"; "Slavia and the Winter Vegetable Industry" (continuing studies).

Marilyn Whisler- "Reactions of Local Officials to Growth Policy Alternatives" (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)- "Relative Merits of Consolidation versus Decentralization in City of Jacksonville" (continuing study).

Lynn Mason- "Elementary School Teaching Kits on Jacksonville History" (continuing study).

Princeton University

Arnold M. Pavlovsky- " 'We Busted Because We Failed':

Florida Politics, 1880-1908" (Ph.D. dissertation— completed).

Samford University

Wayne Flynt (faculty)— "The Messiah of the Woolly Hats: Governor Sidney J. Catts of Florida" (research completed).

Stetson University

Betty Jo Wroblewski— "The Writings of C. Vann Woodward on the Negro in the New South" (M.A. thesis— completed).

Troy State University

J. Barton Starr (faculty)— "Tories, Dons, and Rebels: The American Revolution in British West Florida, 1775-1783" (accepted for publication, University Presses of Florida); "The Case and Petition of His Majesty's Loyal Subjects, Late of West Florida" (accepted for publication, *Alabama Review*); "Documentary History of British West Florida"; "How to Catch a Bear" and "Slave Trading in Jamaica" — translated and edited from *Philipp Waldeck's Diary*; "Loyalists of British West Florida" (continuing studies).

University of Alabama in Birmingham

Jack D. L. Holmes (faculty)— "La Marcha de Gálvez: Louisiana's Giant Step Forward in the American Revolution" (research completed); "Pensacola Settlers, 1780-1821"; "Mobile Settlers"; "Bernardo de Gálvez and the American Revolution in West Florida"; "Biography of Juan de la Villebeuvre" (continuing studies).

Larry Ross McIntosh— "The Black Watch Regiment (42nd Highlanders) in the French and Indian War and the American Revolution" (M.A. thesis in progress); "Pictorial History of Uniforms Worn at the Pensacola Campaign of 1781" (continuing study).

David H. White (faculty)— "Panton, Leslie, and Company— John Forbes and Company"; "Vicente Folch y Juan, Governor in West Florida, 1785-1816" (continuing study).

University of Florida

- Edward Akin— “Origins, Development, and Impact of the Flagler System, 1885-1913” (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- Elizabeth Alexander (project director), Bruce Chappell, Christine Galbraith, Dan Ross (graduate research assistants)— “Calendar of the Spanish Holdings of the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History” (continuing study).
- Charles Benson and William Faherty (faculty)— “Moonport: The History of Apollo’s Launch Facilities and Operations” (NASA contract 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— completed).
- Harvey Robert Chabot— “Photographer’s Ethics in Ten Photojournalism Situations as Judged by Three Types of Florida Daily Newspaper News Managers” (M.A. thesis— completed).
- William C. Childers (faculty)— “Garth Wilkinson and Robertson James: Abolitionists in Gainesville During Reconstruction” (continuing study)..
- David R. Colburn and Richard Scher (faculty)— “Florida Gubernatorial Politics in the Twentieth Century” (continuing study).
- Caroline Johnson Comnenos— “Florida’s Sponge Industry: A Cultural and Economic Study” (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- John Alden Cross— “Land Reclamation Possibilities for the Hard-Rock Phosphate District of Florida” (M.A. thesis— completed).
- Stephen Cumbaa— “Spanish Colonial Subsistence: A Comparative Study of Select Circum-Caribbean Archeological Sites” (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- Kathleen A. Deagan— “Sex, Status and Role in the *Mestizaje* of Spanish Colonial Florida” (Ph.D. dissertation— completed).
- Charles H. Fairbanks (faculty)— “Archeological Investigations of St. Augustine” (continuing study).

- Charles H. Fairbanks and Jerald T. Milanich (faculty)– “Prehistoric Peoples of Florida” (continuing study).
- Michael V. Gannon (faculty)– “Documentary History of Florida, Volume I: The Colonial Period, 1513-1821” (continuing study).
- E. Ashby Hammond (faculty)– “Biographical Register of Florida Medical Practitioners, 1821-1861” (continuing study).
- John Paul Jones (faculty)– “Florida Press Association” (continuing study).
- Stephen Kerber– “Park Trammell of Florida” (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- Tom King– “The Florida Seminoles in the Twentieth Century” (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- Timothy A. Kohler– “Archeology of the Weeden Island Culture in Western Peninsular Florida” (M.A. thesis in progress).
- Dick R. Laird– “The Northern Fringe of Rural Retirement Subdivisions within Peninsular Florida” (Ph.D. dissertation– completed).
- Judith A. McMurray– “The Definition of the Ceramic Complex at San Juan del Puerto” (M.A. thesis– completed).
- Robert B. Marcus (faculty)– “Geography of Florida” (research completed for textbook and continuing study).
- Jerald T. Milanich (faculty)– “Cultural Ecology of the Calusa Indians in Southwest Florida” (continuing study).
- Jerald T. Milanich (faculty) and William C. Sturtevant (Smithsonian Institution)– “The Jesus Maria Letter: A 17th Century Timucua-Spanish Document from North Florida” (continuing study).
- Ralph L. Peek (faculty)– “Florida in World War II” (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– completed).

- Byron John St. Dizier— “Confidential News Sources and the Florida Newspaper Reporter” (M.A. thesis— completed).
Amy Bushnell-Seitz— “Social History of St. Augustine in the Spanish Period” (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
James Russell Stanton— “A Study of Public Relations in the Miami Land Boom of the 1920s” (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).
Linda Vance— “May Mann Jennings: Florida’s Genteel Activist” (M.A. thesis in progress).
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— completed).
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: Progressive Educator, 1892-1922”; “100 Years of State Leadership in Public Education, 1876-1976” (continuing studies); “Changing Patterns of State Leadership and Florida’s Crisis in Public Education: 1948-1973” (accepted for publication, University Presses of Florida).
James Flaxington Whitman— “The Role of Broadcasting in the Information Functions of Selected State and Private Institutions in Florida” (M.A. thesis— completed).

University of Miami

- Thomas Minton— “The Florida Feather Trade” (M.A. thesis in progress).
Charlton W. Tebeau (emeritus professor)— “History of the University of Miami” (continuing study).

University of North Florida

- Dan Schafer (faculty)— “Biography of Eartha White of Jacksonville” (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

Charles Arnade (faculty)— “East and West Florida During the Revolutionary War”; “Cultural Influence of Spanish Florida on Contemporary Florida” (continuing studies).

Charles Arnade and Eugene Lyon (faculty)— “Chart of Spanish Archival Material Inside and Outside Florida” (continuing study).

Joan Greenacre— “Tampa on the Eve of the Spanish-American War” (M.A. thesis in progress).

H. Harry Kim (faculty)— “Tourism and Energy Conservation Policy in Florida” (continuing study).

Martin M. LaGodna (faculty)— “The Kansas-Florida-Ohio Triangle: Launching the National People’s Party, 1890-1891”; “The Great Government Grab: Tom Adams and the Agricultural Services Committee, 1957-1960” (continuing studies).

Mary Leffler— “Historical Geography of Cedar Key” (M.A. thesis in progress).

T. J. Northcutt, Jr., and H. Shiloh (faculty)— “Carcinogenic Potentialities of Florida Industries” (continuing study).

A. Shiloh (faculty)— “The St. Petersburg Jewish Community: A Demographic and Attitudinal Study” (continuing study).

John Stafford (faculty)— “Historical Geography of Tampa” (continuing study).

Dana Todsen— “A Geographic Analysis of Infant Mortality Rates by Selected Census Tracts in Hillsborough County, Florida” (M.A. thesis in progress).

J. Raymond Williams and Curtis Wienker (faculty)— “Excavation and Analysis of Skeletal Material from Sand Mounds in Martin County” (continuing study).

University of West Florida

William S. Coker (faculty)– “The Papers of Panton, Leslie, and Company” (continuing study).

Lucius Ellsworth (faculty)– “The Lumber Industry in Northwest Florida” (continuing study).

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

James R. McGovern (faculty) and Norman Simons– “Pensacola in Pictures and Prints” (research completed).

George F. Pearce (faculty)– “The United States Navy in Pensacola” (continuing study).

University of Wyoming

Thomas C. Kennedy (faculty)– “Panton, Leslie, and Company: An Agency of Commercial Diplomacy in the Floridas and Lower Mississippi Valley, 1780s-1810s” (continuing study).

Wilmington College (Manor Branch, New Castle, Delaware)

Ernest F. Dibble (faculty)– “Antebellum Pensacola” (research completed).

BOOK REVIEWS

The Everglades: From Yesterday to Tomorrow. By Wyatt Blassingame. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1974. 126 pp. Illustrations, index. \$4.69.)

People of all ages are perennially intrigued by the Everglades. So too seem to be the makers of books. This is one more book on this popular subject— and it happens to be one of the best.

The author had in mind introducing this famous land to young people, for he has had notable success in writing for this age group. However, the resulting book has a style so pleasantly crisp and clear and the stories are told with such flair and drama that the appeal is general.

The fascinating setting is here— sawgrass and bayheads, 'gator holes and bird rookeries— but the real theme of the book is Man. Soldiers of the Seminole Wars, Indians, fishermen, outlaws, plume-hunters, pirates, and land sharks are the actors on this vast watery stage. Colonel Harney goes after Chekika, the Indian chief responsible for the Indian Key Massacre, and gets his man. Ed Watson, called the mass-murderer of Chatham Bend on the West Coast, is balanced off by the rampageous Ashley Gang on the East Coast.

The terrible destruction of two hurricanes, 1926 and 1928, in the Lake Okeechobee area is recounted; how the icehouse blew a mile down the road and the iceman, near-frozen, was rescued; how a man and a bobcat shared a treetop, each too scared to bother the other. And then there were the people who didn't make it— an estimated 2,000.

There is the audaciously-conceived trip across the Everglades by automobile made in 1923 by twenty-six men who called themselves the "Trail Blazers." There was no road, but they pushed on anyway, hacking, fighting mosquitoes, running low on fuel and food, even having to carry the cars one at a time around obstructions. Eighteen days from Fort Myers to Miami, but it proved their point— the Tamiami Trail was possible.

The dreams that failed are here also. So are the errors. For Man, through ignorance or greed, has not played fair with South Florida. There has been too much drainage, too much settle-

ment, too much demand for water by the coastal cities, an ever-tightening conflict between conservationist and developer.

But the plus signs are everywhere visible: the creation of the Everglades National Park, water conservation areas, abandonment of the jet port, the growing demand that the Kissimmee River be unstraightened and allowed again to meander slowly to the benefit of the ecology.

The Everglades can be saved, says Mr. Blassingame, if enough people care enough.

Miami, Florida

THELMA PETERS

The New Florida Atlas: Patterns of the Sunshine State. By Roland Wood and Edward A. Fernald. (Tampa: Trend House, 1974. 119 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, maps, illustrations, graphs, list of sources. \$14.95.)

In the 119 pages of the atlas, there are sixteen different topics cartographically depicted. Nine pages of charts and five pages of pictures are interspersed among the maps. Rarely is there more than one picture per page while some pages are devoted entirely to charts. Short descriptions supplement some of the maps and charts, especially in the section pertaining to the physical features of the state.

In keeping with the author's philosophy that man is Florida's most important resource, the first section of the atlas depicts various aspects of population. The 1970 Census of Population is the source of data for most of the maps in this section. Housing, income, and government and politics follow population. Physical characteristics, water, and climate occupy the middle part of the atlas, followed by transportation and communication, tourism and recreation, economic activity, employment, and health. Florida's history is also included and the final map shows the status of aerial photography as of February 1973.

Most of the maps are based upon county data. Various shades of red are used to represent the selected categories of population, economic activities, education, government, tourism, and climate. The maps illustrating stream flow, drainage, piezometric surface, and water hardness use blue as the basic color. Multiple

colors are used in the maps on landforms, soils, natural vegetation, and mineral resources.

A cursory look at the atlas can easily give an initial impression of gaudiness and lack of scholarliness. This results in part from the bright red and blue coloring and the large heavy black lettering used for map titles. The initial impression is soon overcome when a careful study of the atlas is made. A wealth of data has been collected, refined, and put into maps and charts. This may be more apparent to geographers than to scholars from the other social science disciplines.

The sections on population, housing, and economic activity should be of interest to sociologists, historians, and planners as well as geographers. In addition to the maps based upon 1970 Census of Population data there is a map showing the census year of greatest population for each of the sixty-seven counties and one projecting the population for the year 1978. Birth rates, death rates, and rates of natural change are illustrated for both white and non-white populations. There are also charts showing these features for the periods 1917-1969 and 1917-1970. Eleven pages of maps, charts, and commentary are included in the section on water. This is especially appropriate at a time when so much emphasis is being placed upon water problems and the quality of the environment in Florida.

The overall format and cartographic style follows that of *The Florida Reference Atlas* by Henry F. Becker and David Christensen published in 1960. This atlas was a product of the Florida Resources and Analysis Center of Florida State University. Dr. Fernald, one of the authors of *The New Florida Atlas*, is the present director of the Center. Both atlases offer an immediate source of data for teachers, researchers, and planners. While neither attain the artistic level of *The Atlas of Florida* by Erwin Raisz and John Dunkle, *The New Florida Atlas* has the advantage of ease of revision so that it can be kept current.

The maps of value added by manufacturing, 1967, should have been more recent to fit in with the other maps based upon 1970 data. Also the map on soils would have appealed more to the physical geographers if it had been based upon the latest soil classification. However, it would be less meaningful to a

larger number of individuals representing all disciplines of the social sciences. The *New Florida Atlas* is a valuable reference for those seeking information concerning Florida. The assets of this atlas far exceed its few liabilities.

University of Florida

ROBERT B. MARCUS

West Georgia College Studies in the Social Sciences, Volume XII, Geographic Perspectives on Southern Development. Edited by John C. Upchurch and David C. Weaver. (Carrollton, Georgia: West Georgia College, 1973. vi, 93 pp. Contributors, foreword, preface, maps, notes, tables. \$3.00.)

Geographers are interested in answering the basic question: where? Just as historians in answering their basic question: when? are not content with reeling off a series of dates, so geographers are not content with long lists of place names. The breadth of interests of geographers may be noted in this bargain-priced volume, a collection of papers given at the meetings of the Association of American Geographers held in Atlanta in mid-April of 1973. These papers in historical geography consider such topics as the land survey system in the Southeast, the South Carolina economy in the middle eighteenth century, religious diversity in the North Carolina Piedmont, urban retardation in Mississippi in 1800-1840, home manufacturers in the Appalachians in 1840-1870, and the origin, dispersal, and responsible location factors in sugar plantations in Louisiana during the last 200 years. The articles on these topics are well presented with clear maps and numerous bibliographical notes.

Persons interested in the history of Florida will find of special interest an article by Burke G. Vanderhill, professor of geography at Florida State University, on "The Historic Spas of Florida," pp. 59-77 of this volume. Dr. Vanderhill purposely limits his discussion by defining a spa as that place which "involves improvement of a spring and the provision of facilities for therapeutic bathing and the drinking of mineral water." Using this precise definition he notes that there were during the period from 1840 to the present nine historic spas: White Springs, Suwanee Springs, Orange Springs, Newport, Green Cove Springs,

Worthington Springs, Safety Harbor, Panacea, and Hampton Springs. As his map shows most of these are in a belt extending from Panacea southwest of Tallahassee east to Green Cove Springs on the west bank of the St. Johns River. The only "spa" still functioning, Safety Harbor, known for some decades in the 1800s as Green Springs, is outside this belt on the western shore of Old Tampa Bay.

In the very readable article, each of the historic spas are described and their history briefly recounted. In his retrospective conclusion, Dr. Vanderhill notes "that from the start the spas were at least as much vacation spots as health resorts The crest of the wave of spa activity was reached about 1910, when well-developed public transportation influenced a concentration of people at certain playgrounds and vacation spots." Dr. Vanderhill's well-written and annotated account of these nine Florida spas creates an almost irresistible urge for the reader to set forth immediately on a visit to these very interesting places. Unfortunately, most of the spas were closed during the depression years; the facilities of a surprising number were destroyed by fires. Diligent field research was undertaken by Dr. Vanderhill to gain knowledge of their exact sites and character. His bibliography includes many elusive titles.

There is a growing interest in the historical geography of the southeastern United States, including Florida. It is to be hoped that more such symposia of interesting papers, based on solid geographical research, will be published so that better geographic perspective may be gained on southern development.

University of Florida

SHANNON McCUNE

Money and Politics in America, 1755-1775: A Study in the Currency Act of 1764 and the Political Economy of Revolution. By Joseph Albert Ernst. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1973. xix, 403 pp. Preface, glossary of economic terms, notes, appendixes, sources, index. \$14.95.)

Professor Ernst's book is a study of the political economy of

the Atlantic marketplace which focuses upon the American colonies and their financial problems in the generation before Independence. Giving unity to the study is the Currency Act of 1764 which was a response to the credit crisis and depression which followed the French and Indian War and a source of conflict between various interests and factions which sought to control currency policies and practices for partisan ends.

Before setting out to tell the story of the Currency Act, the author devotes one chapter to "Some Forbidding Issues" of economic theory and practice. He investigates the relationships between fluctuations in the money supply, in sterling exchange rates, and in local price levels. To a considerable extent his book is concerned with the plantation colonies from Maryland to Georgia. These were rapidly developing, capital short, staple economies which drew heavily on the credit and capital of British merchants. Ernst is skeptical of the professions of the "new" economic historians who have been unwilling to get out of the "easy chair" and into the archives to test their formulations against the evidence. Moreover, he scores the monetary historians who tend to conceptualize colonial currency problems in present-day terms and cannot resist the fatal attraction of general principles.

Professor Ernst writes that the colonial currency system developed in response to urgent needs to defray the costs of administration and war and to provide a public source of agricultural and business credit. Emission of greater quantities of paper money during the postwar depression of the 1760s came into collision with British efforts to reform the colonial currency system as part of the larger program of imperial rationalization. British merchant-creditors trading in Virginia and North Carolina persuaded Parliament to pass the Currency Act of 1764. As interpreted by the Board of Trade, the act did not prohibit all paper money but only that which was issued as legal tender in public and private transactions.

After efforts to repeal the Currency Act were rebuffed, the colonists sought alternatives to repeal. Resort was had to such devices as barter, commodity money, book credit, and the issuance of instruments of private and public credit. Exacerbating the conflict was the Credit Crisis of 1772 which was symptomatic

of the greater crisis of the Atlantic economy. In the end the economic and political concerns of the colonial and metropolitan commercial elites were joined in the revolutionary struggle.

Professor Ernst at times enters into such detail regarding colonial politics that the general reader is apt to lose the drift of his argument. Moreover, it is unfortunate that the author's conception of the Atlantic economy is limited chiefly to the north Atlantic. Had he tapped the growing literature of the Atlantic economy—both north and south and British and non-British—he might have viewed the structural changes in broader perspective. For example, the liquidity problem was no doubt aggravated by reforms of the colonial systems of Portugal and Spain and Grenville's anti-smuggling policies in Caribbean waters, all of which contributed to a dearth of coin and bullion in Britain's Atlantic Empire.

Professor Ernst explains very well the sources and nature of the fundamental conflict of interest between the British and American commercial classes. He deals authoritatively with the close links between visible money, debt and credit, and the shifting interests of planters and merchants and their response to imperial monetary restraints. Perhaps the most important contribution is Ernst's brilliant analysis of the network of exchange and credit transactions in the Atlantic marketplace and their fluctuations. Indeed, it is his contention that much of the important political activity leading up to the American Revolution represented an attempt to deal with economic crisis and conditions at a time when weaknesses had appeared in the imperial system and the colonial economy was threatened by total domination by the mother country.

University of Kansas

RICHARD B. SHERIDAN

The Old Dominion and the New Nation, 1788-1801. By Richard R. Beeman. (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1972. xiv, 282 pp. Preface, maps, bibliographical note, index. \$11.00.)

No historian who reads this book will be surprised to learn that the original manuscript narrowly missed winning the

Frederick Jackson Turner Prize for its author in 1970. Richard R. Beeman has utilized a large body of previous scholarship as well as computerized data on the Virginia House of Delegates during the 1790s to produce an original, and disarmingly well-written, narrative of Virginia politics during the Federalist era.

Within a compact time frame, beginning with the Virginia ratification convention of 1788 and concluding with the Jeffersonian triumph of 1800, Beeman traces the development of political parties in Virginia and examines the factors which influenced political sentiment and party alignment. He gives particular attention to the effect of major national issues such as ratifying and amending the Constitution, the Hamiltonian program, the Genêt mission, the Jay Treaty and its aftermath, the election of 1796, the XYZ Affair and the resulting French crisis of 1798, the Alien and Sedition Acts, and the election of 1800.

Beeman sees three fundamental characteristics of Virginia politics during this era: continuity, provincialism, and voter apathy. As described in Charles Sydnor's *Gentleman Freeholders* (Chapel Hill, 1952), Virginia political life under the new government continued to be dominated by a planter-lawyer oligarchy supported by a deferential if largely apathetic electorate. Nor did the growth of republicanism during the decade result in democratization of politics within the state, according to Beeman, who concludes that in 1801, "Jefferson's election signified a return to the nonpartisan, gentlemanly style of Virginia politics" (p. 237).

The provincialism of the minority who took an active interest in politics (sometimes as few as ten per cent) led them to consider that government best which could be most closely observed and held to account. Their trust was thus focused on their ancient county system of government and diminished with distance from home. Many distrusted the state government, most notably residents of western Virginia, and "Most Virginians had misgivings about the effects of national government" (p. 30). With serious reservations they ratified the Constitution when the issue was reduced to "Union or no Union." Federalist sentiment within the state reached its zenith in late 1789, but "From the day Congress assembled in 1790 until the end of the decade,

the policies of the new government became increasingly offensive to residents of the Old Dominion” (p. 67).

The implementation of Alexander Hamilton’s fiscal system confirmed the worst fears of Virginians. Thereafter increasing numbers of Virginia Federalists defected to the Jeffersonian-Republican camp. Beeman finds that during the remainder of the decade, the forces which gave rise to political divisions in Virginia were not economics nor regional interests but great national issues such as foreign affairs and the Alien and Sedition Acts.

In spite of its limited scope, for it does not treat the role of the Virginia leadership in national politics, Beeman’s study represents a significant contribution to the growing body of scholarship from Norman Risjord, Noble Cunningham, and others on the early years of state politics in Virginia.

University of Georgia

CARL J. VIPPERMAN

Seeds of Extinction: Jeffersonian Philanthropy and the American Indian. By Bernard W. Sheehan. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1973. xii, 301 pp. Preface, introduction, notes, bibliography, index. \$11.95.)

Any book by so distinguished a scholar as Bernard W. Sheehan, former Fellow at the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, associate professor of history at Indiana University, and associate editor of the *Journal of American History*, is destined to be considered carefully. Furthermore, this book is published for the Institute by the University of North Carolina Press at Chapel Hill. This reviewer is tempted to confess that so formidable an array of scholar, institute, and institutions guarantees he will read carefully, observe and reflect carefully, and write very carefully.

There are two basic requirements to a book review. First, it should explain what the book is about. Simply put, this work attempts to explain “how the white American’s conception of himself and his position on the continent formed his perception of the Indians and directed his selection of policy toward the native tribes” (p. ix). It is an effort to comprehend how

the age of Jefferson perceived the Indian, not how later historians saw them. Furthermore, Sheehan traces the changing attitudes of the age and shows how actual experience with the Indian gradually altered the white American's attitude toward the natives.

Part one defines the intellectual thought that lay behind American attitudes toward the Indian. Chapter one discusses environmentalism, the pervasive idea dealing with the Jeffersonian conception of the nature of man and his relation to the environment. As Sheehan observes, "It saw men as particularly susceptible to the influence of their surroundings" (p. 26). Also included in the concept of environmentalism are the postulates that nature is orderly, the unity of mankind, the benevolent implication of the moral sense theory, the objectivity of science in its analysis of man and his relationship to nature. Chapter two examines the various Jeffersonian beliefs about the origins of the American Indian. Important in this concept was the question of whether the Indian was a part of the unity of mankind. If he was, then all the implications of environmentalism would be applicable in dealing with the Indian. Chapter three takes up the implications of the Comte de Buffon's belief that the New World environment was naturally deficient, and chapter four turns to the concept of the noble savage.

Chapter five and six comprise part two which outlines the evolving Jeffersonian "program" of dealing with the Indians. Part three contains chapters seven through nine and follows the experience of American society with Indians which included the prevalence of violence and disaster that haunted the humanitarian attempts to incorporate the Indian into American civilization. Finally, chapter ten brings the reader to the adoption of the policy of Indian Removal. In the conclusion Sheehan explains the failure of both the governmental policy to preserve the tribes as a prerequisite for their reception of "civilization" and the missionary effort to bring the blessing of society to the Indians. The irony of the effort was that the white man's sympathy for the Indians proved to be more deadly to them than the white's animosity. All effort to incorporate the Indian into American civilization in compliance with the orderly rules of environmentalism totally failed. The effects of war, disease, and

liquor upset all the calculations of the age. In the end the consequence of Indian-white contact was destruction of the Indian culture without the expected acculturation of western civilization, American style.

The second major purpose of a review should be to evaluate the work. It should aid a reader in deciding if he should read or consult the book. Evaluation should also include an estimate of the historiographical value of the work. This book is not easy to evaluate. In this reviewer's opinion *Seeds of Extinction* would have made an excellent article. There is no question it represents a superb intellectual feat. It might even be a model for illustrating to students and novice historians how a scholar can skillfully define a topic and exhaust the pertinent and relevant source material and throw some light on an hitherto dark corner of knowledge about our past. But an inescapable question remains, is it worth it? In view of the flood of writing on American history we find swirling around us, the conclusion of this reviewer is that this work is not unlike throwing a bucket of water on a floundering swimmer.

State College of Arkansas

WADDY WILLIAM MOORE

The American Territorial System. Edited by John Porter Bloom. (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1973. xv, 248 pp. Foreword, preface, introduction, notes, biographical sketches. \$10.00.)

This brief but ambitious volume emerged from a National Archives conference of November 1969. Four archivists offer useful papers fulfilling the avowed purpose of acquainting scholars with archival holdings relating to the territories. Since but four of the thirteen additional papers contain citations to documents in the National Archives, one may assume that much of this material remains untapped.

Appropriately, the conference begins with reminiscences of Clarence Carter, longtime editor of the *Territorial Papers of the United States*. From that point, the scholars focus on matters political—the Northwest Ordinance, congressional relations, territorial courts, political party structure, and what passed for administration. Their chronological scope is intentionally in-

clusive, and fruitful commentaries accompany the papers to which comments were addressed.

The influence of socioeconomic development and beliefs about such development on politics constitute a major theme of the collection. In perhaps the most provocative variation on this motif, Kenneth Owens examines types of party structure in the far western territories. Using a typology similar to the one developed by Richard McCormick, Owens concludes that "territorial government provided the means by which a resident, upperclass leadership could fashion structures of government congruent with those in the older states." Or, in the author's own translation of this conclusion, "territorial party managers helped fix politically a form of internal colonialism upon frontier societies whose representatives they claimed to be" (p. 174). Focusing on questions of belief and perception, Arthur Bestor concludes that both the Northwest Ordinance and the plans preceding it reflected a general conviction that fundamental law could affect developing territorial societies; Robert Berkhofer expounds the influence of republican ideologies of social hierarchy and societal evolution on the provisions of the Ordinance.

Though Jo Tice Bloom discovers some hitherto unsuspected activism among early territorial delegates, more authors find instances where the American empire functioned, like its British model, according to a nonsystem of salutary neglect. Thomas Alexander demonstrates that when it came to surveying federal lands, neither congressional attention to the service nor its ill-informed fiscal neglect proved salutary for the economic development of the mountain states.

John Guice and William Lee Knecht disagree as to whether carpetbaggers made good western judges; both papers tap novel archival sources to excellent effect. Knecht shows convincingly that the Mormons got little help from territorial judicial officers; his is one of several papers indicating that unpopular minorities – Mormon, Chinese, Indian – made useful negative reference groups for politicians and suffered the predictable consequences. In this and other respects, the volume deepens our perceptions of the ironies of frontier democracy.

University of Rochester

MARY YOUNG

The Papers of Henry Clay, Volume 5: Secretary of State, 1826.
 Edited by James F. Hopkins and Mary W. M. Hargreaves.
 (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1973. viii, 1096
 pp. Symbols, index. \$20.00.)

Volume 5 of *The Papers of Henry Clay*, like its immediate predecessor, covers only one year and is primarily concerned with Clay's responsibilities as secretary of state in the administration of President John Quincy Adams. Once again, letters of application and recommendation, routine dispatches from American diplomats abroad, and less important notes from foreign envoys in Washington, are given in summary form. In 1826, Clay, while successfully negotiating treaties with minor nations such as Denmark and Guatemala, met frustrations in his efforts to open the British West Indian trade to American ships and in his hopes for American participation in the Panama Congress. Though ultimately Congress approved the dispatch of representatives to the Latin American conference, it adjourned without American participation.

It was during the congressional debate on the Panama mission that John Randolph of Roanoke, as senator from Virginia, delivered his blistering speech against Adams and Clay— "the Puritan and the Blackleg"— f o r their alleged bargain by which Adams won the presidency in exchange for the promise of Clay's appointment as secretary of state. In response to Randolph's charge, Clay challenged the Virginian to a duel. There are numerous letters giving the views of Clay and his friends concerning his controversial decision to summon the erratic Randolph to the field of honor. To Charles Hammond, Clay wrote that Randolph's "assaults were so gross repeated and unprovoked that I could not longer bear them. . . . Submission, on my part, to the unmerited injury, I can only say, would have rendered existence intolerable." While most of his correspondents approved of Clay's course of action, some, like John J. Crittenden, believed that "it would have been better to have disregarded the phrensy of the madman." Clay realized that many held a similar view "as to the state of Mr. Randolphs mind." But he did not think that he should "be governed by that opinion which was opposed by the recent act of my native state electing him to the Senate." Clay's participation in the bloodless affair of honor

not only served to give wider publicity to the charge of "corrupt bargain," but it would also be used against him in later presidential campaigns, particularly in 1844, when his reputation as a duelist was cited by his political opponents as an argument against his candidacy.

During most of the summer Clay was absent from Washington on a trip to Kentucky. From Lexington he wrote John Quincy Adams an unusual letter of sympathy, offering "felicitations upon the illustrious death of your father." Clay, who had just heard of the coincidental deaths of the two aged former Presidents, John Adams and Thomas Jefferson, on the fiftieth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, did not think "the sentiment of Condolence is that which justly belongs to the occasion." Sharing a view held by many of his generation, he wrote the President that "it is impossible to contemplate the dissolution of your father and Mr. Jefferson without believing that it has been so ordered to produce a great moral effect upon the American people their liberty and their institutions."

Volume 5 maintains the same high standards that we have come to expect from the editors of *The Papers of Henry Clay*. Professors Hopkins and Hargreaves will doubtless be relieved, as Clay was, when they reach that period in his career when "Harry of the West" no longer had to concern himself with the routine, confining, and widely varied responsibilities that accompanied his tenure as head of the Department of State.

University of Houston

EDWIN A. MILES

Stephen A. Douglas. By Robert W. Johannsen. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973. xii, 993 pp. Preface, illustrations, notes, index. \$19.95.)

"He has excellent prize fighting qualities," a newspaperman once wrote of Stephen A. Douglas. "Pluck, quickness and strength; adroitness in shifting his positions, avoiding his adversary's blows, and hitting him in unexpected places in return." Only five feet four inches tall, the "Little Giant" was one of the first half of the nineteenth century's most colorful, controversial, ambitious, and important politicians. Energetic

and quick-tempered, he was a forceful and persuasive speaker. One listener considered him a master of the "abusive invective" who "had the air and aspect of a half-naked pugilist"; another thought him "artful, adroit, and wholly unscrupulous," with "the most off-hand assured airs in the world, and a certain appearance of honest superiority."

Born in Vermont in 1813, Douglas adopted Andrew Jackson as his political ideal. At the age of fifteen, Douglas later recalled, "my politics became fixed." He remained a Jacksonian for the rest of his life. In 1853 he stated that Jackson "lives in the spirit of the age— the genius of progress which is to enoble and exalt humanity, and preserve and perpetuate liberty."

In 1833 Douglas moved to Illinois and began his active political career. "I have become a *Western* man, have imbibed Western feelings, principles and interests and have selected Illinois as the favorite place of my adoption," he announced. And well he might, for he had already started a lifetime political honeymoon with the state. Before he was thirty, he had not only helped organize the Illinois Democratic party, he had served as state's attorney, member of the state legislature, federal land officer, secretary of state, and justice of the state supreme court.

This was only the start. Elected to the United States House of Representatives in 1843, he stayed for two terms. Then, in 1847, he moved up to the United States Senate, where he remained for the next fourteen years. Throughout the 1850s he was a significant figure in national affairs. Twice (in 1852 and 1856) considered for the Democratic presidential nomination, he was finally picked in 1860 to represent one wing of a divided Democracy in the election won by Abraham Lincoln, the man Douglas had beaten to retain his Senate seat two years before. After an exhausting effort to save the Union, Douglas died on June 3, 1861.

In this excellent biography, Robert W. Johannsen analyzes the views and actions of Douglas. This is done with clarity, balance, and scholarly skill. Though Johannsen is sympathetic and understanding, he does not ignore his hero's warts. He admits that Douglas was reckless and at times unscrupulous; that he was an aggressive expansionist who considered the Mexican War "a . . . glorious . . . advance . . . of freedom." Essentially,

Johannsen concludes, Douglas was a pragmatic politician who believed in compromise and was willing to adapt "to the wants, conditions, and interests of the people." He was not without principles. He had faith in and stood for the 'Constitution and the Union, self-government and democracy." And he died "a victim of the Civil War as surely as if he had fallen on the battlefield."

Wayne State University

GRADY MCWHINEY

FLO: A Biography of Frederick Law Olmsted. By Laura Wood Roper. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973. xvii, 555 pp. Acknowledgments, foreword, illustrations, afterword, appendixes, notes, index. \$15.00.)

The sesquicentennial of Frederick Law Olmsted's birth has inspired a variety of commemorative projects, the most significant of which is Laura Wood Roper's massive, monumental study, *FLO: A Biography of Frederick Law Olmsted*. Thirty years in the making, this well-written, scholarly account is both a biography of a creative genius and a social history of his time. A major challenge for the author was to present Olmsted the landscape architect, agriculturist, journalist, publisher, and world traveler as well as Olmsted the friend and family man who always had many irons in the fire at the same time, but Mrs. Roper included all without once losing her subject in the maze of events.

The son of a prosperous, indulgent though concerned father, Olmsted was permitted to drift for more than forty of his eighty years before finding his niche in life. Although ever conscious of his haphazard formal education, it was his restlessness, individuality, natural curiosity, and interest in people that afforded him a unique type of education which no institution could have provided. Fortunately, he was a keen observer and an inveterate chronicler of his experiences, and Mrs. Roper has made excellent use of his records. From his childhood when he took his first trip through his native New England until a few years before his death, Olmsted traveled throughout the length and breadth of the United States, England, and western

Europe, and in the 1840s he sailed before the mast to China, an experience that provoked him to protest the brutal treatment of seamen in much the same vein as did Richard Henry Dana. More familiar to historians, however, is his observation and economic condemnation of slavery in the 1850s which first appeared as a series in the *New York Times*, and was later expanded in book form as a trilogy, and subsequently condensed in one volume as *The Cotton Kingdom*.

The elder Omsted, in hope of destroying his son's wanderlust, bought him a farm on Staten Island, but the young man soon became discontented with the prosaic life of a farmer. The advent of the Civil War offered him the opportunity to work with the Sanitary Commission, while staying on the go, but he resigned midway in the struggle and spent the next few years on the West Coast, living in a mining camp, battling to preserve Yosemite, and at the same time drawing up plans for a San Francisco park and for the University of California campus, neither of which was accepted. Nor were these his only rejections, but among his more successful projects were parks in a dozen cities, the campus of Stanford University, and the grounds of the Capitol in Washington, of the Biltmore estate in North Carolina, and of the Columbian Exposition in Chicago. The most famous monument to Olmsted's creativity, however, was New York's Central Park, the execution of which brought him into conflict with the city's political machines.

The author has done a masterful job of interweaving the man's private life with his professional, clearly indicating that Olmsted was no stranger to tragedy. He lost his mother when only four and his beloved brother while yet a young man. Although he married the brother's widow and the union seems to have been a happy one, only two of their seven children survived to adulthood. He was plagued with innumerable ills throughout his life, an eye infection that permanently impaired his vision, a carriage accident that left him lame, and frequent attacks of neuralgia, insomnia, paralysis, and finality, senility. These afflictions probably help to explain why he often had trouble working with others, but despite his handicaps, failures, and frustrations, the author concludes that "more than any other man . . . [he] defined the character and role of landscape

architecture in the nineteenth century, and his influence reached far into the twentieth" (p. 475).

The volume's copious notes are based primarily on manuscripts and are presented in an exceptionally cohesive, readable account. Although it is unfortunate that there is no bibliography, much information normally included therein is given elsewhere. Mrs. Roper and the publisher have every right to be proud of this excellent, attractive study.

Winthrop College

MARY ELIZABETH MASSEY

A World in Shadow: The Free Black in Antebellum South Carolina. By Marina Wikramanayake. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1973. xviii, 219 pp. Acknowledgments, foreword, introduction, notes, appendixes, bibliography, index. \$9.95.)

This work is a welcome addition to the growing number of studies which assess the black experience through the extensive utilization of heretofore little used or unknown primary sources of material, some of which, including confidential family heirloom papers, were in the hands of blacks and whites, and others which were long buried in court houses, custom houses, archives, and other repositories. In addition, it is buttressed by statistical tables based on census returns and by appendixes.

Dividing her study into nine chapters, the author discusses "Free Persons of Color," in which she identified her subject by tracing the origin of free blacks in South Carolina and presenting their larithmic picture: "The Politics of Manumission," where the growth of the free black population is sketched along with efforts to restrict it by law and the consequent ploys to secure manumission in spite of the law; "Denizens of the State," in which the precarious status of free blacks who never become more than near-citizens in the eyes of South Carolinians is sketched along with their survival, a tribute to their sense of belonging and their enduring tenacity.

It was a strange and ironic situation that required blacks who were never full citizens to pay taxes which in light of their position were burdensome and discriminatory. Nor did the

blacks fail to protest their grievance, although they did so practically in vain; free blacks, in many respects remained the scapegoats for the racial dilemma of the state. Although free, the free black was linked to slavery and enjoyed "no right that was not defined forfeitable."

Chapters four through six trace the reality of survival as the free black created a world of his own, a shadow of the larger white world, yet with a difference. The concomitants of this world were more varied than in the white world. Free blacks of substance owned and sold slaves, yet many of them worked to undermine the institution of slavery. Morris Brown, who later became a bishop in the A.M.E. Church, bought and manumitted slaves as a matter of course. Intermarriages, of which there were a number, are carefully documented as well as extra-legal alliances which were even more numerous. Associations among free blacks and whites of the upper classes were by no means rare. Lower class free blacks and white have-nots associated in the market place, taverns, gambling dens, and brothels. Some blacks such as William McKinley, Jehu Jones, James Richard, William Holloway, Richard Kinlock, and Eliza Lee attained wealth, popularity, and eminence in a restricted society. A few of these left manuscripts and record material useful for this study.

For purposes of self-help, and socialization free blacks organized a number of organizations. Two were based on color: the Brown Fellowship and the Society of Free Dark Men, which later became the Humane Brotherhood. Formal dinners, debutante parties, traditions of courtship, and other niceties of etiquette associated with white society were rigidly observed by affluent free blacks.

Although free blacks were accepted as members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, their main religious activities centered in the African Methodist Episcopal Church founded in Charlestown, South Carolina, in 1817 by Morris Brown. The Denmark Vesey Affair, which is detailed in chapter seven with marked restraint, not only led to an attack on the AME Church but to a heated debate on the disposition of free blacks of the state. The author of this study did not believe, as other historians have, that the Denmark Vesey Affair did not produce the repression of free blacks. Nor does she believe that the Nat Turner insurrection

generated the reaction in South Carolina that it did elsewhere.

As sectional tensions increased in the 1850s, free blacks became the victims of increasing reaction and repression. It caused many to leave South Carolina for the North, Canada, or the Caribbean. Some migrated to Liberia, and in some instances, mainly women with families, they submitted to re-enslavement. Not until after the Civil War did freedom become a reality for all.

This work is revealing and deep probing. Who would have known that two South Carolina free blacks contributed recipes for pickling to Heinz's 57 Varieties? The author, however, leaves gaps in the conceptualization of South Carolina's history which impacted blacks, both free and slaves. As the preeminent leader of the pro-slavery movement in its varied aspects-theory, rhetoric, secession, and war-South Carolina served as a model for other southern states. In so doing free blacks were adversely affected far more than the author mentioned. In spite of this, the book has merit and adds considerably to the field of history and the black experience.

Morgan State College

ROLAND C. MCCONNELL

Jennison's Jayhawkers: A Civil War Cavalry Regiment and Its Commander. By Stephen Z. Starr. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1973. xvi, 405 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, notes, illustrations, bibliography, index. \$12.95.)

This volume belongs in the forward grouping on the top shelf of Civil War regimental histories. It is a grand book, taken on the bases of the comprehensive research, organization of dispersed material and scattered events that are often altogether unrelated, but mainly of the character pictures and sustained reader interest.

Emerging from the struggle of Bleeding Kansas for statehood, the 7th Kansas Cavalry moves into the desperate Missouri-Kansas warfare, with all its widespread devastation, brutality, vengeance, murder, and a full verification of the old adage that, of all wars, those between peoples of the same race and cultural heritage are the most wanton and heartless. None truly under-

stands the full bitterness of the Civil War without knowledge of the western conflict, a no-quarter war, in some respects the actual vortex of the storm, though much of it was raiding and small unit actions remote from the main armies, with which, in the early stages, a degree of chivalry prevailed.

None seems positive, but a jayhawker appears to have been named after a hawk that preyed on jay birds. The book is an admixture of slaughter on the battlefield and the abattoir of early Kansas politics. Throughout it moves the central figure, the mean, diminutive Colonel Charles Rainsford Jennison, often absent for his poker games or mending his political fences, tyrannical by nature but sometimes tolerant, a bitter-end abolitionist of such desperation, native ability, and courage, that the top army brass was sensitive about touching one who commanded such popular acclaim.

His code was that a good slaveholder was a dead slaveholder. This peculiar little man's demagogic flair rarely failed to rouse the Kansas Unionists out of their seats. The Union army commanders in Missouri wanted to get rid of him and eventually shipped the 7th Cavalry off to Mississippi in the emergency of the Price-Van Dorn campaign. But there was a lot more to Jennison than bombast. Whether under Rosecrans, Grant, or others, he led his famous (or to many infamous) regiment with such bravery and driving fury that he became about as good a cavalry colonel, often commanding a brigade, as could be found in the western armies. The regiment was of like fibre and won the hard assignments.

The 7th Kansas Cavalry took into the Mississippi campaign the evil reputation it had justly acquired in Missouri, which caused other units to attribute to it every military dereliction that occurred in the neighborhood. The regiment bristled. Jennison and succeeding colonels supported the men. Colonel Albert L. Lee could put Sheridan in his place when that saucy general, who a little later showed how supreme he was at devastating a countryside, ordered the regiment out of a field where they were gathering fresh corn at a time when other regiments were passing loaded with bountiful gleanings off of the countryside.

Jennison had his ups, including a newspaper nomination for President, and downs, involving a court martial and dismissal

from the service, that he claimed, with a tint of justice, was political. The legislature later removed his constitutional disabilities. Among his early subordinates were John Brown, Jr., son of the raider, and Daniel Read Anthony, brother of Susan B. Anthony. He feuded and dueled but died in bed at the age of fifty after enough exciting events for four average lifetimes. This book will be engaging reading for all true Civil War buffs.

Fairview, North Carolina

GLENN TUCKER

The Politics of Inertia: The Election of 1876 and the End of Reconstruction. By Keith Ian Polakoff. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1973. xiv, 343 pp. Preface, notes, essay on sources, index. \$10.95.)

“On the centennial of the nation’s independence, the excessive partisanship of the Reconstruction era threatened to destroy the democratic political system.” Thus writes Keith Ian Polakoff about America at the end of its first century. These words ring familiar to a Bicentennial generation threatened by a new brand of “excessive partisanship.” In the 1870s as in the 1970s, the “democratic system” weighed heavy under scandals and corruption. Following the Centennial year, the nation recovered sufficiently from the trials of the Grant administration to limp on into its second century. Whether the nation recovers from the Watergate issues in time for Century III remains to be seen.

A casual look at the times hardly reveals the many crises that rocked Centennial America. Across the land Americans celebrated growth and achievement, proud of an Exposition at Philadelphia where they exhibited the fruits of their hundred years alongside those of other more established countries of the world. But, as Mark Twain suggested, it was an age only “gilded” with respectability. Underneath the facade, political intrigue, corruption, and discrimination threatened the “dream” and brought a sad ending to the first reconstruction. In *The Politics of Inertia*, historian Polakoff offers an explanation of what happened in the national parties to support such happenings, and in so doing,

he warns of complexities in the American party system that may not be limited to a single generation.

This book describes the political activity in the United States between the close of the Civil War and the settling of the disputed election of 1876. It is the story of Republicans shackled by internal intrigue and a "scramble" for presidential succession, and Democrats, their ranks diffused by complex sectional issues – both parties marching relentlessly toward the campaign of 1876. Each acted under the stress of a leadership vacuum, and candidates Hayes and Tilden emerged as standard bearers more by default than by astute party selection. This is the story of two parties engaged in a giant power struggle– the Republicans attempting to consolidate their war and reconstruction gains, the Democrats struggling to regain the national leadership they had sacrificed to sectional interests in 1860.

To Polakoff, it was the Democrats, with their tradition of bringing together the disparate elements of America under strong leadership, who failed so decisively, at the very moment when the time was ripe for them to regain power and restore bipartisan politics. Polakoff attributes this failure to a party decentralization which left the power vacuum for the Republicans to fill. Outwardly, the Democrats gave the appearance of unity, but leaderless on the national scene, they splintered into local coalitions, each group concerned with its own particular campaign issues. Paralyzed by inefficiency and without the single strong leader, they were unable to halt the growing Republican power that virtually stole the presidency from them in 1876. But the Democrats did not flounder alone. Inertia also affected the Republicans who wallowed in indecision and corruption, without a convincing national party platform, also "extraordinarily decentralized."

The *Politics of Inertia* covers much the same period as C. Vann Woodward's monumental *Reunion and Reaction*. Where material overlaps, the two works are generally in agreement, but on some points Polakoff does take mild issue with the earlier work. He disagrees with Woodward's assumption of "a degree of central direction in the national political parties," nor does he accept the contention that Tilden was in control of the Democratic party that lost the election of '76. Polakoff also puts less emphasis than Woodward on the compromises of the election

year, contending that accommodation of the South was inevitable whatever the circumstances of either party. Finally, where Woodward is basically southern in his perspective, Polakoff considers the broader national scene, especially "the configuration of power in nineteenth century political parties."

The Politics of Inertia is a timely study of American politics, brilliant in its grasp of intimate detail and always appreciative of the human element in this country. The reader will be no stranger to many of the topics that Polakoff includes in his study of the 1870s— political canvassing and unpredictable results, accusations and false accusations from both parties, a candidate's resignation from a campaign under pressure of the press's revelation of his unsavory congressional record, income tax discrepancies in the records of presidential candidates, the manipulation of black votes to party advantage, political intrigue and manipulation, and dark horses seeking the nation's highest office with little more than local credentials.

This is an important book for Bicentennial America as it looks at its own political dilemmas. It is well researched in traditional materials, interpreted in the light of new contemporary methods including statistics, and written in a narrative style that is always readable and often quite exciting. In a world in which politics is part of our daily fare, *The Politics of Inertia* is a source for new understanding and important historical perspective to modern problems.

Wittenberg University

ROBERT HART JE

James Weldon Johnson: Black Leader, Black Voice. By Eugene Levy. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973. xiii, 380 pp. Editor's foreword, preface, photograph, notes, bibliography, index. \$14.50.)

This first scholarly biography of James Weldon Johnson is a long overdue account of the life of one of the more versatile and articulate leaders. He was a teacher, school principal, newspaper editor and columnist, lawyer, poet, librettist for Broadway shows, essayist, diplomat, university professor, and champion of civil rights.

In developing this biography, Professor Levy used the Papers of James Weldon Johnson at Yale University and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and the Booker T. Washington Papers, Library of Congress, and his published writings in *Crisis* and other journals. Moreover, the author deserves an accolade for his lucid presentation of the range of Johnson's interests, activities, and involvement. Factors other than the influence of parents, who provided a stable, attractive home with books, music, and trips to Brooklyn to visit relatives, conditioned Johnson's development, life style, and zeal in protecting his private life (*My Inner Life Is Mine*, Chapter 14). Dr. Thomas Osmond Summers, a white physician of Jacksonville, who employed Johnson, age seventeen, as his receptionist, may well have served as a life-model. Dr. Summers was sophisticated, "well educated," "a cosmopolite," "a man of culture," who possessed a library of books on many subjects and who treated his receptionist as an equal. During the summer while a student at Atlanta University, Johnson taught summer school in rural Florida. For the first time he saw the relationship between the white man and black man at its crudest level. It was then that Johnson realized his oneness with all black people. He also heard a rural black preacher deliver a sermon on the creation which he later immortalized. He heard music—shout songs and chants—which he later captured in song and verse. He also participated in the Quiz Club contest that examined in 1892 the topic: "The Best Method of Removing the Disabilities of Caste from the Negro" (p. 44). At the age of twenty, Johnson believed the solution was "to remove the fact of inferiority" (p. 45).

Years later, as a mature lawyer-editor-executive of the N.A.A.C.P., Johnson attacked racial discrimination and lynching, and zealously labored for the passage of anti-discriminatory legislation and the Dyer Anti-Lynch bill. The latter did not pass, but it was significant that for the first time "a civil rights organization led by a black man took the initiative in pushing congressional legislation.

Although actively engaged in teaching, promoting equality of rights and justice, Johnson continued to write poetry, compose

songs for musicals, and to generate hope, i.e., "Lift Every Voice and Sing." He was indeed an uncommon man whom I was privileged to know as a student at Fisk University.

Hunter College

ELSIE M. LEWIS

The Search for the Santa María. By John Frye. (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1973. xii, 174 pp. Foreword, introduction, illustrations, maps, appendices, bibliography, index. \$4.50.)

Few are aware that the *Santa María*, Columbus's flagship on his first voyage of discovery, never returned to Spain after reaching the New World. It ran aground on a reef somewhere east of Cape Haitien off the north coast of Haiti and was lost on Christmas Eve 1492. Fred Dickson, Jr., a member of the Explorers Club of New York, was the central figure in the most recent search for the *Santa María*. He made the search for the remains of the oldest known European vessel wrecked in the New World— and its positive identification when found— his central goal from 1967 until November 1972, when he died in a diving accident still pursuing his dream.

Dickson's attention was riveted to an anomalous, wreck-shaped coral patch located on the lagoon side of the barrier reef near Cape Haitien which he saw from the air in 1967. Believing that the position of the coral mass was "right in the ball park!" for the possible location of the wreck of the *Santa María*, he spent the next five years trying to determine if the feature might mark the remains of that vessel. Whatever the expedition may have lacked in scientific approach was more than made up for by Dickson's determination and infectious enthusiasm. In those five years, tantalizing, oftentimes contradictory clues and evidence concerning the origin of the coral feature and the age of a possibly associated wreck were developed, but the mystery remains unsolved.

John Frye follows the interesting story of Dickson's quest for the *Santa María*, reporting the efforts of Dickson and the thoughts and contributions of the varied personalities that he marshaled about him to participate in the adventure. In terms

of preparation, Frye even made the trek to Spain to plow through the red tape and dust to explore the archives. As a result, the author's handling of the basic facts of Columbus's life and times and the details of his first voyage of discovery, highlighted by photographs of sites, buildings, and monuments in Spain and Portugal central to the Columbus story, makes very interesting reading and provides depth and historical perspective.

The Search for the Santa María is a book which captures the reader's interest and sense of adventure in exploration and discovery both old and new.

Texas Historical Commission

CARL J. CLAUSEN

Yesterday in the Hills. By Floyd C. Watkins and Charles Hubert Watkins. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1973. xiii, 184 pp. Acknowledgments, foreword, preface. \$6.00.)

Floyd C. and Charles Hubert Watkins have produced a quite satisfactory book. It is an informative diversion if read as a whole work, and it stands up well for occasional browsing. The individual segments, though well integrated into the total conception, are independent essays. Proof of their literary quality emerges as the reader returns to them and finds as much pleasure in the second or third reading as he found in the first.

In his foreword, Calvin Brown notes that "most works which superficially resemble this book are written by local colorists on the one hand or by 'social scientists' on the other." He objects to both in that they are, in their separate ways, condescending toward their material. This book is not the result of a local colorist's slumming tour or the scientist's data-collecting excursion. It is the treasured recollections of father and son, sensitively set down with genuine literary merit.

The device of alternating essays (Field Work, Farm Animals, etc.) with character sketches (The Hopkinses, Jauny Loomis, etc.) is an effective one. It suggests Floyd Watkins's literary profession, his recollections of *Spoon River Anthology*, "The Camera Eye" in *U.S.A.*, and other literary masterworks that come together in the mind of a writer who must devise a structure for the diversity of his materials. Diversity in *Yesterday in the Hills* is

extensive in spite of the restricted locality and period, the community of Ball Ground, Georgia, as it existed within the living memories of father and son.

This is good history for the general reader, just as it is good folklore for the general reader. The success of such a book is not to be measured in terms of footnotes, bibliography, technical verification of data, or adherence to a particular set of theories or techniques. These are the tools of specialists who write for other specialists, too frequently unmindful of the interest of the intelligent non-technical reader. The devices used by Floyd and Charles Watkins are characterization, description, a sense of humor, and the ability to convey in a lively manner the comedy, tragedy, and pathos of the microcosm they bring to life.

The two kinds of writing are not incompatible. Obviously there is a place for scholarly apparatus in the narrow communication of specialist to specialist. There is also a place for lively, humane interpretation of historical and folkloristic insights for a larger audience. In their purpose, to recreate convincingly a vanishing way of life, the authors have served that larger audience well.

Western Kentucky University

KENNETH CLARKE

BOOK NOTES

Trial and Imprisonment of Jonathan Walker, at Pensacola, Florida . . . (1845, Boston) by Jonathan Walker, is volume number seven in the Bicentennial Floridiana Facsimile Series, published by the University of Florida Press for the Florida Bicentennial Commission. *The Branded Hand*, as this book is frequently identified, is the account of a white man, a new Englander, who was convicted in Pensacola of trying to help slaves escape. Walker and several blacks were captured in a boat off Key West, and he was returned to Pensacola to stand trial. Labelled a slave stealer, the letters "S S" were branded on the palm of Walker's hand. After his release, he returned to New England, where he became a leader in the abolitionist movement. Professor Joe M. Richardson of Florida State University has written an introduction to this facsimile. He evaluates the

book and provides extensive biographical information on its author. Professor Richardson has also compiled an index both to the book and to his introduction. *Trial and Imprisonment* sells for \$8.50.

Don Juan McQueen is the fourth novel about the Sea Islands of the Georgia-Florida coast by Eugenia Price of St. Simons, Georgia. She has done extensive research into the life of John McQueen, who moved to St. Augustine in 1790 to avoid a Georgia debtors prison. Florida was then a Spanish colony, and McQueen, greedy for land, took an oath of loyalty to Spain and converted to the Catholic Church. He became Don Juan McQueen and one of Florida's largest land owners. He failed to bring a measure of peace to the violent Georgia-Florida frontier; the turmoil was constant, and McQueen was caught up in it. Ms. Price has written a fascinating book which illuminates an exciting period in Florida and American history. Her research has been meticulous. Published by J. P. Lippincott, Philadelphia and New York, it sells for \$8.95.

The Unknown Story of World Famous Sanibel and Captiva was written by the late Florence Fritz, the first woman mayor of Fort Myers. She was the author of several books about the Gulf coast of Florida based upon her long residence and activities in that area. This book tells the story of Sanibel and Captiva from the time when they were inhabited by pre-historic Indians to their discovery by the Spanish in the sixteenth century and their settlement by Americans almost 300 years later. The book is illustrated by photographs and sketches. Miss Fritz's manuscript was unpublished at the time of her death in 1969. It has now been made available through the efforts of Lelia Morris Cunningham of Fort Myers. Proceeds from the book will be used for a memorial for Miss Fritz. For copies, write Mrs. Cunningham at 2062 Katherine Street, Fort Myers, Florida 33901. The price is \$10.00.

Yesterday's Florida, by Nixon Smiley, is in the Historic State Series published by E. A. Seemann Publishing Company of

Miami. Mr. Smiley, a retired columnist for the *Miami Herald*, has compiled a pictorial history of the state from the time of its discovery in the sixteenth century to the early 1960s. Many of the photographs are from the State Photographic Archives, Robert Manning Strozier Library, Florida State University, Tallahassee. *Yesterday's Florida* is dedicated to Allen Morris, founder of the archives. It sells for \$12.95. *Yesterday's Florida* is the first volume in the Historic States Series. A second volume is *Yesterday's New Hampshire*, by Richard F. Leavitt, with a foreword by Sherman Adams.

Yesterday's Florida Keys, by Stan Windhorn and Wright Langley, is a kaleidoscope of pictures showing the history of the Keys from their earliest discovery by the Spanish to the 1950s. Wrecking, shipping, piracy, sponging, fishing, and cigar making have all played a part in the historical development of the area chronicled in this book. Many famous personalities have visited or lived along the Keys. In the twentieth century these include Henry Flagler, Ernest Hemingway, and Harry Truman. Published by E. A. Seemann Publishing Company, the book sells for \$7.95. Also recently published in the Historic Cities series are pictorial studies of Atlanta, Denver, and Detroit.

Adventurers in Florida History is by Woodward B. Skinner and W. George Gaines of Pensacola. This textbook tells the story of Florida's rich past through the activities of its "adventurers" – its history makers. The Spanish explorer-conquistadores– Ponce de León, Narváez, de Vaca, de Soto, and Tristán de Luna– are included. There is a sketch of Francesca Hinestrosa, who the authors describe as "the first known woman" to come to *La Florida* as "a member of a Spanish gold seeking expedition." The wife of one of De Soto's soldiers, she disguised herself as a man, and this ruse obviously worked until she became pregnant. Unfortunately, Francesca died during the course of the expedition. Andrew Turnbull, Osceola, Billy Bowlegs, David Levy Yulee, Henry Morrison Flagler, Napoleon Broward, the Ringlings, and Walt Disney are among the other *Adventurers in Florida History*. Published by Town and Country Books, P. O. Box 8147, Pensacola, Florida 32505, the book sells for \$6.95.

Landmark Architecture of Palm Beach is a compendium of photographs and descriptive text of 150 Palm Beach buildings representing the work of such outstanding architects as Addison Mizner, Marion Wyeth, Maurice Fatio, and the designer Joseph Urban. The author is Barbara D. Hoffstat, a Palm Beach resident, who has been active in historic preservation. The book is arranged so that a visitor can drive or walk the area and view the buildings in sequence of location. The photographs are Ms. Hoffstat's, and the introduction is by Arthur P. Ziegler, Jr. The paperback volume, published by Ober Park Associates, Inc., Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, sells for \$3.95.

Gobernadores Cubanos de la Florida is by José Isern of Miami. It is the third pamphlet in his series, *Pioneros Cubanos en U.S.A.* There are sketches of Laureano Torres de Ayala, Juan de Ayala y Escobar, Manuel José de Jústiz, and José Coppinger. The price is \$3.00, and the booklet may be ordered from the AIP Publications Center, 120 Beacon Boulevard, Miami, Florida 33135.

Ocali Country, Kingdom of the Sun, by Eloise Robinson Ott and Louis Hickman Chazal, has been out-of-print for a number of years. This valuable history of Marion County is available again in a Bicentennial edition published by the Junior Women's Club of Ocala. For copies write P. O. Box 854, Ocala, Florida 32670. The price is \$9.50, including mailing.

Circle of Life: The Miccosukee Indian Way is by Nancy Henderson and Jane Dewey. The photographs are by David Pickins. This short book, designed for elementary school children, was written in cooperation with Buffalo Tiger, Chairman of the Miccosukee Tribe of Florida. Much of it is based on personal conversations and interviews with members of the Tribe. It was published by Julian Messner, New York. The price is \$4.72.

Travels of William Bartram, edited by Mark Van Doren, is an unabridged reprint of the 1928 edition, published by Macy-Masuis. It is a major source work for geography, anthropology,

and natural history for the Southeast and particularly Florida. William Bartram travelled through southern North America, including Florida, during the 1770s, and described the rivers, Indians, vegetation, climate, and birds. This paperback edition, which includes the thirteen illustrations that Bartram included in his journal, was published by Dover Publications, New York. It sells for \$4.50.

Elmo Richardson, in *Dams, Parks & Politics: Resource Development and Preservation in the Truman-Eisenhower Era*, argues that public apathy and political gamesmanship have interfered seriously with the conservation and use of our natural resources. He describes the opposition which Interior Secretary Douglas McKay faced from Florida real estate interests and state and national politicians during the 1950s when the Park Service tried to acquire waterfront land to add to the Everglades National Park. At the same time oil companies were urging a five-year extension on exploration leases in the Everglades, although past drilling had yielded no commercially-productive sites. When National Park Service Director Conrad Wirth came to Florida in 1954 to explain the Park's principles, he met a hostile reception. Local businessmen attacked his "arrogant impertinence" and denounced the "grandiose schemes of the bird watchers and politicians." His personal value to Florida, Wirth was informed, was "worthless." Senator Everett Dirksen of Illinois opposed the Park's expansion, and labelled it a "Frankstein monster." He described it as a relic from the days of New Deal colonialism. The record shows that the obstructionist efforts in this case failed; 271,000 acres of wilderness land was added to the Everglades National Park. University Press of Kentucky, Lexington, published this book; which sells for \$11.25.

Seafaring America, by Alexander Laing, is the product of American Heritage Publishing Company of New York. It covers maritime history from the sixteenth century, when the explorers operated along the Atlantic seaboard from the West Indies north to Nova Scotia, to the end of the nineteenth century. This handsome book is filled with numerous illustrations, many in color. It sells for \$25.00.

Travels in North America, 1822-1824, is the record of the journey of Paul Wilhelm, Duke of Württemberg. Travelling with his Leibjager, or his body servant, he came first to New Orleans and then moved on to Cuba. After two months there he returned to New Orleans and began the journey which took him up the Mississippi and Ohio rivers. Later he ascended the Missouri River to Forts Recovery and Kiowa. His observations of Indians, geographic locations, and the natural features of the area are an important record. The manuscript was translated by W. Robert Nitske and was edited by Savoie Lottinville. Published by the University of Oklahoma Press in its American Exploration and Travel series, the volume sells for \$20.00.

A third revised edition of *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*, by C. Vann Woodward, has been published by Oxford University Press. A chapter treating events since August 1965 when the Voting Rights Act legally ended Jim Crowism is new material. It reveals that while black voters are still intimidated in some parts of the South and black voter turnout is discouraging in many parts of the country, Negro political gains are undeniable. The book sells for \$8.95 in cloth and \$1.95 in paper.

The World of the American Indian is published by the National Geographic Society with Jules B. Billard as editor and Vine Deloria, Jr. and William C. Sturtevant as consultants. Professor Sturtevant in his essay, "Woodsmen and Villagers of the East," describes the history and life of the Indians living on and off reservations from the Potomac and Ohio rivers south to the Keys, and from the Atlantic west to Texas. "The history and lifestyle of the early Florida Indians, like the Calusas and the Timucuas are included, along with the contemporary Seminoles and Creeks. There are many illustrations, including 362 in color. An appendix keyed to a map of the Indian cultures enables the reader to locate the tribes. *The World of the American Indian* is not distributed commercially, but it may be ordered from the National Geographic Society, Department 100, Washington, D. C. 20036. The price is \$10.65.

HISTORY NEWS

Florida Bicentennial Symposium

The Florida Bicentennial Commission will hold its fourth annual Bicentennial Symposium at Florida State University, Tallahassee, March 21-22, 1975. The theme for the conference is "Eighteen-Century Florida and the Revolutionary South." Participants include Professors Gary D. Olson, Augustana College; David Chesnutt, Associate Editor of the Henry Laurens Papers, University of South Carolina; Calhoun Winton, University of South Carolina; Stephen D. Meats, Tampa University; Robin Fabel, Auburn University; James Morton Smith, Wisconsin Historical Society and the University of Wisconsin; Thomas D. Watson, McNeese State University; Aubrey C. Land, University of Georgia; and John Francis McDermott, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale. Dr. James Morton Smith, Director, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, will deliver the luncheon address. The Friday sessions will be in the House of Representatives chamber, the Capitol,

The sessions will deal with the political, economic, and diplomatic relations between the southern colonies supporting the Revolutionary cause and East and West Florida which remained loyal to Britain. The Saturday morning, March 22, session will relate to southern books, and book dealers during the eighteenth century. Governor and Mrs. Reuben Askew will be hosts at a reception at the Governor's Mansion Friday afternoon. Afterwards there will be a Gulf seafood dinner at St. Marks. The Symposium is being arranged by the Florida Bicentennial Commission's Committee on Research and Publications and members of the history faculty, Florida State University. All sessions will be open to the public. For information and programs, write William Adams, Continuing Education, Hecht House, Florida State University, Tallahassee, Florida 32306.

Florida College Teachers of History

The Florida College Teachers of History 1975 meeting has

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been rescheduled. The new dates for the meeting will be April 4-5, 1975. It will be held at Bethune-Cookman College, Daytona Beach. For information write Professor William A. Dunn, Department of History, Bethune-Cookman College, Daytona Beach, Florida 32015.

State and Local History Awards

The American Association for State and Local History at its annual meeting in Austin, Texas, in September 1974, recognized state and local history projects, agencies, and publications throughout the United States and Canada which revealed superior achievement and quality. Three Awards of Merit went to Floridians and Florida projects. Anthony P. Pizzo of Tampa, Florida, was recognized for his many years of service and major contributions to an appreciation of the history of Florida and the Tampa area; Pat Dodson, for a career of devotion to the cause of Florida and Pensacola history, historic preservation and restoration; and the Governing Board of the Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference at the University of West Florida, for creating and sustaining a forum for the study and publication of regional history. Presentation of the State and Local History Awards will be made at the annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society in Gainesville, May 9-10, 1975.

Announcements and Activities

The Tampa Historical Society has launched a new publication entitled *The Sunland Tribune*. Its first issue, July 1, 1974, reprints the speech, "Early Days at Fort Brooke," delivered by Colonel George M. Brooke, Jr., Virginia Military Institute, at the dinner given by the Society January 1974, celebrating Tampa's Sesquicentennial. Copies of the journal may be ordered from the Society, P. O. Box 18672, Tampa 33609. The price is \$3.00.

Honoring Dr. Gilbert L. Lycan, professor of history and former chairman of the department of history at Stetson University, a seminar room in Elizabeth Hall will be dedicated in his honor at Stetson University's homecoming on February

15, 1975. Dr. Lycan, former president of the Florida Historical Society, will retire from Stetson University in June 1975.

The University of South Florida has inaugurated an oral history program under the direction of Professor Martin M. LaGodna. The first project is a coordinated effort with the Tampa Sesquicentennial Committee to interview the city's living former mayors and others prominent in Tampa's growth. The rich Cuban culture of Tampa and its Ybor City Cuban section are also receiving priority for oral history treatment. Pioneers associated with the early Cuban independence movements, the development of the cigar industry, labor organizations, and formation of the social clubs, will be interviewed. Tapes and transcriptions will be deposited in the University Library and other cooperating libraries in the area.

The annual Florida Forest Festival began in October 1974 with the dedication of a new Forest Capital State Museum in Forest Capital State Park. The Museum traces the history of Florida forestry and is a project of the Division of Recreation and Parks, Florida Department of Natural Resources. The Museum was designed by Mays Leroy Gray. Dioramas and exhibits portray Florida's forestry past and present. Exhibits and photographs of logging camps, sawmills, and the naval stores industry are included. Elizabeth Ehrbar planned and was supervisor of the museum exhibits. Adjacent to the Museum is the Pioneer Complex which is under development.

The Mary McRae History Award for 1973-1974 went to Mrs. Susan Taylor Willoughby. Her topic was "Bellevue: Its Development and Growth." The award is given annually by the Central Florida Community College in honor of Mrs. Mary McRae of Homosassa, who was an active member of the Florida Historical Society and a trustee of the Central Florida Community College.

The Georgia Historical Society has awarded its first William Bacon Stevens prize to James M. Gifford, a graduate student at the University of Georgia. His prizewinning essay, "Emily Tubman and the African Colonization Movement in Georgia," will

appear in the spring 1975 number of the *Georgia Historical Quarterly*. The \$100 prize is given annually.

An exhibition of the paintings on the Seminole Indians of Florida by James F. Hutchinson was opened in Brockway Hall, University of Miami's Richter Library, November 10, 1974. The first eleven paintings in the series of fifty planned to preserve a visual history of the Seminole culture made up the major part of the exhibition. There were other Seminole paintings by Mr. Hutchinson loaned by private collectors also included in the exhibit.

The Pensacola Historical Society has recently acquired a large collection of photographic portrait negatives. The collection, including photographs taken by Charles Cottrell, H. L. Bell, and George W. Turton, includes over 20,000 photographs. There are about 15,000 negative portraits of local Pensacolians and the remainder cover a wide range of subjects from East Hill and Navy Air Station to agriculture in Escambia County. Materials are being identified, and the collection will be indexed and catalogued for use by researchers. The collection is in the Pensacola Historical Society Museum.

"Up the Oklawaha to Silver Springs," the 1892 Florida letter published by the Lake County Historical Society is available for \$1.00 postpaid. Order from the Lake County Historical Society, 312 New Hampshire Avenue, Tavares, Florida 32778. The Society is reviving its quarterly publication, last published in 1966. It solicits non-published articles on area history.

The *Florida Calendar and Appointment Book* compiled by Joan Gill of Miami is available through the Historical Society of Southern Florida. It was published by Mnemosyne Publishing Company of Miami and sells for \$5.00.

The Jacksonville Public Library System has published a list of books and other material from its collection relating to information on Jacksonville and the area. The leaflet, "A Historical Excursion Through Jacksonville and Northeast Florida with the Jacksonville Public Library System," is available by writing to the Haydon Burns Public Library, Jacksonville.

The Southern Genealogist's Exchange Society held its annual seminar-workshop in Jacksonville, October 18-20, 1974. There were a number of papers, including one entitled "Our Florida Archives," by Barbara Fisher, Florida Division of Archives, History and Records Management.

The Florida State Poetry Society, announces the publication of a Bicentennial Poetry Book that will be released July 4, 1976. The book will contain works by poets from all fifty states. Each writer may submit three poems with a short biographical sketch. Poetry of a historical nature is preferred, but all work will be considered. Those interested in having their work included should direct inquires to Dr. Frances Clark Handler, director of the National Poetry Day Committee, Inc., Florida State Poetry Society, Inc., Miami, Florida.

Local Societies and Commissions

Alachua County Historical Commission: Dr. Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., former president of the Florida Historical Society, is chairman of the Commission. Other members include Sarah Drylie, Helen Cubberly Ellerbee, Norman LaCoe, Arthur Spencer, Mrs. Chris Matheson, Joyce Knox, David Colburn, Merlin Cox, Marjorie Carr, and Jess Davis. During the first week of December 1974, Alachua County celebrated its Sesquicentennial, and the Commission arranged for a number of activities, including an arts festival, a panel discussion of Alachua County history, television and radio broadcasts, a series of historical articles published in local newspapers, a county history exhibit in the Florida State Museum, and a walking tour of historic Gainesville. The Commission is sponsoring as a Bicentennial project the writing and publication of a definitive history of Alachua County.

Alachua County Historical Society: Mrs. Joyce Knox, media specialist with the Alachua County School District's Learning Resource Center, presented a sound-slide production, "Gainesville, Then and Now," at the October 8, 1974, meeting of the Society. Ms. Knox described how teachers are using old photographs and other materials to teach Alachua County and Florida

history. Former Congressman D. R. "Billy" Matthews was the speaker at a meeting on November 10. His subject was "Alachua County Politics— 50 Years Ago." Dr. Merlin Cox is president of the Society and Dr. M. H. Latour is treasurer. The Society cooperated with the Alachua County Historical Commission in planning the events marking the county's Sesquicentennial. It sponsored a tour of Archer on December 1, 1974.

Florida Genealogical Society: A meeting was held October 15 in the Carmen Mannis Room, Tampa Public Library, with Colonel Frank L. Adams presiding as president. Other officers are Mrs. Lester K. Olson, vice-president; Mrs. Charles Boyer, treasurer; Mrs. W. E. King, recording secretary; Theodore Lesley, Mrs. Walter R. McMurrey, and Virginia Sloan, directors. Theodore Lesley is editor of the *Journal*, and his assistants are Mrs. Boyer and Mrs. McMurrey. The latest issue of the *Journal* includes genealogical data on the Burks, Shearer, Callan, and Cummings families. It also continues the listing of the Fort Ogden Cemetery records as compiled by Richard M. Livingston of Fort Ogden.

Historical Association of Southern Florida: Frank J. Laumer, author of *Massacre!* (University of Florida Press) was the program speaker on the evening of October 8 in the Museum of Science Auditorium. He described the ambush of Major Francis L. Dade and his command near present day Bushnell, Florida, December 28, 1835, which helped touch off the Second Seminole War. The lecture was followed by the unveiling of a painting by Ken Hughs depicting the ambush. Dr. Donald W. Curl, Florida Atlantic University, discussed "Pioneer Women of Dade County," at the November 12 meeting. Mr. L. Ross Morrell, state archaeologist, Division of Archives, History and Records Management, reported on the analysis of the material recovered from the dig at the site of the old Granada Hotel on the Miami River at the December 3 meeting. Dr. Charlton W. Tebeau, professor emeritus, University of Miami, was the speaker at the January 7, 1975, meeting. He spoke on the Florida Everglades and presented slides of early maps of the area. This is part of his study, "Past Environment from Historical Sources," made for the National Park Service. The Association recently ac-

quired a collection of books on the Caribbean from Marjory Stoneman Douglas. The October 1974 number of *Update*, the bi-monthly publication of the Association, carried an article on early Miami by Dorothy Dean Davidson. It is entitled "Pioneer Pictures."

Jacksonville Historical Society: Mark Gluckman and Herschel E. Shepard, Jr., described Jacksonville's Inventory of Historic Buildings and Sites (compiled during the summer of 1974) at the program meeting, November 20, 1974, in the Friday Musicale Auditorium. The speakers are members of the Jacksonville Historical and Cultural Conservation Commission and helped direct the historical inventory. Ms. Eugenia Price, author of the recently-published novel, *Don Juan McQueen*, was entertained by the Society, October 20-22. Officers are John J. Powell, president; Richard Brooke and William M. Bliss, vice-presidents; Francis C. Nixon, treasurer; Mrs. Carl P. Sasnett, corresponding secretary; Mrs. W. E. Perkins, recording secretary; Audrey Broward, archivist; and Dena Snodgrass, historian. Arthur G. Foster, Fred B. Mohle, and Dr. Nancy Thomas are members of the board.

Key West Art and Historical Society: The member's annual juried art exhibition opened Tuesday, November 19, 1974, at the East Martello Tower in Key West.

Lake County Historical Society: "Up the Oklawaha to Silver Springs," a Florida letter written in 1892 by E. N. Spiney has been published by the Society. It is from its manuscript collection. There are plans to reprint other original material from the Society's archives. The Society will be publishing its quarterly journal again, and it welcomes articles on area history. The Society's offices are at 312 New Hampshire Avenue, Tavares, Florida 32778. Its officers are Grace Guenther, president; Robert Cauthen, vice-president; Cordella LaRoe, secretary; and James C. Watkins, treasurer.

The Historical Society of Okaloosa and Walton Counties: John W. Harrison and Willie D. Flourney described early masonry in Okaloosa County and the community of Magnolia

at a meeting September 29, 1974, held at the Masonic Building at Laurel Hill. Society members traveled to Lake Jackson, Florala, Alabama, October 26, to join with the Creek Indians for their annual Pow Wow Day. Dr. Jack Gregory of the University of West Florida directed an Indian dance group. The Young Settlers Club meets each Thursday afternoon at the Museum. This after-school activity is for children in grades 1-6 to familiarize them with the historic heritage of the area through stories, crafts, games, and museum artifacts. A reception was held at the Museum on October 20 marking the opening of a quilt exhibit. Society officers are Mrs. Val Kreher, president; Merton Reeves, Carolyn Vagias, and Pearl Tyner, vice-presidents; Helen Parkton, recording secretary; Frances Robinson, corresponding secretary; and Bertram L. Sellers, treasurer. Committee chairmen are Aileen Ellis, Chris LeRoch, Harold Gillis, Bebel Meigs, Nell Rogers, Elizabeth Jones, and H. W. McCall.

Orange County Historical Commission: The Commission and the Orange County Historical Society have as their major activity the securing of funds to construct an historical museum in Loch Haven Park. Support was given to the annual Pine Castle History Festival, "Pioneer Days," November 1-3, 1974. A history essay contest was carried on by the schools under the auspices of the Pine Castle Woman's Club. Students displayed a slide show of old photographs of Orange County at the Center. There are plans for a pioneer village and the publication of a book, "Letters from Pine Castle," as Bicentennial projects.

Peace River Valley Historical Society: Park DeVane was the speaker at the October 25 meeting in Pioneer Park, Zolfo Springs, Florida. David Forshay was the speaker on November 22, 1974. He spoke on the life of Governor William D. Bloxham.

Pensacola Historical Society: "Newspapering in Pensacola" was the subject of a talk by J. Earle Bowden, editor and associate publisher of the *Pensacola News-Journal*, at a meeting September 16 in the Historical Museum. "Preservation in Pensacola" was the subject for the meeting October 21, 1974, in Rafford Hall. The film, *The Kaybolt Wrecking Company*, produced by the Florida Division of Archives, History and Records Management,

with a grant from the Florida Citizen's Council on the Humanities, was shown. Albert Klein, Pensacola city council, Diana Greer, Division of Archives, History and Records Management, and Dr. Lucius Ellsworth, University of West Florida, discussed the film and its implications for historic preservation. James A. Servies, director of the University of West Florida Library, discussed "The Art Preservative: The History of Printing in West Florida," at a meeting November 18. The Society has recently acquired the photographic portrait negative collection of Mrs. Cornelia Carpenter and Frank Hardy.

Pinellas County Historical Commission: At a meeting October 16, Ralph D. Reed, curator and county historian, noted that some 5,000 people had visited the Museum during the previous twelve months. Many were school-age children. The Commission sponsored the annual Pinellas Pioneer Picnic on October 12 at Phillippe Park with about 400 persons attending.

Safety Harbor Area Historical Society: James Miller presented a slide program, "The Centennial of Fort Sumter, 1861-1961," at a meeting September 25, 1974, at the new City Hall in Safety Harbor. Mr. Miller has donated a group of Timucuan dioramas to the Society's museum where they will be displayed. The annual picnic was held at Phillippe Park, October 27. Officers are Sam Prentice, president; Restituto Rios, vice-president; Alva Jones, secretary; and James Morgan, treasurer. Basil Yettaw is program chairman, and James Miller is museum chairman.

St. Augustine Historical Society: The Society and the Altrusa Club were hosts at an autograph party and reception at the Llambias House, October 24, honoring Eugenia Price, author of *Don Juan McQueen*.

St. Lucie Historical Society: At its meeting September 17, Dr. John Paul Hartman of Florida Technological University described the inventory of historic engineering works which he is compiling for the Historic American Engineering Record in cooperation with the National Park Service. Dr. Harry A. Kersey of Florida Atlantic University was the speaker at a dinner meeting, November 19. He talked about the Seminole Indians, the

subject of his new book which will be published by the University Presses of Florida.

Southwest Florida Historical Society: Perry Hoagland discussed "Place Names in Florida, Their Origins and Meanings" at the meeting October 11 in the Commission Room, Lee County Courthouse. The old Highway Patrol Station, corner of Cleveland and Edison Avenues, in Fort Myers, is the new home of the Society. The building will be shared with the other organizations in the Heritage Council. The Society's officers are Ernest E. Hall, president; Walter Burke and Perry Hoagland, vice-presidents; Alice English, recording secretary; Dorothy McLaughlin, corresponding secretary; and Maude Woodson, treasurer. Conrad Mange, Jr., Dan English, Sarah Burke, Milton Thompson, Lloyd Hendry, Stanley Hanson, Jr., Carroll Wadlow, and Sara Nell Gran are directors.

Tampa Historical Society: The fourth annual dinner meeting of the Society was held November 14, 1974, at the Host Airport Hotel, Tampa International Airport. Dr. John K. Mahon, University of Florida, was the principal speaker. He described the University of Florida's Indian Oral History Project. Judge James R. Knott of West Palm Beach, former president of the Florida Historical Society, was presented the D. B. McKay Award for his distinguished contribution to Florida history. Milton D. Jones, president of the Florida Historical Society, made the presentation. Hampton Dunn, president of the Society, presided at the dinner. The Society has had a very active year. Its new journal, *The Sunland Tribune*, appeared in July 1974. It spearheaded the celebration of Tampa's sesquicentennial year with a dinner on the evening of January 24, 1974, with more than 450 persons attending. It maintains care of historic Oaklawn Cemetery, and on November 24 it dedicated the Francis Bellamy historical marker in ceremonies at the Curtis Hixon Hall.

Tarpon Springs Historical Society: The Society is working with the Tarpon Springs Chamber of Commerce on plans for the Bicentennial. Mrs. Gertrude Stoughton, president of the Society, is writing a history of Tarpon Springs which will be published shortly.

Taylor County Historical Society: The restoration of the old bank building in Perry is a major project of the Society. Officers are A. H. Wentworth, president; Dr. W. H. Peacock, vice-president; Janie Edwards, secretary and historian; Mamie Jo Booth, treasurer; Thyrsa Bolton, program chairman; Shirley Titus, reporter; Floy La Valle, parliamentarian; Helen Scales, chaplain; and Lewis Hamilton, works project chairman.

West Volusia County Historical Society: The film, *Kaybolt Wrecking Company*, was shown at the September meeting. It was followed by a discussion led by Dr. William Thruston, Division of Archives, History and Records Management; Dr. C. Carter Colwell, Stetson University; Dr. John A. Hague, Stetson University; and Mrs. James P. West, mayor pro-tem of DeLand. At the November 6 meeting, Ms. Daphne M. Brownell was the speaker. She used as her topic, "History in West Volusia County Cemeteries." Ms. Brownell has compiled the inscriptions on tombstones in the twenty-seven known cemeteries in West Volusia County. These will be published in the Local History Series of the Kellersberger Fund of the South Brevard Historical Society.

Notes

Ms. Anita Stevens and Ms. Nola Rebbin, P. O. Box 2361, Santa Rosa, California 95405, are soliciting old Florida recipes from members of the Florida Historical Society. They are interested in where recipes came from and when and where they were first used.

"The Library History Seminar V: A Seminar in Honor of CENTURY I: The First Century of American Librarianship 1876-1976" will be held in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania in 1975. Those interested in preparing papers, which will be accepted until January 15, 1975, are asked to send them to Dr. Harold Goldstein, Editor, *Journal of Library History, Philosophy and Comparative Librarianship*, School of Library Science, Florida State University, Tallahassee, Florida 32306.

The New Hampshire Historical Society is currently sponsoring a project to edit the papers of Josiah Bartlett (1729-1795) with Frank C. Mevers as editor. Supported by the New Hampshire American Revolution Bicentennial Commission and the National Historical Publications Commission, the project will result in a comprehensive microfilm edition followed by a letterpress edition of selected documents. Josiah Bartlett, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, was a prominent physician in New England and the founder of the New Hampshire Medical Society. He was also a delegate to the Continental Congress, a militia officer during the Revolution, and the first governor of New Hampshire. Persons having knowledge of the existence of correspondence to or from Bartlett or of other papers written or signed by him are requested to contact the Historical Society, Thirty Park Street, Concord, New Hampshire 03301.

The Historic New Orleans Collection, in cooperation with the Louisiana Historical Association, announces the creation of two awards for excellence in the writing of Louisiana history. They are for the best published work and the best manuscript by an unpublished author. The first carries a prize of \$500 and the second, \$200. For information write, The General L. Kemper Williams Prize Committee, Historic New Orleans Collection, 533 Royal Street, New Orleans, Louisiana 70130.

The Department of History, University of Northern Iowa, announces the inauguration of the Carl Beckman Memorial Lectures as a permanent feature of the annual Historical Association and Phi Alpha Theta lecture series. The first paper, "The American Revolution and the Historical Imagination," was read by Professor Michael Kammen of Cornell University on September 19, 1974. For information write Professor Al Sunseri, University of Northern Iowa, Cedar Falls, Iowa 50613.

GREAT EXPECTATIONS.

1975

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|-------------|---|--|
| Feb. 6-8 | Conference on American Loyalism | St. Augustine |
| Feb. 15-16 | Florida Anthropological Society | Ocala |
| March 21-22 | Fourth Annual Florida Bicentennial Symposium | Florida State University, Tallahassee |
| April 4-5 | Florida College Teachers of History | Bethune-Cookman College, Daytona Beach |
| April 16-19 | Organization of American Historians | Boston |
| May 9-10 | FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY- 73rd ANNUAL MEETING | Gainesville |

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THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, successor, 1902
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