

# STARS

Florida Historical Quarterly

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Volume 55  
Number 2 *Florida Historical Quarterly, Vol 55,*  
*Number 2*

Article 1

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1976

## Florida Historical Quarterly, Vol 55, Number 2

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*The*  
*Florida*  
*Historical*  
*Quarterly*

October 1976

PUBLISHED BY THE FLORIDA  
HISTORICAL SOCIETY

COVER

A Seminole hunting party in dugout canoes, photographed at the south fork of the New River, February 24, 1904. The original, from the collection of the late Mrs. Frank (Ivy) Stranahan, is in the files of the Fort Lauderdale Historical Society.

*The  
Florida  
Historical  
Quarterly*



THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Volume LV, Number 2

October 1976



# THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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## SEMINOLE

by GLORIA JAHODA\*

ONCE THERE had been snow. There had been vastly blinding seas as hard as rock and bone-penetrating cold. So much had depended upon the game animals that when they fled eastward, over the ice-locked Bering straits, The People followed them into a new land. Here, too, winters were white with swirling blizzards; here too the ice boomed in the rivers like thunder when it broke late in the spring. But not all of The People stayed with winter. Some followed game ever southward toward the spring. During the first few generations of the journey, veterans of it dwelt, first, on experience, and, then, on traditions of what men would later call Siberia, Alaska, and Canada. But gradually the racial memory died. The southern sun burned, soft rains fell, and coastal palm fronds stirred in the wind. The People, those of them who had come into Alabama and Georgia, made legends then, and the legends were of what they now knew: alligators, snakes, the deer of the dark forests, the fish in the sea, the peninsula south of the tribe, perhaps even forays there and into Mexico as well.

They said, in these legends, that they had come out of the earth at a place where a great mountain smoked and belched black storms. Nearby, there was a gaping hole, in the ground where a monster lived; to propitiate it The People threw it one of their children. It was wise to stand well with the gods; had they not given The People corn from the body and blood of woman? For the gods, and the Master of Breath who was the chief of them, The People built the second mountain, one of stone where a flame burned eternally: a temple.

They said, too, these red men whom history would call Creek Indians, that they had come from the Land of the Setting Sun.

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\* Ms. Jahoda is a Tallahassee resident and has written extensively of Florida's past and present. She is the author of *The Other Florida; The Road to Samarkand* (a biography of composer Frederick Delius); *The River of the Golden Ibis* and *Florida: A Bicentennial History*, one of the fifty-one volumes in a special Bicentennial series. Ms. Jahoda is indebted to Sakim, maker of medicine and interpreter of oral tradition for the Oak Hill Community, Tallahassee, Florida, for information, tribal lore, and the general world-view of the Creek people, some of whom became the Seminoles of Florida.

They had toiled across a continent until they came to the Weguskee, the great muddy water so incredibly wide. East of the Weguskee they had paused and had begun arguing over which of the many sub-tribes of which they were composed would have the highest rank. The chiefs of each settlement, or town, sent out braves to bring back war trophies, heads of enemies who were not Creeks. These were to be impaled upon tall poles, and the first town to finish would then be honored as the greatest. The Coushatta sub-tribe won; they were pre-eminent.

The Creeks said also that once there had been a dense green fog over the earth. Then the wind had come down to clear it. He who saw first, and those who were seen first, belonged from that time to the Wind clan. It was the Wind clan which would furnish the Creeks with their leaders (even as it furnishes them today). For the Creeks, whose dialects had proliferated through the years, were a carefully organized people who built Georgia and Alabama towns and tilled red clay fields. It is a Creek tradition that the alien Apalachees— the Beyond People, who lived beyond and east of the Weguskee— offered the Creeks a dark drink with a foaming white head. Four times, partly out of courtesy and partly out of uncertainty, the Creeks refused. But the fifth time they drank. This was how the White Tea, which white men would call the Black Drink, had reached the Creeks. And from the beauty of Creek legend and the poetry of the Creek languages, Muskogee and Hitchiti, have come Florida's Seminoles.

It was white men who made Seminoles a tribe. In Muskogee, *siminoli* means "wanderers." There was no organization of Seminoles. Each group of Seminoles, Muskogee- or Hitchiti-speaking, was merely an adventurous band of one Creek sub-tribe or another which wanted to see whether land and life were good in the extension of the continent that lay in sparkling oceans south of the permanent Creek war and peace towns. When the Seminoles were forced to organize and battle white usurpers they became proud, terrible, and strong. Theirs has been a short enough existence— 200 years, perhaps 250— but the Seminole experience has a Tolstoyan sweep. Wars no human being could have been expected to survive, the Seminoles survived. They survived, even escaped, high stone forts where cells were moldy and full of disease. Once some of them fasted until they were so thin they could slip through the window bars of Fort Marion at

St. Augustine. They made ropes of their bedding and slid down into darkness but not safety, the rise and fall of Atlantic waves echoing in their ears. Seminoles were never safe; too many people wanted their fruitful near-tropics.

If there was menace from without— the white man— there was also menace from within. Because white Americans wanted Florida they proposed to move every Seminole out to the West from which the tribe had come. Some of the chiefs, old and tired, wearily agreed. That was the internal threat. Others did not. Young Asi-Yaholo, crier in the ceremony of the sacred tea, did not. On the banks of the Hillsborough River his passion killed chief Tsali Emathla, who had agreed to let the United States government move his village to a western wilderness it did not as yet want. The old man's daughters saw their father's murder; to Americans, the murderer was named Osceola.

As there were violence and bitterness among the Seminoles, there were also quiet happinesses in hearth and home. Seminole village log cabins, predecessors of swamp chickees, rang with the laughter of children treated with tenderness and forbearance. Seminole women stirred sofkee in their cooking rooms, and because the games of children mimicked the tasks of adult life the women often had small helpers. Dogs and cats abounded in the settlements. On the outskirts there were fields of high corn, of squash, and pumpkins. Women had domestic and agricultural responsibilities; some also had knowledge of healing herbs. Annie Tommie was one such woman. She restricted her activity to the physical ills of her tribesmen. It was for men like Josie Billie to administer not only to body but to the soul as well. There is a radiant confidence about herbalists and medicine men; they know that what they do is necessary and good. Josie Billie survives today as an herb doctor.

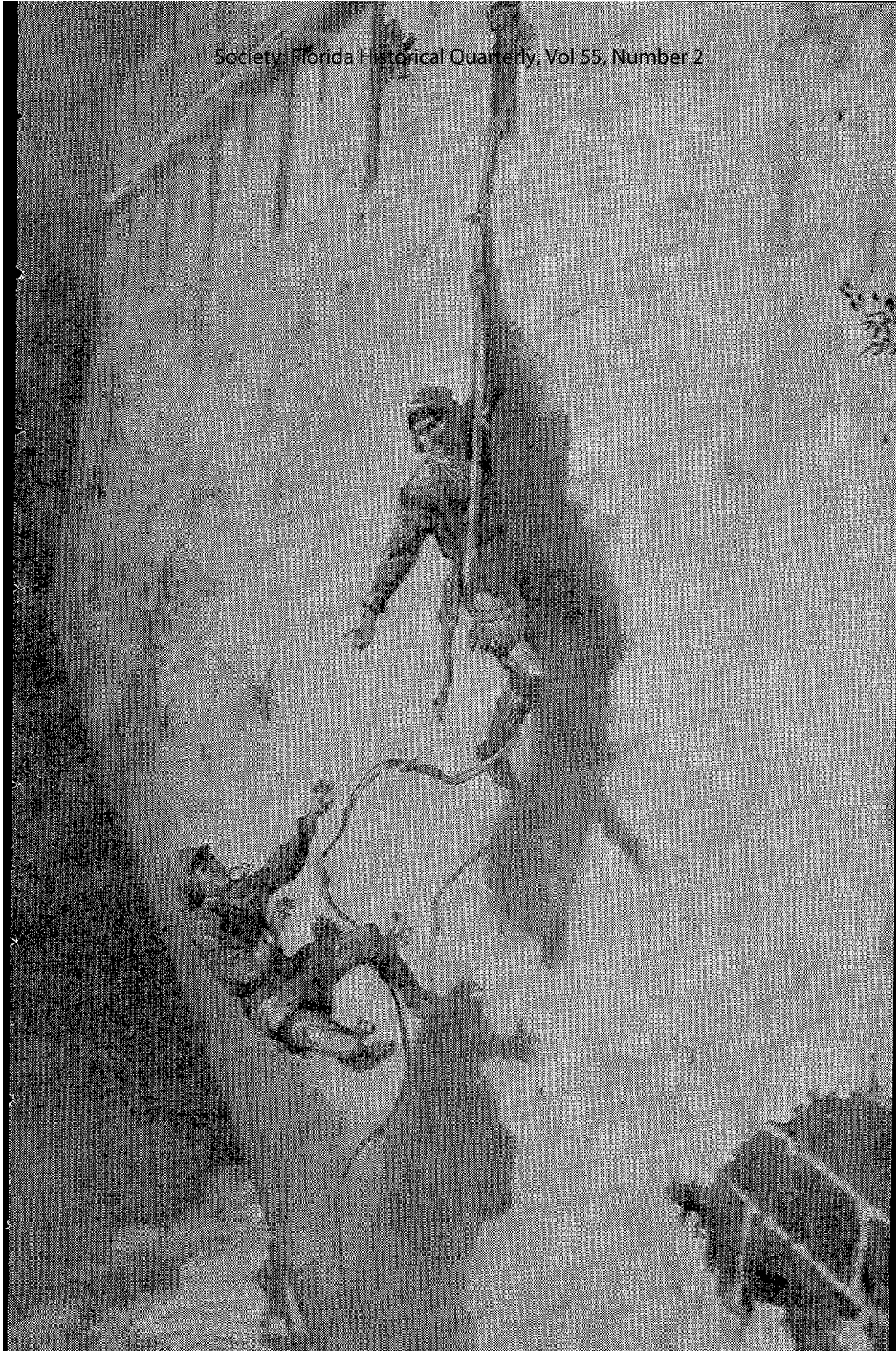
Times of Seminole tranquility, though, were always broken. Cruelly, the Creeks who remained in Georgia and Alabama were often paid by the United States government to track down Seminoles as if they had been eternal enemies, not brothers. Seminole revenge for the raids was swift and deadly; in 1835 the blood of Major Francis Langhorne Dade covered a spot of earth not far from the Hillsborough River. Wiley Thompson, an Indian agent at Fort King, was killed and scalped by Osceola. White families who traveled in covered wagons in Florida has reason to fear open

places, for there they were vulnerable to Seminole rage and guns. Perhaps the white pioneers thought to find paradise in Florida; often, instead, their portion was death. The Seminole of history was a very human mixture of anger, kindness to his own if they were not regarded as traitors, and sometimes even childlike delight.

Once during the 1820s a Shakespeare company was touring Florida, enroute west from St. Augustine. A band of Seminoles attacked and made off with their trunks. When the trunks were opened, the Indians exclaimed with pleasure at the finery they found: costumes of Hamlet and Richard the Third, Henry the Fourth, Polonius, Shylock, Petruchio, Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, queens, and princesses. Many of these costumes were an important element in the evolution of modern Seminole dress. It is easy to see faint traces of the royal feathers of British stage monarchs when Josie Billie dons his ceremonial regalia, to enchant hundreds of sympathetic spectators with his reminiscences at gatherings like the Florida Folk Festival at White Springs.

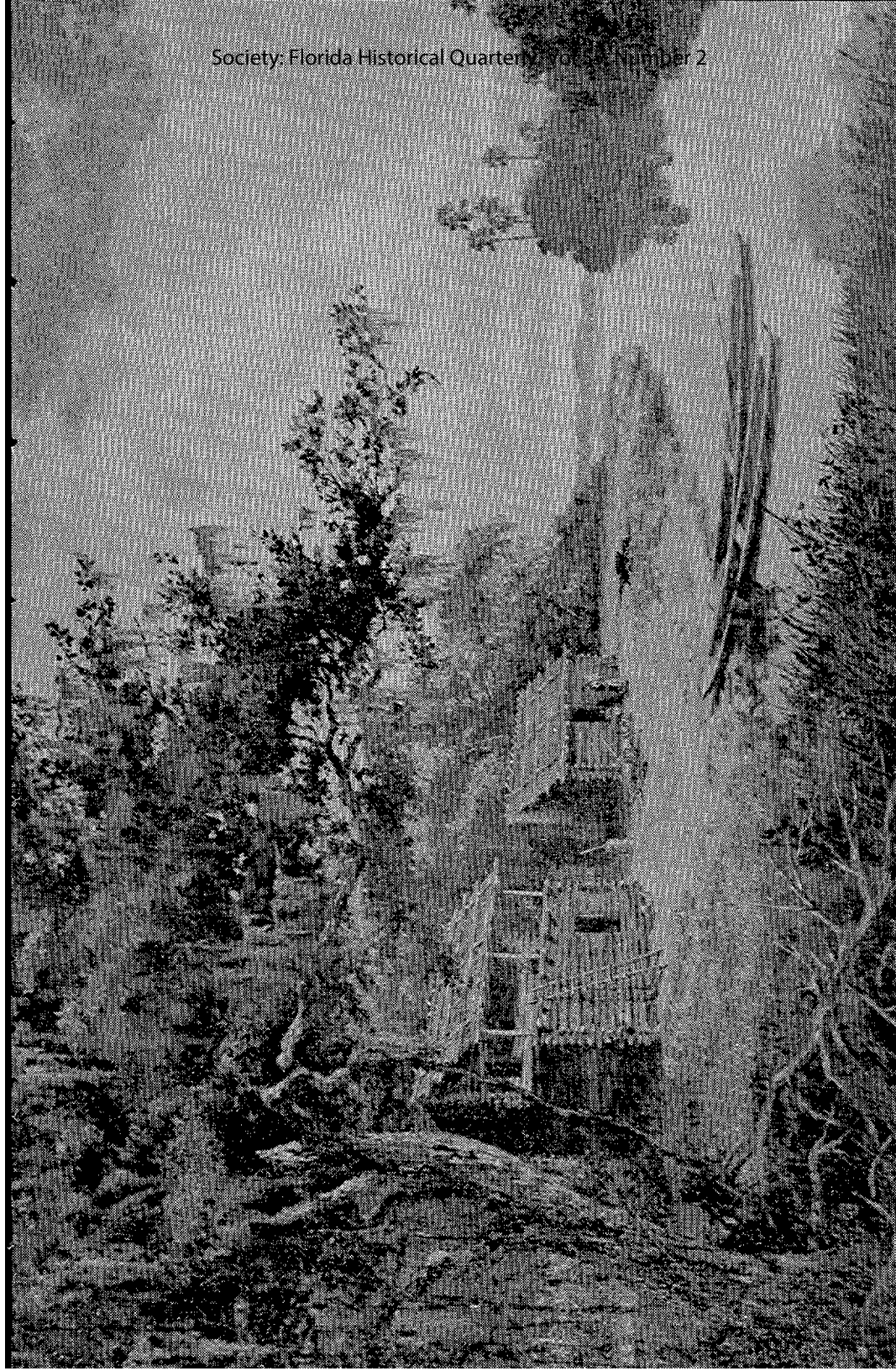
Once Seminoles lived at White Springs. But the white soldiers pushed them down, down into the peninsula until they could push no more. As Seminoles killed, so did many whites. But the soldiers could never conquer the sea of grass that was and is the Everglades. In it, the chickee and the invisible camp came into being. Even today the Seminoles are secretive about the locations of their camps. And as they court tourists on the Tamiami Trail, one feels that often they despise these tourists. A Seminole village is not a very friendly place for white travelers; the Indians have every reason for resentment. When Betty Mae Jumper, later tribal chief, left her village to become a nurse in the world of modern America, there were older Seminoles who would not speak to her.

How, then, could a white artist born in Buffalo, New York, penetrate the fastnesses of Seminole territory and spirits? He was fifteen when he moved to southern Florida. He was soon captured by the enigmatic sorrow and delight of the Seminoles around him. After a stint at Palm Beach Junior College he tried cartooning; then he painted signs. In 1959 he moved to the Brighton Reservation for two years. There his warm sympathy and his sensitivity to Seminole culture won over the only tribe that had never signed a peace treaty with the United States. He did not merely watch them; he was of them, and in his art they recog-



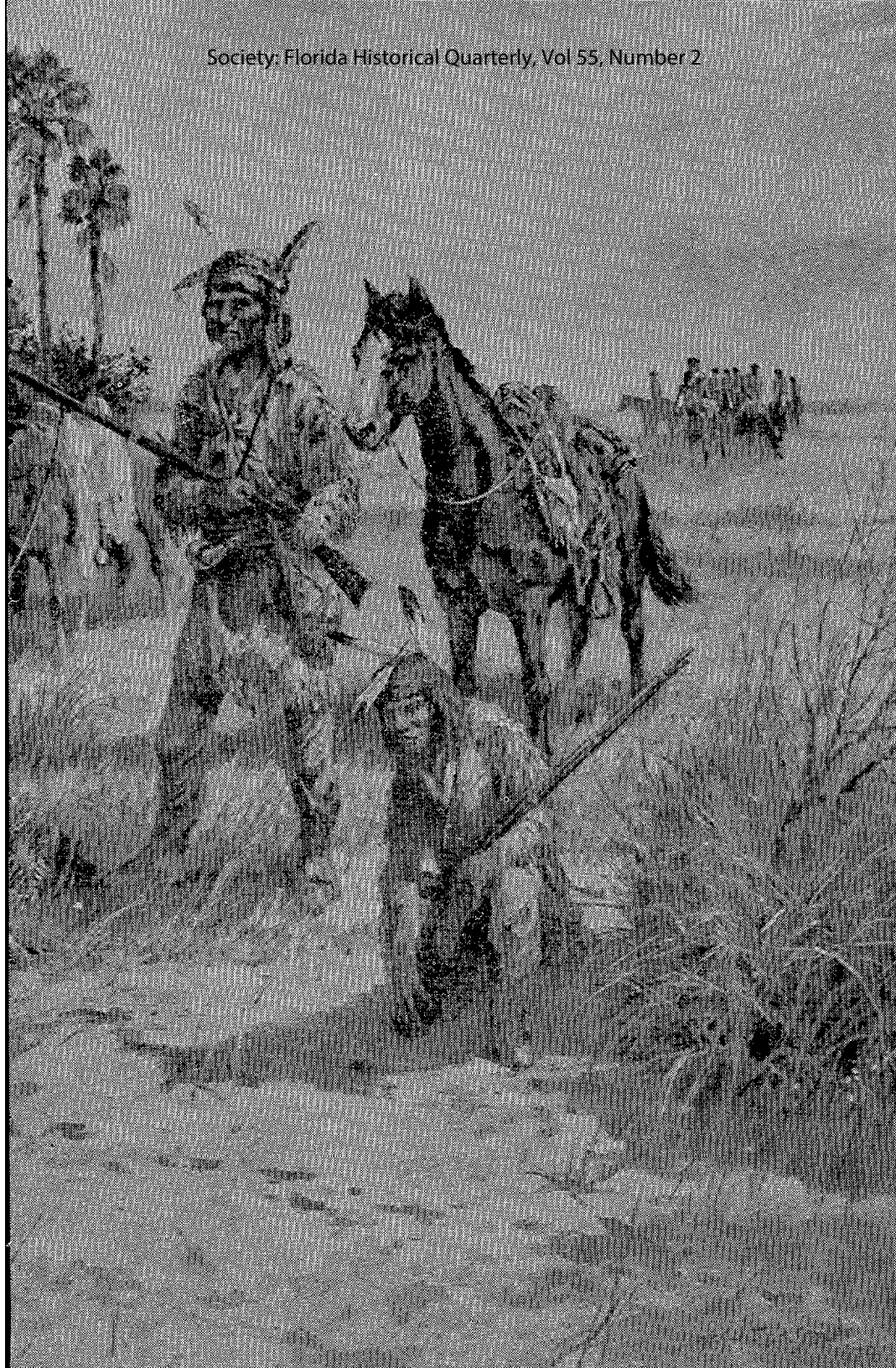






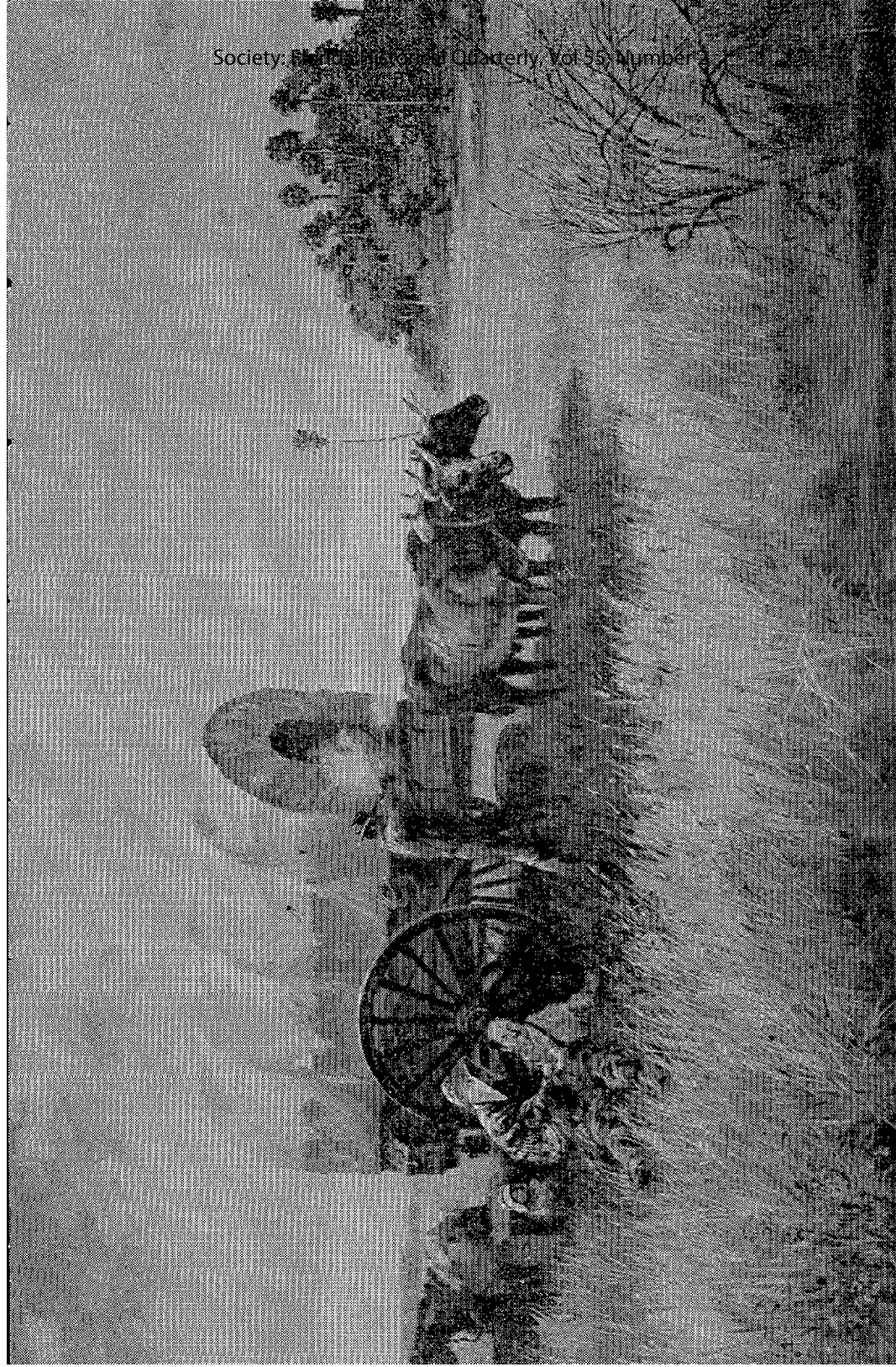




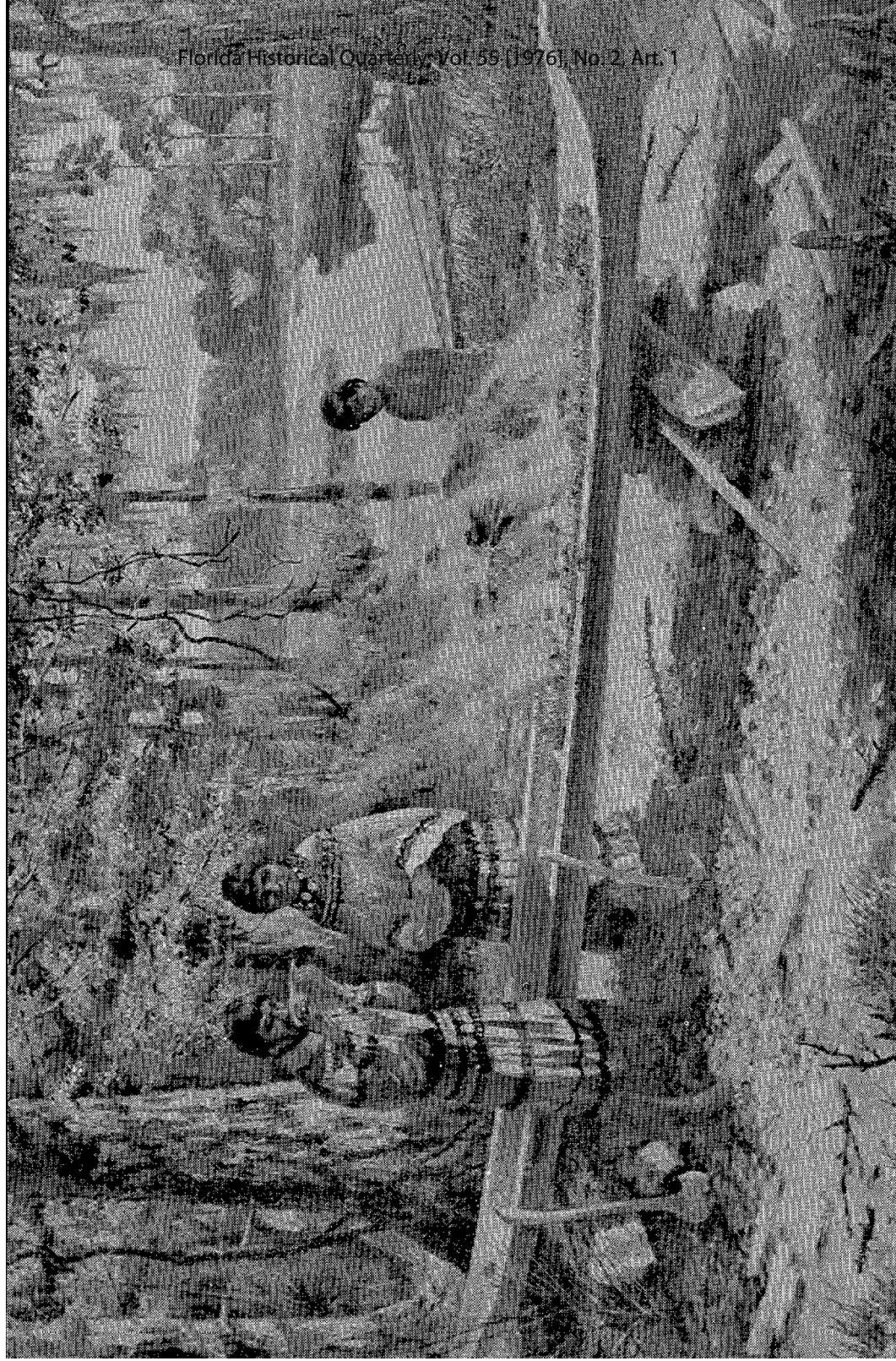


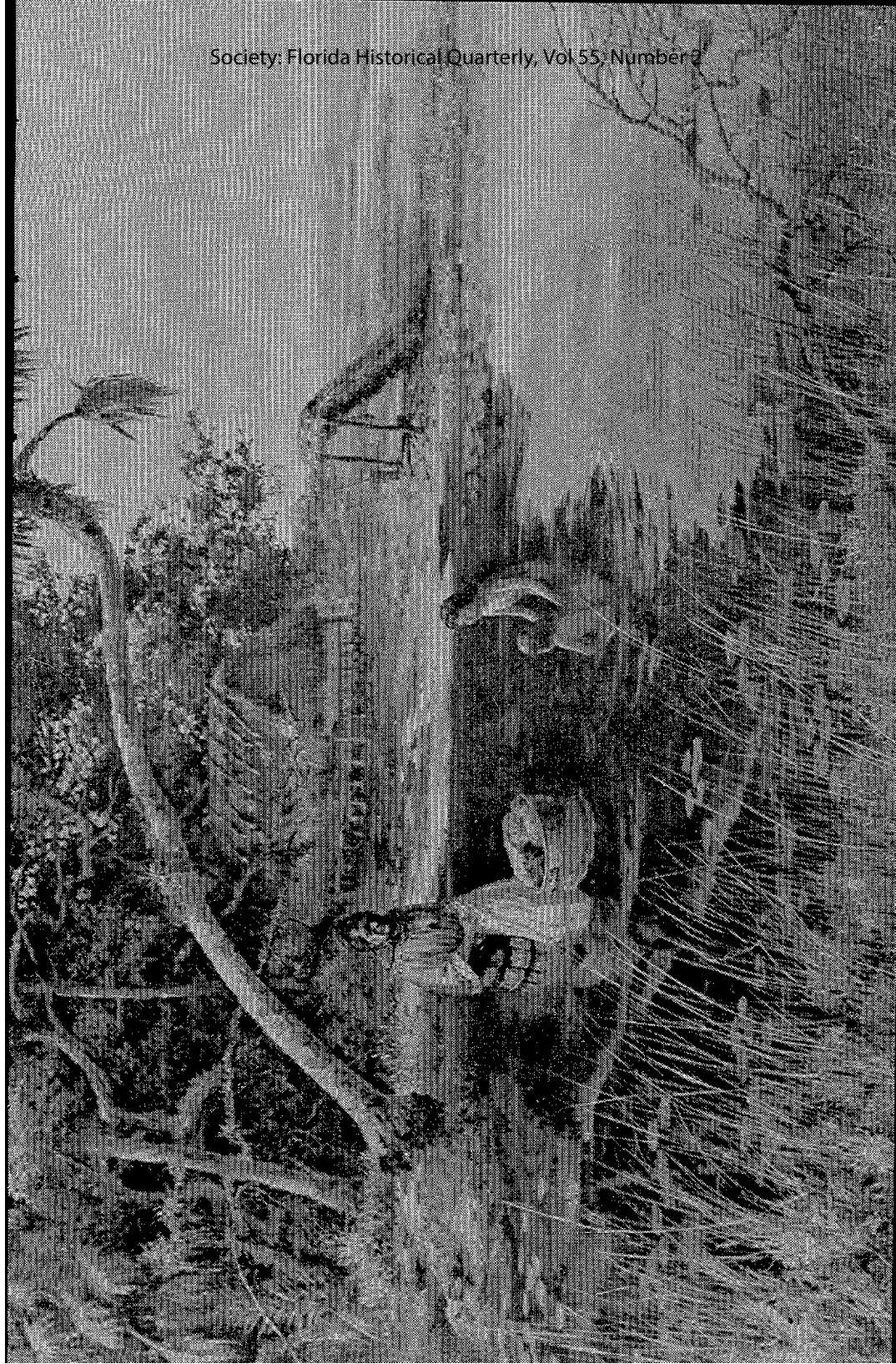




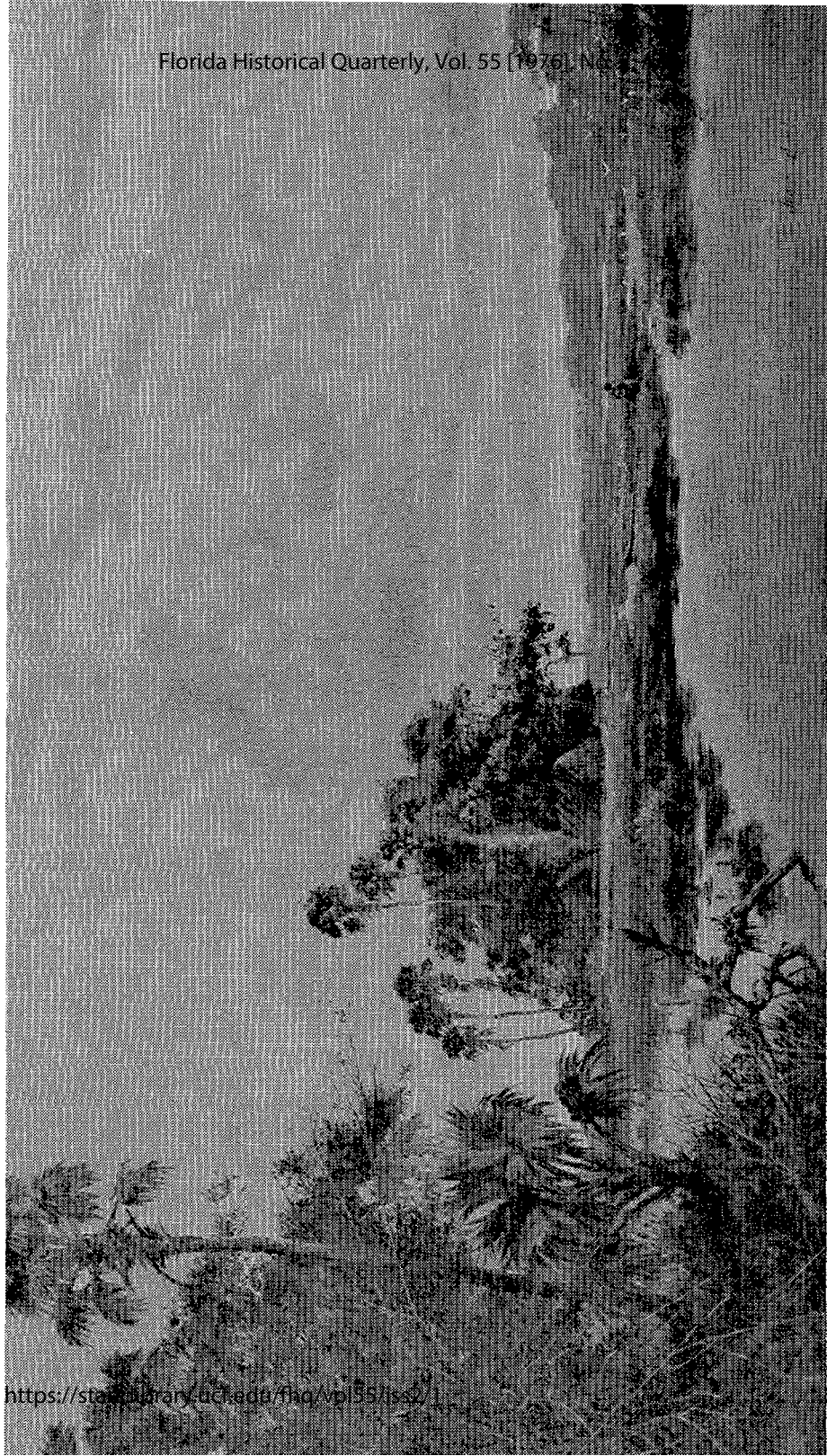






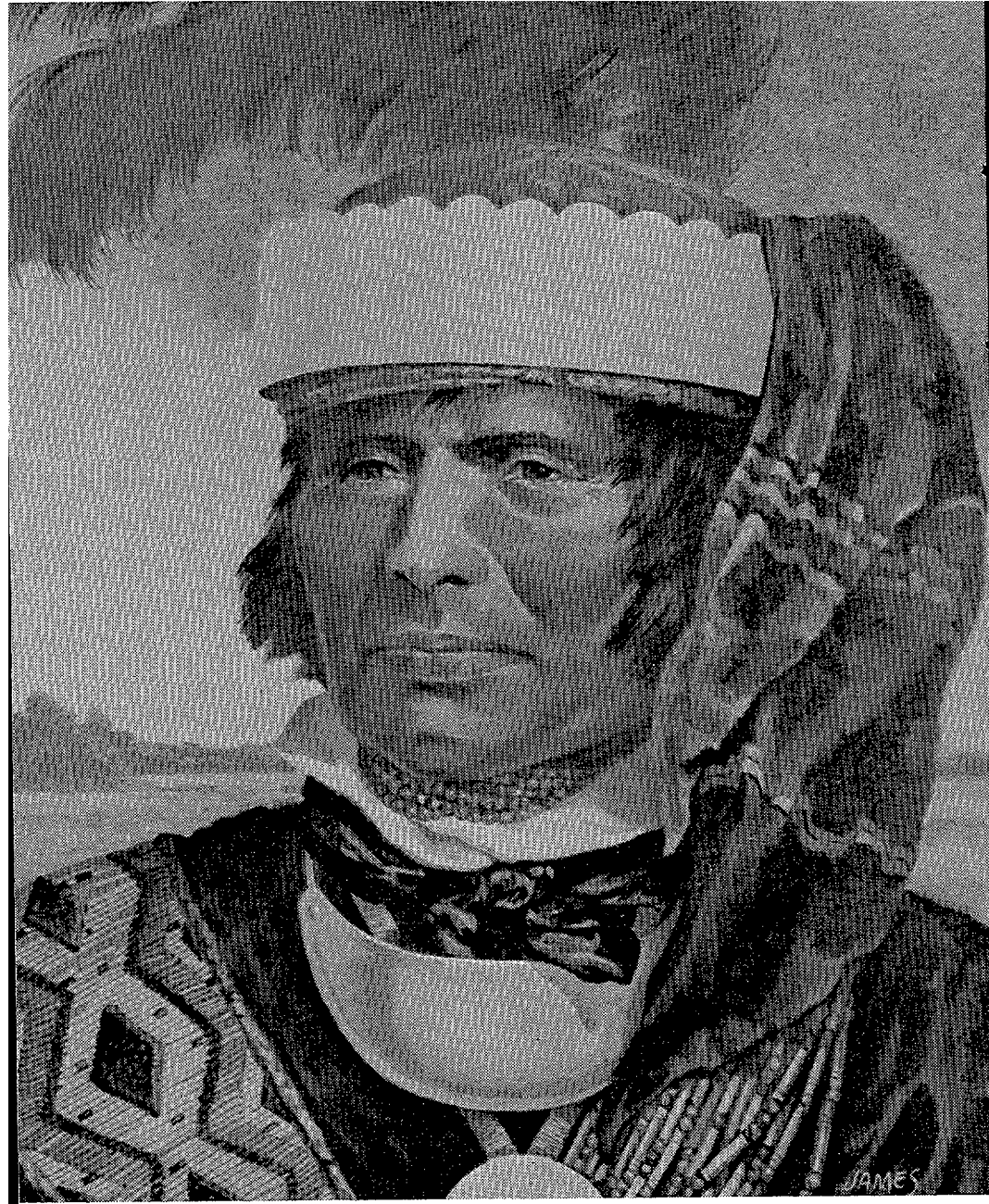












nized not only their physical lineaments but the enduring truth of their customs, history, and leaders.

What is a Seminole village beyond the tourist area of the Tamiami Trail? It is thatched chickees; it is the murmur of the wind in high Royal palms. It is the nutty smell of the sofkee in iron cauldrons, the bright games of children, the rattles and the drums of the Green Corn Dance, and the sacredness of the New Fire which is lit every year in a venerable tradition.

The lifeway of the Seminoles is rich. Their music mesmerizes, the lilt of their language fascinates. They are picturesque beyond shortsighted tourist observation; filmy ponchos and rigid hairstyles on the women, intricate patchwork on the shirts of the men. Do they resent the Florida State University Seminoles who play football? Possibly; probably. For the white man, the ultimate interpretation of their tragedy has been fashioned by Walt Whitman, that poet of democracy in an America as yet unstained by the grossest of Washington corruptions but already scarred by its cruelty toward native Americans:

#### OSCEOLA

When his hour for death had come,  
 He slowly raised himself from the bed on the floor,  
 Drew on his war-dress, shirt, leggings, and girdled the belt around  
     his waist,  
 Call'd for vermilion paint (his looking glass was held before  
     him),  
 Painted half his face and neck, his wrists and back-hands,  
 Put the scalp-knife carefully in his belt— then lying down, resting  
     a moment,  
 Rose again, half-sitting, smiled, gave in silence his extended hand  
     to each and all,  
 Sank faintly low to the floor (tightly grasping the tomahawk  
     handle,)  
 Fixed his look on wife and little children— the last:  
 (And here a line in memory of his name and death.)<sup>1</sup>

In that poignant dying, he ensured his own life and the life of a courageous people.

1. Walt Whitman, *Leaves of Grass*, ed. Malcolm Cowley (New York, 1968), 463.

## A FLORIDA ARTIST VIEWS THE SEMINOLES

by JAMES HUTCHINSON

# 1

"ESCAPE FROM FORT MARION"

Painting Size 36" X 48"

Under a flag of truce, a group of Seminoles were captured in 1837 by the U. S. Army and imprisoned in Fort Marion, named for General Francis Marion, South Carolina's Revolutionary War hero (renamed Castillo de San Marcos in 1942) at St. Augustine, Florida. Led by the indomitable Coacoochee (Wildcat), the Indians starved themselves so that they might squeeze through a tiny window at the top of their cell, eighteen feet from the floor. With the aid of a rope made from bedding, the Indians let themselves down the outer wall of the Castillo to the marshy moat. According to legend, two of the men lost their grip and fell, one breaking his leg. Coacoochee and his warriors rejoined the Indian groups still fighting and continued the Second Seminole War for another five years.

# 2

"THE EXAMPLE"

Painting Size 24" X 36"

Charlie Emathla was one of the chiefs who agreed to migrate west rather than stay and fight in Florida. Osceola warned the Seminoles that he would personally destroy anyone who tried to leave. Nevertheless, Charlie sold his cattle and was returning homeward with a small party on November 26, 1835, when a larger band, under Osceola, shot him, scattered the money from the sale of the cattle over his body, and left the carcass for the vultures as an example to those who still favored removal.

# 3

"INDIANS CABINS"

Painting Size 25" X 40"

Long before the Seminoles began living in thatched chickees, raised platforms open to the breeze, they lived in log cabins. The

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small cabin would have divided into two rooms, one for sleeping and one for cooking on an open hearth with a chimney made of sticks and clay. The upper story of the two-story cabin was also divided, the enclosed half used for storing squash and corn, the open half used as a porch.

# 4

“ANNIE TOMMIE”

Painting Size 22” X 28”

The remarkable Annie Tommie knew the herb combinations used to cure anything from peptic ulcers to ingrown toenails. Whites as well as Indians flocked to her camp, west of Fort Lauderdale. Though she knew all the remedies that Josie Billie used as a medicine man, she was never called a medicine woman. She restricted her efforts to physical woes. A medicine man attended not only to the body but the spirit as well.

# 5

“TRACKERS”

Painting Size 28” X 22”

Footprints of the man or animal have been a language full of meaning to the Seminole. They identify friend and foe, food and predator. These particular trackers, however, are not Seminoles. They are Creeks, cousins to the Seminoles, and hired by the army to track down and help exterminate their once-neighbors.

# 6

“DADE MASSACRE” (Final Phase)

Painting Size 72” X 108”

This shows the contrast between the white and the Seminole ways of making war. The artillery officer who succeeded Major Francis L. Dade in command would have been wiser to take cover in the trees, Indian fashion.

# 7

"CAUGHT IN THE OPEN"  
Painting Size 30" X 42"

In the late 1830s, at the outbreak of the Seminole War, settlers were often killed or burned off their homesteads, and newcomers were frequently ambushed. The oxen-pulled two-wheeled cart was typical transportation of the time and area.

# 8

"CANOE BUILDING"  
Painting Size 25" X 36"

Canoe building was an ancient art with the Seminoles. The cypress trees were usually felled a year before shaping began and were seasoned in the black waters of the swamp. After the exterior was shaped, the hollowing out began. With an adze the builder cut a trench between the gunwales and the inside which had to be burned out to a depth of about eight inches. Mud and green grass were packed in the trench to insulate the hull. Then hot coals were piled in the center. In this scene a young boy makes sure the fire does not burn through the mud and grass; he controls the fire by pouring water along the trench.

# 9

"WASH DAY"  
Painting Size 25" X 36"

Now that reservation Indians have moved from their chickees into houses, they have adopted more modern laundry methods. But until 1966, on the Brighton Reservation, the wash was done in a pond near the home chickee. Children played while mother scrubbed clothes in a galvanized tub. Often after the laundry was done, the mother settled into the water and bathed in the privacy of her billowing cape.

# 10

“EAST OF EMOKOLEE [IMMOKALEE]”

Painting Size 48” X 25”

Many years ago, during high water in the Glades, the artist travelled by canoe to this camp. A family of eight Seminoles lived here, fishing, hunting, and working a small garden on the high land in the center of the hammock. The family was concerned that he might tell people where they lived. However, he promised them that if he referred to their home, he would only say, “They live east of Emokolee.”

# 11

“BRIGHTON CAMP”

Painting Size 48” X 25”

This is a camp of fifteen years ago on a slough in Brighton Reservation. It typifies the kind of camp that used to dot the Glades of Florida, and now exists only on the canvasses of artists or locked in the memory of very old men.

# 12

“HOLATTER MICCO” (Billy Bowlegs)

Painting Size 12” X 14”

After the capture of Osceola, and later, Coacoochee, Billy Bowlegs became the principal Seminole War chief. With eighty warriors and their women and children, Bowlegs waged guerrilla warfare against large numbers of troops. He finally surrendered, and on August 14, 1842, Washington formally announced the eight-year Seminole War over, at a cost of 1,500 U. S. soldiers' lives and \$20,000,000!

The name, Billy Bowlegs, did not indicate a physical deformity, but was probably based on his Indian name, Bolek or Boleck.



## CLAN AFFILIATION AND LEADERSHIP AMONG THE TWENTIETH CENTURY FLORIDA INDIANS

by R. T. KING\*

**A**S LATE AS THE 1950s, the Florida Seminoles were among the least acculturated of North American Indians. Three nineteenth-century wars with the United States had ended in defeat for the Seminoles, shattering their political structure and forcing the removal of the great majority of their people to Indian Territory west of the Mississippi. The remnant bands had dispersed into the uninhabited reaches of South Florida, where, largely left to their own devices, they continued to lead a life based on hunting, gathering, and swidden (cut and burn) agriculture. They were not able to resume their rather sophisticated pre-war political structure, but their culture did provide foci of leadership in the personages of the keepers of the medicine bundles.

A majority of the Seminoles moved on to reservations set up by the government in the 1920s and 1930s. This was followed by their organization into two formal political bodies in the 1950s and 1960s. This organization was directed and shaped both by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and by representatives of the Baptist church. Medicine keepers had no place in the governmental structures which developed; they and their councils of elders gave way to elected chairmen, presidents, and reservation representatives. Under this theoretically democratic system, a single clan has provided most of the presidents and chairmen. Comprised of only about one-fifth of the Seminole population, this clan is smaller than the one which provides the medicine keepers.

Before the wars of the last century destroyed the Indian system of civil government, clan affiliation had been the major

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\* Mr. King is a doctoral candidate in United States history, University of Florida, Gainesville, and a consultant to the Southeastern Indian Oral History Project, University of Florida. He presented an earlier version of this paper at the American Society for Ethnohistory annual meeting, November 7, 1975, Gainesville, Florida. He would like to acknowledge the assistance of all those individuals—Seminole and Miccosukee—who have permitted him to interview them and to live among them.

determining factor in filling leadership positions. After 1857, Seminole cultural integrity was maintained through isolation; the Bureau of Indian Affairs remained relatively inattentive to the internal affairs of the tribe. Then, in mid-twentieth century, the Seminoles were encouraged to adopt a system of government for which they were culturally unprepared. Yet it appears that the traditional way of doing things may not have been entirely legislated out of existence. The clan which is presently providing the major tribal officers is numerically the strongest of the moiety which had supplied civil leadership in earlier decades.

Included among those Florida Indians known to the white community as Seminoles are two groups: the Hitchiti-speaking Miccosukees and the Muskogee-speaking Cow Creek Seminoles. The Creek word, "Seminolie," meaning "wild people" or run-aways, was first applied to Florida Indians in 1771 by the British Indian Agent John Stuart, in reference to several bands of Creek Indians who had located in the northern part of the peninsula.<sup>1</sup> Although many modern Florida Indians resent the appellation, feeling that "runaway" is a less than accurate description of their character, they are descendants of eighteenth-century Creeks who split away from the Creek center and migrated into Florida. Seminoles they were called then, and Seminoles they remain today, often with no distinction being made between the two language groups.

Initially, ties with their Creek brothers remained strong for the separatists. At least as late as 1783, they still considered themselves associated with the Creek Confederacy of Georgia and Alabama.<sup>2</sup> In 1818, however, all political affiliations were severed when 2,000 Lower Creek warriors marched into Florida with Andrew Jackson's troops in a punitive action against the Seminoles.<sup>3</sup> Thereafter, the histories of the Creeks and Seminoles became mutually exclusive. From 1818 through the 1850s the Sem-

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1. John K. Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War, 1835-1842* (Gainesville, 1967), 7.
  2. Charles H. Fairbanks, "Ethnohistorical Report of the Florida Indians," presentation before the Indian Claims Commission, Dockets 73, 151, p. 181. Copy in P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville. This report has been reproduced as Charles H. Fairbanks, *Ethnohistorical Report on the Florida Indians* (New York, 1974).
  3. *Ibid.*, 271; Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War*, 25.

inoles were involved in three wars and numerous lesser conflicts, both with the United States Army and with armed Floridians. During that period, their numbers were severely depleted by acts of violence and through forced removals to Indian Territory in Oklahoma. There were only 208 Seminoles left in Florida by 1880, these living in twenty-two scattered camps between Catfish Lake, north of Lake Okeechobee, and the Miami River.<sup>4</sup>

By the 1970s, the Florida Indian population numbered about 2,000. They continue to live throughout the southern part of the state, but the majority are concentrated on four reservations: Hollywood, Big Cypress, Brighton, and the Tamiami Trail.<sup>5</sup> These Indians are represented by two separate and distinct governmental bodies. Headquarters for the Seminole Tribe of Florida is in Hollywood, Florida. Indians living on the Hollywood, Brighton, and Big Cypress reservations compose the membership of this polity. Although it is becoming increasingly difficult to draw distinctions, due to intermarriage between the two language groups, the majority of the constituency are Miccosukee-speakers, and the remainder are Muskogee-speaking Seminoles. The 1975 census of the Seminole Tribe of Florida shows a total enrollment of 1,232.<sup>6</sup>

The Miccosukee Tribe of Florida is located at Forty Mile Bend on the Tamiami Trail, and it is made up entirely of Miccosukee Indians.<sup>7</sup> This group differs from the Seminole Tribe primarily in being more traditionalist and in being less affected by the Baptist missionary movement. Approximately 300 Indians are represented by the Miccosukee Tribe.

Scattered along the Tamiami Trail, and in the area between Lake Okeechobee and Fort Pierce, are several bands of non-affiliated Indians who have chosen not to relocate onto any of

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4. 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), 477.
  5. The Hollywood Reservation is an urban reservation located within the confines of Hollywood, Florida; Brighton Reservation is in Glades County, several miles northwest of Lakeport; Big Cypress Reservation is in the Big Cypress Swamp east of Immokalee.
  6. Lois Carey, secretary of the Seminole Tribe, provided information concerning the total enrolled population of the tribe, and the breakdown of that number by clan. This information was derived from the 1975 tribal census, a document to which non-Indians are denied access.
  7. Forty Mile Bend is forty miles west of Miami on U.S. 41, the Tamiami Trail.

the reservations. Their participation in the political life of the reservation is minimal, although they are eligible for membership in a formal tribal organization.<sup>8</sup> From the end of the Seminole Wars until the creation of the Seminole Tribe of Florida in 1957, the Indians of Florida had no formal tribal organization. No one Indian could claim to exercise authority over any other. The only "chiefs" were those men who had been accorded the title by an ignorant white populace, or who had designated themselves as such in order to bring more business to their various tourist-oriented enterprises. This is not to say that there were no men who were recognized as leaders, but rather that there were no positions from which individuals could make decisions binding on the lives of the people. Deference was accorded to medicine keepers, to the aged, and to those who were considered to be heads of clans, but such respect did not carry with it any arbitrary power.

As descendants of various bands of the Creek Confederacy, the Florida Seminoles are heir to general Muskogean cultural patterns. Although greatly modified by the exigencies of forty years of armed combat with white Americans, and the subsequent necessity to take refuge in some of the most inhospitable terrain on the continent, many of these cultural patterns were still clearly identifiable well into the twentieth century. The elaborate political structure of the Creeks and early Seminoles was based on a loose alliance of townships, each with its principle leader.<sup>9</sup> There is no evidence that it survived the Seminole wars intact; however, it is apparent that certain of its characteristics did.

Among the Creeks the principle civil leader was always from a particular clan— that clan being the most important one of the township. He was chosen by a general council of elders representing the various clans of the township, and he presided over that council which made civil decisions for the town. Headmen were always chosen from among the White moiety of clans, which included the Wind, Snake, and Bird clans of the Creeks, and from which the modern Seminole clans of those names were derived.<sup>10</sup>

8. Amended Constitution and Bylaws of the Seminole Tribe of Florida, Article II. Copy in Center for the Study of Southeastern Indians, University of Florida, Gainesville.

9. Harold Driver, *Indians of North America* (Chicago, 1961), 345.

10. J. N. B. [John Napoleon Brinton] Hewitt, "Notes on the Creek Indians," ed. John R. Swanton, *Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 123*, Smith-

In 1913, the Seminoles had been without towns for almost three-quarters of a century, but Lucien Spencer, Bureau of Indian Affairs agent to the Florida Seminoles, was able to report that the "business of the tribe is transacted by a Council composed of the Head Men of the various clans. The Florida Seminoles have no chief, but the oldest man of each clan is Patriarch or Head Man of that clan, and these Head Men form a Council which is [*sic*] absolute control of all affairs of the tribe."<sup>11</sup>

The council to which Spencer referred was not an important factor in the everyday life of the Seminoles. Convening only during the annual Green Corn Dance, its function was primarily a judicial one. It was presided over by a keeper of the medicine bundle, a personage who was always drawn from the Panther clan.<sup>12</sup> The medicine keeper's power was supposed to be entirely spiritual in nature, but apparently, with the disintegration of civil government, the Seminoles came to rely to a significant degree on his secular judgement.<sup>13</sup> Numerous informants, both Indian and white, have confirmed this, and Robert Mitchell, a white man who has enjoyed long and intensive contact with the Florida Indians, has suggested that the medicine keepers exercised some influence in the choice of council members.<sup>14</sup>

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sonian Institution, Anthropological Papers, No. 10 (Washington, 1939), 132-34. Hewitt's field work was done among Oglahoma Creek Indians in the 1880s. He used informants who had reached maturity before the breakdown of the Creek political system began. While serving as an ethnologist and custodian of manuscripts for the Bureau of American Ethnology in the 1920s, Hewitt began getting his notes on the Creeks into manuscript form; John R. Swanton completed the job in 1939. Swanton, perhaps the most eminent authority on the Southeastern Indians, felt that Hewitt's work had not only corroborated his own, but had perhaps brought fresh insight into the workings of Creek society.

11. Lucien Spencer's (agent to Florida Seminoles) "Annual Report" to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1913, p. 13. Copy in Center for the Study of Southeastern Indians.
12. Interview with Louis Capron, West Palm Beach, August 28, 31, 1971, tape (SEM 30ABC) and transcript in University of Florida Oral History Archives, Florida State Museum, Gainesville; Alexander Spoehr, "Camp, Clan and Kin among the Cow Creek Seminole of Florida," *Field Museum of Natural History Anthropological Series*, volume 33, number 1 (August 2, 1941), 16; Marianne Algande Schweitzer, "Ethnography of the Modern Mikasuki Indians of Southern Florida" (M.A. thesis, Yale University, 1945), 54.
13. Interview with Rex Quinn, Fort Pierce, December 13, 1973, tape (SEM 99AB) and transcript in U F Oral History Archives. Other informants substantiate this.
14. Interview with Robert Mitchell, Orlando, July 15, 1971, tape (SEM 10AB) and transcript in U F Oral History Archives.

A different interpretation was given by Alexander Spoehr, writing in 1941. He confirmed that the medicine keepers were always of the Panther clan, and that among the Cow Creek Seminoles, "The old hierarchy of town king and subordinate officers has disappeared, but in its stead is a small council of elderly medicine-men, among whom the chief medicine-man is acknowledged leader."<sup>15</sup> In the last twenty-five years, the civil influence of the medicine keepers, and hence the Panther clan, has declined. There are several reasons for this, but most significant seems to be the activity of the Baptist missionaries.

Representatives of various Christian sects had been active among the Florida Indians since the late nineteenth century, but met with little success until the 1940s. Suddenly, perhaps due to the charismatic personality of Stanley Smith, an Oklahoma Creek Baptist, there were numerous conversions to the Christian faith at Brighton, the Big Cypress, and Hollywood. Smith was thirty-three when he arrived to take over the ministry of the First Seminole Indian Baptist Church in Dania, August 15, 1943. He had been sent by the Creek, Seminole, Wichita Baptist Association. In January 1944, his appointment to the Florida Seminoles was made official by the Home Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention.<sup>16</sup> At first, Smith met with little success, being rejected as an outsider by most of the Seminoles. His persuasive powers were extraordinary, however, and he soon began to make conversions. His most important convert was Josie Billie, medicine keeper of the Big Cypress Indians and a member of the Panther clan.<sup>17</sup> In 1937, Billy Motlow died, and his medicine bundle passed to Josie, who retained it until 1944.<sup>18</sup> Details of Josie's loss of the medicine bundle are somewhat clouded by the passage of time, by the reluctance of his peers to talk about it, and by the controversy surrounding his personality. In 1928, Josie Billie had killed a woman of his own clan, and apparently he was not punished.<sup>19</sup> According to various Indian informants, he continued to lead a stormy life, punctuated by drunkenness, increas-

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15. Spoehr, "Camp, Clan and Kin," 10.

16. James O. Buswell, III, "Florida Seminole Religious Ritual: Resistance and Change" (Ph.D. dissertation, Saint Louis University, 1972), 274-75.

17. *Ibid.*, 278.

18. William C. Sturtevant, "The Mikasuki Seminole: Medical Beliefs and Practices" (Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1954), 40.

19. Buswell, "Florida Seminole Religious Ritual," 308.

ing contact with white society, and occasional abuse of his magical powers. It has been reported that some believed that Josie Billie had killed a man through sorcery in 1942 or 1943.<sup>20</sup>

By the time Stanley Smith arrived on the Big Cypress Reservation in 1943, Josie Billie had already begun to respond to the proselytizing activities of Smith's predecessor, Willie King.<sup>21</sup> Smith brought King's work to fruition, convincing Josie Billie and a council of elders that he was a prophesied brother returned from the West with "beautiful stories to tell." His activities thus having been given the cachet of legitimacy through correspondence with tradition, and through acceptance by some of the most influential members of the tribe, Smith moved rapidly to establish his faith formally among the Seminoles. On January 21, 1945, Josie Billie and twenty-one other Indians were baptized at the Big Cypress schoolhouse.<sup>22</sup> One Seminole, who later became a minister, stated that Josie had directed his fellow converts to accept the faith.<sup>23</sup>

There are conflicting accounts among the Seminoles concerning Josie Billie's loss of his medicine bundle in 1944, some saying that due to general misconduct and his apparently growing acculturation he was asked to surrender it; others claim that he voluntarily relinquished it when he began having doubts of its efficacy in comparison to Christianity. Whatever the cause, the fact remained that a medicine keeper and renowned herb doctor, a man who had been an influential member of the most traditionalist group of Florida Indians, had embraced the white man's faith and persuaded twenty-one others to join him. In the process, he had not only opened the gate to Christianity, but had seriously eroded the influential position of the medicine keeper, and hence of the Panther clan, among the Big Cypress Indians.

One writer has suggested that perhaps conversions on Big Cypress came earlier than elsewhere for reasons not entirely spiritual in nature: "In 1937 many of the Trail . . . [Micosukees] had gone to the Big Cypress Reservation because they did not belong to clans which could inherit official positions or status. . . .

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20. Sturtevant, "Mikasuki Seminole," 54.

21. Buswell, "Florida Seminole Religious Ritual," 279.

22. *Ibid.*, 280-81.

23. Interview with Billy Osceola, Brighton Reservation, February 27, 1973, tape (SEM 89) and transcript in U F Oral History Archives; conversations in 1973 with Billy Osceola.

The acceptance of Christianity gave these Seminoles prestige. Church positions became goals for the ambitious."<sup>24</sup>

On Brighton Reservation, the home of most of the Cow Creek Seminoles, the Baptists were also making an impact. By 1948, five Seminoles had been recruited to attend the Florida Bible College in Lakeland, and by the early 1950s there were established churches on all three reservations. Billy Osceola was the minister at the Brighton church, Bill Osceola ministered to the Big Cypress Baptists, and the two shared duties at the Hollywood Reservation. The Tamiami Trail Miccosukees, who had yet to form a reservation, continued vigorously to resist Christian encroachment.

While the church was enjoying some success on the three reservations, Christians continued to constitute a distinct minority among the Seminoles. In fact, at the Brighton Reservation, opposition was so stiff that they were not allowed to build their church on reservation land. The Lykes Brothers Corporation donated a small plot of land immediately adjacent to the reservation, and a church was erected there.<sup>25</sup>

It is no accident that shortly after the Baptist presence began to be felt among the reservation Indians a movement grew to create a formal governmental organization—the Seminole Tribe of Florida. Rex Quinn, former superintendent of the Seminole agency, who was instrumental in drawing up a tribal constitution, believes that the Baptist Church had a strong role not only in the establishment of the organization, but in the development of the leaders of the tribe.<sup>26</sup> Traditionally, the Seminoles are passive in their dealings with one another; they do not like being told what to do, and it is antipathetic to their cultural norm to presume to tell others what to do. Decisions affecting large groups of people have always been arrived at by consensus, with much discussion among spokesmen whose judgement was valued. Ac-

24. Ethel Cutler Freeman, "Cultural Stability and Change Among the Seminoles of Florida," in International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, 5th, Philadelphia, 1956, *Men and Cultures; Selected Papers*, edited under the chairmanship of Anthony F. C. Wallace (Philadelphia, 1960), 251.

25. Interview with Billy Osceola, Brighton Reservation, February 27, 1973. Rykes Brothers, Inc. is a diversified Tampa-based corporation which owns large tracts of ranch land in the vicinity of the Brighton reservation.

26. Interview with Rex Quinn, Fort Pierce, December 13, 1973.



cording to Quinn, "Bill and Billy [Osceola, the two ministers who were most influential in organizing the tribe and who became the two highest officers in its first government] were not spokesmen in the traditional sense. They knew what the tribe wanted and what was best for it. They were independent. . . . While these two may not have been the best leaders in the Seminole Tribe, they were the most willing ones."<sup>27</sup> This tends to substantiate one thesis that Christianity provided a vehicle for legitimizing a behavior pattern—telling others what to do—which was objectionable in the traditional Seminole culture. Within "the Christian complex," the preacher could make recommendations without being known as a "Big Shot."<sup>28</sup>

The Baptist church was not the only influence in preparing the Seminoles to accept some form of elected, representative government. In 1936, a herd of cattle had been brought to the Brighton Reservation by the Department of the Interior. These animals formed the nucleus of a Seminole cattle enterprise, and it was intended that the tribe would share the profits after the government had been repaid in kind for the initial investment. Fred Montsdeoca, the agent in charge of the project, was entrusted with the task of seeing that the Cow Creek Seminoles on Brighton elected a board of trustees. Assisted by Willie King, a Creek Baptist from Oklahoma, he explained how an election was conducted, and what its importance was. According to Montsdeoca, the election did not go smoothly. Apparently, the women cast ballots for everyone. Willy Gopher, a man who admittedly knew nothing about cattle, was elected to the board. When Charlie Micco was asked why so many people had voted for Gopher, he said it was because he had a horse. Perhaps the Indians realized that the whole production was not to be taken seriously, since, as Montsdeoca has admitted, the election was merely a legal formality—he directed the cattle program.<sup>29</sup>

With the cattle project, the impact of the Baptist church, and Bureau of Indian Affairs administration, the reservation Indians

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27. *Ibid.* Billy Osceola was elected chairman of the Seminole Tribe in 1957, and Frank Billie became president of the board of directors. Frank Billie was of the Wind clan of the traditional Creek White moiety. He resigned his office less than a year later and was replaced by Bill Osceola.

28. Buswell, "Florida Seminole Religious Ritual," 383-84.

29. Interview with Fred Montsdeoca, Lorita, Florida, December 4, 1972, tape (SEM 76A) and transcript in U F Oral History Archives.

experienced rapid cultural change in the 1940s and 1950s. In the early 1950s, after some prodding by government lawyers, they decided to file a claim with the Indian Claims Commission, asking recompense for land guaranteed them by several nineteenth-century treaties.<sup>30</sup> This seemingly innocuous move quickly led to a split with the Trail Miccosukees, and the eventual formation of both the Seminole and Miccosukee Tribes of Florida.

Buffalo Tiger, who became chairman of the Miccosukee Tribe of Florida, served as interpreter for the general council of the Trail Miccosukees in 1954. According to Tiger, problems arose when "Some of the Indian people who called themselves chiefs or leaders . . . organized themselves and filed some papers for the settlement of claims."<sup>31</sup> This organization and filing was done in the name of all of the Florida Indians, and without prior consultation with the sizable body of traditionalist Miccosukees living off the reservations.

If there were leaders among the Trail Miccosukees, they were to be found in the general council of the Green Corn Dance, presided over by Ingraham Billie, keeper of the medicine bundle. These traditionalists opposed being represented by the reservation Baptists, and they resisted any claims settlement that did not give them title to those lands which they inhabited. Buffalo Tiger, who was not part of the leadership, but who did speak English, arranged for Morton Silver, a Miami attorney, to represent the Miccosukees at the claims hearings in Washington.

Silver and several Miccosukees presented to a representative of President Eisenhower the "Buckskin Declaration," a document written on buckskin which stated that the Miccosukees did not seek monetary compensation for lands, and which expressed the Miccosukees' wish to continue living in the traditional manner.<sup>32</sup> Apparently this was the first inkling the government had that the Florida Seminoles were not a homogeneous unit.

At the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, M. M. Tozier, Department of the Interior information officer, was sent to Florida to investigate the situation. He conducted meetings on all

30. Interview with Roy Struble, Miami, August 18, 1972, tape (SEM 71A) and transcript in U F Oral History Archives.

31. Interview with Buffalo Tiger, Miami, May 16, 1973, tape (SEM 90A) and transcript in U F Oral History Archives.

32. M. M. Tozier, "Report on the Florida Seminoles," December 1954, typescript, p. 2. Copy in Center for the Study of Southeastern Indians.

of the reservations and at three camps along the Tamiami Trail to determine the true sentiments of those concerned. The vitality of the traditionalist movement was evidenced by the fact that the Indian turnout at Jimmie Tiger's camp, where Ingraham Billie and the Miccosukee Council were assembled, was greater than at all five of the other meetings.<sup>33</sup> The council reiterated its position that the reservation Seminoles should not be considered spokesmen for all of the Florida Indians. Tozier's subsequent report proved instrumental in the Trail Miccosukees eventually being recognized as an entity separate and distinct from the reservation Seminoles.

By 1957, Billy Osceola and other of the acculturated Seminoles on the reservation felt that they had enough support to organize a tribal government. They were encouraged to take this action by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and by the Baptist church. Such a government would be useful both for administrative purposes and for bringing the Seminoles more quickly and easily into the white cultural mainstream. Accordingly, the Bureau dispatched Rex Quinn to Florida to help formulate a charter and a constitution for the corporate and civil bodies of the nascent Seminole Tribe of Florida. In the same year, 1957, the constitution and charter were passed by a referendum in which fifty-five per cent of the eligible voters participated. Billy Osceola and Frank Billie were elected chairman of the council and president of the corporation, respectively. Frank Billie resigned his post in favor of Bill Osceola less than a year later. Bill and Billy Osceola were Baptist ministers; each was a member of the Bird clan.<sup>34</sup>

Meanwhile, on the Tamiami Trail, Buffalo Tiger had been relieved of his position as interpreter for the Council.<sup>35</sup> It was discovered that in his role as interpreter he had been making personal statements of an inflammatory nature while attributing

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33. *Ibid.*, 14.

34. During the winter of 1975-1976, Lois Carey, secretary of the Seminole Tribe, helped determine the succession of the elected leadership of the tribe by consulting handwritten minutes of council and corporate meetings. She found that Frank Billie had been the first president of the board of directors, although all informants—both Indian and white—had believed Bill Osceola to have been the first president. Bill Osceola is always spoken of as having been the co-founder, with Billy Osceola, of the Seminole Tribe of Florida.

35. The exact date of this action could not be determined through interviewing, but it seems to have been 1957 or 1958.

them to Ingraham Billie. He was shortly back in his position, however, for as the Miccoskees continued to have dealings with the government, they found that Tiger's command of the English language made him indispensable.

By 1961, the Trail Miccosukees, after much deliberation, realized that if they hoped to protect their interests it would be necessary to organize along lines similar to those of the Seminoles. They received assistance in writing a constitution from Rex Quinn. There was no referendum; the clan leaders gathered at Jimmie Tiger's camp and consulted with one another until there was unanimity on all points. Even some of the minor decisions took two or three days.<sup>36</sup>

Buffalo Tiger, as the man thought most capable of dealing with white society, was elected chairman of the Miccosukee Tribe of Florida in 1962. Initially, even as chairman, he remained little more than a spokesman for Ingraham Billie and the clan elders. However, as tribal affairs became ever more complex, he began to assume real authority. Today (1976) Ingraham Billie lives on the Big Cypress reservation. Buffalo Tiger continues as tribal chairman, assisted by several non-Indians. Buffalo Tiger is a member of the Bird clan.

The constitution of the Seminole Tribe of Florida provides for two separate governmental bodies: a corporation to administer economic affairs, and a tribal council to supervise civil business. From 1957 through 1962, the elected representatives to the tribal council and corporate board of directors chose from among their members the chairman, vice-chairman, president, and vice-president. A constitutional amendment in 1963 provided for direct election of the chairman and president by the general electorate. Since then, the elected heads of the council and corporation have served not only as executives of their own branches, but also as immediate subordinates to one another (i.e., the chairman of the council is also vice-president of the board of directors, and the president of the board is vice-chairman of the tribal council). They are assisted and advised by representatives from each of the three reservations.

Since the formation of the Seminole Tribe in 1957, there have been seven elections to fill the positions of chairman, vice-chair-

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36. Interview with Rex Quinn, Fort Pierce, December 13, 1973.

man, president, and vice-president. They have resulted in clans of the traditional Creek White moiety being represented in twenty-five of the available offices.<sup>37</sup> The Bird clan, numerically the most important in the White moiety, has been represented in eighteen of the twenty-eight offices.

	<i>Office</i>		<i>Clan</i>
1957	President	Frank Billie	Wind
	Vice-president	Bill Osceola	Bird
	Chairman	Billy Osceola	Bird
	Vice-chairman	Bettie Mae Jumper	Snake
(In 1958, Frank Billie resigned his office, and switched places with Bill Osceola.)			
1959	President	Bill Osceola	Bird
	Vice-president	Frank Billie	Wind
	Chairman	Billy Osceola	Bird
	Vice-chairman	Howard Tiger	Snake
1961	President	Howard Tiger	Snake
	Vice-president	Jimmie Cypress	Panther
	Chairman	Billy Osceola	Bird
	Vice-chairman	Mike Osceola	Bird
1963	President	Bill Osceola	Bird
	Vice-president	Billy Osceola	Bird
	Chairman	Billy Osceola	Bird
	Vice-chairman	Bill Osceola	Bird
1967	President	Joe Dan Osceola	Panther
	Vice-president	Bettie Mae Jumper	Snake
	Chairman	Bettie Mae Jumper	Snake
	Vice-chairman	Joe Dan Osceola	Panther
1971	President	Fred Smith	Bird
	Vice-president	Howard Tommie	Bird
	Chairman	Howard Tommie	Bird
	Vice-chairman	Fred Smith	Bird
1975	President	Bill Osceola	Bird
	Vice-president	Howard Tommie	Bird
	Chairman	Howard Tommie	Bird
	Vice-chairman	Bill Osceola	Bird

In 1967, members of the Snake and Pather clans were elected to the top positions. This particular election was marked by

37. Lois Carey provided information concerning elections. Clan membership comes from the 1975 census of the Seminole Tribe of Florida and from various Indian informants.

Bureau of Indian Affairs interference in tribal politics, and resulted in much bitterness and acrimony among the Indians involved and between the Indians and the bureau.<sup>38</sup> Joe Dan Osceola, the successful candidate for president that year, believes that Rex Quinn, superintendent of the Seminole agency, actively campaigned for his opponent. On the other hand, two former superintendents have stated that other officers of the agency gave their public support to Osceola and Bettie Mae Jumper, but Joe Dan denies that this happened. Whatever the truth, it appears that the agency was involved, contrary to BIA policy, in the electoral process. The result was a political ferment which was still remembered in 1976. Within six months of his election, Osceola had been recalled from office with a petition signed by twenty per cent of the electorate. However, he was returned to the same position as president of the board of directors in the subsequent election to fill the vacancy. In January 1971, with nine months of his term left, Joe Dan Osceola resigned from office. Bettie Mae Jumper assumed the responsibilities of the president-until the next election.

The anomalous 1967 election notwithstanding, it would appear that clan membership may be a determining factor in tribal leadership among modern Seminoles. It is certain that Birds are not being returned to office because of any majority that they may enjoy in the tribe as a whole. The 1975 breakdown by clan of the enrolled membership of the tribe shows the following:

CLAN	MEMBERS
Panther	573
Bird	249
Otter	173
Wind	68
Snake	50
Bear	27
Deer	13
No Clan	79

Although data on clan membership for the Miccosukee Tribe on the Tamiami Trail could not be obtained, several Miccosukee

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38. Interview with Eugene Barrett, Plantation, Florida, September 29, 1971, tape (SEM 34AB) and transcript in U F Oral History Archives.

speakers who are members of the Seminole Tribe claim that the relative strength of the clans is approximately the same for both groups.

There are factors other than clan affiliation operating in what was set up as a democratic process: Baptist, English-speaking cattle owners have dominated the political hierarchy since the 1957 formation of the Seminole Tribe of Florida. But it does not seem unreasonable to suggest that perhaps the civil leadership structure of the Creeks and early Seminoles may still be exercising some influence. It has been determined that the civil headman of a Creek town was always from a particular clan, that clan being of the White moiety. Military leaders and medicine men were of the Red moiety. From all accounts, what leadership there was, from the final disintegration of the Seminole tribe in the nineteenth century until the establishment of the present organization in 1957, was provided by the medicine keepers—men of the Panther clan from the Red moiety. As soon as a new civil organization was established, the Birds, largest and most important clan of the White moiety, became ascendant. This development cannot easily be dismissed as coincidence.

## RACE RELATIONS AND FLORIDA GUBERNATORIAL POLITICS SINCE THE *BROWN* DECISION

by DAVID R. COLBURN AND RICHARD K. SCHER\*

**T**HE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT, on May 17, 1954, delivered its famous *Brown* decision which forbade separate public school systems for black and white children. Reaction throughout most of the South was swift, and among public officials it ranged from hostility and bitterness to mild anger. Georgia's Governor Herman Talmadge was perhaps the most outspoken in his opposition to the decree: "The United States Supreme Court by its decision today has reduced our Constitution to a mere scrap of paper." Mississippi's Senator James Eastland was scarcely less vitriolic: "The South will not abide by nor obey this legislative decision by a political court."<sup>1</sup>

In Florida, however, reaction was substantially different. There was no immediate, widespread public outcry. Several newspaper editors and public officials urged Floridians to stay calm. For example, Florida's former governor and then senior Senator Spessard Holland said he hoped the decision would be met with "patience and moderation," and that there would not be any "violent repercussions" in the state.<sup>2</sup> In an editorial, the *Tampa Morning Tribune* held that the *Brown* decision was inevitable and should be accepted, even while calling it "deplorable" because it overturned law, custom, and social order in states maintaining segregation.<sup>3</sup> By and large, however, Floridians seemed to have relatively little to say about the decision in the days and weeks immediately following it.

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1. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, May 18, 1954.
2. Joseph A. Tomberlin, "Florida Whites and the Brown Decision of 1954," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, LI (July 1972), 32.
3. *Tampa Morning Tribune*, May 19, 1954.



The reasons for this mild response were to be found in the state's social and economic structure. Florida had a relatively small percentage of blacks (21.8 per cent in 1950) when compared to its southern neighbors.<sup>4</sup> As V. O. Key, Jr. pointed out in his *Southern Politics in State and Nation*, the smaller the percentage of blacks in a state's population, the less chance there is for intense racial animosities. In addition, the diversity of Florida's population, with many immigrants from the northeast and mid-west settling in the urbanized, southern region of the state, tended to moderate racial hostility. Florida's heavy economic dependence on tourism also provided a steadying influence that helped explain the mild response to the Court's decision.

But this is not to say that the *Brown* decision had little impact in Florida. Indeed, in the spring of 1954 Florida was one of only four states with no school integration whatsoever, and thus the Court's action had grave implications for the state's traditional pattern of public education.<sup>5</sup> It had equal importance for Florida's politics. Prior to 1954 race played a relatively small role in Florida politics, but ever since, Florida governors have found themselves confronted by a variety of racial problems involving integration, civil rights, and busing.

Florida's governors have been in a position as legislative, executive, and moral leaders to assist the public's acceptance of these issues. However, while no Florida governor urged passage of an interposition resolution or conducted a persistent policy to exclude blacks from white schools in the manner of other southern governors, only two chief executives— LeRoy Collins and Reubin Askew— have made a strong effort to ease racial turmoil in the state in the last two decades.

Although Collins had endorsed segregation in his gubernatorial campaigns of 1954 and 1956, his emphasis on peacefulness and upholding the law suggested that he was more flexible on racial issues than were many of his fellow public officials. His

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4. Florida's southern neighbors had a much larger black population in 1954. For instance, blacks made up 32 per cent of the population in Alabama, 39 per cent in South Carolina, 46 per cent in Mississippi, and 31 per cent in Georgia. U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Census of Population: 1950, Volume II, Characteristics of the Population* (Washington, 1952), Part 2, Alabama, p. 27; Part 10, Florida, p. 27; Part 11, Georgia, p. 35; Part 24, Mississippi, p. 19; Part 40, South Carolina, p. 23.
  5. Helen L. Jacobstein, *The Segregation Factor in the Florida Democratic Gubernatorial Primary of 1956* (Gainesville, 1972), 8.

inaugural address on January 8, 1957, established a new tone in Florida and, perhaps, throughout the South, on racial issues. He told Floridians that integration was coming, and he urged the people to accept it gracefully. He would preserve segregation, he promised, as long as possible, but "the Supreme Court decisions are the law of the land." He added that whites must "face up to the fact that the Negro does not now have equal opportunity"; accordingly, blacks are "morally and legally entitled to progress more rapidly." Collins admitted that he did not have all the answers to racial questions, but he added: "Haughtiness, arrogance, and forcing of issues will not produce the answer. Above all, hate is not the answer."<sup>6</sup>

Through his own rhetoric and actions he attempted to set the course he hoped Florida and the South would follow. In a speech before the Southern Governors' Conference in 1957, he declared the solution to racial problems is dependent "largely upon bettering the living standards of Negro people. And these improvements cannot be brought about in an atmosphere of racial furor."<sup>7</sup> The November 25, 1957, issue of *Time* magazine criticized Collins for being a man of words but not deeds on the race issue. An examination of Collins's relations with the legislature on race suggests that this was not true. During his last four years in office Collins consistently emphasized through messages to the legislature, the programs he submitted to it, his use of the veto, and other actions that he was determined to steer Florida on a course of moderation.

Collins's legislative program on race began with his acceptance of the Fabisinski Committee proposals in July 1956. The committee, which Collins had appointed in the spring, was charged with finding and recommending ways of legally maintaining segregation in Florida.<sup>8</sup> It proposed a four-point program permitting county school boards to assign pupils to schools on the basis of individual needs; regulating the assignment of teachers; giving the governor power to promulgate and enforce rules relat-

6. Inaugural Address, 1957, pp. 10, 12, in Box 1 (Speeches, January 8-April 2, 1957), LeRoy Collins Papers, 1955-1961, Florida Collection, Main Library, University of South Florida, Tampa. Hereinafter cited as LCP:USF.

7. Transcript of News Conference, May 20, 1960, p. 1, in Box 4 (Speeches, April 20-June 20, 1960), LCP:USF.

8. Statement of LeRoy Collins to Conference on Segregation, March 21, 1956, in Box (8d) 3, LCP:USF.

ing to the use of public parks, buildings, and other facilities needed to maintain law and order, and to prevent domestic violence; and clarifying the governor's powers to declare an emergency.<sup>9</sup>

Collins called a special legislative session in mid-July 1956 to take up these recommendations which he publicly endorsed. He announced that he would not accept any programs dealing with segregation except those which the committee and he were proposing.<sup>10</sup> But some legislators, especially Representatives Prentice P. Pruitt of Monticello and J. Kenneth Ballinger of Tallahassee, resented Collins's tone and position. They wanted to introduce strong anti-integration laws, and they resisted the idea that only Collins's bills could be considered by the legislature. His proposals on segregation were quickly passed, but the legislature persisted in considering more stringent measures.<sup>11</sup> Collins feared the potential divisiveness of these discussions, and he felt they could push the state into a direct confrontation with the federal government on race which he wanted to avoid. Accordingly, on August 1, he adjourned the legislature, using as his justification a little-known constitutional provision empowering the governor to adjourn the legislature when both houses could not agree on a time. When news of Collins's action reached the floor of the legislature, Representative C. Farris Bryant of Ocala was in the middle of a speech introducing an interposition resolution. It was precisely this kind of measure Collins wanted to avoid.<sup>12</sup>

During the 1957 regular session of the legislature the governor tried to continue his moderate racial policies. In his speech opening the session, he called for only one additional law on race, and none on segregation. He felt the bills passed the previous summer provided Florida with sufficient resources to handle its racial problems.<sup>13</sup> The legislature, however, had other ideas, and proceeded to give Collins his only major defeat on racial matters. An interposition resolution was passed by a near unani-

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9. *Tampa Morning Tribune*, July 17, 1956.

10. Message to the Legislature—Extraordinary Session, July 23, 1956, pp. 33-34, in Box (8d) 3, LCP:USF.

11. *Tampa Morning Tribune*, July 27, 28, 1956.

12. Interview with LeRoy Collins, Tallahassee, February 11, 1975, tape (FLA PER 38ABC) and transcript in University of Florida Oral History Archives, Florida State Museum, Gainesville.

13. Message to the Legislature, January 8, 1957, p. 14, in Box 1 (Speeches, January 8-April 2, 1957), LCP:USF.

mous vote over the governor's strong objections. Collins had no power to veto such a measure. However, he wrote a note registering his opposition directly on the resolution; he observed that what the legislature had done "stultifies our state" and concluded, "It will do no good whatever and those who say it can perpetrate a cruel hoax on the people."<sup>14</sup> Collins did, however, veto the so-called "last resort" school bill passed by the 1957 legislature; it would have closed the schools rather than integrate them.<sup>15</sup> He did sign the only racial measure he requested from the 1957 regular session which established a governor's racial advisory group.<sup>16</sup> He also signed a bill passed by the October special session, requiring that public schools be closed if federal troops were sent in to force integration.<sup>17</sup>

In 1959 the legislature considered thirty-three anti-school integration bills. Some of these were drastic: they would have created systems of private schools financed with state funds; others would have closed the schools rather than integrate them. Another bill would have made teaching in an integrated school a criminal offense. Collins and his legislative supporters, however, succeeded in blocking the bills in committee or in defeating them on the floor. When the session adjourned, no bills had been passed which significantly affected Florida's moderate racial policy.<sup>18</sup>

Collins sought minimal and moderate legislation on race. His emphasis, moreover, was on preventing legislative excesses on racial matters; he was determined to keep Florida from following the path of some of its southern neighbors. Thus, by taking a negative view of much that the legislature wanted to do, Collins was able to prevent the state from taking an extremist position on race. Even though he managed to maintain moderate racial policies throughout his administration, he did not bring about significant school desegregation. Indeed, Collins was pledged to maintain segregation in the public schools, but he repeatedly insisted that the pupil placement law was the only legal way to do

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14. Typescript of Governor LeRoy Collins's Statement, Accession 68-02, Part 9, Box 336, Florida State Archives, Tallahassee.

15. *Tampa Morning Tribune*, June 7, 1957.

16. *Ibid.*, June 4, 1957.

17. *Tampa Sunday Tribune*, October 13, 1957.

18. *Tampa Tribune*, June 6, 1959.

so. When he left office in 1961, only one school district (Dade County) was desegregated.

Collins of course was criticized in some circles for not pushing harder on school desegregation. The fact is, however, that he did make an effort to convince local school officials that some school desegregation should be attempted at a time when the federal government was applying no pressure on the state to do so. In part he felt that some desegregation would strengthen the legal foundation of the pupil placement law. But he also began to realize that school desegregation was inevitable.<sup>19</sup> During the fall of 1958 Collins met quietly on several occasions with local school officials to secure their cooperation in a limited effort to desegregate some schools.<sup>20</sup> Financial inducements and assistance were apparently offered to cooperating districts. By mid-December, however, Collins stopped these discussions. He said no volunteer district or community could be found, and he felt that there was no place in the state where school desegregation could be accomplished without provoking resentment and violence. Thus, he declined to push the issue further, maintaining that decisions regarding school desegregation would have to come from local districts.<sup>21</sup> In mid-February 1959, Dade County did announce that four black students would be enrolled in an all-white elementary school. Collins applauded the decision, although he noted it was purely a local one.<sup>22</sup>

In desegregation of higher education Collins's record is also mixed. He led the fight in 1956 to keep Virgil Hawkins, a black, out of the University of Florida College of Law. He even promised to plead the state's case before the United States Supreme Court if necessary.<sup>23</sup> However, in late January 1959, Collins proposed that graduate programs at Florida A & M University be closed in favor of creating integrated ones at Florida State University and the University of Florida. He maintained that the cost of operating graduate programs made this the most realistic course of action.<sup>24</sup> However, his proposal was immediately at-

19. Interview with LeRoy Collins, Tallahassee, February 11, 1975.

20. *Tampa Tribune*, December 17, 1958.

21. *Ibid.*, December 19, 1958.

22. *Ibid.*, February 19, 1959.

23. Statement of LeRoy Collins to Conference on Segregation, March 21, 1956, in Box (8d) 3, LCP:USF.

24. *Tampa Tribune*, January 30, 1959.

tacked. House Speaker-designate Thomas Beasley said there was "no chance" Florida A & M programs would be shut down, holding that the "people of Florida are willing to pay whatever is necessary to maintain segregation."<sup>25</sup> It was in the face of this kind of resistance and threats of violence that Collins elected not to force the desegregation of Florida's public educational facilities.<sup>26</sup>

The three governors that succeeded LeRoy Collins had taken strong stands in their campaigns against integration, civil rights, and busing. Not surprisingly, they made little effort to promote racial equality in Florida. Farris Bryant, who succeeded Collins, had announced his intention of reappointing Collins's statewide bi-racial advisory committee with Cody Fowler, a Tampa lawyer, again serving as chairman.<sup>27</sup> Fowler refused to accept the appointment. Bryant announced he had chosen a successor to Fowler, but he refused to name him.<sup>28</sup> The committee was subsequently dissolved.

Governor Bryant also blocked federal programs which appeared to be designed, at least in part, to promote integration. Thus, he opposed federal aid to education in Florida because the state might be forced to submit to federal integration guidelines in order to receive federal funds.<sup>29</sup> Additionally, Bryant refused to let the state cooperate in a study of equal job opportunities for blacks as requested by the Civil Rights Commission.<sup>30</sup> Under Governor Burns there were few changes in the racial policies established by Bryant. Burns made no effort to establish a bi-racial advisory committee and took few steps to promote racial harmony. In addition, he was a leading critic of the Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and 1965.

To the credit of both governors, they took no militant steps to block school integration. While Governors Ross Barnett of Mississippi and George Wallace of Alabama tried personally to

25. *Ibid.*, January 31, 1959.

26. Harrell R. Rodgers, Jr., in "The Supreme Court and School Desegregation: Twenty Years Later," *Political Science Quarterly*, LXXXIX (Winter 1974-1975), 751-56, points out that the federal government was not pressuring Florida to desegregate its schools during the Collins years. Collins's efforts were made strictly on his own initiative.

27. *Miami Herald*, February 28, 1961.

28. *Tampa Tribune*, February 28, 1961.

29. *Ibid.*, March 1, 1961.

30. Race Relations, 1962, in Box 412, Farris Bryant Papers, Florida State Archives, Tallahassee.

halt school integration in their states, Bryant and Burns allowed it to take place gradually and quietly. During Bryant's administration, for instance, twenty Florida counties integrated their public schools. He refused to make inflammatory statements on local school issues despite pressure from his political supporters. An opponent of strong federal and state government, Bryant argued: "It's the American way to leave the solution to people in their areas."<sup>31</sup> In addition, although both men relied on racial appeals to win their elections, none of Florida's governors resorted to such emotional or demagogic rhetoric once they were in office. Burns appointed several blacks to office, including Clifton Dyson, the first black man to sit on the Board of Regents, and allowed the desegregation of the state's schools to continue. He also denounced prejudice and bigotry in his first message to the legislature, arguing they had "no place in our government."<sup>32</sup>

Claude Kirk's election in 1966 offered little change in the racial politics pursued by Bryant and Burns. Although he had campaigned against busing to achieve school desegregation, Kirk also had played down racial issues by alleging: "I won't even admit there's a problem. We don't have color in Florida."<sup>33</sup> Despite the flamboyance and theatrics of his first three years in office, he initiated few racial programs or policies that set his administration apart from the Bryant and Burns years.

The election of Reubin O'D. Askew in 1970 brought about a change in the leadership provided by Florida governors during the 1960s. Elected on a reform platform, Askew promised in his inaugural address: "Equal rights for all our peoples, rural as well as urban, black as well as white."<sup>34</sup> Askew entered office in the midst of the busing controversy. He personally felt that the emotional controversy over busing would further damage the public school system by speeding up the white exodus to private schools. In late August 1971, he received a petition with 40,000 signatures

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31. When Bryant became governor in January 1961, only Dade County had integrated its schools. By the fall of 1964, Volusia, Broward, Palm Beach, Hillsborough, Monroe, Sarasota, Pinellas, Orange, Escambia, Charlotte, Duval, Leon, Okaloosa, St. Johns, Santa Rosa, Alachua, Bay, Brevard, Marion, and Lee counties had integrated their schools. At that 6,652 black students were attending bi-racial classes in 170 schools. *Southern School News*, May 1964, p. 10; September 1964, p. 7.

32. *Tampa Tribune*, April 7, 1965.

33. *Ibid.*, July 18, 1967.

34. *Tampa Tribune*, January 6, 1971.

asking him to request Congress to call a constitutional convention to prohibit busing as a means of achieving racial balance in the public schools. In response to this proposal, Governor Askew told a summer graduating class at the University of Florida that busing was “an artificial and inadequate instrument of change. Nobody really wants it— not you, not me, not the people, not the school board, not even the courts.” However, he went on to say “the law demands, and rightly so, that we put an end to segregation in our society,” and he saw busing as a necessary element in achieving this goal.<sup>35</sup>

Askew's speech was made more remarkable by Governor George Wallace's appearance in Jacksonville, barely seventy miles away. To a cheering crowd of thousands, Wallace said President Nixon would force him to run for President if he did not halt busing by executive order. At the same time, former Governor Claude Kirk was leading a Parents Against Forced Busing group in Pinellas County.<sup>36</sup>

In February 1972, the Florida legislature, meeting in special session, took up the busing issue and quickly passed a measure adding it to the presidential primary ballot of March 14. The straw vote asked Floridians if they would support a constitutional amendment prohibiting forced busing. Governor Askew agreed to sign it, but only after the legislature dropped the adjective “forced” and agreed to a companion referendum asking voters if they supported quality education for all and opposed a return to a dual system of public schools.<sup>37</sup>

Apparently determined to prove to himself and the nation that Florida was not a racist state, Askew raised \$32,000 to conduct a speaking tour and persuaded Florida's religious leaders to join him in the campaign. With remarks that he would repeat throughout his tour, Askew reiterated his personal dislike of busing to a crowd at a state fair in Orlando. Yet, he emphasized, through “busing and other methods, we've made real progress in dismantling a dual system of public schools in Florida.” Racial issues, he noted, had frequently obscured the more important “economic and environmental problems of the people, both black and white. . . . It's time we told the rest of the nation that we

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35. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, September 5, 1971.

36. *St. Petersburg Times*, August 29, 1971.

37. *Gainesville Sun*, February 21, 1972.



aren't caught up in the mania to stop busing at any cost . . . , that we know the real issues when we see them, and that we no longer will be fooled, frightened, and divided against ourselves."<sup>38</sup>

The straw ballot showed that the anti-busing resolution had been supported by Floridians three to one. However, the straw vote on equal opportunity for all children regardless of race, creed, or color passed by an even wider margin of four to one.<sup>39</sup> The results were only a partial victory for Askew. Most critics of integration, including Wallace supporters in Florida, had apparently decided that a negative vote on the second issue would have little influence on Washington, and, perhaps, even undermine their opposition to busing since Congress and President Nixon would probably view such opposition as racially motivated. Nevertheless, Askew's efforts had gained him and Florida much favorable publicity throughout the nation, only part of which was diminished by the results of the straw vote.

Askew's legacy to improved racial relations in Florida has gone well beyond his leadership in the busing issue. Upon taking office, he authorized an employee survey which disclosed that the vast majority of black employees in state government held menial positions and more than eighty-nine per cent were receiving wages below the poverty level.<sup>40</sup> Shortly thereafter, Askew issued an executive order establishing an affirmative action plan to correct the under-representation and under-utilization of blacks in state government. The first progress report published in 1972 revealed that the number of blacks in state government had doubled and that blacks had attained several responsible positions.<sup>41</sup> Askew's campaign against the busing referendum and his appointment of blacks to prominent positions in state government appears to have helped alleviate the frustrations of black Floridians and

38. Speech at Central Florida Fair, Orlando, February 21, 1972. Reubin O'D. Askew Papers, Office of the Governor, Capitol Building, Tallahassee. See also *Miami Herald*, February 22, 1972.

39. *Tampa Tribune*, March 15, 1972. Some scholars argue that the anti-busing sentiment is not based solely on racial motivations. For instance, Jonathan Kelley in "The Politics of School Busing," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, XXXVIII (Spring 1974), 23-39, declares that the public is much more concerned with the distance their children travel to school and the condition of the school they will be bused to than they are with the integration of the classrooms.

40. Interview with Reubin O'D. Askew, Tallahassee, January 10, 1975.

41. "Equality of Opportunity: Askew Administration in Motion," memorandum. Reubin O'D. Askew Papers, Office of the Governor, Capitol Building, Tallahassee.

restore racial tranquility to the state. Acts of racial violence have virtually disappeared from the public scene in the 1970s.<sup>42</sup>

Progress in race relations made under Askew's leadership points out the important role a governor can play in affecting the state's racial environment. The meaning of executive leadership was never more evident than during the racial turmoil of the 1950s and 1960s. It was Collins's leadership in the late 1950s which prevented the sit-in demonstrations from deteriorating into violent confrontations. In 1956 and 1957, the NAACP attempted to desegregate the buslines in Tallahassee. Collins denounced this effort as a "miscarriage of ambition"; he argued that blacks should be concerned "with other conditions of far more importance than where people sit on buses."<sup>43</sup> In January 1957, he suspended Tallahassee bus service for nearly two weeks in order to preserve public order after rocks were thrown and shots were fired at the homes of blacks involved in the desegregation effort.<sup>44</sup>

Collins expressed the same attitude toward lunch-counter sit-in demonstrations in 1960. Daytona Beach, Tallahassee, Tampa, Sarasota, and St. Petersburg all had sit-in demonstrations early that year. Collins, who was strongly motivated by legal considerations, stated: "I hate to see demonstrations of this kind. They lead to disorder. Disorder leads to danger to the general welfare and I hope we will not have any more of it."<sup>45</sup> He appealed directly to the people of Florida to restore racial harmony: "We must find responsible community leaders who can provide leadership for social adjustments which we must make."<sup>46</sup>

But while he was sharply critical of the tactics of blacks, Collins reserved strong language also for white Floridians who refused to recognize the winds of change, and particularly those who continued to engage in the repression of minority groups. When a synagogue and a black elementary school in Jacksonville were bombed in late April 1958, Collins was outraged: "This is not just an invasion of the personal and property rights of those directly injured. It is a serious crime against every citizen of

42. The 1975 black demonstrations in Pensacola against the shooting of a black youth by a deputy sheriff has been the notable exception.

43. *Tallahassee Democrat*, July 3, 1956.

44. *Ibid.*, January 2, 1957.

45. *Tampa Tribune*, March 4, 1960.

46. *Ibid.*, March 18, 1960.

Florida. It is a trampling underfoot of the freedom and security of American justice. Anyone who would perpetrate a wrong like this has such a diabolical mind and intent that he is a common enemy of all, regardless of race, color, or religion."<sup>47</sup>

At the same time that he was openly criticizing black sit-down tactics in the spring of 1960, he went before the public on television to express his thoughts on segregation. He reiterated his commitment to law and order. But he also stated what was unquestionably a unique view for a Florida governor. Collins said he believed it was "unfair and morally wrong" for white store owners to encourage black patronage of some departments in their establishments but to deny them service in others. Legally, he said, they can do that, "But I still don't think [the store owners] can square that right with moral, simple justice."<sup>48</sup>

Later that year, 1960, when severe racial turmoil flared in Jacksonville, Collins went personally to the city to see what could be done. He observed that the violence may have been between "colored trash and white trash," but all the people of the city must share the blame: "I am sure it must be easily observable to the people of Jacksonville that conditions there are not what they should be in the Negro community. Their housing is extremely poor. Their recreational facilities are extremely limited, and certainly the people of Jacksonville have been aware that there has been growing tension over the last several months. You cannot try to sweep the trash under the slums and expect to avoid difficulties, because slums breed difficulties, slums breed crime, vice, and disorder."<sup>49</sup> Collins's fairness and moral suasion were instrumental in bringing a temporary halt to sit-in demonstrations in Florida.

In the summer of 1963 the sit-in demonstrations and anti-segregation marchers came to St. Augustine, Florida. In several violent and near violent encounters between whites and blacks, one white was killed, four blacks were wounded, and many were injured. The racial disorders eased during the fall and winter. In the spring of 1964 Dr. Robert Hayling, a black dentist and St. Augustine leader of the NAACP, invited northern college stu-

47. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, April 29, 1958.

48. Transcript of Statewide Television-Radio Talk to the People of Florida on Race Relations, March 20, 1960, in Box 4 (Speeches, March 17-April 13, 1960), LCP:USF.

49. *Tampa Tribune*, September 2, 1960.

dents to come to St. Augustine during the spring to help with the "struggle for human rights."<sup>50</sup> Hundreds of students and newsmen began arriving in early March to prepare for the expected confrontation with the local police and citizenry.

Governor Farris Bryant had already made it clear to Floridians, both during his campaign and after, that he opposed sit-down demonstrations. He argued in the campaign that sit-ins violated the right of private property and the "fundamental constitutional guarantee that no citizen's property shall be taken from him without due process of law."<sup>51</sup> He also stated before the United States Senate Commerce Committee that if a traveler is free not to buy because he does not like the owner's mustache, accent or race, "the owner of the property ought to have the same freedom. That's simple justice."<sup>52</sup>

When the demonstrations began in St. Augustine in April 1964, the local police quickly arrested the demonstrators, including Mrs. George Endicott Peabody, mother of the governor of Massachusetts. Violence ensued when white mobs pelted anti-segregation marchers with rocks and bottles. As the confrontations among police, white militants, and integrationists accelerated, Martin Luther King, Jr., promised "a massive assault on segregation" in the city with a nonviolent army from Savannah, Birmingham, and Wilmington, North Carolina. Bryant, who was attending a national governor's conference in Cleveland, Ohio, condemned the violence, but he only sent in forty-five state troopers to assist the embattled local police force. He refused to allow United States marshals to intervene.<sup>53</sup>

Events in St. Augustine worsened when King arrived to direct the integrationist drive and J. B. Stoner, an Atlanta Klansman, showed up to lead the segregationists. Adding to the confusion, Sheriff L. O. Davis of St. Augustine named Halsted R. "Hoss"

50. Florida, Legislature, Investigation Committee, *Racial and Civil Disorders in St. Augustine, Report of the Legislative Investigation Committee* (Tallahassee, 1965), 33. Also see Robert Wayne Hartley, "A Long, Hot Summer: The St. Augustine Racial Disorders of 1964" (M.A. thesis, Stetson University, 1972).

51. "Farris Bryant Scores with TV Speech," p. 1, in *Around the Clock with Bryant*, I, no. 4 (April 4, 1960), bound in Farris Bryant's "Platform and Campaign Literature," P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville.

52. "Remarks by the Honorable Farris Bryant, Governor of Florida, Before the Senate Commerce Committee, July 29, 1963," copy in P. K. Yonge Library.

53. *Miami Herald*, June 11, 1964.

Manucy, leader of the "Ancient City Hunting Club" and a militant segregationist, one of his special deputies to maintain order in St. Augustine.<sup>54</sup> Bryant visited the area and described it as "very explosive and very tense."<sup>55</sup> He ordered an additional eighty troopers into the area, and issued an order banning night demonstrations. The latter, however, was overturned by Federal Judge Bryan Simpson who suggested instead "enforcement, arrests and charges against these hoodlums [segregationists] everybody seems afraid of."<sup>56</sup>

Violence erupted again when white militants assaulted a group attempting to integrate St. Augustine Beach. There followed a series of wade-ins at the beach and at swimming pools at motels in town. Governor Bryant then announced the establishment of a four-man bi-racial committee of St. Augustine citizens to restore communications between blacks and whites.<sup>57</sup> Conditions in St. Augustine were still tense when President Lyndon Johnson signed the Civil Rights Act on July 2. The new law forbade discrimination in all places of public accommodation such as hotels, restaurants, and theatres. It also served as a catalyst which threatened to disrupt the fragile truce in St. Augustine as militant whites bitterly denounced it. Adding to the confusion was Governor Bryant's statement that he felt the same about civil rights as he did about taxes—"I don't propose to collect taxes and I don't propose to enforce civil rights."<sup>58</sup>

Shortly after Bryant's announcement, segregationists began enlisting business support to refuse service to blacks. Dr. King returned to St. Augustine and promised to march and protest until the law was obeyed. Bryant, meanwhile, had neither convened his bi-racial advisory committee nor appointed any members. Federal Judge Bryan Simpson, however, took control of events in St. Augustine through a series of injunctions and orders.<sup>59</sup>

Governor Bryant's role in the St. Augustine crisis had done little to improve black-white relations. Even after the crisis was

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54. David M. Chalmers, *Hooded Americanism: The First Century of the Ku Klux Klan, 1865-1965* (Garden City, New York, 1965), 377-79.

55. *Tampa Tribune*, June 27, 1964.

56. *Ibid.*, June 14, 1964.

57. *Racial and Civil Disorders in St. Augustine*, 22.

58. *Tampa Tribune*, July 11, 1964.

59. *Racial and Civil Disorders in St. Augustine*, 23.

resolved, civil rights leaders remained critical. Rutledge Pearson, president of the NAACP in Florida, remarked that compliance with the Civil Rights Act in Florida had been "encouraging." He added, however, that "It would help if the governor of Florida would take a position of upholding the law, and encouraging people to obey it."<sup>60</sup>

With the settlement of the St. Augustine crisis, racial tensions appeared to be solved in Florida. In fact, of course, they had only subsided temporarily. The reasons for racial conflict were still present: law enforcement discrimination, poverty, economic discrimination, inadequate schools, and high unemployment. In 1967 the calm that had characterized Florida's racial relations for three years came to an abrupt halt. Within the space of a few summer months, black Floridians in seven cities took to the streets, openly challenging the police and civil authority, and, in the process, destroying property and injuring several dozen people. While the riots in Florida paled in comparison to the violence and destruction of Newark or Detroit, they still shocked most Floridians. Particularly startling was the riot in Tampa which lasted four days and was ranked by the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders as one of the most intense in the nation.<sup>61</sup>

The causes of the riots in Tampa, Clearwater, St. Petersburg, West Palm Beach, Deerfield Beach, Lakeland, and Riviera Beach were complex and often unique to their particular areas. But the failure of Florida's governors in the 1960s to recommend any programs that might alleviate the general plight of the poor did nothing to ease the sources of black frustration and anger. Claude Kirk, who was governor during this period, responded to the crisis by deploying National Guardsmen when requested by local officials. He also visited the areas. In Tampa at a church meeting of 200 blacks, he called for an end to the looting and violence. In return he promised a thorough investigation of the shooting of a black youth by police. It was this death that had sparked the riot. Kirk's promise appears to have had a temporizing effect on the black community, although the riot could well have run its course by this time.<sup>62</sup>

60. *Miami Herald*, July 12, 1964.

61. U. S. Kerner Commission, *Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders* (New York, 1968), 158.

62. *Tampa Tribune*, June 14, 1967.

Somewhat later, Governor Kirk commended 130 black youths from Tampa who had patrolled the riot area urging blacks to stop the violence and return to their homes. However, he made no recommendations in 1967 or thereafter to the legislature that might have improved the social and economic conditions of the poor. Instead he supported the enactment of one of the harshest anti-riot laws in the country, which made rioting a felony punishable by up to two years in prison.<sup>63</sup> Kirk also involved himself in the Manatee County school desegregation controversy of 1970. In January, United States District Court Judge Ben Krentzman ordered Manatee school officials to begin busing students to achieve a ratio of eighty per cent white to twenty per cent black students in each school. When the judge's order went into effect on April 6, Kirk responded by suspending both the school board and Superintendent of Schools Jack L. Davidson, and by personally seizing control of the schools. It was alleged that Kirk was seeking to bolster his gubernatorial re-election bid in 1970 and to test President Richard Nixon's statement which criticized busing. Judge Krentzman ordered the schools returned to the county school officials and Governor Kirk to appear before him to explain his actions. Kirk refused to appear, claiming Krentzman had "overstepped his bounds." He also defied the court by again suspending both educational bodies. Kirk warned federal officials that there might be a loss of life if they attempted to serve him with a subpoena. On April 11, Krentzman found Kirk guilty of contempt and fined him \$10,000 a day until he surrendered control of Manatee County's schools. The following day the governor bowed to the judge's demands and directed the school board to implement Krentzman's desegregation order.<sup>64</sup>

The governor's actions during these periods of racial turmoil suggests that the racial climate in Florida had been effectively moderated or worsened depending on the quality of his leadership. While the *Brown* decision did generate white resistance and hostility in Florida, as it did in other southern states, Collins's leadership enabled Floridians to avoid the difficult adjustments experienced in such places as Alabama and Mississippi. The

63. *New York Times*, July 27, 1967. See also Neal R. Peirce, *The Deep South States of America: People, Politics, and Power in the Seven Deep South States* (New York, 1974), 449.

64. *New York Times*, April 6-13, 1970. See also *Tampa Tribune*, April 6-13, 1970.

gubernatorial leadership of the 1960s on race never matched that provided by Collins. However, Bryant and Burns did manage to steer Florida through troubled waters without resorting to demagoguery. Neither was Kirk a demagogue. The Manatee crisis of April 1970 stands in marked contrast to the other policies his administration pursued. Nevertheless, the problems encountered by Claude Kirk, as well as Farris Bryant and Haydon Burns, pointed out the inherent contradiction of a candidate pursuing a racially-oriented campaign, and trying to provide positive, peaceful leadership on racial issues once in office. A governor who had resorted to emotional appeals was unprepared and ill-equipped to deal with racial turmoil. During a period of crisis, such as that encountered in St. Augustine in 1963-1964 and in Manatee in 1970, such a leader found himself mistrusted by the black community and unable to appease his white constituents without using the police power of the state.

Reubin Askew has benefited from the lessons of the 1950s and 1960s, as well as from the changing public attitudes on race. As a result, his administration to date (1976) has achieved a new plateau on race relations. The question today is no longer whether the Florida governor will assume a racist posture, but whether he will pursue programs and policies broad enough in scope to permit black Floridians to participate fully and equally in the range of opportunities the state can provide.



## OPPOSING VIEWS OF *LA FLORIDA- ALVAR NUNEZ CABEZA DE VACA AND EL INCA GARCILASO DE LA VEGA*

by JOSÉ B. FERNÁNDEZ\*

**T**HE MOST THOROUGH description in Spanish letters of *La Florida*, which extended from the Florida peninsula to Mexico during the period of Spanish exploration, is found in the *Relación* of Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca.<sup>1</sup> Yet, for centuries, it has been the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega who has enjoyed the undisputed distinction in Spanish literature, as well as in history, of being the “chronicler of Florida.”

Although there is no doubt about the literary value of Garcilaso's *La Florida del Inca*, its historical reliability has been questioned.<sup>2</sup> *La Florida del Inca* has been described as a book whose “vivid description of battles, individual combats, strange communities, treasure, exotic nature, and incredible feats of human endurance are reminiscent of the contemporary romances of chivalry.”<sup>3</sup> As students of Spanish literature realize, the romances of chivalry were imaginative and fantastic.

Another reason to question the reliability of *La Florida del*

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1. Scholars have long referred to de Vaca's journal as *Los naufragios*, but the author never gave such a title to his work. The first Spanish edition of his chronicle was published in the city of Zamora in 1542, under the title of *La Relación*. The next edition was reprinted with slight changes at Valladolid in 1555. The *Relación* was translated into Italian in 1556, and this edition was paraphrased into English by Samuel Purchas in 1613. Other Spanish reprints appeared in 1736, 1749, 1852, and 1906. Only three full translations of the *Relación* have appeared in English: Buckingham Smith's in 1851, Fanny Bandelier's in 1905, and one by Cyclone Covey in 1961.
2. The first edition of *La Florida del Inca* was published at Lisbon by Pedro Craasbeck in 1605. A reprint by Andrés Gonzalez de Barcia appeared in Madrid in 1723. There have been other reprints, but the 1723 edition is the best of the Spanish editions. Although several translations appeared in the English language, no complete rendition from the original Spanish was available until John and Jeanette Varner wrote their translation which was published in 1951 as *La Florida del Inca*.
3. John E. Englekirk, et al., eds., *An Anthology of Spanish American Literature* (New York, 1966), 25.

*Inca* is the fact that Garcilaso was never part of the expedition of Hernando De Soto, nor was he ever in the territory of *La Florida*.<sup>4</sup> On the other hand, although Cabeza de Vaca, a simple soldier, possessed neither the style nor the education of the Inca, he did spend nearly eight years in direct contact with the flora, fauna, and inhabitants of the territory which included not only *La Florida* but also the lands of the Rio Grande west to Baja California.<sup>5</sup>

As to sources, Cabeza de Vaca depended on his own experiences, while the bulk of Garcilaso's narrative was received orally from Gonzalo Silvestre, one of the survivors of De Soto's expedition. By that time, Silvestre was not a bold and daring conquistador, as he appears in *La Florida del Inca*, but an obese old man suffering from venereal disease, whose main source of income was loans made by Garcilaso for providing information about *La Florida*.<sup>6</sup> It is not difficult to imagine that Garcilaso accepted at face value many of Silvestre's dubious accounts. Furthermore, Garcilaso ignored the more well-established reports of three important chroniclers of De Soto's expedition: The Fidalgo de Elvas, Rodrigo Ranjel, and Luis Hernández de Biedma. Although some claim that Garcilaso was the first who recorded significant observations about *La Florida*, he began writing his narrative in 1567, and the book was not published until 1605, some sixty-three years after the first edition of the *Relación* appeared.

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4. One of the most gifted writers in colonial Spanish letters was the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega. Born in Cuzco, Perú, in 1539, Garcilaso was the son of an Inca princess and of Sebastián de la Vega, cousin of the famous Spanish poet Garcilaso de la Vega. As a youth he attended school and acquired a classical education. At the age of twenty-one he travelled to Spain; he never returned to his native Perú. He enlisted in the Spanish army and rose to the rank of captain. After his retirement from the military, he settled in Córdoba where he devoted the remainder of his life to writing. Garcilaso died in Córdoba in 1616. Besides his *Florida del Inca*, he translated León Hebreo's *Dialogos de Amor* from the Italian, but his fame rests on his *Comentarios reales* (1609).
  5. Few biographical facts are known concerning the author of the *Relación*. He was born in Jerez de la Frontera in 1490, and was a grandson of Pedro de Vera, conqueror of the Canary Islands. After serving in the Spanish army, he joined the ill-fated Narváez expedition to *La Florida* as an *alguazil mayor*. Later he became governor of Paraguay, but was soon deposed because of his benevolent policies toward the Indians, and he was sent to Spain as a prisoner. He was later acquitted of these charges, and he occupied himself with the second edition of the *Relación*. de Vaca died penniless in 1556.
  6. John Grier Varner, *El Inca: The Life and Times of Garcilaso de la Vega* (Austin, Texas, 1968), 281.

This study will examine both Cabeza de Vaca's observations and some of the Inca's descriptions of *La Florida* in order to contrast and compare their views. The Florida of de Vaca and that of the Inca were in some aspects very different. The expeditions of both Narváez and De Soto landed on the lower Gulf coast, probably the Tampa Bay area, and traveled through the peninsula to the region of present-day Tallahassee. After Apalachicola, the men of Narváez sailed west on five poorly-constructed barges, and only eighty out of 242 men were able to reach the Texas coast. Most of the survivors quickly perished in a land which was extremely poor. On September 15, 1534, Cabeza de Vaca and his three remaining companions—Andres Dorantes, Alonso del Castillo, and Estevanico—began one of the most daring and challenging journeys in the history of the New World. After much danger and hardship they arrived in Mexico City on June 24, 1536, some eight years after they had landed in Florida. They had traveled 5,000 miles, and were the first Europeans to see and live in what are now the states of Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona.

De Soto's men, on the other hand, after breaking winter camp in Apalache, continued their march northeastward across Georgia, into North Carolina, and through the Smoky Mountains into Tennessee. The expedition then retraced its steps back into Georgia, and then moved to Coosa, Alabama. The winter of 1540 was spent in present-day Mississippi. It is almost impossible to trace their course after they forded the Mississippi River, but it is believed that they explored what are now the states of Arkansas, Missouri, Kansas, and Oklahoma, before turning back to spend the winter of 1541. After De Soto's death in the spring of 1542, his men, under the command of Luis de Moscoso, set out westward in hopes of reaching Mexico by land. The hostility of the Indians forced them to return to the Mississippi, where they began the construction of seven barges. On July 2, 1543, they were able to embark. After coasting the Gulf shore for almost two months, they reached Mexico on September 10, 1543—four years, three months, and eleven days after their landing in Florida. Of the 600 men who came with De Soto to *La Florida*, 310 were able to complete their return journey.

Although De Soto traveled through a more fertile territory than Narváez, it was not the land of "milk and honey" which Garcilaso portrays in his chronicle. Therefore, it is only fair to

compare their views of Florida since both chroniclers describe it at length in their respective books.

With a few notable exceptions, the Florida of Cabeza de Vaca was reflected unfavorably in the *Relación*, while the account of the Inca was a most enthusiastic one. In his preface, the Inca explicitly states his reason for writing his chronicle: "Our purpose in offering this description has been to encourage Spain to make an effort to acquire and populate this kingdom (now that its unsavory reputation for being sterile and swampy has been erased) even if, without the principal idea of augmenting the Holy Catholic Faith, she should carry forward the project for the sole purpose of establishing colonies to which she might send her sons to reside. . . ." <sup>7</sup> "For Florida is fertile and abundant in all things necessary to human life, and with the seed and livestock that can be sent there from Spain and other places, it can be made much more productive than it is in its natural state. As will be seen in the course of our history, it is a region well adapted to such things." <sup>8</sup>

In his preface, de Vaca states a totally different purpose from that of the Inca: "no other of the many armed expeditions into those parts has found itself in such dire straits as ours, or come to so futile and fatal a conclusion. My only remaining duty is to transmit what I saw and heard in nine years I wandered lost and miserable over many remote lands." <sup>9</sup>

According to the Inca, De Soto's men immediately saw that Florida was a rich land agriculturally: "They returned with their vessels loaded with grass for the horses and with many unripe grapes from vines found growing wild in the forests. The grape is not cultivated by the natives of this great kingdom of Florida, and they do not care as much for it as do people of other nations, but they will eat it when it is very ripe or has been dried. Our men were extremely happy over these fine specimens of the fruit,

7. Although Garcilaso was aware that St. Augustine had been acquired and populated (although not widely) by the time of the publication of his *Florida del Inca*, he was extremely concerned with the Spanish monarch's attitude which regarded the province as nothing more than a military enclave, dependent upon the situado for its survival. Therefore, throughout his chronicle, Garcilaso tries to point out to the Spanish officials the importance of Florida as a Spanish possession in North America.
8. Garcilaso de la Vega, *The Florida of the Inca*, transls. and eds. John Grier Varner and Jeanette Johnson Varner (Austin, Texas, 1951), xxxviii.
9. Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, *Adventures in the Unknown Interior of America*, transl. Cyclone Covey (New York, 1961), 25.

for they were similar to those grown in Spain, the like of which they had not found in Mexico or in the whole of Peru."<sup>10</sup>

According to de Vaca, Narváez's men, after inspecting the area near their landing site, recommended immediate departure: "We should re-embark and sail in quest of a land and harbor better adapted to settlement, since the country which we had seen was the most deserted and the poorest ever found in those parts."<sup>11</sup>

De Vaca, who traveled from the lower Gulf coast to Apalache, reported that through most of their march, the chief concern of his associates was in finding something to eat: "We marched for fifteen days, living on the supplies we had taken with us, without finding anything else to eat but palmettos like those of Andalusia. In all this time we did not meet a soul, nor did we see a house or village, and finally reached a river, which we crossed with much trouble."<sup>12</sup>

Garcilaso apparently exaggerated his description of the territory over which De Soto's men traveled from the lower Gulf coast to Apalache: "thirty horsemen . . . continued along the track left by the Governor, whom, after six more leagues, they found encamped among some very beautiful vales of corn, so fertile that each stalk bore three or four ears."<sup>13</sup>

The Fidalgo de Elvas, one of the three chroniclers of the De Soto journey, does not mention any agricultural riches found in this region. They traveled "hungry and on bad roads, the country being very thin of maize, low, very wet, pondy, and thickly covered with trees. Where there were inhabitants, some watercresses could be found, which they who arrived first would gather, and cooking them in water with salt, eat them without other thing; and they who could get none, would seize the stalks of maize and eat them, the ear, being young, as yet containing no grain."<sup>14</sup>

The first description of this supposedly "gold laden" land of Apalache was unfavorable. De Vaca reports in his *Relación*:

10. de la Vega, *Florida of the Inca*, 59.

11. Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, *The Journey of Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca*, transl. Fanny Bandelier (New York, 1905; facsimile edition, Chicago, 1964), 15.

12. *Ibid.*, 19.

13. de la Vega, *Florida of the Inca*, 116.

14. Frederick W. Hodge and Theodore H. Lewis, eds., *Spanish Explorers in the Southern United States, 1528-1543* (New York, 1907, 1953), 155.

"We remained at this village for twenty-five days, making three excursions during the time. We found the country very thinly inhabited and difficult to march through, owing to bad places, timber and lagunes."<sup>15</sup>

The Inca, in his chronicle, portrays a different picture. He repudiates this description of Apalache as a sterile region: "I feel it wise not to continue my story without pausing to touch upon what Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca writes of the province of Apalache in his *Comentarios*. Here he describes the country as rough and craggy; covered with forests, swamps, rivers, and troublesome passages; and poorly populated as well as sterile. Since all of these characteristics are contrary to what we are writing."<sup>16</sup>

Garcilaso describes De Soto's journey as if Florida were an Arcadia: "Along the way they journeyed a full league through garden-like lands where there were many trees, both those which bore fruit and others; and among these trees one could travel on horseback without any difficulty, for they were so far apart that they appeared to have been planted by hand."<sup>17</sup>

De Vaca presents his trek as if the area were a living inferno: "Our march was extremely difficult, for neither had we horses enough to carry the sick, nor did we know how to relieve them. . . . I refrain from making a long story of it. Any one can imagine what might be experienced in a land so strange and utterly without resources of any kind."<sup>18</sup>

According to de Vaca there were many trees, but they were not so peaceful and delightful, and the land was not the pastoral garden that Garcilaso portrays in his chronicle. In a vigorous, direct style, which lacks all the beautiful rhetorical devices of the Inca, he comments about Florida's vegetation: "The country between our landing place and the village and country of Apalachen [*sic*] is mostly level; the soil is sand and earth. All throughout it there are very large trees and open forests containing nut trees, laurels and others of the kind called resinous, cedar, juniper, wateroak, pines, oak and low palmetto, like those of Castilla. Everywhere there are many lagunes, large and small, some very

15. Cabeza de Vaca, *Journey*, 28-29.

16. de la Vega, *Florida of the Inca*, 185.

17. *Ibid.*, 314.

18. Cabeza de Vaca, *Journey*, 35.

difficult to cross, partly because they are so deep, partly because they are covered with fallen trees.<sup>19</sup>

The Inca was so fascinated with the fertility of Apalache that he writes with admiration about a land which he never visited: "In order that one may judge of the productivity and fruitfulness of the province of Apalache, we will say in conclusion that, during the more than five months they were wintering in this encampment, the whole Spanish army and their Indian servants, in all about fifteen hundred men and more than three hundred horses, fed upon the food which they gathered when they first arrived there; and when they needed more, they found it in the neighboring hamlets in such quantity that they never went so far as a league and a half from the principal village to obtain it."<sup>20</sup> The Inca ends his description of Apalache as if it were the promised land: "In addition to this fruitfulness of the harvest, the land is very suitable for raising all kinds of livestock. It contains good forests, pasture lands with fine streams, and swamps and lagoons with quantities of rushes for cattle, which thrive on such things and need no grain when eating them. And now to conclude our account of what there is to be found in this province, it suffices to say that one of its fine qualities is its ability to produce much silk because of the great number of mulberry trees."<sup>21</sup>

If Apalache were the promised land, as described in Garcilaso's narrative, why were Narváez's men so anxious to leave such a paradise? According to de Vaca: "The Governor thereupon called them to his presence all together, and each one in particular, asking their opinion about this dismal country, so as to be able to get out of it and seek relief, for in that land there was none."<sup>22</sup>

As one compares the contradictory descriptions of de Vaca and Garcilaso, it becomes a problem of credibility. Cabeza de Vaca was in Apalache seeing his companions die of starvation; the Inca was writing to promote Spanish colonization of Florida, and used his imagination to "create" an Apalache he had never seen.<sup>23</sup>

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19. *Ibid.*, 26-27.

20. de la Vega, *Florida of the Inca*, 260.

21. *Ibid.*

22. Cabeza de Vaca, *Journey*, 36.

23. The descriptions of Apalache by the other chroniclers of De Soto's expedition are shorter and less panegyric than those of Garcilaso. See

Throughout that part of de Vaca's *Relación* which deals with the Florida peninsula, the pages are filled with words like hunger, cold, death, pain, tears, fears, wounds, misfortune, and suffering—all clearly explaining the excruciating experiences of the Spanish in *La Florida*. On the other hand, few of these words appear in Garcilaso's narrative.

Both de Vaca and Garcilaso comment extensively about the strength and agility of the Indians who lived in Florida. Perhaps, because he was a professional soldier, de Vaca seemed most interested in native warfare. After landing in Florida, Narváez's men were constantly harassed by the Indians who seemed to be deadly snipers and masters of guerilla tactics. In their hit-and-run attacks the Indians depended upon the swampy terrain of Florida which they knew perfectly. According to de Vaca, the best Spanish weapon for fighting in Florida was the arquebus, and he advocated cruel treatment of the natives: "Whoever has to fight Indians must take great care not to let them think he is disheartened or that he covets what they own; in war they must be treated very harshly, for should they notice either fear or greed, they are the people who know how to abide their time for revenge and to take courage from the fears of their enemy. . . . This I wished to state here . . . such as might come in contact with those people should be informed of their customs and deeds, which will be of no small profit to them."<sup>24</sup> De Vaca also characterizes the Indians as "great thieves" and "liars."<sup>25</sup>

Garcilaso portrays these same Indians differently. He was concerned with illustrating their gallantry; their amazing deeds and bravery matched those of the Spanish novels of chivalry, and their chieftains spoke like Roman senators. Garcilaso never pauses to supply speech for his Indian characters; few pages in the book fail to record words spoken by them either in public or private.

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Luis Hernández de Biedma, "Relación del suceso de la jornada que hizo Hernando de Soto," in Buckingham Smith, *Colección de varios documentos para la historia de la Florida*, 2 vols. (London, 1857), II, 47-65; Rodrigo Rangel, "Diario," in Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés, *Historia general y naturale de las Indias*, 4 vols. (Madrid, 1851), I, 153-81; Fidalgo de Elvas, *Relação verdadeira dos trabalhos que o Governador D. Fernando de Souto e certos fidalgos portugueses passaram no descobrimento da provincia da Florida*, ed. Miguel Muñoz de San Pedro (Madrid, 1952), 56-65.

24. Cabeza de Vaca, *Journey*, 122-23.

25. *Ibid.*, 90, 91.



He is inclined to sacrifice historical accuracy in favor of a scene which will picture the Indian as either a brave warrior or a splendid orator.<sup>26</sup> He devotes an entire chapter to a lengthy oration delivered by four young Indians, and gives the Spaniards' reaction to their words, which is extremely difficult to believe: "And when many Spaniards well read in history heard them, they asserted that the [Indian] captains appeared to have been influenced by the most famous officers of Rome . . . and that the youths, who were lords of vassals, appeared to have been trained in Athens when it was flourishing in moral letters. Consequently, as soon as they responded and the Governor had embraced them, there was not a captain or a soldier . . . who did not embrace them likewise with very great rejoicing and enthusiasm at having heard them."<sup>27</sup>

In their deeds, he was interested in portraying the Indians as gallant knights similar to the popular chivalric hero, Amadis de Gaula. One can perceive this characteristic in the testimony of Francisco de Aguilar, who according to the Inca, was ambushed by Indians in Apalache: "I would have you know that, as I have said, more than fifty Indians came to take a look at us, but when they perceived that we were no more than seven and had no horses for our defense, seven of their number stepped out from the squadron which they had formed, while the others retired to a distance and refused to fight. These seven and no more attacked us. . . .' The companions and friends of Francisco de Aguilar were amazed at what they heard, for they never dreamed that the Indians were inclined to be so chivalrous as to want to fight singly with the Castilians."<sup>28</sup>

Whoever reads these two passages must remember that Garcilaso was the son of an Inca princess. Perhaps, as a result, he felt the need of exulting the qualities of the Indians. Also, the apparent courtly manners of the natives and their chivalric code of honor owe much to Garcilaso's imagination. Garcilaso de la Vega was probably one of the first writers to create the theme of the "noble savage" in Spanish literature.

The *Relación* is not an example of stylistic perfection like

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26. See Donald G. Castanien, *El Inca Garcilaso de la Vega* (New York, 1969), 78.

27. de la Vega, *Florida of the Inca*, 160-61.

28. *Ibid.*, 266.

*La Florida del Inca*. Cabeza de Vaca had a wealth of material and could have spun a fantastic tale, but he was concerned with history and this is what he wrote.<sup>29</sup> His chronicle lapses in grammatical form, revealing that he was not a scholar. Had he written a chronicle possessing the composition and the artistic loftiness of others during Spain's Golden Age, he might not have provided one of the most informative accounts of the mysterious land known as *La Florida*.<sup>30</sup> His *Relación*, simple in literary value but rich in historical fact, was the product of his own personal observations and experiences.

Garcilaso de la Vega's credentials as an historian are highly suspect. He was a romantic who used poetic license freely. In searching for the historical accuracy in *La Florida del Inca*, one must recall that Garcilaso was writing a public relations tract. He hoped to persuade Spain to colonize *La Florida*. He was proud of being a mestizo, and this tended to make him overzealous in describing the qualities of both the Spanish conquistadores and *La Florida* Indians. Garcilaso was an historian, writing at a time when it was not unusual to intermix fact with fiction. It was an age when poetry surpassed history since it would record not how things had happened but how they should have happened. Perhaps the best commentary regarding *La Florida del Inca* comes from Garcilaso himself: "I wrote the history of Florida, which indeed is florid, not with my own dry style, but with the flower of Spanish prose."<sup>31</sup>

Nevertheless, despite Garcilaso's shortcomings, both he and

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29. It has been suggested by some historians that upon his return to Spain, de Vaca spread romantic tales by word of mouth about the gold and silver cities he found in *La Florida*. It should be noted, however, that he and Andrés Dorantes had a pact not to divulge certain information on things which they had seen in this territory. Perhaps this reticence on de Vaca's part to discuss his experiences did more to fire the imagination of other conquistadores than the alleged stories attributed to him. See José B. Fernández, *Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca: The Forgotten Chronicler* (Miami, 1975), 28-29.
30. That section of the *Relación* which deals with de Vaca's profession as a healer of Indians has for the most part damaged the credibility of his narrative, especially among earlier historians; but it was pointed out by Woodbury Lowery that "he rarely if ever, asserts that the Indians were cured by his interposition, but qualifies his account with the statement that they said they were cured." See Appendix I, "Credibility of Cabeza's Narrative," in Woodbury Lowery, *The Spanish Settlements Within the Present Limits of the United States*, 2 vols. (New York, 1911), I, 456.
31. Enrique Anderson Imbert, *Spanish American Literature: A History*, transl. John V. Falconieri (Detroit, 1963), 42.

Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca helped spread knowledge of *La Florida*. Both of their accounts deserve the attention of students of the history of Florida.

## ELIJAH SWIFT'S TRAVEL JOURNAL FROM MASSACHUSETTS TO FLORIDA, 1857

*edited by VIRGINIA STEELE WOOD\**

"FROM A WRETCHED PLACE. . . in a wretched car we commenced our wretched ride." Elijah Swift's remark summarized precisely the way he perceived his journey by rail from New England to Tallahassee-eight days of erratic schedules, lengthy delays, unpredictable hotel accommodations, questionable food, and fatigue. Swift had travelled this same route the year before, and the prospect of making another excursion to Florida could hardly have been attractive. The trip seemed interminable as one was jolted forward in railway car, steamboat, wagon, or stagecoach, and fortunate was the passenger who could doze or enjoy conversation with his companions.

Travel in the nineteenth century was tedious and difficult. By 1857 there were many private rail lines, some barely a dozen miles long, which necessitated numerous changes for the traveller; at each terminus connections had to be made and tickets purchased. There were no Pullman cars, so one slept sitting up or spent the night in a hotel, continuing his journey the next day. Passengers provided their own food which they ate picnic style on short trips or took dinner when the train made scheduled stops at inns, hotels, or boarding houses. With the engine belching smoke, and cinders blowing in through open windows, grime was simply another discomfort which had to be tolerated.

Planning a long journey by train was itself an exercise requiring considerable patience. There were railway maps and schedules, but with so many different lines, one had to discover which went where in order to make an agenda. And strange as it may seem, there was no standard railroad time in the United States in 1857. Each rail company adopted independently the time of its

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locality or the time of its home office. With a certain disdain, *Dinsmore's American Railroad and Steam Navigation Guide* called attention to this phenomenon noting that the "inconvenience of such a system, if system it can be called, must be apparent to all." It had been the cause of "many miscalculations and misconnections," and was particularly "annoying to persons strangers to the fact." Since many rail guides listed local times for scheduled arrivals and departures, Dinsmore published a timetable for the principal American cities as compared with noon at the nation's capital. For example, when it was twelve noon in Washington, D.C., it was 11:42 AM at St. Augustine; 11:30 AM in Tallahassee; 12:24 PM in Boston; and 12:12 PM in New York City.<sup>1</sup> Clearly, one had to be on the alert to plan a trip of any great distance.

Of course physical stamina was essential. When Elijah Swift set out on the ten-mile drive from Falmouth to Monument station by carriage in October 1857 he was twenty-five years old, and he needed all the vigor his youth could command. Ahead of him were eight days of riding on eleven different railroad lines, two connecting steamboat lines, a wagon, and assorted stagecoaches in order to reach Tallahassee. On the last leg of this journey, the ninth day, his final destination by rail was St. Marks. The twenty-one miles from Tallahassee cost him \$1.00 and required two hours instead of the scheduled ninety minutes. Following this, there was a two-mile ride by hack to Newport. Although his journal ends abruptly in Savannah, Georgia, on November 2, Elijah Swift wrote an account of a mid-nineteenth century businessman's trip to Florida. His observations concerning places, his feelings about events during the trip, his comments on some of the people he encountered, combined with his good humor, provide a readable account of an otherwise prolonged and dull journey.

Born in Falmouth, Massachusetts, November 19, 1831, Swift came from a family of shipbuilders. His grandfather Elijah Swift had started his career as a house carpenter, and later made a fortune building whaleships and supplying the government with live oak timber for the frames of naval vessels. His father, Oliver C. Swift, was also active in the family business. Elijah, after graduating from Harvard in 1852 and touring Europe, became a part-

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1. Richard F. Fisher, ed., *Dinsmore's American Railroad and Steam Navigation Guide For The United States & Canada* (New York, 1857), 257.

ner of John J. Swift, Jr., in the live oaking business, and for the next few years he worked in South Carolina and Florida.<sup>2</sup> While much of the firm's lumbering operation was centered in New Smyrna and the present site of Daytona Beach, the St. Marks area on the Gulf coast was dense with live oak. Elijah's responsibility in this journey to Florida was to join his cousin Rodolphus Swift to contract for supplies and to purchase timber lands or cutting rights from property owners in Tallahassee, St. Marks, and Newport.

The original manuscript of the journal is owned by Oliver S. Chute of Milton, Massachusetts, Elijah Swift's grandson, who kindly permitted its publication. It is being published exactly as writ ten, except for bracketed additions.

Boston Oct. 19th 1857

Completed my business in the city and bade all the good people at No 8 Allston a hearty farewell (Memo) Left in the afternoon train for Monument where I found father in waiting & reached home at 9 1/2 o'clock P.M. in time to receive a cup of hot tea and the surroundings from Mothers provident hand

Falmouth Oct 20

A confused day till 12 M. Business transactions, saying last words & eating Hattie's pears filled the morning & noon found us letting the final good wishes. Father carried me to Monument & set me off upon the journey toward the land of "Hog meat & Hommony."

Did not find cousin Rhodh.<sup>3</sup> when on the Fall River Boat &

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2. Sources for information on Elijah Swift, his family, and their business include Falmouth, Massachusetts, Vital Records, 2: 101, 200; 3: 87-330; Falmouth Births, Marriages, Deaths, 1855-1892, 39, 56; Falmouth Deaths, 1893-1934, 30; Falmouth Deaths, 1935-1957, 2, Falmouth Town Hall, Falmouth, Massachusetts; gravestone inscriptions in Oak Grove Cemetery, Falmouth, Massachusetts; Katharine Whitin Swift, comp., *The Swift Family* (Whitinsville, Massachusetts, 1955), 2-7; Grace Williamson Edes, *Annals of the Harvard Class of 1852* (Cambridge, 1922), 174-76, 367, 384-85; Naval Records, Contracts, 1794-1827, Records Group 45, Entry 235, National Archives.
  3. Rodolphus Nye Swift (1810-1901), son of Reuben Swift and a nephew of Elijah Swift. As a young boy he spent two years in the South with his father and uncle in the live oak business. At the age of seventeen he shipped out as a whaler and eventually became master of the

so alone in an after stateroom shut my eyes upon Oct 20th while the boat was bracing a heavy head sea

Wednesday Oct 22nd [21st] (New York)

The heavy sea of yesternight delayed the Boat beyond the time of departure of the Southern trains & consequently I was obliged to spend the day in New York

Left at 6 o'clock P.M. en route for Washington D.C. & "snoozed" famously in the cars.

Thursday Oct. 23rd [22nd] (Washington D.C.)

The grey of this cool morning overtook the traveller stepping on board of the Potomac boat (name unknown) bound for Acquia Creek. Reminiscences of a former sail on the same river and of a bright eyed & fair haired stranger, were pleasant & refreshing. Blessed be memory when hope decayeth!

Passed through Richmond dinnerless & tarried in Petersburg long enough to buy a pair of gloves & to peep into a ladies' fair. Night soon came apace and we tried to beguile its weary hours by sleep while jolting on to Weldon & thence to Wilmington N.C.

Observed during the day one of the most graceful combinations of curves in the waves caused by the swift motion of the boat up Acquia Creek where the water was very shallow & where undisturbed by our keel very placid

Friday Oct 24th [23rd] (Wilmington N.C.)

I have a long & heavy black mark against Wilmington, registered in the calendar of memory a year ago, & so was glad to leave, after an hours stay for a more Southern latitude. From a wretched place on the opposite side of Cape Fear River in a wretched car we commenced our wretched ride, which same wretched car despite its wretchedness saved us, by the gracious providence of God, from the horrid wreck which befel the *new* car which passed over the road just after us.<sup>4</sup> We arrived Kings-

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*Lancaster*. Years later he also returned to the live oak trade, together with his brother, William C. N. Swift.

4. The Wilmington & Weldon Railroad was undergoing extensive physical repairs during the fall of 1857, but neither Wilmington's weekly *Journal* nor *Daily Herald* mentioned this "horrid wreck." However, suppression of news detrimental to powerful interests was no less common in the

ville at 6 PM. and at Branchville a few hours after where we entered the most comfortable of comfortable cars & slept away the night. (Memo *Ole Virginia*)

Saturday Oct 25th [24th]

On through South Carolina & through Georgia over well built roads as far as Macon a beautiful inland city, where I intend spending the Sabbath

Rained in the afternoon & had but little opportunity of making extensive explorations (Memo Mr. Miller & daughter)

Sunday October 25th 1857 Macon, Geo.

Have spent a most interesting day; attending the morning service of the Presbyterian church & an evening exercise of the same society in their new lecture-room. The text of the morning discourse was Agrippa's confession to the apostle: "Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian"

The remarks of the Evening were founded upon the 14th Chapter of Paul's letter to the Romans, bearing Especially upon the 17th verse: "For the kingdom of God is not meat and drink, but righteousness & peace and joy in the Holy Ghost".

The spirit manifested & doctrines advanced reminded me of Mt. Vernon Church.

Hotel; the Lanier House

Monday Oct 26th 1857

Was roused at 1 1/2 AM by sundry thumps and the announcement "De omnibus is waitin at de door"! and after a hasty toilet found "de omnibus" in the form of a baggage wagon with a chair in it. Leaving Macon at an early hour reached Wooten at about nine A.M. where we commenced a most wretched stage ride towards Tallahassee via Albany Newton (where we supped) Quincy &c.

Tuesday Oct 27th

Among my companions of yesterday were a Doct. Monroe & lady with 3 children of his sister all of whom were agreeable as

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1850s than in our own era. See Earl Heydinger, "Suppression of 'Bad News' About the Early Railroads," *Railway and Locomotive Historical Society Bulletin No. 119* (October 1968), 63-66.



fellow travellers, although but little conversation proceeded from any excepting the Doct who was an intelligent planter.

The stage left them at Quincy where we breakfasted at a late hour, but their loss was alleviated by the accession at the same place of an elderly lady, who was a staunch Methodist, and a Mr. Cox & wife both young people & not by any means uncomfortable companions

Five o'clock found us in Tallahassee safely housed in Godbold's hotel.<sup>5</sup>

This same Godbold appears to be a rascal. Having run through his property in So. Ca. by a career of gambling & other dissipations he opened a hotel in this place. Here a year since he murdered a man in a drunken brawl & was tried for his life The fact of his being a mason is said to have affected his acquital, since which time he is said to spend most of his miserable life in liquor

Wednesday Oct. 28th (Tallahassee)

Started at an early hour in the morning by rail for St. Marks.<sup>6</sup> Arrived there after a two hour's ride, and after seeing my elderly travelling companion of yesterday safely housed in the hotel, left by hack for Newport where I found Dan'l Ladd Esq. to whom I had introductory letters.<sup>7</sup>

Leaving Newport after dinner in a private conveyance took a 30 miles drive among the proprietors of the Halifax timber, lead with Major Ward & reached Tallahassee just before 11 o'clock in the evening where I learned that Cousin R. had just arrived<sup>8</sup>

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5. Major Cade Godbold, a native of South Carolina, served for several years as a proprietor of the City Hotel in Tallahassee. Tallahassee *Floridian and Journal*, April 10, 1858.
  6. The Tallahassee Rail Road Company, incorporated by an act of February 10, 1834, connected Tallahassee and the St. Marks River. It served to carry cotton to the river for transshipment to sailing vessels. Dorothy Dodd, "The Tallahassee Railroad and the Town of St. Marks," *Apalachee*, IV (1956), 1-12; George W. Pettengill, Jr., "The Story of the Florida Railroads, 1834-1903," *The Railway & Locomotive Historical Society, Inc., Bulletin No. 86* (1952), 11-15, 24-26.
  7. Daniel Ladd (1817-1872), a native of Augusta, Maine, and a wealthy businessman and lumberman in pre-Civil War Florida, represented Wakulla County in the 1861 Florida secession convention. Ladd Journals and Papers (1848-1887), Special Collections, Robert Manning Strozier Library, Florida State University, Tallahassee, pp. 252, 322-23; Ralph A. Wooster, "The Florida Secession Convention," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXXVI (April 1958), 385.
  8. George Taliaferro Ward (1810), a Kentucky native, settled in Leon

Thursday Oct. 29th (Tallahassee)

Passed a very pleasant day in company with Cousin Rhodolphus

Major Ward drove in during the forenoon and after an extended colloquy and a whisky toddy in which I did not indulge we effected a purchase of the timber subject to the approval of Col<sup>nel</sup> Sanderson of Jacksonville.<sup>9</sup> Major W. treated me to a very pleasant drive about Tallahassee & vicinity, showing up "the lions" & his fine Vermont horses. (Memo Agassiz) Introduced to General Bailey<sup>10</sup> Doct Barnard<sup>11</sup> Mr. Walker<sup>12</sup> Mr Geniskey &c.

Friday Oct 30. (From Tallahassee)

Took early stage for Albany at 5 A.M. The first 3 hours of our ride was rendered uncomfortable by a drunken farmer who persisted in shaking me by the arm & calling me "old coon"! all of which annoyance I tried to endure with forbearance, although the point was not far off where such conduct "ceases to be a virtue."

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County, Florida, and prospered as a slave and plantation owner. He later served in the secession convention of Florida in 1861, in the Confederate Congress, and died in action in 1862 while a colonel of the Second Florida Infantry. Ezra J. Warner and W. Buck Yearns, *Biographical Register of the Confederate Congress* (Baton Rouge, 1975), 248-49.

9. John Pease (Philip?) Sanderson (1816-1871), an 1839 Amherst graduate from Vermont, became a successful attorney, planter, and slave owner in Fernandina, Lake City, and Jacksonville. An early investor in Florida railroads, he supported secession and replaced George Ward for thirteen days in 1862 in the Provisional Confederate Congress. *Ibid.*, 213-14. *From Cotton to Quail: An Agricultural Chronicle of Leon County, Florida, 1860-1967* (Gainesville, 1968), 8-9.
10. William Bailey (1790-1867), born at St. Mary's, Georgia, fought in the War of 1812, the Second Seminole War, and at the Battle of Natural Bridge (March 6, 1865) in his seventy-fifth year. A wealthy planter, Bailey's Jefferson County cotton factory was the only such facility in Florida to remain in operation throughout the Civil War, [Harry Gardner Cutler], *History of Florida, Past and Present: Historical and Biographical*, 3 vols. (Chicago, 1923), III, 156; John E. Johns, *Florida During the Civil War* (Gainesville, 1973), 126.
11. Edward B. Barnard, a druggist, operated his business at the corner of Clinton and Monroe streets. Tallahassee *Floridian and Journal*, January 19, 1856.
12. "Mr. Walker" may have been David Shelby Walker (1815-1891), who had settled in Leon County in 1837. An attorney, Walker served in the Florida legislature, as state registrar of public lands and superintendent of public instruction, mayor of Tallahassee, supreme court justice, and as Florida's governor from 1865 to 1868. Walker returned to the practice of law in 1868, but received an appointment as a circuit judge from 1876 until his death on July 20, 1891. Allen Morris, comp., *The Florida Handbook, 1975-1976* (Tallahassee, 1975), 83.

Breakfasted at 11 A.M. at Quincy and continued the jolting ride to Newton where we supped, having dined at Bainbridge.

Newton added to the number of our passengers after which the night was spent in talking of Banks, Cotton, Money pressure & Runaways and in vain endeavors to sleep

Saturday Oct. 31st

Morning discovered us at Albany (Memo. Scoundrel from Kentucky) Reached Wooten about noon & night saw us on the road between Macon & Savannah

Sunday Nov. 1st (Savannah)

Attended the Independent Presbyterian Church through the day & evening hearing two good sermons. Text in the morning Isaiah 53rd 1st "Who hath believed our report" the negative & positive reasons of the opposition to the gospel were commented upon with practical ability. Text in the afternoon 1 Cor 15/58. The preacher treated at length of the influences which the hope of resurrection was suited to exert upon the character & life of Christians. In the evening the monthly concert for Missions was held but failed in awaking that interest which is manifested in similar meetings at the North, or rather at home.

Monday Nov. 2nd Savannah

## BOOK REVIEWS

*History of Jefferson County.* By Jerrell H. Shofner. (Tallahassee: Sentry Press, 1976. xi, 630 pp. Map, preface, notes, illustrations, epilogue, appendix, bibliography, index. \$15.00.)

Dr. Jerrell Shofner has chronicled Jefferson County in encyclopedic detail. In 573 pages of text he has placed its development in a regional context stretching from sixteenth-century Spanish exploration through nineteenth-century "Old South" cottonbelt prosperity to late twentieth-century narrowing economic and political opportunity. The index of this book has thirty-nine closely-spaced, double-columned pages of entries; the appendix lists in ten triple-columned pages every head of family found by census-takers in the county in the pre-Civil War generation; and his bibliography cites every pertinent source one might consult. It is not a truism to say that Jefferson County history will not have to be rewritten in our time.

The author has conscientiously tried to write the best kind of history— not social, not political, not economic— but a blend of these. Through these pages march politicians, professional men, soldiers, planters, farmers, preachers, developers, storekeepers, railroad men, housewives, and laborers— black and white. The hardships, the frustrations, and the solid accomplishments of the ordinary people whom he describes in the antebellum era are not allowed to bog in a mire of mint julep and magnolia romanticism. Nor are the realities of life during the war of the 1860s and its aftermath subordinated to the bitterness of rebellious rancor. A specialist in the Reconstruction era, the author has treated that period with his usual judiciousness. He delineates the relatively brief period of Republican rule and marks the return of Jefferson by the 1890s to the staunch Democratic allegiance that had characterized it before 1860.

Pre-Civil War attempts to develop a textile industry did not survive, but in the closing decades of the nineteenth century enterprisers of the county worked hard to develop railroads, tourism, and a more diversified agriculture. Until World War I, however, cotton remained the staple crop. The thirty years after the First World War saw rapid changes. Small towns withered

before the motor car's shrinking of distances; cotton gave way to poultry, dairy farming, and other crops; acres of land were absorbed into new private hunting preserves; lumbering flourished and declined; and even the excesses of the "roaring twenties" left some imprint.

More traumatically, the Great Depression and World War II altered old values and living patterns beyond recognition. In the 1950s the political power of all the old north Florida counties eroded, and by 1967 legislative reapportionment had deprived Jefferson of its individual representation in both houses. The author concludes, nonetheless, that a new spirit is abroad which recognizes that today the most marketable commodity of the county is its open spaces and attractive county seat— "its appeal as a place to live."

A book of this size is bound to have errors and omissions, but this one is virtually free of them. The eccentric hackles of this reviewer were raised by only two obscure items: on page 227 we are asked to believe in an impossibly short 1861 travel time from Monticello to Savannah; on page 506 we are told that Herbert Hoover carried Florida in 1928, but not whether he carried Jefferson County! Pettiness aside, this is a long, good book.

*University of Florida*

HERBERT J. DOHERTY, JR.

*Pelts, Plumes, and Hides: White Traders among the Seminole Indians, 1870-1930.* By Harry A. Kersey, Jr. (Gainesville: The University Presses of Florida, 1975. xi, 158 pp. Foreword, notes, illustrations, bibliography, index. \$7.50.)

Some of the popular and the more general historical accounts of the Seminoles give the impression that from the end of the war and removal period to the reservation period (1859 to about 1925), the Florida Indians were an isolated and unknown people hiding out in the vast, unexplored Everglades. Actually there were a good many "contact communities" during this time where Seminoles and whites interacted on the basis of various relationships involving friendship, hospitality, education, medical and civic assistance, and, most important, trade.

Now Professor Kersey has thoroughly documented the existence of these contact communities with great depth and detail. While Kersey's "focus is on those permanent trading posts which were established to serve a frontier population but made their greatest profit from Indian trade" (p. 25), a fascinating additional focus is "on the reciprocal economic and social relationships which developed between the trading families and their Seminole clientele" (p. vi).

Exhibiting long and patient research, *Pelts, Plumes, and Hides* is composed of interviews and the skillful weaving together of other primary and secondary sources. The result is not, as might be expected from the title alone, a boring recital of facts, dates, and names of interest only to the most dedicated of area specialists. On the contrary, in addition to the abundant factual data, there is a constant preoccupation with the anecdotal, the emotion of human interaction, the satisfactions of cross-cultural understanding that turns an otherwise dry treatise into a charming, rambling, insightful social and economic commentary on about fifty years of Florida's most romantic history. As such it becomes a rewarding reading experience for the layman and doubly so for the area specialist. Of obvious value is the bibliography and an index which lists the mention of every name of Indians and whites with only two or three omissions that this reviewer found.

The only criticisms are stylistic ones which probably should be addressed to the publisher as much as to the author. Devoting a chapter to each of the major centers of trade (Miami, Fort Lauderdale, Immokalee, Cow Creek, Indian River, and the southwest frontier), there is, inevitably, some overlap in the treatment of historically-significant people, episodes, conditions, and developments. Thus, at these points it would have made a smoother continuity if reference had been made to the previous mention of such topics rather than repeating, sometimes in almost the same words, and further developing the matter as if it were the first mention of it. Refer to the naming of Immokolee (pp. 24 and 60), the school episode with white children named as Seminoles (pp. 23 and 60), the commercial hatching of alligator eggs (pp. 52 and 54-55), the Bowers brothers (pp. 84 and 95-96), the Captain Tom Tiger incident of 1907 (pp. 83-85 and 103-04), and references to white traders' abilities to use a combination of Creek and

English in their communication with the Seminoles (pp. 75, 78, and 82).

There are also inconsistencies in the use of block-indented quotations and footnotes. Some lengthy quotes are blocked and some are merely quoted in the body of the text; while some matters (such as the accounts of the "typical trading day" at the Brickell store, of Henry Sterling of Linton, or of Maud Wingfield's "floating store," relegated to footnotes on pages 30, 48, and 77, respectively), would seem to deserve as much attention as the brief treatment of Henry Parker in the text on page 100.

Important general principles of Indian-white relationships are reinforced by abundant examples throughout Professor Kersey's work. The context in the case of the Seminoles is that, due to their war and removal experience, they didn't want anything to do with the white man or his government, they didn't want to be moved, and they were interpreting many different forms of contact and contact attempts as threats to their independence and identity. Yet in this very context they maintained their share of participation in these many contact communities involving frequent, regular, and even intimate relationships with white people.

The first principle of Indian contact might be stated thus: intimacy with the white man grew strongest wherever the white man's motives were the least involved with a mission of any kind. A second might be ideological persuasion and social change was attempted largely by those whites who could not speak the Indian language. It turns out that, with certain exceptions, of course, those who did learn the language, like Bill Brown, Stanley Hanson, and others, apparently did not attempt any kind of ideological or structural reorganization, but rather accepted and participated in Indian culture just as they found it. Their roles in the contact communities of which they were central figures were primarily related to market or trade networks and otherwise, on a purely friendship basis, involved a sharing of hunting and hospitality with no strings attached. Bonds of mutual trust were forged between Indians and those whites who, in addition to one of the Indians' basic values, honesty, exhibited concern for the Indian for his own sake, treated him with respect and dignity, were sensitive to his feelings, anticipated his needs, and, most

important, demonstrated friendship even when it cost something in time, money, or inconvenience.

A third generalization might be that those who are capable of achieving such empathy are always accepted sooner across cultural boundaries, and this is manifest even before language communication is established. Thus, through these mutual trust relationships, the Indians added to the "maintenance input" of their social system by resuming after the war and removal period the food and hardware trade without yielding appreciably any other aspects of the carefully guarded boundary-maintenance system of their basic culture.

*Pelts, Plumes, and Hides* is a most valuable and delightful documentation of these principles and of the manifold personal relationships which were generated within chiefly economic contact communities.

Wheaton College

JAMES O. BUSWELL

*Altar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca: The Forgotten Chronicler.* By José B. Fernández. (Miami: Ediciones Universal, 1975. 144 pp. Introduction, notes, bibliography, index. \$4.95.)

When a Cuban expatriate scholar with a "feel" for "lo hispánico" acquires a Ph.D. from Florida State University and tackles one of the "one hundred" best books in the Spanish language, one can give odds the results are going to be good. While this reviewer may take issue that Cabeza de Vaca is "the forgotten chronicler," it is, as the author states, true that few people have compared his account, the famous *relación*, with such familiar descriptions as *La Florida* by El Inca Garcilaso de la Vega. What Fernández has done— and well, this reviewer might add— is to analyze the *relación's* approach to such esoteric subjects as "the natives and their customs" and "the conquistadores."

The scholar is superb when he analyzes the style and language of the peripatetic Cabeza de Vaca. The quotations from the original work serve to emphasize the points that Fernández is making.

Not without humor, understanding, and empathy, this study



of Cabeza de Vaca when combined with the original narrative, through such editions as the one this reviewer checked, which was edited by Manuel Serrano y Sanz in the 1906 two-volume Victoriano Suárez edition, makes a notable additional acquisition to any library of Floridiana.

*University of Alabama in Birmingham*

JACK D. L. HOLMES

*Florida's Crisis in Public Education: Changing Patterns of Leadership.* By Arthur O. White. (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1975. vii, 135 pp. Preface, illustrations, notes, index. \$10.00.)

This book attempts to explain why the statewide walkout of public school teachers occurred in 1968, and how Florida has recovered its educational equilibrium since that debacle. The work is divided into three main sections: the period from 1948 to 1959, when school funding was adequate; from 1959 up to and including the walkout which was characterized by inadequate funding; and the years since the post-walkout when education was reformed and improved.

As indicated in the title, White sees educational events from the perspective of the state's political and educational leadership. Thus, the early period of prosperity is attributed mainly to the personal effectiveness of State Superintendent of Public Instruction Thomas Bailey and Florida Education Association Executive-secretary Ed Henderson; the financial crisis leading up to the walkout and the walkout itself are analyzed in terms of the penuriousness of the 1960s governors and legislators and the irrationality of the FEA leadership; and the alleviation of the state's education crisis is the result of cooperative effort in the 1970s between progressive legislators, Governor Reubin Askew, and State Commissioner of Education Floyd Christian. This is a limited viewpoint which ignores the realities of the situation as experienced by groups other than state politicians, such as teachers.

White's analysis is also, at least to this reviewer, overly solicitous of former Commissioner Christian. According to White, Christian "risked political repercussions" to rebut Governor

Kirk's criticisms of the schools (p. 46), "placed his job on the line by offering to have the people decide on an appointed or elected superintendent" in a continuation of his battle with Kirk (p. 58), and chose a moderate course between the extremes of federal courts which attempted to require "burdensome cross-busing" and Governor Kirk who defied them (p. 91). All of these activities might be attributed to Christian's astuteness as a politician rather than to the more altruistic and educationally-oriented motives that the author proposes.

The basic argument in the book is convincing in one particular, but generally unpersuasive, at least to this reviewer. The argument that "the underlying cause of the 1968 crisis was inadequate funding" (p. v) seems accurate, but the author abandons this point of view in his later chapters. He thinks that the situation which caused the walkout was considerably improved by the actions of state politicians who implemented an efficient management system in the schools. This ignores the fact that management reform has done nothing about the funding base of public education in Florida. The recent move to unionization by both the public school teachers and state university professors suggests that the funding problems are unsolved. My own view is that education in Florida will continue to limp along financially until the state reforms its tax structure. Leadership and management reform, the factors this book regards as important, offer little in the way of significant improvement given the financial problems that exist.

*Georgia State University*

WAYNE J. URBAN

*The Material Culture of Key Marco, Florida.* By Marion Spjut Gilliland. (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1975. ix, 266 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, plates, figures, appendixes, bibliography, index. \$15.00.)

Marion Gilliland's long-awaited book describes the unique artifacts recovered by Frank H. Cushing at Key Marco, Florida. The famed Key Marco archeological site on the northern end of present-day Marco Island was partially excavated by Cushing in 1885. Prior to its destruction by real estate developers in the

1960s, the site consisted of approximately fifty acres of shell kitchen midden and intentionally-constructed shell mounds and causeways, all crosscut by a series of artificial canals. Such large complexes, known to have been occupied by the Calusa aborigines during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, are scattered along the southwest Florida coast from Marco Island north to Charlotte Harbor.

Key Marco derives its uniqueness from the extraordinary collection of wooden artifacts found preserved in one muck-filled lagoon less than an acre in size. The wooden plaques, masks, bowls, trays, mortars, pestles, weapons, canoe paddles, and other items, as well as a large amount of cordage (especially fish nets with the floats still attached!) give us information on aspects of Calusa material culture not available for any other archeologically-known Indian group in the eastern United States. In addition to the unique wooden materials, Cushing also recovered stone, shell, bone, and antler artifacts, all similar to specimens recovered at other South Florida archeological sites.

*The Material Culture of Key Marco* offers a detailed and scholarly inventory of the Key Marco collection which today is housed in several museums, including the Florida State Museum in Gainesville. More than 140 plates, both recent photographs as well as copies of pictures taken at the time of the excavations or during the period of Cushing's analysis, illustrate many of the items described in the text. The quality of nearly all of the photographs is excellent. In fact, the book is so well-produced and the contents so interesting that collectors of art and Floridaiana, in addition to historians and anthropologists, will find it a valued item.

Easily overlooked in the dazzle of the photographs is Gilliland's background information on the Cushing excavation, the subsequent deposition of the collection, and her own efforts to unravel field catalogs and museum archives in order to understand the site and its contents. That portion of the book (Part 1) reads at times like an adventure novel and adds an important dimension to the overall presentation.

Gilliland's book is an important contribution to our understanding of Florida's aboriginal history. The author deserves a great deal of credit for completing the laborious task of inventory-

ing and describing the Key Marco collection and making her findings available in published form.

*The Florida State Museum*

JERALD T. MILANICH

*The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism, and the Cant of Conquest.* By Francis Jennings. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975. xvii, 369 pp. Preface, technical note, notes, illustrations, maps, bibliography, index. \$14.95.)

Jennings, as is proper, explains the purpose of his book in the prefatory statement: to unravel the origins and expose the fallacy of the conquest ideology that was applied to Atlantic coastal tribes. Fine— although slightly nebulous. After that comes chapter upon chapter refuting various myths of Indian-white contact: chapter one blasts the “civilized-savage” dichotomy, chapter two argues that there were too many Indians here at contact to justify calling them “savages,” chapter three underscores the reciprocal nature of acculturation, chapter four maintains that Indians were no more superstitious than their European contemporaries, chapter five that Indians amounted to peasants in the European economy, chapter six pauses to lament the exploitation of the Indian in the fur trade, chapter seven tries to decide whether Indians were considered vassals or allies, chapter eight we will skip for a moment, chapter nine claims that Indian warriors were no more indecent than contemporary Europeans, and chapter ten insists that Indians and Europeans developed a symbiotic relationship.

That’s 157 pages, omitting chapter eight, of what should have been a book by itself. Part I, “Myths of the Marchlands,” is a hackneyed sort of book, the kind you feel you’ve already read in bits and pieces somewhere else. Jennings himself seems to be bored with the stuff.

Then there’s chapter eight— an electrifying experience. Alden Vaughan, in his *New England Frontier*, swore that the New England Puritans had always been scrupulously fair in their land transactions with the Indians. Not so! exclaims Jennings, who suddenly comes alive in his style and ideas. Somehow— brilliantly — he uncovers evidence which purportedly shows that Plymouth

and Massachusetts Bay only became interested in acquiring Indian deeds of sale after the Dutch, next door, started collecting deeds for land along the Connecticut River. There was no sense of “justice for the Indian” here, only a frightened reaction to Dutchmen holding a fistfull of deeds to Indian lands claimed by both Netherlanders and Englishmen.

Chapter eight is a harbinger of good and worthwhile things to come: Part II, “The Heathen for Inheritance, and the Earth for Possession.” This, with chapter eight, comprises another book – a stunningly creative and imaginative exposition of seventeenth-century Puritan-Indian relations, or, “Alden Vaughan Turned on His Head.” To appreciate the full impact of this second section, one should first read Vaughan’s *New England Frontier*. What Jennings has done is take Vaughan’s sanctimonious Puritans and hold them up for the unprincipled and brutal men they were—or so Jennings charges, explicitly, with great persuasiveness. The web of intrigue and innuendo he weaves is mightily impressive. From the Great Migration through the “Second Puritan Conquest” (King Philip’s War), New England history is portrayed as a series of calculated maneuvers between and among the various New England colonies and New York to get their hooks into disputed Indian land. Mounting inter-colonial pressures and anxieties reach the flash point in the two major Indian campaigns (Pequot and King Philip’s), which Jennings sees as part of the larger *realpolitik* – the need to assert legitimacy over argued (Indian) territory. And one could go on.

Alas, undergraduates, I fear, will get lost in the folds of Jennings’s fertile mind— they won’t read *The Invasion*. Probably the best advice to instructors is to stick with Vaughan as assigned reading and then open the lion’s cage, letting Francis Jennings maul the opposition in the lecture.

*Rutgers University*

CALVIN MARTIN

*The Natchez District and the American Revolution*. By Robert V. Haynes. (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1976. viii, 191 pp. Preface, map, illustrations, epilogue, notes, essay on sources, index. \$6.95.)

The Natchez district was the forward position of an advanc-

ing British Empire in North America before the American Revolution. The lower Mississippi frontier attracted settlers by the hundreds, and there was talk of carving a new colony out of West Florida, the better to challenge the Spaniards across the river. Unhappily, when the Revolution came to the Mississippi, British loyalists were caught napping by Willing's raiders, and Dickson's redcoats were swamped when Gálvez struck in 1779. The story is one of promise unfulfilled— and that judgment must also fall upon this book, a creature of Bicentennial enthusiasm which leans heavily upon the work of Cecil Johnson and John Caughey. Haynes's monograph tells us nothing new about the British on the Mississippi, and it deteriorates into a general history considerably less satisfactory than J. Leitch Wright's recent *Florida in the American Revolution*.

In spite of hewing close to his predecessors in both chapter and verse, Haynes inspires little confidence. He gratuitously elevates Augustin Prevost to governor of East Florida (p. 5) and promotes Philip Pittman to captain (p. 7), a rank he never held in the British army. He misnames Elihu Hall Bay (p. 83) and fails to recognize Samuel Hannay as the colonial agent in London (p. 105). His geography is scarcely up to eighteenth-century standards: Watts's plantation at Baton Rouge was surely not "elevated 20 miles above sea level" (p. 117), nor were the refugees from the abortive Natchez rebellion apt to have made the mistake of flying "west into Choctaw territory" (p. 142) to escape Spanish vengeance. Although the British were so inept, confronted by Willing's marauders, that "none of the Americans was even [ever?] captured" (p. 70), Adam Chrystie caught thirteen (p. 84) and Anthony Hutchins rounded up twenty-eight (pp. 86-87), which would appear to have been not less than a fifth of the American force. When one reads that Peter Chester summoned a General Assembly "for the first . . . time during his term as governor" in 1778 (p. 103— actually that was Chester's third Assembly), one must pardon Haynes for failing to appreciate the role of the westerners in that body. But when our author moves the Carolina Coffee House from Philpot Lane in the City of London to the sandy streets of Pensacola and inflates a dozen London merchants into "a meeting attended by over 100 merchants and planters" (p. 105), one must wonder whether he read his sources— he certainly did not understand them.

Haynes cites the British transcripts at Jackson, Mississippi, rather than the Public Record Office documents from whence they were copied. He seems unaware of materials in the Alabama State Archives or the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History at the University of Florida, Gainesville. None of the unpublished master's theses he cites is half as useful as Bettie J. Conover's 1972 Auburn thesis— which covers Haynes's subject in great and accurate detail. As the present reviewer is not familiar with the Spanish sources, he can only hope that they were better utilized than were the English.

A scholarly study of the Natchez region between 1763 and 1783 would be most welcome. Haynes's book is attractive to the eye and recapitulates events in a facile manner that cloaks yet untold error. If accuracy in matters historical is of concern, *caveat emptor*.

*Auburn University*

ROBERT R.REA

*March to Massacre: A History of the First Seven Years of the United States Army, 1784-1791.* By William H. Guthman. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1975. xii, 275 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, notes, illustrations, bibliography, index. \$19.95.)

This is an interesting book containing useful information. It is misnamed; the flashy Madison-Avenue-style title does not give a true clue to the solid and anything but spectacular contents. Really, it is a source book cast in semi-narrative form. The first seven chapters deal topically with the following vital aspects of the United States Army during the years from 1784 to 1791: establishment of the First American Regiment, discipline and training, recruiting and clothing the army, fortifications, duties and deployment of the First Regiment, weapons and accouterments, and a chapter on the Indians as a fighting force. Chapters eight through ten, comprising 100 of 247 pages of text, handle the army's campaigns against the redmen of the Old Northwest. They emphasize Josiah Harmar's campaign in 1790 and Arthur St. Clair's in 1791. The eye-catching title is drawn from St. Clair's tragic defeat.

Chapters eight through ten are good accounts of the Indian campaigns, not exceeded in quality by any others known to this reviewer. Mr. Guthman, however, does not tell them in flowing narrative, but rather in a series of quotations from participants, connected together by transitional sentences which he supplies. Central to the presentation are the papers of Jonathan Heart, an officer who was killed serving with St. Clair. A publisher's blurb describes Heart as "writing in the shadow of death."

Mr. Guthman's book rests on the best of archival material. Besides the standard printed sources, he has used the indispensable Harmar Papers at the Clements Library, University of Michigan; the Knox Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society; unpublished St. Clair papers from the William H. Smith Memorial Library, University of Indiana; and miscellaneous manuscripts in the library of the United States Military Academy. Guthman himself owns the Heart Papers and many other significant documents and artifacts. Nothing in the book says where his possessions, referred to as the Guthman Collection, are located, but it is presumed they reside with the owner at Westport, Connecticut. It is not stated, either, whether or not qualified scholars can have access to the Guthman Collection.

Thirty-seven pages contain illustrations in sepia of documents, portraits, and artifacts, most of which belong to Mr. Guthman's collection. These pages are very attractive and useful.

The author develops a set of significant generalizations. He argues for the rifle as the best weapon for use against the Indians. He ascribes to the redmen skill as soldiers, and to Little Turtle, the principal chief in the campaigns presented here, military genius. The Indians, he says, had developed a style of warfare which was superior to that practiced by the United States Army against them, at least most of the time. Small units of citizen soldiers had developed proficiency in the Indian system, but the national government rarely used these. Finally, he says, the white commanders usually underrated their red foes. It is possible on a scholarly basis to disagree with some of these generalizations, but Mr. Guthman makes them persuasively.

He stands with the idea that the British agents in Canada never ceased to encourage the Indians of the Old Northwest to harass American frontiersmen.

He accepts wholeheartedly the rationales upon which the



white men of the 1700s displaced the Indians. One rationale was that the redmen had never been more than sojourners on land, and that they returned nothing to it. Civilized society had higher claims than what he calls savage society. His distinction between the two, given on page 121, sounds almost like irony when considered in connection with the problems of fossil fuels lying ahead of us. But in the context it is not offered as irony at all.

The savage lives for the present, sacrificing everything which he has prepared for tomorrow in order to satisfy that which he desires today, while civilization plans always for the future, storing flour during the summer so that it might have bread during the winter.

*University of Florida*

JOHN K. MAHON

*History of Black Americans: From Africa to the Emergence of the Cotton Kingdom.* By Philip S. Foner. (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1975. 680 pp. Preface, introduction, maps, bibliography and sources, index. \$25.00.)

Philip S. Foner's first installment of a proposed four-volume history of black Americans suggests the healthy state of Afro-American historiography. The "discovery" of black history in the 1960s—like most academic "discoveries"—created a rush-to-judgment atmosphere which tolerated sub-standard scholarship. As the "discovery" was institutionalized, the level of scholarship rose. Foner's history, steeped in a lifetime of primary research, is enriched by a synthesis of quality monographs and articles old and new.

In this volume Foner covers from the African background to the emergence of the cotton kingdom (1820) in twenty-two chapters and nearly 600 pages of narrative. While nicely tracing the standard and comfortable topics—the slave trade, slaves and free blacks in northern and southern colonies, slavery and anti-slavery in colonial and revolutionary America, and black soldiers and sailors in The War for Independence, among others—he also treats us to some less familiar but equally essential discussions. His first four chapters, for example, are a superb overview of the

African background; a delight given the allotted space. Foner devotes three thoughtful chapters to the black revolutions in the West Indies and their impact on slaves and slavery in the United States. His four essays on northern free blacks after 1790—specifically on leadership, separate institutions, and the emigration debate—close out the volume with the same high marks earned by the African chapters.

*History of Black Americans* will interest students as well as professionals. It will not replace John Hope Franklin's *Slavery to Freedom* as the scholarly one-volume on black history; nor is it intended to. But Foner's *History*, if future volumes approximate this first effort, will serve Afro-American history specialists for its lucid essays, for its fine summations of historiographic debates, and for its good, though selective, annotated chapter bibliographies. Nonspecialists will find it invaluable for those reasons and because it covers all the ground in one source, thus providing a thoughtful reference for a slice of American history still too elusive and unfamiliar to many in the profession.

Yale University

C. PETER RIPLEY

*Plantation Societies, Race Relations, and the South: The Regimentation of Populations, Selected Papers of Edgar T. Thompson.* By Edgar T. Thompson. (Durham: Duke University Press, 1975. xv, 407 pp. Foreword, preface, illustrations, notes, bibliography. \$12.75; \$6.75 paper.)

This is a well-received collection of an introductory essay and seventeen papers by a leading authority on the history and sociology of the plantation and race, chiefly in the context of the American South. Having been born and raised on a southern plantation and having devoted his adult years to plantation studies, Professor Thompson has in effect acted as historian of his own life and that of his forebears. His story extends backwards over a period of 300 years or more and encompasses plantation societies and race problems in the American South, West Indies, South America, Africa, Asia, and the Pacific.

The plantation is a multifaceted institution which Thompson describes and differentiates from other settlement institutions

with much insight. It began as both a capitalistic and feudal institution which produced agricultural staples for export markets and came to dominate the larger society under the control of the planter class. It was a settlement institution which connected land and people in a special way, giving rise to new mixtures, to new peoples, and to new cultures. Ironically, the initial planter class which came to represent the law to the individuals they dominated, and from whose labor they benefited, was recruited from the ranks of ship captains and traders whom Thompson describes as "land and settlement outlaws."

The plantation was a race-making situation. It was called into being in the first place by the chronic and persistent demand for labor in a region of open resources. African slaves were imported in such numbers that the naked force of the planter was never sufficient to enforce the combined and constant labor that was needed for staple production. Resort was had to the schismatic myth of race which was propagated by the planter class to resolve the problem of controlling the black labor force. Negroes as slaves and later as sharecroppers were persuaded to accept the allegations of their own inferiority. Thompson asserts that races are made in culture, not found in nature.

The American South, which became the northern part of the Gulf-Caribbean region, was the world's largest plantation society. Thompson maintains that the essential South is drawn from its culture and especially its institutions, chief among which is the plantation. Unlike the plantation system of Latin America, that of the South has until recent years gone unchallenged by any other established institutional interest. The relatively small planter establishment dominated the family, the school, the church, the county, and the state. That the consequences have been tragic is underscored by Thompson's considered judgment that the plantation as the center of the southern social system developed no great civilization. "It was a moral and intellectual failure."

The selected papers in the volume under review extend over the years from 1932 to 1973. Though the author admits to a vexing amount of repetition, he is persuaded that there may be some virtue in repetition. Professor Thompson's book is significant not only for the success with which he delineates the central theme in southern history, but also for the insight and

understanding it affords of other agrarian societies in tropical and semi-tropical regions where labor problems and race problems have tended to merge.

*University of Kansas*

RICHARD B. SHERIDAN

*Impeachment of a 'President: Andrew Johnson, the Blacks, and Reconstruction.* By Hans L. Trefousse. (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1975. xii, 252 pp. Preface, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$10.95.)

For nearly two decades now, Civil War and Reconstruction historians have been chipping away bits and pieces of the mountain of information on the impeachment and trial of Andrew Johnson: the background, the strategy, the results in both Democratic and Republican camps, in both North and South.

Now, working in the context of another attempt at impeachment and a constitutional crisis of a far different sort, Hans Trefousse has brought his extensive knowledge and unsurpassed familiarity with the sources of Reconstruction to bear on the impeachment question: on the whys and wherefores, on the strategy of both sides, on the results. *Impeachment of a President* stands at once as the most readable and one of the most persuasive of the recent studies, and as a fine attempt to synthesize the wealth of information now available to scholars and students of the Johnson era.

Impeachment is seen as making perfect ideological and political sense from the Republican point of view: indeed, by 1868, it had become a necessity. Clearly, Johnson's strategy of obstructing Reconstruction had shown itself sufficiently successful that no sweeping reorganization of the South would be possible so long as the president remained in office. But more important, perhaps, the survival of Republicans as a party, and their success in 1868, could not be ensured unless Johnson's power could be broken—for Republican votes from the South were essential to Republican success in the nation as a whole. This latter realization, more than any other, united Republicans often at odds with themselves on other issues, and brought them to the successful vote for impeachment. And what of Johnson himself? Did his strategy of

opposition to the Reconstruction— strategy which clearly led to his personal political ruin— make sense either for his adopted party or himself? Sidestepping this question in its baldest terms, Trefousse nonetheless draws a compelling portrait of Johnson as driven by long-range goals, as committed to his own peculiar brand of Reconstruction for the South, as able to make tactical moves entirely consistent with these ends. His break with Grant in 1868, forced as it may well have been by Grant's own moves toward Radicalism, Trefousse sees as striking evidence on this point: Johnson moving adroitly to push Grant (who had clearly outlived his usefulness to the President) into the arms of the Radicals, calculating correctly that he could in the process sever Grant from conservatives and moderates who had hitherto been the general's supporters, and simultaneously bolster the morale of the President's own backers in the South. As in all matters surrounding the relations between the general and the President, the written evidence is painfully sketchy— but Trefousse follows the recent view of both men as more than mere passive and bewildered onlookers in the events of 1867-1868, and the argument is persuasive. Certainly his evidence is strong that Johnson was no political neophyte, moving blindly through events over which he had no control. Even at the end, he so manipulated events that his most vituperative enemies were reduced to impeachment on weak and dubious grounds. He “knowingly risked impeachment,” Trefousse argues (p. 145), sensing that success in ousting Edwin M. Stanton from the cabinet would have broken the Republicans in both South and North, and that impeachment, if voted and if successful, could at worst bring the President martyrdom and the Democratic party (and his supporters in particular) renewed strength and election success. Hardly unhappy odds.

And what of the ultimate failure to convict? What of the excesses of the trial, the ultimate vote of acquittal? The result, Trefousse suggests, broke the power of the Radicals; it hastened the restoration of the South on terms which guaranteed that the social revolution sought by some, would be at least another century in the coming. In this latter sense, impeachment and acquittal only confirmed, of course, the result Johnson had already ensured through his successful parrying of Radical efforts of Reconstruction— through his delays, through his failures to support land redistribution and other social restructuring in the South. But it

wrote the finale to any possibilities for change by congressional fiat alone, and it confirmed that the South could not be reconstructed save through cooperation from the White House.

This is a provocative synthesis— one which takes individual snippets, bits of interpretation from the wealth of recent work on Johnson and the Radicals, and incorporates them with Trefousse's own considerable original contributions. It is an account grounded thoroughly in both the primary and secondary literature of the period. If it is time-bound in the sense that it is clearly a product of that agonizing summer of 1974, it will nonetheless be read as a strong statement in its own right. It deserves to be received and acknowledged as a major contribution to the literature on the impeachment process, its prologue, and its ultimate consequences.

*Duke University*

ELIZABETH STUDLEY NATHANS

*Populist Vanguard: A History of the Southern Farmers' Alliance.*

By Robert C. McMath, Jr. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1975. xiii, 221 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, map, appendixes, notes, bibliography, index. \$13.95.)

This attempt to pull together the various histories of state and local Farmers' Alliances is only partially successful. The first three chapters of the book deal almost exclusively with the strictly local beginnings of an Alliance in Lanpasas County, Texas, and thereabouts. It thus bogs down in trivia at the very outset. But in later chapters the action becomes more general and gets to the Alliance as a regional and then a national organization.

The book proceeds from the specific to the general, from the Alliance in a few counties in west central Texas into other states individually until the organization became regional. It merged with and swallowed other organizations such as the Agricultural Wheel in Arkansas, the Northern Alliance, and the Louisiana Farmers' Union. Then it proceeded to the formation of a third party which was concomitant with its demise.

At this point the author makes an interesting observation that the Alliance was already doomed before the third party got under-

way due to the failure of the cooperative movement. He emphasizes how important the cooperative movement was to Alliancemen. As long as they were successful the Alliance was performing a needed service; as cooperatives began to fail, the Alliance began to lose membership. McMath feels that the local sub-Alliances and Alliances were the ones really providing the basic service to the members. The national organization, especially when it got into third party politics, was too remote from the immediate needs of its members. They could see no reason to give up traditional party loyalties when the National Peoples' or Populist party was formed.

Late in 1899 Alliance leaders decided that the cooperatives, although helpful, did not bring about the agricultural utopia they were seeking and they then began to eye political action. The sub-treasury plan was what launched the Alliance into politics, according to McMath, after the regular politicians failed to support this plan which would have extended credit to farmers. In the transition from Alliance to political party in 1891 and 1892 the sub-Alliances were transformed to party clubs. The nomination of Cleveland in 1892, and the refusal of the Democrats to endorse the St. Louis platform of 1889, caused southern Democrats to flock to the People's party. Still, according to McMath, not enough made the change to make the party successful.

A number of states elected Alliance-dominated legislatures in 1890 but failed to pass much Alliance legislation. The traditional explanation given for this phenomenon is that the Alliance legislators were inexperienced and therefore did not know how to route legislation through their assemblies. McMath claims that the Alliance legislative delegates were old politicians whom the Alliance backed, and when pressure was exerted these politicians tended to stick with their original loyalties.

In explaining why the Populists did not do well in 1892, he discusses traditional points. Presidential nominee James Weaver, a former Union general, was hard for Southerners to accept. Also, the Bourbon Democrats resorted to the same tactics they used against black voters: intimidation of voters and disfranchisement, which eliminated many poor white Southerners. But McMath also points to the collapse of the cooperative movement and loss of membership in 1891.

By the summer of 1890 the Southern Alliance was at its most

powerful with some 1,200,000 members in over twenty-seven states. In the South its membership approached that of the Southern Baptist Church.

The author lays too much stress on the Texas origins of the Alliance, has used only the familiar and well-known sources, dotes on certain states and only lightly treats others, and does not develop much relationship of the Alliance to any general reform movement. His bibliography is out of balance, only three entries specifically deal with Florida—two secondary articles and one master's thesis. Of thirty-eight manuscript collections not one is from Florida; he did not use a single Florida newspaper.

McMath covers some reform issues well while hardly mentioning others. He gives good coverage to the beginning of the Colored Farmers' Alliance and to the economic services of the Alliance. He is poor on nativism, the land question, prices, railroads, and money supply. Even though the coverage is unbalanced both topically and geographically, Chapter Seven, "The Alliance in Politics," is the best chapter for completeness. While it has defects, on the whole the book is scholarly, significant, and useful. It advances some fresh ideas, and should be read by all students of Populism.

*University of South Florida*

MARTIN M. LAGODNA

*Black Americans and the White Man's Burden, 1898-1903.* By Willard B. Gatewood, Jr. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1975. xi, 352 pp. Preface, notes, conclusion, bibliography, index. \$12.95.)

Reverend D. C. Gaddie of Louisville told his black congregation that he would "rather take a gun and kill an American citizen than to aid Americans in a war with Spain." A Virginia minister suggested that if the United States went to war it should be against murderous lynchers whose violence went unpunished in a land that professed to love liberty and justice. The editor of the Omaha *Enterprise* saw irony in blacks holding mass meetings in support of downtrodden Cubans when their kinsmen were being lynched in the South. "A wise practical rule is to free yourselves," he wrote, "and then possibly you may be able to assist in



the freedom of others." On the other hand black Brooklyn minister Dr. I. M. Henderson said that blacks who denounced America and disdained the flag showed that they had "failed to respond to influences of American civilization." These differing views illustrate the diversity of black opinion regarding expansion. Some enthusiastically endorsed the New Manifest Destiny falsely believing that blacks would reap a rich harvest in the colonies and be treated with greater respect and justice at home. Others scornfully viewed imperialism as an extension of white supremacy and a reordering of priorities which would result in a further deterioration in the already precarious position of black Americans.

Using a rich variety of sources Gatewood describes how blacks responded to the dilemmas posed by imperialism. The war was frustrating and perplexing to blacks. Should they prove their patriotism once again by fighting an imperialist war or should their sympathies be with the Cubans and Filipinos who also were "men of color?" If blacks refused to fight were they admitting that they had given up all hope of improving conditions in the United States? Did black Americans even have a country to fight for? There were black supporters of every view. But whether they opposed or supported expansion, blacks' perspective of imperialism was likely to be based on color and their perception of the position of blacks in America.

Gatewood effectively details the oppression and discrimination both at home and abroad which made it difficult for black Americans to commit themselves to their nation's new imperialistic schemes. He traces black reaction to and participation in the war and expansion, but fortunately Gatewood does more than merely provide an excellent discussion of blacks and the white man's burden. More importantly, he presents a dramatic view of black life at the turn of the century. He reminds the reader of the complexity of black society, that black nationalism is as old as black people, and that black history at the turn of the century was more than a confrontation between DuBois and Booker T. Washington.

*Florida State University*

JOE M. RICHARDSON

*The New Deal in Georgia: An Administrative History.* By Michael S. Holmes. (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1975. xi, 364 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, notes, appendix, bibliographical essay, index. \$14.95.)

This work undertakes the ambitious task of developing a model approach for understanding the operation and effectiveness of the various New Deal agencies in the states. Pointing out that the "average American's view of the New Deal was formed by the day to day contact with the agencies as they existed in the states," the author analyzes the operations of the major agencies in Georgia. While keeping the national overall objectives of the New Deal in view, and "without belaboring the agencies' histories to the point of triviality," Dr. Holmes examines the political, economic, and social conditions within Georgia as they affected and were affected by the workings of the New Deal agencies. In pursuit of this objective, the author examines the administrative history of eight agencies, the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, Civil Works Administration, Works Progress Administration, Public Works Administration, National Recovery Administration, Agricultural Adjustment Administration, Resettlement Administration, and the Farm Security Administration.

The author's conceptual framework for examining the New Deal agencies is the view that an agency's success or failure was determined by: "the willingness or unwillingness of national officers to allow state administrators to mold the programs to local needs; the quality of state and local administrators, the structure of state administrations, and the division of power between state and national officers; and the political, economic, and social conditions with which state and local officials had to contend."

The analysis of the Georgia context concludes that when the agency regulations allowed variances to suit local conditions and when the national officers passed on that discretion to state administrators, success was more easily assured. Such flexibility influenced success in Georgia in the case of the FERA and WPA, while the opposite was true for the NRA. The AAA ranged somewhere in the middle in degree of flexibility, and its success was affected accordingly.

This description of the operation of the New Deal agencies in Georgia illustrates the problems facing the national government's

attempt to deal with different conditions of depression in different sections of the nation during the thirties. It underscores the lack of uniform results in all parts of the country and analyzes some of the factors that may explain the agency's success or failure in meeting human needs.

The national programs did not often take into account sectional differences when devising solutions for the economic depression. Differences in political structure and operations, the presence of more endemic agricultural problems, and the variety of local social conditions argued for much more flexible approaches than many of the New Deal agencies allowed. It is equally true, of course, that some of the variant conditions in Georgia caused basic conflict with some of the objectives of New Deal agencies.

The book brings into full view the remarkable contributions of a number of state administrators and their staffs. Most noticeably, the book describes the outstanding leadership, dogged determination, and professional integrity of Gay Shepperson, the woman director of Georgia's Department of Welfare, who eventually headed the FERA, CWA, and WPA in Georgia. Her ability to establish professional approaches to social welfare problems and to succeed in spite of Hopkins and Talmadge is a fascinating story which constitutes one of the main themes throughout the work.

The reader is often confused by the rapidly changing approach of the federal government and the necessary adjustment by agencies in Georgia. Detailed accounts of the major programs of each agency and the varied responses in different parts of the state require careful reading if one succeeds in achieving a better perspective of the forest rather than becoming lost in the trees. The activities and views of organized labor, tenant, sharecropper, and landlord, small and large businesses, bankers and manufacturers, blacks, county and state political factors, and the agency workers themselves (to name only a few actors in determining the operation of the agencies), are described in the context of each of the programs.

The author tests the hypothesis that the degree of success achieved by a New Deal agency may be determined by studying each major agency within the state context in which it operated. He states further that "one may examine an agency in a par-

tical state and be assured that it operated the same way in the other states." The national offices of an agency, the state and local offices of an agency, the state itself, and the various interrelationships of the three factors must be examined to carry out an appropriate analysis according to this model of inquiry. The review of social attitudes, political power or the loss of it, unique economic conditions, and political and professional leadership in Georgia flows from this approach, and Dr. Holmes gives attention, if uneven, to these subjects. So many factual details and "flash-backs" add to the unevenness, and the summaries are not always helpful.

The book represents prodigious research and thoughtful scholarship. It is a valuable contribution to the historiography of the New Deal for what it attempts to do and for its relative success toward its objectives. One would have wished more succinct summaries and while the reader is tempted to view it as attempting too much, one must conclude that it gives historians of the New Deal a considerable challenge to test the approach to other states.

*University of Hawaii*

DURWARD LONG

*The Improbable Era: The South since World War II.* By Charles P. Roland. (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1975. 228 pp. Acknowledgments, prologue, illustrations, notes, bibliographic note, index. \$11.95.)

*The Improbable Era* consists of a prologue and eleven short essays on what has happened to the South since World War II. As civil rights requires two chapters and spills over into those on economics, politics, education, and religion (as well as into the prologue), it would seem that the traditional view that the South represents racial controversy is still with us. While Professor Roland finds the South the "most desegregated and racially harmonious part of the country," the two races "remained pretty much apart,"— thus "the paradox of southern continuity in the midst of immense regional change." Most of the essays are impeccably done by an esteemed southern historian, though those on literature and the arts (offered rightly "with trepidation") are

mere catalogues even with a chamber of commerce ring. The greatest resistance to change in the South is found in race, labor (ten right-to-work states), and religion. A chapter on ecology might well have been included.

As might be expected, the best essay is the prologue in which the author encapsulates the influence of history and mythology on the people of the South, as well as touching the caste system, economic colonialism, political conservatism, wariness of the federal government, biblical literalism, the belief in formal education as a panacea for all problems, homogeneity, and the literary explosion of a quarter century before World War II.

The postwar economic drama is just that: in 1939 the South produced fourteen per cent (less than in 1860) of the nation's manufacturing; this grew to twenty-two per cent in 1972. Through diversification, mechanical and chemical changes, and the development of agribusiness, a revolution has taken place in agriculture. By 1970 only 4.6 per cent of Southerners lived on farms; the number of tenant farms in Mississippi dropped from 193,000 in 1940 to 6,580 in 1969. There are fewer than 100,000 tenant farmers today. But Florida, the richest southern state, is still below the national average in per capita income, and southern industry is characterized by low margins of profit, low payrolls, and low capital investment.

The Second Reconstruction (misnamed, I think) has come about through federal authority and coercion and has given blacks full citizenship— in a legal sense. Harry Truman's Committee on Civil Rights repudiated the separate but equal doctrine, but his administration largely failed in its civil rights program outside of the armed services. The *Brown* decision was the most momentous of the century. Professor Roland could have told the step-by-step story of resistance in the South in a more orderly fashion and thus might have explained the Court's retreat to forced busing. He gives the blacks full credit for their heroic endurance as well as praise to a few white editors, academicians, and clergy. LeRoy Collins is singled out as a particularly enlightened governor. National impatience with southern intransigence gave way to the white backlash in the late 1960s.

In the politics of transition and accommodation, Roland traces massive resistance to racial change and its relation to the ending of the two-party system. Growing Democratic emphasis on

increased taxation, welfare spending, and sympathetic labor legislation still offends the South. Twelve per cent of blacks of voting age were registered in 1947, thirty-eight per cent by 1964, and forty-six per cent by 1966. George Wallace and James F. Byrnes are probably praised beyond their deserts. The following will be of interest to Floridians: "Governor Askew of Florida took the lead in actual liberal accomplishments. He was an abstemious north Floridian who served apple juice [heaven forbid!] at press conferences in the governor's mansion. But he showed remarkable determination and adroitness in pushing his reforms through the state legislature. He was said to have beaten the lobbyists at their own game. The base of his legislative support came from urban south Florida, which was the chief beneficiary of the Supreme Court's reapportionment rulings. Askew promptly got a tax on corporation profits that increased the levy on General Motors from \$1,500 a year to an estimated \$2.2 million. The new tax brought an aggregate increase of an estimated \$120 million in the state's annual revenue. Askew also sponsored laws for the improvement of the schools, reform of the penal system, authorization for no-fault automobile insurance and no-fault divorce, increased workmen's compensation, and environmental protection. Finally, he appointed blacks to many responsible positions in the state government."

In her turbulent progress in education the South's faith in schooling reached new heights. By 1973 the yearly appropriation for capital outlay was approximately equal to the total value of school property at the end of World War II. Yet more than two-thirds of the nation's illiterates were in the South, despite some southern states spending as much as fifty per cent more of their income for education than the wealthier northern states. College and university plants are now worth ten times what they were thirty years ago.

Religious orthodoxy in the South has been challenged, but theological conservatism still prevails. There is a tendency to depend on prayer rather than technology. "Hang on, there's a better life coming," seems to fit the southern mood which sees the church as a sanctuary from the pressures of life. The churches have held the color line.

The South is defensive, benighted, redemptive, abundant, romantic, tragic, and fundamentalist. The rigidity of the caste

system still prevails in small towns. Violence remains a part of southern life. The colonial economy has not gone away. Class structure has endured the effects of industrialization. Southern courtesy, southern food, southern speech, southern sectional consciousness remain. And yet the South is probably changing faster than any other part of the country.

There are many minor complaints that anyone who has lived through the last thirty years in the South might well make of *The Improbable Era*, but it will do as a competent survey until a better one comes along.

University of South Florida

JAMES W. SILVER

*Southern Politics and the Second Reconstruction.* By Numan V. Bartley and Hugh D. Graham. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975. xvi, 233 pp. Preface, notes, figures, tables, conclusion, note on methodology and data sources, bibliographical essay, index. \$10.00.)

For years writers on the southern political scene have been striving to come up with a sequel study comparable to V. O. Key's 1949 classic, *Southern Politics*. None has equaled it in the judgment of this reviewer, but the effort, or some other stimulus, has produced a spate of books by a variety of authors— political scientists, historians, sociologists, journalists, and the like. Among the better ones is Numan Bartley and Hugh Graham, *Southern Politics and the Second Reconstruction*.

The authors, both of whom have established reputations in this field with previous books, attack their subject by detailed analyses of election statistics for the period 1944-1972. The principal facets of the subject are treated: the place of the South in the American party systems, the populist-New Deal legacy, the impact of desegregation on the southern one-party politics, emerging Republicanism, the 1972 elections, the turmoil and ambiguities of the present scene, with a concluding chapter. Each chapter is replete with tables, charts, maps, etc., showing the statistical evidence. The methodology is fairly sophisticated: an ecological model which divides the eleven states of the South into eight subregions to which the 1,109 counties and twenty-five cities

are assigned according to geographical-cultural and demographic codes with further sub-categorization along lines of state and socioeconomic codes. The election returns data are depicted and analyzed in clear and lucid fashion through forty-six illustrations. A large amount of election information is thus compressed into visual design. The authors have made full use of the available source material and current literature, and some three dozen southern political leaders were interviewed.

What are the conclusions of the authors at the end of their analyses of three decades of southern voting? Basically, they find things are much the same; the same forces of social conservatism are in place. So, V. O. Key was wrong when he predicted that with the assimilation of the black people into political life, the liberal strains in southern politics would be "mightily strengthened" and neopopulist forces would be unleashed. Changes have taken place, but they are more on the surface than in depth; the Republican sweep of 1972 may well reflect "a quite traditional southern triumph" (p. 200) under a new partisan label.

This book deserves high marks. The methodology is sound; the sources and information are vast and impressive; the presentation is clear and attractive. An exception can be entered on the interviews— Senator Allen of Alabama and Representative Montgomery of Mississippi are hardly adequate spokesmen for their respective states— but, in fairness, it appears that the interviews were not important sources for the study.

As to the thesis that the southern states are impervious to liberal political forces, this reviewer would enter a *caveat*: maybe, but it is a bit early to judge. Key wrote in no time frame; political and social changes usually come slowly, and the Voting Rights Act has been in effect only ten years, Liberals can look with some satisfaction on recent elections in Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, and Louisiana, and Populist noises can be heard— even in Alabama and Mississippi.

*Auburn University*

CHARLES N. FORTENBERRY



*Southern Literary Study: Problems and Possibilities*. Edited by Louis D. Rubin, Jr. and C. Hugh Holman. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975. xiii, 235 pp. Preface, a list of topics suggested for further study. \$12.50.)

From November 30 to December 2, 1972, the English Department of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill sponsored a conference devoted to "problems, possibilities, and future directions in southern literary Study." Among the participants were Cleanth Brooks of Yale University, Arlin Turner of Duke University, and many other equally eminent scholars. *Southern Literary Study* consists of the proceedings of this conference; the fact is worth remembering, because the reader may think himself at an urbane dinner party where all the guests are clever, articulate, witty, and thoroughly engaging. The volume borders on chattiness, and unfortunately there is no index. But *Southern Literary Study* is rich with suggestion, paradox, and pointing, even though we are not plumbing the minds of the participants but skimming them. Chief topics covered are southern literature and southern society, early southern literature, southern literature during Reconstruction, and the reaction of the South to modernism. There are discussions which range from colonial literature to continuity and thematicism.

What are the distinguishing characteristics of southern literature? The authors mention, among others, devotion to place, stress on caste and class, and southern emphasis on tradition. What the aspiring student should do, Louis D. Rubin tells us, is "to approach southern literature to see what is there . . . examine the dynamics of the work, think about the human relationships it embodies, and look beyond the surface of . . . customary assumptions." Rubin postulates the possibility of "imaginative thematic criticism," a goal perhaps more realistic than the didacticism of the New Critics of a generation ago. What, asks Dan Young of Vanderbilt University, does the young southern writer see about his culture now that would make him believe that the South is any different from Rochester or the Trans-Pecos? "There are, it seems to me, some superficial differences, but not the kind of fundamental differences that Tate and Ransom and others were talking about in the 1920s." The differences are more apt to be hash browns versus grits; the similarities are

likely to be split-level houses and full participation in contemporary American *angst*. What, then, does southern literature become? There are no easy answers, but this volume is fascinatingly provocative.

Generations of graduate students on the prowl for thesis topics will be grateful for the book's listing of southern literary topics needing research. Of the suggestions, those on the twentieth century are somewhat weaker than those on earlier periods. Where are Randall Jarrell and Harry Crews? Caroline Gordon, fortunately, mentor of fiction in the southern tradition, is included.

Stimulating? Aggravating? Redundant? Rich? *Southern Literary Study* is all of these. Perhaps the book is best typified by the Walker Percy remark it quotes. Why had the South produced the great literary renaissance of the 20s and 30s? "Because," said Percy simply, "we got beat."

Tallahassee, Florida

GLORIA JAHODA

*Studies in Southeastern Indian Languages*. Edited by James M. Crawford. (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1975. viii, 453 pp. Preface, map, notes. \$13.00.)

The Southeast is an area that is aboriginally represented by languages of the Algonquian, Caddoan, Iroquoian, Muskogean, and Siouan language families as well as several language isolates. These languages have existed in various stages of longevity from the time of their first contact with Europeans down to the present time. This volume, a compilation of papers by scholars working on southeastern languages, presents a wealth of new information on some of the languages of the region.

The overall organization of the work is to include a variety of topics on different languages. Crawford introduces the volume with a survey of the historical events that surround the southeastern languages and a comprehensive summary of linguistic work done to date. A partial morphological and semantic analysis of the Wichita verb system is given by Rood. Parks has combined original fieldnotes with previous materials to describe inflectional irregularities of Shawnee nouns. From extensive fieldwork on the

nearly extinct Yuchi language, Ballard has developed the phonemic system and analyzed some phonological patterns in the language. Walker also combines extensive field investigation with previous studies to give a composite sketch of literacy, literature, previous work done, language use, phonology, and morphology in Cherokee. The degree of dialect variation and internal grouping in Western Muskogean is a problem discussed by Pulte. The trade jargon Mobilian, poorly understood in terms of its source languages, is analyzed both historically and linguistically on the basis of new material brought to light by Haas. Difficulties in using cognates for historical reconstruction and ultimately for genetic grouping in the southeastern as well as other North American Indian languages are shown by Crawford in his discussion of the word for mouth. In the final paper, Siebert searches early sources to piece together the phonology of the now extinct Powhatan language and to present a more complete picture of Proto-Eastern-Algonquian.

Although the southeastern languages were among the first in the United States to come into contact with Europeans, there is a paucity of linguistic work for this area. Very little descriptive work has survived from the period of the Spanish and French domination. Even in more recent times extensive work has only been done for a selected few languages, and, in not all cases, has it been published or is it readily accessible. To make available rare material, to re-analyze previous analyses, and/or to present newly acquired data is to remedy this problem. Crawford is to be commended for the steps he has taken by encouraging and bringing together works that achieve these aims.

*Warrensburg, Missouri*

LAWRENCE FOLEY

*Families and Communities: A New View of American History.*

By David J. Russo. (Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1974. x, 322 pp. Preface, introduction, notes, conclusion, bibliography, name index, subject index. \$12.00.)

In this book, David J. Russo has taken on the ambitious task of creating a "grand new synthesis" of American history. For too

long, Russo contends, historians have viewed the American past from a national perspective. Such an approach distorts the reality of history, he says, since until the twentieth century most Americans were more closely tied to a localized community— family, town, city, state, or region. Thus, Russo's new way of looking at American history abandons the traditional national perspective; rather, he seeks to rewrite our history in a way which emphasizes "the level of community of most consequence in each stage of the development of American society" (pp. 1-2). Examination of community, then, becomes the new organizing principle, beginning with the small town in early American history, progressing to studies of urban communities as the nation moves toward industrialism, followed by state and regional studies in the post-Civil War era, and moving to the nation as the primary focus in the twentieth century.

Following his introductory chapter, in which he urges the necessity for this new approach and seeks to define "community," Russo includes separate chapters on "The Little Community" (towns and rural areas), "Intermediary Communities" (cities, states, and regions), and "The Big Community" (the nation). Each of these chapters is essentially an extended historiographical treatment of selected writings on the subject under discussion. Other chapters focus on nationalism, family history, and comparative history. In each case, certain seminal works are offered by the author as providing the necessary insights for the new synthesis.

The book has a number of positive features. Russo correctly identifies the national orientation of traditional historical writing and teaching and the distortions which such an approach encourage. He forcefully asserts the importance of families and communities in reconstructing the history of American society. The historiographical treatment of studies in colonial history, urban history, family history, and so on will be helpful for those unfamiliar with such fields.

But despite these advantages, the book is in some ways disappointing. The national perspective is notably absent from the most exciting writings on American history of the past decade, as historians have investigated social history in its multifarious aspects. Thus, Russo's argument for a new perspective oriented toward family and community is a bit anti-climactic. In addition,

Russo's practice of extensive quotation from the books under discussion—quotations which occasionally run as long as four pages—is annoying and represents lazy writing. Moreover, the book contains a number of false or questionable assumptions: that we fought the recent Asian war because American democracy was threatened (p. 137); that the New Deal “recognized the poor, Indians, Negroes, and women as regular parts of the national community” (p. 138); that there was a public school movement in the eighteenth century (p. 141); that organized crime was “selling” prohibition (p. 177); that urban historians have dealt “least effectively” with the rise of the industrial city after 1870 (pp. 59, 75). The book also contains an appalling number of uncorrected printer's errors. On balance, for historians and teachers who have continued to pursue traditional approaches, this will be a useful book. Those who have kept up with recent writings and research in American history will find it less helpful.

*Florida Atlantic University*

RAYMOND A. MOHL

## BOOK NOTES

John Lee Williams came to Florida in 1820, settling in Pensacola when it was still a Spanish town. He practiced law and took an active part in the business and politics of the community. Florida was annexed to the United States in 1821, and two years later, Williams and Dr. William H. Simmons of St. Augustine were appointed by Governor William P. DuVal as commissioners to locate a site for a new seat of government. The journal Williams kept of his journey through the territory north of St. Marks appeared in the first volume of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* (April-July 1908). In 1827, Williams published an extended essay to accompany a new map of the area which he had prepared. The map and *A View of West Florida* is one of the volumes in the Bicentennial Floridiana Facsimile Series being published by the University of Florida Press under the sponsorship of the American Revolution Bicentennial Commission of Florida. In 1962, a facsimile of John Lee Williams's *The Territory of Florida (1837)* appeared. It was edited by Herbert J. Doherty, Jr. Williams included in his *A View of West Florida* the area

between the Perdido and Suwannee rivers. It was sparsely settled – a few hundred people living in Pensacola and a handful in and around St. Marks. Middle Florida– Leon and the surrounding counties– was filling up with families from Georgia, the Carolinas, Virginia, and Kentucky. Tobacco and cotton would quickly become valuable economic assets, along with lumber, turpentine, and hunting and fishing. Indians were still living in the area at the time of Williams's writings, and they were becoming increasingly hostile. West Florida was a frontier in every sense. *A View of West Florida* has been edited by Herbert J. Doherty, Jr. He has written an introduction to it and has compiled an index. The facsimile sells for \$8.50.

*Sketches of St. Augustine* was written by Rufus King Sewall in 1848 to promote Florida and to attract winter tourists into the St. Augustine area. That community was already a noted resort, particularly for those suffering from debilitating respiratory problems. What began as a tourist guidebook to Florida became an object of bitter controversy between Catholics and Protestants. St. Augustine was not only the oldest city in the United States, it was the site of the first Catholic settlement. For more than 300 years, Catholics had constituted a majority of the town's population. Then, with the arrival of American settlers after 1821, most of whom were Protestants, the Catholics of St. Augustine found themselves a minority group. Sewall made statements in his book which greatly offended the already sensitive Catholic Minorcans; he implied that their ancestors were slaves and blacks. When Sewall was threatened with bodily harm, he escaped with his family to Philadelphia. There he delivered a series of lectures on the dangers of Roman Catholicism and became a rabid anti-Catholic and a promoter of the Black Legend. His book includes descriptions of St. Augustine following the great freeze of 1835, the Castillo de San Marcos (by then renamed Fort Marion), and historic monuments and sites in the area. Thomas Graham is the editor of this facsimile volume, published by the University of Florida Press in the Bicentennial Floridiana Facsimile Series. He has written an introduction and compiled an index to the volume, which sells for \$12.50.

The conflict which erupted between Britain and Spain in

1739 became known as the War of Jenkins' Ear. An English smuggler, Robert Jenkins, had been captured years earlier off the Florida coast. Supposedly his ears were cut off by his captors. When he displayed these remarkably preserved pieces of his anatomy to the members of Parliament, they became outraged at this atrocity. The British public demanded revenge for the affront; only war could restore the national pride and at the same time expand Britain's North American empire. James Oglethorpe, British governor of Georgia, used the fighting in Europe as a long-awaited opportunity to invade East Florida, and he quickly forced the capitulation of the forts along the St. Johns River and near St. Augustine. But the Spanish inside St. Augustine were another matter. They secured themselves behind the walls of the Castillo de San Marcos and remained safe from Britain's siege guns. Oglethorpe withdrew his forces to Savannah. One of the few personal accounts of the British operations in Florida is by Edward Kimber, and his report, *A Relation, or Journal of a Late Expedition to the Gates of St. Augustine, on Florida*, has been published as a facsimile by the University of Florida Press in the Bicentennial Floridiana Facsimile Series. The editor, Professor John TePaske of Duke University, has written an introduction and compiled an index to the book. It sells for \$6.00.

*Bicentennial Pictorial History of Volusia County* is by Henry B. Watson, who, until his recent retirement, was chairman of the Social Science Department of Daytona Beach Community College. Mosquito County, created by the Florida Legislative Council in 1824, was an area destined to play an important role in Florida history. Volusia County was the new name that the legislature gave to the county in 1854, when Enterprise was designated its county seat. There is a brief history of the county in Professor Watson's introduction, but most of his book is pictures of people, buildings, and events associated with the county's colorful past. There are illustrations of early schools and other public buildings, of John D. Rockefeller playing golf, of parade floats, and beach scenes. The sands at Daytona Beach have provided the means for many of the world's great automobile racing events. There are several pictures in the *Pictorial History* illustrating these activities. Published by the News-Journal Corpo-

ration, Daytona Beach, Florida, the book sells for \$8.95. Its publication was sponsored by the Volusia County Action 176 Bicentennial Committee.

*Tales of Tallahassee*, by Eleanor Ketchum, is a delightful collection of sketches and drawings dealing with the legends and lore of Florida's capital city and the surrounding area. The stories of early Spanish missions, the St. Marks lighthouse, churches, and the great houses of Tallahassee are described. Included are the stories of Prince Achilles Murat, nephew of Napoleon Bonaparte, and of his wife, the great-grandniece of George Washington; of George Proctor, the free black who built many of the important houses in Tallahassee; of William P. DuVal, Florida's first civil governor; and of Dr. John Gorrie, inventor of the world's first ice-making mechanism. The book may be ordered from Mrs. Ketchum at the Brokaw-McDougall House, 325 North Meridian Street, Tallahassee, Florida 32301. The hardback edition sells for \$6.76, the paperback, \$3.12.

*A Dream of Araby*, by Frank S. FitzGerald-Bush, is the story of Glenn H. Curtiss, one of the great pioneers in the development of aviation, and of his founding of Opa-locka, Florida. The author's father, Frank S. Bush, was an associate of Curtiss who came to Opa-locka in 1926, and built the first house in that community. Curtiss promoted several south Florida communities, including Hialeah and Miami Springs, but his special enthusiasm was Opa-locka. He envisioned it to be "the most perfect city that planning and engineering could achieve and the most beautiful that the art of man could conceive." When construction began in February 1926, the Florida real estate boom was at its height. No one, of course, realized that within a few short months the bubble would burst, and that many of the great building operations would collapse. The plan to create an Arabian Nights community in south Florida was never realized; the financial crisis halted its development. A few homes were built, and there was a city hall with minarets, but Glenn Curtiss died before his dream city could be completed. *A Dream of Araby*, which includes many contemporary photographs, may be ordered from the South Florida Archeological Museum, City Hall Complex, 777 Sherazade Boulevard, Opa-locka, Florida 33054. The price is \$6.95.



*More Than A Memory* is a Bicentennial history of Orange County. It is a handsome volume of graphics— many color photographs— depicting the early history, various services, transportation facilities, institutions, business operations, and the social life of the community. The book sells for \$17.59, and it may be ordered from “More Than A Memory,” Orlando, 32802.

*Dimensions In History*, compiled and edited by J. Francis Cooper of the University of Florida, is the history of the Florida Cooperative Extension Service. It tells the story of the agricultural extension agents who worked with Florida farmers to improve the productivity of their land and to make life more comfortable and pleasant for themselves and their families. As early as 1899, Farmers Institutes were being held in Florida, and in 1909, the Florida legislature appropriated \$15,000 for agricultural demonstrations. The Cooperative Extension Service was established under Federal legislation in 1914, its work to be conducted under the auspices of the land-grant colleges. In Florida, this was the University of Florida. Experiment Station and University staff workers gave lectures, held short courses, and rendered whatever assistance they could to Florida agricultural development and progress. County agents did many things, everything from vaccinating hogs to shearing calves. On occasion versatile agents also helped deliver babies and barbered kids’ hair. *Dimensions In History* sells for \$7.00; it may be ordered by writing Epsilon Sigma Phi, G022 McCarty Hall, University of Florida, IFAS, Gainesville, 32611.

Gusman Philharmonic Hall is one of the great centers for the performing arts in Miami. Its donor, Maurice Gusman, is the subject of a biography by Lillian Erlich, which has been published by E. A. Seemann Publishing Company of Miami. Its title, *Money Isn’t Important*, typifies Mr. Gusman’s attitude toward money; he has called it “the cheapest thing in the world.” The problem he found was “what to do with it after you earn it. My advice is: to get more out of life— give. The more you give, the more you get.” *Money Isn’t Important* traces Gusman’s very successful business career and describes his activities as a very generous philanthropist. He has been particularly interested in the arts; music is one of his great passions. He bought and re-

furbished the Olympia Theater in downtown Miami as a home for the Miami Symphony, and he was the donor of the Maurice Gusman Concert Hall at the University of Miami. His rags-to-riches story is in the great Horatio Alger tradition. The book sells for \$9.95.

*The Florida Bicentennial Trail: A Heritage Revisited* was published by the Bicentennial Commission of Florida in cooperation with the Florida Department of Commerce. The Florida Bicentennial Commission, when it was created by the legislature, was charged with the responsibility of identifying and recognizing archeological and historic sites which would document Florida's long and rich history. The Commission decided to create the "Florida Bicentennial Trail" to achieve this goal. The Trail is not a physical pathway leading from site to site, but rather a linking of historical events. Fifty-two sites were placed on the Trail. These include forts, historic districts, the replica of a nineteenth-century cow camp, antebellum plantations, Indian mounds, battlefields, museums, an Indian village, the University of Florida campus, and the Kennedy Space Center. This new guide book locates these sites, points out other places of interest in each area, and provides pertinent historical information. Pictures, maps, and sketches have also been included. The book is being distributed to all Florida schools, and is also available from the Florida Bicentennial Commission's office in Tallahassee.

*Turn-Left at the Plaza* is a history and tour guide of St. Augustine, compiled and published by the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America in the State of Florida as a Bicentennial project. It includes a brief sketch of St. Augustine and a listing of the historic sites in that community and the nearby vicinity. The booklet is available from Mrs. Joe Hartzler, 4162 McGirts Boulevard, Jacksonville, Florida 32210.

*Lightfoot: True Tales of a Pioneer Wanderer as told to Marian Hobson Gruters* is a collection of the stories of Thomas Claude Lightfoot. He was born in 1893 in San Antonio, Florida, a small community on the Gulf Coast about twenty-five miles north of Tampa. The family migrated to Florida from Thomasville, Georgia, to homestead 160 acres in the Tampa area now

called Temple Terrace. His childhood in San Antonio, Tampa, and Sarasota is the basis for this paperback publication. It includes pictures from family files and the Sarasota County Historical Commission collection. The book is available from "Lightfoot," Box 1472, Sarasota, 33578, and the price is \$3.95.

The Peace River Valley Historical Society has for several years been collecting cures and pioneer remedies and presenting them as part of their regular program meetings. Many of the "cures" seem fantastic, a lot are humorous, and some make good sense, even in this age of modern science. The Society has published its collection as a pamphlet, *Cracker Cures*, with Sedrick S. Wood as editor. It sells for \$2.50, and may be ordered from the Society, P.O. Drawer 1379, Arcadia, Florida 33821.

*Suwannee Country*, by Clyde C. Councie, is a canoeing, boating, and recreational guide to the Suwannee River. The author has included guide pictures and historical data about the Suwannee River, the rivers that flow into it, and the springs of the area. The booklet is available from Council Company, Box 5822, Sarasota, 33579, and the price is \$4.50.

*Fact and Fable: Charlotte County: Brief Glimpses of Bygone Days in Charlotte County* was published by the First Federal Savings and Loan Association of Charlotte County, Punta Gorda. It includes pictures and a brief narrative.

*Colonial Mobile* established Peter J. Hamilton, its author, as one of the renowned historians of the Gulf Coast. It was, at the time of its publication, the best history of Mobile and the surrounding area; its value as an important historical resource continues to the present. First published in 1897, it was extensively revised by Hamilton and republished in 1910. This 1910 edition was reprinted in 1952, but it has been out of print for many years. There is a new and handsome *Colonial Mobile* edited and annotated edition by Charles G. Summersell. It is published by the University of Alabama Press in its Southern Historical Publication Series, as a special project of the Alabama Bicentennial Commission. Professor Summersell, himself an expert on Alabama and southern history, has provided a valuable and insightful

introduction to the volume. Based upon his personal research, including work in the British Museum, Summersell provides new biographical data on Peter Hamilton. The book may be ordered from the University of Alabama Press, Drawer 2877, University, Alabama 35486; the price is \$17.50.

The first issue of the St. Tammany (Louisiana) Historical Society *Gazette* concentrates on the period 1775-1812. During much of that time, West Florida included the territory west to the Mississippi River except for New Orleans. The article by Frederick Ellis, "American Activity in Louisiana and West Florida During the Revolutionary War," is particularly pertinent to students of Florida history. The *Gazette* may be ordered from the Society, Parish Courthouse, Covington, Louisiana 70433. The price is \$5.00.

*Courageous Journey: The Civil War Journal of Laetitia Lafon Ashmore Nutt* was edited with a foreword by Florence A. C. H. Martin. After Laetitia Nutt's husband's death in 1882, she moved with her daughters to Sanibel Island, Florida, to homestead a tract of land and to teach school in Fort Myers. Mrs. Nutt was postmistress of Sanibel Island, and other members of her family lived in the community. During the Civil War, when her husband raised a company of Louisiana Partisan Rangers, it is said that she agreed to his going into battle only after he promised to let her and their daughters follow him. This is the journal she kept in 1863 and 1864. The volume was published by E. A. Seemann Publishing, Miami, and it sells for \$8.25. It may be ordered from Mrs. Ralph Woodlow, 2135 McGregor Boulevard, Fort Myers, 33901.

*Native American Heritage* is by Merwyn S. Garbarino, the author of *Big Cypress, A Changing Seminole Community*. Dr. Garbarino is an anthropologist, and her book is the result of her many years of teaching North America ethnology. It includes much material relating to the Florida Seminoles and other southeastern Indians. How these native Americans lived before and since European contact is the major theme of the book. Maps and illustrations add value to the volume. Little, Brown and Com-

pany, Boston, Massachusetts 02106, are the publishers; the book sells for \$11.95.

*Long Man's Song* is a novel by Joyce Rockwood. It is the story of Cherokee Indians who were living in the southern Appalachian mountains before Europeans arrived on the scene. Much history of the Cherokees is based on oral tradition, and two of the stories in this volume are adapted from Cherokee tales collected by James Mooney, the anthropologist who worked with the North Carolina Indians in the nineteenth century. Unlike many Indian novels, this is "ethnologically accurate to a scholar's satisfaction." This story of Soaring Hawk, a seventeen-year old Cherokee apprentice medicine man, is a book which the Indians themselves would approve. Published by Holt, Rinehart Winston, New York, it sells for 36.95.

*Guale, the Golden Coast of Georgia* is a book of beautiful photographs by James Valentine, with text by Robert Hanie. It was published by the Seabury Press, New York, for Friends of the Earth, in its The Earth's Wild Places series. The Guale area includes the sea islands along the Georgia coast from the Savannah River south to the St. Marys. The volume sells for \$29.50.

Since much of present Alabama was once part of West Florida, *Twenty Alabama Books* by Rucker Agee include several books relating to the history of Florida. These include volumes by Buckingham Smith, James Adair, William Bartram, Peter J. Hamilton, John Reid, and John H. Eaton. Alabama and West Florida history from the Spanish era to the twentieth century are covered. Published by E. A. Seemann Publishing, Miami, *Twenty Alabama Books* sells for \$8.95.

*Lighthouses and Lightships of the Northern Gulf of Mexico* describes the lights in the present eighth Coast Guard district from the St. Mark's River to the Brazos Santiago near the Rio Grande. Compiled by the Department of Transportation, United States Coast Guard, it is available from their office, Custom House, New Orleans, Louisiana 70130. Florida lighthouses mentioned are those at Pensacola, St. Marks, Cape St. George, St. Joseph Bay, Dog Island, Cape San Blas, and Crooked River.

*The Bicentennial Guide to the American Revolution*, Volume III, "The War in the South," by Sol Stember, lists battlefields, the sites of skirmishes, and the forts and encampments associated with the American Revolution. Cities, towns, and routes of march are also noted. It covers the action south of the Potomac, from the beginning of the British siege of Savannah in 1788 and the fall of Augusta, to the surrender at Yorktown, Virginia, at the close of the war. The siege of Charleston and the action around Eutaw Springs, King's Mountain, and Cowpens in South Carolina are noted, as well as the military activities in North Carolina and Virginia. Published by Saturday Review Press, New York, the paperback sells for \$3.95.

*The Story of the Bahamas* is by Paul Albury, a Nassau dentist who is also president of the Bahamas Historical Society. His book is relatively short, 294 pages, but it presents a full history of the island chain which stretches 550 miles southeasterly from off the Florida coast almost to Cap-Haïtien, Haiti. Much of the history of the Bahamas has been intertwined with that of Florida, from the colonial period to the present. Dr. Albury tells an interesting story, and his book is illustrated with many pictures. Published by St. Martin's Press, New York, it sells for \$12.95.

*The American Revolution and the West Indies* is a collection of essays edited by Charles W. Toth. So much that was going on in the islands during the eighteenth century affected the economics, diplomacy, and the military course of the Revolution. These essays describe the interrelationships between the West Indies, the thirteen rebelling American colonies, East and West Florida, and the Great Powers of Europe. Published by Kennikat Press, Port Washington, New York, the volume sells for \$12.95.

*Pines and Pioneers: A History of Lowndes County, Georgia, 1825-1900* is by Jane Twitty Shelton, professor of history at Valdosta State College. The history of Lowndes County, which is just north of the Florida line, has been intertwined with the history of this state from the colonial period to the present. Professor Shelton has produced a well-researched and a well-written book. Indians, the judicial system, antebellum plantations and agriculture, the Civil War and Reconstruction, turpentine, and

urban development are included. The appendixes and index add to the book's value. Published by Cherokee Publishing Company, Atlanta, it sells for \$10.00.

*The Story of Historic Micanopy*, by Caroline B. Watkins, was published by the Alachua County Historical Commission. As is pointed out in the preface, this is more than just the history of the community of Micanopy in Alachua County; Mrs. Watkins's story covers much of the vast territory in north central Florida that was part of the Arredondo Grant (1817). Mrs. Watkins has interwoven her own memories and those of older residents of the area that she interviewed with the historical data collected after years of research in state and local archives and libraries. There are a number of maps and pictures. A bibliography and index add to the value of this book. The price is \$4.50; and it may be ordered from The Collector's Shop, The Florida State Museum, University of Florida, Gainesville, 32611.

## HISTORY NEWS

### *Confederation of Florida Historical Societies Workshop*

The Confederation of Florida Historical Societies will hold a workshop in Tallahassee, November 5-6, 1976. Their "how-to" demonstrations will involve silk-screening, labeling copy, art of using type and lettering, color choices, and the restoration of artifacts and furniture. There will also be several interpretation and audio-visual programs. A tour of the Tallahassee Junior Museum and its pioneer-life demonstration, and a preview of the Department of State's new archives, museum, and library building is scheduled, along with a luncheon at the McDougall-Brokaw House, headquarters of the Historic Tallahassee Preservation Board.

All historical societies, museums, and agencies are invited to join the Confederation. The workshop is free to all old members and new members of the Confederation. Mrs. Elizabeth Ehrbar is chairman of the Confederation and is also program chairman for the workshop. Inquiries on the workshop should be directed to Mrs. Ehrbar, Box 36, St. Marks, Florida 32355. Mrs. Margaret Burgess, Florida Historical Society, University of South Florida Library, Tampa, 33620, will receive memberships. The workshop is being sponsored by the Florida Historical Society and the Florida Confederation of Historical Societies, in cooperation with the Department of Natural Resources, Division of Recreation and Parks, Tallahassee Junior Museum, the Department of State's Division of Archives, History, and Records Management, Historic Tallahassee Preservation Board, and the Tallahassee Chamber of Commerce.

### *Jacksonville History Conference*

The Jacksonville History Conference will be held in that city on February 6-8, 1977. Amateur and professional students of Jacksonville history will discuss various aspects of the community's historical development and efforts being made to preserve and restore its historic sites and buildings. Scholars working

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in various aspects of the community's history will be reading papers and serving on panels. Historical research and preservation in the community will be the major themes of the conference. Dr. James B. Crooks, chairman of the Department of History, University of North Florida, is in charge of the program. Sponsors for the conference are the history departments of the University of North Florida and Jacksonville University, Jacksonville Historical Society, Jacksonville Historical and Cultural Conservation Commission, Joseph E. Lee Library and Museum, Riverside-Avondale Preservation Society, Springfield Preservation and Restoration Society, San Marco Preservation Society, Old St. Luke Restoration, and Florida Junior College. For information, write Professor Crooks, University of North Florida, Box 17074, Jacksonville, Florida 32216.

#### *Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference*

The seventh Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference will be held in Pensacola, Florida, February 18-19, 1977. The theme is "Military Presence on the Gulf Coast." Participating in the conference will be Brigadier General E. H. Simmons, William Malloy, John K. Mahon, George Pearce, Gary Morton, W. W. Prophet, Colonel James W. Stanley, Robert R. Rea, Jack D. L. Holmes, Lieutenant General Robert P. Keller, Frank Futrell, W. James Miller, and David Hardcastle. Dr. William S. Coker is program chairman. The Escambia County School Board, Historic Pensacola Preservation Board, Pensacola Junior College, and the University of West Florida will be hosts for the meeting. Information on the conference is available from Professor Coker, at The Library, University of West Florida, Pensacola, 32504. There have been six previous conferences, and the published *Proceedings* of these meetings are being sold by the University of West Florida Library.

#### *John Gorrie State Museum*

First opened in 1967, the John Gorrie State Museum has been renovated and has been re-opened to the public. The museum honors Dr. Gorrie, the father of modern air conditioning and refrigeration, and depicts the character of Apalachicola and its contributions to the history of Florida. The museum includes an

ice machine built from specifications of the patent received by Dr. Gorrie in 1851. A "see and touch" exhibit will be added later. The building is open daily from eight a.m. until five p.m.

#### *AASLH Consultant Service*

The American Association for State and Local History offers its consultant service to any museum with an active program requiring general assistance with long-range planning or specific advice. Small historical museums whose budgetary circumstances would prevent employing an expert are invited to write to the AASLH, 1400 Eight Avenue South, Nashville, Tennessee 37203. Consultants will advise on varied problems, including conservation, exhibit planning and fabrication, record keeping, and general administration. Museums which have operating budgets of less than \$50,000 per year pay only lodging and meal expenses; institutions with operating budgets of more than \$50,000 will be asked to assume one-half of the transportation costs in addition to local expenses. Consultation will take place over a one or two-day time span, depending upon the nature of the problem or the need of the museum. Consultants are selected by an AASLH committee and submitted to the museum for approval before the initial contact is made. These screenings occur quarterly in March, June, September, and December.

#### *Announcements and Activities*

The National Trust for Historic Preservation will hold a workshop in Louisville, Kentucky, on November 18-19, 1976, on the subject of "Public Relations of Preservation." The sessions will feature public relations specialists working in the areas of city planning, architecture, museums, and historic preservation. Registration for the workshop is \$55, and includes eight sessions, luncheons, and a dinner. Registration closes November 8, 1976. For more information and registration materials write: Office of Public Affairs, The National Trust, 740 Jackson Place, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006.

The Newberry Library, with support from the National Endowment for the Humanities, will sponsor national conferences on college teaching of state and local history for the next three

years. These conferences will provide a forum for the exchange of new ideas, fresh techniques, and innovative teaching strategies, including student archival research, community and demographic studies, oral history, film production, and cooperation with museums. Ten to fifteen fellowships will be available for college teachers wishing to spend the spring semester at the Newberry in research, writing, or curriculum development in the field of state or local history. The first conference will be held from January 13-16, 1977. Applications are due November 15, 1976, for the first conference, but are also now available for the 1978 and 1979 conferences. Teachers, researchers, archivists, librarians, and curators are invited to write for further information to Richard Jensen, Family and Community History Center, The Newberry Library, 60 W. Walton, Chicago, Illinois 60610.

The Frederick K. Weyerhaeuser Award was given by the Forest History Society to Jerrell H. Shofner, chairman of the Department of History, Florida Technological University, and vice president of the Florida Historical Society for his article "Negro Laborers and the Forest Industries in Reconstruction Florida" which was published in the *Journal of Forest History*, October 1975. This award is given annually for the best contribution to the journal. It carries with it a certificate and a check for \$250.

Michael W. Guin of Brooksville was the 1976 winner of the Mary MacRae History Award presented by the Central Florida Community College in Ocala. His essay was "Brooksville Steps Into Aviation: The Three Airports." The award honors the late Mrs. Mary MacRae of Homosassa, a patron of the college and a leader in many Florida historical organizations.

Professor E. A. Hammond of the Department of History and Social Sciences, University of Florida, received the University's Social Science Award given annually for the best article published by a member of its faculty. Professor Hammond's article, "Dr. Augustine, Physician to Cardinal Wolsey and King Henry VIII," appeared in the July 1975 number of *Medical History*.

The Tampa Historical Society is assisting the Florida State

Fair Authority in the acquisition of rural and agricultural artifacts. These tools and implements will be used in a living and working farm exhibit on the premises of the Florida State Fair. It will be a permanent and year-round exhibit. All artifacts will be tagged, catalogued, and donor credit given. The articles will remain the property of the Tampa Historical Society on loan to the Florida State Fair Authority. Direct communications to the Society, Box 18672, Tampa, 33679.

The Dunedin Historical Society, as a special Bicentennial project, has organized a walking tour of the historic area of Dunedin. It has also compiled a pamphlet and a map showing the location of historic sites and buildings.

The Historical Society of Fort Lauderdale, with a grant from the Bicentennial Commission of Florida, is inventorying and cataloguing its artifacts and other holdings. This project will be completed by December 31, 1976.

Under the direction of Mrs. Eugenia Arana and Martha Meddlers, the St. Augustine Historical Society is cataloguing its library. The Society has also established an editorial board for the publication of *El Escribano* and to develop a comprehensive publications program. It includes Albert C. Manucy, Luis R. Arana, Overton G. Ganong, Thomas Graham, W. W. Wilson, Charles S. Coomes, and Mark Fretwell.

The city of Pensacola dedicated Fort George Historic Site as a Bicentennial Park on September 15, 1976. Fort George is the site of the major attack by Spanish forces under Bernardo de Gálvez against Pensacola in 1781. It resulted in the final surrender of the British forces in West Florida. Jaime Alba, Spanish Ambassador to the United States, was the special guest and a breakfast was held in his honor by the North Hill Preservation Association.

Miami-Dade Community College is developing a college-level course for use in conjunction with the nationwide television showing of *Roots*, a twelve-part series based on the book by Alex Haley, who traced his ancestry back from the American South to

Africa (Gambia). The telecasts are scheduled to be presented by ABC starting in January. Miami-Dade is offering the course for use to other colleges and universities. For information, write: Mrs. Karen Robinson, Auxiliary Service, Product Development and Distribution, Miami-Dade Community College, 11011 S.W. 104th Street, Miami, 33176.

The annual *Journal* of the Florida Genealogical Society was published in August 1976. The Florida Genealogical Society has its offices in Tampa, and Theodore Leslie is editor of the *Journal*.

The April 1976 number of *South Florida Pioneers* includes research data on Hardee, Manatee, Okeechobee, De Soto, Hillsborough, Charlotte, Lee, and Polk counties. This material is compiled from cemetery, marriage, birth, church, and census records. It also carries the program for the dedication of the Fort Ogden Historical Marker on May 2, 1976.

The University of Alabama announces its fifth annual General W. S. Brown Memorial Military History Conference on February 19, 1976. The theme of the conference is "The Role of the Military in Modern World Affairs: Alabama and the Military." For information, contact George M. Faulk, Box 2967, University, Alabama 35486.

**PROCEEDINGS OF THE SEVENTY-FOURTH ANNUAL  
MEETING OF THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY**

1976

PROGRAM

Thursday, May 6

MEETING OF THE OFFICERS AND DIRECTORS

Howard Johnson's Plaza  
Downtown Miami  
8:00 P.M.

Friday, May 7

REGISTRATION: Howard Johnson's Plaza, 8:30 A.M.

Morning Session— *Black Leadership in Jacksonville*  
Chairperson: James C. Craig, *Jacksonville*

“Joseph E. Lee: A Man for All Seasons,” Isiah J. Williams, III  
Joseph E. Lee Community Center, *Jacksonville*

“Eartha M. M. White: The Early Life  
of a Jacksonville Humanitarian”

Daniel L. Schafer, *University of North Florida*

Commentator: Durward Long, *University of Hawaii*

Afternoon Session: *South Florida Dimensions*  
Chairperson: Judge James Knott, *West Palm Beach*  
Past president, Florida Historical Society

“The Commodore's Camera: Ralph M. Munroe,  
South Florida's First Photographer”  
Arva Parks, *Historical Association of Southern Florida*,  
Director, Florida Historical Society

“Ivy Stranahan and the 'Friends of the Seminoles'  
Society: 1899-1917”

Harry Kersey, *Florida Atlantic University*

“Florida’s Emerging Minority: Cubans in Dade County”  
José B. Fernández, *University of Colorado*

Commentator: Randy Nimnicht, Museum Director,  
*Historical Association of Southern Florida*

Evening Session– Reception, Museum of the Historical  
Association of Southern Florida  
3280 South Miami Avenue  
8:00-10:00 P.M.

Saturday, May 8  
Miami Public Library  
10:00 A.M.

Morning Session: *Twentieth Century Florida*  
Chairperson: Charlton Tebeau, *University of Miami*

“Moonport: Apollo Launch Operations”  
Charles Benson, *NASA*

“Florida’s Gubernatorial Campaigning  
in the Twentieth Century”  
Richard Scher and David Colburn  
*University of Florida*

Luncheon and Business Meeting  
Convention Hall, Howard Johnson’s  
12: 00 P.M.

Invocation: Reverend Seaver A. Willey  
St. Stephens Episcopal Church  
Coconut Grove

Chairperson: Milton D. Jones  
President of the Society

Bus Tour of Miami  
Arranged by Dade Heritage Trust  
3:00-5:00 P.M.

Reception and Annual Banquet  
7:00 P.M.

Chairperson: Milton D. Jones  
President of the Society

Invocation: Reverend Cyril Burke, O.P.  
Professor of Religious Studies, Barry College

Presentation of Awards:

Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Prize in Florida History, presented by Samuel Proctor to Robert Allen Matter, *Seattle*.

Rembert W. Patrick Memorial Book Award, presented by Samuel Proctor to J. Leitch Wright, Jr., *Florida State University*.

Charlton W. Tebeau Junior Book Award, presented by Charlton W. Tebeau, to Margaret Z. Searcy, *University of Alabama*.

Speaker: Dr. Wilma Dykeman, Historian,  
Novelist and Newspaper Columnist

Address: "Adventures of a Local Historian"

#### MINUTES

The semi-annual meeting of the board of directors of the Florida Historical Society was convened at 8:30 p.m., May 6, 1976, at the Howard Johnson Motel in Miami, Florida, by Milton D. Jones, president. Present were: Thelma Peters, Jerrell H. Shofner, Alva L. Jones, Jay B. Dobkin, Samuel Proctor, George E. Buker, Lewis H. Cresse, Jr., Linda Ellsworth, Addie Emerson, William M. Goza, Marty Grafton, Harry A. Kersey, Jr., James R. Knott, John K. Mahon, Jessie Porter Newton, Randy Nimmicht, Arva M. Parks. Margaret Burgess and Paul Camp, members of the Florida Historical Society, were also present. Absent were John E. Johns and John Griffin. Mrs. Godown was absent because of the death of her husband, Albert. The minutes of the December 1975 board meeting were not approved because they had not as yet been published in the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. The minutes will be in the July 1976 number of the *Quarterly*.

Mr. Dobkin, executive secretary and librarian, presented both a financial report and a membership report. He noted that nothing was withdrawn from the Father Jerome book acquisition fund this past year because credits had been established with dealers on exchanges of material.

Mr. Dobkin reported on the status of the Society's library. A



graduate student is checking the library's subject files, and a subject authority list and index will be compiled. Not only will the material be more retrievable, but it will indicate what additional books and other materials are needed. Mr. Dobkin noted the absence of pamphlets, articles, and other publications relating to Florida communities and counties. Local societies will be solicited for such material. The next project will be to organize the files, including old correspondence, of the Society. This will enable the compilation of the Society's own history. The Society's rare books are being repaired and/or rebound. Gaps in serial collections are being filled. Mr. Dobkin suggested asking families of deceased members to donate to the Society back issues of the *Quarterly* if the families do not wish to retain them. He reported that an increasing number of researchers are using the collection.

Mr. Dobkin will contact all of the organizations on the Confederation mailing list to ascertain the interest of each. Questionnaires were circulated at the Confederation workshop asking for suggestions. The president thanked Mr. Dobkin for his efforts, emphasizing that the membership should be informed of these activities. In turn, this might encourage gifts to our library.

Dr. Proctor, editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, reported that all was in order with the publication. He announced the winners of the Society prizes which will be presented at the banquet: Rembert W. Patrick Memorial Prize to Dr. J. Leitch Wright, Jr., for his book, *Florida in the American Revolution*; the Charlton Tebeau Prize to Dr. Margaret Searcy for *Ikwa of the Temple Mounds*; and the Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Prize in Florida History to Robert Allen Matter for his article, "Missions in the Defense of Spanish Florida, 1566-1710" which was published in the July 1975 (Volume LIV) number of the *Quarterly*. He announced that the annual awards for outstanding contributions to the preservation and interpretation of local and state history made by the American Association for State and Local History would also be presented at the banquet. They will go to: Indian Temple Mound Museum, Fort Walton Beach; Historic Museum of the Historical Association of Southern Florida, Miami; and William M. Goza, Clearwater.

It was agreed to charge \$5.00 for the special Bicentennial number (April 1976) of the *Quarterly*, and to increase back issues to \$6.00 each for those in the first ten volumes and the three spe-

cial double issues; \$4.50 for those over ten years old; and \$3.50 for the remainder. Dr. Proctor also reported on the continuing progress of the Papers of Panton, Leslie, and Company project.

Dr. Shofner reported on behalf of Tom Greenhaw, editor of the *Florida History Newsletter*. He stated that the manuscript for the index to the *Quarterly*, prepared by Dr. Karen Singh, has been completed. He described the planned format for publication, which will be similar to the earlier published index. Dr. Peters moved that Dr. Shofner have the authority to print up to 3,000 copies of the index. This was passed. Dr. Shofner said that Dr. Singh will read galley proofs also. He requested an additional \$230 to cover Dr. Singh's expenses, and this was approved.

Mr. Jones reported on the activities of the Confederation of Florida Historical Societies and its third workshop held on, May 6, 1976. The Confederation has \$97.00 and sixteen members. He pointed out the responsibility of the Society to help the Confederation and to increase its membership. Mr. Dobkin said that he plans to spend at least one day a month assisting members of the Confederation. Mrs. Emerson thanked Mr. Dobkin for his help on behalf of St. Lucie County. Dr. Peters stated that she would tour the state when she became president, and that she would do whatever she could to promote Confederation membership. Mr. Nimnicht argued that since the same people seem to attend the workshops, that appropriate subjects for discussion will be exhausted. It was moved by Dr. Proctor that the chairman of the Confederation Executive Committee be invited to attend Society board meetings. This was approved.

Mr. Leslie J. Anderhub, Maritz Travel Associates, made a presentation about groups such as the Florida Historical Society sponsoring charter tours abroad. After discussion, Mr. Goza moved that the possibility of the Society becoming involved in this kind of activity should be studied by the Executive Committee, and a report will be made at the next board meeting. This was passed.

Mr. Chep Morgan, a representative of WPTV Public Television, Miami, informed the board that the National Endowment for the Humanities was making grants for regional presentations of local history. His group was interested in the possibility of dramatizing for television Frank J. Laumer's book *Massacre*. (Mr. Laumer was also present). He asked for the Society's help in pre-

paring the grant proposal, and technical help, if the station secures the grant. Mr. Goza moved that the board express its approval and lend support as far as possible in the development of such a film program. The motion passed. Dr. Peters will appoint an advisory committee for this project.

Mr. Nimnicht, chairman of the nominating committee, gave his report, and outlined the criteria used by the committee in making its nominations. The nominating committee, consisting of Mr. Nimnicht, Mrs. Chris LaRoche, Elizabeth Ehrbar, Tom Mickler, and Tony Ganong, will present the following slate of officers to the membership:

President— Thelma Peters  
President-elect— Jerrell H. Shofner  
Vice-president— John K. Mahon  
Recording secretary— Linda Ellsworth

The following slate of directors will be recommended to the membership also:

District 1— J. Leitch Wright, Jr., Tallahassee  
District 3— Marcia Kanner, Coral Gables; and Sue Goldman, Miami  
District 4— Raymond I. Barge, Winter Park  
At Large— Robert W. Williams, Tallahassee; Luis Arana, St. Augustine; and William S. Coker, Pensacola

The following were named to the nominating committee for 1977: Judge James Knott, Marty Grafton, Eugene Lyon, Millie Fryman, and Tony Ganong.

The 1977 meeting will be in St. Augustine. An invitation to hold the 1978 meeting in Pensacola was presented by Mrs. Ellsworth, and the invitation was accepted. West Palm Beach and a site somewhere in the Tampa Bay area were discussed as locations for future meetings.

Mr. Goza, chairman of the publications committee, reported that his committee is examining several Florida publication possibilities, but no decision has been made.

Dr. Mahon reported that although many letters had been sent soliciting membership, the result was not as good as had been hoped. Student memberships with a reduced rate were opposed at this time. *Florida Trend Magazine* is receptive to running a story

on the Society, and it is hoped that this will aid in securing members. Mr. Jones suggested the possibility of giving local societies a rebate on memberships they obtain for the Society. Dr. Mahon emphasized the need to follow up delinquent members. Mr. Jones praised the work of Mrs. Grafton in preparing a brochure for use in promoting membership in the Society. Dr. Peters stated that Dr. Mahon should be commended for all his efforts.

Mr. Goza presented a resolution for the retention of the State Capitol Building in Tallahassee and strongly opposing its demolition. He moved that the resolution be approved by the board and submitted to the general membership for action at the annual meeting. The resolution will be forwarded to the governor, cabinet, and legislative leadership. Mr. Goza and Judge Knott were appointed co-chairmen of the resolutions committee.

Mr. Jones thanked the retiring board members: John Griffin, Mrs. Grafton, Mrs. Newton, Mrs. Emerson, and Judge Knott.

The meeting was adjourned at 11:30 p.m.

#### *Minutes of the Business Meeting*

The annual business meeting of the Florida Historical Society was convened at the Howard Johnson Motel, Miami, Florida, at 1 p.m., on May 8, 1976. Milton D. Jones, president, called the session to order. The minutes of the 1975 annual meeting as published in the October 1975 issue of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* were approved as published.

Jay B. Dobkin, executive secretary and librarian, reported that the Society had an approximate gain of \$10,000 in net worth during the past year, and that its current assets amounted to \$59,265.07. This increase was primarily because of the generosity of the Wentworth Foundation, Inc. Mr. Dobkin thanked his assistants, Paul Camp and Margaret Burgess, for their efforts on behalf of the Society. He also reported on the status of the Society's library. He stated that membership as of March 31, 1976, was 1,552, but that there had been a large number of new members added to the rolls during the month of April. Mr. Jones thanked Mr. Dobkin and his staff for their work on behalf of the Society. He also encouraged members to donate manuscripts, books, maps and other Florida material to the library.

Dr. Samuel Proctor, editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, reported on the status of the journal. A total of 561 pages was published during the year, not including the yearly index which will be mailed with the July 1976 number. He asked that local historical publications be sent to him for review. He thanked his editorial board consisting of Luis R. Arana, Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., John K. Mahon, William Warren Rogers, Jerrell H. Shofner, and Charlton W. Tebeau. He also thanked Mr. Dobkin and his staff; the staff of the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History; Mrs. Joan Morris, director of the State Photographic Archives at Florida State University; the staff of the Department of Archives, History, and Records Management; the staff of the State Library; and his own staff at the University of Florida, particularly Stephen Kerber, editorial assistant. The *Quarterly* is always looking for quality articles on all aspects of Florida history, and he encouraged young scholars to submit material. He encourages suggestions of photographs to be used as covers for the *Quarterly*. He thanked Mr. Goza, representing the Wentworth Foundation, for its gifts to the *Quarterly*. Mr. Goza then came to the platform and explained the history and purpose of the Foundation. He then presented a check for \$1,000 for the *Quarterly*. Mr. Jones thanked Dr. Proctor and Mr. Goza for their efforts on behalf of the Society.

Mrs. Olive Peterson, chairperson of the executive committee of the Florida Confederation of Historical Societies, reported on its activities. The third workshop was very successful. Membership is increasing, but more local groups need to be reached. The possibility of holding regional workshops is being considered. She announced that the following new members had been elected to two-year terms on the executive committee: Clair L. Miller, Dunedin; John B. Opdyke, Gainesville; and Isabel McClintock, Fort Pierce. Dr. Thelma Peters, Joseph O. Cardilli, and Mrs. Peterson are retiring from the board. Elizabeth K. Ehrbar of Tallahassee was elected as chairperson. Mrs. Chris LaRoche of Fort Walton is also a member of the Committee. Mrs. Peterson thanked her committee and all those who had worked the previous two years in promoting the Confederation. Mr. Jones praised Mrs. Peterson's work and efforts on behalf of the Confederation.

Mr. Jones announced that the compilation of the index to the *Quarterly*, done under the direction of Dr. Jerrell H. Shofner, is

completed and the manuscript is ready for the printer. Dr. Karen Singh compiled the index and prepared the manuscript. The president noted that the publications committee, headed by Mr. Goza, and funded with a grant from the Wentworth Foundation, is formulating plans for new publications. Mr. Jones thanked Dr. Tom Greenhaw, editor of the *Florida History Newsletter*, for his work.

The president said that the Society needs more members. Brochures, promoting the Society, are available through Mr. Dobkin's office to anyone who wants them. The annual meeting for 1977 will be held in St. Augustine, and the Ponce de Leon Motor Lodge will be convention headquarters. Dr. Tony Ganong is local arrangements chairman. Dr. Thomas Graham of Flagler College, and Dr. Michael Gannon of the University of Florida, are chairmen of the program committee. Pensacola will be the site for the 1978 meeting.

Mr. Opdyke announced that the American Society of Civil Engineers has nominated the Castillo de San Marcos and the Kings Road as national Civil Engineering Landmarks. Appropriate dedication ceremonies will be held recognizing these sites.

Mr. Randy Nimnicht, chairman of the nominating committee, presented the following nominations for officers and directors of 1976-1977. Dr. Thelma Peters, president-elect, automatically succeeds Milton D. Jones as president. Other officers nominated were Jerrell H. Shofner, president-elect; John K. Mahon, vice-president; and Linda Ellsworth, recording secretary. The following were each nominated for a three-year term as director: District 1, J. Leitch Wright, Jr., Tallahassee; District 3, Marcia Kanner, Coral Gables, and Sue Goldman, Miami; District 4, Richmond I. Barge, Winter Park; and At-Large, Robert W. Williams, Tallahassee. Luis R. Arana, St. Augustine, was nominated for a one-year term replacing Dr. Mahon, and William S. Coker, Pensacola, was nominated for a two-year term as director, replacing Mrs. Ellsworth. There were no nominations from the floor, and the slate as presented was elected.

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

BE IT RESOLVED, That special thanks be extended to Dr. Peter D. Klingman of Daytona Beach Community College, and

Sister Eileen Rice of Barry College, the program chairpersons, and to the participants for a most interesting and diversified program;

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

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That the Society extends its grateful appreciation to the host committee, George B. Hardie, Jr., retiring president of the Historical Association of Southern Florida, chairperson; the Dade Heritage Trust, and its president, Samuel J. Boldrick; the Historical Association of Southern Florida and its president, Jack G. Admire; the Miami Dade Community College, Downtown Campus; the Miami Public Library; and the University of Miami;

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

Dr. William B. Clark, Eustis  
Miss Juanita de Vette, Tallahassee  
Mrs. Coke Flannagan, Inverness  
Mr. Harley Freeman, Daytona Beach  
Mr. Albert W. Godown, Fort Myers  
Mrs. Spessard L. Holland, Bartow  
Hon. F. M. Hudson, Miami  
Mr. J. F. Hull, Marianna  
Mr. W. C. Pederson, Waverly  
Mrs. Mary Turner Rule Reed, Pensacola  
Mrs. James R. Stockton, Ponte Vedra Beach  
Mrs. Gertrude K. Stoughton, Tarpon Springs  
Mr. Tom T. Ware, Largo  
Mr. Warren H. Wilkinson, Jacksonville Beach

Mr. Goza moved that the foregoing resolutions be approved.  
The motion was passed.

Mr. Goza then explained a motion which had been adopted by the Society's board of directors at its regular meeting on May 6, concerning the preservation of the State Capitol Building as it appeared in 1923. The following resolution was read:

RESOLVED, that the Board of Directors and the membership of the Florida Historical Society endorse the suggested plan of Secretary of State Bruce Smathers to preserve the existing Capitol building of the State of Florida on its present site by basically reducing its size to its 1923 limits as set forth and recommended by the Division of Archives, History and Records Management in which concurrence was expressed by Mr. William J. Murtaugh, Keeper of the National Register of Historic Places, and Mr. Richard Frank, Fellow of American Institute of Architects and Trustee of the National Trust for Historic Preservation, and further recommended by Historic Tallahassee Preservation Board, in its resolution dated July 18, 1975;

FURTHER, that the Board of Directors and membership of the Florida Historical Society feel that it would be a tragic commentary if it is later said that Florida's most noteworthy contribution to the Bicentennial observance was the destruction of its most historic state-owned building, the State Capitol;

FURTHER, that copies of this resolution be forwarded to the Governor of Florida and all cabinet members, to the president of the Florida Senate, and to the speaker of the House of Representatives.

Mr. Goza then moved that the resolution be adopted. This was passed unanimously. Mr. Jones urged those present to contact their legislators to consider the resolution and vote accordingly. Mrs. Jones said that she would forward a copy of the resolution to any one who desired it. The covering letter for the resolution will emphasize the fact that the Society has a membership of more than 1,700.

Mr. and Mrs. John DuBois presented the Society with a territorial legislative record dating back to 1839. This valuable and rare document will be added to the library of the Society at the University of South Florida. The president thanked Mr. and Mrs. DuBois for this generous contribution and for their substantial donations over the years.



Mr. Jones introduced Mrs. William M. Goza, Sr., who was a special guest of her son, Mr. William M. Goza, Jr.

Mr. Jones announced that a bus tour of the area would be conducted by Mr. Sam Boldrick, Dade Heritage Trust. The banquet will begin at 7 p.m. with Dr. Wilma Dykeman, author and historian, as speaker. He announced that the annual awards for outstanding contributions to the preservation and interpretation of local and state history made by the American Association for State and Local History would be presented at the banquet. They will go to:

Indian Temple Mound Museum, Fort Walton Beach, an Award of Merit for study and interpretation of Southeastern Indian culture,

Historic Museum of the Historical Association of Southern Florida, Miami, a Certificate of Commendation for preserving and interpreting the history of South Florida,

William M. Goza, Clearwater, a Certificate of Commendation for a lifetime of devotion to the cause of Florida history, its preservation and interpretation.

The meeting was adjourned at 2 p.m.

Respectfully submitted,  
Alva Jones  
Secretary

#### GIFTS TO THE SOCIETY

Books and pamphlets, postcards, and past issues of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* were donated by Wayne Bevis, Ernest A. Carvin, Clyde C. Council, J. B. Dobkin, Mrs. John DuBois, John J. Geil, Mrs. Marian Godown, Gustave Miller, The Order of the Crown of Charlemagne in the U.S.A., St. Augustine Historical Society, T. T. Wentworth Museum, and the University Presses of Florida.

A copy of the Bicentennial Calendar was given by Dr. John Sullivan of Jacksonville University. Contributing were Mrs. Charles H. Carter, William M. Goza, and Allen Morris. The Wentworth Foundation, Inc., made a substantial money gift to the Society to be used by the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. The Foundation also gave a gift of \$7,500 to establish a revolving

publication fund for the purpose of publishing books and monographs in Florida history.

Mr. and Mrs. John DuBois of Jupiter gave a rare copy of *Dickinson's Journal*, dated 1700, to the Society's library.

### NEW MEMBERS

April 1, 1975-March 31, 1976

Don Adams, Miami  
 Anne Adkins, Gainesville  
 Thomas M. Altee, Jacksonville Beach  
 C. F. Andrews, Dade City  
 Rance Andrews, Jasper  
 Kathryn Ashley, Key Biscayne  
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 Mrs. Morris D. Behrend, Sanibel  
 H. Wayne Bevis, Tampa  
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 Richard Brooke, Jacksonville  
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 William L. Browning, Arcadia  
 Dr. and Mrs. H. W. Bryan, Homestead  
 Amy Bushnell, Gainesville  
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 \*Dr. S. Lowry Camp, Miami  
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 Mrs. Horace L. Cartee, Coral Gables  
 H. J. Casselberry, Fort Lauderdale  
 Mrs. Berlin B. Chapman, Orlando  
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 Dr. William Clarkson, St. Augustine  
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 Maude W. Coffee, Fort Pierce  
 Eloise S. Cole, St. Augustine  
 Barney R. Colson, Gainesville  
 Charles S. Coomes, St. Augustine  
 R. Bruce Council, Ruskin  
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 Ethel M. Darling, St. Petersburg  
 Gordon H. Day, St. Petersburg  
 Charles D. Dennis, Thonotosassa  
 James J. Dwyer, Talbotton, Georgia  
 A. W. Erkins, Wilson, Wyoming  
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 \*Donald C. Gaby, Miami  
 Barbara Gallant, Gainesville  
 \*Clara Floyd Gehan, Gainesville  
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 Natalie H. Glickstein, Jacksonville  
 Jan Godown, Fort Myers  
 Bill Gooding, Fernandina Beach  
 Warner Grable, Tampa  
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 Daniel C. McKenna, Tallahassee  
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 Harry R. Moody, Bunnell  
 Michael J. Murray, Tampa  
 Robert J. Myers, Chapel Hill, North Carolina  
 Theodore R. Nelson, Miami  
 W. Bruce O'Donoghue, Orlando  
 Ralph A. Ogilvie, Jacksonville  
 W. C. O'Neal, Gainesville  
 David J. Ottinger, Lakeland  
 Howard S. Pactor, Gainesville  
 Glenn R. Padgett, New Smyrna Beach  
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 Thomas E. Penick, Clearwater  
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 Mary Kate Price, Atlanta, Georgia  
 Mark J. Proctor, Jacksonville  
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 Mr. and Mrs. Pat Reilly, St. Leo  
 Dr. J. Wayne Reitz, Gainesville  
 Donna L. Riegel, Milwaukee, Wisconsin  
 Sandra Riley, South Miami  
 Hugh Ripley, Miami  
 Ben Rogers, Louisville, Kentucky  
 W. F. Rolleston, St. Augustine  
 Mrs. Stanley E. Ross, Coral Gables  
 Richard A. Rossi, Lake City  
 Edward P. Rowell, Miami  
 Marilyn B. Sabin, Fort Lauderdale  
 Florence Sammarco, Largo  
 Michael G. Schene, Tallahassee  
 Kate Shaw, Coconut Grove  
 Irene Shonefelt, Tampa  
 Mr. and Mrs. J. M. Silk, Jupiter  
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 Marvis R. Snell, Palmetto  
 William B. Spottswood, Gainesville  
 I. J. Stephens, Miami  
 D. E. Stokes, Gainesville  
 William K. Stone, Gainesville  
 Dr. Marion R. Stowell, Milledgeville, Georgia  
 Mrs. Hart Stringfellow, Gainesville  
 Alan P. Stuckey, Tampa  
 John A. Sullivan, Jacksonville  
 Gregory Sum, Melbourne  
 John A. Tate, Tallmadge, Ohio  
 \*Raymond E. Taylor, Williston  
 Laura Thayer, Jupiter  
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 Sally Thompson, Woodstock, Vermont, and Clearwater  
 Richard Tombrink, Jr., Gainesville  
 Mr. and Mrs. David A. Urich, Fort Myers  
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Lindsey Williams, Rittman, Ohio  
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Leonard E. Zehnder, Tallahassee

Ada Merritt Junior Community, Miami  
Clewiston Public Library, Clewiston  
Colonial High School Library, Orlando  
Crystal River Public Library, Crystal River  
Delta State University, W. B. Roberts Library, Cleveland, Mississippi  
Deltona Public Library, Deltona  
Fort Lauderdale High School, Fort Lauderdale  
Fort Pierce Central High School, Fort Pierce  
Kent Library, Southeast Missouri State University, Cape Girardeau, Missouri  
Lake Stevens Junior High School, Carol City  
Miami Norland Senior High School, Miami  
Miami Palmetto Senior High, Miami  
North Port Area Library, North Port  
Pine Forest High School, Pensacola  
Richmond Heights Junior High School, Miami  
St. Joe Public Library, Port St. Joe  
Sanibel Public Library, Sanibel  
Tarrant County Junior College, Hurst, Texas  
Valencia Community College, Orlando

\*Fellow member

FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
TREASURER'S REPORT

April 1, 1975-March 31, 1976

Net Worth, April 1, 1975 -----		\$48,102.28
Current Assets:		
University State Bank (Tampa) -----	\$ 2,654.72	
University of South Florida Account		
95003 -----	128.83	
First Federal Savings & Loan Assn.		
(Gainesville) -----	21,449.77	
Guaranty Federal Savings & Loan		
Assn. (Gainesville) -----	3,051.85	
Tampa Federal Savings & Loan Assn. ---	4,101.48	
University State Bank (Tampa) -----	2,179.01	
Wentworth Publication Fund:		
Freedom Federal Savings & Loan		
Assn. (Tampa) -----	7,616.04	
Julien C. Yonge Publication Fund:		
Guaranty Federal Savings & Loan		
Assn. (Gainesville) -----	17,646.97	
Pennzoil United (thirty shares) -----	200.00	
Middle South Utilities (six shares) ---	126.00	
Bayrock Growth Fund, Inc. (Florida		
Growth Fund) (sixteen shares) ---	110.40	\$59,265.07
(The Bayrock Growth Fund has		
been taken over by Affiliated Fund		
and shares have been re-issued on		
the following basis: one Bayrock		
Fund share for 0.7477985 Affiliated		
share and one Bayrock Growth		
Fund share for 0.6200771 Affiliated		
Share as of September 2, 1975.		
Total shares- 10.293.)		
Receipts:		
Memberships:		
Annual -----	\$ 9,765.00	
Fellow -----	955.00	
Historical Societies -----	370.00	
Contributing -----	250.00	
Library -----	3,626.00	\$14,966.00
Contributions:		
Grant from Florida Bicentennial		
Commission -----	3,549.24	
Wentworth Foundation -----	1,250.00	
Wentworth Publication Fund -----	7,500.00	
Father Jerome Book Fund -----	115.00	\$12,414.24
Other Receipts:		
Quarterly sales -----	\$ 630.89	
Postage and xeroxing -----	163.06	
Annual Convention -----	2,238.25	
Confederation of Historical Societies ----	20.00	
Transfer of funds to checking account:		
Thompson Memorial Fund (Award) ----	100.00	
Tebeau (Award)-----	100.00	

Refund to Jerome Book Fund ----- 1.00  
 Refund to label (Mail list) ----- 60.68

Interest:

First Federal Savings & Loan  
 Assn. (Gainesville) ----- \$ 1,010.04  
 Guaranty Federal Savings & Loan Assn.  
 (Gainesville) (Thompson Fund) ----- 156.97  
 Tampa Federal Savings & Loan Assn.  
 (Gainesville) (Father Jerome Fund) -- 207.00  
 University State Bank (Tampa)  
 (Tebeau Fund) ----- 106.05  
 Freedom Federal Savings & Loan Assn.  
 (Tampa) (Wentworth Publication  
 Fund) ----- 116.04 \$ 4,909.98

Julien C. Yonge Publication Fund:

Guaranty Federal Savings & Loan  
 Assn. (Gainesville) dividends ----- 902.53  
 Pennzoil United dividends ----- 40.00  
 Middle South Utilities dividends ----- 7.65  
 Bayrock Growth Fund, Inc., dividends ---- 1.76  
 Royalties (University Presses of Florida) 52.34 \$ 1,004.28

\$33,292.50

Disbursements:

*Florida Historical Quarterly*

Printing and mailing ----- \$13,344.40  
 Mailer envelopes ----- 338.52  
 Copyrights ----- 40.00  
 Magnadata Corp. (labels) ----- 214.50  
 Editor's expenses ----- 780.00  
 Letterheads ----- 51.22  
 P.O. box rent, Gainesville ----- 16.00  
 University of Florida Teaching  
 Resources Center (photographs) - 47.20 \$14,831.84

Annual Convention:

Program and tickets (1975) ----- \$ 85.05  
 Program and tickets (1976) ----- 373.59  
 President's plaque ----- 17.54  
 Postage ----- 57.15  
 Motel ----- 1,276.59  
 J. Wayne Reitz Union ----- 677.04  
 Souvenir Booklet ----- 66.64 \$ 2,553.60

Other Expenses:

Insurance ----- \$ 58.00  
 Postage and telephone ----- 592.75  
 Rembert W. Patrick Book Award ----- 100.00  
 Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Award 100.00  
 Charlton W. Tebeau Junior Book  
 Award ----- 100.00  
 C.P.A. (income tax preparation) ----- 45.00  
 Microfilm ----- 683.10  
 Bookbinding expense ----- 496.48  
 Corporate tax ----- 5.00  
 Executive Secretary office supplies  
 & U.S.F. account 95003 ----- 1,353.89  
 Dr. Karen Lee Singh (index) ----- 1,050.00  
 Confederation Workshop ----- 41.66

Duplicating (Xeroxing and Photography) -----	173.76	
Father Jerome Book Expense -----	31.68	\$ 4,831.32
Balance, March 31, 1976 -----		\$59,265.07

*Minutes of the Executive Committee**The Florida Confederation of Historical Societies*

The Executive Committee of the Florida Confederation of Historical Societies convened its meeting at the Museum of the Historical Association of Southern Florida on May 6, 1976, in Miami, Florida. This meeting was held after the third workshop sponsored by the Confederation. During the workshop the following were elected to the Confederation Executive Committee: Clair L. Miller, Dunedin; John B. Opdyke, Gainesville; and Isabel McClintock, Fort Pierce. Mrs. Olive Peterson is retiring as chairperson, and Dr. Thelma Peters and Joseph Cardilli have completed their elected terms. Mrs. Chris LaRoche and Mrs. Elizabeth K. Ehrbar are carryover members.

Mrs. Peterson called the session to order with the following in attendance: Mrs. LaRoche, Mrs. Ehrbar, Mr. Miller, Mr. Opdyke, Dr. Tom Greenhaw, Milton D. Jones, and Alva L. Jones. Mrs. Peterson reported that \$97.61 was in the treasury prior to the just completed workshop, and she stressed the need for more members. She also asked for suggestions for future programs. It was felt that a special time in the morning of each workshop should be utilized for informal discussion and sharing.

Mrs. Ehrbar was selected by the group as its new chairperson. She suggested having a workshop at a site where people from local societies could work with the actual materials; she felt that she could run an even better instructional forum by having the participants come to her facility at the Department of Natural Resources. She will try to conduct such a workshop in the fall.

A suggestion was made to have the meetings on a regional basis; a central location could be helpful in getting larger attendance. The local societies could be contacted and asked what they needed in the way of a workshop experience. It was felt that the workshop in conjunction with the annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society should be continued. More communication is needed with the local societies. Mrs. Peterson suggested that the members of the executive committee could make per-



sonal contact with the local units in their own areas and encourage them to join. The committee needs to know from Jay B. Dobkin the names of those organizations who have already joined and the names of those on the mailing list.

Mr. Jones turned over to Mrs. Ehrbar the files he has been compiling for the Confederation, including the original copy of the signed articles of confederation.

The meeting was adjourned at 5 p.m.

Respectfully submitted,  
Alva Jones  
Secretary

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

1976

- |            |   |                     |
|------------|---|---------------------|
| Nov. 4     | Conference on Historic Site Archaeology                 | Tuscaloosa, Alabama |
| Nov. 5-6   | Workshop, Confederation of Florida Historical Societies | Tallahassee         |
| Nov. 10-13 | Southern Historical Association Meeting                 | Atlanta             |
| Dec. 28-30 | American Historical Association Meeting                 | Washington          |

1977

- |            |   |   |
|------------|---|---|
| Feb. 6-8   | Jacksonville History Conference                             | University of North Florida, Jacksonville |
| Feb. 18-19 | Seventh Annual Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference | Pensacola                                 |
| March 12   | Florida Anthropological Society Meeting                     | Tampa Bay Area                            |
| April 6-9  | Organization of American Historians Meeting                 | Atlanta                                   |
| May 5      | Florida Confederation of Historical Societies—Workshop      | St. Augustine                             |
| May 6-7    | FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY— 75th ANNUAL MEETING             | St. Augustine                             |

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FROM

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Detach Along This Line

## THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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

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JOHN K. MAHON, *vice-president*  
LINDA V. ELLSWORTH, *recording secretary*  
JAY B. DOBKIN, *executive secretary and librarian*  
SAMUEL PROCTOR, *editor, The Quarterly*

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

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

