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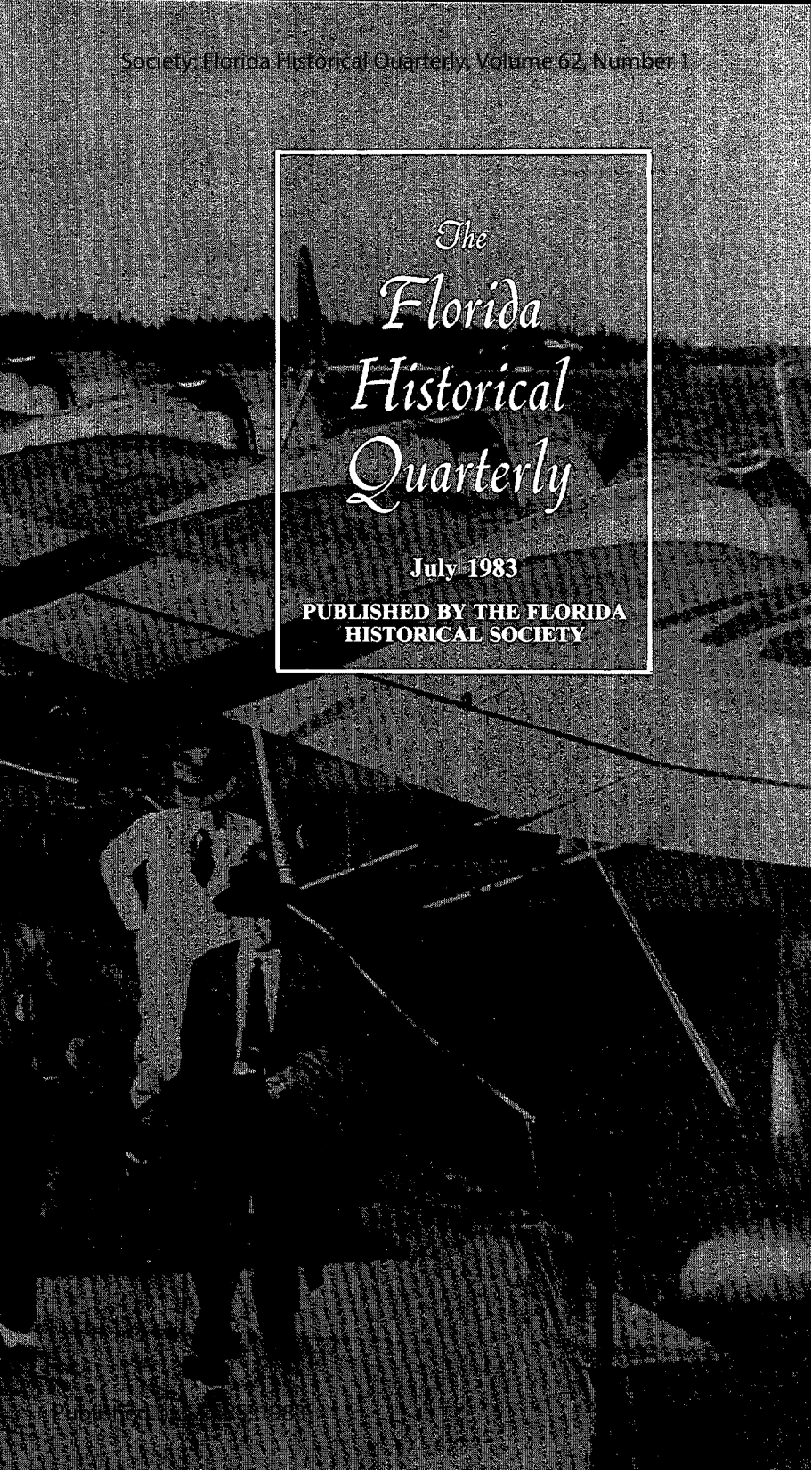
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COVER

Travelers disembarking from one of Pan American Airways' clippers at Dinner Key in the 1930s, which is now the site of Miami's city hall. The old Pan Am terminal now houses city offices. Photo courtesy of the Historical Association of Southern Florida, Miami.

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## JOHN ELLIS, ROYAL AGENT FOR WEST FLORIDA

by ROY A. RAUSCHENBERG

**W**HEN Britain acquired West Florida in 1763, John Ellis was appointed royal agent for West Florida. Found only in Nova Scotia, Georgia, and East and West Florida, royal or crown agents were used in underdeveloped but strategically important colonies that lacked the revenue to finance their own government. In these cases the crown assumed the financial load, and the agent was the London-based fiscal officer—the comptroller—supervising the crown’s allocations to the colony. Though easily confused with the better known and more widely used colonial agent, the royal agent was an entirely different kind of office. The royal agent was the crown’s watchdog; the colonial agent stood sentry in London for the colony, its governor, its council, and its assembly.<sup>1</sup>

In John Ellis, the crown, and West Florida, had a very capable multi-talented civil servant. He sought to strengthen the British Empire by promoting the economic development of the colony and the mother country. However this is only part of Ellis’s story. To get the full range of his abilities and partially to reconstruct his personality, one also has to sift through the remains of Ellis’s distinguished scientific career. When this is done Ellis comes through not only as a conscientious and efficient civil servant who promoted economic development, but he is also revealed as a clear-thinking, pioneering, imaginative scientist and a quiet, socially and politically conservative family man.

Although most of John Ellis’s origins are obscure, it is known that he was born in 1714, probably in Ireland. He was a London merchant in the Irish linen trade. On his mother’s side his family was from Dublin. His sister, Martha Ellis, and her sons, John and Roger, resided in Ireland. Furthermore during the 1750s, Ellis lobbied for the Irish Linen Board at the Parliament at Westminster. Lobbying, however, did not guarantee him economic success, and in 1760 the firm of “John Ellis and James Fivey of

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Roy A. Rauschenberg is associate professor of history, Ohio University. He wishes to thank the Linnean Society of London, the Royal Society, the Marrab Library, and the Royal Society of Arts for making their libraries and archives available to him.

1. Ella Lonn, *The Colonial Agents of the Southern Colonies* (Chapel Hill, 1945), 3-41; Cecil Johnson, *British West Florida: 1763-1783* (New Haven, 1943), 225.



Lawrence Lane London Co-partners Merchants and Irish Factors" declared bankruptcy.<sup>2</sup>

Ellis's position in 1760 seemed bleak. Not only was his business bankrupt, but his family life in the late 1750s had become very tragic. Ellis had married in the first half of 1754. Friends spoke of the wedding as early as March 1, but the marriage license is dated June 29. There seems to have been some opposition to the marriage, but the reasons are not clear. Carolina Elizabeth Peers Ellis was the twenty-one-year-old heiress of Sir Charles Peers, a London alderman, lord mayor of London, collector of the customs, and a director of the Bank of England. Ellis at the time was a forty-year-old Irish linen merchant, so he apparently was bettering himself through the marriage. The fact that Carolina Elizabeth had a £1,500 legacy was another possible reason for concern for her family. Despite the initial opposition, the marriage seems to have been a happy one. The first daughter, Martha Ellis, named for his sister, was born on December 27, 1754. Twin daughters, Mary and Elizabeth, were born on May 6, 1758. Mary lived just a few days and was buried at St. Lawrence Jewry on May 19. Elizabeth died shortly afterwards and was buried in the same church in October. Even earlier, in June 1754, Ellis had suffered the heaviest blow of all when Carolina Elizabeth died.<sup>3</sup> In a matter of a few weeks he had lost his wife and two infant daughters.

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2. P. Beryl Eustace, ed., *Registry of Deeds, Dublin. Abstract of Wills. Vol. I, 1708-1745* (Dublin, 1956), 120, n. 284; St. Lawrence Jewry: Poor Rate Books, 1733-1743, M.S. 2518, 14-18, 20, 245; Michaelmass to Marymass, 1733, 5, Guildhall Library, London; Conrad Gill, *The Rise of the Irish Linen Industry* (Oxford, 1925), 95-96 (Notes of Ellis's services to the Linen Board); William Brownrigg to John Ellis, May 18, 1756, Correspondence and Miscellaneous Papers of John Ellis in the Linnean Society of London (hereinafter cited as J.E.P.); *Gentleman's Magazine*, XXX (January 1760), 47; Bankruptcy Records, B 4, Index 22649, Docket Books 1759-1763; Colonial Office Papers 5/580, 347, Public Records Office (hereinafter cited as C.O.); *Annual Register*, 1786, "Appendix to the Chronicle," 250; C.O. 74/5, April 9, 1777.
3. Bishop of London's Registry, 185, June 29, 1754, St. Lawrence Jewry; Brownrigg to Ellis, March 1, 1754; Henry Quin to Ellis, April 4, 19, 1754, 1, 2; William Borlase to Ellis, May 25, 1754; Ellis to Alexander Garden, September 11, 1758, J.E.P.; "Bulletin no. 29," *Guildhall Library, Museum and Art Gallery Bulletin* (March 1759), 3; William A. Shaw, *The Knights of England: . . . Scotland, and Ireland*, 2 vols. (London, 1906), II, 275; Alfred B. Beaven, *The Aldermen of the City of London Temp. Henry III-1908*, 2 vols. (London, 1908), I, 14, 68, 203, 252, 258, 291-92, 347, 411, II, xlix, li, 121 223; *The Book of Dignities*, (London, 1890), 274-75, 491; Sir Charles Peers, "Last Will and Testament," February 8, 1736 (Mss. in the

Despite the tragedies of his personal and business life, which had to weigh heavily on a bankrupt widower with a five-year-old daughter, Ellis made a rapid recovery in the 1760s. He continued to be the Irish Linen Board's lobbyist, and his family also contributed to an annuity. Furthermore, Ellis helped Philip Cartaret Webb develop his Busbridge garden.<sup>4</sup> Then in 1764, Ellis received a further demonstration of confidence when he was appointed royal agent for West Florida.<sup>5</sup>

Ellis had first tried to secure the post of colonial agent for West Florida. However, Samuel Hanney gained that, and Ellis then sought the royal agency. With the help of Lord Northington, for whom he had built a conservatory, he obtained his goal.<sup>6</sup> Ellis was pleased with what was considered second best. He told William Brownrigg, "I thank God for the Agency for West Florida, which . . . makes me easy and happy, and I hope will prove of use to natural history. I hear many curious things are to be had. My business does not oblige me to leave London."<sup>7</sup>

Ellis indeed worked in London, first at Grays Inn and then later at Hempstead. His records indicate that funds appropriated to him were used to pay schoolmasters and ministers, to underwrite gifts for Indians, and to pay the salaries of the governor and other administrators. Ellis saw to it that colonial officials lived within their budgets, presented documentation to support their requests for payment, and turned in their reports.

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Principal Probate Registry, Somerset House, London); J. Steven Watson, *The Reign of George III: 1760-1815* (Oxford, 1960), 336; *The Register of St. Lawrence Jewry and St. Mary Magdalen Milk Street London, 1677-1812*, pt. II, A. W. H. Clark, ed. *The Publications of the Harleian Society*, LXXI (London, 1941), 63, 64, 238.

4. "Philip Cartaret Webb", Sir Leslie Stephen and Sir Sidney Lee, eds., *The Dictionary of National Biography*, 22 vols. (London, 1917-1922), LX, 102.
5. J. Ellis to Henry Ellis, June 30, 1760, "Notebook #2," 34r&v; Philip Webb to Ellis, December 10, 1759, J.E.P.; Ellis to Daniel Solander, July 26, August 1, 8, 24, 1760, Ellis-Franchillon Letters, British Museum Add Ms 29, 533.
6. "Robert Henley", Earl of Northington, Stephen and Lee, eds. *Dictionary of National Biography*, XXV, 417.
7. Ellis to Brownrigg, February 11, 1764 [quote], Ellis to William Tryon, January 2, 1771, "Notebook #2," 42r, 102r, J.E.P.; Alexander Garden to Ellis, November 19, 1764, Northington to Ellis, October 30, 1764, May 30, July 25, October 30, 1765, Sir James E. Smith, *A Selection of the Correspondence of Linnaeus and Other Naturalist*, 2 vols. (London, 1821) I, 522, II, 66-69; Robert Rea, "The King's Agent for British West Florida, Notes and Documents," *Alabama Review* (April 1963), 143, 145-46.

He also tried to get information about the colony and to promote a colonial public research garden for agricultural experimentation.

Although the agent's powers were prescribed— expenditures over \$100 for example had to receive approval from the Board of Trade— he did have influence through his personal contacts, his friends, and because of his general good reputation. Working directly under the board of trade and the treasury, he reported to the colonial secretaries— successively Lord Hillsborough and Lord Dartmouth, their secretary John Pownall, and John Robinson, the secretary of the lords of the treasury. As these officers worked with a great deal of independence, Ellis really was just one person or one step away from where important decisions were made.

Ellis's June 1763-1764 allocation was extremely small. The budget totaled £5,700: £1,500 was for gifts to the Indians; £1,000, for contingencies; £1,200, the governor's salary; £500, the salary of the chief justice; £500 for bounties to encourage the production of silk and other useful commodities; £200, the royal agent's salary; £150 each for the salaries of the attorney general and the secretary-clerk of the council; £120, the surveyor of lands; £100 each for the register, a minister at Pensacola, and a minister at Mobile; £30, the salary for an assistant to the surveyor; and £25 each for a schoolmaster in Pensacola and one in Mobile. As the year continued, Ellis's contingency fund payments included service charges to the exchequer, supplies for the churches in Mobile and Pensacola, and the largest item in the budget— expenditures by the governor. For the budget June 1764-1765, the amount was reduced £500 as there was a cut in the amount for Indian gifts.<sup>8</sup>

The job was more demanding in 1765. In January Ellis asked the board of trade's permission to pay £100 for Indian gifts purchased by Governor George Johnstone, and by June Ellis had spent £1180/12/6 for Indian presents. Also in June 1765, Ellis had to get the board's opinion on one of the colony's clergymen. The minister, who went to Dundee, Scotland, rather than Pensacola, had been paid £100 for the period ending June 1764, and

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8. C.O. 5/599, 161, 195; *Journal of Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, from January 1764 to December 1767* (London, 1936), 7-8, 12; Budgets (1763-1765), C.O. 5/547, 426-29.

£60 for the year June 1764-1765. He then asked for the remaining £40 of his 1764-1765 salary and an advance of £50. Ellis refused to pay this amount, and he requested the board's advice on the matter. In July Ellis worked out an agreement with Lieutenant Governor Montfort Browne to provide funds for freight, food, and a £7/7 per person bounty for sixty French Huguenot settlers for West Florida.<sup>9</sup> In August 1765, Ellis requested the board's instructions on three items. He had granted Chief Justice William Clifton's request for half his salary in late 1764. However Ellis rejected a request for the other half of the salary because it was not documented. By August 1765, after exchanges with West Florida officials, it was clear that the proper documents had been lost at sea, and to pay the request he had to ask the board for instructions. Ellis also needed approval to pay the provincial secretary £112/10/0 without certification. Lastly, the clergyman assigned to Mobile had received the West Florida governor's approval to live in Charleston, South Carolina. Ellis, without instructions on the matter, and aware of the potential for fraud, asked the board's approval to pay the cleric's salary and advice on how to deal with similar occurrences in the future.<sup>10</sup>

1766 was a busy year. The budget increased to £5,300: £100 was added to pay a provost marshal, £1,000 for Indian gifts, £1,000 for contingencies, £1,200 to pay the governor, £500 for the chief justice, £500 for silk and wine bounties, £200 for the royal agent, £150 each for the attorney general and secretary-clerk of the council, £120 for the surveyor, £100 each for the register, a minister in Pensacola, and a minister in Mobile, £30 for a surveyor's assistant, and £25 each for school masters in Pensacola and Mobile. In July and early August 1766, Ellis made a list of the items Lieutenant Governor Brown had agreed to give the Huguenot settlers, the first sign something was amiss. In October Ellis presented the case of the Reverend Mr. Levier

9. Johnson, *British West Florida*, 61-62, n. 1.

10. Ellis to the Lord Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, December 14, 1764, January 14, June 16, August 20, 1765; George Johnstone to the secretary, September 3, 24, 25, 1764; John Ellis Agreement with Montfort Browne, July 2, 1765; Ellis to John Pownall, October 3, 15, 1765; Account for Indian Presents, June 24, 1763 to June 24, 1764; Contingent Fund, June 24, 1764 to June 24, 1765; Ellis Account for Money received, 1764-1765, C.O. 5/574, 91-93, 95, 99-107, 213, 221-22, 401, 411, 413; C.O. 5/585, 208-09; *Journal of Commissioners . . . January 1764-December 1767*, 213, 316.

to the Earl of Shelburne, the secretary of state.<sup>11</sup> Levier was already £300 in debt when he became the Huguenots's schoolmaster and minister, and he had assigned his whole salary to his creditors. In turn the creditors agreed that Levier would get one year's salary to get started in Pensacola. Levier's problems carried over into the following year, 1767. In January, he drew £75, with the remaining £25 to be paid later. Then in April Levier assigned £50, twenty-five more than was still due him, to the Reverend Thomas Wilkinson. Ellis refused to pay it, but before he could straighten the matter out, Levier asked that Ellis give £25 to still another person. Then, several months later, Levier requested that Ellis pay £17 for his moving expenses. Subsequently the governor in Pensacola questioned Levier about complaints that he neither lived with, nor served the needs of, the French immigrants.<sup>12</sup>

Although Ellis never received all the information he wanted about West Florida's natural history and economic potential, Thomas Miller, a Mobile resident, in 1766, did provide him with a description of the region's geography. The climate, flora, and fauna were similar to Georgia's and South Carolina's. The landscape included pine barren, swamp, and grassland. The barren resembled South Carolina and Georgia, but it produced larger pines with a clearer pitch. The swamp yielded various oak, cypress, white cedar, copalm, and magnolia trees. Game was abundant in the forests, fish in the waters, and cattle and mules in the grasslands. Furthermore, when drained the swamplands would have good potential for flax, indigo, or cotton. West Florida's interior, according to Indian traders, had rich lands, and the rivers were navigable for vessels drawing as much as six feet for hundreds of miles upstream. Mobile Bay abounded with aquatic life and was surrounded by fertile acreage. Mobile itself was located on an unhealthy site, selected because the French had feared the Creek Indians upon the opposite shore. The town was

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11. "Sir William Petty", first Marquis of Landsdowne and second Earl of Shelburne, Stephen and Lee, eds., *Dictionary of National Biography*, XLV, 19.
  12. Miscellaneous accounts June 24, 1763 to June 24, 1764, and June 24, 1764 to June 24, 1765; Ellis Money granted account, June 1763 to 1765; Ellis to board, July 17, 1766, C.O. 5/574, 424, 429; West Florida estimates, June 24, 1765 to June 24, 1766, C.O. 5/599, 212; *Journal of Commissioners . . . January 1764-December 1767*, 304, 314-15; Ellis report on Peter Levier, C.O. 5/583, 661-62.

poor, weak, dreary, and needed additional population as well as money to prosper.<sup>13</sup>

In 1767 Ellis had to produce an account of the governor's expenditures as well as his own budget. Governor Johnstone, generally high-handed in his administration, clashed with the army over control of military bases. The crown directed Ellis to make a balance sheet of the governor's expenditures, and then, after examining the sheet, the king removed Johnstone. Ellis's budget for the year was £4,800, a decrease of £500 from the previous year because silk and wine bounties were being dropped.<sup>14</sup>

Throughout 1768 Ellis was busy with problems centering on the Huguenots. He discovered that names on the original list compiled by Brown and Levier differed from those immigrants actually in the colony. When asked about it, Lieutenant Governor Browne, now acting as governor, set up a West Florida council committee to check into the matter. The committee found a discrepancy had developed when people withdrew as potential settlers and had been replaced. However, fifty-six French Protestants left London; four more came aboard at Cork; one died in Cork; thirteen others died en route or jumped ship in Dominica, and forty-eight, including seven children under the age of fourteen, had landed at Pensacola. Subsequent reports indicated that only four or five people on the original list had reached West Florida, that all those who arrived were unequipped for colonial life, and that they survived only with aid in the form of food and supplies from the colonial government. When Levier decided to move to Charleston, South Carolina, half of his French flock joined him.

Ellis's problems with Lieutenant Governor Browne, however, went beyond the Huguenot settlers. Late in 1768, fifty-two colonists reported that Browne had submitted false vouchers for contingent fund purchases. Ellis then informed Lord Hillsborough, secretary of state for the colonies, who ordered the newly-appointed governor to look into the charges. While the investigation continued, Browne's financial accounts continued troublesome for Ellis. As early as December 1767, Ellis warned Browne both his civil and Indian funds were down to about

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13. Thomas Miller to Ellis, February 21, 1766, J.E.P.

14. Ellis to David Skene, July 11, 1767, "Notebook #2," 51r, J.E.P.: C.O. 5/599, 222; C.O. 5/619, 26-28; C.O. 5/585, 184-201.

£150 of the budgeted £1,000. In addition, Ellis indicated that Governor Johnstone had reported leaving behind a large supply of Indian gifts; that the agent, limited to his budget, could not pay Browne's vouchers and get reimbursed by the treasury; and that no more of Browne's requests would be honored, although he could, if he desired, request additional money from the crown. In February 1768, Ellis indicated that the budgeted Indian fund had not changed, and he questioned Browne's use of the contingent fund. The following month Ellis warned that the Indian fund was now down to £118/18/4, and he informed Browne that his unauthorized payment to the provost marshal of Mobile had to be refunded. Browne for his part had twice questioned Ellis's administration of the funds, and complained to the board that the agent for no reason was contravening instructions and was meddling with payments, including some due Browne.

Although Browne's affairs took a lot of his time, Ellis still was able to pursue his own interest in natural history. On July 14, 1768, to entice John Blommart, Ellis offered to do all he could to secure a colonial government post for him. He praised the plants Blommart had already sent to Kew Gardens, asked for more, and encouraged him to send a small quantity of plants clearly labelled with the names and blossom time.<sup>15</sup>

This excursion into natural history was a secondary responsibility for Ellis; Lieutenant Governor Browne's finances remained most important. In August 1769, after reviewing the charges and the findings of a committee of the West Florida Council, forwarded through Ellis and Lord Hillsborough, the king replaced Browne. Ellis in turn had to explain West Florida's account to Elias Durnford, the newly-appointed lieutenant governor.<sup>16</sup> At the same time Browne's accounts still

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15 Montfort Browne to the secretary of state, January 28, 1768; Council at Pensacola and examination of Mr. Levier February 25, 1768; Lord Hillsborough to the governor [of West Florida], January 15, 1768; Ellis to Browne, December 10, 1767, February 11, March 10, 1768; Browne to 09, 221-22, 225-28; Browne to My Lord, July 6, 1768, C.O. 5/577, 27-29; Hillsborough, July 1, 1768, C.O. 5/585, 53-54, 57-58, 61-63, 125-28, 208-Browne to Hillsborough, August 10, 1768; Hillsborough to Browne, February 14, 1768, C.O. 5/619, 2-6; *Journal of Commissioners . . . January 1768-December 1775*, 28, 137; Ellis to John Blommart, July 14, 1768, "Notebook #2," 64v, J.E.P.

16. Johnson, *British West Florida*, 72, n. 32.

needed to be arranged and balanced, and Ellis warned Browne again that his claims would not be met without proper vouchers. Browne's mismanagement became even more apparent in the fall of 1769, when former Governor Johnstone sought reimbursement for £113/11/11 that he had personally spent for Indian gifts. Johnstone indicated that Browne had been left with £1,200 worth of Indian gifts. These had never been reported. To make West Florida's finances even worse, John Stuart, superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Southern Department, had hired an interpreter at £91/0/5 per year, and the assistant superintendent had committed £127/7/0 for gifts and an armorer to repair Indian guns. Both these amounts were also charged against the beleaguered Indian gifts account. Then in December 1769, having already asked for additional funds to cover these items, and with his contingency fund overdrawn, Ellis had to ask the lords of the treasury what to do with claims for payments approved by the colonial council but rejected by Browne. This particular issue carried on for several years after the board of trade began to discuss it in 1770. Still later Ellis again asked for more money for the Indian account to make up for the £150/10/0 that Browne had used to pay an unbudgeted deputy superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Southern District.<sup>17</sup>

Browne's affairs continued to be Ellis's major concern in 1770. When the lords of the treasury could not decide on Browne's Indian expenses, they asked advice from the board of trade. The board reported it had not approved the expenses and had never even been told about them. On March 1, Ellis testified on the matter before the board which then tabled the matter. Lieutenant Governor Durnford further tarnished his predecessor's reputation when he reported that Browne had not followed the West Florida Council's advice on fiscal affairs, had attempted to pack the council with favorites, and had collected crown money for repairs never made. Browne, however, claimed his secretary had prepared the fraudulent vouchers for the re-

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17. C.O. 326, Ind. 8361.61, 262-64; Pownall to Ellis, November 16, 1769, C.O. 5/619, 26; Petition of West Florida Inhabitants, May 12, 1769; Hillsborough to Browne, August 4, 1769; Ellis to Pownall, January 22, 1769; Ellis Memorial to the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury, December 21, 1769, C.O. 5/586, 203-04, 319-29, 341-42; Ellis to lords [of treasury], December 4, 1769, C.O. 5/577, 181; *Journal of Commissioners . . . January 1768-December 1775*, 173-74.



pairs and that they had been innocently submitted. Subsequently Durnford reported that even though there was an official storekeeper, Browne had kept all the Indian gifts with his personal stores and had "indiscriminantly issued them out to his Family and Negroes for their subsistence without once considering that Public and Private property are different things."<sup>18</sup>

Ellis's West Florida duties were routine in the years 1771 and 1772. In January 1771, he submitted five of Browne's vouchers to the West Florida Council for approval. Two were approved in full, two were approved for partial payment, and one was postponed to await further testimony. Ellis's budget for 1771 was £6,100, over twenty-five per cent higher than the previous year's £4,800. The increase included £850 for a planned £2,500 governor's residence and £450 for a West Florida survey. In 1772 the budget was £5,650 with nothing for surveying included. In April the board of trade, after repeated requests from Attorney General Wegg and Ellis, authorized Ellis to pay Wegg £93/15/5 of a £108/10/0 voucher submitted by Browne. The June 1772-June 1773 budget was £7,274/13/6, Ellis's largest yet. It added £580 for the governor's residence, £50 for a garden, and £1,574/13/6 for obligations Browne had contracted. The remaining £4,800 included £1,000 for Indian gifts, £1,000 for contingencies, £1,200 for the governor's salary, £500 for the chief justice's salary, £200 for the agent's salary, £150 each for attorney-general's and secretary-clerk of the council's salaries, £120 to pay the surveyor, £100 each for salaries for the register, provost marshal, and ministers in Pensacola and Mobile, £30 for wages for the surveyor's assistant, and £25 each for schoolmasters for Mobile and Pensacola.<sup>19</sup>

The £50 for a garden was Ellis's contribution towards starting a West Florida research garden. In 1772, Bernard Romans proposed organizing a garden of swampy, dry, and oak land plots set out in northern and southern exposure at a cost of £125.<sup>20</sup> Ellis, however, consulted Dr. Alexander Garden, the Charleston

18. C.O. 326, Ind. 8362.62, 217-18; C.O. 5/620, 204-13 [quote]; CO. 5/577, 177.

19. C.O. 5/629, 46-50, 165; C.O. 326, Ind. 8363.63, 201, 203; C.O. 326, Ind. 8364.64, 173, 175; C.O. 5/600, 224, 234, 249; C.O. 5/589, 389-91; C.O. 5/590, 111, 211-12.

20. "Bernard Romans," Stephen and Lee, eds., *Dictionary of National Biography*, XLIX, 180.

physician and naturalist, on the plan. Although Romans maintained that any plant found between Canada and West Florida, as well as some West Indian plants, could be grown in the plots, Dr. Garden was dubious. Romans was originally a surveyor, and he had only a limited knowledge of botany. Moreover, Garden estimated that the garden would cost £500-£750, four to six times more than Romans had estimated. Furthermore, Garden advised waiting until political tensions eased; then perhaps colonial assemblies might fund the provincial gardens. Ellis, however, went ahead with the project, and for the next several years, a £50 garden item appeared annually in the budgets.<sup>21</sup>

West Florida matters were generally routine in 1773, 1774, and 1775. Early in January 1773, Ellis appeared before the board to report the fiscal balances carried over from previous years. On January 21, the treasury directed Ellis to pay Browne's estate £988/8/11. The following year's budget had the usual £4,800, and included the £50 item to continue the provincial garden. For 1775, Ellis submitted the £4,800 core budget, plus £600 for surveys of West Florida and £50 for the garden. Furthermore, as the year developed, £800 was transferred from surpluses in the Indian and contingent accounts to pay cost overruns on the governor's residence.<sup>22</sup>

In 1774 the Reverend Mr. William Gordon of Mobile sent in a long report on the colony's economic development. Land was a major inducement to attract settlers to the underdeveloped area. The colony had a residual Spanish and French population, which the British government wanted to maintain, whose land titles had to be protected to prevent their emigration. Land tenure thus was a major question. Spanish grants were inconsequential, there were only two or three. However, the more numerous French grants created problems. Some titles, beyond dispute, were direct grants from the French governors, others were only permits to settle, and still others were merely certificates to settle. There were also "ax in the wood," *hache en bois*, titles. According to French practice, these cornfield clearings, also called "deserts," were usually across the river from a man's home,

21. Romans to Ellis, August 13, 1772, J.E.P., Garden to Ellis, May 15, 1773, Smith, *Correspondence of Linnaeus*, I, 595-98.

22. C.O. S/600, 248-50, 256; C.O. 5/591, 127; C.O. 326. Ind. 8365.65, 181; C.O. 5/579, 191; C.O. 5/580, 13-16.

though they might be downstream. Anyone who cleared an area possessed it, could rent it, and even sell it, at which time a legal title was granted. However, if abandoned for as long as a year and a day, the land reverted to the French crown. But occupancy rights for land left idle after an extended period of use was unclear. Unfortunately, the French archives were lost, and when the English had registered the French lands, the work had been mishandled and matters were even more confused. Although English colonists claimed large French and Spanish landowners possessed too much land in the West Florida colony, there were really very few such owners. Where they existed, despite vague boundaries and underdevelopment, these holdings usually had a clear title. Furthermore their boundaries were defined by experience and by a general belief— explicit in some titles— that the land extended inland forty or fifty acres from the river. To pacify the French colonists, Gordon had recommended confirming their titles. This could be done by surveying the land at the crown's expense, asking landowners to give proof of ownership and the boundaries to justices of the peace, registering confirmed titles, and exempting all French property from quit rents.

Gordon went on to provide Ellis with an economic and demographic description of the colony. Major imports were wool, cotton, linen, and a little silk; hardware and Negro cloth for planters; and blankets, arms, and ammunition for the Indians. The exports were furs, silver bullion, logwood, and some indigo. Forest resources included pitch pine in the upland area, thickets of aquatic trees in the river valleys, and large cypress, oak, cedar, hickory, chestnut, and many unwanted species in the Mobile River valley. Although manufacturing did not exist and no staple had yet emerged, indigo, cotton, rice, maize, and other commodities could be grown. No metal ores had been found, but silver reportedly was abundant in the Mississippi valley. This valley was also notorious as the center of smuggling with Spanish New Orleans. Mobile's population included 330 whites and 416 blacks living in ninety houses. The white residents included fifty married couples, seventy-one single men, twenty-four single women, fifty-five boys, and seventy-one girls, twenty to thirty men strangers, eighty single Indian traders, 122 Protestants, and 208 Papists. The black residents included twenty-three free blacks and mulattoes. Indians in the area included the Chickasaw,

Choctaw, and Creek. The Chickasaws had an estimated 500 warriors; the Choctaws about 3,000 warriors, and the Creeks around 4,500 men. Though the Creeks were not considered to be trustworthy and were opposed to European settlement, they were counter-balanced by the Choctaws, who viewed the Europeans as allies, and by the fort manned by a small permanent force in Mobile. It was realized that if Mobile fell to the Indians, Pensacola would be threatened.<sup>23</sup>

The American Revolution increased Ellis's work load in 1776. The budget he submitted that year included £50 for the garden and £100 for the receiver general of the quitrent, in addition to the usual £4,800 core. The Revolution first touched Ellis's affairs when news arrived that Bernard Romans had joined the rebels. He was replaced as gardener by Dr. John Lorimer who had studied natural history and had lived in the colony ten years. Then, after Governor Peter Chester's request in July 1776, for additional defense funds, £138/15/0 was added to prepare for the arrival of the royal American regiment, and £700 was added to up-grade the fortifications.<sup>24</sup> Unfortunately Ellis did not see the results of these fortifications; he died on October 18, 1776.<sup>25</sup>

Ellis's efforts for West Florida were not forgotten after his death. West Florida remained loyal to the king in the American Revolution, at least in part because of the efforts of men like John Ellis. Furthermore on June 16, 1781, several merchants in West Florida complained to the board of trade that Ellis's successor was not as quick or as accurate in paying bills as Ellis had been. Later, in 1786, Westminster recognized Ellis's contribution when Parliament voted £1,816/15/7½ to pay his estate the money he had advanced to the West Florida account.<sup>26</sup>

Ellis's scientific career had contributed to his securing the royal agency in West Florida in the first place. As early as the 1740s, he was collecting fossils and seeking to introduce exotic plants into England and Ireland. Ellis became better known when a seascape he had prepared impressed the Reverend Mr. Stephen Hales, F.R.S., a leading figure in the development of

23. William Gordon to Ellis, 1774, J.E.P.

24. C.O. 5/600, 257; C.O. 5/619, 140, 147; C.O. 5/621, 354-56; C.O. 326, Ind. 8368.68, 141; C.O. 5/592, 299-300.

25. *Annual Register*, [1776], "Chronicle, Died October 18," 189.

26. Rea, "King's Agent," 146-47; C.O. 5/580, 347; *Annual Register*, [1786], "Appendix, Chronicle," 250.

physiology and the first plant physiologist and clerk of the closet for George III's mother, the Princess of Wales. Hales in turn asked Ellis to do a seascape for the princess. To insure accuracy, Ellis made microscopic examinations and decided corallines were animals. Even though Jean Andre Peyssonnel had described the animal nature of corallines in a 1751 *Philosophical Transactions* article, Ellis did a larger more complete study. It was finished in 1752, submitted to the Royal Society, but withdrawn when Ellis decided it needed still more research. In 1752 and 1754, Ellis took field trips to the south and east coast of England. In 1754 he published a *Philosophical Transactions* article, and in 1755, his *Essay Towards a Natural History of Corallines* came out. These were the first of several publications in which Ellis definitively showed that zoophytes were animals, not the intermediate links between animals and plants. With this success, Ellis began to get material from William Borlase, John Greg, William Brownrigg, and others.<sup>27</sup>

About this same time, Ellis became a member of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts. It was known also as the Premium Society or the Royal Society of Arts, its current name. For six years Ellis participated on several standing committees and attended meetings. Then, in 1761, he dropped his membership, probably because his finances and employment had been curtailed because of his bankruptcy. Ellis's leading accomplishment with the society came in 1758 when he promoted a premium for introducing useful exotic plants into Georgia and South Carolina, compiled a list of ninety-four plants which could qualify for the premium, and advocated building provincial research gardens in both colonies. By June 1760, the society had established a premium for a provincial garden in the Carolinas. Later, of course, as royal agent for West Florida, Ellis promoted a garden there.<sup>28</sup>

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27. John Ellis, *An Essay Towards A Natural History of the Corallines, and Other Marine Productions of the Like Kind Commonly Found on the Coasts of Britain and Ireland* (London, 1755); Ellis to Borlase, April 3, 1744, William Borlase Letters in the Marrab Library, Penzance, Cornwall, England (hereinafter cited as Borlase Letters.)

28. MS. Subscription Book: 1754-1763, MSS in the Royal Society of Arts Library, London; Minute Books, 1-4, MSS in the Royal Society of Arts Library, London; Ellis to Sir, November 2, 1758, Royal Society of Arts Guard Book, v. 4, n. 11, doc. 1-5; Ellis to Garden, June 13, 1760, J.E.P.

Ellis's attempts to get tea and rhubarb started in British America also involved his work in the Premium Society. The society gave Ellis forty capsules of tea seeds for America in December 1760. He diverted two of the capsules to Carl Linnaeus in Sweden, the first tea seed ever seen there, and the rest was sent to Governor John Ellis of Jamaica. The seeds unfortunately did not survive the voyage. Ellis's attempt to start rhubarb in America was more successful. In January 1761, a premium was offered for "the cultivation and curing of Rhubarb in the British Dominions." Ellis secured seed from Carl Linnaeus in the spring of 1761, and more later. In December 1761, Ellis, through the society, gave Benjamin Franklin rhubarb seeds for American gardeners. This was almost a decade before rhubarb was supposedly introduced on the continent. In fact, by 1770, Governor Samuel Martin in New York and Governor Guy Carleton in Quebec had thanked Ellis for the rhubarb seed he had sent those colonies.<sup>29</sup>

During the 1750s Ellis was active both in the Royal Society and the Premium Society. Ellis attended his first Royal Society meeting as a guest of Philip Cartaret Webb on April 16, 1752. His first paper on his marine flora and fauna studies was read June 17, 1752. It was followed on March 15, 1753, by a paper on coralline growth. In August he read still another paper. His efforts were recognized, and on February 14, 1754, he was elected a fellow of the Royal Society. Over the next twenty-two years Ellis contributed twenty-seven papers to the society. They were a blend of zoophyte studies, miscellaneous topics, and more importantly for British America, economic biology. In 1768 Ellis won the Copley Prize, the Royal Society's highest award. At the time Sir John Pringle indicated Ellis had made, "many Judicious Experiments . . . accurate Drawings . . . acute reasonings, Ingenious Observations . . . many valuable Improvements in natural knowledge . . .; [had] opened . . . a wonderful view of

29. Solander to Linnaeus, December 19, 1760, 1; November 16, 1761, 4, Solander Manuscripts in the Linnean Society of London; Ellis to Solander, August 30, September 4, November 22, 1761, March 28, 1762, Ellis-Franchillon Letters; Samuel Martin to Ellis, April 29, 1769, Guy Carleton to Ellis, July 17, 1760, J.E.P.; Ellis to My Lord, Royal Society of Arts Guard Book, IV, n. 103; Royal Society of Arts Minute Books, VI, 61, 73, 74; B. Brouk, *Plants Consumed by Man* (New York, 1950), 136; Ulysses P. Hedrick, *A History of Horticulture in America to 1860* (New York, 1950), 83.

some of the extraordinary productions of Nature . . . ; [and had] pursued . . . Discoveries with . . . much Sagacity and Judgment." After much difficulty picking out a single item for the award, the Royal Society's council chose his 1767 papers on the "Animal Nature of the Genus called *Corallina*" and the "*Actinia sociata* or clustered animal flower." In 1769 Ellis won election to the society's council.<sup>30</sup>

In the 1760s Ellis worked on an enlarged study of zoophytes and on acquiring useful exotic plants for the British empire. These two interests were epitomized in a field trip that he, Daniel Solander (Carl Linnaeus's student, a curator at the British Museum, the naturalist on Captain James Cook's first voyage, and later Sir Joseph Banks's secretary), and John Chandler, a London apothecary, naturalist, and artist, made to the south coast of England in 1761. They examined sponges along the shore and out of the research came Ellis's "On the Nature and Formation of Sponges." However they also stopped, both going and coming, at gardens along the way and examined the collections. In 1762 and 1763 Ellis produced descriptions of an *Encrinus*, the gardenia, and the male and female cochineal. The cochineal paper illustrated Ellis's interests in biology and economic development in the colonies as the North American insect was used for dye.<sup>31</sup>

Ellis's biological interests continued even after he took the Florida post. On December 23, 1763, he presented a Royal Society paper describing pennatulids taken near Brests, France, and Charleston, South Carolina. In 1764 Ellis went to the Sussex shore to complete research for "On the Nature and Formation of Sponges." In 1765 and 1766 Ellis studied sirens and the Egyptian horned viper. He had originally dismissed the two-legged gilled eel-like sirens sent from South Carolina by Dr.

30. Journal Book of the Royal Society, 1751-54, XXI, 105, 172, 173, 292, 392, 396, 397; XXVI, 555-57, 683; Certificates, 1751-66, n. 20. MSS in the Royal Society Library, London: Royal Society Letters and Papers, 1741-1806 (longhand list calendar in the Royal Society Library, London.)

31. Solander to Linnaeus, December 19, 1760, 1-2; August 11, 1761 [quote] Solander Manuscripts; Smith, *Correspondence of Linnaeus*, I, 137-38, 142-43; Ellis to Solander, September 3, 19, 1762, Ellis-Franchillon Letters; Ellis, "An Account of an Encrinus," Royal Society, *Philosophical Transactions*, LII (1762), 357-65; Solander, "An Account of the Gardenia: . . ." *Philosophical Transactions* LII (1762), 654-61; Ellis, "An Account of the Male and Female Cochineal Insects. . .," *Philosophical Transactions* LII (1762), 661-67.

Alexander Garden as lizard larvae. Linnaeus, however, thought differently. Ellis then became very interested, and he presented a paper on the subject to the Royal Society.

In 1767 Ellis presented the Copley Prize-winning essays about the *Actinia sociata* and the "Animal Nature of . . . *Corallina*." In the *Actinia* study he demonstrated that the organisms were animals and that previous authors had confused matters by using words like stem, flower, and petals to describe the *Actinia sociata*. In the *Corallina* paper Ellis described the animals, and how he dissected, microscopically examined, and chemically analyzed them. Beginning in October and November 1767, he made observations of fungi spores and reported spores were plant seeds. He also became interested in microbiology. Through his microscope, Ellis was able to see both microscopic animals and plants. Ellis also experimented with preserving seeds for transport. In February 1767, he selected thirty-six acorns, carefully cleaned them, covered them with soft beeswax, encased them in tepid, molten beeswax, and stored them in a closet until the following August. The seeds were then sent to the Royal Society for examination. They were given to Kew Gardens where they germinated the following spring.<sup>32</sup>

Ellis's interest in marine biology and plant collection continued. In 1770 he presented two papers to the Royal Society on the loblolly bay and American star anise—two plants found growing in the southern colonies and in East Florida. In the same year he also published his first edition of *Directions for Bringing over Seeds and Plants* with an appendix describing the Venus's fly-trap, an insectivorous Carolinian tidewater plant previously unknown in Europe. Ellis's guidelines for preserving seeds and

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32. Smith, *Correspondence of Linnaeus*, I, 186-87, 216-17, 223-24; Ellis, "Notebook #2," 62r to 64r, 66 r&v, J.E.P.; Ellis, "An Account of an Amphibious Bipes. . .," *Philosophical Transactions*, LVI (1766), 189-92; Ellis, "On the Animal Nature of the Genus of Zoophytes Called Corallina," *Philosophical Transactions*, LVII (1767), 404-38; Ellis, "An Account of the Sea Pen. . .," *Philosophical Transactions* LIII (1763), 419-35; Ellis, "The Nature and Formation of Sponges. . .," *Philosophical Transactions* LV (1765), 280-87; Ellis, "The Coluber Cerastes, or the Horned Viper. . .," *Philosophical Transactions* LVI (1766), 287-91; Ellis, "Account of the Actinia Sociata. . .," *Philosophical Transactions* LVII (1767) 428-37 [quote 434-35]; Ellis, ". . . Preserving Acorns for a Year," *Philosophical Transactions*, LVII (1768), 75-79; Ellis, "Observations of . . . Animalcula of Vegetable Infusions. . .," *Philosophical Transactions*, LIX (1769), 138-52.



plants in transit— a major problem on the long journey from China, Japan, and India, and even on the relatively shorter run from North America— were adopted by others, including Dr. John Fothergill the eminent London Quaker physician. Ellis's methods remained in use for fifty years until the advent of Wardian cases. A second edition of his *Directions* was published in 1771, but with a different appendix (*The Method of Catching and Preserving Insects for Collections*). In 1772, largely to encourage more favorable tariff schedules for Dominican coffee (Ellis was also colonial agent for Dominica 1770-1776), he published *The Historical Account of Coffee*. Later that year, Ellis and Solander worked on, but did not complete, a study of chocolate. In the summer of 1775, the two men cooperated on a study of the jalap plant.<sup>33</sup>

Throughout this period, Ellis maintained his interests in zoophytes. In 1775 he published a description of the *Gorgonia*, in which he again used a combination of dissection, chemical analysis, and microscopic examination. He also compared the morphology of trees and gorgonias. Ellis's final publication was *The Natural History of Zoophytes*. It was not completed when he died, but with taxonomic help from Daniel Solander, and financial support from Dr. John Fothergill and Sir Joseph Banks, Ellis's daughter was able to get the book into print in 1786.

There is no known likeness of Ellis, and his personality is revealed only partially in scattered bits and pieces within his and other scientific literature. From these sources a limited reconstruction of Ellis's person can be made. He had a winsome personality. Physically, "his person was tall, his features expressive and strongly marked." Furthermore, Ellis had "taste, charac-

33. B. J. Healy, *The Plant Hunters* (New York, 1975), 94; Tyler Whittle, *The Plant Hunters: Being an Examination of Collecting with an Account of the Careers & the Methods of a Number of Those Who Have Searched the World for Wild Plants* (Philadelphia, 1970), 112-15, 121-24; Smith *Correspondence of Linnaeus*, II, 20; Ellis, "The Figure and Characters of the Loblolly Bay Stary Aniseed," *Philosophical Transactions*, LX (1770), 518-31; John Ellis, *Directions for Bringing over Seeds and Plants from the East Indies and Other Distant Countries . . . to which Is Added the Figure and Description of a . . . Dionaea Muscipula: Or Venus's Fly-trap* (London, 1770). Solander to Ellis, August 28, 1775, Solander Manuscripts; John Ellis, *Directions for Bringing Over Seeds . . . the Methods of Catching and Preserving Insects for Collections* (London, 1771), John Ellis, *An Historical Account of Coffee . . .* (London, 1774).

ter, piety and sensibility of mind." Ellis's correspondence with Israel Jalabert, an early friend, reveals that he was a good companion who enjoyed festivity. Later, in 1769, Dr. Fothergill's niece described Ellis as "a very humorous comical old gentleman." However, earlier, Dr. Coote Molesworth bluntly told Ellis, "You are so laconic." Perhaps this was so when one remembers that Ellis had criticized the Premium Society for spending too much time haggling over procedural matters and that he never participated in the fellowship of the Royal Society Dining Club. The trait also showed at the time of George III's coronation when Ellis told Solander: "Mr. Webb's family are all in London to see the coronation. I am contented with the corallization of Flowers here quietly in the country." Though laconic, Ellis was capable of expressing the deeper currents of his feelings and did so at the time of the deaths of his wife and children.<sup>34</sup> Throughout his life, Ellis showed concern for his family, particularly for his sister Mary Ford's children. He was at times the family's patriarch, concerned with the needs of its members; at other times he was a friend and confidant.

Ellis shared the political and social views of the aristocracy and merchants he served. He had a rather low opinion of other European nationalities. The French were vain, the Dutch heavy, and the Germans impudent. He believed Englishmen were superior to their colonial offspring. Ellis was a proud man. On one occasion, he informed Linnaeus that he was honored to have a plant named after him, but, "You will pardon me when I tell

34. Solander to Ellis, 1774 Solander Manuscripts; Smith, *Correspondence of Linnaeus*, II, 14, 20-22, 27; Ellis, "The Nature of the Gorgonia. . .," *Philosophical Transactions* LXVI (1776), 1-17; Ellis, *The Natural History of Many Curious and Uncommon Zoophytes* (London: 1786), v-viii. Abraham Rees, *The Cyclopaedia; or, Universal Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, and Literature* (London, 1819), XII, James J. Abraham, *Lettsom: His Life, Times, Friends and Descendants* (London, 1933), 133, Smith, *Correspondence of Linnaeus*, I, 81; Ellis to Garden, September 11, 1758, 1; J. Ellis to Henry Ellis, September 12, 20, November 20, 1758, "Notebook #1, "13v, 14v, 17v; Coote Molesworth to Ellis, November 29, 1761; Israel Jalabert to Ellis, July 25, August 6, 1749, J.E.P.; *Calendar of the Ellis Manuscripts: The Correspondence and Miscellaneous Papers of John Ellis F.R.S.*, Spencer Savage, ed. (Part IV of the Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of the Linnean Society of London [London, 1948] 86-87; Sir Archibald Geike, *Annals of the Royal Society Club: The Record of a London Dining-Club in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (London, 1917); John Ellis, "A Note of John Ellis, 'Natural History of the Corallines'," F. G. Sawyer, ed. *Journal of the Society for the Bibliography of Natural History*, LXIV, n. 4 (September 1964), 226.

you that people here look on a little mean-looking plant as reflecting no honour on the person whose name is given to it; though I am convinced, as it is a distinct genus, the compliment is equally great with the largest tree."<sup>35</sup>

Ellis himself indicated that he had no academic training in natural history, but for his time, he had better than average schooling. He wrote English well, and could read Latin, though he preferred to communicate in English. His notebook shows that he was doing quadratic equations at age nine.<sup>36</sup> Ellis's motivation for studying nature, expressed several times, was a blend of religious piety, curiosity, personal satisfaction, and utility. He believed that studying nature demonstrated the order, design, and workmanship of an almighty power. He always was personally fascinated by the study of nature. This curiosity was one of the things that led him to apply for the West Florida post. Although Ellis never wrote a systematic treatise on the constellation of ideas that made up his scientific view, it can be reconstructed partially from the statements in his work. He believed all living organisms were part of a continuum from the simplest to the most complex. Furthermore, he maintained polyps were adapted by nature for their environment. In his writings he advanced the survival of the physically fit: "The Polypes inhabiting the Corallines, Corals, Star-Stones, Brain-Stones, and the like, are capable of defending themselves from . . . Invasions, whilst they continue in full Vigour; which is farther demonstrated by what happens to them in common with every other life-less Being in the Ocean; when, through Accident or Age, the Vigour of the Republic fails; they then yield to superior Force, and become the Basis of some more powerful, fortunate Successors." Ellis generally accepted the Aristotelian view that living things were differentiated into plants as living organisms without sensitivity, animals as living organisms with sensitivity, and humans as thinking animals. However Ellis was aware that there were sensitive plants. The Venus's fly-trap, for example, was a sensitive plant that trapped and digested its victim.<sup>37</sup>

35. Ellis to Linnaeus, December 21, 1762, December 5, 1766, December 28, 1770, Smith, *Correspondence of Linnaeus*, I, 159-60, 193, 256.

36. Ellis to Borlase, March 3, 1764, "Notebook #2," 44r; Ellis to Linnaeus, c. 1756-57, Smith, *Correspondence of Linnaeus*, I, 83; Savage, *Calendar Ellis MSS*, 54; Rees, *Cyclopaedia*, XII.

37. Ellis, *Natural History of the Corallines*, iii, 32, 53, 100, 102, 103; Ellis, *Zoophytes*, 23-24, 75, 77-78, 104; Ellis, *Bringing Seeds* (1770), 20, 37-39, vi.

Beyond this, Ellis had an almost, perhaps an actual, religious belief in rigorously enforced experimentation with the elimination of all preconceptions. In his experiments Ellis used dissection to compare the morphology of organisms, chemical analysis to determine the animal or plant nature of organisms, and the microscope with a skill which impressed his contemporaries. He made contributions to microscopy by his studies in microbiology and by giving Cuff, a Fleet Street optician, the specifications for an improved aquatic microscope. Ellis used this improved instrument with good effect on a field trip to the island of Sheppey on the Kent coast in August 1752.<sup>38</sup>

Ellis's scientific contributions and skills impressed his contemporaries. Although not the first to investigate polyps, he was among the first, and certainly the first Englishman, to explore them extensively. Ellis's peers knew it. Alexander Garden, in the fall of 1755, told Cadwallader Colden that Ellis was the most complete naturalist in England and that his work was opening a whole new field. On June 20, 1771, Garden indicated Ellis's careful accurate observations on the theobroma were a model for all botanists. Garden was not alone in this praise. On November 3, 1755, Dr. J. A. Schlosser, a Dutch physician, noted Ellis's great learning, taste, candour, and diligence. In 1757, Stephen Hales, who himself has a good claim to being England's greatest eighteenth-century naturalist, said Ellis was "the great promoter of vegetable researchers." The Reverend William Borlase, Cornish antiquarian and naturalist, in 1759, commented that Ellis was renowned for his diligence and penetration. Seven years later, Dr. David Skene, a Scottish physician and naturalist, noted that while Ellis had predecessors in his coralline study, he had brought out more facts and had put the study in a brighter light. James Badenach, in 1769 from France, said the king's cabinet in Paris was excellent, but its zoophytes and mullusca were confused, as they were everywhere else except in Ellis's house. Even

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38. Ellis to Skene, July 11, 1767; "When men of **eminance**. . .," "Notebook #2," 51r, 104v. J.E.P.; Ellis to Linnaeus, January 15, 1768, Smith, *Correspondence of Linnaeus*, I, 223-24 Ellis, *Natural History of the Corallines*, vii-viii, 45; Ellis, "A Summary of the last Number of the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society, being Part I of Vol. L, for the Year 1757 . . . An answer to the preceeding article. . . ." *Gentleman's Magazine*, XXVIII (October 1758), 474; John Ellis, *A Description of the Mangostan and the Breadfruit*, (London, 1775), 9.

Benjamin Franklin indicated Ellis and Dr. John Fothergill were the leading students of the subject of zoophytes. The Royal Society recognized Ellis's ability, and elected him a fellow in 1754. He received the Copley Prize in 1767, and served on the Society's council in 1769.<sup>39</sup>

Perhaps the most prestigious accolades Ellis received were from Carl Linnaeus, the great eighteenth-century naturalist and the most renowned modern naturalist before Darwin. On December 8, 1758, Linnaeus thanked Ellis for his latest letter, "abounding as usual with valuable information . . . which you are favoured, more than any other persons of the present day, with the means of explaining." In 1760, Linnaeus predicted that Ellis's success in seed preservation would enrich gardens all over the earth and place the whole world in debt to him. In October 1767, Ellis, utilizing his skill with a microscope, opened up the study of micro-organisms as he had zoophytes. The following year, Linnaeus wrote that Ellis's history and description of the Venus's fly-trap was so complete nothing could be added. Later on January 20, 1772, Linnaeus informed Ellis: "You are still the main support of Natural History in England, for your attention is ever given to all that serves to increase or promote this study. Without your aid, the rest of the world would know little of the acquisitions made by your intelligent countryman, in all parts of the world. You are the portal through which the lovers of Nature are conducted to these discoveries. For my own part, I acknowledge myself to have derived more information, through your various assistance than from any other person." With his own belief that reason had to be used to triumph over ignorance, Ellis had to be pleased with Linnaeus's September 29, 1758, compliment: "You in these minute and almost invisible beings, have acquired a more lasting name than any heroes and kings by their cruel murders and bloody battles. I congratulate you on this, your own stupendous victory, over the barbarous ignorance

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39. L. C. Miall, *The Early Naturalist: Their Lives and Work (1530-1789)* (London, 1912) 275-77; Garden to Cadwallader Colden, November 22, 1755, *The Letters and Papers of Cadwallader Colden* (vols. 50-56, 67, 68, "Collections of the New York Historical Society" [New York, 1917-37]), V. 42-43; Stephen Hales to Ellis, 1757, *Smith Correspondence of Linnaeus*, II, 38; J. A. Schlosser to Ellis, November 3, 1755; Borlase to Ellis, March 19, 1759; Skene to Ellis, May 10, 1759; Benjamin Franklin to Ellis, December 26, 1773, J.E.P. Journal Book of the Royal Society, XX, 322; XXVI, 555-57; Certificates, 1751-66, Royal Society, n. 68.

which hitherto has held the philosophic world in subjection.”<sup>40</sup>

Subsequent writers have not been so laudatory, but they still give Ellis credit for some impressive accomplishments. James Edward Smith, writing an introduction to Ellis's letters in *A Selection of the Correspondence of Linnaeus and Other Naturalists*, described him as an active correspondent with naturalists in the West Indies, North America, and China who promoted economic botany in the colonies and the home country, identified several new genera including *Halesia*, *Gardenia*, *Gordonia*, and *Dionaea*, explored plant anatomy and physiology, and established the animal nature of corallines even when Linnaeus was hesitant. Subsequently Smith noted Ellis possessed “great physiological acuteness and ardent philanthropy.” John Nichols, in his *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century*, described Ellis as “a man of great modesty, pious affections, and grateful sensibility.” Thomas Thomson, in his *History of the Royal Society*, wrote that “Ellis [was] one of the greatest naturalists who adorned the last century, so prolific in discoveries concerning . . . natural history.” More recently Raymond P. Stearns and Brooks Hindle, in their studies of colonial American science, indicated John Ellis was one of the most important links between the Royal Society and the North American colonies.<sup>41</sup>

Although illness did curtail his activity somewhat in 1756 and 1757, Ellis's health seems to have been good until about 1767 and 1768. In 1768 Ellis had problems with “an unform'd gout,” but his health did not really deter him until 1771. In May of that year Ellis wrote to Linnaeus: “I have had so severe a fit of sickness in March last, that I expected never to have lived to have finished my account of zoophytes.” Ellis's health continued to deteriorate. He suffered another major illness in the latter part of 1772, and by the following year he realized that he was losing his eyesight. John Ford, a physician himself, in 1775 described

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40. Linnaeus to Ellis, September 29, December 8, 1758, [September or October 1760], October, 1767, October 16, 1768, January 20, 1772, Smith, *Correspondence of Linnaeus*, I, 102-03, 104, 108, 136, 214-15, 235, 279-80.

41. Smith *Correspondence of Linnaeus*, I, 79-80; II, 84; John Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century*, 9 vols. (London, 1812-15), 111, 196; IX, 533; Thomas Thomson, *History of the Royal Society* (London, 1812), 84; Brooke Hindle, *The Pursuit of Science in Revolutionary America: 1735-1789* (Williamsburg, VA, 1956), 31, 196-97; Raymond P. Stearns, *Science in the British Colonies of America* (Urbana, Ill., 1970), 517.

Ellis as having "tolerable health . . . except the complaint in [his] eyes for which . . . there is no remedy but patience. It is however no small consolation . . . to have . . . intellectual faculties so improved and acute that the infirmities of age become less sensible, by . . . constant occupation."<sup>42</sup> By 1776, in addition to his failing eyesight, Ellis's hand could no longer write steady. Then sometime in midyear Ellis's health underwent a further decline preventing study and correspondence. On October 4, James Lee, the Hammersmith gardener, informed Linnaeus, "Your old Friend Ellis is much decayed and seems tottering on the brink of the grave." On October 18, John Ellis died.<sup>43</sup>

The crown had made a wise choice in the appointment of John Ellis royal agent for West Florida. His obituary stated, "John Ellis, Esq. F.R.S., Agent for . . . West Florida, . . . was a most excellent naturalist, . . . a real friend to his county, and indefatigable in promoting its true interest."<sup>44</sup>

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42. Northington to Ellis, October 20, 1765; Ellis to Linnaeus, July 3, 1767; May 10, November 19, 1771; Garden to Ellis, May 15, 1773; March 21, 1774; Joseph Banks to Ellis, November 1, 1773; John Ford to Ellis, July 8, 1775, Smith, *Correspondence of Linnaeus*, I, 207, 260, 273, 594, 599, 602-03; II, 60-61, 68-69, 81; Ellis to Northington, November 7, 1769, "Notebook #2," 90v; Skene to Ellis, November 13, 1765, John Fothergill to Ellis, 16th inst., J.E.P.; Ellis to Borlase, April 22, 1757, Borlase Letters.
43. James Lee, James Britten, and George S. Boulger, eds., *A Biographical Index of Deceased British and Irish to Botanists*, 2nd ed., rev. by A. B. Rendle (London, 1931), 184. Eleanor Jane Willson, *James Lee and the Vineyard Nursery Hammersmith* (London, 1961), 215, "Deaths in October, . . ." *Gentleman's Magazine*, XLVI (October 1776), 483; *The Annual Register*, 1776; "Chronicle," *Died* October 18, 1776; Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes*, III, 196-96.
44. "Deaths in October, . . ." *Gentleman's Magazine*, XLVI (October 1776), 483 [quote].

## WAR COMES TO SAN MARCOS

by LAWRENCE KINNAIRD AND LUCIA B. KINNAIRD

**O**F all the military posts established by Spain in West Florida after the Revolutionary War, San Marcos de Apalache was the only one ever to come under enemy fire. When Spain signed the treaty of San Ildefonso on August 19, 1796, and joined France in the war against Britain, military posts on the Mississippi were prepared for possible attack from Canada. There were many alarms, but all proved false. Along the Gulf coast no Spanish post was besieged by the enemy until war was brought to San Marcos by William Augustus Bowles, a British half-pay officer, and his Indian supporters.<sup>1</sup>

As early as 1789, while acting as agent for New Providence Island merchants, Bowles had conceived the bold idea of creating an independent Indian state in the Florida area. The following year he led a delegation of Creek and Cherokee chiefs to London in an attempt to secure support for his project. Although he failed to receive the recognition he sought, he did obtain minor trade concessions for his Indian state. The ship which returned him and his Indian chiefs to New Providence significantly was flying a new flag— that of the Creek nation.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Information relative to Bowles's payment as a British half-pay officer is found in the following: Bowles to Pendock Neale, September 13, 1798 (draft); Evan Davies to Bowles, September 18, 1798; Bowles to David Thomas, September 21, 1798 (draft), and East India House to Bowles, October 9, 1798, Archivo General de Indias, Papeles de Cuba, legajo 2371, hereinafter cited as AGI, PC, followed by a legajo number. All legajos cited are available at the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, on microfilm, and a copy of legajo 2366 cited herein is also available at the P.K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville.
2. Frederick Jackson Turner, ed., "English Policy Toward America in 1790-1791," *American Historical Review*, VII (July 1902), 708, 728, 732-33; *Canadian Archives*, 1890, Part I, 154-56; Frederick Jackson Turner, "The Diplomatic Contest for the Mississippi Valley," *Atlantic Monthly*, XCIII (May 1904), 681; Benjamin Baynton, *Authentic Memoirs of William Augustus Bowles* (London, 1791), reprinted as No. 46, Vol. XII of *Magazine History* (Tarrytown, 1916), 22-23; *European Magazine and London Review*, XIX (1792), 268-69; *American Museum*, IX (1791), Appendix III, 22, 26.

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Bowles was soon back in Florida endeavoring to implement his plan to open the Indian country ports to free trade and break the monopoly granted to Panton, Leslie and Company by Spain. He maintained that neither Spain, nor Britain before her, had obtained legal title by treaty to Indian land between Apalachicola Bay and Cape Sable. Therefore, the establishment of San Marcos and Panton's trade monopoly in the region were violations of Indian rights. Consequently, with a large band of Creeks, on January 16, 1792, he seized the store of Panton, Leslie and Company near the Spanish post of San Marcos.<sup>3</sup> Diplomatically he avoided hostility toward the post's garrison and later proposed to Baron de Carondelet, governor of Louisiana and West Florida, that the question of an independent Indian state be negotiated. The governor accepted Bowles's proposal and gave him a safe conduct to come to New Orleans. Then, in violation of his pledge, he had Bowles sent to Havana. Bowles was held prisoner for seven years in Cuba, Spain, and the Philippines. When the war between Spain and Britain occurred, Bowles was shipped back to Spain, but enroute managed to escape and make his way to Sierra Leon. From there, with British aid, he returned to Florida where, taking advantage of the war, he again planned to establish his Indian state.<sup>4</sup>

The Spaniards at San Marcos and Pensacola first learned of Bowles's presence from Andrew Ellicott, United States commissioner, who had been engaged in surveying the international boundary lines established between the United States and Spanish Florida by the 1795 treaty of San Lorenzo. On St. George Island Ellicott encountered the officers and crew of the British armed schooner *Fox* which had been stranded there. The *Fox* was on the wartime mission of transporting "General Bowles, chief of the Creek nation, and his staff back to the Florida coast."

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3. Lawrence Kinnaird, "The Significance of William Augustus Bowles' Seizure of Panton's Apalachee Store in 1792," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, IX (January 1931), 163-66.
  4. The most accurate Spanish version of Bowles's early activities and his capture is in Captain General Las Casas's report to Floridablanca, April 21, 1782, Lawrence Kinnaird, ed., *Spain in the Mississippi Valley, 1765-1794*, in *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1945*, 4 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1945-1949), IV, pt. iii, 22-34; Bowles to Lord Grenville, June 5, 1798 (draft), and Bowles to the Duke of Portland, October 12, 1798 (draft), AGI, PC, legajo 2371; *Naval Chronicle I* (1799), 554.

Ellicott explained to Lieutenant Wooldridge, commander of the *Fox*, that United States neutrality during the war between Britain and Spain prevented him from taking the stranded crew and passengers aboard his ship. Nevertheless, he gave them a considerable amount of supplies. Reciprocating, Bowles presented Ellicott with a detailed map of the Florida coast. Ellicott's departure from St. George Island was delayed by storms, and, during the delay, he became well acquainted with Bowles. Later he described him as "a man of enterprise and address, added to considerable talents."<sup>5</sup>

Reaching San Marcos on October 8, 1799, Ellicott informed Tomás Portell, the commandant, of his encounter with Bowles and of danger to that Spanish post. The commissioner also sent similar warnings to Lieutenant Governor Vicente Folch at Pensacola.<sup>6</sup> Folch wrote immediately to Marqués de Casa Calvo, acting civil governor of Louisiana and West Florida, asking for reinforcements and proposing that he be placed in command of an expedition to capture Bowles. Before any action could be taken, the crew of the *Fox*, together with Bowles's party, were rescued by a New Providence privateer.<sup>7</sup> Bowles, with his small band of volunteers, was successfully landed on the Florida coast where the Creeks and Seminoles had for some time expected him. Benjamin Hawkins, United States Indian agent for the Southern Department, had more reliable intelligence concerning Bowles than the Spaniards. He had already written to a sub-agent that he had "received from London an account of Bowles leaving there for this country countenanced by that court, and the Seminoles have heard of it." On October 22, 1799, Casa Calvo replied to Folch that he had dispatched as reinforcement a detachment of twenty-three grenadiers under a capable officer, but he refused to place him in command of an expedition against Bowles. In a too-sanguine expression of confidence, the governor

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5. Andrew Ellicott, *The Journal of Andrew Ellicott* (Philadelphia, 1803), 230-32.

6. *Ibid.*, 238.

7. A British naval report states that the officers and crew of the *Fox*, together with Bowles's party were taken off St. George Island by a New Providence privateer on her way to Jamaica. In the Gulf she met the *Thunderer*, a British man-of-war of seventy-four guns commanded by Captain T. Harding, which took the *Fox* crew aboard. Apparently Bowles's party was landed on the Florida coast by the privateer. Plymouth Report, February 25, 1800, *Naval Chronicle*, III (1801), 235.

asserted that Bowles could never succeed in reducing San Marcos.<sup>8</sup>

Bowles first began operations at the Indian village of Wekiwa. Here, on October 31, 1799, he issued a proclamation which he signed as "Director General of Muskogee." The proclamation declared that the 1795 treaty between Spain and the United States was designed "to subvert and destroy the right of Sovereignty which this nation and its confederates have held from the beginning of time." Furthermore, the proclamation ordered all persons in the service of Spain or the United States to leave the territory of Muskogee on or before November 8, 1799.<sup>9</sup> Apparently the proclamation was designed to be disseminated by word of mouth among the Indians to win their support. Writing early in November, Hawkins provided significant information concerning Bowles's success in dealing with the Indians: "Bowles has had a conference with the Chiefs of the Townes on the Chateuche [Chattahoochee] and with the Seminoles. The latter consented to his making an establishment on the East side of this river some distance below our Line of Limits and he has brought some powder and ball but no arms: and he has promised Barrills [*sic*] said to contain 3300 pounds of powder to the Indians . . . and some Pack horses have been sent down to receive it."<sup>10</sup> Before the end of Novmber, Bowles was located at a place he described as the "free port of Appelhachucola." By the end of the year he had returned to the Ocklockonee River where the men he had recruited from the British West Indies had erected a small camp.<sup>11</sup>

Eventually, alarmed by reports of Bowles's increasing activities, Casa Calvo sent an expedition to search for and destroy any

8. Casa Calvo to Folch, February 7, 1800, Louisiana Collection, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

9. Proclamation by Bowles, October 31, 1799, AGI, PC, legajo 2371; R. S. Cotterill, *The Southern Indians, The Story of the Five Civilized Tribes before Removal* (Norman, Oklahoma, 1954), 127. Bowles used the title "Director General of Muskogee" which had been given to him by his partisans on October 22, 1791, after return from his London mission. It was apparent that he used the general linguistic term Muskogee for his proposed Indian state because it could be applied to all tribes which spoke the Muskogean language.

10. Hawkins's letter quoted in Schamburg to Manuel de Lanzos, November 23, 1799, Louisiana Collection.

11. Proclamation by Bowles, November 26, 1799, AGI PC, legajo 2366; Arthur Preston Whitaker, *The Mississippi Question, 1795-1803* (New York, 1934), 167-68.

hostile force found in Spanish territory. According to a report by Carlos Martínez de Irujo, Spanish minister to the United States, sent to Luis Mariano de Urquijo, the Spanish force reached the Ocklockonee early in February 1800, took the intruders by surprise, and destroyed their camp. Although Bowles and his followers managed to escape, they were forced to abandon much personal property including books and papers belonging to the "director general." Taking refuge among the Seminoles who had become his principal partisans, Bowles established his headquarters at Miccosukee and began to organize a war party for an attack on San Marcos. He successfully aroused resentment over the fact that the Spaniards had established San Marcos in their territory without their consent. The possibility of again looting the store of Panton, Leslie and Company probably was a strong inducement for following Bowles.<sup>12</sup>

On April 5, 1800, Bowles declared that a state of war existed between Spain and the State of Muskogee. Within three months of his Ocklockonee rout Bowles was ready with a force of over 300 Indians and laid siege to San Marcos. Although Tomás Portell, the commandment of San Marcos, had served successfully at New Madrid on the Mississippi, he had never experienced an Indian attack. Also on the Florida coast he was somewhat out of his element, yet he had a fairly well fortified fort and a garrison of 106 officers and men. The post was located on a point of land situated between the mouths of two rivers, the San Marcos and the Nordeste (Wakulla), as they joined to flow into Apalachee River and Bay. According to Ellicott, the walls of the fort were constructed of stone. On the north side, a ditch had been cut from river to river so that the place was protected on all sides by water. In addition, the fort was defended by several cannon, whereas Bowles and his Indians had only small arms. Even the terrain

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12. Whitaker, *Mississippi Question*, 167-68; Irujo to Urquijo, April 22, 1800, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid, Estado, legajo 3889 (Bancroft Library microfilm); also available at P.K. Yonge Library of Florida History); Cotterill, *The Southern Indians*, 129-30. Hawkins thus described the Indians who gave Bowles his chief support: "The Seminoles are Creeks and are called wild-people, as their name imports; because they left their regular Towns, and made irregular settlements in the Country to which they were invited by the plenty of Game, the mildness of the climate and the abundance of food for Cattle and horses. Not withstanding their name, I have found them as decent & orderly as any of the Creeks." Benjamin Hawkins to Stephen Minor, May 2, 1799, Louisiana Collection.

adjacent to San Marcos was not advantageous for Indian style of fighting. There were pine woods beyond gunshot, but much of the surrounding region was without trees and only slightly above water level.<sup>13</sup>

Bowles's strategy was to avoid direct assault and to weaken the garrison by cutting off supplies. He stationed men between the bay and the fort so that vessels ascending the narrow navigable channel would come under fire. When three vessels finally came with provisions, only one was able to reach the fort. Bowles's Indians in canoes succeeded in boarding and capturing the second. The third turned back to sea. The captured vessel, which belonged to Pantón, had cannon on board. Portell was alarmed by a false report that the cannon were of large caliber. Although artillery in the hands of Indians was little reason for alarm, Bowles was accompanied by a small band of soldiers of fortune in whose hands heavy cannon might be devastating. That prospect influenced Portell's decision to surrender. More important, however, was failure of Mississippi River galleys, then patrolling the coast, to come to his aid. He had sent requests for assistance to officers of the galleys, but due to a common lack of cooperation between army and navy, his requests were ignored. On May 10, 1800, Portell surrendered San Marcos to Bowles. The State of Muskogee had won a surprisingly easy victory.<sup>14</sup>

Although galleys of the Mississippi River fleet had failed to prevent capture of San Marcos, they were essential if Spain were to recover the post. Because of its location a land expedition against it was impossible. The only feasible approach to the post was by water and only maneuverable galleys were effective on the rivers protecting the fort. Governor Casa Calvo recalled to duty Pedro Rousseau, who had begun his service with Spain during the Revolutionary War, and placed him in general command of naval operations along the Florida coast. Rousseau's experience in the area dated back to 1781 when he participated in the

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13. Ellicott, *Journal*, 238-39; Claude C. Robin, *Voyages dans l'intérieur de la Louisiane de la Floride occidentale et dans les îles de la Martinique et de St. Dominique pendant les années 1802, 1804, 1805 and 1806*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1807), II, 22; Spanish map signed by Vicente Folch entitled *Encenada y Entrada del Rio de Apalache* showing the location of San Marcos post at the juncture on the San Marcos and Nordeste (Wakulla) rivers. Bancroft Library photograph.
  14. Whitaker, *Mississippi Question*, 169-70.

Spanish conquest of Pensacola. As commander of the *Galveztown*, with Governor Bernardo de Gálvez on board, he successfully sailed into Pensacola harbor under fire of British guns. Later he commanded the fleet of Mississippi River galleys during Governor Carondelet's administration. Rousseau was already acquainted with Bowles. Under Carondelet's orders in 1792, he had taken Bowles as prisoner to Havana after he had been trapped by the governor's false promise of a safe conduct to New Orleans.<sup>15</sup>

Within three weeks of the loss of San Marcos, preparations were being made for its recovery. Lieutenant Governor Folch at Pensacola was instructed to organize and command an expedition against San Marcos. Success depended on the effective use of armed galleys of the Mississippi River squadron. Rousseau placed Manuel García, a young Andalusian who had seen much service on the Mississippi, in charge of naval operations. García commanded the *Leal*, largest of the galleys. The *Leal* was built at New Orleans in 1793, and was designed for patrolling the lower Mississippi, lakes Pontchartrain and Maurepas, and the Gulf coast. Equipped with a sail, it made occasional trips to Havana. Its complement usually consisted of a captain, navigating officer, *proel* or sailor stationed in the bow, eleven artillerymen, thirty-six oarsmen, and twenty-five soldiers. It was armed with three cannon and eight swivel guns. The other armed vessels of the San Marcos expedition were the galleys *Luisiana* and *Venganza* supported by the *canoneras* or gunboats *Socorro* and *Fetis*. The *Luisiana* and *Venganza* each had two cannon and five swivel guns. Their complements at full strength included a captain, navigating officer, *proel*, seven artillerymen, thirty-two oarsmen, and twenty soldiers. The gunboats generally carried a captain, sailing master, five artillerymen, twelve oarsmen, one sergeant, and eight soldiers. Each was armed with one cannon and four swivel guns. At full strength the five galleys should have carried about 170 officers and men. However, a report by Manuel Garcia to Governor Casa Calvo on July 11, 1800, stated that the number was only 150.<sup>16</sup>

15. "The Services of Don Pedro Rousseau, commandant of galleys on the Mississippi," Louis Houck (ed.), *The Spanish Regime in Missouri*, 2 vols. (Chicago, 1908), II, 324-26; Kinnaird (ed.), *Spain in the Mississippi Valleys, 1765-1794*, II, pt. 1, xxx, IV, pt. 3, 31.

16. Relación de la reconquista q<sup>e</sup> del Fuerte de Apalache hace d<sup>n</sup> Manuel García, and García to Casa Calvo, July 11, 1800, as cited in Whitaker,

With a company of grenadiers, the expedition of five galleys and four schooners sailed from Pensacola on June 16, 1800. One week later, the galleys were off San Marcos ready for the attack. They moved up the narrow channel in single file without receiving any fire from the shore. As they approached the fort, they reformed into a line abreast with the *Leal* in the center, protected by the gunboats on right and left, and with the *Luisiana* and *Venganza* positioned on the flanks. Under cover of a white flag, the galleys moved in close to the fort under García's pretext of offering to parley with Bowles. This strategy secured a delay and enabled the *Luisiana*, which had run aground, to free itself. The galleys then opened fire on the fort. Although very shorthanded, Bowles managed to return the fire and delay the galleys' ascent of the rivers. That delay was crucial for Bowles. The Spanish plan was to land grenadiers behind the fort and thereby cut off Bowles's means of escape. The *Luisiana*, with a detachment of grenadiers aboard, began to row up the San Marcos River. At the same time, the *Venganza*, with another detachment of grenadiers ascended the Wakulla. Bowles had no possibility of a successful defense because his only effective force consisted of a few white followers. Most of the Indians who had participated in the capture of the fort had returned to their villages. He hastily loaded two small boats and escaped up the San Marcos River before he could be entrapped by the galleys and the grenadiers. The few remaining Indians vanished into the pine woods and the grenadiers occupied the fort without resistance. On the evening of June 23, 1800, the Spanish flag again flew over San Marcos.<sup>17</sup>

Although the Spaniards had recaptured San Marcos, the post was not out of danger. Bowles took refuge among the Seminole Indians who lived on the upper waters of San Marcos River and Miccosukee Lake. The village most hostile to the Spaniards was Miccosukee and that was not much more than thirty miles distant from San Marcos as the crow flies. After Spanish reoccupation of the fort, Captain Pedro Olivier was appointed to succeed Portell who was in trouble because of his surrender to Bowles. The new

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*Mississippi Question*, 171, 305. Description of galleys used in the reconquest of San Marcos is based on Abraham P. Nasatir, *Spanish War Vessels on the Mississippi*. (New Haven, 1968), 31, 38-40, 50, 58.

17. Plano de la reconquista de S<sup>n</sup> Marcos de Apalache para el teniente colonel D<sup>n</sup>. Vicente Folch y Juan Gobernador de Pensacola, en 23 de Junio de 1800, Bancroft Library photograph.

commandant soon learned that on July 13, Bowles, accompanied by six Negroes and three Indians, had departed for Tampa Bay. There he had arranged to be picked up by New Providence privateers and taken to Nassau where he expected to obtain munitions and then return to Florida.<sup>18</sup>

In the interval, a temporary cessation of hostilities occurred, although for eighteen months San Marcos was under an almost constant state of alarm. However, Olivier's presence brought some prospects for peace with the Indians. He was highly respected by the Creeks among whom he had lived for several years as Spanish commissioner. As an indication of this regard, on August 4, Perryman, mestizo chief of Casistas village, with thirty-four other chiefs and headmen, came to visit Olivier on a peace mission. Most were Upper Creeks although Mislogue, headman of the Seminole town of Miccosukee, was with them. Perryman induced the Indians to bring Olivier thirty-three head of cattle. The gift was welcome since the garrison was limited to salt meat and many soldiers were ill; one from the Mexican regiment had died. Perryman also surrendered two prisoners who had been captured by the Indians near Pensacola. Olivier persuaded Mislogue to carry a peace message to Kinache, principal chief of Miccosukee. Kinache was a strong supporter of Bowles and had permitted many of his white followers to remain at Miccosukee during his absence in New Providence. Mislogue gave his word that he would return to San Marcos with Kinache's reply.<sup>19</sup>

On August 7, 1800, Lieutenant Colonel Zenon Trudeau arrived at San Marcos with a large force to be used in subduing Indians who threatened the post's safety. Lieutenant Governor Folch had warned the Indians that those in rebellion would be punished. Trudeau's mission was designed to make that warning effective. In Spanish Illinois Trudeau had served many years as lieutenant governor and, like Portell, he was ignorant of conditions on the Florida coast. Only eight days after his arrival he encountered his first Indian trouble. At high tide it was necessary for water carriers to go upstream about three-quarters of a mile to obtain water free of salt and return with it to the fort in small boats. On August 15, Seminoles fired upon the gunboat *Socorro*

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18. Trudeau to Casa Calvo, August 22, 1800, Louisiana Collection.

19. Olivier to Casa Calvo, August 29, 1800, *ibid.*



which was guarding the water carriers; a sailor named Mariano Ceceles was killed. A detachment of grenadiers commanded by Lieutenant Juan Delassize and another from the regiments of mulattoes and Negroes under Lieutenant Luis Declouet were immediately dispatched from the fort to aid the *Socorro* in the skirmish. The Indians were driven off and pursued for a short distance without further encounter. Although the war party apparently numbered only about twenty-two, it was obvious that hostilities had not ended.<sup>20</sup>

There was little doubt that the marauding party was from Bowles's stronghold Miccosukee. Trudeau considered the destruction of that village essential for the safety of San Marcos. Therefore, he decided to lead an expedition against it. Preparations for the operation were extensive. Each soldier was issued thirty-four cartridges for his musket. Some soldiers carried axes and hatchets in addition to their regular equipment. Rations were supplied for a six-day campaign. When organized, the expedition seemed formidable and sufficiently strong to destroy any Seminole village encountered. It included fifty-eight soldiers of the detachment from Mexico, 102 mulattoes and Negroes, fifty-eight volunteer sailors from the galleys, and fifty-four grenadiers and cadets. With this force of 272 men and officers, Trudeau set out on the seventeenth of August. Unfortunately, the commander was not only unfamiliar with the country, but also his guides were unreliable. His failure to obtain adequate information concerning the terrain proved disastrous from the beginning. After marching less than three miles he was forced to halt and camp at one of the few spots where good drinking water was available. At four in the morning the march resumed. Progress was very slow. By eleven o'clock excessive heat had so exhausted the men that a halt was necessary. Water was still a problem since much of what was found was stagnant. By noon, ten men were sick and two had met with accidents. The troops were so fatigued that Trudeau ordered a rest for the remainder of the day. Finally, he realized that progress was so slow that he could not hope to surprise the Seminoles.<sup>21</sup>

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20. Copy of talk addressed to the Seminoles by Don Vicente Folch and transmitted by Olivier to Trudeau, Trudeau to Cassa Calvo, August 22, 1800, and Olivier to Casa Calvo, August 29, 1800, *ibid.*

21. Trudeau to Casa Calvo, August 22, 1800, *ibid.*

Failure of his expedition to cover more than four leagues in two days forced Trudeau into abandoning the plan of attacking Miccosukee. Climate and terrain had defeated him. He later tried to explain the reasons for his decision to Governor Casa Calvo: "I was in danger of finding two hundred men under arms and perhaps in places on the road favorable to the enemy. With one call they could be assembled in the town I desired to attack. I had not been able to learn at first hand the various hidden trails and many others which the guides told me I would find further on, particularly nearing the town. This circumstance made me realize that the attack could only be most unfortunate and withdrawal even more so on account of the wounded, sick, and fatigued which we could expect to have. It would have been necessary to abandon the expedition if only fifty men had wished to block our way."<sup>22</sup>

The expedition returned to San Marcos on the afternoon of August 19, making more speed than it had on the two previous days. Trudeau at least was intelligent enough to realize the errors he had made in planning the venture. For a military force to travel from San Marcos to Miccosukee and return would require at least ten days instead of six. In the future, more packhorses should be used to carry provisions and equipment so that troops could travel light. There should be covering for all provisions and military supplies. Because the humidity was high, powder flasks should be used instead of cartridges. Trudeau's conclusion, which he should have reached as a result of his experience in Spanish Illinois, was that "the whites have never surprised the Indians."<sup>23</sup>

Failure of his expedition caused Trudeau to forsake all plans for further military action against those Indians who were loyal to Bowles. He wrote to Governor Casa Calvo that, in future, he would rely on diplomacy: "Without compromising my honor, I shall employ patience, dissimulation, and all that seems prudent in order to arrange matters in such a manner that I shall be able to talk peace under conditions which Your Lordship has ordered."<sup>24</sup> The day after the expedition's return, Mislogue arrived at San Marcos with a message from Kinache. It stated

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22. Ibid.

23. Ibid.

24. Ibid.

that until he learned Bowles was not coming back to Miccosukee and was withdrawing his white followers, he would not participate in any peace talks. Unfortunately for Mislogue, the ranking Spanish officer, soured by his Miccosukee fiasco, ordered him held as prisoner. Thus, for keeping his word to Olivier, Mislogue became the only prisoner taken as a result of Trudeau's expedition. As late as January 1802, he was still held confined at San Marcos. So much for honor.<sup>25</sup>

Failure of Trudeau's expedition demonstrated that even the Seminoles who lived near San Marcos had little to fear from Spanish military operations. Furthermore, Bowles soon was able to secure additional supplies from New Providence for distribution among his Indian supporters because it was in the British interest to keep the Indians at war with the Spaniards. Pedro Rousseau was given the responsibility of trying to check the flow of British arms into the Florida Indian country. The safety of San Marcos depended upon his success. His task was made more difficult when Bowles returned to Florida and began to commission privateers who were willing to raid Spanish commerce under the flag of the State of Muskogee. When Bowles captured a supply ship bound for San Marcos, it seemed apparent that he intended to keep that post blockaded. As a counter measure, Rousseau, who had taken command of the *Leal*, began to patrol the coast from Pensacola to Cape Sable. His first accomplishment was in recapturing a Spanish ship which had been taken by the English. In July of 1800, he captured the schooner *Walther*, armed with "eight four-pounders," which was loaded with military supplies destined for "the adventurer Bowles." The following year he duplicated that feat by taking the schooner *Favorite*, armed with ten cannon of the same caliber, which was transporting artillery and munitions of war to Bowles for another attack on San Marcos. A short time thereafter, Rousseau recaptured the schooner *Betsy* owned by José Vidal. It had been taken by one of Bowles's privateers while sailing to Havana with a cargo of flour. On other occasions Rousseau burned a schooner and seized various small craft belonging to Bowles. One of his major achievements was in burning two large storehouses and a watch-tower on Cedar Island

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25. Olivier to Casa Calvo, August 29, 1800, and Du Breuil to Salcedo, January 20, 1802, *ibid.*

where Bowles had a base of supplies.<sup>26</sup>

Despite the continuous efforts of Rousseau, Bowles's activities increased on land and sea. By the beginning of 1802, he had brought sufficient war supplies to his Seminole supporters for an attempt to capture San Marcos a second time. With Trudeau's departure most of the troops had been withdrawn and conditions at San Marcos had deteriorated. Captain Jacobo Du Breuil had been appointed to succeed Olivier as commandant of the post. He was a competent officer, but his garrison was undermanned and inferior in quality. He complained to the new governor, Manuel de Salcedo, that he had been sent "the most useless soldiers, the most vicious, and the most persistent in their object of avoiding duty." Two had deserted. Fortunately, his officers were above average. Du Breuil especially trusted Sublieutenant Juan Bautista Pellerin who was intelligent, skilled in woodland warfare, and well-known for his bravery. The chief protections for the post were two Mississippi River galleys, the *Luisiana*, commanded by Manuel García, and the *Felipa*, commanded by José Clouet. On the land side of the fort the threat of attack by Seminoles was always present, and it was unsafe for Spaniards to go even a short distance beyond the walls.<sup>27</sup>

Finally, Bowles was ready to take the offensive, and, on January 5, 1802, he led a large force of Seminoles against San Marcos. The first act of hostility was capture of a Spanish soldier named Juan Dozal. Disregarding the commandant's orders, he had gone out too far to round up some horses grazing in an area beyond cannon shot from the fort. Before it was known that Dozal was missing, two Indians came to the fort under the pretext of selling fresh meat. Du Breuil suspected that they might be spies and had them detained. They loudly protested that they were not spies, but they did not convince the interpreter Juan Sandoval, and Du Breuil ordered them locked up. Later he learned from Mislogue, who was still held at the post, that the meat sellers were indeed Miccosukee Indians. Du Breuil blamed García, commander of the *Luisiana*, for failure to protect Dozal because he had not

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26. The Services of Don Pedro Rousseau, Houck, *Spanish Regime in Missouri*, II, 325-26; D. C. Corbitt and J. T. Lanning, "A Letter of Marque Issued by William Augustus Bowles, Director General of the State of Muskogee," *Journal of Southern History*, VII (1945) 489-96.

27. Du Breuil to Salcedo, January 20, 1802, Louisiana Collection.

followed instructions to anchor his galley farther up the river. On the afternoon of January 6, a band of Indians approached the fort and opened fire with their carbines. The garrison replied with two cannon shots of ball and grape. The galleys also opened fire, and the Indians retreated to a camp which they had set up just out of range. Once again San Marcos was under siege.<sup>28</sup>

In an attempt to learn Dozal's fate, Du Breuil employed an Indian woman called La Camarona who worked at the fort. Secretly she visited the scene of his capture and reported that she had found Dozal's dog dead from a bullet wound, but no sign that Dozal had been killed. Shortly afterward, one of La Camarona's relatives came to the fort and told Du Breuil that Dozal had been taken to Miccosukee and that the Indians there wished to exchange him for the Miccosukee prisoners in San Marcos. This messenger said that several Miccosukee Indians were waiting in the nearby pine woods for an answer. Du Breuil rejected the proposal and sent a message stating that he would free the Miccosukee prisoners only if he received in exchange Dozal and two Spanish deserters, Sánchez and Sandoval, who were living at Miccosukee. In an attempt to guarantee Dozal's safety, he added a threat to kill the Miccosukee prisoners if he were harmed. After the message was delivered, a party of Indians began to move closer to the fort. Because it became obvious that they had not accepted Du Breuil's counter proposal and their movement seemed hostile, he ordered that they be fired upon. The galleys also opened fire, and the Indians fled.<sup>29</sup>

Although the Indians withdrew beyond cannon range, it was apparent that the siege of San Marcos would continue. In assessing his situation Du Breuil needed to ascertain the strength of the enemy. At the fort was a Creek Indian named Topahuaique who acted as confidential courier for the commandant. When several fires were observed quite near the fort one night, Du Breuil persuaded him to go out and reconnoiter the enemy's camp, although it would be at great personal risk. Topahuaique scouted the area as far as he dared, but could not come very close to the camp because the many fires increased the possibility of his being seen. He returned to the fort about twelve o'clock at night and reported that the enemy force was very large. At one of the fires

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28. *Ibid.*

29. *Ibid.*

he estimated that the warriors encamped there numbered about 150. Contrary to the usual Indian custom, there were sentinels posted in a military manner. The arrangement of the camps and the posting of sentinels indicated that Bowles or some of his white staff members were in charge of the operation.<sup>30</sup>

The Creek scout's report caused Du Breuil to abandon a plan for a surprise attack against the camp. Not only were the Indians on the alert, but they also were probably well equipped with munitions brought in from New Providence. Although they had not been observed, the likely presence of Bowles and an unknown number of his white followers was an added reason for caution. Du Breuil could only spare twenty-five or thirty men for a surprise attack because his garrison was not up to full strength and a sortie with such a small force might result in disaster. On the following day, Du Breuil learned that there were more than 300 Indians on the land side of the fort and that other parties were guarding the river as far as the sea. Equally alarming was confirmation that there were many white men and Negroes among them, including deserters from Spanish garrisons at Pensacola and San Agustín. The commandant was in a more dangerous situation than that of Portell in 1800, except for the presence of two Mississippi River galleys.<sup>31</sup>

On January 12, a curious incident occurred. At five o'clock in the afternoon, a band of the enemy placed a red flag at the edge of the pine woods. Among them was a white man who was observing the fort through a spyglass. Du Breuil watched the performance and thought that the man who set up the flag looked like one of his deserters. Surprisingly, the flag appeared to be a Spanish royal standard. In reply to this arrogance, Du Breuil ordered two cannon shots, and the galleys joined in. The enemy sought cover so hastily that the flag was left behind. Later in the evening, despite additional fire from the fort, they returned and recovered the flag.<sup>32</sup>

The next day at eight o'clock in the morning the schooner *Eugenia* was sighted entering the river from Apalachee Bay. It was laden with essential supplies for the fort. The galley *Luisiana* went down to assist and protect the *Eugenia* as she passed through

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30. Ibid.

31. Ibid.

32. Ibid.

the dangerous channel called the strait. Because the tide was low the schooner ran aground and was unable to free herself until the next day at high tide. During the night there was heavy fog, and the *Luisiana* remained anchored near the *Eugenia*. When the fog cleared, observers in the fort could see Indians across the river moving toward some old trenches bordering the strait. At that place the Indians had previously destroyed a schooner belonging to Bernard Migues. Du Breuil ordered that a culverin be fired at the Indians. That proved to be ineffective because they were just out of range. The Indians were obviously intending to entrench themselves where they could fire upon any vessel coming upstream to the fort. If vessels with essential provisions for San Marcos were stopped at the strait or were captured there, the post would be in serious trouble. Bowles had used a similar plan in 1800.<sup>33</sup>

Du Breuil reacted to the critical situation by ordering the galley *Felipa* to go downstream and join the *Luisiana* in a concentrated fire upon the enemy. Engineer Juan María Perchet proposed that he, with a detachment of soldiers, go aboard the *Felipa* and attempt to destroy the Indians' earthworks. Du Breuil accepted Perchet's offer and selected twenty of his best men to accompany him. About eight o'clock in the morning of January 14 the galley *Felipa*, with Perchet and his detachment on board, pulled away from the fort. On doubling the first point before arriving at the strait, two trenches became visible at a distance of a little more than a musket shot. The *Felipa* opened fire and continued as she moved in close to shore. The Indians soon abandoned the trenches and sought refuge in nearby woods. Perchet then landed with his soldiers and began destroying the earthworks. He posted several guards and set the remainder of the men to work filling up the trenches. It was a difficult process, despite the fact that the competent engineer had equipped his men with shovels.<sup>34</sup>

The earthworks were carefully planned, and the Indians were in the process of enlarging them. There were two trenches, and the larger was not more than half finished. When it was completed it would have provided space for about 100 men. The

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33. Ibid.

34. Ibid.

second trench was entirely finished and was long enough to hold eighty men. It was well protected by a bank of earth which had been excavated from the trench and augmented by more earth from the river bank. Between the trenches was a communication passage protected by pitch pine logs. Perchet's men threw several logs into the trenches, others into the river, and destroyed as much of the well-planned fortification as possible. They then set fire to the nearby brush and reembarked under cover of the smoke. As the *Felipa* pulled away, it fired one more charge of grapeshot at the Indians in the woods. While destruction of the trenches was in progress, the galley *Luisiana* and the schooner *Eugenia* had safely ascended to the fort and anchored in the San Marcos River. The *Felipa* came up later at about one in the afternoon. Mail delivered by the *Eugenia* contained the very good news that war between England and Spain had ended and peace negotiations were under way.<sup>35</sup>

About the time Perchet returned from his sortie, several Indians bearing a white flag appeared at the edge of the woods north of the fort. Du Breuil responded in kind, and an Indian brought him a letter. It was from Bowles and the first definite proof that he was in the area. In his letter Bowles repeated the offer to exchange the soldier Dozal for the Miccosukee prisoners held at the fort. Du Breuil decided that instead of answering Bowles's letter he would write to Chief Kinache of Miccosukee. Thus he hoped to show that he considered Kinache superior to Bowles. Then, calling the post's interpreter Juan Sandoval, he gave the Indian envoy a verbal message for Kinache. It explained that the war had ended and the Seminoles could no longer expect to receive any support from English sources. Finally, to make the occasion of the war's end more impressive Du Breuil ordered fifteen cannon shots be fired by the fort and the galleys.<sup>36</sup>

On January 15, Sublieutenant Pellerin, with a strong detachment, went downstream in the *Felipa* to see whether the enemy had returned to repair their trenches along the river. He found that they had restored some of the earthworks. Consequently, under fire of the *Felipa*, he landed with his men and repeated the work of the preceding day. By the sixteenth Du Breuil had

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35. Ibid.

36. Ibid.



completed his letter to Kinache in which he once again stated that he would only return the Miccosukee prisoners in exchange for Dozal and the two Spanish deserters. Under cover of a white flag, he sent the letter to the Indian camp. An Indian who received it explained that both Kinache and Bowles had gone to Miccosukee. Nevertheless, the siege continued until Rousseau arrived with two galleys and a *bombardera*. Then the Indians gradually withdrew. The end of the war and the prospective termination of English support, clandestine or otherwise, without doubt was the main reason for Bowles's abandonment of his second siege of San Marcos. However, it was the presence of Mississippi River galleys which made the difference between what occurred in 1800 and in 1802.<sup>37</sup>

After Bowles and his Indians had withdrawn from the siege of San Marcos, the Spaniards made strenuous diplomatic efforts to arrange a peace with the Seminoles, especially those of Miccosukee and neighboring villages. Bowles's failure to take San Marcos was one factor in the success of this policy; the transfer of his headquarters from Miccosukee to Estefunalga was another.<sup>38</sup> Eventually, with cooperation of Upper Creek chiefs, a peace conference was arranged. Creek and Seminole chiefs came to San Marcos where they met with Du Breuil and other Spanish officers. There, on August 20, 1802, a preliminary peace treaty was drafted which terminated hostilities between Seminoles and Spaniards. It specified there should be an exchange of prisoners, although there was no mention of Spanish deserters living among the Indians. The most important part of the treaty as it related to the safety of San Marcos was article five: "The Florida Indians, and particularly the Mesasuques, and their chief, Captain Micko Kinache, obligate themselves not to lend aid, direct or indirect, guards or auxiliaries, to the adventurer William Augustus Bowles, and not to trade with him since he has been the cause and moving spirit of all the hostilities which have occurred; and they shall leave this adventurer to his fate, taking notice that this article will form the essential base of the treaty."<sup>39</sup> When the

37. Ibid. The Services of Don Pedro Rousseau, Houck, *Spanish Regime in Missouri*, II, 326.

38. Bowles's commission of Richard Powers as post captain of Marine, Estefunalga, June 23, 1802, Bancroft Library photograph.

39. Preliminary Treaty of Peace between Spain and the Seminoles, August 20, 1802, (Copy for the Governor General), Louisiana Collection.

WAR COMES TO SAN MARCOS

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Spanish officials signed this treaty and the Indian chiefs affixed their marks the war was officially ended for San Marcos.

## A FRENCH WOULD-BE SETTLER ON LAFAYETTE'S FLORIDA TOWNSHIP

by LUCRETIA RAMSEY BISHKO

**L**EWIS A. Pellerin, thirty-seven years old, a native of Normandy, sailed up the Mississippi to New Orleans in late March 1833. After taking part in the July Revolution of 1830 in France, he had suffered severe financial losses and was emigrating, together with his wife and two children, to the New World in search of a better fortune.<sup>1</sup>

His ultimate destination was Tallahassee, for just northeast of this capital of the territory of Florida, in Leon County, lay the township given General Lafayette by the American people in 1825.<sup>2</sup> Pellerin's purpose was to procure a section or two in this six-mile square tract. Three of the thirty-six sections were already occupied by Frenchmen who had been attracted by Lafayette's efforts to colonize his princely gift with Europeans employing white labor. They had taken in France, through entrepreneurs, the preliminary steps required of purchasers. Four sections were otherwise assigned, so that there were, in the spring of 1833, twenty-nine sections from which a prospective buyer could make a choice.

Pellerin's case differed from that of his fellow-countrymen because he came armed only with letters from General Lafayette and his son, and had to deal, in his stubborn attempts to become a settler on the township, not with European middlemen but with the general's resident agent. Fortunately, the history of

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1. Lewis A. Pellerin to André Marchais, June 5, November 25, 1833; Pellerin to George W. Lafayette, June 28, 1834, Arthur H. and Mary Marden Dean Collection of Lafayette, Department of Rare Books, Cornell University Library, hereinafter cited as DCL.
2. Kathryn T. Abbey, "The Story of the Lafayette Lands in Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, X (January 1932), 115-32, used for the French settlement newspaper articles which were "liable to considerable error." Since 1963 the Dean Collection has been available.

Pellerin's long struggle is well documented by a series of letters in the Dean Collection at Cornell University. These letters, and other documents in the collection, throw a great deal of light on the attitude of the persons involved, the manner in which Lafayette's American agents carried out their mandate to sell the land, and some of the reasons for the failure of the general's colonization project.

On the basis of this documentation, Lewis A. Pellerin seems to have been well-connected and personable. When he first contemplated emigrating to the United States in 1832, he had under consideration an advantageous offer from Joseph Bonaparte, the former king of Spain, who was then residing in the United States. He may have intended to employ Pellerin on one of his New Jersey farms.<sup>3</sup> Then Pellerin was introduced to General Lafayette and his son George Washington Lafayette, by André Marchais, who had been one of Lafayette's many aides-de-camp in the National Guard and appeared at crucial moments of the 1830 Revolution at the general's side.<sup>4</sup> Lafayette, who had already taken a kindly interest in the case of another former aide-de-camp also harmed by the events of 1830, received Pellerin so benignly that he decided to emigrate to Florida instead of accepting any offer from Joseph Bonaparte.

Lafayette's kindness, however, went no further than the provision of letters to American acquaintances, including one to John Stuart Skinner, Baltimore's postmaster, a trusted friend whom the general had appointed in 1830 as his United States agent for the sale of the Leon County township.<sup>5</sup> George Washington Lafayette, hoping to receive a report on how matters stood in Florida, urged Pellerin to travel by way of Baltimore, and gave him a sealed letter for Skinner. But Pellerin, to save money, sailed directly to New Orleans, and thus lost an opportunity to

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3. Pellerin to G. W. Lafayette, March 20, 1837, DCL; Gabriel Girod de l'Ain, *Joseph Bonaparte, le roi malgré lui* (Paris, 1970), 429.

4. Charles de Rémusat, *Mémoires de ma vie*, Charles H. Pouthas, ed., 5 vols. (Paris, 1959), II, 212, note 3; Jean-Louis Bory, *La Révolution de Juillet* (Paris, 1972), 377, 588.

5. For John Stuart Skinner, see "Memoir of John S. Skinner," *American Farmer*, 4th ser. VII (April 1852), 325-26. Text of the power of attorney, *ibid.*, 1st ser., XII (February 25, 1831), 399. Date is given as November 28, 1830, by Louis Gotteschalk, P. S. Pestiau, and L. J. Pike, *Lafayette: A Guide to the Letters, Documents and Manuscripts in the United States* (Ithaca, 1975), 241.

present the letter in person and make Skinner's acquaintance.<sup>6</sup>

When Pellerin's ship, after a voyage of seventy days, finally arrived at the Gulf port, the newcomer was greeted by a French acquaintance. Pellerin never discloses the man's Christian name; he calls him merely Jacminot, which seems to be a simplified, Americanized spelling of the French surname borne by a Colonel Jacqueminot, prominent in the Revolution of 1830.<sup>7</sup> This gentleman scarcely gave the new arrival time to go through customs and do some errands with which G. W. Lafayette had entrusted him before he hurried the Pellerins off to Tallahassee.

Pellerin and Jacminot reached the territorial capital about the beginning of April 1833. With letters of introduction that Pellerin carried from Achille Murat, Florida's resident prince (who at the time of writing was in Europe) and Major Guillaume Tell Poussin, late of United States Topographical Engineers, the new arrivals were hospitably received by prominent Floridians.<sup>8</sup> From Tallahassee Pellerin mailed G. W. Lafayette's letter to Skinner at Baltimore with an accompanying note, but as of June 5 no reply had reached him.

Pellerin and Jacminot spent the month of April inspecting the country around Tallahassee. They found only a few settlers on the Lafayette township. Two old squatters, Edmund Doyle and John Carruthers, had been allowed to buy the quarter-sections near the capital where they had been living.<sup>9</sup> Sections 8, 10, and 26 were occupied by the three French immigrants—Isidore Gerardin, a certain Adam, and Count Theodore Charles La-Porte— who had all previously entered into purchase agreements

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6. Letter mentioned in Pellerin to Marchais, June 5, November 25, 1833, and Pellerin to G. W. Lafayette, June 5, 1833, DCL. See also G. W. Lafayette to Pellerin, March 8, 1834, Pellerin to G. W. Lafayette, June 28, 1834, DCL.
  7. The Florida Jacminot seems to be the Claude de Jacminot of Jefferson County who subscribed for thirty-one shares of Union Bank stock in 1834, and borrowed \$3,100 on 560 acres of land, U.S. Congress, "Condition of the State Banks," 26th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Exec. doc. 111 (Washington, 1841), IV, 329. On the Jean-François Jacqueminot, who in 1830 succeeded Lafayette as chief of staff of the National Guard of Paris, see G. Vapereau, *Dictionnaire de contemporains* (Paris, 1858), 932-33.
  8. On Achille Murat, see A. J. Hanna, *A Prince in Their Midst* (Norman, Oklahoma, 1946). Poussin held a commission in the United States Army from 1827 to 1832, when he resigned in order to go back to France. He had acted as aide to General Simon Bernard who recommended John S. Skinner for the post of Lafayette's agent.
  9. See "Note sur nos affaires de Floride à la date du 23 Juin 1846," DCL.

in France through the mediation of two Swiss land speculators, Rey and Rosset.<sup>10</sup> Pellerin's idea was to take up some of the land still vacant in the general's tract, but Jacminot disagreed. He did not want to clear a plot of virgin forest, and he was skeptical of the advantages they might expect from Lafayette. Pellerin's letter of introduction, Jacminot argued, resembled those Lafayette had written for many others. Jacminot also pointed out that if they bought land within the township, they would have to occupy it without a title while lengthy negotiations were carried on with the distant Skinner. Pellerin could not oppose Jacminot, and together they bought a plantation elsewhere with a sown crop. They sent the contract, made out in both their names, to the owner in Charleston, and took possession by May 1, 1833.

Pellerin began work at once. His opinion of his associate had never been high, and he had in fact been warned by Jacminot's relatives of his egotistical and ungenerous nature. Even so, he could never have foreseen that Jacminot would act as he did. After a few days Jacminot's manner unaccountably changed, and he told Pellerin abruptly that their association must cease, insisting "buy me out, or leave." Since Pellerin did not have resources with which to pay for the plantation himself, he told Jacminot, "Your conduct inspires me with contempt." He then left, believing that he could live for practically nothing in Florida by selling some of his belongings. Though Jacminot had warned him that it would be useless to take him into court, since he had made no commitment in writing, Pellerin thought that he should follow the advice of prominent Floridians and sue Jacminot for damages.<sup>11</sup>

His first step, however, was to return to Tallahassee and call on Robert W. Williams, a Leon County planter whom Skinner had appointed as subagent in the spring of 1832. Williams immediately followed Skinner's instructions to interview the three settlers, and in October 1832 he advertised the parts of the township that were available for purchase. Three bids reached him while Pellerin was still enroute to the United States, and another

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10. Robert Williams to John Skinner, March 21, 1832, DCL. Adam may be the Raone Adam who obtained an attachment against Count Laporte in 1834, Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, March 1, 1834.

11. The foregoing account, unless otherwise noted, is based on Pellerin to Marchais, June 4, 1833, DCL.

in April 1833. All had been sent via Skinner to Lafayette.<sup>12</sup>

If Pellerin, as soon as he learned there was a resident agent in Tallahassee, had introduced himself to Williams and had given him G. W. Lafayette's letter to mail to Skinner, the newcomer might have impressed both agents early in the proceedings as a prospective purchaser who had Lafayette connections. But since he had not been provided with a letter addressed to Williams, it was as an ordinary buyer that he approached the subagent.

Williams brought out a plan of the township and the surveyors' description of the sections. He admitted that the latter was not very exact. But instead of urging Pellerin to buy Lafayette land, as might have been expected, Williams surprisingly informed him that there were other tracts in the vicinity which were just as good and lower in price. Pellerin was astonished, but he later attributed it to Williams's having land of his own to sell. In the course of the conversation there was further cause for surprise. Williams mentioned that he had recently sent off to Skinner, for transmission to France, an offer of less than \$3.00 an acre for the available parts of the township. Williams thought that price was too low. Then Pellerin observed that Williams must have advised the general not to accept the offer. On the contrary, Williams said that he preferred that Lafayette make up his own mind. Pellerin then indicated that he thought that as Lafayette's representative, it was Williams's duty to tender the advice that Lafayette's interests made necessary. This remark seems to have brought the interview, and Pellerin's first attempt to buy township land, to a close.<sup>13</sup>

One may surmise that the reason why Williams did not urge Pellerin to buy some of the Lafayette acres was because he and Skinner were waiting to be told, as soon as the general had consulted with his financial advisors, which of the bids they were to accept. For them to make a sale at this juncture would only complicate the final settlement of the major transaction. At the time, however, Pellerin accepted the local rumor that Williams belonged to a cabal of speculators and was shunting buyers away from Lafayette's land to other properties, hoping that by delay-

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12. Skinner to Lafayette, February 27, 1832; Williams to Skinner, March 21, 1832, DCL; Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, October 2, 1832; Williams to Skinner, March 20, April 14, 1833, DCL.

13. Pellerin to G. W. Lafayette, June 5, 1833, DCL.

ing matters the township would fall into his possession or that of his associates.<sup>14</sup>

Convinced that Williams was disloyal and Skinner useless, Pellerin conceived a new idea. Why not contrive to be appointed in their place, through André Marchais's influence with the Lafayettes? With this in mind, he wrote his friend on June 5, recounting his adventures since he left France. In a separate letter he described his encounter with Williams. After reading this communication, he urged Marchais to pass it on to George W. Lafayette. When Marchais approached the general on Pellerin's behalf, he could assure him that the Tallahassee newcomer was a person characterized by fidelity, zeal, and accuracy. Two possible objections to the appointment were cast aside. It would not be a deprivation for Skinner, since, so Pellerin thought, his salary as postmaster of Baltimore was ample and he did not need the commission he presumably was earning. Nor would Americans mind that a Frenchman had been substituted. Colonel James Gadsden, a former army engineer turned Florida planter and aspirant to Congress, had assured Pellerin that everyone would be grateful to Lafayette for enriching the country with a family as honest and industrious as the Pellerins. Gadsden had indeed written an open letter to a former United States Army officer, Guillaume Tell Poussin, which Pellerin was also inclosing with his own letter to Marchais. Pellerin hoped that Marchais would attempt to persuade Poussin to see Lafayette.<sup>15</sup>

Even if this ambitious campaign to be appointed agent succeeded, Pellerin realized that it would be some time before he would begin earning commissions. Therefore, he broached to Marchais in this same letter a new plan— his second attempt— to acquire a plantation in the township. Marchais was asked to obtain from Lafayette authorization for Pellerin to take possession of two sections to which he would be given title. Pellerin would have the property appraised by experts, and turn over that amount in bonds payable in eight years. No mortgage would then be necessary, since he would be able to borrow from the territorial bank then about to open in Tallahassee.<sup>16</sup> Further-

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14. Pellerin to Marchais, June 5, 1833, DCL.

15. *Ibid.*

16. The Union Bank of Florida, incorporated February 13, 1833, opened its books for capital stock subscriptions April 10, 1833, but began business



more, Pellerin felt that this proposal was in harmony with Lafayette's own intentions as expressed in the letter the general had given him for Skinner. Would Marchais attempt to have such authorization reach Tallahassee before the year's end, and, to avoid trouble, would he send it directly to Pellerin? Pellerin assured Marchais that he had familiarized himself with the methods of Florida agriculture, and that he would be taught by an expert how to make sugar and distill rum, so that he could do a good job once he had procured the land. If appointed agent, he would send all income from land sales in the form of cotton to a mercantile house in Le Havre, which could then sell it and turn the proceeds over to Lafayette.<sup>17</sup>

Pellerin's letter for G. W. Lafayette was rather short. He reports what he had learned while in New Orleans about the general's affairs in Louisiana, notes that he has never received a reply from Skinner, and describes his contentious interview with Williams. He includes items of common knowledge in Tallahassee, stating that the three Frenchmen already settled there were hard at work and, given time, would probably meet with success.<sup>18</sup>

After Pellerin had dispatched this letter to Marchais with its two enclosures, he called once more on Williams to inform him that he had authorized his friend in Paris to apply to Lafayette for the concession of two sections. He found the agent's house shut up and uninhabited, and he learned from his brother that he had left for the North without designating anyone to act in his stead. No one could write to him, since it was uncertain where he would be at any given time, and he was not expected back until January 1834.<sup>19</sup> If Pellerin had known that the purpose of Williams's trip was to confer with Skinner over the imminent sale of the whole tract, he could have addressed a letter to the Baltimore post office in the hope that it would reach the two agents and notify them of his claim. But, doubtless hoping that he would receive news of his own appointment as agent, he bided his time until Williams returned to Tallahassee.

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on January 16, 1835. See U.S. Congress, 26th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Exec. doc. 111, IV, 278-79.

17. Pellerin to Marchais, June 5, 1833, DCL.

18. Pellerin to G. W. Lafayette, June 5, 1833, DCL.

19. Pellerin to Marchais, November 25, 1833, DCL.

This took place much earlier than expected, about November 10. As soon as Pellerin learned of it, he called on Williams. He was surprised to be told that in May Lafayette had accepted one of the first three bids offered for the unsold remainder of the township. Nevertheless, Pellerin made his own request, promising to select within three days the sections he desired. But Williams, as Pellerin was to write write to Marchais on November 25, "objected that, since the General had made no reservation in my favor, and since my name was never even mentioned in his instructions, he could not do what I wanted. He added that the sale of the remainder of the land had been settled in the month of August, when he, Robert Williams, had been in Baltimore; and that the syndicate in question had nothing more to do except to carry out the formality of presenting the required surety. He offered however to present my request to this company before handing over the contract, and to support it with what he knew of the good will that the General entertained for me according to his letter to Mr. Skinner of which I informed him, in order to obtain for me the reservation of at least one section, in lieu of two. The buyers have refused. I did not flatter myself that it could be otherwise."<sup>20</sup> Pellerin's third proposal then had met with rejection.

It was shortly afterwards, on November 18, that the sale of 28¾ sections of the township to William B. Nuttall, Hector W. Braden, and William P. Craig was consummated. Williams reported to Skinner that he had managed to sell the lands for \$10,000 more than he had hoped and also to procure a slightly larger reserve than the minimum of one and one-half sections that Lafayette had prescribed. Section 34 had been reserved as well, and this, Williams wrote to Skinner in December, "I propose you and myself shall take at the average price at which the whole was sold."<sup>21</sup>

Skinner, when he sent this second letter on to G. W. Lafayette, added a statement which disposes of Pellerin's assumption that the postmaster of Baltimore was earning a commission: "As I never thought of accepting any consideration for my agency,

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20. Ibid.

21. Williams to Skinner, November 20, December 7, 1833, DCL. Section 32, and three-quarters of section 31, were reserved for Lafayette, and section 34 for his agents.

except the delightful consciousness of having served the best of men; I shall propose to Col. Williams to relinquish to him all interest in the section. If it be of any value beyond the average price, that difference will not be deemed by the General as more than an adequate commission to Col Williams."<sup>22</sup>

These private and confidential features of the reservation of section 34 were, of course, not known in Tallahassee, but the fact itself was soon divulged to Pellerin by one of the buyers, Hector Braden. Braden may also have been the informant who told him that the syndicate had quickly sold fourteen sections at a considerable profit.

Pellerin, who had not yet received any letter from Marchais about his appointment, came to the conclusion, since he was not named in the agents' instructions, that the Lafayettes had altogether forgotten him.<sup>23</sup> In his discouragement he wrote once more, on November 25, to Marchais, bringing him up to date on what had happened since his last letter. He complained that he had no money or credit with which to set up in business, there were no merchants in Tallahassee for whom he could clerk, and there were no scholars to whom he could teach French. Soon he would have no belongings left to sell. If only he had been appointed agent; he could have sold the land for 200,000 francs (\$40,000) more, and earned a commission of more than 40,000 francs (\$8,000). (On the other hand, the reservation of section 34, located four miles from town and one mile from the easternmost section that was retained by Lafayette, appeared to Pellerin to be a favorable omen for an immediate fourth effort. If the general would sell him section 34, he could redress his "forgetfulness." Pellerin therefore requested Marchais to propose to Lafayette that he be allowed to purchase this plot on the same terms as those granted to Nuttall, Braden, and Craig, that is, \$2.70 an acre— payable in ten years, with interest at seven per

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22. Skinner to G. W. Lafayette, undated, DCL, beginning, "Here my dear friend is an extract [sic]." In drawing up a balance sheet in 1855, Williams charged Lafayette's estate for his services at the rate of \$500 a year for twenty-three years, i.e., \$11,500 "Estate of Genl. Lafayette in account with Robt. W. Williams," DCL.

23. This may not have been the case, for Lafayette added a postscript to one version of his letter of thanks written in English to Williams on November 4, 1833, DCL: "There is a young Gentleman, one of the combatants of July, who is gone with a letter from me to settle to Florida, and whom I particularly recommend to you."

cent. He was unable to furnish a surety, but the general, he hoped, might agree to hold a mortgage on the land. As for a commission on the sale, he argued that the general's agents "do not need it and it would be much better that I should profit by it." Payment of any such fees to the Americans could be avoided if Marchais were to procure for him a blank power of attorney, drawn up by Lafayette's notary, containing the conditions of the sale, and signed by the general. Pellerin would have this registered, and when a contract of sale was signed, he would send Lafayette his bonds, payable in Paris and not to Williams in Tallahassee,

Pellerin knew that once he had section 34 in his possession, he would need a partner with capital in order to exploit it. Even though he begged his friend to tell no one but the Lafayettes how desperate his situation was, he still hoped to provide some information about Florida which might induce their mutual friend Forestier to join him there. With Forestier's capital and his land, Pellerin imagined that the two of them could reap "a nice little fortune" in a few years.<sup>24</sup>

Pellerin's grumbles and schemes, which must have reached Marchais early in 1834, were brought by him to G. W. Lafayette's attention, but the general's son did not respond until March 8, for he was himself beset with a number of personal problems. A relative by marriage had died, a grandchild was sick, and his father had contracted a severe illness after taking part in the lengthy obsequies for the député François Charles Dulong, mortally wounded in a duel in which G. W. Lafayette had acted as second.

No wonder that when the younger Lafayette wrote to Pellerin he began brusquely as he pointed out some misconceptions on his correspondent's part. When he went on to convey his father's consideration of Pellerin's request for section 34, he used an expression which was to cause him much trouble in the future, since his eager correspondent was to seize upon it and construe it to mean consent even though a definite refusal followed: "My father would have been willing to do what you now desire, if this were in his power, but the 34th section, which you believe to be free, is not so, and my father can do nothing now but

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24. This, and the three preceding paragraphs, are based on Pellerin to Marchais, November 25, 1833, DCL.

what he has already done, after your departure— this is, to write to his representatives that he desires very much that you could make the arrangements that suit you, and to request them to serve you as friends and helpers with the buyers, since they can do no more as his official agents."<sup>25</sup>

Lafayette kept his word, for the promised letter was enclosed in his son's. Pellerin handed it over to Williams at once. He inferred that it was favorable in tone, for Williams's first response was to suggest that if Pellerin could buy a section from the syndicate he would assist him by becoming his surety in Lafayette's name. But he also pointed out that the syndicate could not give a valid title, since the whole tract they had bought was mortgaged to Lafayette. This fact effectively nullified Williams's offer. Notwithstanding, Pellerin inquired about the price the syndicate was asking, but found it so high that he decided that dealing with them would be impossible.<sup>26</sup>

For the fifth time, an attempt to gain a foothold in Lafayette's township had proved unsuccessful. Still another expedient, however, occurred to Pellerin, why not acquire one of the three sections occupied by the French settlers, since these properties had been excluded from the sale to the syndicate? It was of course useless to think of buying up the claims of Count Laporte to section 26, for Laporte, bankrupt and in debt, and on the verge of returning to France, had sold these to an American.<sup>27</sup> Adam was still occupying section 10, although he was about to dispose of it to a buyer whom Williams was willing to substitute for him in his contract.<sup>28</sup>

On the other hand, Pellerin knew the situation of the third settler, Isidore Gerardin. After two years of hard work on the part of himself and his four sons, Gerardin had so many debts that he had been forced "to go to Tallahassee to carry on his profession of watchmaker." There were several reasons for this indebtedness. In the first place, he had at great expense brought with him from France several workmen who deserted their jobs

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25. G. W. Lafayette to Pellerin, March 8, 1834, DCL.

26. Pellerin to G. W. Lafayette, June 28, 1834, DCL.

27. Williams to Skinner, January 1, 16, 1834; Hardy B. Croom to G. W. Lafayette, as given in "Résumé de l'histoire de nos affaires de Floride," 26-27, DCL. Williams gave Croom title to section 26 before December 10, 1837, Williams to G. W. Lafayette, December 10, 1837, DCL.

28. Williams to Skinner, December 27, 1833, DCL.

as soon as they were able to work effectively.<sup>29</sup> Secondly, Robert Williams, on assuming the subagency, decided he would sell land only by whole sections. Unfortunately, Gerardin had already selected and begun to cultivate only two quarter-sections that he thought he could afford. Due to this unexpected ruling, Gerardin now owed Lafayette for a whole section, a larger down payment, and greater amounts of interest than he had planned to pay.<sup>30</sup> Then, as Pellerin was to write G. W. Lafayette on June 28, 1834, "M. Gerardin, who had received some services from M. de Laporte when he arrived here, agreed later to become his surety. M. de Laporte when he departed from Florida left many debts behind, and M. Gerardin finds himself sued before the courts for the payment of the sums which he had guaranteed and which are considerable in proportion to his means."<sup>31</sup>

If Pellerin had been on good terms with Williams, he might have felt free to ask to be allowed to replace Gerardin as purchaser. Had he made this request, he would have found Williams receptive. Pellerin and Gerardin, however, adopted a less straightforward course. First, Gerardin agreed to cede Pellerin his rights to section 8, and Pellerin promised to pay an allowance for "the small clearing that he had made and for a log cabin he had built." Then the two parties, who depended for proper financial arrangements leading to a title upon the Lafayettes' generosity and on Pellerin's supposed influence with them, wrote separate letters on June 28, 1834. What they hoped to gain was cancellation of the sale to Gerardin, forgiveness of the unpaid interest due, approval of their agreement, and a lower price per acre than that which Gerardin had originally promised to pay.

When Pellerin wrote to G. W. Lafayette, he readily admitted that he should have gained permission before acting, but offered as excuse his need to "undertake something useful after

29. Isidore Gerardin to Lafayette, July 30, 1832, June 28, 1834, DCL. Gerardin signed himself Isid. Gerardin; the name is incorrectly transcribed as "Isadore Inardine" by Abbey, *Lafayette Lands*, 130, note 53.

30. Williams to Skinner, May 28, 1832; Gerardin to Lafayette, July 1, 1832 (in a duplicate of July 30). DCL.

31. Pellerin to G. W. Lafayette, June 28, 1834, DCL. Gerardin's affairs may not have been so precarious as these letters suggest, for after his death his jewelry business was being administered by a Frederick Gerardin, Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, November 26, 1836, November 18, 1837. Also, he once owned one lot and part of another in Tallahassee, both of which were sold at marshal's sales. *Tallahassee Floridian*, October 24, December 12, 1840.

eighteen months of lost time." He went on to assert that Lafayette had already told him, on March 8, that his father would have sold him section 34 at \$2.70 an acre, if it had been free. Now he hoped that he could buy section 8 at the same price, with interest at seven per cent for ten years beginning in January 1835. Although in the past he had tried to avoid dealing with Williams, he now expressed a willingness to make his interest notes payable either to the agent or directly to Paris, and ventured to ask M. Lafayette to give Williams his instructions "as soon as possible, and in such a way that I may not experience any difficulty with him."<sup>32</sup>

Gerardin, also on June 28, unaware that Lafayette had died on May 20, addressed him directly. He assured the general that all Pellerin had written was true, and went on to explain that it was not for want of trying that his family's labors had resulted in failure. His misfortunes were due rather to his expensive importation of the workmen who ran off, and for this he blamed the statements made by the middlemen Rey and Rosset that induced him to come to Florida. "Doubtless," he remarked, "they were themselves deceived by the information that was furnished them."<sup>33</sup> In this oblique allusion, just as in Pellerin's "eighteen months of lost time," an undercurrent of accusation against Lafayette can be detected. No rumor of this arrangement between Pellerin and Gerardin seems to have reached Williams, for that fall he reported to Skinner that Gerardin was still holding on, although without paying the interest due, and that he thought section 8 would have to be resold.<sup>34</sup>

Following the agreement, Pellerin, serious about fulfilling his promise to pay Gerardin \$660 in installments during 1835, went to New Orleans to find work, leaving his wife and children behind in Florida. By July 1835, he had handed over \$400. He intended, after he had discharged his obligation, to rejoin his family and "finally to enjoy, if possible, some tranquillity on the piece of land" whose title he was still awaiting. In New Orleans he often met with Louis T. Caire, a notary, and it may have been Caire's advice which inspired Pellerin to approach G. W. Lafayette once

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32. Pellerin to G. W. Lafayette, June 28, 1834, DCL.

33. Gerardin to Lafayette, June 28, 1834, DCL.

34. Williams to Skinner, October 11, 1834, DCL.

more, for his sixth attempt.<sup>35</sup>

On July 25, 1835, writing from New Orleans, he complained to G. W. Lafayette that he had received no answer to either his letter of June 28, 1834, or the letter of condolence that followed when General Lafayette's death became known. He laid the blame on Williams for all his disappointments and for threatening Gerardin with prosecution and dispossession. He went on to detail a way by which he could gain some advantage from what he termed the "consent formally expressed" in G. W. Lafayette's letter of March 8, 1834. All M. de Lafayette had to do was to obtain his co-heirs' approval, make out a special power of attorney either in blank or authorizing some trusted friend to sell section 8 to Pellerin for \$2.70 an acre on the terms he had formerly specified, and send this document to him or to Louis T. Caire, who as a solicitor would proceed to draw up the contract of sale. Pellerin furthermore emphasizes that, "by this private transaction, there will be no need for intervention of any foreign agent, and I confess to you that this will give me much pleasure, for the passage of time has only heightened my regrets that Mr. Robert Williams was ever chosen to be your agent, and my repugnance to having anything to do with him." It was very important, the letter continues, that G. W. Lafayette should send this power of attorney before the year's end, and Pellerin excuses his impatience on the grounds that he had passed three years in waiting and fruitless efforts in a foreign land with a family to support.<sup>36</sup>

By the spring of 1837, Pellerin's patience was exhausted, and he resorted to an extreme measure in what must have been his final effort. In March he traveled to Tallahassee to see Williams, but was informed by the agent that he had received no mail from G. W. Lafayette, that he intended to write him, and that it was necessary to await the arrival of his instructions.

A few days after he returned to New Orleans, Pellerin received a letter in English from an unnamed friend in Tallahassee to whom he had entrusted his interests. He learned, "R. Williams talks quite *big* about the lands; he said at first he would sell them [at] the first offer, without regard to any agreement with Gerardin or yourself. He complained that you had not paid any

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35. Pellerin to G. W. Lafayette, July 25, 1835, DCL.

36. *Ibid.*



interest; said he was writing to Mr. Geo. Lafayette, but would say nothing to your advantage. That he would not obey instructions from Mr. Geo. Lafayette, but from all the heirs etc.”

On the receipt of this alarming news, Pellerin wrote to Williams reminding him that he had recently declared his willingness to pay all that the agent deemed suitable. He now repeated this offer in writing. Still no answer came. Frustrated by Williams's delaying action and G. W. Lafayette's failure to grant a title to section 8 or even to pay attention to criticisms of the agent, Pellerin, still in New Orleans, wrote again to M. de Lafayette on March 20, 1837. His accusations became more perceptible as he recalled the conversations with both the general and his son that led him to turn down the profitable offer from Joseph Bonaparte, the omission of his name from the instructions regarding the sale of the township, and the losses which he believed had resulted from his not being appointed agent. Williams was also charged with wanting Gerardin's section for himself, and it was to “your agents' highly colored description” that Pellerin attributed Gerardin's precarious position.

It was evidently Williams's intention to sell section 8 to the first bidder, as expressed in his talk with the Frenchman's representative, that most disturbed Pellerin. Such an action he considered impossible on the basis of documents he had shown Caire, and to prevent it he was willing to pay the higher price of \$3.50 an acre originally agreed upon with Gerardin. In desperation, he ended his letter with this plea: “During the four years I have been in America, I have experienced nothing but disappointments, which all depend on the omission [from the 1833 instructions] mentioned at the beginning of my letter. I spent the first two years in a cabin, living with my family like savages, always awaiting favorable news from you; and now I am still waiting. At a glance you can judge how all this must have been and must be painful for me. Permit me then to pray you to put an end to it without more delay, by sending to whomever you will the powers and the necessary instructions so that at last a title may be given me— it doesn't matter under which of the two conditions; you can take your choice. It would be too cruel to keep me waiting any longer, and I do not think that I have done anything to incur your ill will.”<sup>37</sup>

37. Pellerin to G. W. Lafayette, March 20, 1837, DCL.

With these somber words the series of letters we have been using comes to an end. The story thus far has been told mainly from Pellerin's point of view. To redress the balance one can draw upon the accounts left by both Robert W. Williams and George Washington Lafayette.

Williams's detailed statement, going back to the beginning of his agency, is best given in his own words. Reporting to his principal on December 23, 1837, he explained: "The section (no 8) which was occupied by Mr. Gerardine was sold to him conditionally at \$3 ½ per acre, payable in six years, with interest at the rate of six per cent per annum, to be paid annually. Agreement was made in 1832— not one cent of principal or interest has ever been paid. It was my understanding with all the settlers, and I certainly would have had none other, that a violation of this part (the annual payment of the interest) would be considered a forfeiture of the contract. Mr. Gerrardine, after occupying the land 2 or 3 years, abandoned it, and is now dead. Before his death Mr. Pellerine represented himself as the assignee of Gerrardine. I however do not consider Mr. Gerrardine as having any claim to transfer having forfeited it by a violation of the convention with me. Waiving, however, this consideration, Mr. Pellerine has neglected to avail himself of the terms of the contract made with Mr. Gerrardine when informed by me that he could do so, but has acted in utter disregard of them. He left here about 12 or 18 months ago [i.e., in July or December 1836], and did reside the last I heard of him in New Orleans. He represents himself as a favorite of the Lafayette family and said he was in correspondence with Mr. George W. Lafayette from whom he expects *great favour*. What the favours may be in regard to this section of land I am not apprised unless it be to ask for a 'diminution of price and more advantageous terms.' I was offered, last March [1837], \$12 per acre for this land, but lest I should get another '*Laporte case*' on my hands I declined doing anything until the claims of Mr. Pellerine if any he has upon the Heirs of Genl Lafayette should be arranged. Next May the agreement originally made with Mr. Gerrardine will have expired by its own limitation, by that time I hope to know your pleasure, and if I am not otherwise instructed I will then offer the land to the highest bidder or pursue such other course as I may think

most conducive to the interest of my constituents."<sup>38</sup>

George W. Lafayette's own explanation was composed much later, in the draft of a letter he wrote Williams on February 25, 1843: "M. Pellerin had been recommended to my father by one of our mutual friends, and my father told him that he would facilitate as much as possible the means of establishing himself in Florida; he promised him nothing more, and did not make any special engagement with him as to such and such a section, or as to such and such a price. After my sisters and I unhappily became proprietors of the Florida lands, M. Pellerin wrote me at the moment when he was negotiating with M. Gerardin, begging me to allow him quite large advantages. I replied to him that I was not the sole proprietor, that I would lay his request before my co-heirs, communicating to them my personal dispositions in his favor. I made him no other promise. I have had it to regret later that M. Pellerin persisted in believing that my father, and I after him, had made some precise and special engagements with him. And the manner in which he expressed his persistence in this conviction, in the last letter which I received from him, broke off our correspondence, which was becoming futile since I could not hope to convince him of his error."<sup>39</sup>

So much for the other side of the case.

At the end of 1837, the situation was still unresolved. By then Pellerin had finished paying Gerardin for his rights to section 8 together with improvements.<sup>40</sup> Williams, who had already sold to Americans the other two of the sections that had been occupied by the French settlers, was convinced that Gerardin had forfeited his rights to section 8, and was planning to dispose of it in 1838. Pellerin on the contrary was maintaining that Williams could not sell section 8 to anyone but himself.

A further factor in this impasse must have been interposed by the death of Gerardin, as reported by both Pellerin and Williams. This must have raised questions of inheritance, for the four sons who had helped to improve section 8 may have believed that they had some claim to consideration. A Frederick Gerardin, presumably one of the four, is found serving as administrator of Isidore Gerardin's estate in 1837, 1838, and 1840 under the supervision

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38. Williams to G. W. Lafayette, December 23, 1837, DCL.

39. G. W. Lafayette to Williams, February 25, 1843, DCL.

40. Pellerin to G. W. Lafayette, March 20, 1837, DCL.

of the Leon County court.<sup>41</sup> Also the Francis Gerardin, who in 1834 had offered for sale or rent 640 acres four miles north of Tallahassee, was probably the same F. Gerardin who, on April 4, 1840, advertised section 8 for sale.<sup>42</sup> From this latter newspaper notice it might be inferred that section 8 was then in the possession of one or all of the surviving Gerardins.

Pellerin himself seems to have given up his long campaign after G. W. Lafayette disdained all communication with him. He evidently fell back upon the earlier idea of suing Jacminot, as can be deduced from the fact that he brought a suit in chancery against his former partner. To satisfy the court's judgment, land owned by Jacminot was scheduled to be sold in 1838 at a marshal's sale in Monticello, Jefferson County. In 1845 a legal notice shows that Pellerin was living in some other state; apparently he had renounced his idea of a plantation in Leon County.<sup>43</sup>

Lafayette's idealistic project of colonizing his township with planters using white labor got off to a bad start when only three Frenchmen undertook actual settlement in Leon County. It suffered major setbacks when the imported European workmen deserted, and when two of the three occupied sections were sold to American buyers. The death of Isidore Gerardin removed the last of the original French settlers from the scene, and when Lewis A. Pellerin took up residence elsewhere, all his efforts to become the Lafayette township's fourth immigrant settler ended in defeat.

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41. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, November 18, 1837, June 23, December 1, 1838, February 9, 1839, October 24, December 12, 1840.

42. *Ibid.*, March 16, 1834, April 4, 1840.

43. Jacminot's land was located in Township 2, Range 3, East and South, and Range 4, East and South, Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, March 17, 1838. Twenty of Jacminot's Union Bank shares were to be sold at auction for non-payment of interest, *Tallahassee Floridian*, March 13, 1841, April 2, 1842. On Pellerin's out-of-state residence, see *Tallahassee Floridian*, December 13, 1845. In his 1855 balance sheet, entitled "Estate of Genl. Lafayette in account with Robt. W. Williams," DCL. Williams credited the estate with the receipt of \$2,500 from "land claimed by Gardine," without identifying the source of this sum.

## JAMES THOMPSON, PENSACOLA'S FIRST REALTOR

by ROBIN F. A. FABEL

**T**HE accompanying document was published first in the *New York Journal*, November 5, 1767, and was reprinted without alteration half a dozen times. It appeared for the last time on March 24, 1768.<sup>1</sup> It is the first known private advertisement for real estate in the history of the British colony of West Florida. James Thompson, the man who submitted it, was not the first land speculator in the province, but, in his search for customers among the general public in other parts of America, his readiness to cultivate customers of limited means, and his care to advertise property as attractively as possible, his methods resemble those of a modern realtor.

Information on Thompson's early career is fragmentary. He was born in Ireland in 1728, emigrated to New York at an unknown date, and established himself as a merchant. In 1753, he married Catherine Walton.<sup>2</sup> During the Seven Years War Thompson supplied flaxseed to Charles McManus of Londonderry, drew bills on William Caldwell of the same Irish city, and imported wine from Messrs. Lemar and Hill of Madeira.<sup>3</sup> In 1762 he infuriated the British commander in chief in North America by trading with the French enemy on St. Domingue.<sup>4</sup> In 1764 he advertised that he had a cargo of indentured servants, both men and women, imported in the schooner *Expedition*, to dispose of. In the following year he showed a connection with West Florida when he advertised that the *Expedition* would be

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1. The dates were November 5, 12, December 3, 10, 1767, and January 7, March 24, 1768.
2. Frederick A. Virkus, ed., *The Compendium of American Genealogy: First Families of America*, 7 vols. (Chicago, 1937), VI, 449.
3. Gerard G. Beekman to Alexander and White, September 12, 1757; Beekman to Moses Frank, June 26, 1758; Beekman to Lemar and Hill, January 16, 1759; Frank to James Beekman, July 13, 1757; in Philip L. White, ed., *The Beekman Mercantile Papers, 1746-1799*, 3 vols. (New York, 1956), I, 306, 328-29; II, 587.
4. Jeffrey Amherst to Cadwallader Colden, April 16, 1762, Great Britain, Public Record Office, C.O. 5/62:209.

sailing from New York for Pensacola and Mobile. The *Expedition*, which was captained by Joseph Smith, was probably owned by Thompson, and he probably went along on the voyage. The vessel did not leave New York until late October, and Thompson is known to have arrived in West Florida on November 22.<sup>5</sup>

He presented himself, surprisingly, in the capacity of indentured servant to one William Satterthwaite about whom nothing is known except that he owned a moderate amount of land and that he strongly resented the way in which Governor George Johnstone was administering West Florida.<sup>6</sup> Even in a pioneer colony social distinctions were extremely important in the eighteenth century. Usually an indentured servant was in no position to acquire land for himself until his period of servitude had expired. Instead his master would include him on his own petitions for crown land as a member of his "family," and the servant would entitle him, as would a blood relation or a slave, to an extra fifty acres of land.<sup>7</sup>

Thompson, however, was no ordinary indentured servant. Initially he seems to have persuaded the provincial council whose responsibility, among others, was to consider applications for crown land, to doubt that he was a servant of any sort. On January 7, 1766, it granted him Pensacola town lot number 254 which is described in the accompanying document.<sup>8</sup> It was on the eastern side of the town, was eighty feet by 200 feet deep, and faced Pensacola harbor. It backed on swamp. On February 25 the council granted him fifty acres to the northwest of the town on the condition that he was not Satterthwaite's servant. The suspicion implicit in this proviso proved to be well founded, and, as a result, Thompson was deprived of the tract on July 30. It was given instead to Arthur Gordon, one of the more influential

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5. *New York Mercury*, October 15, 1764, September 23, October 21, 1765.
  6. Dunbar Rowland, ed., *Mississippi Provincial Archives: English Dominion* (Nashville, 1911), 1, 306, 508, 509. Hereinafter cited as *MPAED*.
  7. Great Britain, Public Record Office, CO. 5/634:451. For example, when Bernard Lintot applied for a family right grant of land on the Ticksaw River in West Florida, his "family" consisted of himself, his wife, his seven children, two indentured servants, and seven slaves. He received gratis 950 acres, 100 as head of a household, and fifty for each member of it.
  8. Clinton H. Howard, *The British Development of West Florida, 1763-1796* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1947), 68.

lawyers in West Florida, who showed that Thompson had been included in the family of Satterthwaite in a grant request of February 11 and thus had used up his entitlement.

By then it scarcely mattered to Thompson because he had won the favor of the most important man in the colony, Governor Johnstone, who, on July 28, made him a member of the West Florida council, thus conferring on him the provincial equivalent of cabinet rank. On the very day of his appointment, he received a grant of land to the west of Pensacola, and on the 30th, the day when he lost his title to one piece of land, he received title to two others, the swampland flanking the capital to its east and west, in place of a Patrick Reilly who forfeited them because he had failed to do what all grantees of crown land agreed to do, develop his property.<sup>9</sup> Full title deeds to these lands were not available until January 10, 1767, when it was discovered that, thanks to a clerk's incompetence, the original papers about them had been lost. On occasion, few individuals could insist more on punctilio than George Johnstone. He might well have insisted that Thompson go through the tedious and expensive process of applying for the lands all over again. Instead he and councillor Thompson withdrew from the meeting so that the rest of the council might decide, without undue influence, whether it would be acceptable to deliver the deeds to Thompson or not. They decided in his favor.

As the governor recalled it for the benefit of councillors not then present, Thompson had offered to take up neglected lots on behalf of numerous friends and kinsmen in New York and was prepared to post bond to ensure that they were built on within a year.<sup>10</sup> Such a scheme was bound to interest Johnstone who customarily gave strong support to any measures which would swell immigration to his colony. That Thompson could post bond for his relatives indicates that he was prospering in Florida, as does the fact that in 1767 he paid the poll tax on four slaves.<sup>11</sup> If they were able-bodied males, the slaves alone would have been worth 800 Spanish milled dollars.

Thompson was involved in a number of complicated trading ventures. Some light is thrown on them by a surviving list of

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9. *Ibid.*, 70, 76, 77.

10. C.O. 5/632:188.

11. C.O. 5/577:76.

transactions in which he engaged in 1766 with the Pensacola merchant, Nicholas Talbot, who traded with the Spanish province of Campeche in Mexico. On the debit side Thompson owed Talbot for a cargo of Campeche logwood, for goods, mostly textiles, sold by the Mobile firm of Clark, Pouset and Driscoll to Talbot but actually received by Thompson, and for cash paid by a Spanish customer to Thompson which was supposed to go to Talbot. The total debt was \$3,700. On the credit side, Talbot owed Thompson money for the use of the schooner *Expedition*, for delivering logwood, and for provisions and supplies used on the *Expedition's* trading voyage, which seems to have been partly for Talbot's benefit and partly for Thompson's. When credits and debits were offset, Thompson owed Talbot \$321.

Complicating the situation was Thompson's role as agent for the Philadelphia merchant William Richards who was owed money by Clark, Pousett and Driscoll. The Mobile partners tried to settle their debt with goods which, since Thompson himself was in a hurry to leave for New York, were passed on to his friend David Hodge to sell.<sup>12</sup> The payments involved concerned bills of exchange that could be cashed only in Britain, which led inevitably to long delays in settling accounts. Keeping careful track of them was necessary and difficult.

What makes it worthwhile to recall and disentangle these small transactions of long ago is the evidence that they provide for two things. The first is that the hoped-for trade with Spanish America that lured so many immigrants to Florida and of which little evidence has survived was not a complete chimera. The second is the extensive trading network of which West Florida was a part, involving New York, Philadelphia, Mexico, and London.

Thompson dealt in a variety of goods other than textiles and lumber. On March 23, 1767, just before leaving for New York, he assigned a stock of assorted items to the New Orleans resident, Patrick Morgan, of the celebrated partnership of Morgan and Mather, to sell at a commission rate of five per cent. Apart from small quantities of nails, tobacco, playing cards, and biscuit, the bulk of the items consisted of shingles, casks of liquor, and, above all, barrels of New York beer. Their total value was rather less

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12. C.O. 5/613:204.



than \$1,000, no doubt the remnant of a much larger and more valuable stock.<sup>13</sup>

The last occasion on which Thompson attended a council meeting was March 9, 1767. Governor Johnstone had left West Florida for good on January 13.<sup>14</sup> Before departure he had given Thompson a year's leave of absence from his councilar duties so that he could return to New York.<sup>15</sup> It was while he was there that Thompson published the accompanying advertisement. Many of the lots described in it were not his own. It may be presumed that many grantees were early settlers who had changed their minds about living in Pensacola, knew full well that they would not themselves develop their properties and, rather than forfeit them, would prefer to rent them. Vagueness of description makes it difficult to ascribe the advertised lots to individuals with certainty. An exception is François Caminada, a French Protestant who was in Louisiana, where he had lived since 1748. Governor Johnstone persuaded him to migrate to Pensacola where he served on the council briefly in 1765 before deciding to transfer his business back to New Orleans.<sup>16</sup> Potential renters were instructed in the newspaper advertisement to apply either to Thompson in New York or in Pensacola to David Hodge and George Raincock, whom he had provided, on March 24, with power to act for him.<sup>17</sup>

Both Hodge and Raincock were among Pensacola's solidier citizens. Hodge was a member of the provincial council, the owner of large acreage, and an enterprising merchant who traded with the Spanish colonies.<sup>18</sup> Raincock came from Liverpool.<sup>19</sup> In West Florida he was a partner with William Godley in trade. In July 1772, Raincock acquired a 1,000-acre plantation on the Amite River.<sup>20</sup> Later he became a justice of the peace.<sup>21</sup> At the onset of

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13. *Ibid.*, ff. 16-17.

14. Philadelphia *Pennsylvania Gazette*, February 9, 1767.

15. Robert R. Rea and Milo B. Howard, Jr., *The Minutes, Journals, and Acts of the General Assembly of British West Florida* (University, Alabama, 1979), 74.

16. *MPAED*, I, 151, 255, 285; C.O. 5/632, Council Minutes for January 7 and February 28, 1765.

17. C.O. 5/613:18.

18. Rea and Howard, *The Minutes, Journals and Acts*, 95.

19. Montfort Browne to the Earl of Hillsborough, August 20, 1769, C.O. 5/586:309.

20. C.O. 5/591:153.

21. C.O. 5/630, Council Minutes for May 16, 1774.

the American Revolution he would resign his seat on the West Florida Council to return to England.<sup>22</sup>

Thompson's advertisement is interesting as a guide to the state of development of Pensacola something short of four years after the first arrival of the British. He referred to a public market area, to swampland as having been entirely cleared, and to the successful cultivation and sale of a variety of garden fruits and vegetables. He mentioned ten streets named after contemporary British politicians and members of the royal family. At the same time Thompson was trying to attract customers, and undoubtedly, in seeking to portray a growing and thriving community, he allowed himself to exaggerate. Those streets that he called George, Charlotte, Prince's, Granby, Pitt, Mansfield, Cumberland, and Johnson, which correspond to modern Palafox, Alcaniz, Garden, Intendencia, Government, Zaragoza, Baylen, and Barcelona streets, existed with buildings on them, but Grafton and Conway streets, which he also mentioned on an equality with the others, were projected rather than actual. No map shows them as having buildings. They were intended to run parallel with Prince's Street at the north end of the town but probably comprised no more than surveyor's stakes in the sand. At the same time Pensacola undoubtedly had other streets which Thompson did not mention, but they were at the eastern end of the town where he had little property to rent. Pensacola probably, therefore, had a dozen or so recognizable and built-on streets, and it was reported in the spring of 1768 that nearly 200 houses had been erected in the town in the previous eighteen months. This was a very considerable improvement on the fort and scattering of huts which was Pensacola prior to 1763.

Thompson also exaggerated the prospects for market gardeners in Pensacola. The high prices he quoted for vegetables, poultry, and meat, which were meant to suggest prosperity to migrating New Yorkers, actually sprang from hardship and privation. The summer of the year in which he wrote was particularly arduous. For months there was a lack of provisions of every kind, and had it not been for the arrival of a schooner from Philadelphia on June 6, 1767, there would not even have been any flour.<sup>23</sup>

22. C.O. 5/602:373. C.O. 5/631, Council Minutes for May 28, 1776.

23. *New York Journal*, July 16, 1767, April 9, 1768.

It is impossible to say how much success Thompson's advertisements enjoyed. The probability is little, although it is true that a surprisingly large number of New Yorkers were to be found among the inhabitants of British West Florida, and some may have been inspired to go there by the attractive description of Pensacola written by Thompson, although the careful newspaper reader could have found plenty to darken that glowing picture. Nevertheless the flaw in Thompson's scheme was that it depended for success on the continued and steady expansion of Pensacola's population. If that had occurred, since the land available for expansion inside the Indian boundary was limited, there might indeed have existed a great demand for rentable property. In fact, although the initial development of Pensacola was rapid, the pace thereafter slowed for three reasons.

One was that the Spanish trade, which was seen as Pensacola's main *raison d'être* and which was a prime motive for early immigration, never acquired the hoped-for dimensions, with the result that many merchants left Pensacola.<sup>24</sup> A second reason for slow population growth, of which Thompson must have been aware but about which he understandably wrote nothing, was that the mortality rate was high. The climate of West Florida was particularly devastating to immigrants from colder regions. In 1765, in a battalion of 500, ten to twelve soldiers a day were dying at Pensacola. Of six officers' wives who came with the battalion, five were soon dead, and the other seemed ill beyond recovery.<sup>25</sup> Because of sickness, nearby Mobile in 1766 was deserted by all except a dozen families and the garrison. A letter from Pensacola in August 1767, revealed a similar story: "It is very sickly here at present . . . many people have died this summer."<sup>26</sup> A third reason for population stagnation in Pensacola was that, in spite of Thompson's tributes, its inhabitants had become aware that the richest soil of West Florida lay in the western portion of the province. Those who wanted to prosper from farming saw the wisdom of migrating there. In either case, whether near Natchez or in Pensacola, the availability of land

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24. This was made clear in a speech Governor Johnstone gave to the merchants of Pensacola. He urged them to delay departure until the legal aspects of trading with the Spanish were clarified. *Scots Magazine*, XXVII (July 1765), 385.

25. *Annapolis Maryland Gazette*, October 31, 1765.

26. *New York Journal*, December 11, 1766, December 3, 1767.

was such that it could be obtained free from the crown; there was no need to rent it.

On the expiration of his leave of absence Thompson returned to Florida. On November 28, 1768, with John Thompson, a kinsman, he successfully applied for 500 acres of land on the Escambia River near Pensacola, after which he vanished into obscurity as far as West Florida was concerned.<sup>27</sup> In 1773, when his daughter Polly married in New York, a local newspaper referred to her father as "formerly of this city." Perhaps he remained on in the colony he did so much to publicize.

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27. *Ibid.*, March 25, 1773.

TO BE LET *New York Journal*, Nov. 5, 1767

On reasonable terms, and long leases will be given to those who intend valuable improvements, many very valuable and well situated lots, not already tenanted (several of them being on the next street to the harbour) near the center of the city of Pensacola, in West Florida, within the following bounds, viz.

Three hundred and forty feet on the east side of Cumberland Street, taking in the whole space between Pitt Street, and Mansfield Street, with the corners at each of those streets; eighty Feet on the north side of Mansfield Street, adjoining Cumberland Street; eighty feet on the south side of Pitt Street, adjoining Cumberland Street, including the corner lots; one hundred and sixty feet on the south side of Pitt Street, adjoining Cumberland Street; one hundred and seventy feet on the south side of Cumberland Street from the corner of Pitt Street, towards Mansfield Street; one hundred and sixty feet on the south side of Granby Street, one hundred and seventy feet deep, between Cumberland Street and Johnson Street; eighty feet on the South side of Princes and from the corner of Prince's Street, one hundred and seventy feet fronting the square lay'd out for a public market, eighty feet fronting the harbour, extending two hundred feet back to the east swamp and fresh water river; three hundred and fifteen feet on the south side of Grafton Street, by two hundred and eight feet deep, with three streets running through this space,

and adjoining a fresh water rivulet on the east side; one hundred and five feet front on the north side of Grafton Street, by two hundred and eight feet deep on the South side of Prince's Street, with a fresh water rivulet running through these lots also; one hundred and five feet front, by two hundred and eight feet deep on the south side of Grafton Street, near Charlotte Street; one hundred and five feet front, by two hundred and eight feet deep, on the north side of Conway Street.

ALSO, the east and west swamp, adjoining and encompassing about two thirds of the city of Pensacola, on the land side; each of them has a fresh water brook running through the center of them known by the names of the east and west brooks, they bound on the east and west harbours, and are esteemed the best adapted lands in the whole province for gardens: they are so level that water can be led from the brooks into trenches through every plat in the gardens; the timber, brush and under-wood is entirely cleared off them; the soil is black mould, and easily cultivated and in such esteem that the inhabitants carry the mould from these swamps, to improve their gardens in the town:— As there is little winter in that climate the gardens may be kept in continued culture the whole year— Arbours of vines would form a profitable shade from the summers over the garden plats — grapes — oranges — lemons — limes — pomgranates — citron — almonds — olives — figs — pistachioes — peaches — nectrins — plumbs — apples — lettices, radishes, mellons, cucumbers, cabage, turnips, potatoes of the Irish and Carolina kinds, and almost all other fruits and vegetables produced anywhere on the continent of America, or West-Indies, thrive extremely well at Pensacola, where they have the advantage of a good soil.

Likewise a tract of land about 300 yards from the town, on the bayside, fit for gardens.

There is also a very fine stream fit to erect saw-mills on, with three thousand acres of fine wood-land of cedar, live oak and pitch pine on the banks of the river, leading into the east bay (by which conveyance plenty of those timbers may always be had) about four miles from the town of Pensacola. It can be asserted that there are few places in the world, where gardeners could make a greater profit from their labour than at Pensacola, for on enquiry it will be found the following prices have generally been given for vegetables at that place, viz. For potatoes, before the

North American ships arrive with them – 9d per pound, after those from the shipping are sold, bad and good, as they come to hand, at one dollar the bushel; turnips at 4d. half penny per pound; a good cabbage sells for half a dollar; radishes a bitt a bunch, and all other vegetables in proportion; fat chicken and young ducks sell from 8 to 12 bitts a piece;– notwithstanding beef and plenty of venison is sold from 4d. half penny to a bitt per pound; plenty of good oysters for the gathering, and many kinds of very good fish, as cheap as at New York. So that at that place industrious, sober, and frugal people cannot fail of soon growing rich.– As there are no lands in or near Pensacola, but such as are private property.– Those who intend to go from these parts to settle at that place, will have great advantage in making their terms before they set out for any of the above premises, with JAMES THOMPSON, at New York, and those who are on the spot, can view the lots, and may apply to the Hon. David Hodge and George Raincock Esqrs. at Pensacola, who are empowered to rent them.



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## BOOK REVIEWS

*Anatomy of a Lynching, The Killing of Claude Neal.* By James R. McGovern. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982. xii. 170 pp. Preface and acknowledgements, photographs, maps, illustrations, selected bibliography, index. \$17.50.)

*Anatomy of a Lynching* is a sensitive and forthright analysis of one of the most gruesome episodes in Florida history, the 1934 lynching of Claude Neal. Gracefully written and carefully argued, James McGovern's brief monograph is a welcome addition to the small but growing scholarly literature on southern lynching. Utilizing oral history interviews, as well as a wide variety of printed sources, McGovern has produced a richly detailed case study that should enhance our general understanding of mob violence and vigilantism. More than a mere narrative, the book includes an incisive social portrait of Jackson County, the scene of the Neal lynching. The author also makes skillful use of social psychological theory. Drawing upon the work of Eric Fromm and Leonard Berkowitz, he stresses the importance of black vulnerability and compares lynching victims to battered women, abused children, and inmates of Nazi death camps. Although he does not totally discount the traditional theories that explain southern lynching as a function of Negrophobic pathology and socio-economic malaise, McGovern argues that southern whites lynched blacks "primarily because they exercised virtually unlimited power over them" (p. 10). His contention that the primary buttress of southern lynch-law was not fear, but fearlessness, is difficult to prove empirically. But the idea merits further consideration.

McGovern's account of the Neal saga is riveting. On October 19, 1934, the mutilated body of nineteen-year old Lola Cannidy was discovered on a hillside near her father's farm in Jackson County. The young white woman had been bludgeoned to death with a hammer and possibly raped. Two hours after the discovery, the local sheriff arrested Claude Neal, a black farm worker who lived less than one quarter mile from the Cannidy farm. Claude Neal had known Lola Cannidy since early childhood, and there

is some indication that they were lovers. Although the evidence against Neal was circumstantial at best, a lynch mob soon stormed the county jail. Fortunately, the sheriff had already taken the precaution of transferring Neal to a jail in Panama City, sixty miles away. Neal was later moved to an army jail in Fort Barrancas, near Pensacola, and finally to a county jail in Brewton, Alabama. On October 26, Neal was abducted from the Brewton jail by a small but well-organized band of Jackson County whites and taken to a wooded hideaway near the Chattahoochee River. The impending lynching— the plan was to allow the Cannidy family to execute Neal at the scene of the crime— was then publicized by a Dothan, Alabama, radio station and by the Dothan *Eagle*, which ran the following headline: “Florida to Burn Negro at Stake: Sex Criminal Seized from Brewton Jail, Will be Mutilated, Set Afire in Extra-Legal Vengeance for Deed.” By the evening of the twenty-sixth, a huge crowd (estimates ranged as high as 2,000) had gathered at the Cannidy farm to witness the bloodletting. An Associated Press reporter was at the scene, and both the NAACP and Florida Governor David Sholtz had been alerted to what was happening. The glare of publicity made some members of the lynch mob nervous, but the vengeance-seeking whites of Jackson County were not to be denied. Although they had promised to let the Cannidys have first crack at Neal, the men guarding Neal in the woods took it upon themselves to torture, castrate, and eventually murder their captive. Neal’s body was then brought to the Cannidy farm, where the Cannidy family and others mutilated the remains. Fingers and toes were removed as souvenirs, and small children were encouraged to jab pointed sticks into the corpse. The body was eventually taken to Marianna, the county seat, and suspended from a tree in front of the county courthouse. But even then the carnage did not end. The emotions aroused by the lynching led to an all-out assault on the local black community. During a day-long riot, several black homes were burned and hundreds of blacks were beaten. Only the arrival of the National Guard prevented a wholesale slaughter.

McGovern devotes three chapters to the aftermath of the lynching. The reaction of the press and the public, Governor Sholtz’s perfunctory investigation of the incident, and the NAACP’s use of the grisly details of the Neal lynching in its

campaign for a federal anti-lynching law are handled honestly and intelligently. In my opinion, McGovern's argument that the notoriety surrounding the Neal lynching was largely responsible for the rapid decline of "classic" community-endorsed lynchings in the late 1930s is not altogether convincing. But his tendency to overestimate the impact of the Neal incident is a minor flaw in an otherwise excellent book.

*University of South Florida*

RAYMOND ARSENAULT

*George Gauld: Surveyor and Cartographer of the Gulf Coast.* By John D. Ware, revised and completed by Robert R. Rea. (Gainesville, University Presses of Florida, 1982. xx, 251 pp. List of Illustrations, John D. Ware (an appreciation), preface, introduction, maps, appendix, index. \$30.00.)

Britain's acquisition of Florida in 1763 was accompanied by the growing realization that almost nothing in the way of detailed maps or charts of the vast new territory existed. Strident critics of the peace negotiations with Spain and France, which resulted in Florida's addition to King George's empire, proclaimed that Florida was little more than "pine barrens, or sandy deserts [sic]." Another more admiring observer commented that Florida was "the most precious jewel in His Majesty's American Dominions." The truth of the matter was that, to most Britons, Florida was an unknown and mysterious land in 1763.

This book details the career of one of a small handful of gifted and indefatigable surveyor-cartographers who explored and mapped Florida during the two decades of British control. He was George Gauld, a native of Scotland who served in the Royal Navy. Gauld, who earned an M.A. degree at Aberdeen, was certified as a navy schoolmaster aboard a British man-of-war which saw extensive combat service in the Mediterranean during the period 1757-1759.

George Gauld was selected by the Admiralty to proceed to Florida in 1764 to undertake vitally needed "accurate surveys . . . of His Majesty's Dominions" there. He arrived at Pensacola in August of that year aboard the *Tartar* which had been specially fitted out for a hydrographic survey. Gauld lost little time in be-



ginning his surveys, which were to extend more or less continuously until 1781, when Spain forcibly evicted the British from West Florida.

This book is a detailed chronicle of Gauld's charting of the Gulf coast during the period of its British control. It was begun by John Ware, a seafarer and shipmaster who became a Tampa Bay pilot in 1952. Ware knew the Gulf coast intimately as a licensed master of steam and motor vessels. Although never formally trained as a historian, Captain Ware became a respected expert on the first and second Spanish periods of Florida's history. His articles appeared in journals such as the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, *Tequesta*, and *El Escribano*. He wrote the introduction and compiled the index for the Bicentennial Floridiana Facsimile Series edition of P. Lee Phillips's volume, *Notes on the Life of Bernard Romans*, which appeared in 1975. Romans, it will be recalled, was also an important surveyor and cartographer of pre-Revolutionary Florida.

Most unfortunately, Captain Ware died before he had completed the manuscript of this book on George Gauld and his Florida surveys. Through the cooperation of Mrs. Ware, it was possible for Robert R. Rea, professor of history at Auburn University and a ranking expert on the eighteenth-century Gulf coast, to complete the manuscript and see it through publication. Thus a rare combination of talents, those of the mariner-historian and the accomplished academic, have been combined to produce a truly impressive volume.

Rea and the staff of the University Presses of Florida are particularly deserving of commendation for including several photographic copies of Gauld's original maps in the book. Although reduced in format, these maps are valuable documents which serve to epitomize the outstanding accomplishments of George Gauld during his arduous surveys of the eighteenth-century Gulf coast. Students of Gulf coast history, as well as those interested in the history of hydrography and charting, will find this a book well worth reading.

University of Georgia

LOUIS DEVORSEY

*The Log of H.M.S. Mentor, 1780-1781, A New Account of the British Navy at Pensacola.* Edited by James A. Servies. Intro-

duction by Robert R. Rea. (Pensacola: University Presses of Florida, 1982. xi, 207 pp. Acknowledgements., list of illustrations, illustrations, maps, names and technical terms. \$11.75.)

*H.M.S. Mentor* was built in Maryland as a privateer. Not much is known of her early career, but apparently she was fairly successful at the occupation for which she was intended. Robert Rea, in his well-written introduction, explains that nothing is known about *Mentor's* privateering activities in American waters, and he believes that it is probable that she had another name. She was eventually taken to Liverpool, where she was registered as *Who's Afraid*. *Who's Afraid* operated as a rather successful privateer from 1778 to 1780. In March 1780, Admiral Peter Parker purchased the ship for the Royal Navy and named her *H.M.S. Mentor*.

In her original form *Who's Afraid* or *Mentor* was described as a sloop. Later, as *Mentor* she is described as a small frigate. Normally a sloop of war carried her armament on the weather deck. *Mentor*, however, is shown to have had a regular gun deck pierced for twenty guns. Since she carried six four-pounders on the quarter deck, she might be classed as a small frigate. She was copper sheathed, a feature which made her extremely valuable in the warm waters of Florida where worm damage was a major problem for the wooden bottoms of ships.

*Mentor's* captain, Robert Deans, appears to have been an exceptionally good officer who managed his ship in an excellent fashion and eventually went on to have a distinguished if not illustrious naval career. Bad luck rather than lack of ability at times seems to have been the main reason Deans did not advance to even higher ranks.

This work is the edited log of *Mentor* with a narrative introduction giving an account of the captain, his crew, and a brief history of the ship. *Mentor* was part of the Royal naval squadron operating out of Pensacola. This squadron played a significant role in General John Campbell's defense of the Gulf coast and Pensacola. Even after a naval defense became impossible, *Mentor's* crew was used to man part of the fortifications of Pensacola. When the ship was damaged and faced capture by the Spanish, Deans burned her.

When Deans was captured by Gálvez, he was accused of mis-

treating Spanish prisoners, improperly destroying his ship, and instigating a revolt of English settlers. As a result, rather than being exchanged as were most prisoners, Deans was held prisoner until several months after peace was signed.

The log of *Mentor*, edited by James A. Servies, provides the reader with a day-by-day detailed account of the movements of the ship. To the uninitiated, a ship's log is not easy to read. The speed of the ship, the weather conditions, and wind direction and velocity are always entered in the log; ships sighted, along with all important subjects are also carefully recorded. Ships' logs can be extremely useful to the historian who can use them with the assurance of accuracy as to time, date, and weather.

*Mentor's* log is one of the few such books extant covering the Gulf coast in 1780-1781 and the Spanish capture of Pensacola. As such it is a valuable record of the whole campaign. This log contains details which would not have been available in military records or anywhere else. This book is very useful and should be especially helpful to scholars in their efforts to understand the Gulf coast during this period.

Dr. Rea has provided his readers with an interesting and understandable introduction. In addition, Mr. Servies had edited the text in a clear and readable manner. The University Presses of Florida have provided an attractive book with good print. This account should be of special value to scholars and students of maritime history. The editor has taken a difficult subject and made it understandable to the layman.

*Auburn University*

FRANK L. OWSLEY, JR.

*Bonnie Melrose, The Early History of Melrose, Florida.* By Zonira Hunter Tolles. (Gainesville: Storter Printing Company, Inc., 1982. xi, 372 pp. List of illustrations, preface, historical data, notes, bibliography, index. \$17.50.)

Zonira Hunter Tolles developed an interest in Florida history in a class taught by historian Kathryn Abbey Hanna at Florida State College for Women, now Florida State University. After graduation Ms. Tolles came to Melrose, Florida, to teach in the Melrose High School. She recalls, "I fell in love with the region in the vicinity of Lake Santa Fe." When she retired from teaching,

research in local history became her hobby, and in 1974 the Melrose Bicentennial Committee asked her to write a history of Melrose.

*Shadows in the Sand*, the first of a projected three-volume history, was published in 1976. It followed the history from the time that European explorers first pushed through the area bordering Lake Santa Fe until the close of the Civil War and Reconstruction eras. *Bonnie Melrose*, the second volume, opens in 1876, the year of America's centennial, in the home of the area's first settler, Elijah Wall, and ends with the completion of the Green Cove Springs and Melrose Railroad in January 1890. The railroad linked the isolated community of Melrose with Green Cove Springs and the Tampa-Jacksonville Railroad. Tourists and winter visitors could now come to Melrose by rail. To accommodate the anticipated influx of winter visitors, the Santa Fe Hotel opened on January 15 with an evening of dancing and fireworks to usher in "the Golden Age of Melrose."

One of the most neglected areas in American historical writing is that of local history—the story of states, counties, and cities where much material exists about the active day-by-day lives of the people who lived there. Some non-professional historians possess the motivation to research local history. Ms. Tolles is such a motivated and resourceful historian. She has utilized land records of Alachua, Putnam, Clay, and Bradford counties, census returns, church histories, the minutes of the boards of county commissioners of Putnam County, diaries of pioneer residents, and photographic records. She has also read inscriptions on tombstones in cemeteries and interviewed many local residents.

Students of Florida history will conclude that Melrose's problems were not at all unique. Freedmen after 1865 worked as farm hands or as share croppers. Black women did laundry work and served as wet nurses and maids. Dr. Frank McRae had read medicine under his uncle, and it was stated that he, "did more charitable work among the poor than any man in the section and died a poor man." Most women did not work outside the home, but there were two liberated ladies in Melrose. Eliza King, who moved to Melrose in 1886, advocated dress reform for women and insisted on wearing men's trousers. Elizabeth Orr wrote her *Connecticut Cook Book* in Melrose in 1877. Ms. Tolles describes the orange fever which struck Melrose by 1876 when "the orange

reigned as its queen,” and the freeze of 1886, when the St. Johns River froze over in places with ice one inch thick. Melrose shared with other Florida communities the privations and suffering occasioned by the yellow fever epidemic of 1888. “The epidemic was a real killer, as the summer dragged on people were kindling huge fires of pine and tar to purify the air at night. Some people called it black death because the vomit of its victims approaching death was black in color.” Winter visitors were afraid to come to Melrose, and the community suffered real financial distress.

*Bonnie Melrose* chronicles some unique experiences of the pioneering Melrose community. Ms. Tolles finds humor and tragedy in the ordinary happenings of the population, but she also glimpses the elements of strength and weakness that make each person an individual. Land records indicate that plats existed for a community to be known as Melrose as early as 1877. The name was suggested by a Kentucky visitor named Bonney. The name Melrose comes from Scotland, where Melrose Abbey is located.

The reader senses empathy for the tragedy, the faded dreams and failures of the men and women of Melrose who labored and hoped that the community would become a metropolis. There was Black Friday, February 29, 1884, when the *F. S. Lewis*, the canal schooner that made daily trips to connect with the Transit Railroad at Waldo, burned. It would be years before *The Alert* could be obtained as a replacement. Each winter's end saw the departure of visitors. Melrose did not have great railroad builders like David Levy Yulee or Henry Flagler, but there were builders who organized smaller corporations that often went into bankruptcy even before the rails reached Melrose. The promoters of Melrose continued to hope for a railroad link with the outside world. If there was a unifying theme for *Bonnie Melrose*, it was this striving and hoping for a more prosperous future for this small, isolated frontier community.

Professional historians may have constructive criticisms for *Bonnie Melrose*. It seems sometimes that the primary sources—official records, diaries, newspapers, and interviews—determine the writing rather than the writing controlling the sources. Individuals who played no major role in the history could be better noted in a genealogical index. There should be more analysis of deep-seated economic and social problems.

Despite these criticisms, this is a good book, and the author should be congratulated for painstaking research in the area of local history. Local citizens, historians, and genealogists will find much of value in this study. Hopefully, this volume will inspire other historians to explore the early experiences of Florida settlements before this important local and often oral history is lost forever.

*University of Florida*

MERLIN G. COX

*William Lauderdale: General Andrew Jackson's Warrior.* By Cooper Kirk. (Fort Lauderdale: Manatee Books, 1982. 292 pp. Illustrations, preface, notes, selected bibliography, index. \$14.95.)

This book is well-bound with clear print on high-quality paper. Curiously the author's name is printed on such small type on the slip-cover that it looks like a footnote as well as throwing an otherwise attractive cover out of balance.

Cooper Kirk has chosen to research an obscure figure who took part, however small, in the Second Seminole War. Such a search, when done well (and Kirk's is done well), has as much validity as the endless quest by the majority of history writers for added bits and pieces of the giants who strode the stages of the past. Without the host of minor players such as Lauderdale, the major actors would have moved to no avail, the critical difference being that the lesser figures could be replaced without altering the plot while the leads often determined the plot.

Kirk has probably found virtually all that is to be found about his subject, and though the total is remarkably small he has put it together well and within the context of the times. We are able to see William Lauderdale about as clearly as his contemporaries may have viewed him, which is to say, not very well. As the author states, he "still has the unenviable status of a non-person." By and large the author has avoided the mistake of some who choose to research and write on the bit players of history, attempting to cast their subject in a major role rather than a member of the supporting cast. It is evident after reading this book why Lauderdale is an obscure figure in Florida history as well as in the annals of Tennessee, his native state. Rarely did

he rise high enough on the horizon of history, whether domestically, politically, or militarily, to be seen, then or now. It is meant as no affront to Lauderdale that he, like most men of all times, deserves the obscurity in which he rests.

Kirk's one attempt to prop Lauderdale up beyond his actual importance in history is in his sub-title: "General Andrew Jackson's Warrior." Quartermaster, perhaps (if briefly). Messenger, certainly. Neighbor and acquaintance, without doubt. But warrior? By 1836 Lauderdale— then between fifty and fifty-five years old— "never had commanded in the field a detachment larger than a company." In October 1836 Captain Lauderdale and his men took the field in their role as a "spy company" and succeeded in capturing "four squaws and eight children." A year later (nine months of which was spent back home in Tennessee), Lauderdale had been promoted to major and was back in Florida in command of a battalion.

"Lauderdale's Spy Battalion participated in the fierce but indecisive Battle of Lockahatchee . . . on January 24 [1838] against an Indian force ranging from 100 to 300 warriors. . . . The regular troops accused the Tennesseans of cowardice. . . . [Jesup] excused their temporary lapse on the grounds that they had no prior battle experience." And very little afterward. February 1837 was spent maintaining patrols and scouting parties. In March the force moved south from Jupiter Inlet some fifty miles to New River. Here the men built a fort (named for the major), but in April they received orders to proceed to Fort Brooke for mustering out. Lauderdale never made it home. On May 10 or 11 he died in Baton Rouge, presumably of a long-time lung affliction.

With this one exception of promoting a very ordinary citizen-soldier to "warrior" class, Cooper Kirk has thoroughly researched and written well of his subject. Through such works as this it becomes more possible for the reader to understand better the attitudes and thus the lives and actions of those Americans who preceded us; those men and women who had a part, however small, in shaping the society in which we live.

*Dade City, Florida*

FRANK LAUMER

*The Glorious Cause: The American Revolution, 1763-1789.* By Robert Middlekauff. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982. xvi, 696 pp. Preface, editor's introduction, prologue, maps, illustrations, epilogue, abbreviated titles, bibliographical note, index. \$25.00.)

*The Glorious Cause* is the first of eleven volumes which will constitute the Oxford History of the United States. As conceived originally by C. Vann Woodward and the late Richard Hofstadter, this ambitious series seeks to serve "the unspecialized reader" and "the educated public." The individual volumes are intended to be "ample," and certainly the first deserves that description. They are also intended to furnish new insights and revisions, to cover "large periods and aspects of the nation's history." There will be eight more volumes which will trace American history from its origins to the present; in addition, one volume will be devoted to diplomatic history, and another will focus on economic history. All are intended to be "readable" and "accessible"; all will be published as the manuscripts become available.

Robert Middlekauff's *The Glorious Cause* is well worth having despite its limitations. His title is borrowed from George Washington's description of the American Revolution. Middlekauff observes that while the cause was indeed glorious, it "had its inglorious sides." His purpose is to show both the achievements and the failures and to do so in a book which is largely narrative but has several chapters and sections within chapters which analyze events and explain the real meaning of the events. If this suggests something of a hybrid, the suggestion seems justified. The frequent interruptions to the narrative seem to belong to another—very desirable—book. And the narrative itself is frustrating in its omissions: the substantial exclusion of western settlement and diplomatic history may be purposeful, but it does the book a disservice.

It is unclear how educated a reader is really sought for the Oxford History and its first volume. *The Glorious Cause* presumes considerable familiarity with relatively recent scholarship and usually builds well upon it. Readers with long memories of John C. Miller's two-volume narrative account of the achievement of American independence will find Robert Middlekauff's



book very different. Although much more scholarly and accurate, *The Glorious Cause* lacks the sense of drama, humor, and excitement conveyed by Miller's *Origins of the American Revolution* and *The Triumph of Freedom*. But Middlekauff does remind us how far historians have travelled in the past forty years, the measure of the new findings, and how they have enhanced our understanding of the Revolution.

Perhaps our most significant advance has been in our ability to appreciate the social and intellectual circumstances of the eighteenth-century colonists. Drawing upon the research of Gary Nash, Middlekauff paints a bleak portrait of the urban poor in the 1750s. When observing that Tom Paine told the colonists what so many of them wanted to hear, Middlekauff is also able to explain why Paine's message was at once familiar and acceptable. Helped by the work of Bernard Bailyn, Caroline Robbins, and others, Middlekauff explains anew the importance of the tradition of the eighteenth-century commonwealthmen and the relevance of seventeenth-century English radical Whig ideology to the American revolutionary generation.

Chapter six, "Selden's Penny," deserves to be singled out for its treatment of the colonists' preoccupation with property and freedom, their awareness of a particular historical perspective which "recounted the development of representative institutions to serve in effect as extensions of the rights of property." And yet, despite this acknowledgment of the importance of the colonists' educational experience, there is surprisingly little attention given to its content and character. Too often the reader of *The Glorious Cause* is told and not shown.

Insights— not necessarily new— abound. So does good writing. For example: "Honor and gallantry did not die . . . though large numbers of English, American, and French soldiers and Indians did." Note the succinct if overly simplified description of how Frederick the Great "danced and slashed his way through the encircling armies of France, Russia, and Austria." There is an excellent account of the Boston Massacre but very little on the consequent trial and its skillful exploitation by colonial propagandists. The British march on Concord is admirably reconstructed from depositions of participants. The description of the battle of Breed's Hill is no less successful, as is the assessment of Israel Putnam: "At the head of a regiment in assault he had few

equals; in staff meeting, few inferiors.”

Middlekauff gives appropriate credit to Garry Wills's perceptive *Inventing America*, but his narrative skimps the politics of the final decision for independence. Jefferson's importance is beyond dispute, but the lack of attention to John Dickinson is not. On the other hand Middlekauff's account of the military consequences of the Declaration is excellent, as is his thoughtful essay (chapter twenty) on why and how men fought and died in America's first civil war. And the treatment of the Yorktown campaign, while low-keyed and familiar, is eminently satisfactory.

Unfortunately the same cannot be claimed for the final fifty pages of this long book. These have a textbook flavor, possibly because the author was left with so much to cover and too little space: the result is a very abbreviated description of government prior to the Constitution of 1787 (the location of the discussion of the Articles of Confederation seems awkward), and the review of the internal aspects of the Revolution seems somewhat cursory. Middlekauff does manage to get the Constitution of 1787 drafted and ratified but does so in a rushed fashion.

In conclusion, this reviewer found *The Glorious Cause* somewhat uneven and uncertain. The attempt to combine narrative with analytical essays works intermittently, sometimes at the expense of both. There is much good writing, perception, and ambition. But it is hard to resist the thought that had *The Glorious Cause* not been part of so special a series, it might have been more satisfying. If Middlekauff had undertaken a totally independent study of the American Revolution and its consummation, we might have had a book at once more relaxed, more informing, more stimulating, and better integrated.

University of Central Florida

TREVER COLBOURN

*The Abolition of the Atlantic Slave Trade. Origins and Effects in Europe, Africa, and the Americas.* Edited by David Eltis and James Walvin. (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1981. xiii, 314 pp. Contributors and conference participants, maps, figures and tables, preface, introduction, selected bibliography, index. \$22.50.)

The fifteen original essays that constitute this volume are

collectively the product of a symposium held in 1978 at Aarhus University in Denmark. Three of the essays authored by Howard Temperley, the late Roger Anstey, and James Walvin are grouped under the heading "Abolition and the European Metropolis." Four more written by Philip Curtin, Ralph Austen, Edward Reynolds, and Jan Hogendorn and Henry Gemery are devoted to questions of "The Impact of Abolition on Africa"; three studies by David Eltis, Pieter Emmer, and Serge Daget deal with "The Illegal Slave Trade," while another four essays by Hans Christian Johansen, Svend Green-Pedersen, Richard Sheridan, and Franklin Knight conclude the work by examining "American Demographic and Cultural Responses" to the abolition of the slave trade. The fifteenth essay is a fine examination by Stanley Engerman of "Some Implications of the Abolition of the Slave Trade" which both introduces the studies that follow and places them in historiographical perspective.

The volume enriches our knowledge of the abolition of the slave trade in a number of ways. First, although the emphasis is on the British slave trade and its abolition, the lesser known experience of the Danes, Dutch, and French are also treated. Secondly, much quantitative material on the slave trade is introduced; indeed demographic questions of one sort or another are treated in most of the essays, and the text contains some forty figures and tables. Thirdly, many of the studies raise as many questions as they answer, thus revealing the complexity of numerous questions regarding the slave trade and abolition which not too many years ago seemed to have been comfortably resolved.

Perhaps the most important contribution of the volume however, lies in the remarkable bibliographical grasp and expertise of its authors most of whom go to great lengths in their essays to point out what is new and different in their particular areas. The result is a splendid overview of recent work in myriad areas which the specialist will find invaluable. For the generalist, the editors have contributed a selected bibliography, while their provision of a satisfactory index enhances the volume's usefulness.

The volume's major weakness is one of omission for not one of the essays deal directly with the Spanish or Brazilian slave trades and their abolition. David Eltis considers the Iberian slave trades in a look at "The Impact of Abolition on the Atlantic

Slave Trade," and Franklin Knight touches on demographic questions of black populations in Brazil and the Spanish Islands in his look at "The Atlantic Slave Trade and the Development of African Culture." Yet surely a volume entitled *The Abolition of the Atlantic Slave Trade* should give the Spanish and Portuguese Atlantic slave trades, which were the first to be implemented and the last to be terminated, something more than this very brief attention.

*Bowling Green State University*

KENNETH F. KIPLE

*The Papers of Andrew Jackson: Volume 1, 1770-1803.* Edited by Sam B. Smith and Harriet Chappell Owsley. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1980. xxxix, 529 pp. Introduction, acknowledgements, editorial method, chronology, illustrations, notes, appendices, index. \$25.00.)

Between 1926 and 1933, six volumes of Andrew Jackson's correspondence were published under the editorship of John Spencer Bassett. This is the first attempt at another collection since that time. The material collected by Bassett was less than ten per cent of the materials now available. The present editors project a series of fifteen volumes to make available the most important material, much of which is Jackson correspondence in the National Archives dealing with his military and presidential careers. This letterpress series of selected documents will be accompanied by the publication of a comprehensive microform edition of all available Jackson papers.

This volume contains not only letters to and from Jackson but documents that relate to him or are important to knowledge of him. The earliest document in this volume is a deed dated December 17, 1770, and the last, is a receipt to Jackson, dated December 30, 1803, for \$97.00 for the hire of two slaves. In between, despite the fact that he had not yet risen to national prominence, are letters from such leaders as George Washington, John Adams, and Thomas Jefferson. More important, however, is correspondence from friends, relatives, and associates which charts his rise to positions of local importance.

After having drifted about in his youth, he read law in Salisbury, North Carolina, and was there licensed to practice. In 1787

he was appointed public prosecutor for the western district of North Carolina (now Tennessee) at Nashville, and from that time on his life was linked with that area. In 1796 he served in the Tennessee constitutional convention and was thereafter chosen as the first congressman from that state. In 1797 the state legislature named him a United States Senator, a position he resigned in 1798 to accept appointment to the state superior court. In 1802 he was commissioned major general of the Tennessee militia, the post which was to bring him national fame in the War of 1812. His income in the early years was based largely on his practice of law, cultivation of and speculation in lands, operation of a store, conduct of river-borne commerce with New Orleans and Natchez, the racing of horses, and even the operation of a cotton gin and a still. The documents for this period are valuable for the light they shed upon frontier life and the complex nature of the frontier economy.

By the end of this volume Jackson is thirty-six years old, has married Rachel Robards, and has established himself as a respected social and political leader. If Jackson developed a specific political philosophy in these early years it is not articulated in the papers which appear here— a lack, however, which marked the early life of many of our most prominent presidents. By this time most of his strong as well as his weak personal characteristics had developed. His arbitrary qualities, his personal pride and extraordinary touchiness, his blind loyalty to friends and relatives are all demonstrated here. His strengths— unquestioned personal honesty, his tenderness toward Rachel and her close kin, his sense of honor which led to unusual proportions of aid to those who were bound to him by ties of blood or friendship, his great physical courage, and his sense of duty— are exhibited here. Fortunately for posterity, he also had a sense of history which led him to preserve in organized fashion the documents of his life. The editors of this series estimate that he wrote eighteen or twenty letters a day.

This is an unusually sturdy volume, well illustrated with maps and portraits, informatively footnoted, proofed with extreme care, and bound in heavy cloth designed to last for ages. A handsome touch is a gold bas-relief profile of Jackson embossed on the front cover. Publication and collection of the Jackson papers owes much to the Ladies' Hermitage Association and

was assisted by grants from the University of Tennessee at Nashville, the National Historical Publications and Records Commission, and the Tennessee Historical Commission.

This volume has set a highly praiseworthy precedent for the others to follow in the series. It will be of invaluable assistance to historians of the antebellum United States.

*University of Florida*

HERBERT J. DOHERTY, JR.

*Attack and Die: Civil War Military Tactics and the Southern Heritage.* By Grady McWhiney and Perry D. Jamieson. (University: The University of Alabama Press, 1982. xv, 209 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, maps, tables, an essay of selected sources, index. \$17.95.)

This book is intriguing. Interesting from the opening chapter, where the authors contend that the "South simply bled itself to death in the first three years of the war by taking the tactical offensive in nearly seventy per cent of the major actions" (p. 7), the work climaxes with "The Rebels Are Barbarians," an interpretative chapter of historical causation in a sweeping sense. Stating that "the majority of white people in the South in the 1860s were of Celtic origins," while "the majority in the North were of English origins," the authors contend that, "This cultural dichotomy in America was not only the major cause of the Civil War but it explains why the war was fought the way it was." The American Civil War, McWhiney and Jamieson conclude, "was basically a continuation of the centuries-old conflict between the Celts and Englishmen" (p. 178). They say that "Southerners lost the war because they were too Celtic (Celts always made reckless headlong attacks) and their opponents were too English" (p. 180).

While this thesis about the "why" of what happened is sure to be controversial— as indeed is already proven by the sometimes heated reception of various articles on the Celtic influence which McWhiney and his colleague at the University of Alabama, Forrest McDonald, have published in several journals— the reviewer welcomes such a thought-provoking interpretation. Although certainly entertaining questions and reserving judgment on the validity of the Celtic thesis, hearty commendation of the

authors for the presentation of a stimulating perspective-history painted in the broadest strokes— is appropriate.

Regardless of what one thinks about the Celtic thesis, reading *Attack and Die* will be rewarding to the Civil War student. The first chapter, in a highly factual, but very readable analysis of the large percentage of Confederate losses, clearly establishes that the Confederates attacked more often than the Federals and, whenever attacking, suffered much greater losses than when defending. Murfreesboro (Stones River) and Chickamauga are the most closely examined battles, although a number of engagements, are considered, and five statistical tables presented. When it is remembered that “the Confederacy only had to be defended to survive,” and that “the North had greater resources and a three-to-two military manpower advantage over the South” (p. 6), the Confederate penchant for self-destructive attacks does seem strange.

The authors continue, and here is the bulk of their work, with a consideration of the influence of the Mexican War, where offensive tactics were quite successful for the Americans; with a chapter on the almost macabre enchantment for the bayonet; with the coming of the age of the rifle which vastly increased the strength of defenders; and with the changes in tactical theory (relative to formations and speeds of march and attack) which, to a limited degree, were restructured to adjust to increased firepower. In the final analysis, however— that is, on the battlefield— much more had been expected of the cavalry and the artillery than either could deliver in the Civil War (except the latter on defense and the former sometimes in a non-traditional role); while the rifle proved a far more destructive weapon than had been envisioned by most tactical theorists.

As the authors expressed it: “The Confederates could have offset their numerical disadvantage by remaining on the defensive and forcing the Federals to attack; one man in a trench armed with a rifle was equal to several outside it” (p. xv). For whatever reasons, Southerners were slower to learn (at least in any pragmatic sense) that fact than were the Federals. This is a good book which should be of interest to military enthusiasts, social and cultural historians, as well as the general reader. Its more spectacular aspects, e.g., the rebel yell was a variation on Celtic

animal calls, add spice to a solid contribution.

*David Lipscomb College*

JAMES LEE McDONOUGH

*From the Old South to the New: Essays on the Transitional South.* Edited by Walter J. Fraser, Jr., and Winfred B. Moore, Jr. (Westport, Ct.: Greenwood Press, 1981. xiii, 286 pp. Maps and tables, preface, suggestions for further reading, index, notes on contributors. \$35.00.)

There are many perceptions and interpretations of the South evolving from the Cotton Kingdom of the 1850s to the many New Souths in the century following the Civil War— and as much as the replowed region has been in transition, either by change or by continuity, so have the scholars who sift through time-worn evaluations and modern mythology for new ground.

Few collections of southern study and thought offer as broad a perspective and as much refreshing provocation as this compilation of essays, gleaned from more than 100 papers presented at The Citadel Conferences on the South in 1978 and 1979. The nineteen essays, ably structured on the perennial question of a changing South or one rooted in traditional continuity, focus fresh re-evaluations of the many intricacies in the understanding of southern history.

The most provocative is the keynote challenger, "A Generation of Defeat" by Harvard historian David Herbert Donald, who rationalizes that the Jim Crow laws of the 1890s sprang from old Confederate soldiers who offered their final legacy by codifying their southern mores— born of battlefield experience and the twin traumas of defeat and betrayal by the freedmen— so their heritage would not be abandoned by succeeding generations. He sharply challenges other interpretations, primarily those of C. Vann Woodward and Joel Williamson, from Populism to Social Darwinism, as inadequate. He prefers the generational theory— the war generation in "middle adulthood," after founding veterans' organizations, erecting monuments, and even resorting to terrorism, converted their paternalistic attitudes toward blacks to a form of hatred that resulted in passage of segregation and disenfranchisement laws.

Other topics, conveniently sectionalized with helpful prefaces



summarizing the theses, attack or refortify earlier evaluations on the composition of southern leadership, causes of crime and violence, changing patterns of race relations, the significance of mythology in literature and film, and the currents of southern thought.

Dan T. Carter persuasively challenges C. Vann Woodward's post-Civil War "watershed" thesis when "new men and new ideals" gained power over the planter elite. He believes another generation of historians— the radicals whose spiritual godfather is Karl Marx— share the common theme of a continuing planter hegemony, controlling and repressing its enemies up to the present day. Carter remains skeptical that such Marxist analysis offers any better answer to the question of change of continuity to southern leadership than traditional, eclectic approaches. David Carlton's case study of the South Carolina Piedmont supports Woodward's theory. Challenging this view are William Barney, Michael Johnson, John Radford, and Don Doyle, whose studies on Alabama and Charleston, South Carolina, argue that the old planter class maintained its hegemony well into the New south.

Exploring new avenues of southern crime and violence, David Bodenhamer and William Holmes offer different conclusions to the argument of whether or not causes of southern criminal conduct were unique to the region.

In illuminating essays, Stephen Davis focuses on the literary images of "Johnny Reb" that exaggerated the southern mystique in modern times, and Edward Campbell argues the weight of the public response to the movie version of *Gone With the Wind*— with its "staircase" symbolism of the Old and New South— demonstrated how mythology was a psychological crutch in molding attitudes and easing the transition from one era to another.

Ronald Davis contends that blacks were able to preserve their dignity and to maintain a higher degree of autonomy under the sharecropping system than previously recognized, and James Burran refutes the old idea that southern black militancy of the Second Reconstruction originated during World War II. Arnold Shankman's article on Dorothy Tilly and Robert Randolph's essay of James McBride Dabbs are thoughtful treatments, documenting both the effectiveness and limitations of white southern racial reformers.

As a climax, and with a broader perspective, Mark K. Bauman is another of the many historians challenging aspects of W. J. Cash's *The Mind of the South*, yet Bertram Wyatt-Brown believes that such criticism has been badly overdrawn in his vigorous, penetrating defense of Cash's classic. Wyatt-Brown chides Cash's most "savage critic," Eugene D. Genovese, and other historians for first denouncing Cash's ideas and then introducing his ideas as their own without citing Cash or his book. He believes that Cash's book stands now, as when first published four decades ago, as one of the most important contributions to the understanding of southern history.

Discussing southern nationalism, Steven A. Channing argues its distinctiveness was not solely the result of a master class of planters, rather from a complex interplay of international, regional, class, and religious factors coupled with the black-white interaction. Lawrence Goodwyn's essay reflects on southern reformers and their legacies, concluding that their work has usually resulted only in strengthening of the very social, economic, and political hierarchies that they attacked.

Argument over Cash's book and Professor Donald's generational thesis strengthen the fiber of this collection, which by its provocation and strong argument should stimulate southern historians to dig even deeper in old plowed ground for a fresh harvest of ideas, adding muscle and tone to the bones of what George Tindall describes as "one of the flourishing minor industries of the region."

*Pensacola News-Journal*

JESSE EARLE BOWDEN

*There Is A River: The Black Struggle for Freedom in America.*

By Vincent Harding. (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1981. xxvi, 416 pp. Introduction, acknowledgments, notes, bibliography, illustrations, index. \$19.95.)

This is an ambitious but maddening book. The first of two projected volumes on the struggle of black Americans for freedom and equality, it is, by its author's account, "an experiment in history, solidarity, and hope" (xi). The book's scope and sweep are impressive: beginning with the resistance of Africans to the slave trade and ending with emancipation in 1865, it

traces in narrative fashion the efforts of blacks against overwhelming odds to achieve dignity and justice. In it one encounters nameless slaves who chipped away at the peculiar institution as well as black spokesmen such as Frederick Douglass, Martin Delany, David Ruggles, and David Walker. Harding sees "the active black struggle for freedom and justice" (p. xx) as the central theme of Afro-American history (and the "river" of the title); therefore, "we black people are the river; the river is us" (p. xix).

It is Harding's passion and commitment that both provide this book with its searing intensity and give rise to its failure as a work of history. This is a frankly celebratory— and condemnatory — book. Its heroes are blacks who struggled for freedom for themselves and their people, but more especially those "radicals" (a favorite term of Harding's) who saw white America as a whole, not just slavery, as the enemy. Thus, Harding criticizes "mainstream" black abolitionists like Frederick Douglass for their "faith in the peaceful working out of the American situation" (132), arguing that "Douglass tended dangerously to dissociate the institution of slavery from its roots in the racist, exploitative American society" (p. 167). Emigrationist Martin Delany, by contrast, receives praise for his "audacity and breadth of vision," his "brilliant, exciting analysis," and his "prophetic insight" (pp. 185-87). White abolitionists appear as "a burden, adding to the problems of black people in the North" (p. 128). Even John Brown, whose radical credentials would seem impeccable to most, comes in for criticism for being blind to the fact "that black freedom could not be obtained without revolutionary transformation of the entire society" (p. 206). Harding identifies so intensely with his subject that he sometimes uses the first person plural; relating Africans' resistance to the slave trade, for example, he writes that "we fought to remain in our homeland" (p. 9).

The central weakness of this book, then, is the author's reliance on moral judgment as his major criterion for exploring the past. There is nothing wrong, of course, with bringing passion to the study of history; some of the best works of historical scholarship have been infused with moral commitment. The problem emerges when value judgments become a substitute for historical understanding rather than a spur to achieving it.

While Harding's emotional involvement at times produces poetic incisiveness, more often it leads him into preachy emoting in which language is used to obscure—by playing on our feelings—rather than clarify. Throughout the long narrative descriptions of black protest, one wishes for more analysis of patterns, forms, causes, and consequences of different types of resistance, rather than the endless praise for radicalism and condemnation of racism and exploitation one encounters. Furthermore, Harding falls into an ironic kind of elitism: his search for black heroes leads him to devote far more attention—and accolades—to the handful of northern leaders who articulated conscious strategies of protest than to the masses of southern slaves who struggled to survive on a daily basis.

Harding's book is ultimately more successful as political discourse than history. *There Is A River* is a book that is often powerful and moving. It is also one that offers young blacks in search of role models to celebrate far more than it offers historians and students in search of understanding the past.

*University of New Mexico*

PETER KOLCHIN

*The Harder We Run: Black Workers Since the Civil War.* By William H. Harris. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981. ix, 259 pp. Preface, introduction, notes, appendixes, guide to further reading, index, figures, tables. \$17.95.)

Labor history has recently enjoyed "growth industry" status. Labor historians have abandoned their preoccupation with union development and union-management wars; they now define labor history to include all workers and all working experiences. The results have added considerably to our understanding of work, workers, and the history of labor. In these publications are studies of minority workers, including black and female Americans. Nearly all of the published work has appeared in monographs or articles, but historians have lacked a synthesis. William Harris recognized the need for this synthesis, and *The Harder We Run* attempts to provide a survey of the black workers' experience.

This much-needed survey is ambitious. Harris begins with chapters on the legacy of slavery. He documents the heritage of

limited occupational mobility, low levels of literacy, patterns of agricultural tenancy, and regional concentration. He points to the small triumphs but reminds readers of the continuing impediments which were at first a legacy of slavery but which quickly became a product of white racial practice. It was under these conditions and urged by World War I that an unprecedented black northward migration occurred in the early twentieth century. Blacks moved into the industrial workforce. There, too, white-dominated hiring practices or lily-white union policies made for a most difficult road to advancement. Harris devotes considerable attention to A. Philip Randolph and his Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, as well as Randolph's threatened march on Washington. It was Randolph's World War II actions which forced the issuance of Roosevelt's Executive Order 8802 and the creation of the FEPC. These became the basis of a post-war improvement of black working conditions. The status of black workers was central to the civil rights struggles. By the 1980s, though, black workers had failed to develop either a coherent working class or gain full participation in the worker dreams of other Americans. Wages remained lower, blacks remained under-represented in the professions and over-represented in the unskilled trades. Unemployment was consistently higher for blacks than for other Americans. Referring to the "illusions of progress," Harris bewails the lack of ultimate success in the black workers' quest.

The telling of this familiar but not previously surveyed story is the most important contribution of *The Harder We Run*. The book has flaws which will limit its durability. Harris believes that black workers have been unjustly treated by unions and by white workers generally. He is doubtless right. But to let accusations pervade his book limits its effectiveness. Readers no longer need reminding that American race relations have been less than exemplary; what they seek is an understanding of the meaning and dynamics of those race relations. Perhaps because of this tone, the book fails to ask many important questions. What impact did the generally menial work experiences have on black communities? Were there leadership struggles which might have limited black working class expressions? Harris needs to rely more on the insights of the historians of slavery and the freedmen to answer these questions. What of the role of the dual labor

markets proposed by labor economists? How pervasive was the flirtation with Marxism expressed by some black workers? The answers to some of these questions go beyond a survey. Yet they are the kinds of questions that would enable the essential comparability between black workers and others. They are questions hinted at but sadly left unanswered.

There is also a question of method. What constitutes the essential story of black workers? Does one employ the wonders of the computer to find "central tendencies?" Does one focus on select examples and make them the whole story? Harris has introduced statistics but not computer analysis into his text. His method is more in the tradition of narrative historians. He sells an important story, but one wonders whether such an approach can adequately convey the history of an often illiterate and certainly non-elite population.

These questions raise doubts about the book. To have dealt with them would have made a better survey. These problems do not invalidate Harris's contributions. Apart from the sometimes strident tone, the book's problems reflect the difficulties of writing a survey. Harris must necessarily rely on a supporting cast of historians who are writing about the black working experience. The unasked questions, the difficulties of coverage reflect the state of the art; *The Harder We Run* is a competent survey of a still embryonic field.

Georgia College

THOMAS F. ARMSTRONG

*The Germ of Laziness, Rockefeller Philanthropy and Public Health in the New South.* By John Ettlting. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981. x, 263 pp. Preface, prologue, epilogue, abbreviations, notes, a note on the sources, index. \$18.50.)

Florida falls outside the center of this book's key concern, the fight against hookworm disease in the southern states supported by the Rockefeller Sanitary Commission, because Florida had already begun the battle. Of all the southern states, Florida alone furnished its board of health stable funding based on the mill system of taxation. In 1909 with a surplus at which other state agencies were casting covetous eyes, the public health officer

launched an attack on the hookworm harbored by indigent victims. Already an educational campaign among physicians and school children had begun, as a result of several years of survey work, to learn the extent of hookworm disease in the state. At the very start of the Sanitary Commission's labors, early in 1910, its director, Wickliffe Rose, and the state directors of the commission's not-yet-created plans visited Florida to study its pioneering program.

Florida did not share in the Rockefeller anti-hookworm largesse, maintaining its own independent initiative, a theme deserving further scholarly attention. Despite Florida's separate course, readers concerned with the health history of the state and of the South will find John Ettling's *The Germ of Laziness* intriguing and rewarding.

The phrase "germ of laziness" to designate the hookworm and its effect on its human host was coined by a *New York Sun* journalist in 1902 reporting a speech by Charles Wardell Stiles. Born in rural New York, educated in Germany as a parasitologist, employed by the Hygienic Laboratory of the Public Health Service, Stiles found the hookworm endemic in the South, sounded alarm, and launched an evangelical crusade to combat it. His most important convert was Frederick T. Gates, idea man for John D. Rockefeller's philanthropy. Equally evangelical, Gates could equate the hookworm with sin and its riddance from the body with religious conversion. Gates persuaded Rockefeller to give \$1,000,000 to be spent (only four-fifths of it was expended) between 1909 and 1914 to exterminate the hookworm in the South.

Stiles served as scientific secretary to the Rockefeller Sanitary Commission, often at odds with Gates and with Rose, a Tennessee-born professional educator. Ettling is greatly concerned with motivation, and probes deeply the intellectual and emotional forces that drive the characters in his cast, who sometimes cooperate, sometimes contend.

The commission chose to operate through state and county health authorities, and by so doing left as a legacy a greatly enhanced public health structure. The program began by determining the degree of infestation in the eleven southern states involved, by examining school children; thirty-nine per cent were afflicted. Using a many-faceted campaign, the commission

sought to educate physicians, medical students, school children, the populace about hookworm and how to cure and prevent infestation. One half of the 500,000 homes examined had no privies at all. This lack was not greatly remedied during the campaign. The main task was seeking to cure the infested. Some 700,000 Southerners got at least one dose of thymol and laxative salts, much of this therapy provided at county dispensaries. Hookworm disease was greatly reduced, but not exterminated. A New Deal era survey found the incidence decreased two-thirds over that plotted by the Sanitary Commission. Considerable opposition plagued the commission's labors, based on wounded southern pride and on Rockefeller's wretched reputation as a robber baron anxious to disguise greediness and brutal labor practices with a mantle of philanthropy.

Ettling's manuscript won the Allan Nevins Prize of the Society of American Historians as the best-written doctoral dissertation on a significant theme in American history. The book indeed deserves high praise. Ettling fuses many strands— intellectual, scientific, psychological, social, economic— into an absorbing unity that maintains our interest and enriches our knowledge of developing public health and controversial philanthropy during the years that American medicine was coming of age.

*Emory University*

JAMES HARVEY YOUNG

*American Indians and the Christian Missions.* By Henry Warner Bowden. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981. xix, 255 pp. Foreward, preface, notes, suggestions for further reading, index, maps, \$14.95.)

This volume in the University of Chicago History of American Religion series edited by Martin E. Marty makes an important contribution to Indian-white relations by surveying a vast area of ethnohistory, religious history, and the history of Indian-white relations. The author, a seasoned historian of early American history and missionary activity, has given us a superb overview of exactly how various Indian societies responded to the main thrusts of missionary activity, both Catholic and Protestant. He begins his study with an essay on pre-Columbian Indian cultures, arguing that native cultures survived through continual re-



adjustment. The Anasazis and Mogollons, who had settled the Rio Grande Valley, were the ancestors of the Pueblo peoples who were confronted with the Franciscan missionaries. In contrasting Pueblo and Christian beliefs the author makes the very good point that the tribesmen found it hard to accept the idea that a faithful remnant of believers would be saved by a merciful diety. Pueblo beliefs held that every person could return to the sacred life of the underworld despite individual faults or lack of virtue. It was the powerful organizational strength of Pueblo culture and the priestly sociopolitical traditions that enabled these people to keep their ceremonial traditional existence.

In contrast, the Jesuit missionaries among the Hurons were marvelously successful in using local customs to enhance the acceptance of Christianity. And the Jesuit fathers were astute observers of native customs. For instance, when Father Brébeuf found that the Hurons attached special significance to the color red, he saw to it that every cross was painted with that color. The Hurons were a people who highly regarded property and gifts, so the Jesuits made gifts when appropriate. An Indian, Charles Tsondatasa, was actually presented with a gun to celebrate his baptism.

Subsequent chapters in this valuable survey of American missionary activity cover English colonial missionaries, and missions in the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries. There are excellent maps showing locations of the Pueblo, Hurons, and Algonquian peoples together with footnotes and a bibliographical essay entitled, "Suggestions for Further Reading."

I have several reactions to this book that I would like to pass on to other readers. First and foremost is the fact that this is a clearly written volume by an author who has done his homework in the complex and controversial area of missionary history. Although he clearly is not an apologist for missionary penetrations into Indian society, he nevertheless writes as if this entire effort was a chapter in our history which pitted one culture against another, and the Indians simply lost out. Further, he takes up moral questions in discussing the way in which Christianity was taught, that is the moral issues for persuading Indians to become converts, but the larger moral issue of Anglo-American cultural imperialism and exploitation of a native people seems to have

escaped him. Unlike Sherburn F. Cook, physiologist who gave us penetrating vistas into California mission "church history," the author of this volume seems, at times, to overlook the sheer catastrophe that came to Indian people along with missionaries (who took over Indian lands— a fact little noticed in this book) and were a prime agent in the dispossession and massive mortality (as disease carriers) that Indian people suffered. This book then looks approvingly over the shoulders of missionaries as they went about their work but tends to ignore the dark side of the missionary impact.

*University of California, Santa Barbara*

WILBUR R. JACOBS

*The Cherokees, A Critical Bibliography.* By Raymond D. Fogelson. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1978. x, 98 pp. The editor to the reader, recommended works, bibliographical essay, alphabetical list and index. \$4.95, paper.)

*Southeastern Frontiers: Europeans, Africans, and American Indians, 1513-1840, A Critical Bibliography.* By James Howlett O'Donnell III. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982. xvi, 118 pp. Editor's preface, introduction, recommended works, bibliographical essay, alphabetical list and index, \$4.95, paper.)

The Newberry Library's bibliographical series on Native American culture and history has already earned accolades from students and scholars of ethnohistory. Of special interest to those concerned with the culture and history of the southeastern United States are these two volumes by Raymond Fogelson and James H. O'Donnell III.

Following the prescribed format for the series, each of these books includes a bibliographical essay and an alphabetical list of works, which, in the author's opinion, constitute the most reliable publications on the subject. To ensure that these bibliographies meet the needs of the general reader and the beginning student each work in the series also includes a list of five books for the beginner and a brief selection of volumes for a basic library collection. Those works suitable for secondary school students are marked with an asterisk. For public libraries and

high school and university libraries these bibliographies are invaluable. Scholars seeking guides to manuscript sources and document collections should look elsewhere. The bibliographical essays, however, provide both scholar and layman with useful insights into the voluminous literature on the Cherokees and cultural interaction on the southeastern frontier.

Raymond Fogelson, who describes himself as an anthropologist with historical interests, has tackled a difficult job and done it well. Choosing among the sources pertaining to the Cherokees required the expertise and judgment of the seasoned scholar, for, as Fogelson observes, more has been written about the Cherokees than most other Native American groups. In the bibliographical essay he approaches the subject from two different directions, a survey of the historical studies followed by an assessment of those works focusing on different aspects of the culture. The treatment is well balanced, though the commentary on Cherokee culture reveals Fogelson's sharper analytical skills in his own discipline. Constraints dictated by the format of the series made it necessary to adhere closely to selection criteria, resulting in the omission of highly specific sources, including older, more esoteric studies and articles by authors of monographs on similar topics. The general reader, as well as the scholar, will find beneficial Fogelson's indications of gaps in the literature and suggestions for further study.

The bibliographical essay by James H. O'Donnell III is a model for the genre. He weaves together the history of Indian, European, and black interaction on the frontier with keen evaluations of the literature. Several aspects of the essay deserve special mention. O'Donnell points out the merits of different translations of Spanish and French works and makes suggestions for complementary literature approaching specific topics from different perspectives. He is not afraid to indicate in an unequivocal manner the shortcomings of a work. Appraising the Jacksonian literature, for example, he charges that Michael P. Rogin's Freudian psychohistory of Jackson and the Indians goes too far. He even labels his own early study, *The Southern Indians in the American Revolution*, a "rather narrow, White-centered examination" of the subject. Like Fogelson, he was forced to make careful selections in order to stay within the prescribed space and scope, but no significant study in the massive literature

on the subject has been found missing. Well-written and a masterful analysis, this book could easily serve as a supplementary text for a course on southern frontier or southeastern Indian history.

The Newberry Library is to be commended for sponsoring the publication of such valuable tools for Native American history. And, in the case of these two works, Francis Jennings, general editor of the series, deserves thanks for selecting two master scholars to guide the reader through the labyrinth of scholarship in their respective fields. Finally, to the authors themselves, Fogelson and O'Donnell, belongs praise for performing so well such a difficult task.

*University of West Florida*

JANE E. DYSART

*Black Boss, Political Revolution in a Georgia County.* By John Rozier. (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1982. x, 220 pp. Preface, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. \$15.95.)

The desegregation of a poor black belt county in the American South would seem to bear similarity to decolonization of a poverty-laden Caribbean island. John Rozier's history of Hancock County is the story of a charismatic leader preaching sudden economic improvement and black power, confrontation with the old power structure of leading white families and merchants, disruption of accustomed relationships and ways of doing things, threats of violence, the take-over of the public sector and its jobs by the now enfranchised black majority, the infusion of development money from well-intentioned outside sources, wastage of funds, and considerable personal enrichment but the failure of projects, all resulting in a divided community and a further impoverished economy.

Hancock is a small, poor, former plantation county in central Georgia. Eighty per cent of its 10,000 citizens are black. Race relations were not red-neck violent, but until John McCown came to town in 1966, it was segregated from its courthouse water fountains to its public schools. McCown was a good organizer and a great salesman, but a poor businessman. He sold Georgia race relations agencies, New York foundations, and the Nixon administration on a vision of biracial economic develop-

ment to stem the flood of the rural poor into the cities. At the same time he took over the political system of Hancock County. McCown "ran" the county until his death in a still unexplained plane crash on the eve of grand jury corruption indictments.

Coming from an old, white, Hancock County family, John Rozier watched the events from his post as public information director at Emory and decided to record them. He has read the records and the court cases and interviewed John McCown's foes and friends to tell the story of "the first black-controlled county in the United States since Reconstruction days."

Rozier answers his own question, " 'Black Jesus' or self-enriching opportunist?" on the latter side, John McCown was "the mirror image" of the old corrupt, exploitive, racially-prejudiced former white-dominated plantation system. He was a "black demagogue" bolstered in his pathological greed and thirst for power by "arrogant and ill-informed bureaucrats and foundation officials" (p. 196) in Atlanta, New York, and Washington. While admitting all of the evils of the old segregated world of Hancock County, Rozier repeatedly maintains that things were better then, black and white people got along well together then.

McCown's supporters, who politically dominate Hancock today, maintain that he was a courageous man with the imagination and drive to try and upgrade the social and economic condition of the county's poor. The corruption indictments were plea-bargained into meaninglessness. The Industrial Development Authority has a biracial membership. Perhaps with better management even John McCown's catfish farm and the hospital can be made to work, and a new service station has been opened. The quality of black life is freer, but the economy is welfare dependent, business and the white-dominated city of Sparta stagnate, the historic antebellum Clinch House will not rise from its ashes, and the white children are in the private school.

Rozier quotes one of McCown's liberal supporters as saying "He broke a lot of rules, but they weren't his rules" (p. 195). Less favorable was the townsman's comment that "It was an interesting social experiment: I just wish it had happened somewhere else" (p. 196). Both statements bear witness to both the cumulative and the changing character of southern history.

*University of Florida*

DAVID CHALMERS

## BOOK NOTES

The most recent edition of *The Florida Handbook, 1983-1984*, compiled by Allen Morris, has been published by the Peninsular Publishing Company of Tallahassee. This is the nineteenth biennial edition in the Florida Handbook series which began publication in 1947. Over the years, because of the variety of material included and the many state and local subjects covered, this has become recognized as an invaluable Florida reference guide. Anyone having questions about Florida government will likely find answers in the *Handbook*. The emphasis is on the political, and for historians, particularly those working on twentieth-century Florida political history, it is a good reference tool. Among the subjects in the 1983-1984 edition are "Women in Government," "Governor's Mansion," "Florida Keys," "Steamboat Era," "Memorable Homes," "Florida on Postage Stamps," "The Everglades," "State Parks," "Ringling Museum," "Literature," "Religion," "Climate," "Sports," "Forest Products," "Education," "People and Population," and "Executive Agencies." There are chapters on the discovery and settlement of Florida, the English period, Territorial Florida, and Florida during the Civil War. There is also material on marine resources, farming and truck crops, livestock, citrus, and minerals. The state constitution is reprinted, together with an index to the constitution. There are also drawings, graphs, and illustrations, many from the State Photographic Archives. Order from Peninsular Publishing Company, Box 5078, Tallahassee, Florida 32301. The price is \$13.60, including postage and handling.

Ray Washington for several years has been publishing a column, "Cracker Florida," in Florida papers owned by the New York Times Company. Washington travels from one end of the state to the other— from Fernandina to Key West to Pensacola— through the backwoods and along the country roads, seeking out the men and women who seem to meet the definition of being of a cracker. Many of these people who become subjects for Washington's columns are poor, were born in Florida, and live mainly on farms and in small towns. But not all of them. Some crackers are black, some are rich, and many live in the big

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cities. Many of Washington's subjects are natives to the state; others are relatively recent arrivals. A few are not even southern. Washington writes of the life experiences of the crackers, and he has amassed an amazing social history of Florida. Some of his choicest columns have been collected for *Cracker Florida, Some Lives and Times*. It was published by Banyan Books, Inc., Box 431160, Miami, Florida 33143, and sells for \$7.95.

*A Voice for Agriculture: The First Forty Years of Farm Bureau in Florida* was edited by Ray Washington, and was published by the Florida Farm Bureau Federation of Gainesville. It consists of a series of short articles which trace the organization from the 1930s to the present. A group of citrus growers, calling themselves the Committee of Eleven, at the end of the 1930s organized the Florida Citrus Growers, Inc. The organization failed to attract either substantial leadership or adequate financing. Then, in the summer of 1941, Emil Karst, an Orlando citrus grower, invited a representative from the American Farm Bureau Federation from Chicago to attend the next FCG director's meeting and to explain the workings of the Farm Bureau. The meeting was in Karst's office, and it was followed by a general farmers meeting at the old San Juan Hotel in Orlando. A non-profit cooperative association was then organized and was incorporated the following November. George Fullerton of New Smyrna was elected as the first president of the Florida Farm Bureau. The purpose of the Bureau has always been to give Florida farmers a special identity, to represent them in the legislature, and to enhance the well being of Bureau members. The book may be ordered from the Federation, P.O. Box 730, Gainesville, Florida 32602 for \$7.95.

*Pine Island, the Forgotten Island* is by Elaine Blohm Jordan. The earliest inhabitants of Pine Island, located off the lower Gulf coast of Florida near Sanibel and Captiva, were the Calusa Indians. There are many legends and stories about the Indians and pirates that supposedly infested these waters, and Mrs. Jordan notes some of these tales in her book. Documented history begins in the eighteenth century with the fishermen and crabbers. Pine Island lacked modern roads and easy transportation facilities, and it was not until the twentieth century that the area began

to develop. Mrs. Jordan used oral history interviews taped in the 1960s, and she also talked to many old-timers herself who provided her with colorful information about the past. The book includes photographs. Order copies from the author, Route 1, Box 414, Bokeelia, Florida 33922. The price is \$14.95, and there is a paperback edition which sells for \$9.95. Add \$1.00 for postage.

*Searching in Florida*, compiled by Diane C. Robie, is a reference guide to public and private records, particularly relating to adoption of children. There are three sections: State-wide Information, County Information, and People Who Help. The first provides data on where state records are located and how they can be obtained: the second on county schools, libraries, cemeteries, newspapers, hospitals, and county and local officials. Local addresses and mailing addresses and telephone numbers are also included. Part three lists historical and genealogical societies and libraries, and individuals who may be available to do research. Order from ISC Publications, Box 10857, Costa Mesa, CA 92627; the price is \$10.95.

*Education in Escambia County, 1870-1982* was produced by the John Appleyard Agency, Inc., for the School District of Escambia County. The earliest recorded information on education in Pensacola begins with the arrival of Mr. Williston, a Protestant minister, in 1764. He organized the town's first Protestant religious service and taught some of the children. He was assisted by Elias Durnford. Copies of *Education in Escambia County* are available to libraries and schools. Write to Charles Stokes, superintendent of schools, Escambia County School Board, 215 West Garden Street, Pensacola, Florida 32150.

*The Florida Almanac, 1983-1984*, provides brief, concise information on a wide variety of topics: treasure hunting, festivals, planting guides, tide charts, taxes, hunting, government, boating, fishing, parks, education, election statistics, crime, tourism, sports, and population. It also contains graphs, county maps, the complete Florida constitution, and pictures. The graphics vary from a photograph of the Castillo de San Marcos in St. Augustine to a picture of the electric chair at Raiford prison. Included is an index to the State constitution and to the many subjects included



which range from archeology to zip codes. *Florida Almanac* editors are Del and Martha Marth. It was published by Pelican Publishing Company, Gretna, LA, and sells for \$9.95.

*Florida Trails, As Seen From Jacksonville To Key West And From November To April Inclusive* was written by Winthrop Packard from articles which had appeared in the *Boston Evening Transcript*. It was published in 1910. The photographs for the book were supplied by J. D. Rahner, a well-known St. Augustine photographer. A facsimile of the volume is now available from Pineapple Press, Inc., Box 314 Englewood, Florida 33533. It sells for \$8.95.

Another Pineapple Press facsimile is the equally popular Florida travel book, *Florida Days* by Margaret Deland. It was published in 1889, after a visit to St. Augustine and a trip along the St. Johns River. The pen and ink drawings in the original volume are by Louis K. Harlow, and they also appear in this facsimile. *Florida Days* reprint sells for \$7.95.

*Some Southern Colonial Families, Volume 2*, by David A. Avant, Jr., of Tallahassee, will be of interest to genealogists and historians. The emphasis is on Virginia families, but an examination of the historical records of the Glenn, Johnson, Melton, Allen, West, Newsome, Spencer, Sheppard, Matthews, Pace, Maycocke, Avant, Crawford, Pearson, Woodlief, and Zimmerman families, reveals information on many areas of the South, including Florida. Order from L'Avant Studios, Box 1711, 207 W. Park Avenue, Tallahassee, Florida 32302; the price is \$35.00.

*Piney Woods School, An Oral History*, by Alferdteen Harrison, is the story of a school in Rankin County, Mississippi. It was organized by Laurence C. Jones following the Booker T. Washington model by emphasizing industrial arts. Professor Harrison, of Jackson State University, used oral history interviews with educators, former students, and members of the rural community to supplement manuscript and published source of the school. The history covered serves as a model for oral histories of other educational institutions. Published by University Press of Mississippi, Jackson, Mississippi, sells for \$17.95.

## HISTORY NEWS

### *1984 Annual Meeting*

The eighty-second meeting of the Florida Historical Society will be held in Fort Myers on May 3-5 1984. The program committee includes Linda Ellsworth, chair (Historic Pensacola Preservation Board, 205 E. Zaragoza Street, Pensacola, Florida 32501); J. Leitch Wright (Florida State University, Department of History, Tallahassee, Florida 32306); Marcia Kanner (6915 Barquera, Coral Gables, Florida 33146); Wright Langley (Historic Key West Preservation Board, Monroe County Courthouse, Key West, Florida 33040); and Kyle S. Van Landingham (103 S.W. 2 Avenue, Okeechobee, Florida 33472). The committee members invite anyone interested in reading a paper to correspond with them immediately. Ernest Hall will be in charge of local arrangements. The Southwest Florida Society and other local and area historical societies and preservation groups will serve as host organizations. The Florida Historical Confederation will hold a workshop in conjunction with the annual meeting beginning May 3, 1984. Ms. Patricia Wickman, Museum of Florida History, Tallahassee, is chair of the Confederation. Questions covering the workshop should be directed to her.

### *Wentworth Foundation Grant*

William M. Goza, former president of the Florida Historical Society and executive director of the Wentworth Foundation, Inc., presented a check for \$1,000 on behalf of the Foundation to the Florida Historical Society at the annual meeting in Daytona Beach. The money is presented each year for the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. The Wentworth Foundation has been very generous in its support to the Society over the years and to many other historical, anthropological, and cultural organizations in the state. The Foundation provides scholarships for graduate and undergraduate students at a number of Florida colleges and universities. The recipients are known as Wentworth Scholars. It has supported archeological projects sponsored by the Florida State Museum and research programs of the P. K. Yonge

Library of Florida History, University of Florida. It made an initial grant for the project of calendaring the Spanish documents and manuscripts in the P.K. Yonge Library. It was also instrumental in the University of Florida acquiring the Howe Collection of American Literature.

#### *Awards and Prizes*

Dr. Larry E. Rivers, Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University, received the Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Prize for 1982-1983 for his article, " 'Dignity and Importance': Slavery in Jefferson County, Florida— 1827-1860." It appeared in the April 1983 issue of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. The prize is given annually for the best article appearing in the *Quarterly*, and is presented at the annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society. The judges for this year's award were Dr. Harry L. Kersey, Florida Atlantic University; Dr. William Warren Rogers, Florida State University; and Dr. James E. McGovern, University of West Florida. The prize was made possible by an endowment established by Mrs. Arthur W. Thompson of Gainesville in memory of her husband, the distinguished historian of the South and a member of the history faculty at the University of Florida.

*Anatomy of a Lynching, The Killing of Claude Neal* by Dr. James E. McGovern, published by Louisiana State University Press, was selected as the best book published in 1982 on a Florida subject. Dr. McGovern, University of West Florida, received the Rembert W. Patrick Memorial Book Award. The judges were Dr. William R. Adams, Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board; Dr. Lucius F. Ellsworth, University of West Florida; and Dr. David R. Colburn, University of Florida. The award memorializes Professor Patrick, editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* and secretary of the Florida Historical Society.

The Charlton W. Tebeau Junior Book Award for 1982 was presented to Dorothy Francis of Marshalltown, Iowa, for her book, *Captain Morgana Mason*, published by Lodestar Books/ E. P. Dutton. The award honors Charlton W. Tebeau, Emeritus Professor, University of Miami, editor of *Tequesta*, and a former president of the Florida Historical Society. It is given annually

to the author of the best book for young readers on a Florida subject. The judges were Rodney E. Dillon, Fort Lauderdale Historical Society; Patricia R. Wickman, Museum of Florida History, Tallahassee; and Patricia C. Griffin, St. Augustine.

Dr. Jerrell H. Shofner, professor and chairman of the Department of History, University of Central Florida, has been recognized as "Researcher of the Year" by the University. His prize was \$1,000. Dr. Shofner is past president of the Florida Historical Society and is the author of many books and articles on nineteenth- and twentieth-century Florida. He has received the Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Prize in Florida History five times and the Rembert W. Patrick Memorial Book Prize from the Florida Historical Society on two occasions.

The Orange County Historical Society, Inc., received a \$1,000 community service award at the 1983 Walt Disney World Community Service Awards luncheon on April 1983. The historical society's award was given in the Civic Community Service category and was presented to Jean Yothers, curator of the Orange County Historical Museum. This marks the third Community Service Award received by the historical society. The first in 1975, and the second in 1978.

The Pensacola History Society celebrated its fiftieth anniversary at a dinner meeting on March 21, 1983. Both the *Florida Historical Quarterly* and its editor, Dr. Samuel Proctor, received Certificates of Appreciation in recognition of their outstanding service and contributions to the Pensacola Historical Society and the Pensacola Historical Museum. These presentations were made by Dr. Lucius Ellsworth on behalf of the Society at the Florida Historical Society meeting in Daytona Beach, May 6.

The Junior Historian Award, established by the Junior League of Pensacola in honor of J. Earle Bowden, president of the Pensacola Historical Society and editor of the *Pensacola News-Journal*, will display names of annual grand prize winners of the Florida History Fair of Escambia County. Bowden was honored for his thirty-year newspaper career and community work

as West Florida historian, author, and preservationist. He is chairman of the Historic Pensacola Preservation Board, Pensacola, Architectural Review Board, and he led the campaign to create the Gulf Island National Seashore.

The Governor's Award of the Kentucky Historical Society for the best book published on Kentucky history over the past four years, has been given to John Gaventa for his *Power and Powerlessness: Quiescence and Rebellion in an Appalachian Valley* (University of Illinois Press, 1980). The award, designed to recognize outstanding research and writing, carries a \$1,000 stipend. The 1982 Richard H. Collins Award for the best article in *The Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* has been given to James B. Murphy of Southern Illinois University for his "Slavery and Freedom on Appalachia," which appeared in the Spring 1982 issue. Designed to honor writing and research strength, the award carries a \$250 stipend.

#### *Publications*

*Tampa Bay History* announces its second annual essay contest. Entries should be 2,500-5,000 words, typewritten, double-spaced, with footnotes at the end of articles. All entries must be based on previously unpublished historical research of a subject concerning the fifteen-county area surrounding Tampa: Charlotte, Collier, DeSoto, Glades, Hardee, Hendry, Hernando, Highlands, Hillsborough, Lee, Manatee, Pasco, Pinellas, Polk, and Sarasota counties. Deadline for submission is September 1, 1983. The first prize is \$100, and the second prize is \$50. Winning articles will be published in *Tampa Bay History*. Last year's winners were Dr. Jack D. L. Holmes, director of the Louisiana Collection Series on Colonial Louisiana, and John Wilson, a graduate student at the University of South Florida. For further information, contact the managing editor, *Tampa Bay History*, Department of History, University of South Florida, Tampa, Florida 33620, or call 813-974-2807. *Tampa Bay History* is published semi-annually by the Department of History and the College of Social and Behavioral Sciences at the University of South Florida.

*The Sunland Tribune*, published by the Tampa Historical Society, is soliciting papers for its 1983 issue. The deadline for all papers is September 1, 1983. Articles must include a list of sources, and photographs, if included, must be identified. For information write Howell McKay, 245 South Hyde Park Avenue, Tampa, Florida 33606.

*The Southern Quarterly: A Journal of the Arts in the South* is seeking articles for a special issue on the oratorical, aesthetic, ritual, and musical dimensions of black religion in the American South during the twentieth century. Articles may be based on a wide variety of research methods, including participant-observation, rhetorical analysis of sermons, testimony sessions or other events, archival retrieval, and photography. Scholars interested in contributing to the volume should submit an outline and a short statement describing the prospective article by November 1, 1983, to Professor Hans A. Baer, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Box 5074, University of Southern Mississippi, Hattiesburg, MS 39406.

*The Okaloosa Genealogical Journal* (Summer 1983), includes an article on "The History of St. Andrews by the Sea Episcopal Church of Destin, Florida," by Sandra S. Gilliland, president of the Society. The Society meets monthly in Fort Walton Beach at the Valpariso Community Library. Fort Walton Beach Public Library is the depository for the society's library materials. The society is interested in acquiring family histories and genealogical data relating to northwest Florida and southwest Alabama. For information write Genealogical Society of Okaloosa County, Box 1175, Fort Walton Beach, FL 32549.

*The Journal of the Florida Medical Association* has been chosen as the outstanding state medical journal in the United States for 1982. Dr. Daniel B. Nunn of Jacksonville is editor of the monthly publication. The August 1982 issue was devoted to a history of medicine in Florida, with Dr. William M. Straight of Miami serving as historical editor. The historical issue carried articles by Dr. Mark V. Barrow, Sr., Gainesville; Dr. E. Ashby Hammond, University of Florida; Dr. Todd L. Savitt, East Carolina University School of Medicine; Dr. William W. Cox and

Roger J. Evans, Collier County; Dr. Franz H. Stewart, Miami; the Robb House Committee, Gainesville; and Dr. Straight.

Hampton Dunn was honored by the Florida Library Association at its annual convention in April 1983 for the contribution of his Floridiana collection to the University of South Florida. Mr. Dunn is a member of the board of directors of the Florida Historical Society and the author of a many books on Florida history. His gift to the University of South Florida includes historical photographs, maps, documents, letters, clippings, books, negatives and slides, manuscripts, notes, and other data which will provide important primary source material for scholarly research.

The June 1983 issue of the *Orange County Historical Quarterly* includes an article on Rex Beach, the American writer, who grew up in Florida and who attended Rollins College in Winter Park. He was active in raising funds for Rollins College, and in his will left \$100,000 to establish a student loan fund at Rollins. There is a building on the campus named Rex Beach Hall.

The Thronateeska Heritage Foundation of Albany, Georgia, announces the publication of the *Journal of Southwest Georgia History*. The first of three annual periodicals will appear in 1983. The editor solicits documented articles, book reviews, and edited documents. Contributions and inquiries should be sent to Dr. Lee W. Formwalt, editor, Department of History, Albany State College, Albany, Georgia 31705. Subscriptions to the *Journal* are \$10.00, and checks should be sent to the Thronateeska Heritage Foundation, 100 Roosevelt Avenue, Albany, Georgia 31701.

For the first comprehensive edition of the papers of Elizabeth Cady Stanton (1815-1902) and Susan B. Anthony (1820-1906), co-founders of the American women's rights movement, an effort is being made to locate all available material. A complete collection of Stanton's and Anthony's papers in microfilm and a selected letterpress edition of four or five volumes will result. The editors, Patricia G. Holland and Ann D. Gordon, are looking for correspondence both to and from Stanton and Anthony, texts of

their speeches as reported in newspapers, as well as in manuscript form, records of their principle organizations, and diaries, legal papers, account books, and articles prepared for periodicals. Stanton and Anthony travelled and lectured in the South, and they corresponded with many people living in the South, including Flora M. Wright of Drayton Island, Florida. The project is being sponsored by the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Rockefeller Foundation, the University of Massachusetts, and members of the Stanton family. Anyone having papers or information, are asked to write to the editors, 303 New Africa House, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, Massachusetts 01003.

#### *Announcements and Activities*

The Florida Genealogical Society is celebrating its twenty-fifth anniversary this year. It was organized in the Hillsborough County Courthouse, Tampa, on January 8, 1958. Mrs. John Branch was the first president. A brief history of the society is included in the recent issue of the organization's *Journal*. For information on publications and membership, write the Society at Box 18624, Tampa, Florida 33679.

The University of Florida Gallery and the University's Center for Latin American Studies has acquired an important and rare set of forty-seven wash drawings, depicting scenes in Florida, Cuba, and Mexico in the late nineteenth century. Created by the artist-reporter Frank Taylor for use in *Harpers Weekly*, the works depict the highlights of President Ulysses S. Grant's official tour of these areas in 1880. Especially dramatic are scenes of Fernandina and St. Augustine; Havana and its environs in Cuba; and Veracruz, Orizaba, and Mexico City in Mexico. The Gallery is planning a major exhibition featuring these unique works of art which relate so directly to Florida history.

The Historical Association of Southern Florida held its annual meeting at the auditorium of the Museum of Science in May 31, 1983. James W. Aphorp was elected president for 1983-1984. Other officers elected include Linda Sears D'Alemberte, Marcia J. Kanner, Kathy Ezell, and Joseph H. Pero, Jr.



The Florida Aviation Historical Society was organized in 1975 by a group of pioneer airmen interested in preserving aviation history. A corporation charter was approved in 1981. Anyone interested in aviation history is invited to join. Dues are \$5.00. The Society issues a monthly newsletter. It has published two books: *Florida's Aviation History, The First One Hundred Years*, and *The World's First Airline, The St. Petersburg-Tampa Airboat Line*. The society has constructed a replica of the original first airliner to fly over Tampa Bay. The replica will be flown on January 1, 1984, to mark the seventieth anniversary of the original flight in Pinellas County. For information write Box 127, Indian Rocks Beach, Florida 33535.

An estimated 2,000 pages of Florida folklore materials have been deposited in the Florida Folklife Archives. The collection includes songs, proverbs, jargon, anecdotes, stories, home remedies, superstitions, and songs.

Collecting and research continues at the Seminole/Micosukee Photographic Archive. Begun in 1972, this privately sponsored archive now contains over 1,200 photographic images from 1855 to the present. The Archive is for research about the Florida Indians and by Seminole and Micosukee individuals for their own personal genealogical purposes. An identification project booth is maintained at major Florida Indian events throughout the year. For information contact Patsy West, 1447 S.W. Grand Drive, Fort Lauderdale, Florida 33312.

The Jacksonville Historical Society is developing an oral history project under the direction of Dr. G. Gladstone Rogers. Suggestions for interviewees are welcomed. Inquiries should be directed to William M. Bliss, president, or to the society at Box 6222, Jacksonville, Florida 32205.

Newly-elected officers of the Historical Society of Palm Beach County are Linda M. Cothes, president; James R. Knott, president emeritus; Chuck Potter and Arthur Fowler, vice presidents; Anne Reynolds, secretary; and Bertram Shapero, treasurer.

The Florida Folklore Society invites all persons involved in

the study and appreciation of Florida's folk heritage to become members. The society serves scholars, folklorists, and interested citizens by providing a vehicle for the exchange of ideas as well as the formal study of folk culture and history. Write to Florida Folklore Society, C/O L. Pat Waterman, Department of Anthropology, University of South Florida, Tampa, Florida 32620.

The Agricultural History Society, University of Missouri-Columbia, and the Soil Conservation Service, Missouri, announce a symposium on the history of soil and water conservation at Columbia, Missouri, May 24-26, 1984. Susan Flader of the University of Missouri and Douglas Helms of SCS are the symposium coordinators. Submit proposals and requests for information to Mr. Helms, Box 2890, Washington, D.C. 20011, by September 10, 1983.

The Center for the Study of Southern Culture, University of Mississippi, has begun a major research project to locate and document southern folk art. Folklorists, curators, and other scholars are invited to inform the research team about arts which should be photographed and documented and about artists who should be interviewed. The project calls for compiling a comprehensive index to collections of southern folk art as well as a bibliography of books, articles, films, and slides on the subject. A comprehensive study of eleven states is planned. Florida is one of the states included in the survey. Persons interested in contributing information may write to Southern Folk Art Research, Center for the Study of Southern Culture, University of Mississippi, 38677.

The Southeastern America Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies invites submissions for its annual essay competition. An award of \$150 will be given for the best essay on an eighteenth-century subject published in a scholarly journal, annual, or collection between September 1, 1982, and August 31, 1983, by a member of SEASECS or a person living or working in the SEASECS area, which includes Florida. The interdisciplinary appeal of the essay will be considered, but will not be the sole determinant of the award. Individuals may submit their own work or the work of others. Submit essay in triplicate, postmarked

no later than November 1, 1983, to Professor Robert M. Weir, Department of History, University of South Carolina, Columbia, South Carolina 29206. The winner of the 1982 award was Dr. Melvyn New of the University of Florida.

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

Sept. 29- Oct. 2	Oral History Association	Seattle, WA
Oct. 4-7	American Association for State and Local History	Victoria, B.C.
Oct. 26-30	National Trust for Historic Preservation	San Antonio, TX
Nov. 9-12	Southern Historical Association	Charleston, SC
Nov. 11-12	Florida Genealogical Society	Lakeland, FL
Dec. 3-4	Southern Jewish Historical Society	Savannah, GA
Dec. 27-30	American Historical Association	San Francisco, CA
1984		
May 3	Florida Historical Confederation	Fort Myers, FL
May 4-5	FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY- 82nd MEETING	Fort Myers, FL







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

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The Florida Historical Society supplies the *Quarterly* to its members. Annual membership is \$15; family membership is \$20; a contributing membership is \$50. In addition, a student membership is \$10, but proof of current status must be furnished.

All correspondence relating to membership and subscriptions should be addressed to Paul Eugen Camp, 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. Camp.



