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COVER

A patriotic parade along Key West's Duval Street. The house in the background of this early 1920s photograph belonged to the William Cash family. Courtesy Monroe County Public Library Photographic Archives.

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## THE ROUTE OF JUAN PARDO'S EXPLORATIONS IN THE INTERIOR SOUTHEAST, 1566-1568

by CHESTER B. DEPRATTER, CHARLES M. HUDSON,  
AND MARVIN T. SMITH

**I**N 1566-1568 Captain Juan Pardo led two expeditions through the length of what is now South Carolina, through western North Carolina, and into eastern Tennessee. Both expeditions departed from Santa Elena, a Spanish outpost which Pedro Menéndez de Avilés had established on Parris Island, near present-day Beaufort, South Carolina, and which was then part of *la Florida*.<sup>1</sup> The route which Pardo and his men followed is important both to anthropologists and historians because it sheds light on the Indians who lived along the route, and also because the northern part of Pardo's route closely parallels a portion of the route followed twenty-six years earlier by Hernando de Soto after wintering in Florida. If the route of Pardo's expeditions can be established with confidence, it will then be possible to pinpoint some interior points of reference for the De Soto expedition, an achievement that has proved to be impossible using the De Soto documents alone.

The Pardo expeditions were set in motion by the sixteenth-century Habsburg-Valois struggle in Europe, which was ended by the peace of Câteau-Cambresis in 1559, only to spill over into the New World. Taking advantage of the breathing spell in

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1. Stanley South, "The Discovery of Santa Elena," Research Manuscript Series #165, Institute of Archeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, July 1980.



Europe, France determined to try to establish a colony on the southern Atlantic coast of North America, where she could challenge Spanish colonial claims and, incidentally, also prey on Spanish shipping.<sup>2</sup> In 1562 Jean Ribault established a tiny post, Charlesfort, somewhere on Port Royal Sound, probably on Port Royal Island or Parris Island. He left behind about thirty men to hold this post while he returned to France for reinforcements. During the winter, when these men began to starve, they revolted, built a small boat with the help of local Indians, who supplied them with cordage, and they set sail for France. Only one, a boy named Guillaume Rouffi, remained behind with the Indians. In early 1564, Rouffi, dressed like an Indian, was picked up near St. Helena Sound by Hernando Manrique de Rojas, who had been sent by Spain to reconnoiter the coast.<sup>3</sup> The Spanish called him Guillermo Rufin.

Later, in 1564, René de Laudonnière established a second French colony, Fort Caroline (La Caroline), near the mouth of the St. Johns River. When King Philip II was informed of these French actions, he sent Pedro Menéndez de Avilés to attack the French colony. The king had already approved a plan to establish a colony in Florida and had entered into a formal contract with Menéndez for that purpose. In September 1565, Menéndez attacked and overcame Fort Caroline, putting many of the French defenders to death and capturing others.<sup>4</sup> He then quickly set about building a series of forts to protect an empire which, as he envisioned it, would eventually include all the territory from Newfoundland southward to Florida, and from there around the Gulf coast to the Panuco River in Mexico. He meant to control the interior as well.

After building Fort San Felipe at Santa Elena on the southern tip of Parris Island, Menéndez directed Pardo to explore the interior, where De Soto had been earlier. Pardo was ordered to pacify the Indians and arrange for them to supply the Spanish with food, to examine and describe the land, to look for gems and precious metals, and to establish a trail to the Spanish silver

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2. David B. Quinn, *North America from Earliest Discovery to First Settlements: The Norse Voyages to 1612* (New York, 1977), 240-41.

3. Lucy L. Wenhold (trans.), "The Report of Manrique de Rojas," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXXVIII (July 1959), 45-62.

4. Eugene Lyon, "The Captives of Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, L (July 1971), 1-24.

mines in Mexico. Remarkably, even though Alonso Alvarez de Pineda had, in 1519, sailed along the Gulf coast all the way from southern Florida to Vera Cruz, and even though the De Soto expedition had wandered for four years in the vastness of the interior southeast, Menéndez evidently believed that the distance from Santa Elena to Mexico was not great. Even at the end of the, sixteenth century officials in Florida believed it was only a few hundred miles overland from Florida to Mexico.<sup>5</sup>

Previous interpretations of the Pardo expeditions have been based on three short accounts: Pardo's account of both of his expeditions, published in Eugenio Ruidiaz y Caravia's *La Florida, su Conquista y Colonización por Pedro Menéndez de Avilés* (Madrid, 1894); a highly condensed account of the first expedition by a soldier, Francisco Martinez, also published in Ruidiaz's *La Florida*; and a brief account of the second expedition by Juan de la Vandera, the official scribe of the expedition, first published by Buckingham Smith in his *Collección de varias Documentos para la Historia de la Florida y Tierras Adyacentes* (London, 1857), and later included in Ruidiaz's *La Florida*.<sup>6</sup>

Two influential reconstructions of the route— both erroneous — have been proposed. Mary Ross takes Pardo from Santa Elena in a north-by-west direction to present-day Columbia, South Carolina, then northwestwardly along the Broad River into what is now Polk County, North Carolina, and from there along a broadly arcing southwestwardly route through northern Georgia, down the Tallapoosa River into Alabama, reaching perhaps a third of the way down the Alabama River.<sup>7</sup>

5. Quinn, *North America*, 275.

6. These three accounts were edited and translated by Herbert E. Ketcham, "Three Sixteenth Century Spanish Chronicles Relating to Georgia," *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, XXXVIII (March 1954), 66-82. Ketcham erroneously says (p. 68) that Pardo began his first expedition in 1565, whereas it was in 1566, and that the Martinez account is of the second expedition, whereas it is of the first, and that the Vandera account pertains to the years 1566-1567, whereas it is an account of 1567-1568 (p. 78). These same accounts were translated by Gerald W. Wade and edited by Stanley J. Folmsbee and Madeline Kneberg Lewis in "Journals of the Juan Pardo Expeditions, 1566-1567," *The East Tennessee Historical Society's Publications*, XXXVII (1965), 106-21. We have used the translations of Ketcham (hereinafter cited as Pardo, Martinez, and Vandera I).

7. Mary Ross, "With Pardo and Boyano on the Fringes of the Georgia Land," *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, XIV (December 1930), 267-85.

In the other proposed route, John Swanton takes Pardo northwest along the eastern bank of the Savannah River into the northwestern corner of South Carolina, and from there along an arc through western North Carolina, the southeastern corner of Tennessee, and into northern Alabama.<sup>8</sup>

More recently, Steven Baker has correctly concluded that the "province" of Cofitachequi was centered on the lower Wateree River, and that Pardo and his men followed the river to the north. But on other details of Pardo's movements, as well as the locations of specific towns visited by Pardo, Baker's solution differs from the one contained herein.<sup>9</sup>

A fourth document, little used by scholars, allows for a more precise determination of the route than has previously been possible. This document is Juan de la Vandra's full official documentation of the second journey which he prepared for Pedro Menéndez de Avilés about a year after the second journey ended. It is dated April 1, 1569.<sup>10</sup> This second Vandra account contains detailed information on directions, distances traveled, local topography, the activities of Pardo and his men, Indians encountered, and other details which make possible a more accurate reconstruction of the route.

Some additional evidence on the Pardo explorations can be gleaned from a report in 1600 by Don Gonzalo Mendez de Canço, governor of Florida. This report contains testimony by Juan de Ribas, a soldier who, as a boy of seventeen or eighteen, had traveled with Pardo thirty-four years earlier. In addition, it contains testimony from an Indian woman, Teresa Martin, who was a girl in the interior when Pardo and his men appeared.<sup>11</sup>

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8. John Swanton et al., *Final Report of the United States De Soto Expedition Commission* (Washington, 1939), 196-97; *The Indians of the Southeastern United States*, Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin no. 137 (Washington, 1946), 64-70.
  9. Steven G. Baker, "Cofitachique: Fair Province of Carolina" (master's thesis, University of South Carolina, 1974), figure 2, V-1 to V-6.
  10. Photostats of the original are in the Spanish Archives Collection of the North Carolina State Archives. An unpublished translation, believed to be by Herbert E. Ketcham, totals seventy-one typescript pages (hereinafter cited as Vandra II). This document has thus far only been used by Michael V. Gannon to reconstruct Pardo's first expedition, and his conclusions about Pardo's movements are quite different from ours. Michael V. Gannon, "Sebastian Montero, Pioneer American Missionary, 1566-1572," *The Catholic Historical Review*, LI (October 1965), 343-46.
  11. "Report made officially before Don Gonzalo Mendez de Canço, Governor of the Provinces of Florida, upon the situation of La Tama and its

On December 1, 1566, Pardo set out on his first expedition from Santa Elena with 125 soldiers.<sup>12</sup> They traveled through swampy country to Guioxae, and all along the way the Indians they encountered had already heard about the Spanish presence (see fig. 1). From Guioxae they went on to Canos, which was also called Cofitachequi. As Pardo moved from town to town, he commanded the Indians to build houses to be reserved for use by the Spaniards and cribs to be kept filled with corn. Continuing, they went through Tagaya, Tagaya the Lesser, Ysa, an outlying district of Ysa, and finally Joara, at the foot of a range of mountains.<sup>13</sup> Because the mountains were at that time covered with snow, Pardo could not proceed to conquer the land all the way to Mexico, as he had been ordered to do.<sup>14</sup> During a two-week stay at Joara, Pardo and his men built a fort, which he named San Juan. We garrisoned it with thirty men under the command of Sergeant Hernando Moyano de Morales.<sup>15</sup>

Then Pardo took the remainder of his force in a northeastern direction, on a road which followed downstream along the river which passed through Joara.<sup>16</sup> He traveled through Quinahiqui and another town whose name he could not remember when he wrote his report.<sup>17</sup> The Spanish went next to a place called Guatari, where they spent fifteen or sixteen days. While there a letter was delivered from Santa Elena calling him back to be on hand in case the French attacked in reprisal for their defeat at Fort Caroline. Pardo and his men departed Guatari, leaving behind his chaplain Sebastian Montero and four soldiers.<sup>18</sup>

They moved south, going through Guatariatiqui, Aracuchi (also called Racuchilli), a town whose name he subsequently forgot, and then to Tagaya the Lesser, which he had visited on

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riches, and the English Settlement," AGI 54-5-9, folio 17. Mary Ross Collection, Georgia State Archives (hereinafter cited as *Canço*).

12. *Vandera II*, 6. Pardo, p. 69, says they departed on Saint Andrews Day, i.e., November 30.

13. Pardo, 69-70. Pardo spells it "Juada."

14. *Martinez*, 75.

15. *Vandera II*, 7, 18. Confirmed in *Martinez*, 75.

16. Pardo, 71. These details help fix the location of Joara on the Upper Catawba River. Unlike the Savannah, Saluda, Enoree, Pacolet, Broad, and South Fork of the Catawba River, all of which flow to the southeast, the upper Catawba River flows east northeast for a distance before it turns to flow southward.

17. Perhaps the other town was Guaquiri. See below.

18. Gannon, "Sebastian Montero," 335-53.

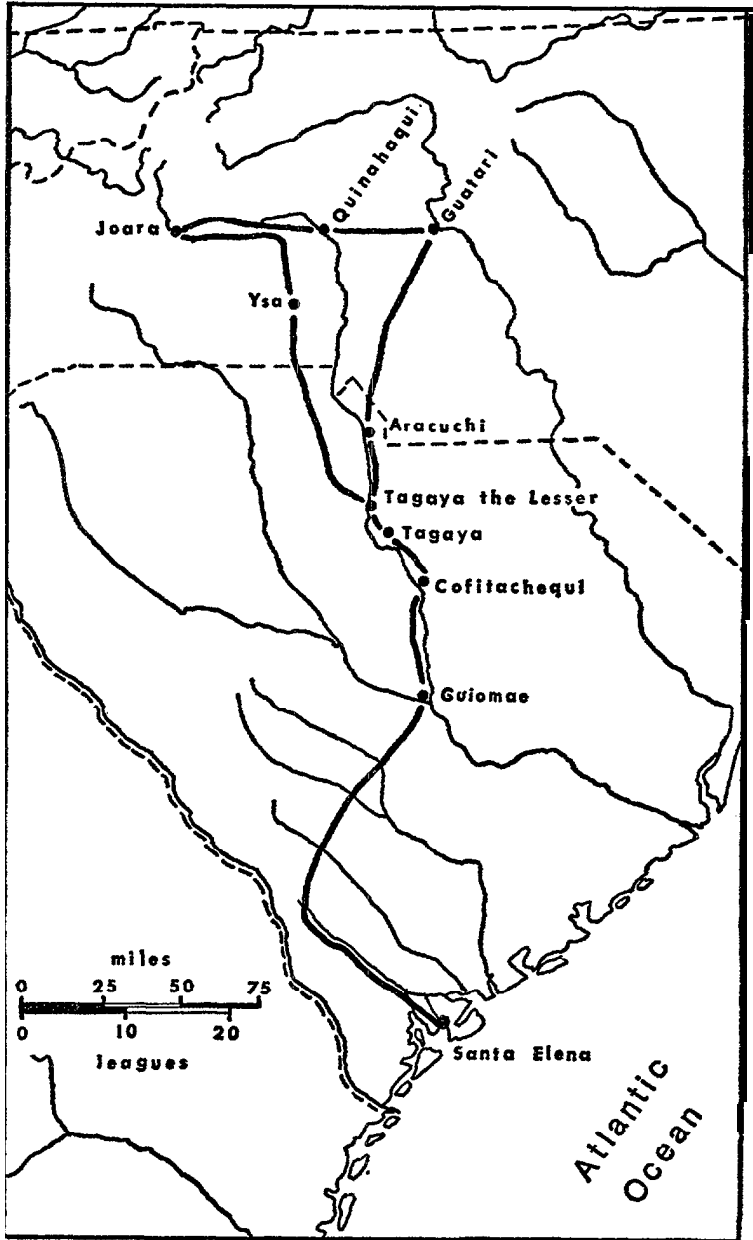


Fig. 1. Pardo's first expedition, December 1, 1566-March 7, 1567.

his journey into the interior. From here on they followed the same trail back to Santa Elena by which they had come, arriving there on March 7, 1567.<sup>19</sup>

Sergeant Moyano, who had been left behind to defend Joara, was to remain in the interior some nine months before he saw Pardo again. He did not remain idle, although one learns of his actions primarily from Martinez, who evidently heard about them from one or more letters which Moyano had sent back to Santa Elena. Martinez either read or heard these letters discussed.<sup>20</sup>

According to Martinez, about thirty days after Pardo had returned to Santa Elena (this must have been in early April 1567), he received a letter from Moyano who reported having fought the Chisca Indians. He claimed to have killed more than 1,000 and to have burned fifty of their houses, while only two of his men were wounded. Moyano indicated in the letter that if ordered to do so, he would push ahead and make further discoveries.<sup>21</sup>

According to Martinez, Pardo agreed that Moyano should leave ten soldiers in the fort at Joara and with the rest make further discoveries. But before Moyano received Pardo's message, another Indian chief, presumably also a Chisca, threatened him by sending word that he was going to come over and eat Moyano, his soldiers, and even his dog. Moyano decided to attack. He took twenty soldiers and traveled four days along a mountain trail where they were astonished to find a town defended by a very high wooden palisade. Moyano claimed he destroyed it, killing 1,500 Indians. By this time Pardo's letter had caught up with him, and he marched four days further to the island town of Chiaha (also called Olamico, see *infra*), likewise surrounded by a palisade and very strong square towers. Moyano explored in the vicinity of

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19. Vandra II, 7.

26. Martinez's memorandum is dated July 11, 1567. This was after Pardo returned from his first expedition and before he departed on his second expedition. Martinez evidently wrote an account of the first expedition in a book, which he gave, along with a copy of his memorandum, to Garcia Osorio, governor of Cuba. A scribe in Havana copied it on October 6, 1567. At this time Pardo had already embarked on his second expedition.

21. This letter may have been carried to Santa Elena by Sebastian Montero, who apparently came for a brief visit in the spring or summer of 1567. Cannon, "Sebastian Montero," 349.

Chiaha for twelve days before building a small fort for himself and his men. All of this probably took place in April 1567.<sup>22</sup>

The question is, which trail did Moyano take through the mountains? He does not seem to have taken the trail which Pardo was later to take, because when Pardo went through the mountains, neither he nor Vandra mentions any Indians having been previously attacked by Spaniards, nor is there any mention of the Chiscas, nor of any other Indians who were hostile (see fig. 2).

On the basis of evidence to be discussed, Joara has been placed in the vicinity of Marion, North Carolina. It was near the crossing of two major trails which led through the mountains into the Tennessee Valley. One trail went from Joara westward through Swannanoa Gap to the site of present Asheville, and thence down the French Broad River. This trail down the French Broad River could also be reached from South Carolina through Saluda Gap. After this trail was improved for wagon travel by American frontiersmen, it was known as the Old Warm Springs Road, and after 1827 it was part of the Buncombe Turnpike.<sup>23</sup> The second trail went from Joara northward to the North Toe River, and at Little Yellow Mountain it forked.<sup>24</sup> The left fork ran alongside the Toe River, which becomes the Nolichucky River. On modern maps, the Clinchfield Railroad closely follows this trail. The right fork of the trail led to the Doe River, which it then followed to the Watauga River. On modern maps this fork of the trail lies near Highway 19E.<sup>25</sup>

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22. Martinez, 76-77. This information implies that a second letter from Moyano reached Santa Elena, presumably arriving before Pardo departed on his second expedition.
  23. F. A. Sondley, *A History of Buncombe County, North Carolina*, 2 vols. (Asheville, 1930), II, 618-19.
  24. John Preston Arthur, *Western North Carolina: A History* (Raleigh, 1914), 62-63.
  25. Neither of these trails appear on the Mouzon map of 1775. This map does show an "Indian Road" from the upper Catawba River into the mountains, but this particular trail is one that went by Table Mountain, Grandfather Mountain, and northward to the headwaters of the Watauga River. Both of the trails from Joara through the mountains are shown for the first time on the Price-Strother map of 1808. Both trails were no doubt familiar to John Strother, one of the compilers of this map, who was an official surveyor of the boundary line run between North Carolina and what was later to be the state of Tennessee. The map was copyrighted in 1796, but publication was delayed until 1808. The Price-Strother map does not, however, show the fork of the trail leading from the North Toe River to the Doe and Watauga rivers. The first map to show both forks of the trail is the MacRae-Brazier

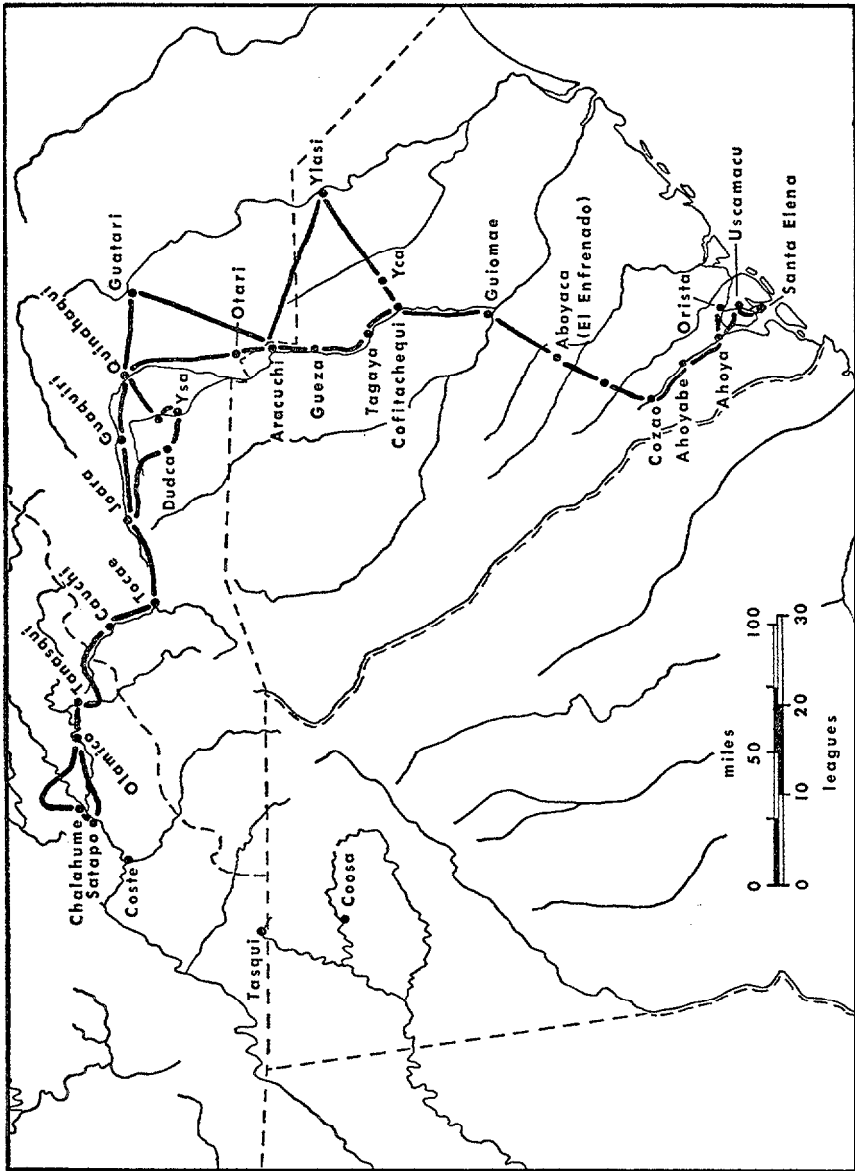


Fig. 2. Moyano's activities, Spring 1567.



Of the two trails from Joara, the one leading north was the one used earliest by Anglo-Americans, possibly as early as 1772, but once control of the trail along the French Broad River was wrested from the Cherokees, perhaps in 1788, it became the main road from the Carolinas to Tennessee. In 1795 the first wagons to reach Tennessee from the Carolinas came in along this road.<sup>26</sup> Moreover, in the early nineteenth century the road along the French Broad River was used as a thoroughfare for driving large herds of stock—cattle, horses, mules, and especially hogs— from Tennessee into the Carolinas.<sup>27</sup>

There is evidence that Pardo took the trail along the French Broad River. Therefore, it is probable that Moyano followed the trail north to the Toe River, and from there he either attacked the Indians on the upper Nolichucky River or on the Watauga. From the vicinity of Marion, North Carolina, to the upper Nolichucky and the Watauga it is about sixty miles, a distance that could have been covered in four days. From the upper Nolichucky to an island in the French Broad River, near Dandridge, Tennessee, where it is believed that Chiaha was located, it was about sixty-eight miles, a distance they could have traveled in another four days. From the Watauga River the distance to Chiaha was eighty miles, a distance which a small party of men could have traveled in four days, though with some difficulty.

If this reconstruction of Moyano's route is correct, the Chiscas were located on the upper Nolichucky River or on the Watauga River, and perhaps they were on both. This location of the Chiscas is consistent with other evidence. Namely, when De Soto was in Chiaha he was told that gold (actually copper) could be had in the land of the Chiscas, who lived to the north.<sup>28</sup> It so happens that deposits of native copper occur in the western Virginia section of the Appalachian Mountains,

map of 1833. See William P. Cumming, *North Carolina in Maps* (Raleigh, 1966), 2327.

26. Sondley, *Buncombe County*, II, 610.

27. *Ibid.*, 618. Sondley says that hogs could be driven eight to ten miles per day along this road. See also Edmund Cody Burnett, "Hog Raising and Hog Driving in the Region of the French Broad River," *Agricultural History*, XX (April 1946), 86-103.

28. Gentleman of Elvas, "Narrative," in *Narratives of De Soto in the Conquest of Florida*, Buckingham Smith, trans. (New York, 1866; facsimile ed., Gainesville, 1968), 72.

which lay just to the north of our proposed location for the Chiscas.<sup>29</sup>

In 1600 the Indian woman, Teresa Martin, recalled that her people procured "gold" from the Chiscas, who lived in the mountains, three or four days' journey from her town. She said that the Chiscas were white-skinned, blue-eyed, red-haired, and wore clothing. Obviously, they had taken on mythological status in her mind.<sup>30</sup>

On May 25, 1567, Menéndez again ordered Pardo to go into the interior to pacify the Indians, take possession of the land, find an overland route to the mines of San Martín in Zacatecas, and then return to Santa Elena by the following March, when he again contemplated the possibility of a French reprisal.<sup>31</sup> Evidently, neither Menéndez nor Pardo realized that this was an impossible order. Pardo was authorized to take with him as many as 120 soldiers, arquebusiers, and archers. He was provided with a supply of presents to be given to the Indians to win their friendship.<sup>32</sup> Juan de la Vandra was ordered to go along to serve as scribe, and he was specifically instructed to record the tributary and hegemonic relations which Pardo established with the Indians.

Accordingly, on September 1, 1567, Pardo again departed from Santa Elena with a company of men (see fig. 3). Whether he took along the full complement of 120 men, as authorized by Menéndez, is not known. The first night was spent at Uscamacu, on an island surrounded by rivers. It is probable that this part of their journey was made by boat, and Uscamacu was probably on the northern end of Port Royal Island. At this place, according to Vandra, there was fertile land for corn and many grape stocks, as well as very good clay for making cooking pots and tiles.<sup>33</sup>

On September 2, Pardo went to Ahoya, described as being an "island, with a few corners surrounded by rivers and the rest

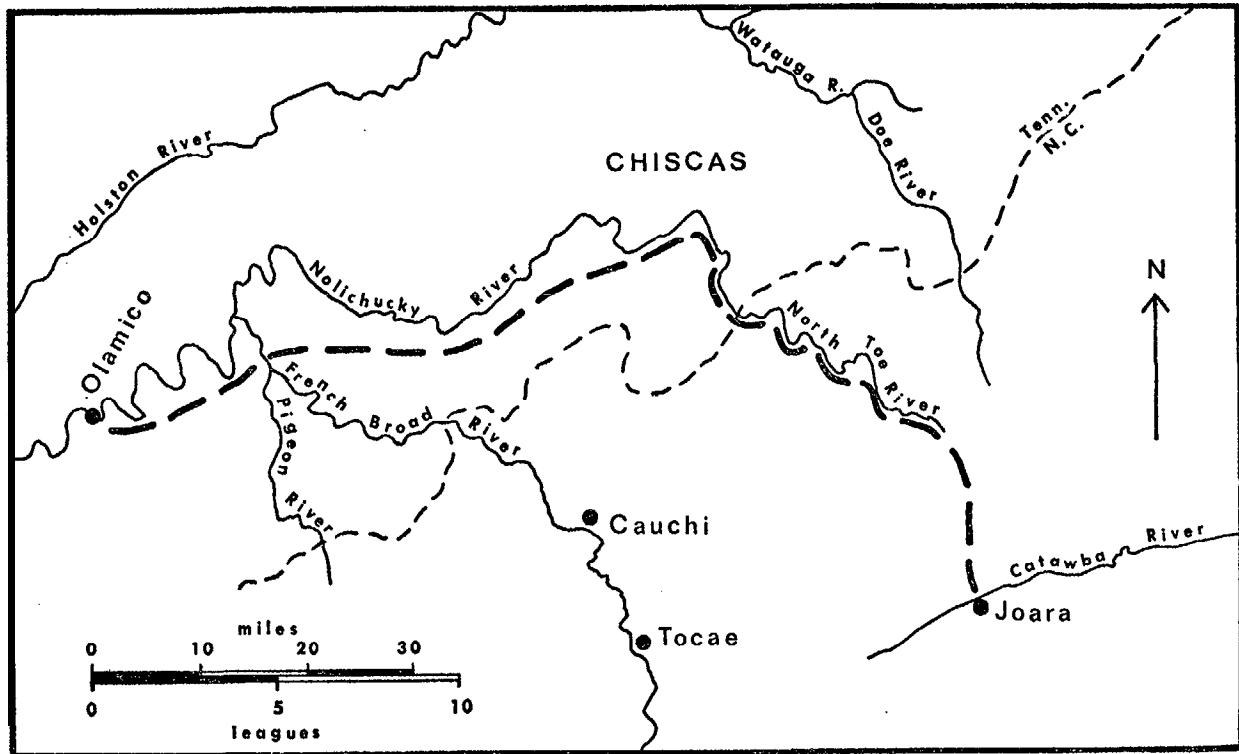
29. Sharon I. Goad, "Copper and the Southeastern Indians," *Early Georgia* IV, (September 1976), 49-67.

30. Canço, 12.

31. Vandra II, 1-2.

32. Chester B. DePratter and Marvin T. Smith, "Sixteenth Century European Trade in the Southeastern United States: Evidence from the Juan Pardo Expeditions (1566-1568)," in Henry F. Dobyns, ed., *Spanish Colonial Frontier Research* (Albuquerque, 1980), 57-77.

33. Vandra I, 78. This clay may help in precisely locating Uscamacu, because clay only occurs in isolated places on the coast.



like the mainland.<sup>34</sup> This was probably near present Pocatigo or Yemassee, South Carolina. Ahoya was either on a neck of land, surrounded by rivers, or else the Spanish were under the mistaken impression that they were on another large island like Port Royal Island. On September 3, the Spanish went to Ahoyabe, a small village which was subject to Ahoya, and located on similar land. They were probably following a trail which ran close to the Coosawhatchie River, as shown on the map of Beaufort District in *Mills' Atlas*.<sup>35</sup> Ahoyabe was probably on the Coosawhatchie River near present Hampton.

On September 4, Pardo went to Cozao, a rather important chief with a large quantity of good land. He first encountered "stony" land here, and the streams were "sweet."<sup>36</sup> Cozao was probably located on the headwaters of the Coosawhatchie River, near present Fairfax. Pardo had reached the edge of the Aiken Plateau. When traveling inland from the coast, this is where small pebbles first occur after many miles of sandy coastal plain soil, and where the water in streams becomes more palatable, presumably because it flows more swiftly. On September 5, Pardo reached a small town which was a tributary of Cozao. The corn land was good here, but there was less of it than at Cozao, suggesting that the size of a village was conditioned by the amount of land suitable for the cultivation of corn. It was probably located on the Little Salkehatchie River.

On September 6, the force arrived at a place they called *el Enfrenado* (literally "reined in"), where the land was generally poor, though good in places.<sup>37</sup> This must have been located somewhere between the north and south forks of the Edisto River. On September 7, Pardo moved on, and he and his men probably slept in the open (they had to sleep in the open in this vicinity also on their return trip). They were now somewhere in the vicinity of present St. Matthews, at the head of Four Hole Swamp.<sup>38</sup>

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34. *Ibid.*

35. Robert Mills, comp., *Mills' Atlas of the State of South Carolina, 1825* (Baltimore, 1825; reprint ed., Easley, S.C., 1980).

36. Vandra I, 78. Cozao was probably the namesake of the Coosawhatchee River.

37. *Ibid.*

38. Although Vandra does not mention a river crossing on this day, they must have crossed the North Fork of the Edisto River near present Orangeburg.

On September 8, Pardo arrived at Guiomae.<sup>39</sup> In his shorter account, Vandera says that at this point the men had come forty leagues from Santa Elena. The route they had traveled measures about 132 miles on a map, and allowing 3.45 miles to the league, this comes to about forty leagues. This means that Pardo could average five leagues per day over coastal plain terrain.<sup>40</sup> The land at Guiomae was much like that at Cozao, but better in quality. It was said to have been flat, and there were large swamps in the area, namely those at the junction of the Congaree and Wateree rivers. Guiomae was probably located near the present town of Wateree, South Carolina.<sup>41</sup>

After resting on September 9 at Guiomae, Pardo departed on September 10, going northward on a trail which paralleled the Wateree River, and which probably lay near present Highway 601.<sup>42</sup> His force slept that night in the open, and on September 11 arrived at Cofitachequi (also called Canos) near present Camden, South Carolina. It is believed that Cofitachequi was either at or near the McDowell or Mulberry site (38KE12).<sup>43</sup>

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39. Vandera I spells this "Guiomaez." Pardo (p. 72) and Vandera II (p. 8) spell it "Guiomae." It was probably the same town as De Soto's "Aymay" or "Hymahi." It may in some way be related to seventeenth- and eighteenth-century "Yemassee." Elvas, "Narrative," 61; Rodrigo Ranjel, "Narrative," in *Narratives of the Career of Hernando de Soto*, Edward Gaylord Bourne, trans. and ed. (New York, 1922), 96.
40. Because the location of Guiomae is fairly certain, this is evidence that Pardo's usual unit of measurement was the *legua común* (5.57 km. or 3.45 miles) and not the *legua legal* (4.19 km. or 2.63 miles). See Roland Chardon, "The Elusive Spanish League: A Problem of Measurement in Sixteenth-Century New Spain," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, XL (May 1980), 294-302.
41. They had to cross the Congaree River in order to get to Guiomae, although no river crossing is mentioned in the documents. They probably made the crossing in Indian canoes. The site of this crossing was probably at or near McCord's Ferry, as shown on the map of Richland District in Mills, *Mills' Atlas*. One piece of evidence for a river crossing here is that on his return journey, when Pardo reached the coast he sent a small party of men back into the interior with orders to command the cacique of Guiomae to build four canoes which were to be reserved for use by the Spanish (Vandera II, 67). Pardo says they were at Guiomae two days (p. 72).
42. Vandera II, 8, 9. The Indians called this place "Canosi," and also "Cofetazque" (Vandera I, 79), and perhaps also "Cajuou" (Pardo, 71). Pardo's men sometimes called it *canios* (Vandera II, 12). This was De Soto's Cofitachequi (Elvas, "Narrative," 61-65). When De Soto reached Cofitachequi, Ranjel says that the house of the chief of Cofitachequi was called "*caney*" (Ranjel, "Narratives," 101). This word may be Eastern Muskogean *kanusi*, "little ground," possibly referring to a square ground, i.e. a ceremonial center. See George E. Stuart, "The Post-Archaic Occupation of Central South Carolina" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1975), 98-128.

Here there were small swamps, but they were so shallow that even a boy could cross them on foot. The terrain changed here; it was a place of deep valleys, with much stone, and even boulders, and the soil was red in color, and better in quality than they had seen up to this point. It was a land of wild grapes where much corn was grown, and it was believed that a large colony could be situated here.<sup>44</sup> In other words, they had come to the fall line region.<sup>45</sup>

In his shorter account, Vandera makes a puzzling, perhaps confused or misinformed, statement about the rivers in the interior: "There are at the end of this land three or four rivers, and one of them has a very large volume of water, and even two of them. . . . Canos is a land through which passes one of the great rivers, near it, and other streams. It is fifty leagues to Santa Helena, and to the sea about twenty leagues; you can go to it by the said river, following the land, and much further by the same river. You can do the same by the other river which passes through Guioмаez."<sup>46</sup>

There are two puzzles. If the sites of these towns have been correctly located, Vandera seems not to have realized that the Congaree joins the Wateree just below Guioмаe. It is possible, of course, that he may have been under the illusion that these two rivers followed parallel courses to the ocean. What is clear from his statement, however, is that two major rivers passed through the vicinity of Guioмаe. On the return journey, Pardo ordered his men to load several canoes with corn from Cofitachequi and take them down river to Guioмаe, where they were to put it in a crib.<sup>47</sup> Hence, Vandera had to have known that Guioмаe was located near the Wateree River which ran by Cofitachequi. His mention of "the other river," then, has to have been a reference to the Congaree. The second puzzle is Vandera's estimate that Cofitachequi was twenty leagues from the Atlantic coast, whereas the actual distance is about thirty-two leagues, or about 100 miles. However, it is probable that Vandera's estimate of twenty leagues was based on the time of travel as reported

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44. Vandera I, 79.

45. These topographic features are evidence for not placing Guioмаe further north, say, at Columbia. Namely, Guioмаe was on land that was not yet fall line terrain.

46. Vandera I, 79.

47. Vandera II, 58-59.

by an Indian informant. The Indians probably estimated the distance in terms of days of travel by foot, and the Indians habitually covered considerably more distance on foot in a day than did Europeans.<sup>48</sup>

On September 13, Pardo continued on to Tagaya, described as a place where there were no swamps, with soil that was both black and red, and was well watered by springs and brooks.<sup>49</sup> Tagaya was probably located near the junction of Beaver Creek and the Wateree River. None of the documents say that Tagaya was on a river or a creek, but this location is likely because in the late prehistoric period Indian towns were almost always located near the alluvial soils of rivers and creeks, and many of them were at the junction of two streams. Also, Juan de Ribas testified that he "went all the way up the river with Juan Pardo, from Canos . . . to Juaraz [i.e., Joara]."<sup>50</sup> And since the river in question must be the Wateree-Catawba, this implies that all the towns along the way were near this river. On September 14, Pardo went on to Gueza, whose surrounding land was similar to that of Tagaya. It was possibly located on the Wateree River near Lancaster.

At this point an inconsistency occurs between Pardo's account of his first expedition and Vandera's accounts of the second. Pardo, in describing his return from his first journey, mentions a "Tagaya the Lesser" which must have been situated between Tagaya and Gueza, whereas Vandera does not mention "Tagaya the Lesser."<sup>51</sup> On the first expedition, Tagaya the Lesser was evidently the place where Pardo swung northwestward toward Ysa, several days' travel away, although he does not say exactly how many days. If the present reconstruction is correct, on this segment of the first expedition Pardo probably followed the trail on the Mouzon map of 1775 which goes from the mouth of Fishing Creek to King's Mountain, and from there along the Broad River to present Marion, North Carolina.<sup>52</sup> On his return

48. Luys Hernandez de Biedma, one of the De Soto chroniclers, says this distance was thirty leagues, a far more accurate estimate than Vandera's: Biedma, "Relation of the Conquest of Florida," in Bourne, *Career of Hernando de Soto*, 14. Elvas says that Ayllon's colony had been two day's journey from Cofitachequi ("Narrative," 64); this would have been two days of fast travel, even for an Indian runner.

49. Vandera I, 79; Vandera II, 11.

50. Canço, 7.

51. Pardo, 70-71.

52. This may mean that Tagaya the Lesser was located where this trail

from the first expedition, which was different from the way he entered the interior, Pardo evidently spent the night at Gueza, although he could not recall the name of this town when he wrote his account. But he also says that he spent the next night at Tagaya the Lesser, which could not have been far from Gueza. He specifically says that at Tagaya the Lesser he picked up the road he had followed when coming into the interior. On September 15, he went on to Aracuchi, a place with very good land, probably located on the Wateree River north of present Van Wyck, South Carolina.<sup>53</sup>

He spent one or two days (September 16 and/or 17) getting to Otari, probably located in the vicinity of present Charlotte.<sup>54</sup> From Otari the distance to Guatari was said to be fifteen or sixteen leagues "on the right hand, less to the north than this other."<sup>55</sup> That is, Guatari lay to the northeast of Otari. It is not clear when the Spanish departed from Otari. They could have left on September 18, giving them three days' time to their next stop, or on September 19, giving them two days' time. On September 20, they arrived at Quinahaqui, which was probably located on the Catawba River, possibly near Catawba or Sherrill's Ford, North Carolina. Quinahaqui was specifically said to be located on one of the great rivers, and it was at a distance of two days from Guatari, which was on the other of the great rivers, i.e., the Yadkin-Pee Dee.

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crossed the Wateree River near the present town of Great Falls. The crossing was possibly at McDonald's Ford, as shown on the map of Chester District in Mills, *Mills' Atlas*. Gueza was possibly just to the north at Land's Ford.

53. Vandera I, 79; Vandera II, 12-13. This assumes six leagues of travel. Pardo has this as "Racuchi" (p. 72).
54. Vandera I, 79; Vandera II, 15. Pardo has this as "Guatariatiqui." Vandera also has it as "Otariatiqui" (Vandera I, p. 79). The *-atiqui* segment of this word may be a variant of Eastern Muskogean *yatika*, or Yuchi *y'atik'e*, meaning "speaker or interpreter."
55. Vandera I, 79. This measure is approximately correct, using our proposed locations. Vandera must have gotten this direction and distance from the Spaniards who had come down from Guatari to meet them on the trail. These were men who had been living at the outpost which Pardo had established on his first expedition. If this measurement is to be taken literally, it places Otari just south of Charlotte. Pardo, on the return of his first expedition, made it from Guatari to Guatariatiqui (i.e. Otari) in two days; thus, Pardo and his men could travel seven or eight leagues per day when they had to (p. 71). It should be recalled that on their return from their first expedition, they were afraid of a French attack on Santa Elena, and this is the reason they traveled in such haste.



In his shorter account, Vandera gives a location, for Ysa that is ambiguous. He says that Ysa is twelve leagues to the left (i.e. the west) of "the village described above," but both Otari and Quinahaqui were so described.<sup>56</sup> Placing Ysa at twelve leagues of trail distance from Otari would put it in the vicinity of Lincolnton, North Carolina; whereas twelve leagues from Quinahaqui would place it in the vicinity of Gastonia, North Carolina. The Lincolnton location is the more likely of the two, because it is the one that is consistent with information on their return journey. On September 21, the force departed Quinahaqui and went to Guaquiri, located either on the Catawba River or on Henry River near Hickory, North Carolina.<sup>57</sup>

Pardo spent three days (September 22-24) traveling from Guaquiri to Joara, probably located near Marion, North Carolina.<sup>58</sup> Joara was possibly located at the Mc<sup>o</sup>41 site, on an alluvial terrace of the upper Catawba River, about two miles to the northwest of Marion.<sup>59</sup> Joara was also called Cuenca, after Pardo's native city in Spain. Here Pardo had built Fort San Juan on his earlier visit and had left Sergeant Moyano to defend it. Vandera says that Joara was "at the foot of a range of mountains, surrounded by rivers," which is accurate for our proposed location, with the Blue Ridge Mountains on one side and the Hickorynut Mountains on the other, and with several small streams here flowing into the Catawba.<sup>60</sup> Joara was clearly the same as De Soto's "Xuala," which was described by Ranjel as a village on a plain between two rivers near the mountains. And in the country around "Xuala," Ranjel says that members of the De Soto expedition saw more evidence of gold mines (presumably copper) than they had seen thus far.<sup>61</sup> Vandera says that Joara was as beautiful a land as the best in all Spain, and he says that Joara was 100 leagues from Santa Elena.<sup>62</sup> Once he ar-

56. Vandera I, 80.

57. *Ibid.*; Vandera II, 16-17. It was also called Aguaquiri. This location assumes five leagues of travel.

58. The measured distance from Guaquiri to Joara is about thirteen or fourteen leagues. Pardo confirms that it took them three days (p. 72).

59. Robert Winston Keeler, "An Archaeological Survey of the Upper Catawba River Valley" (Honors thesis, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1971), 19.

60. Vandera II, 17.

61. Ranjel, "Narrative," 103-04.

62. Vandera I, 80. But elsewhere (Vandera II, 17) he says it is 120 leagues from Santa Elena. The actual measurement is about 105 leagues by trail distance.

rived at Joara, Pardo learned that Moyano had gone on ahead and was surrounded by Indians.

Their time of departure from Joara is unclear. Pardo says they traveled through the wilderness four days before they reached the next town, Tocaé.<sup>63</sup> Vandera indicates that it took them "three days to get through."<sup>64</sup> It is clear, though, that they arrived in Tocaé on October 1, and spent only four hours at this place, talking with some chiefs, before going on to sleep in the open.<sup>65</sup> Most likely they departed from Joara on September 28, and passed through Tocaé on the third day after departing. Tocaé was said to be situated at the far tip of a ridge of mountains, presumably the same mountains which lay near Joara. This may mean that Tocaé was situated somewhat north of Asheville. The land was supposed to be good here, with many meadows. Pardo says that Tocaé was a good village with wooden houses.

F. A. Sondley reports mounds and the remains of a village along both banks of the Swannanoa River where it joins the French Broad River.<sup>66</sup> However, a location for Tocaé somewhat further downstream on the French Broad fits Pardo's itinerary better. The name "Tocaé" is possibly a Hispanicized version of the Cherokee word of *untakiyastiyi*, literally "where they [the waters] race," the Cherokee name for the segment of the French Broad River downstream from Asheville.<sup>67</sup> Upstream from Asheville the French Broad is placid, but beyond Asheville it becomes rapid, and through a series of cascades and falls it descends some 1,500 feet before it emerges from the mountains. Its bed is solid rock, and the banks on both sides are often perpendicular. The trail, and later the wagon road, followed the banks of the

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63. Pardo, 72. Pardo has this as Tocalques (p. 72).

64. Vandera I, 80.

65. Vandera II, 19.

66. Sondley, *Buncombe County*, II, 32-33.

67. James Mooney, *Myths of the Cherokee*, 19th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology (Washington, 1900), 543. Duane King is of the opinion that "Tocaé" is probably derived from the Cherokee place-name *dakwai*, which James Mooney (*Myths*, 405) locates on the French Broad River about six miles above Warm Springs (now named Hot Springs) in Madison County, North Carolina, and thirty miles downstream from Asheville. The *dakwa* was a monstrous fish which the Cherokees believed lived at this place in the river. Anglicized versions of this place-name are Toqua and Toco, both used to refer to an important eighteenth-century Cherokee town on the Little Tennessee River.

river for almost its entire distance.<sup>68</sup> In the early 1800s the land along the upper French Broad still consisted of extensive prairies or meadows.

The derivation of “Swannanoa” – the name of the gap and the river along Pardo’s route through the Blue Ridge Mountains – is also consistent with our proposed route. James Mooney notes that “Swannanoa” derives from the Cherokee word *Suwalinunna*, “the Suwali trail.” The people the Cherokees called *Ani-Suwali* or *Ani-Suwala* lived east of the mountains.<sup>69</sup> Cherokee Suwali is De Soto’s “Xuala” and Pardo’s “Joara.”

On October 2, Pardo reached the town of Cauchi, probably located on the French Broad River at Marshall, North Carolina.<sup>70</sup> It is described as being on a large stream with good land and large meadows. Alluvial lands do exist along the margins of the French Broad River near Marshall, but they are none too wide. In fact, according to an old history of Buncombe County, “it used to be said that pegged shoes were first made there because the hills so enclose the place that it would be impossible for a shoemaker to draw out his thread to the full width of his arms, and consequently had to hammer in pegs, which he could do by striking up and down.”<sup>71</sup> There is a moderately large island in the river at Marshall– Blennerhassett Island– which the Indians could have farmed. Pardo evidently remained at Cauchi for one day.<sup>72</sup> After departing Cauchi and traveling through uninhabited mountains for three days, still following the French Broad River, Pardo reached the town of Tanasqui on October 6.<sup>73</sup> Vandera compared the country which lay beyond Cauchi to Andalusia, i.e. a fertile valley surrounded by mountains.<sup>74</sup> Tanasqui was situated between two copious rivers, the French Broad and the Pigeon. They were able to ford one of these rivers, probably the Pigeon, though with some difficulty. The town itself was located near the junction of the two rivers, with

68. Sondley, *Buncombe County*, I, 412-14; II, 578-79. Anglicized versions of *untakiyustiyi* are “Tocheste” and “Tocheeoste.”

69. Mooney, *Myths*, 582. Mooney correctly identifies *Suwali* or *Suwala* as Pardo’s Joara (p. 509), but incorrectly places the people on the Broad River, where he believed Joara had been located.

70. Vandera II, 21; Vandera I, 80. Pardo spells it “Canche.”

71. Arthur, *Western North Carolina*, 195.

72. The Pardo account is garbled. It says they remained in Cauchi four days.

73. Vandera II, 22. Was this the place-name from which the state of Tennessee takes its name?

74. Vandera II, 80.

its third side defended by a palisade stretching between the two rivers. Three defensive towers were positioned along this palisade. The cacique of this town, Tanasqui Orata, explained to Pardo that he had built the palisade to defend against his enemies. Presumably because of something he saw at Tanasqui, Pardo believed that gold and silver could be had in this general area.

The next day, October 7, Pardo continued on to a town which had two names: Chiaha and Olamico.<sup>75</sup> Neither Pardo nor Vandra appears to have understood why it had two designations. The reason seems to have been that while the main towns of small southeastern chiefdoms had the same names as did the chiefdoms themselves, the larger chiefdoms had paramount towns and paramount chiefs. Hence, the chiefdom of Chiaha had as its paramount town Olamico (probably a variant of western Muskogean *okla miko*, meaning "leader of the chiefdom") and a paramount chief named Olamico.<sup>76</sup> Additionally, there was in the chiefdom of Chiaha also a town named Chiaha governed by a chief named Chiaha Orata. To prevent confusion, henceforth "Olamico" will always be used to designate the paramount town of the chiefdom of Chiaha.

Olamico was a very strong town because it was on an island surrounded by a river. The French Broad River contains many islands, but the most likely one was Zimmerman's Island, near Dandridge, Tennessee. De Soto also visited this town, and the description of the island by the Gentleman of Elvas closely resembles Zimmerman's Island: "The town was isolated between two arms of a river, and seated near one of them. Above it, at the distance of two crossbowshots, the water divided, and united a league below. The vale between, from side to side, was the width of a crossbowshot, and in others two. The branches were very wide, and both were fordable: along their shores were very rich meadow-lands, having many maize-fields."<sup>77</sup> There was a

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75. Vandra I (p. 80) also calls it Solamico. Pardo spells them Chihaque and Lameco (p. 73).

76. De Soto appears to have encountered this kind of terminology in the chiefdom of Cofitachequi, whose paramount town was Talomico (i.e., Eastern Muskogean *talwa mico*, meaning "leader of the chiefdom.")

77. Elvas, "Narrative," 70. Unfortunately, Zimmerman's Island now lies beneath the waters of Douglas Lake. T.M.N. Lewis and Madeline Kneberg excavated a ten-foot by thirty-foot trench into the top of this mound. Beyond this no extensive excavation was done before the

thirty-foot high mound on Zimmerman's Island which was situated some 550 to 600 yards from the upstream end of the island, and since a crossbow shot was on the order of about 300 yards, it agrees with Elvas's description.<sup>78</sup> Likewise, the island was about 550 to 600 yards wide at its widest. It was about two and one-half miles long, somewhat less than a league. No other island with a large mound in the Tennessee-French Broad River matches Elvas's description as closely as Zimmerman's Island.

Vandera says that Olamico was a large village inhabited by many Indians. It governed a rich land, watered by several rivers, with many small villages scattered at one, two, or three leagues away. There were also large meadows, fine grapes, and many "medlar" trees (i.e. persimmon). Vandera notes that they had to cross three large rivers to get to Olamico. These must have been the French Broad, the Pigeon, and then an arm of the French Broad at Zimmerman's Island. This is the town in which Sergeant Moyano had been encircled and had built a "fort." Pardo learned from an Indian informant in Olamico that further on, "six or seven thousand' Indians were laying an ambush for him. These included the Indians of "Carrosa, Chisca, and Costeheycoza."<sup>79</sup>

After having rested in Olamico for five days, Pardo and his men continued their journey, but their movements for the next few days are more difficult to reconstruct than any up to this point.<sup>80</sup> Sergeant Moyano, who had been at Olamico for several months, went along with Pardo, presumably to give him benefit of the knowledge he had gained during his stay. They seem not to have followed the trail along which De Soto is thought to have taken when he departed from this same town.

When De Soto was here a cacique of Coste came and told him that one could find copper or gold to the north, in the province of Chisca, but that in Chisca there were mountains over which horses could not go. So De Soto sent two of his men on foot along

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island was flooded. The few artifacts recovered indicate it to have been of the right time period.

78. John Swanton, *Final Report of the United States De Soto Expedition Commission*, 76th Cong., 1st sess., House Document no. 71 (Washington, 1939), 107-08.

79. Pardo, 73.

80. Vandera says they were in Chiaha for eight days, although it is clear that they arrived on October 7 and departed on October 13 (Vandera II, p. 24).

with some Indians who spoke the language of the Chiscas. These two Spaniards later rejoined De Soto at Coste (Bussells Island, near Lenoir City, Tennessee), having come downstream by canoe. They reported that the land of Chisca was full of high mountains and was so poor in maize that an army could not march in that direction.<sup>81</sup> Ranjel partially contradicts Elvas, saying that it was from Coste that De Soto sent these men to the north. He adds that they brought back "good news," i.e. presumably news of metals.<sup>82</sup> It is probable that Pardo and Moyano had some knowledge of De Soto's experience.

It is likely that when Pardo departed from Olamico, he was not only seeking a trail south to Coosa, but was also looking for precious metals, which he thought might be in the vicinity. On October 13, he set out directly west from Olamico, traveling five leagues and sleeping in the open. This would have put the force near the Holston River, west of Olamico. On October 14, the Spanish went five leagues further, over very rough country, where they "found mountains more rugged than the ones mentioned." They climbed one "very high mountain" and near the top of it Pardo found a small reddish stone which Andres Xuarez, a melter of gold and silver, identified as being silver ore, though it is possible that his identification was incorrect.<sup>83</sup> But Pardo accepted this as evidence that gold and silver occurred in the vicinity.<sup>84</sup>

Their whereabouts at this point are problematic. It is clear that they were traveling through an unpopulated area, away from the chiefdoms along the French Broad and Holston rivers. They must have been in the ridge and valley country north of present Knoxville. These mountains were much smaller than the Blue Ridge Mountains, but they could have been perceived as being more "rugged," in that no major trail led where they wanted to go, and they were beyond the pale of chiefly cultivation. Hence, the Spanish found themselves in a wilderness. A more serious problem is that it is difficult to see how in this area they would have been constrained to cross a "very high mountain," unless of course they deliberately sought it out for the purpose of prospecting for the silver ore they thought they had

81. Elvas, "Narrative," 72-74.

82. Ranjel, "Narrative," 110.

83. Vandra II, 24-25.

84. Pardo, 73.

succeeded in finding. This “high mountain” could have been the southern end of Clinch Mountain or Copper Ridge.

On October 15, after traveling an unspecified distance, Pardo reached Chalahume. This town was probably on the Tennessee River, in or near present Knoxville. Vandera compared this country to Cordova, with large meadows, and grapes as good as those in Spain. It was a land so pleasant it seemed to Vandera as if Spaniards had cultivated it.<sup>85</sup>

On October 16, Pardo went two leagues further to Satapo, which also had good houses, much corn, and many forest fruits. Both towns were situated near beautiful rivers.<sup>86</sup> There is an implication that Satapo was surrounded by a palisade. It was perhaps located just southwest of Knoxville, possibly near the mouth of Little River. At Satapo the Spanish learned that many Spaniards (i.e. the De Soto expedition) both on foot and on horseback had passed through “these parts” previously, and that the chief of Satapo claimed to have killed some of them. Later in the day on which they arrived, they heard that the Indians of Satapo, Coosa, Huchi, Casque, and Olamico (Chiaha) were planning to ambush them while they were en route to Coosa. They were told that these Indians had killed Spaniards before (i.e. De Soto’s men). Some Indians of Olamico had been traveling with them and evidently were part of the conspiracy.

If this reconstruction is correct, Satapo was about a day’s journey from De Soto’s Coste, which was probably located on Bussells Island, in the mouth of the Little Tennessee River. The claim that the Indians of Satapo killed some of De Soto’s men is evidently an exaggeration. When De Soto reached Coste (presumably a town allied with Satapo), the Indians became angry when the Spaniards began taking corn from their storehouses. The Indians of Coste grabbed up their clubs and bows and arrows and threatened to fight, but De Soto avoided conflict by a clever stratagem. None of the De Soto narratives report loss of life on either side.<sup>88</sup> Nor do the De Soto narratives report loss of life at Coosa, where the Indians likewise became hostile.

85. Vandera I, 81. Chalahume may have been located at the Brakebill mound site, near the junction of the Holston and French Broad rivers.

86. *Ibid.* Actually, both were on the same river, the Tennessee.

87. Vandera II, 27-28. Pardo says they were the Indians of Chisca, Carrosa, and the Costeheycosa, over a hundred chiefs, some of whom he claimed were aligned with the Indians of Zacatecas (73-74).

88. Elvas, “Narrative,” 73-74; Ranjel, “Narrative,” 109-10.

Facing imminent danger, Pardo decided to return to Olamico by a trail different from the one he had arrived on, a distance he expected to travel in three days. He evidently departed Satapo on October 17, traveling through an uninhabited area, and reaching, on October 19, the village of Chiaha, whose chief was Chiaha Orata.<sup>89</sup> The next day the Spanish departed the village of Chiaha and arrived in Olamico.<sup>90</sup>

While Pardo was in Satapo, an Indian told him that there was a much better route to Coosa which lay along the river that ran by Olamico. It is believed that this was the trail which ran from the French Broad River near the mouth of Dumpling Creek south through present Maryville. It is likely that De Soto followed this trail going south and Pardo followed it going north on his way from Satapo to Chiaha. Chiaha was probably located where this trail crossed the French Broad.

Again if this reconstruction is accurate, Pardo got no further south than just beyond Knoxville, Tennessee. From Indians and from one soldier who claimed to have traveled further than the rest, Juan de la Vandra collected some information on towns to the south.<sup>91</sup> According to this information, from Satapo it was but a short distance to "Cosaque" (or "Casque"), which was probably the same as the town of Coste, which De Soto visited. It was on Bussells Island, about a day's travel from where Satapo is believed to have been. From Satapo to Coosa it was said to be five or six days' travel, and this also is consistent with the experience of De Soto.

Beyond "Casque," the trail to Coosa was said to be thinly populated, with no more than three small villages. The first village, Tasqui, was said to be two days' travel from Satapo, and in this entire distance there was good land and three large rivers. This agrees only in part with what De Soto experienced. It took De Soto four days to go from Coste to Tasqui, and he crossed two small streams and one large one, the latter being the Hiwassee River.

The other villages on the trail to Coosa included Tasquiqui, which was a short distance beyond Tasqui; a day further was Olitifar, a "destroyed town"; two days further was a small

89. Vandra II, 30.

90. *Ibid.*, 34; Pardo (p. 74) confirms that they were four days getting back to Olamico.

91. Vandra I, 81-82. The identity of this soldier is unknown.



village; and about a league beyond this was yet another small village. None of these villages was mentioned by name by the De Soto chroniclers. All of them presumably lay between Tasqui and Coosa, but if this was in fact the case, the travel time between Tasqui and Coosa indicated by Vandera is too long.

Coosa was said to be the best town in the entire region besides Santa Elena. It was situated on low ground, on the slope of a mountain, and it had many small villages around it at a distance of a quarter of a league to a league. It was said to have had about 150 "inhabitants." This physical description of Coosa is consistent with that in the De Soto chronicles. The population, however, is far lower than in De Soto's time, and it is probably too low even for Pardo's time. It may be that Vandera meant to report 150 houses instead of 150 inhabitants.

From Coosa it was said that one could go straight to Tascaluza, to the south, in seven days, with only two or three villages along the way. In fact, however, it took De Soto twelve travel days to go from Coosa to Talisi, a town which could be regarded as the first town of Tascaluza. Along the way, the De Soto chroniclers mention the names of only five villages. However, if Tuasi (one of the five) were to be regarded as the first town of Tascaluza, then Vandera's information is substantially correct.

From Tascaluza to New Spain it was said to be nine to thirteen days, but most of Vandera's informants said it was nine days. And in all this distance, there was only one village with four or five houses. It is difficult to see what the substance of this statement could have been. If by "New Spain" Vandera meant Mexico, then this estimate of distance was wildly inaccurate. If, on the other hand, "New Spain" meant the Gulf coast, then the travel time is about right.

What happened after Pardo and his men returned to Olamico is somewhat muddled. They began to build a "fort" there, presumably beginning on October 20, which they named San Pedro, "and after four days it was finished."<sup>92</sup> But Vandera also says that the force departed from Olamico on October 22, and arrived in Cauchi on October 27, after six days of travel, a reasonable rate, since the men were ascending steep mountains.<sup>93</sup>

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92. Vandera II, 35. Perhaps they merely strengthened the fort Moyano built.

93. *Ibid.*, 36. They had come from Cauchi to Olamico in four days.

They may have begun construction of the fort at Chiaha and then departed, leaving a garrison behind to complete it. Pardo evidently passed by Tanasqui without stopping. In Cauchi he built another fort (San Pablo) in four days, completing work on October 30. Continuing on, he arrived in Tocaé on November 1, after one or two days of travel. He and his men rested here on November 2.<sup>94</sup>

On November 3, they departed Tocaé, going five leagues and sleeping in the open. Their camp for the night would have been on the Swannanoa River near the present town of Azalea. On November 4, they went five leagues further, and spent the night sleeping in a "ravine." This probably would have been in the vicinity of Ridgecrest, North Carolina. On November 5, they went four leagues further, sleeping in the open. Undoubtedly, the men were exhausted; otherwise they could easily have reached Joara before this day ended. As it was, some Indians came out from Joara bringing them food. At this time they would have been to the east of present Old Fort, North Carolina. Because of their fatigue, they may have been overestimating the distances they traveled these three days. On November 6, they arrived at Joara, Fort San Juan. Because they were very tired and had been poorly provisioned, they rested here for seventeen days.

While in Joara, Vandera noted down a series of puzzlingly inaccurate distances and directions between the string of forts they were building.<sup>95</sup> According to Vandera, Chiaha (i.e., Olamico) was fifty leagues to the west of Joara, whereas in fact the trail distance from Zimmerman's Island to Marion, North Carolina, is only a little over thirty-one leagues, and Zimmerman's Island is slightly to the northwest of Marion. He indicates that Cauchi was twenty-eight leagues to the northwest of Joara, whereas it was only about sixteen leagues of trail distance to the northwest. He says that Guatari was forty leagues northeast of Joara, whereas the trail distance from Salisbury to Marion is only thirty leagues or less, and it is very slightly to the northeast. Vandera writes that from Cofitachequi to Santa Elena it was fifty-five leagues to the south, whereas in fact Santa Elena is only fifty

94. *Ibid.*, 38. Here called "Tocahe." Pardo says it took two days to reach Tocaé (p. 74).

95. These distances and directions are our translation from Vandera's Spanish. This portion of the translation of the Vandera II document in the North Carolina archives is erroneous on several matters.

leagues to the south of Camden. Finally, he notes that from Guatari to Cofitachequi it was forty-five leagues to the southeast, whereas the trail distance from Salisbury, North Carolina, to Camden, South Carolina, was only about thirty-four leagues, and Camden is slightly southwest of Salisbury. Of all the directions given by Vandera, this is the only one which is markedly in error. But it must be in error, because if it were taken literally it would mean that Guatari would have had to have been in the vicinity of Marion, North Carolina, or even in the Blue Ridge Mountains. Moreover, locating Guatari to the northwest of Cofitachequi would produce a reconstructed route which would contain a veritable swarm of inconsistencies.

Although it is impossible to determine the reason for Vandera's inaccuracies, it might be noted that all distances are made longer than they were, and the misstated directions tend to stretch the route toward the west, thus making the aborted trip to Zacatecas seem less of a failure than it really was. Interestingly, in his shorter account, Vandera gives some of these directions accurately. For example, he says that it was fifty leagues from Santa Elena to Cofitachequi, and he notes that it was eighty leagues from Santa Elena to Guatari.<sup>96</sup>

Another possible explanation for these discrepancies is that in this official summation of the line of forts he had built, Vandera may have been attempting to convert his *legua común* measurements (3.45 miles to a league), used in everyday affairs, to *legua legal* measurements (2.63 miles to a league), used in juridical matters. This explains his distances from Guatari to Joara and from Guatari to Cofitachequi. But his distances from Joara to Cauchi and from Joara to Olamico are too long even for the *legua legal*. Both of these distances are for travel through mountains, and he was perhaps overestimating. None of these factors, however, account for his discrepant distance from Cofitachequi to Santa Elena, which is only five leagues longer than the actual distance.

On their return from Joara, Pardo and his men took a most interesting side trip to Ysa to prospect for gems.<sup>97</sup> Earlier, on

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96. Vandera II, 79-80.

97. In his shorter account, Vandera does not mention this side trip, and Pardo apparently falsifies his account. Pardo says that he spent ten days in Joara, whereas he was there from November 6 until November 24; and he says that he spent four days going to Guatari, whereas they

November 7, the day after they arrived in Joara, Pardo had sent Moyano and the silversmith, Andres Xuarez, to locate at least one of the gem sources they later visited.<sup>98</sup> On November 24, they departed Joara and slept in the open, probably in the vicinity of Morganton, a then uninhabited region. On November 25, they traveled five leagues farther, reaching the small village of Dudca, which was subject to the chief of Ysa. This would place Dudca in the extreme southeastern corner of Burke County or the southwestern corner of Catawba County, probably on upper Jacob's Fork.

On November 26, the Spanish went a quarter of a league beyond Dudca, and on the left side of the trail they found a "crystal mine."<sup>99</sup> Juan de Ribas says that they broke off "a small point [of crystal]" using mauls and iron wedges, presumably the same kind of iron wedges they were giving to the Indians as presents.<sup>100</sup> They continued on for another quarter of a league and found still more crystals, this time on the right side of the trail. If our locations are correct, they may have been the original discoverers of what is now the Bessie Hudson mine, situated west of North Carolina Highway 18, 0.4 miles east of the Burke-Catawba county line. This mine is in an area between two tributaries of Jacob's Fork. It has produced beryl, and in the immediate vicinity of the mine chalcopyrite and garnet have been found.<sup>101</sup> Depending on which variety, beryl is semi-precious to very precious (i.e. emerald). Garnet has low to medium value.

Subsequently, the place where Moyano and Pardo found these gems seems to have entered the realm of myth. In 1600 Juan de Ribas remembered it as a high hill called "Los Diamantes." The crystal of this hill was so hard, claimed Ribas, that Moyano could only succeed in breaking off a small piece of it. Moyano himself was evidently responsible for much of this exaggeration.

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remained in the vicinity of Ysa from November 28 until December 11, probably spending this time prospecting for gems and precious metals. They departed from Ysa on December 11, arriving in Guatari on December 15 (Vandera I; Pardo, 74).

98. Vandera II, 44.

99. Ibid. They were perhaps at this time on the trail to Ysa, but one cannot be certain.

100. Canço, 7; DePratter and Smith, "Sixteenth Century Trade."

101. W. F. Wilson and B. J. McKenzie, *Mineral Collection Sites in North Carolina*, Information Circular 24, North Carolina Department of Natural Resources and Community Development (Raleigh, 1978), 28, 68.

Alferez Francisco Fernandez de Ecija reports having heard Moyano say that "Los Diamantes" was a crystal mountain, bare and entirely free of trees, with many diamonds. He told Ecija that it was so hard that when he tried to break into it with sharp iron wedges, the wedges broke into pieces.<sup>102</sup>

On November 28 Pardo traveled from the crystal mines to Ysa, which was near Lincolnton, North Carolina. He and his men remained here until December 11. On December 10 they learned that a league downriver from Ysa, on the "other side of the river," there was another source of gems. Assuming that Ysa was on the east side of the South Fork of the Catawba River, where an old trail did in fact pass, then the gems in question may have been along Beaverdam Creek in northern Gaston County, about a league south of Lincolnton. Here cassiterite, mica, feldspar, garnet, and spodumene have been found.<sup>103</sup>

On December 11, the Spanish departed Ysa and went three leagues to another town named Ysa (possibly Ysa the Lesser), probably located on the upper South Fork of the Catawba River.<sup>104</sup> Then, on December 12, they went five leagues further and arrived at Quinahaqui. They rested in Quinahaqui on December 13. The following day, they continued on for five leagues, spending the night in the open. The next day they made six leagues and arrived at Guatari.<sup>105</sup> Here they built Fort Santiago, a stronger fort than the ones they had erected previously. It was finished on January 6.

Near the town of Guatari, a great river passed (the Yadkin-Pee Dee), which was said to empty into the sea at Sanpa and Usi, where it becomes salty. The mouth of this river (Winyaw Bay) was said to be sixty leagues from Santa Elena. Vandera notes that any ship was supposed to be able to sail up the mouth of this river for twenty leagues.<sup>106</sup> He also says Guatari was

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102. Canço, 7, 15.

103. Wilson and McKenzie, *Mineral Collection Sites*, 31, 67. Unless corroborating evidence can somehow be found, it is questionable whether these precise gem sources are the ones Pardo visited.

104. This location works no matter whether Quinahaqui was near Catawba or near Sherrill's Ford.

105. Vandera II, 52. Here he calls it Guatatico, implying that it was a paramount town comparable to Olamico.

106. Vandera I, 80. "Sanpa" is probably the origin of the name of the Sampit River, which empties into Winyaw Bay at present Georgetown. The mouth of Winyaw Bay and Waccamaw River is 120 miles or 32.88 nautical leagues from Santa Elena; the mouth of the Cape Fear

eighty leagues from Santa Elena. These distances and descriptions place Guatari in the vicinity of present Salisbury, North Carolina.

It is noteworthy that on the earliest English maps of the Carolinas, the Pee Dee-Yadkin River is called the "Watere River," as for example, on the Joel Gascoyne map of 1682. But on the Edward Moseley map of 1733 this river has its modern name.<sup>107</sup> The reason for this westward migration of the name "Wateree" was that at some time after Pardo's visit the Guatari Indians moved westward and took their name with them. They were, in fact, living on the Wateree River as early as 1701, when John Lawson visited them.<sup>108</sup> This nomenclature is made even more confusing by the fact that by 1600 the Spanish appear to have called the Wateree-Catawba River the "Guatari River" presumably because it ran alongside a part of the trail they traveled to reach the town of Guatari, which at that time was probably still where it was in Pardo's day.<sup>109</sup>

On January 7, 1568, Pardo departed Guatari, heading for Aracuchi. The force traveled for five days, making five leagues per day, thus covering twenty-five leagues in all.<sup>110</sup> At Aracuchi Pardo decided to split his party up, sending one group on south to Cofitachequi, while he would take the other group towards the east to Ylasi, where he was to meet some caciques he had not talked to before. So, on December 12, Pardo's group set out for Ylasi, but because they were short of food, they could only travel four leagues per day. In five days they made twenty leagues, thus placing Ylasi somewhere in the vicinity of present Cheraw, South Carolina.<sup>111</sup> Ylasi is surely the same as the Ilapi of the De Soto expedition.<sup>112</sup>

They remained in Ylasi for four days because it rained heavily, and on January 21 they departed and headed for Cofitachequi.

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River is 204 miles or 55.43 nautical leagues. One can sail a small ship up either of these rivers for ten leagues or more. Since the town of Guatari was at about the same latitude as the mouth of the Cape Fear River, the Spanish may well have been confused about these two rivers.

107. William P. Cumming, *The Southeast in Early Maps* (Chapel Hill, 1962), plates 39, 51, 52.

108. John Lawson, *A New Voyage to Carolina* (Chapel Hill, 1967), 37-39.

109. Canço, 7, *et passim*.

110. Vandra II, 54-55. Using our locations for Guatari and Aracuchi, the actual distance was twenty-two leagues.

111. Vandra II, 56. The distance as measured on a map is about twenty leagues.

112. Ranjel, "Narrative," 100.

The first day upon leaving the village they had to cross a swamp a league wide with water up to their knees, and higher in some places, and covered with ice. This was probably water from Pee Dee Swamp which, swollen from the heavy rains, had backed up into the mouth of Thompson Creek. And even though they traveled through other swampy places that day, they still claim to have made five leagues, sleeping that night in the open. They were short of food, but even so they made six more leagues the next day, arriving at Yca, probably located at the head of Big Pine Tree Creek. Here they spent the night of January 22.

The next morning Pardo sent ahead a corporal with twenty men and twenty Indians to Guiomae, where they were to sack up some corn and carry it on ahead to Cozao, and there wait for the rest of the party to arrive. He commanded Moyano to go in advance of this party to Cozao, where he was to sack up corn and to await the arrival of Pardo and his company. From here they would carry the sacks of corn to Santa Elena, where supplies were running short. On January 23, Pardo then took his remaining men and went the final two leagues to Cofitachequi. They remained here for several days, sacking up corn in deerskin sacks and arranging for the use of canoes to carry them downriver to Guiomae. They sent part of the corn in canoes, while carrying the rest of it overland in the sacks. Pardo remained at Guiomae through February 11, when he dismissed almost all the Indian interpreters he had taken along, giving them presents in reward for their services.

They departed Guiomae on February 12, carrying the corn. Two days later, they arrived at Aboyaca, where there were some "fallen houses." Because they were carrying heavy sacks of corn, travel through the swamps was very difficult. The swamps they encountered on this day would have been those along the North Fork of the Edisto River and its tributaries, near present Orangeburg.

On February 15, they again headed through very large and deep swamps. Three were particularly bad and dangerous. These were probably Snake Swamp, the swamp along the South Fork of the Edisto River, and the swamp along the Little Salkehatchie River. But in spite of these swamp crossings, Vandera claims to have made seven leagues on this day. They spent the night in an uninhabited place. On February 16 they arrived at Cozao. On

this part of the journey they were eating roots and acorns supplied to them by the Indians, presumably saving the corn they were carrying for Santa Elena. At Cozao they picked up sixty additional bushels of corn. Apparently traveling in haste, they did not spend the night at Cozao, but went two leagues beyond and stayed the night in the open. On February 17, they traveled five leagues further and, being tired, stopped that night again in the open. Then on February 18, they reached Ahoya, which was said to have been seven leagues from Santa Elena. On February 19 they departed from Ahoya and carried their corn one league to where they loaded it in canoes. They traveled on by canoe, and about two o'clock in the afternoon they landed and carried the corn a quarter of a league to Orista. The cacique of Orista promised to keep plenty of canoes on hand for the future use of the Spaniards. They constructed between February 20 and March 2 a stronghouse at Orista in which they could store food. They named Orista "*Nuestra Señora de Buena Esperança*" because of its location at the very beginning of the interior.

Because he had learned that food supplies were so short in Santa Elena, Pardo directed Pedro de Hermosa, a sergeant, with thirty soldiers to go back and remain at Cofitachequi. Moreover, Pardo sent instructions that the Indians at Guiomae were to build four canoes which were to be reserved for use by the Spanish, and that the people of Ylasi were also to build three canoes for their use.<sup>113</sup> Finally, he sent some soldiers to Guando to procure corn to be brought back to Orista by the Guando Indians.<sup>114</sup>

Pardo ordered the Indians to assemble a number of canoes, and on March 2, 1568, they returned "on the direct road to the point and city of Santa Elena," arriving around three o'clock in the afternoon.<sup>115</sup> It is not clear from the documents whether they went the entire distance in the canoes, or whether they carried the corn overland part of the way.

At the conclusion of this, his second expedition, Juan Pardo

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113. Vandera II, 67. Presumably Pardo intended to use these canoes to make river and swamp crossings.

114. Ibid. In the seventeenth century the Guando Indians lived on Wando River, near present Charleston. See Gene Waddell, *Indians of the South Carolina Low Country 1562-1751* (Spartanburg, 1980), 325-32.

115. Vandera II, 70.



returned to Santa Elena after having been gone for six months and two days. Hernando Moyano had been away for fifteen months and two days. During this time they had explored the length of present South Carolina, western North Carolina, and crossed the Blue Ridge Mountains into eastern Tennessee, where they explored from the upper Nolichucky River to the upper Tennessee River south of Knoxville. From Orista on the coast of South Carolina to Cauchi in the Blue Ridge Mountains they had forced the Indians to build a string of houses in which they kept corn and other stores for the Spanish to use. They had built small fortifications at Olamico or Chiaha (Fort San Pedro), Cauchi (Fort San Pablo), Joara (Fort San Juan), Guatari (Fort Santiago), Canos or Cofitachequi (Fort Santo Tomas), and Orista (*Nuestra Señora de Buena Esperança*). They had manned each of these fortifications with small detachments of soldiers. They had distributed presents to Indian leaders along the way, hoping to bring them into amity with Spain. And finally, Sergeant Moyano and his men had destroyed two Indian towns, including the town of the chief who had so rashly threatened to eat him, his men, and even his dog.

## T. GILBERT PEARSON: YOUNG ORNITHOLOGIST IN FLORIDA

by OLIVER H. ORR

IN the introduction to T. Gilbert Pearson's autobiography, *Adventures in Bird Protection*, Frank M. Chapman praised Pearson as the "leading bird conserver of his generation," the person who, more than any other, must be credited with having "secured legal rights for Citizen Bird."<sup>1</sup>

Teacher, ornithologist, and wildlife conservationist, Thomas Gilbert Pearson (1873-1943) in 1902 founded the Audubon Society of North Carolina and in 1903 persuaded the legislature to empower the society to enforce the state's bird and game laws. The society thus became the first state game commission in the South and Pearson, as the society's executive secretary, the South's first state game commissioner. In 1905, when the National Association of Audubon Societies (now the National Audubon Society) was organized, he was chosen secretary of that organization as well. He also became the association's field agent for the South Atlantic states. For several years he held the three positions simultaneously. In 1910, he assumed the responsibility of being, as the association's secretary, its full-time executive officer; from 1920 to 1934, he was its president and executive officer. He also founded in 1922, the International Committee for Bird Protection, for which he served as president until 1938. Under his direction, over a period of almost twenty-five years, the National Association of Audubon Societies developed into the largest organization in the world interested in the protection of wildlife.<sup>2</sup>

Pearson began his career as an ornithologist in Archer,

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1. T. Gilbert Pearson, *Adventures in Bird Protection; an Autobiography* (New York, 1927), xiv.
2. *Ibid.*; *Who Was Who in America, 1943-1950*, 417; *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, D, 334, and XXXIII, 339; *Dictionary of American Biography, Supplement Three*, 592-93; *Bird-Lore*, XLV (January-February 1943), 26-29, XLV (November-December 1943), 370-71.

Florida, where he grew up. Born on November 10, 1873, at Tuscola, Illinois, he was the fifth and last child of Thomas Barnard Pearson and Mary Elliott Pearson, a Quaker farm couple who moved to Dublin, Indiana, about 1874 and then to Archer in January 1882. Thomas Pearson had been advised by a physician to leave the cold winters of the midwest; he had been encouraged to come to Archer by William B. Lipsey, another Quaker farmer from Indiana. Lipsey had moved to Archer about 1878 and had become partner in a nursery, Lipsey and Christie. In correspondence with Thomas Pearson, Lipsey told him that in Archer the weather was pleasant, the land was cheap, and the soil was rich.<sup>3</sup>

Thomas Pearson built a log house for his family and, in partnership with his son Charles, who was already twenty-five years old, opened a nursery near the Lipsey and Christie nursery. Eight-year-old Gilbert was enrolled in the neighborhood school, which was conducted in the buggy shed of Charles W. Bauknight, proprietor of a general store.<sup>4</sup>

In the 1880s, by one contemporary estimate, less than 40,000 of Alachua County's approximately 800,000 acres had been "improved." There were farms, towns, roads, and railroads, but most of the countryside was still relatively undisturbed.<sup>5</sup> As Gilbert Pearson put it in 1891, "In this section of the country . . . the naturalist may wander to his heart's content through the forest and never see a human being or a cultivated field if he chooses."<sup>6</sup>

By the time Pearson was twelve, he had met two other boys who were interested in birds and other wildlife. One was W. Morgan Martin, who came to Archer about 1885, when he was nineteen, and moved away the following year. The other was

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3. Pearson, *Autobiography*, 1-3; Earlham College, *Catalogue, 1875-1876*, 12; United States, Tenth Census, 1880, Indiana, Wayne County, Manuscript Census Schedules, v. 38, sheet 1, enumerating district 62, microfilm reel 322, National Archives, Washington, D.C.; Carl (Charles H.) Webber, *The First Eden of the South . . . Alachua County, Florida* (New York, 1883; reprint ed., Gainesville, 1981), 96-97.
  4. Pearson, *Autobiography*, 4-5; Webber, *Alachua County*, 73, 127; U.S. Census Office, *Twelfth Census of the United States*, Florida, Alachua County, precinct 11, Manuscript Census Schedules, microfilm reel 165, National Archives, Washington D.C. (microfilm available at Florida State Archives, Tallahassee.)
  5. Webber, *Alachua County*, 29.
  6. T. Gilbert Pearson, "The Wood Duck," *Ornithologist and Oologist*, XVI (September 1891), 134-35.

Altus Lacy Quaintance, who was fifteen in 1885, and who became Pearson's closest friend.<sup>7</sup>

Martin owned a gun and, in Pearson's words, had "nothing in particular to occupy his time, so he often wandered about the country shooting at ducks, blue jays, bullfrogs, or any other creature he happened to find."<sup>8</sup> Pearson followed Martin around, watching him make bullets, load cartridge shells, and shoot at birds and animals. He liked to examine closely the bodies of whatever Martin killed.<sup>9</sup>

Martin also collected bird eggs. One day he let Pearson watch as he made a hole in a killdeer's egg with a small steel drill and forced out the contents by blowing into the hole with a brass blow pipe. Egg collecting attracted Pearson more than anything else Martin did. When Martin and Quaintance, intent on collecting heron eggs, planned a hike to Bird Pond, about five miles from Archer, Pearson wanted to go along. Martin, the leader, maintained that Pearson was too small, he would be unable to keep up on the hike, he would be in danger of being bitten by snakes and alligators, he was not tall enough to wade through the water and collect eggs. By promising to give to Martin almost all the eggs he found, Pearson won permission to join the hunt.<sup>10</sup>

They went on Tuesday, April 27, 1886. Pearson described the expedition in his first publication, which appeared almost two years later in *The Oologist* for January 1888. He was then fourteen years old. Entitled "A Day With the Herons in Florida," it initiated a series of nine articles that he ultimately published in that periodical. "Hundreds of herons," Pearson wrote, rested on "Button-wood bushes" growing in the shallow waters of Bird Pond. "The beautiful White Egrets and Great White Herons and their dark cousins the Louisiana [*sic*], little Blue, and Great Blue Herons all joining their notes in one confused medley made pleasant music." The boys waded from bush to bush, collecting eggs in their hats, while the "terrified Herons quacked and flapped." After returning to Archer, the boys studied the eggs and decided they could identify those of

7. Pearson, *Autobiography*, 9-22.

8. *Ibid.*, 9.

9. *Ibid.*; T. Gilbert Pearson, *The Mourning Dove. The National Association of Audubon Societies Educational Leaflet No. 2* (New York, n.d.), 5-8.

10. Pearson, *Autobiography*, 9-10.

seven species. "We felt well repaid for the days [*sic*] tramp and that night slept peacefully, to dream of Herons, Egrets, &c." The article was signed "Oologically, T. G. Pearson, Archer, Fla."<sup>11</sup>

Morgan Martin left Archer in the summer of 1886. His departure appears to have ended Pearson's relationship with him, but he "left behind him two zealous bird-egg collectors."<sup>12</sup>

For Quaintance, birds ultimately became secondary to insects. He earned a bachelor's degree at the Florida Agricultural College in Lake City and a master's degree at the Alabama Polytechnic Institute, where he worked for a year as an entomologist before returning to the Florida Agricultural College for three years. He then served successively with the Georgia Agricultural Experiment Station, the Maryland Agricultural College and Experiment Station, and the Bureau of Entomology of the United States Department of Agriculture, where he spent most of his career conducting special studies and administering research work.<sup>13</sup>

Pearson, on the other hand, had found his profession. Morgan Martin had demonstrated egg-collecting for him and awakened his interest. *The Oologist*, a monthly magazine published in Albion, New York, under the editorship of Frank H. Lattin, enabled him to carry on that interest and begin his scientific education. Lattin published items on oology, ornithology, and taxidermy, largely for beginning students. In addition to answering questions about birds and bird eggs, he devoted a column to notices submitted by readers, sold pamphlets, books, eggs, and oologists' equipment, and published queries, letters, and articles about birds.

Lattin also published *The Oologists' Hand-Book, 1885*, a catalog of eggs and supplies upon which Pearson relied to help identify eggs that he collected. Quaintance had gotten a copy of

11. T. Gilbert Pearson, "A Day With the Herons in Florida," *The Oologist*, V (January 1888), 8-9. In the first years of Pearson's bird studies, when he had no field manual to guide him and the names of birds had to be gotten from local usage or wherever else he could find them, he at times applied the name great white heron to the American egret and the names white egret and American egret to the snowy egret. These usages do not appear in his writings after he obtained a copy of Elliott Coues's *Key to North American Birds* in 1891.

12. Pearson, *Autobiography*, 10.

13. *Washington Post*, August 9, 1958: *Who's Who in America, 1940-1941*, 2118; Florida Superintendent of Public Instruction, *Biennial Report, 1893-94*, 152-53.

the catalog from Martin and had traded it to Pearson for eleven alligator eggs.<sup>14</sup>

Oologists measured eggs with calipers, made holes in them with drills, and expelled yokes with blow pipes. Embryos were extracted with hooks and scissors; the insides of the shells were washed with syringes. When the shells had dried, holes were patched with tissue paper, which could be bought with gum already applied. Cracks were mended with cement. There were pens and pencils for labeling and forms for keeping records.

Lattin's *Hand-Book* offered eggs of several hundred species of birds, the equipment for building a collection from the field, instructions for using the equipment, and books and pamphlets for further study. Drills of varying quality cost from ten cents to \$1.50; blow pipes, fifteen to thirty-five cents; embryo hooks, thirty to seventy-five cents; and embryo scissors, twenty-five cents to \$1.50. Data sheets were six cents per dozen (less for larger quantities); syringes, \$1.50; and climbing irons, \$2.50. Lattin also sold boxes and cabinets for storage of eggs.<sup>15</sup>

These were minimum costs for an oologist. If he traded eggs by mail, as Pearson and many other oologists did, there were also the costs of packaging and mailing. To support his interest in birds, Pearson made money in various ways. He picked blackberries and sold them at three cents a quart. From Negro boys he bought trapped quail for three cents apiece, dressed them, and sold them for five cents. He worked successively in a store and in a blacksmith's shop.<sup>16</sup>

In 1886, he acquired a gun. He then needed still more money. Occasionally his mother gave him chicken eggs to trade for ammunition. For a time, his father paid him to kill woodpeckers and mockingbirds, which were viewed as destructive to the trees and fruit in the orchard.<sup>17</sup> Owning a gun enabled Pearson to begin serious study of ornithology as well as oology. The accepted way to study birds, even for a beginner, was to kill them, skin them, and make a collection of skins. An ornithologist needed several, sometimes many, skins of each species, so that he could note characteristic shapes and markings, occasional variations and

14. Pearson, *Autobiography*, 12.

15. Frank H. Lattin, *The Oologists' Hand-Book*, 1885 (Rochester, N.Y., c. 1884).

16. Pearson, *Autobiography*, 18.

17. *Ibid.*, 15-16.

aberrations, and differences between male and female, young and adult.<sup>18</sup>

Pearson was later proud of having "started right" as a scientist.<sup>19</sup> He learned early to prepare his specimens properly and to keep records. He also developed skill in taking eggs in such a manner as to minimize damage to the nest and to the birds' welfare. For example, he and Quaintance learned from observation that taking all the eggs from a nest was better for the birds than taking part of the set. If part were taken, the parents usually incubated what was left and thus raised only part of a brood. If all the eggs were taken, the female bird would usually lay another setting. "One spring I robbed a pair of red-headed woodpeckers four times, whereupon the birds built a fifth nest in a tree so high I could not climb to it. In a few weeks a family of young woodpeckers with grayish-brown heads emerged from the cavity."<sup>20</sup>

In his beginning efforts at collecting, Pearson climbed tall trees by using other, shorter trees and fallen limbs. Later, he used climbing irons with spikes, strapped on his legs and feet. With them he went up a tree in the same way a lumberjack did, or the way a telegraph lineman went up a pole. Reporting on one day of collecting (Monday, May 6, 1889), Pearson related that he successively climbed, using his spikes, a dead tree containing a sparrow hawk's nest in which he found four incubated eggs; another dead tree from which he took five sparrow hawk eggs, forty feet up; an "old stub" of a tree containing a flicker's nest from which he took five eggs; and a hundred-foot pine in which crows had built a nest.

The crow's nest was so high in the pine tree that he hesitated before climbing. "I had to look at the nest a long time before I could make up my mind to climb it. But finally I could stand it no longer." So up he went. The nest was made of sticks, twigs, and grass, and lined with cow hair. It held five eggs, which Pearson took. His next problem was to climb down the tree without breaking the eggs. "Putting three of the eggs in my mouth and taking two in my hand I descended without mishap."

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18. Elliott Coues, *Key to North American Birds*, 4th ed. (Boston, 1890), 12-13.

19. Pearson, *Autobiography*, 17.

20. *Ibid.*, 18.

On the same venture, he took eggs from a mockingbird's nest in a small bush; flushed a nighthawk from a nest on the ground and picked up two eggs that he "blowed" and found to be slightly incubated; bailed out a leaky boat and rowed to bushes where he gathered five sets of grackle eggs; and found a ground dove's nest containing two eggs and another containing two young birds.<sup>21</sup>

In this period of his life, Pearson was devoted to bird study but not yet learned enough to be aware of how rapidly some bird species were being destroyed. He killed birds readily in order to study them; he also hunted for pleasure and for food. At one point, he even decided to make money by killing egrets in order to take their plumes, which he would then sell to the millinery trade. But he was very young then and still so ignorant about birds that he could not distinguish the plumeless little blue heron in the white phase from the snowy egret that bore the marketable feathers. After one heron skin was rejected by a firm in New York, he abandoned the idea of being a plume-hunter.<sup>22</sup>

As he became increasingly interested in the study of birds, he pursued it avidly, even willfully at times. Once while plowing for his father, he heard a sparrow hawk call. He tied the horse to a fence and went to look for the hawk's nest. He was gone so long that when he returned his father had taken up the plowing. "I hid in a pine thicket and did not approach the house until darkness and hunger drove me to face my father's displeasure."<sup>23</sup>

One school day he and Quaintance left the grounds at noon recess to examine a red-headed woodpecker's nest. When they returned, recess had ended, and the teacher whipped them. Smarting, they left school in the afternoon, went to their respective homes for food, took a quilt from Pearson's home, disregarded admonitions from their mothers, and walked to Levy Lake, about eleven miles away. They camped out for three days, watching birds and hunting for eggs.<sup>24</sup>

Although the local school had improved since Pearson's initial enrollment (it had moved from the buggy shed into a large one-

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21. T. Gilbert Pearson, "Collecting Experience," *The Oologist*, VII (February 1890), 25-26.

22. Pearson, *Autobiography*, 15-16.

23. *Ibid.*, 12.

24. *Ibid.*, 12-15.



room schoolhouse with a bell on the roof), he found little inspiration there.<sup>25</sup> The school term was short (four and one-half months was the average length of a school term in Alachua County in 1883-1884), teacher pay was low (the county's average monthly salary in 1883-1884 was \$23.10), and rarely did one teacher remain for an entire term.<sup>26</sup> A list of teachers holding first-class certificates in Florida in 1888 shows only six in Alachua County and none in Archer.<sup>27</sup> "Every year," Pearson wrote, "we started in with our studies about where we had begun the year before and went over the same subjects, using the same textbooks."<sup>28</sup>

One teacher, who stayed only two weeks, impressed Pearson by his learning and grace of manner. When Pearson told his father he wanted to be learned and gracious, his father suggested he read good books. The books at home, where evening readings aloud were common, were largely on religion. Thomas Pearson suggested to Gilbert that John T. Fleming, who ran a general store in Archer and was considered civic-minded and generous, might have biographies of great men he would lend.<sup>29</sup> Pearson approached Fleming in his store, where several men were idling, put his question awkwardly, and was teased rather than helped.<sup>30</sup>

Pearson wrote numerous letters offering to trade bird eggs for used books. A rich man whose name he had seen in a newspaper did not reply. The Century Company did reply, saying it had no used books to exchange for eggs.<sup>31</sup>

Pearson's parents indulged their younger son's desire to study birds rather than work on the farm and nursery. Perhaps indulgence was natural in his case. He was so much younger than the rest of the family—almost eighteen years younger than his brother, twelve years younger than the youngest of the three sisters—that he was possibly treated as the child of all of them.<sup>32</sup>

25. *Ibid.*, 19.

26. Florida Superintendent of Public Instruction, *Biennial Report, 1883-84*, 5; Pearson, *Autobiography*, 19.

27. Florida Superintendent of Public Instruction, *Annual Report, 1888*, 33-35.

28. Pearson, *Autobiography*, 19.

29. Webber, *Alachua County*, 77; F. W. Buchholz, *History of Alachua County, Florida, Narrative and Biographical* (St. Augustine, 1929), 406-07.

30. Pearson, *Autobiography*, 16-21.

31. *Ibid.*, 22.

32. United States, Tenth Census, 1880, Indiana, Wayne County, Manuscript

For long-distance expeditions, he was allowed to take a horse or a horse and wagon. On March 12, 1888, he went out to find a black vulture's nest he had been told about. "A ten mile ride and a hard hunt revealed two young about four days old. . . . The nest was on the bare ground by a log in a swampy wood." In addition to the black vulture's nest, he found in the months of February, March, and April of that same year nests of fourteen other species: loggerhead shrike, "great white heron," turkey vulture, Florida screech owl, brown-headed nuthatch, sparrow hawk, "American egret," boat-tailed grackle, bluebird, mockingbird, flicker, black-crowned night heron, green heron, and purple martin. He reported these as being "some" of the species he had found breeding in the county at the time.<sup>33</sup>

Often he went to Ledworth Lake, about fifteen miles south of Gainesville, to watch the flocks of white ibises and wood ibises that gathered there to feed after having nested in the cypress swamps. One July a flock of wood ibises, "at least a thousand individuals," suddenly "took wing from a little island perhaps half way across the lake and the sound of their wings borne across the water was like the rumbling of thunder or the distant roar of cannon." Now and then among the ibises he saw a roseate spoonbill. "By watching a flock in this way . . . I was enabled to obtain my first specimen of this rare and beautiful bird."<sup>34</sup>

For a while he took special interest in the pied-billed grebe, provoked in part by his failure to find the bird sitting on its nest. In the spring of 1890 he examined sixteen grebe nests; no bird was ever there. He noted that eggs were covered, partially or wholly, with decaying vegetation. Until a full set of five or six eggs had been laid, the covering was partial; after that, the eggs were fully covered and, when he uncovered them, always seemed to be warm. "And although further observations may lead me to change my views," Pearson reported, "for the present I must

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Census Schedules, v. 38, sheet 1, enumerating district 62, microfilm reel 322, National Archives.

33. T. Gilbert Pearson, "Notes From Alachua Co., Florida," *The Oologist*, V (October-November 1888), 150. In this, Pearson's second published article, he applied the name great white heron to the American egret and the name American egret to the snowy egret.

34. T. Gilbert Pearson, "The Ibises of Ledworth Lake," *The Oologist*, IX (April 1892), 99-100.

believe that the Grebe does not sit on her eggs in the daytime for the purpose of incubating; but that the incubation is carried on largely by heat generated from the decaying vegetation of which the nest is composed."<sup>35</sup>

Early in the spring of 1890, Pearson and Quaintance drove a horse and wagon to a lake twenty miles away in the hope of finding nests of the anhinga, or diver. Pearson had taken anhinga eggs in 1886, but in the succeeding years he had been unable to find another nest containing eggs. The boys camped on high ground, rose before dawn, packed lunch and guns in the bow of a boat, and pushed off for the south shore, where anhingas were believed to be nesting. "High overhead wild geese could be seen in straggling flocks commencing their long journey northward. The frogs and alligators which had been booming all night had now hushed, and scarce a sound broke the almost breathless silence, except the frantic plunge of some little fish in his race for life as he flung himself from the water to avoid the jaws of some large cannibal of his own tribe, and ever and anon the muffled sound of heavy flapping was borne across the water from a Buzzard roost half a mile to the south."

In cypress trees along the south shore, they did find anhinga nests— a year old and not being used. They rowed on. Then they saw a lone anhinga sitting on a cypress limb. They killed it for one of them to take home. The sound of the gunfire raised a "cloud of birds," among which were more anhingas. Soon Pearson "was twenty feet from the ground gazing down into a nest beautifully lined with moss at four handsome eggs which lay in the bottom. There were perhaps a dozen Divers' nests in the colony, most of which contained eggs, usually three or four in number. Some nests were not yet complete, and on one nest, viewing us with open-mouthed wonder, stood two young perhaps ten days old."

After an hour of climbing up and down cypress trees, Pearson and Quaintance had collected twenty-one anhinga eggs. From nests to one side of the anhinga rookery, they had also collected twelve eggs of the "great white heron." The rest of the day was spent exploring islands where the buzzards had roosted the night before. Late in the evening, the boys broke camp and

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35. T. Gilbert Pearson, "Nesting of the Pied-billed Grebe," *Ornithologist and Oologist*, XV (October 1890), 152-53.

began the twenty-mile drive through the night back to Archer.<sup>36</sup>

When Pearson was in the field for several days he often depended on game to supplement his food supply. One July he and Quaintance camped at Levy Lake while looking for alligator nests. It was hot, rain fell every few minutes, mosquitoes were thick. After two days of eating the potatoes and salt pork they had brought with them, the boys were hungry for something else. Because of the rain, game animals stayed in sheltered places. Pearson finally shot a female wood duck and they ate it: "we stripped it of its feathers, washed it in the water from a horse-track, and sticking a stick through it, without salt, and only ashes and cinders to baste it with, we held it before a little smoky fire until well charred on the outside and then tearing it limb from limb while the inside was yet raw . . . we devoured it, cracked and sucked the bones."<sup>37</sup>

Wood ducks were common around Archer. They could be seen on "almost every little pond or lake," Pearson noted. "As you emerge from the wood and your thirsty horse comes down the slope to drink, see them pause a moment and spring up in the air, making the little dale resound with the whistling sound produced by their wings as they dash off through the forest to some other lake, or, as they will often do, circle round and round until you have passed on and then settle down again to their old feeding ground."

Their nests, he learned, were usually away from water (one was a mile and a half from the nearest lake). They might also be high in the hollow of a dead tree (he climbed forty feet to reach one) or low to the ground (one was in a cultivated field). When he climbed thirty feet to reach a wood duck's nest in a hole made by a flicker, the sitting female refused to leave. He enlarged the hole, lifted her out, and took her thirteen eggs.<sup>38</sup>

On January 16, 1891, Pearson acquired a copy of Elliott Coues's *Key to North American Birds*. He traded eggs for it, perhaps with Frank H. Lattin, who in *The Oologist* for December 1890, had advertised the fourth edition as being for sale

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36. T. Gilbert Pearson, "The American Anhinga," *Ornithologist and Oologist*, XVI (April 1891), 49-50. This is the last article in which Pearson applied the name great white heron to the American egret.

37. Pearson, "The Wood Duck," 134-35.

38. *Ibid.*

for \$7.50. First published in 1872, Coues's *Key* was the basic textbook in ornithology, for beginners and advanced students alike, over a period of several decades. The fourth edition of this great work contained more than 900 pages of information about birds, bird study, collecting and preserving bird eggs and bird skins, and mounting birds. Pearson could now proceed with his studies at a heightened level of accuracy and understanding. He also obtained, in collaboration with Quaintance, a pamphlet on taxidermy. Guided by the information in it and in Coues's *Key*, he began to mount birds and occasional animals.<sup>39</sup>

From time to time, Pearson was allowed to drive a horse and wagon to Gainesville, the county seat of Alachua. Several young men there were interested in natural history.<sup>40</sup> One was J. P. Hovey Bell, whose father, James Bell, appears to have collected specimens for the Smithsonian Institution while simultaneously working for the United States General Land Office and operating a stationery store in Gainesville. Hovey Bell was an employee of the railway postal service who ultimately became assistant postmaster of the post office in Gainesville. Like Pearson, Hovey Bell collected natural history specimens.<sup>41</sup>

On a visit to Gainesville in March 1891, Pearson, in a restaurant, talked to a man he did not know but who was later identified for him by Hovey Bell as Frank Michler Chapman. Chapman was associate curator of ornithology and mammalogy at the American Museum of Natural History in New York. In 1895, he published his *Handbook of Birds of Eastern North America*, which ultimately succeeded Coues's *Key* as the basic text for field study of birds in the East. At the American Museum, where in 1908 he became curator of ornithology, he created exhibits of birds placed naturally in simulations of their native habitats rather than merely stationed in otherwise empty glass cases. By the end of his career, he had written numerous books, been a leader in several organizations, and won awards and honors.<sup>42</sup>

In 1905, when the National Association of Audubon Societies was established and Pearson was named secretary and a director,

39. Pearson, *Autobiography*, 22; *The Oologist*, VII (December 1890), 257.

40. Elizabeth S. Austin, ed., *Frank Chapman in Florida: His Journals & Letters* (Gainesville, 1967), 79-85.

41. Webber, *Alachua County*, 5; Buchholz, *History of Alachua County*, 284-85.

42. Pearson, *Autobiography*, 10-11; Austin, *Frank Chapman in Florida*, 46, 79-80, 123-30; Frank M. Chapman, *Autobiography of a Bird-Lover* (New

Chapman was also named a director. *Bird-Lore* (now Audubon), which Chapman had founded in 1899 as the organ of the state Audubon societies, was adopted as the new organization's official publication. Pearson and Chapman worked together through many years.

Beginning in 1886, Chapman's mother spent each winter in Gainesville, escaping from the cold weather of New Jersey. By 1887, Chapman had a small workshop there and made photographs of birds, among the first in the United States. In 1888, he published in *The Auk* "A List of Birds Observed at Gainesville, Florida."<sup>43</sup> That was the same year in which he began work at the American Museum of Natural History. He managed, nonetheless, to be in Gainesville from time to time when his mother was there.

When Pearson talked with Chapman in March 1891, he saw him as being "carefully attired," with "the confident bearing of an experienced man of the world" and a "nice way of eating."<sup>44</sup> On April 8, following the conversation, Pearson wrote a bold, inquisitive letter to Chapman. "Although I had often seen you I never really knew you to be F. M. Chapman," Pearson began. Not knowing about Chapman's list of local birds, Pearson announced that he wanted to compile and publish a list of the birds of Alachua County. "I now have on my list nearly one hundred varieties that I have either seen or actually taken. And I thought that perhaps you would just as soon help me in my list as not, as you have traveled around over the County a good deal." Then he asked seven questions, one right after another, about the limpkin, caracara, swallow-tailed kite, everglade kite, painted bunting, woodcock, passenger pigeon, and ani. "I would be very glad if you could make it convenient to come down and see me," Pearson added. "I would be very glad to have the pleasure of entertaining you."<sup>45</sup>

Chapman answered Pearson's letter promptly, thus affirming his willingness to begin a relationship with this brash, awkward

York, 1933); *Dictionary of American Biography, Supplement Three*, 161-62.

43. *The Auk*, V (July 1888), 267-77.

44. Pearson, *Autobiography*, 10.

45. Pearson to Chapman, April 8, 1891, T. Gilbert Pearson folder, Historical Correspondence, Department of Ornithology, American Museum of Natural History, New York, N. Y., hereinafter cited as Pearson folder, AMNH.

young man who on his own had learned a great deal about birds.<sup>46</sup> He probably never accepted Pearson's invitation to visit him in Archer. It is even possible that the two of them were never in Alachua County at the same time again. Chapman's visits to Gainesville were ordinarily confined to winter and early spring, when his mother was there. After the winter of 1890-1891, Pearson never spent another winter in Archer. The two men met formally in 1893, when Pearson called upon Chapman at the American Museum of Natural History.<sup>47</sup>

Chapman was possibly in Gainesville in May 1891, but in that month Pearson went on a collecting expedition to Cedar Key, on the Gulf coast, and took a trip up the Suwanee River by steamer, the *Belle of the Suwannee*.<sup>48</sup> He wrote to Chapman that he had a "splendid view" of a Mississippi kite, the first one he had ever seen, and on May 19 was "so fortunate as to find a nest containing a set of three eggs of the Fla. Sea-side Finch."<sup>49</sup>

Chapman himself had gone down the Suwanee the year before. In company with ornithologist William Brewster of Cambridge, Massachusetts, and Charles Slover Allen, physician and ornithologist of New York City, he had taken a flatboat with a cabin from Branford to the river's mouth.<sup>50</sup> Brewster, like Chapman, became one of the original directors of the National Association of Audubon Societies.

Shortly after the trip to Cedar Key, Pearson was bitten by an alligator. He wrote to Chapman, "I had my left wrist badly torn not long ago by a four foot alligator I was capturing, having to lay down on him in the water to hold him. I now have him mounted and placed in my museum, and as I enter the room his glass eyes glare at me as though he would like to fasten on me again."<sup>51</sup>

By now he had apparently decided to try to make his living as a naturalist. He obtained letterhead stationery saying "T. G. Pearson. Field Ornithologist and Oologist. Birds Mounted in first class order. Nests & Eggs Collected and Exchanged." He used this

46. Notation by Chapman on Pearson's letter of April 8, 1891, *ibid.*

47. Pearson, *Autobiography*, 37; *The Guilford Collegian*, V (September 1893), 18; Austin, *Frank Chapman in Florida*, 80.

48. *Ibid.*, 130; Pearson, "The Wood Duck," 134-35.

49. Pearson to Chapman, July 17, 1891, Pearson folder, AMNH.

50. Arthur H. Howell, *Florida Bird Life* (New York, 1932), 19; Austin, *Frank Chapman in Florida*, 88-121.

51. Pearson to Chapman, July 17, 1891, Pearson folder, AMNH.

stationery for at least four years, 1891-1894.

Although his letterhead limited his specialties to ornithology and oology, he thought of himself as building a "museum," going well beyond birds in its coverage. In addition to telling Chapman about the alligator, he asked questions about the muskrat and the manatee and mentioned that he had "gotten in several minerals, arrow-points, and chards." His collection was growing rapidly. In a two-week period, he collected and mounted ten birds: one Louisiana heron, one little blue heron, one yellow-crowned night heron, one coot, one anhinga, two sparrow hawks, and three green herons.<sup>52</sup>

At Pearson's request, Chapman proposed to the American Ornithologists' Union that he be admitted as an associate member. The fee was \$3.00, which he was unable to send to Chapman at the time he asked him to offer his name. Nonetheless, he paid it early enough to be enrolled in 1891.<sup>53</sup>

The idea of making some kind of living as a naturalist-merchant was a plausible one. Advertisements from taxidermists, naturalists, and natural history stores appeared regularly in the ornithological publications Pearson read. His intent was to offer as many services as possible. It seems evident, however, that he learned rather quickly to expect small and uncertain profits from his enterprise.

At any rate, he was soon trying to find a way to strengthen his formal education. His ignorance about most subjects other than birds and his lack of social poise concerned him. Chapman had impressed him with his easy, cultivated manner.<sup>54</sup> The one school teacher who had exhibited notable grace and learning had affected him strongly. When the man left, Pearson, with tears in his eyes, gave him several sets of his choicest bird eggs. He resolved to "learn to speak, walk, and act like that perfect gentleman."<sup>55</sup>

Quaintance had been attending the Florida Agricultural College in Lake City since 1889. His departure that fall was later viewed by Pearson as the "first real bereavement" of his life. "I now suffered from the lack of companionship. There was

52. *Ibid.*, July 17 and August 8, 1891.

53. *The Auk*, IX (January 1892), xx; Pearson to Chapman, August 8, 1891, Pearson folder, AMNH.

54. Pearson, *Autobiography*, 10.

55. *Ibid.*, 20.



no one with whom I could talk about birds."<sup>56</sup> Although Quaintance ultimately turned to entomology as his professional interest, he continued for a time to study birds. As a college student, he collected bird specimens for the institution's museum. Pearson and he still managed to go on hunts together. At one time they considered jointly opening a natural history store in Gainesville, but Quaintance apparently lost interest in this project while he was in college.<sup>57</sup>

Since Thomas Pearson could not afford to pay for his son's board and tuition, Gilbert had to find a way to earn the privilege of getting an advanced education. In the summer of 1891, he wrote letters to schools and colleges offering his museum for a term's enrollment. Quaker schools seemed especially attractive to him. He wrote to Earlham College, in Richmond, Indiana, which his mother and his brother had attended.<sup>58</sup> He also wrote to Guilford College, near Greensboro, North Carolina.

For a long time, "no encouraging replies came." Then one evening he received a letter from Lewis Lyndon Hobbs, president of Guilford College. Hobbs wanted to build up the small natural history "cabinet" begun at the college by a faculty member who had resigned. He offered Pearson tuition, board, and room in the preparatory department for two years in exchange for his collection and his services as curator of the cabinet. That evening, Pearson lay in a hammock on the veranda of the Pearson home in Archer and rocked as he planned his future at college.<sup>59</sup>

In August 1891, he reached Guilford.<sup>60</sup> With him, or in boxes shipped separately, was his museum, such a large addition to the college cabinet that new cases had to be built. One case was constructed for the bird eggs. Representing more than 200 species of birds, the 1,000 eggs in the collection included not only the specimens he had taken from nests in Florida but also those he

56. *Ibid.*, 19.

57. *Ibid.*, 17; Altus L. Quaintance, "The Pileated Woodpecker in Florida," *The Oologist*, VII (May 1890), 86-87.

58. Pearson, *Autobiography*, 22; Earlham College does not have complete registration records for the years prior to 1900. The college catalogs for 1875-1876 and 1876-1877 list Pearson's brother, Charles E. Pearson, as a student in the preparatory department.

59. Pearson, *Autobiography*, 22-24; *The Guilford Collegian*, VI (December 1893), 116; Dorothy Lloyd Gilbert, "T. Gilbert Pearson and Guilford College," *Guilford College Bulletin*, XXXVII (January 1944), 1-8.

60. Pearson, *Autobiography*, 24; Gilbert, "T. Gilbert Pearson and Guilford College," 2-3.

had received by exchange.<sup>61</sup> At Guilford, the egg collection was initially appraised as "probably the largest collection in the state."<sup>62</sup> Two years later, when more was known about it and Pearson had added to it, it was characterized as the "largest collection of bird-eggs in the South."<sup>63</sup>

During his first year at Guilford, Pearson published two articles about birds in Florida: "The Ibises of Ledworth Lake" and "The Herons of Alachua County, Florida."<sup>64</sup> In the two-part article on herons, he discussed eight species (great blue heron, American egret, snowy heron, Louisiana heron, little blue heron, green heron, yellow-crowned night heron, and black-crowned night heron) observed by him in Alachua County during the five-year period, 1887-1891. "By straining the point a little," he said, "I might to these make the addition of another variety, the *Ardea wardi*, making a total of nine varieties, but not being able to substantiate the statement with specimens I will not at the present time claim this last variety in the *avifauna* of our county."<sup>65</sup>

He had read about the Ward's heron (*ardea herodias wardi*) in Coues's *Key to North American Birds*, in which it was mentioned as a large heron resembling both the great blue heron and the great white heron.<sup>66</sup> The description was so brief and imprecise that Pearson could not be certain that he had ever seen a Ward's heron. In the summer of 1892, as he was returning to Guilford from a collecting trip to the Great Dismal Swamp and Cobbs Island, Virginia, he visited the Smithsonian Institution and talked with Robert Ridgway, curator of birds and one of the most eminent ornithologists in the United States.<sup>67</sup> Ridgway told him that the Ward's heron was the large blue heron commonly seen the year round in Florida and that the great blue heron (*ardea herodias herodias*) was only an occasional winter visitor. Later Pearson wrote to Frank Chapman asking for clarification. "Will you kindly inform me which is really [*sic*] the

61. *The Guilford Collegian*, IV (October 1891), 53, IV (January 1892), 128.

62. *Ibid.*, IV (January 1892), 128.

63. *Ibid.*, VI (December 1893), 116.

64. Pearson, "The Ibises of Ledworth Lake," 99-100; T. Gilbert Pearson, "The Herons of Alachua County, Florida," *Ornithologist and Oologist*, XVII (March 1892), 36-37, XVII (May 1892), 71-72.

65. Pearson, "The Herons of Alachua County, Florida," part I, 36.

66. Coues, *Key to North American Birds*, 658.

67. Pearson, *Autobiography*, 35; Paul H. Oehser, ed., *Biographies of Members of the American Ornithologists' Union* (Washington, 1954), 480.

bird we have here."<sup>68</sup> Chapman agreed with Ridgway as to the distinction between the two birds and as to which was the Florida resident, but he did not regard them as representing two species. Taking the view that appears now to prevail, he classified the Ward's heron as merely a "peninsular race," or subspecies, of the great blue.<sup>69</sup>

A teacher at Guilford gave Pearson two circulars issued by the Audubon Society founded in 1886 by George Bird Grinnell, editor of *Forest and Stream*, and disbanded by him in 1889.<sup>70</sup> Drawing on these for information to support his own observations, Pearson composed an oration, "The Destruction of Our American Birds," that he delivered on May 21, 1892, at the annual contest of the Websterian Society. Under the "despotic rule of man," Pearson wrote, "thousands upon thousands" of birds were being needlessly destroyed each year. "This is not done by the collecting naturalist, for he limits himself to a few of the species; nor is the sportsman's gun so very destructive. But the great havoc is played by the murderous work of the plume hunter—men who spend their entire time in the woods and by the lakes killing birds for their plumes and feathers." Since the plume hunters killed because women wanted to beautify themselves with feathers, Pearson tried to show the cruelty by which such beauty was achieved. "In the Cypress swamps of Florida I have stood and gazed with horror upon the ghastly heaps of dead and putrifying Herons, while near by the smouldering embers of a camp fire also bore witness of the recent presence of the plume-hunter. But this was not all: on every hand, and from the Cypress limbs above me, came the screams of hundreds of starving young birds, while ever and anon, weakened by exposure and starvation, one would fall to the ground with a sickening thud."<sup>71</sup>

At the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893, Pearson displayed the eggs of ten species of birds, some—possibly

68. Pearson to Chapman, August 1, 1894, Pearson folder, AMNH.

69. John K. Terres, *The Audubon Society Encyclopedia of North American Birds* (New York, 1980), 501; Chapman, *Handbook*, 132.

70. Pearson, *Autobiography*, 34; T. Gilbert Pearson, "Fifty Years of Bird Protection in the United States," in *American Ornithologists' Union, Fifty Years' Progress of American Ornithology, 1883-1933*, rev. ed. (Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 1933), 200-01.

71. T. Gilbert Pearson, "The Destruction of Our American Birds," *The Guilford Collegian*, IV (June 1892), 240-42, IV (June 1892), 251.

all— of which he had collected in Florida. They were part of an exhibit on North American birds mounted by Frank H. Lattin, who had urged participation by readers of *The Oologist*.<sup>72</sup> Pearson provided eggs of the Florida barred owl, Florida grackle, laughing gull, wood duck, little blue heron, chuck-will's-widow, fish crow, loggerhead shrike, brown-headed nuthatch, and mockingbird.<sup>73</sup> While on an errand for Guilford College, he managed to visit the exposition.<sup>74</sup>

Pearson spent the summer of 1894 in Florida collecting for the college museum. He stayed with his parents in Archer and went on expeditions from there. He made a trip to Cedar Key, from which a fishing boat took him to Connegan's Reef to collect brown pelicans. On other trips he collected minerals and fossils and captured marine life that he put in bottles of alcohol. During the course of the summer he mounted a total of twenty-seven birds.<sup>75</sup>

In 1895, Pearson collaborated with the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of North Carolina in the publication of a leaflet, *Echoes From Bird Land. An Appeal to Women*, urging women to stop wearing bird feathers. Again he drew upon his experience in Florida. Describing an American egret rookery as he saw it after plume hunters had come and gone, he said, "The air was filled with the screams of young birds pleading for food which their dead mothers could never bring. The buzz of green flies here and there in the swamp marked the spots where the plume hunters had shot down their victims."<sup>76</sup>

Pearson's last summer in Florida was in 1896. Once more he stayed with his parents in Archer and made trips from there, collecting for Guilford College. For several days he was a guest in a hunter's one-room house near Palmetto, on the Manatee River, where the two men lived on "cornbread, jerked venison, dried grapes, and boiled buds of the cabbage palmetto."<sup>77</sup> Then he walked to Terra Ceia Bay and boarded a fishing boat that

72. *The Oologist*, X (March 1893), 90.

73. *Ibid.*, XI (January 1894), 14-20.

74. Pearson, *Autobiography*, 38.

75. *The Guilford Collegian*, VII (September 1894), 16, VII (November 1894), 73; T. Gilbert Pearson, "Hunting the Brown Pelican," *The Guilford Collegian*, VII (December 1894), 83-86.

76. T. Gilbert Pearson, *Echoes From Bird Land. An Appeal to Women*, with message from Eula L. Dixon, "State Supt. Dept. of Mercy, W.C.T.U., Snow Camp, N.C." (1895), n.p.

77. Pearson, *Autobiography*, 39.

took him to Bird Key (later Indian Key Bird Reservation). During the night, he stumbled among the mangrove bushes until he was able to collect a man-o-war-bird, some cormorants and brown pelicans, and a clutch of brown pelican eggs.<sup>78</sup> At Archer, he collected an English sparrow, one of the first to be recorded in that part of Florida.<sup>79</sup> In the fall, he took these specimens to Guilford, along with a black duck, a swallow-tailed kite, a pair of roseate spoonbills, an assortment of nests, and more than "fifty varieties of shells and other curiosities of the sea."<sup>80</sup> He also took the message, as he put it in *The Auk*, that there was a "falling off in the number of large waders" in the parts of Florida he had visited.<sup>81</sup>

After graduating from Guilford in 1897, Pearson earned a second bachelor's degree at the University of North Carolina in 1899, returned to Guilford to teach for two years, 1899-1901, and then taught at the State Normal and Industrial College for Women in Greensboro (now the University of North Carolina at Greensboro) from 1901 to 1904. Meanwhile, he published numerous articles on birds and, in 1901, his first book, *Stories of Bird Life*. In New York, the book was seen by William Dutcher, chairman of the bird protection committee of the American Ornithologists' Union, who asked Pearson to organize an Audubon society in North Carolina to promote adoption of a law to protect non-game birds.<sup>82</sup> When Pearson began serving as the executive secretary of the state society, the preservation of birds and other wildlife supplanted the study of them as his major occupation. During the years 1904-1911, he divided his time between the Audubon Society of North Carolina and the National Association of Audubon Societies. In 1910, when William Dutcher, first president of the National Association became ill, Pearson took over as the organization's executive officer. In 1911, after it became apparent that Dutcher would not soon recover, Pearson resigned from the Audubon Society of North Carolina and moved to New York. Upon Dutcher's death in 1920, Pearson became president of the National Association. He

78. T. Gilbert Pearson, "How We Got Our Man-o-War Bird," *The Guilford Collegian*, IX (November 1896), 76-78.

79. T. Gilbert Pearson, "Passer Domesticus at Archer, Fla., and Other Florida Notes," *The Auk*, XIV (January 1897), 99.

80. *The Guilford Collegian*, IX (September 1896), 16.

81. Pearson, "Passer Domesticus at Archer, Fla.," 99.

82. Pearson, *Autobiography*, 66.

held that position until he retired in 1934.

Although Pearson never returned to Florida to live, throughout his life he drew upon the knowledge he had acquired there. Much of the content of *Stories of Bird Life*, which was designed primarily to stimulate in young people an interest in birds, was based on his observations in Florida. He also wrote *The Bird Study Book*, *Tales From Birdland*, *Adventures in Bird Protection*, and numerous articles and educational leaflets. In addition, he was senior editor of *Birds of America*, senior author of *The Birds of North Carolina*, and a major contributor to *The Book of Birds*.

As secretary and then president of the National Association of Audubon Societies, he made trips to Florida to study bird colonies, lobby for legislation, and promote the establishment and protection of bird reservations. For the Florida Department of Game and Fish annual report of 1915, he wrote an article on Florida bird life and listed 350 species of birds for which he could find records for the state.<sup>83</sup> Under his direction, the National Association organized Audubon clubs for children in Florida (2,000 clubs by 1930), distributed literature, provided lecturers, worked for the establishment of federal reservations, paid wardens to protect them, and supplied funds to help state officials enforce the laws.<sup>84</sup>

In a historical survey of bird protection in Florida, Robert W. Williams wrote, "The long and unremitting, but finally triumphant struggle of the National Association of Audubon Societies for the rescue from extinction of the plume birds of Florida presents a record probably unparalleled in the annals of conservation in this or any other country."<sup>85</sup>

83. Howell, *Florida Bird Life*, 532-34.

84. Robert W. Williams, "History of Bird Protection in Florida," in Howell, *Florida Bird Life*, 54-56.

85. *Ibid.*, 54. Pearson's father died in Archer in 1917, and his mother the following year. Pearson died in New York in 1943, and was buried in Greensboro, North Carolina. His wife, the former Elsie Weatherly, a graduate of the Normal and Industrial College for Women, whom he had married in 1902, died in 1962. Also deceased are the couple's three children: Elizabeth Pearson (Mrs. Charles T.) Jackson, Thomas Gilbert Pearson, Jr., and William Gillespie Pearson. The one grandchild, Charles T. Jackson, Jr., became an attorney in New York. Helen Cubberly Ellerbe to the author, January 29, 1983; *New York Times*, February 19, 1962; Margery Keith Kelly to the author, December 4, 1972; A. L. Hoover to the author, November 27, 1972; Charles T. Jackson, Jr., interview with the author, May 29, 1973.

## HILLSBOROUGH COUNTY (1850): A COMMUNITY IN THE SOUTH FLORIDA FLATWOODS

by JOHN SOLOMON OTTO

**H**ISTORIANS of the Old South have traditionally searched for generalizations that might hold true for the entire region. Despite their attempts at regional generalization, they have used sources that come largely from the plantation South— the tidal, riverain, and Piedmont areas of the Lower South, where cash crop plantations predominated. Wealthy planters who owned many slaves and who grew cash crops such as cotton, tobacco, rice, or sugar were far more likely to leave a written legacy than small farmers who owned no slaves and grew few if any cash crops. Moreover, visitors who penned travelogues describing conditions in the Old South typically toured the plantation belt, where they found most of the South's transportation facilities, and where they found lodging in the homes of hospitable planters. Even the surviving antebellum periodicals have tended to come from the plantation belt, for planters subscribed to a variety of newspapers, magazines, and journals. Therefore, by using these sources from the plantation South, historians have tended to overlook the "Isolated South"— the mountains of the Upper South and the coastal pine flatwoods of the Lower South— areas where inadequate transportation and poor soils hindered cash cropping and limited the growth of plantation slavery.<sup>1</sup>

Recognizing these problems, historian Eugene Genovese has called for studies of the constituent elements of Old South society— plantations, farms, towns, and counties— to allow

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1. Edward Phifer, "Slavery in Microcosm: Burke Count North Carolina," *Journal of Southern History*, XXVIII (May 1962), 137-39; Julius Rubin, "The Limits of Agricultural Progress in the Nineteenth-Century South," *Agricultural History*, XLIX (April 1975), 364.

scholars to refine, correct, or replace their generalizations about the antebellum South. Perhaps the best unit for studying southern society on the local level is the county, the basic community of the Old South. Only the county contained a cross section of all the socioeconomic groups of the Old South, including farmers, livestock herders, and landless laborers as well as planters and their slaves.<sup>2</sup> To date, however, only a dozen or so studies have examined Old South communities, and most have focused on counties in which plantation slavery played a prominent role in local economic, social, and political life.<sup>3</sup> Only two studies have examined communities in the mountains of the Upper South, an area where general farming prevailed.<sup>4</sup> And finally, no papers have analyzed communities in the coastal pine flatwoods of the Lower South, an area where the open-range herding of livestock predominated.

The coastal flatwoods formed a narrow belt that stretched from Virginia to Texas. The sandy, infertile soils supported little more than scattered pine trees, shrubs, and grasses. Since flatwoods soils could not be profitably farmed without manuring, they held little attraction for planters. Livestock herders, nevertheless, regarded the flatwoods more favorably, for their cattle and hogs could range over the unfenced pinewoods in search of native forage. Cattle could graze on a variety of seasonal grasses and evergreen canes, while hogs could subsist on roots, sprouts, and berries.<sup>5</sup>

In most southern states, the flatwoods represented only a small fraction of the total land surface. The sole exception was Florida, where they dominated the landscape. But even in

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2. Elinor Miller and Eugene Genovese, eds., *Plantation, Town, and County: Essays on the Local History of American Slave Society* (Urbana, 1974), 2-3; Conrad Arensberg and Solon Kimball, *Culture and Community* (New York, 1965), 106-07.
  3. For bibliographies of community studies in the Old South, see Miller and Genovese, *Plantation, Town, and County*; J. S. Otto, "Slavery in a Coastal Community-Glynn County (1790-1860)," *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, LXIV (Winter 1979), 461-68.
  4. See Phifer, "Slavery in Microcosm," 137-65; J. S. Otto, "Slavery in the Mountains: Yell County, Arkansas 1840-1860," *Arkansas Historical Quarterly*, XXXIX (Spring 1980), 35-52.
  5. Samuel T. Emory, "North Carolina Flatwoods," *Economic Geography*, XXII (July 1946), 203-08; Welden O. Shepherd, "Highlights of Forest Grazing Research in the Southeast," *Journal of Forestry*, L (April 1952), 280; Henry Hardtner, "A Tale of a Root—A Root of a Tale or, Root Hog or Die," *Journal of Forestry*, XXXIII (March 1935), 352.



Florida, the huge expanses of flatwoods were broken by scattered tracts of upland pine scrub, prairies, marshes, cypress swamps, and dense stands of hardwood forests, which were colloquially called hammocks.<sup>6</sup>

When the United States acquired Florida from Spain in 1821, Anglo-American planters and livestock-herders from the southern states began entering the new territory. Cash crop planters generally preferred the hardwood hammocks, which denoted more fertile soils than the pine flatwoods. In turn, herders sought out the sandy flatwoods which offered year-round forage for their livestock.<sup>7</sup> By the end of the 1820s, planters and herders had occupied much of northern Florida, but few Anglo-Americans had entered the extensive south Florida flatwoods which lay within the Seminole Indian reservation.

The Treaty of Moultrie Creek (1823) formally assigned the interior of Florida, south of what is now Ocala, to the Seminole Indians, who subsisted by hunting, gardening, and cattle herding. Disputes soon arose, however, between the Anglo-American newcomers and the Seminoles. Black slaves who escaped from Georgia, Alabama, and north Florida plantations found their way to Seminole villages, where they became highly-valued servants. The failure of Seminoles to return escaped slaves to Florida planters heightened the tension between native American and white settlers. And though the Anglo-American herders owned relatively few slaves, they accused the Seminoles of stealing cattle from the unfenced range.<sup>8</sup>

Complaints from Florida planters and herders contributed to the Treaty of Payne's Landing (1834), which called for the removal of the Seminoles to a new reservation in what is now Oklahoma. When the Seminoles resisted, the United States became embroiled in a costly war that lasted from 1835 to 1842. By war's end, only a remnant of the Seminole Nation remained

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6. Joe Allen Edmisten, "The Ecology of the Florida Pine Flatwoods" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Florida, 1963), 1-2; John H. Davis, Jr., "The Natural Features of Southern Florida," *Florida Geological Survey, Bulletin* No. 25 (Tallahassee, 1943), 44-47, 156-57, 166-67, 175-81, 197-98.
  7. Lewis Cecil Gray, *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860*, 2 vols. (Gloucester, Mass., 1958), II, 901-02; Julia Floyd Smith, *Slavery and Plantation Growth in Antebellum Florida 1821-1860* (Gainesville, 1973), 10-17; Joe A. Akerman, Jr., *Florida Cowman, A History of Florida Cattle Raising* (Kissimmee, 1976), 35-36.
  8. John K. Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War* (Gainesville 1976), 29-68; Akerman, *Florida Cowman*, 73-79.

in Florida, living within a truncated reservation that was bounded by Pease Creek on the west and the Kissimmee River on the east.<sup>9</sup>

To encourage the settlement of unoccupied lands in south Florida and to mitigate future conflicts with the remaining Seminoles, Congress passed the Armed Occupation Act (1842), which offered 160 acres to any man fit to bear arms who would live on the tract for five years and cultivate at least five acres. Over 200,000 acres south of Gainesville in Alachua County were thrown open to settlement under the act. Although the Armed Occupation Act was in effect for only a year, over 1,000 applicants claimed homesteads in central and south Florida. Included among the claimants were 119 men who chose tracts in Hillsborough County, which lay within the south Florida flatwoods.<sup>10</sup>

Created in 1834, Hillsborough County contained only 452 inhabitants by 1840, the year of the sixth federal census. Most of the county's residents were actually officers and enlisted men stationed at Fort Brooke, an army post on Tampa Bay that was established in 1823. Only ninety-six of Hillsborough's inhabitants were civilians. They included storekeepers, workers, and slaves living in Tampa, the county seat village which adjoined Fort Brooke, as well as Hispanic fishermen living on Tampa Bay.<sup>11</sup> The remainder of Hillsborough County, which included thousands of acres of flatwoods, hammocks, and swamps, was virtually unoccupied.

The Armed Occupation Act, nevertheless, brought a sudden influx of free whites and black slaves to Hillsborough County. Over forty claimants selected lands along the navigable Manatee River, where "low hammock" lands bordered the river swamps. The periodically-flooded hardwood hammocks were especially prized by Florida planters. After laborious clearing and drain-

9. Mahon, *Second Seminole War*, 69-113, 315-16.

10. James W. Covington, "The Armed Occupation Act of 1842," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XL (July 1961), 42-45; Karl H. Grismer, *Tampa: A History of the City of Tampa and the Tampa Bay Region of Florida* (St. Petersburg, 1950), 95-99.

11. Ernest L. Robinson, *History of Hillsborough County Florida* (St. Augustine, 1928), 16, 21; James W. Covington, *The Story of Southwestern Florida*, 2 vols. (New York, 1957), I, 81-82, 85; Grismer, *Tampa*, 67-68; E. A. Hammond, "The Spanish Fisheries of Charlotte Harbor," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, LI (April 1973), 379; Anthony P. Pizzo, *Tampa Town 1824-1886* (Miami, 1968), 10, 20.

ing, low hammocks offered fertile soils for sugar cultivation. Most of Hillsborough's Armed Occupation Act claimants, however, chose tracts in the hinterland that lay between the Fort Brooke military reservation and Pease Creek. Although much of the hinterland was infertile pine flatwoods, there were hammocks along the Alafia and Hillsborough rivers as well as scattered "high hammocks"—slightly elevated hardwood copses—among the flats. Not surprisingly, numbers of claimants included hammock land within their 160-acre homesteads.<sup>12</sup> In this fashion, they could farm the more fertile hammocks, while their livestock could range on the unfenced pine flatwoods.

Although the Armed Occupation Act expired in 1843, Florida continued to attract Anglo-American settlers from the southern states. In 1841, Congress had passed the Preemption Act, which allowed small agriculturalists to settle on the public domain and purchase as much as 160 acres of land at only \$1.25 an acre. Six years later, Congress passed a military bounty act, permitting veterans of America's wars, including the Seminole War, to claim homesteads on the public domain. Livestock herders from coastal Georgia and the Carolinas, in particular, took advantage of the preemption and military bounty acts to acquire homesteads in the Florida flatwoods. Herders could claim a small homestead, cultivate a few acres of crops, and range their livestock on the seemingly limitless unclaimed flatwoods. Open-range herding required an abundance of unfenced pasture, since a single cow needed to roam as much as twenty acres of flatwoods during the year in order to find enough seasonal forage. Therefore, a herd of only 100 cattle could need as much as 2,000 acres of flatwoods range. As herders moved into Florida in search of homesteads and range lands, they contributed to the growing population. By 1845, the territory's population surpassed 60,000, fulfilling the requirements for statehood.<sup>13</sup>

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12. Covington, *Southwestern Florida*, I, 106; E. [G.] R. Fairbanks, "Florida," *De Bow's Review*, V (January 1848), 11-12; John Lee Williams, *The Territory of Florida: or Sketches of the Topography, Civil, and Natural History* (New York, 1837; facsimile ed., Gainesville, 1962), 12, 23-24, 136; Covington, "Armed Occupation Act," 47.
  13. John T. Schlebecker, *Whereby We Thrive: A History of American Farming, 1607-1972* (Ames, Iowa, 1975), 61-63; Stephen Miller, "United States Public Lands," *De Bow's Review*, VI (August 1848), 98-99; W. Theodore Meador, Jr., and Merle Prunty, "Open-Range Ranching in Southern Florida," *Annals, Association of American Geographers*, LXVI

In 1850, the seventh federal census enumerated almost 90,000 inhabitants in the new state of Florida. Hillsborough County, however, contained only 2,377 residents, including 1,706 free whites, eleven free blacks, and 660 black slaves. Hillsborough was a true frontier community with fewer than two inhabitants per square mile. The frontier character of the county is also revealed by the disparity between males and females. In frontier communities, males typically outnumbered females. Among Hillsborough's free whites, there were 1.9 males for each female: among the slaves, there were 1.3 males for each female.<sup>14</sup> The frontier nature of the community is further demonstrated by the presence of a sizable military population that was responsible for the protection of the county's civilians. The garrisons at Fort Brooke and other military posts included at least 364 officers, enlisted men, workers, and dependents. Although the military population in 1850 approximated the 356 military inhabitants of Hillsborough County in 1840, military personnel composed only one-sixth of the county's total population by 1850.<sup>15</sup> The arrival of Anglo-American planters, farmers, and herders during the 1840s had increased Hillsborough's civilian population by twentyfold.

Despite the influx of southern agriculturalists and their slaves during the preceding decade, Hillsborough County in 1850 was unable to meet its basic subsistence needs. If each inhabitant required an average of thirteen bushels of corn a year for subsistence— or the equivalent in potatoes and legumes— then Hillsborough's agriculturalists could not produce enough of these commodities to meet local needs.<sup>16</sup> Also, Hillsborough's livestock-

(September 1976), 362-64; Dorothy Dodd, "Florida in 1845," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXIV (July 1945), 3.

14. Roland M. Harper, "Ante-Bellum Census Enumerations in Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, VI (July 1927), 47; James E. Davis, *Frontier America: A Comparative Demographic Analysis of the Settlement Process* (Glendale, Calif., 1977), 21, 111; U. S. Census Office, *The Seventh Census of the United States: 1850* (Washington, D. C., 1853), 400; manuscript returns of the Seventh U. S. Census, 1850, Schedule 1, Free Inhabitants, Schedule 2, Slave Inhabitants, and Schedule 4, Agriculture, Hillsborough County, Florida, on microfilm at the National Archives, Washington, D. C., and the Robert Manning Strozier Library, Florida State University, Tallahassee. Hereafter, these manuscripts returns on microfilm will be cited as Seventh Census, 1850, with appropriate schedule numbers.
15. Seventh Census, 1850, Schedule 1.
16. The writer used a modification of Hilliard's formula for determining self-

herders failed to raise enough pork to feed the county's inhabitants.<sup>17</sup> The county apparently had to import foodstuffs to make up the deficiency.

Hillsborough's agriculturalists may have failed to provide surpluses of corn and pork, but they produced an impressive surplus of beef. If the average Hillsborough resident consumed as much as fifty pounds of beef a year (a very generous estimate), and if the average range-fed steer yielded 300 pounds of beef, the county would have needed only 396 range steers to satisfy its beef requirements in 1850. This would have represented a tiny fraction of the estimated 19,710 cattle in Hillsborough County.<sup>18</sup>

By 1850, Hillsborough ranked fourth among Florida's twenty-eight counties in numbers of cattle. Only Columbia, Marion, and Madison counties contained larger herds than Hillsborough. In contrast to its prominence as a cattle producer, Hillsborough ranked fourteenth among Florida's counties in numbers of hogs, tenth in potatoes, and eighteenth in corn. Hillsborough County

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sufficiency in corn,  $C = \frac{\text{corn production in bushels}}{\text{Self-sufficiency (13 bu. x number of people)}}$

occurred when  $C$  was greater than 1.00. In Hillsborough County in 1850,  $C = \frac{16,263 \text{ bu.}}{(13 \text{ bu.} \times 2,377 \text{ people})} = \frac{16,263 \text{ bu.}}{30,901 \text{ bu.}} = .53$ ; and the county would

have failed to achieve self-sufficiency in corn. Even converting Hillsborough's potatoes (26,746 bu.) and the peas and beans (2,235 bu.) to their corn equivalents (4 bu. of potatoes = 1 bu. of corn; 1 bu. of legumes = 1 bu. of corn) would have furnished only an additional 6,687 bu. and 2,235 bu. of corn equivalents. Adding these,  $C$  would be  $\frac{25,185 \text{ bu.}}{30,901 \text{ bu.}} = .82$ ; and the county would have failed to achieve self-

sufficiency in foodstuffs in 1850. See Sam Bowers Hilliard, *Hog Meat and Hoecake: Food Supply in the Old South, 1840-1860* (Carbondale, Ill., 1972), 157-59; Raymond Battalio and John Kagel, "The Structure of Antebellum Southern Agriculture: South Carolina, a Case Study," *Agricultural History*, XLIV (January 1970), 28; U. S. Census Office, *Seventh Census, 1850*, 407-08.

17. Assuming that each adult consumed the equivalent of 2.2 hogs a year, and children consumed half that amount, the number of Hillsborough's human pork consumers would have been the number of adults (1,563) in 1850 plus the number of children under fifteen ( $814/2$ ) = 1,970 pork consumers. This figure is reached by counting each child under fifteen as equal to one-half an adult. They would have required the equivalent of  $1,970 \times 2.2$  hogs = 4,334 hogs. If one-half of Hillsborough's 5,141 hogs were slaughtered in that year, and the remainder were spared for breeding, this would have provided only 2,571 hogs, producing a deficit of 1,763 swine. See Hilliard, *Hog Meat and Hoecake*, 260-61; U. S. Census Office, *Seventh Census, 1850*, 396-400, 407.
18. See Hilliard, *Hog Meat and Hoecake*, 129-30; U.S. Census Office, *Seventh Census, 1850*, 407. The total number of cattle in Hillsborough County (1850) was determined by adding those listed as "milch cows," "working oxen," and "other cattle."

only raised a paltry eighteen bales of cotton, placing it twentieth among Florida's counties.<sup>19</sup> The manuscript returns of the 1850 Hillsborough census, nevertheless, recorded a total of 536 hogsheads of cane sugar, each weighing about 1,000 pounds, thus placing Hillsborough first among Florida's counties. At 1850 prices, Hillsborough's sugar output would have been valued at \$32,160.<sup>20</sup>

Hillsborough's agriculturalists produced significant surpluses of only two agricultural commodities in 1850—cattle and sugar. Most of the county's cattle grazed in the pine flatwoods between the coast and Pease Creek. All but one hogshead of sugar, however, was grown in the Manatee River settlement, where low hammocks offered the best soils for sugar-planting. Along the Manatee River in 1850, Robert Gamble, Jr., produced 230 hogsheads of cane sugar, William Craig processed 140, Dr. Joseph Braden provided 100, and G. H. Wyatt and Josiah Gates offered forty and twenty-five hogsheads respectively.<sup>21</sup>

Although Josiah Gates stood last among the sugar-planters in terms of output, he was the pioneer of the Manatee settlement. Gates, a North Carolina native, was operating a hotel in Tampa when the Armed Occupation Act passed. Traveling to the Manatee River, Gates selected his 160-acre tract where an abandoned Seminole field indicated the soil was exceptionally fertile. After claiming his homestead, Gates brought down his family and eight slaves. On the banks of the Manatee, he constructed a new hotel, purchased additional lands from the government, cleared fields for sugar cane, and ranged his cattle on the public domain. By 1850, Gates owned 260 acres of land, nine slaves, and 143 cattle.<sup>22</sup>

19. U. S. Census Office, Seventh Census, 1850, 407-08.

20. The published compilation of the 1850 census listed Hillsborough's sugar production as only six hogsheads. See U. S. Census Office, Seventh Census, 1850, 409. This is an obvious misprint, for Robert Gamble alone is known to have produced 230 hogsheads in 1850. See Michael G. Schene, "Sugar Along the Manatee: Major Robert Gamble, Jr., and the Development of Gamble Plantation," *Tequesta*, XLI (1981), 76. The manuscript returns of the agricultural schedule for Hillsborough County listed a total of 536 hogsheads of sugar. See Seventh Census, 1850, Schedule 4. Each of Hillsborough's hogsheads of cane sugar would have fetched about \$60.00 on the New Orleans market during the year 1850-1851. See Gray, *History of Agriculture*, II, 1033.

21. Seventh Census, 1850, Schedule 4; Quintilla Bruton and David E. Bailey, Jr., *Plant City: Its Origin and History* (St. Petersburg, 1977), 35, 42; Smith, *Slavery and Plantation Growth*, 130-31.

22. Lillie B. McDuffee, *Lures of Manatee* (Nashville, 1933; reprint ed.,

In contrast to Gates who combined cattle-herding with planting, Robert Gamble, William Craig, Joseph Braden, and G. H. Wyatt devoted their energies to sugar-planting. These men hailed from Leon County, where their families had pursued cotton-planting. Following the financial panic of 1837 and the collapse of cotton prices, they took advantage of the Armed Occupation Act to begin sugar-planting in south Florida. In the Manatee settlement, they purchased additional lands, enlarged their slaveholdings, and constructed mills to process sugar cane. By 1850, Robert Gamble had acquired 1,280 acres of land, valued at \$23,500, as well as eighty-eight slaves, worth more than \$100,000. Craig, in turn, possessed 1,560 acres and sixty-eight slaves. Braden had accumulated 900 acres and ninety-five slaves, and Wyatt owned 360 acres of land and fifteen slaves.<sup>23</sup>

Though they produced the bulk of the county's cash crops in 1850, the Manatee sugar-planters raised surprisingly few foodstuffs. In 1850, Gamble and the others produced a total of only 887 bushels of corn, 1,524 bushels of potatoes, fifty bushels of legumes, fifty-seven hogs, and 214 cattle, excluding work oxen. Since these five planters owned a combined slave force of some 275 bondsmen, this meager output of foodstuffs would have offered only a few months of rations for their slaves. The Manatee planters apparently devoted their slave labor to raising sugar, and they preferred to purchase extra foodstuffs from their New Orleans factors or commission merchants. Such a policy was obviously successful only if the market prices for sugar surpassed the costs of production, including the cost of purchased foodstuffs. Since it cost about five cents to produce a pound of sugar, planters could operate profitably when the price of sugar topped five cents a pound, as it did from 1844 to 1847. But when sugar prices tumbled to less than five cents a pound from 1848 to 1849, they operated at a loss. By 1850, sugar prices recovered to five and one-quarter cents per pound at the New Orleans market.<sup>24</sup>

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Bradenton, Fla., 1961), 21-27; Karl H. Grismer, *The Story of Sarasota* (Sarasota, 1946), 27-29; Seventh Census, 1850, Schedules 1, 2, and 4.

23. McDuffee, *Lures of Manatee*, 31-35; Schene, "Sugar Along the Manatee," 70, 77 footnote 5; Seventh Census, 1850, Schedules 1, 2, and 4.  
 24. Seventh Census, 1850, Schedules 2 and 4; Schene, "Sugar Along the Manatee," 76; McDuffee, *Lures of Manatee*, 45; Gray, *History of Agriculture*, II, 1034.

The Manatee sugar-planters represented a mere handful of Hillsborough's 120 farm operators in 1850. Yet, they owned forty per cent of the county's \$201,000 worth of farm land; and they held forty-two per cent of the county's 660 slaves. The Manatee planters, nevertheless, owned only seven per cent of the county's \$118,220 worth of livestock, and they claimed little more than one per cent of Hillsborough's 19,710 cattle.<sup>25</sup> The major share of Hillsborough's livestock was owned by dozens of ranchers who grazed their cattle on the pine flatwoods west of Pease Creek.

Virtually all of Hillsborough's agriculturalists owned some cattle, but only those who held eighteen or more head may be regarded as cattle-ranchers-herders producing a marketable surplus of beef cattle. Geographers have argued that eighteen head of cattle would have provided a typical antebellum family with a work ox, a bull, two milch cows, six breeding cows, and eight beef steers for home slaughter or for sale. Using eighteen cattle as the minimum definition for a cattle-rancher, then at least ninety-six of Hillsborough's 120 farm operators, or eighty per cent of the total, could be defined as ranchers, producing eight or more beef cattle. By 1850, Hillsborough's ranchers owned 19,306 cattle or ninety-eight per cent of the total in the county. And if they routinely marketed a tenth of their cattle herds each year, and if each steer was worth about \$5.00 a head, the estimated value of their 1,931 marketable steers was at least \$9,655.<sup>26</sup> This would have been \$20,000 less than the estimated value of Hillsborough's sugar crop in 1850.

None of Hillsborough's cattle-ranchers could match the wealth of the richest Manatee sugar-planters such as Robert Gamble or William Craig. But among their numbers, the ranchers counted one of Hillsborough's wealthiest men, William B. Hooker. Born in 1800, Hooker grew up in Tattnall County, Georgia, a community located on the edge of the coastal pine flatwoods. In 1830, he moved with his parents to Hamilton County in northern

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25. Seventh Census, 1850, Schedules 1, 2, and 4; U. S. Census Office, Seventh Census, 1850, 400, 407.

26. See Seventh Census, 1850, Schedule 4; Kenneth D. Israel, "A Geographical Analysis of the Cattle Industry in Southeastern Mississippi from Its Beginnings to 1860" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Southern Mississippi, 1970), 78; W. Theodore Meador, Jr., "The Open Range Ranch in South Florida and Its Contemporary Successors" (Ph.D., dissertation, University of Georgia, 1972), 40; Fairbanks, "Florida," 12.



Florida, where he married and acquired a plantation on the Suwanee River. After serving as a militia captain in the Seminole War, Hooker took advantage of the Armed Occupation Act to move his family to Hillsborough County in 1843, settling at Simmons Hammock near present-day Seffner. By 1850, Hooker had acquired 1,480 acres of land, valued at \$7,500, but only a fraction of his holding, about 250 acres, was improved pasture or cultivated land. Hooker may have listed his occupation as "planter" in the 1850 census, but his nine slaves grew no sugar cane or cotton. They produced only foodstuffs, harvesting 400 bushels of corn and 200 bushels of sweet potatoes. Hooker, nonetheless, was Hillsborough's largest stockholder, claiming six horses, one mule, thirty-five sheep, 150 hogs, and 2,504 cattle. The estimated value of his livestock exceeded \$13,000.<sup>27</sup>

Numbers of other ranchers emulated Hooker by listing their occupation as "planter" or "farmer" in the 1850 census. But on the whole, Hillsborough's ranchers owned few if any slaves and grew few if any cash crops. The average rancher owned less than two slaves and grew only foodstuffs such as corn, potatoes, and legumes. A cattle-rancher typically owned a homestead of about 152 acres, but only a fraction of the land, usually about twenty-two acres, was cleared or "improved." The average cattleman may have owned only \$672 worth of land, but he possessed over \$1,000 worth of livestock. In addition to horses, hogs, and occasional sheep, the typical rancher owned about 200 cattle.<sup>28</sup>

Although the federal census schedules may provide a statistical portrait of the average Hillsborough cattle-rancher, census data record the quantitative results of past behavior, not the behavior itself. Few cattle-ranchers had the time or the inclination to describe their behavior and thoughts in antebellum documents such as letters, diaries, and daybooks. But after the Civil War, several ranchers managed to publish reminiscences of their antebellum lives. More ranchers, however, left spoken accounts of their antebellum lives, describing their lifeways to children and grandchildren. And in the twentieth century, the descendants

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27. Kyle S. VanLandingham, "William Brinton Hooker 1800-1871," *South Florida Pioneers*, No. 5 (July 1975), 6; Seventh Census, 1850, Schedules 1, 2, and 4.

28. Arithmetic means of the cattle ranchers' agricultural wealth was computed from data in Seventh Census, 1850, Schedules 1, 2, and 4.

of antebellum ranchers transmitted these oral traditions to journalists, historians, and oral historians.

The reminiscences and traditions left by the cattle-ranchers depicted a lifestyle that originated in the coastal flatwoods of the Carolinas and Georgia. The inhabitants of the coastal pinewoods farmed small tracts of land and herded their livestock on the public domain. As their families and herds increased in size, they required new homesteads and grazing lands. After 1842, dozens of such families began migrating to south Florida, settling in the pine flatwoods and hammocks. Typically, the families located in dispersed rural neighborhoods or "settlements," where many of their neighbors were also kinsmen. Since each cow needed almost two dozen acres of unfenced range, their homesteads were located several miles apart, so cattle could forage in the intervening pinewoods. After constructing pine-log houses and outbuildings on their homesteads, ranchers cleared small corn fields from the hammocks, felling trees and grubbing up the undergrowth. They also cleared tracts for the "cowpens" – split rail corrals that protected calves and milk cows from predators. During the day, cows ventured forth to graze in the woods, but at night, they returned to the safety of the pens to feed their calves. Since the manure from the cows fertilized even the poorest soils, old cowpens served admirably as gardens for potatoes and other vegetables. Ranchers supplemented food crops with wild game from the woods as well as pork from their range hogs and beef from their scrub steers. Most of their livestock ranged over the unfenced woodlands in search of seasonal forage, requiring little or no attention. During the late winter, ranchers burned the pinewoods to reduce the underbrush, curb cattle ticks, and foster the growth of spring grasses. And once or twice a year, ranching families formed communal work groups to round up the cattle, brand the calves, and select steers for sale. Cattle proved to be the ideal "cash crop," since they cost so little to raise, and since they could be driven on the hoof to market.<sup>29</sup> The problem was locating a market.

Presumably, Hillsborough's cattle-ranchers sold some of their stock in Tampa. One eyewitness account from 1845 noted that the "scattered settlers of the neighbourhood . . . bring in their

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29. See F. C. M. Boggess, *A Veteran of Four Wars: The Autobiography of F. C. M. Boggess* (Arcadia, 1900), 66, 74; E. I. Wiggins, *A History of the*

surplus produce and exchange it here [in Tampa] for goods and money." In addition, ranchers drove herds of cattle to coastal cities such as Jacksonville and Savannah. The daughter of one antebellum rancher recalled that her father and brothers were often gone for months on cattle drives to Savannah, a market located over 300 miles away.<sup>30</sup>

Since cattle-ranching played such an important role in Hillsborough's agricultural economy, it is not surprising that ranchers became involved in local politics. In 1845, when Hillsborough County elected its first full slate of county commissioners, the list of names included four cattle-ranchers: commissioner Benjamin Moody, commissioner William Hancock, tax assessor Simeon Sparkman, and tax collector John Parker. By 1850, Moody possessed no slaves but owned 160 acres of land and ninety-one cattle; William Hancock owned five slaves, 240 acres, and an estimated 1,780 cattle; Sparkman held seven slaves, 320 acres, and 600 cattle. John Parker claimed no slaves, but held 160 acres and 320 cattle.<sup>31</sup>

In contrast, the Manatee sugar-planters placed no members on the first county commission. Their economic and social concerns presumably lay outside Hillsborough County, for they traded with New Orleans merchants and maintained social ties with their Leon County kinsmen. Only one man from the Manatee settlement, E. A. Ware, served on the commission as county clerk. The remaining four commission posts were filled by Tampans. The president of the county commission and judge of the probate court was Simon Turman, a native Ohioan, who had promoted the migration of midwesterners to the Tampa Bay area in 1843. Settling first at Manatee, Turman moved to Tampa in 1845. Commissioner Micajah Brown, a native of New Hamp-

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*Mt. Enon Association* (Tampa, 1921), 35; D. B. McKay, "Pioneer Florida," *Tampa Sunday Tribune*, June 29, 1947, September 26, 1948, December 7, 1952, November 28, 1954, December 11, 1955, July 7, 1957; David E. Bailey, "A Study of Hillsborough County's History, Legend, and Folklore" (master's thesis, University of Florida, 1949), 117-25; M. F. Hetherington, *History of Polk County Florida* (St. Augustine, 1928), 13-15; W. L. Straub, *History of Pinellas County Florida* (St. Augustine, 1929), 36-37.

30. [George Ballentine], *Autobiography of an English Soldier in the United States Army* (New York, 1853), 101; Akerman, *Florida Cowman*, 40; McKay, "Pioneer Florida," *Tampa Sunday Tribune*, September 26, 1948.
31. Grismer, *Tampa*, 105-06; Richard Livingston, ed., "Benjamin Moody 1811-1896," *South Florida Pioneers*, No. 8 (April 1976), 9-11; Seventh Census, 1850, Schedules 1, 2, and 4.

shire, had settled in Tampa in 1845, opening a clothing store. Virginia-born commissioner James Goff simply listed his occupation as "politician" in the 1850 census. And finally, treasurer Thomas P. Kennedy was a Pennsylvania-born merchant who had opened a store in Tampa.<sup>32</sup>

Although Tampa was Hillsborough's county seat, it was little more than a hamlet with tenuous commercial links to the outside world. Schooners from New Orleans and New York occasionally called at the port to deliver groceries and dry goods. One visitor in 1851 described Tampa as "a little village of about two hundred inhabitants, exclusive of the soldiers in the [Fort Brooke] garrison." In spite of its size, Tampa's population was surprisingly cosmopolitan, ranging from Yankee merchants to Cuban fishermen to Irish laborers to African slaves.<sup>33</sup>

Tampans may have claimed as many posts on the first Hillsborough County Commission as the cattle-ranchers, but the ranching families were becoming the county's major socioeconomic group. By 1850, cattle-ranchers and the members of their households comprised a third of Hillsborough's 1,717 free people. Equally important, the ranchers claimed ninety per cent of the county's \$118,220 worth of livestock, thirty-two per cent of the county's \$201,000 worth of land, and twenty-one per cent of the county's 660 slaves.<sup>34</sup>

Ten years later, cattle-ranching would dominate Hillsborough County's agricultural economy. By 1860, the census would enumerate almost 38,000 cattle within Hillsborough County, more than any other Florida county. In addition, many Hillsborough ranchers, seeking new flatwoods range for their cattle, would drive their herds into Manatee County, a community created from the southern half of Hillsborough in 1855. And by 1860, Manatee would contain 32,000 cattle, ranking second only to Hillsborough County in numbers of cattle.<sup>35</sup>

32. Grismer, *Tampa*, 105-106; Seventh Census, 1850, Schedule 1.

33. Olin Norwood, ed., "Letters from Florida in 1851," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXIX (April 1951) 268; Robinson, *History of Hillsborough County*, 34; Seventh Census, 1850, Schedules 1 and 2.

34. Seventh Census, 1850, Schedules 1 and 4; U.S. Census Office, *Seventh Census, 1850*, 400, 407.

35. [Editorial], "A New Era in the History of Tampa," *Tampa Florida Peninsular*, July 28, 1860; U. S. Census Office, *Agriculture of the United States in 1860* (Washington, D. C., 1864), 18; Joe G. Warner, *Biscuits and Taters: A History of Cattle Ranching in Manatee County* (St. Petersburg, 1980), 6-8.

## NEW LIGHT ON GÁLVEZ'S FIRST ATTEMPT TO ATTACK PENSACOLA

by EVERETT C. WILKIE, JR.

**B**ERNARDO de Gálvez's proposed siege of Pensacola, Florida, in 1780 started inauspiciously when his fleet was overtaken by an October hurricane that seriously compromised prospects for an assault that year on the British garrison. Concrete information about the hurricane's destruction is, however, sketchy concerning those ships that returned to Havana. The contemporary reports that are known are fairly brief and contain little or no specific information about the damage that befell the fleet as a result of the storm.<sup>1</sup>

In general terms, the facts of this ill-fated expedition are these. The fleet, fully loaded with troops and supplies, sailed from Havana on October 16, 1780. This fleet, composed of warships, troop ships, hospital ships, and supply vessels, was struck by a hurricane shortly after setting sail. Most of the ships that did not sink or run aground returned to Havana or put into Campeche, towards which they had been blown by the storm. Some others arrived at Mobile, New Orleans, and Pensacola. The fleet was so wrecked, however, that no assault on Pensacola could be mounted until the following year.

A Spanish manuscript recently brought into the collections of the John Carter Brown Library sheds some new light on this

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1. The printed version of Gálvez's report, *Diario de las operaciones de la expedición contra la Plaza de Panzacola concluida por las Armas de S. M. Católica, baxo las ordenes del Mariscal de Campo D. Bernardo de Gálvez* [s.l., s.n., 1781?], 1, dismisses this unfortunate episode in a single paragraph, in which Gálvez is described as "frustrada por el uracán." Other reports give only a partial accounting of a few ships. See, for example, M. Navarro's December 7, 1780, report to Gálvez, "Noticias de los buques de la Expedición que se separaron del Comboy por el temporal y que han arribado a la Baliza de este río [i.e., New Orleans]," in F. de Borja Medina Rojas, *José de Ezpeleta, Gobernador de la Mobila, 1780-1781* (Seville, 1980), 465-66. Specific notices of other ships at Mobile on December 10, 1780, are given in "Noticias de las embarcaciones que han arribado a este río hasta hoy día de la fecha con expresión de su carga y de las novedades que han tenido en la navegación," in *ibid.*, 465-66.

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first futile attempt to attack Pensacola. Written at Havana on November 28, 1780, this manuscript recounts the anonymous author's experiences as part of the fleet. He provides quite specific information on the actual damage done, particularly to the ships of the line. Although one cannot be certain, he appears to have been aboard the *Matilde*, one of the larger warships seriously damaged in the storm. He further appears to have been a sailor rather than a soldier, because his principal concerns and observations are those that one would expect from a seaman. He was perhaps a junior officer, although his manuscript does not seem to be part of any official report. Because of his detailed knowledge of the ships and the damage to them, the author's observations would appear to be authentic and first-hand. The manuscript seems to have been composed at one sitting on that day in November, perhaps from notes.

Gálvez himself returned to Havana about two weeks before the manuscript was written. The predominant conclusion that emerges is that Gálvez was greeted with a scene of destruction that must have disheartened him. One may imagine the scene as described in this manuscript. After a month's absence, Gálvez beheld only a fraction of his fleet. Of his seven ships of the line, only one, the *Guerrero*, was relatively undamaged. The *Dragon* was unaccounted for. All the others lay at anchor without their masts. The *San Juan Nepomuceno* had even had its figurehead torn away by the waves. Of those ships that survived, some needed to be completely resupplied. What the ocean had not washed overboard, frantic sailors had heaved into the sea trying to stay afloat. One hospital ship had lost all its equipment. Another ship's crew had thrown cannons over the gunwales. Another crew, transporting horses for the dragoons, had even thrown the animals into the sea in their efforts to stay afloat.

The author also provides some insight into Gálvez's whereabouts between the time of the hurricane and his return to Havana, long the subject of speculation. His frigate, the *Nuestra Señora de la Ô*, had rejoined several other ships, including the warships *Santa Cecilia* and *San Pio*, and had attempted to make for the rendezvous point. According to this author, contrary winds prevented their approach to Pensacola, so they decided to return to Havana. Moreover, they sighted no other ships from

Havana 28. de Nov.<sup>re</sup> de 1780.

Diario de la Expedición destinada para  
Panzacola.

La Esquadra se componía de 7 Na-  
vios de Guerra, 4 Fragatas, un  
Chambequín, dos Paquebotas, y un  
Sloop, y de 57 Navíos de transpor-  
te, mandada por el Jefe de Esqua-  
dra D.<sup>n</sup> Josef Solano. La Fropa  
que se embarco en la Havana  
convirtió en Tercer mil y ocho-  
-entos hombres, comprendidos  
los Mozos y Pardo, mandada  
por el Mariscal de Campo -

the convoy the whole time. Gálvez may have been somewhat relieved, therefore, even at the wrecks that awaited him at Havana. Gálvez's small fleet did manage to capture two vessels, presumably English, on its way back to Havana. If this report is accurate, Gálvez spent the better part of his time between October 22 and November 17 tacking unsuccessfully towards Pensacola against a contrary wind.

The manuscript itself consists of six leaves of watermarked

paper; the last leaf is blank. The hand is clear and well-formed. From the folds in the document, it appears at one time to have either been mailed in a letter or been carried in someone's pocket.<sup>2</sup> Nothing further is known of its provenance before it came into the library's possession in 1980. The translation follows the original paragraphs, although several of the sentences have been rearranged for clarity. The first page of the manuscript itself is shown in the plate. Spelling, punctuation, and grammar have not been changed in the translation.

Havana 28 November 1780

#### Diary of the Expedition Bound for Pensacola

The escort was made up of seven ships of the line, a chamberlain, two packet-boats, and a lugger, plus 57 transport ships, commanded by the squadron chief Don Josef Solano.<sup>3</sup> The troops which boarded at Havana numbered 3800 men, including Morenos and Pardos, commanded by Field Marshall Don Bernardo de Gálvez.

The troops boarded on 10 November.

The 16th the commander signalled to raise sails. The horizon was clear and the wind favorable. Some ships did not get out in the morning, forcing the commander to signal the ships to anchor at the Cape.<sup>4</sup> Very late in the night the ships finally cleared the harbor.

On the 17th the day began beautiful, with a clear horizon and a good wind. At eight the signal was given to get underway. The wind rose at 9:30; at 12 it became violent; and at 4 there was a furious hurricane that lasted until 9 at night. The escort

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2. Although folded like a letter, the manuscript lacks an address leaf or any mark of a seal; neither is it signed, as one would expect of a letter.
  3. This figure of seventy-two ships does not agree with the sixty-four ships given by "Esguadra del mando del Señor Dn. Josef Solano Gefé de esta Clase en la Real Armada, y Buques de su comboy que transportan la tropa del Exersito a las ordenes del Mariscal de Campo el Señor Dn. Bernardo de Galves. A bordo del Navio San Juan Nepomuceno a la Vela a la boca del Puerto de la Habana, 16 de octubre de 1780," reprinted in Borja Medina Rojas, *José de Ezpeleta*, 446-49. The numbers of major warships and frigates match; this account shows two additional lesser warships, however, and six more transports. This document will be hereinafter referred to as "Esguadra."
  4. The cape forms one side of the entrance to Havana harbor; ships anchored there would have been under the protection of the guns of Fort Moro.



and the convoy were separated at 5 [i.e., 3 p.m.?]. The frigate *Matilde* had already lost sight of all the other ships, and the sails on the mainmast and fore mast had rent. We were running before the wind the entire storm.

The afternoon of the 19th, we lost all the masts but it was our good fortune that no one was injured. The sea water came in through the heads, the ports, and everywhere, so that we lost the better part of our equipment.

The 22nd there was no wind but the sea was still very rough. A sighting was taken, and we were at 27° 28".<sup>5</sup> The same day we raised the jurmast for the mizzen; the 23rd, that for the foremast; the 25th, that for the mainmast.

The 26th we sailed towards the port of Havana. On the morning of the 29th we saw in the very far distance some ships it was impossible to identify. The 30th while underway we saw six warships, a commercial frigate that served as a hospital, and the chambequin, which were also heading for Havana. We could not close on them. The 31st we all entered port. The ships were the *San Juan Nepomuzeno*, completely dismasted and without its figurehead; the *Velasco*, which lost her main and mizzenmasts; the *Santa Genara*, which lost all her masts; the *San Ramón*, which was taking on 58 inches of water an hour and had to throw 11 cannons overboard. The *Guerrero* suffered little. The *Astuto* had its rudder parted and without any sail had arrived here. The chambequin had suffered very little.<sup>6</sup> The frigate *Mercante* which served as a hospital suffered greatly, so that all her equipment and materials were jettisoned.<sup>7</sup> The loss was 300 pesos.

The evening of the 30th a ship from the convoy had entered port, loaded with provisions for Mobile. They there learned of our misfortune here from them. Until that day the forecasters had said we had had very good weather and had waited for word at any moment of our sailing.

Until the 17th of November we learned nothing of the missing ships, but on that day entered the frigates the *O*, on which Gálvez had sailed, the *Santa Cecilia*, the packet-boat *San Pio*, a com-

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5. About the latitude of modern-day Sarasota, Florida.

6. These are all warships.

7. The *Mercante* is not mentioned in the "Esguadra;" the author's orthography also allows the readings *Mexcante* or *Mencante*. It may be that the author means the frigate *Luisiana*, which served in the same capacity as this ship.

mercial ship with troops, and two prizes taken 20 miles away, one of 26 guns and 60 men and the other of 16 guns and 20 men. They were said to be worth 2000 pesos. These ships were unable to get to the rendezvous point because of contrary winds and had decided to return, since they met with no other ships.

It should be noted that the *O* had good weather on the 20th and sighted the dismasted *Juan Nepomuzeno* the morning of the 21st, and afterwards the storm ceased; and that the *Matilde* had bad weather from the night of the 21st to the 22nd. The prevailing winds were South and North. On the 18th a settee came in on which had sailed some cavalry horses. The ship suffered little but they had to throw the horses into the sea.<sup>8</sup>

On the 19th the frigate *Santa Rosalia* came in, to which Solano had transferred after the *San Juan Nepomuzeno* was dismasted. The Squadron Chief was at the rendezvous point 16 days; the lack of provisions and water forced him to come to this port, not having encountered any other ships except a transport, which came back with him.

On the 21st a packet-boat with 86 soldiers and 5 officers from Navarra sailed in.<sup>9</sup> They had had absolutely nothing befall them.

On the 27th a ship from Campeche arrived, and we learned from them that 23 were there and that one settee had foundered but another had saved the entire crew. Another settee also foundered but all its crew were lost; it was not learned what happened to them. Several had run aground, but it was not known for sure how many.

The fate of the warship *Dragon* was unknown, a fine lugger with 23 regular ships and 1500 men.<sup>10</sup>

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8. The *Buen Viaje*, one of three such ships carrying horses.

9. The only packet-boat listed as carrying members of the Regiment of Navarra is the *Jesus Nazareno*; the "Esguadra," however, lists only four officers but eighty-six soldiers.

10. The *Dragon* was actually at the rendezvous point, where it remained until early December, when it finally put into New Orleans. It is not clear why this ship did not encounter Solano's small force, which was also in the area for over two weeks.

## BOOK REVIEWS

*Anglo-Spanish Confrontation on the Gulf Coast During the American Revolution.* Edited by William S. Coker and Robert R. Rea. (Pensacola: Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference, 1982. xiv, 218 pp. List of illustrations and maps, introduction, index. \$6.95, paper.)

At mid-morning on May 8, 1781, a Spanish mortar ball rolled into the powder magazine of the Queen's Redoubt in Pensacola and ignited an explosion which led directly to the British surrender to the combined Spanish and French forces under the command of Bernardo de Gálvez. Two hundred years later—May 7 and 8, 1981—the Ninth Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference met in Pensacola to celebrate the bicentennial of the events surrounding the surrender of West Florida. This book is an edited collection of the papers presented at that conference. For those readers who had thought that everything that could be— or needed to be— written about the American Revolution in British West Florida had already appeared in print, this series of articles will be something of a surprise. Despite the dearth of unofficial documents, these papers indicate that fresh scholarship, looking from a different perspective, is capable of producing new and interesting insights. They present no major reinterpretations of the history of the period, but solidly serve to fill in some gaps in our knowledge and, in a few cases, to present a few intriguing (even if not totally unbiased) observations.

Papers in a conference rarely come together as a unified whole, and this conference was no exception. These twelve papers, however, have the advantage of basically dealing with all or part of a twenty-year period (from 1763 to 1783) and thus relate directly to the theme as stated in the title of the book. Professor A. P. Nasatir set the framework for the rest of the book with an interesting overall survey of the “legacy of Spain” on the Gulf coast and the Mississippi Valley. The next two papers by James W. Covington and Robin F. A. Fabel deal with various aspects of the commercial rivalry— and cooperation—

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which existed between the Spanish in Louisiana and the British in West Florida. While basically an overview, Fabel's article is the stronger of the two and is particularly useful for the thumbnail sketches he presents of some of the British merchants in West Florida and New Orleans.

Because of their importance in the final battle for Pensacola, as well as for the entire history of West Florida, a large section of the book is devoted to the various Indian tribes. The three papers by Michael D. Green, James H. O'Donnell III, and Kathryn Holland explore the various relationships of the tribes to the English and Spanish as well as among the tribes themselves. Green's article dealing with the role of the Creek Confederacy is especially interesting and well-written and contains some excellent brief analyses. All three articles correctly blame General John Campbell's vacillating policy toward the Indians as the major reason for the Indians' failure to play an even larger role in the Battle of Pensacola. Taken together the three articles are repetitive but present a good, brief analysis of the situation in the last decade of British West Florida. They also clearly show, however, the problem facing the historian of West Florida who must rely on a very few sources of information.

The next two articles constitute the strongest section of the book. Francisco de Borja Medina Rojas's evaluation of José de Ezpeleta and Eric Beerman's analysis of José Solano are both well-researched, well-written, and quite interesting. Using Spanish sources almost exclusively, they present some new material and indicate something of the amount of work that remains to be done from Spanish archives. Despite a couple of questionable conclusions, Borja Medina and Beerman have produced superb analyses of the roles of two of the major Spanish figures in the battle.

Jack D. L. Holmes's brief article on Spanish and French military units in the campaign is most interesting for his conclusion that the Pensacola campaign was extremely important for the future careers of its participants. Gilbert C. Din presents an overall summary of the case of the loyalist James Colbert. While a good survey, it contains little that is new, although his correct conclusion that Colbert's effect on Spanish policy was minimal is in contrast to an earlier study by D. C. Corbitt. J. Leitch Wright, Jr., explores the interesting interplay among

William Augustus Bowles, John Miller, and William Panton. These three men played an important role in the post-war period and Wright's analysis is well-written and intriguing. Light T. Cummins concludes the volume with an analysis of modern Spanish historians who have investigated Spanish-American history during the American Revolution and properly concludes that historians of the Gulf coast have not given enough attention to their studies.

While containing some of the difficulties inherent in a book of this nature, *Anglo-Spanish Confrontation on the Gulf Coast during the American Revolution* makes an excellent contribution to the history of the climactic battle for West Florida. Coker and Rea have clearly exercised judicious use of their editorial abilities to assist in the publication of a solid final product. The addition of maps, portraits, and even a cartoon add to the usefulness and attractiveness of the volume.

*Hong Kong Baptist College*

J. BARTON STARR

*Henry S. Sanford: Diplomacy and Business in Nineteenth-Century America.* By Josephy A. Fry (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1982. XI, 226 pp. Preface and acknowledgments, photographs, notes, bibliography, index. \$9.25, paper.)

It is indeed a formidable task to write so short a biography of Henry S. Sanford who lived such a full and active life. Sanford was no stranger either to success or failure. He was a man of considerable ability, yet it seems that the brass ring of success eluded him. His background was that of an upperclass Whig Connecticut Yankee. The income from a tack factory provided much of his early wealth. Tutors and private school education prepared him for his colorful career as a diplomat and business entrepreneur. In 1841 he began his acquaintanceship with Europe when he made the "first of more than seventy-five transatlantic crossings."

When the Civil War began Sanford had already served as temporary attache in St. Petersburg and as secretary and chargé d'affaires of the American legation at Paris. He followed these diplomatic activities, which involved travel to Central

America, with a financial venture in a guano island in the Caribbean, but it had ended in controversy.

Upon the election of Lincoln in 1860, Sanford was one of those Republican conservatives who advocated compromise with the South; he hoped that a settlement might avoid war. Since Sanford had diplomatic experience, and was familiar with European governments, languages, and society, he seemed a natural choice for appointment as the American minister resident to Belgium. He used his position for many activities including propaganda dissemination, secret service, arms purchases, and an attempt to recruit Giuseppe Garibaldi, the Italian military hero, for the Union army.

After the Civil War Sanford became involved in Florida, the Belgian Congo, and in processing sugar in Louisiana. His Florida activities, both in citrus cultivation and in politics, were hampered by his wife who insisted that their place of residence be a chateau in Belgium. Still, Joseph Fry, his biographer, sees him as "the most important single contributor to the development of Florida's late-nineteenth-century citrus industry." This was because of Sanford's research at Belair Grove and his cultivation of several foreign varieties of fruit.

Since Sanford founded a key city in the south Florida of the day, his residence there should have greatly enhanced his political career. His efforts to make Florida a two-party state paralleled those of Presidents Hayes and Arthur, but he lacked strong political endorsement. The Florida Independents in 1884 looked to him for financial support and political involvement, but by then he had returned to Belgium where his major activity would be in behalf of the Congo venture of Leopold II. Sanford's final years would leave him in financial straits and with an unhappy family situation. The fame, money, and greatness that he had always sought had continued to elude him.

Fry has written a concise study of Sanford's flamboyant career. One might characterize it as a rational view of an irrational person. Fry objectively surveys an extremely subjective man.

*Auburn University*

EDWARD C. WILLIAMSON

*Abaco, The History of an Out Island and Its Cays.* By Steve Dodge. (North Miami: Tropic Isle Publications, Inc., 1983. x, 172 pp. Preface, photographs, illustrations, maps, essay describing sources, list of maps and illustrations, index. \$13.50, paper.)

Generally the northernmost islands of the Bahamas, Abaco and its cays, were viewed as a place of refuge by displaced loyalists following the American Revolution. Their plight was exemplified by Lord Dunmore, the former royal governor of New York and of Virginia, who served as governor of the Bahamas from 1786 to 1797. The newcomers had been ousted from the mainland and came to the islands with high hopes for the future.

During the summer of 1783 groups of loyalists prepared to leave New York and East Florida for settlement on Abaco, which was the second largest of the Bahama Islands and which was empty. By 1785 more than 1,000 refugees, mostly from New York, were concentrated in the early settlements of Carleton, Marsh's Harbour, and Maxwell Town. The final transfer of East Florida back to Spain in 1785 gave impetus to two new communities on the island; Spencer's Bight and Eight Mile Bay added a combined population of about 350.

From these hopeful beginnings, the colonists believed that Abaco could become a center for the production of cotton. This was not to be, however, as many of the refugees became rather quickly disenchanted. The rocky terrain was difficult to clear for planting, and the thin soil lacked the nutrients for sustained cultivation. The dry season lasted from January through May and thwarted the growers' efforts during those months. The failure of a cotton plantation economy on Abaco tends to explain why the island has traditionally had a lower percentage of black population than most islands in the Bahamas.

Professor Dodge details the rise of Abaco's boatbuilding industry in the nineteenth century, efforts to establish permanently profitable industries (such as wrecking, sponging, pineapple growing, sisal cultivation, and lumbering), and the island's twentieth-century efforts toward modernization. He also includes a perceptive study of the realities of independence for the Bahamas and the resulting movement for separatism in Abaco. The

author's treatment of this sensitive but little-understood-by-outsiders problem, is the high point of this well-researched book.

The work suffers, however, from the author's attempts to broaden its scope well beyond the objectives stated in his preface. Most distracting are a ten-page digression into how to build an Abaco dinghy, complete with drawings, and a Michnerian introductory chapter which speculates on the origins of the land. Particularly in the chapters on boatbuilding and on contemporary Abaco, the author has made wide use of personal interviews. Some of these provide fascinating looks at the world through islanders' eyes, but others contribute nothing to the work and seem to have been included simply because they were available. The illustrations by Laurie Jones are sometimes beautifully done, but they are of very uneven quality, and are poorly executed in some instances.

This little book is enjoyable and informative, and the author has achieved his goal of whetting "the appetite of curious students and scholars in and out of The Bahamas."

*University of Florida*

EARL RONALD HENDRY

*The Politics of Indian Removal, Creek Government and Society in Crisis.* By Michael D. Green. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982. xiii, 237 pp. List of maps, preface, notes, note on the sources, index. \$18.95.)

In *The Politics of Indian Removal*, Michael D. Green has charted the transformation of Creek political organization in response to Euro-American contact, trade, colonial rivalries, and land hunger. Originally, the Creek Confederacy was made up of autonomous towns which had social and religious as well as political functions and whose representatives met in national council infrequently. As European contact increased and trade became essential, councils assembled more often and began to develop a national policy for the Confederacy. For years the Creeks maintained neutrality in respect to the three European powers which vied for their trade and alliance, but after the British triumph in the French and Indian War, the Creeks be-



came economically dependent on the victors and subject to their political demands.

The outcome of the American Revolution placed the Creeks within United States territory, and a series of political innovations began. The cornerstone of United States Indian policy was "civilization" which presumably would make cession of "surplus" hunting grounds feasible for native peoples. The Creeks responded politically to United States efforts by implementing a written law code which reordered inheritance patterns, protected property rights, abrogated traditional clan responsibilities, and firmly established a Creek National government. As white pressure for Creek land mounted in the nineteenth century, the National Council defended the Creeks' right to remain in their homeland by prescribing the death penalty for anyone who ceded land and executing William McIntosh for signing the Treaty of India Springs.

Such forceful action by a National Council was indeed an innovation. At the same time, however, the ultimate goal of the council was exceedingly conservative. The council sought to preserve the traditional towns and town governments. Throughout the removal crisis of the 1820s and 1830s the council continued to be composed of delegates from towns rather than representatives of apportioned districts. The council's cession of Creek land in Georgia resulted in the displacement of the Lower Creeks, the disintegration of many of their towns, and the exclusion of these people from representation in the National Council. Furthermore, the growing number of Creeks who adopted white "civilization" and largely severed their ties to traditional towns had little voice in National government. As the National Council became more intent on preserving the towns and remaining in the east, it became more oppressive and attempted to prevent even individual emigration. Finally in 1832, the council agreed to the allotment of Creek land in the hope that towns could continue to function, but the council and the Creek Nation thereby ceased to exist.

In this work, Michael Green reminds us that Indians are not merely actors of a script written, directed, and produced by whites. In viewing Indians as victims, we too often have ignored the energy and creativity with which they sought to avoid that fate. The Creeks responded to the removal crisis with a number

of ingenious strategies aimed at preserving their traditional political organization. Green masterfully explores those responses in this impressively documented, well-written study. An excellent example of ethno-history, this work is a major contribution to the history of southeastern Indians. Green's insights into the workings of state governments and their relationship to the federal government should also make this work of considerable interest to historians of early nineteenth-century politics.

*Western Carolina University*

THEDA PERDUE

*The Geological Sciences in the Antebellum South.* Edited by James X. Corgan. (University: The University of Alabama Press, 1982. 195 pp. Maps, photographs, illustrations, bibliography, the contributors, index. \$17.50.)

In 1809, William Maclure completed the largest geological survey ever undertaken and published the first survey map of what was then the United States. Maclure also outlined methods for future students of American geology. Despairing that most citizens knew nothing of the stones on which they trod, he defined questions in order to provoke public interest in his subject. Most Americans now know more about geology, but far less about the early geologists, who, treading upon those same stones, performed the studies in the southeast which helped to fulfill Maclure's vision.

The nine historical essays in this little volume edited by James X. Corgan have done much to rectify this lacuna by mapping out the history of geological inquiry in the southeast, as well as defining areas of fruitful scholarship and terrae incognitae. Taken as a whole, the book provides a valuable bibliographical tool, locating repositories of primary materials and identifying individuals, as George W. White has done for Andrew Ellicott or Corgan for Richard Owen Currey, meritorious of further biographical research. These essays stem from a symposium held during a southeastern sectional meeting of the Geological Society of America in Birmingham in March 1980, and in my opinion, a concluding essay would have enhanced the collection immensely.

Maclure continually warned his readers against the dangers of regionalism, and certainly this volume raises the important question of the validity of a distinct conceptual approach to the history of southern geology. Did the pursuit of geological information in the southeast really follow a different course than its northern counterpart? These essays suggest the answer is yes. Despite northern leadership in the survey or encyclopaedic approach to botany and ornithology, the first state geological survey was established in North Carolina in 1823. South Carolina followed in 1824, Massachusetts in 1830, and Tennessee one year later. Although the British founder of historic geology, Charles Lyell viewed some southern efforts with amusement during the 1840s, according to Daniel D. Arden, he spent the better part of his American travels exploring the southeast with the local talent.

Much of the impetus for these pioneering investigations rests with the early association of geologists of the caliber of Lardner Vanuxem and Gerard Troost with colleges in South Carolina and Tennessee. Of course, as Richard C. Sheridan and Anne Millbrook point out for Virginia and South Carolina, soil exhaustion and the need for fertilizers, as well as mineral interests, provided additional incentives. However, throughout many of these essays, another element keeps cropping up, and that is the influence of Robert Owen, who, with Maclure, financed the utopian community of New Harmony in Indiana. The radical educational and social ideas of Owen and Maclure directly touched the careers of three important figures discussed by Corgan, Martha Coleman Bray, Michele L. Aldrich and Alan E. Leviton, and Ivan L. Zabilka. They are: Gerard Troost (and through Troost, Currey, Joseph Nicollet and others), the socialist's son; the eminent David Dale Owen, who surveyed most of the midwest and Kentucky; and the lesser-known William Barton Rogers, who headed the Virginia survey in 1835.

Similarly, Amos Eaton's experimental approach to scientific education at the Rensselaer School in upstate New York shaped the style of Ebenezer Emmons who traveled widely in the southeast from 1851 to 1860. In perhaps the best of the essays, Markes E. Johnson analyzes Emmon's controversial career after he was forced to vacate his post as state agriculturalist of New York as the result of a libel charge in the trial of *Foster v.*

Agassiz in 1851. At issue was the accuracy of a geological chart. Nicolett's career would likewise suffer as a consequence of Louis Agassiz's scientific stature in this country.

By the mid-century, most of the southeast, with the notable exception of the Florida peninsula, had been surveyed in a systematic way by either state or privately-supported efforts. Curiously, this considerable body of geological knowledge was assembled by men who were, in one way or another, intellectual heirs of radical educational movements in science which gained momentum in the early 1820s. Owen, Maclure, and Eaton were adamantly opposed to slavery, and it is supremely ironic that the development of a geological tradition which owed so much to their ideals owed even more to the needs of an agricultural economy based upon slave labor. We can look forward to the published contributions of another GSA sectional meeting devoted to geological education and chaired by James X. Corgan which was held March 1983 in Tallahassee.

*Florida State Museum*

CHARLOTTE M. PORTER

*Gregarious Saints, Self and Community in American Abolitionism, 1830-1870.* By Lawrence J. Friedman. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982. xi, 344 pp. Preface, introduction, notes, bibliographical note, index. \$37.50.)

In studying the antislavery community, historians have divided it into two groups— antislavery gradualists and immediatist abolitionists. The term “antislavery gradualists” applies to those individuals who hoped and worked for slavery's ultimate end over time, while the more precise term, “immediatist abolitionists,” is applied to those individuals who believed in the immediate, complete, and uncompensated emancipation of slaves in America. The author of the latest study, Lawrence J. Friedman, holds to the more precise terminology of “immediate abolitionism,” and seeks to reveal how individuals committed to this movement differed in attitudes, beliefs, and values from antislavery gradualists. His thoughtful and sensitive study of the antislavery movement thus focuses “entirely upon the first genera-

tion of immediatist abolitionists— those who took up the cause during the 1830s” (p. 1).

According to the author, immediatist abolitionists were evangelical missionaries completely occupied with and devoted to spreading the Gospel truths and supplanting heathenism and evil throughout the world— specifically, slavery in America. This mission was the bedrock of the immediatist abolitionists’ social psychology. Basically members of the northern middle class reform community held values rooted in Christian self-help and market capitalism. These men and women were usually well-educated, wealthy, and mostly lived in the small towns or rural areas of New England. In their personal lives, they strove for the impeccable moral fabric of saints and socialized only with other “respectable” individuals like themselves as they strove to win converts to immediatist abolitionism.

This study is divided into nine chapters. The first deals with the origins of the young “immediatists-to-be” and discusses their association with the American Colonization Society until pious young men like William L. Garrison, Theodore Weld, Lewis and Arthur Tappan, Samuel May, and other missionary reformers discovered that the organization had become tainted with contributions from unchristian slaveholders. Thereupon, they seceded and “embraced immediatism” which would allow them to do God’s work of abolishing slavery without compromising with “other ‘sinners’.”

The next three chapters trace the development of three immediatist groups: the Boston Clique, headed by Garrison, the Lewis Tappan Circle, and the Gerrit Smith Cluster. Friedman analyzes the complex social characteristics of each group, i.e., the independent-minded members of the Boston Clique, the confident but less pious members of the Tappan Circle who believed God’s will would ultimately prevail over corrupt humans like slaveholders, and the less-than-confident members of the Smith Cluster who held that righteous men should use their freedom and love for goodness in a “voluntary manner” to end slavery. He focuses, in turn, upon the tensions that evolved among group members as they sought to achieve the ultimate goal of slavery’s immediate elimination.

Subsequent chapters deal with the “Distinction of Sex,” “The Chord of Prejudice,” “Righteous Violence,” “Immediatists and

Radicals," and "A Troubled Jubilee." It is the opinion of this reviewer that within several of these chapters Dr. Friedman makes his most creative and significant contribution. His account of the problems and apprehensions experienced by male immediatists during the 1830s over acceptance of female colleagues into their tight-knit organizations as co-missionaries is most enlightening and interesting. Equally vivid are his descriptions of the attitudes promulgated among immediatist abolitionists concerning the role of free blacks in the antislavery movement. This is evidenced by the dissension among the immediatists over Frederick Douglass's "independence of mind" in forming his own abolitionist newspaper, and by the reluctance of other free blacks to work with them because of prejudice and discrimination.

The author's explanation, nevertheless, of the rationale used by some immediatists for advocating "righteous violence" as a tactic for ending slavery is provocative, but less convincing. In the chapter, "Immediatists and Radicals," he focuses on the difficulties faced by the former in dealing with other antislavery radicals over such strategies as involvement in national politics and support of "secular" organizations through membership in political parties. The final chapter is concerned with the decision of the immediatists to dissolve their antislavery organizations after the abolition of slavery in 1865, and their preoccupation during the late 1860s and early 1870s with justifying their efforts as having been influential and substantial in ending human bondage in America.

Heavily grounded in primary sources, the research is thorough. Overall, the book should be read by students of the antislavery movement in America who desire a deeper understanding of the social psychology behind the actions of selected immediatist abolitionists from 1830 to 1870.

*Florida Agricultural and  
Mechanical University*

LARRY E. RIVERS

*The Cause of the South, Selections from De Bow's Review, 1846-1867.* Edited by Paul F. Paskoff and Daniel J. Wilson. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982. xiv, 306 pp. Preface, selected bibliography. \$27.50.)

It should be difficult to find anyone with more than a nodding acquaintance with southern history to whom the magazine, *De Bow's Review*, is not at least recognizable. Most authors in the field have on some occasion seen fit to acknowledge their debt to this source by at least a footnote. For more knowledgeable scholars, the *Review* has long been acclaimed an historical gold mine or, at least, a smorgasbord of southern tidbits. Despite its avowed purpose of being a commercial review for the South and Southwest, political tides and the personal tastes and inclinations of its editor, J. B. D. De Bow, made it much more catholic in scope. In fact, it would be well-nigh impossible to find any subject of concern to educated Southerners during the years between 1846 and 1867 that was ignored. At its best, it reflected adequately, and often brilliantly, the views of the ruling gentry of that region.

The strengths and weaknesses of the *Review* as an historical source are largely determined by its contributors. Most were amateurs of varying talents who wrote under the pressure of public and private emotion. Increasingly, as tensions mounted between the North and South, these authors became defensive and provincial. But despite the growing presence of bias, their essays still reflect most clearly the thoughts of the elite group which was its subscribers. Just as *Mein-Kampf* served as a road map for Hitler's Germany, even a casual reading of *De Bow's Review* should have forewarned Northerners of the "irrepressible conflict."

The major problem confronting the modern editors, faced with this plethora of materials, was that of choice. What should be included and what ignored? What is representative and what is merely of antiquarian interest? Although any reader familiar with the source can lament the absence of his favorite article or subject, Professors Paskoff and Wilson have sought the middle road by use of generous samples reflecting areas of broad general interest. What they have produced is a compilation that can be read advantageously with pleasure by anyone with an interest

in southern or American history. Specialists will still need to go to the original volumes for their research.

This work has been divided into six parts. The first, "J. B. D. De Bow and the *Commercial Review*," places the editor and the magazine in their historical context. The remaining five sections: "Slavery and Race," "Agricultural and Industrial Development," "Southern Society and Culture," "The South, the North, and the Union," and "The Civil War and Reconstruction" feature an average of six entries from the *Review*. The compilers have provided an introductory essay for each division, as well as short expository statements for each article. With these as guides, readers should be able to place each selection within its proper position in the larger picture.

Many of the original authors cited bear familiar names. Not surprising in light of the fact that editors were often forced to write large parts of each issue, De Bow is credited with eight of the reprinted articles, matching the total for "anonymous" contributors. The highly vocal George Fitzhugh authored three, while the leading spokesman for manufacturing, William Gregg, has two. Single entries represent such recognizable personalities as Josiah C. Nott, Edmund Ruffin, and James H. Thornwell.

My only complaint concerns an act of omission. As the original volumes from which these selections were taken are poorly indexed, my pleasure with this work would have been complete if even these three dozen excerpts had enjoyed the benefit of modern indexing.

*University of Oklahoma*

JOHN S. EZELL

*A Rock in a Weary Land: The African Methodist Episcopal Church During the Civil War and Reconstruction.* By Clarence E. Walker. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982. ix, 157 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, epilogue, bibliography, index. \$18.95.)

In 1863, the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church reentered the South after a forty-five-year absence and became the most visible predominantly black religious organization in the region. By the second meeting of the South Carolina Annual



Conference, the regional governing body of the denomination, held in 1866, some 22,388 new members were reported from Georgia, North Carolina, and South Carolina. The incorporation of southern churches into the AME connection raised by some 19,914 persons the 1856 membership in the denomination. At no other period of history had the AME Church gained as many new members in such a short period of time and in such a confined geographic location. As of this writing, however, no published history of the denomination— not even Wesley J. Gaines's *African Methodism in the South* — has probed into the events, conditions, or outcomes of the church's work in the South during the Civil War and Reconstruction. In this regard, Clarence E. Walker has done the scholarly world a great service by his book, *A Rock in a Weary Land: The African Methodist Episcopal Church During the Civil War and Reconstruction*.

By focusing his volume on the denomination's activities during the war and reconstruction years, Walker has reminded the historical world of black churches' participation in the events which marked this period of political and social transformation. He has reviewed many of the significant details regarding how and why the AME Church left and then returned to its proselytizing mission in the southern states. To accomplish this task Walker focused on the denomination's newspaper, the *Christian Recorder*, as his primary source of historical information.

The thematic proposition of *A Rock in a Weary Land* is that African Methodism served as the racial ideology for the creation of a black middle class and that black religion often served as the arena for "politization of the freedmen, not their opiate." Walker also suggests that the denomination's racial ideology "precedes the efforts described in August Meier's *Negro Thought In America, 1880-1915*." In most instances, neither of these theses is systematically demonstrated as Walker seems overwhelmed by the reporting of historical detail and incapable of thematic synthesis from those details.

The book begins with a review of the denomination's eighteenth-century origins. In looking at the formation of the church Walker chose to focus on Richard Allen, Morris Brown, and particularly Daniel Payne. He sees these men as exemplary leaders and builders for a religious organization "concerned and

capable of uplifting the black race” after the war. The author presents many of the complexities confronting the denomination as it struggled for a “racially correct” position regarding the war; an educated ministry within the southern membership; inter- and intra-racial conflicts over proselytizing territories as well as struggles for civil and political equality for the recently freed slaves.

As a supplementary reader for critical thinking graduate students, Walker’s book may provide details about the AME Church during the Civil War and Reconstruction periods. However, the author has left so many primary issues unexplored that this reader shall find it difficult to integrate the volume into students’ reading requirements. Walker contends, for example, that “it is difficult to discern exactly when” the church in New Orleans was founded. The initiated student of AME history would surely have found Thornton’s *History of St. James* church in New Orleans or located court records and newspapers of the city for discussions of the legal disputes which surrounded the St. James congregation. Similarly, in suggesting that James Lynch’s “reasons for leaving the [AME] church are unknown,” Walker reflects an unfortunate unfamiliarity with Lynch’s letters regarding his decision. Students of denominational history should not be misled by such omissions in Walker’s book.

However, the most striking weakness of the book is the tertiary treatment of AME women. Whereas the issue of ordaining women into the ministry is not totally overlooked (pp. 25-26), one can complete the volume and never know that women were the numerical majority of southern congregations, founded most of the local churches of Florida through which AME men became politically prominent, organized many of the educational enterprises which trained AME men for ministry, were actually the Evangelists and Missionarie of the denomination’s proselytizing network in South Carolina, or that women were directly responsible for dividing the church’s one Women’s Missionary Society into two independent bodies. Indeed, *A Rock in a Weary Land* has too little to say about too many things to be the definitive account of a most important group of black people during a most important period of social and political transformation. That Walker even took up the task of reclaiming the AME Church as a significant contributor to historical forces of

the Civil War and Reconstruction period is the mark of a pioneer. His efforts are commendable.

*The Atlanta University*

JUALYNNE E. DODSON

*Ordeal by Fire: The Civil War and Reconstruction.* By James M. McPherson. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1982. xviii, 694 pp. Preface, prologue, photographs, maps, illustrations, epilogue, notes, glossary, bibliography, index. \$29.95.)

This book will receive, and certainly deserves, a wide audience among general readers and scholars as well. Without question, Professor McPherson has written the best single volume account of the Middle Period to appear in recent years. This is not a study based on manuscript research but rather a work of synthesis in which the author has mined older treatments as well as current studies. Indeed, his ability to combine the best of traditional interpretations with the best of modern scholarship is one of the most valuable qualities of the work. The result is an even-handed coverage of all major topics, including ones that have provoked sharp disagreements in the last fifteen years, such as the nature of slavery and its economic benefits and detriments, the extent of Lincoln's wartime leanings toward the radicals, the quality of Confederate civil and military leadership, and the presidency of Andrew Johnson.

Writing from a definition of the Civil War as "the central event in the American historical consciousness," McPherson devotes primary attention to the meaning of the experience of civil war for the development of national institutions— political, military, legal, economic, social, and cultural. This approach provides a strong framework for a narrative that is both chronological and topical. It also fosters consideration of how specific institutions responded to the crisis of sectionalism and secession, how the exigencies of war shaped and altered them, and how the results affected postwar America.

The book has many specific strengths. Leading individuals become interesting characters through concise but revealing pen sketches. The author uses statistics to good advantage, but cautions that complex issues do not reduce themselves to simple

figures. The role of geography, a lamentable weakness on the part of many students, receives appropriate emphasis. Campaign narratives are particularly well done. McPherson writes to a mid-point between the Civil War buff who must know the position of every regiment in the line, and the student who wishes to be allowed to gloss over military history because he or she either does not understand it, does not like it, or thinks it is irrelevant. With the assistance of numerous clear maps, any reader can follow and understand the military events of the war. Reconstruction does not end at 1877 because McPherson believes that war-related issues continued to be vital into the 1890s, leading to the disfranchisement of blacks without northern resistance.

There are no major weaknesses in the book, and no particular topic has gotten shortchanged. Perhaps the least satisfying interpretation concerns Johnson's motivations during his presidency. Here McPherson does not give sufficient attention to Johnson's longstanding political creed and pre-presidential experiences as a balance to the personal and psychological factors drawn largely from the 1960 volume by Eric McKittrick.

The quality of writing is excellent, and the interpretive tone is moderate. Reference notes identify the sources of quotations and some other material; a few discursive notes provide interesting detail that would otherwise clutter a smooth text; a glossary helps with unfamiliar terms; and a thirty-five-page bibliographical essay with its own table of contents provides an excellent guide to recent scholarship. The volume is also commendably free of errors, both of typography and fact. However, the final count in the *Dred Scott* case was seven to two, not six to three. McPherson also repeats the common error that the three-fifths clause counted a slave as three-fifths of a person, which is not correct either mathematically or as an understanding of the problem facing the framers of the Constitution. And it is highly improbable (and certainly not demonstrable) that Andrew Johnson, born in 1808, had been given the middle name "Jackson" in honor of the not-yet military hero.

The content, organization, and style of this book make it an admirable text for college courses in the Civil War, however, the length and price are near the upper limits for such purpose.

Everyone, whether in college or not, who has a serious interest in the period can read this volume with enjoyment and benefit.

*California State University, Northridge*                      JAMES E. SEFTON

*God and General Longstreet: The Lost Cause and the Southern Mind.* By Thomas L. Connelly and Barbara L. Bellows. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982. ix, 158 pp. Note on sources, index. \$12.95.)

Of making many books there is no end, says Ecclesiastes, and certainly this is true of books about the South and its real or imagined peculiarities. Thomas L. Connelly and Barbara L. Bellows's *The Lost Cause and the Southern Mind* (what God and General Longstreet have to do with it is not at all clear) is the latest in a rising tide. In his fine iconoclastic study *The Marble Man* (1977), Connelly shows how a deliberate hero-building campaign helped to fabricate the image of Robert E. Lee that came to prevail after Lee's death. Readers of that book might expect to find in the present one a disillusioning account of the fabrication of the Lost Cause myth. They will not find it.

The essay does begin by demonstrating that the Lost Cause theme was no spontaneous growth. The theme developed, the authors show, through the efforts of "Bitter former politicians and generals," Confederate veterans' organizations and magazines, preachers, newspaper editors, historians, and fictionists. Back of the idea was a "high degree of organization." Virginia became the center of greatest activity, and Virginians made Lee into a Christ-like figure symbolizing the Lost Cause and its superiority to the winning cause. Eventually some of Lee's admirers de-southernized him by converting him into a national rather than a sectional hero.

But Connelly and Bellows do not stop with demonstrating all that. They go on to argue that there is, in fact, a distinctive southern character and that Lee is the perfect embodiment of it. In the course of the discussion they comment on the more important variations of the Lost Cause theme as these have appeared not only in books and periodicals but also in movies, television productions, Billy Graham revivals, country and western music, and the Elvis Presley phenomenon. Northerners

have been most susceptible to the Old South charm, the authors contend, in times of difficulty or defeat such as the Depression decade and the Vietnam years. There is much of interest here, and the book deserves a high place in the Lost Cause literature, to which it properly belongs.

There is just one little reservation to be made in regard to both this book and others of the same genre: they do not always distinguish between rhetoric and reality. They assume but fail to demonstrate the existence of unique and persisting southern traits. For example, Connelly and Bellows endorse "Robert Penn Warren's observation that the southern mind does not grasp abstractions well, but demands a sense of the concrete." Somebody ought to tell them— and Warren, too— that the northern mind also has greater difficulties with the abstract than with the concrete, and so does the human mind. They refer to the presumably characteristic preoccupation of antebellum Southerners with the romanticism of Sir Walter Scott; they do not seem to realize that Scott was equally popular among contemporary Northerners. They say Lee "was a paradox, as are most southerners." Is there not something paradoxical in most Americans, not to mention Europeans, Asians, and Africans? The authors list as one of the "root characteristics" of the "southern mind" a "classical-Christian mentality." Surely classicism and Christianity have had at least as great an influence in the North. They make much of "southern localism," "bonds of time and place," attachment to community and home, but the record of two centuries proves Southerners to have been as ready as Northerners to follow the frontier, and even more willing than Northerners to cross the Mason-Dixon line in search of a new place to live.

In respect to John Esten Cooke, the postwar historian of Virginia, Connelly and Bellows comment: "It was easy for Cooke to describe the praiseworthy habits of his fellow Virginians, to speak of their courtesy, hospitality, and close-knit family traditions. Why these attributes were not shared by other southerners— and all Americans— was more difficult to explain." It is easier to see the mote in another's eye than the beam in one's own.

*University of North Carolina  
at Greensboro*

RICHARD N. CURRENT

*Joseph LeConte, Gentle Prophet of Evolution.* By Lester D. Stephens. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982. xix, 340 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, photographs, sources, index. \$32.50.)

It is hard to imagine a biographical study of Joseph LeConte that could draw upon a greater familiarity of available source material than this book. Among the thirty pages of "sources" listed by Lester Stephens there are four pages of manuscripts alone, *runing* from Cambridge to Berkeley, Albany to Macon. It is safe to say that no one to date has researched the life of this American geologist and naturalist so thoroughly.

Stephens has written a popular biographical narrative of LeConte; he has not chosen to emphasize a synthetic interpretation of LeConte's significance. The author proceeds with a realistic appraisal of LeConte's place in the history of American science: the native Georgian exerted great influence through his writing and teaching, though he is not remembered for his original research.

More than for anything else LeConte was known in America and Europe as a spokesman for the gospel of evolution, albeit a so-called neo-Lamarckian and not at all a strict Darwinian version. Though Stephens explicates LeConte's personal reconciliation of science and religion in detail, concluding that "LeConte must be judged as a constant truth-seeker who loosened the fetters of convention but could not completely free himself from the bonds of traditional belief," the value of his book lies less in his description of LeConte's place besides Asa Gray and other American reconcilers of science and religion of the late nineteenth century than it does in his painstakingly detailed account of LeConte's personal life. Some may question the author's approach as pedantic or even antiquarian, yet the portrait that emerges of life in the South, especially during the Civil War years, and of life in the Far West has a considerable value, particularly where the roles of science and learning in these regions are concerned. One thing is certain; any future treatment of LeConte or of nineteenth-century American science will have to consult Stephens's account.

The details of LeConte's conversion to a theory of evolution in the early 1870s remains, however, shrouded in mystery. The

narrative of the switch in LeConte's view is treated in far too cursory a fashion, leaving the reader bewildered about its cause. Was it simply coincident with LeConte's abandoning of his beloved South to take up a totally new life in California? Stephens never says. His account merely announces LeConte's conversion as if it somehow followed on the heels of a visit of Agassiz in 1872. A less likely prospect is hard to imagine!

The historian of science will find of special interest in the book the treatment of the content and significance of LeConte's study of physiological optics, his defense of the contractional or cooling theory of geological change, and his "biological" opinions on race and the place of woman, only the latter of which subjects has been substantially discussed elsewhere by historians. But one need not be technically trained to read this work. Its popular style recommends it to the widest readership.

*University of Florida*

FREDERICK GREGORY

*Independence and Empire, The New South's Cotton Mill Campaign, 1865-1901.* By Patrick J. Hearden. (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1982. xv, 175 pp. Acknowledgments, preface, illustrations, photographs, bibliography, index. \$18.50.)

Professor Patrick J. Hearden's *Independence and Empire, The New South's Cotton Mill Campaign, 1865-1901* is the most interesting work on the industrial development of the postwar South to come to the attention of the reviewer in a decade. Begun as a study of the interaction between the American textile industry and American foreign policy, Dr. Hearden's research brought him quickly to the conclusion that most northern textile manufacturers were preoccupied with the domestic market, and that they, accordingly, were indifferent to international relations. It was the southern mill owners, he found, who were developing outlets for their coarse cotton fabrics and who influenced the State Department to promote free trade. In the new century southern industrialists and their political allies vigorously supported the Open Door policy because spreading Russian



influence over North China was threatening a substantial trade in southern textiles.

In addition to revealing the unexpectedly large dimensions of the New South's textile trade with China, Dr. Hearden advanced several theses that contradicted accepted historical interpretations. His evidence strongly suggested, for example, that the campaigns by economic and political leaders to promote the industrialization of the South were not motivated by a desire for reconciliation with the North as commonly believed, but rather were fueled by an impulse to carry on the struggle against northern domination by other means. To the people of the North these southern propagandists preached a doctrine of intersectional amity while trying to obtain northern capital for southern industrialization, but to southern audiences they spoke openly of conducting economic warfare against the victors of the Civil War.

Dr. Hearden also questioned the validity of C. Vann Woodward's interpretation of southern postwar politics which emphasized rivalry between urban and rural elements of the population. While admitting that such divisions did indeed exist, he maintained convincingly that farm leaders, as well as merchants and industrialists, strongly favored the building of a southern textile industry which could compete on even terms with the older industry in the North.

In a more conventional fashion, Dr. Hearden described the reactions of northern textile manufacturers to the appearance of southern competition in the 1880s. Many northern firms shifted from the manufacture of coarse cotton textiles to goods of higher quality which the Southerners were not yet producing. Manufacturers who refused to surrender the coarse goods market to the Southerners, sought to preserve their hold on the trade of the western states by obtaining favorable railroad rates, while some of them established mills of their own in the South to take advantage of the cheaper wage structure there. Both classes of northern manufacturers tried to limit the growth of the southern textile industry by promoting the unionization of the southern mills and by lobbying for higher tariffs on imported textile machinery. Northern industrialists also encouraged their southern counterparts to sell their goods abroad, thereby reducing the intensity of the struggle for the domestic market.

Dr. Hearden's explanation for the eventual triumph of the southern textile mills over their northern competitors as being due largely to lower labor costs is not entirely convincing. This was the contemporary opinion of northern mill owners, but it does not give sufficient weight to the factor of obsolescence. Just as mill owners of many countries before and since have tended to fail to reinvest enough of their profits in new machinery to keep pace with advancing technology, Northerners permitted their old mills to become uncompetitive with the newer and more technically advanced mills in the South. Similarly, Dr. Hearden did not investigate the extent to which northern textile firms acquired controlling interests in successful southern mills.

While the ordinary reader would find Dr. Hearden's monograph overly specialized for his taste, all historians concerned either with American economic history or southern postwar history will find it well worth their while.

*Florida State University*

JOHN HEBRON MOORE

*Toward a New South? Studies in Post-Civil War Southern Communities.* Edited by Orville Vernon Burton and Robert C. McMath, Jr. (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1982. xx, 319 pp. Maps and tables, preface, introduction, bibliography, index, contributors. \$29.95.)

The 1970s have witnessed a renewed interest in cross-disciplinary analysis of southern communities. The collection of essays contained in this volume resulted from a 1978 conference at the Newberry Library in Chicago. They address large questions within the small compass of particular cities, towns, and rural neighborhoods, and though not a comprehensive coverage of the New South, they are designed to offer a preview of upcoming studies on postbellum southern communities and to stimulate additional research.

The postbellum commercial character of two declining sea-ports (Charleston and Mobile) and two growing railroad centers (Atlanta and Nashville) is the topic of one essay. Another provides new evidence bearing on the question of continuity in leadership from the old plantation aristocracy to the "movers and

shakers" of the New South. In an essay submitted by one of the volume's editors, the size of a community is considered an important factor in black residential adjustment. He concludes that after Reconstruction, Afro-Americans experienced less freedom in small towns than in either rural districts or cities. And in another essay on a plantation community created by Afro-Americans during slavery, it is suggested that emancipation brought a drastic change in social relations and a significant, permanent increase in black freedom.

Four essays describe the growth of urban black communities within the South and in enclaves of southern black emigres just beyond the Mason-Dixon line. One argues that the heritage of slavery was no obstacle to Afro-Americans' adjustment to freedom. Finally, two essays explore what holds communities together and who holds them in check. Both essays remind the readers that dissenting subcultures within the New South place constraints on the power of the ruling elites and on the workings of a free market economy. One demonstrates through a study of millennialism how economic crises sorely test community cohesion. Another deals with the reciprocal relationship between the mill owner and mill workers. While in a sense all of the essays address questions of social cohesion and social control, this particular essay is different because it is a seemingly simple and isolated episode with layers of meaning. James Gregg, son of William Gregg, founder and moving spirit of Graniteville Manufacturing Company, was shot and killed on April 18, 1878, by Robert McEvoy, a sometime employee of the company and son of one of the company's most loyal employees. The murder and its aftermath briefly revealed Graniteville and the world of the early southern textile mill and mill village in a unique and distinct way. There was a clear message in the events that followed the murder. Paternalism had stark limits. The southern white elite had great power, at least within the South. When threatened, that elite could and would use its power forcefully and effectively. Finally, those events bluntly demonstrated the importance of whites who worked and lived in cotton mills and mill villages and who were caught in the wake of the forces loosed by the Industrial Revolution.

The editors explain that they chose the nineteenth-century South as the subject for two volumes of essays (a companion

volume by the same editors and press deals with antebellum communities). In that century regional distinctiveness and regional conflict reached their peaks, culminating in a self-consciousness approaching nationalism and even the Civil War. While the explanation for the choice of a subject may be open to question, it no less diminishes the handling of the subject. Clearly more research is needed, but doubtless the authors will succeed in whetting others' appetites and in bringing forth a greater number of essays and monographs on the study of nineteenth-century southern communities. Hopefully, additional formats will include selections covering crucial southern hypotheses through comparative community studies.

*University of West Florida*

RAY BENNETT

*An Abandoned Black Settlement on Cumberland Island, Georgia.*

By Mary R. Bullard. (DeLeon Springs, FL, E. O. Painter Printing Co., 1982. viii, 127 pp. List of illustrations, preface, acknowledgments, appendices, bibliography and sources, index. \$11.95.)

In January 1865, as he was marching through South Carolina with his troops, General William T. Sherman issued Special Order No. 15, which set aside the abandoned coastal plantations from Charleston, South Carolina, to Jacksonville, Florida, as a "Reservation" for black freedmen. He directed that blacks living on lands abandoned by Confederate planters be given possessory titles to homesteads up to forty acres in size. And to oversee Sherman's attempt at land reform, the federal government established the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands in March 1865— an agency better known as the Freedmen's Bureau.

The Freedmen's Bureau, however, was a child of the Lincoln administration. When Lincoln died at the hands of an assassin in April, his successor, Andrew Johnson, took a less sanguine view of distributing abandoned lands to freedmen. President Johnson began issuing pardons to former Confederate planters which included "the restoration of all rights of property." And by the fall of 1865, officials of the Freedmen's Bureau were

notifying blacks living within the Sherman Reservation that they no longer had legal titles to their homesteads. Former Confederate planters began reclaiming their properties, and most coastal blacks became landless wage-earners and tenant farmers.

The consequences of this brief federal flirtation with land reform may be viewed in microcosm on Cumberland Island, Georgia. As white owners gradually reclaimed their island properties, most Cumberland freedmen moved off to seek jobs on the Florida and Georgia mainland. Cumberland's black population, which had numbered in the hundreds before the war, dwindled to a few dozen. Only a small group of free blacks remained behind at Brick Hill, a small kin-based settlement located on white-owned property. Brick Hill blacks cultivated small tracts, paying a share of their crops as rent to white landowners. The Brick Hill settlement was finally abandoned in 1890, when a Cumberland landowner offered island blacks the opportunity to purchase tiny house lots at another location. This was the first opportunity Cumberland blacks had had to own land since the ill-fated land reform effort of 1865. The history of the free black settlement at Brick Hill, which existed from 1862 to 1890, is the focus of Mary Bullard's book, *An Abandoned Black Settlement*.

Bullard's book is not only well illustrated with period photographs, woodcuts, and maps, but it is generally well researched, drawing upon such primary sources as census documents, Freedmen's Bureau records, newspapers, travelogues, memoirs, and even a family Bible which contains information on black kinship. Yet, the author may have overlooked a potentially valuable historical source about Cumberland Island blacks. In 1969, archeologists Charles Fairbanks and Robert Ascher excavated a slave cabin ruin on a Cumberland Island plantation, and they published the report in *Historical Archeology* (1971). Data from this archeological report would have greatly enhanced the author's discussion of slave living conditions in the topical chapter, "Aspects of Sea Island Life."

Though the deletion of this slave cabin report is a minor cavil, the disjointed organization of the book is a major flaw. The fascinating story of the Brick Hill settlement is often lost as the topical chapters skip from slavery to demographics to kinship

to land-use with little or no transition. In future editions, the author may wish to add a lengthy introduction, demonstrating the significance of the Brick Hill settlement, and present the valuable information with greater attention to narrative and chronological continuity.

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JOHN S. OTTO

*Black Leaders of the Twentieth Century.* Edited by John Hope Franklin and August Meier. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1982. xi, 372 pp. Introduction, photographs, notes on contributors, index. \$19.95.)

*Black Leaders of the Twentieth Century* is a new volume in the Blacks in the New World series edited by August Meier. This volume analyzes the careers of fifteen nationally known twentieth-century American black leaders. Four of the subjects—T. Thomas Fortune, James Weldon Johnson, A. Philip Randolph, and Mary McLeod Bethune—were either born in Florida or contributed significantly to Florida's history. Each of the fifteen essays concentrates on individual leadership styles, and all but one were written expressly for this anthology.

There is a typical pitfall in collections of this sort, and that is the problem of selection. Franklin and Meier decided to exclude persons still living (making an exception for Mabel Staupers who led the campaign for the integration of black women nurses into the military nurse corps during World War II), leaders of black fraternal organizations, religious cult leaders like Father Devine, ministers whose leadership was largely denominational in nature, and typical machine political leaders like Oscar De Priest. One could easily enough argue that black leaders like William Monroe Trotter, Paul Robeson, or Ralph Bunche, to name but a few, should have been included. I suppose if they had, this single-volume anthology would become a multi-volumed encyclopedia.

Unlike many collections of this sort, however, this one illuminates clearly and in some cases brilliantly the diversity of American black leadership styles. Harlan's essay on Booker T.

Washington and Thornbrough's essay on T. Thomas Fortune illustrate the black style of accommodation. Washington, far more than Fortune, of course, treaded a narrow path between supportive white elitists and ordinary blacks. Washington was raised to prominence by the former, but Harlan makes clear that it was the latter he always sought to lead.

Holt's essay on Ida B. Wells-Barnett and Rudwick's essay on W. E. B. DuBois, on the other hand, show the rigidity of style associated with ideologues, not political pragmatists. Both Wells-Barnett and DuBois attacked racial prejudice frontally and intellectually. Both were essentially propagandists, not political manipulators, and, as a result, they were outspoken critics of Washington's leadership style.

Levine's treatment of Marcus Garvey and Goldman's portrait of Malcolm X examine the style connected to extreme nationalism and serve as a fine counterpoint to the non-violent integrationist philosophy of Martin Luther King depicted by Lewis. Garvey's opinion of the Ku Klux Klan: "They are better friends to my race for telling us what they are and what they mean," and Malcolm's view that all whites were devils reflect the extreme in leadership rhetoric if not in style. And while both wanted to lead black masses, each wound up alone and isolated—Garvey in exile and Malcolm assassinated.

The other subjects treated in this anthology equally prove the point that no one person or style of leadership has worked successfully for black America. Charles Spaulding, Charles Houston, Whitney Young, and Adam Clayton Powell all functioned in diverse ways, in different milieus, and with varying degrees of success. Yet the questions raised by the editors about leadership styles become very relevant for historians interested in black history. Questions of tactics, conflict and cooperation, uses and abuses of power, and the degrees of black advancement promoted by various leadership styles still need to be examined and understood. *Black Leaders in the Twentieth Century* is to be recommended as a good place to begin such an examination.

Daytona Beach Community College

PETER D. KLINGMAN

*Southern Businessmen and Desegregation.* Edited by Elizabeth Jacoway and David R. Colburn. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982. x, 324 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, bibliographical essay, notes on contributors, index. \$27.50.)

The civil rights struggle represented a classic intergroup conflict in which competing groups (whites and blacks) clashed over interests and values. Yet within this simple white-black dichotomy, on which many historians have focused, there is a more complex story. By concentrating on one element in this saga—the southern white business elite—editors Elizabeth Jacoway and David R. Colburn have begun to provide the detail necessary to understand the intricacies of the desegregation movement.

Although each of the fourteen essays in this edited volume deals with an individual southern city, including Tampa and St. Augustine, there is a common interpretive thread running through the collection. In the chapter on St. Augustine, for example, Colburn describes a business community reluctant to oppose extremist and violent segregationist elements until it became apparent that the economic life of the city was being threatened by the continued disturbances. Tampa's story, written by Steven F. Lawson, indicates a business elite supportive of moderation as a way to ensure economic growth and preserve stability. Each of the essays, whether dealing with cities that experienced violence and massive resistance such as Little Rock and Birmingham or those which did not such as Atlanta and Dallas, relates a similar story. The business leaders, although never supporters of the civil rights movement and desirous of maintaining as much of the racial status quo as possible, were moved to accept desegregation primarily by economic interests. Some did so only after violence in their own or other cities convinced them that further resistance would be destructive to their city's image, stability, and economic growth. In a sense, as in Atlanta, sooner or later all of the cities were too busy to hate.

In general this is a valuable collection. The essays are clearly written, and their thesis is one that rings true for anyone familiar with the New South Creed and the desire for economic develop-



ment. Both as a descriptive and analytical volume, carefully detailing the events of the desegregation struggles, it offers much for historians and others trying to assess the urban South's reactions during these momentous years of upheaval. However, there are some areas in which the authors do not probe deeply enough. For example, in his chapter on Tampa, Lawson notes that "social scientists have discovered that the character of controlling elites determined the quality of race relations in troubled southern cities" (p. 258), and goes on to discuss briefly the different responses of elites who based their social standing on family background and those who were either new arrivals or derived their status from new wealth. Having raised this issue, I wish Lawson, as well as other authors in this volume, would have explored this variable fully. Status is only one factor in understanding the character of the elites. Were there any differences in class, educational, or religious background which could have explained the varied reactions? Also lacking is an analysis of the types of companies represented by the business leaders. Was there a different response to racial change from the heads of indigenous companies than from the regional officers of large national corporations in the city? For a collection of essays on the business elite, the reader learns little about the group itself. In a number of essays elite background is mentioned, with an indication of its importance, but never thoroughly investigated.

Another factor which requires more research is the point made repeatedly throughout the volume that business leaders were concerned about creating the right environment for incoming industrialists and thereby accepted racial change. With the exception of James C. Cobb in his chapter on Augusta, Georgia, little is offered on the viewpoints of the new industries and the impact they had on the racial situation. The role of northern manufacturers in accelerating or slowing the pace of desegregation, and the perceptions southern businessmen had of the racial attitudes of the northern industrialists needs further study.

Although the essays could have included more analysis of certain variables, this is still an important compilation, and no one who delves into the complexities of the civil rights movement can afford to overlook it.

*Georgia Institute of Technology*

RONALD H. BAYLOR

*Stepping Off the Pedestal: Academic Women in the South.* Edited by Patricia A. Stringer and Irene Thompson. (New York: Modern Language Association, 1982. ix, 181 pp. Introduction, appendix, notes on contributors, notes, bibliographic essay. \$9.50 paper.)

According to Florence King, whose quote introduces this volume, "Novelists prefer complex women for their protagonists, which is why the Southern woman has been the heroine of so many more novels than her Northern sister" (vii). Historians, apparently less interested in complexity, have generally disregarded southern heroines and thereby deprived their daughters, even those with the fortitude and fortune to enter academia, of role models. The contributors to *Stepping Off the Pedestal* seek to illuminate the historical barriers to women's success in southern academia and to provide role models and strategies to overcome those barriers. In these ventures, the complexity of southern women's experiences is demonstrated and should challenge the feistiest academic women to head South for jobs and for research.

The book is composed of scholarly articles, poems, personal tales, and a comprehensive bibliographic essay. The primary concern is the women's studies movement of the past two decades. The agenda, however, is set by sketches of two turn-of-the-century figures—Sallie Davis, a history professor at East Carolina Teacher's Training School, and Mary Munford, a campaigner for women's equal education in Virginia. The former was an academic and a spinster whose success in the classroom was not replicated in the parlors of Greenville's local matrons. Professor Davis's isolation from academic men and community women contrasts with Mary Munford's community-based and spouse-supported agitation for women's education. Yet they shared rebuffs from powerful gentlemen and unsympathetic ladies and the isolation of anomalous women.

The same problems were confronted by those who promoted women's studies at southern schools in the 1960s and 1970s. Five authors present the plight of women, often from personal experience, who attempted to develop recognition, equity, and networks for academic women at five southern institutions. Even limited success demanded joint efforts by faculty, staff, and

students, external pressure, overwhelming proof of past discriminations, and hardy souls. One article in this section, Margaret Jones Bolsterli's "Teaching Women's Studies at the University of Arkansas," will resonate with women's studies teachers throughout the South. With wit and brevity, Bolsterli describes the limited benefits of southern chivalry and the unlimited difficulties of teaching women's studies, simultaneously, to feminists seeking role models, southern belles seeking reassurance, and men seeking women or a good fight. All five articles insist on the importance of networks and mainstreaming in the face of the South's fiscal and political conservatism.

These concerns are repeated in the final section, "Where We're Going," which is the most personal and the most sensitive to racial issues. White academic women in the South still experience exclusion and placement on a pedestal that "has all too often, upon closer inspection, been revealed as a cage" (ix). For black women, the exclusion is more extensive, and the cage exists without the pretense of a pedestal. The absence of mentors, networks, and sympathetic colleagues and communities noted in this section echo the problems of Professor Davis and Mary Munford. Yet contemporary women scholars, black and white, have experienced moments of contact, coalition, and conquest. This book contributes to those moments, providing readers with mentors and networks that are rarely available on any single southern campus. Judith Stitzel, for example, recreates a passive-aggressive "joking" interchange with male colleagues with such precision that many of us will never feel wholly alone again in similar encounters.

The volume can be criticized for raising far more questions than it resolves and for ignoring in one essay or section the questions raised elsewhere. Yet overall the articles effectively reshape the pedestal into a platform on which more of us can gather to speak, work, and educate in the future.

*University of South Florida*

NANCY A. HEWITT

*Vanishing Georgia*. By Sherry Konter. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1982. xiv, 225 pp. Acknowledgements, introduction, photographs. \$19.95.)

In 1975, the Georgia Department of Archives and History embarked upon what proved to be a landmark photograph preservation project which it entitled "Vanishing Georgia." Its goal was the establishment of a collection of historically significant photographs that would visually re-live and document the Georgia experience. The purpose of the project was two-fold. First, it was designed as a rescue mission for the retrieval of a generally neglected category of historical records from the brink of destruction. At the same time, it was a public relations campaign designed to make people aware of the value of their endangered family photographic heirlooms and of the need to preserve them. For the next eight years, staff of the archives systematically traveled throughout the state prying out this valuable dispersed cache of material from albums, attics, closets, and other sundry places.

*Vanishing Georgia* is a product of that on-going heroic endeavor. It is an extremely handsome volume of approximately 200 finely reproduced photographs selected by Sherry Konter, coordinator of the collection. We can only try to imagine the difficulty Ms. Konter must have experienced during her own monumental task of having to choose so small and yet a representative sample from a collection that had grown to over 18,000 pictures. Though issue may be taken with some of the selections and with the chapter format in which the photographs are arranged, it is to her credit that this book does justice to the chronological and geographical scope of the "Vanishing Georgia" photograph collection. For within these pages are 200 time capsules, taken mostly from the period between the 1890s and the 1930s, in which are captured highlights of the panorama of Georgia life: steamboats carrying passengers and freight on Georgia's rivers; small Georgia towns with their wagons, buggies, bicycles, and horseless carriages; Georgia farmers and laborers planting, picking, milling, shucking, hulling, canning, shelling, milking, and butchering. The book is a kaleidoscopic melding of pictures of individuals and families at work and play throughout Georgia with bright and dark images of covered bridges,

storefronts, dirt streets, chain gangs, railroad engines, whiskey stills, one-room schools, lynchings, and carnivals.

Yet, in another way, as the first fruit of a pioneering project, this book is a Georgia peach that is not quite ripe. It does not adequately provide either a "feel" for the Georgia experience or transmit a sense of the photographs' historical importance. One reason for this deficiency can be traced to the one-page-one-picture "egalitarian" layout which tends to create a mesmerizing effect of visual boredom for the reader. Had the reader's mind and heart been stimulated and guided by an expressive, creative, and artistic layout that varied the photographs' size and arrangement, the photographs would have been better able to hold the reader's interest. As it is, the monotonous routine contributes to a short attention span by quickly merging each photograph into the next until they all either begin to look alike or become an extended mass of blurred and lulling images each of which is stripped of its animation, distinctiveness, attraction, and significance.

Consequently, the pictures have a tendency to come across as little more than just another group of flattened, lifeless, antiquarian curiosities of a by-gone age. With the exception of two grisly lynch scenes, they are mute. They are not given the opportunity to evoke moments of poignancy, inspire nostalgia, dramatize events, stimulate the imagination, stir the emotion, or generate prolonged interest. The reader will find it difficult to be little more than a detached and distant spectator who can look at the pictures, but who is hard-pressed to become a part of them and thus experience them.

The problem with this book, however, goes beyond the mechanics of publication. The conscious emphasis of this volume, as the introduction indicates, is touting the successful on-going operation of the "Vanishing Georgia" project and publicizing the existence of the subsequent photograph collection that is housed in the Georgia Archives in Atlanta. To be sure, there is nothing wrong with proclaiming the success of this ground-breaking project, but, it is not unreasonable to ask why this book is not also the pictorial historiographical essay it should have been. This volume would have been a truer credit to both the accomplishments and the purposes of the "Vanishing Georgia" project if it had argued explicitly and forcefully in its intro-

duction, in the chapter prefaces, and in the individual picture descriptions the case that the camera lens can provide as important an historical record as the written word and that the process of destructive neglect of such records must therefore be reversed. Instead, this volume assumes the documentary content and historical value of the photographs speak for themselves and for the need of their preservation. If such pictures are truly self-expressive, the "Vanishing Georgia" project would not have had to blaze new trails in the first place. There would have been no need to convince people of the importance of saving their photographs. It seems, then, this volume, while extolling the operation of the project, fails to promote properly the purpose for which the project was created. Because of its silence, the volume draws the reader into the very trap of depreciating the historical worth of such pictures from which it and the "Vanishing Georgia" project were designed to help him escape.

*Valdosta State College*

LOUIS SCHMIER

## BOOK NOTES

The introduction to *An Annotated Bibliography of Florida Fiction, 1801-1980* notes that it was not until the nineteenth century that Florida appeared as a setting for fiction writing. Chateaubriand's *Atala*, published in France in 1801, and *The Florida Pirate* by John Howison which appeared in the *Edinburgh Quarterly Review* in 1821, were the first times that Florida as a setting was utilized. The first fiction published in the state was the Reverend Michael Smith's *The Lost Virgin of the South*, printed in Tallahassee in 1831. Every major historical period in Florida history and every geographic area—Pensacola and the Florida Panhandle to the east coast to the Florida Keys to the Gulf coast—have provided background settings for novelists and short story writers. Many of these authors were and are major figures on the American literary scene and include Ernest Hemingway, Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings, Kirk Munroe, Zora Neale Hurston, Eugenia Price, Rex Beach, and Frank G. Slaughter. The Keys, the Everglades, Tarpon Springs, citrus, cattle, the cigar industry, the Spanish colonial period, and the Seminole Indian Wars have all been used by fiction writers. Janette C. Gardner has compiled a bibliography comprising almost 1,100 titles in which Florida provides a setting. Plays and poetry are not included in the bibliography, but virtually every other type of fiction is represented: dime novels, juveniles, detective and mystery novels, adventure, romances, science, and serious fiction. Each entry includes author or authors name, book title, publisher, place of publication and date, number of pages, presence of illustrations, and a brief description of the book. When authors' names are not known, books are entered by titles only. Pseudonyms and anonymous titles have been cross-referenced. There is a chronological index, title index, and a subject and locale index also. Mrs. Gardner has written the introduction, and James A. Servies of the University of West Florida the preface. *Annotated Biography of Florida Fiction* was published by Little Bayou Press, 148 Central Avenue, St. Petersburg, Florida 33701. It sells for \$25.00, with discounts available to multi-copy orders.

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*A Key West Companion* by Christopher Cox is neither the traditional guide nor travel book. It provides a description of Key West, a brief history, and a collection of delightful sketches describing people, streets, churches, historic houses, public buildings, the city cemetery, hotels, gardens, and eating places. All of this is intermingled with folklore, legends, and islander reminiscences and observations. Ernest Hemingway, Sloppy Joe's Bar, hurricanes, the Casa Mariana Hotel, John James Audubon and the Audubon House, cigar making, Key Lime pie, Conchs, and cock fighting are only a few of the subjects covered in this volume. Mr. Cox has provided both the text and the photographs for *A Key West Companion*. It was published by St. Martin's Press, New York, and sells for \$17.95.

Michele and Tom Grimm are writers and cartographers who spent two months traveling in their motorhome throughout Florida visiting the attractions—Walt Disney World, Miami Beach, the Everglades—and many of the out-of-way and less publicized, but equally beautiful places in the state. These included archeological sites, St. Augustine, Tarpon Springs, Gulf and Atlantic coast beaches, Fernandina, the Suwanee River, Tallahassee, and the Florida Panhandle. Their conversations with the people they encountered—crackers and tourists—are reflected in the narrative for *Florida*, volume 59 in This Beautiful World series. The highlight of this little book, which could serve as a travel guide, are the color photographs. Published by Kodansha International/USA, New York, New York, it sells for \$4.95.

*Melbourne Beach, The First 100 Years* was compiled by Frank J. Thomas. Nineteen townspeople have written articles and poems describing the historical development of Melbourne Beach from its establishment by Major Cyrus E. Graves, a Union Infantry officer, in the 1880s to the present. The community chapel, Women's Club, Old Dixie Inn, the volunteer fire department, and the Old Town Hall are the subject of individual sketches. There are also accounts of Melbourne Beach in 1920, during the Boom period, the Depression era, the 1930s and 1940s, World War II, the 1950s, and in recent years. Mr. Thomas has written an introduction. Photographs are included. This



centennial volume sells for \$18.00, and it may be ordered from Mr. Thomas, Box 4, Melbourne Beach, FL 32951.

*An Early History of Hamilton County, Florida* was compiled by Cora Hinton as a publication project of the Action 76 Hamilton County Bicentennial Committee. First published in 1976, errors have been corrected and additional information is included in this second edition. As the prologue to the book explains, Hamilton County is the "ground of the diligent farmer, the common man, the backbone of the country." Local citizens provided the information on government, health facilities, churches, cemeteries, the post office, roads, schools, agriculture, and civic clubs and organizations which was then organized by a history committee. Included also is the history of Jasper, Jennings, White Springs, and several early settlements which have now disappeared. There is biographical information on pioneer settlers and photographs, many from old family albums. Order from Mrs. Hinton, Route 4, Box 139, Jasper, FL 32052. The book sells for \$7.00; add \$1.15 for postage and handling.

*Holmes Valley*, by E. W. Carswell, is the revised edition of a monograph that was published fourteen years ago. Settlers began developing the fertile and forested Holmes Valley in the Florida Panhandle in the early 1800s. John Lee Williams explored and mapped the area shortly after Florida became an American territory. Williams described Holmes valley as he saw it lying east of the Choctawahatchee River. Carswell notes in his introduction to *Holmes Valley* the need to stimulate historical awareness of the whole area, and particular concern is needed to ensure the preservation of the Moss Hill United Methodist Church. This building, which has been in continuous use since its erection in 1857, has recently been added to the National Register for Historic Sites. *Holmes Valley* develops the history of the church and examines the role which it has played in the area. An appendix provides membership lists for Moss Hill Methodist Church and also for Holmes Valley Baptist Church (later Ebenezer Baptist Church) dating back to the 1880s and 1890s. *Holmes Valley* sells for \$5.00, and may be ordered from Mr. Carswell, 418 South 4th Street, Chipley, FL 32428.

*Reef Lights, Seaswept Lighthouses of the Florida Keys*, by Love Dean, was published by the Historic Key West Preservation Board. Captain Dean lives in the Florida Keys and has often sailed past the six lighthouses whose history she has so carefully researched and presented here. She has also taken advantage of their direction. The first keys lighthouse, Carysfort Reef, was constructed in 1852. The following year, Sand Key Lighthouse was built; then Sombrero Key Lighthouse in 1858, Alligator Reef Lighthouse, 1873, Fowey Rocks Lighthouse, 1878, and American Shoal Lighthouse in 1880. At night and in storms these lighthouses provide direction for those who are moving their vessels through an area that has always been hazardous. The Reef Lights continue to guide ships, and as Captain Dean notes, they are even "more effective than in past years when they were manned." The Fresnel Lens is no longer used to magnify the lights. Sand Key Lighthouse, for instance, utilizes solar panels for charging the batteries. The "flicks" or flashes can now be seen from sea some nineteen miles away. Captain Dean has used National Archives records and available published sources to provide a fascinating historical account of South Florida and Florida Keys' history. Order *Reef Lights* from the Historic Key West Preservation Board, Monroe County Courthouse, Key West, FL 33040. The price is \$9.95, with \$1.50 added for postage and handling.

*On the Beat and Offbeat* is a collection of "personality" sketches by Nixon Smiley, one of Florida's best known newspaper men. Until he took early retirement, Smiley worked as a news reporter for *The Miami Herald*. He wrote about millionaires, land developers, naturalists, artists, and scientists who have played major roles in twentieth-century Florida. Some of these stories are included in this volume. But Mr. Smiley has also always been interested in the "offbeat" people, and sketches of these colorful, eccentric, but always interesting personalities also appear in this collection. It was published by Banyan Books, Inc., Miami. The price is \$7.95.

Arthur N. Sollee, Sr. has lived in Jacksonville since 1904. He graduated from the University of Florida in 1922, and after working for several private engineering firms was appointed

assistant county engineer for Duval County in 1931 and county engineer in 1939. He later became executive director for the Jacksonville Expressway Authority (the Jacksonville Transportation Authority). *The Engineer Speaks, Memoirs Covering Five Decades Of Highway Problems in Duval County* is more than just his autobiography. It is also the history of the road and transportation development in Duval County beginning with the Depression era of the 1930s following the enactment of the Federal Emergency Relief Act, the Civil Works Administration, and the Works Progress Administration programs. Mr. Sollee's book describes the development of Beach Boulevard, local bridges, the roads at the beaches, downtown and residential streets, and farm-to-market roads. He also discusses the financing of road construction, and includes information on many of the local citizens who were involved in the development of roads and bridges. Topographic maps, pictures, and statistical data add to the value of this book. There are also two foldout maps of Duval County, one dated March 1884, and the other December 1931. *The Engineer Speaks* was privately printed. For information write the author, 10135 Scott Mill Road, Jacksonville, FL 32217.

*One Man, One Mule, One Shovel*, by Ormund Powers, is the history of the Hubbard Construction Company of Orlando, its founder, Francis Evans Hubbard, and the people who lead the organization today. Hubbard is one of Florida's largest road-building construction firms, and the Hubbard family has played an influential role in Orlando, Orange County, and throughout the state for more than half a century. Francis Evans Hubbard and his partner, Joe McKown, came to Florida from South Carolina in the 1920s just as Florida was beginning its great real estate boom. They had a contract to clear and grade streets at Orange Home just west of Leesburg. When McKown returned to South Carolina, Hubbard went into business with James H. Craggs and began working in Alachua County. The growth of the company and its subsidiaries has been continuous ever since. After Evans Hubbard's death in 1954, leadership passed to his son, Frank M. Hubbard. It now is made up of four large corporations which the Hubbard family control, and which include land, citrus groves, mining, and television. The

Hubbards are known also for their philanthropy in the Orange County area. *One Man, One Mule, One Shovel* was published by Anna Publishing, Inc., Winter Park, FL 32793. It sells for \$20.00; \$10.00, paperback.

*Lies That Came True*, by Eileen Bernard, is a history of Cape Coral, one of the many communities that developed as the state expanded rapidly in the 1950s and 1960s. Leonard and Jack Rosen of Baltimore were the major forces behind the creation of Cape Coral, but there were others who also saw the possibilities of building a whole new city on the Florida Gulf coast. It started with the purchases of 12,000 acres of land at \$16.50 an acre in the area around the Caloosahatchee River. Some of this property had earlier been a game preserve for Charles F. Miles of Alka-Seltzer fame and Ogden Phipps. Ms. Bernard's book describes the development of Cape Coral and the rise and fall of the Rosens and their associates—Kenneth Schwartz, Connie Mack, Jr., Robert Finkernagel, Paul Sanborn, and Milton Mendelsohn. The "tall tales and hard sales" associated with Cape Coral and Gulf American are included in *Lies That Came True*. They provide an interesting insight into recent Florida history. Published by Anna Publishing, Inc., it sells for \$9.95. Add \$1.00 for postage and handling.

*American Indian Archival Material: A Guide to Holdings in the Southeast* was compiled by Ronald Chepesiuk and Arnold Shankman and published by Greenwood Press, West Port, CT. The data was gathered from questionnaires sent to southern universities, state archives, colleges, public libraries, museums, and government agencies. The survey covered eleven southeastern states: Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, and West Virginia. It was found that while much research and writing has been done in the last decade on the Lumbees, Creeks, Seminoles, Cherokees, Chickasaws, and Choctaws, much more scholarly work is needed. Research depends on the availability of primary source data. This volume lists the manuscript holdings on American Indians at Emory, University of Virginia, Duke, Vanderbilt, University of Georgia, Tulane, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, University of South

Carolina, and the University of Florida. There are also manuscripts, newspaper clippings, and photographs in state archives in South Carolina, Georgia, North Carolina, Florida, and Tennessee. Much of this material has never been surveyed, and Professors Chepesiuk and Shankman found that some libraries were not always sure of their own holdings. One of largest oral history collections, consisting of approximately 800 interviews with southeastern Indians, is available at the University of Florida Oral History Archives. Most of this material has been transcribed. There are smaller collections of tapes in South Carolina and Kentucky. Most of the material dealing with southeastern Indians is located in the South, but the southern depositories also contain material dealing with other Indian groups. A number of university and public and private libraries outside the South include data pertinent to the southeastern Indians. The book is divided by state, and under each state heading, communities are listed alphabetically. With each institution or library there is an address, telephone number, and information on access hours, conditions of use of material, and availability of copying facilities. There is also a brief description of the holdings. *American Indian Archival Material* sells for \$39.95.

*A Selected Bibliography of Scholarly Literature on Colonial Louisiana and New France*, by Glenn R. Conrad and Carl A. Brasseaux, was published by the Center for Louisiana Studies, University of Southwestern Louisiana. It lists manuscripts, typescripts, books, articles, theses and dissertations, and monographs on microfilm or microcard. Because of the geographic proximity and political relationship of Louisiana and Florida, there are many items in the collections which relate to this state. In the Louisiana Colonial Records Collection of the Center for Louisiana Studies, for instance, there is a whole section labelled "British West Florida Materials." It includes administrative correspondence pertaining to local administration, Indian affairs, and diplomatic relations with Spanish Louisiana. The Montforte Brown correspondence relating to the New Orleans Rebellion of 1768 is in the PRO materials. A subject index is included. The volume sells for \$6.95. Order from the Center for Louisiana Studies, Box 40831, Lafayette, LA 70504.

*Slave Life in America, A Historiography and Selected Bibliography* was compiled by James S. Olson. He provides an introductory chapter on the history of slavery in the United States and another which examines the philosophy and attitudes of historians who have written about American slavery. These include Albert B. Hart, Ulrich B. Phillips, W. E. B. DuBois, Carter Woodson, George W. Williams, E. Franklin Frazier, Gunnar Myrdal, Melville J. Herskovits, Kenneth Stampp, Herbert Aptheker, Stanley B. Elkins, George P. Rawick, Eugene Genovese, Robert W. Fogel, Stanley L. Engerman, Peter H. Wood, Herbert Goodman, and Leon F. Litwack. This collection lists slave narratives, travel accounts, white reports and memoirs, and published material dealing with the background and institutions of slavery and the world of the slaves. Many Florida items are noted, including articles published in the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. The volume in paper sells for \$8.75. It was published by University Press of America, Lanham, MD.

*Savannah's Old Jewish Community Cemeteries*, by B. H. Levy, provides a valuable resource not only on the history of the Jewish community of Savannah, but also Georgia and the South. Jewish settlement began in Savannah in 1733, and this year marks its 250th anniversary. Mr. Levy's book also provides information on the early Jewish settlement in Charleston since many families had connections in both communities. He has carefully examined available primary documents to provide the history of that parcel of land granted by General James Oglethorpe in 1733 to the settlers to be used as a cemetery. He also provides important biographical and genealogical information about the eighteenth-century Savannah Jews, particularly the Sheftal family. Mr. Levy correctly notes that there were both Sephardic and Ashkenazik Jews living in Savannah from the beginning. There is a selected bibliography and an index. Published by Mercer University Press, the volume sells for \$10.95.

*90° in the Shade*, by Clarence Cason, was first published in 1935 by the University of North Carolina Press. The University of Alabama Press has republished this book with an introduction by Wayne Flynt of Auburn University. Clarence Cason, a native

of Alabama and a graduate of the University of Alabama, worked on several southern and northern newspapers and taught at the University of Wisconsin, before returning to become professor of journalism at the University of Alabama. His major literary work is *90° in the Shade*, and in it he breaks new ground as a southern critic. He raised questions about local attitudes toward racial matters at a time when white supremacy was an unchallenged concept in the South. His tone is neither negative nor very analytical. Jonathan Daniels, who reviewed *90° in the Shade*, complimented Cason as a writer who could “see beauty and hate evil on the same street in the same South where both do in truth exist.” Professor Flynt discusses Cason’s writing and describes the contemporary reaction to this book. The paperback edition of *90° in the Shade* sells for \$11.75.

## HISTORY NEWS

### *De Soto Route Conference*

At the call of Governor Bob Graham, and under the joint sponsorship of the Division of Recreation and Parks and the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences, University of Florida, a conference was held in Gainesville on May 18, 1983, for the purpose of defining the general route of march of the Hernando de Soto expedition through Florida in 1539-1540. It is the intention of Recreation and Parks to mark the De Soto Trail, where it can be established, with appropriate signs and exhibits. The Division was represented at the conference by its director, Ney Landrum. Chairman was Dr. Michael V. Gannon, professor of history and assistant dean of the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences.

While there was divergence among the conference participants on De Soto's landing site and on the first traces of his penetration of the interior, a consensus was reached on the northern half of the expedition's line of march, from a point near Ocala along a northwesterly path to a site east of Tallahassee, and, finally, after winter encampment, to the Georgia state line north of the capital city. The conferees agreed that De Soto's army followed a route that probably fell within a corridor that would include the general districts of today's Ocala (on the west side), McIntosh, Gainesville (again on the west side), Alachua, High Springs, Hildreth, Luraville, Madison, Monticello (on the south side), and a point east of Tallahassee. For marking purposes the De Soto Trail roughly paralleled U.S. Highway 441 from Ocala to Alachua; U.S. Highway 27 from Alachua to State Road 53 west of Luraville; State Road 53 north to Madisan; U.S. Highway 90 to Monticello and to the winter encampment site east of Tallahassee; and U.S. Highway 319 north from Tallahassee to the Georgia state line.

Arguments were presented favoring two different landing sites: Tampa Bay and Charlotte Harbor (including the estuary of the Caloosahatchee River). Neither set of arguments pre-

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vailed, however, and the conferees resolved to seek funds for further study of De Soto era documents that might shed further light on the much-controverted landing site and first line of march. In the meantime, the conferees agreed that a credible first step in memorializing the De Soto Trail would be to mark the highways that follow generally the route from Ocala north on which there was scholarly consensus.

Not since 1939, the 400th anniversary of the Florida landing, has there been a commission or committee appointed to study to De Soto route, although in the interim there have been many articles and one book that have examined the question. In 1939 the United States De Soto Expedition Commission, established by the Congress, published a *Final Report* on the route (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1939). It is now generally agreed by scholars that the *Report* was largely the individual work of the Commission chairman, the noted anthropologist, John R. Swanton. A facsimile edition of the *Report*, with a new introduction by Jeffrey P. Brain, one of the Gainesville conference participants, will be published by the Smithsonian Institution in 1984.

The conference participants at the University of Florida included: Dr. Jeffrey P. Brain, Peabody Museum, Harvard University; Dr. Amy Bushnell, Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board; Dr. David Colburn, chairman, Department of History, University of Florida; Dr. Kathleen Deagan, Florida State Museum, University of Florida; Dr. Charles H. Fairbanks, Department of Anthropology, University of Florida; Dr. José B. Fernández, Department of History, University of Central Florida; Dr. Michael V. Gannon, Department of History, University of Florida (chairman) ; William M. Goza, Gainesville and Madison; Dr. Charles M. Hudson, Department of Anthropology, University of Georgia; Louis D. Tesar, Division of Archives, History and Records Management, Tallahassee; Guy Lachine, National Park Service, De Soto Memorial Park, Bradenton; Ney Landrum, director, Division of Recreation and Parks, Tallahassee; Dr. Lyle McAlister, Department of History, University of Florida; Dr. Jerald T. Milanich, Department of Anthropology, University of Florida; Dr. Samuel Proctor, director, Center for Florida Studies,

University of Florida; Marvin Smith, Department of Anthropology, University of Florida; and Dr. J. Leitch Wright, Department of History, Florida State University.

*Florida Historical Records Survey*

The Florida State Historical Records Advisory Board to the National Historic Records and Publication Commission (NHPRC), in conjunction with the Florida State Archives and the Bureau of Records and Information Management, Division of Archives, History and Records Management, has received a \$25,000 grant to conduct a statewide historic records needs assessment survey. The purpose is to analyze and describe current historic records conditions, identify problems, frame potential solutions, and outline courses of action that can be taken. The survey will examine historical records activities in state and local government records archives and in historical record repositories. It will also examine conservation services, microfilm programs, education and training, regional records centers/archives, archival and records management, advisory and assistance services, and program coordination. A questionnaire will be mailed in February 1984 to selected state and local governmental agencies, libraries, historical records repositories, local historical and genealogical organizations, and a sampling of actual and potential archival users. Results of the questionnaire will be evaluated by the project staff and a consultant after additional input from various local chapters of the Association of Records Management Administrators and the Society of Florida Archivists. The results will then be presented to the general public in a series of regional public meetings tentatively scheduled for May through July 1984 in Pensacola, Tallahassee, Gainesville, Orlando, Tampa/St. Petersburg, and Fort Lauderdale. A final report will be presented and distributed in December 1984. The Florida State Archives staff is developing a file of resource persons to assist in data gathering and interpretations, meeting, planning, and project publicity. Persons interested in participating in this project, or who want information on the NHPRC granting programs, should contact Edward Tribble, Florida State Archives, Department of State, Tallahassee, FL 32301 (904) 487-2073.

*Announcements and Activities*

The tenth annual Gulf Coast History and Humanities conference will be held April 20-24, 1984, at the University of West Florida, Pensacola. The history of literature, drama, music, architecture, arts, and artifacts on the Gulf coast and the business and industrial history of the Gulf coast region are among the themes for papers that the chairmen are suggesting. Proposals for presentation should be 500-word abstracts sent to Professor Ronald Evans, Faculty of English-Foreign Languages, or to Professor William S. Coker, Faculty of History, University of West Florida.

The Second Maritime Heritage conference will be held March 24, 1984, at the Christian Church Conference Center in Silver Springs, Florida. The topic "The Steamship Era in Florida" will focus on the role that steam-powered vessels have played in the growth of Florida from approximately 1830 to 1920. The conference is being supported by the Florida Endowment for the Humanities, Steamship Historical Society of America, and the Florida Sea Grant College. For information write to Dr. Barbara Purdy, conference chair, Department of Anthropology, 375B GPA, University of Florida, Gainesville, FL 32611.

The Florida State Genealogical Society will hold a conference in Lakeland, November 11-12, 1983. Speakers will include Edward J. Tribble of the Florida State Archives who will describe the holdings of the Florida Archives. Ms. Beverly Bird, newly-appointed genealogy/research librarian in the Florida State Library, Tallahassee, will talk on "How the State Library Can Help You." For information write: Florida State Genealogical Society, P.O. Box 10249, Tallahassee, FL 32202.

The Pensacola Historical Society opened its fall program series with a talk by Congressman Robert Sikes on September 19. Mr. Sikes, who is completing his memoirs to be entitled, *He-Coon*, spoke on the political campaigns that he has participated in.

The Florida Aviation Historical Society is interested in

publishing photographs of historical markers, plaques, signs, or stones relating to Florida airports or the history of aviation in Florida. Pictures and historical information should be sent to G. P. Emerson, Box 127, Indian Rocks Beach, FL 33535.

The Southern Association of Women Historians announces two prizes for publications and solicits contributions to an endowment to support these awards. Each prize will be given every two years and will consist of \$500 and a plaque. The Julia Cherry Spruill Publication Prize in Southern Women's History will be for the best published work (book or article) on the history of southern women. The Willie Lee Rose Publication Prize in Southern Women's History will be for the best book in southern history authored by a woman. The committee seeks to raise a \$10,000 endowment, and this committee has as its chairperson Judith F. Gentry, Department of History, University of Southwestern Louisiana, Lafayette, LA 70504. Ann Firor Scott is chairperson of the Julia Cherry Spruill Prize Fund Committee, and Carol Bleser chairs the Willie Lee Rose Prize Fund Committee. Contributors may specify to which fund they are contributing, and contributions are tax exempt.

A six-volume selected edition of the correspondence of Albert Gallatin (1761-1849) is being compiled by Barbara Oberg, Baruch College-CUNY. This project is being sponsored by the National Historical Publications and Records Commission and for the University of Pennsylvania Press. Ms. Oberg is interested in receiving information regarding the location of all correspondence and papers not already included on the microfilm *The Papers of Albert Gallatin (1970)*. Write Box 348A, 17 Lexington Avenue, New York, NY 10010.

ANNUAL MEETING  
EIGHTY-FIRST MEETING  
PROCEEDINGS OF THE EIGHTY-FIRST  
MEETING OF THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
AND  
FLORIDA HISTORICAL CONFEDERATION WORKSHOP  
1983

PROGRAM

Thursday, May 5

FLORIDA HISTORICAL CONFEDERATION

Registration: Holiday Inn Surfside, Daytona Beach, Florida

Morning Sessions

*Projecting Your Image*

J. Earle Bowden, Pensacola Historical Society

*Projecting Your Image to the Media*

Hampton Dunn, Tampa

John Evans, Daytona Beach

Afternoon Sessions

*Projecting Your Image Through Festival*

Sue Lafaro, Halifax Historical Society

Robert M. Hall, Historic Florida Militia

Ormond H. Loomis, White Springs

Barbara Hodgens, Key West Art and Historical Society

*Projecting Your Image Through Video*

Jack Roberts, St. Lucie County School System

FLORIDA HISTORICAL CONFEDERATION

Business Meeting

Evening Sessions

FLORIDA HISTORICAL CONFEDERATION

Executive Committee Meeting

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FLORIDA HISTORICAL CONFEDERATION  
Reception

FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
MEETING OF THE BOARD  
Friday, May 6

FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY: REGISTRATION

FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY SESSIONS  
Session I: *Colonial Times*

Chair: William S. Coker, University of West Florida

*The Spanish Mutineers*  
Eugene Lyon, Vero Beach

*Spanish Sanctuary: Fugitives in Florida, 1784-1790*  
Jane Landers, University of Florida

Comment: J. Leitch Wright, Jr., Florida State University

Session II: *Territorial and Early Statehood Days*  
Chair: Thomas S. Graham, Flagler College

*Black Knights in the Florida Swamps*  
Virginia Bergman Peters, Falls Church, Virginia

*The Wreckers*  
Love Dean, Islamorada

Comment: George E. Buker, Jacksonville University

Evening Program

FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY BANQUET

Presiding: Olive D. Peterson, president  
Florida Historical Society

*The Florida Historical Society:  
Individually and Collectively*

William M. Goza  
Past president, Florida Historical Society

Presentation of Awards  
Florida History Fair Awards  
Presented by Lucius Ellsworth

Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Award in Florida History  
Presented by Samuel Proctor to Larry E. Rivers

Rembert W. Patrick Book Prize  
Presented by Peter D. Klingman to James R. McGovern

Charlton W. Tebeau Junior Book Prize  
Presented by Charlton W. Tebeau to Mrs. Dorothy Francis

American Association for State and Local History Awards  
Presented by Linda V. Ellsworth to John and Bessie DuBois

Saturday, May 7  
Morning Session

Session III: *The Twentieth Century*  
Chair: Arva Moore Parks, Coral Gables

*The Ashley Gang*

Ada Coates Williams, Indian River Community College

*Death and (Self) Destruction: Homicide and  
Suicide in Dade County, 1925-26 and 1980*

William Wilbanks, Florida International University  
and

Paul S. George, Miami

Comment: Robert P. Ingalls, *University of South Florida*

FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING

FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
MINUTES OF THE BOARD MEETING

May 5, 1983

Mrs. Olive Peterson, president of the Florida Historical Society, called the annual meeting of the board of directors to order at 7:00 p.m., May 5, 1983, at the Holiday Inn-Surfside, Daytona Beach, Florida. Present were William R. Adams, Samuel J. Boldrick, Paul Eugen Camp, Jane Dysart, Linda V. Ellsworth, Lucius F. Ellsworth, Ernest W. Hall, Daniel T. Hobby, Peter D. Klingman, Sperry Lee, Eugene Lyon, John K. Mahon, Gerald W. McSwiggan, L. Ross Morrell, Randy Nimmicht, Samuel Proctor, Jerrell H. Shofner, Bettye D. Smith, and Glenn Westfall. Also attending were George E. Buker, chair of the nominating com-

mittee, Thomas Greenhaw, editor of the Society's *Newsletter*, Patsy West, representing the Florida Historical Confederation, Paul George, Milton Jones, William Goza, and Douglas S. Drown, president of Continental Heritage Press, Inc. Kendrick T. Ford, Hampton Dunn, and Marcia Kanner were absent.

The following changes in the minutes of the December board meeting were noted: Bettye D. Smith was present at the meeting, and Mildred Fryman's name should be added as a member of the program committee. With these amendments noted, the minutes of the December 4, 1982, directors' meeting in Tampa, as published in the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, LXI (April 1983), 510-14, were approved.

Paul E. Camp, executive secretary, presented the financial report for the fiscal year ending December 31, 1982. The Society's total assets are listed as \$86,998.41, an increase of \$8,534.96 since December 31, 1981. Total income for fiscal year 1982 was \$29,380.26, including \$18,450.10, memberships; \$1,356.61, sales receipts; \$1,283.64, interest income; \$7,199.35, dividend income; \$1,000 from the Wentworth Foundation; \$65.56, miscellaneous; and a \$25.00 transfer. Expenses included the printing, mailing, and other publication costs for the *Florida Historical Quarterly* and the operating costs of the Society's executive office. Mr. Camp called attention to the continued increase in the Society's assets owing primarily to the income from the E. F. Hutton account. In response to questions about the special funds, Mr. Camp replied that those funds cannot be transferred until individual accounts are established. Income from those special funds is now being segregated into the special accounts and into individual money market accounts. In response to a request from Dr. Proctor, a motion that income derived from the sale of Volume II of the *Quarterly Index* be redeposited in the Julien Yonge Publication Fund was unanimously approved.

William Goza noted that the failures of not always identifying the Father Jerome Memorial Acquisitions Fund by its full title was resulting in a loss of identity for the original purpose of the fund (the purchase of books for the Society's library). Mrs. Peterson requested that Mr. Camp purchase books with income from the fund. The board unanimously approved the report of the executive secretary.



Paul Camp then presented the membership report, noting a loss of members, but adding that conversion from individual to family memberships made that loss appear larger than it actually was. There was a significant decline in library memberships during the past fiscal year. Forty libraries, most of them academic, have cancelled membership owing to a reduction of acquisition funds. The membership report of the executive secretary was unanimously approved.

Samuel Proctor, editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, reported that he was the recipient of a large number of articles this past year which is in marked contrast to fewer submissions in previous years. He noted his deep concern over the poor quality of many of these articles, both in the manner of research and in writing. Dr. Proctor reported an increase in the number of books on a variety of Florida topics, and urged that all Florida items be submitted to the *Quarterly* for review. He expressed his appreciation to the University of Florida for its continuing support of the *Quarterly*.

Dr. Proctor announced that the Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Prize for 1982-1983 would be awarded to Dr. Larry Rivers of Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University for his article, " 'Dignity and Importance': Slavery in Jefferson County, Florida-1827 to 1860," published in the April 1983 issue of the *Quarterly*. The Rembert W. Patrick Memorial Prize would be awarded to Dr. James R. McGovern, University of West Florida, for *Anatomy of a Lynching: The Killing of Claude Neal*; and the Charlton W. Tebeau Junior Book Award will be given to Dorothy Francis for *Captain Morgana Mason*. These literary awards will be presented to the recipients at the banquet.

On behalf of the board, President Peterson thanked Dr. Proctor for his excellent work in publishing the *Florida Historical Quarterly*.

Dr. Thomas Greenhaw, editor of the *Florida History Newsletter*, announced that more news items were being submitted for publication than in previous years. He requests information on historical activities in the southwest Florida area, and Ernest Hall promised to send him this data.

Patsy West, chairperson of the Florida Historical Confederation, reported that the group will conduct both a mailing, and

a telephone survey of the local historical societies' membership. Terri S. Horrow is in charge of the project. The Confederation is also preparing criteria for awards to be given to individuals and groups for outstanding contributions to the cause of Florida history. Ms. West announced that Patricia Wickman of the Museum of Florida History, Tallahassee, had been elected to serve as chairperson of the Confederation for 1983-1984. Lucius Ellsworth moved that the directors commend Ms. West and the Confederation program committee for presenting such an outstanding workshop program. The board unanimously endorsed the motion.

Mrs. Peterson reported for the membership committee chaired by O. C. Peterson. A Society membership party will be held in the fall in St. Lucie County, and in the meantime, the membership committee is striving to secure new members. She commended Gerald McSwiggan for the many members he has secured from the Miami area, and she urged all local societies to conduct membership drives on behalf of the Florida Historical Society.

Dr. Paul S. George, chair of the publicity committee, reported that he had contacted by letter twenty-five newspaper editors with information about the Society's annual meeting. Dr. William Adams had announced the meeting to editors and television stations throughout northeast Florida. President Peterson announced that Julie Enders from Fort Pierce will take photographs throughout the meeting and will write news stories about this year's meeting. Ms. Enders will serve as chair of the publicity committee for 1983-1984.

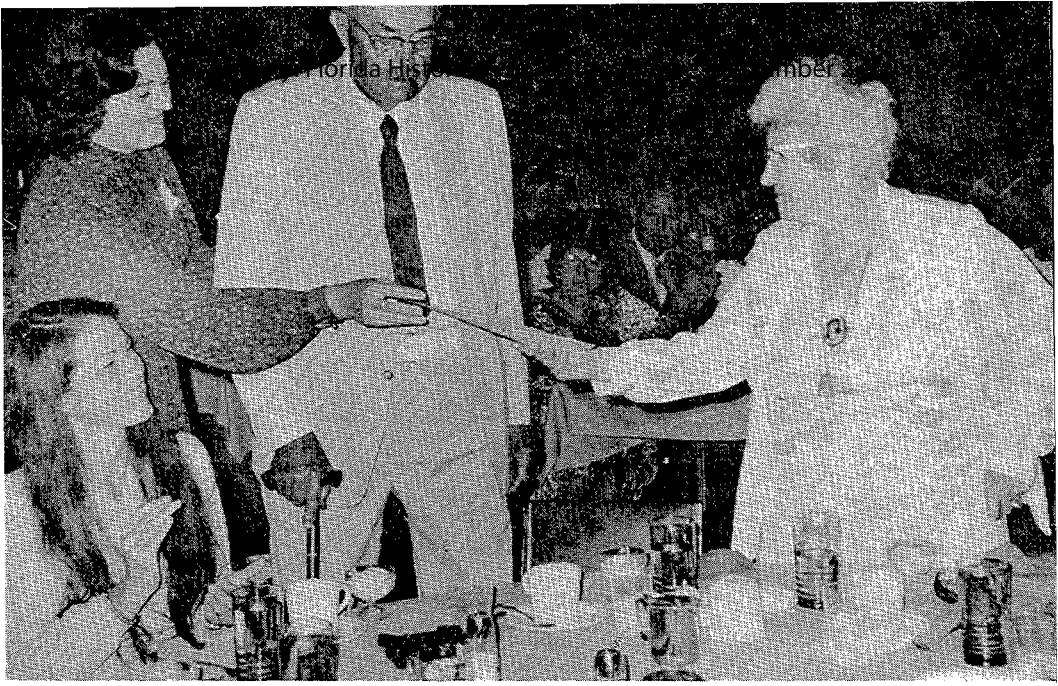
Dr. Lucius Ellsworth, chairman of the junior history committee, announced that Dr. Jane Dysart had agreed to chair the committee for the coming year. A grant for the 1982-1983 history fairs had been received from the National History Day Program, but no funds will be provided by the Program for 1983-1984. History fair programs were held in four additional counties this year: Seminole, Leon, Okaloosa, and Santa Rosa. There were no fairs held in Alachua or Broward counties as previously announced. Projects from Seminole, Leon, Okaloosa, Santa Rosa, Escambia, St. Lucie, Volusia, and Orange counties will be judged tomorrow, and the winners announced at the banquet. The grand

prize winner will attend the National History Day Competition at the University of Maryland in June. Judges for the state fair will be Dr. Thelma Peters, William Goza, Gerald McSwiggan, and Dr. Glenn Westfall. The committee recommended that the board authorize ten area history fans for 1983-1984 and approve \$2,500 to support their activities. The motion was approved. Dr. Dysart noted that although Society funds will be available for only ten fairs, other counties are urged to organize fairs and participate in next year's state fair at the annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society. The 1983-1984 theme will be "Family and Community in History."

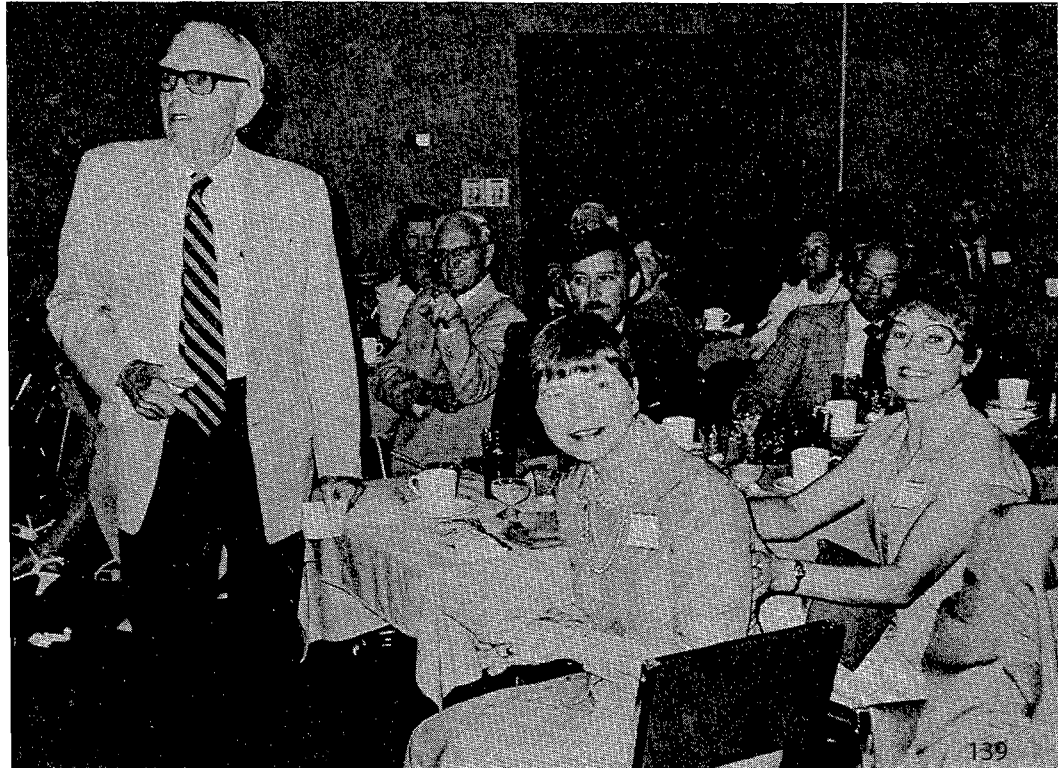
Dr. Peter Klingman reported on progress of the Society's participation in Governor Bob Graham's PRIDE program. In response to Dr. Klingman's request, members of the Society contributed questions for the Florida history examination which was given to the student winners from each region of the state. The Florida winner was a student from Orange County. The State Department of Education was pleased with the Society's cooperation and help, and invited participation in the program again next year. Dr. Klingman also announced that the Department of Education was interested in the Society developing a list of curriculum materials available on Florida history topics. Guidance is sought from social studies teachers about the kinds of material needed. Dr. Klingman requested Society members to write Ralph Turlington, state commissioner, asking that the State Department of Education pay for duplicating expenses incurred in the publication of the curriculum materials guide. President Peterson read a letter from Commissioner Turlington which commended the Society and Dr. Klingman for the contribution to promoting excellence in the public schools. Dr. Klingman received the boards thanks for his work on this project.

Milton Jones, chairman of the finance committee, gave a report noting that the Society's accounts are in the process of being converted to interest-bearing accounts.

Dr. Lucius Ellsworth reported on behalf of the future of the society committee, and recommended the acceptance of the proposal from the University of South Florida. That institution will provide the half-time services of a faculty member for a



Linda Ellsworth presenting Certificate of Commendation to Mr. and Mrs. DuBois.



Dr. Charlton W. Tebeau introducing Mrs. Dorothy Francis, winner of the Tebeau Book Award (Pictures were taken by Julie Enders Fort Pierce.)



twelve-month term to serve as executive director of the Society. The selection will be made jointly by the university and the Society. The university will continue to provide space in the library for the Society's library holdings, and for a limited period of time will support the accounts clerk who has been performing duties for the Society. The university expects the Society to support all operating costs, including telephone, postage, travel, duplicating, etc. The university also expects the Society to assume full cost of the accounts clerk within a three-year period. The Society will make every effort to fund or help fund the actual cost of the half-time faculty member as executive director when possible. The arrangement as outlined will continue for three years when the status and future course of the arrangement will be reevaluated. Several questions concerning the proposal were raised. Dr. Ellsworth responded that the University of South Florida would not continue the status quo. The Society, he noted, will not lose control over the Florida Historical Society library. Fund-raising will be a major responsibility for the person selected as executive director. President Brown was aware of the verbal agreement made more than twenty years ago which committed the University of South Florida to full support of an accounts clerk, but he is not willing for the university to continue that support beyond a three-year period. Dr. Adams pointed out the Society's need to develop specific goals for the future are especially important as we move to secure the services of an executive director. The motion that the board authorize the implementation of the proposal at a time mutually acceptable to Dr. Brown and Mrs. Peterson passed. Mrs. Peterson asked Dr. Ellsworth to continue as chairman of the future of the society committee.

Ernest Hall announced that arrangements for the Society's 1984 meeting in Fort Myers are being made. The date of the meeting will also be announced shortly.

The board agreed to hold the mid-winter directors' meeting in January so as to avoid conflicts with the football season and the holidays.

Milton Jones, chairman of the committee appointed to discuss with Continental Heritage Press the proposal to publish a Florida history series, announced that his committee was pre-

pared to endorse the proposal as outlined in the contract agreement reached between the Society's representatives and the president of Continental Heritage Press. The president will appoint a committee to oversee the project. President Peterson has requested that Dr. Proctor and Dr. Jerrell Shofner act as consultants to the project. The agreement will be contingent upon the Continental Heritage Press representatives reaching a satisfactory financial arrangement with Proctor and Shofner. Douglas Drown, president of Continental Heritage Press, answered questions from the directors. He explained that whenever possible, the publisher will contract with local authors and photographers to produce the books. The volumes will focus on the economic history of Florida, and the suggested themes will deal with transportation; professional services such as medicine, law and accounting; natural resources; finance; agriculture; merchandising, etc. The Society will be able to terminate the contract without prejudice at any time which will give the Society effective veto power over the project. Mr. Goza expressed confidence in the abilities of Dr. Proctor and Dr. Shofner to oversee the project. A motion was unanimously approved giving the committee composed of Mr. Jones, Mr. Goza, Dr. Proctor, and Dr. Shofner authority to negotiate a final contract with Continental Heritage Press which will be binding on the Society.

Dr. George E. Buker, chair of the nominating committee, presented the slate of officers to be recommended to the Society membership at its May 7 business meeting. Recommended new directors include: Richard Brooke, Jr. of Jacksonville and Dr. Daniel Schafer, Jacksonville, to represent District 1; Alva Jones of Clearwater for District 2; May Linehan of Lantana for District 4; and Dr. George Pearce, Pensacola, director-at-large. The report of the nominating committee was approved.

Several members requested that the board be provided in the future with the financial and statistical reports and the nominating committee report prior to the meeting of the board of directors. President Peterson instructed the executive secretary to prepare those reports and to mail them to the directors at least a week before board meetings.

President Peterson announced her committee appointments for 1983-1984. The nominating committee includes Kendrick

Ford, chairman, William Adams, Gerald McSwiggan, and Chris LaRoche. The program committee will consist of Linda Ellsworth as chair, Dr. J. Leitch Wright, Marcia Kanner, Wright Langley, and Kyle VanLandingham. Mrs. Peterson also announced the establishment of an ad hoc historic preservation committee by the Florida Division of Archives, History, and Records Management which will have the authority to allocate a \$400,000 appropriation for preservation projects. Bettye D. Smith will represent the Florida Historical Society on this committee. The publicity committee will be headed by Julie Enders of Fort Pierce. The Board authorized that Ms. Enders be authorized a postage account not to exceed \$100 and tickets to the Society banquet on Friday night and the Strawberry Festival on Saturday afternoon.

Dr. Ellsworth called for a resolution endorsing legislation which would provide \$8,500,000 state appropriation over a four-year period to establish a museum to be operated in the Old City Hall in Pensacola. It will be managed by the Historic Pensacola Preservation Board and will include the T. T. Wentworth, Jr., Collection. The directors endorsed Dr. Ellsworth's request.

Dr. Eugene Lyons requested that the Society adopt a resolution urging Congressman Bill Nelson to support such measures as may be necessary to preserve, restore, and maintain the umbilical tower at the Kennedy Space Center from which Apollo II was launched. The board approved the adoption of a resolution, and requested that President Peterson inform Congressman Nelson of the Society's support for the project.

Dr. Proctor reported that four Audubon Prints willed to the Society by the writer Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings in the 1950s were being transferred from the library at Stetson University to the Society's library at the University of South Florida. A discussion among board members ensued focusing on the feasibility of acquiring insurance to cover the Audubon prints as well as other property belonging to the Society. An inventory of the Society's holdings is needed along with an acquisitions policy.

The board approved a motion waiving the registration fee for those attending the junior history fair at the Society's annual meeting.

The meeting was adjourned at 10:15 p.m.



*Minutes of the Business Meeting*

May 7, 1983

Olive Peterson, president, called the annual business meeting of the Florida Historical Society to order on Saturday, May 7, 1983, at 11:50 a.m., at the Holiday Inn-Surfside, Daytona Beach, Florida.

The members approved the minutes of the May 8, 1982, annual business meeting as published in the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, LXI (October 1982), 223-41.

Paul E. Camp, executive secretary, reported on the Society's financial status. Income for the fiscal year amounted to \$29,380.26; expenditures, \$20,845.30. This represented a net income gain of \$8,534.93 income over expenses.

Mr. Camp noted that the Society had a net loss of two members over the previous year, but conversion from individual to family memberships made the loss appear larger in statistics. Mrs. Peterson reminded the executive secretary to send out announcements to those who needed to renew their memberships.

Dr. Samuel Proctor presented a report on the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. He requested that Society members check to ascertain if the public libraries in their counties were taking the *Quarterly* and reminded them of the importance of the *Quarterly* in making young people aware of Florida history. He reported that professional historians were submitting articles to the *Quarterly*, but encouraged lay historians and students to submit articles for consideration also. Authors of books were also asked to submit hardbound copies of their publications for review in the *Quarterly*, with information on price and how to order. Dr. Proctor concluded his report on the *Quarterly* by thanking the editorial board, consisting of Dr. Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., Dr. Michael V. Gannon, Dr. John K. Mahon, Dr. Jerrell H. Shofner, Dr. Charlton W. Tebeau, and Dr. J. Leitch Wright, Jr.; his editorial assistant, Earl R. Hendry; the staff of the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida; and Joan Morris, Florida Photographic Archives, Tallahassee. He also expressed appreciation to the University of Florida for its financial support, to the Florida State Museum for office space, and to Richard Johnston, E. O. Painter Printing Company, for his cooperation and help. Dr. Proctor announced the literary awards

presented at the Society banquet, May 6, 1983: the Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Prize was awarded to Dr. Larry Rivers, Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University, for his article " 'Dignity and Importance': Slavery in Jefferson County Florida, 1827 to 1860," published in the April 1983 issue of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. The award committee consisted of Dr. William Warren Rogers, Florida State University; Dr. Harry Kersey, Florida Atlantic University; and Dr. James R. McGovern, University of West Florida. The Rembert W. Patrick Memorial Book Award went to Dr. James R. McGovern for his book, *Anatomy of a Lynching: The Killing of Claude Neal*, published by Louisiana State University Press. Judges were Dr. Lucius Ellsworth, University of West Florida; Dr. William R. Adams, Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board, and Dr. George Pozzetta, University of Florida. The Charlton W. Tebeau Junior Book Award was presented to Dorothy Francis for *Captain Morgana Mason*, published by Lodestar Books. Judges were Patricia Wickman, Museum of Florida History, Tallahassee; Patricia Griffin, St. Augustine; and Rodney Dillon, Fort Lauderdale Historical Society. Dr. Proctor announced that the Wentworth Foundation, Inc., had presented its annual check of \$1,000 to the Florida Historical Society for support of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. Dr. Proctor expressed the appreciation of the officers and members of the Society to William M. Goza for making these generous gifts possible.

Dr. J. Leitch Wright, Jr., presented the report of the nominating committee, which also included Dr. George E. Buker and Dr. William S. Coker. The committee recommended the following slate of candidates for directors: District I, Richard Brooke, Jr., Jacksonville, and Dr. Daniel Schafer, Jacksonville; District II, Alva Jones, Clearwater; District IV, Mary Linehan, Lantana; and at-large George F. Pearce, Pensacola. There were no nominations from the floor, and the slate was approved unanimously.

President Peterson commended Patsy West, chair for the Florida Historical Confederation, for an excellent workshop program presented by the Confederation on Thursday, May 5, 1983. She introduced Patricia Wickman as the new Confederation chair. Ms. Wickman then announced the members of the Confederation Executive Committee: Robert C. Cottrell, Patricia

Barlett, Terri S. Horrow, Dr. Donald Curl, Sandra Johnson, John W. Griffin, Patsy West, and Lucille Rights. The executive committee will present awards to historical agencies and to individuals who have been instrumental in promoting various aspects of Florida history. All members of the Confederation are eligible to submit nominations for the awards. Ms. Wickman announced that a survey will be conducted, by mail and telephone, to identify the Confederation's constituency.

Mrs. Peterson thanked the local arrangements committee, the nominating committee, the program committee, the junior history committee, all who participated in the program, and all who attended the annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society.

In the absence of Mr. Goza, chair of the resolutions committee, Dr. Proctor presented the following resolutions which were unanimously approved by the membership:

BE IT RESOLVED, by the Florida Historical Society, in annual meeting assembled as follows:

That the Society extend its appreciation to the sponsoring host-organizations: Daytona Beach Chamber of Commerce, Daytona Beach Community College, Embry-Riddle Aeronautical University and Halifax Historical Society.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That thanks are extended to the program committee: Eugene Lyon, William R. Adams, Paul George, Amy Bushnell, and Mildred Fryman for arranging such an interesting and varied program, presented by such well-qualified participants.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That special notice and commendation be given to Lucius F. Ellsworth, chair of the junior history committee for the past two years, upon the conclusion of his term in that capacity, and for presenting another outstanding Florida History Fair program.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That the Florida Historical Society expresses its sorrow and sense of loss in the death of the following members during the past year:

Arthur H. Park, Orlando, Florida, seventeen years

Mary E. Plumb, Clearwater, Florida, eight years

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That the Society endorses legislation providing an appropriation to establish a state museum operated by the Historic Pensacola Preservation Board to house the T. T. Wentworth, Jr. Collection in the old city hall at Pensacola.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That the Society urges that such measures as may be necessary be taken to preserve, restore, and maintain the historic umbilical tower from which Apollo II was launched.

Mrs. Peterson announced appointments to the following committees: publicity, Julie Enders, chair, Dr. William Adams, and Dr. Paul George; ad hoc historic preservation committee established by the Florida Division of Archives, History and Records Management, Bettye D. Smith; and hospitality, Lucille Rights. The program committee for the 1984 meeting will be Linda Ellsworth, chair, Dr. J. Leitch Wright, Wright Langley, Kyle Van Landingham, and Marcia Kanner. The nominating committee for 1983-1984 includes Kendrick Ford, chair, Dr. William Adams, Gerald McSwiggan, and Chris LaRoche. Jane Dysart will replace Lucius Ellsworth as chairman of the junior history committee.

The president announced that next year's meeting would be held at Fort Myers.

Dr. Proctor reported that four Audubon prints willed to the Society by the Florida author Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings, which have been on loan to Stetson University, are being transferred to the Florida Historical Society Library at the University of South Florida.

President Peterson adjourned the meeting at 12:35 p.m.

Respectfully submitted,  
JANE DYSART  
Recording Secretary

FLORIDA HISTORICAL CONFEDERATION  
Executive Committee Meeting  
May 5, 1983

The meeting was called to order at 5:05 p.m. by the chairman, Patsy West. Present were Barbara Hodgens, Sandra Johnson,

Lucille Rights, Patti Bartlett, Pat Wickman, Terri Horrow, and Linda Williams. Thomas Greenhaw, editor of the *Florida History Newsletter*, Dr. Lucius Ellsworth, liaison to the Florida Historical Society Board, Paul Camp, executive secretary of the Florida Historical Society, and Melanie Barr were also present.

Terri Horrow read the minutes from the December 1982 meeting which were approved.

It was reported that the planned survey of all historical societies in Florida had not yet started. John Griffin will write the survey questions with help from Pat Wickman. A fact sheet about the Confederation will be mailed to societies prior to phone calls. Ms. Wickman will write that fact sheet, which will be sent to the committee members by November 1. Ms. West circulated lists of current Florida Historical Confederation members, which number seventy-nine, and lists of all known historical societies in the state.

Ms. West did a partial survey of those attending the workshop and will compile that information. She has also established a file of exhibitors and suppliers for future reference.

An Achievement Awards Committee, consisting of Linda Ellsworth, James Moody, and Dr. Samuel Proctor, has been appointed to judge achievement award nominations. Sandra Johnson and Linda Williams will write the guidelines and forms for this program.

Ms. West announced that Mr. Griffin had made a brief presentation to the Florida Folklore Society meeting. General discussion followed the committee's concerns about the Florida Historical Confederation's ability to serve its members. It is hoped that the survey will help furnish added information on this matter. Dr. Lucius Ellsworth noted that the Florida Historical Society had organized the Confederation to serve the local societies and to help train their staff and volunteers.

The following officers for the Confederation were elected: chairman, Pat Wickman; vice-chairman, Patti Bartlett; and secretary, Terri Horrow. The meeting was then adjourned.

Respectfully submitted,  
Linda K. Williams  
Recording Secretary

General Membership Meeting

May 5, 1983

The meeting was called to order at 4:05 p.m. at the Holiday Inn Surfside, Daytona Beach, by Patsy West, chairman. The executive committee members present were Patsy West, Nancy Dobson, Norm Gillespie, Barbara Hodgens, Sandra Johnson, Lucille Rights, Linda K. Williams, and Thomas Greenhaw, editor of the *Florida History Newsletter*.

Ms. West reported a balance of \$1,200 in the treasury. The following executive committee nominations were presented and voted into office: District 1, Patricia R. Wickman; District 2, Robert C. Cottrell; and District 3, Teresa Horrow and Dr. Donald Curl.

Ms. West noted that the Confederation committees need feedback on programs and activities to ensure the continuance of the organization. A handout listing past workshops and programs was presented. Suggestions and ideas for future programs were requested. Nancy Dobson suggested that more time be allowed for questions and discussion during programs.

The executive committee will be conducting a telephone survey in order to learn about the makeup of the Confederation's membership.

An Achievement Awards Committee has been appointed, with awards to be presented for the first time in 1984. Committee members are James Moody, Linda Ellsworth, and Dr. Samuel Proctor.

Pat Wickman announced that the Florida State Archives will be conducting a needs assessment survey in the coming year to determine the locations of records and needs concerning archives and manuscripts. Secretary of State Firestone has launched a program to return the East Florida Papers from the Library of Congress to the Florida State Archives. Ms. Wickman asked Confederation members to voice their opinion on this matter to their congressional representatives. The Florida Museums Association will hold its next meeting September 9-10 at Heritage Park, Largo. Confederation members are urged to attend.

Carla Kemp, newly-elected president of the Society of Florida Archivists, thanked the Confederation for providing meeting

time on the program for the SFA. Interested persons and organizations are invited to contact her in order to be placed on the mailing list.

The meeting was adjourned at 4:25 p.m.

Respectfully submitted,  
Rebecca A. Smith

### GIFTS TO THE SOCIETY

The Wentworth Foundation, Inc., presented a check of \$1,000 to help support the activities of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. A donation was also made to the Father Jerome Book Fund by Mrs. Bessie DuBois. Books were received from Allen Morris, Lewis B. Ruhrbach, the American Association for State and Local History, Florida State Committee on Hispanic Affairs, Southwest Water Management District, and the University of South Florida Library Associates.

### NEW MEMBERS

For the year 1982

- Abraham, Marie D., Gulfport
- Ammidown, Margot, Miami
- Artman, George, Punta Gorda
- Baird, James L., Lehigh Acres
- Baucom, Ruth Kaune, Fort Myers
- Beck, Sallie M., Sarasota
- Beville, Mrs. H. G., Bushnell
- Blanchard, Jay L., Orlando
- \*\*Blanton, Betsy and Wayne, Miami
- \*\*Boscia, Frank and Ida, Miami
- \*\*Cannon, Rex S. and Jean E., St. Petersburg
- Cassidy, Daniel G., Jacksonville
- Chandler, Andrew E., Orlando
- \*\*Chapman, Richard H. and Mary Ann, Miami
- Chisner, Sharon, Hollywood
- Clark, Ralph Ransom, Havana
- Cody, Robert S., Kissimmee
- Connor, Alice S., Seminole
- Cooksey, Byron T., Vero Beach
- Crary II, Rick, Stuart
- Crider, Robert F., Eight Mile, AL
- Denham, James M., Orlando
- \*Dezward, Steven C., Maitland
- Dillon, Jr., Rodney E., North Palm Beach
- Ekblaw, Joyce Anne, Sarasota
- \*\*Enders, Julie and Alex, Fort Pierce
- \*\*Essenburg, Myra and Hedin, Miami
- Eyster, Irving R., Islamorada
- \*\*Falk, Glenn R. and Cheryl B., Miami

- \*Faucett, Anne Caroline, Gainesville  
 Fernandez, Albert K., San Francisco, CA  
 Fernandez, Jack E., Tampa  
 Filiberto, John F., Fort Lauderdale  
 Fisher, Robert C., Tampa  
 Flores, Gratia Banta, Tampa
- \*\*Flynn III, Mr. and Mrs. Charles W., Miami  
 Gabel, F. W., Sarasota  
 Ginzl, David J., Jacksonville
- \*\*Griffiths, J. Michael and Madeline M., Miami  
 Grossman, Martha L., Miami  
 Hall, Jr., William, Phoenix, AZ  
 Hardie, Jr., George B., Miami  
 Hatch, Donald J., Annondale, VA  
 Hawes, Jr., Leland M., Tampa  
 Heckler, J., Frank W., Pittsburg, PA  
 Helms, Frank C., Homosassa Springs  
 Hendry, Mrs. J. E., Miami  
 Holcomb, Jr., Edgar D., Stuart
- \*\*Hoodwin, Herb and Mary Ellen, Miami
- \*\*Hudson, Robert F. and Edith, Coral Gables  
 Hunter, Joyce R., Davenport  
 Iley, Myrtle, Webster  
 Jarvis, Eric, London, Ontario, Canada  
 Johnston, Daniel H., Spring Hill  
 Jones, Rosemary, Fort Lauderdale  
 Kaufman, Bob, Miami  
 Keller, Berenice R., Fort Myers  
 Kindt, Roy John, Jupiter  
 Kleinberg, Howard, Miami  
 Lach, Steven M., New Port Richey  
 Lepp, Michael, Miami  
 Lewandowski, Diana J., Miami Springs  
 Livesey, David W., New Port Richey
- \*\*Lorion, Joette and Michael, Miami  
 Lowell, Pam, Miami  
 Lynfield, H. Geoffrey, Boca Raton  
 McDougal, C. B., Dunedin  
 McGuire, Helena, Coral Gables  
 McSwiggan, Marilyn, Coral Gables  
 Maher, Jane M., Riverside, CN  
 Marchetti, Pete J., Largo  
 Marotti, Frank, Miami  
 Mendez, Jesus, Miami  
 Millard, Mary A., Miami
- \*Miller, A. Scott, Pensacola  
 Minnerly, Elizabeth M., Orlando  
 Mohl, Raymond A., Boca Raton  
 Montes, Sofia, Coral Gables  
 Mulanax, Richard B., USAF Academy, CO  
 Myers, Lillian G., Miami  
 Neal, Patrick K., Bradenton  
 Nelson, Norma A., New Port Richey  
 Nesenholtz, Richard B., Orlando
- \*Notsche, Caroline M., Miami
- \*\*Nodal, Mr. and Mrs. Benjamin, Miami  
 Nott, Franklin B., Apalachicola  
 O'Neal, James E., Gainesville  
 O'Neill, Eugene J., Vero Beach  
 Oppen, Gary, Miami



- \*\*Paigo, Mr. and Mrs. Anthony J., Pembroke Pines  
 Paule, Don, Florissant, MO  
 Peddle, Ronald J., Largo  
 Perkins, Wayne L., Cantonment  
 Pickel, Kathy, Vero Beach
- \*\*Pierce, L. Staples and Jeanne L., Miami  
 Pike, Richard S., Vero Beach
- \*Poole, Edwin L., Boynton Beach  
 Rauch, Gary W., Longwood  
 Reilly, Patrick D., St. Leo  
 Rhodes, Alice, North Miami  
 Richard, Susan, Orlando  
 Riley, Colleen, Miami  
 Robbins, Lester E., Dallas, Texas  
 Robson, Alfred H., North Palm Beach  
 Rogers, Patrick, Miami
- \*\*Rothman, Leonard and Wilma, Miami Beach  
 Schroeder, Ralph, St. Augustine  
 Schumacher, David, Lake Worth  
 Scott, Grace L., Fort Myers  
 \*Shedden, David B., Tampa  
 Shorter, Christopher, Orlando
- \*\*Simons, Mr. and Mrs. J. Paul, Miami  
 \*Singer, Daniel Benjamin, North Miami Beach  
 Sleppe, Ed, Miami  
 Smith, Gregory A., Blackburg, PA  
 Smith, John A., Mt. Dora  
 Smith, Joseph S., Sanford  
 \*Stanton, Susan, St. Augustine  
 Stein, Leslie, Miami  
 Stemmermann, Robert H., Sarasota  
 Stephens, Laura S., Gulf Breeze
- \*\*Stone, William K. and Karen L., Gainesville  
 Strumwasser, Alfred, North Miami Beach  
 Taylor, Eugene L., Inverness  
 Taylor, Robert, Fort Myers  
 Thompson, W. W., Arlington, VA  
 Thornton, Ray C., St. Petersburg  
 Toemmes, Jerry J., Coral Gables  
 Tolles, Mrs. F. W., Keystone Heights
- \*\*Travieso, Mr. and Mrs. Julio A., Miami  
 Treadwell, Eleanor A., Lake Worth  
 Walters, Johnny, Temple Terrace
- \*\*Warner, Joe and Elizabeth, Bradenton  
 Watson, Judge, Lakeland  
 Weavil, John M., Port Orange  
 Wharton, Barry R., Tampa  
 Wheeler, Elizabeth Anne, Pensacola  
 White, Wava J., West Palm Beach
- \*\*Whitty, Ronald and Patricia A., Plantation  
 Willbur, Jr., David G., Fort Pierce
- \*\*Williams, Mr. and Mrs., Miami  
 Wilson, Charters, Studio City, CA  
 Wooton, Jr., Melvin E., Lakeland  
 Wright, Allen K., Leesburg  
 Wright, Mrs. Freddie, Bartow
- \*\*Yelen, David and Frances F., Coral Gables  
 Zelenka, Jr., Louis G., Jacksonville

Libraries:

Chipola Junior College Library, Marianna  
Collier County Public Library, Marco Island  
Davie/Cooper City Branch Library, Davie  
Gainesville High School  
Jenkins Middle School Library, Palatka  
Largo Library  
Middle Georgia College Cochran, GA  
Palatka Public Library  
Ribault Senior High School, Jacksonville  
Ridge Vo-Tech Center Media Center, Winter Haven  
South Regional Library, Hollywood  
Suncoast Middle School, North Fort Myers

Historical Societies:

Marion County Historical Society, Ocala

\*Student Membership

\*\*Family Membership

TREASURER'S REPORT  
January 1, 1982-December 31, 1982

Net Worth, December 31, 1982 .....		\$86,998.41
<i>Current Assets:</i>		
University State Bank (Tampa, FHS checking) .....	\$ 4,641.56	
University State Bank (Florida Historical Confederation checking).....	1,285.53	
University of South Florida .....	-666.95	
First Federal Savings & Loan Assn. (Gainesville) .....	1,089.19	
Fortune Federal Savings & Loan (Thompson Fund, Gainesville) .....	3,979.69	
Glendale Federal Savings & Loan, Tampa (formerly Tampa Federal Savings & Loan) .....	4,839.38	
Fortune Federal Savings & Loan Yonge Publication Fund, (Gainesville) .....	363.44	
University State Bank (Tampa) .....	2,645.49	
Freedom Federal Savings & Loan (Tampa) .....	10,951.08	
E. F. Hutton .....	57,744.00	
Middle South Utilities (6 shares).....	126.00	
Total Assets .....		\$86,998.41
<i>Receipts:</i>		
<i>Memberships:</i>		
Annual .....	\$10,302.10	
Family .....	980.00	
Contribution .....	800.00	
Library .....	5,308.00	
Historical Societies .....	795.00	
Student .....	180.00	
Florida Historical Confederation (Annual) .....	85.00	\$18,450.10
<i>Contributions:</i>		
Wentworth Foundation, Inc.....	\$ 1,000.00	
Miscellaneous .....	65.56	
Transfer.....	25.00	\$ 1,090.56
<i>Other Receipts:</i>		
Quarterly Sales .....	\$ 316.84	
Index .....	59.92	
Duplicating.....	164.45	
Labels .....	110.00	
Photographs .....	35.40	
Microfilm.....	670.00	\$ 1,356.61
<i>Interest Income:</i>		
First Federal .....	\$ 58.28	
Fortune Federal .....	\$ 212.96	
Glendale Federal .....	258.96	
Fortune Federal .....	19.42	
University State Bank.....	148.02	
Freedom Federal .....	586.00	\$ 1,283.64
<i>Dividends Income:</i>		
E. F. Hutton .....	\$ 7,192.00	
Middle South Utilities.....	7.35	\$ 7,199.35
Total Receipts.....		\$29,380.26

*Disbursements:*

*Florida Historical Quarterly*

Printing and Mailing.....	\$12,853.18	
Mailer Labels and Envelopes .....	726.64	
Post Office Box Rental.....	26.00	
Editor .....	1,000.00	
University of Florida Teaching Re- sources Center (photographs).....	83.95	\$14,689.77

*Annual Meeting:*

Expenses.....	\$ 294.60	
Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Prize.....	150.00	
Rembert W. Patrick Memorial Prize .....	150.00	\$ 594.60

*Other Expenses:*

<i>Florida Historical Society Newsletter</i> \$	815.29	
Postage .....	1,442.88	
Telephone .....	44.13	
Duplicating, printing, and labels .....	1,229.32	
Educational Resources .....	43.75	
Microfilm .....	388.50	
Supplies .....	443.10	
Travel .....	726.00	
Insurance .....	166.00	
C.P.A. (preparing income tax) .....	75.00	
Transfer .....	150.00	
Miscellaneous .....	36.96	\$ 5,560.93

Total Disbursements ..... \$20,845.30

Net Income ..... \$ 8,534.96

Balance, December 31, 1982 ..... \$86,998.41

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

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		
March 24	Second Maritime Heritage Conference	Silver Springs, FL
April 20-21	Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference	Pensacola, FL
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, 1962  
THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, incorporated, 1905

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SAMUEL PROCTOR, *editor, The Quarterly*

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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.

