

THE STORY OF FLORIDA'S MIGRANT FARM WORKERS

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THE VACATION-BOUND tourist en route to South Florida often follows highway A1A past the glittering motels, mile on mile, that dot the beaches of Florida's Gold Coast, or chooses perhaps to drive along the flowing curves of the Sunshine State Parkway farther inland. There is a third route south to Miami, however, that is quite dissimilar from the better known pair; it is a highway of many repairs that is used principally by far less affluent travelers. The motorist who bumps along U. S. 441 sees limitless flat vistas of fertile ebony soil stretching out to the horizon, striped with unwavering thick bars of rich green: beans, cabbage, celery, or potatoes for the nation's tables. Occasionally stretches of barbed wire enclose herds of Brahma cattle, and here and there are patches of incongruity in the prosperous panorama - hundreds of yards of highway frontage where filthy hovels nestle among ragweed and waste paper. Though these dilapidated shacks resemble inferior chicken coops more than anything else, none shelter livestock; the farmers of Florida are too progressive to allow cattle or poultry to be kept in such surroundings. No, these hovels are the winter residences of human beings. Winter homes only, because the unfortunates who live in them, along with their more fortunate co-workers who occupy more decent housing around Lake Okeechobee, are as vital in the summer to the economies of states farther north as they are in the winter to the economy of Florida. They are agricultural migrants, members of a ragged army of part-time Floridians that for the better part of the twentieth century have been toiling north with the sun every spring, filling the harvest needs of growers whose produce would rot and be plowed under without the migrants' labor.

The Florida-based migrant stream, unlike those in other parts of the nation, is made up almost entirely of Negroes, and has been organized since the beginning into crews headed by crew leaders or labor contractors. The migrants in the stream furnish only a small percentage of the total man-days of farm labor needed on the Atlantic coast, but that portion comes at the

most crucial period in agriculture, the harvest. This operation eclipses in importance all that goes before, because it determines the extent of profit or loss;¹ and so great are harvest labor requirements that this labor must necessarily come from the migrant stream. "For large-scale production you couldn't harvest without them," flatly states A. M. Larrimore of Florida's Farm Placement Service.²

How did this important group come to be an integral part of Florida's agriculture? To find the answer we must go back before the turn of the twentieth century, to New Jersey in the 1890's, where seasonal harvest labor began to be used heavily for the first time on the Atlantic coast. Unskilled Italian immigrants from Philadelphia, with a few Poles from Baltimore, supplied the needed manpower. Some Negroes from Virginia, Maryland, and North Carolina also began moving into states farther north about this time to augment their low income with harvest earnings,³ and more and more they came to be the predominant element in the stream. After World War I, many farming areas on the eastern seaboard began to outgrow the local supply of labor, tapping the large supply of unskilled Negro labor in Southern cities as a consequence. This situation was particularly characteristic of the region around Norfolk, where labor was so cheap and plentiful that some have credited its presence with furnishing the chief impetus for the growth of large-scale truck farming on the fertile Virginia lowlands.⁴ The Farm Placement Service gives 1921 as the date when the Atlantic coast migration assumed a definite pattern; in the early 1920's the migration began in late spring in the Carolinas and concluded in New York or New England the following fall.⁵

1. "Migratory Labor on the Eastern Seaboard," *Labor Market and Employment Security*, May, 1953, 8; U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, *Hearings on Migratory Labor*, 82nd Cong., 2nd Sess., 1952, Pt. 2, p. 970; R. L. Mighell, *American Agriculture: Its Structure and Place in the Economy* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1950), 148. The Senate hearings mentioned above will be cited hereafter as *Migratory Labor Hearings*.
2. Interview with A. M. Larrimore, Assistant Chief of Farm Placement, Florida Farm Placement Service, June 18, 1959.
3. Harry Schwartz, *Seasonal Farm Labor in the United States* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1945), 39-40, 46-47.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 37, 38; S. E. Greene, *The Education of Migrant Children* (Washington: National Council of Agricultural Life and Labor, 1954), 26.
5. H. R. Padgett, "Florida's Migratory Worker," *Rural Sociology*, XVIII (September, 1953), 268; U. S. Department of Labor, Farm Place-

Even then it was recognized that Florida would be the logical place to begin the itinerary, allowing the migrants to obtain more work by starting earlier in the year. But the stubborn South Florida soil refused to yield adequate crops until after 1928, when the Everglades Experiment Station discovered that the addition of copper sulphate would permit bumper crops to be raised from the sticky black soil. From the very beginning, however, only the large-scale entrepreneur could afford the capital outlay for irrigation, drainage, and specialized equipment. Accordingly, the Belle Glade-Pahokee region quickly became characterized by huge landholdings, rich yields of specialized crops, and thousands of migrant workers.⁶ About the same time, Virginia and Maryland agriculture shifted from a labor supply to a labor demand situation, creating a peak demand in early spring when the Florida harvest was ending. With the Florida workers thus drawn northward, the Atlantic stream assumed substantially its present form.⁷ But it was not simply the opening of the Everglades that caused the great expansion of the migrant stream in the 1920's. The American people began to demand more and more fruits and vegetables in their diet after transportation and refrigeration were perfected sufficiently to supply them; these crops were those which the Atlantic seaboard, and Florida in particular, could supply.⁸

But where were the many additional migrant laborers to come from? The spread of the Dust Bowl and the boll weevil,

ment Service, *Labor Recruitment for Agriculture: The Farm Placement Service, 1949-1951* (Washington: Department of Labor, 1952), 4; Schwartz, *op. cit.*, 48.

6. Louis Persh, "An Analysis of the Agricultural Migratory Movements on the Atlantic Seaboard" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, American University, Washington, D.C., June, 1953), 68; U.S. Congress, House, Select Committee to Investigate the Interstate Migration of Destitute Citizens, *Hearings*, 76th Cong., 3rd Sess., 1940, Pt. 2, p. 584; Greene, *op. cit.*, 16; Schwartz, *op. cit.*, 48-50. The hearings of the Select Committee mentioned above will be cited hereafter as *Interstate Migration Hearings*.
7. W. H. Metzler, *Migratory Farm Workers in the Atlantic Coast Stream: A Study in the Belle Glade Area of Florida*, Department of Agriculture Circular 966 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1955), 3; Earl L. Koos, *They Follow the Sun* (Jacksonville, Fla.: State Board of Health, 1957), 2.
8. *Interstate Migration Hearings*, Pt. 1, p. 249; Schwartz, *op. cit.*, 51-52; U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, Special Subcommittee on Cotton, *Hearings, Study of Agricultural and Economic Problems of the Cotton Belt*, 80th Cong., 1st Sess., 1947, p. 739. These hearings will be cited hereafter as *Cotton Hearings*.

and the coming of the Great Depression to the rural South answered that problem by driving thousands of sharecroppers off their tiny plots. Some went north to swell the total of urban unemployed, some packed into the shacks of Southern "nigger-towns," and some rode or walked to Florida to join the migrant stream.⁹ It is hard to say how many of these unfortunates there were. Only in a few areas could reasonable estimates even be made. One writer on the subject arrived at his totals by asking farmers and county agricultural agents whether they numbered the migrants "by the score, hundreds, or thousands." Because of the growing lack of transportation, there was a decline in the distance traveled by the average migrant, and there may even have been a decline in the number of those who actually went from state to state; the important fact, however, was the great increase in the numbers who overflowed the large farms of the Atlantic seaboard where the migrants were employed, the surplus of labor driving down wages and living conditions.¹⁰

Reliable and systematically collected data concerning the migrants' wage rates are almost non-existent for the period prior to the Second World War, but close estimates can be found from time to time in the pages of various Congressional hearings. The highest paid migrants, who had earned about forty cents an hour before the depression, now earned about twenty-five cents, when they could find work. The average daily farm wage rate in the South Atlantic states in 1933 was eighty-four cents, and the labor of an entire migrant family brought an average \$300-\$400 over the course of a year. Some years later, witnesses at the Cotton Hearings recalled that for migrants during the depression "family earnings often did not cover the cost of migration, and often could not be stretched across periods of unemployment . . .

9. *Migratory Labor Hearings*, Pt. 1, p. 970; Henry Hill Collins, *America's Own Refugees: Our 4,000,000 Homeless Migrants* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1941), 8, 15-17; *Interstate Migration Hearings*, Pt. 2, pp. 627-628.

10. U.S. Congress, House, Select Committee to Investigate the Interstate Migration of Destitute Citizens, *Interstate Migration*, House Report No. 369, 77th Cong., 1st Sess., 1940, pp. 337-339; Paul S. Taylor, "Migratory Farm Labor in the United States," *Monthly Labor Review*, XLIV (March, 1937), 543; C. W. E. Pittman, "Migratory Agricultural Workers on the Atlantic Seaboard," *Employment Security Review*, (June, 1940), 5. The report of the Congressional committee mentioned above will be cited hereafter as *Interstate Migration Report*.

relief to meet such emergencies was practically never available.”¹¹

Housing for the migrants was similarly at a low point during the gray years of the depression. In the Belle Glade area migrants were charged rent of four to six dollars monthly for the right to camp on the land of the farmer who employed them, while the facilities for which they paid three or four dollars a week—most of their earnings—were as follows, according to A. F. Smith, then of the Florida Industrial Commission:

The migrant workers must sleep in shacks, boxes, in cars, tents, or trailers, in trucks, on the ground, or wherever it is possible to rest. They have no facilities for washing and no toilet facilities of any kind are provided. . . . Sanitary and living conditions found this spring in the Lake Okeechobee area were beyond description.¹²

During the depression only two states on the Atlantic seaboard had housing regulations applicable to migrant camps; in Florida local boards of health had vague “authority to proceed” against the most flagrant abuses. Such a hazy grant of power was seldom used, and health conditions were deplorable. Much illness among migrants could be traced to the necessity of living where “indescribably filthy” open-pit toilets were located next to the only water supply, or in it, and where a child’s typical meal, according to witnesses, consisted of a cold corn cob, tomato, three dried prunes, and beer. The health officer of Palm Beach County reported that as late as 1938 “I saw 21 sick children with acute dysentery in a camp under very unsanitary conditions and I recommended to the State Board of Health that they should close the place, and they have not closed it to this day [1940].” A spokesman for the Florida Industrial Commission, speaking in regard to relief aid, summed up a situation which had characterized the entire decade of the 1930’s:

In some instances a minimum amount of food is provided, usually one meal . . . and then only if the person faces starvation. . . . When the crops were frozen in January of this year, thousands of migrants were stranded and faced virtual starvation.¹³

11. *Interstate Migration Hearings*, Pt. 1, p. 77; Pt. 2, pp. 487, 536, 598; *Interstate Migration Report*, 327; *Cotton Hearings*, 743.

12. *Interstate Migration Hearings*, Pt. 2, pp. 486, 538-539, 599; Collins, *op. cit.*, 252.

13. *Interstate Migration Hearings*, Pt. 1, pp. 217, 305-306; Pt. 2, pp. 487, 494, 538, 555, 597; M. H. Martensen, “Care for Migrants’ Children,” Survey, LXXX (May, 1944), 153.

Throughout the depression years the United States Public Health Service was the only agency giving really effective aid to the migrants, but in 1941 one of the many economy-minded Congresses with which this nation has been blessed cut the meager funds of the Public Health Service, leaving migrants dependent on individual charity. Even before this event a reputable and sober investigator had concluded that "chances for continued survival are so bad among transients that as a group they would gradually be destroyed, were their ranks not constantly augmented."¹⁴

In the late thirties the Farm Security Agency began programs in health and housing, culminating during the war years, which were to prove of great benefit for the migrant worker. The F.S.A. did what it could to alleviate the atrociously unsanitary conditions around the migrant camps, until in June of 1942 the War Manpower Commission directed the Secretary of Agriculture to see that transportation and health services were provided to the migrants wherever needed. One of the results of the new Federal prodding was the setting up of a Migratory Labor Hospital at Belle Glade.¹⁵ Few of the meliorative actions of the F.S.A., however, were more striking and more valuable than its housing program. Its first camp was opened in 1940, also at Belle Glade. More followed;¹⁶ much of the more presentable housing one sees around Lake Okeechobee today - 1961 - dates from the wartime program of the F.S.A. Indeed, it was during this period in the early 1940's that the Great Depression finally came to an end for the migrants of Florida. The war brought a number of improvements. Where there had been chaos in their labor market, the war brought planning; where there had been a wage-stifling oversupply of labor, the excess workers quickly vanished to distant shipyards and defense construction. Offshore labor - Jamaicans, Puerto Ricans, Bahamians, and others - appeared; so great was the turnover that the postwar migrants were to be an almost com-

14. Collins, *op. cit.*, 251; U.S. Congress, House, Select Committee Investigating National Defense Migration, *Hearings*, 77th Cong., 1st Sess., 1941, Pt. 14, pp. 5652-5653.

15. W. D. Rasmussen, *A History of the Emergency Farm Labor Supply Program, 1943-1947*, Department of Agriculture Monograph 13 (Washington: Department of Agriculture, 1951), 24; "Children in the Everglades," *The Child*, XI (December, 1946), 99.

16. *Interstate Migration Hearings*, Pt. 2, pp. 519, 585-586; Rasmussen, *op. cit.*, 11; *Migratory Labor Hearings*, Pt. 1, p. 711; Pt. 2, p. 1061; "Children in the Everglades," *loc. cit.*, 100.

pletely different group from the prewar workers. Of all the developments during the war years, the growth of an effective system of labor placement was probably the most important. There had been a Farm Labor Division in the old Employment Service of the Department of Labor during World War I, but with the war's end it passed out of existence. The Wagner-Peyser Act of 1933 had provided for a farm placement system within the United States Employment Service, but little was done under the provisions of this law until in 1939 the Employment Service was transferred from the Department of Labor to the Federal Security Administration, and thence to the War Manpower Commission in 1942.¹⁷ Meanwhile, the F.S.A. continued to carry on its welfare programs in conjunction with the rest of the migrant program.

Then in early 1943 hearings began on a bill, House Joint Resolution 96, to provide for a wartime program of migrant labor allocation - and incidentally to cut further appropriations for the F.S.A., thereby ending its part in the labor program. Representatives of the United States Employment Service, under which the F.S.A. carried on its activities, were not even invited to testify at the hearings. Instead, the center of the stage was occupied by the National Farm Bureau Federation, which announced, "We insist . . . that all unworkable, hampering restrictions . . . the fixing of minimum wages . . . hours . . . housing standards, unionization of workers be immediately discontinued." They followed this demand with a second one: that the entire farm labor program be turned over to the various state farm Extension Services. In view of the fact that the Extension Service in each state bore a direct and official relationship to the Farm Bureau of that state, and was substantially controlled by it, this suggestion was much as though the National Association of Manufacturers had demanded sole control of the National Labor Relations Board. Even the National Grange and the California Fruit Growers Exchange, similarly composed of employers of farm labor, couldn't stomach this second proposition of the Farm Bureau's, and on it they parted company with their previous

17. Rasmussen, 32-33, 87; U.S., Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, *Backgrounds of the War Farm Labor Program* (Washington: Department of Agriculture, 1942), 4; *Migratory Labor Hearings*, Pt. 1, pp. 708-832; Pt. 2, pp. 1005-1010.

comrades.¹⁸ But the Farm Bureau's proposals were a part of the bill when it reached the floor of Congress, where an amendment was added to prohibit Federal labor recruiters from acquainting sharecroppers with possible better opportunities in the migrant stream - that is, unless the recruiters first received permission from the local county agent of the Extension Service.¹⁹ No attack of any sort was made on the bill until it reached the Senate, where Richard Russell of Georgia took charge of the attempt to pass it. Russell told his colleagues that "shelter" for the workers could still be provided, but that the F.S.A. had been "seizing upon the movement of agricultural migratory labor as the occasion to bring about . . . some form of social reform" and had "acted in a very arbitrary manner . . . it had required housing conditions which were far superior to any that heretofore existed. . . . Some one had suggested that the Farm Security Administration was organizing unions of farm laborers, . . . imposing certain reforms and certain ideas," and so on.²⁰ Russell had already admitted that "as far as the farm organizations are concerned, and particularly the Farm Bureau Federation, the pending joint resolution embraces more of their ideas than mine . . . it is more of a Farm Bureau measure than anything else."²¹ But the nation had to have a farm program for the war effort, whether that program be drawn up by Congress or by a private association, and so the bill passed and became Public Law 45. Control of the program passed to the War Foods Administration and, in its local aspects, to the State Extension Services. For some years afterward the Farm Placement Service was allowed to work only with the condition that it was "not to alter in any significant degree the en-

18. U.S., *Congressional Record*, 78th Cong., 1st Sess., 1943, LXXXIX, Pt. 3, p. 3111; Rasmussen, *op. cit.*, 42-44; *Migratory Labor Hearings*, Pt. 1, p. 708.

19. Rasmussen, *op. cit.*, 44-46; *Congressional Record*, 78th Cong., 1st Sess., 1943, LXXXIX, Pt. 3, pp. 3107, 3438, 3441-3443.

20. *Congressional Record*, 78th Cong., 1st Sess., 1943, LXXXIX, Pt. 3, pp. 3438, 3440, 3464-3465.

21. *Congressional Record*, 78th Cong., 1st Sess., 1943 LXXXIX, Pt. 3, p. 3111. For a somewhat more detailed look at the Farm Bureau's influence over the wartime program see Donald H. Grubbs, "A History of the Atlantic Coast Stream of Agricultural Migrants" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Florida, Gainesville, August 1959), 21-29; for an excellently written, full length account of the Farm Bureau and its control over farm labor legislation see Grant McConnell, *The Decline of Agrarian Democracy* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1953), especially 92-95, 165, 171, 181.

vironment in which decisions and actions of farm employers and migratory farm workers are made.”²²

One of the major reasons for the dominance of the Farm Bureau's viewpoint was the pressure of the war effort and the consequent need for high food production. The unusual demands of war no longer existed, however, when a bill for the extension of the Farm Bureau's wartime program through mid-1948 was presented in Congress in 1947. Opposing this proposed continuation were the state Employment Services, the Department of Labor, and various public and labor groups. As first drawn up for consideration in the hearings, the bill represented the last public appearance of the farm bloc's primitive labor philosophy as proposed Federal Legislation: Section 5 of the bill provided, as Section 4(a) of the wartime program similarly had stated, that “No funds appropriated under this Act shall be expended directly or indirectly to fix, regulate, impose, or enforce collective-bargaining requirements, wage rates, housing standards, hours of work, or union membership with respect to agricultural workers.” The bill also provided that the housing projects set up by the F.S.A. could be disposed of only to growers or growers' cooperatives. It became obvious in the course of the hearings that the farm bloc was alone in supporting the bill against a wide assortment of organizations such as those mentioned above. Nevertheless, most of Florida's Congressional delegation, including Senator-to-be George Smathers, backed the growers.²³ The Farm Bureau and its allies were defeated, however, for when the bill emerged from committee it was shorn of the welfare prohibition, allowed the F.S.A. camps to be turned over to public or private groups such as the present Housing Authorities in Belle Glade and Pahokee, and extended the wartime program only through the end of 1947. In that form the bill was passed.²⁴

Pursuant to the 1947 law and the earlier Wagner-Peyser Act, the Farm Placement Service reverted to the Department of Labor's Employment Service and the state Employment Services

22. *Migratory Labor Hearings*, Pt. 1, pp. 708-710; Pt. 2, p. 1013.

23. U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, *Permanent Farm Labor Program*, Hearings on S. 1334, 80th Cong., 1st Sess., 1947. See especially 1-3, 49. See also Rasmussen, *op. cit.*, 53-54; *Migratory Labor Hearings*, Pt. 1, p. 303; H. Hasiwar, “The Corporate Farmer: Agriculture's Newest Blight,” *New Leader*, January 21, 1952, 15-18.

24. Rasmussen, *op. cit.*, pp. 55-56.

on the first day of 1948. Most of the Farm Placement personnel had gained valuable experience under the wartime program, and the new system was soon working quite smoothly. Since then, as a spokesman for Florida's Farm Placement Service recently said, "I don't think there's any question that there's been improvement over the World War II program." One of the reasons for that improvement was the shift in the philosophy behind the placement of migrant workers. Basically, the Extension Services had taken a "hands off" attitude: growers and workers were supposed to make their own arrangements and "the Extension Service was to help only after their efforts had failed."²⁵ The Farm Placement Service attempted to be more constructive. In the first two years it administered the program, many improvements in planning and contact with the migrants' crew leaders were made. This new utilization and attempted control of the crew leaders (or labor contractors) eventually became one of the most praiseworthy accomplishments of the Service.

Before World War II the labor contractor-crew leader system had been spoken of as "quite damnable . . . a sort of contract system, a peonage system." Basically, this was due to the concept of the labor contractor's function: he was to provide the grower with enough Negro labor-units to assure him of absolute ability to harvest when and to what degree needed. The contractor's rate of pay often was by the head; consequently, telling his listeners of the distant Promised Land of fruitful harvest, he would cram as many labor-units aboard his truck as possible. Usually his truckload of human cattle arrived well in advance of the harvest -he was paid to have it on hand and ready-and he could tally up a lucrative amount of debt, plus interest and any other fees he cared to charge, as he advanced money to his labor-units to keep them from starving. As a middleman, he could play the farmer against the labor-units, charging first the farmer and then the Negro migrants for the cost of transportation, or paying

25. U.S., Federal Security Agency, Farm Placement Service, *Labor Recruitment for Agriculture: The Farm Placement Service in 1948* (Washington: Federal Security Agency, 1948), 4; A. E. Meyer, "Migrant Labor," a series, *Washington Post*, October 6, 1947, pp. 1, 9; October 7, 1947, p. 11; October 12, 1947, p. 8M; Interview with A. M. Larrimore, Florida Farm Placement Service, June 18, 1959; C.W.E. Pittman, *The Atlantic Coast Migratory Movement of Agricultural Workers - War Years* (Washington: Department of Agriculture, 1946), 13.

the workers a pittance after telling the farmer how much money "his niggers" were demanding for wages. The difference, of course, lined the contractor's pocket. Still another business opportunity presented itself to the enterprising crew leader: the rural absence of recreational facilities and the emotional tension built up by long, arduous monotony in the fields practically invited a gambling and prostitution racket. Usually the labor contractor was only too happy to provide this. As late as 1951 some of these human vultures were found to be clearing \$10,000 a year.²⁶ But throughout the fifties the Farm Placement Service gradually gained enough domination of the labor market so that they could begin to refuse employment to the more unscrupulous contractors. Even today, however, the problem still exists, though greatly reduced.

In the early 1950's dealings with the better crew leaders expanded into the "Annual Worker Plan," a scheme for regularizing and giving greater length and continuity to the employment of the migrants. The plan, as it operated throughout the fifties, began with collection by the various Atlantic coast state Placement Services of the requests for labor for the coming harvest. Representatives of these Services then traveled to Florida to contact the migrants' crew leaders, scheduling their labor commitments for the coming season on a Migratory Labor Employment Record. In addition to this pre-season scheduling phase, in-season guidance was maintained to meet changes due to weather or crop failure. So quickly did this system prove its effectiveness that it was adopted in the nation's other migrant streams in 1954.²⁷ Among the other outstanding accomplishments of the Service were the establishment of information stations and rest stops, and the development of techniques to aid the efficient

26. *Interstate Migration Hearings*, Pt. 1, pp. 314, 381, 385; Pt. 2, p. 487; *Migratory Labor Hearings*, Pt. 1, p. 649; Pt. 2, p. 1027; Metzler, *op. cit.*, 56.

27. *Migratory Labor Hearings*, Pt. 2, pp. 1015, 1028-1033; Metzler, *op. cit.*, 56; P. R. Rieley, "Guiding Migratory Workers on the Eastern Seaboard," *Employment Security Review*, XX (March, 1953), 7-8; "Migratory Labor on the Eastern Seaboard," *Labor Market and Employment Security*, May, 1953, 11-12; Don Larin, "Annual Work Plans for Agricultural Migrants," *Employment Security Review*, XXII (March, 1955), 3-4; Interview with W. F. Cole, Jr., Assistant Chief of Farm Placement, Florida Farm Placement Service, January 24, 1961; U.S., President's Committee on Migratory Labor, [Second] *Report to the President on Domestic Migratory Labor* (Washington: Department of Labor, 1960), 11-12.

placement of the newly-arrived Puerto Rican workers of South Florida and the non-resident incoming citrus workers. Unlike the Negro migrants around Lake Okeechobee, neither of these groups, as a rule, were organized into crews, had group transportation, or were Florida residents.²⁸

The Placement Service was dealing with a group that built up to a numerical peak about 1949 and then slowly declined in number. In 1946 there were around 20,000-25,000 workers in the Florida-based migrant stream; but with the return of war veterans, economic displacement, and legal and illegal immigration of foreign workers, the stream swelled to a wage-depressing total of about 58,000 in 1949. The migrants numbered over 50,000 until after 1954. But a trend was evident; though the decline was spotty and irregular, harvest mechanization, growing employment opportunities outside of agriculture, and the smaller number of foreign workers explain the fact that only 28,000-30,000 migrants could be found working in the stream at the outset of the 1960's.²⁹ The changing size of the stream is important because the migrant's wage has been remarkably proportional to it, rising when the total number of workers has fallen. During the decade of the 1950's the migrant's daily wage increased from about five to sometimes eight dollars, his average yearly income from the \$500 to the \$1000 range. An average annual income per household of \$1,733 was reached in 1955, according to one study of Belle Glade migrants.³⁰

After the 1947 law which put the Farm Placement Service back under the jurisdiction of the Department of Labor's Employment Services, the next significant legal victory for the

28. Metzler, *op. cit.*, 5; *Migratory Labor Hearings*, Pt. 1, pp. 830, 833; Pt. 2, p. 1012; Rieley, p. 11; U.S., Department of Labor, Farm Placement Service, *Labor Recruitment for Agriculture: The Farm Placement Service, 1949-1951* (Washington: Department of Labor, 1952), 11; Interview with A. M. Larrimore, *Florida Farm Placement Service*, June 18, 1959.

29. Padgett, *loc. cit.*, 268; *Migratory Labor Hearings*, Pt. 2, p. 967; Metzler, *op. cit.*, 5; Persh, *op. cit.*, 54-55; Koos, *op. cit.*, 5; Florida Industrial Commission, Farm Placement Service, "Pooled Interviews of Migratory Agricultural Workers," *Farm Labor Bulletins* (mimeographed), May 6, 1958; May 7, 1959; April 11-23, 1960.

30. Metzler, *op. cit.*, 2; U.S., Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Agricultural Marketing Service, *Farm Labor and Wages Report, 1959* (Washington: Department of Agriculture, 1959); U.S., Department of Agriculture, *Reports of the Secretary of Agriculture, 1951-1959* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1951-1959); Koos, *op. cit.*, 34.

migrants came in 1949 when the Federal government, by amendment to the Child Labor Act, prohibited the employment of migrant children under sixteen when schools were in session. Although highly significant as a declaration of eventual policy, the law was often evaded. Among the clever devices for evasion were closing the schools, operating them late at night so they would not be "in session" during the day, and paying the father for the entire family's labor so the claim could be made that the children were working for their father, and were thus exempt under terms of the law.³¹ In 1952 Senators Paul Douglas of Illinois and Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota attempted to follow up the law by securing a Congressional appropriation of \$181,000 for migrant education - it had been estimated that \$10,000,000 would be required - but a Congress which set aside \$6,000,000 for migratory birds and another large sum for fighting hoof-and-mouth disease turned the request down. Humphrey was philosophic. "We have to take care of the beef supply. Humans? Well, they, no. God provides them," he said.³² Despite such defeats, educational opportunities for the children of Florida's migrants continued to increase during the decade of the 1950's, albeit slowly and unevenly. One Florida study found that 90 per cent of migrant children in the compulsory schooling age range were actually in school; on the other hand, a later study found 25 per cent of the children from 5 to 14 years old not in attendance. Even the most optimistic reports granted that practically all migrant children must drop out of school after their sixteenth birthday.³³

In 1950 another of the goals for the relief of the migrants' condition was reached when farm labor was admitted to the coverage of the Social Security Act. At first, coverage was limited to workers who labored more than sixty days for one employer, leaving most migrants still unprotected. But within the next few years the American Public Welfare Association, the National Education Association's Department of Rural Education, the

31. *Migratory Labor Hearings*, Pt. 1, pp. 11, 639, 644; Greene, *op. cit.*, 54; "3,465 Children Found Illegally at Work on Farms in 1951," *Labor Information Bulletin*, XIX (January, 1952), 6-7.

32. *Migratory Labor Hearings*, Pt. 1, pp. 187, 441, 757, 785.

33. *Migratory Labor Hearings*, Pt. 1, pp. 751-753; Greene, *op. cit.*, 53; Koo, *op. cit.*, 16-17; Metzler, *op. cit.*, 14; Jules Berman, "Services for Migratory Agricultural Workers," *Social Security Bulletin*, XVII (November, 1954), 11.

American Public Health Association, and a host of other organizations pushed for increased coverage. Finally, under 1954 and 1956 amendments, any migrant working for the same crew leader longer than twenty days was allowed to qualify. But the enforcement of these provisions was to be another matter. Many of the growers concerned were militantly opposed to the idea of complying with such "Federal interference;" as one Florida farmer told an interviewer, "If you think I'm going to pay these niggers for working, and then pay social security to the government, too, you're crazy."³⁴

The most important developments of the early 1950's followed the appearance in 1951 of the report of the President's Commission on Migratory Labor. Appointed by President Truman at the suggestion of Secretary of Labor Maurice Tobin, the commission was made up of five farm labor experts of varying background and had as its executive secretary Varden Fuller, the University of California's authority on agricultural economics. The recommendations in the commission's report were unanimous: "In no sense was it a compromise," one of the members of the commission reported later. The report called for a Federal Committee on Migratory Farm Labor and urged coverage of migrants under minimum wage, unemployment compensation, and even collective bargaining protection. Most public and newspaper comment on the findings and recommendations was favorable.³⁵

The subsequent encounter in Congress centered around a bill sponsored by Louisiana's Senator Allen Ellender and Texas' Representative William Poage for extension of the program to import foreign contract labor. Shortly after the bill was presented in the Senate, Paul Douglas of Illinois arose to offer several amendments embodying many of the recommendations of the President's Commission. Over the protests of the farm associations, but with

34. *Migratory Labor Hearings*, Pt. 1, pp. 360, 906-908; Pt. 2, p. 1073; U.S., Department of Agriculture, Agricultural Marketing Service, *The Hired Farm Working Force of 1956*, Agricultural Information Bulletin 187 (Washington: Department of Agriculture, 1958), pp. 45-50; *Second President's Committee Report*, 1960, pp. 23-24; Interview with W. R. Cole, Jr., Florida Farm Placement Service, January 24, 1961; Koos, *op. cit.*, 33.

35. President's Commission on Migratory Labor, *Migratory Labor in American Agriculture*, Report (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1951), 177-185; for representative examples of comment on this report (to be cited hereafter as the *President's Commission Report*) see *Migratory Labor Hearings*, Pt. 1, pp. 18, 825-827.

the support of such varied organizations as the YWCA, PTA, National Consumers' League, Disabled American Veterans, and the many church, labor, and welfare groups which had backed the migrants all along, the amendments were added and the bill was sent over to face the wrath of the House Committee on Agriculture and Forestry. There the Douglas amendments were torn from the bill and it was thrown back to the Senate, which passed it the form desired. Since the President, as usual, was faced with the choice of the status quo or nothing at all, he signed the bill.³⁶

The next year saw the periodic tussle begin again. This time hearings were held before the Senate Subcommittee on Labor and Labor-Management Relations. The resulting arsenal of facts revealed that despite improvements in the status of the migrants, much of their condition remained almost unbelievably deplorable. Witnesses testified that during winter freezes many Florida migrants still had to beg or starve. Not too far from the decent housing around Lake Okeechobee, a sanitarian discovered 180 people living in a sixty-room camp with only one so-called toilet, and in a neighboring camp found forty-eight infants, two of which later died, stacked like cordwood on two "beds" while their parents, unaware, worked in the fields. The director of the Palm Beach County Health Department testified that many migrant shelters in the rich resort county were hygienically unfit for cattle; another Florida health official told of a migrant child stricken with acute appendicitis who was rushed to a local hospital by the county sheriff, only to be refused admittance until the quick-thinking sheriff raised a sufficient sum of money by passing the hat among the irresponsible revelers at a nearby "juke joint."³⁷ Witnesses at the hearings were also concerned with the consequences of the lack of union organization among the migrants, a lack partly attributable to the exclusion of farm labor from the collective-bargaining guarantees of the National Labor Relations Act. The following

36. Hasiwar, *op. cit.*, 17; A. R. Issler, "Latest Report on the Joads," *Survey*, LXXXVII (July, 1951), 318-321; Lloyd Fisher, *The Harvest Labor Market in California* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1953), 144. Fisher's book is one of the very best treatments of the economics of the harvest labor question, and it is not limited to California in validity by any means.

37. The incidents mentioned in the body of this article are not exceptional or overemphasized; see the testimony of any public health or housing officials given in Migratory Labor Hearings, for example, Pt. 1, pp. 11, 217-218, 410, 416, 449; Pt. 2, pp. 1039, 1040-1041.

revealing exchange took place between ex-economics professor Douglas and a former official of the F.S.A.:

Senator DOUGLAS. . . . Farm workers are not organized. The Department of Labor will pay attention to the needs of industrial workers because if they do not the unions will turn the heat on them. But they can neglect the agricultural workers and throw them overboard because there is no corresponding organization of the farm workers. That is brutal language, but is not that the reality?

Mr. HUDGENS. Yes, sir. I think that is true. ³⁸

In the face of testimony such as that which led to Douglas' observation, many organizations joined to second the recommendation of the President's Commission that migrants be extended the protection of the National Labor Relations Act. Among these could be counted not only the AF of L and the CIO but such other associations as the Methodist Women's Society of Christian Service, those liberal small farm owners united in the National Farmers' Union, and most of the health and religious service groups that previously had been active. ³⁹

The buzz of interest and favorable comment aroused by the hearings proved to have little effect upon the action of Congress. Despite a Senate provision that bills affecting farm labor were to be referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, the farm labor program was once again tossed to the Committee on Agriculture, where farm bloc lobbyists swarmed over it like ants on a picnic. One of their spokesmen declared that he saw no need for concern over the migrants, who "weren't depressed as compared with the standards of living of most of the people of the world." Farm bloc representatives now repeated to friendlier ears statements similar to those they had made during the earlier hearings. A spokesman for the National Grange had then remarked in wide-eyed innocence that "the inference here seems to

38. *Migratory Labor Hearings*, Pt. 1, p. 715.

39. League for Industrial Democracy, *Down on the Farm: the Plight of Agricultural Labor* (New York: League for Industrial Democracy, 1955), 13ff.; *President's Commission Report*, 114-117; James Myers, "The Continuing Farm Migrant Scandal," *Socialist Call*, XXV (August, 1957), 10; W. P. Tucker, "Populism up to Date: The Story of The National Farmers' Union," *Agricultural History*, XXI (1947), 205-207; *Migratory Labor Hearings*, Pt. 1, pp. 348-359, 699-704, 901; William Green, "Our Own Forgotten People," *American Federationist*, LVII (December, 1950), 20-22, 30.

be that farmers are, or may, exploit workers. . . . Each worker has the free choice of working wherever and for whomever he pleases and at a wage that is acceptable to him." And a member of a Florida growers' association declared that the proposals to grant migrants the same guarantees that most non-farm workers had enjoyed for years came from "theorists and persons who would lead this Nation down the road to state socialism." The predictable result of all this was that once again the farm labor program went through without any amendments on labor standards.⁴⁰ Later in the same session Senator Humphrey attempted to have a Federal Committee on Migratory Labor established, but Florida's Senator Spessard Holland immediately killed the Humphrey bill by objection.⁴¹ Holland's vigilance was circumvented in 1954, however, for in that year President Eisenhower established a similar committee by executive order.⁴²

It was also in 1954 that the Department of Health, Education and Welfare decided that it, at least, had had enough of the continual scandals over migrant misery; the Department called a conference of representatives of all the Atlantic coast states' public health agencies and insisted that changes be made. Within a year the Department's Public Health Service could list health facilities for migrants in almost every county along the Atlantic seaboard. The new campaign apparently bore fruit; by 1957 a Public Health survey of Florida migrants found no appreciable difference between the health of migrants and that of any other group.⁴³

President Eisenhower's Committee on Migratory Labor presented its first report in 1956, having been instructed to "assume national leadership in improving the social and economic welfare of our domestic and migratory farm workers." Thus hailed in

40. I. Begeman, "Sweatshops on the Farm," *New Republic*, July 30, 1951, p. 17; the quoted statements, and many others similar in tone and viewpoint, are found in *Migratory Labor Hearings*, Pt. 1, pp. ii, 350, 482, 495, 515, 886, 891.

41. *Congressional Record*, 82nd Cong., 2nd Sess., 1952, XCVIII, Pt. 7, p. 9061.

42. U.S., President's Committee on Migratory Labor, [First] *Report to the President on Domestic Migratory Labor* (Washington: Department of Labor, 1956), 1.

43. Berman, p. 9; U.S., Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Public Health Service, *Guide to Some Key Sources of Health Service or Information in Major Migrant Work Areas of the East Coast* (Washington: Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1955); Koos, *op. cit.*, 20.

ringing tones, the report proved to be a masterpiece of egg-treading delicacy. It pussyfooted through several harmless recommendations such as "Farm employers should be encouraged to improve labor-management practices and relations"; the only one of its proposals which could conceivably have been of any direct aid to migrants, or could possibly have cost growers a cent, was one which sought the erection of improved housing-and immediately after making this request the committee hastened to soften the blow by including as a major portion of its report a complete section on how such housing expenses could be deducted from the farm owner's income tax.⁴⁴

In Florida there was no great rush of farm owners to claim tax deductions for constructing housing. Indeed, enough growers were satisfied with their existing tax deductions to cause a fresh housing scandal in the unusually cold winter of 1958. Reports of migrants freezing and starving in the Immokalee area of the Everglades set off a wave of demands by shocked newspapermen, led by Pulitzer Prize winner Howard Van Smith of the *Miami Daily News*, that something be done. The public outcry brought a personal visit and prompt action by Governor Leroy Collins. As a result of Collins' tour State Representative Emmett Roberts of Palm Beach County was named to head a fact-finding committee to recommend needed legislation. Roberts' committee had plans for low-cost housing drawn up and even succeeded in pushing a bill for camp licensing and inspection through the 1959 Florida State Legislature. But the officer placed in charge of the inspection program later expressed his intention to move with caution, avoiding "revolutionary changes."⁴⁵

Another promising step was made early in 1959 when Secretary of Labor James Mitchell proposed that the Farm Placement Service no longer supply migrant workers to farm enterprises where minimum labor standards were not met. Mitchell backed up his threat by scheduling hearings for the coming summer for the purpose of setting up an appropriate code of standards. Within a month a number of Congressmen had protested to Mitchell that his proposals were "illegal, impractical,

44. *First President's Committee Report*, 2-4, Exhibit C, and *passim*.

45. *Tampa Tribune*, April 14, 1959, p. 1-B; July 10, 1959, p. 12-A; Norman Thomas, "What Is Florida Doing About Migrant Housing?" *All-Florida Weekly Magazine*, January 18, 1959, pp. 8, 14; Emmett S. Roberts, unpublished letter to the author, June 23, 1959.

and immoral." But soon thereafter another band of Congressmen headed by Senator Eugene McCarthy of Minnesota came to the aid of the Secretary of Labor with a public statement attacking those whom they accused of attempting to call off the proposed hearings. Only three Senators and six Representatives from Atlantic coast states signed the McCarthy statement, however; none of the Florida delegation signed.⁴⁶ The hearings took place in September, 1959, and resulted in action along the lines Mitchell had suggested. No uniform Federal code of minimum standards was set, however; instead, the wage standard was to be that "prevailing in the area," and housing, other than being "hygienic and adequate to the climatic conditions," had only to conform to whatever the state or local code might provide. In Florida, this meant that housing had to conform to the 1959 code enacted as a result of the uproar following the Immokalee freezes. The standard of migrant housing leaped forward spectacularly: "We're all a little lazy until somebody calls something to our attention," commented W. F. Cole of the Florida Farm Placement Service.⁴⁷ The rigor of housing inspection still varied a great deal; moreover, Charles Goodlett, police chief of Belle Glade, declared to a nationwide television audience in late 1960 that housing there was still insufficient at the height of the season. There had been strong opposition to the showing of the television documentary film in which Goodlett spoke, just as there had been protests against the holding of Mitchell's hearings. Reportedly, the Florida Citrus Commission had threatened to bring suit against both the Columbia Broadcasting System and Philip Morris Cigarettes, which sponsored the show, should it actually go on the air.⁴⁸

46. "Labor Unit Hopes to Better Conditions For Farm Workers," *Washington Daily News*, February 3, 1959, p. 21; Eugene McCarthy et al., "Public Hearings on Farm Workers," mimeographed statement (Washington: 1959); Associated Press dispatch, June 7, 1959, in *Tampa Tribune*, same date, 1.

47. U.S., Department of Labor, news release, "Secretary Mitchell Issues Farm Worker Recruitment Regulations," Washington, November 20, 1959; Interview with W. F. Cole, Jr., Florida Farm Placement Service, January 24, 1961.

48. Columbia Broadcasting System documentary film, "Harvest of Shame," Edward R. Murrow, narrator, November 24, 1960, was the show on which Goodlett and other Floridians spoke. On the threatened suit and other opposition see any Florida newspaper for the week preceding the broadcast, for example, *Gainesville Sun*, November 24, 1960.

In the same year, President Eisenhower's Committee on Migratory Labor brought out a second report, which was considerably more constructive than the first. Led by Secretary Mitchell, the committee reminded President Eisenhower of a speech in which he had expressed concern about "the denial to some of our citizens of equal protection under the law," and pointed out that the plight of migratory farm workers furnished a striking example of such denial. But the only major Federal action recommended by the committee was passage of legislation to protect migrants from crew leader abuses. For the rest, they were content to urge state action, even though the spottiness and unreliability of such an approach was indicated in parts of their own report. Representative Harrison Williams of New Jersey, chairman of the House Subcommittee on Migrant Workers, publicly expressed his feeling that the great over-representation of farm interests in state legislatures would prevent the success of the state-by-state attack.⁴⁹ This remains to be seen, but perhaps past experience can aid those who wish to make predictions.

For years to come, the slowly diminishing migrant stream will flow annually from Florida as the crops of the Atlantic seaboard ripen in their due progression. We may expect that some day the continued development of harvesting machines will make the repetitive and arduous labor of the migrant unnecessary; we also may hope that a more humane and conscientious America will have helped train the migrants and their children for more rewarding and permanent employment. Let the progress of the immediate future come with what speed it will, the principle that the national government can fix standards for the migrants is nevertheless established. But when these national standards are not high and firmly maintained, experience has shown the sad results. We have long accepted the idea of Federal regulation of our interstate waterways; is it less important to control a human stream and put it to use? The past gave its own answer; let the future reply.

49. *Second President's Committee Report*, 4, 5, 14, 18, 32-33. Williams spoke on the same television program mentioned above.

THE LOYALIST MIGRATION FROM EAST FLORIDA TO THE BAHAMA ISLANDS

by THELMA PETERS

DURING THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION many Loyalists fled from the southern states and sought refuge in British East Florida. At the close of the war, when Florida changed hands again, these refugees as well as the British residents of Florida were forced to choose between living under the flag of Spain or seeking new homes elsewhere. Most of them left Florida and many of them established their new homes in the sprawling archipelago which is Florida's neighbor to the east, the Bahama Islands.

An intensive study of eighty southern families who made this double move, from the South to East Florida and from East Florida to the Bahamas, was made by Lydia Austin Parrish from 1940 to 1953. At the time of Mrs. Parrish's sudden death in 1953 her manuscript had attained a length of almost five hundred typed pages but it was still incomplete. The manuscript is now in the Widener Library, Harvard University.¹ It offers much sympathetic insight into the problems which these displaced persons faced and tells what eventually became of them.

The presence of a large number of Loyalists in the southern colonies was due in part to the influence of the Anglican Church and in part to commercial ties between British mercantile houses and colonial merchants. Moreover, Georgia was the most youthful of the thirteen colonies and many of its residents, far from straining at the aprong strings, wanted the protection of the Crown. This was true, for example, of a large mercantile establishment at Sunbury, Georgia, which has been called the colonial forerunner of Sears, Roebuck. Roger Kelsall and James Spalding started their store in 1763 and by 1774 the partners had five Indian trading posts in Georgia and East Florida. To them any threat of a change of administration was alarming. Kelsall, who

1. Lydia Austin Parrish, "Records of Some Southern Loyalists, Being a collection of manuscripts about some eighty families, most of whom immigrated to the Bahamas during and after the American Revolution," hereafter cited as Parrish MSS. A microfilm copy of this typed manuscript is in the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida.

lived his last days in exile in the Bahamas, stated in his will, dated 1788: “. . . if my Estate should fall short. . .impute it to no fault of mine, but to the unavoidable [*sic*] misfortunes in which I have been involved in consequence of the late most accurs'd Rebellion. . . .”²

Many of the Loyalists who fled to Florida during the Revolution expected to make their residence there. Some acquired plantations along the St. Johns or started businesses in St. Augustine. Their knowledge of the Bahamas at this time was slight. Yet East Florida and the Bahamas had something in common: both were sparsely-settled British outposts. From the time Britain had acquired Florida in 1763 there had been some contact between the two outposts, usually limited to a ship or two each year passing from St. Augustine to Nassau or from Nassau to St. Augustine.³

In 1781 the Spanish seized Nassau and occupied it for almost two years. In 1783 an expedition of Loyalist refugees was organized at St. Augustine to drive the Spanish from the Bahamas. This volunteer invasion, sometimes called the last action of the American Revolution, occurred after the Treaty of Versailles had already called for a return of the Bahamas to Britain, but neither the Loyalists nor the Spanish at Nassau knew this.

The Loyalist expedition was led by Colonel Andrew Deveaux, a native of South Carolina, who had fought with the British in the South until that campaign closed and then had fled to Florida with many of his comrades-in-arms. In St. Augustine Deveaux and his volunteers outfitted several small ships, probably four, and enlisted the aid of two privateers, the *Perseverance* of twenty-six guns, owned and commanded by Thomas Dow, and the *Whitby Warrior* of sixteen guns, owned and commanded by Daniel Wheeler. The fleet proceeded to the Bahamas and dropped anchor, March 30, 1783, fifty miles north of New Providence at Hole-in-the-Wall, Abaco.

Colonel Deveaux and Captain Roderick Mackenzie left the fleet to seek volunteers among the inhabitants of neighboring islands, Deveaux going to Harbour Island and Mackenzie to the “mainland” of Eleuthera. Together they enlisted 170 men, which

2. Parrish MSS, 377.

3. Charles Lock Mawat, *East Florida as a British Province, 1763-1784* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1943), 157.

brought the total to about 300, according to Mackenzie.⁴ Deveaux, probably at a much later date when his memory had undergone some distortion, claimed there were only 160 men altogether.⁵

On April 11, 1783, Dow and Wheeler jointly issued the following order to Major Archibald Taylor:

Sir :

You are hereby ordered and directed to take part of the Perseverance and Whitby Warrior's crews under your command, and proceed to the Island of Providence, then take possession of the Town and Forts with all the Vessels in the Harbour, in behalf of his Britannic Majesty Hoist British Colours on all the places you take and dispatch a Boat as soon and as often as opportunities will admit to let us know every circumstance that may occur, and take care that no property is touched or Embezzled by any person whatever, and the people hindered from scattering about as much as in your power for which, this and a Copy of our Commissions shall be your Order.⁶

It would seem from this order that the two privateers did not engage in the attack on Nassau but remained at Hole-in-the-Wall. Deveaux, Taylor, Mackenzie, and their little army landed on New Providence four miles east of Fort Montagu, the waterfront fort which guarded the eastern harbor of Nassau. Before they could attack the fort the Spanish abandoned it and withdrew to a nearby field. In the brief clash which followed the Americans managed to take two prisoners without suffering any casualties. Here is Deveaux's account of what happened next:

On my going to take possession of the fort, I smelt a match on fire, which circumstance, together with their abandoning their works so readily, gave me reason to suspect their intentions. I immediately had the two prisoners confined in the fort, and halted my troops at some distance from it; but, self-preservation being so natural a reflection, they soon discovered the match that was on fire, which in half an hour, would have been communicated to the magazine and two mines that were laid for that purpose.⁷

4. Roderick Mackenzie, *Strictures on Lt. Col. Tarleton's History to which is added the recapture of the Island of New Providence* (London: Printed for the author, 1787), 167-184.

5. Lorenzo Sabine, *Biographical Sketches of the Loyalists of the American Revolution* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1864), I, 377.

6. Nassau, Bahamas, Registry Office Records, M, 494, Hereafter cited as Bahamas Reg. Of.

7. Sabine, *op. cit.*, I, 377.

Deveaux occupied Fort Montagu and commenced to fortify Society Hill, a ridge about four hundred yards from the main fort, Fort Nassau, using cannon stolen from ships in the harbor. By means of straw men and other devices he thoroughly deceived the Spanish into thinking they were outnumbered. The climax came when the Americans lobbed a shell into the house occupied by the Spanish governor. The Spanish surrendered.

The six hundred Spanish troops were allowed to depart for Cuba but the governor, Don Antonio Claraco Sanz, and five others were held until an equal number of Nassau merchants should be released from a Havana dungeon.

Governor Patrick Tonyn of East Florida reported the action at New Providence to Thomas Townshend, the British Home Secretary, May 15, 1783, as follows:

I have the honour of acquainting you, of the reduction of the Island of New Providence, by the intrepid and spirited conduct of Major Deveaux, of the South Carolina Militia. A young Gentleman who had resided here for some time as a Refugee, having lost the greatest part of his fortune in South Carolina, with the remains, he fitted out and collected a small fleet of Privateers, and about two hundred Loyalists; with these, and by an allowable artifice he reduced the Spanish Garrison. As I was doubtful of his success, I claim not the credit for countenancing the Expedition. I am confident that his spirit and success will, Sir, recommend him to your favor and protection.⁸

The Harbour Islanders were ultimately rewarded for their assistance to Deveaux by a grant of 6,000 acres of land on the "mainland" of Eleuthera. This land is still held today in commonage by the descendants of those volunteer troops.⁹

The Deveaux Expedition, followed as it was by the catastrophic news that Florida was being handed over to Spain, directed the thinking of many Loyalists toward the Bahamas as a possible place for the establishment of new homes.

The Floridians did not leave East Florida without making a vigorous appeal to the home government that some consideration be given to their plight. Some dared think that the treaty could

8. Joseph Byrne Lockey, *East Florida 1783-1785, a File of Documents Assembled and Many of them Translated* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1940), 99. Hereafter cited as Lockey, *Documents*.

9. Mary Moseley, *The Bahamas Handbook* (Nassau: The Nassau Guardian, 1926), 72.

be changed. Even Governor Tonyn may have hoped for a countermand. In May, 1783, he wrote the British colonial secretary, Thomas Townshend, that the colony was prospering. He said that 12,000 inhabitants had been added to East Florida during the war years and that there were settlements and plantations all along the coastal region for two hundred miles. To have to abandon their labors and give up their homes would be a sad blow to the settlers. He said a move to West India, as proposed, would require more capital than the people possessed. Moreover, West India was overstocked. "Providence and the Bahama Islands are mere rocks, fit only for fishermen and the Inhabitants live chiefly by wrecking," he wrote. "Nova Scotia is too cold a climate for those who have lived in the southern colonies, and entirely unfit for an outlet, and comfortable habitation for owners of slaves."¹⁰

Lord North in a letter to Tonyn, December 4, 1783, admitted that the Home Government was perplexed and embarrassed over the East Florida residents and refugees. To mitigate their distress somewhat North advised that the eighteen months allowed in the treaty for evacuation might be extended. North recommended migration to the Bahamas. He wrote:

The Islands of the Bahama being nearly in the same Latitude with their former Possessions, very thinly Inhabited, and but little Cultivated, it was proposed to Government to purchase the proprietary of them for the accommodation of such as may chuse to become Settlers thereon; The King's Servants very readily attended to the proposal, and Measures are at this time pursuing to obtain the possession of them, and, where Tracks of Land will be given to them (gratis) proportioned to their former situations, and ability to cultivate them. . . . For those who prefer the Bahama Islands, a considerable Quantity of Provisions, has already been provided and dispatched, and Supplies will be sent to the West Indies, proportioned to the number who may desire to become settlers upon those islands.¹¹

Many Floridians felt they knew too little about the Bahamas and were unwilling to migrate to those islands until they had more information. Deveaux himself had not returned to St. Augustine after the defeat of the Spanish but had remained in

10. Lockey, *Documents*, 104-105.

11. *Ibid.*, 178-180.

Nassau where he occupied Government House and employed a white man at one dollar a day to reside in the fort and fire the morning and evening gun.¹² The Spanish government had departed and the British government had not yet returned to Nassau during the summer of 1783 when Deveaux undertook to fill the vacuum. During this summer the East Floridians sent one of their leaders to the Bahamas to make a personal investigation of conditions there. The chosen emissary was Lewis Johnston, a member of the Council of East Florida. The big question was whether the islands could support a slave economy, inasmuch as the wealth still remaining to the Loyalists was largely in slaves. Johnston reported that large tracts of land usually associated with the successful employment of slave labor did not exist. He reported the soil to be rocky and in patches. The trip must have convinced him, at any rate, that the Bahamas had little to offer, for he and his family, after a sojourn in Scotland, settled in Jamaica.¹³

Another investigation of the Bahamas as a place for future settlement was made by Lieutenant John Wilson, a British army engineer stationed in St. Augustine. In July, 1783, Sir Guy Carleton, British commanding-general in charge of the evacuation of all British troops and Loyalist civilians from America, ordered Wilson to go to the Bahamas and make a report of conditions there. Wilson arrived in Nassau on the seventh of August and found the town virtually without defences and with Deveaux acting as the government.

Wilson reported the population for the preceding year as 4,002 people scattered through the seven islands which were inhabited: New Providence, Eleuthera, Harbour Island, Cat Island, Exuma, Long Island, and Turks Island. Of these, some 800 were slaves and 75 were free Negroes or mulattoes. More than two thirds of the population, or 2,750, lived on New Providence Island. The islands were largely uncultivated, he reported.

. . . owing to the indolence of the inhabitants, who pay no attention to the improvement of their land, but content themselves with whatever is produced by nature without being at

12. James H. Stark, *History and Guide to the Bahama Islands* (Boston: James H. Stark, 1891), 169-174. Stark gives excerpts from Wilson's report. A copy of the entire report is in the Boston Public Library.

13. Wilbur H. Siebert, *Loyalists of East Florida, 1774-1785* (DeLand, Florida: Florida State Historical Society, 1929), I, 362.

any trouble to assist it. In the planting season they generally go into the bushes, where they make holes in the ground with a piece of hard wood pointed for that purpose, in which holes they drop the seed of guinea corn and after covering it up go away and never visit it any more until they think it is fit for gathering in. They also plant a few yams, sugar cane and cassava in the same manner, without being at any trouble to clear the land.¹⁴

Wilson found very little soil and that in shallow pockets of twelve or fourteen inches in depth. "One fifth part of the face of the country is nothing but rock," he stated, but he surmised that skillful planters from America might be able to produce very good Indian corn and other vegetables and fruits since they were more accustomed to industry than were the Bahamians.

Though Wilson was scarcely more optimistic about the Bahamas than was Johnston, there were many people in Florida and some in the Loyalist colony in New York City who, perhaps from desperation, were eager to believe the best and hence were willing to risk what fortunes they had left by going to the Bahamas.

At least one unconvinced Loyalist, however, as late as 1784 clung to the hope of remaining in Florida by working out a "deal" with the Spanish. John Cruden, in October, 1784, petitioned Charles III of Spain to grant the area along the east coast of Florida between the St. Johns River and the St. Marys River to him and his Loyalist associates and to allow them "internal government" of the same. In return he promised "reasonable Tribute" to the king of Spain and expressed a willingness to aid in the defense of the Spanish province against all powers except Britain. With emotional impact, and both inveighing against the mother country and professing loyalty to it, he stated the alternatives which weighed heavily on so many East Floridians as they faced evacuation:

Abandoned by that Sovereign for whose cause we have sacrificed Evry thing that is dear in life and deserted by that Country for which We fought and many of us freely bled, and may it please your Majesty We are all Soldiers-Thus left to our fate bereft of our slaves by our Inveterate Countrymen, We may it please your Majesty are Reduced to the dreadful alternative of returning to our Homes, to receive

14. Stark, *op. cit.*, 170.

insult worse than Death to Men of Spirit, or to run the hazard of being Murdered in cold blood, to Go to the inhospitable Regions of Nova Scotia or take refuge on the Barren Rocks of the Bahamas where poverty and wretchedness stares us in the face Or do what our Spirit can not brook (pardon Sire the freedom) renounce our Country. Drug the Religion of our Fathers and become your Subjects. ¹⁵

Cruden sent one copy of his petition to Spain by way of friends in England and another copy to Vicente Manuel de Zespedes, the Spanish governor of East Florida. In a letter to the governor's secretary, Carlos Howard, he spoke of the distress of his friends "for whom I cant cease to feel land think" and said he had asked Governor John Maxwell of the Bahamas to send a supply of provisions to the "poor unfortunate sufferers," presumably the Loyalists gathered at St. Marys. ¹⁶

In March of 1785 Cruden was in Nassau and still concerned for his "constituents" in Florida. He wrote to de Zespedes expressing hope that those unfortunate persons might be allowed to remain as British subjects until he could get to Havana and consult with Count Bernardo de Galvez concerning what he called his "grand wish" to bring about a "happy, cordial, and lasting Union between Britain and Spain." ¹⁷ There was nothing small about the plan which he had now evolved: it was to let France recover Canada and to unite the Loyalists, the British, and the Spanish in retaking the United States from the Americans and giving it back to the Loyalists. ¹⁸

Governor de Zespedes considered Cruden a "restless soul" and a "mere visionary" but he did give him permission to proceed to Havana to see his own superior, Bernardo de Galvez, the captain-general of East and West Florida. De Zespedes sent a copy of Cruden's plan to Galvez with this explanation:

I would not trouble Your Excellency with such nonsense except for the consideration that its abounding fanaticism throws some light on the man's intentions, which, though they will hardly make any impression on thinking people, will perhaps have a great influence on the large number of impoverished and desperate exiles from the United States, who find no means of subsistence in the Bahama Islands. ¹⁹

15. Lockey, *Documents*, 301-02. //

16. *Ibid.*, 311-312.

17. *Ibid.*, 485.

18. *Ibid.*, 486.

19. *Ibid.*, 484-485.

There is no evidence that John Cruden ever reached Havana personally to lay his preposterous plan before the captain-general or that he ever again addressed the king of Spain. Perhaps his money or his zeal had run out. Cruden moved to the Bahamas where he was mentioned by the *Bahama Gazette*, January 28, 1786, as "the Commissioner of the Sequestrated Property of the Southern States of America and Commanding Officer of the Militia in the Province of East Florida." He subsequently settled down on Exuma Island and became a school teacher.

In 1783 there were about 17,000 people in East Florida of whom 5,090 whites and 8,285 Negroes were classified as refugees, though many of these had been in Florida for several years, had built homes there, and were occupied in running plantations or businesses.²⁰ Most of the 17,000 people chose to leave. The few who remained included the Minorcans, whose colony at New Smyrna had failed and who had moved to St. Augustine. Probably as many as four thousand East Floridians melted away into the wilderness, some going as far as the Mississippi River. The majority, about 10,000, departed by boat, most of them going to the Bahamas or the West Indies, some to Nova Scotia and England.²¹ At least 260 "miserable wretches" from St. Augustine were reported to be in Nova Scotia in 1784.²² Some of these may have been among the thirty persons who arrived in Nassau from Shelburne, Nova Scotia, in 1789, at the time Shelburne was abandoned because of unproductive soil and inclement weather.²³ The lure of the sun for those who had once known a sunny land must have been as powerful then as now. This same lure may explain why a number of East Floridians, among them Peter Edwards, Stephen Haven, and Robert Cunningham, who went to England, were not content to stay there but soon moved to the Bahamas.

The evacuation of East Florida was in charge of Brigadier General Archibald McArthur whom Carleton in 1783 made commandant of the Bahamas. John Winniett served as commis-

20. Siebert, *Loyalists*, I, 131.

21. Mowat, *op. cit.*, 144-147. It is to be noted that the Bahamas were not considered a part of the West Indies.

22. George W. Wrong, *Canada and the America Revolution* (New York: MacMillan Company, 1935), 426.

23. *The Bahama Gazette*, December 12, 1789. Microfilm copies of this remarkable newspaper, published in Nassau by Loyalist John Wells from 1784 to 1799, are in the University of Florida Library.

sary for the St. Augustine refugees and William Brown, speaker of the Assembly of East Florida, was in charge of embarkation at that port. According to Brown's record, there were 1,033 whites and 2,214 Negroes who left St. Augustine for the Bahamas, but he probably counted only those who availed themselves of transportation at public expense.²⁴ Others like Panton, Leslie and Company and Denys Rolle either owned ships or hired them for the evacuation.

A German writer, Johann David Schoepf, who visited East Florida in the spring of 1784 at the height of the evacuation, was critical of the harbor of St. Augustine. He said the entrance was difficult to locate when approached from the sea because of the general flatness of the land and the lack of distinguishing landmarks. The bar he called "dreadful" and said it could not be crossed "without mortal danger."²⁵ Schoepf, as passenger coming from Charleston to St. Augustine on a small coasting vessel, was conditioned to expect the worst by stories told him on the voyage. The nervous young captain recounted to him how sixteen vessels carrying refugees from Charleston to Florida in 1782 were wrecked on that bar in a two-day period, with the loss of many lives.²⁶

Schoepf landed safely but when he attempted to leave St. Augustine for the Bahamas he again was confronted with problems. Now he declared the harbor to be a "mousetrap," easy to get into but hard to get out of. He reported seeing a brigantine, bound for Nova Scotia, which had been lying in the harbor for five weeks waiting for a tide high enough to float it across the bar. Schoepf himself, on March 24, boarded a small Bahama-bound vessel heavily loaded with refugees and their belongings, but it was not until March 29 that she was able to cross the bar and then only after several bumps that threatened to split the seams. He told of Florida beaches strewn with wreckage and estimated that there was one wreck near St. Augustine every two to four weeks.²⁷

24. Wilbur H. Siebert, *The Legacy of the American Revolution to the British West Indies and Bahamas* (Columbus: Ohio State University, 1913), 23.

25. Johann David Schoepf, *Travels in the Confederation*, trans. and ed. by Alfred J. Morrison (Philadelphia: William J. Campbell, 1911), 226.

26. *Ibid.*, 228.

27. *Ibid.*, 248-249.

Many evacuees embarked from the port of St. Marys, Georgia, because it was safer than the port of St. Augustine. Evacuees usually arrived at St. Marys aboard small coasting vessels and then transferred to larger ships. Lieutenant Robert Leaver was in charge of embarcation at St. Marys.

That some of the public transports sailed from St. Augustine is evidenced by the following report filed in Nassau:

These certify to who it may concern that Thomas Bryden, Master of the Brigantine *Clementina* Transport by order of B. Gen. McArthur did take on Board the Said Brigantine at St. Augustine East Florida in the month of December 1783 a party of the 37 Regiment of Foot also discharged Soldiers, refugees & Negroes in all 160 and Victualled by Assistant Com. Ferguson Then on Board, that he landed the Troops & Refugees & their Property in good Order at Nassau, New Providence, January 7, 1784.²⁸

On the other hand, a notice in the *Bahama Gazette* for September 25, 1784, stated:

Since our last there has arrived here from St. Mary's several Transports and Ordnance Vessels, with the Garrison and Stores of St. Augustine, and a number of the late Inhabitants of East Florida.

Since there were not enough transports to move all the possessions of the refugees many things had to be left behind. These were offered for sale to the Minorcans and the others who remained in Florida and to the few Spaniards who had returned, altogether not a thousand persons. The few purchasers took advantage of the situation to drive hard bargains. John Wood, who had come to St. Augustine from Georgia, was obliged to sell his lot and buildings, valued at 400 pounds, to a Spaniard for only 54 pounds.²⁹ Francis Levett, another Georgian, sold property in St. Augustine which had cost him 1,282 pounds for the sum of 160 pounds.³⁰ A few tore down their houses and managed to transport a part or all of them to the Bahamas. Unless one owned or rented a ship it was not possible to take so much bulk. Those who went by public transport were given limited space. In his memorial asking compensation for losses, Peter Edwards declared that he had pulled down his three-room house in St. Augustine with the in-

28. Bahamas, Reg. Of., M, 75.

29. Siebert, *Loyalists*, II, 268.

30. *Ibid.*, II, 328.

tention of taking it to the Bahamas, but a part of it rotted in St. Augustine, a part was lost on the way to St. Marys, and a part was lost as it was being unloaded at New Providence.³¹ Horses and horned cattle usually had to be left behind. Slaves, the most valuable property, were taken, but in some instances the slaves ran away or were stolen before the sailing date. One former South Carolinian who had expected to take his thirty slaves to the Bahamas gave in to them when they raised a vehement objection, and took them back to South Carolina where he sold them.³²

Governor Tonyn shipped to the Bahamas the fire engine, bells, and the church pews which he had been unable to sell to the Spaniards.³³ There was much lawlessness, especially toward the last of the evacuation. Those who were the last to leave were robbed not only of slaves but of horses, carts, and furniture.³⁴ One of the last transports, with 114 whites and 249 Negroes aboard, arrived in the Bahamas in September, 1785, most of the passengers in a pitiable condition and short of the necessary provisions and tools with which to begin a new life.³⁵

Most of the ships used for transports were quite small, brigantines or schooners, and most of them made several round trips from East Florida to the Bahamas. One brigantine, the *Countess of Darlington*, was employed by Panton, Leslie and Company to take a load of slaves and freight from St. Marys to Nassau. When the ship arrived in Nassau on October 4, 1784, the master registered it and listed its cargo. Some of the items were:

72 slaves	1 iron oven
18,035 feet of lumber	5 chairs
33,600 shingles	1 table
8 casks of nails	8 window frames
4 chests of tools	4 pistols
16 axes	2 blunderbuses
12 hoes	16 muskets
2 grindstones	1 canoe
1 desk	4 cart wheels
6 whipsaws	1 axle tree ³⁶
3 crosscut saws	

31. *Ibid.*, II, 181.

32. *Ibid.*, II, 134.

33. Mowat, *op. cit.*, 146.

34. Siebert, *Loyalists*, I, 178.

35. *Ibid.*, I, 192.

36. Bahamas, Reg. Of., M, 71.

At least one vessel was wrecked on the dangerous reef of Abaco Island. This was a schooner, the *Swift*, which was bearing dispatches from Patrick Tonyn to James Edward Powell, lieutenant-governor of the Bahamas,

. . . which Vessel Struck upon a Reef on the 27th of same month [September, 1785] where she together with the Cargo were totally lost and the Master and the Mariners of the said Schooner used their utmost Endeavor to save the said Dispatches but by the Violence of the Sea the Cheste containing the Dispatches aforesaid and Sundry other Papers the Property of Edward Corbete of St. Marys in the Province of East Florida, merchant, was Stove and the Contents washed out and the Darkness of the Night and the violence of the Sea Rendered it impossible to recover any part thereof. . . .³⁷

In the lost dispatches Tonyn had asked the return of several vessels to St. Marys to take on some evacuees left stranded when a frigate, the *Cyrus*, was damaged as it attempted to cross the bar and the passengers refused to sail on a leaky ship. Tonyn wrote to Lord Sydney from St. Marys, November 10, 1785 :

Fortunately, My Lord although the Express vessel was wrecked upon the Island of Abaco and my dispatches were all lost the Master thereof reached New Providence in time to establish the purport of his voyage, and two Transports have returned in which His Majesty's faithful Evacuists will proceed with all dispatch. . . .³⁸

Nothing caused more friction in East Florida during the hectic months of evacuation than did the problems arising from slavery. Some Negroes had run away to Florida, others had been brought away by refugees who had stolen them from Patriots. Still others were legally owned by refugees though proof of ownership was often lacking. The ensuing slave trials in Nassau resulted from this confusion in East Florida and caused many bitter quarrels among the Loyalists.

During the evacuation a number of persons came to East Florida from Georgia and the Carolinas looking for stolen or runaway slaves before they could be taken from the country. According to a letter written in St. Augustine, May 20, 1783,

37. Deposition sworn to before Cornelius Blanchard, J. P., October 5, 1785, *ibid.*, M, 255.

38. Lockey, *Documents*, 738.

The Town of Augustine is full of People from Georgia & South Carolina taking the Negroes that have been plundered from them during the War, this will hurt many of them that were never legally condemned so that they will be taken from them in course, I am happy that I never brought either Negroes or any thing else that has been taken during the War.³⁹

On the other hand many Loyalists in Florida owned slaves which they had left behind in Georgia or the Carolinas. Some of these had been permanently lost through confiscation, others might have been recovered had the owners been permitted to go back to look for them. South Carolina in particular was reported to be "violent" toward Loyalists. Most did not dare go back. Charles Wells who went from St. Augustine to Charleston, his old home, on business and under a flag of truce was arrested and put into prison.⁴⁰

Since an owner was never sure of a slave until he was aboard ship, the custom was to put Negroes aboard as soon as possible and to hold them there as prisoners until tide and weather permitted sailing. Advice given Daniel McGirtt was to take his slaves.

. . . in some Good large cunnoo and as soon as the vessel comes into St. Maries Board them in the Night and take the Negroes and carre them away till the times are settled. . . .⁴¹

In testifying in Nassau to the status of a slave named Robin, a witness said that at the time Robin was purchased by Anthony Steward of St. Marys the Negro "was on board his Majesty's ship, Cyrus, lying in St. Marys River to prevent him from running away." In this case Steward claimed his bill of sale was lost in a shipwreck on the coast of Abaco.⁴²

Some of the Creek Indians of East Florida had become quite friendly with the British and resented the return of the Spanish. A few of these went with the Loyalists to Nassau where they lived in a small Creek settlement on the edge of town.⁴³

St. Augustine was evacuated within the eighteen-month period specified in the treaty. The British troops and their com-

39. *Ibid.*, 172.

40. *Ibid.*, 142.

41. *Ibid.*, 216.

42. Bahamas, Reg. Of., N, 151.

43. Lawrence Kinnaird, "International Rivalry in the Creek Country," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, X (October, 1931), 64.

mander, Archibald McArthur, had departed from East Florida by August 14, 1784.⁴⁴ But a few Loyalist civilians remained at St. Marys for several months longer. Among these was Patrick Tony, whose dalliance may have been due to his hope of being appointed governor of the Bahamas.⁴⁵ Tony explained his delay as due to the damaged frigate, the *Cyrus*, as referred to above. By November the ship was repaired and no appointment had been made, so Tony sailed for England.

Among the last to leave was a Protestant minister, the Reverend James Seymour, who stayed to administer to the few still in Florida in the summer of 1784. Seymour had had a church in Augusta, Georgia, until he was forced to leave because of his sympathy for the British. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel then appointed him a missionary to East Florida. In 1784 some of his old parishioners in Georgia promised to get his Bill of Confiscation set aside if he would return to Augusta but he refused because of his antipathy toward persons in power. He asked for an appointment in the Bahamas because he had come to like warm weather and dreaded the severe winters of Nova Scotia. He died aboard ship on the way to his new post in the Bahamas.⁴⁶

The East Floridian Loyalists in the Bahamas were joined by 1,458 Loyalists from New York, at least half of whom were British soldiers and some of whom were free Negroes. The soldiers were soon to be discharged and they probably requested assignment to Abaco because they expected to make that island their future home. All received provisions for six months.⁴⁷

Most of those who sailed to the Bahamas from New York were not New Yorkers. They came from various states and some were from West Florida. The latter had been permitted by the Spanish "to go behind the British lines" in New York after the Spanish had taken over West Florida in 1781. Generally speaking, the New York refugees were poorer and humbler than the refugees from East Florida and fewer of them owned slaves.

Siebert gives the number of Loyalists who went to the Bahamas as about 5,000.⁴⁸ Deans Peggs, recent headmaster of the

44. Lockett, *Documents*, 273.

45. *Ibid.*, 746.

46. Edgar Legare Pennington, "The Reverend James Seymour, S. P. G. Missionary in Florida, *Florida Historical Quarterly*, V (April, 1927), 198-199.

47. Siebert, *Loyalists*, I, 150.

48. *Ibid.*, I, 159.

Government High School in Nassau and a Bahama historian, believes the number to have been between six and seven thousand.⁴⁹ A letter from "a gentleman at New Providence to a friend in Glasgow" which was printed in the *Bahama Gazette*, September 11, 1784, stated:

This place bids fair to become a flourishing settlement from the number of refugees of property now settled and daily coming into these islands from New York, South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida.

A week later the *Gazette* gave the total number of refugees as "near 4,000." But many Loyalists did not move to the Bahamas until they had "tried" other places, usually England, Nova Scotia, or various of the West Indian islands, and by then the Bahamas had already lost some of the early refugees to "greener fields" elsewhere. Probably the exact number of Loyalists who resided in the Bahamas at one time or another will never be known.

Schoepf, the German traveller, who accompanied a shipload of refugees from St. Augustine to the Bahamas, described the island capital and its inhabitants in lively detail. Like a modern tourist in Nassau he found space at a premium and thought himself lucky when he was able to find a place in a carpenter's home a half mile from town. All houses and other buildings were crowded with refugees and their possessions.

Nassau hugged the hilly north shore of New Providence Island and had only one tolerably regular street, the forerunner of today's famous Bay Street. That earlier street was narrow, followed the shore, and had houses and shops on one side with the docks and open harbor on the other. The street was unpaved but, as Schoepf observed, there was little need for paving where an island was almost wholly composed of rock.⁵⁰ The Bourse (generally called the Vendue House) was a roofed and open-sided market where sales of all kinds were conducted, including the sale of slaves. This was a popular gathering place for buyers, sellers, ship captains, and other persons of affairs, who wanted to learn or discuss the latest news.

The other public buildings included a church, a jail, and an assembly house. The governor, John Maxwell, occupied a private

49. Deans Peggs, *A Short History of the Bahamas* (London: The Crown Agents, 1955), 17.

50. Schoepf, *op. cit.*, 263.

home on the top of a ridge, a landmark for in-coming ships. The Spanish governor had lived in this house the year before and had built a wall around it and fortified the terraces. On this hilltop, known as Mount Fitzwilliams, the present Government House was built in 1801.

The houses and other buildings of Nassau were built of wood of simple and light construction. Most of them were of one thickness of boards nailed to a frame, the frame exposed on the interior. Better homes were ceiled to make them more attractive. Chimneys were unknown and the cooking fire of wood was in a detached kitchen, often a half-open shed. Glass windows were rare. Solid wooden shutters were used to cover windows at night and during bad weather. Cellars were unknown until introduced by the Loyalists. Houses stood apart from one another in their own gardens.⁵¹

In its wild state the island was overgrown with shrubs, trees, and vines and thus the rocks were somewhat concealed. When this wild growth was cleared away the result was anything but attractive. "An acre or piece of arable ground here has indeed a fearful look," Schoepf wrote, "for there is to be seen hardly anything but rock, full of larger and smaller pits and holes, containing a pretty strongly reddish earth."⁵² Plowing was unknown and even hoeing was uncommon. Little tillage was needed and the favorite tool for that was a sharp stick.

Yams were a year-round staple crop but watermelons, maize, and most European vegetables could be grown if planted to take advantage of the rainy season during the summer and fall. Among the tropical fruits which Schoepf noticed were papaws, limes, avocados, bananas, pomegranates, figs, oranges, soursops, and pineapples. Sugar cane was grown for syrup but not for sugar. The several coffee "orchards" which Schoepf observed were doing well. Indigo would grow but there was insufficient water to process it. He thought cotton offered promise as the best crop for export.⁵³

A few cows and goats were kept for milk and there were some sheep and swine but the lack of proper pasturage and the scarcity of water limited production of livestock. As substitutes for beef the people ate turtles and iguanas. The iguanas, measuring about

51. *Ibid.*, 262.

52. *Ibid.*, 267.

53. *Ibid.*, 268-269.

three feet long, were caught in the wilds by dogs trained for the purpose. They could be kept alive for several weeks, or until needed, by sewing their jaws together with a needle and coarse thread, probably to keep them from devouring one another.⁵⁴

Woodcutting, like wrecking, was an occupation engaged in by almost everyone at one time or another. Slave owners often put their slaves to cutting wood when there was nothing else for them to do. Everyone had the right to cut wood where he might find it and by 1784 New Providence and the adjacent islands had been fairly well cut over. Mahogany was valued in ship-building for planking vessels below the waterline, for it withstood worms, but it was too heavy a wood for the superstructure. *Lignum vitae*, a hard and oily wood, was used for pulleys and rigging blocks. Braziletto wood was exported for dyes.⁵⁵

Exports included pineapples sent to Europe and pineapples, limes, and yams to the United States. According to Schoepf, limes were preferred to lemons in the United States for making punch. Imports from England and the United States included meat, butter, rice, corn, wheat, utensils, and clothing,

"Amiable," "courteous," and "hospitable" were words Schoepf used to describe the inhabitants of Nassau. He said they liked to drink and dance the time away. "One is puzzled," he wrote, "to see most of the white inhabitants of Providence living well and yet going about in idleness; but they live by the sweat of their slaves."⁵⁶ Yet even the slaves seemed to him to be quite content. Some of them paid their masters something each week and in return were virtually free to do as they pleased.

Into this sparsely-populated, easy-going, sea-nurtured colony which Schoepf described came the Loyalists, some embittered by their losses, some with feelings of superiority toward the old inhabitants whom they derisively called Conchs, and almost all with driving ambitions to remake their fortunes and to assume positions of leadership in the government. A conflict was inevitable and since the Loyalists outnumbered the old inhabitants almost two to one they felt that they were certain to win. They did win, for a time.

In the long run environment played the key role. It is ironic

54. *Ibid.*, 282, 291.

55. *Ibid.*, 272-274.

56. *Ibid.*, 273.

that in spite of all their zeal for work and their modern ideas about plantation management, the Loyalists who survived were those who learned to accept the ways of the old inhabitants: the casual attitude toward agriculture and the close dependence on the sea.

A NAVAL VISITOR IN BRITISH WEST FLORIDA

by ROBERT R. REA

THE WORLD-WIDE EXPANSION of the British Empire in the eighteenth century was dependent upon a navy whose officers were, of necessity, the most widely travelled men of their times. No less than frontiersmen, the holders of His Majesty's commission were empire-builders. Seldom, however, were they fully conscious of the broader significance of their work or capable of literary exploitation of their experiences. John Blankett was an exception to this generalization. His career extended from the inland waters of North America to the Indian Ocean, from Russia to South Africa, from the English Channel to the Red Sea where he last flew his broad pennant.¹ Blankett possessed a keen eye for the unique and delighted in sharing his observations with any who might find them useful or interesting. He was the author of a brief book on Portugal and several lengthy descriptive and strategic memoranda addressed to such influential British statesmen as the Earl of Shelburne.

One of John Blankett's endeavors in the field of letters resulted from his experience as a young lieutenant stationed on the newly-acquired British Gulf Coast in the years 1764-1765. Extending his activity beyond the confines of ship-board duty, Blankett familiarized himself with the infant colony of West Florida, was briefly a property-holder therein, and visited the city of New Orleans whose strategic importance, though lost upon a British government, was clear enough to a future British admiral. The manuscript records of British West Florida and the unpublished correspondence of the Royal Society, to whom Blankett offered his observations on the Mississippi region, present a unique view of British naval participation in the creation of the American empire.

The introduction of British troops and the establishment of civil government in West Florida was accompanied by the appearance of naval vessels at Pensacola, the provincial capital. Naval interest in the Gulf Coast reflected the essentially Carib-

1. Biographical information may be found in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, LXXII (1802), 35-36; J. K. Laughton's sketch in the *DNB*; and Robert R. Rea, "John Blankett and the Russian Navy in 1774," *The Mariner's Mirror*, XLI (1955), 245-249.

bean nature of the area and its contacts in the early years of British occupation. The sea offered the easiest and most obvious route to West Florida from either Britain or the northern colonies, and it was generally recognized that the colony's future was tied economically to Caribbean trade and commerce. Naval vessels bringing troops and supplies frequently contributed significantly to the affairs of the young colony, lent a helping hand to hard-pressed soldiers, and allowed enterprising officers an opportunity to dabble in colonial real-estate.

Assistance in establishing British authority and impressing the surrounding hordes of Indians with British might was greatly appreciated by the successive commanders and civil officials at Pensacola. Major William Forbes, for instance, showed his gratitude for such aid by securing horses for the use of naval officers ashore. Four horses cost Forbes four gallons of rum, but he was a good horse-trader; his rum was half water.² Governor George Johnstone, himself a former naval person, sought the support of Admiral Sir William Burnaby in his quarrels with the army,³ and the Navy made itself generally useful in all but the mercantile sphere of activity: the presence of men-of-war at Pensacola frightened off Spanish trading vessels from Havana whose commerce was most necessary to colonial prosperity.⁴

Naval officers and seamen were not likely to become permanent settlers in West Florida, but they were prompt to engage in land speculation. Admiral Burnaby held considerable property interests, as did Sir John Lindsay, the commanding naval officer at Pensacola, and several other members of the company of H.M.S. *Alarm* to which Lieutenant John Blankett was attached.⁵ Blankett probably reached West Florida with Sir John's squadron in September 1764.⁶ Following established procedure, he petitioned the provincial council for a grant of land, and on February 7, 1765, he was awarded Town Lot No. 88 in Pensacola.⁷

2. Forbes to Gage, July 15, 1764, Gage Manuscripts, William L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan. Hereafter cited as Gage Mss.

3. See the Gage Mss, *passim*.

4. Forbes to Gage, May 28, 1764, Gage Mss.

5. Clinton N. Howard, *The British Development of West Florida, 1763-1769* (Berkeley, 1947), 53, 57-58, 63.

6. Mackinen to Gage, Sept. 20, 1764, Gage Mss.

7. Howard, *op. cit.*, 57; Alabama State Department of Archives and History, British West Florida Transcripts, 158. Hereafter cited as A&H Trans.

His tenure of the property was brief, as was his stay on the Gulf Coast. Before the end of the year his lot was transferred to James Robinson on the grounds that Blankett had given no indication of intention to improve the property nor build a house, nor had he transferred his interest to any other party.⁸

Blankett's visit to the neighboring province of Louisiana and the Isle of Orleans was the result of British interest in opening a passage from the Mississippi River into West Florida and thereby circumventing Spanish control of virtually all of the commerce of the interior. The government of West Florida invested considerable energy toward this end and hoped that the Iberville River would provide a means of communication with the Mississippi which would lie wholly in British hands.

As early as the spring of 1764, Major Robert Farmar proposed the establishment of a British post at the juncture of the two rivers in order to better "preserve a communication with the post of Natches" and to put "a check upon that constant intercourse and correspondence which the French enjoy at present without interruption with the savages."⁹ James Campbell, surveyed the Iberville during the summer, and his reports to Mobile sustained Major Farmar's enthusiasm for the project.¹⁰ The surveyor reported to General Thomas Gage in December that a fort on the Iberville would be "the key to the Mississippi," and he urged the building of "a stockaded blockhouse with four four-pounders."¹¹

So encouraging did the prospects appear that the Iberville project won the enthusiastic support of the newly-arrived Governor George Johnstone, who wrote that "The advantages which will attend the occupying of this post, besides the keeping so material a passage open, & protecting the navigation of this passage will be, the securing our possessions on the north side of that channel, & rendering New Orleans dependant on us for all things instead of our being dependant on New Orleans."¹² Characteristically, however, Johnstone favored his own authority on the Iberville River, that "very ingenious young Gentleman"

8. Howard, *op. cit.*, 66; A&H Trans., 220. Transfer occurred between August 13 and November 2, 1765.

9. Farmar to Gage, April 17, 1764, Gage Mss.

10. Farmar to Gage, September 24, 1764, Gage Mss.

11. Campbell to Gage, December 10, 1764, Gage Mss.

12. Johnstone to Lindsay, December 10, 1764, Gage Papers, American Series.

Phillip Pittman, and saddled Campbell with the impossible task of opening a route whereby vessels of six feet draft might move from Lake Pontchartrain into the Mississippi no later than June, 1765.

Toward this end Johnstone, on December 10, 1764, requested that Sir John Lindsay place a naval vessel at the colony's disposal. Lindsay was requested to make any structural or equipment changes deemed necessary for river service and was assured that "every species of fresh provisions" would be readily available to the ship assigned the duty.¹³ The Governor's plea was supported by Major Farmar, in behalf of the military establishment, thereby displaying a unique case of cooperation between the civil and military authorities in West Florida.¹⁴ Early in January, 1765, both Campbell and Pittman headed west to begin work on the Iberville channel and the proposed fort.¹⁵

On January 2, 1765, Admiral Lindsay assured the Governor of his support and advised that "The *Nautilus* being the smallest Frigate in the Squadron, I have therefore given Capt. Locker orders to get her ready for that service. But as she draws 13 feet of water, I am in some doubt if she will be able to go over the Bar at the Balize [at the mouth of the Mississippi]." ¹⁶ Inquiry at Mobile apparently assured the Governor that *Nautilus* could navigate the entry into the Mississippi, and on January 7, the Council decided to accept the Navy's offer and to send equipment for the new post by that conveyance.¹⁷

Unfortunately, the Governor and his advisers were overly optimistic concerning the quantity of materiel which might be sent aboard one twenty-gun ship. Lindsay was forced to warn Johnstone that "the smallness of the *Nautilus* renders her incapable of receiving such a quantity of stores as is mentioned . . . especially as I have directed Captain Locker to take in a greater quantity of provisions than usual in order that the service she is going upon may not be frustrated by depending on a precarious supply." Lindsay further advised the Governor that *Nautilus* would be ready to sail from Pensacola on January 29. She would stop at Dauphin Island, outside Mobile Bay, and there receive troops

13. *Ibid.*; A&H Trans., 38-41.

14. Farmar to Gage, December 21, 1764, Gage Mss.

15. Farmar to Gage, January 17, 1765, Gage Mss.

16. Lindsay to Johnstone, January 2, 1765, A&H Trans., 41-43.

17. Council Minutes, January 7, 1765, A&H Trans., 45-46.

destined for the new post, six cannon, and various other military stores.¹⁸ Major Farmar was promptly informed of these arrangements and promised that troops at Mobile would be in readiness for *Nautilus'* arrival.¹⁹

Lieutenant John Blankett was quick to seize the chance presented by this project. As he later wrote:

Such an opportunity offering of acquainting myself with the river Mississippi was too favorable to be neglected. I therefore applied to Sir John Lindsay, the commanding Sea Officer at Pensacola, for leave to pass in the *Nautilus* to New Orleans; which he very readily granted, as the *Alarm*, to which ship I belonged, was not immediately wanted.²⁰

The sailing of *Nautilus* was delayed for several days, at least, and while Campbell waited anxiously at New Orleans, a more pleasant spot than the crocodile-infested swamps of the Iberville, Governor Johnstone attached Archibald Robertson, another engineer, to the expedition. In his instructions to Robertson, the Governor gave a name to the new post, desiring "that the Fort may be called *Bute* in remembrance of that virtuous minister who was the instrument employed by His Majesty under the blessing of God, for extending our dominions to that western limit."²¹

With due deliberation *Nautilus* went about her appointed task, and Lieutenant Blankett, who sailed with her, had ample time to compile that account of his passage and observations of the lower Mississippi which he forwarded in 1774 to the Royal Society in London. His report was received but not printed. It did not possess great scientific value, but it graphically portrayed the river scene and described those matters of particular interest to sea-farers both naval and mercantile. As a contemporary view of the area it holds greater value and interest for the twentieth-century historian than it did for the eighteenth-century academician. Blankett's report follows:

18. Lindsay to Johnstone, January 21, 1765, Gage Mss.

19. Johnstone to Farmar, January 22, 1765, and Farmar to Johnstone, January 27, 1765, Gage Mss.

20. The Royal Society Mss, Letters and Papers, Decade VI, No. 37, Burlington House London, England (photostatic copy in the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.). Blankett's communication is here printed with the gracious permission of the Royal Society.

21. Campbell to Gage, February 8 and February 20, 1765; Johnstone to Robertson, February 9, 1765, Gage Mss. The Earl of Bute was also the instrument whereby Johnstone secured his gubernatorial appointment.

* There being no tide of any consequence from the gulph of Mexico.

The Balize, which is a small fort at the entrance of the Missipi, is situated in the latitude $29^{\circ}08'$, forty three leagues SW of the harbour of Pensacola, & as the land here is very low they make a signal from the Fort to Ships in the Offing who would otherwise find it difficult to ascertain the entrance of the river. The different entrances of the river are formed by mud banks, on which the trees which are continually floating down the river are stopped, & in a short time form small Islands which are raised above the surface of the water & become covered with wild canes & rushes.

There are three principal passes, The East, The South East, & The South West, all these passes are very liable to shift & fill up for it is not more than four or five years ago that Ships were used to pass close to the little fort at the Balize, which is now more than a mile from the passage at present made use of.

The East pass is the one most commonly used, as supposed to contain the most water, when the Nautilus first arrived there I found thirteen feet on the bar, but the next day it blowing hard out of the river, the water had fallen to something less than twelve feet. The Ground is soft mud, tho there are some parts hard gravel. The Current is very rapid, more especially when the river is full. The tides at the entrance are irregular & depend on the winds: They sometimes rise about 1 foot & half tho without lessening the strength of the current. There are two King's Pilots & proper boats at the Balize who are in readiness to go out to Ships in the offing, these people are obliged to sound the bar after every gale from the S.E.

After passing the bar which is about a Mile long you meet with 4, 5, & 6 fathom water, where ships generally anchor in a small bay & take in whatever might have been put out to lighten for coming over the bar.

After this the only difficulty is the strength of the Current which runs between 3 and 4 knotts. The river is about half a mile broad, the banks low & steep. It is not good to anchor for the heavy trees which are swept down by the current catch the anchor & very soon bury it, so as to make it almost impossible to weigh it again. This we found by experience, and we learned afterwards that the best method of stopping the ship, was by a bow & quarter fast to the trees, as you may lay your side to the banks.

For upwards of twenty leagues the banks are very low, the ground swampy marshes covered with wild Canes, Cedar, & rushes. As you proceed farther the banks rise something higher, in some places three & four feet, but this must be observed to alter according to the fullness of the river. The Plantations are well banked up. They begin a reach called *Detours aux Anglois*. The soil is abundantly rich & fertile producing Sugar, Indigo, Indian Corn Cotton & almost every thing of American growth, & with very little pains, they seldom dig their grounds, but only turn it up with a hoe & put in their plants or Grain. They raise great quantity of Cattle & Stock of all sorts.

Five leagues from the *Detours aux Anglois* is the town of New Orleans the right hand side of the river, it is stockaded round in a regular manner, but at the time I was there had not a gun mounted. [It] is by no means capable of defence, its only strength lies in its difficulty of access. The town is of an oblong form, the houses . . . & built of wood with balconies in the manner of the West Indies. Their trade consists chiefly in Skins, Squared timber, Lumber Indigo, & some cotton, & is carried on chiefly to the Illinois & to Cape Francois in Hispaniola. To the Illinois they send Cloths, Flannels, Wines, Cutlery & other European manufactures, & receive in return Skins, Flour & Corn, which with Squared Timber, Shingles & Lumber are carried to Cape Francois in return for the Manufactures of Europe.

The trade to the Illinois has been greatly Monopolised by the Governors, Intendants & Comptrollers, who under pretence of sending detachments, recruits, & stores to the Illinois, carried on their trade in large *Batteaux*, at the King's expence, by which means they could undersell the Merchants & were always sure of the first of the market at the Illinois.

The Mississippi may be called the Nile of America, it rises in the same manner & overflows its banks, the Ouse fattening the soil, it has a continual current downwards* & abounds in the same animals, such as Crocodiles & water serpents. The Mississippi begins to rise in April when the Frosts break up in the high mountains with which its source is surrounded & rises from ten to twelve feet which is evident from the marks on the Trees, it falls again the beginning of September. It must be observed that this overflowing only extends very wide near the mouth of the

Missisipi, for as you go up the river the land at some distance is above the height of the flood at its greatest fullness.

It will likewise be necessary to observe that tho the water in the river is raised ten & twelve feet, yet the water on the bar is not proportionably increased; For the Sea breezes blowing fresh the whole summer wash up the loose sand thrown down by the current of the river & make the sand banks higher than in the winter, so that in fact there is less water in Summer than in Winter, thro the different entrances of the River. It is principally owing to this reaction of the Sea breezes against the Current that those small Islands in the mouth of the River are continually increasing, & it will be evident upon examination to determine that the lower parts of the Missisipi are only the work of a few Centuries.

The Plantations by the side of the river are banked up to any height the proprietor pleases, according to what quantity of water he wishes to have; from the great fertility of the soil every kind of herbage is very luxuriant & the Orange trees in particular seem to delight in the nature of their situation. Myrtle trees, from which the wax is made, are in great abundance, & with the Orange trees generally compose the hedge rows. The sailing up this river is very agreeable, for in order to keep out of the strength of the current, you frequently pass under fine spreading trees, & open at once, upon a well cultivated Plantation.

The rapid motion of so large a body of water as the Missisipi, must naturally occasion a great current of Air which fans the borders of the river, in the great heats of Summer, & renders it pleasant in the most Calm seasons.

The water of the river, when left to settle, is extremely soft & fine, & if we may believe the Inhabitants is good against almost all the disorders of the country. It is certain that they drink it, after any violent exercise to prevent fevers, & even give it in fevers by way of diet drink.

During my stay at New Orleans, the Batteauxs arrived from the Illinois & brought accounts that the Indians had discovered a colony of Japanese. They described houses of red earth & several other particulars which made the French conclude that they had met with a settlement of Colonists whom they supposed to have come from Japan. These were the Merchants accounts, but as I afterwards wrote to Mr. Aubrey the Commandant at

New Orleans on this subject, I shall transcribe his letter only adding that Mr. Aubrey is a man of great knowledge, much conversant with the history of America, & ever accounted of strict honor & veracity.

Monsieur

Je vous prie de m'excuser du long silence que j'ai garde a votre egard, la multitude d'affaires dont j'ai ete accable jusqu' ici m'a empeche d'entretenir correspondance avec un des hommes avec lequel je desirerois le plus d'en avoir, je compli sur votre indulgence et je me flatte de la meriter, attendu que ma faute est involontaire.

Nous me demandes une relation au sujet de ces figures Asiati-ques que l'on a vue dans les Nord Ouest de L'Amerique, la con-noissance que j'ai de de cette Nouveaute est que le Sieur des Voltez, Officier reformi, etablir depuis longtems aux Illinois, m'a rapporte que des sauvages de Missouri lui avoient dit, que des na-tions tres eloignes de leur village, assuroient que du cote, ou le soleil se couche il avoit passe des hommes toute differons des hom-mes rouges & blancs, qu'ils portoient des longues robes, et avoient des fusils et des armes qui quoique differens des notres, feroient pourtant les meme effet, Voila Monsieur, tout ce que je sai.

Ce qu'il y a de certain, cest que la position du pais des Illinois on j'ai ete longtems, est singulierement remarquables. A Son Nord Est, est Canada et La belle riviere, celebre a jamais par les actions heroiques que s'y sont faites, et les actions barbares, que s'y sont commises Le Nord et le Nord Ouest des Illinois a pro-prement parler n'est pas encore decouvert ce post en quelque facon, dans cette partie, sert des bonnes a l'Universe connue. Au dela est un Continent immense, ou L'Avarice, et la Cupidite des Europeans n'a pu encore par venir, selon les apparences ce sera la generation suivante qui fera cette decouverte.

Selon va au nord des Illinois en remontant le fleuve en ren-contera, apres trois une luing de Chemin le saute St. Antoine passe ce saut, le Missisipi n'est plus rien, il se divise en plusieurs fourches & vent lines plus loin, est un lac, et un terre marecajeuse et tremblante, dont il prend sa source. Les Sioux et autres Na-tions firores habitent ces Terres fertiles et riches en varis pel-

liserie, la mauvais foy & la cruaute de ces Sauvages imputent les Voyageurs d'y aller Commerces.

A l'égard de Nord Ouest des Illinois, il est traverse par un des plus grands et rapides fleuves de l'Univers, appelle le Missouri. Il entraine avec lui des Isles & des forets qui vont se promener dans les Golphes de Mexique, on ne connoit que quatre cent lieues de son Cours, les Francois n'ont jamais passes le village de Ricarao, des nations innombrables habitent cet continent si la Navigation de ce fleuve n'etoit pas aussi terrible et dangereuse qu'elle est, on y auroit fait des decouvertes interessantes et un commerce considerable. Plusiers Voyageurs en ont raporte des dents D'Elephants, mais on n'y en a jamais vue d'en Vie, . . . seule chose me fait penser que le nord ouest de L'Amerique [et] le Nord Est de L'Asie se touchent, ou que si il y a une separation [qu'e]lle n'est pas considerable.

Si cette Nouvelle des Sauvages est vraie il ne seroit pas impossible de voir arriver en quelques jours, une detachmens Japanois ou Moscovite, mais avant cet evenment je crois que les Espagnole seront ici, est que je serai partis pour La France.

Je sois bien de la joie que la guerre Sauvage est sur sa fin & que vous seres bientot tranquilles possesseurs des terres que nous vous avent cede. Depuis la mort de Monsr. D'Abbadie j'ai travaille sans relache a tranquiliser les sauvages, je vois avec satisfaction que mes peines ne sont pas perdus, et que depuis que je suis a la tete de ces Pais, on n'a point entendu parler [de] ces catastrophes que fort horreur a l'humanite et J'espere que Messieurs le Anglis me rendrent toute la justice que je merite. Je vous prie Monsieur de me donner de vos nouvelles de me . . . un peu de part dans votre souvenir, & d'etre persuadei de tous les sentimens les plus parfaits d'estime et de consideration la plus grande avec, lequel J'ai l'honneur d'Etre

Monsieur

A la Nouvelle Orleans
18 Juin 1765

Votres tres humble
et tres obeissant serviteur
Aubrey

P.S. Having read an account in the Philosophical Transactions of supposed Elephants teeth found in the NW parts of America, which were conjectured to belong to some other animals I mentioned it to Mr. Aubry who assured me that by every account.

he had receiv'd, & by every trial he had made, he had no doubt of their being real Elephants teeth.

The joys of sailing on the Mississippi appear to have ended with *Nautilus'* northward progress. The frigate reached the site of Fort Bute no later than April and remained until mid-June at which time it was forced to return to New Orleans for want of bread and other supplies. Engineer Campbell reported that *Nautilus'* presence had great effect upon the French and Indians of the area who respected this display of British strength. The ship's crew were of little assistance in the work at hand, however, for like most sailors, they insisted that their duty did not require service ashore.²² Similar complaint was made by Robertson, who had accompanied Locker and Blankett aboard the vessel, and had been led to believe that the ship would provide him with a working party of forty men.²³

One can well imagine the British seamen growing restive as the summer heat weighed upon them and their rations diminished. Equally concerned was Admiral Burnaby, who hired a sloop to convey supplies to his river outpost,²⁴ but Captain Locker, unable to wait, dropped downstream long before relief could reach him. The supply ship met *Nautilus* crossing the bar at Balize.²⁵ Governor Johnstone protested vehemently against the abandonment of his construction detachment at Fort Bute, but he received only a curt rebuff from the new naval commander at Pensacola, Captain William Cornwallis, who denied either knowledge of or responsibility for the joint operation in which *Nautilus* had been engaged.²⁶

By the summer's end the project had been dropped from naval consideration altogether, and the small working party headed by Robertson had been dispersed by desertion, fever, and a raiding band of Alabama and Houma Indians who destroyed the place and chased Robertson back to New Orleans.²⁷

Nautilus' role in the history of the Mississippi was far from glorious; Blankett's description of the rich river country failed to

22. Campbell to Gage, June 20, 1765, Gage Mss.

23. Robertson to Gage, September 20, 1765, Gage Mss.

24. Wedderburn to Gage, June 7, 1765, Gage Papers, American Series 34.

25. Johnstone to Cornwallis, July 8, 1765, Gage Mss.

26. Cornwallis to Johnstone, July 8, 1765, and Johnstone to Robertson, October 1, 1765, Gage Mss.

27. Robertson to Gage, September 20, 1765, Gage Mss.

stir Britons to effective action, yet in no part of the Southern colonies might the combined efforts of the British army, navy, and colonial government have paid greater dividends. Similar failure to achieve cooperation was in part the cause of the eventual loss of British West Florida, which slipped into Spanish hands during the American Revolutionary struggle with almost the same ease with which the first Fort Bute was swallowed up by the ravenous Mississippi.

THE DAY GOVERNOR CABRERA LEFT FLORIDA

by LUIS RAFAEL ARANA

I

ON SUNDAY, APRIL 13, 1687, the presidio of St. Augustine, Florida was going about routine activities. Captain Antonio de Arguelles' infantry company had guard duty, and the captain was at the presidio's main guardhouse. A galliot, one of the vessels of the garrison's naval complement, rode at anchor in Matanzas Bay. She was ready to sail that afternoon. Her crew (partly made up of sailors under contract for just that trip), supplies, arms (including 36 flintlock muskets), and ammunition, were already on board. Adjutant Juan Pinto, one of the three regular adjutants, was the galliot's officer in charge.¹ The

1. Acting Governor Pedro de Aranda y Avellaneda to the Crown, St. Augustine, April 28, 1687. Archivo General de Indias (hereafter cited as AGI) 54-5-14, No. 41 (photostat in Stetson Collection, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville, hereafter cited as SC). This 56-page manuscript consists of (1) letter of transmittal by Aranda, and the Consejo de las Indias' and the Junta de Guerra's resolutions on the matter; (2) Auto provisto por oficiales reales para hacer testimonio de lo sucedido y de las demas diligencias hechas en esta razon, 14 de abril; (3) Fe y testimonio del ayudante Alonso Solana, escribano publico y de gobernacion, 14 de abril; (4) Orden del sargento mayor don Juan Marquez Cabrera, gobernador y capitan general de la Florida, 11 de abril; (5) Auto y acuerdo entre el gobernador y oficiales reales sobre navegacion de la galeota, 10 de abril; (6) Auto provisto por oficiales reales para recibir informacion de los enviados a Matanzas y Mosquitos, 15 de abril; (7) Declaraciones de los soldados Francisco Martin de Utrera y Francisco Alberto y del ayudante reformado don Jose Benedit Horruytiner, 15 y 16 de abril; (8) Peticion del sargento mayor don Pedro de Aranda y Avellaneda y traslados de cedula reales, [April 16]; (9) Acuerdo de la junta y testimonio de pleito homenaje, 17 de abril; (10) Auto provisto por el gobernador interino y oficiales reales para obtener testimonio del estado de la plaza, 17 de abril; (11) Fe y testimonio del ayudante Alonso Solana, escribano publico y de gobernacion, sobre el estado de la plaza, 18 de abril; (12) Auto provisto por oficiales reales para tomar declaraciones a 5 soldados, 18 de abril; (13) Declaraciones de los soldados Pedro Hernandez, Luis de Granados, Francisco Pacheco, Domingo Gonzalez y Alonso Fernandez y del artillero Manuel Palma, 18 de abril; and (14) Listas generales de la infanteria y gente de mar y artilleros y plazas muertas que tienen plaza de S. M. en este presidio de San Agustin de la Florida en 24 de abril de 1687. The portion of the article footnoted here is based on Auto provisto por oficiales reales . . . , 14 de abril; and Fe y testimonio del ayudante Alonso Solana. . . , 14 de abril.

vessel was to proceed to the southern coast of Florida, watch out for pirates, and patrol the waters between Key Largo and Key West. In this area she was to meet the St. Augustine frigate, which would leave later, and escort it to the Havana coast; or meet the subsidy vessel, expected any moment from Veracruz, and convoy it to St. Augustine. Under no circumstances was the galliot to enter the port of Havana.² There was no hint that day that the sailing would be altogether different from other departures in the past.

Around 4 o'clock in the afternoon, Sergeant Major Juan Marquez Cabrera, governor and captain general of Florida, sent for reformado Adjutant Alonso Solana, the public and governmental notary. Solana went to Castillo de San Marcos, where the governor had his quarters and was at the time. Governor Cabrera asked the notary to accompany him in a visit to the galliot before it cleared the harbor. The lieutenant of the Castillo, Captain Francisco de Fuentes, detailed Privates Luis de Granados, Francisco Pacheco, Domingo Gonzalez, and Alonso Fernandez, and Gunner Manuel Palma, to man the rowboat which was to carry the governor to the vessel.

On the way to board the boat at the Castillo pier, Governor Cabrera met Captain Francisco de la Rocha, the treasurer and supply officer, and pointing toward Matanzas Bay with his baton,³ pressured him.

"Let's go in the boat to the mouth of Nombre de Dios creek, and see the galliot go out."

Soon the rowboat tied to the vessel, and the governor, the treasurer, and the notary went on board.⁴ Almost at once, Governor Cabrera spotted 29-year old Private Pedro Hernandez. Pedro had official permission to leave St. Augustine for a few days. Cabrera ordered him off the galliot and into the boat. Hernandez could go on leave some other time.⁵ Cabrera then

2. Auto y acuerdo entre el gobernador y oficiales reales sobre navegacion. . . , 10 de abril, AGI, 54-5-14, No. 41 (SC).

3. A baton was the sergeant major's insignia of rank in the 16th Century Spanish armies, and then and later it was also the distinction of an officer exercising chief command. Francisco Barado, *Museo militar - Historia del ejercito espanol* (Barcelona: circa 1883), II, 20, 407.

4. Fe y testimonio del ayudante Alonso Solana. . . , 14 de abril, AGI 54-5-14, No. 41 (SC).

5. Declaracion del soldado Pedro Hernandez, 18 de abril, AGI 54-5-14, No. 41 (SC).

ordered the anchor weighed and the vessel taken to the mouth of Nombre de Dios creek. This location was directly opposite the inner end of the channel connecting the port with the sea.

As the galliot neared Nombre de Dios, with the rowboat trailing astern, still within cannon shot of the Castillo, Governor Cabrera pulled some papers out of his pocket. He handed one to Notary Solana, another to Adjutant Bernardo Nieto de Carvajal, another one of the regular adjutants, and a third one to Diego Polo, the governor's secretary. Cabrera said that the paper would be read aloud so that everyone would understand it, and added: "Check those two copies of this order. These are the instructions for Adjutant Pinto."⁶

Those present were thunderstruck when the reading began. The document was actually a statement by Governor Cabrera. He was leaving St. Augustine because he had been refused confession, and was going to Havana to obtain it. If he stayed, he would be censured and scandal would follow. This had been the intention behind the refusal, judging from partisan talk already being heard in the city. The situation was bound to bring factionalism, and more disorder and disobedience than that already existing. Trouble makers were vulgarly voicing disrespectful half-threats toward those loyal to the king. To prevent more of this sort of thing, it was better that he leave.

The document was more than a statement of reasons for his departure. Governor Cabrera had provided that in his absence the governorship was to be divided into civil and military branches. He designated the two royal treasury officials (the accountant and the treasurer) as the civil governors, and the two regular infantry company commanders as the military governors. Before taking any action, these executives were required to obtain the written advice of the artillery commander and the Castillo lieutenant. These governors would not shift personnel nor change standing orders. Especially, they would forbid any other person to become governor, nor matter what documentation was shown to them, unless the person was appointed as governor by the crown.⁷

6. Fe y testimonio del ayudante Alonso Solana. . . , 14 de abril, AGI 54-5-14, No. 41 (SC).

7. Orden del sargento mayor don Juan Marquez Cabrera, gobernador. . . , 11 de abril, AGI 54-5-14, No. 41 (SC).

When the reading was over, Governor Cabrera made Alonso Solana attest the two copies of the paper, and handed him the the original for delivery to the royal officials. At this point, Treasurer Rocha spoke up.

Your Excellency, what are you doing? You can't go away! In the name of His Majesty, I ask you to stay; I protest your action. The king, our lord, has appointed you as governor, and entrusted you with this garrison, the fort, and the provinces. We, as loyal and obedient subjects to the laws and commands of our king and natural lord, obey you. You can't go away!

"I have considered it well," Cabrera replied. "As a Christian and a Catholic, I must have confession to save my soul. Here I have asked for everything owing to a Christian, but no priest wants to hear me. What they want is to excommunicate me and toll the bells for me, as it is rumored in the streets. If this happens, obviously there will be a scandal. I am going to find the remedy for it all."

"That is not enough reason to leave this garrison and province, which have been entrusted to you by His Majesty," said the treasurer. "In the name of the king, I protest because of the harm and injury which may befall this garrison through your misdeed. The king will prefer serious charges against you because it is in the royal interest that you not leave here."⁸

"What garrison!" the governor exploded angrily. "I s-t on it!"

Violently he threw his baton into the sea, and shouted as he faced the treasurer again.⁹

"Go back to land! I am going to have the king chop off my head! Now it will be known who is loyal to His Majesty."¹⁰

Flushed with ire and disgust, Cabrera forced Rocha and Solana to get off the galliot into the rowboat. In vain the treasurer still protested Cabrera's action.

"In the name of the king, I object to your leaving!"

8. Fe y testimonio del ayudante Alonso Solana. . . , 14 de abril, AGI 54-5-14, No. 41 (SC).

9. Declaraciones de los soldados Alonso Fernandez y Francisco Pacheco, 18 de abril, AGI 54-5-14, No. 41 (SC).

10. Declaracion del soldado Alonso Fernandez, 18 de abril, AGI 54-5-14, No. 41 (SC).

"To hell with the king and the queen!" rejoined the governor carelessly.¹¹

Unheeding Rocha's repeated objections, Cabrera ordered full sail, and with her oars flashing, the galliot headed for the channel. Keeping well in its middle, the vessel reached the open sea at sunset. It turned south, and as the night fell, it disappeared from view.¹²

II

The Gotterdammerung for Juan Marquez Cabrera came when he had been governor of Florida for nearly seven years. His advent to the governorship had originated in 1678, when the Junta de Guerra de las Indias began searching for a successor to Governor Pablo de Hita Salazar, whose term was expiring. Cabrera then ranked in seventh place among 49 prospective candidates for chief executive positions in America. Previously he had been considered for such posts in Florida, Trinidad, Guiana (today a portion of Venezuela), and Santa Marta. He had also been considered for the wardenship of the Puerto Bello and the Puerto Rico fortifications. More recently he had been the governor of Honduras.¹³ In April, 1680, the Camara del Consejo de Indias formally submitted to the crown the names of three persons for the Florida governorship. Cabrera's was in first place. The king chose him,¹⁴ and appointed him to that post in May 14, 1680, for a five-year tenure.¹⁵

Governor Cabrera's unexpected leaving should have been predicted from the tactlessness he displayed throughout his term of office. From the very moment he took possession of the governorship in November 30, 1680,¹⁶ he had managed to antagonize irreconcilably the native-born St. Augustinians, the higher

11. Declaracion del soldado Luis de Granados, 18 de abril, AGI 54-5-14, No. 41 (SC).

12. Fe y testimonio del ayudante Alonso Solana. . . , 14 de abril, AGI 54-5-14, No. 41 (SC).

13. Minuta de la Junta de Guerra y Chara del Consejo de Indias, Madrid, June 13, 1678, AGI 58-2-1, No. 21 (SC).

14. Chara del Consejo de Indias to the Crown, Madrid, April 3, 1680, AGI 58-1-20, No. 19 (SC).

15. Crown to Captain and Sergeant Major Don Juan Marquez Cabrera, Madrid, May 14, 1680, AGI 58-1-21, No. 259 (SC).

16. Governor Juan Marquez Cabrera to Don Jose de Veitia Linage, St. Augustine, December 8, 1680, AGI 54-5-11, No. 67 (SC).

military and royal treasury officials, the regular and the secular clergy, the Indians, and even his second in command and compatriot, Sergeant Major Pedro de Aranda y Avellaneda. Cabrera was an extremely authoritarian, stubborn, and single-minded man. To make it worse, he was a foul-speaking person.¹⁷

As the end of his term approached, Cabrera had expected relief from the controversies of his administration. He had, however, been deprived of this hope in 1684, when the crown ordered him to stay on until further orders. The Junta de Guerra was having difficulty in finding a qualified individual to take up the Florida governorship.¹⁸ This had been a bitter blow, but it did not change Cabrera's boorish manners. His headstrong actions at last brought him to this dilemma: if he stayed in St. Augustine without confession, his fear of a challenge to his authority might materialize; on the other hand, if he abandoned the post he had sworn to keep until properly relieved by the crown-appointed successor, he was taking an equally disastrous step. His much-despised subordinates had contrived to weave a web around him. No matter which way he broke out of it, disgrace awaited him.

III

Accountant Tomas Menendez Marquez took the situation firmly in hand as soon as Treasurer Rocha and the party in the boat rowed ashore with the somber news. The twilight was waning rapidly. Governor Cabrera must be found if he was still around. With that in mind, Captain Menendez embarked in a launch, accompanied by Sergeant Major Aranda, Captain Juan Sanchez de Uriza (the other infantry company commander), the artillery's Captain Nicolas Esteves de Carmenatis, and Notary Solana. They proceeded to Anastasia Island, hoping that the governor might have gotten off the galliot outside the port. Their expectations were dashed when Andres Garcia, in charge of the Anastasia lookout tower, told Menendez that the vessel had kept well

17. This article does not pretend to analyze the background of the controversies of Governor Cabrera's administration, but consultation of the index cards of the Stetson Collection for 1680-1687 amply indicates the ones who were antagonized by Cabrera.

18. Junta de Guerra de las Indias to the Crown, Madrid, January 17, 1684, AGI 54-5-19, No. 57 (SC); Crown to Governor Juan Marquez Cabrera, Madrid February 19, 1684, AGI 58-1-21, No. 385 (SC).

away from land as it emerged from Matanzas Bay. It had not touched land anywhere in the area.¹⁹

Not disheartened, Accountant Menendez made two other efforts at finding Governor Cabrera. That same evening he dispatched two soldiers overland to Matanzas lookout, and in the early morning hours of Monday, April 14, he likewise sent five men in a boat to Mosquito Inlet. The governor might have stayed at either of these places. Menendez also sent news of Cabrera's departure to the provincial lieutenant governors, enjoining them to observe strictly all standing orders. At 8 o'clock in the morning, Alonso Solana, the notary, was instructed to start a written record of events.²⁰

The efforts to locate Governor Cabrera failed. On Tuesday, April 15, Privates Francisco Martin de Utrera and Francisco Alberto, who had gone to Matanzas lookout tower, were back in St. Augustine. The men at the lookout had not seen any vessel pass by or enter the inlet. The reformado adjutant in charge, Felipe de Santiago, had even sent a soldier to Nea, the old tower site. The soldier did not detect any vessel nor find anyone with news about it. Next day, reformado Adjutant Jose Benedit Horruytiner, head of the party which had gone to Mosquito Inlet, was back in St. Augustine. He had found nothing in his reconnaissance of all the rivers, creeks, and coves within the inlet, nor any person who could tell about any vessel.²¹

The definite fact that Governor Cabrera was not in Florida brought to the fore the question of a successor to the absent executive. That same Wednesday, April 16, Sergeant Major Aranda appeared before the royal treasury officials, and petitioned that the Florida governorship be handed to him. The post had been vacant since the 13th. Existing royal decrees provided that the proprietary (crown-appointed) sergeant major would become acting governor in the death or absence of the royal governor. If the office were not turned over to him, it would constitute a violation of the expressed royal will.

Major Aranda was absolutely correct in his contention. Royal

19. Fe y testimonio del ayudante Alonso Solana. . . , 14 de abril, AGI 54-5-14, No. 41 (SC).

20. Auto provisto por oficiales reales. . . , 14 de abril, AGI 54-5-14, No. 41 (SC).

21. Declaraciones de los soldados Francisco Martin de Utrera y Francisco Alberto y del ayudante reformado don Jose Benedit Horruytiner, 15 y 16 de abril, AGI 54-5-14, No. 41 (SC).

decrees amply and clearly provided for the temporary succession to the governorship. *Cedulas* in 1641, 1652, and 1663 substantially stated that in the demise, absence, or illness of the governor of Florida, the sergeant major of that presidio would take his place temporarily, exclusive of acting sergeants major. Aranda himself had received a privileged decree to the effect, but when he showed it to Governor Cabrera, the governor had intentionally retained the document.²²

The interregnum was ended when a *junta*, or council, finally passed on Major Aranda's petition. The council, convoked by the royal treasury officials, met at the accountancy on Thursday, April 17, at 10 o'clock in the morning. Accountant Menendez and Treasurer Rocha presided over the meeting in the presence of the petitioner. In addition to the two regular infantry captains, the artillery commander, and the Castillo lieutenant, those invited and present were two former governors, Sergeants Major Pablo de Hita Salazar and Nicolas Ponce de Leon II, seven other officers, and two regular sergeants. This military body heard the reading of the record of events, and unanimously voted that the proprietary sergeant major should be the acting governor of Florida. They all signed the written proceedings, except Ponce de Leon, who had become blind. The accountant and the treasurer do not seem to have voted, but Menendez expressed their acquiescence in the council's decision. They would turn over the governorship to the sergeant major, provided he posted the required bond and take the oath of *pleito homenaje*. This oath required the governor to defend the Castillo to the last extremity, and to deliver it only to a crown-appointed successor.

The same day the act of taking possession of the Florida governorship took place in Castillo de San Marcos. There, with Accountant Menendez and Treasurer Rocha administering the oath, Sergeant Major Pedro de Aranda y Avellaneda swore the *pleito homenaje* in the way it was done in Spain. The ceremony was witnessed by the regular infantry and artillery commanders, the Castillo lieutenant, and Captain Francisco de Cigarroa, a former acting accountant. The keys to the Castillo were handed to 38-year old Aranda,²³ and thus he became the acting governor of

22. Petición del sargento mayor don Pedro de Aranda y Avellaneda y traslados de cédulas reales [April 16], AGI 54-5-14, No. 41 (SC).

23. Acuerdo de la junta y testimonio de pleito homenaje, 17 de abril, AGI 54-5-14, No. 41 (SC); Royal Officials of Florida [Accountant

Florida, four days after Juan Marquez Cabrera had unauthorizedly quit his post.

Immediately upon assuming command, Governor Aranda took steps to erase the discredit cast upon Florida by ex-Governor Cabrera's farewell statement. On Friday, April 18, Notary Alonso Solana, in compliance with Aranda's order, attested that it was widely known in the city that no subject of the king had ever been disobedient to Cabrera. Furthermore, there had been no partisan talk, disorders, or altercations of any kind, as the absent executive had claimed. It was true there had been mutterings of dissatisfaction when it became public that the clergy had denied the absent governor the sacrament of penance. The priests had justified their action by saying that Cabrera had not beseeched it in the attitude required of a Catholic and true Christian. This attestation by the notary closed the written record of events dealing with the absence of Cabrera.²⁴

IV

The news of these Florida events reached Spain on December 15, 1687, and the Consejo de las Indias and the Junta de Guerra took cognizance of the matter. These agencies immediately dispatched commission to the lieutenant governor of Havana, Francisco Manuel de Roa, to proceed to Florida and conduct an investigation. Furthermore, at the first opportunity, the wayward Cabrera was to be arrested and remitted to Spain. The Junta further charged that Roa was to look into Aranda's accession to power, in case there had been undue lack of moderation in the sergeant major's conduct. Before these directives reached America, even before the Florida news had reached Spain, Cabrera's arrest and imprisonment had taken place.²⁵

Research into the causes and nature of Governor Cabrera's troubles in St. Augustine is beyond the scope of this paper. His unauthorized departure, nevertheless, poses many questions which for the moment must go unanswered. What made Cabrera think

Antonio Menendez Marquez and Treasurer Francisco de la Rocha] to the Crown, St. Augustine, April 16, 1683, AGI 54-5-14, No. 154 (SC).

24. Auto provisto por el gobernador interino y oficiales reales. . . , 17 de abril; Fe y testimonio del ayudante Alonso Solana. . . , 18 de abril, AGI 54-5-14, No. 41 (SC).

25. Consejo de las Indias' and Junta de Guerra's resolutions.

he had authority to divide the governorship into civil and military branches? Did he do it to prevent Aranda, whom he disliked, from becoming acting governor? If he planned to come back, did he feel he could not assume the governorship again if an acting governor formally took over?

The proceedings to install Sergeant Major Aranda as acting governor likewise bring up similar queries. Royal decrees were explicit about succession to the governorship. Why, then, did not Aranda take control of the situation immediately instead of letting Accountant Menendez act as "kingmaker?" Why did a military council have to stamp approval upon the individual known to be the crown-designated temporary governor? Was there something lacking in Aranda's character and previous performance in Florida which would have caused the military to object to him? Were the circumstances of the whole affair such as to require the sanction of some kind of procedure? Some answers are buried in the photostats making up the Stetson Collection, and they would shed light on the tragic phase of the life of luckless Juan Marquez Cabrera as governor of Florida.

LAWLESSNESS IN FLORIDA, 1848-1871

by RALPH L. PEEK

THE CLASH OF IDEOLOGIES, conflicts over rights and status, and a struggle for power, all of which have marked man's efforts to achieve a society satisfactory to himself, created an intense conflict in Florida during the years of Reconstruction, particularly in the period 1868-1871. In this bloody struggle the issue at stake was the possession of local, state, and national political and economic power, and this issue was colored and made more complex by social and racial elements, including the most virulent race hatred. The incipient conflict, created by the aftermath of war and the Reconstruction Acts of 1867, flared into open violence shortly after the reins of government were surrendered by the military in July, 1868. Protracted tension and violence ended with the victory of Southern white conservatives which was apparent by 1871. The familiar story of political reconstruction in the defeated South, and in Florida, does not need repeating here. This story furnishes the backdrop for the drama of conflict which was played out during the years 1868-1871. It is the purpose of this article to describe some of the elements of violence and intimidation which proved so effective in Florida during this period.

Violence and lawlessness in Florida during 1866-1867 followed no discernible pattern, but was the result of four years' total and devastating war which had demoralized society in all Southern states.¹ But after the resumption of civil government in July, 1868, an organized campaign of violence began in Florida and became so intense that in some sections of the state, notably Jackson County, a virtual state of warfare existed for short periods. Two sections of Florida furnished the setting of the most sustained and vicious outbreaks during 1868-1871. One section, in north central and northern Florida, comprised the counties of Alachua, Lafayette, Suwannee, Hamilton, Madison, and Columbia. The other, in west Florida, included Jackson and Calhoun counties. There were notable single instances

1. As a result of mounting disorders, civil government was suspended by the federal authorities in Alachua, Madison, Levy, Santa Rosa, and Escambia counties in 1866. See the *New York Times*, July 12, 1866.

of violence in other counties also, some of which are analyzed. Young Men's Democratic Clubs incorporated local white men who perpetrated threats, physical assaults, floggings, and murders, all for the purpose of making the Democratic Party paramount and defeating the Republicans.² These combinations were highly mobile and their activities struck fear into the hearts of the Negroes, intimidating and confusing them, and decimating Radical ranks.

William Bryson, judge of the Third Judicial Circuit which included the counties of Columbia, Lafayette, Suwannee, Hamilton, Madison, and Taylor, testified to the effectiveness of the combinations in his district. Bryson, who was a native of North Carolina and who characterized himself as not having "a democratic hair on me," described conditions in the area as "bad."³ Many crimes had been committed for which no one had been punished. It was virtually impossible to bring the guilty to trial because of two factors: First, an organization existed whose purpose was to obstruct justice - an organization popularly known as "Ku Klux" which always operated in favor of the Democratic Party. Second, widespread sympathy for the organization and its purposes existed in the area, and it was impossible for law officers to enlist the aid of white people in apprehending those guilty of violence and intimidation. Moreover, armed resistance had prevented service of warrants in some of these counties,⁴ and Negroes had been driven from the polls by armed men.⁵ Six or seven colored Republicans had been murdered in Columbia County during the eighteen months following the fall of 1868, and the conditions under which these killings occurred struck fear into the hearts of Negroes.⁶ Among the first to be killed was Thomas Jacobs, active Negro Republican, who was called to his door in the middle of the night and shot dead. Lishu Johnson was taken from a hiding place in a white man's house one eve-

2. *United States Congress*. Joint Select Committee on Condition of Affairs in the Late Insurrectionary States (42nd Congress, Second Session, *House Report 22, Series* no. 1541), 13 Volumes. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1872). Vol. 13, 226-240; see also 157-158 for copy of constitution usually adopted by each of the county organizations; see also 109, 258, 271, 307. Cited here after as *House Report 22, XIII*.

3. *Ibid.*, 258-260.

4. *Ibid.*, 264.

5. *Ibid.*, 225.

6. *Ibid.*, 263.

ning, and no trace was found of him except a heap of clothing in the woods. James Green, another Negro Republican, was abducted by armed and disguised men, tortured and forced to reveal the strategy of the local Union League, the Negro political action group, and finally killed, his body being discovered later in a pond in the woods.

In the fall of 1868, a group of Negroes of Columbia County had gathered in the home of Prince Weaver for a social occasion. A group of disguised men fired into the house from the yard, killing Weaver's thirteen-year-old son and wounding three other persons. Weaver had previously been warned against holding political meetings at his house. Timothy Francis, a Negro who was very active in the political life of the county, was threatened and fled to another county in fear of his life. However, his flight was to no avail, for he was shot down and killed at his new job two weeks later.

These incidents created deep fear in the hearts of local Republicans. Dr. E. G. Johnson, white physician of Lake City and a leading Republican in Columbia County, testified that he had lived in fear of his life for some time. Johnson, who was assistant to the United States Assessor for Florida, William Purman, and a commissioner for Columbia County, had been elected to the state senate in the election of 1871. He immediately received a letter from the Ku Klux threatening terrible consequences if he did not resign his senate seat immediately.⁷ Previous to this threat, the physician testified, he had been so fearful for his life that he had not slept in his own house for a year. He affirmed that armed resistance had prevented the service of federal processes, and testified that armed bands of men who regularly rode into Lake City were beyond the control of municipal authorities and violated the law with impunity.⁸ On November 7, 1871, a large body of mounted, armed men, in cavalry formation, thundered into Lake City, "hollering, yelling, cursing, and inquiring for Radicals," riding all through the town, firing pistols and breaking up a procession of Negroes moving from a political meeting at a church to the town square. Only one Negro was wounded, but several left town, refusing to stay and vote the next day.⁹ Combinations such as these were identified by Johnson as

7. *Ibid.*, 262 (extracted from *Lake City Herald*, October 28, 1871).

8. *Ibid.*, 262.

9. *Ibid.*, 225.

“Democratic Clubs” whose organization extended to other counties also.¹⁰

Lafayette County was the scene of eight murders which were attributed to the “Ku Klux” by the widow of the most prominent victim, Dr. John Kreminger. Dr. Kreminger, a physician, had been drafted into Confederate service but had crossed the lines at the first opportunity and enlisted in the Union army, serving most of the war with the Union. After the war he settled in Lafayette County where he became prominent for his outspoken Union sentiments. Yielding to the urgings of unionists in the county, Kreminger entered politics and was elected delegate to the constitutional convention in 1868, representative in the state legislature, and, finally, county judge. He was murdered as he sat on his front porch one morning. His murder was, according to the testimony of his wife, Rebecca Kreminger, the work of the Ku Klux whose purpose was to remove him from the political scene. Moreover, she said, the other murders in Lafayette County were perpetrated for the same reasons.¹¹

In Baker County, public sentiment favored the activities of the extra-legal combinations, commonly called Ku Klux. This point was stressed by R. W. Cone, a Negro who was an active Republican, whose family was the target of a night attack.¹² Twelve men broke into the house where Cone and his family were in bed, struck him on the head repeatedly, causing him to feign unconsciousness to escape more blows. His wife, who was about six months pregnant, was “. . . knocked down, [they] gave me a kick on my head and one on my shoulder and . . . tore my hair a great deal. . . . They took me by both hands - I was then on my knees-and . . . dragged me by both hands until they let me loose.”¹³ Cone, entreating the attackers to leave his wife alone because of her condition, was dragged bodily into the yard, his night-shirt was twisted up over his head, and he was savagely beaten. When his wife tried to come out into the yard to aid him, she was told by one of the men that if she made one move or an outcry that he “would blow her damned brains out.” Cone was told that his court testimony against a white man and in favor of Negro voting rights was the cause of this attack. When

10. *Ibid.*, 262.

11. *Ibid.*, 183.

12. *Ibid.*, 65-75.

13. *Ibid.*, 72.

he denied that he had served as a witness and said that he had only served on the jury that day, the beating was resumed on the grounds that this was an even worse offense. Ten days before this incident he had received a letter from the Ku Klux, warning him against further political activity.¹⁴

In Alachua County, nineteen individuals were murdered during these turbulent years, and only five men were tried (and acquitted) for all these offenses.¹⁵ In addition, many assaults had occurred, meetings were fired upon, houses shot into, and physical violence often occurred in open day. There were about six organizations of Young Men's Democratic Clubs in the county, and their purpose was to go anywhere and do anything to remove obstacles in the way of the Democratic Party.¹⁶ A former member of one of the county organizations, testifying before the congressional committee investigating the violence in Florida, asserted that the secret service committee of each organization was the agent of violence and intimidation, the object of this committee being to "prevent certain parties [Negro political leaders] from exerting too great an influence with the colored population of that county..."¹⁷ The audacity of the members of resistance groups is revealed by an attack on William Birney, District Attorney for the Fifth Judicial Circuit. The attack, which was designed to kill Birney and eliminate him from the political scene, was launched in open daylight in the streets of Gainesville. Birney managed to outdistance his pursuers in a protracted footrace and escaped harm.¹⁸ But the incident serves to illustrate the prevailing sentiment in Alachua County as one hostile to national as well as local government. The local press was vociferous and enthusiastic in its efforts to fan this hostility.¹⁹

The Collector of Internal Revenue for the United States government, L. G. Dennis, who resided in Gainesville, received at least a dozen threatening letters, some of them signed "KKK" and containing such allusions as:

"Dead men tell no tales! Dead! Dead! Under the Roses.

"Our Motto is, Death to Radicals - Beware!
KKK,"²⁰

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14. *Ibid.*, 67.
 15. *Ibid.*, 268.
 16. *Ibid.*, 163.
 17. *Ibid.*, 158.
 18. *Ibid.*, 159.
 19. *Ibid.*, 267.
 20. *Ibid.*, 268.

Dennis was given a mock trial in the streets of Gainesville by the Ku Klux, convicted of being a Radical, and sentenced to be hanged. The men trying him, all members of prominent local families, according to Dennis, boasted of having killed two or three Negroes each. During the "trial" their conduct became so boisterous that the mayor caused their arrest. In the trial that followed the mayor acted as judge and the men were convicted on charges of breach of the peace. However, the conviction was immediately appealed to the county court which was then in session, and the men were acquitted. The mayor of Gainesville was accosted as he left the courthouse after the trial and was "cuffed and kicked all about the yard."²¹ Yet, when compared with some other counties in Florida at this time, Alachua was tranquil.²²

Property questions figured prominently in many cases where violence was used to intimidate Negroes. One such case involved the family of Doc Rountree, a thirty-seven year old Negro of Suwannee County who owned a seven acre farm there. One evening at nine o'clock, a group of armed men broke into his home, dragged him and his wife out of doors, "flung my children out of doors," and "they said to me, didn't I know they didn't allow damned niggers to live on land of their own?" Members of the group took turns beating Rountree, his wife, and four of his twelve children, and then "they gave me orders to go the next morning to my master, John Sellers, [who was one of the attackers] and go to work."²³ Sellers told Rountree that he would expect all the children to come to work for him, and that he would pay their wages in food and clothes. Rountree identified all the members of the group as Ku Kluxers and said that the organization was very strong in Suwannee County.

Madison County Negroes were victims of a campaign of terror and intimidation which, they believed, was designed to prevent their owning farms of their own.²⁴ Benjamin Tidwell, white Republican appointee of the governor to the county judgeship and a Confederate veteran who had become a reconstructionist, testified that he had conducted inquests over the bodies of about twenty-five murder victims in Madison County from

21. *Ibid.*, 271.

22. *Ibid.*, 268.

23. *Ibid.*, 279.

24. *Ibid.*, 114-125.

1868 to 1871, and that sworn testimony of witnesses at these inquests invariably fixed the blame for the murders on the Ku Klux. Moreover, he said, every Republican, white or colored, in Madison County knew of the existence of this organization by personal experience and observation. Most of the murder victims were Negroes prominent in political leadership; they were murdered at night by unknown persons, often in disguise, and the perpetrators could not be identified. Law enforcement officials met with a wall of silence when they sought aid from local people.

In Jackson County, Negroes were shot down, beaten, or threatened for expressing political opinions, and were often driven off their places, some abandoning comfortable homes.²⁵ Charles Pearce, Negro Methodist minister and member of the Florida legislature from the Tallahassee district who made the assertions above, attributed these troubles to the Ku Klux Klan, and said that it was very difficult for a Negro to buy land in most of the counties in Florida, especially the more sparsely populated ones. Another Jackson County resident, Emanuel Fortune, testified that a Negro could not buy land in Jackson County.²⁶ Fortune, a thirty-four year old carpenter, had been a delegate to the Constitutional Convention of 1868, and a representative of Jackson County in the Florida legislature. Fortune, a Negro, asserted his personal belief that an organization existed in Jackson County which was responsible for all these circumstances, and that its purpose was to kill all the leading Republicans. He had fled the county in fear of his life in 1871.

Clay County furnished an outstanding example of conflict and intimidation over property questions.²⁷ There a particularly brutal episode illustrated the ruthless determination of some white people that Negroes would not rise in the economic scale. Samuel Tutson, a Negro farmer, bought three acres of land from Ben Thompson, a white farmer. This purchase, which contained certain improvements, such as a house and outbuildings, was supplemented by a homestead tract of one hundred sixty acres. Three years after the original purchase, Isaac Tire, a white farmer, asserted a claim to Tutson's farm on the grounds that the improve-

25. *Ibid.*, 166.

26. *Ibid.*, 95.

27. *Ibid.*, 54-62.

ments were not paid for. The Negro refused to evacuate, citing his deed to the property and his occupancy for three years as sufficient validation of his claim. About a week later nine men broke into the Tutson home late at night, launching an attack that for sheer savagery would have done credit to the German SS of Nazi Germany. After breaking the bedroom door from its hinges the men seized Tutson and his wife. The woman was choked into silence, and the child in her arms was jerked from her and hurled to the floor, receiving a crippling injury to its hip. Despite Tutson's efforts to prevent it, his wife was dragged into the yard, over a fence, and through a field to a point about a quarter-mile from the house. There she was bound to a tree, struck several times with a pistol-butt, and told that she'd better pray. Then her clothing was ripped from her, and the four men began beating the woman with wide leather saddle girths with buckles affixed. After this had continued for a short time three of the men retired a short distance away, leaving her alone with George McCrea, a deputy sheriff of Clay County and the assailant who had injured her child. McCrea endeavored, unsuccessfully, to rape Mrs. Tutson, and then the others returned and the beating was resumed. The other men withdrew two more times, and each time McCrea attempted unsuccessfully to have sexual intercourse with the woman, inflicting upon her in the course of his assault a permanent genital injury.

Meanwhile, Samuel Tutson had been dragged bodily into a nearby field, breaking down a fence as he was dragged over it. He was stripped naked by his five assailants, laid over a log, and beaten unmercifully. Then, while he lay semi-conscious in the field, the men demolished his house, tore down his fences, and drove livestock into his crops which were totally destroyed. The children had fled into the fields where they lay in terror all through the night, not moving or uttering a word until found the next morning by their mother.

The savage attack against the Tutsons was inflicted because the Negroes refused to surrender land for which they possessed, or they thought they possessed, a valid title. Later, these men who attacked them were arrested and tried, but they were acquitted. Samuel Tutson and his wife were given jail sentences for "swearing falsely" because he testified that the men had whipped his wife while she testified that they had choked her.

This discrepancy was viewed as perjury, although the woman had been beaten and choked. The attackers went free, though McCrea was discharged from his job as deputy sheriff.

Negroes in Jefferson County found it difficult to acquire land. Robert Meacham, Negro superintendent of Jefferson County Schools and clerk of county court, testified that whites either refused to sell land to Negroes or set the price so high that they were not able to buy it.²⁸ According to Meacham, Negroes had experienced much trouble in their relations with whites concerning labor contracts, for most of the colored folks were ignorant of the meaning of contracts and often did not know the provisions of those they signed. As a result they often signed contracts containing liens on their crops and got little or no return for their labor. They were often discharged on a pretext immediately before harvest and got nothing for a whole season's labor.²⁹ Because of conditions like these, colored people were being advised by their friends to acquire places of their own instead of hiring out at the risk of being defrauded of their wages.³⁰

The cases cited above reveal a deep, fundamental antipathy between the races and the determination of the Southern white people to establish white supremacy at all costs. The physical violence inflicted upon Negroes as a means of economic and political control was intensified by the racial hatred which became stronger with the progress of Reconstruction. A comment by a Jackson County conservative during the worst of the violence there reveals the general feelings: "The damned Republican Party has put niggers in to rule us, and we will not suffer it . . . intelligence shall rule the country instead of the majority . . . this is a white man's government . . . [and] the colored man . . . [has] no right that white men . . . [are] bound to respect."³¹

Jackson County was the scene of the bloodiest acts in the drama of violence. Here racial hatred and conflict reached a climax that threatened a general conflict between the races.³² A total of one hundred fifty-three persons were murdered in

28. *Ibid.*, 102.

29. *Ibid.*

30. *Ibid.*, 109.

31. *Ibid.*, 94.

32. John Wallace, *Carpetbag Rule in Florida* (Kennesaw, Georgia: The Continental Book Company, 1959. Date of original publication, 1888), 107.

Jackson County during the turbulent years of Reconstruction.³³ In striking contrast, neighboring Gadsden County had no killings or floggings at all.³⁴ Why such a striking difference existed in contiguous areas is an interesting question. It is certainly true that adverse economic conditions in Jackson County had created intransigence among the planter class.³⁵ This class was impoverished by the war, for the loss of slave labor had prostrated agriculture and inflicted economic disaster upon the planters. Business suffered an extreme depression and the economy was virtually paralyzed. In addition, the planters were politically impotent and were forced to witness the political ascendancy of their former slaves. Moreover, the Freedmen's Bureau, under the leadership of Colonel Charles Hamilton, had instituted a contract share-cropping system which abolished the wage-labor system devised by the planters immediately after the war. This change was highly controversial and caused heated disputes and protests.³⁶

The economic condition of the planters of Jackson County made large-scale defaults in tax payments inevitable. As a result Republican county officials, appointed by the governor, sold thousands of acres of tax-delinquent land for nominal sums. Every such sale added more fuel to the flames of hatred and strife. There is little doubt that the sale of tax-delinquent land was a major cause of the eventual conflagration in Jackson County.³⁷ All the circumstances combined to turn "the most peaceful and conservative county in Florida, before the war, into the most irreconcilable section of the South toward the Reconstruction policies imposed upon it."³⁸

The Freedmen's Bureau accomplished a great amount of humanitarian work in Jackson County, as it did elsewhere in the South. Colonel Charles Hamilton was appointed military governor of the west Florida district and in this capacity he was director

33. *House Report 22*, XIII, 222.

34. *Ibid.*, 75-93.

35. J. Randall Stanley, *The History of Jackson County* (Jackson County Historical Society, n.d.), 203.

36. *Bureau of Freedmen, Refugees, and Abandoned Lands*, Selected Documents (Microfilm), Special orders and reports, 1866 to 1868. Reports of William Purman, October 1, 1867, and November 12, 1867, *passim*; Report of Charles Hamilton, December 31, 1867. For a description of the share-cropping contracts see report of John Dickinson, September 17, 1868.

37. *House Report 22*, XIII, 274.

38. Stanley, *op. cit.*, 197.

of the Bureau in this district, with headquarters in Marianna. He was assisted by Major William Purman who served as agent for the Bureau. These two men were extremely zealous in carrying out the policies of the Freedman's Bureau, and both their zeal and their methods aroused fierce antagonism among their former Confederate foes. One report made by Hamilton revealed that the planters often had to be threatened with arraignment before the military commander in Tallahassee before they would grant their Negro laborers "their equitable rights."³⁹ Other reports reveal that Hamilton and Purman were very effective in organizing and leading the Negroes in political and social organizations and in encouraging them and seeking to establish them on an equality with their former masters. Purman was especially effective with the Negroes, and the white people hated him. An insight into Purman's attitude is furnished in a report made while he was still agent. He said, "The loyal people are impatient to break their long thralldom, but . . . lack loyal leaders . . . who have the capacity and will."⁴⁰ Purman apparently regarded himself as the leader needed by the Negroes, and he set out to assert strong leadership. In this course of action he incurred the undying enmity of white people in Jackson County, but this fact bothered him very little, for both he and Hamilton had the utmost contempt for these people.⁴¹

Purman and Hamilton were so skillful in their leadership of the Negroes that they dominated the political scene in Jackson County for several years. Hamilton was elected to Congress, and Purman replaced him as head of the Freedmen's Bureau in the western district of Florida on January 1, 1868.⁴² A few months later Purman was elected as delegate to the Constitutional Convention of 1868, and also to the state senate, being given leave of absence with salary for as long as these duties demanded his attention.⁴³ In August, 1868, Purman was appointed County Judge of Jackson County and resigned his Bureau position, being succeeded by John Dickinson, an agent for the Bureau.⁴⁴ Judge Allen Bush had been County Judge until the suspension of civil

39. Report of Charles Hamilton, November 30, 1866, *loc. cit.*

40. Report of William Purman, June 7, 1867, *loc. cit.*

41. *House Report* 22, XIII, 288.

42. Special Order No. 1, January 1, 1868, *loc. cit.*

43. Special Order No. 40, June 7, 1868, *loc. cit.*

44. Special Order No. 52, August 31, 1868, *loc. cit.*

government in 1867,⁴⁵ and Purman was the first to hold this office after military government was terminated. He served as state senator until 1872 when he was elected to Congress. It is interesting to note that Purman and Jesse J. Finley, one of Florida's most respected Confederate officers, served together in 1876 as Florida's representatives.

The incendiary statements made by William Purman and Charles Hamilton were thought by many to be a major contributing cause of increased tension in Jackson County.⁴⁶ The slightest show of authority by these men was met with scorn and criticism. On one occasion, when Purman lectured several young girls for stripping the grave of a Union soldier of the flowers placed there on Memorial Day, 1867, such a storm of criticism was aroused that the press called for a separate cemetery in which to bury the town's dead, apart from the northern soldiers' graves.⁴⁷

Smoldering racial hostility was fanned by an incident arising out of a dispute between a young white farmer named McGriff and several Negro contract laborers. McGriff had referred the dispute to the Freedmen's Bureau, but before any action could be taken McGriff was shot and badly wounded by unknown persons. McGriff left for Alabama, leaving his farm in charge of a Mr. McDaniel. The Bureau was blamed for this incident, and feelings ran high.⁴⁸ This episode marked the beginning of an intensification of the activities of extra-legal bands who sought to strike back with methods of terror.⁴⁹

Further fuel was added to the flames of conflict on February 26, 1869, when Dr. John Finlayson, County Clerk in Jackson County, was killed while walking late in the evening with William Purman, who was the intended victim. Finlayson had been a private in the Confederate Cavalry, and in 1867 had been ap-

45. Stanley, *op. cit.*, 36.

46. Wallace, *op. cit.*, 110, quotes a Reverend Gilbert, Negro Methodist minister of Jackson County, to the effect that Purman had advised the Negroes in meetings where he had been present to bum the gin-houses and other property of the whites - an injunction which usually resulted in such burnings.

47. *House Report* 22, XIII, 282 ff. See also the article in the *Marianna Courier*, May 30, 1867, which condemns Purman for the arrest of the girls.

48. *House Report* 22, XIII, 282; Wallace, *op. cit.*, 108.

49. W. W. Davis, *The Civil War and Reconstruction* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1913), 566.

pointed medical officer of the Freedmen's Bureau in Marianna at Hamilton's request. Because of his support of the Bureau and the Radical county government, Finlayson had incurred the hostility of his neighbors in Marianna.⁵⁰ As the two men walked together an assailant fired from the shadows. Purman was struck in the neck, the bullet passing through and striking Finlayson in the temple, killing him instantly.⁵¹ Purman asserted later that he was aware of the fact that there was \$1,000 in gold on deposit for the man who killed him, and that an assassin had been hired to kill him instead of Finlayson.⁵²

Two days after his narrow brush with death, Purman was visited by a committee of twelve Negroes who told him that they had about eight hundred armed men surrounding Marianna at that moment and that they planned to sack the town in revenge for the shooting. Purman dissuaded the committee, making them swear to him that they would not take such action, though he "knew he was sparing the lives of men who would kill him if they could."⁵³ Thus if Purman's testimony is to be accepted at face value, Jackson bounty's incipient racial conflict verged on open warfare, and bloodshed was avoided only by Purman's intercession.

The next day, March 1, 1869, saw the beginning of a series of violent attacks by both factions.⁵⁴ James Colliete, a white Democrat who had denounced the Freedmen's Bureau, was murdered in his home as he prepared for bed. Two weeks later the caretaker at McGriff's farm, the young McDaniel, was called to the door at night and shot dead by unknown persons. In the same neighborhood, two weeks later, two Negroes were severely wounded, but survived. In mid-April, Richard Pousser, later elected constable, was wounded in his home, as were three other Negroes. Racial enmity and political strife led to a mounting crescendo of violence, as the secret societies went about their work, seeking to intimidate the Negroes.⁵⁵ In August, 1869, two guards at the state penitentiary at Chattahoochee, acting

50. Report of Charles Hamilton, May 31, 1867; and July 31, 1867, *loc. cit.*

51. *House Report* 22, XIII, 144-156.

52. *Ibid.*, 152.

53. *Ibid.*, 155.

54. *The Weekly Floridian*, Tallahassee, Florida, April 27, 1869, "Statement of affairs in Jackson," letter by anonymous person.

55. *House Report* 22, XIII, 109-114; 302-305.

of the tip of a Negro and seeking to apprehend a man named Bond for Finlayson's murder, were riddled with bullets by a large group of men which included Bond.⁵⁶ The situation remained in precarious balance for a few more weeks as tension mounted, but the inevitable explosion soon came.

On Tuesday, September 28, 1869, a group of twenty-five Negroes on their way to a picnic was fired upon from ambush and a man and a two-year old boy were killed.⁵⁷ The alleged target of the volley was Calvin Rogers, Negro constable in Marianna (the constable was the only elected official in the county government - all others were appointed by the governor). Rogers was not wounded, but the incident triggered an unprecedented wave of violence. When he heard the news of the ambush, Samuel Fleishman, Hebrew merchant of some twenty years standing in the county, said to several Negroes in his store that the Republicans should kill two or three whites, whether guilty or innocent, for every Negro killed, and that if the Negroes desired to kill the whites they could get ammunition from him, free of charge.⁵⁸ Fleishman had been the target of native white resentment before because of his support of the Radical county government, and had often been greeted publicly by such remarks as "I smell a radical and he stinks like a nigger;" or, "There's a Republican-he's no better than a dog."⁵⁹ But his remark on the occasion of the ambush was to have dire consequences for him.

The next day, September 29, saw another ambush nine miles from Marianna. Two Negroes, Columbus Sullivan and George Cox, were shot and severely wounded as they hauled a load of cotton homeward at dusk. There were no clues to the identity of the assailants.

Friday evening, October 1, was filled with foreboding tension. The results of the inquest in the picnic ambush had been announced earlier in the evening - the verdict was "shot by an unknown." A group of three persons was seated on the porch of the Marianna Hotel, talking and enjoying the crisp fall air. In the group was James McClellan, a former lieutenant colonel of infantry in the Confederate service and now practicing law

56. *The Weekly Floridian*, August 17, 1869.

57. *House Report* 22, XIII, 78.

58. *Ibid.*, 190; see also the letter of a Marianna citizen in the *Weekly Floridian*, October 19, 1869.

59. Report of Charles Hamilton, July 31, 1867, *loc. cit.*

in Marianna, his daughter, Maggie, and James Coker, wealthy landowner and merchant of Jackson County. Coker was the leader of resistance to the Radical county government, and was reputed to have spent considerable sums in financing armed violence in the county - particularly, certain men who were called "hired assassins" by the Radicals.⁶⁰ Coker was in the forefront of resistance from the very beginning, and was the intransigent, undisputed leader of the white people in Jackson County.⁶¹ His son, William, was evidently a fiery and unrestrained youth, for several recorded incidents reveal him as guilty of assault, vandalism, and murder.⁶² As the group was conversing a volley of shots blazed from the darkness below the front steps. Miss McClellan was killed instantly, her father was wounded, and James Coker escaped unscathed, although he was the actual target.⁶³ Colonel McClellann later asserted that he recognized the voice of Calvin Rogers giving the command to fire.⁶⁴

The sun rose Saturday morning on a scene of wild excitement, and a riot seemed imminent.⁶⁵ A large, organized group of younger men, most of them "drunk and desperate," were seeking Calvin Rogers for the McClellan murder. Rogers was sighted by the mob, but managed to outdistance his pursuers.⁶⁶ Then Matt Nickels and Oscar Granberry, Negroes who were friends and suspected accomplices of Rogers, were seized and forced to march ahead of the mob to "hunt Calvin." Granberry was shot and killed, but Nickels escaped.⁶⁷ The county clerk, John Dickinson, who had succeeded William Purman as head of the Freedmens Bureau in Marianna and who had succeeded Finlayson as clerk, wrote that "drunkenness and . . . excitement" prevailed all through the day.⁶⁸

The colored people of Marianna denied that Rogers was guilty of the McClellan murder, and cited the fact that Colonel McClellan had had a fight with a certain white man a few days before and that it must have been this man who had killed Miss

60. *House Report 22*, XIII, 190, 191, and 192-some of these men are discussed, and even named.

61. Report of Charles Hamilton, July 31, 1867, *loc. cit.*

62. Report of Charles Hamilton, December 31, 1867, *loc. cit.*

63. *House Report 22*, XIII, 191.

64. *Ibid.*, 207, 290.

65. *Ibid.*, 79.

66. *Ibid.*, 290.

67. *Ibid.*, 79.

68. *Ibid.*

McClellan while trying to kill her father.⁶⁹ The white people thought that the incendiary statement made by Samuel Fleishman on the day of the picnic ambush was responsible for the killing.⁷⁰ This belief led to a subsequent decision to eliminate Negro Republican leaders, according to evidence revealed in later acts of the mob.

Excitement continued and the condition of near-riot which prevailed Saturday was unabated. James Coker requisitioned guns and ammunition from Samuel Fleishman's store to "defend the town in the present excitement."⁷¹ An armed band of men sought several prominent Negro Republicans but were unable to seize them because they had gone into hiding, or, in two cases, they escaped under fire. White and colored leaders met together on Monday evening in Judge Bush's office and sought to bring peace to Marianna, but their efforts were unavailing.

On Tuesday, Samuel Fleishman was told by a committee of Marianna citizens, for whom James Coker was the spokesman, that he must leave town immediately or be killed.⁷² He was urged to leave quietly, for it was feared that his death might lead to twenty or thirty other deaths, a needless tragedy that ought to be avoided. Fleishman did not leave voluntarily and was forcibly removed from his home that evening, carried into Alabama, and told never to return to Marianna.⁷³ That same evening saw armed bands seeking Negro Republicans, but by this time most of these were in hiding. On Wednesday evening the mob seized Richard Pousser, a prominent Negro Republican, and forced him to march ahead of them out of town, intending to kill him. However, Pousser escaped, despite severe wounds from shotgun blasts.⁷⁵

On Thursday a number of white citizens met at noon to discuss the dangerous situation existing in Marianna. Two factions contended for control in this meeting; one group wanted peace or, at least, an amelioration of the situation. The other group,

69. *Ibid.*, 310.

70. *Weekly Floridian*, October 19, 1869.

71. *House Report* 22, XIII, 82.

72. *Ibid.* Fleishman's account included the names of Arthur Calhoun, John R. Ely, James Coker, William Robinson, J. M. Drummonds, Thomas Clark, Charles Ely, James Chastain, Wilbur Jenkins; he also said that there were about twenty other members.

73. *Ibid.*, 80.

74. *Ibid.*

75. *Ibid.*, 80 and 274.

headed by James Coker, saw such proposals as an affront to the young men who had led the violence, "who had had a little too much and had acted hastily."⁷⁶ William Coker had been one of the most prominent leaders. Coker's faction carried the day, and that afternoon the avengers found Matt Nickels, the suspected accomplice of Calvin Rogers in the McClellan murder. William Coker, W. S. Alderman, and Jack Myrick marched Matt Nickels, his wife, and his son to a limesink a quarter-mile from their home and slaughtered all three. A daughter who had escaped notice witnessed the killings from a distance.⁷⁷ The bodies of the Nickels were discovered by two men who also reported seeing Calvin Rogers in the vicinity with almost thirty armed men. Marianna immediately became an armed camp, awaiting an attack by Rogers, but the night passed without further incident.⁷⁸ This bloody climax brought a lull in the violence. The Nickels' murderers fled to escape warrants which were issued by John Dickinson. It was rumored that Dickinson was in league with Rogers, and he was threatened with imminent assassination.⁷⁹

On Monday morning, October 11, John Dickinson observed armed men leaving Marianna on the Chattahoochee Road.⁸⁰ Later that morning, after he had drafted a letter to the governor telling him that there was no need of martial law in Marianna because the situation seemed to be better, a report came that a white man was lying dead in the Chattahoochee Road, about twelve miles from Marianna. This body was that of Samuel Fleishman.⁸¹ The merchant had made his way to Bainbridge, Georgia, where he told Louis Gamble, a resident of Jackson County, that he intended to return to Marianna. When Fleishman passed through Chattahoochee, about twenty-five miles from Marianna, he appealed to Malachi Martin, warden of the state prison, for protection. Martin could do nothing to help Fleishman and sought to persuade him not to return to Marianna. Fleishmann felt, however, that his family and his business interests made his return necessary and he could not be dissuaded. He was met by a white youth named Sims when about thirteen

76. *Ibid.*, 80.

77. *Ibid.* See also 288.

78. *Ibid.*, 80.

79. *Ibid.*, 78.

80. *Ibid.*, 80.

81. *Ibid.*, 81.

miles from Marianna and warned not to proceed. Fleishman was killed shortly after this encounter.⁸²

After Fleishman's funeral on Wednesday, Dickinson revised his letter to the governor. On Thursday a new sheriff, Thomas West, arrived. Two weeks later, on October 26, troops moved into Marianna to enforce martial law, but even then violence and unrest continued.⁸³ William Purman and Charles Hamilton fled Jackson County, and were never able to come back there to live.⁸⁴ When they returned to hold a political rally in August, 1870, they were confronted by an armed mob. Prominent among the mob were several "twenty-dollar men" from Columbus, Georgia - that is, men of whom it was said that they'd kill anybody for twenty dollars. Purman and Hamilton were virtually besieged in Sheriff West's home, and a few days later it was necessary for the sheriff to select ten hostages from the mob to escort the two men out of town. Purman testified later that they intended to kill the hostages if they were attacked and to kill anyone who attacked them.⁸⁵

Violence and unrest continued in Jackson County for many months. Marcellus Stearns, one-armed Union veteran who was in charge of the Freedmen's Bureau at Quincy, Florida, and who later became governor of Florida, testified before the congressional committee investigating the situation in Florida that "that county [Jackson] is the only one entirely and effectually in the hands of a mob. . . . The state government and the Republican Party have no more control in Jackson County than if they did not exist."⁸⁶ The situation was further described by John Dickinson in 1871, shortly before his assassination: "Human life is counted cheap [in Jackson County] when passion or politics calls for its sacrifice, and the frequency and cold blood which have characterized our murders . . . [are not as bad] as the carelessness with which the public learns of a new outrage." He went on to say that "the press has been . . . abusive of everything Republican, and, at times, openly seditious."⁸⁷ One hundred fifty-three people were murdered in Jackson County during Reconstruction; sixty-nine were murdered in all the other counties

82. *Ibid.*, 189-190.

83. *Ibid.*, 81.

84. *Ibid.*, 144; *Weekly Floridian*, October 26, 1869.

85. *House Report* 22, XIII, 152.

86. *Ibid.*, 89, and 90.

87. *Ibid.*, 222.

of Florida during the same period.⁸⁸ Very few people, if any, were ever punished for acts of violence, for it was impossible to levy punishment in a county where “. . . at any moment one hundred fifty of the best men, armed, can be raised to resist any process.”⁸⁹ Governor Harrison Reed offered a reward of \$50,000 for the arrest and conviction of the murderers in Jackson County.⁹⁰ This reward was never claimed.

The violence had its intended effect. In November, 1870, a white Democrat was elected representative over a Negro Republican by a one-vote majority.⁹¹ In this election the Republican vote was decreased because people were afraid to vote Republican. The election of 1868 had seen two hundred white men voting the Republican ticket which had a majority of eight hundred in the county that year.⁹²

Sheriff Thomas West, a member of an old Tallahassee family and a brother to Dr. Theophilus West, Marianna physician, was harried by a feeling of helplessness as he sought to stem the tide of lawlessness during these turbulent days.⁹³ He was aware that public opinion was against him and that his life was in constant danger. He dared not go outside the bounds of Marianna to perform his duty. In March, 1871, he bowed to the terror and resigned.

After West's resignation John Dickinson was the only Republican official left in Jackson County. Dickinson, a native of Vermont and a graduate of Harvard, bore a reputation of courage and conviction, but he was hated by local people because of his alleged speculation in land sold for taxes, and his life had been threatened many times.⁹⁴ Not long after West's departure, Dickinson was shot down with buckshot on the spot where Finlayson had died, and his assailant stood over him and administered the *coup de grace* with a pistol shot through the head.⁹⁵ The cool determination of the assassin eliminated the last white Republican in Jackson County, as well as the last Republican official.⁹⁶ The killing was sanctioned by press and public alike,

88. *Ibid.*

89. *Ibid.*, 83.

90. *Weekly Floridian*, November 9, 1869.

91. *House Report* 22, XIII, 174.

92. *Ibid.*, 175, and 224.

93. *Ibid.*, 148.

94. Stanley, *op. cit.*, 37.

95. *House Report* 22, XIII, 85.

96. *Ibid.*, 152.

for a widely-accepted rumor said that Homer Bryant, a Negro Republican, had killed Dickinson because he had been intimate with Bryant's wife.⁹⁷ But Republicans called this a political murder, and said that the hired assassin, Luke Lott, had killed Dickinson.⁹⁸

Since February, 1869, two county clerks had been murdered; Purman and Hamilton, Jackson County's political bosses, had fled the county; the sheriff had resigned; Calvin Rogers had been cornered and killed;⁹⁹ and the successor to Rogers, Richard Pousser, had been terrorized and rendered ineffectual. This situation was characterized by a Jackson County resident in a letter to a friend: ". . . they have things their own way now. There is not a damned nigger that dares to speak in Jackson County; . . . Purman dare not go back again; . . . Dickinson was the last leader among the Republicans there, and . . . there are no more damned niggers to make speeches. . . ." ¹⁰⁰ The Democrats then asserted control by nominating a slate of county officials and dictated their appointment to the governor. ¹⁰¹ The governor, speaking to a convention of Negro Methodist ministers in Tallahassee in June, 1871, said that the state government did not have the power to protect "loyal" - i.e., Republican - people in Florida against violence and intimidation, affirming what the Democrats had known for some time. ¹⁰²

In neighboring Gadsden County, which had 1,400 Negro voters to 1,000 white voters, the election of 1870, unlike all previous elections, was very turbulent. ¹⁰³ Negroes and whites were armed on election day, and the greater number of the Negroes made it impossible for all of them to vote at the poll reserved, by common consent, for the Negroes. White men formed a barrier before the white poll to prevent Negroes' voting there. An ugly situation immediately developed, knives and pistols were drawn, and Marcellus Stearns, white Republican leader, attempted to quiet the crowd. Former acting Governor A. K. Allison rushed into the midst of the crowd, demanding that someone shoot Stearns down. The sheriff was caned as he

97. *Ibid.*, 91, and 206.

98. *Ibid.*, 83.

99. *Ibid.*, 206.

100. *Ibid.*, 156.

101. *Ibid.*, 148.

102. *Ibid.*, 165.

103. *Ibid.*, 76.

attempted to restore order, but miraculously no one was killed and order was restored. But it was sundown before the poll could be cleared, and many Negroes were unable to vote. Allison, who had succeeded Governor Milton, was later convicted on the charge of intimidating voters, fined, and sentenced to six months in jail.¹⁰⁴ The Republican majority in the county was reduced from four hundred to sixteen.¹⁰⁵

The survey of the records of the lawless era leads to the obvious conclusion that the former Confederates were determined to regain their former status at any cost. The tremendous changes brought about by four years' disastrous conflict occurred in the midst of a shattered agrarian society in which once subservient elements had gained the dominant position. The former ruling classes saw a mortal threat to their future in the Reconstruction policies effecting these changes and they began a program of resistance to the death. The methods used show the grim determination of the white conservatives.

The evidence shows that the violence was executed by the "better sort" of white people, i.e., as distinguished from the "cracker" class, or poorer element. The younger men of the upper class made the night rides, waged a campaign of intimidation by beatings, floggings, and murders, and characterized all Republicans as incendiaries who, because they agitated racial strife, deserved to be "killed like dogs . . . [because they are] damned yankees . . . [and] damned radicals."¹⁰⁶ The alternative was Negro domination, and this the Southern conservatives could not endure. The upper class—the old Southern Whigs—was completely opposed to Reconstruction, although some of them had been unionist in sentiment all through the war, and they encouraged the campaign of intimidation which was designed to end Radical rule.

The evidence does not show that the Ku Klux Klan existed as such in Florida. The organized bands whose campaign of terror successfully thwarted Radical power were agents of "Young Men's Democratic Clubs," a state-wide organization whose county branches operated under identical constitutions.¹⁰⁷ Their tactics were so effective that it is doubtful whether they could

104. Stanley, *op. cit.*, 219.

105. *House Report* 22, XIII, 76.

106. *Ibid.*, 147.

107. *Ibid.*, 226-240.

have been defeated by any measures short of a proclamation of insurrection and the use of the United States Army.

By the latter part of 1871, the application of the Ku Klux Enforcement Act had brought a cessation of violence and a restoration of peace.¹⁰⁸ By this time the Democrats had consolidated their power in most of the counties of Florida and the battle was over.

108. *Ibid.*, 93.

BOOK REVIEWS

Confederate Strategy from Shiloh to Vicksburg. By Archer Jones. (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1961. 240 pp. Maps, bibliography, and index. \$5.00.)

CONFRONTED WITH a mass of already published material and the certainty that much more will flow from the presses during this centennial period, the Civil War writer is challenged to produce a work that deserves more than a casual perusal. Archer Jones has met this challenge with a book that is sure to interest both the general reader and the specialist. In particular, those who are attracted to the Johnston-Davis feud will find fresh food for thought in this well-researched volume.

“The vast area of the Confederacy west of the Appalachian Mountains presented the most difficult problem in command to the Richmond authorities, by reason of its great extent and its remoteness from the capital.” This book is concerned with the attempt to meet these command problems during the period from Shiloh to the fall of Vicksburg. George Wythe Randolph, grandson of Thomas Jefferson and Confederate Secretary of War from March to November, 1862, is given much of the credit for the reorganization of the West and the creation of a super command under Joseph E. Johnston. Making use of new material from the Alderman Library of the University of Virginia, Jones assigns to Randolph a role of importance not previously accorded by other writers.

Jefferson Davis, whose overall strategy was defensive, adopted a policy which stressed the “defense of the complete territorial integrity of the Confederacy.” The Confederacy was divided into departments and districts, and individual commanders were charged with responsibility for the defense of a particular geographical area. Cognizant of the need for flexibility and appreciative of the difficulty of giving more than limited central direction from Richmond, Davis wisely delegated considerable authority to his departmental commanders.

Johnston emerges from these pages as a man who preferred field command to administration and who frequently left Richmond in the dark as to his plans. Nonetheless, he “ingeniously

exploited the opportunities for strategic co-ordination in his department," and his relations with Davis in this period are described as "quite cordial." The western commander not only shared many of the problems of his eastern counterpart, such as man-power, communications, supply, and forage, but his problems were often magnified by the greater distances involved. Readers are vividly reminded of Confederate weaknesses in transportation when they follow the circuitous rail route (good maps are included) used to shift troops from one district to another within the Department of the West.

With renewed activity by Grant in the spring of 1863, there were some indications that the West might be reinforced with troops from the East. But out of the debates on the relative merits of action in the different theaters came cabinet endorsement of Lee's plan for an offensive in the East. In analyzing the factors behind this decision, the author, who has made a real contribution to the study of Confederate strategic planning, is understandably critical. As he observes, Lee, "subconsciously perhaps, cast himself in the role of strategic oracle for the Confederate government, yet he seems to have viewed the situation through the glasses of a local commander." Many unanswerable questions are involved, but surely the Confederacy would have done better to attempt to save the Mississippi, if not directly, then perhaps indirectly, as Beauregard suggested, by offensive action through middle Tennessee and points north.

LAWRENCE E. BREEZE

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Why the North Won The Civil War. Edited by David Donald.
(Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1960. xv,
128 pp. Suggested Readings and index. \$2.95.)

THE CHIEF CONTRIBUTION of this volume is not in the conclusions it produces, but in the fact that a group of serious historians have pooled their resources and efforts to evaluate the various reasons "why the North won the Civil War." This is one of the few objective, serious attempts to find an answer, or answers, to this question.

This writer has not come upon a single new reason among those advanced by the five contributors. Some have been more

clearly stated, but none is new or original. Several reasons for the failure of the South have been given added importance and emphasis. Some, such as the questions of morale or social structure have been fetched a little farther, but in each of these secondary causes for failure, one is able to identify similar (and usually more serious) defections and weaknesses in the Northern ranks.

Failures to secure foreign alliances are given much attention by two of the authors. Another reason given considerable attention is the inferiority of Confederate leadership. This cannot be taken too seriously when all of the army commanders on both sides have been compared. Nearly all had had the benefits of the same school, training, and experience. Too much democracy (or individualism) is one other factor given a great deal of attention: during the American Revolutionary War there was much more of this, when whole regiments in the English armies were recruited from among the Americans.

The authors give a multitude of other reasons for the failure of the Confederate government. The facts that they underestimated the importance of the Northern "blockade," were unable to comprehend the "business methods" of their Northern adversaries, the failure of the Davis Government to coordinate the transportation system of the South, and the South's inability to bring its industrial production up to a reasonable level are but a few of those more frequently mentioned.

The men contributing to this volume all bring out the differences between Southern and Northern leadership. One even goes so far as to suggest that if Lincoln had been the President of the Confederacy, the outcome might have been different. Prominent members in the two administrations are also discussed in much the same manner. The problems of finance, the use of the resources at hand, the utilization of manpower by the two groups of leaders are contrasted in these and in most of the other arguments, the conclusion seems to approach the same thesis. Success was the result of the "materialistic outlook" of the North, its leaders, and the business men who approached the winning of the war as just another milestone in the world of material success.

The only fundamental problem the South failed to solve was that of logistics. It never had a surplus of anything but cotton.

It is quite true that many of the ideologies of the South, and the quirks of some of its leaders, complicated the process of trying to find a solution to this problem, but the fact still remains that the North solved it and the South did not. The North not only supplied its own fighting forces, but also those of generals Forrest and Morgan, and many smaller units in the Confederate armies. The North ended the war with the most powerful navy the world had ever seen while the South had none. And, while the South was being bled white in every branch of its economic and supply structure, the North was growing more populous, developing a greater industrial and transport system, and was in a stronger financial position than it had ever been even when the Confederate States were a part of the Union. When the war came to an end it was relatively simple for the Northern Government to send to the Mexican border an army strong enough to scare the French puppet rulers right out into the Atlantic Ocean.

The only weakness of the volume is its brevity. The reasons for the final outcome of the war, when taken in detail, could well fill ten times as many pages. The physical characteristics of the book are as outstanding. Nothing can be criticized here reasonably. Let us hope that this is merely a beginning to a tremendous job.

THEODORE R. PARKER

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Americans at War, The Development of the American Military System. By T. Harry Williams. (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1960. 139 pp. Illustrations. \$3.50.)

THIS IS AN IMPORTANT book dealing with America's military command organization and its effectiveness. All the conflicts in American history, beginning with the American Revolution and running down to 1914, are examined in detail (the author deals with World Wars I and II in very general terms because he claims they are too recent for a historian to evaluate), but the evaluation of the leadership on each side in the Civil War will probably evoke more contemporary interest than the others. Until the very closing months of that war, the Presidents of the two governments were in effect the command strategists of their respective armies.

Considering only their backgrounds, the author points out that one would expect the Confederate President to be the greater war leader because of his long army experience; President Lincoln had never had any military experience except briefly as a militia soldier in the Black Hawk War. However, the conclusion is reached that Lincoln was a great war president and Davis a very mediocre one. Not until U. S. Grant was appointed General-in-Chief was Lincoln able to surrender much of the responsibility for the over-all Union strategy. It was not until this appointment was made, the book asserts, that the United States achieved anything comparable to a modern command system. Failure of the South, though brilliant in tactical maneuvers and in battlefield strategy, is attributed to the fact that it never succeeded in creating a competent command system or in setting up a unified plan of strategy.

Not until the waning months of the Civil War was a plan developed with a commander-in-chief to state policy in the general objective of strategy, a general-in-chief to put the strategy in specific form, and a chief of staff to coordinate information. Only then did the United States possess for the first time in its history what the author calls "a model system of civil and military relationships and the finest command arrangements of any country in the world."

Though the book is brief and at most only an introductory study, it opens up an unexplored area of American military history. Mr. Williams feels that although our command organization has been improvised hastily when needed, the subject has long been neglected because the United States has won all of its wars and consequently there has been no need to examine the command structure. With the apparent lack of over-all planning characteristic of each of our wars, one marvels that the outcome in each instance has been so fortunate for the country.

Washington's part in the Revolution was complicated by the fact that in addition to being the supervisor for all armies, he was also the commander of a field army. In the War of 1812, the author points out that over the forces "raised there presided in the first two years of the war one of the choicest collections of incompetent generals in our military history."

James K. Polk is characterized as being one of our nation's strongest chief executives because of the manner in which he

exercised his authority during the Mexican War. Polk is said to be the first president to demonstrate that a civilian could act effectively as commander-in-chief.

Elihu Root, as Secretary of War under President McKinley, is credited with laying the ground work for our present command system, which has to find a place for a civilian commander-in-chief, a civilian Secretary of War (Defense), a Chief of Staff, a general staff, and field commanders. With slight adaptations the Root system has survived for nearly sixty years.

Williams points out that lack of interest in strategy and command experiences has characterized most Americans, even prominent American historians. Heading the list of the uninformed at the time of World War I was "the commander in chief, that former eminent historian, Dr. Woodrow Wilson." The emphasis of the book is on Army command organization to the almost total exclusion of the naval aspects, but, as Mr. Williams points out, his researches have centered on the Army and it is this study which has convinced him that investigation of the organizational aspect of America's war direction is urgently needed.

CHARLES T. THRIFT, JR.

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Marquette Legends. By Francis Borgia Steck. Edited by August Reyling. (New York, Pageant Press, 1960. xxii, 350 pp. Facsimiles, maps, notes, bibliography, and index. \$5.00.)

FATHER STECK'S amazing work gives a clear and powerful demonstration of scholarship and historical sleuthing at its best.

Actually Father Steck, who returned to Quincy College in 1947 after illness forced him to leave the Catholic University of America, offers this abstract of his doctoral dissertation as his swan song to his writings on Marquette. Since receiving his doctorate in 1927 his interests and teaching have been in the field of Spanish-American History. Continuing inquiries and correspondence concerning his radical explorations on Marquette moved him to offer the present volume as a published, definitive work to replace the huge, two volume mimeographed form of his dissertation.

In 1923, while teaching at Quincy College, Father Steck was asked to prepare a series of articles about Marquette as part

of the 250th anniversary of the Jolliet-Marquette expedition of 1673. These articles, based on careful research, presented a picture of the earlier events which were so much at variance with accepted data and facts that they were not used in the commemoration. However, they were published later and caused an anguished protest by the worshippers of Marquette.

These articles became the core of his doctoral study when he went to the Catholic University in 1924. After he had received his degree, Father Steck, with the assistance of Father Reyling O.F.M., mimeographed, assembled, and distributed 350 sets of the two-volume form of his dissertation to libraries and universities throughout United States and Canada. The study demonstrates meticulous scholarship and largely destroys the legendary Marquette, but the work is done without heat or wrath. Steck's book should fascinate the lay reader of history and cause the professionals to glow with the satisfaction that one of their members could produce such a work. Fifty-one pages are used for the 689 footnotes of this 244-page abstract. When Father Steck finished each topic of his book, one felt that the definitive word had been given.

A rather interesting fact is that Father Steck, a Franciscan, exposes the work of two high Jesuits, Reuben Gold Thwaites, and other laity in the fabrication of the Marquette legends. One present-day Jesuit, who read the book, absolved Steck from malice :

Legends sprout so easily and the partisans and those who have worshiped at the shrine of the overrated hero take it ill when their idol suffers diminution of splendor. But - let the truth prevail.

Jacques Marquette S. J. (1637-1675) entered the Jesuit novitiate at Nancy when he was seventeen. He was admitted to his first vows two years later. For the next nine years, until 1665, he taught in six different schools. Two years after he began, his superiors judged him talented only for teaching in missions abroad. By that time the ratings on his work began to decline, slipping from *bonum* to *mediocre*; then to *melancholica*, *sanguinea*, and finally to *biliosa*. He became a *repetens* - a repeater in the important subjects of the curriculum.

After several appeals for transfer to foreign mission fields, he was sent to Canada in 1666. He was sent to missions in the

western Great Lakes area to study the Algonquin language. During the next nine years, until his death in 1675, he was stationed in six different missions. His last charge was Sainte Ignace on Michilimackinac Island.

Traditionally, Marquette was supposed to have accompanied Louis Jolliet on his exploration of the Mississippi in May, 1673. In 1674, accompanied by two guides, Father Marquette is supposed to have made a second voyage of his own down the western shore of Lake Michigan to the Illinois River. Ill health forced him to cut short this trip to return to Sainte Ignace, but he died before he completed the return. Two years later his body was exhumed and re-interred in the chapel at Sainte Ignace. He died shortly before his thirty-eighth birthday.

Father Marquette's historical significance came from the belief that he was Jolliet's companion on this first trip down the "Missepi" - a belief that Father Steck successfully and impressively refutes.

If Marquette did go with Jolliet, his role was minor since this expedition was one of imperial approval designed to scout the Mississippi Valley for French claim and had no religious purpose. Jolliet's expedition was an early project in the new mercantilist design established for Canada when Count de Frontenac came to that colony in 1672. A basic step in the new development of the province was to take it back from the clerics and develop it commercially. Frontenac (Jean de Baude) and Jean Talon, the royal *intendant*, laid the groundwork for this new policy. Jolliet was selected by them to make the voyage down the river.

Louis Jolliet was a native Canadian who had started Jesuit training but left the order for business. Before he departed on his voyage, he and six associates organized a fur company for later development. Presumably, before his departure, Jolliet visited Father Claude Dablon S.J., Superior General of the Jesuit Missions in Canada. If Marquette did join the party when it came west, it was the result of Dablon asking for his inclusion in the party.

The Jolliet Narrative of 1681 does not mention Father Marquette as being a member of the party and Marquette in his annual *Relations* does not mention it either.

On his return trip northward, after wintering in Green Bay, Jolliet stopped at Sainte Ignace and then continued eastward

to Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence River. During the trip down the St. Lawrence River, Jolliet's canoe was overturned in Lachine Rapids. Two rowers and an Indian boy, the gift of a chief earlier on the river trip, were drowned. Lost also was the strong box which contained Jolliet's journals and a map.

Jolliet visited Father Dablon and gave an oral account of the expedition which Dablon took down. Later Father Dablon wrote Jolliet's *recit* into a fuller report which he sent to his superior in Paris in 1674, saying that a fuller report would follow as soon as a second copy of Jolliet's journals could be sent by Father Marquette. In 1681 Jolliet's *Narrative* was published by Melchisedech Thevenot of Paris.

The supposed role of Marquette in the expedition of 1673, if he did accompany it was a part of a crafty device of Dablon to "plant" a Jesuit on a strictly governmental venture in order that the Church could claim credit and glory by his membership in the party.

Since Jolliet's journals were lost in the river, Dablon, in enlarging the *recit* into the *Narrative*, became the only one who could tell the story of the voyage, and the recital of what did occur on the trip came from Dablon's pen. Father Steck, after careful review, declares Dablon to be the author of the *Narrative* of 1673. Dablon did not have time between taking down Jolliet's *recit* and transmitting the *Narrative* to his superior in Paris to have secured Jolliet's second copy of the journals, reputed to have been left with Marquette at Sainte Ignace. After Marquette's death, Father Dablon reported that he had obtained the mission priest's papers, but failed to mention the duplicate of Jolliet's journals. Steck amasses thirty-four sources on the matter of Marquette's part of the trip. He states that twenty of these indicate that Marquette did not accompany Jolliet.

After Dablon had spuriously placed Marquette on the Jolliet expedition, in 1675, he ingeniously routed a letter to Virginia where it fell into the hands of William Byrd, warning the English that French clerics were already on the Mississippi. Since this date, 1675, coincides with the Virginians' thrust toward the west, it shows Dablon's sharp knowledge of continental affairs. The letter, which survives only as a copied translation of the Latin original, was signed "Jacobus Macput." Steck deduced that the "cpu" of the name was meant to be the "rque" of Mar-

quette, and that the letter was attributed to Marquette. However, Dablon had written the letter and given it to Father Jean Pierron, a Jesuit, who was going to work in the missions in Maryland. Pierron gave it to one of his Indian trustees to deliver to an Englishman in Virginia. The Macput Letter was the final ruse in Dablon's build-up of "his man" in his struggle to keep the Jesuits in the Canadian foreground even though their days were numbered. The fatal falsehood of the letter was that it bears a date, August 19, which was more than two months after Marquette had died.

The next elaboration of the Marquette legends occurred in 1844 when Father Felix Martin, S. J., Superior of the Jesuit community at Montreal, received from the nuns of Hotel Dieu a lot of manuscripts which had been left with them for safe keeping by Father Jean Cazot, the last of the former Jesuits in Canada. Father Martin, personally interested in the history of Jesuit activity in Canada, stated in a letter that the documents contained the "original work of Marquette," meaning the copy of Jolliet's journal of 1673. When Father Martin returned to France in 1861, he arranged to have these documents published in two volumes: *Relation Inedites de la Nouvelle France, 1672-1679*.

Father Steck's examination of the "Montreal Narrative" shows that the manuscript was not written by Marquette, had not been corrected by Dablon, and that it was based on the Thevenot printing of the Narrative of 1673. Steck names Martin as the fabricator.

In addition to counterfeiting the Montreal Narrative, Martin brought out the so-called Marquette "Autograph Map." Father Steck subjected this document to his relentless examination. He shows that the map had two different handwritings and place names spelled differently from the Thevenot printing of the *Narrative* of 1673.

Last of the Martin fabrications of the now hopelessly bemired Marquette was the *Journal of the Second Voyage*, the voyage supposedly made by Marquette to the Illinois in 1674. This manuscript contains numerous corrections and strikeovers which reveal errors of its manufacture. Father Steck parades twenty-seven authors and other sources to demolish the authenticity of the *Narrative*. The villain was again Father Martin, still advancing the greatness of Marquette. Martin had faked the autograph

of Marquette on the map and also Marquette's signature on a baptismal record in Boucheville to serve as evidence of Marquette's authorship of the *Journal of the Second Voyage*.

Dablon, Martin and Marquette - all Jesuits and each serving the Lord and advancing the greatness of their Order. Dablon fabricated a journal and a letter to make an obscure priest an advance guard of the Order in resistance to Colbert, Talon, Frontenac and the mercantilists. Martin, working more than a century and a half after Marquette's death, continued the work of Dablon's defense of the Jesuits and all their works. And Marquette? He was a simple novitiate who was shipped to the provinces because he did not have the ability for full work in the Order. Happy to be assigned a role as a missionary among the Indians around the Great Lakes, he spent the last nine years of his life working in that distant field of the Church, a lowly and humble servant of the Lord. Fortunately he died before the fabrication of his role began. He had no part in the fabrication of his place in history.

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Charles Sumner and the Coming of the Civil War. By David Donald. (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1960. xxii, 392 pp. Illustrations, list of manuscripts cited and index. \$6.75.)

THE "COMPLEX ART OF BIOGRAPHY," James L. Clifford, distinguished biographer and Johnsonian scholar, has explained, is a difficult one, for the problems of the biographer are numerous and require a well-trained and gifted scholar. The author who undertakes such a study must come to terms with a personality who has lived, often, in a period removed from his own, and which may differ from his in such essential matters as idiom of expression and values. In addition, the biographer must become fairly expert in his knowledge of the special interests and activities of his subject; indeed, a professional study must demonstrate the author's understanding of the problems and skills of his subject, and an ability to present them in a comprehensible way. The biographer must be able, after sifting through all available evidence, to arrive at an image of the central figure which shuns sentimentality, and which highlights him consistently; that is,

the author must interpret but not preach, and he must do so in a way which does not divert the reader's attention from the main character. Because all of these problems have been handled so expertly in David Donald's recent work, *Charles Sumner and the Coming of the Civil War*, it is an example of the art of biography.

The problems which confronted the biographer of Charles Sumner, a major figure in American history, help to explain why a new biography of him did not appear until this year. Since Sumner had a policy-making position in the drama of the Civil War and Reconstruction, the importance of such a study had for a long time been obvious; his life-history held clues as to the causation of that critical period in our history-but as a personality Sumner was complex and difficult to understand. Edward O'Neil, the historian of American biography, wrote, "Sumner had one of the most complex characters of any man in American life. . . ." As Professor Donald has shown, his personality shifted in strange ways, indicating tensions and motivations better understood today than in Sumner's own time. These vagaries of Sumner's personality required a highly perceptive and imaginative biographer.

The confusion in state and national politics in the United States during the 1850's presented another obstacle for the biographer of Sumner, since Sumner's interests and needs led him to politics. As a native of Massachusetts with a distinguished scholastic record at Harvard, it was both logical and proper that Sumner enter the Whig Party upon graduation. It was the only political organ for men of respectability, and the dominant party of the state for more than a quarter of the nineteenth century. This was also the century of institutional change, and Sumner followed the shifting current of political strength and contributed to the break-up of the once powerful Whig Party. Sumner moved, as did the state and the nation, gradually but noticeably away from orthodoxy. Politicians in Massachusetts went from Whiggery to Conscience Whiggism to Free Soilism to coalition with the Democrats and finally to a new major party with considerable stability - the Republican Party. The biographer of Charles Sumner would have to explain in some meaningful way this dramatic change in the political structure of what had been a singularly conservative and stable state, relate this to the life of Sumner, and not diminish the importance or responsibility of

the future Senator from Massachusetts. The writer would have to sift evidence and weigh the possible explanations; was it slavery, political ambition, cultural change, or economic factors which best explained the change? It is to Professor Donald's credit that he meets this problem with great skill and learning. Donald presents, to this reviewer's knowledge, the best analysis of the change in Massachusetts politics, and offers several ideas which may well be studied by all students of nineteenth century political history.

With Sumner's election to the United States Senate in 1851, the story becomes even more complicated, for in Washington Sumner was a victim of the complication endemic to our federal system, that in which a Senator must always weigh national issues against his party's sentiment back home and his own feelings; needless to say these are not always in accord. The biographer must keep one watchful eye on Sumner in the Senate and another very sharp one on the shape of things in Massachusetts. For example, there is the touchy question of just how much of Sumner's own conviction went into his devastating attacks on slavery and how much they were the result of pressure from party leaders back home who needed an issue to consolidate their position with the electorate; or, did Sumner's votes on national issues mirror himself, Massachusetts, or even a smaller group of articulate and politically ambitious men? Donald not only faces these questions but provides convincing answers to them.

Finally, the quantity of material, manuscript and printed, relevant to *Charles Sumner and the Coming of the Civil War* is enormous. There are literally mountains of manuscript materials pertaining to each of the participants in this book; the list of secondary readings dealing with the Civil War is legendary; newspaper files, census returns, and pamphlet material complete an imposing mass of literature which faced the careful and conscientious scholar.

Donald's thorough acquaintance with such materials is seen in his previous works on the Civil War period: *Lincoln's Herndon*, a biography of Lincoln's law partner; *Lincoln Reconsidered*, a remarkable group of essays on different aspects of the Civil War period; and a host of thoughtful articles and creative book reviews in which the author has clearly established his position as a Civil War expert. Even with this background of competence

it is not surprising that this biography (the first of a two-volume work) should have taken ten years to complete; in fact, when one re-reads the book carefully, it becomes amazing that it did not take twice that time. To understand Sumner, Donald has hunted far and wide for reliable sources; nothing has been left to chance; every manuscript collection, abroad and in the United States, which could have provided a clue to Sumner has been studied. In addition, the author's text and footnotes show very careful reading of the influential newspapers of the day, an arduous task in itself. The footnotes reveal also how hard and successfully the author has labored to maintain an uninterrupted text without avoiding the really complex questions which required answers. Election results, for example, are interpreted in the text with their analysis and details left in footnotes for the interested and specialized reader; an analysis of Sumner's perplexing behavior following his caning by Preston Brooks is handled in the same way. What is most rewarding is that all of this hard work has been given life and meaning by a brilliant prose style which can be enjoyed by all, general reader and specialist alike.

The picture of Sumner which emerges in this first volume of the biography is understanding and clear, but far from sympathetic. Sumner's early life and formative years are presented - actually, they seem to present themselves - and they reveal a distorted personality, whose goals in life could not be realized in a normal way. Sumner's mind functioned in a framework of absolutes which did not recognize the shadings of reality, and whose destructive tendencies were early recorded by those who knew him well. The Senator possessed powers of oratory and intellect but used them as a vehicle for his personal needs with disastrous consequences for the nation. This was an unhappy, callous man who contributed to an equally unhappy period of history. This biography, when added to what other scholars have revealed about the Civil War, should challenge textbook authors and teachers of American history to reconsider the basic question of causation of the Civil War. *Charles Sumner and the Coming of the Civil War* is an outstanding example of the art of biography.

ALBERT FEIN

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NEWS AND NOTES

The 1962 Annual Meeting

The Florida Historical Society will meet in Jacksonville early in May, 1962, at the invitation of the Jacksonville Historical Society and Jacksonville University. The date has been set to coincide with the presentation of a historical drama commemorating the quadricentennial of the landing of Jean Ribault in 1562 and the establishment of Fort Caroline in 1564. Kermit Hunter, nationally known author and playwright, is writing the drama which will be presented in the new coliseum. The George Washington Hotel has been selected as headquarters for the meeting.

The Junior Historical Writing Contest

"Sarasota and the Florida Boom" by Martin Herskovitz, a student at Sarasota High School, won first prize in this year's contest. Second place went to Jeanne Cline, Seacrest High School at Delray Beach, for her paper titled "Fort Jefferson." "Florida Quits the Union" by Helen Motion, Coral Gables High School, was awarded the third prize.

The society is indebted to the committee of judges from Jacksonville University for reading and judging the unusually large volume of papers entered in the contest. The committee was composed of Professors Alberta Johnson, Ralph Bald, Lawrence Breeze and Vice President Ben F. Rogers, chairman.

The Golden Anniversary of Naval Aviation

"*The Machine Has Worked.* It seems to me worthwhile for this government to try whether it will not work on a large enough scale to be of use in the event of war. For this purpose, I recommend that you appoint two officers. . . . to make recommendations as to its practicability and prepare estimates as to the cost. I think this is well worth doing," wrote Assistant Secretary of the Navy, Theodore Roosevelt in 1898 of an early flying machine.

When Orville and Wilbur Wright captured the imagination of the world with their Kitty Hawk flight in 1903, Naval interest in aviation had been a matter of record for about five years. The Naval Appropriations Act for the year 1912 provided \$25,000 for experimental work in Naval aviation. The actual birthday of Naval aviation is reckoned from May 8, 1911, when the *Triad* seaplane was ordered from Glenn Curtiss at a cost of \$5,000. The original contract called for "one Curtiss eight cylinder biplane or 'Triad' fitted for rising from or lighting on water, including land equipment, water equipment and combination equipment, fitted with engine panels and chassis and four other interchangeable wing panels covered with rubberized linen on top and woven special sail cloth on the bottom."

In January, 1914, a Naval Aeronautic Station was opened at the old Navy yard at Pensacola. Though not the first Naval air station, Pensacola soon attained a position of prime importance.

On June 6 to 11 of this year, Pensacola and other cities in the area joined with the Naval Air Station in celebrating the history of Naval aviation. Pensacola's annual Fiesta of Five Flags took place at the same time. (Excerpted from the illustrated magazine section of the *Pensacola Journal*, June 6, 1961.)

The Florida Anthropological Society

The 13th annual meeting of the group was held at the University of Miami in February. A resume of the program is given in the society's *Newsletter* No. 45, prepared by the president, Colonel William C. Lazarus, 103 South Bay Drive, Fort Walton Beach. Through the society's efforts, state law now provides for a professionally qualified archaeologist (selected by the Director of Conservation and confirmed by the Cabinet) who "could function statewide on salvage archaeology matters with freedom from state politics." The law, effective July 1, 1961, is a part of the legislation which revised the State Department of Conservation. Unfortunately no funds are available at the present time for implementation of the office of state archaeologist.

Excavations completed or in process this summer include Indian sites at Christmas, Margaret, Fort Caroline and Chipley.

An appeal to the Florida Congressional delegation has been

made regarding proper salvage operations at the site of Fort St. Marks and urging restoration of this old Spanish fort.

Fort Gadsden Restoration

The Florida Board of Parks and Historic Memorials plans restoration of Fort Gadsden, 12 miles upstream from the mouth of the Apalachicola River. Dr. Hale Smith, Florida State University, who is working in Puerto Rico this summer, will be in charge of the restoration in the fall.

The State Historic Marker Program

The Park Board marker program is now in full swing with nearly 80 markers either erected, on hand or on order. The goal is one marker for each county. During the next two years, two dozen additional sites throughout the state will be marked. Financial assistance amounting to approximately \$1,000 has been received from local societies. Additional funds can always be used to expand the program.

The history department at Florida State University has prepared the texts for many of the markers while others have been provided by local groups. Mimeographed copies of all marker texts will be available soon. For information on the program, write Ralph Hager, Chief, Information and Education, Florida Park Service, P. O. Box 3697 MSS, Tallahassee.

A recent marker, erected in June, commemorated the salt works which operated in the St. Andrews Bay area during the Civil War. The marker was placed at Phillips Inlet bridge on US highway 98, West, by the Park Board with the cooperation of the Florida Civil War Centennial Commission.

The Registry of National Historic Landmarks

In the last two issues of the *Quarterly* will be found summary data on the landmarks program of the National Park Service. In July, announcement was made of an additional site to be marked in Florida: "Okeechobee Battlefield: On the northern shore of Lake Okeechobee, on Christmas Day, 1837, Zachary Taylor won a decisive victory over a band of Seminole and

Mikasuki warriors. The battle was a turning point in the Second Seminole War. The battlefield location is well established. A monument, erected in 1939 by descendants of Colonel Gentry (killed in the battle) and the Florida Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution, stands at the southwestern edge of the field. The site, located 4 miles southeast of Okeechobee on US highway 441, is privately owned."

Society for the History of Discoveries

This is a new historical society. It grew out of the International Congress for the History of Discoveries held in Lisbon, September, 1960. A small group of historians from the United States attending the Congress agreed that the history of discoveries is as yet largely a neglected field in this country, despite some outstanding individual contributions, and that an organized effort might help to promote a more intensive contribution by American scholars to the well developed international scholarship in this field. Accordingly, the Society for the History of Discoveries was formed in December in New York at the meeting of the American Historical Association.

The purpose of the new society is indicated by its name; however its scope will encompass the whole range of activities leading up to the discoveries, as well as their consequences and more remote implications. Such allied fields as cartography, economic expansion, geographic thought and beginning of colonialism will be included.

All persons interested in supporting these aims are invited to join the group. No dues have been set. Details are available from the secretary, John Parker, University of Minnesota Library, Minneapolis 14, Minnesota. The next meeting is planned for December, 1961, in conjunction with the American Historical Association meeting. For information on papers to be presented, write Thomas E. Goldstein, 10 East 85th Street, New York 28, New York, the society's president.

The Civil War Round Table of Jacksonville

This group was organized in February and now numbers some twenty members. Regular meetings are held on the second Wed-

nesday of each month, September through May, at Jacksonville University, and at special times during the summer months. Thomas K. Potter, Jr., is the Round Table's president. Serving with him are David Reichert, vice president; Richard Pastorett, secretary-treasurer; and Robert Bragg, assistant secretary-treasurer.

News of Local Historical Societies and Commissions

At the annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society in Palm Beach, reports from local historical groups were made by members present at the luncheon. Written reports from a number of other groups were on hand but time did not permit the reading of them all. There follows a summary of these reports, combined with items received since that time. In addition, brief reports were heard from the St. Lucie County Historical Society, the Alachua County Historical Commission, the Sarasota Historical Society, and the Polk County Historical Society. More details on these named groups will appear in another issue of the *Quarterly*.

Palm Beach Historical Society

Tape recording of reminiscences of local residents is a new project of this society, made possible by a gift from Paul Maddock, a society member and a new director of the state society. The group's historical collection, housed in the Flagler Museum, continues to grow. Recent acquisitions include autographed photographs of prominent people; the voluminous archives of the late Ruby Edna Pierce, for 50 years editor of the *Palm Beach Daily News*; and a packet of letters written from the Palm Beach area in 1881. The letters were made available by Mrs. D. F. Dunkle. Among them are letters written by Ed Brelsford (later postmaster) to his mother in Ohio. A quotation illustrates their interest and value: "We are now sitting in Cap's house [Captain Dimick], a cool breeze blowing off the ocean and a large bunch of bananas lying on the floor between us. We are living with Cap, his wife has gone north and he has a fine place. We have seen the mule and he has a crooked tail. We like the lake better than any place we have seen. There are ten families here, and about 8 or 10 bachelors. . . . We are going to watch the Ocean

beach nights for bear. The turtles begin to lay now and the bears walk the beach for eggs."

The society's *Newsletter* for May listed a more spectacular gift: "Certain equipment similar to that used in Bradley's casino years ago, and some items actually used there, so that we will be able to display, as a page from Palm Beach's past, a 'Corner in Bradley's' under glass!"

Historical Association of Southern Florida

At the April meeting, officers for 1961-62 elected were Wayne E. Withers, president; Charlton W. Tebeau, first vice president and editor of *Tequesta*; Roland A. Saye, Jr., second vice president; Justin P. Havee, executive secretary; Mrs. Virginia Wilson, secretary; J. Floyd Monk, treasurer; and Mrs. Andrew J. Moulds, librarian.

A complete bound set of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* was presented to the association by Mrs. Raymond E. Crane. Gifts toward the museum building fund have also been received.

Author and Civil War authority, Bruce Catton, spoke on "Robert E. Lee and the Civil War Centennial" before association members and friends totaling some thousand in February. In March, a panel discussion on Florida in 1861, conducted by Drs. Rembert W. Patrick and Charlton W. Tebeau, proved so popular that other panels have been planned. Dr. Fred Sleight, director, Central Florida Museum, Orlando, gave an illustrated talk on archaeological activities in Virgin Island National Park.

Osceola County Historical Society

This society was organized on October 29, 1949, and re-organized in April 1959. At the annual meeting in May, 1960, officers elected were Mrs. Alma Hetherington, president; Mrs. Sally Knight, first vice president; Kenneth Duncan, second vice president; Mrs. Clara Meacham, secretary-treasurer; Mrs. Lilliam Garrison, librarian; and directors, Mrs. Kate Knox, Mrs. Betty Metzger, Clifford Sachoff, and William Padgett. Honorary directors appointed were Charles Hartley and William Dummer.

The main project during the past year has been the collecting and placing in albums of old pictures and manuscripts for filing

in the Kissimmee and St. Cloud libraries. A field trip was made by several members to the home of Albert DeVane in Lake Placid where Billy Bowlegs III was interviewed. One program included stories of pioneers in the St. Cloud, Narcoossee and Runnymede areas, compiled by students in Mrs. Clara Meacham's classes from interviews with the pioneers. A member of the Florida Audubon Society gave a talk on Warden Marvin Chandler's work on the Kissimmee prairie several years ago. Florida on the eve of the Civil War was outlined at one meeting by Charles Hartley.

The January meeting featured a talk by Miss Dena Snodgrass on Florida's story from early conquest to the present time, illustrated by maps showing the effect of the state's strategic geographical position on its history. In March, William D. Yount, history instructor in St. Cloud High School, spoke on the teaching of history. A sketch of the history of Kissimmee churches was given by Rev. Renus Olson at the April meeting.

Pensacola Historical Society

The restoration of Old Christ Church and the adaptation of the edifice to a museum facility is the long-term project of this society. Significant exhibits have been installed and the collection is growing. Society members have expressed their good fortune in having the advice of Julien C. Yonge who has returned to live in Pensacola, his former home.

Officers of the group are A. O. Mortenson, president; T. T. Wentworth, Jr., president emeritus; Miss Adelaide Bell, first vice president; Mrs. Daniel B. Smith, second vice president; Vice Admiral C. P. Mason, third vice president; Allen P. Ames, secretary; Mrs. Wilton Hayes, treasurer; and directors, Dr. W. C. Payne, Sr., Captain James E. Jerauld, Miss Catherine Stewart and Herbert N. Rudeen.

Mount Dora Historical Society

Publication of *The Story of Mount Dora* is an outstanding accomplishment of this society. The officers of the group are W. D. Patton, president; Mrs. Clarence Esley, first vice president;

Mrs. Leon Erlech, second vice president; Mrs. Harold Overhiser, treasurer; and Mrs. Mabel J. Wile, secretary.

Volusia County Historical Commission

Plans are being made for the publication of a monograph to mark Civil War activities in the county, including the bombardment of New Smyrna.

Jacksonville Historical Society

Richard A. Martin, editor of the *Jacksonville Journal*, spoke before the society on the use of old newspaper files in the preparation of historical articles and books and described back files of the city's papers as a "gold mine" for scholars. "Landmarks of the Past" was the subject of a talk by Miss Corinne C. Williams and Russell DeGrove, a partner in the engineering firm, Robert M. Angas and Associates. Early maps and a number of marked sections of "witness trees" were on display. The talk was illustrated with photographs of landmarks, including history-making Ellicott's mound. Original field notes of the surveyor, Colonel Henry Washington, were also on display.

Officers elected in May were Egbert S. Moore, president; Mal Houghton, Jr., first vice president; Mrs. Karl Bardin, second vice president; Mrs. W. E. Mott, corresponding secretary; Miss Martha Lee Segui, recording secretary; Frank L. Harris, treasurer; James C. Craig, historian; and Miss Audrey Broward, archivist. Elected directors were Mrs. James L. Borland, Harold R. Clark, C. Howard Hill, Mrs. Linwood Jeffreys, Mrs. Herbert Lamson, Mrs. James H. Lipscomb, Jr., Phillip S. May, Jr., Mrs. Thomas H. McMillan, H. Plant Osborne, Ben F. Rogers, and Mrs. Herbert Earpe Williams. The past presidents serve as an advisory board.

Martin County Historical Society

To commemorate the Civil War, the society showed films on the lives of General Robert E. Lee and President Abraham Lincoln and on the war in general. In addition, films on Florida today were shown. The House of Refuge museum is preparing an exhibit on boat building in Florida about 1900.

In the Florida History wing of the Elliott museum, a pioneer kitchen and living room have been completed and work on other exhibits is progressing so that the wing can be opened to the public soon. The vehicular wing of the museum is open. Over 40 vehicles, gifts of Harmon P. Elliott, are on display. They depict the evolution of wheeled vehicles from the ox-cart to early model automobiles. A quadricycle, the invention of Mr. Elliott's father in 1885, is featured in the exhibit.

Putnam County Historical Society

State Senator H. S. McKenzie of Palatka was named president of this new society in May. R. E. Fisher was elected vice president and Mrs. Juanita Young, secretary-treasurer.

The society assisted in placing a marker, with the Board of Parks and Historic Memorials, at the site of Rollestown, an English settlement founded in 1767.

Pinellas County Historical Commission

On March 21, the Board of County Commissioners created a historical commission for the county which shall have as its purpose "the preservation of all matters relating to the history of Pinellas County, and of Florida." An annual budget of \$3,000 was provided. The Clerk of the Circuit Court was designated, by laws, as the secretary of the historical commission. The office was given temporary housing until the new court house in Clearwater is built. The group's current mailing address is P. O. Box 209, Clearwater. Ralph D. Reed, the director of the commission's activities, has initiated plans to register all pioneers: those who have lived in the county since 1911, the date the county was organized.

Marion County Historical Commission

The first bulletin of the commission, released in June, is an attractive printed leaflet carrying historical articles and pictures. Mrs. Roy V. Ott is chairman of the group; H. H. Henderson, vice chairman; John F. Nicholson secretary; and Mrs. Eugene G. Peek, chairman of the editorial board assisted by Louis H. Chazal and Hansel Leavengood.

St. Augustine Historical Society

Escribano, the society's newsletter, is a delightful journey into the past as well as a report on the extensive activities of the group. J. Carver Harris is editor and Miss Doris Wiles prepares the historical selections.

Frank G. Slaughter spoke before the society in February on the historical incidents about which he has written a number of his novels. Walter C. Hartridge, President of the Georgia Historical Society, Savannah, spoke in March on Button Gwinnett. Luis Arana presented the July program, a paper prepared from the Stetson Collection, titled "The Day Governor Cabrera Left Florida."

The Evolution of the Oldest House, a report on an exhaustive attempt to trace the history of a St. Augustine house of Spanish colonial period as revealed in documents and by architectural and archaeological exploration, will be published for the society by Florida State University Press.

On May 21, dedication ceremonies were held at the site of the St. Johns Railway marker and park on the Toco Road. Milton Bacon was master of ceremonies and Greville Bathe made the principal address. The Florida East Coast Railway, the Robinson Improvement Company and the State Road Department joined with the society in this venture.

Hillsborough County Historical Commission

The commission has been unusually active in placing highway markers in the county. In fact, all important sites relating to the Civil War activity have been marked.

Original county records, discarded by officials after micro-filming, are being rescued by the commission and are available to students in the museum. One prized record, a bequest of Honorable D. B. McKay, is the first county record book, dated 1836. It contains data on Seminole War activities and the territorial period.

Recent programs sponsored by the commission include talks by Richard Shepard on General Robert E. Lee and by Dr. Kenneth Scott of the University of Tampa on the relationship between genealogy and history.

Through the efforts of the group's officers, the Confederate Stars and Bars was flown over the city hall on January 10 and the Confederate monument on the court house lawn was decorated. The museum in the court house displayed Union and Confederate memorabilia.

The group is to be congratulated on preparing for Governor Farris Bryant, the following proclamation.

PROCLAMATION

State of Florida
Executive Department
Tallahassee

WHEREAS, one hundred years ago this Tuesday, "the people of the State of Florida in Convention assembled (did) solemnly ordain, publish and declare, that the State of Florida hereby withdraws herself from the Confederacy of States existing under the name of the United States of America. . . . and is hereby declared a sovereign and independent Nation," and

WHEREAS, no date in the long and colorful history of this state ever presaged more portentous times than did January 10, 1861, when following that historic vote taken in the Hall of the House of Representatives of the Capitol building, at Tallahassee, Florida, periling all, joined her sisters of the South and cast her lot and fortune with the destiny of the Confederate States of America, and

WHEREAS, in the following four long years of war her every resource in manpower, industry and agriculture was channeled toward victory and vindication of the Cause for which she fought, and

WHEREAS, at its close she accepted the decision as the will of Providence, and in returning to the Union that devotion which characterized her service prior to the unfortunate separation has since manifested itself a thousand fold over by defense of Constitution and Flag in four foreign wars; and today in the hour of her greatest prosperity, she finds herself the playground of her American family;

NOW, THEREFORE, to the end that a grateful generation may call to mind the patriotic devotion of their honored sires to

duty and conscience as they saw it and that the deeds of valor of the citizens and soldiers of Florida, in 1861 to 1865, both of the gray and blue persuasion, may be marked, studied and publicly examined, I

Farris Bryant

by virtue of the authority vested in me as Governor of the State of Florida, do hereby proclaim the years falling between the dates, January 10, 1961-April 9, 1965, as

Florida Civil War Centennial Years

and recommend to the people of our beloved State that suitable exercises appropriate to the centennial observances of all historic events of Florida's Confederate war years be observed during these Centennial Years.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have here unto set my hand and caused the Great Seal of the State of Florida to be affixed at Tallahassee, the capital, this 9th day of January, A. D. 1961.

Farris Bryant, Governor.

Attest: Tom Adams,
Secretary of State.

Membership in the Society

Two recently elected Directors of the Society have been outstanding for their work in adding members to our roll. Mr. Paul Maddock of Palm Beach, one of our hosts at the Annual Meeting, has sent in many memberships. Mr. Thomas O. Brown of Frost-proof has been active in his district in interesting people in the Society.

THE ANNUAL MEETING, WEST PALM BEACH
APRIL 7-9, 1961

MINUTES OF THE DIRECTORS MEETING

The Board of Directors met at the Town House, West Palm Beach, Florida, April 7, 1961, at ten o'clock with President Gilbert L. Lycan presiding. Members present were Judge Knott, Mrs. Sette, Mr. Harris, Mr. DeVane, Mr. Keene, Mr. Weed, Mr. Patrick, Mr. Sessa, Mr. Manucy, and Mrs. Peters.

The financial report read by Mrs. Sette showed that the Society received \$6,859.90 from all sources during the year. The expenditures were \$5,526.89. Including the \$7,214.76 in the treasury at the beginning of the year, April 1, 1960, there was a balance of \$8,547.77 on hand at the close of the year. Total memberships for March 31, 1961, were 913, a drop of 16 from the preceding year. Fourteen deaths were reported during the year.

Mrs. Sette announced that there were fewer contestants this year in the Annual Essay Contest, between 75 and 80, and that the judging had not been completed.

Mr. Patrick suggested that it might be to the advantage of the society to withdraw some of the funds from the savings bank and put them into speculative bonds. Mr. Sessa moved and the Directors agreed that the Financial Committee should be empowered to take all money above \$2500 in the First Federal Savings and Loan Association (\$4,754.43 as of March 31, 1961) and on July 1, 1961, move it to some other investment provided conditions at that time would make such a move seem advisable.

Mr. Patrick moved to extend aid in the amount of \$500 to the St. Augustine Historical Society toward the cost of publishing a biography of Menendez written in 1568 by Barrientos, a professor at Salamanca. The publication of the Menendez biography is a joint venture of the St. Augustine Historical Society and the University of Florida Press. To the extent of \$500 the Florida Historical Society would participate on a pro rata basis, where either profits or losses may result. In the opinion of Mr. Manucy the Society could expect to receive back a profit. The Society acted upon Mr. Patrick's motion and carried it unanimously.

Mr. Keene suggested that the board as a whole work to extend the membership, each board member working in his own district. Mr. Patrick reminded the board that doctors and dentists would be likely members since the *Quarterly* could be used in reception offices and membership dues are deductible.

Mr. Patrick reported on the *Quarterly*, the four issues of the year amounting to over 400 pages. He announced that in September Dr. Herbert J. Doherty, Jr. would become associate editor of the *Quarterly*. He also said that the contribution of the University of Florida to the Society amounted to at least \$7,000 annually since the University pays the salary of Mrs. Sette, the salaries of assistants and proof-readers, and furnishes the headquarters for the Society. Mr. Keene moved the acceptance of Mr. Patrick's report and the motion carried unanimously.

Mr. Lycan appointed Judge Knott, Mr. Sessa, and Mr. Johns as a resolution committee.

Mr. Lycan announced that the Society had had an invitation from the Jacksonville Historical Society to hold the annual convention in that city in 1962. Mr. Patrick moved that the Society accept this invitation and the motion carried. The exact date of the meeting was to be left to the Jacksonville Society.

The meeting was adjourned at 12:30 P.M.

MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL MEETING

The annual business meeting of the Florida Historical Society was held at the Palm Beach Towers Restaurant, Palm Beach, following a luncheon, April 8, 1961. The meeting was called to order by the president, Mr. Gilbert L. Lycan. Officers and directors of the organization were introduced.

The treasurer, Mrs. Sette, gave a resume of the report given at the board meeting. She reported that the balance on hand was \$8,547.77.

The president urged that all members work to get new members for the Society. He stated that there had been a slight decline in membership, from 929 to 913.

The various local societies represented at the meeting, twelve, gave brief reports of their activities and achievements.

Mr. Sesa, chairman of the Resolutions Committee, introduced the following resolutions: 1. a resolution expressing the deep

sorrow of the Society due to the death of D. B. McKay and Herbert Lamson, 2. a resolution that the Society ask the State of Florida to set aside money for improving the archives of the state, 3. a resolution expressing gratitude to the University of Florida for its many services to the Society, 4. a resolution from the Society commending the State of Florida for the work of the Committee for the Restoration of St. Augustine, 5. a resolution thanking the local committee and the Palm Beach Historical Society for their gracious hospitality during the convention. All of the resolutions were unanimously adopted.

Mr. Tebeau, chairman of the nominating committee, reported the slate of officers for the coming year. The other members of the committee were Miss Snodgrass and Mr. Manucy. The slate presented was as follows: President, Gilbert L. Lycan; 1st Vice-President, Frank B. Sessa; 2nd Vice-President, Lucius S. Ruder; Recording Secretary, Mrs. H. H. Latour; Executive Secretary, Lois Sette; Directors, Thomas O. Brown, Duncan L. Clinch, Mrs. Mary MacRae, Paul L. Maddock, Ben F. Rogers, and Maurice M. Vance.

A motion was made and adopted that the secretary be directed to cast a unanimous ballot for the slate.

The meeting was adjourned at 2:00 P.M.

RESOLUTIONS

The resolutions committee, Frank B. Sessa, chairman, James R. Knott, and John E. Johns, submitted the following resolutions which were adopted as read.

1. Be it resolved that the Florida Historical Society in annual meeting convened, expresses its heartfelt sorrow and grievous loss occasioned by the death of the Honorable D. B. McKay of Tampa, a man who contributed immeasurably toward the betterment of this Society as well as his community and his state.

2. Be it resolved that the Florida Historical Society in annual meeting convened, expresses its profound sense of loss in the death of its former president Herbert Lamson. Mr. Lamson devoted himself tirelessly to the cultural improvement of his fellow citizens and served this Society and his state with unselfish devotion.

3. Be it resolved that the Florida Historical Society in annual meeting assembled, urges the Legislature of the State of Florida

to recognize the need and responsibility of our state in collecting and preserving the record of our colorful past by providing adequate financial support to the State Library for the accomplishment of this purpose.

4. Be it resolved that the Florida Historical Society in annual meeting assembled, expresses its deep appreciation to the University of Florida for providing personnel, space, and facilities which make possible the functioning of the Society's library, the printing and editing of its *Quarterly*, and the furnishing of other services for the benefit of the people of Florida.

5. Be it resolved that the Florida Historical Society in annual meeting assembled, commends the Government of Florida upon the creation of the St. Augustine Historical Restoration and Preservation Commission and for its foresight in giving to that Commission the broad powers necessary to assure the restoration, preservation, and reconstruction of a significant part of Florida's priceless heritage.

6. By this resolution the officers and members of the Florida Historical Society express their gratitude to the Palm Beach County Historical Society, its Committee on Local Arrangements, and to all who have devoted themselves to making this a memorable meeting with an outstanding program. We express, too, our appreciation to the Town House Hotel and to the West Palm Beach Chamber of Commerce for their generous hospitality.

Be it further resolved that these resolutions be published in the *Quarterly* and that copies be sent to the appropriate individuals.

Contributors

Donald H. Grubbs is a member of the Social Science Faculty at Dade County Junior College.

Thelma Peters is a Director of the Society and a member of the Social Science Faculty at Dade County Junior College.

Robert R. Rea is Associate Professor of History at Auburn University.

Luis Rafael Arana is Historian in the National Park Service and is stationed at the Castillo de San Marcos.

Ralph L. Peek is a Graduate Student in History at the University of Florida.