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* * * To explore the field of Florida history, to seek and gather up the ancient chronicles in which its annals are contained, to retain the legendary lore which may yet throw light upon the past, to trace its monuments and remains, to elucidate what has been written to disprove the false and support the true, to do justice to the men who have figured in the olden time, to keep and preserve all that is known in trust for those who are to come after us, to increase and extend the knowledge of our history, and to teach our children that first essential knowledge, the history of our State, are objects well worthy of our best efforts. To accomplish these ends, we have organized the Historical Society of Florida.

GEORGE R. FAIRBANKS

Saint Augustine, April, 1857.

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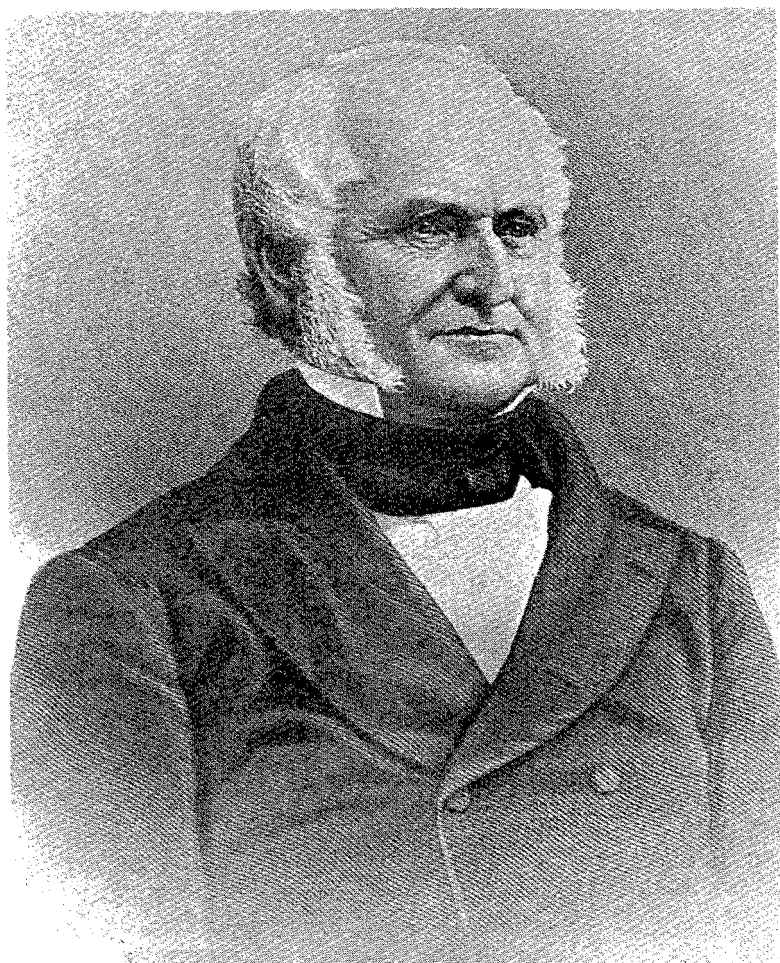
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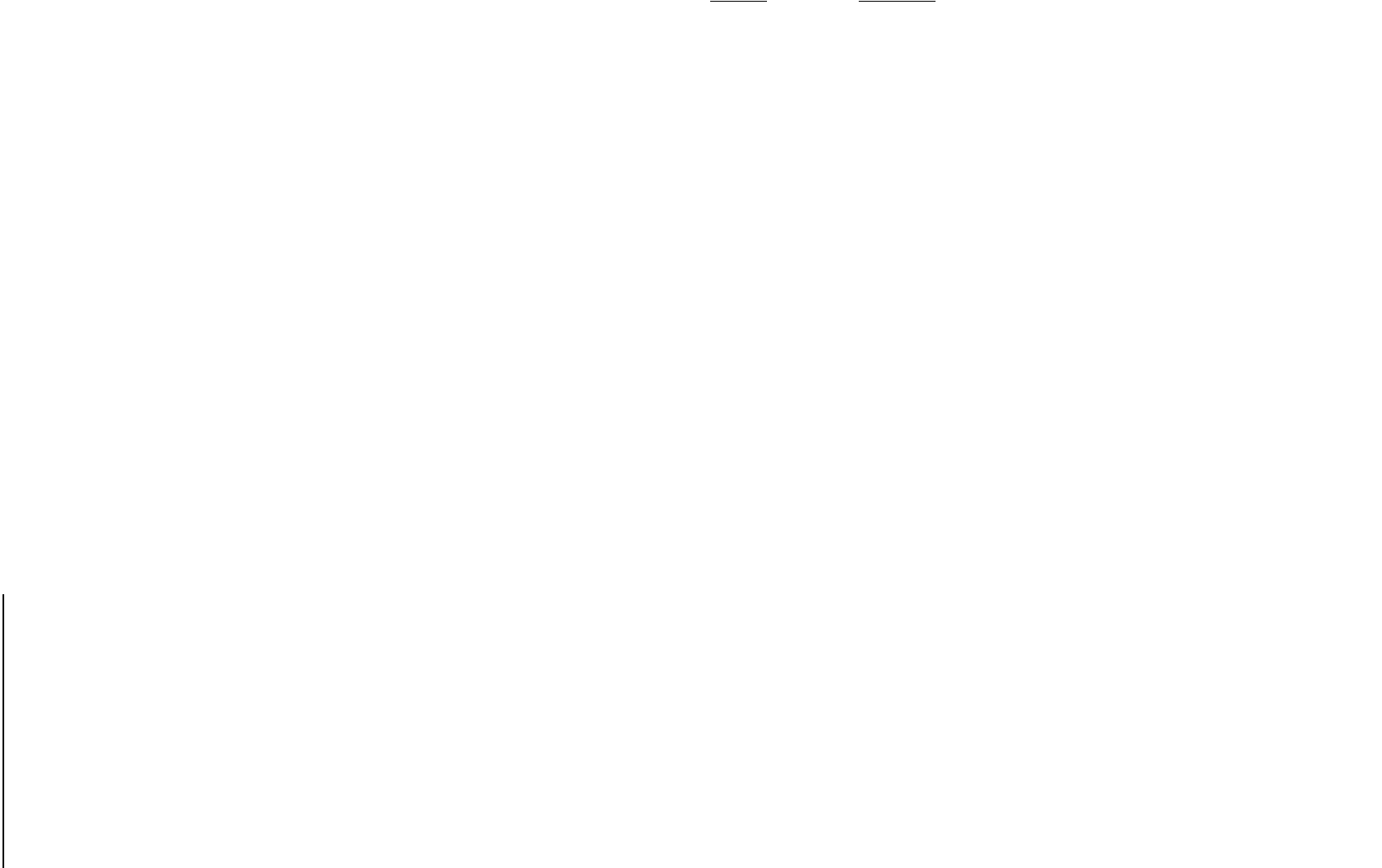
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WILLIAM ADEE WHITEHEAD, 1810-1884

Early resident, surveyor, and collector of customs of Key West.
(Photograph from an engraving in the *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society*, 2nd Series, Vol. VIII, No. 4, 1885)



NOTES ON THE MEDICAL HISTORY OF KEY WEST, 1822-1832

by E. ASHBY HAMMOND *

THE YEARS 1818 to 1823 were unquiet times in the northern Caribbean. The Latin nations of the area were either stabilizing their newly gained independence or preparing for further expressions of defiance against their Iberian overlords. In any event there was neither time nor the resources for organizing a military patrol of the waters extending from Venezuela to Tampa Bay, from Yucatan to Puerto Rico. Piracy was virtually unrestrained, and wrecking, considered by some observers to have been an only slightly more honorable enterprise, went unregulated. Shortly after John W. Simonton had acquired the island, then known as Cayo Hueso, and Lieutenant Matthew C. Perry had planted the American flag there in March 1822, Congress was importuned to establish Key West as a port of entry and to provide such military support as might be necessary to protect it from the forays of outlaws and pirates. In a memorial to Congress, Simonton set the tone for innumerable subsequent publicity releases by praising the quality of the harbor, the healthful climate, and the excellence of the fresh spring water abounding there.¹ President James Monroe was persuaded to consider the feasibility of fortifying the island, and, on February 1, 1823, Commodore David Porter was assigned the command of the West Indian Squadron, with instructions to "suppress piracy and protect American citizens and commerce in the West Indies and the Gulf of Mexico, and to establish a naval base for supplying the vessels of the squadron."²

The depot was established at Key West, and before mid-May 1823, a detachment of marines was landed. Key West had become the center of operations for the West Indian Squadron. The logistics of the establishment required that the naval person-

* This paper was read at the annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society, Key West, May 6, 1967.

1. Clarence E. Carter, ed., *The Territorial Papers of the United States: The Territory of Florida*, 26 Vols. (Washington, 1934-1962), XXII, 352-53, 411-12.
2. *Ibid.*, 705 fn.; *American State Papers*, Class VI, *Naval Affairs* (Washington, 1832-1861), II, 144-45, 203-04, 381-82.

nel be billeted aboard their ships while the marines provided themselves with hurriedly-constructed sheds and storehouses which assured them little comfort and scarcely any protection from either insects or the elements.³ Commercial activity at Key West was probably set in motion more or less simultaneously with the military occupation which made the island safe for business. Throughout much of the island's early history problems of public health and medicine were matters of mutual concern to the military and civilians.

The medical history of Key West throughout the nineteenth century centers on the alarming incidence of a variety of fevers which had a disagreeable way of recurring each year as soon as the summer season drew on. Yellow fever was the most deadly and the most feared, but fevers of the malarial type, usually designated as either intermittent or remittent, or sometimes merely as bilious, were a perennial pest. Though not so dramatic as the yellow variety, these other fevers in the long run probably took more lives and left more people incapacitated than did yellow fever. In addition, the common ailments were ever present; tuberculosis, dysentery, "stomach trouble," cholera, child-bed fever, and chronic intemperance all took their toll.

From the beginning of the American occupation the navy department revealed grave concern about the salubrity of the island. As he took command of the squadron, Commodore Porter was cautioned by Secretary of the Navy Smith Thompson: "You will be particularly watchful to preserve the health of the officers and crews under your command, and to guard, in every possible manner against the unhealthiness of the climate, not permitting any intercourse with the shore where yellow fever prevails, except in cases of absolute necessity. Wishing you good health and a successful cruise."⁴ The half-expected calamity was not long in falling. Patrol duties took the sailors and marines regularly out of Key West and into the numerous coves and harbors of the West Indies

3. *Ibid.*, I, *passim*. Commodore Porter, having proceeded from Norfolk, Virginia, to St. Domingo, arrived in Key West on April 3, 1823. *Ibid.*, I, 1119. Among the early buildings was a two-story frame structure designated as a hospital. Although the earliest buildings were constructed on a site now known as Mallory Square, the hospital was apparently located in Jackson Square, at approximately the location of the present Monroe County Court House. The well-known Marine Hospital, in use until 1943, was not constructed until 1844.

4. *Ibid.*, II, 204.

where the pirate might be in hiding. It was inevitable that some men should become the feeding grounds of the then unrecognized *Aedes Aegypti*, many years later to be identified as the yellow fever vector. The periodic returns of these men to their Key West base were bound sooner or later to bring them home during the period of incubation of the virulent microbe, with epidemic results. Before the summer of 1823 was half spent, yellow fever posed a dangerous threat.

The disenchantment with Key West came quickly. On May 11, 1823, Porter requested the navy department to send him more men and more ships, ending his dispatch with the doleful plea: "Thrown, as we are, on a barren and desolate island, that does not even supply water, I hope our situation may be made as free from sufferings as the Department can, without inconvenience to the public interest make it."⁵ In late July the yellow fever struck. For a few weeks Porter and his men seem to have borne the attack with equanimity, but on August 31, the commodore wrote to Washington: "It is with deepest regret I have to inform you the yellow fever has lately made its appearance among us to an alarming degree, and has carried off several I beg leave to refer you to the enclosed medical reports, and to say that we are badly off for medical assistance."⁶

Porter had allocated his medical staff, inadequate though it was, so as to provide the best possible medical coverage. Dr. Thomas Williamson, assumed by many students of Key West history to have been the first physician to reside on the island, was assigned to the hospital of the marines on shore, while Dr. Richard C. Edgar, who was himself to become a victim of fever before the summer was over, was in charge of the sick men of the harbor, i.e. the sick navy men. In addition, one surgeon's mate was assigned to every two vessels. Small wonder then, with both surgeons falling ill early in June, that porter wrote imploring the assignment of six additional medical officers to the Key West Squadron.

By early September dispatches to Washington showed the Key West situation to be worsening. The fever was extremely malignant. Several had died; Porter and twenty-one of his officers and men were sick, but hopes were good for the commodore's re-

5. *Ibid.*, I, 1110.

6. *Ibid.*, 1116.

covery.⁷ A second report, describing conditions as of September 8, shocked Secretary of the Navy Samuel L. Southard into action. It told of several more deaths and of the undiminished fury of the fever. All surgeons were sick, and four surgeons' mates constituted the entire medical staff of the station.⁸

In his report to President Monroe, Secretary Southard summarized such information as he had been able to obtain. He did not believe the fever had originated on the island; in every instance, he thought, it could be traced to other places. But whatever its origin, the destruction of valuable lives was equally lamentable. He regretted that exaggerated accounts of the epidemic were finding their way into public print, creating painful anxiety among the friends of those who were there. It was Southard's plan to order immediately two or three surgeons and surgeons' mates to Key West. He also was considering the advisability of sending the fleet northward, but he was quick to proclaim that under no circumstances would the island be abandoned. He dispatched Commodore John Rodgers, a ranking navy captain and president of the United States Naval Board, to make a thorough investigation of the origin, causes, and progress of the disease, the nature and situation of the island in reference to health, and the state and probable health of the station. Rodgers was empowered to take whatever action he deemed proper. Accompanying the captain were three of the navy's eminent surgeons: Thomas Harris, Bailey Washington, and Richard K. Hoffman.⁹

While these preparations were under way, Commodore Porter managed to leave his sick bed, and, having done so, lost no time in moving his ships northward. Rodgers' ship and Porter's little fleet, unknown to each other, had passed somewhere between Key West and Hampton Roads. If Porter felt that his decision to leave his post in Key West was rash or unwarranted, his letter of October 27 to Secretary Southard revealed it not at all. He said simply that his departure was prompted by reasons of health. As for the fever, in contrast with the opinion of others, he was convinced that it had been of local origin: that it had originated in the decomposition of vegetable substances after the heavy rains and during the intense heat. Porter wrote: "My experience convinces me that from the

7. *Ibid.*

8. *Ibid.*

9. *Ibid.*, 1117.

middle of July to the middle of October the lee side of Thompson's Island is an unfit residence for man; for the rest of the year no place in the tropics can be more healthy. Those who have resided on the weather side of the island have at all times been exempt from the sickness with which those of the leeward have been afflicted." He concluded on a bitter note: "The disease, in its commencement, was completely under the control of medicine; but I regret to say that several perished without receiving any medical aid whatever; and without even seeing a physician. The whole of the medical men, with scarcely an exception were, from their great fatigue and exposure, taken down with the disease, and we were left to perish for want of that assistance which we thought ourselves entitled to." ¹⁰

The surgeons who came with Commodore Rodgers to Key West proceeded with their medical survey about as scientifically as their knowledge and resources would permit. After ascertaining the physical characteristics of the island and noting the lack of pure water, they then made observations which were to be repeated with only minor variations by nearly every commentator on the health of Key West for the next three or four decades. ¹¹ It was the presence of vegetable and animal matter decomposing in the undrained ponds during the rainy season which produced a miasma. In addition, the gales and retiring tides deposited on the shores a quantity of seaweed which underwent rapid decomposition and thus contributed to vitiate the atmosphere. To the effects of effluvia and miasmata they added: sudden exposure of northern constitutions to a tropical climate; great fatigue and exposure by day and night among the boat crews, and lack of comfortable quarters for those encamped on the island; irregular and frequently intemperate habits; lack of fresh and wholesome provisions; the continued annoyance of mosquitoes and sandflies which deprived the men of their rest; and finally, the depressing passions arising from apprehension awakened by the prevailing epidemic, and by the obvious want of comfort of those who were afflicted. On the matter of mosquitoes and sandflies, it was noted that "so insupportable indeed became these troublesome insects that the men were

10. *Ibid.*, 1118.

11. *Ibid.*, 1119. The surgeons' report was published as an appendix to Walter C. Maloney, *A Sketch of the History of Key West, Florida* (Newark, 1876), 82-83.

frequently obliged to retire to the beach, where they walked the greater part of the night. Others, we have been informed by the officers of the station, would row off in their boats some distance from shore, and thus expose themselves to the heavy dews or drenching rains peculiar to the climate." Originating as it did before the advent of microbiology, this was, nevertheless, a sound and sensible report. The surgeons were unable, however, to ascertain the precise number of deaths because of the absence of the medical officers who had been in charge of the hospital.¹²

On his departure, Porter had left the post in the hands of the marine contingent. The chief medical officer was Dr. Thomas Williamson, surgeon of the station from April 8 until October 31, 1823. It was he who had supplied the Washington medical experts with much of their information, as is implied in the following passage: "It appears from the report of Dr. Williamson that there are fifty-nine persons now sick at the hospitals on the island. We have visited these establishments and have found patients sinking under the influence of debility, despondency and the ravages of disease."¹³

For the care of those whose fate it was to be left behind on the island the Washington doctors recommended: "That the large brig now in the harbor, which has been already designated as a hospital, should be suitably fitted up for the reception of those who may hereafter be attacked. By anchoring the vessel to the windward side of the island, the sick will inhale a pure atmosphere, will be protected in comfortable quarters, and being without the reach of annoying insects, will enjoy such repose and tranquility as are essential to the treatment of their disease." Their investigation finished, the doctors headed back to Washington.¹⁴

12. *American State Papers, Naval Affairs*, I, 1120.

13. The reference to "hospitals" raises a point of interest and confusion. There is little doubt that, under the exigencies created by the epidemic, some of the smaller houses of the marine base were converted into temporary quarters for the sick. They could scarcely be called hospitals.

14. *American State Papers, Naval Affairs*, I, 1120. Orders for fitting out the brig for a hospital had actually been issued by Commodore Porter to Lieutenant Commander Francis H. Gregory on September 16, 1823 (*ibid.*, II, 261): "You will take the brig, fitting [her] for a hospital, and moor her carefully and securely at the upper part and on the east side of the harbor. You will use for this purpose one of the chain cables and anchors on shore (she has a chain and anchor on board), after which you will please to finish her by laying her birth deck and laying a tier of cribs above and below on each side

On November 19, Commodore Porter made his own recommendations to the secretary of the navy: "By thinning the woods, and draining off the heavy rains of the month of June (thereby promoting a free circulation of air, evaporation and dispersion of the water, rendered stagnant by the excessive heat of June, and which causes the rapid decomposition of the vegetable matter with which the island abounds) the months of August, September, and October might be made sufficiently healthy for the residence of man; but at present the poisonous effluvium, arising from these causes, is almost certain destruction to whoever breathes it."¹⁵

The pestilence of 1823 having passed, Secretary Southard was optimistic about the future of Key West. In his annual report to the President, submitted early in December, he reviewed the disaster, but concluded that the station must be maintained, the medical recommendations must be carried out, and intercourse with unhealthy places must be avoided. If these steps were taken, the health of all could surely be preserved.¹⁶ Porter, on the other hand, disclosed much concern about returning to Key West in 1824, but return he did in late winter. By the end of May, however, he ruefully informed his Washington superiors that the fever had already appeared, that the squadron was deplorably short of medical men, and that he had no recourse but to return his men to the North by the middle of June.¹⁷ This provoked a sharp response from Washington. Was the commodore not aware that a very considerable portion of the total medical staff of the navy had been assigned to Key West? "You have had five surgeons and seventeen surgeons' mates under your command over the past ten months. Your medical assistance ought not to have been so reduced as you state it to be at present."¹⁸ Porter's next move was to leave Key West forthwith, and only after arriving in Washington did he bother to inform the navy secretary. He had left, he said, in a desperate attempt to preserve his health and that of his men.

amidships, and finishing off with rough boards a snug cabin for the commander and surgeon, and closing her in all around on the outside with the same, leaving sufficient openings for ventilators, and for hoisting things in by fore and main yards; then all the new work must be whitewashed." I have discovered no evidence that this order was ever carried out.

15. *American State Papers, Naval Affairs*, I, 1120.

16. *Ibid.*, 1094.

17. *Ibid.*, II, 232.

18. *Ibid.*, 218.

About sixty men remained on the island, but he regretted that he had only a single surgeon's mate to leave with them for the sickly season, although he felt reasonably sure that the general health of the island would be better, thanks to the improvements he had brought about.¹⁹

There is little immediate purpose in providing a chronicle of the sickly season of 1824. The secretary of the navy summarized the situation in his annual report of December 1 to the President. It was not so bad as last year, but there was still much suffering and many had died. Some improvements had been made, and others were proposed. If the means were provided the island could be made comparatively comfortable and healthy before next summer and fall.²⁰

As for civilian health during the two major epidemics, knowledge is very elusive. The town was not incorporated until 1828, and statistics are rare. No newspaper was published in Key West until 1829. Though governmental records are fairly plentiful as they relate to the military, civilians were generally overlooked in the dispatches. It is certain that civilians numbered less than the military, and that there was a steady trickle of transients to and from the island. It is doubtful that before 1827, the civilian population ever numbered more than 300. Wreckers from Nassau, Indian Key, and elsewhere seldom stayed long enough to be counted. The records fail to indicate whether a civilian physician was in residence at Key West before 1828. The random notices that appeared in the St. Augustine and Pensacola papers cannot be relied upon to provide a medical picture of the island. It seems fair to assume that many civilians fell victim of the fevers, and that the mortality was high, but due to differences in their modes of living, probably not so great as among the military.

Key West citizens bore their illnesses as best they could, and in the absence of physicians, nursed each other and employed such folk remedies as were available. There were few women on the island, and in the early years the tender loving care of the womanly hand was rare. Mrs. Ellen Mallory, one of the earliest of the women-settlers, arrived in December 1823, as matron of the

19. *Ibid.*, 232.

20. *Ibid.*, 1, 1004.

military hospital. ²¹ Dr. A. W. Diddle correctly surmises that "previous to the arrival of civilian physicans [which Dr. Diddle erroneously ascribes to the year 1831] consultation was either unobtainable or assistance was tendered by army or navy surgeons stationed on the isle." Most likely these medical officers lent a hand whenever possible, but a medical staff, inadequate even for the needs of the military, as appears to have been the case in 1823 and 1824, may hardly be presumed to have had time for civilian cases. ²²

Two seasons of yellow fever had done great damage to Key West as a place for human habitation, not to mention commercial enterprise. By early 1825 the navy was laying plans to remove the base of its West Indian operations to the more salutary environs of Pensacola, in spite of Pensacola's own deadly yellow fever siege of 1822, when it was reported that out of 1,500 to 2,000 people, between 200 and 300 had died. ²³ By April 1826 the last marine had been removed from Key West.

In 1825 the health of Key West was improved. This was due in some measure to the removal of military personnel and the reduced frequency of contact with the other Caribbean shores. Contemporary observers, however, ascribed it to the improvements in clearing and drainage. The ill-famed pond, which lay immediately behind the town [its entrance was made between Front and Greene streets, whence it spread over a wider area, across Duval Street, which was supplied with a footlog, as far as the corner of Whitehead and Caroline streets] had been opened by drainage canals to the ebb and flow of the sea. A brief notice in the *East Florida Herald* of St. Augustine, September 21, 1825, gave the favorable intelligence that the health of Key West was improved, one of the few felicitous notices which that paper ever accorded to

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21. House Document No. 792, 29th Cong., 1st Sess., p. 28 (a series of public testimony, including a statement by Mrs. Mallory in which she gives the date of her arrival). This information is also given in *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine* (January 1852), 52, reprinted in *Florida Historical Quarterly*, VIII (July 1929), 51. Joseph T. Durkin in his *Stephen R. Mallory: Confederate Navy Chief* (Chapel Hill, 1954), 11, states that the Mallory family settled in Key West in 1820.
 22. A. W. Diddle, "The History of Civilian Medical Care in Key West Up to 1945," *Journal of the Florida Medical Association*, XXXIII (January 1947), 383-89.
 23. Nathaniel A. Ware and Samuel R. Overton to the secretary of state. October 21, 1822, Carter, *Territorial Papers*, XXII, 552.

Key West.²⁴ But the damage was done. Key West had a bad name, and for several years it was impossible to convince the world outside that the island was anything but a remote graveyard - a veritable Golgotha. According to a dubious report in the *East Florida Herald*, the population of Key West was reduced to a mere ten persons by early 1826.²⁵

Desperation prompted the proprietors of Key West, men such as John Simonton and Pardon C. Greene, to attempt to recruit settlers early in 1826. A vessel arrived in St. Augustine bringing commissioners who were authorized to entice "an unlimited number of persons to make settlement there [Key West], representing it as a land flowing with milk and honey." Some thirty or forty were persuaded to go. On April 4 the *Herald*, not without some satisfaction, reported that those adventurers were straggling back, "... instead of a land flowing with milk and honey, they now behold a land of disease and death." "Four persons . . . have returned . . . with an evil report of it," the *Herald* noted. "One died on his passage to this city, and all the others who have been so fortunate as to escape have been very ill with the fever but [are] now convalescent. The last advices from Key West inform us that there were twenty-four cases of the fever, and those who have been so foolish as to take their lives in their hands and journey to that Golgotha . . . will return at the first opportunity."²⁶

The year 1826 witnessed the low point of Key West's fortunes, but by the end of the year the fever had again run its course. The following year saw a gradual recovery and restoration of confidence, at least among the hardy and the desperate. In the matter of health, 1827 and 1828 were good years. On March 13, 1829, Dr. Henry S. Waterhouse, one of Key West's earliest physicians, informed a friend in Philadelphia that "during the entire three years past Key West has been as little afflicted with sickness as any other town or village in the country containing an equal number of inhabitants and receiving a like number of sojourners and casual visitors."²⁷

The convictions of Dr. Waterhouse were repeated in a letter written by Dr. Robert S. Lacey, another early Key West doctor, on March 16, 1829: "I have resided on this island for near twelve

24. St. Augustine *East Florida Herald*, September 21, 1825.

25. *Ibid.*, May 23, 1826.

26. *Ibid.*, April 4, 1826.

27. *Key West Register*, March 19, 1829.

months, and during the whole period but two cases of disease of any importance have occurred. The one of yellow fever, the other of bilious remittent. Nearly all my practice was confined to chronic cases of disease, and these exclusively amongst seamen and that class of population The preceding year, [1827] I am informed, passed off without a death resulting from the former prevailing epidemics, and with fewer cases than existed during the summer of 1828.”²⁸

The prevailing fear which beset many prospective settlers of Key West in the late 1820s, cognizant as they were of the reputation of the place, is typified by the confession of Dr. Waterhouse in the letter just cited: “I cannot soon forget the fear, the trembling apprehension with which in August last [1828] I landed in this place.” But apprehensive or not, a goodly number of settlers trickled in between 1827 and 1830. By early 1828 the population was tabulated at 421, of which 100 were transient turtlers and fishermen.²⁹ The official United States census of 1830, the first to include Key West, showed 517 inhabitants in Monroe County, and approximately ninety percent of these lived in Key West.

Two successive dry summers and extensive drainage and clearing of the undergrowth on the island, combined with other circumstances, produced for Key West an interlude of good health. With the abatement of fever, however, predatory and lawless elements returned to plague the unfortunate island. In January 1828, Joseph M. White, Florida’s congressional delegate, appealed to the war department for the establishment of an army post at Key West for the purpose of restoring law and order. The department showed some interest, but first it decided to make a health survey of the island to determine why the former naval station had been so unhealthy. Colonel George M. Brooke, commander of United States troops at Tampa Bay, was made responsible for the survey. The investigating group, which went to Key West in March 1829, included Dr. Edward McComb, chief medical officer at Fort Brooke, Tampa Bay, who was charged with reporting on matters of health.³⁰

28. *Ibid.*, March 26, 1829.

29. Carter, *Territorial Papers*, XXIII, 1956. These figures include 216 white males (permanent), 49 white females (permanent), 100 white males (transient), 21 free colored males, 18 free colored females, and 17 slaves (sex unstated).

30. Edward McComb to George M. Brooke, January 10, 1829, *ibid.*, XXIV, 133-34.

McComb sought out the two doctors of the island, both of whom gave Key West a clean bill of health.³¹ They did recommend further drainage and more cisterns for a purer water supply. As for the disasters of 1823 and 1824, these were attributable, they thought, though neither had been present, to exposure to inclement weather, a sudden change of climate, and the frequent and excessive use of wine and rum. The physicians did not overlook the "filthy and disgusting pond immediately in the rear of the station," and called for measures to remedy that situation. As for the consumption of alcohol, the doctors recalled that there had been "a lack of police to prevent men from excessive use of ardent spirits sold to them by hucksters; and after becoming intoxicated, laying [*sic*] out during the night and hiding themselves in the underbrush where it was impossible to find them, and when taken sick, the hospital too small either for the necessary room or proper ventilation." The army did not make its move to Key West until early in 1831, when Major James M. Glassell of the Fourth United States Infantry Regiment established a post northeast of the harbor.³¹

Ah, but Key West was a healthy place in 1829, no healthier place in southeastern America! The army need have no fear! The optimism reflected by the physicians was rudely demolished in the late summer of 1829, by the reappearance of yellow fever in epidemic proportions. It was a deadly attack, though perhaps not so severe as a Key West correspondent, writing to the *Magnolia Advertiser* on October 30, would have his readers believe: "The miseries and sufferings, and all the appalling horrors attendant upon Pestilence and Death, have perhaps never been equalled . . . Of between 150 and 160 inhabitants who remained to spend the summermonths . . . upwards of 70 have fallen victims of the dreadful malady. But one solitary individual in the place (F. A. Browne, Esq.) has entirely escaped.

"The scene of wretchedness and woe, which everywhere prevailed, no language has power to describe-nor can imagination conceive the horrors, without having participated in its dreadful realities. Isolated as this place is from any cultivated portion of the country, with no resources within itself for support, at the season

31. *American State Papers*, Class V, *Military Affairs*, IV, 202, 206-07.

of the year when few or no vessels pass, a general scarcity prevailed, not only of fresh provisions, but of almost every comfort and convenience, which the feeble and exhausted system requires to nourish and sustain its sinking frame. Half-grown chickens sold from \$1.50 to \$2.00 each. Etc., etc.”³²

Throughout the calamity of 1829, the *Key West Register* made no mention of yellow fever. The only indication of trouble imparted by the paper is the inference we may draw from the advertisement of Dr. George Weems, a sojourner in Key West, in the issue of August 13, at about the time the fever was at its worst: “Through the solicitations of many of the inhabitants of Key West, and in consequence of the many cases of disease now prevailing here, I have been induced to remain on the island a short time: and I beg leave to tender my professional services to the residents and visitors.”³³ But the Tallahassee, Pensacola, and St. Augustine newspapers on the other hand, gave the pestilence such coverage as rumor and occasional dispatch would warrant. They showed not the slightest reluctance in publicizing the misery of the unfortunate town.

The yellow fever epidemic of 1829 was the last serious outbreak to beset Key West for more than a quarter of a century. The damage to the island’s reputation was considerable, though hardly irreparable. The town had been incorporated in 1828, and its government was empowered to take measures to preserve the public health. There is no evidence, however, that the town council paid much attention to these problems. Dr. Waterhouse addressed a memorial to the council in April 1829, reminding its members of their responsibility in matters of health. He urged the appointment of a health officer, as had been done in some other Florida towns, and he called to the council’s attention the need for further drainage of the noxious pond, which he believed was the most dangerous place on the island.³⁴ But the people of Key West waited until 1832 to make their first official move toward public

32. *Magnolia Advertiser*, October 30, 1821. A more realistic statistic compiled a few years later by William A. Whitehead established the number of deaths from all causes at Key West in 1829, at forty-nine. Whitehead’s statistics are included in Maloney, *Historical Sketch of Key West, Florida*, 47-48.

33. *Key West Register*, August 13, 1829. See also subsequent issues through September 3, 1829. The issues from this date to the end of the year have been lost.

34. *Key West Gazette*, July 18, 1832.

health regulation. Florida's legislative council gave Key West a new charter on February 2, 1832, to become effective April 1. It empowered the mayor and aldermen to enact and enforce regulations for the quarantine of vessels and for the preservation of the health of the city, and to appoint a health officer.³⁵ Within a week Dr. Benjamin B. Strobel was named health officer and port physician. On July 24, the city established quarantine regulations, authorizing the health officer to board each vessel entering port to inspect it and its crew; in case of infectious disease, he could quarantine vessel and crew as long as he deemed necessary. Any vessel violating the health officer's order would be fined \$300. A quarantine ground was designated west of Mangrove Key in the upper part of the Key West harbor.³⁶ Thus, ten years after its founding, Key West got its first public health laws.

Meanwhile, the army, after two years of surveying and planning, made its entry into Key West on January 2, 1831, with the arrival of a detachment of troops from the Fourth Infantry Regiment at Fort Brooke, Tampa Bay. There is no reason to believe that the event had any medical significance whatsoever, beyond the addition of a few men to the ranks of the consumers of ardent spirits. Pardon C. Greene, one of the island's most influential merchants, complained that the soldiers were undisciplined, a complaint which prompted Washington to investigate the command of Major James M. Glassell, commandant of the post. But Mr. Greene was himself somewhat undisciplined, with a Negro mistress from Nassau and periodic fits of intoxication, which according to the major, occurred every afternoon. Thus little came of the investigation.³⁷ A medical officer had been brought from Fort Brooke in the person of Acting Surgeon O. P. Mills, but he was almost immediately replaced by Dr. Strobel of Key West.³⁸ It was a common practice at the time for the military to fill its medical posts with civilian doctors.

The first record of a civilian physician at Key West before 1828, relates to Robert A. Lacey. In a list of executive appointments made by Acting Governor William M. McCarty on August

35. *Ibid.*, March 14, 1832.

36. *Ibid.*, July 25, 1832.

37. Major J. M. Glassell to the adjutant general, December 14, 1832, Carter, *Territorial Papers*, XXIV, 761-63.

38. *Key West Gazette*, March 28, 1831.

8, 1827, Dr. Lacey was named Monroe County auctioneer and county notary public.³⁹ This certainly suggests that Lacey was already a resident in 1827, yet in a letter to Dr. McComb, written on March 16, 1829, he stated: "I have been on this island near twelve months." This would seem to establish the time of his arrival as about April 1828.⁴⁰ In addition to his practice of medicine and carrying out his duties as county auctioneer, Lacey figured in the well-publicized duel between Charles E. Hawkins and William Allison McRea, fought on February 9, 1829. He was McRea's second.⁴¹ He ran unsuccessfully for Florida's legislative council in the summer of 1829,⁴² and then apparently he moved to Tallahassee late in December 1829.⁴³ He was without doubt one of the two doctors to perform an autopsy on the body of Captain John Morrison in June 1829, which showed that death had been caused by a ruptured aorta.⁴⁴ A chance reference identifies Dr. Lacey as a citizen of Tuscaloosa, Alabama, in 1836.⁴⁵

Lacey's chief contemporary at Key West was Dr. Henry S. Waterhouse, who arrived only a short time after Lacey.⁴⁶ Ill-health, probably tuberculosis, had forced him to leave his native Vermont. That he began practicing medicine soon after his arrival in Key West was indicated by the fact that in March 1829, after rumors had spread that there were cases of smallpox in Havana, he procured from the government hospital in Havana a supply of "pure, fresh vaccine or Cow Pock Matter." The *Key West Register* dutifully informed its readers that the doctor "intends devoting Saturday the 21st of March to the inoculation of all those who may choose to call upon him for that purpose."⁴⁷ William A. Whitehead, who surveyed and mapped Key West in 1829, described Dr. Waterhouse as a learned man and a reader, who owned the largest collection of books on the island.⁴⁸ He was the first postmaster of

39. Carter, *Territorial Papers*, XXIII, 927, 1007.

40. *Key West Register*, March 26, 1829.

41. *Ibid.*, February 12, 1829.

42. *Ibid.*, June 4, 11, 1829.

43. Carter, *Territorial Papers*, XXIV, 365.

44. *Key West Register*, June 11, 1829.

45. *Key West Inquirer*, January 9, 1836. The name of the *Key West Enquirer* was changed to *Key West Inquirer* on December 19, 1835, at the beginning of its second year of publication.

46. *Key West Register*, March 19, 1829.

47. *Ibid.*

48. William Adeed Whitehead, early resident of Key West and eminent civic leader, left the island in 1836. In his latter years, while a citizen

Key West, holding the position from 1829 to 1833. He was very active in its civic life, holding posts in the town government and speaking out courageously on public issues.⁴⁹ He left Key West for Indian Key late in 1833, and in January 1835, he was drowned while fishing off the key with his young son.⁵⁰

A Dr. Weems came to Key West, but he lingered there only briefly. Dr. Benjamin Beard Strobel, probably the most learned and best trained of all the early Key West physicians, arrived in mid-September 1829⁵¹ from his native Charleston. He was especially active in the civic affairs of the town, serving on the council, helping to organize the first church and school, and waging a personal campaign against what he thought were the forces of evil on the island. He was publisher of the *Key West Gazette* and seems to have handled the major medical practice of the town. It was apparently Strobel's relentless attack on what he deemed were the reprehensible aspects of the wrecking business which kept him constantly at odds with certain notorious business elements. He gave up his newspaper and his medical practice in September 1832, preparatory to leaving Key West, and returned briefly to Charleston. But he was back on the island again within a few months, joining an exploring party along the lower west coast of Florida. Back in Key West in March 1833, he accepted the challenge to a duel issued by David C. Pinkham, proceeded to wound Pinkham mortally, and then, according to Mr. Whitehead, he hurriedly left Key West with friends aboard a coast guard cutter.

The last physician to reside in Key West during this early period was Alexander Hamilton Day, who arrived late in 1831 from his native Louisiana in search of a more agreeable climate.

of New Jersey, he wrote his "Reminiscences of Key West," which were published serially in a Key West newspaper in 1876. The entire series was somehow preserved even though only one issue of the newspaper has survived, and it may be seen at the University of Miami Library. The work was edited by Dr. Thelma Peters and published as "William Adee Whitehead's Reminiscences of Key West," in *Tequesta*, XXV (1965), 3-42. Much of chapter four, 13-16, is devoted to Dr. Waterhouse.

49. Mrs. T. O. Bruce to author, March 9, 1965. Mrs. Bruce, a resident of Key West, has established the fact that Dr. Waterhouse was town treasurer in 1828.

50. *Key West Enquirer*, January 24, 1835.

51. See *Charleston Courier*, May 10, 1837, for an account of Dr. Strobel's arrival in Key West in September 1829. The *Key West Gazette*, of which he was co-publisher and later publisher, provides much information on Strobel's activities in the city during 1831 and 1832.

Undoubtedly the presence of his brother-in-law, Lieutenant F. D. Newcomb at the army post in Key West, determined his choice of the island as his home.⁵² Shortly after arriving, Day became clerk of the Superior Court, Southern Judicial District of Florida,⁵³ and in May 1832, he was chosen a city alderman.⁵⁴ Later in the year he replaced Strobel as Key West health officer and port physician.⁵⁵ His medical services were commended to the citizens of the island by Dr. Strobel whose office, located in the store of P. J. Fontaine, he took over.⁵⁶ Day served Key West two years as clerk of court and physician. He died in Washington, Kentucky, while in search of spring waters which he hoped in vain would restore his health.

These early Key West physicians were certainly not eminent medical men, but they were all humanitarians willing to do what they could to relieve suffering and to render death a little less terrifying. Only briefly in each instance did they figure in the development of the island community, but their contributions were considerable. They appear to have been numbered always among those trying to establish decency and order in the town.

As the 1830s drew on, confidence in the safety of Key West slowly returned, and new settlers began drifting in. Medical statistics for the years 1830-1834 reveal that the mortality rate was probably normal for a town whose population included many visitors already suffering from serious ailments at the time of their arrival. In 1830, for example, there were only fourteen deaths on the island, as compared with forty-nine in the previous year of epidemic, while deaths in 1831, 1832, and 1833, numbered twenty-one, twenty-two, and twenty-seven respectively. The causes of death ran the gamut, with consumption taking a higher toll than any other except fevers and intemperance, if the latter may be considered a disease. The claims for the salubrity of Key West, now advanced by so many who knew the island, at last seemed justified. The *Key West Enquirer* of October 3, 1835, was able to boast: "The summer has passed away, and our island has fully preserved its credit as a place of health. . . . Since January 1st, a

52. For obituary notice of Dr. Day containing biographical facts, see *Key West Enquirer*, December 13, 1834.

53. *Key West Gazette*, April 11, 1832.

54. *Ibid.*, May 9, 1832.

55. *Ibid.*, September 8, 1832.

56. *Ibid.*, August 29, 1832.

period of nine months, there have been, including all transient persons, only nine deaths upon the Island, exclusive of U. S. soldiers—a result which places it among the most healthy towns and cities on the globe.”

Still the ugly rumors could not be laid to rest. In the late summer of 1835, a Charleston newspaper informed its readers: “We are sorry to announce that Capt. Randolph fell a victim to *the fever* at that place [Key West]. The Key is still healthy, although we have lost two valuable officers there within a few weeks.” This story provoked a lament from the *Key West Enquirer*: “The above are extracts from information which is now extensively circulating throughout the country, confirming all the thousand and one calumnies that have circulated, died, and again revived to prejudice the minds of persons in the north against the climate of our Island. Why, oh why, do they do this?”⁵⁷

The conclusion of Dr. Strobel, drawn up after his departure from the island and presented in what would appear to have been reliable perspective, provides what is perhaps a proper closing note. He wrote from Charleston in 1833: “There are two classes of persons who have materially injured the reputation of Key West for health—its friends, and its enemies. Its friends, by concealing the truth, and its enemies, by exaggerating it. While the former have represented it as a terrestrial Paradise, the latter have made it a Golgotha; both have erred, ‘in medium stat virtutes,’ the truth lies between extremes. There can be no doubt that in ordinary seasons Key West may be considered a healthy place, whilst on the other hand it has its sickly seasons.”⁵⁸

57. *Key West Enquirer*, October 10, 1835.

58. *Charleston Mercury*, July 12, 1833. See also *Charleston Courier*, May 13, 1837.

British and Indian Activities in Spanish West Florida During the War of 1812

by FRANK L. OWSLEY, JR.

WHEN BRITAIN lost control of Florida in 1783 to Spain, many English merchants and public officials, especially the governors of Jamaica and New Providence, did not consider the loss of Florida as permanent. They continued an extensive legal and illegal trade with the Indians in Florida and the southern United States. The mouth of the Apalachicola River and the area around it comprised one of the main seats of this commerce, especially the illegal part. In line with their objectives of regaining control of Florida, these various British officials and merchants sent such filibusterers as William Augustus Bowles, who plotted to create an independent Indian state or possibly to reannex the area to Britain.¹ In an effort to halt the illegal trade and to prevent seizure of the area, the Spanish constructed a fort at Apalachee. The forces of Spain, however, were spread far too thin to man the post properly, and there is little evidence that the existence of the fort had much effect on the trade.²

This rivalry between Britain and Spain in Florida made it difficult for the two countries to cooperate against the United States, which, by 1812, had become the greatest menace to Florida. By this time both Britain and Spain had reason to desire a weaker United States as part of their efforts to protect themselves. Britain was, of course, at war with the United States, but Spain had perhaps more actual grievances against the Americans than did the British.

Since Spain was first actively engaged in opposing the United States, it is necessary to start with an examination of the Spanish position. The North American forces had in 1810 annexed Baton Rouge by a successful revolution and filibustering expedition. On April 14, 1812, the United States Congress arrogantly claimed

1. J. Leitch Wright, Jr., "British Designs on the Old Southwest: Foreign Intrigue on the Florida Frontier, 1783-1803," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XLIV (April 1966), 265-84.
2. Baron de Carondelet to Luis de las Casas, May 23, 1793, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain, Papeles Procedentes de Cuba, legajo 1447. Cited hereafter as AGI, Cuba.

Mobile and West Florida as far as the Perdido River, a year in advance of the actual seizure of Fort Charlotte at Mobile by American forces.³ They were also directly or indirectly engaged in filibustering expeditions both in East Florida and in Spanish Texas.⁴

Faced with numerous intrusions, the Spanish authorities of West Florida were understandably anxious to check or damage the United States. As a result of the Napoleonic wars, Spain was in a state of chaos, and there was unrest throughout most of the Spanish empire. The situation made it impossible to send a strong force into West Florida, or even adequately to supply the small force of 400 or 500 soldiers stationed there.⁵

Spain had supported the Creek and Seminole Indians as a barrier to United States expansion, gaining influence among the Indians by means of trade and the distribution of gifts. Spanish-Indian policy usually had been to keep the Indians strong and at peace with the United States because a fight would probably have led to their destruction. Spain wanted to maintain the Indians as a force in being.⁶

1812 and 1813 were critical times in the Gulf coast area and in Florida for both Spain and Britain. The weakened Spanish, attacked on all sides, seemed certain to lose all of Florida bit by bit. The British were interested in the Gulf coast as a possible

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3. Hubert Bruce Fuller, *The Purchase of Florida, Its History and Diplomacy* (Cleveland, 1906), 185-86, 199. See also facsimile edition with introduction by Weymouth T. Jordan (Gainesville, 1964). James Wilkinson to the officer in command of the Spanish garrison in the town of Mobile, Mississippi Territory, April 12, 1813; and David Holms to Mauricio de Zuniga, April 30, 1813, AGI, Cuba, legajo 1794.
 4. Jose L. Franco, *Politica Continental Americana De Espana En Cuba 1812-1830* (Habana, 1947), 39-46.
 5. I. J. Cox believed that the West Florida garrison, which for the most part was located at Pensacola, numbered only 288 men, much smaller than 400 or 500 soldiers. However, several reports indicated that there were at least 400 men in the town or at the Barrancas fort. Cox probably failed to count the troops of Colonel Jose DeSoto which had been sent from Cuba after the fall of Mobile. Report of the Louisiana regiment, May 1813, and Don Mattio Gonzales Manrique to Juan Ruiz Apodaca, May 15, 1813, AGI, Cuba, legajo 1794; A. Campbell to Homer V. Milton, May [June ?] 7, 1814, enclosure in Thomas Pinckney to the secretary of war, July 2, 1814, Letters to the Secretary of War, Record Group 107, National Archives.
 6. Frances Kathryn Harrison, "The Indians as a Means of Spanish Defense of West Florida, 1783-1795" (unpublished master's thesis, University of Alabama, 1950), *passim*.

area from which to attack the Americans. When Tecumseh aroused the Creek and Seminole Indians to war with the United States, the Indians immediately appealed to the British and Spanish for help.⁷ This situation provided the British with the opportunity they needed to launch either a diversion or a major attack on the United States. Although the British officials had been observing the activities of the southern Indians, the London government had made no advance preparations to help them, and it was some time before supplies could be sent.⁸

The Spanish, though critically short of supplies themselves, believed that the United States was preparing to annex all of Florida and that the Indians were potentially their best allies. The Spanish were also concerned with the possibility that the Indians might turn their hostility against Florida in the event that they were refused help. With this in mind, Governor Don Mattio Gonzales Manrique of Spanish Florida provided the Creeks with all the munitions he could spare.⁹ Despite the usual Spanish policy of avoiding a confrontation with the United States, Manrique's superior, the Captain General of Cuba, Juan Ruiz Apodaca, approved arming the Indians. The subsequent destruction of Fort Mims by the Creek Indians and the massacre of a large number of Americans caused some Spanish officials alarm because they feared that Pensacola would be captured in retaliation.¹⁰ Although he was concerned with the danger to Pensacola, Apodaca apparently believed that the American attack would come in any event and that the only proper course was to prepare as good a defense as possible. In fact, some months before, Apodaca had dispatched Colonel Jose DeSoto and part of his regiment from Havana to reinforce Pensacola, and he continued to encourage

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7. Franco, *Politica Continental Americana*, 39-46; Merritt B. Pound, *Benjamin Hawkins-Indian Agent* (Athens, 1951), 211-20.
 8. Alexander Durant *et al* to his Excellency the Governor of Providence, September 11, 1813, and Charles Cameron to Earl Bathurst, October 28, 1813, in Public Record Office; Colonial Office 23/60. Cited hereafter as PRO:CO. Bathurst to Cameron, January 21, 1814, PRO:CO 24/17.
 9. John Innerarity to James Innerarity, July 27, 1813, quoted in Elizabeth H. West, "A Prelude to the Creek War of 1813-1814," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XVIII (April 1940), 249-60; Apodaca to the minister of war, October 1, 1813, AGI, Cuba, legajo 1856.
 10. Apodaca to the minister of war, August 6, 1813, AGI, Cuba, legajo 1856; Luis de Oris to Pedro Labrador, October 8, 1813, Archivo Historico Nacional, Madrid, Spain, Estado legajo 5639.

the governor of West Florida to arm the Indians.¹¹ An examination of the correspondence between Manrique and Apodaca in 1813 and early 1814, indicates that this show of force in Florida was a departure from the usual policy of avoiding all conflicts. However, except for supporting the Indians, an operation he considered necessary, Apodaca acted so that Spain would be able to obtain a retrocession of all her lost territory, through good diplomacy.¹²

Although the Spanish were the first to furnish supplies to the Creek Indians who were fighting the United States, initial British aid came several months later. The British were keenly interested in the situation regarding the Indians. Governor Charles Cameron of New Providence, who apparently had some knowledge of the hostile intent of the Creeks, sent a British ship to Pensacola in September 1813, to determine the status of the southern Indians. The captain, Edward Handfield, met a delegation of Creeks and Seminoles there and received letters from them asking for help in their war with the United States. The Indians appealed to the British for arms and troops to train and lead them, and they asked that the aid be sent to their base of operation at Apalachicola.¹³ Governor Cameron forwarded the letters from the Indians to Earl Bathurst, secretary of state for war, and a short time later he sent Bathurst a report from an unidentified person who was supposed to have a good knowledge of the Gulf coast Indians. This report, which was strongly endorsed by Cameron, proposed to arm the Creek and Seminole Indians and to furnish a force of British officers to lead them. It was believed that eventually most of the southern Indians would join the British, giving them a force of around 15,000 warriors. Properly supplied, these Indians were expected to divert at least that many American troops from Canada or from other duties. The proposal suggested that the Spanish, in all probability, would not object to the British supporting the Florida Indians or to their

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11. Apodaca to the minister of war, June 16, August 6, 1813, AGI, Cuba, legajo 1856; Manrique to Apodaca, June 13, 1813, AGI, Cuba, legajo 1794.
 12. Franco, *Politica Continental Americana*, 21-23; Apodaca to Manrique, December 10, 1813, and Apodaca to the minister of war, June 6, 1814, AGI, Cuba, legajo 1856.
 13. Alexander Durant *et al* to the governor of Providence, September 11, 1813, and Cameron to Bathurst, October 28, 1813, PRO:CO 23/60.

using Pensacola as an anchorage from which they could maintain a tight blockade of the Mississippi.¹⁴ The plans were laid out in detail. Bathurst's answer was enthusiastic, and he ordered Cameron to give all support possible to the Indians. He also directed British naval forces in North America to aid the Indians.

Contrary to the belief expressed in some accounts that the actions of Tecumseh and some Canadian officials were already fully known in England, this letter from Bathurst indicates that Cameron's report was the first knowledge that London had on the activities of the southern Indians.¹⁵ Unfortunately, the slowness of communications caused a long delay in British response to the Indian request of September 11, 1813. It was not until April 1814, seven months later, that Admiral Alexander Cochrane ordered Captain Hugh Pigot of HMS *Orpheus* to Apalachicola. Before sailing, Pigot held conferences with Cameron and with several merchants that he had recommended to learn what they knew about the Gulf. These men suggested an attack on New Orleans and Mobile since the garrisons there were extremely weak and the capture of the cities was expected to be an easy matter.¹⁶

Upon his arrival on May 10, Pigot discovered that the most war-like element of the Creeks had suffered a series of reverses in engagements with the Americans and had sustained a shattering defeat at Horseshoe Bend. About 900 of the most hostile surviving Creeks had taken refuge around Pensacola, where they were starving and without arms.¹⁷ The Indians at Apalachicola were also so short of food that it was impossible for them to concentrate a large force there unless the British shipped in provisions.¹⁸ Before leaving Apalachicola, Pigot appointed George Woodbine, a former Indian trader, as British agent to the Creeks. After a few weeks, Woodbine removed his headquarters to Pensacola.

14. Cameron to Bathurst, November 30, 1813, and enclosures, PRO:CO 23/60.

15. Bathurst to Cameron, January 21, 1814, PRO:CO 24/17.

16. Hugh Pigot to Alexander Cochrane, June 8, 1814, in Public Record Office: Admiralty 1/506. Cited hereafter as PRO: Adm. Pigot to Cochrane, April 13, 1814, ms. 2328, Cochrane Papers, National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, Scotland.

17. Pigot to George Woodbine, May 10, 1814, and Edward Nicolls to Apodaca, November 9, 1814, ms. 2328, Cochrane Papers; Juan Ventura Morales to Alexandeo Ramirez, November 3, 1817, *Boletín del Archivo Nacional*, XII (January-February 1914), 14-15.

18. Woodbine to Pigot, May 25, 1814, ms. 2328, Cochrane Papers.

In his report to Admiral Cochrane, Pigot, who had been thoroughly briefed and had been given guides and maps by Governor Cameron at New Providence, enthusiastically repeated the governor's ideas as if they were his own.¹⁹ Admiral Cochrane was in complete agreement, and as a direct result of the report and much communication with Cameron, he recommended a plan of attack against the southern parts of the United States. Cochrane's scheme, like Cameron's, called for the full use of the Indians to secure all the back country; it also suggested that Mobile and New Orleans could be secured with 2,000 or 3,000 British troops to reinforce the Indians.²⁰

In London, the British home government was already considering a plan to make a massive attack on the Gulf coast area. It was assumed that the capture of New Orleans would neutralize the states of Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee, a turn of events which would be disastrous to the American war effort.²¹ Admiral Sir John Borlase Warren, Cochrane's predecessor, proposed in November 1812, to First Lord of the Admiralty Viscount Melville, that a Gulf coast offensive be undertaken. His suggestion was very similar to the plans of Cameron and Cochrane except that it envisioned a much larger operation. Warren, like Cochrane, probably was influenced by Governor Cameron. His idea for an expedition called for a major offensive rather than simply a diversion for the Canadian attack which was being readied by Britain. By the spring of 1814, with preparations for the Canadian offensive in the final stages, the London government started serious planning for a massive Gulf coast campaign to be commanded by Lord Rowland Hill. Perhaps because of war weariness or fear that the expedition would be too costly, it was later decided to abandon the project.²² However, when Cochrane's proposal arrived, calling for the southern offensive to be conducted with a much smaller

19. Pigot to Cochrane, April 13, 1814, ms. 2328, Cochrane Papers; Pigot to Cochrane, June 8, 1814, PRO:Adm 1/506.

20. Cochrane to John Wilson Crocker, June 20, 1814, in Public Record Office: War Office 1/142. Cited hereafter as PRO:WO. Cameron to Cochrane, August 2, 1814, ms. 2328, Cochrane Papers.

21. Harry L. Coles, *The War of 1812* (Chicago, 1965), 202-21; John K. Mahon, "British Command Decisions Relative to the Battle of New Orleans," *Louisiana History*, VII (Winter 1965), 53-61.

22. John K. Mahon, "British Strategy and Southern Indians: War of 1812," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XLIV (April 1966), 285.

force, the government accepted his plan with enthusiasm.²³ After all, Cochrane's plan came well recommended; from all appearances, Cameron, Pigot, and Admiral Warren had all independently suggested approximately the same scheme.

This proposed campaign, an outgrowth of Cameron's recommendation, was an elaborate example of British peripheral warfare and the use of irregular troops. As the first part of the operation, Cochrane sent Major Edward Nicolls with a force of Royal marines to assume command of the British in West Florida and to reinforce Woodbine at Pensacola. They were expected to raise a large force of Indians to attack the Georgia frontier and the settlements along the Alabama River. As a part of his mission, Nicolls was ordered to recruit runaway slaves and to form them into regiments to fight their former masters, a situation expected to cause panic and terror throughout the South. In addition to his plan to arm Negroes and Indians, Cochrane asked for a force of around 2,000 to 3,000 men for an attack against either Mobile or New Orleans. His primary plan was to move against Mobile and then, using flat boats mounted with naval guns, to push up the Alabama River destroying the various wooden forts that had been built by the United States. After the enemy's garrisons were destroyed, Cochrane expected the army to advance overland to Baton Rouge, cutting the Mississippi at that point.²⁴ Cochrane also planned to have Admiral George Cockburn, with a force of marines, raid the Georgia and South Carolina coasts. Cockburn was to raise a force of Negroes from among runaway slaves also. The Cockburn raids were expected to prevent Georgia and North and South Carolina from sending large reinforcements either to the Gulf coast or Canada. Similar raids were to be conducted in the Chesapeake Bay area, in the belief that fear of raids on Washington and Baltimore would keep large forces on duty there and away from the action in other parts of the country.²⁵

Another segment of the plan called for the recruitment of Jean Lafitte and his force of Baratarians, supposed to number some 800 men. It was presumed that Lafitte's force would readily join the British cause since they had been badly treated by the

23. Crocker to Cochrane, August 10, 1814, PRO:WO 6/2.

24. Cochrane to Crocker, June 20, 1814, PRO:WO 1/142.

25. Expedition against New Orleans (undated memorandum), PRO:WO 1/142; Cochrane to Bathurst, September 2, 1814, PRO:WO 1/141.

Americans. Thus it came as a surprise when Lafitte rejected the British offer; the English had failed to realize that the Baratarians would lose a large part of their revenue if they became their allies since they would have been compelled to stop raiding Spanish commerce.²⁶

Even without Baratarian support, the British formulated their basic plan of attack on the Gulf coast. The main objective was always New Orleans, but the point of attack was switched at the last minute from Mobile to New Orleans itself.²⁷ The campaign began when Woodbine and Nicolls were dispatched to West Florida. Shortly after their arrival, Spanish Governor Manrique, believing that an American attack was imminent, requested British help in the defense of Pensacola. Almost as soon as Nicolls arrived on August 14, 1814, he assumed virtual command of the town and proceeded to recruit nearly all the local slaves for his Negro regiment. He drilled the Negroes and Indians in the town and established a strict passport system to control all travel. These activities enraged the local citizens who were often abused by Nicolls' troops, but as long as the British seemed able to defend Pensacola against the Americans, Manrique was perfectly willing to aid them and to allow them a free hand.²⁸ When the overconfident Nicolls attacked Mobile Point with a naval squadron supported by only 252 Indians and marines, he lost the frigate *Hermes* and was defeated. This turn of events unquestionably caused Manrique to have grave doubts concerning British ability to defend Pensacola.²⁹

Nicolls' decision to consider the John Forbes Company, a trading agency owned by British citizens, as enemies and traitors and his efforts to abduct numbers of their slaves proved to be a serious blow to cooperation between Britain and Spain in Florida.

26. Jane Lucas de Grummond, *The Baratarians and the Battle of New Orleans* (Baton Rouge, 1961), 37-48.

27. Bathurst to General Ross, September 6, 1814, PRO/WO 6/2; Mahon, "British Command Decisions," 69.

28. John Innerarity, "Narrative of the Operation of the British in the Floridas," ms. dated 1815, Heloise H. Cruzat Papers, Florida Historical Society Library, University of South Florida, Tampa (transcript in P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, Gainesville, Florida); Nicolls to Cochrane, Report August [12-] November 17, 1813, ms. 2328, Cochrane Papers.

29. Nicolls to Cochran, November 17, 1814, ms. 2328. Cochran papers; Nicolls to Lord Melville, May 5, 1817, PRO/WO 1/144; Apodaca to the minister of war, October 9, 1814, AGI, Cuba, legajo 1856.

The company was very influential among the Creeks and Seminoles, and it was probably the largest producer of revenue for the Spanish in West Florida.³⁰ Nicolls looked upon the company's partners, James and John Innerarity, as traitors since they had tried to prevent a Creek Indian war by refusing to sell the Indians guns and ammunition. Nicolls also correctly believed that they were spying for the Americans.³¹

The British forces at Pensacola dealt harshly not only with the Forbes Company but also with Spanish citizens and even government officials. When Manrique refused to make adequate preparations for the defense of the town, James Gordon, British naval commander, threatened to level the city with gunfire.³² He did not carry out his threat, but he did blow up the Barrancas and move the fort's 200-man Spanish garrison to Apalachicola as virtual prisoners. Some of these men, mostly Negro troops from Cuba, were held captive and were used at Apalachicola as a work force until the end of the war.³³ This was done in spite of numerous appeals by Spanish officials for their release.³⁴

Most Spanish officials blamed the damage to Pensacola and the destruction of the Barrancas on Governor Manrique, who, on his own authority, had asked the British to assist in the town's defense. Although Captain General Apodaca had encouraged Manrique to assist the Indians, he had had serious doubts about

30. Marie Taylor Greenslade, "John Innerarity, 1783-1854," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, IX (October 1930), 90-95; Adam Gordon to James Innerarity, February 17, 1817, Forbes Papers, Mobile Public Library, Mobile, Alabama.

31. In order to protect their property, the Innerarities obtained Spanish citizenship in October 1812. By doing so they did not lose their British citizenship since they had permission from the British government "to reside, and uniformly receive the necessary facilities from His Majesty's government, to enable them to carry on under any flag best suited for the purpose." James L. Potts to Bathurst, November 22, 1815, PRO:WO 1/143; certificate of citizenship recorded by Don Joseph E. Caro, keeper of the Public Spanish Archives of West Florida, October 6, 1812, Greenslade Papers, Florida Historical Society Library (transcript in P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History); Nicolls to Cochrane, March 1, 1816, PRO:WO 1/144; John Innerarity to James Innerarity, June 9, 1814, and James Innerarity to John McKee, June 16, 1814, in miscellaneous files of secretary of war, Letters of the Secretary of War.

32. John Innerarity to James Innerarity, November 7, 1814, "Letters of John Innerarity," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, IX (January 1931), 127-30; Vicente de Ordozgoitti to Apodaca, September 21, 1814, AGI, Cuba, legajo 1856.

33. Gordon to Cochrane, November 18, 1814, PRO: Adm 1/505.

34. Manrique to Cochrane, January 25, 1815, Cruzat Papers.

letting the English defend Pensacola.³⁵ Considering the losses of property and harsh treatment by the British, the captain general's fears were well founded. After the British evacuated Pensacola, the Spanish governors were ordered to refuse permission for any foreign troops to land in Florida.³⁶

The treatment of the Spanish by the Americans under Andrew Jackson, who drove the British out of Pensacola, was in great contrast to that of the English. The Spanish were pleased with the good behavior of the Americans, and Manrique from this time on followed a policy of friendship toward them. Spanish protests after the capture of Pensacola were relatively mild.³⁷ The Pensacola and Mobile operations of Nicolls and his Indians gained nothing for the British except the Spanish enmity. Moreover, thousands of dollars in damage claims had to be paid by the British government, including \$20,000 to the Forbes company.³⁸

Through good intelligence information Jackson was aware of the British plan to attack New Orleans, and he raised an army to repel the onslaught. Because of this action and major British tactical errors, the New Orleans attack was a complete failure. Other aspects, however, of the Gulf coast campaign were fairly successful, and the various British diversions caused some changes in the alignment of American forces. While Nicolls and his Indians did not make any significant raids on the Georgia frontier, the fact that he was located at Apalachicola caused 2,500 Georgia militia and friendly Indians to be diverted from other activities.³⁹ Also, Admiral Cockburn's raids, although later in getting started than had been anticipated, succeeded in diverting a substantially large force to the Atlantic coast.⁴⁰

35. Gordon to Cochrane, November 18, 1814, PRO:Adm 1/505; Nicolls to Cochrane, August 4, 1814, ms. 2328, Cochrane Papers; Apodaca to the minister of war, October 9, 1814, AGI, Cuba, legajo 1856.

36. Sebastian Kindelan to Don Fernando de la Puente, January 11, 1815, *American State Papers, Foreign Affairs*, 38 vols. (Washington, 1832-1861), IV, 488.

37. Manrique to Andrew Jackson, December 1, 1814, Jackson Papers, Library of Congress; Luis de Onis to James Monroe, December 10, 1814, Notes from the Spanish legation, Record Group 59, National Archives.

38. John Innerarity to James Innerarity, May 10, 1815, and Jose Urcerllo to Manrique, January 23, 1815, Forbes Papers.

39. Benjamin Hawkins to James Winchester, December 27, 1814, Winchester Papers, Tennessee Historical Society, Nashville, Tennessee; *Augusta Chronicle*, December 30, 1814.

40. John Floyd to Mary H. Floyd, December 28, 1814, in John Floyd letters to his daughter, Georgia Department of Archives and History, Atlanta, Georgia.

After their repulse at New Orleans in early 1815, the British turned again on Mobile where they captured Fort Bowyer at Mobile Point, and they were preparing to attack the city when news of the war's end arrived. In deciding to attack Mobile, Cochrane had intended to revert to the original plan: to capture the town and attack New Orleans from the rear by way of Baton Rouge. He expected to use his Indians to screen the back country.⁴¹ After seizing the defenses of Mobile Point, the British would have had little difficulty in capturing Mobile with the support of naval gunfire. If they had not wished to attack the city itself, they could have instituted a blockade and the American army would either have had to surrender or evacuate since its supplies were nearly exhausted. Mobile and Pensacola had been supplied mainly with food from New Orleans; these goods had been brought through the Mississippi Sound, which the British did not block until just before the New Orleans attack. Once the Sound was blocked, however, Mobile almost immediately ran out of supplies.⁴²

The overall British Gulf coast campaign was clearly not the sole invention of Admiral Alexander Cochrane, but was in fact developed over a long period of time by several individuals. Probably the influence of Governor Cameron was as important in the formulation of the plan as that of Admiral Cochrane. This fact alone seems to set aside the opinion of the Duke of Wellington and historian J. W. Fortescue that the whole idea of an attack on New Orleans was conceived solely to obtain plunder for Cochrane and his friends.⁴³ Fortescue and Wellington were probably overinfluenced in their judgment of the campaign by the tactical blunder of the army at New Orleans which they blamed, perhaps rightly so, on Cochrane. Cochrane was the senior British officer at New Orleans, and he had already persuaded the army commander to land his troops below the city before the arrival of Sir Edward Pakenham, the commanding general. Pakenham

41. Cochrane to Lambert, February 3, 1815, PRO: WO 1/143.

42. Manrique to Winchester, January 24, 1815, and C. Clark to Winchester, February 12, 1815, Winchester Papers; Winchester to Jackson, February 16, 1815, Jackson Papers, Library of Congress.

43. Mahon, "British Command Decisions," 65-67; J. W. Fortescue, *A History of the British Army*, 13 vols. (London, 1899-1930), X, 151-81.

was reported to have been displeased with the position in which he found the army, but the time had passed when changes could be made.

That Pakenham was the Duke of Wellington's brother-in-law and close friend doubtlessly colored the Duke's attitude toward Cochrane; likely he considered him responsible for Pakenham's death.⁴⁴ To get to the heart of the problem, most of the senior British commanders at New Orleans had been at the Battle of Bladensburg and had complete contempt for American forces. It is doubtful if Nicolls would have attacked Fort Bowyer with only 252 men, including Indians, or that Pakenham would have made a frontal assault on Jackson's army if the British commanders had had due respect for American fighting ability. In contrast, the second attack on Fort Bowyer at Mobile Point was carefully executed and was completely successful.

The Gulf coast plan was fairly sound, and except for serious British blunders, should have been successful. There were several alternate ways of attacking New Orleans, each offering a better chance of success than a foolish frontal assault on a well entrenched army.⁴⁵ The British made another mistake which affected the campaign, and this had to do with their dealings with the Spanish. While Spain could not have provided Britain with much military help in Florida, the bad judgment of the British at Pensacola ended all cooperation in Florida between the two countries. This break made it more difficult for the British to supply their Indian allies, and it also encouraged people in West Florida to provide even more intelligence information to the Americans. The latter occurred with the tacit approval of the Spanish officials. Also, the example of the bad treatment of the supposed friends of the British at Pensacola was not lost on the citizens of Louisiana, and it was likely one of their reasons for not joining the British against the United States. Poor security was another serious mistake the British made in their Gulf coast campaign. The British collected their main force for the New Orleans attack at Jamaica, where they hired boats and gathered supplies from all over the Caribbean. Merchants, especially the supposedly neutral ones at Pensacola, supplied Jackson with nu-

44. Mahon, "British Command Decisions," 64-66.

45. Coles, *War of 1812*, 211-20; "Expedition against New Orleans," PRO:WO 1/142.

merous accurate accounts of British activities. From the mass of information available it was not difficult to determine the British plan.⁴⁶ That the English intended to attack Mobile first was apparently known by Jackson, who seemed to have been equally well informed of their change of plan. Jackson was waiting in New Orleans with all the force he could muster to halt the British attack.⁴⁷ It is fair to suppose that had it not been for the excellence of Jackson's intelligence the British plan would have succeeded admirably at New Orleans, and then with the river open to their navy, the area could have been held for as long as the English wished.

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46. Jane Lucas de Grummond, "Platter of Glory," *Louisiana History*, III (Fall 1962), 316-58; Jackson Papers, *passim*.
47. Historian Henry Adams, along with many of Jackson's contemporaries, believed that a British attack on Mobile was improbable. The British records clearly show that the Mobile attack was seriously considered and was not abandoned until around November 1814. Since this is almost exactly the time that Jackson moved his headquarters to New Orleans, it seems likely that there was a relationship. From the various intelligence reports it is clear that he had access to the newspapers of Cuba, Jamaica, and the entire Caribbean. He probably obtained much more data and possibly positive oral information during his brief occupation of Pensacola. See de Grummond, "Platter of Glory"; Jackson to Blount, August 27, 1814, *Augusta Chronicle*, October 7, 1814; Henry Adams, *History of the United States*, 9 vols. (New York, 1890), VIII, 330-32; Jackson to Monroe, December 13, 1814, and Jackson to Monroe, February 10, 1815, in Letters of Secretary of War; "A Report of a Spy in Pensacola," copied by Colonel Robert Butler, August 21, 1814, in miscellaneous files of secretary of war, Letters of Secretary of War; Hawkins to Winchester, December 27, 1814, Winchester Papers; Hawkins to John Armstrong, June 15, 1814, *American State Papers: Documents, Legislative and Executive of the Congress of the United States, Indian Affairs*, 2 vols. (Washington, 1832), I, 859; Butler to Willie Blount, Jackson Papers, Tennessee State Library, Nashville, Tennessee.

ILLEGAL IMPORTATIONS: ENFORCEMENT OF THE SLAVE TRADE LAWS ALONG THE FLORIDA COAST, 1810-1828

by FRANCES J. STAFFORD

Among the various calamities which flow from the ambition and cupidity of man, there are few productive of more extensive and distressing evils, or which give rise to greater degrees of human misery and wretchedness . . . than the African Slave Trade.¹

If there were not men who held, sold or otherwise disposed of Africans, . . . there would be no building . . . of ships, no voyages to the African coast for slaves, . . . no need of African squadrons. . . . A complete prevention of the holding, selling, or disposing of Africans . . . would remove the stain which has fallen upon our country. . . .²

THE ABOVE quotations, decrying the evils of the slave trade are from two widely disparate sources and periods. The first may be found in an anti-slave trade tract of the Society of Friends published in 1824, and the second is from the opinion in a federal case involving slave trading activities in 1860. Both are evidence of the futility of the hopes of the founding fathers in 1787, that slavery and its companion evil, the slave trade, were but temporary problems for the United States. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the cotton gin and the textile mills destroyed these hopes, and the institution of slavery became a foundation stone of southern life. Although in 1808, the slave trade was prohibited by congressional action, the absence of specific enforcement machinery led to multiple violations of the law. Profits were too great to be resisted as the demand and price for slaves rose in the United States after the War of 1812. There is no way of ascertaining the extent of the illegal slave trade; estimates of importations between 1810 and 1820 are as high as

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1. Religious Society of Friends, *A View of the Present State of the African Slave Trade* (Philadelphia, 1824), 3.
 2. Helen T. Catterall, ed. *Judicial Cases Concerning American Slavery and the Negro*, 5 vols. (Washington, 1932), III, 245.

60,000.³ One historian set the figure at 270,000 for the period from 1808 to 1860.⁴ So notorious was American participation in the slave trade after 1808, that President Madison in 1810, informed Congress of the necessity of devising further legislation for its suppression. This was attempted with the passage of two acts: one, enacted in 1818, promised that one-half of the fines and forfeitures secured from slaving penalties would go to informers; the other passed in 1820, labelled direct participation in the slave trade as piracy, and those convicted could be punished by death.⁵ Laws, however, do not enforce themselves. One nineteenth century writer, W. E. B. Du Bois, was highly critical of government "apathy" towards stamping out the illicit trade.⁶ A more recent historian, Warren S. Howard, finds it ironic that with so many prohibitory laws on its statute books, the United States consistently refused to participate in any international effort to end the slave trade during the period prior to the Civil War.⁷

Florida was a center of slave trading activities as early as 1810. To what extent can never fully be known because of the illegal nature of the trade itself and the scarcity of accurate records for that period. A long and sparsely settled coastline and a close proximity to Cuba made it an ideal location from which to operate.⁸ When President Madison noted in 1810, that American citizens were participating in the traffic in African slaves in violation of the laws of humanity and in defiance of those of their own country, he was referring in part to the problem in Florida. The territory was known as a "nursery for slave breeders" and the avenue through which Negroes were regularly smuggled across the boundary into the southern states.⁹ Authorities regarded Fernandina and Amelia Island as headquarters for slave smugglers

3. Kenneth Stampp, *The Peculiar Institution: Slavery in the Ante-Bellum South* (New York, 1956), 271.

4. Ulrich B. Phillips, *American Negro Slavery, A Survey of the Supply, Employment and Control of Negro Labor as Determined by the Plantation Regime* (New York, 1952), 147.

5. W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Suppression of the African Slave-Trade to the United States of America, 1638-1870* (Cambridge, 1896), 110-23.

6. *Ibid.*, 112.

7. Warren S. Howard, *American Slavers and the Federal Law, 1837-1862* (Berkeley, 1963), 26.

8. Dorothy Dodd, "The Schooner Emperor: An Incident of the Illegal Slave Trade in Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XIII (January 1935), 117, 120.

9. Du Bois, *Suppression of the African Slave Trade*, 110-11.

and pirates.¹⁰ A joint resolution of the Senate and House passed on January 15, 1811, empowered the President to order the occupation of the area if necessary to maintain the authority of the United States.¹¹ No action was taken at the time against either piracy or slavetrading, and both practices continued during and after the War of 1812.

When Luis Aury, the renegade French pirate, moved his base of operations from Galveston to Amelia Island in September 1817, and ran up the flag of Mexico over Fernandina, the illicit traffic in slaves manifested new vigor.¹² Though dispossessed by federal forces the latter part of the year, Aury was able to dispose of more than 1,000 Africans in less than two months.¹³ With Florida established as a secure base for contraband trade, ruffians known as "Moccasin Boys" began moving Negroes into the "great American Swamps" where they were kept until they were ready for the market. Hundreds of runaway slaves were also reportedly captured and sold. A regular chain of slave trading posts was established from the head of the St. Marys River to the upper country.¹⁴ Jean Lafitte, whose headquarters were at Barataria Bay, south of New Orleans, operated in Florida and Gulf waters highjacking slavers.¹⁵

Pirate depredations against the "regular slave trading interests" helped bring about their downfall. A congressional investigating committee in 1817, looked into the problems emanating from Amelia Island as they affected United States' interests and reported that, "there exists, on the part of these sea rovers, an organized system of daring enterprise, supported by force of arms; and it is only by a correspondent system of coercion that they can be met and constrained to respect the rights of property and the law of nations. It is deeply to be regretted that practices of

10. Edwin L. Williams, Jr., "Negro Slavery in Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXVIII (October 1949), 97-98.

11. U. S., *Statutes-at-Large*, III, 471, cited in DuBois, *Suppression of the African Slave Trade*, 113.

12. Daniel P. Mannix, *Black Cargoes, A History of the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1518-1865* (New York, 1962), 203-04.

13. T. Frederick Davis, "MacGregor's Invasion of Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, VII (July 1928), 45.

14. Alfred J. and Kathryn A. Hanna, *Florida's Golden Sands* (New York, 1950), 101; *Niles Register*, May 2, 1818, quoting the *Savannah Republican*; Mannix, *Black Cargoes*, 205.

15. John R. Spears, *The American Slave Trade: An Account of its Origin, Growth and Suppression* (New York, 1907), 125.

such a character, within our immediate neighborhood and even within our jurisdictional limits, have prevailed unchecked for so long a time, the more especially as one of their immediate consequences was to give occasion to the illicit introduction of slaves from the coast of Africa . . . and thus to revive a traffic repugnant to humanity . . . as well as severely punishable by the laws of the land.”¹⁶

American troops occupied Amelia Island in November 1817, but this did not stop the illicit trade.¹⁷ In January 1818, another congressional committee was named to consider “the numerous infractions of the law prohibiting the importation of slaves into the United States [that] have been perpetrated with impunity along our southern frontier.” It recommended that Congress implement the act of 1807,¹⁸ and the result was the new laws enacted in 1818 and 1820, imposing heavier penalties on those convicted of illegally bringing slaves into the United States and making slaving an act of piracy. The waters along the Florida and southern coasts were to be patrolled for suspicious-looking ships.¹⁹

On March 3, 1821, two years after the Florida Purchase Treaty had been negotiated, Congress authorized President Monroe to take possession of the territory and to appoint officials to assure proper government.²⁰ Federal revenue and slave trade laws were extended to include Florida, and federal judges were given authority to “execute such laws.”²¹ Evidence of the concern of the United States government over illegal importations along the Florida coast is to be found in the preliminary correspondence between Andrew Jackson, newly appointed Florida territorial governor, and officials in Washington. He wrote to Colonel Robert Butler, his representative at St. Augustine, on April 12, 1821: “It is important that we should have possession of the Country as early as possible to prevent smuggling and the introduction of

16. *American State Papers, Documents, Legislative and Executive, of the Congress of the United States, Class X: Miscellaneous*, 2 vols. (Washington, 1834-61), II, 458-59.

17. Du Bois, *Suppression of the African Slave Trade*, 114.

18. House Report No. 46, 15th Cong., 1st Sess., pp. 1-5.

19. Phillips, *American Negro Slavery*, 147.

20. Rowland H. Rerick, *Memoirs of Florida*, 2 vols. (Atlanta, 1902), I, 139-41.

21. Clarence E. Carter, ed., *The Territorial Papers of the United States; The Territory of Florida*, 26 vols. (Washington, 1956), XXII, 252-53.

Africans-to prevent which, you will be vigilant.”²² Jackson also addressed the following statement to Secretary of State John Quincy Adams on May 1, 1821: “[I am] informed that associations exist, for the purpose of introducing a number of Africans into Florida, before the change of Government, and for this purpose an agent from Baltimore and another from the East, are now, the one in Pensacola and the other in Cuba or Bahama Island -To obtain possession of the ceded Country as soon as possible, and thereby prevent the furtherance of this dreaded evil, I have this morning dispatched Doct R Bronaugh and Judge Brackenridge, with communications to the Governor of Pensacola, copies of which I send you herewith. . . . I have signified to Commodore Patterson the propriety of sending a vessel to take a recognizance of the Florida Coast as far as Tampa Bay-to intercept any American vessel loaded in whole or part, with Africans.”²³

In the “Act Establishing the Territory of Florida,” passed in March 1822, section 12 provided that: “It shall not be lawful for any person or persons to import or bring into the said territory from any port or place without the limits of the United States, or cause or procure to be so imported . . . or knowingly to aid or assist in so importing or bringing any slave or slaves. And every person so offending, and being thereof convicted . . . shall forfeit and pay for each . . . slave so imported . . . the sum of three hundred dollars . . . and every slave so imported or brought shall thereupon become entitled to, and receive his or her freedom.”²⁴ Yet, on April 13, 1822, according to an item in the *Pensacola Floridian*, “the Revenue Cutter Alabama, arrived here this morning from a cruise on and about the Florida Keys, with two British sloops . . . captured for a violation of the U. S. laws prohibiting the traffic in slaves. . . . One other vessel, (American) sloop Sailor’s Rights, was also captured. . . . We understand that these vessels had on board fifteen or twenty African slaves.”²⁵ It was apparent, at least in this instance, that disregard of the slave trading prohibition was continuing.

It was difficult to obtain full cooperation from all government officials in enforcing the regulations against illegal slave importa-

22. *Ibid.*, 34.

23. *Ibid.*, 38-39.

24. *Ibid.*, 398.

25. Reprinted in *ibid.*, 405.

tions. Alexander Scott, Jr., collector at the port of Pensacola, sent the following complaint to Judge H. M. Brackenridge of the Superior Court of West Florida on September 2, 1823: "Sir Herewith I have the honor to transmit a copy of a note addressed by me to Wm F. Steele Esqr. U. S. attorney of W. Florida requesting him to institute suit against James Forsyth Master of the Schooner Thomas Shields of & from New Orleans for having landed Slaves at this port contrary to the provisions of the 9th Section of the Act of Congress passed March 2nd 1807. for the Suppression of the Slave trade. It appears from Mr Steeles reply (a copy of which is also enclosed) that such offenses cannot be prosecuted in the name of the U. States, an opinion in which I imagine few Legal men will concur, The Security of the Revenue in its collection as also the preventing the illegal introduction of Slaves [depend] . . . entirely upon a Salutary & rigid enforcement of the Laws, when they are enfringed wilfully & with intent to defraud & as such cases may daily occur, I consider it a duty imperatively incumbent upon me as the Deputy Collector of this port to insist that an Attorney be appointed pro tem by the court to prosecute all suits arising from infractions of the Revenue Laws & those relating to the Slave trade. If the doctrine of Mr Steele is admitted the Laws may be violated with impunity, & the refusal on the part of the District Attorney to act I consider equally as great a disqualification, as death, disability or absence, in all of which cases the Court exercizes the prerogative of appointing a successor."²⁶

The case of David B. Mitchell whom President Monroe dismissed as Indian agent to the Creek Nation in 1821, was one of the most notorious examples of non-cooperation and law violation by a federal official in the matter of illegal slaving. As governor of Georgia from 1809 to 1813, Mitchell intrigued to bring about the annexation of East Florida, but this scheme failed to materialize.²⁷ Mitchell resigned the governorship in 1817, to accept a federal appointment as Indian agent at a salary of \$2,000 a year. His notorious activities in the illegal slave trade in the period 1817-1818 led finally in 1821, to a government investigation. He was

26. *Ibid.*, 740.

27. Rembert W. Patrick's *Florida Fiasco, Rampant Rebels on the Georgia-Florida Border, 1810-1815* (Athens, 1954), deals extensively with this phase of Mitchell's career.

charged with purchasing Negroes at or near Fernandina and with harboring them at the Indian agency as laborers until they could be sold. United States Attorney General William Wirt amassed evidence from documents, affidavits, letters, and "hearsay statements" which showed that Mitchell had "handled" groups including as many as fifty-four and eighty-eight Africans. This enabled him to supplement his Indian agent's salary. A prime slave from Amelia Island could be sold for \$250; others went for \$175 to \$200.²⁸

In contrast to the attitude and actions of United States Attorney Steele at Pensacola and former Governor Mitchell, was the determination of John Rodman, collector of the port of St. Augustine, to prevent illegal importations into the territory. After distinguishing himself as a member of the New York bar and serving as United States District Attorney for the Southern District of New York, Rodman was forced to retire from his profession because of an auditory ailment. In 1821, he was appointed collector for the port of St. Augustine. Communicating with Richard Rush, secretary of the treasury, in June 1826, he gave the following description of slave trading activities in East Florida: "I have received Some further information in regard to the object for which the Schooner John Richard has Sailed . . . for Nassau and I have now but little doubt that it is an expedition to bring Slaves into this Territory. The number I understand is about one hundred and that instead of their being landed . . . on this Coast, they will probably be carried to the coast along the gulph [*sic*] of Mexico and put on shore somewhere between Tampa Bay and St. Marks. The father of one of the persons presumed to be engaged in this affair, resides near Tallahassee and is well Calculated to afford every facility to the enterprise. Indeed I doubt whether a Single individual could be found at Tallahassee who would throw any obstacle in the way of its accomplishment . . . [or] aid in the detention of the offense. It will be a very easy matter after these slaves are landed to spread them in the interior of the Country, and gradually . . . dispose of them as the owners may see fit. I greatly fear that there is but little chance of the vessels being intercepted on her voyage . . . [and] her approach to . . . the points I have mentioned. . . ." ²⁹

28. *American State Papers: Miscellaneous*, II, 957-75

29. Carter, *Territorial Papers*, XXIII, 590.

Throughout the 1820s major difficulties stemmed from the absence of specific machinery to enforce slave trade laws. The responsibility of enforcing the laws fell originally to the secretary of the treasury since he was responsible for customs. Then, since cruisers were used for patrol duty, the secretary of the navy gradually assumed supervision. Ultimately the whole matter came to rest with the navy, with the departments of state and war occasionally involved.³⁰ Lack of sufficient patrol ships hampered efficient performance by the navy in apprehending slavers along the coast. Government correspondence of the period contains complaints like the following from the collector of customs at Mobile, written in 1820: "From the Chandalier Islands to the Perdido River, including the coast, and numerous other islands, we have only a small boat with four men and an inspector to oppose the whole confederation of smugglers and pirates."³¹ Eight years later, similar dissatisfaction was expressed in the *Annual Report* of the secretary of the navy: "But the inlets are so numerous and the coast of Florida so extensive that the vessels in the navy and revenue cutters are not competent to watch every part of it without an entire neglect of other duties."³²

In requesting a new and larger patrol vessel in 1826, a colonel in the coast guard wrote Quartermaster General Thomas S. Jesup: "A boat of this size is required, in consequence of our exposed marine location. . . . I could send her, with safety to Pensacola and to St. Marks. . . . A brig with a large . . . number of Africans, remained sometime, in Tampa Bay, (intended to be smuggled into this Territory and the lower parts of the State of Georgia) which had we known of, we could not have captured, without such a boat. (About a week after the brig left Tampa, we were informed by the Indians who had been bribed to secrecy.)"³³

Exasperation and frustration are evident in this communication from William Pinkney, collector of the port of Key West, to Richard Rush, secretary of the treasury, in December 1827: "I beg leave to remark that the interests of the United States absolutely require the establishment of a Court at this Island having admiralty jurisdiction. & I am convinced that a cutter placed

30. Du Bois, *Suppression of the African Slave Trade*, 108.

31. Mannix, *Black Cargoes*, 202-03.

32. *American State Papers*, Class VI: *Naval Affairs*, III, 211.

33. Carter, *Territorial Papers*, XXIII, 404.

under the immediate control of the Collector would be attended with the most beneficial results. Under the present arrangement not the least service has or ever will be performed by either of the Cutters Marion or Florida which latter vessel has not been in this Port since 10 October, & Capt. Doane with his usual disregard of his instructions sailed from hence the 7th instant for St. Mary's. The interests of the United States on this coast have always been in great measure dependent upon this office, & I never can expect to receive any aid from the Cutters under the present arrangement. I therefore respectfully request that the Cutter Florida may be placed under my direction and paid off in this Port, where she can always get a crew. . . ." ³⁴ In this same dispatch, Pinkney reported the case of the *Guerrero*, a Spanish slaver from Africa carrying 561 Negroes, that ran ashore near Key West after having been pursued by a British cruiser from the Bahamas. The *Guerrero* crew forced two American wrecking vessels to take aboard 250 of the Africans and transport them to Cuba. A United States patrol ship rescued 121 slaves and brought them to Key West where they were held subject to the disposition of the federal government. ³⁵

The *Guerrero* incident emphasized another problem attendant to illegal importations - the disposal of Africans rescued from slaveships. Although a territorial law enacted in 1822, declared that such persons were "entitled to . . . [their] freedom," the practice developed of farming the Negroes out to plantation owners until they could be returned, under the auspices of a government-sponsored African agency, to the coast of Africa. Between 1819 and 1830, 252 recaptured natives were sent to the agency; hundreds more, however, "disappeared" working on the plantations. ³⁶ The federal government seemed unable to formulate a set policy. Secretary of the Navy Southard, commenting on the 121 slaves that were brought to Key West from the *Guerrero* in his 1828 *Annual Report*, stated: "No provision was made by Congress for removing them from the territory of the United States, or dispos-

34. *Ibid.*, 957. A court of admiralty was established at Key West in 1828.

35. *Ibid.*, 956-57; Du Bois, *Suppression of the African Slave Trade*, 291-92; T. Frederick Davis, "Digest of Florida Material in Niles' Register" (unpublished mss., 1939, a copy is in the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, Gainesville, Florida), 164.

36. Du Bois, *Suppression of the African Slave Trade*, 156-58.

ing of them in any other manner. They still remain in the custody of the marshal of Florida. He was advised to hire them out, or otherwise dispose of them, in such a manner as to cause least expense. . . . It is presumed that he had done so. . . . he presented . . . a claim . . . for their maintenance and support. . . . The Secretary of the Navy does not feel authorized to devote . . . any portion of the money appropriated for the suppression of the slave trade. It is important that some authority be given, by law, to dispose of these Africans, and settle the accounts of the marshal.”³⁷ The sum designated by Congress for suppression of the trade in 1828 was \$30,000. Since 1819, when \$100,000 was stipulated, federal appropriations had decreased annually. One historian attributes this to mounting southern influence in the government after 1820, and to the South’s realization that the opening of the rich lands of the Southwest necessitated an increased number of slave laborers even if they had to be augmented by illicit importations.³⁸

Enforcement of the slave trade laws was an onerous task, and until 1865, slave ships continued to roam the oceans in defiance of navies, legislation, and tribunals. Frequently, they were American ships outraging some of the severest of federal statutes. Not all of the “apathy” of the government in opposing illegal importations stemmed entirely from a lack of concern and effort; venial officials, human greed, sectional indifference, and a lack of adequate equipment, money, and personnel were also important factors.

37. *American State Papers, Naval Affairs*, III, 210.

38. Du Bois, *Suppression of the African Slave Trade*, 122, 154-58.

NAVAL ENGAGEMENTS IN TAMPA BAY, 1862

by FRANK FALERO, JR.

DURING THE CIVIL WAR, the Union Navy's primary mission was to prevent the South from marketing her products and to prevent her from obtaining arms. To accomplish this dual mission, the North stationed a considerable number of ships in blockade positions along the Gulf and Atlantic seaboard. The majority of these blockade vessels were small in size as well as firepower. There were two main reasons why the Union used small ships as blockaders. The first reason being that their adversaries likely would be small, shallow-draft vessels with limited firepower, and second, the larger more powerful ships were needed to seek out and destroy the many large, well-armed blockade runners, such as the *Alabama* and the *Florida*.

Throughout the Civil War, the South was successful in commissioning foreign shipyards to build and equip vessels to serve as blockade runners. That these vessels were successful is attested to by the fact that the damages resulting from their operation was very nearly the cause of a war between the United States and Great Britain, and finally resulted in Great Britain paying the United States \$15,000,000 for these damages. Despite the activities of the blockade runners, the Union Navy maintained control of the seas, and it was able to cut off the greater portion of the arms and supplies which the Confederacy needed to prosecute the war. The tremendous success of the Union Navy in carrying out its orders and performing its mission is further shown by the great devastation it caused to the southern plantation economy.

Florida, with its many bays, harbors, inlets, and rivers was a virtual haven for blockade runners. For these very same reasons, Florida was a very difficult territory to keep blockaded. The Civil War in Florida was waged predominantly from the sea with bombardments, landing parties, and raids. Three encounters of this type occurred in Tampa Bay during the Civil War.

The first two engagements were quite similar and in close proximity. In both, Union ships shelled Tampa after demanding its surrender. Due to the circumstances regarding the recording of

these two engagements, there is some doubt as to whether both battles ever took place, or if both activities are not actually one and the same.

On February 6, 1862, the *Ethan Allen*, a wooden sailing vessel armed with six thirty-two-pounders, one twelve-pounder, and a twenty-pounder Parrott rifle,¹ received a refugee, a Mr. J. E. Whithurst, from the blockaded town of Tampa. According to the official report, he was "claiming protection from the Government, and stating that he was in fear for his life from the secessionists at Tampa, for the reason that he refused to join the Army and had expressed his intention of fighting for no flag but the one he was brought up and had always lived under."² Living only eight miles away, Whithurst had brought with him extensive information about the garrison and the general situation in Tampa. He told Acting Volunteer Lieutenant William B. Eaton, captain of the *Ethan Allen*,³ that "some thirty-eight of his neighbors and friends who reside within a circuit of 6 miles around him are Union men," and that they had refused to help the Confederacy.⁴ Pertaining to Fort Brooke, Whithurst reported that there were "two twelve-pounders and two six-pounders mounted in battery there, and a force of 200 or 300 men."⁵ He stated that there were "seven or eight schooners and sloops and one steamer" in Tampa Bay.⁶ This information, along with a report that the greatest hardship prevailed in Tampa and that the troops manning Fort Brooke were cowardly, led Lieutenant Eaton to conclude that "it would be a very easy matter to capture the town of Tampa, destroy their battery, and retake the Key West fishing vessels."⁷ The lieutenant outlined a plan in which a steamer, presumably from the East Gulf Blockading Squadron operating out of Key West, would tow the *Ethan Allen* into position for a bombardment of Tampa. In his report to Flag Officer W. W. McKean, commander of the East Gulf Blockading Squadron, Eaton suggested that if a steamer was unavailable, he would try to do the best he could by himself.⁸

1. *War of the Rebellion: Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies* (Washington, 1890), Series II, Vol. I, 80.

2. *Ibid.*, Series I, Vol. XVII, 85.

3. *Ibid.*, 84.

4. *Ibid.*, 85.

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Ibid.*

7. *Ibid.*

8. *Ibid.*, 86.

The next day, the lieutenant dispatched a boat, at Whithurst's request, to the home of a Mr. Girard, "who lives on the seashore outside of the bay."⁹ In concluding his case for an attack on Tampa, Eaton noted that Girard was a "former pilot at this place and has resided here for some twenty-five years and ran a steamer from here to Indian River and Key West in the Indian War, so that he has an intimate knowledge of all the channels and of the whole bay, and states that he can take this ship with ease within 1½ miles of the town, which he readily volunteered to do at any time that I should send for him."¹⁰

On April 8, 1862, Lieutenant Eaton received approval for the raid on Tampa Bay, and a schooner, the *Beauregard*, arrived with orders to cooperate if it seemed "advisable to make a demonstration at this point."¹¹ On April 14, 1862, the *Beauregard* "proceeded up the bay to within 1½ miles of Tampa, sounding out the channel and laying down a few buoys. . . ." ¹² Lieutenant Eaton, under a flag of truce, dispatched the following ultimatum to the Major R. B. Thomas, commanding officer of the Confederate garrison at Tampa: "Sir: I demand in the name of the United States the unconditional surrender of the town of Tampa, Fla., together with all munitions of war and ordnance stores contained therein. If these terms are not complied with I will give you twenty-four hours to remove all women and children to a proper distance and then proceed to bombard the town."¹³ To this ultimatum, Major Thomas replied: "I cannot accept the proposition to surrender, though for the sake of humanity, I accept your terms in regard to the removal of the women and children."¹⁴

Twenty-four hours later, the *Ethan Allen* and the *Beauregard* began shelling the fort and its immediate vicinity. The attack, while intense, was of short duration, and after a few hours both vessels moved back out into the mouth of Tampa Bay. For some unknown reason, the attack on Tampa did not meet with Admiral McKean's approval, and he wrote Lieutenant Eaton a letter to that effect.¹⁵ In attempting to justify his actions, Eaton pointed

9. *Ibid.*

10. *Ibid.*

11. *Ibid.*, 215.

12. *Ibid.*

13. *Ibid.*, 216.

14. *Ibid.*

15. *Ibid.* This letter was presumably lost and is not available in the official naval records of the period.

out that the *Ethan Allen's* crew had been inactive for over six months and that he felt that this naval action had served as a good training exercise as well as a morale booster for his men.¹⁶

Whether or not this battle ever took place at the time and place cited is actually a question that is not easily answered. There is no mention of any engagement of April 13, 1862, at Tampa in the *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*. There is, however, a reference to a very similar engagement, involving different participants, on June 30-July 1, 1862. According to the *Official Records*, it was the *Sagamore* and not the *Ethan Allen* that was involved; her captain was named Drake not Eaton; the Confederate officer in charge was Captain J. W. Pearson and not Major R. B. Thomas; and the shelling lasted two days not just a few hours.¹⁷ This information as found in the army records is verified by a diary kept by a young naval medical officer, Walter K. Scofield, who was on board the *Sagamore* at the time of the engagement. His diary very clearly dates the battle being fought on June 30-July 1, 1862, and his description fits very closely with that of Captain Pearson.¹⁸ According to both of these sources: "On Monday morning, June 30, the gunboat hove in sight in the bay, . . . turned her broadside to us, opened her ports, and then started a launch, with a lieutenant and 20 men, bearing a flag of Truce, toward our shore."¹⁹ The Confederate officer met the Union sailors in the bay, and there received the ultimatum to surrender or be shelled. Rejecting this demand, the officer denied that his side understood "the meaning of the word surrender." Each party returned to its respective place to prepare for action. The women and children were moved out a mile or so, and at six o'clock the *Sagamore's* guns opened up on the Confederate defenses.²⁰ The attack lasted an hour.

At about ten o'clock the next morning, the *Sagamore* again opened fire. It was not returned by the Confederates, however, because of the limited range of the guns at Fort Brooke.²¹ At about

16. *Ibid.*, 217.

17. *War of the Rebellion: Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, 1890), Series I, Vol. XIV, 111.

18. William J. Schellings, ed., "On Blockade Duty in Florida Waters: Excerpts from a Union Naval Officer's Diary," *Tequesta*, XV (1955), 55-72. This is further verified by Samuel Proctor, *Florida A Hundred Years Ago*, July 1, 1862 (Florida Civil War Centennial Commission, 1962).

19. *War of the Rebellion Armies*, Series I, Vol. XIV, 111.

20. *Ibid.*

21. *Ibid.*

noon the ship ceased firing, and everything was quiet until two o'clock when the Confederates raised a flag over the fort, which according to the southern report, "seemed to float so proudly and beautifully, showing its broad side to them, it made them furious. They then fired at us two powerful shots in rapid succession, then weighed anchor, and in a few minutes showed us her stern, and left us in peaceful possession of the town. . . ." ²²

But there is no mention in the naval records of any battle in Tampa Bay which occurred in June or July 1862. However, the *Sagamore* was the only Union vessel on blockade duty in Tampa Bay at that time, and her captain was named Drake. ²³ These complexities lead to the formation of an "either or" conclusion. Either there were two battles fought in this area between April and July 1862, or one of the official sources is wrong. Short of consulting records in their original form, it is difficult, if not impossible to determine if a mistake has been made.

The third clash in Tampa Bay, the only one for which there seems to be little confusion in the historical records, began at nine o'clock on the morning of October 16, 1863. The USS *Adela*, a side-wheel steamer, ²⁴ and the USS *Tahoma*, a wooden steamer, ²⁵ moved into Tampa Bay from their positions as blockade ships outside the bay in the Gulf of Mexico. They steamed within 2,000 yards of Fort Brooke and opened fire on the town and fort. This shelling continued intermittently until four in the afternoon when the *Adela*, commanded by Lieutenant L. N. Stodder, in obedience to signals received from the *Tahoma* under Lieutenant Commander A. A. Semmes, ceased fire and put forty men and three boats into the water. ²⁶ These men were part of a landing force which was soon to be put ashore for a daring raid. The *Tahoma*, by placing stakes in the ground several miles from the intended point of landing, deceived the defenders as to the actual point of assault. After night fell, the landing party, composed of sixty officers and men from the *Tahoma* and forty officers and men from the *Adela*, landed at Ballast Point. The purpose of the raid was to destroy the blockade runners *Scottish Chief* and *Kate Dale*, which "were loaded with cotton and ready to run the blockade. . . ." ²⁷

22. *Ibid.*, 112.

23. *War of the Rebellion: Navies*, Series I, Vol. XVII, 268.

24. *Ibid.*, Series II, Vol. I, 28.

25. *Ibid.*, 219.

26. *Ibid.*, Series I, Vol. XVII, 576.

27. *Ibid.*, 572.

According to the report of Acting Master T. R. Harris, officer in charge of the raid: "At 11 p.m., October 16, having quietly landed on the western shore of the bay in six boats, I took up the line of march for the Hillsboro River, carrying along a small boat to be used in crossing the river or any creek should it be necessary to do so. I avoided the roads and houses as much as possible so as to prevent discovery. After marching 4 or 5 miles we were obliged to abandon the boat, she delaying us too much, and I had her concealed about a quarter of a mile from our trail. After this we moved very rapidly under the direction of our excellent guides, and reached the banks of the Hillsboro River about 4 a.m. October 17, having marched about 14 miles. Having stationed look-outs, the party lay down till daylight. Shortly after daylight we discovered the steamer and the sloop on the opposite side of the river about 2 miles above us. The force was immediately moved to a point opposite where they lay and those on board ordered to send a boat to us. When the boat reached us I sent Acting Ensigns Randall and Balch, with a suitable number of men, on board of the vessels, where they made prisoners of all except two, who escaped on the Tampa side. Hauling the vessels over, I fired both effectively."²⁸ The mission completed, all that now remained for the federals was to return to their ships safely.

The return trip was uneventful until the raiding party neared the beach. There it found an armed party of civilians, on foot, which was disarmed and captured without a single casualty. After placing pickets to prevent its being surprised, the raiding party waited for the boats from the *Adela* and the *Tahoma* to pick them up.²⁹ In the meantime, at about eight o'clock on the morning of October 17, the *Adela* had run aground as it attempted to get closer to the battery at Fort Brooke.³⁰ From this position, those on board saw the federals returning from the raid and signalled this information to the *Tahoma*. Both vessels immediately put small boats in the water which started for the shore.

While the boats were on their way, a unit of Confederate cavalry happened on the scene and engaged the Union sailors. The *Adela* began showering the cavalry positions with grape and shot to protect the completely exposed sailors, and consequently the

28. *Ibid.*, 575.

29. *Ibid.*

30. *Ibid.*, 576.

Confederates were unable to attack until the boats had reached shore and the sailors were climbing in them.³¹ Because of the quick thinking of the *Adela's* commander and the indecision of the cavalry officers, the Union sailors suffered relatively few casualties—three dead and twelve wounded.³² The report of Captain John Westcott, commander of Fort Brooke, claimed fifty wounded and many dead, and he says the Northerners were thwarted in their efforts to burn the two Confederate ships.³³ In reporting this incident to his commanding officer, Admiral Theodorus Bailey, Lieutenant Commander Semmes observed that he felt, “a great degree of satisfaction in having impressed the rebels with the idea that blockade-running vessels are not safe, even up the Hillsboro River.”³⁴

31. *Ibid.*, 575.

32. *Ibid.*, 574.

33. *War of the Rebellion: Armies*, Series I, Vol. XXVIII, Part I, 735.

34. *War of the Rebellion: Navies*, Series I, Vol. XVII, 572.

TRABUE, ALIAS PUNTA GORDA

by VERNON E. PEEPLES

THE FLORIDA SOUTHERN RAILWAY in 1885-1886, constructed a line from Bartow Junction to Charlotte Harbor, and a new town, Punta Gorda, sprang up at the southern terminus of what was then the southernmost railroad in the United States. Punta Gorda's beginning enbroiled its settlers and leading citizens in a controversy that raged for many years.

Early in 1883, Isaac H. Trabue, a middle-aged attorney from Louisville, Kentucky, purchased from a homesteader a thirty-acre tract of land on the south side of Charlotte Harbor. Later that year, Trabue leased the land to his cousin, John Trabue, who planned to operate "a fruit place, truck garden, cattle ranch, place for shipping cattle, [and a] packing house or hotel."¹ Early in 1884, John Trabue moved to South Florida to take care of the fruit trees then growing on Isaac's land and to begin a fruit nursery. Meanwhile, Isaac was purchasing more land adjoining his original tract, and he was dreaming of the grandiose profits that he hoped to realize from his Florida investments.

Isaac had purchased his land, sight unseen, through John Cross, a real estate agent living at Liverpool, Florida. Feeling a certain obligation to Cross, he promised to give him one acre of land, and, in the fall of 1884, he wrote to his cousin John at Charlotte Harbor: "I think I had better sell a few lots so as to make a start, I want Cross to have his acre-as I promised. I will write to him to go down immediately and that you will lay it off for him Then he can sell three or four lots for me and give the place a start."² In this letter to John, Isaac described how he wanted the land laid out. He had decided that the entire waterfront would be a park, and the streets, rather than running north and south, would wind with the bay. The streets were to be named

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1. Articles of Lease between Isaac Trabue and John Trabue, November 6, 1883, Exhibit No. 12, Isaac Trabue vs Kelly B. Harvey, a suit in chancery, unnumbered and not on Chancery Progress Docket, Clerk of the Circuit Court, DeSoto County, Arcadia, Florida. This case hereinafter cited as *Court Case*.
 2. *Court Case*, Exhibit No. 13, Isaac Trabue to John Trabue, September 29, 1884.

for members of his family. "Now as for naming the place or town," he wrote, "if we want to bring the place into notice-we must give it a name that will give it notority [*sic*]. I know of no name that will advertise it more than ours-will therefore name it Trabue."³

John proceeded to carry out his cousin's wishes. He employed a young surveyor, Kelly B. Harvey, who, during November and December 1884, surveyed the town site. Harvey's sketch was sent to Kentucky for Isaac's approval, and the latter, after voicing criticism of minor points, accepted the layout. He also urged John to begin selling lots. On February 24, 1885, Harvey recorded the plat at Pine Level, the county seat, and his bill for surveying services, \$136.55, was sent promptly to Isaac. Then suddenly, two days later, Harvey wrote to Isaac, threatening to sue if he was "not paid by return mail." He also pointed out in his communication: "If you haven't the money at hand there are plenty of money lenders in Louisville."⁴ Isaac was incensed over Harvey's preemptory demands, and to make matters worse, his finances were so low at the moment that he lacked the money to pay the survey bill. He referred Harvey to John Trabue, explaining that "he did the trading with you, and he must pay you. You and he can certainly sell enough lots to pay for laying out, if you can't you ought to have been more moderate in laying them out."⁵ In another letter, Isaac informed Harvey, "You would play the duce [*sic*] having a law suit against one who never employed you. So you had better take my advice and help John [Trabue] and [John] Cross make a sale."⁶

John Trabue was in a quandary. He thought that as Isaac's agent he had been carrying out instructions; now he wondered why his relative seemed to be opposing him. In an effort to placate Harvey and to forestall any action on his part, John ordered fifty copies of Harvey's map of Trabue. The price was \$2.00 per map, and the bill was to be paid in land. When the maps were completed, they were to be delivered to John Cross at Liverpool, who was to prepare a deed to be sent to Kentucky for Isaac's signature.⁷ When this deal was negotiated, the advertised price of Trabue lots was \$100, but by the time Harvey delivered the maps the price had dropped to \$50.00, and there were no purchasers. So Harvey, not waiting for Cross, prepared a deed for four \$50.00

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid.*, Exhibit No. 14, Harvey to Isaac Trabue.

5. *Ibid.*, Exhibit No. 23, March 5, 1885.

6. *Ibid.*, Exhibit No. 25, March 8, 1885.

7. *Ibid.*, deposition of John Trabue, April 4, 1890.

lots himself, signed Cross' name to the accompanying letter, and mailed everything to Isaac, who signed and returned it.

Cross sold a couple of homesites at Trabue and from the proceeds paid Harvey's surveying bill. He was, however, unhappy with Harvey's having signed his name to the letter going to Isaac. Harvey claimed that there was nothing wrong with what he had done; he had worked in Cross' Liverpool real estate office and had signed his name many times. The matter likely would have been dropped at that point, but for the events that followed. Cross, in addition to having Isaac Trabue as his client, also represented several large land companies and the Florida Southern Railway Company. He had acted as right-of-way agent for the railroad when it was constructing its line into Charlotte Harbor. On September 1, 1885, Cross wrote to Isaac Trabue from the railway's headquarters in Boston: "I am doing my best for 'Trabue' . . . you will get no R. Road there-as you want [*sic*] give them no [*sic*] inducements to run in. . . ." ⁸

Six days after this letter was written, Isaac arrived in Boston to confer with Florida Southern officials, and a deal was made that would bring the railroad through his holdings at Trabue. Writing to John from Boston, Isaac noted, "I have been on a talking race They say they have big offers to go to Hickory Bluff, and if I don't deal liberally with them they will go to Hickory Bluff or Pine Island. . . ." ⁹ Isaac had agreed to give Florida Southern one-half of his land holdings at Trabue.

With the railroad coming into Trabue, homesites would no longer be a drag on the market; there was every reason to believe that a land boom on the shores of Charlotte Harbor was imminent. When Isaac returned to Louisville, he asked Harvey in a letter to "return me the deed and I will send the money." ¹⁰ He wanted the four lots that Harvey had received in payment for the fifty maps. But Harvey refused Isaac's request, and in a letter dated October 14, 1885, he reminded Isaac that, "at the time of the map trade nobody placed any value on the lots and most people ridiculed the idea of laying out a town there." ¹¹

Isaac was unhappy with Harvey, but a new development made him furious with John Cross. When Cross wrote Trabue from

8. *Ibid.*, Exhibit No. 18, September 1, 1885.

9. *Ibid.*, Exhibit No. 10, Isaac Trabue to John Trabue, September 6, 1885.

10. *Ibid.*, Exhibit No. 32, Isaac Trabue to Harvey, September 12, 1885.

11. *Ibid.*, Exhibit No. 34, Harvey to Isaac Trabue, October 14, 1885.

Boston he had identified himself as an agent of the Florida Southern, and it was he who told Trabue that if he wanted the railroad he would have to deed half his property to the company. Now, as Trabue's agent, he wanted a commission on the deal. But Isaac threatened to sue Cross, insisting, "I will not pay him a cent commission-he can't pack water on both shoulders."¹²

While Harvey still refused to return the lots to Isaac, Cross did not press his claim for his agent's fee. Harvey's land at Trabue consisted of one half-block located across from the projected waterfront parks, and Florida Southern wanted the location for a hotel. John Chandler, company president, came to Trabue, and according to Harvey, threatened him with legal action, claiming that the land in dispute was included in the trade with Isaac Trabue. The railroad claimed Harvey had fraudulently obtained title to it and Trabue could not deed it to the company.

In the fall of 1886, both Harvey and Isaac Trabue moved to Trabue, the railroad completed construction of the new line, another site was selected for the hotel, and the feud quieted down. Then in the fall of 1887, controversy began all over again. There was an indication of trouble in October when the *Punta Gorda Beacon* predicted that the name of "Trabue will be changed to Punta Gorda."¹³ On October 28, a notice appeared announcing a meeting for the purpose of taking whatever steps were necessary to incorporate the town.

Harvey had been calling the town Punta Gorda ever since March, and as it turned out, he was also the moving force behind the incorporation move. Thirty-four men, including Harvey, journeyed to Pine Level to sign the notice of intent to incorporate.¹⁴ The journey was made at night so that Isaac Trabue would not find out about it. The meeting was set for 7:30 p.m. in Tom Hector's billiard hall on the second floor above a drug store. The roll was called, and of the thirty-four qualified voters present, a two-thirds majority favored incorporation. The men then proceeded to select by ballot a seal, the corporate name Punta Gorda,

12. *Ibid.*, Exhibit No. 7, Isaac Trabue to John Trabue, October 5, 1885.

13. *Fort Myers Press* quoting the *Punta Gorda Beacon*, October 13, 1887.

14. Most of these men were laborers who were stranded in Trabue after the completion of the Punta Gorda Hotel. Isaac Trabue divided them into two classes: property owners were first class, the others were second class. Four of the men were Negroes.

and a council.¹⁵ Isaac Trabue, who had learned of the meeting anyway, was present even though he could not vote. He tried in vain to dissuade the group from a relinquishing the name Trabue. He later reported: "I intended to give the squares called Parks to the town of Trabue as long as it retained that name, but when, if ever, the name was changed to some other name than Trabue, then the Parks were to revert to me. . . . I attended the meeting and told them about the trust deed and showed it to those who would look at it. K. B. Harvey was mad with me and we have not been on good terms ever since. . . . If they dispise [*sic*] my name then they should scorn my bounty."¹⁶

Later Harvey explained that the name Punta Gorda was "chosen almost unanimously because it was the original historical and geographical Spanish name. The name of the large hotel built by the Florida Commercial Company was the Punta Gorda Hotel. The newspaper was called the Punta Gorda Beacon. Mail came addressed to Punta Gorda citizens. . . ."¹⁷

Isaac, on the other hand, believed that, "The people of the town got mad with me and to vent their spleen they would change the name of the town and post office."¹⁸ He claimed that Harvey, as one of the tellers at the meeting, had counted the votes and was the one who had announced that the name Punta Gorda had won. On another occasion Trabue wrote: "In order to give a job to a newspaperman who lived at Charlotte Harbor and [who] had no interest in the prosperity of this place Trabue, alias Punta Gorda -but who was blatant and loud in bellowing like one of Dean Swift's bulls for the incorporation of the town, they procured a copy of the private ordinances of some town, passed them, and ordered them published at great expense in Mr. Newspaperman's potent backer paper. . . . The said council ordered the shooting of all blackbirds caught inside the town limits. Suppose [*sic*] they desired no competition in Birds of passages."¹⁹

15. Albert W. Gilchrist, later governor (1909-1913) of Florida was the unsuccessful candidate for mayor. At first, he had opposed changing the name of the town, but finally voted for the change.

16. *Court Case*, deposition of Isaac Trabue, October 12, 1895. This deposition was taken for Isaac's action to regain title to the waterfront parks in Punta Gorda.

17. *Ibid.*, deposition of Harvey, October 12, 1895. This deposition was taken to aid Punta Gorda in retaining title to its waterfront parks. The name Punta Gorda was probably given to the area by Spanish fishermen who frequented Charlotte Harbor in the 1840s. The earliest found map showing Punta Gorda was published in 1852.

18. *Court Case*, deposition of Isaac Trabue, October 12, 1895.

19. *Florida Commercial Company vs W. W. Bateman*, tax collector of Punta Gorda, April 4, 1889.

Law suits quickly filled the court docket. Isaac sought to quiet title on the bayfront parks, and ten years later the case was disposed of in favor of Punta Gorda. Isaac also sued Harvey to regain title to the lots deeded in payment for the fifty maps, but after a five year court fight, he lost the case. Isaac, the Florida Commercial Company, and the Florida Southern Railway all sued to have the town of Punta Gorda dissolved because of irregularities in the incorporation election and because the town council levied a ten-mill tax on real estate. On final appeal to the Florida Supreme Court, Punta Gorda won the case. In all the litigation, Trabue acted as his own attorney, but frequently his language was more colorful than persuasive.

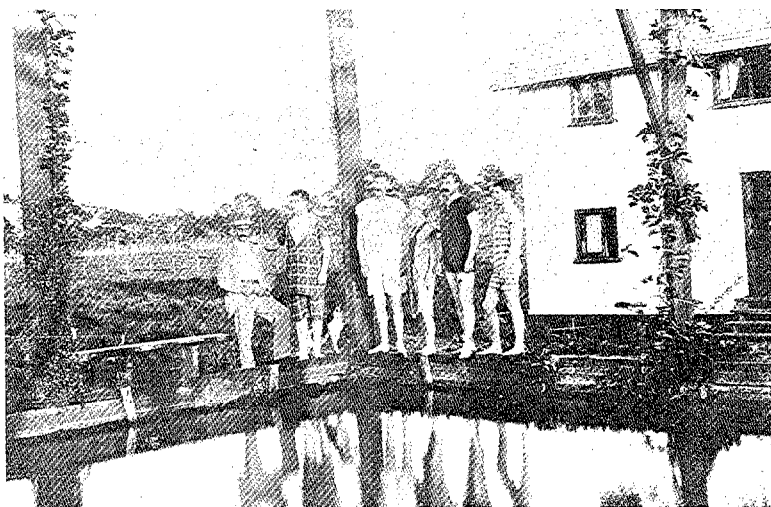
In the meantime, it was realized that Isaac's home was located on the waterfront in, of all places, Harvey Park. The mayor then ordered the city marshal to arrest Trabue for obstructing a public park. After a trial before the mayor, Trabue was convicted and was fined \$10.00. The circuit court eventually reversed this decision, but Isaac was determined to secure revenge against the community. His opportunity came in 1888, after the election of Benjamin Harrison, a Republican, to the presidency. Trabue was also a Republican,²⁰ one of the few living then in that part of Florida. When he was asked to recommend someone to be appointed postmaster of Punta Gorda, he suggested Robert Meacham, a Negro who had played an important political role in Florida during the Reconstruction era.²¹ Meacham, now a minister in Punta Gorda, received the appointment, and according to a contemporary newspaper report, "Isaac Trabue and a couple of Negroes went on

20. In Kentucky, Trabue had been both a Greenback and a Republican. He had been the nominee of the Greenback Party for presidential elector, state treasurer, and state attorney general. He was also the Republican nominee for Congress in the Louisville district. He never won an election.

21. Meacham had served as temporary chairman of the Florida Constitutional Convention of 1868, and he was one of the three Florida electors of 1868 that voted for Grant and Colfax. Details on Meacham's political activities during the Reconstruction era are in William Watson Davis' *Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida* (New York, 1913), 493 fn, 495, 500-01, 541, 666, 695. See also facsimile edition with an introduction by Fletcher M. Green (Gainesville, 1964). See Tallahassee *Floridian*, January 21, 1868, and John Wallace, *Carpet-Bag Rule in Florida* (Jacksonville, 1888), 50, 132, 167, 176-78, 180, 207-09, 299-301, 369-70, 435. See the facsimile edition with an introduction by Allan Nevins (Gainesville, 1964). 1964).



Hotel Punta Gorda in 1888. Modernized and renamed Hotel Charlotte Harbor by Barron Collier in 1925. Burned in 1959.



Punta Gorda scene, 1893. Left to right: unidentified, Frank Q. Brown, the president of the Florida Southern, State Senator Frank Cooper, Isaac Trabue, General Albert W. Gilchrist, S. F. J. Trabue.



Isaac H. Trabue during the Civil War.



First city council of Punta Gorda, 1887.

First city council of Punta Gorda, 1887.

Left to right: Thomas H. Hector, clerk; J. O. Swisher; John Stanfield, marshal; W. H. Simmons, mayor; K. B. Harvey; Neil Dahl; James L. Sandlin.

Meacham's bond." This paper also claimed that, "the recommendation and appointment of a Negro to the office at Punta Gorda is a studied insult to the people of that town."²² Another newspaper called Trabue "a cronic [*sic*] kicker" and insisted that he was "a serious drawback to the growth and prosperity of the town of Punta Gorda."²³

Trabue tried to defend himself against these charges in a letter published in the *Fort Myers Press*: "Some flies who want to be called editors have dragged my name before the public with meddling imprudence. They say that I will not sell my lots and that I thereby impede the progress of the country, also that I went \$10,000 bond for a negro [*sic*] and for that I am to be sent to Hades dead or alive. I pity the furniture in their upper stories, I want the public to know the truth. I had some land on the South bank of Charlotte Harbor that was not worth the taxes. I gave half of it to a railroad to come to it. I then gave them choice of halves on condition that they would build a \$100,000 hotel on it. They took the East half, put a railroad through it, and erected the hotel. Then the would be's tried to change the name of my place assisted by the Democratic office holders for an insult to me. Will an honest and fairminded public say I have done wrong and ought to be kicked out of the country and taxed to confiscation because I took an old croaker's advice and gave away 250 lots-more than half of what I had and behold the result! Shame on the editor of a paper who will allow to be published in his sheet the sentiment that, 'No Republican should be allowed to hold an office in DeSoto County if he was elected, as long as there was a Democrat around who would have it.' What ought to be done with such action? I leave it to the public to judge."²⁴

In 1907, Isaac, old and sick, returned with his wife to Kentucky and there he died. His estate was valued at more than \$500,000. Trabue had left a legacy of good works in the considerable amount of property that he had given to stimulate Punta Gorda's early development. Today he is hardly known or remembered by the citizens of the community, and there is no lasting monument that bears his name or tells his story.²⁵

22. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, June 6, 1890.

23. *Fort Myers Press* quoting the *Arcadia Arcadian*, August 1, 1890.

24. *Ibid.*, December 4, 1890.

25. A one-block long street in Punta Gorda was named Trabue by Albert W. Gilchrist when he resubdivided a block.

In editing the article "Billy Bowlegs (Holata Micco) in the Civil War (Part II)," by Kenneth W. Porter, which appeared in the April 1967 (Volume XLV, Number 4) issue of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, changes were inadvertently made in paragraph 2, page 395, which distorted the meaning of Professor Porter's historical analysis. The *Quarterly* deeply regrets this error. The following is the way the paragraph should correctly read:

"The Union Indians beat the Confederates off with heavy loss and then withdrew, still fighting, across the Red Fork of the Cimarron and, under cover of darkness, across the Arkansas. The Unionists then took up a strong position at the horseshoe bend of Bird Creek, known as Chusto Talasah (Little High Shoals), northeast of Tulse Town. The Confederates did not catch up with them for nearly three weeks. Then, on the morning of December 9, the loyal Seminoles opened an action in which, after four hours of hard fighting, the Unionists forced the Confederate Indians to fall back to Fort Gibson. The Union Indians then slipped away and took up another strong position on Shoal Creek (Chustenahla), a tributary of the Verdigris.

BOOK REVIEWS

De Soto Didn't Land at Tampa. By Rolfe F. Schell. (Fort Myers Beach, Florida: Island Press, 1966. 96 pp. Preface, introduction, illustrations, maps, summary. \$1.95; paperback \$1.00.)

The Florida landfall of Hemando De Soto's fleet in 1539 was at present-day San Carlos Bay on the Gulf coast. De Soto then ascended the Caloosahatchee River and debarked his army at Palmetto Point below Fort Myers. From here, De Soto marched overland to Tallahassee. Mr. Schell holds this thesis in regard to the Florida portion of the exploration of Southeastern United States. In support, he explains the distance measured by a league, true compass bearing and magnetic deviation, depth of San Carlos Bay at given distances from land, displacement of vessels according to their tonnage, capacity of a tun of wine, location of mounds as sites of former Indian villages, and the distance travelled daily by the army.

A legion of historical writers have traditionally advocated the view that De Soto landed at Tampa Bay. Among them, the more renowned are John W. Monette (1848), Albert J. Pickett (1849), Henry R. Schoolcraft (1851), J. C. Brevoort (1866), and James Mooney (1901). The Tampa Bay thesis received a crowning and enduring endorsement in 1939, with the publication of the *Final Report of the United States De Soto Expedition Commission*, submitted by John R. Swanton, chairman of the commission. Against this host, Mr. Schell now joins that small group of dissenters, composed of Theodore H. Lewis (1900), Theodore Maynard (1930), and Warren H. Wilkinson (1960), who believe that De Soto landed at another bay south of Tampa.

Commendably, Mr. Schell's book is not a personal, direct attack on the Tampa Bay thesis or its champions. It is rather a logical, restrained, and cool exposition of arguments. There are five basic sources dealing with De Soto's exploration: the narratives of the Gentleman of Elvas, Garcilaso de la Vega, Luis Hernandez de Biedma, and Rodrigo Rangel, and the letter written by De Soto himself. Schell has wrung all the contemporary data pertaining to the landfall, landing, and route. He has used these sources to in-

dicate the distance travelled daily by the army on its way to Apalachee and the itinerary of the thirty cavalymen from Apalachee back to the debarkation point. He has not shortened or averaged distances here and there to make them fit, and this is the strongest base for his thesis.

Other arguments have weaker supports. I missed the connection between tun and the capacity or weight of De Soto's vessels. No mound or some other landmark is mentioned to identify Punta Rassa as Ucita's summer camp. The location of Ucita village itself at Fort Myers is buttressed only by saying that there were Indian mounds there at one time. Despite these weaknesses, Schell's arguments stick, and they provide a plausible case for his thesis. However, he has not attained finality on the subject. Perhaps no one ever will, unless additional and more explicit evidence is found.

Linking events to the sites where they occurred is an arduous task of history, especially in the absence of prominent natural or man-made landmarks to act as indicators. Knowing the setting of events, desirable as this is, is not indispensable to knowing the meaning of events. The meaning transcends almost entirely by appeal to the mind. Thus, it is not contradictory for the National Park Service to commemorate the significance of the Florida exploration in question at the De Soto National Memorial near Bradenton despite the unidentification of the definite landing place.

LUIS RAFAEL ARANA

Castillo de San Marcos National Monument
St. Augustine, Florida

Frank M. Chapman in Florida: His Journals and Letters. Compiled and edited by Elizabeth S. Austin. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1967. vii, 228 pp. Introduction, map, illustrations, epilogue, bibliography, index. \$7.95.)

Of the eighty-one years that Frank Michler Chapman lived, he spent a substantial part of fifty-nine in Florida, eventually making this state his home. In that time, with emphasis on the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and in the Gainesville area, Chapman wrote vividly and often of Florida's birds, its landscape, its waters, its variable weather, its people, flora and

fauna, its pleasures, and its appeals. The combination makes for an attractive presentation of a vanished era of the state's natural history. Yet much of it is so fairly contemporary as to be nostalgic; Chapman, world famous as an ornithologist and naturalist, died in 1945.

This unusual book, a collection of his and contemporary observations, while it offers a premium appeal to birders, has contents so varied as to evoke general interest and entertainment. Included, for instance, are a collection of clippings from Chapman's mother's scrapbook recounting experiences of the last yellow fever epidemic (1888) which made of Gainesville (where mother and son made their winter home) "like a City of the Dead." The concluding clipping completes the dramatic, moving, and sometimes recriminating presentations with the discovery by an American commission in Havana of the mosquito as the plague's source. Another sequence begins with an exchange of letters between Chapman and William Brewster, the elegant gentleman-ornithologist of Cambridge, Massachusetts, in which arrangements were made for a drifting trip in the spring of 1890 in a house-scow down the Suwannee River. Chapman's personal physician, Dr. Charles Slover Allen of New York, a quiet and retiring man, was the third member. Side trips, replete with ornithological and other nature-packed experiences, were made in canoes and are described by Brewster in a day-by-day journal. Altogether the expedition listed 116 species of birds of which sixty-four were collected. Somewhere during the trip the formal "Dear Mr. Chapman" and "Dear Mr. Brewster," which had marked their early friendship and correspondence, expired; Chapman became "The Fiend" and Brewster "The Sahib." The nicknames go unexplained, but Mrs. Austin speculates that Chapman may have earned his as a practical joker and Brewster his because of his "personality and character."

Both Chapman and Brewster were articulate men-given to striking phrases-who made what they wrote easily comprehensible. These attributes are shared by Mrs. Austin, who in compiling and editing this book deftly links together its parts to give all of them continuity and meaning. Her tremendous research and affection for the subject is apparent throughout. Except for one typewritten letter all of the material had been handwritten, making for a formidable transcribing effort. Mrs. Austin is an active

associate member of the staff of the Florida State Museum and writes a weekly nature column, "Wild Adventure," for the Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*. Her interest was whetted when, in 1963, while preparing a paper on the explorations of nineteenth century ornithologists, she acquired the Chapman journals and letters, and with a grant from the Frank M. Chapman Memorial Fund, was able to explore the archives of the American Museum of Natural History.

Mrs. Austin suggests that Chapman, who was to become chairman of the Department of Ornithology at the American Museum of Natural History, quit his banking position in New York for Florida outdoor life and the pursuit of his scientific interest because he lacked rugged health. His earliest activities are detailed in a nearly day-by-day journal beginning in November 1886, and ending in April 1887. Last of the "Journals" cover his winter-spring activities 1932-1933 and 1933-1934 when he lived in Little River, now a part of Miami. His journeys and his written accounts of them, replete with living descriptions and occasional anecdotes of his experiences, extended to all parts of Florida, Louisiana, Texas, and Cuba.

Mrs. Austin's book is supplemented by a chapter by her husband, Oliver J. Austin, Jr., "The Birds of the Gainesville Region, Then and Now." Dr. Austin, curator of ornithology, is author of *Birds of the World*.

JOHN D. PENNEKAMP

Miami, Florida

History of Dunedin. By W. Lovett Douglas. (St. Petersburg: Great Outdoors Publishing Company, 1965. 170 pp. Foreword, photographs. \$1.50.)

Mr. Douglas, born in the community three years before Dunedin was incorporated, has been an active and important participant in its growth and government. This has facilitated his recording a factual and lively record of a small, quiet but distinctive, seashore city on Florida's Gulf coast.

The most interesting reading in Mr. Douglas' book is his picture of rural Florida pioneer days and people-their hard life,

their simple pleasures and joys, and their few avenues of livelihood. It is fortunate that he centers on these early days; he records a distinctive era, not yet sufficiently documented. His format and arrangement makes for agreeable reading and easy reference. In the first few pages the writer notes the essential facts of Florida's discovery, its becoming a state, and the formation of Pinellas County (Dunedin occupies an inconspicuous area in its western midsection). A chronological statistical record of Dunedin from its incorporation until current times is reported, but the author fails to tie his community into the most densely populated county of the state and one of the great metropolitan areas of the nation.

Having attended to these chores with good workmanship, Mr. Douglas begins to have fun, and he skips about as his fancy and interest directs. Sometimes he gets rather far afield, and there is little organization with either dates or subject matter. For instance, he discusses the "accepted" method of poisoning coons in 1874, notes the first settler on Clearwater island, tells how to catch tarpon, and he describes the establishment of Fort Harrison at Clearwater in 1841, a minor incident of the Second Seminole War. He also talks about early automobiles and the first railroad in the area. There are major omissions in this work. Dunedin, Clearwater, and St. Petersburg were all founded in the same decade, their locations were fundamentally similar, and all were well suited to grow into a town or city. Today (1967), eighty years later, Dunedin has fewer than 10,000 people, Clearwater over 60,000, St. Petersburg over 200,000. The author makes no effort to tell why there is this kind of differentiation. The recent history of Dunedin is perhaps its most exciting, and includes a move to incorporate into Dunedin the two great Gulf islands adjacent to it, which could turn the town into a notable residential and tourist community.

The great figure in Dunedin history was L. B. Skinner, one of the giants of the citrus industry. He invented the very first piece of machinery to handle citrus, the Skinner orange grader, and he followed this with myriad inventions and innovations which helped build a great machinery factory which outgrew Dunedin. And from the Skinner family there evolved in Dunedin the first citrus juice concentrate canning plant, which helped to revolutionize Florida's greatest agricultural activity. Yet in the part of the book devoted to biographies and family histories, Skin-

ner rates a bare two pages: he should have been Center Stage. However, the numerous biographies are obviously included on merit, are written in low key, minus bouquets, and are well done. The pages are sprinkled with many interesting pioneer pictures. Withal, Mr. Douglas renders yeoman service to the task of recording a segment of Florida's colorful, dramatic history. And his task was obviously one of love.

WALTER P. FULLER

St. Petersburg, Florida

Lure of the Sun: A Story of Palm Beach County. Edited by David A. Forshay and Elizabeth E. Micken. (Lake Worth: First Federal Savings and Loan Association of Lake Worth, 1967. 85 pp. Illustrations. \$2.50.)

The First Federal Savings and Loan Association of Lake Worth has commissioned this excellently done pictorial history of Palm Beach County as a part of its thirtieth anniversary celebration. Through sketches and photographs the story of the county is told from the time Ponce de Leon "might have stopped briefly" on Palm Beach shores to the present day.

In the period following the Civil War when the rest of the eastern section of the United States was either experiencing great industrial expansion or was repairing and rebuilding after the ravages of war, the southeast coast of Florida was still in a state of untamed wilderness. When the first permanent settlers came to what was to be Palm Beach County in the early seventies they found a lush semi-tropical land of great promise; but for this promise to be fulfilled, many hardships had to be endured and many problems had to be overcome.

While no one would deny the fortitude and the contribution of these early settlers, Palm Beach County, as may also be said of all of the southeast coast, owes its present prominence as one of America's favorite vacation lands to Henry M. Flagler and his Florida East Coast railroad. From the beginning the settlers realized that dependable transportation was the one truly indispensable ingredient to their prosperity and the section's growth. It was a hardy tourist who braved the trip from the Indian River district

through either the mosquito infested sawgrass route or through the rough sea by small boat. Moreover, the vegetables and fruits grown for the northern winter market often rotted, destroying a year's labor, for lack of adequate transportation. Flagler's railroad changed all of this and also permitted the great boom that hit South Florida in the 1920s. Palm Beach County participated in the boom, and this volume well portrays this fabulous era when Mizner was "creating" an architecture for Florida and the American elite was playing in the winter sun.

Unfortunately, in some places the text does seem to be less than adequate. It is surprising that the editors chose to include the story of the raid on the court house in Juno which attempted to hold the official records for the north end of the county, but do not mention that an earlier raid on the old court house in Miami had been responsible for bringing the records to Juno in the first place. While there are some minor errors: it was Captain H. D. Pierce's brother-in-law, William Moore, and not Pierce who carried the 1876 election returns to Miami and not to Tallahassee, these are more than made up for in the excellent choice of illustrations. While on the whole the book is well balanced both geographically and chronologically, its greatest failing, it seems to me, is that more emphasis is not placed on the period following the Second World War. While this era may lack the romantic appeal of pioneer days and of the social twenties, it is the period in which the whole face of the county has changed, for better or for worse. In fact, the twenty years following the war have been mentioned only briefly in connection with the 1947 hurricane, the beaching of the *Amaryllis*, and the founding of Florida Atlantic University.

Certainly the First Federal Savings and Loan Association of Lake Worth should be commended for its interest in local history and for what is a magnificent reverse birthday gift for the county. It might be hoped that more firms around the state would follow First Federal's lead.

DONALD W. CURL

Florida Atlantic University

Oranges. By John McPhee. (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1967. 149 pp, \$4.50.)

John McPhee, who is familiar to all of those who have followed for any length of time the meticulous and informative style of the *New Yorker* magazine profiles, has succeeded in bringing to life in an extraordinary fashion, not only a series of orange growers, botanists, pickers, packers, and some orange barons, but in breathing life into many species of the delectable citrus fruits themselves. Indeed the skeptical reader who happens to pick up Mr. McPhee's book for a casual glance is apt to find himself posing as something of an expert on the subject, speaking familiarly of "Pineapples," "Navels," "Valencias," and "Hammins" as though they were intimate friends of long standing, and unblushingly using such words as "pomology" just as though the braggart had known that this meant "the science and practice of fruit growing" before he, personally, looked it up in Webster's Unabridged.

According to the blurb on the jacket: "This book is essentially surprising. It is non-fiction, and its subject is the botany, history, and industry of oranges. It was first conceived as a short magazine article about oranges and orange juice, but the author kept encountering so much irresistible information that he eventually found that he had, in fact, written a book." This seems a remarkably modest statement for a publisher to put out, for this reviewer considers that McPhee has done much more than write a book. He has created something in the nature of a thesis, which, except for McPhee's delightful humor-strictly taboo in commercials,-should land him a lifetime sinecure as advertising manager of the Coca-Cola Company, which swallowed up Minute Maids three concentrate plants in Florida and 30,000 acres of Florida orange groves in 1960.

Still, it is doubtful that this Coke job will actually materialize for Mr. McPhee's book makes it clear that he is a lover of the same nectar of the Gods that this reviewer was brought up on, namely, untampered-with fresh orange juice right out of a skin. Unlike Bing Crosby, who bought some 20,000 shares of Minute Maid, Mr. McPhee never will be hired to sing the praises of Coca-Cola-flavored concentrate orange juice served out of a can. It was a dislike of this very trend that triggered off this delightful volume.

Says Mr. McPhee on page 20: "In Winter Haven . . . I took a room in a motel on the edge of an orange grove. Next door was a restaurant, with orange trees, full of fruit, spreading over its parking lot. I went in for dinner, and, since I would be staying for some time and this was the only restaurant in the neighborhood, I checked on the possibility of fresh juice for breakfast. There were never any requests for fresh orange juice, the waitress explained, apparently unmindful of the one that had just been made. 'Fresh is either too sour or too watery or too something,' she said. 'Frozen is the same every day. People want to know what they are getting.' She seemed to know her business, and I began to sense what turned out to be the truth-that I might as well stop asking for fresh orange juice, because few restaurants in Florida serve it."

Heaven knows how large a book the author would have written had he ever discovered that the only orange juice available to the patients in the University of Florida Teaching Hospital at Gainesville is the canned single-strength orange juice—"The ancient kind of canned orange juice"—of which he states: "There are no better consumers of canned single-strength juice, today, than the family of a blue-collar worker, who has a grammar-school education, has several children under six, and lives in a Southern state."

We are grateful to learn that the sales of this juice, according to the citrus commission, went down sixty-five per cent between 1950 and 1965. May this good work continue! It tastes like the oranges were pulped by the sulphate process!

Urged on by Dr. Herman Reitz, director of the University of Florida's citrus experiment station at Lake Alfred, and by such a luminary as William Grierson, a former officer in the Royal Air Force, who "despite the tidal rise of concentrate . . . has been trying to keep growers and shippers interested in fresh fruit," . . . this demon fresh-juice researcher, McPhee, started out on an unequalled compilation of "Orange Men" all on his own.

"The procedure here can be difficult for people who deal with subjective matters like taste and aroma. Before they can publish, they have to prove what they are saying mathematically. The public has very little taste perception, anyway." Bill Grierson informed him, "You must meet Bob Rutledge at the Florida Citrus Mutual. He is a phenomenon. If you come down here, you should

meet phenomena. You must meet Mac-Dr. Louis Gardner MacDowell, the patron saint of concentrate. You should meet Ben Hill Griffin, of Frostproof, Florida-probably the last of the great orange barons. Too bad, most of the interesting people are dead. E. Bean-that was a famous name in oranges once. In Northern cities, grocers used to put up signs advertising 'E. BEAN'S ORANGES HERE.' Bean designed the orange crate, in 1875. He designed the field box, too, the one used in the groves. It weighs fifteen pounds and holds ninety pounds of fruit, or about two hundred oranges. Try slinging something like that around all day! By and large, we're still tied to his damned field box. . . ."

These rather snide commentaries on the part of William Grierson anent Bean's field boxes touched your reviewer in a tender spot, since your reviewer's first job after leaving the army in 1919 was traveling the state in a 1920 Maxwell selling those orange crates and those "damned field boxes," so disparaged by Mr. Grierson, for no less a company than E. Bean & Sons Company, Jacksonville, then owned by the late Frank Cartmel.

The door having been opened to carping by Mr. Grierson, we feel free to close with a few minor errata which the experts have passed on to Mr. McPhee, and for which we hereby absolve the author of this wonderful little book completely: page 14:

. . . Florida growers have a number of locally developed early varieties to choose from, and in the main, they seem to prefer three: The Pineapple orange, the Parson Brown, and the Hamlin. . . ."

Correction: The Pineapple orange is not an early variety, but is rather a mid-season variety, fully ripening in December and January. Page 15: "Parson Nathan L. Brown was a Florida clergyman who grew oranges to supplement his income; the seedy, pebble-skinned orange that now carries his name was discovered in his grove about one hundred years ago." Page 126: Dr. Louis Gardner MacDowell tells Mr. McPhee: ". . . Nobody saves old trees here. Pink grapefruit developed in Bradenton. Parson Brown oranges in Webster. And so on. Nobody cares. . . ."

Correction: Parson Brown's great, great grandson, T. Noble Brown of Webster cares. According to him, Parson Brown was a circuit rider who was given some orange seeds by a friend named Crumm, source unknown. One of these seeds, planted by Parson Brown at the corner of his house two miles out of Webster, grew

up and matured beautifully. Clippings from this tree were taken over to Lake Weir and budded on the trees in the grove of a man named Carney, for which the Parson received the fabulous sum, in those days, of eighty-five dollars. Hence, while the Parson Brown oranges may have been born in Webster, they apparently developed in the Carney Grove on Lake Weir in Marion County.

Just one passing crack at one of the biggest shots of them all, Robert Rutledge, executive vice president and operating head of Florida Citrus Mutual, which exists to create higher profits for grove owners. On page 119, Mr. Rutledge tells Author McPhee: "I was born in an alligator swamp"; Mr. McPhee adds: "The alligator swamp turned out to be a section of Peoria, Illinois." Come, come Mr. Rutledge; our spies inform us that you were actually born in Kansas. Why try to keep it a secret?

Leesburg, Florida

BAYNARD KENDRICK

Pieces of Eight; Recovering the Riches of a Lost Spanish Treasure Fleet. By Kip Wagner as told to L. B. Taylor, Jr. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1966. 221 pp. Illustrations, maps, diagrams, appendix, index. \$7.50.)

The professional archaeologists probably wish that this book had not been published since it concentrates so much on gold. There is a tendency for the average reader after experiencing this kind of a book to try his luck, either on the sea bottom or on land. With untrained people hunting gold, they destroy important and irreplaceable prehistoric and historic archaeological sites. Much of this has happened already in Florida. However, this is an interesting book. For the romanticist and the dilettante, it presents the ingredients of seeking and finding gold, the sea with all the danger associated with it, contemporary pirates, suspense, adventure, and success.

At least the careful reader should get the idea that it takes time, money, and a lot of skill to be successful in this effort to locate and retrieve lost treasure, and even then, one may not be successful and hit "pay-dirt." All in all, this book is a running, diary-like account put into narrative form of the activities of the Real Eight. It contains a number of very handsome photographs.

HALE G. SMITH

Florida State University

The Early Spanish Main. By Carl Ortwin Sauer. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966. xii, 306 pp. Foreword, introduction, illustrations, maps, index. \$7.95.)

Dr. Carl A. Sauer is an institution in geography. This distinguished professor emeritus is a man with a long academic career at the University of California who is venerated as a great teacher and author. He has produced many books, and he guided many of his students through their graduate programs.

This book is not an original piece of research but is rather a historical synthesis by a historically-minded geographer who is also an excellent ethnographer. Indeed, it is a first-rate summary of the Spanish Main from 1492 to 1519. At the same time, it must be added that the book's advertisement that Dr. Sauer's "knowledge of land forms, vegetation, fauna, and ethnography has placed the Spanish Caribbean beginnings in a new context" is rather exaggerated. For this early history we have standard sources such as Father Las Casas' famous *Historia*, Peter Martyr's *Decades*, the works of Fernandez de Enciso, Oviedo, Velasco, Alonso de Santa Cruz, and others. Sauer with his keen insight, his academic versatility, and his mature experience is a better candidate to study and interpret these sources than many professional historians.

The book starts with a useful explanation of what was meant by the Spanish Main in 1500, when it became "apparent that a land of continental proportions lay south of the discovered islands." Eventually the whole Caribbean area was known in English as the Spanish Main, "including the sea." Sauer says: "Thus sailing to the Spanish Main became sailing *on* the Spanish Main." Obviously, the Florida peninsula (although not the whole Gulf of Mexico) was part of the Spanish Main, but Sauer has only a few paragraphs dealing with Florida. He believes that Florida was officially discovered in 1513 and not in 1512; he thinks that "the 1512 date may be considered a slip of the copyist." The tale of the Fountain of Youth is correctly identified as coming from the pen of Peter Martyr, and Sauer tells us that "Oviedo dismissed it as a yarn. Being the kind of story that gives spice to history, it had perennial life in schoolbooks." This readable and scholarly book of Sauer's is recommended for every Florida history lover; it gives a necessary background for early Florida history.

CHARLES W. ARNADE

University of South Florida

The Creek Frontier, 1540-1783. By David H. Corkran. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967. xv, 343 pp. Foreword, introduction, maps, illustrations, bibliography, index. \$5.95.)

Research for this book appears to have occupied the author ever since he published his work on the Cherokee Frontier in 1962. The intervening years were not too many, for he has had to examine thousands of documents merely to unravel the narrative. No one had ever pieced together that record before. The resulting chronology is not exciting reading; moreover, it obscures the generalizations lying somewhere behind the endless specific negotiations. Except for the introduction dealing with Creek culture, the book is a history of Creek diplomacy and war. The author credits the Creeks with a diplomatic triumph in following a policy of neutrality, and in playing off the European nations against each other. Even though the Creeks lost a little ground steadily, at the end of the colonial period they still held most of the area where they were situated when the white men first intruded upon them. Moreover, although they had more enemies than friends, they were not decimated by warfare, as were their neighbors and sometimes-friends sometimes-enemies, the Cherokees.

The initial architect of successful Creek neutrality was Brims, a chief of the Lower Creeks, who gained authority over most of the scattered settlements during the second and third decades of the eighteenth century. Creek organization did not naturally produce centralization; indeed, "too often," Corkran says, "Creek political life presents the picture of bitter division which prevented the councils from taking any stand at all while a species of anarchy exists." But by personal force and hereditary prestige, a leader like Brims could gather a great deal of power. His like was not seen again until the coming of Alexander McGillivray, another great practitioner of neutrality, who appears at the end of the book.

Warfare among the Indians themselves intensified after the white man came because he set the tribes against each other for his own political purposes. The Creeks negotiated and fought almost continuously with the Cherokees and Choctaws, and had incidental negotiations with the Chickasaws, Shawnees, and

others. The European colonizing powers regulated these wars to some degree by imposing trade sanctions to suit their interests. As the Indians had to obtain supplies to live, trade-sanctions were a potent weapon. Thus, there was constant negotiating with the English, French, and Spanish, and then with the United States. As a result of the "Great War for Empire," England pushed France out. This reviewer was astonished to learn how little that critical conflict seemed to have affected the Creeks while it went on; the war is hardly mentioned in the book. Unfortunately for the Creeks, it was of deeper concern to them than they realized. They ought to have heeded the Shawnees, who from time to time sent emissaries to try to unite all the tribes of the Mississippi Valley and of the South against the white invader. As it was, within two years after the expulsion of the French, the Creeks were forced to surrender several million acres to the conquering English.

In general it is sad to note how similar is the mood of Creek diplomacy to that of Europe. It seems dynastic and petty, and the wars seem to have been fought over incidents not worth waging war about. Yet Indian diplomacy, at least with the European powers, touched the vitals of their life at one place: they were utterly dependent upon white men for firearms and ammunition, and they could not live without these. Thus, perhaps the central objective of Indian diplomacy was to assure themselves of a supply of firearms. Corkran does not make this point, but it is one of those generalizations which the mass of detailed narrative seems to force upon the perceptive reader.

JOHN K. MAHON

University of Florida

The Quasi-War: The Politics and Diplomacy of the Undeclared War with France, 1797-1801. By Alexander De Conde. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1966. xiv, 498 pp. Preface, chronology, illustrations, comments on sources, index. \$10.00.)

Some fifteen years ago Professor De Conde, then a young instructor at Whittier College, started reading the materials relat-

ing to the Quasi-War which he found in the Henry E. Huntington Library. Several articles on the subject appeared in due course in the Library's *Quarterly*, offprints of which the present reviewer still retains in his pamphlet collection. This impressive monograph is the end result of these early accomplishments. Of its kind, the book is exceptionally good, free of national bias, and giving full attention to the various points of view and conflicting interests in the three countries mainly concerned—Britain, France, and the United States. Even Toussaint L'Ouverture, the Negro rebel of Saint Domingue, is given his share of attention and made to seem like a real person rather than just a name in the diplomatic histories. He was "a small, ugly man of remarkable ability and intelligence, had been a trusted slave who had not suffered ill-treatment. He was not a bloodthirsty revolutionary. He was, instead, a gifted leader who wielded virtually independent power . . ." (p. 131). A picture (the publisher has been laudably generous with pictures) confirms the characterization.

Actually the book does more than deal with the Quasi-War alone. It reaches back almost to Jay's Treaty (1794) and forward in a sense to the Louisiana Purchase (both of which are intertwined in the history of Florida), showing how French hostility was the response to Jay's Treaty, viewed in France as an Anglo-American alliance, and how in turn the termination of the Quasi-War opened the way for the negotiations culminating in the acquisition of Louisiana. Talleyrand becomes an attractive, fascinating figure in the book, an able and well-informed diplomat who knows full well it is against French interest to carry matters to extremities with the United States. I could wish that the author had been able to throw more light on just how the French emissaries in the United States, MM. Fauchet and Adet, tried to manipulate internal American politics to their advantage; but since De Conde was so thorough with his sources, it seems likely that precise evidence in this regard simply does not exist. His description of the "black cockade fever" in the United States which nearly forced a war declaration against France and led to the alien and sedition laws is very effective.

All in all this is a very successful monograph which historians interested in the affairs of the rising American Republic at a crucial turning point in its career will need to consult. The pub-

lisher too deserves a word of thanks for the handsome book which he has produced.

RICHARD W. VAN ALSTYNE

*Callison College,
University of the Pacific*

Robert Toombs of Georgia. By William Y. Thompson. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1966. xiii, 281 pp. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$7.50.)

Robert Toombs was a product of southern culture, a man caught up in the furor of an emotion-filled era, a victim of his environment. Like so many Southerners of good background, wealth, and training, he followed a certain pattern. As a youth he was a reckless southern cavalier, an undisciplined, obstreperous lad, impatient with authority and unobservant of it. Excessive drinking, gambling, fighting, expulsion from schools - such activities made up his record. Because of his family and his potential ability, however, Georgians overlooked these early indiscretions, and after he settled down, rewarded him with public office. In the 1840s he represented the Whigs in Congress and supported their tendency towards nationalism, their desire for a high tariff, a national bank, and internal improvements. Then in the 1850s as slavery became more and more dominant, he evolved into a States' Righter, a man fraught with suspicion and distrust of Northerners.

In spite of an astute mind, personal magnetism, and an unusual dramatic flare for politics, Toombs became a pathetic political figure, a man who nearly - but not quite - achieved greatness. His Achilles' heel was a voracious, excessive, almost self-destructive egotism. He was like the man who said to a friend: "I don't trust anyone but you and me, and I'm not so sure about you." If he could not lead, he would not follow. It seemed that no one could measure up to his standards or was capable enough to please him, not Howell Cobb, surely not Jefferson Davis, and not even Robert E. Lee. Only his close friend and colleague, Alexander H. Stephens, was accorded his confidence and trust. Even after the Civil War he remained aloof, therefore often alone. To Georgians

he personified the "unreconstructed rebel," the proud Southerner undaunted by defeat. Nor was he out of character in 1880 by supporting Ulysses S. Grant for a third presidential term, for, as he put it, "if a crisis should come he [Grant] would be more apt to destroy the Union which I so earnestly desire."

This life of Robert Toombs is a noteworthy and welcome addition to the Southern Biographical Series. Despite certain stylistic lapses, William Y. Thompson, chairman of the Social Science Department at Louisiana Polytechnic Institute, has written a thoroughly researched, readable work. At times he may have contracted the "biographer's disease," that of being overly sympathetic or of underplaying certain questionable actions of his hero. But overall, he has developed for the reader an understanding of Toombs and the period in which he lived.

BEN PROCTER

Texas Christian University

Dear Ones at Home: Letters from Contraband Camps. Selected and edited by Henry L. Swint. (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1966. 274 pp. Introduction, map, bibliography, index. \$6.95.)

Almost all the letters in this book were written by Lucy and Sarah Chase, two sisters who came South from Massachusetts in 1863, to be teachers of Negro slaves living in "contraband camps" behind the Union army lines. In an account of their first several months' work in Virginia, Lucy wrote: "Upon Craney Island we 'cared for' (very indifferently and superficially, of course) two thousand negroes [*sic*]. . . . We clothed them; helped them patch their rags; caused them to make bed-ticks for themselves; tried to teach them cleanliness. . . . Taught some - yes, many, to read and write, working ourselves twelve hours a day."

Obviously teaching was only one of the tasks the Misses Chase accepted for themselves. Since the Negroes came to the camps with only the clothing on their backs, and often in rags, the ladies sent home to freedmen's aid societies for "broad, coarse shoes . . . stockings, Dresses, coarse and stout, petticoats, and blankets." When they got cloth, they cut it out and set Negro women to work-

ing with their needles. "We consider it feasible to unite study and sewing," wrote Lucy, "so we hang our A. B. C. card upon the walls, and keep heads and fingers busy." In doling out clothing and blankets-and sometimes food and medicine-the sisters took pains not to make paupers of the Negroes. They taught them that a free man must work and support his own family. In their letters to aid societies they emphasized that opportunities to earn a living would benefit the Negroes "more than any other kind of help." They helped organize an "Industrial School" and a savings bank for the freedmen of Norfolk, and they urged that northern charity be withheld from Negroes able but unwilling to earn their livelihood.

Gradually, as time passed, and as the Negroes' condition somewhat improved, the Chase sisters were able to give more and more of their attention to teaching the freedmen reading and writing. In 1869, shortly before ending her work in the South, Lucy wrote from Gordonsville, Virginia, where she was the only teacher in an ungraded school. She required her pupils "to learn the meaning of all the important words in every-days reading-lessons," she spent "a good deal of time in teaching Arithmetic both Mental and Written," she had three classes in geography, and she heard "the whole school spell daily from a speller."

Between Craney Island and Gordonsville, Lucy and Sarah Chase traveled and taught in many parts of the South Atlantic states. Their letters from such places as Richmond, New Bern, Charleston, Savannah, and Columbus are graphic in their descriptions both of places and of people. There is one letter from Florida, written in Lake City on January 14, 1869, which describes a Christmas party in the freedmen's schoolroom. There is one comment more generally descriptive of life in Lake City in 1869: Lucy reported that she had given one of the nicer gifts available to a "reverent and faithful Union man" who had told her, "The people here would starve, before they would buy bread of a Republican!" There were, of course, teachers like the Chase sisters who taught in Florida towns and cities and who left reports of their work in Freedmen's Bureau and freedmen's aid society records. It would be a service if their letters and reports could be published in a book similar to Professor Swint's *Dear Ones At Home*. Except for "local color," however, freedmen's school experiences in one part of the South were very similar to those

in any other part. The Chase sisters, with Professor Swint's able editing, give an excellent and interesting portrayal of these experiences.

GEORGE R. BENTLEY

University of Florida

At Ease in Zion: A Social History of Southern Baptists, 1865-1900. By Rufus B. Spain. (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1967. xiii, 247 pp. Preface, introduction, bibliography, appendixes, index. \$6.95.)

Recently, historians have explored with increasing profit the role of religion in American life. Charles Hopkins and Robert M. Miller have demonstrated the dynamic interaction between Protestantism and social issues. *At Ease in Zion* attempts to locate the enigmatic Southern Baptists within this interaction. This study of the years from 1865 to 1900 provides some excellent insights into the Baptist view of politics, race relations, economics, and social morality. It also leaves some lingering questions.

The author certainly supports his premise that Southern Baptists conformed to their society more than they influenced it. They fulminated against church-state relations, big government, northern agitators, and politically-oriented preachers. But the major portion of this study deals with the enduring dilemma of a Christian church trying to rationalize white-only Christianity. Perhaps the author's most intriguing conclusion involves Negro initiative in establishing segregated churches. Denied a role of leadership in white-dominated congregations, he sought "emancipation" in his own church where he could be free of white supervision and leadership. Actually, some white Baptists resisted this separation, feeling safer when they could keep a wary eye on their colored brethren. The traditional response that Baptists were interested in the souls of black folks if not in their living conditions is exploded by Professor Spain. In 1871, the Domestic Mission Board supported only one missionary to the South's 4,000,000 Negroes, while it sponsored twelve missionaries to the American Indians, two among Germans, and even one to California's Chinese. A Florida Baptist summarized his denomination's apathy when he wrote that the "Knotty problem" of race must be left to an "All-Wise Providence."

Spain contends that Baptists were generally conservative on economic matters. Though applauding improved farming methods, their religious periodicals either avoided or condemned the Populists. In the tradition of the "Gospel of Wealth," Southern Baptists considered poverty and wealth ordained by God. The *Florida Baptist Witness* pronounced labor unions "undemocratic" and "un-American." Gradually attitudes changed, and by the end of the nineteenth century some Baptist publications were attacking child labor and calling for government arbitration of labor disputes. In the realm of personal morality, Florida Baptists, together with Baptists throughout the South, were diligent in their assaults on state lotteries and legalized gambling. Strong drink drew their condemnation, though a surprising minority championed such biblical literalism that they insisted on using wine in communion services. A more typical Baptist position was reflected by the Florida Baptist Convention in 1895, which adjudged liquor the most "destructive curse of the 19th century. . . ."

While the author has revealed dominant threads in Baptist thought, some basic questions remain. Professor Spain has relied almost entirely on convention reports and the Baptist press, both more representative of the denominational hierarchy than the rank and file. It is true that Baptists could refuse to subscribe to the privately owned denominational papers as a means of protesting their editorial positions; but only a small minority ever did subscribe, undoubtedly representing the most prosperous of the faithful. Research in southern organized labor, progressivism, and the Populist movement demonstrates that many Baptists most certainly did not fit into the Baptist consensus, especially in the 1890s. Deeper research into accounts of sermons and denominational affiliation of labor union activists and Populists would have revealed a number of liberal Baptist politicians and reformers. Statistical analysis of voting trends in predominantly Baptist counties might reveal conclusions at variance with the author's conclusions on economic thought, particularly during periods of economic crisis such as strikes or depression.

Despite this criticism, *At Ease in Zion* is still a valuable contribution to the study of the southern religious mind. This book is an important summary of the organizational influence of the denomination.

WAYNE FLINT

Samford University

Forgotten Voices: Dissenting Southerners in an Age of Conformity.
Edited by Charles E. Wynes. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1967. xi, 138 pp. Introduction, photographs, bibliography. \$4.50.)

This is a collection of essays by Southerners who protested against the prevailing racism of the period 1885-1909. As the editor notes, it is a small volume because there were few courageous enough openly to take such a stand against a still militant South. Yet, a few did. Segregation, legal inequities, lynching, convict labor, the full gamut of racial inequality were eloquently condemned by George Washington Cable, Thomas U. Dudley, Thomas E. Watson, Lewis Harvey Blair, Andrew Sledd, John Spenser Bassett, and Quincy Ewing. Blair and Watson later recanted; the others held firm, maintaining in differing degrees what the two turncoats had shared with them in believing, that morality, economics, justice, and common sense argued irrefutably against continued American apartheid.

Two major lessons emerge from the essays. First, the hold of racist sentiment on the southern mind was so strong that the reasoned arguments of these men either could be ignored or, in the cases of Cable and Bassett, the cause of violent denunciation. As all the writers understood, the rebuttal to the logic of self-interest and common decency was the cry of "Nigger equality!" Minds snapped shut and the South lay with broken limbs in its self-sprung trap of ignorance and poverty. The second lesson is that despite a prevailing climate of active anti-Negro sentiment such ideas could grow, be circulated, and the writers, in most instances, remained unvictimized for their nonconformist views. As Wynes observes, southern society apparently allowed minority views in those cases where the minority was sure to remain small.

Despite their loneliness these voices deserve to be forgotten no longer. They tried to explain the South to itself. They sought to encourage liberation from the incubus of racism. These criticisms of southern mores by Southerners illuminate with sympathetic understanding the major tragedy of Dixie life. However, we could wish that this illumination had been increased by more editorial analysis. The introductory material provided by Wynes is too brief. His comments do suggest the limited nature of southern liberalism. He observes that all the essayists believed in white

supremacy, and he notes that their environments played an important role in determining popular reaction to their writings. His providing of biographical data is useful.

Wynes ignores, however, other possibilities suggested by the material. Of significance is the fact that most of the essayists accepted the mythology of Reconstruction as a period of near military despotism. Their hatred for what they conceived of as total national control of southern society led them to seek the solution to local problems primarily in the South itself. Surely it would be worth analysis to try to understand what was the effect of combining race superiority with local sovereignty to produce part of southern liberal thought. Perhaps the materials of this most useful book would have been even more usefully presented in an analytical article. There we could not only hear these forgotten voices, but could better understand the logical weaknesses which led to their tragic lack of influence.

PHILLIP S. PALUDAN

University of Illinois

The South Since Appomattox: A Century of Regional Change.

By Thomas D. Clark and Albert D. Kirwan. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967. vii, 438 pp. Illustrations, maps, bibliography, index. \$7.50.)

"A century of southern history," write the authors of this volume, "had been marked by hills and valleys of crises. An agrarian society surrendered slowly to modernization. A farm-oriented economy definitely shaped the nature of constitutional government, the cast of politics, and largely explained the incapacities of state governments to confront the industrial and social revolution of mid-century. So far in the past century as there was a 'New South,' it has been only since 1930 that the region could truly lay claim to 'newness,' and it is only since 1945 that this has been really true." This statement aptly summarizes the underlying theme of the book which traces the processes of change and transition. The great majority of the chapters deal with the period since 1900, and fully half of them with developments since 1930. In the first half, chapters on politics are

interspersed with chapters on social and economic change. The later chapters, however, integrate all trends in describing the impact on the South of the depression, New Deal, World War II, and the changing status of the Negro. The result is a considerable amount of overlapping and some confusion, such as the discussion of the agrarian revolt in chapter three before a description of the farmers' problems in chapter four.

The style is polished, and footnotes are used only to cite quoted material. The book cannot be described as definitive or comprehensive, because the subjects treated are highly selective. Much attention is given agricultural and educational changes both of which have been emphasized in two other recent books by Professor Clark (*The Emerging South* and *Three Paths to the Modern South*) as fundamental in bringing the South into the mainstream of national affairs. The general reader will be amply rewarded by the balanced interpretation of both the faults and accomplishments of the South, and both student and general reader can benefit by the useful summary in the last five chapters of developments in the 1950s and 1960s. An annotated bibliography includes much recently published material. More careful editing would have eliminated such errors as incorrect titles for two of C. Vann Woodward's books (p. 388).

ALLEN J. GOING

University of Houston

Negroes and the New Southern Politics. By Donald R. Matthews and James W. Prothro. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1966. xvi, 551 pp. Preface, introduction, figures, tables, epilogue, appendixes, index. \$12.50.)

This is the most important study of the South and the Negro since Key's *Southern Politics* and Myrdal's *The American Dilemma*. But for the historian it is likely to be a frustrating book to read. Partly this is the inevitable price one pays in the development of a self-conscious "social science," with its great and necessary concern for methodology. But the problem is heightened by the authors' emphasis on a rather shallow psychological approach (popular in voting studies in the 1950s) and by a needless

tendency to ignore the role of political leaders, the importance of individual states, and the historical dimension itself. Unlike Key and Myrdal, the authors—who are leading political scientists at the University of North Carolina—seem to have had no significant theory or overview to guide them.

The authors concentrate most of their attention on two main sources of data relating to the changing political role of the Negro in the South. First, they analyze the level of Negro voter registration for southern counties as of 1958 (a year in which the Civil Rights Commission collected such data for most areas where it is not normally reported). The level of Negro registration in a given county can be thought of as a balance achieved between the strength of factors disposing Negroes to attempt to register and strength of factors tending to prevent Negro registration (both overt white opposition and Negro apathy). Overtime methods of white opposition have been narrowed, and as Negro registration builds up there comes some positive “feedback” in the way of benefits. The problem is to disentangle the strength of Negro efforts at registration and of white opposition—econometricians face a similar dilemma in the study of supply and demand, but by using time series as well as cross-sectional data they have been able to do so. Matthews and Prothro, however, limit their efforts to a crude multiple regression analysis of the 1958 registration figures exclusively, largely in relation to 1950 census data (1960 data would be preferable), plus some political variables. The results generally confirm the view of Key and others that the percentage of Negro population is the most basic factor. But it is strange that the authors have not done more with the “causal modelling” approach developed at Chapel Hill by Hubert M. Blalock.

The second major source of data lies in the authors’ own sample survey, conducted early in 1961 by interviewers of the Survey Research Center of the University of Michigan. Over 600 adult Negroes and a slightly larger number of southern whites were interviewed, a tremendous and obviously difficult undertaking. Much of the analysis of the individual Negro interviews turns on a scale of political participation which is cumulative for the whites but not for the Negroes. As a result the “high” Negro participants may indeed never have succeeded in voting or regis-

tering, again introducing a serious flaw into the analytic framework.

The flaws in the analysis are the more disconcerting since the structure rests so heavily on the particular data collected, although passing attention is given to four local community studies. There are no descriptions of the evolution of politics or campaigning in individual southern states, no effort at interviewing political leaders (white or Negro), and no systematic use of local election returns. In short, most of what made Key's *Southern Politics* an important book has been jettisoned in favor of 1950s-style survey research with a maximum of psychology and a minimum of linkages to politics. Historians should find their data valuable for a cross-sectional view of the South *circa* 1960, but will have to take thought for themselves on how to relate it to the broad sweep of political change in the postwar South.

HUGH DOUGLAS PRICE

Harvard University

HISTORICAL NEWS

Historic American Buildings Survey of Key West

Professor F. Blair Reeves of the University of Florida's College of Architecture and chairman of the American Institute of Architects' Committee on Historic Buildings this summer supervised a program that surveyed and photographed a number of historic homes and buildings in Key West. Co-sponsor of the survey was the Old Island Restoration Foundation of Key West, a group that has dedicated itself since its organization in 1960, to the preservation of the architectural and historical heritage of Key West. Three University of Florida architecture students made up the survey team.

The Historic American Buildings Survey is a long-range program for assembling a national archive of historic American architecture. Begun in 1933, by the National Park Service, the American Institute of Architects, and the Library of Congress, the survey's measured drawings, photographs, and written data are part of a growing archive at the Library of Congress. This archive, one of the world's largest collections of its kind, consists of over 30,000 drawings, 40,000 photographs, and 6,000 pages of architectural and historic data recording 10,000 buildings throughout the United States. Included in the archive are a number of drawings and photographs of Florida homes and buildings from Pensacola, Apalachicola, Quincy, Madison, Tallahassee, Monticello, St. Augustine, St. Marks, Marianna, Old Town, and Fort George Island. Pictures of the historic buildings of St. Augustine were reproduced in the Quadricentennial number (July-October 1965) of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. The Division of Prints and Photographs, Library of Congress, sells copies of the photographs and drawings at moderate prices. There are two geographically arranged guides, an illustrated *Catalogue* (1941), and a *Supplement* (1959).

Included in the survey of Key West is the home of Ernest Hemingway, the Audubon House, Captain Francis Watlington's house (probably the oldest house in Key West), Sand Key Lighthouse, Captain John H. Geiger's home, the Bahama houses of

Richard Roberts and Richard Kemp, the United States Coast Guard headquarters, the Convent of Mary Immaculate, the old post office and customs house, and Fort Jefferson. It is hoped that the Key West survey will serve as a model for other Florida communities, and will provide the beginnings for a "Guide to the Architectural-Historic Buildings of Florida," to be compiled by Professor Reeves and Dr. Samuel Proctor, editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*.

Mar-A-Lago

Mar-A-Lago, the Palm Beach residence of Mrs. Marjorie Merriweather Post, has been documented by photographs and written data for inclusion in the Library of Congress Historical American Buildings Survey archive. Professor Reeves and Dr. Proctor directed this project. Professor Reeves prepared the written data describing the architectural features of Mar-A-Lago, and Dr. Proctor compiled the historic material. Jack E. Boucher, formerly senior photographer of the National Park Service and now associated with the Historical Commission of the State of New Jersey, took the photographs. Mr. Boucher's photographs of St. Augustine have appeared in the *Florida Historical Quarterly*.

Mar-A-Lago, a two-storied, crescent shaped mansion was first opened in 1927. It is considered to be the most magnificent mansion on Florida's east coast. It was designed by Marion Wyeth and Joseph Urban, and the sculpture was by Franz Barwig of Vienna. Mar-A-Lago is an adaptation of the Hispano-Moresque style.

OBITUARIES

ROBERT SPENCER COTTERILL

Robert Spencer Cotterill, an eminent Florida writer, historian, and educator, died in Tallahassee in July 1967. A native of Battle Run, Kentucky, Professor Cotterill was born August 12, 1884. He received his Ph.D. from the University of Wisconsin, and taught at Kentucky Wesleyan, Western Maryland College, and the University of Louisville, before coming to Florida in 1928, to accept a position in the Department of History, Florida State College for Women (now Florida State University). In 1950, he was made research professor of history, and he was named professor emeritus of history when he retired in 1952. Professor Cotterill was a member of the editorial boards of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* and the *Journal of Southern History*, and he was editor of the *Filson Club Quarterly*. He wrote a number of articles and books dealing with southern history. His best known work was *The Southern Indians; the Story of the Civilized Tribes Before Removal* published in 1954.

EDWIN C. McREYNOLDS

Edwin C. McReynolds, author of *The Seminoles*, published by the University of Oklahoma Press in 1957, as one of the volumes in its Civilization of American Indian Series, died in February 1967. A native of Springfield, Missouri, Dr. McReynolds received his degrees from the University of Oklahoma, and he became a member of the history faculty of the university in 1943. In addition to his well-known study of the Seminoles of Florida and Oklahoma, Dr. McReynolds wrote histories of Oklahoma and Missouri and compiled atlases of those states. He was also a contributor to the *Florida Historical Quarterly*.

THE ANNUAL MEETING, MAY 5-6, 1967 MINUTES OF THE DIRECTORS MEETING

The annual meeting of the board of directors of the Florida Historical Society was held in the Town Room at the La Concha Motel Inn in Key West, Florida, on Friday evening, May 5, 1967. The meeting was called to order by Mr. William Goza, president. Members present were William M. Goza, Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., James C. Craig, Mrs. Ralph F. Davis, Margaret L. Chapman, Judge James D. Bruton, Jr., Mrs. Henry J. Burkhardt, Walter S. Hardin, John E. Johns, Milton D. Jones, Frank J. Laumer, William Warren Rogers, Charlton W. Tebeau, Julian I. Weinkle, Judge James R. Knott, and Samuel Proctor. The minutes of the previous director's meeting held December 3, 1966, at the University of South Florida, were not read since they had been published in the January 1967 issue of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*.

Dr. Samuel Proctor, editor of the *Quarterly*, discussed the proposed project of preparing an index of the recent volumes of the *Quarterly*. The first thirty-five volumes already have been indexed, and subsequent volumes contain an annually compiled subject-author index. The *Florida Historical Quarterly* probably is the best repository on Florida history available, and the board strongly endorsed the compiling of a complete index so as to make the journal an even more valuable research tool. Dr. Proctor also reported on the status of the Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Prize, and announced that this year's winner is Dr. Jerrell H. Shofner, presently professor of history at Texas Woman's College. Dr. Shofner will become a member of the faculty of the Department of Social Sciences, University of Florida, in September 1967. His article, "Political Reconstruction in Florida," appeared in the October 1966 number of the *Quarterly*. Dr. Proctor announced that the formal presentation would be made at the banquet. He thanked this year's judges, Dr. John Mahon, University of Florida; Dr. William Warren Rogers, Florida State University; and Father Michael V. Gannon, Mission of Nombre de Dios, St. Augustine. Dr. Proctor also noted that Mrs. Arthur W. Thompson was present at the meeting and would be one of the Society's honored guests at the banquet.

The board reviewed the treasurer's report covering the period April 1, 1966-March 31, 1967, presented by Miss Margaret Chapman, executive secretary (see attached report). Mr. Walter Hardin reported on the properties owned by the Society. A local real estate agent in St. Johns County will list lot 15, block 17, Ponce de Leon Heights subdivision, for a price of \$380, and an agent in Volusia County will list lots 47 and 48, block 2, Ponce de Leon Springs Terrace, for \$120. Mr. Hardin recommended that the board authorize the listing of these properties and selling them if there is a purchaser. Dr. Proctor seconded the recommendation, with the proviso that the lots be sold at or near the quoted price. The Society will have the privilege of rejecting the sale if the price is considered too low, and a report will be made on the liquidation of the properties at the next board meeting. The revenue received for the properties would go into the Julian C. Yonge Publication Fund and the Father Jerome Memorial Fund. The motion passed, and the board will authorize Mr. Hardin by letter to pursue this project to completion.

Dr. Herbert J. Doherty, chairman of the newly-organized speakers bureau, requested all members interested in promoting the history of Florida and the growth of the Society to add their names and qualifications to the speakers bureau panel. He also recommended the following qualifications and rules be established for organizations seeking the service of the speakers bureau: (1), adequate publicity before the speaking engagement to guarantee the speaker an interested assembly. Newspaper coverage after the speech covering both the speaker and the Society; (2), clippings of all newspaper publicity be forwarded to the chairman of the speakers bureau; and (3), proper facilities be provided the speaker, including a well-lighted rostrum upon which notes can be placed and a public address system, if necessary. Dr. Doherty's report and recommendations were approved.

Mr. Goza announced the names of the books acquired for the Society's library through the income from the Father Jerome Memorial Acquisitions Fund and from gifts that have been made by Captain John D. Ware of Tampa and Mrs. Eloise Ott of Oklawaha. Mr. James Craig, publicity chairman, reported that the amount of Society and *Quarterly* publicity is increasing in newspapers throughout the state. Dr. Proctor pointed out how valuable these newspaper stories are in developing interest in the *Quarterly*.

Mr. Craig also reported as chairman of the membership committee. All regional vice-presidents received membership applications and were active in promoting membership in their local areas. The fact that membership in the Society is increasing rapidly is an indication of how the successful committee is functioning.

Mr. Goza announced the results of the Junior Historical Essay Contest and thanked Professors Ernest H. Jernigan, Edward Simonds, and Leroy Reed of Central Florida Junior College who served as judges this year. He also thanked State Superintendent of Public Instruction Floyd T. Christian for the strong support that he gave the contest by publicizing it in his weekly report to the principals and teachers. There were a total of forty-four entries received by Dr. Jernigan and his committee this year.

Mr. Goza reported on the work that the Society is doing for the Florida Board of Parks and Historic Memorials in approving the locations and legends of historic markers. The following markers were placed this past year: Trinity Episcopal Church, Franklin County; Ormond Garage, Volusia County; Fort Dade, Sumter County; First Manatee County Courthouse, Manatee County; Celi's Exploration and Survey of the Hillsborough River, Hillsborough County; and the Bradley Massacre, Pasco County. Markers to be erected in Washington, Flagler, Gulf, Manatee, Lee, St. Lucie, Duval, Walton, Martin, and Leon counties are now being considered. Mr. Goza, Judge James R. Knott, and Dr. Proctor constitute the markers' committee.

Mr. Goza reviewed the invitation of the New Smyrna Historical Society to hold the 1968 annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society in the Daytona Beach-New Smyrna area as part of the celebration of the bi-centennial of the founding of the Andrew Turnbull colony. Dr. John E. Johns' motion to ratify the previous decision to accept the invitation of the New Smyrna Historical Society was seconded, and it passed by unanimous vote. Mr. Frank Laumer's motion to defer location of the 1969 convention until the next meeting of the board was also passed by unanimous vote.

Mr. Goza presented two proposed amendments to the board for discussion. Dr. Johns offered a motion to recommend to the membership that the Society's constitution be amended so as to provide for the election of a president, president-elect, vice-president, recording secretary, and executive secretary-librarian. Each

would be elected for a two-year term beginning with the annual meeting in 1968. The motion passed. Dr. Johns also moved that the board recommend that the by-laws be amended to provide a nominating committee of five members to be appointed by the board of directors. The committee would select its own chairman. This would also begin with the meeting of the board of directors at the annual meeting in 1968. The motion passed.

Dr. Proctor announced the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History is now located on the fourth floor of the Graduate Research Library on the University of Florida campus in Gainesville. The *Florida Historical Quarterly* also has new offices in the P. K. Yonge Library. Miss Elizabeth Alexander is inviting the officers and members of the Florida Historical Society to the formal opening of the Library in its new quarters on October 7. She also hopes the board of directors will hold its next meeting in the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History.

Dr. Proctor requested authority to dispose of obsolete furniture of the Society at the University of Florida. This request was granted. He was also authorized to purchase one new file cabinet for his office.

Mr. Goza thanked the board for their continuing support and cooperation. The board of directors then adjourned.

MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL MEETING

The annual business meeting of the Florida Historical Society was held in the Key West Community Center, Old Mallory Square, Key West, Florida, May 6, 1967. President William Goza presided and introduced the officers and members of the board of directors of the Society and special guests.

Mr. Goza announced that the board of directors had authorized establishment of the Father Jerome Memorial Fund, with an initial goal of \$1,000, for the purpose of acquiring books, documents, and manuscripts for the Society's library. A number of money donations have been received, and the funds balance is \$1,068. The first book purchased for the library was *New Smyrna: An Eighteenth Century Greek Odyssey* by E. P. Panagopoulos. Mr. Goza also announced that the library had received two gifts in memory of Father Jerome: John D. Ware's transla-

tions of "Celi's Journal of Surveys" from Captain Ware, and a copy of Eloise Ott's new book, *Ocali Country: Kingdom of the Sun, 1539-1965*, from Mrs. Ott. A special bookplate was designed at the University of South Florida and will be used in each book acquired by the Father Jerome Memorial Fund. Mr. Goza indicated the Society's desire to receive additional donations of money and books so that the holdings of the Society's library can be increased.

The president announced the three winners of the annual Junior Historical Essay Contest sponsored by the Florida Historical Society for junior and senior high school students. First prize went to Cesar Guzman of St. John Vianney Seminary of Miami for his essay "Cubans in Miami"; second prize was received by Arthur J. Bendixen, also of St. John Vianney Seminary, for his essay, "The Man, Pedro Menendez"; and third prize was won by Carolyn Adams, Dan McCarty High School, Fort Pierce, who wrote on "The Great Disaster of 1928." Honorable mention went to Sue Reynolds, Catholic High School, Miami; Michell Mizzoni, Notre Dame Academy, St. Petersburg; and Terrance R. Wolfe and Edward Meigs of St. John Vianney Seminary. Mr. Goza introduced the principal of St. John Vianney Seminary who expressed appreciation to the Society for sponsoring the contest, and noted that in the preparation of their essays, students had received a deeper appreciation of the history and heritage of the state.

Mr. Goza presented the report of the historic markers committee which is assisting N. E. Bill Miller, director of the Florida Board of Parks and Historic Memorials, in erecting historical markers in the state. A number of markers were approved and put up this past year, and several more are now being processed. In addition to Mr. Goza, the markers committee includes Judge James R. Knott and Dr. Samuel Proctor.

The Society's membership is the largest in its history, and according to Mr. Goza is growing very rapidly. He recognized the work of Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Mickler of Chuluota, Florida, in promoting membership in the Society, and he thanked all the members of the membership committee for their excellent work this past year. Mr. James C. Craig is chairman of this committee.

On behalf of Dr. Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., the president announced the formation of a speakers bureau for the purpose of

furnishing knowledgeable speakers for historical, civic, and community groups from the membership of the Society. Any member willing to speak on any phase of Florida history is asked to communicate with Dr. Doherty, Little Hall, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida. The president reported on the plans that are being made for a proposed trip to Spain in the summer of 1968, to be sponsored by the Florida Historical Society. Members will visit places in Spain that are related to Florida history. Spanish officials are very much interested in helping provide an interesting and informative excursion, and the airlines have agreed to begin this flight from Miami. More information will be furnished the membership when it becomes available.

The board of directors recommends that the membership accept the invitation of the New Smyrna Historical Society to hold the 1968 meeting in the New Smyrna-Daytona Beach area in conjunction with the 200th anniversary of the founding of the Andrew Turnbull colony at New Smyrna. This recommendation was approved, and the members also voted to start the convention at noon on Friday and to hold the banquet on Saturday evening.

The board of directors presented the following amendments to the charter and by-laws with the recommendation that they be accepted: 1. That the charter be amended to provide for a president, president-elect, vice-president, recording secretary, and executive secretary and librarian, each to be elected for a two-year term beginning with the annual meeting of the Society in 1968; 2. that the by-laws be amended to provide for a nominating committee consisting of five members, to be appointed by the board of directors. The nominating committee will select its own chairman. This new method of providing for a nominating committee will begin with the meeting of the board of directors at the annual meeting of the Society in 1968. Both recommended amendments were approved by the membership.

Dr. Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., chairman of the resolutions committee, presented the following resolutions:

BE IT RESOLVED, that the Florida Historical Society at its 1967 annual meeting in Key West, Florida, record its appreciation of the generous hospitality extended to its members by the good people of the island city. Their sunny clime provided invigoration

for the body, their social skills gave regeneration to the spirit, and their program provided stimulation for the intellect.

BE IT THEREFORE RESOLVED, that the officers and members of the Florida Historical Society express their warm gratitude to all those ladies and gentlemen responsible for this fine meeting, and especially to the local arrangements committee under the direction of Mrs. T. O. Bruce and Mrs. Paul E. Sawyer, the reception committee, the program committee under Dr. Charlton W. Tebeau, and the generous local organizations-the Old Island Restoration Foundation, the City of Key West, the Monroe County Public Library, and the Key West Art and Historical Society.

WHEREAS, the late Dr. Katheryn Abbey Hanna was long respected and honored by the citizens of the State of Florida and was held in high esteem and affection by the members of the Florida Historical Society in particular; and whereas Dr. Hanna, a leading educator and historian of note, made unique and valuable contributions toward making the citizens of Florida aware of their role in history, authored a distinguished one-volume history - *Florida, Land of Change*, was an officer of this Society and a past president of the Southern Historical Association, was head of the Department of History, Geography, and Political Science at Florida State College for Women (now Florida State University); and whereas as one of the state's leading citizens she freely and tirelessly gave her time to public service, having served on the Florida State Library Board for eight years, on the Florida Board of Parks and Historic Memorials for ten years, on the Florida Constitutional Advisory Commission in 1955 (the only woman to serve on the commission), on the Florida Civil War Centennial Commission, and was secretary of the Florida Citizens Committee on Education; BE IT THEREFORE RESOLVED, that this Society spread upon its minutes a tribute to this great lady who was so esteemed and admired by us all, and that we extend our sense of grief and loss at her death together with our heartfelt condolences to her husband, Dr. Alfred J. Hanna.

RESOLVED, that the secretary be directed to communicate the sense of this action to Dr. Hanna.

IN MEMORIAM

RESOLVED, that the officers and members of the Florida Historical Society observe with grief and regret the deaths of several members during the past year, including:

- Dr. Ovid Futch, Temple Terrace, Florida
- Father Jerome Wisniewski, O.S.B., Saint Leo, Florida
- Miss Annie D. Kyle, Winter Park, Florida
- Hon. Julius F. Parker, Tallahassee, Florida
- Dr. Nathan D. Shappee, Miami, Florida
- Mr. Elmer Wright Silas, Cocoa, Florida
- Mr. David O. True, Miami, Florida
- Miss Rachel Van Berkum, Riviera Beach, Florida
- Mr. E. W. Ingram, Columbus, Ohio
- Mr. C. H. Willoughby, Gainesville, Florida
- Dr. Kathryn Abbey Hanna, Winter Park, Florida

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, by the members of the Florida Historical Society in annual meeting assembled that this resolution be recorded in the official minutes of the Society, and that this resolution be published in due course.

The resolutions were duly approved.

In the absence of Mr. Adam G. Adams, chairman of the nominating committee, Dr. Gilbert L. Lycan submitted the committee's report as follows:

Officers - 1967-1968

- President William M. Goza, Clearwater
- First vice-president Dr. Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., Gainesville
- Second vice-president James C. Craig, Jacksonville
- Executive secretary and librarian Margaret Chapman, Tampa
- Recording secretary Pat Dodson, Pensacola

Board of Directors

- District 1 James A. Servies, Pensacola
- District 2 Dr. William Warren Rogers, Tallahassee
- District 3 James H. Lipscomb, III, Atlantic Beach
- District 4 Frank J. Laumer, Dade City

District 5	.....	Judge Charles O. Andrews, Jr., Winter Park
District 6	.....	Judge James D. Bruton, Jr., Tampa
District 7	.....	Walter S. Hardin, Bradenton
District 8	.....	Milton D. Jones, Clearwater
District 9	.....	Mrs. Henry J. Burkhardt, West Palm Beach
District 10	.....	August Burghard, Fort Lauderdale
District 11	.....	Dr. Charlton W. Tebeau, Coral Gables
District 12	.....	Mrs. T. O. Bruce, Key West
At Large	.....	Dr. Robert H. Akerman, Lakeland

It was moved that nominations be closed, the motion was seconded and it carried. The president declared the slate presented by the nomination committee to be the elected officers and directors for 1967-1968.

Mr. Goza announced that Governor LeRoy Collins would be the banquet speaker and that Dr. Proctor would make the presentation of the Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Prize in Florida History at the banquet. The president thanked all the members and the officers and directors for the work that they had done in making this annual meeting and the past year's activities so successful. He expressed his gratitude to our hosts in Key West: the Old Island Restoration Foundation, the City of Key West, the Monroe County Public Library, the Key West Art and Historical Society, Mrs. T. O. Bruce and Mrs. Paul E. Sawyer and their committees on local arrangements, Mayor and Mrs. Kermit Lewin and Mayor and Mrs. Gerald Saunders and the members of their reception committee, and Mr. William Kroll for arranging the Conch Tour Train. He extended an invitation to all to attend the annual meeting in Daytona Beach-New Smyrna next year.

The meeting was then adjourned.

FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
TREASURER'S REPORT

April 1, 1966 - March 31, 1967

Balance, April 1, 1966		\$18,243.07
Location of Balance:		
Florida National Bank, Gainesville	2,038.70	
First National Bank, Tampa	29.59	
First Federal Savings and Loan Assn., Gainesville	7,510.69	
University of South Florida Account # 95003	117.99	
St. John's County property	280.00	
Volusia County property	20.00	
Julian Yonge Publication Fund:		
Guaranty Federal Savings and Loan Assn., Gainesville	7,809.70	
United Gas Corp. 20 Shares (par value)	200.00	
Middle South Utilities (3 shares)	126.00	
Florida Growth Fund (15 shares).....	110.40	
		\$18,243.07

Receipts:

Memberships:

Annual	4,254.50	
Fellow	560.00	
Contributing	175.00	
Sponsor	100.00	
Student	10.00	
Library	1,723.63	\$6,823.13

Other Receipts:

Quarterlies	510.09	
First Federal Savings dividends	343.74	
Father Jerome Memorial Fund	1,068.00	
Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Fund: Contributions	2,500.00	
Interest	66.16	
Julian Yonge Publication Fund:		
Individual Contributions	855.50	
United Gas Corp. dividends	25.50	
Middle South Utilities dividends	4.20	
Florida Growth Fund dividends	7.14	
Royalties:		
<i>Aristocrat in Uniform</i> "Osceola" Issue of <i>Quarterly</i>	120.32	
Guaranty Federal Savings and Loan interest	375.21	

Miscellaneous:

Arthur W. Thompson			
Memorial Fund	100.00		
Microfilm	72.80		
Book Binding			
(William M. Goza)	3.00		
Bound Index	12.50		
Florida Library Assoc.			
(office supplies)	5.97	\$6,077.63	\$12,900.76

Total Receipts \$31,143.83

Disbursements:

Quarterlies:

Printing			
(Convention Press)	5,449.50		
Copyrights	50.00		
Editing Expense	300.00		
Telephone & box rent	13.69		
Stationery	22.41	\$5,844.60	

Petty cash	150.00		
University of South Florida			
Account #95003	482.16		
Bank charges			
(non Par checks only)	4.37		
Newsletter	124.39		
Essay contest prizes	90.00		
Income tax return			
(C. P. Saclarides)	25.00		
Property Tax:			
St. John's County	3.70		
Volusia County	3.18		
Fire Insurance on Collection			
(March 18, 1967 -			
March 18, 1970)	45.00		
Miscellaneous:			
Annual Convention:			
Printing of programs	60.05		
Printing of tickets	12.00		
Complimentary tickets			
and sound			
equipment	44.60		
Check returned	5.00		
Julian Yonge Publication			
Fund (Mrs. K. Luther)	2.50		
Reimbursements:			
McGregor			
Magazine Agency	3.39		
Mrs. J. V. Keen			
(Overpay)	2.50		
Arthur W. Thompson			
Award	100.00		
University Microfilm	91.84		
Rinaldi Printing Co.			
(Father Jerome			
Bookplates	16.05		
Micklers Floridiana (Book			
for Father Jerome Fund)	7.00		

Travel Fund			
(William Goza)	300.00		
Dobbs Brothers Library			
Binding Co.	4.50	\$ 1,577.23	\$ 7,421.83
			<hr/>
			\$23,722.00
Locations of Balances:			
Florida National Bank,			
Gainesville	2,220.55		
First National Bank, Tampa	29.59		
First Federal Savings and			
Loan Assn., Gainesville	7,854.43		
St. John's County property ...			
Volusia County property	20.00		
University of South Florida			
Account #95003	41.80		
Guaranty Federal Savings and			
Loan, Gainesville	2,566.16		
(Thompson Memorial Fund)			
Tampa Federal Savings and			
Loan Assn.	1,068.00		
(Father Jerome Fund)		\$14,080.53	
		<hr/>	
Julian Yonge Publication Fund:			
Guaranty Federal Savings			
Assn., Gainesville	9,205.07		
United Gas Corp.			
(20 shares par)	200.00		
Middle South Utilities			
(3 shares)	126.00		
Florida Growth Fund			
(15 shares)	110.40	\$9,641.47	
		<hr/>	
			\$23,722.00

FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
NEW MEMBERS

April 1966 - March 1967

Frederick S. Aldridge, Atlantic Beach, Florida
Robert L. Allen, DeLand, Florida
O. K. Amdahl, Bradenton, Florida
Ann O. Anderson, West Palm Beach, Florida
Luis R. Arana, St. Augustine, Florida
Agnes B. Barber, Coral Gables, Florida
Mrs. Lee Claiborne Bassett, Nokomis, Florida
Ralph J. Baum, Tampa, Florida
Edna M. Bell, Miami Shores, Florida
G. K. Bennett, Orlando, Florida
Earle Bowden, Pensacola, Florida
Carl E. Bowdre, W. Hollywood, Florida
John W. Bowen, Tampa, Florida
Glenn C. Brown, Haines City, Florida
Edwin B. Browning
Mrs. T. O. Bruce, Key West, Florida
Judge James D. Bruton, Jr., Plant City, Florida
Eileen H. Butts, Ormond Beach, Florida
Sarah Byers, Clearwater, Florida
Most Reverend Coleman F. Carroll, Miami Beach, Florida
Manuel N. Cepeda, Ocala, Florida
Thomas M. Chastain, Palm Beach, Florida
Charles S. Cogburn Fort Pierce, Florida
Horace F. Cordes, Coral Gables, Florida
Donald W. Curl, Boca Raton, Florida
Elbert R. Davis, Fort Walton Beach, Florida
Mrs. Thomas J. Dawson, Orlando, Florida
Glen H. Dill, New Port Richey, Florida
J. Lester Dinkins, Dunnellon, Florida
Pat Dodson, Pensacola, Florida
Mrs. Nate Dyal, Hampton, Florida
Harold B. Edwards, Satellite Beach, Florida
Judge Warren H. Edwards, Orlando, Florida
William G. Ellis, St. Augustine, Florida
Mrs. Claire M. Ewertz, Titusville, Florida
Mrs. Charles B. Fogarty, Bradenton, Florida
Mrs. Sarah D. Fought, Tarpon Springs, Florida
Julian B. Frix, Miami Shores, Florida
Reverend James Gallagher, Gulf Breeze, Florida
Mrs. R. T. Gallemore, Bartow, Florida
Mrs. Michael Gannon, St. Augustine, Florida
Mrs. Margaret C. Garvue, Tallahassee, Florida
Richard Glendinning, Sarasota, Florida
Anthony J. Gocking, Golden Beach, Florida
Randolph C. Griffith, Orlando, Florida
James M. Halbe, New York, New York
John M. Hammer, Jr., Tampa, Florida
Miss Emily Hancock, Auburndale, Florida
S. M. Hankins, Tampa, Florida
Mrs. R. D. Hardwick, Tampa, Florida
Joseph T. Harper, Sebring, Florida
J. L. Harrison, Jr., Palmetto, Florida

Sister Francis Helen, North Miami, Florida
Scott Hight, Fort Pierce, Florida
Reverend George Hiller, Miami, Florida
Mrs. J. H. Hodges, Apalachicola, Florida
Colonel George E. Hoffman, McLean, Virginia
Glenn E. Hooker, Haines City, Florida
Milo B. Howard, Jr., Montgomery, Alabama
Dr. Werner Husmann, Winter Park, Florida
Dr. James M. Ingram, Tampa, Florida
Robert V. Johnson, Miami, Florida
J. P. Jones, Tallahassee, Florida
Dr. Hans Juergensen, Tampa, Florida
Edwin King, Chicago, Illinois
Howard J. Kirkpatrick, Treasure Island, Florida
George E. J. Klimis, Tarpon Springs, Florida
Mrs. Edward W. Kopp, Tampa, Florida
Mrs. Hyem Kramer, Madison, Florida
Haven Lasseter, Orlando, Florida
Miss E. Beth Learn, Tallahassee, Florida
John L'Engle, Jacksonville, Florida
Mrs. J. H. Letton, Tampa, Florida
Noah Lindsay, Lake City, Florida
Mrs. Charles Linker, Costa Mesa, California
George M. Linville, Jacksonville, Florida
Mrs. Caroline D. Lowe, Naples, Florida
Sister Marie Magdalen O.S.F., Melbourne, Florida
Mr. and Mrs. J. W. Mann, Palatka, Florida
Richard A. Martin, Jacksonville, Florida
Sister Patrick Mary S.S.N.D., Tampa, Florida
Sydney A. McCallister, Orlando, Florida
Dr. John R. McDevitt, Boca Raton, Florida
Theodore F. McLane, Largo, Florida
Mrs. B. M. Mead, Jr., Orlando, Florida
Charles R. Meador, Fort Myers, Florida
Dr. W. R. Mendes, Orlando, Florida
John Mercer, Miami, Florida
Robin T. Mithcell, Temple Terrace, Florida
Thomas B. Mithcell, Temple Terrace, Florida
Dr. Frank Monaghan, Washington, D. C.
Mrs. Eleanor B. Morgan, Arcadia, Florida
Mrs. Helen L. Morgan, St. Augustine, Florida
Ralph T. Motes, Tallahassee, Florida
Mrs. Marvin Muga, Gainesville, Florida
Mrs. J. L. Newton, Arcadia, Florida
A. W. Nichols, Jr., Palatka, Florida
Reverend Eugene Lewis Nixon, Mount Dora, Florida
Dr. H. Rex Nowell, Marianna, Florida
R. W. Oliver, Salem, Oregon
Dr. Clarke Olney, Athens, Georgia
Mrs. Norman C. Payne, Jr., Frostproof, Florida
L. D. Peek, Lake City, Florida
Ralph L. Peek, Gainesville, Florida
Harvey F. Pierce, Coral Gables, Florida
Colonel John A. Plimpton, North Palm Beach, Florida
Ernest L. Porter, Jacksonville, Florida
J. Harrell Powell, Miami Shores, Florida
Mrs. Richard R. Powell, Tampa, Florida
Dr. Charles D. Price, Winter Park, Florida
Van H. Priest, Madison, Florida

Mrs. E. Raye Rainer, Tallahassee, Florida
Mrs. Carlton Reeves, Clearwater, Florida
Dr. Joe M. Richardson, Tallahassee, Florida
C. Peter Ripley, Tallahassee, Florida
Thomas L. Robbins, Zephyrhills, Florida
James R. Roberson, Vernon, Florida
Manuel Rodriguez, Tampa, Florida
Ted H. Rost, Clearwater, Florida
N. Orwin Rush, Tallahassee, Florida
Mrs. Margaret Sanford, Lakeland Florida
Rolfe F. Schell, Fort Myers Beach, Florida
Richard T. Schultz, Satellite Beach, Florida
Admiral Richard M. Scruggs, Madison, Florida
Mrs. Douglas R. Shanklin, Gainesville Florida
Miss Vivian Sherlock, Apalachicola, Florida
W. L. F. Slean, Yankeetown, Florida
Warren A. Smith, Rockledge, Florida
Clinton R. Snyder, Jr., Palatka, Florida
C. E. Sowerby, Jr., Jacksonville, Florida
Arthur P. Spencer, Jr., Alachua, Florida
Roland M. Stafford, Miami Shores, Florida
Charles C. Stephen, Cape Canaveral, Florida
H. K. Story, Clearwater, Florida
Alan P. Stuckey, Tampa, Florida
F. William Summers, Tallahassee, Florida
Ralph Sumner, Wauchula, Florida
Edward Sweeting, Riverview, Florida
Kenneth Tanis, Miami, Florida
Joseph H. Tatro, Yankeetown, Florida
Ray M. Teboe, Miami Florida
Mrs. W. Archibald Trimble, Ormond Beach, Florida
Glenn Tucker, Fairview, North Carolina
Miss Marion Viccars, Tallahassee, Florida
Gene Vinson, Tarpon Springs, Florida
Reverend James Walsh, Miami Beach, Florida
Matthew L. Walsh, North Miami, Florida
Mrs. John S. Warren, Evanston, Ill.
Jerome A. Waterman, Tampa, Florida
C. Stanley Weaver, Tampa, Florida
James Whitaker, Daytona Beach, Florida
Barney H. Whitman, Fort Meade, Florida
Warren H. Wilkinson, Jacksonville Beach, Florida
Frank H. Willer, North Miami, Florida
Dr. Walter H. Winchester, Dunedin, Florida
R. H. Wood, Arcadia, Florida
Mrs. W. D. Wood, Ozona, Florida
William Duane Wood III, St. Petersburg, Florida
Harry Ziegler, Kirklin, Indiana
Air Base Elementary School Library, Homestead, Florida
Baldwin Junior-Senior High School Library, Baldwin, Florida
Board of Public Instruction, Material Center, Jacksonville, Florida
University of British Columbia Library, Vancouver, British Columbia
Canada
Brown University Library, Providence, Rhode Island
Eugene J. Butler Junior High School Library, Jacksonville, Florida
G. W. Carver High School Library, Century, Florida
Central Junior High School Library, Eau Gallie, Florida
Christian Home and Bible School Library, Mount Dora, Florida
Citrus Grove Elementary School Library, Miami, Florida

Citrus High School Library, Inverness, Florida
 City University of New York, Graduate Studies Division, New York, N. Y.
 Clearwater Campus Library, Clearwater, Florida
 Clermont High School Library, Clermont, Florida
 Coral Gables Senior High School Library, Coral Gables, Florida
 Cutler Ridge Junior High School Library, Miami, Florida
 Darnell-Cookman Junior High School Library, Jacksonville, Florida
 Deerfield Beach Junior High School Library, Deerfield Beach, Florida
 DeSoto County High School Library, Arcadia Florida
 Fessenden High School Library, Ocala, Florida
 Ida M. Fisher Junior High School Library, Miami Beach, Florida
 Florida Atlantic University Faculty Lounge, Boca Raton, Florida
 Florida College Library, Temple Terrace, Florida
 Florida Junior College Library, Jacksonville, Florida
 Florida Keys Junior College Library, Key West, Florida
 Florida Presbyterian College Library, St. Petersburg, Florida
 Nathan B. Forrest Senior High School Library, Jacksonville, Florida
 Fort Meade Junior-Senior High School Library, Fort Meade, Florida
 Freedom 7 Elementary School Library, Cocoa Beach, Florida
 Graceville High School Library, Graceville, Florida
 Greenville High School Library, Greenville, Florida
 Greenville Training School Library, Greenville, Florida
 Hernando High School Library, Brooksville, Florida
 Indian River Junior College Library, Fort Pierce, Florida
 University of Kansas Library, Lawrence, Kansas
 Lake Shore Junior-Senior High School Library, Belle Glade, Florida
 Lee Junior High School Library, Lee, Florida
 John I. Leonard Junior-Senior High School Library, Lake Worth, Florida
 Love Grove Elementary School Library, Jacksonville, Florida
 Madison Elementary School Library, Madison, Florida
 Madison High School Library, Madison, Florida
 Madison Training School Library, Madison, Florida
 McArthur High School Library, Hollywood, Florida
 Miami Springs Senior High School Library, Miami Springs, Florida
 Michigan State College Library, East Lansing, Michigan
 Milton Public Library, Milton, Florida
 Mount Herman Elementary School Library, Jacksonville, Florida
 Orlando Junior College Library, Orlando, Florida
 Osceola Senior High School Library, Kissimmee, Florida
 Oviedo High School Library, Oviedo, Florida
 Monsignor Edward Pace High School Library, Opa Locka, Florida
 Palmetto Junior High School Library, Miami, Florida
 Austin Peay State College Library, Clarksville, Tennessee
 Adult Student Center, Pensacola Junior College, Pensacola, Florida
 Pinetta Junior High School Library, Pinetta, Florida
 University of Pittsburgh Library, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania
 Plant City Public Library, Plant City, Florida
 Plantation Library, Plantation, Florida
 Riverside Elementary School Library, Miami, Florida
 Rockway Elementary School Library, Miami, Florida
 Rowley Library, Marymount College, Boca Raton, Florida
 Saint Lucie County Junior High School Library, Fort Pierce, Florida
 Saint Vincent College Library, Latrobe, Pennsylvania
 San Fernando Valley State College Library, Northridge, California
 San Francisco Public Library, San Francisco, California
 Snapper Creek Elementary School Library, Miami, Florida
 South Miami Heights Elementary School Library, Miami, Florida
 South Seminole Junior High School Library, Casselberry, Florida
 South Sumter High School, Social Studies Department, Bushnell, Florida

University of Southern Alabama, Mobile, Alabama
 State University of New York at Buffalo, Buffalo, New York
 Stone School Library Melbourne, Florida
 J. M. Tate High School Library, Gonzalez, Florida
 Temple Heights Christian Schools, Inc., Tampa, Florida
 West Texas State University Library, Canyon, Texas
 Wedgewood Junior-Senior School Library, Pensacola, Florida
 University of West Florida Library, Pensacola, Florida
 Westward Junior High School Library, West Palm Beach, Florida
 Winter Haven Senior High School Library, Winter Haven, Florida
 WMFE - TV Channel 24, Orlando, Florida
 Samuel W. Wolfson Senior High School Library, Jacksonville, Florida
 University of Wyoming Library, Laramie, Wyoming
 Yankeetown Library, Yankeetown, Florida

Bradford County Historical Society, Keystone Heights, Florida
 Confederate Army Research Center, Hillsboro, Texas
 Key West Art and Historical Society, Key West, Florida
 Manatee County Historical Society, Bradenton, Florida
 Peninsular Archaeological Society, St. Petersburg, Florida
 Pensacola Historical Society, Pensacola, Florida
 Pioneer Florida Museum Association, Dade City, Florida
 Tarpon Springs Area Historical Society, Tarpon Springs, Florida

CONTRIBUTORS

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